# The Life and Theology of Bishop John Ponet (1516-1556)




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# Short Abstract

This thesis provides a major revision of the life and theology of Bishop John Ponet (1516-1556). Ponet was one of the most important English bishops within the mid-Tudor Church of England. However, he has been seriously neglected thanks to the paucity of scholarly attention given to his life and theology, and the tendency to minimise his contribution to the English reformation to political theology. This thesis corrects both the neglect and imbalance of Ponet studies through the retrieval of a substantial body of newly discovered sources, including thirty-six books owned and annotated by Ponet, over seven-hundred pages of manuscript material authored by Ponet, various letters relative to Ponet, and other archival material pertaining to Ponet. The introductory chapter of the thesis provides the historiographical context and methodological framework of the dissertation. Chapter one investigates Ponet's upbringing in Kent and uncovers his intellectual, linguistic, astronomical, and dramatical contributions as a leading member of the 'Athenian Tribe' at Cambridge University. Chapter two surveys the period of Ponet's archiepiscopal patronage under Henry VIII and progress during the early reign of Edward VI. It reveals the continuities between Ponet's private convictions under Henry VIII and his public writings under Edward VI. Chapter three details Ponet's episcopal accomplishments and demonstrates his transition from evangelical theologian to one of the most important figures among English bishops, alongside Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley. Chapter four examines Ponet's reaction to the accession of Queen Mary and his subsequent exile, elucidating Ponet's role as superintendent of the Strassburg exiles. Chapter five provides the theological counterpart to the previous chapter, and illuminates Ponet's thought concerning clerical marriage, political theology, and sacramental theology. This dissertation contributes the most detailed account of Ponet's life to date and presents the most comprehensive survey of his theological thought within the history of reformation scholarship.

# Long Abstract

John Ponet (1516-1556) was an extraordinary ecclesiastical leader of the English reformation. He was one of the leading intellectuals in his generation at the University of Cambridge, alongside John Cheke and Thomas Smith. He shortly thereafter became chaplain to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and King Henry VIII. Under Edward VI, he was rapidly promoted to the bishopric of Rochester and was then elevated to the important see of Winchester. After the accession of Queen Mary and his subsequent ejection from Winchester, he was closely involved with Wyatt's Rebellion, and afterwards went into exile in Strassburg, where he died the most senior ranking English Protestant ecclesiastic. Throughout his lifetime he advanced the study of Greek linguistics, made marvellous astronomical devices, actively promoted reform among his dioceses, and authored important theological, catechetical, and political treatises. At the apex of the Edwardian reformation he was the youngest among Cranmer's bench of bishops, and one of the most important reformers. Indeed, according to John Bale, he was the Archbishop's faithful *Achates*, who always provided him with great counsel in divine matters.

However, so neglected in reformation research has Ponet been, that this evangelical polymath has featured as little more than a footnote in many treatments of the subject. Over the last century, both his importance and his neglect have been recognised, and a small stream of scholarship has attempted to rectify this situation. In addition to the one published monograph and one unpublished doctoral dissertation, there have been numerous smaller articles and essays produced which bear on the life and ministry of John Ponet. Nevertheless, the common problem among these publications has been to focus almost entirely upon Ponet's political theology, to the detriment of his wider activities and theological writings. Even within the coverage of Ponet's political theology wide-spread confusion persists, as evidenced by the common assumption that he followed the thought of John Calvin. The erroneous articulation

of his ideas as a form of 'Calvinist Resistance Theory' is largely a function of the limited source material available to Ponet's biographers. Indeed, reliance upon printed source material has been the main contributor to the neglect of Ponet's earliest years of life in particular, and also the chronological imbalance of Ponet studies in general.

The goal of this dissertation it to provide a major revision of Ponet's activities and intellectual significance during the mid-Tudor period through the retrieval and analysis of a substantial body of new primary source material. These include thirty-six books personally owned and annotated by Ponet, seven hundred pages of draft manuscript material, various letters related to Ponet, and a range of other archival material pertaining to Ponet. Much of this source material can be chronologically arranged, providing the most balanced biography of Ponet's life and thought to date. Furthermore, this material enables this thesis to draw new connections from separate stages of Ponet's life to various contemporary events and theological controversies. Therefore this dissertation interrogates and presents a comprehensive revision of previous biographical accounts of Ponet and reassesses the importance of his role within the English reformation.

The first chapter, 'The Birth of a Cambridge Humanist (1516-1543)', reconsiders Ponet's earliest years growing up in Kent and studying at Cambridge University. Through analysis of wills and accounts of Kentish religion, we can newly understand Ponet's proximity to the heterodoxy of his extended family throughout the county. Through the Queens' College Bursar's Book and various astronomical and classical texts we can observe Ponet's leadership role in the research and propagation of the 'New Pronunciation' of the Greek language, his astronomical work with his tutor Thomas Smith and afterward for Henry VIII, and his contribution to the production of early modern theatrical performances at Queens' College. Whereas previous accounts of this phase of Ponet's life move swiftly through his earliest years and capture only the basic contours of his membership within the 'Athenian tribe' of scholars, this chapter greatly expands the scholarly knowledge concerning this crucial phase of his life

and reveals his towering academic authority at Cambridge alongside Thomas Smith and John Cheke.

The second chapter, 'The Rise of an Evangelical Theologian (1543-1549)', surveys the period of Ponet's archiepiscopal patronage under Henry VIII and progress during the early reign of King Edward VI. The purpose of this chapter is to unravel previous accounts of this phase of Ponet's life and revise it according to new archival material related to his theological thought and his ecclesiastical ministry. This enables us to understand the continuities between Ponet's staunch evangelical convictions displayed after Edward VI's accession and his religious convictions while he served both Cranmer and Henry VIII. This chapter interacts with Alec Ryrie's elucidation of an 'evangelical mobilisation' during the last years of the Henrician regime, by supplementing Ryrie's coverage of Thomas Smith and John Cheke with the story of John Ponet. In addition to expanding our vision of evangelical survival and revival through these years, this chapter furthers the overall argument of the thesis by demonstrating the movement from Ponet as humanist academic to Ponet as an evangelical theologian at the centre of Cranmer's plans for reformation.

The third chapter, 'The Accomplishments of an Edwardian Bishop (1550-1553)', considers the episcopal promotion and ministry of John Ponet. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse new archival material and expand the received understanding of Ponet's life and theology during this period. His sermon on the Lord's Supper preached before the King in 1550 will be illuminated with reference to his concurrent personal research into sacramental theology. The context of Ponet's consecration and ministry as bishop of Rochester and Winchester will be greatly expanded through the retrieval of letters and archival material which provide new light on his episcopacy and related theological thought. His participation in the commission into Anabaptism in Kent will be augmented with his marginalia concerning Anabaptism. His involvement with the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* and authorship of the much neglected

*Short Catechisme* will also be examined in the context of such new marginalia. Whereas previous Ponet scholarship has outlined the major aspects of his ministry as bishop of Rochester and afterwards Winchester with varying degrees of accuracy, this new account demonstrates the movement from Ponet as evangelical theologian to Ponet as evangelical episcopal administrator — indeed, one of the most important evangelicals among the English episcopate, alongside Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley.

The fourth chapter, 'The Life and Death of a Marian Insurgent (1553-1556)', explores Ponet's reaction to the accession of Queen Mary and his subsequent exile in Strassburg. Through sustained reflection upon Ponet's ejection from the see of Winchester, we will newly understand that his transition from supporter of Mary's legitimacy to supporter of Wyatt's Rebellion turned on the illegality of his ejection from the see of Winchester. Drawing on a wide variety of new or newly corrected archival and epistolary sources I provide a careful account of his role among the Marian exiles. Finally, through additional sources we gain insight into the double tragedy of his house fire and the capture of John Cheke that shortly preceded his death. This chapter not only recovers omissions and provides corrections to the scholarly literature on the exile of John Ponet, but it furthers the argument of this thesis from Ponet as leading evangelical bishop to Ponet as superintendent at the centre of the Strassburg exiles.

The fifth chapter, 'The Theological Writings of a Marian Insurgent (1553-1556)', provides the theological counterpart to the previous chapter, and comprehensively engages with the body of literature concerning Ponet's political theology. It demonstrates that insufficient attention to his broader exilic writings, and the preoccupation with his political theory has led to widespread neglect of his primary theological project in exile: a multi-volume work concerning clerical marriage. In addition to entirely new coverage of hitherto unexamined manuscript material concerning his theology of clerical marriage, this chapter will debunk the commonly held view that Ponet authored the quasi-Lutheran eucharistic treatise, the *Diallacticon*. Through theological

material from various personally owned books and from careful exposition of his *Draft Reply*, this chapter reinterprets substantially the political theology of John Ponet as expressed in the *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power*. It demonstrates that Ponet was not a 'Calvinist Resistance Theorist' but a first-rate humanist theologian indebted to the Graeco-Roman classical world of literature. Furthermore, whereas previous scholarly works have largely understood Ponet's exilic writings in isolation from his earlier ministry and intellectual development, this chapter demonstrates the inherent mistake in this approach. For his theological writings in exile are an organic outworking of his humanist scholarship among the 'Athenian Tribe' while at Queens' College, and his Edwardian theological research and publication.

This dissertation therefore contributes a substantial revision to the study of John Ponet's life and theology. It contributes to the intellectual history of the English reformation through a new account of Ponet's humanistic interests in the fields of linguistics, astronomy, and drama. It contributes to the ecclesiastical history of the English reformation through a new description of Ponet's evangelicalism under the Henrician, Edwardian, and Marian regimes. It also contributes to the political history of the English reformation through a nuanced account of Ponet's development of monarchical republicanism. Finally, it supplies a new picture of Ponet's centrality to the academic and ecclesiastical leadership of the mid-Tudor period. In sum, this dissertation contributes the most detailed account of his life to date and presents the most comprehensive survey of his theological thought within the history of reformation scholarship.

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The present study of Bishop John Ponet has been realised through the kindness and assistance of many persons. Professor Diarmaid MacCulloch been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement during the last four years of his supervision of my MPhil. work and now this DPhil. dissertation. I am especially grateful for his generosity and wisdom; the former manifest through his constant willingness to make time to help and his continual provision of personal research notes and resources, and the latter manifest through his guidance through the Tudor terrain and honest opinion and assessment of my work. He has been the model supervisor and it has been an immense privilege to have been his student.

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I must also thank the librarians and staff of the many libraries and record offices visited during this research. Space precludes invidual mention, but every institution listed in the bibliography has been very accommodating and has provided excellent service. The opportunity for me to study the recently acquired British Library, Additional MS 89067, was due to the efforts of many, including the Honourable Ed Vaizey MP and the anonymous donor who assisted the

British Library in saving this national treasure, now held at the British Library. The opportunity for me to study at all, is due to the financial support of Moore Theological College (Sydney), the Joan Augusta Mackenzie Travelling Scholarship, three Squire and Marriot Trust grants, two Latimer Trust research grants, and one Crewdson Trust grant, and to the generous patronage of various friends and family.

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cheered me on all the way to the finish line. I look forward to reciprocating the cheering as we start our new chapter in Sydney. It is to you that I dedicate this work.

# Abbreviations

## JOHN PONET'S BOOKS

| | |
|---|---|
| *Aphorisms* | Joachim Vadianus, *Aphorismorum Libri Sex de Consideratione Eucharistiae*… (Zurich, 1536). |
| *Opera Aliquot* | Celio Calcagnini, *Caelii Calcagnini Ferrariensis, Protonotarii Apostolici, Opera aliquot* … (Basel, 1544). |
| *Comedies* | *Aristophanous Eutrapelōtatou Kōmōidiai hendeka... = Aristophanis facetissimi comœdiæ undecim* (Basel, 1532). |
| *Comedies (Princeps)* | *Aristophanis Comoediae Novem* (Venice, 1498). |
| *Commentary on the Four Gospels* | Theophylact of Ochrid, *ΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΟΠΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΑΣ ΈΡΜΗΝΕΊΑ ΕΊΣ ΤΑ ΤΈΣΣΑΡΑ ΕΥΑΓΓΈΛΙΑ*, (Rome, 1542). |
| *Conciliorum* | Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum Omnium tam Generalium quàm Particularium* …, 3 vols. (Cologne, 1551). |
| *De Anapbaptismi* | John Gast, *De Anabaptismi Exordio, Erroribus, Historiis Abominandis, Confutationibus Adiectis, libri duo* (Basel, 1544). |
| *De Sphaera* | Lefèvre d'Étaples (ed.), *Textus de Sphaera Ioannis de Sacrobosco* … (Paris, 1534). |
| *Epitome* | Augustinus (S.) *Epitome Omnium Operum, primum quidem per Jo. Piscatorium Compendaria quadam via Collecta* ... (Köln, 1549). |
| *Gesta Danorum* | Saxo Grammaticus, *Saxonis Grammatici Danorum Historiae libri XVI* (Basel, 1534). |
| *GNT* (volume, page no.) | *Της Καινης Διαθηκης άπαντα. Nouum Testamentum* (Paris, 1546). |
| *Hamishah* | Daniel Bomberg (ed.), *תורה חומשי חמשה, ראשונים נביאים ארבעה, אחרונים נביאים ספר כתובים* [Hamishah humshe Torah] (Venice, 1525-1528). |

| | |
|---|---|
| *King's Book* | King Henry VIII, *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christen Man...* (London, 1543). |
| *Martyr's Works* | Justin Martyr, *Tou Hagiou Ioustinou philosophou kai martyros Zēna kai Zerēno : Logos pragnetikos pros Hellēnas. Pros Tryphōna iothdaion dialogos ...* (Paris, 1551). |
| *Orationes* | *Isocratis ... orationes. Ejusdem vita, ex Plutarcho, Philostrato et Dionysio Halicarnaseo. J. Lonicero interprete* (Basel, 1529). |
| *Philo's Works* | *Philōnos Ioudaiou eis ta tou Mōseōs Kosmopoiētika, historika, nomothetika. Tou autou monobibla* (Paris, 1552). |
| *Politics* | Aristotle, and Juan de Sepulveda (trans. and ed.), *Aristotelis de Republica Libri VIIII., Interprete & enarratore Io[anne] Genesio Sepulueda Cordubensi* (Paris, 1548). |
| *Puthurbei* | *Gabrielis Putherbei Turonici professione Fontebraldaei, Theotimus* … (Paris, 1549). |
| *Sentences* | William of Ockham, *Tabule ad Aiuersas huius Operis Magistri Guilhelmi de Ockam sup[er] Quattuor Libros S[e]n[tent]iaru[m] A[n]notato[n]es* … (Lyon, 1495). |
| *Sententarium (Gk and Lat)* | Antonius Melissa, *Sententiarum sive Capitum Tomi Tres per Antonium et Maximum Monachos Collecti* … (Zürich, 1546). |
| *Sententariam (Lat)* | Antonius Melissa, *Sententiarum sive Capitum, Theologicorum Praecipue, ex Sacris et Profanis Libris per Antonium & Maximum Monachos olim Collecti Abbas Maximus* … (Zürich, 1546). |
| *Syntaxis* | Joannes Varennius, *Syntaxis Linguae Graecae...* (Basel, 1539). |
| *Torquemada* | Juan de Torquemada, *Summa de Ecclesia contra Impugnatores Potestatis Summi Pontificis et LXXIII Quaestiones super Potestate et Auctoritate Papali ex Sententiis Sancti Thomae Aquinatis* (Lyons, 1496). |

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|---|---|
| *Vermigli's Commentary* | Pietro Martire Vermigli, *In Selectissimam D. Pauli priorem ad Corinth. Epistolam … Commentarij Doctissimi* (Zurich, 1551). |
| *Zwingli and Oecolampadius* | Huldrych Zwingli and Johannes Oecolampadius, *DD. Ioannis Oecolampadij et Huldrichi Zuinglij Epistolarum Libri Quatuor …* (Basel, 1536). |
| Zwingli, *Euangelicam* | Huldrych Zwingli, *In Euangelicam Historiam de Domino nostro Iesu Christo …* (Zürich, 1539). |
| Zwingli, *Opera* | Huldrych Zwingli, *Opera d. Huldrychi Zuinglii ... Partim ab ipso Latine Conscripta, Partim Vero a Vernaculo Sermone in Latinum Translate …* (Zürich, 1545). |

**OTHER SOURCES**

| | |
|---|---|
| *APC* | J. R. Dasent (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England: New Series (1542-1628),* 32 vols. (London, 1890-1907). With date, page, and original folio reference. |
| *Adagiorum* | Desiderius Erasmus, *Typographus Lectori. Adagiorum Chiliades Des. Erasmi Roterodami …* (Basel, 1539; 1541). |
| *Apologie* | John Ponet, *An Apologie Fully Aunsweringe by Scriptures and Aunceant Doctors, a Blasphemose Book Gatherid by D. Steph. Gardiner …* (Strassburg, 1555), RSTC 20175 [The revised 1556 ed. which is discussed: RSTC 20175a]. |
| Bodl. | Bodelian Library, University of Oxford. |
| *Cecil Papers* | The Cecil Papers, Hatfield House. |
| CCA | Canterbury Cathedral Library and Archives. |
| CCCC | Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. |
| *Council Protocols* | Archives de la Ville et de l'Eurométropole de Strasbourg, 1 R, Conseil des XXI (Procès-verbaux) [Protocols of the Council of XXI]. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *CPR* | *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office, AD 1216-1582,* ed. Henry Churchill Maxwell-Lyte et al., 74 vols. (London, 1901- ). |
| *Diallacticon* | Anonymous, *Diallacticon Viri Boni et Literati: De Veritate, Natura atq[ue] Substantia Corporis & Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia* (Strassburg, 1557). |
| *Draft Reply* | British Library, Additional MS 89067. |
| *Defence for Mariage* | John Ponet, *A Defence for Mariage of Priestes by Scripture and Aunciente Writers*, (London, 1549), RSTC 20176. |
| *Defence of Priestes* | Matthew Parker, *A Defence of Priestes Mariages Stablysshed by the Imperiall Lawes of the Realme of Englande, Agaynst a Ciuilian, Namyng hym selfe Thomas Martin...*, (London, 1566), RSTC 17518 [The expanded 1567 ed. which is discussed: RSTC 15719]. |
| ESRO | East Sussex Record Office. |
| HRO | Hampshire Record Office. |
| *LP* | *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII: preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere,* ed. J. S. Brewer and R. H. Brodie, 28 vols. (London, 1862-1932). |
| LPL | Lambeth Palace Library. |
| *MJ1* | Queens' College *Magnum Journale* 1518-1535. QCV BK 2, University of Cambridge Library. |
| *MJ2* | Queens' College *Magnum Journale* 1535-1559. QCV BK 3, University of Cambridge Library. |
| *Notable Sermon* | John Ponet, *A Notable Sermon Concerninge the Ryght Use of the Lordes Supper* … (London, 1550), RSTC 20177. |
| *ODNB* | *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *OL* | H. Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1846-7). |
| RSTC | A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640,* rev. K. Pantzer (London, 1976-91). |
| *Scriptorum* | John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustriu[m] Maioris Brytannie quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam Vocant Catalogus* ... 2 vols. (Basel, 1557-1559), RSTC 1296. |
| *Short Catechisme* | John Ponet, *A Short Catechisme, or Playne Instruction, Conteynynge the Su[m]me of Christian Learninge sett fourth by the Kings Maiesties Authoritie, for all Scholemaisters to Teache* … (London, 1553), RSTC 4812. |
| *Shorte Treatise* | John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Pouuer and of the True Obedience which Subiectes owe to Kynges and other Ciuile Gouernours, with an Exhortacion to all true Naturall Englishe Men* (Strassburg, 1556), RSTC 20178. |
| SP | *State Papers Published under the Authority of His Majesty's Commission, King Henry the Eighth,* 11 vols. (London, 1830-52). |
| *StrypeJC* | John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke, Kt* … (Oxford, 1821). |
| *StrypeTC* | John Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1840). |
| *StrypeTS* | John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith, Kt. D.C.L.* (Oxford, 1820). |
| TNA | The National Archives, Kew. |
| *Traictise* | Thomas Martyn, *A Traictise Declaryng and Plainly Prouyng, that the Pretensed Marriage of Priestes, and Professed Persones, is no Mariage* ... (London, 1554), RSTC 17517. |

# List of Illustrations

**Figure**

I. John Ponet's annotations on 1 John 5:1-9, *GNT* 2/293.

II. John Ponet's annotations in *Zwingli and Oecolampadius*, 4$^{v}$.

III. John Ponet's annotations in Vermigli's *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* 12$^{r}$.

IV. John Ponet to the Duke of Württemberg, *Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, A 63 Bü 15/9, 71$^{r}$.

V. John Ponet's dedication to John Cheke in *Hamishah humshe Torah*, title-page.

VI. John Ponet vs. Thomas Martyn, *Draft Reply*, 342$^{v}$.

# Notes on Text

Throughout this dissertation I have followed Diarmaid MacCulloch, Alec Ryrie, and others, and opted for the labels 'evangelical' and 'conservative' to describe loosely the religious groups which inclined towards and away from the soteriological sufficiency of scripture.[1] Although admittedly imperfect terminology for all circumstances, the former term (at least) reflects one of the self-descriptions used by English reformers during the Tudor period. Moreover, these terms afford less anachronism and more precision than the terms 'Protestant' and 'Catholic'. Nevertheless, the term 'Protestant' will be reserved and sparingly used to appropriately describe German evangelicalism prior to the Formula of Concord (1577).

The spelling of sixteenth-century English and Latin within this dissertation and its appendices retains original English spelling in order to preserve accuracy. Sixteenth century Koine and Attic Greek spelling is modernised in the body of the dissertation such that capitalised letters are made lowercase (e.g., 'αΓνον' becomes 'αγνον') and various ligatures are expanded. Abbreviations, diacritical marks, and related scribal practices have been expanded for readability but retained where doubt over meaning exists. Line breaks have been removed from footnotes within the body of the dissertation; however, they have been retained within the transcription of the *Draft Reply* in Appendix D. Original underlining of individual words and sentences is reflected in the underlining of the same within quotations. However, underlining of large sections of text is not illustrated but described in the relevant discussion within the body of the dissertation. To reflect corrections made by Ponet, strikethroughs have been used to indicate original deletion of text and inserted words or phrases have been indicated by lesser than ('<') and greater than ('>') signs.

[1] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), xv-xvi; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, 1996), 2-3.

All references to Martyn's *Traictise* will be cited from the copy embedded within the *Draft Reply* unless otherwise noted. All references to Ponet's *Apologie* will be taken from the 1555 edition unless otherwise specified. Due to the wide variety of texts and pagination styles used in the sources for this dissertation, explicit reference to the kind of pagination (e.g., 'sig.', 'fol.', 'p.', etc.) will only occur when essential for readability or when context requires specification.

Two points need to be made regarding the dates used within this thesis. Firstly, the academic year is denoted with reference to the two calendar years which span the academic year (e.g., 1537/38). Secondly, throughout this dissertation the year is reckoned to begin on Lady Day (March 25). However, for the sake of readability, the New Style of dating (e.g., year beginning 1 January) is indicated where helpful (e.g., 1552/53).

The *Comedies* of Aristophanes have been translated in consultation with Alan H. Sommerstein's translations of *Clouds* and *Wealth,* and *Frogs*. The *Orationes* of Isocrates has been translated in consultation with George Norlin's translation of Isocrates. Justin Martyr's *Works* and Tatian's *Oration to the Greeks* have been transcribed and translated in consultation with Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson's edition of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Cicero's *Pro Milone* has been translated in consultation with N.H. Watts' translation in the Loeb Classical Library. The Gospel of Matthew within Theophylact's *Commentary on the Four Gospels* has been translated in consultation with Fr. Christopher Stades' translation, *The Explanation by the Blessed Theophylact of the Holy Gospel According to S. Matthew*. Full citations of the aforementioned works can be found in the bibliography. Occasional translation assistance for other Greek and Latin sources is indicated within the footnotes of the dissertation. All divergence from consulted sources and all other translation and transcription is my own.

# Introduction

John Ponet (1516-1556) was an extraordinary ecclesiastical leader of the English reformation. A rising star among his Cambridge humanist peers, he became an evangelical chaplain to both Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and then King Henry VIII. Under Edward VI, he was a reformation stalwart after his nomination to the bishopric of Rochester before being elevated to the see of Winchester. He died the most senior ranking English ecclesiastic among the Marian exiles. He contributed to ground-breaking academic research into Greek linguistics, produced marvellous astronomical devices, and wrote and translated influential theological treatises. He authored the official Edwardian *Short Catechisme* which was published along with the first appearance of the *Forty-Two Articles of Religion*, and drew up the first piece of political theology by an English reformer that called for limited monarchy, and which even advocated tyrannicide in the context of an ungodly regime. So central was he to the English reformation that John Bale described him as Thomas Cranmer's faithful *Achates,* who always provided the Archbishop with great counsel in divine matters.[2] So important was he to the Archbishop's reformation strategy, that he was raised to the episcopal bench aged 34 — the youngest man made bishop during the Tudor period. Yet, so neglected in reformation scholarship is he, that this evangelical polymath has featured as little more than a footnote in many modern treatments of the subject. The words of the 'Scholar' in John Ponet's *Short Catechisme* have present application: 'put me in remembrance of that I have forgotten.'[3]

## Remembering John Ponet

Over a century ago, A.F. Pollard noted the relative scarcity of serious research into John Ponet — a sentiment echoed by others since, such as the lately departed T.H.L. Parker, who observed

[2] *Scriptorum*, 694.
[3] *Short Catechisme,* xxiiv.

that Ponet was 'one of the leading English Reformers, yet he is also one of the lesser known'.[4] Nevertheless, the recognition of this neglect has produced a steady resurgence of Ponet scholarship. Christina Garrett provided a solid starting point into the life of John Ponet with her *Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (1938). From a detailed study of the Strassburg archives available to her at the time she deduced much about Ponet's life in exile. Within a few years of Garrett's publication came the substantial work of Winthrop Hudson, *John Ponet (1516?-1556): Advocate of Limited Monarchy* (1942). Through some attention to the life of Ponet prior to his exile in Strassburg, Hudson was able to write a more balanced biography of the reformer. Nevertheless, what both Garrett and Hudson's work suffered from was a tendency to weight the significance of Ponet in his political work, written and published just before the end of his life. The effect of this focus has been to cast Ponet primarily as a political theologian to the neglect of his earlier remarkable theological and ecclesiastical career. The only substantial attempt to rectify this imbalance has been the unpublished doctoral thesis of Glen Bowman completed in 1997, which expanded the body of Ponet scholarship into his catechetical and ministerial publications.[5] Despite this advancement in the study of John Ponet, Bowman's dissertation nevertheless remained primarily concerned with political theology, only bringing these other facets of Ponet's life and theology to bear upon that familiar terrain.

This preoccupation with John Ponet's political theology has detracted from his other reformation contributions and therefore various other ways in which he has been posthumously remembered and reinvented have been left relatively unexamined. Clerical marriage is the subject which he wrote most voluminously upon and it provides the clearest example of this neglect. Indeed, such were his extraordinary efforts and knowledge on the subject that John

[4] A.F. Pollard, *England Under Protector Somerset: An Essay* (London, 1900), 334; T.H.L. Parker, *English Reformers* (London, 1966), 150; P.E. Hughes, *The Reformation in England,* 3 vols. (London, 1953), 2:127n2; Christopher Hodgkins, 'John Ponet', in David A. Richardson (ed.), *Sixteenth Century British Nondramatic Writers* (Detroit, 1993), 251.

[5] Glen C. Bowman, 'John Ponet: Political Theologian of the English Reformation', Ph.D thesis (Minnesota, 1997).

Strype believed that Cranmer had specifically appointed him to champion the cause.[6] In the reign of King Edward VI, Ponet wrote two treatises on the topic and during exile he published one further treatise and envisioned two more upon the same. This unfinished five-volume project on the subject was to be his *magnum opus*, and its significance is underscored by its explicit expurgation from Konrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca* within the Spanish Inquisition's 1612 index of prohibited books which categorised Ponet in the 'first division of damned authors'.[7] These facts alone are not to be discovered from reading his modern biographers, and no singular study of his theology of clerical marriage has ever been attempted. Although Ponet's involvement in the English reformation debates over clerical marriage has been investigated with varying degrees of success, none of this work reflects the substantial scale of his contribution nor adequately teases out his subsequent reception and use among English evangelicals.[8]

The one consistent refrain throughout the contemporary commentary on Ponet's theology of clerical marriage is upon the unfortunate case of his own first marriage with a woman already precontracted in marriage to a butcher from Nottingham. The paucity of reflection on this racy reminiscence has enabled the persistence of a greatly exaggerated account of what was, nonetheless, originally a technical misdemeanour and minor blemish upon Ponet's character.[9] This incident was first deployed in print by conservative polemicist Miles Huggarde in order to deride Ponet's theology of clerical marriage. Subsequently it was taken up by traditionalist Nicholas Sander in his attempt to undermine the virtue of the English reformation.[10] Perhaps

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[6] *StrypeTC,* 1:475.
[7] Bernardo Sandoval y Royas, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgatorum* (Madrid, 1612), 63: 'Auctorum Damnatorum Primae Classis', 173; c.f., Konrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Instituta et Collecta* (Zürich, 1583), 487.
[8] For example, Helen L. Parish's fine study, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation: Precedent Policy and Practice* (Aldershot, 2000), and Andrew Hadfield's 'John Ponet and the People' in Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (eds.) *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England* (Farnham, 2015), 229-250. On the unanswered rejoinder to Thomas Martin (*Apologie*) see Edward Bulkley, *An Answere to Ten Frivuolos and Foolish Reasons* (London, 1588), RSTC 4024, 39; and use of the *Apologie* in John Merbecke's *A Booke of Notes and Common Places* (London, 1581), RSTC 17299. On Matthew Parker's use of Ponet, see Chapter 5.
[9] The political theological emphasis of Hudson's biography has led to his careful analysis of this episode of Ponet's life being overlooked by commentators on Ponet's theology and practice of clerical marriage.
[10] Miles Huggarde, *The Displaying of the Protestantes* (London, 1556), RSTC 13558, 25; Nicholas Sander, Edward Rishton, *De Origine Ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani* (Cologne, 1585), 127$^{v}$-128$^{r}$.

the most aggressive interpretation of this marital mishap can be observed in nineteenth century Roman Catholic historian, Hubert Burke. He declared that Ponet was a 'disgrace to the clerical character', concluding elsewhere that '[i]f a cause is to be judged by its promoters, the reputation of the religious change of England owes little to Poynet.'[11]

Emphasising this episode of Ponet's life was not limited to Roman Catholic apologists, for it was also used against him by Church of England clergymen generally unsympathetic with the evangelical character of the early English reformation, such as Walter Hook and James Anthony Froude.[12] Indeed, Ponet's staunchly evangelical views and actions made him — like other reformers such as John Bale and John Hooper — a target for Anglicans of broader or higher churchmanship. In the seventeenth century, Peter Heylyn gave him the backhanded compliment of being 'a better Scholar then [sic] a Bishop' and Anthony à Wood sneeringly described him as a 'Calvinistical Bishop', while in the nineteenth century Samuel Roffey Maitland contemptuously cast him as a 'run-away traitor' for his involvement in Wyatt's Rebellion and subsequent flight to Strassburg.[13]

Ironically, seventeenth century High Churchmen enthusiastically undertook a retrieval of John Ponet, in terms of eucharistic theology at least. Although the anonymously printed *Diallacticon Viri Boni & Literati de Veritate Natura, atque Substantia Corporis & Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia* (1557) had some previous history of debate over its authorship, it was John Cosin who unambiguously ascribed its authorship to John Ponet in his *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis* of 1675.[14] This treatise, which advocated a form of transelementation and permitted eucharistic adoration, and which apparently happened to be written by one of Cranmer's Edwardian

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[11] S. Hubert Burke, *Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty,* 4 vols. (London, 1879-83), 3:73; S. Hubert Burke, *The Men and Women of the English Reformation*, 2 vols. (London, 1871), 2:258; James Anthony Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada,* 12 vols. (London, 1870), 12:592; cf., 4:504, 4:567.
[12] Walter F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury,* 12 vols. (London, 1861-1884), 7:244-245;
[13] Peter Heylin, *Ecclesia Restaurata* … (London: 1660-1661), Wing H1701, 101; Anthony à Wood*, Athenae Oxoniensis*, 2 vols. (London: 1691), Wing W3382, 1:60; Samuel Roffey Maitland, *Essays on Subjects Connected with the Reformation in England* (London, 1849), 73.
[14] John Cosin, *Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis* (London: 1675), Wing C6358, 9-12.

lieutenants, was an invaluable source for those who wished to distance themselves from both the 'Calvinistic' theologians within the Church of England and the Roman Catholic theologians without. Ponet's supposed eucharistic theology was thus championed by the future Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, in 1687 and by Bishop Samuel Parker in 1688.[15] Although the clergyman Edward Pelling initially believed the *Diallacticon* was written by a foreigner, he changed his mind through the reading of John Cosin. After becoming convinced of Ponet's penmanship he edited the *Diallacticon* for fresh publication in 1688.[16] Once John Ponet's name was firmly associated with the controversial *Diallacticon*, he was eventually taken up by Edward Pusey and John Keble and co-opted into service of their nineteenth century endeavours to revise the teaching and practice of the Church of England.[17] Surprisingly, the association of John Ponet with the *Diallacticon* has become almost universally accepted among his modern biographers.[18]

This Anglo-Catholic appropriation of John Ponet would certainly have shocked early English Puritan and Reformed clergymen. Ponet's generally negative view of clerical vestments was recalled during the Elizabethan Vestments Controversy.[19] He was also regularly remembered during the sixteenth and seventeenth century debates over the nature of apostolic succession, due to his being the first bishop consecrated under Cranmer's 1550 Ordinal and his subsequent succession to the see of Winchester after Stephen Gardiner's deposition.[20] Indeed, the anti-Laudian antiquary William Prynne made much of John Ponet's writings, deploying his

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15 William Wake, *A Collection of Several Discourses* (London, 1687), Wing W233A, 24-25; Samuel Parker, *Reasons for Abrogating the Test* (London, 1688), Wing P467A, 59-60.
16 Edward Pelling, *A Discourse on the Sacrament of the Lords Supper* (London, 1685), Wing P1079, 248-249; Edward Pelling, *A Fourth Letter to a Person of Quality* (London: 1688), Wing P1081, 71; Edward Pelling (ed.), *Diallacticon Viri Boni et Literati* (London, 1688), Wing P2804A.
17 Edward Pusey (ed.), *The Doctrine of the Real Presence as set forth in the Works of Divines and Others,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1855), 1:21-30; John Keble, *On Eucharistical Adoration* (London, 1859), 180.
18 Hudson, *John Ponet,* 79-80; Bowman, 'John Ponet', 72-73; Andrew Pettegree, 'The Latin Polemic of the Marian Exiles', in James Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England, and Scotland, 1400-1643* (Oxford), 308-309. For occasional dissenting opinions, see discussion in Chapter 5.
19 See discussion in chapters 2 and 3.
20 John Bridges, *The Supremacie of Christian Princes* (London, 1573), RSTC 3737, 49; Francis Mason, *Of the Consecration of Bishops in the Church of England* (London, 1613), RSTC 17597, 93; Anthony Champney, *A Treatise on the Vocation of Bishops* (London, 1616), RSTC 4960, 152.

theological revision of episcopacy in terms of superintendency, and utilising his theology of predestination to demonstrate the antithetical relation of Arminianism to the foundational doctrine of the Church of England.[21]

Although Ponet's reformed theology was largely acceptable to late sixteenth and seventeenth century evangelical clergy within the Church of England, his political theology proved more controversial. Despite being written by the most senior English ecclesiastic who represented the Prayer Book party of exiles in Strassburg, the anonymously published *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* eventually became linked with those English nonconformists more sympathetic with Calvin's Geneva than the status quo of the established church. Although Richard Bancroft, the Elizabethan archbishop, personally owned the *Shorte Treatise*, he mistakenly — perhaps mischievously — linked 'the author of the booke of obedience' with the work of Goodman, Whittingham and Gilby, who were 'the Geneua complices in Queene Maries dayes'.[22] Remarkably, the revolutionary treatise which called for the overthrow of the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome had now turned into an all-purpose revolutionary manifesto. It was republished twice on the eve of the English Civil War (1639 and 1642), and later appeared in William Prynne's *Soveraigne Povver of Parliaments*, and John Milton's *Tenure of Kings*.[23]

The significance of the *Shorte Treatise* is amply demonstrated by the fact that John Adams, the second President of the United States of America and co-drafter of the Declaration of Independence, identified the influence of Ponet's political theology on his own thought. He

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[21] On superintendency: William Prynne, *The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus* (Amsterdam, 1636), RSTC 20476.5, 131-136; William Prynne, *The Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie* (London, 1641), Wing P3891A, 439-441; John Humfrey, *The Healing Attempt … in Hopes of Such a Moderation of Episcopacy* (London, 1689), Wing H3679, 12-13. On predestination: William Prynne, *The Church of Englands [sic] Old Antithesis to New Arminianism* (London, 1629), RSTC 20457, 35-38; Henry Hickman, *A Justification of the Fathers and Schoolmen* (London, 1659), Wing H1911A, A.6$^{v}$; Jean Gailhard, *A Plea for Free-Grace Against Free-Will* (London, 1696), Wing G123, 221-213.

[22] Richard Bancroft, *Daungerous Positions and Proceedings Published and Practised … vnder Pretence of Reformation* (London, 1593), RSTC 1344.5, 62$^{v}$; c.f., Hudson, *John Ponet,* 205. Bancroft's personal copy of the *Shorte Treatise* located at LPL, [ZZ] 1556.05.04.

[23] William Prynne, *The Soveraigne Powver of Parliaments and Kingdomes* (London, 1643), Wing P4087A, 144, 149, 170; John Milton, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, that it is lawfull, ... to Call to Account a Tyrant* (London, 1649), Wing M2182, 51; Sonia Miller, 'Two References in Milton's "Tenure of Kings"', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 50/3 (1951): 320-325.

wrote that it 'contains all the essential principles of liberty, which were afterwards dilated on by Sidney and Locke'.[24] Nevertheless, modern ecclesiastical historians only came to notice the *Shorte Treatise* as an important work after J.W. Allen's *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* in 1928. A decade later, Garrett commented that, 'of John Ponet the political pamphleteer, less has probably been said than he deserves'.[25] Since then Hudson and Bowman have rectified this lacunam with substantial analysis of Ponet's political theology, and a range of historians and theologians have produced various articles and publications which — again — have almost invariably focused upon his political thought.[26]

## THE CHALLENGE OF UNDERSTANDING JOHN PONET

This surprising and sometimes seemingly contradictory constellation of memories of John Ponet — English reformation champion of clerical marriage, exponent of Anglo-Catholic eucharistic theology, partner in Puritan theology, and revolutionary political theologian — requires further historical and theological analysis. The examination of the first three portrayals is not simply warranted by the substantial neglect of the relevant published treatises within contemporary Ponet scholarship. It is also warranted by the small number of primary sources used by Ponet's three modern biographers, all of whom were American scholars with limited physical and technological access to the archival materials within the United Kingdom.

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[24] John Adams, *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States,* 10 vols. (Boston, 1850-56), 6:4; c.f., David M. Whitford, 'John Adams, John Ponet, and a Lutheran Influence on the American Revolution', *Lutheran Quarterly* XV (2001): 143-157.

[25] Christina Hallowell Garrett, *Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938; reprint 1966), 253.

[26] David H. Wollman, 'The Biblical Justification or Resistance to Authority in Ponet's and Goodman's Polemics', *SCJ* 13/4 (1982): 29-41; Barbara Peardon, 'The Politics of Polemic: John Ponet's Short Treatise of Politike Power and Contemporary Circumstance 1553-1556', *Journal of British Studies* 22/1 (1982–3): 35-49; Gerald Bowler, 'Marian Protestants and the Idea of Violent Resistance to Tyranny' in P. Lake and M. Dowling (eds.) *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1987); Jane Dawson, 'Revolutionary conclusions: the case of the Marian exiles', *Hist. of Political Thought*, 11 (1990): 257-72; Barrett Beer, 'John Ponet's Shorte Treatise of Politike Power Reassessed', *SCJ* 21/3 (1990): 373-384. Treatment of Ponet's political thought in broader works: Christopher Morris, *Political Thought in England: Tyndale to Hooker* (London, 1935); Oszkár Jaszi and John D. Lewis, *Against the Tyrant: The Tradition and Theory of Tyranncide* (Glencoe, Ill, 1957); Robert Eccleshall, *Order and Reason in Politics: Theories of Absolute and Limited Monarchy* (Oxford, 1978); Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1978).

The fourth of these portrayals has produced a plethora of publications. However historiographical problems persist. One of the problems within the interpretation of Ponet's political theology — arguably since Bancroft's mislabelling — has been the tendency to group Ponet together with a number of other reformers and collectively label them 'Calvinist' in their resistance theory. Quentin Skinner's work on modern political thought cast Ponet, Goodman, and Knox as 'the most radical Calvinists of the 1550s'.[27] This train of thought has pervaded much of the secondary literature, as evidenced by the otherwise erudite treatment of natural law by David VanDrunen, who placed Ponet in the company of the 'Calvinists', Knox, Goodman, Beza, Hotman, and the anonymous author of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos.*[28] As Bowman has recognised, this grouping tends to frame Ponet's thought within the parameters of Calvin's theology and mould his ideas to fit those parameters, rather than treating his political theology on its own terms.[29]

The labelling of Ponet's thought as 'Calvinist resistance theory' is related to another problem: the common challenge among scholars to understand Ponet's political theological sources. Indeed, his best recognised biographer attributes this difficulty to the uncharacteristic absence of references within the *Shorte Treatise.*[30] One outworking of this difficulty can be observed in the frequent attribution of causation where correlation exists. Some scholars have conjectured that Ponet obtained his concept of the ancient Greek 'ephors' from Calvin, and others from Melanchthon, despite the absence of any citation from Ponet.[31] Francis Oakley latched onto the single reference to the conciliar debates of the 14th century and declared Ponet to be 'making

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[27] Skinner, *Foundations,* 2:227.
[28] David VanDrunen, *Natural Law and the Two Kingdoms: A Study in the Development of Reformed Social Thought* (Cambridge, 2010), 119-43.
[29] Glen Bowman, 'Early Calvinist Resistance Theory: New Perspectives on an Old Label', *JLR* 23/1 (2007/2008): 309-319.
[30] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 164-165.
[31] Calvin: Hudson, *John Ponet*, 173-174; McNeill's editorial comment in John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* John T. McNeill (ed.) and Ford Lewis Battles (trans.), 2 vols. (Louisville, 1960), 4.20.31n54; Elizabeth Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought* (Oxford, 1991 [repr. 1969]), 159-160. Melanchthon: Ryan M. Reeves, *English Evangelicals and Tudor Obedience, c. 1527-1570* (Leiden, 2014), 152. Both: Skinner, *Foundations*, 2:233.

the conciliar precedent something of a centrepiece in his theory of resistance.'[32] Other scholars have suggested a dazzling array of influences upon Ponet's ideas on the basis of similar ideas: John of Salisbury, Marsilius, Fortescue, St. German, Erasmus, Starkey, Major, and Elyot.[33] The other outworking of the challenge of tracing Ponet's sources has been to interpret his political theology through a psychological lens. Barrett Beer approached Ponet's political thought in light of his disappointment in the reversal of evangelical fortunes, and Peardon's approach revolved around Ponet's desire to protect the right to private property against the theft of the Marian regime.[34] Notwithstanding the valuable insights which these expositions yield, both the correlation-causation and psychologising interpretations of his work suffer from the same problem: lack of source evidence.

## THE PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this study is to supply a thoroughly new account of Ponet's activities and intellectual significance during the mid-Tudor period. It aims not only to interrogate the historiographical portrayals of Ponet but to correct both the biographical neglect and theological imbalance of contemporary Ponet studies through the retrieval of a substantial body of newly discovered primary sources. These hitherto unexamined sources — including thirty-six books personally owned and annotated by Ponet, seven hundred pages of draft manuscript material authored by Ponet, various letters related to Ponet, and other important archival material pertaining to Ponet — enable significant reconstruction of his life and theology.

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[32] Francis Oakley, *The Watershed of Modern Politics: Law, Virtue, Kingship, and Consent (1300-1650)* (New Haven, 2015), 257; c.f., Francis Oakley, 'On the Road from Constance to 1688: The Political Thought of John Major and George Buchanan', *JBS* 1/2 (1962), 10.

[33] Gordon W. Zeeveld, *Foundations of Tudor Policy* (London, 1969), 261, 243; James M. Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2014), 275; Reeves, *English Evangelicals,* 152; Hudson, *John Ponet,* 163-179.

[34] Beer, 'John Ponet's Shorte Treatise', 373-384; Peardon, 'The Politics of Polemic'.

*John Ponet's Personal Books*

The recently discovered bibliographic treasure-trove of books owned by Ponet represents the astonishing diversity of his interests.[35] Classical titles include Aristophanes' *Comedies* (both the *editio princeps* of 1498 and the 1532 edition), Varro's *Libri De Re Rustica,* Diogenes' *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Persons,* Aristotle's *Politics,* Isocrates' *Orationes,* Cassianus Bassus' *Geoponika,* Euripides' *Tragoediae,* and Varennius' *Syntaxis Linguae Graecae.* Astronomical titles include John de Sacrobosco's *Textus de Sphaera,* Gaius Julius Hyginus' *Fabulae,* Ptolemy's *Almagest,* Sebastian Münster's *Organum Uranicum,* and Celio Calcagnini's *Opera Aliquot* which covered the related fields of probability and mathematics. Historical titles include the works of Cornelius Tacitus, the *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus, and Pierre Crabbe's three volume *Conciliorum Omnium.* Theological titles include Robert Stephanus' *Greek New Testament*, Daniel Bomberg's *Hamishah Humshe Torah,* the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer,* the *King's Book,* Zwingli's *In Euangelicum Historiam,* Zwingli's *Opera,* Oecolampadius and Zwingli's *Letters,* Vadianus' *Aphorisms,* Johannes Gast's *De Anabaptismi Exordio,* Peter Martyr Vermigli's *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* Ockham's *Commentary on the Sentences,* Cardinal Torquemada's *Summa de Ecclesia,* Gabriel Dupuyherbault's *Theotimus,* Theophylact of Ochrid's *Commentary on the Four Gospels,* Johannes Piscator's *Epitome* of Augustine's works, Antonius Melissa's *Sententarium* (both Greek and Latin editions), the works of Justin Martyr, and the works of Philo of Alexandria.

This set of Ponet's books represents only the discovery of books containing his personal signature. Since there exists no extant booklist for Ponet it cannot be taken as an exhaustive catalogue of his literary acquisitions; it is only partially representative of Ponet's intellectual development. However, it is possible to compare this fragmentary collection of books with the complete booklists of some of Ponet's contemporaries to assess the extent of its representation. Indeed, an analysis of the booklists of Ponet's former Queens' College colleague, Thomas

[35] See Appendix A.

Burbank (1550),[36] Ponet's close friend in exile, Richard Morison (mid 1550s),[37] Ponet's former Queens' College tutor, Thomas Smith (1566),[38] and Ponet's clerical colleague, Richard Cox (1581),[39] yields some helpful insights. Firstly, it is evident that this fragmentary collection of Ponet's books represents only a small proportion of the total books he would have owned — probably between 15-20% given the number of books owned by Burbank (52), Morison (483), Smith (413), and Cox (207). Secondly, the topical spread of books within this fragmentary collection fairly represents the collection of books Ponet would have owned. Given his citation of authors within extant publications and other manuscripts, we may have expected some more legal works (e.g., Gratian's *Decretum*), linguistic works (e.g., Suida's *Lexicon Graece et Latine*) and historical works (e.g., Nauclerus' *Chronicon*). However, the number of books within the various genres of this fragmentary collection is largely commensurate with Ponet's academic activities (e.g., classical Greek literature, astronomical literature) and ministerial efforts and publications (patristic and evangelical theological literature).

It is possible to situate the acquisition of Ponet's books chronologically through evidence within his books. His ownership of these books is seen through his handwritten autograph on the title page or back page (e.g., 'Joannes Ponetus', 'ἰω. πονητος'), or in two cases where a signed book is bound together with unsigned books containing his marginalia.[40] Ponet often wrote the year of acquisition adjacent to his signature (e.g., 'Joannes Ponetus 1543') and in two cases included

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[36] 52 printed books comprised of theology (75%), history, legal, philosophy, medical, and grammatical works (25%). E.S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book Lists from the Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), 114-115. Categories and calculations are my own.

[37] 468 printed books comprised of theology (41%), orations and grammar (15%), philosophy (19%), medical (5%), historical (15%), astronomical (3%), dictionaries (1%), legal works (1%). Tracey A. Sowerby, "'A Brave Knight and Learned Gentleman": the Careers of Sir Richard Morison (c. 1513-1556)', DPhil. dissertation (Oxford, 2005): 380-414. Categories derived from those used in Morison's booklist, but calculations are my own.

[38] 413 printed books comprised of theology (13%), legal (13%), historical (25%), philosophical (17%), astronomical (11%), grammar and poetry (14%), medical (7%). *StrypeTS*, 274ff. Categories derived from those used in Smith's booklist, but calculations are my own.

[39] 207 printed books comprised of theology (84%), legal (3.5%), historical (10%), philosophical (1%), astronomical (0.5%), grammar and poetry (0.5%), medical (0.5%). E.S. Leedham-Green and Robert J. Fehrenbach (eds.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England,* 9 vols. (Malborough, 1992), 1:10-39. Categories and calculations are my own.

[40] See Appendix A.

the month of acquisition. As a general rule Ponet adapted his signature to reflect his episcopal progression (e.g., 'Jo Roffensis', 'Jo. Winton'), and by combining the date of acquisition and the form of signature we can chronologically place Ponet's acquisition of most books. The date of acquisition for the three remaining books can be identified through alternative means. Each of these remaining books contains a form of the signature, 'Jo Ponetus Wint.', which indicates acquisition when Bishop of Winchester, either in England or in Strassburg (since he titled himself this way in exile). The *Gesta Danorum* was cited in Ponet's *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* and thus is likely to have been acquired in exile, Celio Calcagnini's *Opera Aliquot* is likely to have been acquired in exile since it contains the same paste-downs as those used in the Bomberg's *Hamishah* which was acquired in exile, and Pierre Crabbe's *Conciliorum* was afterwards owned by Ponet's colleague in Strassburg, Edmund Grindal, and was thus almost certainly acquired in exile.

Ponet's signatures are also instructive for understanding the relationship between his acquisition of books and his annotation of books. On the title page of Theophylact's *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, he wrote his name three times (e.g., 'Jo Ponetus 1550', 'Joannes Roffen', 'Jo Winton'), presumably indicating repeated use of the book. Similarly, on the title page of Vermigli's *Commentary on 1 Corinthians* he wrote two forms of his signature ('JP 1552', 'Jo. Winton 1553'), likewise indicating repeated use. This not only enables us to observe that these two bibliographic interests spanned across multiple stages of his ministry. It also suggests that the bulk of Ponet's books within this fragmentary collection were not used in this way but were annotated in close proximity to their acquisition. This comports with various pieces of external evidence: Ponet's linguistic marginalia in Aristophanes' *Comedies* occurs in proximity to the Greek pronunciation debates at Cambridge, his marginalia within astronomical works occurs in proximity to his production of celebrated astronomical creations, and his acquisition of

Piscator's *Epitome* of Augustine's works occurs in proximity to his use of this edition in his *Notable Sermon* of 1550.

The marginalia contained within Ponet's books provides an enormous body of new source material which contains insights into his reading and note-taking strategies, and his intellectual development. More than half of the volumes are moderately or heavily annotated (18) and those which are sparsely annotated (15) nevertheless contain invaluable marginalia. The remaining three volumes have, for various reasons, not been examinable beyond their title page or ownership details.[41] Ponet utilises a fairly uniform style of annotation throughout his marginalia, including underlining, scrolling brackets, mnemonic devices, and occasional pictures to denote important ideas, and summaries, a vast range of symbols, and frequent adversarial comments to engage with the text. This use of verbal and non-verbal annotation demonstrates the process of Ponet's intellectual development and places him in the company of other humanist annotators, Thomas Smith, John Cheke, John Dee, and Gabriel Harvey.[42] Moreover, it affords this dissertation an entirely new exploration of Ponet's linguistic, astronomical, exegetical, historical, philosophical, political, and theological ideas.

*The Draft Reply*

The single most substantial source to shed new light on John Ponet is British Library, Additional MS 89067. This is a newly discovered manuscript of the highest importance which not only illustrates the processes and polemics behind the production of Ponet's *An Apologie Fully Aunsveringe by Scriptures and Aunceant Doctors, a Blasphemose Book Gatherid by D. Steph. Gardiner ... Against the Godly Mariadge of Priests* (1555) but provides significant theological and historical

[41] Provenance details for Piscator's *Epitome* of Augustine's works, Varro's *De Re Rustica,* and Euripides' *Tragoediae* in Appendix A.
[42] For the annotations of Smith, Cheke, Dee and Harvey, see William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, 1995).

reflections on the reformation debate over clerical marriage from Ponet's time of exile in Strassburg.

Additional MS 89067 (herein, the *Draft Reply*) is the combination of John Ponet's personal copy of Thomas Martyn's *A Traictise Declaryng and Plainly Prouyng that the Pretensed Marriage of Priestes* (1554) with his own additional theological responses. Ponet may have originally received Martyn's book in sheets because an alternating amount of one or two full sheets of blank paper were inserted between every two full sheets of Martyn's original text.[43] This meant that after every four folio pages of Martyn's *Traictise* there were two or four blank folio pages which afforded Ponet space for abundant annotations, both in the margins on the 280 pages of Martyn's text and on 428 of the additionally inserted pages.[44] The binding of these pages allowed Ponet to make initial notes on the printed pages of Martyn's *Traictise* and draft various sentences and paragraphs of response on the inserted sheets. It was later rebound in a mid-nineteenth century morocco binding, obscuring a small number of Ponet's annotations close to the spine which are only visible under additional light and magnification.

The provenance of the *Draft Reply* remains somewhat enigmatic, but it remained until recently — listed in the published catalogue as Martyn's *Traictise* without any reference to Ponet's marginalia — in the collection of antiquarian books owned by Joseph Mendham (1769-1856) and was presented to the library of the Law Society in 1869.[45] The extraordinarily copious set of Ponet's own marginalia was discovered during preparations for the sale of a significant portion of the Mendham collection. Following the sale of this valuable item to an American institutional library, and with the support of various historians, academics and librarians, the Honourable Ed Vaizey MP, then Minister of State for Culture and the Digital Economy (United

[43] A break in this pattern of alternating sheet insertion exists between 252$^{r}$-262$^{r}$.
[44] That Ponet rebound the book before writing his annotations can be demonstrated by a full page which Ponet annotated upside-down (62$^{r}$). If he had written upside-down prior to rebinding the book, it would be likely that there would be another page of upside-down notes.
[45] Sheila Hingley, David Shaw, Helen Carron (eds.), *Catalogue of the Law Society's Mendham Collection* (London: 1994), 243.

Kingdom), placed a temporary export bar on this reformation treasure. It was subsequently purchased by the British Library and an anonymous donor for £116,500 on 16 December 2013 and is currently held in the British Library. So exceptional is the *Draft Reply* as an example of a text (Martyn's *Traictise*) generating its own response (Ponet's *Apologie*), that there is nothing of its scale among the extant primary source material of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[46] The *Draft Reply* is also exceptional for its illumination of myriad aspects of John Ponet's life and theology which are utilised throughout all chapters of this study.

*John Ponet's Letters*

Another vital source for this study of John Ponet's life and theology is his collection of letters. Until now, there have been two letters of John Ponet commonly discussed among his published biographers: Ponet to Heinrich Bullinger (14 April 1556), and Ponet to Heinrich Bullinger (June 1556).[47] Since then, E. J. Baskerville's discovery and publication of a letter to John Bale (6 July 1555) has been included in Bowman's unpublished PhD dissertation on Ponet.[48] However, various other letters related to Ponet have been overlooked or hitherto undiscovered. Roger Ascham's letter to Ponet (January-February 1545) has been noted but left untranslated. Ponet's letter to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (c. October 1551) has been partially published but not noted or examined by his biographers. Ponet's letter to the Privy Council (22 October 1552) has been published but not noticed by his biographers. His letter to the Duke of Württemberg (28 December 1554) has been mentioned by his biographers in passing but until now has remained untranslated and significantly neglected.[49] Furthermore,

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[46] J.K. Moore, *Primary Material Relating to Copy and Print in English Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1992); c.f., William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008).
[47] *OL* 1:115-117; *OL* 1:117-118.
[48] BL, Add MS 29546, 25; cf. E. J. Baskerville, 'John Ponet in Exile: A Ponet Letter to John Bale' *JEH* 3/37 (1986): 442-447. Included in Appendix B due to some small corrections to Baskerville's transcription. For Bowman's retrieval, see 'John Ponet', 50.
[49] Ponet to Ascham: Roger Ascham, *Disertissimi Viri Rogeri Aschami* (London, 1576), RSTC 826, 109$^{v}$-110$^{v}$; Ponet to Corpus Christi: Corpus Christi College, Oxford Library and Archives, A/5/2/1/20; Ponet to Privy Council: Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society, *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club*, 20 vols. (Southhampton, 1917), 8:36-37; Ponet to Duke of Württemberg: Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A 63 Bü 15/9, 69-70. See Appendix B for relevant translations, transcription, and reproductions.

a letter from Ponet to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral has been completely overlooked and never published.[50] These unnoticed and underutilised letters contain significant new details concerning Ponet's relationships with various clergy and noblemen, and thus provide this thesis new details concerning his ministerial role and activities.

*Miscellaneous Archival Material*

The last group of sources which this dissertation brings to bear upon the body of John Ponet scholarship is a broad collection of archival material hitherto undiscovered by his biographers. The account book of Queens' College, Cambridge (the 'Magnum Journale') freshly illuminates Ponet's activities while Fellow, Bursar, and Dean of Queens' College. The account books belonging to the Treasurer and Receiver of Canterbury Cathedral enhance our understanding of Ponet's activities in these roles while prebendary there. In the absence of the episcopal register, a small number of archival materials enables us to modestly enhance our understanding of Ponet's role as Bishop of Rochester. However, we can greatly enhance our understanding of Johannes Wintoniensis through new retrievals from the Cecil Papers, and from the Consistory Court Books of the diocese. Garrett's work on the Strassburg Council of XXI archives provides an excellent vantage point for Ponet's activities in exile. We can build upon her work by including important entries omitted from her survey and by correcting several mistakes in her transcriptions. Beyond these significant additions to the body of source literature concerning John Ponet, there are diverse further additions — such as his coat of arms, wax seal, and legal documents — which furnish this dissertation and develop our understanding of his position within the context of the English reformation.

[50] CCA DCc/CantLet/48. See Appendix B.

## THE ARGUMENT, STRUCTURE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THIS STUDY

This dissertation assumes the argument that previous views of John Ponet's capacities and intellectual significance within the mid-Tudor period have been inadequate. To sustain this bold argument the dissertation will deploy the aforementioned body of source material across separate chapters which span his lifetime. This structure not only prevents this dissertation from producing the imbalanced approaches found in previous biographical accounts, but it enables this dissertation to draw new connections from discrete stages of Ponet's life to contemporaneous events and theological controversies. Therefore, each chapter contributes cumulatively both to the argument of the dissertation concerning previous scholarship and the purpose of the dissertation which is to reassess the role of John Ponet within the English reformation.

The first chapter reconstructs Ponet's upbringing in Kent and his academic involvement at Cambridge University. Through the analysis of wills and various accounts of heterodoxy in early modern Kent, we can situate Ponet's earliest years within the religious complexity of his family members throughout the county. Through the examination of the Queens' College *Magnum Journale* and various classical and astronomical texts we can not only observe Ponet's seniority among the 'Athenian tribe' of mid-Tudor Cambridge University, but we can determine his linguistic leadership in the controversial 'New Pronunciation' of the Greek language, his astronomical activities and productions alongside his tutor Thomas Smith, and his contribution to early modern theatrical performances at Cambridge University. Whereas previous accounts of this phase of Ponet's life move swiftly through his earliest years and capture only the basic contours of his membership within the 'Athenian tribe' of scholars at Cambridge, this chapter greatly expands the scholarly knowledge concerning this crucial phase of his life and reveals his towering academic authority at Cambridge alongside Thomas Smith and John Cheke.

The second chapter surveys, in two halves, the significant period of Ponet's archiepiscopal patronage under Henry VIII and progress during the early reign of King Edward VI. The purpose of this chapter is to unravel previous narrations of this phase of Ponet's ministry and retell it according to fresh archival material as it pertains to his theological development and his ecclesiastical involvement. In doing so, this chapter seeks to understand the relationship between Ponet's staunch evangelical convictions displayed after Edward VI's accession and his religious convictions while he served both Cranmer and Henry VIII. This chapter, therefore, interacts with Alec Ryrie's elucidation of an 'evangelical mobilisation' during the last years of the Henrician regime, by adding the story of Ponet to Ryrie's helpful coverage of Thomas Smith and John Cheke.[51] Beyond expanding our vision of evangelical survival and revival through these turbulent years, this chapter furthers the overall argument of the thesis by demonstrating the movement from Ponet as humanist academic to Ponet as an evangelical theologian at the heart of Cranmer's plans for reformation.

The third chapter charts the rise and reforming efforts of John Ponet while in his episcopal ministry. The aim of this chapter is to utilise newly retrieved archival material to expand the received understanding of Ponet's life and theology during this period. Ponet's Lenten sermon on the Lord's Supper preached in 1550 will be freshly examined with recourse to his contemporaneous annotations concerning the sacraments. Ponet's consecration and ministry as bishop of Rochester and Winchester will be discussed with reference to letters and archival material to illuminate new insights into his episcopacy and contemporaneous theological views. Ponet's involvement with the commission into Anabaptism in Kent will be augmented with his marginal notes concerning Anabaptism. Ponet's involvement with the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* and authorship of the *Short Catechisme* will also be examined in the context of new marginalia. In addition to these areas, we will observe Ponet's sustained interest in a wide range

[51] Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, 166.

of subjects through various other books acquired and annotated during this period. Whereas previous Ponet scholarship has outlined the major aspects of his ministry as bishop of Rochester and afterwards Winchester with varying degrees of accuracy, the account of Ponet's episcopal ministry in this chapter offers a more nuanced and detailed description of this important phase of his life. It therefore furthers the argument of the thesis by demonstrating the movement from Ponet as evangelical theologian to Ponet as evangelical episcopal administrator — indeed, one of the most important evangelicals among the English episcopate, alongside Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley.

The fourth chapter examines Ponet's reaction to the accession of Queen Mary and his subsequent exile in Strassburg. Through sustained reflection upon Ponet's ejection from the see of Winchester, we will newly understand his transition from supporter of Mary's legitimacy to supporter of Wyatt's Rebellion. Drawing on a wide variety of new or newly corrected archival and epistolary sources we will provide a careful account of his role among the Marian exiles. Finally, through additional sources we will gain insight into the various tragedies that preceded the terminus of his life. Whereas previous accounts of this phase of Ponet's life have grasped the basic framework of these activities, this chapter not only provides corrections and recovers omissions within the body of archival evidence for his exile, but it offers a vision of John Ponet's life in Strassburg with fresh clarity. It therefore furthers the argument of this thesis from Ponet as leading evangelical bishop to Ponet as superintendent at the centre of the Strassburg exiles.

The fifth chapter provides the theological counterpart to the previous chapter, and comprehensively engages with Ponet's biographers who have without exception, spilt most of their ink writing about his political theology and have thus framed him as the political theologian of the early English reformation. However, insufficient attention to his broader exilic writings, and the preoccupation with his *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* has led to widespread neglect of the fact that his primary theological project in exile was a multi-volume work concerning clerical

marriage. Garrett's characterisation of Ponet (observed in the previous chapter) provides a good example of this: despite her catena of conspiratorial claims concerning his activities in exile, there is not one reference to John Ponet's important defence of clerical marriage, the *Apologie* (1555), and no reference to the *Diallacticon* often associated with him.[52] This chapter, therefore, seeks to rewrite substantially the theological biography of John Ponet throughout his time in exile. Through theological material from various personally owned books and from substantial exposition of his *Draft Reply*, we can reconsider much of his theological writings during exile and also set them within the context of his broader intellectual framework. Most importantly, whereas previous scholarly works have largely understood Ponet's exilic writings in isolation from his earlier ministry and intellectual development, this chapter demonstrates the inherent mistake in this approach. For his theological writings in exile have their roots in — and must be understood according to — his humanist scholarship among the 'Athenian Tribe' while at Queens' College, Cambridge.

This dissertation therefore provides a significant revision of John Ponet's life and theology. It contributes to the intellectual history of the English reformation through a new account of Ponet's humanistic interests in the fields of linguistics, astronomy, and drama. It contributes to the ecclesiastical history of the English reformation through a new description of Ponet's evangelicalism under the Henrician, Edwardian, and Marian regimes. It also contributes to the political history of the English reformation through a nuanced account of Ponet's development of monarchical republicanism. Finally, it supplies a new picture of Ponet's centrality to the academic and ecclesiastical leadership of the mid-Tudor period. In sum, this dissertation contributes the most detailed account of his life to date and presents the most comprehensive survey of his theological thought within the history of reformation scholarship.

[52] Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 253-258.

# Chapter 1 - The Birth of a Cambridge Humanist (1516-1543)

John Ponet's early life has been shrouded in mystery. The two major biographical works on Ponet within the last century both confess that there is little known about his upbringing other than that he was born in Kent in 1516.[53] His education at the University of Cambridge has fared much better within the scholarly literature. Nevertheless, the absence of evidence-based discussion has tended to produce contextual studies which situate Ponet within his network of colleagues and socio-political currents. The result of these approaches has produced a somewhat enigmatic vision of John Ponet. We hear the voice of his contemporaries and those of our contemporaries but rarely hear the voice of the Cambridge humanist from Kent. The purpose of this chapter is to paint a more detailed picture of John Ponet's earliest years by bringing new archival material to bear upon key stages of his development. This will enable us to place Ponet more clearly within the religious contexts of Kent and Cambridge and will sharpen our understanding of his greatly renowned humanist talents and achievements.

## The Early Years

There were at least 22 relatives or namesakes of John Ponet who lived and died in Kent between the years 1465-1584.[54] His extended family was distributed across the region but was densely clustered around the parishes of Tenterden, Willesborough and Smarden. The wills of these Ponet family members exhibit tropes we would expect from this period: some with particularly explicit conservative phraseology prior to the reign of Edward VI, others with particularly

[53] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 3; Bowman, 'John Ponet', 12. The earliest record of his birthplace is John Bale's *Scriptorum,* 694. Although some scholars have dated his birth as 1514, there is no firm evidence for this. Bale — who knew him well — claimed that Ponet died at age 40, which implies his birth in 1516. This makes sense of his arrival in Cambridge after Thomas Smith (b. 1513) and John Cheke (b. 1514). Compare with Charles H. Cooper and Thompson Cooper (eds.), *Athenae Cantabrigiensis,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1858-1913), 1:155; Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 253; C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), 667; Robert T. Gunther, *Early Science in Cambridge* (London, 1969), 141-2.

[54] CCA houses 22 Ponet wills Kent between 1465-1575.

evangelical phraseology after the reign of Edward VI. Most contain no particularly conservative or evangelical leanings.[55]

Nevertheless, the timing and contrast between one family member from Willesborough and another from Smarden hints at some stronger religious convictions among at least some of the Ponets of these parishes. In 1549 Joan Poynet of Willesborough left her soul 'to Allmightie god our blessed Lady Saynte Mary and to all the blessed company in heauen', whereas in 1549 Henry Poynet of Smarden left his soul to 'allmightie god trusted to be saued by his mercy and by the merites of his passyone'.[56] That Joan Poynet held her conservative convictions into the reign of Edward VI suggests strongly held religious commitments, as does the fact that Henry Poynet took up the evangelical terminology so rapidly after Edward's accession. Indeed, this was probably the same Henry Ponnet who in 1548 was involved in the pioneering phase of Edwardian iconoclasm in the parish of Smarden. He acquired the church 'belle brasse & latten' (meaning besides the bell, monumental brasses and maybe also devotional objects in the church) while others made off with vestments and candle wax, and others still painted writing (presumably biblical texts) upon the freshly whitewashed rood loft.[57] Thus, the extended Ponet family in the century surrounding John Ponet's birth and distributed across the county of Kent appears to demonstrate predictable religious behaviour with the exception of some particularly evangelical convictions within the parish of Smarden.

The clothing township of Smarden had a long history of dissenting theological opinions. It was one of the earliest Lollard strongholds in the Weald and — probably through connections to

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[55] For pre-Edwardian conservative wills see Agnes Punnet of Smarden (1541, CCA PRC/17/23/2) and William Ponete of Willesborough (1544, CCA PRC/17/23/194a); for post-Edwardian evangelical wills see Henry Poynet (Smarden, 1549, CCA PRC/17/26/195), Joan Ponnett of Charing (Charing, 1560, CCA PRC/32/29/73), Edward Ponett of Willesborough (1571, CCA PRC/17/41/271), William Poynet of Tenterden (1573, PRC/17/42/65), Margarett Poynet of Doddington (1575, CCA PRC/17/42/288b). The other 15 inspected wills do not demonstrate any particularly evangelical or conservative leanings.

[56] Joan/Jone Poynet (Willesborough, 1549, CCA PRC/17/26/194c), Henry Poynet (as above).

[57] Francis Haslewood, *Memorials of Smarden, Kent* (Ipswich, 1886), 241. Spelling retained from original documents. This is probably the same person as the evangelical 'Henry Poynet' from Smarden who died a year later (CCA PRC/17/23/194a). Since this is the only Henry mentioned in any of the Ponet family wills we can safely assume it is the same person.

the nearby Tenterden — had been affected by heterodox ideas as early as the 1420s.[58] It is therefore striking to observe that during Archbishop Warham's visitation aimed at heterodoxy in Kent (1511-12), Thomas Ponet of Smarden was discovered not to observe church attendance on holy days and was ordered to attend regularly.[59] Smarden seems to have gone on being shaped by precocious evangelicalism. In a letter dated 29 April 1538, Archbishop Cranmer wrote to Thomas Cromwell requesting he show lenience to certain indicted parishioners of Smarden and neighbouring Pluckley, who were 'accounted fauters [i.e., supporters] of the new doctrine, as they call it ...'[60] Such was the iconoclasm in the parish that Archdeacon Harpsfield's visitation in 1557 recorded the absence of a vast range of traditional religious objects including even the original altar stone that lay abandoned on the King's highway: an obvious and deliberate provocation.[61]

Despite the paucity of evidence concerning the upbringing of John Ponet himself, the proximity of his wider family to the theological turbulence of the time suggests at least a degree of association with the spirit of early reform. He may not have been personally involved but he would most likely have had an awareness of the issues through familial association. The deployment of an amusing anecdote toward the end of his life not only gives us — for the first time in Ponet scholarship — confirmation concerning this general vicinity of his upbringing,

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[58] Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Hassocks, 1977), 30; Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2006), 1, 9.

[59] Kathleen Louise Wood-Legh (ed.) *Kentish Visitations of Archbishop William Warham and his Deputies, 1511-12* (Maidstone, 1984), 199-200. This is likely to be the same 'Thomas Ponet' from the parish of Smarden mentioned in the 1524 taxation subsidy for his lands assessed at £6 2s 6d, as recorded in TNA, E179/124/192. This is possibly the same 'Thomas Ponet' of Smarden who, along with three other husbandmen, was sued for debt by John Slepynden (d. 10 March 1553) as mentioned in the King's Bench Plea Rolls of 13 April 1553, TNA, CP40/1076, 4684[f]. However, on the assumption that the average Tudor lifespan was around 40 years, it is unlikely to be the 'Thomas Ponnett' of Smarden who died in around 1558 (CCA PRC/3/15/54).

[60] Haslewood, *Memorials*, 301.

[61] L.E. Whatmore (ed.), W. Sharp and L.E. Whatmore (trans.), *Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation, 1557,* 2 vols. (1950), 1:124-5. The altar stone in the highway is likely to have been the original, since a new wooden altar and stone were installed in 1554. The original altar stone which remained on the King's high way would have been an obvious scandal for which Harpsfield would naturally demand remedy. For details of the original altar, newly built altar, and retrieved altar see Haslewood, *Memorials,* 241, 243, 245.

but it underscores his early interest in local affairs and thus strengthens the argument for his cognisance of theological controversy among his wider family:

> The vow once broken cannot be made holy agayne. yet ye papists force prests to breake ther mariadges which is a sacrament instituted by god for sealing up of the vow made by man which in no wise can be sealed. much lyke an yrishe surgeon that dwelled in Cantorbery when I was a boy whiche toke apon him to hele the sore eye of a monk in Cantorbery, and the left eye being sore he said he must furst put his medicine in the right eye, and after ward he wold aide the left. so at the last he made the monk to see aswell with the one as with the other. for in pretendinge to heale the one <eye> he did put out both.[62]

## STUDENT AT QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

In due course, Ponet left Kent and had arrived at the University of Cambridge around 1528/29. John Bale described him as 'eager for learning from a young age', Roger Ascham called him 'youthful, ingenious, and eloquent', and upon observing his aptitude for learning, his tutor — the great humanist Thomas Smith — described him as 'an ingenious and eloquent young man.'[63] His successful completion of the Bachelor of Arts (1532/33) and Master of Arts (1534/35) occurred during a stormy chapter in the life of the institution.[64] The outbreak of plague afflicted the university during this period. In 1529 there were some — like Thomas Cranmer — who took leave from Cambridge due to the presence of plague.[65] In 1532 the absences were so numerous that the start of term was delayed, and other matters pushed back until the feast of St. Nicholas of the same year. There is no record of Ponet being directly affected by the sickness himself though his tutor Thomas Smith contracted it in 1534 and was absent from regular teaching duties.[66] The other pressing local tension during this period concerned the tussle between town and gown over the annual Stourbridge fair. As one of the largest fairs in the country there was much financial gain to be had, and both university and town bitterly sought

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[62] *Draft Reply,* 149[r]; c.f., the same analogy on 2[r].
[63] *Scriptorum,* 694; Ascham, *Disertissimi*, Zi [pagination for 'Z' series does not follow recto and verso]; Thomas Smith, *De Recta & Emendata Linguae Graecae Pronuntiatione* (Paris, 1568), 41[r].
[64] William George Searle (ed.), *Grace Book Γ Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1501-1542* (Cambridge, 2009[1908]), B.A.: 266-268; M.A.: 295-296.
[65] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 45.
[66] *Grace book Γ,* xxxvi; *MJ1,* 1534/35, 190[v]: 'eius absentia per pro hebdo pestis'.

control over the taxation of goods. In 1534 the university eventually appealed to the newly-minted royal secretary, Thomas Cromwell, who found in their favour. In return, the university granted Cromwell a pension for life and shortly thereafter he found himself elected Chancellor of the university. This role augmented his recently acquired powers of vicegerency and gave him a firm hand over the ecclesiastical and temporal functions of the university. It was from this position that Cromwell implemented decisive educational reform through the royal injunctions of 1535. At the heart of these reforms was an intellectual sensibility close to the heart of John Ponet: humanism.

The movement known as humanism had grown to be a burgeoning international discipline during the two centuries prior to Ponet's arrival in Cambridge. The movement began with the slow but steady revival of interest in classical antiquity and over time became the catalyst for both restoration and renovation of the received traditions of the church. At the time Ponet entered Cambridge the leading light of the movement was the celebrated New Testament scholar Desiderius Erasmus, who described the Thomists, Albertines, Occamists and Dunsmen as 'sectes of schole doctors.' Indeed, he mocked not only the general 'formalitees, quidditees and Ecceitees' of scholastic theology but also the particularly 'quaynt questions' produced by the emphasis on logic within the scholastic method.[67] Though aspects of humanism had a presence within Cambridge at the turn of the fifteenth century, Erasmus credited the most important curricular reforms to his humanist friend and colleague, John Fisher. The B.A. and M.A. courses both decreased their emphasis on logic and, whereas the former instituted lectures on 'Terence' or the 'humanities', the latter instituted lectures on arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.[68] In 1519 Richard Croke was formally appointed as first Greek lecturer and extolled the superiority of Greek over Latin in his inaugural oration. In 1524 the Rede lectures

[67] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folie* (London, 1549), RSTC 10500, M.1[r-v].
[68] Richard Rex, *The Theology of John Fisher* (Cambridge, 1991), 16-18.

were established to promote humanistic endeavours. The mood at the time of Ponet's studentship was well captured by the reflection of Thomas Smith years later in 1542:

> And although during the injury of time we have lost much, which had been either utterly destroyed or had been hidden and not yet found; still we have discovered, and have again in our hands to use, a great treasure and boundless abundance of Greek and Latin words. For many jars, more vessels, a great storehouse, are now open and free for all; Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Homer in Greek; Cicero, Caesar, Livy, Pliny, Cato, and Varro in Latin…[69]

The rapid expansion of humanistic pursuits before and during Ponet's studentship became institutionalised with the royal injunctions of 1535 which applied to both Cambridge and Oxford. Every college was to provide two daily public lectures, one of Greek and the other of Latin; all students were permitted to read the Scriptures privately or repair to lectures upon them. There were to be no lectures given on any theologian who had written a commentary on Lombard's Sentences; all lectures on the Scriptures were to be according to the plain sense and not that of Scotus; and bachelors of the arts should read Aristotle, Agricola, Melanchthon and Trapezuntius rather than 'the frivolous questions and obscure glosses' of Scotus, Walter Burley, Antonius Trombetta, Thomas Bricot and Stephen Brulifer.[70] 'We have set Dunce in Bocardo,' wrote Richard Leighton to Thomas Cromwell, 'and banished him from Oxford forever.' Indeed, such was the destruction of Duns Scotus in Oxford that when Cromwell deputed Richard Leighton and John Tregonwell to visit New College they found the main quad littered with pages of Duns and a gentleman from Buckinghamshire hastily gathering them together for his deer.[71] That we find Duns Scotus used for pastedowns in John Ponet's *Hamishah* and his copy of Celio Calcignini's *Opera Aliquot* suggests a similar attitude to that of Leighton and the gentleman from Buckingham.

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[69] Smith, *De Recta & Emendata*, 10[r]. Translation in Thomas Smith, *Literary and Linguistic Works (1542, 1549, 1568),* Bror Danielsson (ed.), (Stockholm, 1963), 49. Future full translations from *Re Recta & emendate* closely follow Danielsson.
[70] Charles H. Cooper & John W. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge,* 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1842), 1:375.
[71] Anthony à Wood, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1796), 1:62.

These humanistic endeavours had been woven into the fabric of Queens' College since the early years of the sixteenth century. The then vice-chancellor of the university, John Fisher, was appointed president of Queens' between 1505-8 while overseeing the foundations of St. John's and Christ's Colleges. It was during this time that Erasmus first came to visit Cambridge and presumably fostered links with Queens'.[72] In 1510 Fisher arranged for the Dutch scholar to return to Cambridge to teach and promote humanist endeavours. Erasmus chose Queens' as his home for the next four years and there he fostered friendships and completed his work on the ground-breaking critical edition of the Vulgate: the *Novum Instrumentum.* However, the general trajectory of humanism at Queens' went in a different direction to that of Erasmus. Admittedly, there were some of Ponet's seniors, like William Glyn and William Framingham, who were about as conservative as Erasmus, and there were some of Ponet's juniors, like Andrew 'Pernecoat' Perne, who were — at times — profoundly more conservative than Erasmus.[73] Nevertheless, Queens' was quickly growing sympathetic to evangelical ideas before and during Ponet's student years.

The college physically backed onto Milne Lane (now Queens' lane) which allowed easy access into the back entrance of the notorious White Horse tavern in which Lutheran ideas were inconspicuously discussed.[74] Such was the close connection between this group and Queens' College that successive presidents Thomas Forman and Simon Heynes were members of the group (nicknamed 'Germany' by its opponents). Indeed, on one occasion when the sergeant of arms came to arrest Robert Barnes and search for books written by Luther or his fellow German evangelicals, Thomas Forman quickly tipped off 30 students to alert them to the

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[72] *Grace book Γ,* 46: '[under heading: 'De bacallariis in theologia' in 1505/6] Item conceditur Desiderio Erasmo vt vnicum vel si exigantur duo responsa vna cum duobus sermonibus ad clerum sermoneque examinatorio et lectura publica epistole Pauli ad Romanos vel queuis alia sufficiant sibi ad incipiendum in theologia sic quod prius admittatur bacallarius in eadem et intret libros sentenciarum bedellisque satisfaciat.'

[73] The changes of religious allegiance he made under Mary and Elizabeth led his various Cambridge students coining a new Latin verb: *perno, pernara,* 'to change often'.

[74] For the physical relation of Queens' to the White Horse tavern, see John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (London, 1563), RSTC 11222, 601; G.F. Brown, 'Notes on Hobson's House, the White Horse, and the late Mr Cory's House', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society,* 3.4 (1879), 407.

impending raid.[75] This affinity with evangelicalism illuminates why the Scottish reformer, Alexander Alane or Alesius, found 'the most delightful friendship in Queens' college' after the invitation from Cromwell and Cranmer to come to Cambridge as the 'King's Scholar' and lecture upon the Scriptures in 1534-35.[76] That Alane found kindred spirits among the company of Queens' college scholars indicates something of the theological environment where Ponet's intellectual formation took place. His was an education not simply in the rudimentary basics of the standard trivium and quadrivium, but an immersion into a community where progressive humanism pushed the liberal arts in excitingly new, dangerous, and evangelical directions.

## FELLOW OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Ponet's time among the society of fellows at Queens' College provides an excellent example of the new directions humanism was taking in mid-Tudor England. He was elected though 'non sacerdotus' as fellow in 1532/33 and after being ordained subdeacon (1 April 1536), deacon (15 April 1536), and priest (10 June 1536) in Lincoln Diocese, he became 'socius sacerdos' during the final term of the 1535/36 academic year and held this position until 1543.[77] Ponet taught for five of these twelve years as a fellow of Queens'. His first teaching role was shared with Gawin Hodson and they held the responsibility of reading philosophy within Queens' during 1536/37.[78] From this minor teaching role he rapidly assumed one of the most important teaching positions in Cambridge: university Greek lecturer. This was the position set forth in

[75] Despite the received hagiography, none of John Foxe's accounts of the White Horse tavern use the adjective 'little' when describing 'Germany'.
[76] CCCC MS 119, p.215. Alexander Alane to Martin Bucer, 1550: 'Audivi autem aegrotasse te et revaluisse et nunc profiteri sacras literas Cantabrigie, ubi ego olim jucundissimum habui sodalitium in collegio Reginae.'
[77] Recorded as 'non sacerdotum' in *MJ1*, 1532/33, 173$^{v}$. Recorded as 'non sacerdotum' for 'pro tribus trimestrisbus' in *MJ2,* 1535/36, 2$^{r}$ and as 'pro trimestri' in *MJ2,* 1535/36, 1$^{v}$. Ordination details in the Episcopal Register of Bishop John Longland and Bishop Henry Holbeach at Lincolnshire Archives (DIOC/REG/27). Ponet was ordained subdeacon at the prebendal church of Liddington by Bishops Longland and Thomas Swillington and examined by the Bishop's Chancellor, John Rayne (51$^{v}$); ordained deacon at the chapel of Mary Magdalen at Lincoln Cathedral by Bishops Longland and Swillington and examined by the same John Rayne (52$^{r}$); ordained priest at the prebendal church of Buckden by Bishops Longland and Robert King and examined by the master of Towcester College, William Raynolds (53$^{r}$).
[78] *MJ2,* 1536/37, 21$^{r}$: 'magistris ponett & hodysoonne lectoribus philosophia.' Ponet and Hodson were paid 40s presumably to be split between them.

Cromwell's injunctions of 1535 whereby a public Greek or Hebrew lecture was to be founded at the expense of the colleges to which each would contribute financially.[79] This was a plum position for the aspiring humanist scholars of Cambridge during the late 1530s.[80] It was first held by Nicholas Ridley before being assumed by Ponet in 1537/38. He continued in this role until 1540/41 except for 1538/39 when the lectureship was held by Roger Ascham. Ponet's year away from the post coincided with his first year as senior bursar of Queens' which required particular attention because of the college's acquisition of the neighbouring Carmelite friary. Nevertheless, during this busy year Ponet taught Greek to the students of Queens'. This was a pressing need since the college's esteemed Greek lecturer, Thomas Smith, had been sent away that year 'to goe beyonde the sees for the further yncrease of hys learning.'[81] Ponet resumed duties as university Greek lecturer the following year and continued to teach Greek within Queens' in the absence of Smith. 1540 was his final year of teaching and he solely taught as university professor of Greek. This year coincided with the founding of the five Regius professorships which would have delighted Ponet since two of the chairs were filled by his close friends Thomas Smith (Civil Law) and John Cheke (Greek).

In the 1530s these three scholars rapidly absorbed the newly available classical Greek texts and made groundbreaking linguistic discoveries concerning the original pronunciation of the

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[79] This role is distinct from both the college lectures and the position of 'King's Scholar' such as Alexander Alane held in 1534/35. James Bass Mullinger unhelpfully renders the Latin of the injunctions 'unam publicam lectionem sive graeceam sive hebraicam' as 'one of Greek the other of Latin' in *The University of Cambridge,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1884), 1:630; 2:65. The correct interpretation is that of the university itself: this lecture was to be either Greek or Hebrew, not both. This is evidenced by fact that college accounts only pay for a single lecture in the public schools ('scholis publicis'). Alan B. Cobban makes the unhelpful suggestion that this university lecturer was consistently held by a scholar from King's Hall, in *The King's Hall within the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 2007[1969]), 83-85. D.R. Leader likewise conflates the university lecturer with the various college lectureships in *A History of the University of Cambridge: Vol. 1, The University to 1546* (Cambridge, 1988), 335-338. The most helpful discussion of what Paul S. Needham calls 'rather a vexed question' comes in his unpublished PhD. dissertation: 'Sir John Cheke at Cambridge and Court', 2 vols. (Harvard University, 1971), 2:68n29.

[80] Although there is no evidence for the total payment of this position, Needham, 'John Cheke', 129, estimates that it may have been like the payment at Oxford: 20 marks. Records of annual contributions from Queens' were 12s 6d (1536/37), 12s 6d (1537/38), 17s (1539/40), 17s (1540/41), and from King's Hall were 12s 6d (1536/37), 12s 6d (1537/38), 5s 8d per term (1539/40). For Queens': *MJ2,* 1537/38, 32$^{r}$; 1538/39, 44$^{r}$; 1539/40, 59$^{r}$; 1540/41, 72$^{r}$. For King's: Cobban, *King's Hall,* 85.

[81] The full handwritten note from *MJ2,* 1538/39*,* 57$^{v}$-58$^{r}$ is reproduced in Appendix C.

language.[82] The received manner of pronouncing the Greek language tended to reduce long vowels to a short length, pronounce various dipthongs (e.g., ει) with the sound of ι (iota), and collapse η (eta) and υ (upsilon) into the same ι (iota) sound. In the early 1530s Smith and Cheke discovered this 'iotacising' problem as they researched and taught Greek within their colleges. As they scoured the new classical Greek texts at their disposal they understood the various nuances of the Attic dialect and discovered the proper soundings of the language.

> Cheke and I conferred about this inconvenience in Greek writing and the obvious uselessness of so many letters and dipthongs being confined to one sound, and that the narrowest, and frequently complained of difficulty of teaching in this tongue because of so great and absurd a confusion, that we finally decided to search the authorities to see if anything certain and intelligible could be found.[83]

Smith and Cheke noticed that Cratylus wrote the sound of a bleating sheep as 'βήη' which required the long sound of η and made no sense to make the sound of ι, and Aristophanes necessarily distinguished between υ and ι when he intentionally misspelled Amynias as 'Αμυνιας' to poke fun at his name.[84] Shortly thereafter they read Erasmus' *De Recta Latini Graecique Sermonis Pronuntiatione* (1528) which boosted their confidence such that they privately practised the new pronunciation until it came naturally to them. Such was the significance of this discovery that Smith only revealed it to those whom 'close intimacy and friendship made them partners in our studies.' Evidently Ponet played an important role among these early adopters, for as Smith continued in the following sentence, '[i]t was then, I believe, John Ponet, an ingenious and eloquent young man, who a little while afterwards was named the public

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[82] In *De Recta & Emendata,* 40$^{r}$-42$^{v}$, Smith recounted the entire story and gave the linguistic rationale for the new pronunciation. Smith and Cheke probably began their work around 1532-1534 as evidenced by his recollection: 'Septem sunt amplius anni cum colloquebamur inter nos Choecus & ego de ista importunitate Graece scriptionis...'

[83] Smith, *De Recta & Emendata,* 40$^{v}$-41$^{r}$, c.f., Danielsson, *Literary and Linguistic Works,* 171-173.

[84] *Comedies,* 43 [Aristoph. Cl. 688-692]; Aminias was an Archon and under Athenian law it was forbidden to satirise an Archon.

professor of Greek letters by the University.'[85] However, when Ponet began to teach the new pronunciation in 1537/38 from his new professorship he encountered some initial opposition:

> [Ascham] began by skirmishing with my Ponet, and disdained to follow the new pronunciation, but did not venture to oppose it seriously and openly because of Cheke's authority and mine. Soon afterwards, he became a keen defender of it, as he is now.[86]

The discovery of the 'new pronunciation' soon became an exciting movement. It was taken up so widely and rapidly that when Smith left for France and Italy (1540) he understood that 'all who were thought at all competent pronounced in this manner', and Cheke listed various scholars who 'gave themselves wholly to this correct way.'[87] The leaders of this movement, according to Smith himself, were 'I and Cheke and Ponet', as distinct from 'all the others who seemed competent Greek scholars.'[88] These others included John Redman, James Pilkington, Roger Ascham, Roger Tong, William Bill, William Cecil, John Aylmer, Walter and James Haddon, Thomas Wilson, Edwin Sandys, William and Edmund Grindal, and Richard Cox. In recent years Winthrop Hudson ascribed to them the honourable title, the 'Athenian tribe'.[89] However, it was John Leland — who was 'overjoyed' when exchanging elegant Latin encomia with Ponet — that first heaped neo-classical praise upon this tribe of scholars:

> And what of the Cam, consecrated to the nine Muses
> By the piety of learned Henry
> Cleansed and shining forth with linguistic erudition?
> And it celebrates its alumni, a learned
> Multitude, including those of Cheke and Smith.
> The Cam also approves and protects Ponet,
> A serious cultivator of wisdom;
> And even Walter Haddon, to whom it gives

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[85] *De Recta & Emendata,* 41r: 'intima familiaritas & amicita participes studiorum faciebat, communicare audebamus. Is mihi tum fuit credo Ioannes ponetus, adolescens ingeniosus & disertus, qui paulo post Academiae nomine publicus Graecarum literarum professor fuit'.

[86] Smith, *De Recta & Emendata*, 42r: 'Hic velitabatur in initio cum Poneto meo, pronuntiationem hanc ad sequendum aspernabatur; reprehendere tamen graviter ac aperte, propter Chaeci authoritatem et meam nolebat.' C.f., Danielsson, *Literary and Linguistic Works,* 177.

[87] Smith, *De Recta & Emendata*, 42v: 'omnes qui quicquam posse credebantur isto more sonabant'; John Cheke, *De Pronuntiatione Graecae Linguae* (Basil, 1555)*,* 106: 'totos se huic nostrae emendatae dediderunt'.

[88] Smith, *De Recta & Emendata,* 40r: 'cum hoc ego & Chaecus & Ponetus, & omnes alii, qui quicquam in lingua Graeca posse videbantur apud nos, communi quodam consensu & consilio sumus aggressi.'

[89] Winthrop Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, N.C., 1980), 46-60.

High praise for his Ciceronian phrasing—
It sings of Nicholas Carr, John Christopherson, and of Roger Ascham.[90]

It is important to note the breadth of religious sympathies among those who comprised the 'Athenian tribe'. Their shared interest in humanism meant that conservatives and evangelicals could inhabit the same movement. However, since the leaders and most of the movement were of an evangelical stripe it soon came to the attention of the new chancellor, Stephen Gardiner. The new pronunciation was bound up with the new learning and thus represented a threat to the arch-conservative leader. Gardiner wrote to vice-chancellor Matthew Parker in May 1542 and decreed that the new pronunciation was now entirely forbidden on pain of expulsion from the university. Despite the long letters of appeal written by Smith and Cheke, Gardiner was determined to curb the enthusiasm of the 'Athenian tribe' and resist the advance of their novel ideas.[91] By the following year, Smith and Cheke had abandoned hope of success and the 'iotacising' had returned. 'The Greek vowels,' wrote Ascham in a letter to John Brandesby, 'are now all pronounced so thin and slender, so closely allied to the letter *iota* that you can distinguish nothing but the piping of a sparrow, or the hissing of a snake.'[92]

Ponet had ceased teaching Greek by this stage and thus escaped the immediate danger of Gardiner's prohibitions. Moreover, he was a junior leader of this movement and, like the other members of the 'Athenian tribe', was shielded from the debate by the authority of Cheke and Smith. Nevertheless, this would have come as a great disappointment to him, especially given the many years he devoted to researching and teaching Greek. No doubt it would have

[90] Leland's encomium to Ponet: John Leland, *Principum, ac Illustrium Aliquot & Eruditorum in Anglia virorum* (London, 1589), RSTC 15447, 110; c.f., full transcription in Appendix C. Leleand's encomium to the 'Athenian Tribe': John Leland, *Kykneion Asma. Cygnea Cantio* (London, 1545), RSTC 15444.5, E.i$^{r-v}$; I am grateful to Samuel Lemley for the translation provided at http://www.samuellemley.com/cygnea/text.html [last accessed 17 May 2018].
[91] John F. McDiarmid, 'Recovering Republican Eloquence: John Cheke versus Stephen Gardiner on the Pronunciation of Greek', *History of European Ideas,* 38/3 (2012): 338-351.
[92] Roger Ascham to John Brandesby (1542/43) in John Allen Giles (ed.), *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham,* 3 vols in 4 (London, 1864-5), 1.1:xxxvii-xxxviii.

contributed some additional elements of satisfaction to his later succession to Gardiner at Winchester.

We can observe the impact of these humanist trends at Cambridge on Ponet's general note-taking strategies from his personal copies of Aristophanes' plays. At the top of the first page of Ponet's most annotated copy of Aristophanes he paraphrased an important maxim from the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives' *De Tradendis Disciplinis:* 'The best of the poets and those from the reading of whom comes the highest reward, are the Attic poets, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and what is left of Menander.'[93] *De Tradendis* was an encyclopedic treatise on the transmission of knowledge that suggested that a notebook ought to be maintained with separate divisions for historical notes, anecdotes, clever expressions and weighty judgements, witty and pithy sayings, proverbs, famous persons and places, explanations of difficult passages, and unsolved difficult passages.[94]

This commonplace style of note taking was part of the early sixteenth century interest in commonplace books largely stemming from Erasmus' *De Copia* (1512) and Melanchthon's *Institutiones Rhetoricae* (1521).[95] Ponet had evidently undertaken his own personal commonplace books along these lines and even brought his collections ('mea sylva') with him into exile later in life. Indeed, from his notes regarding his commonplace-books we can extract some of the divisions commended by Vives: persons (e.g., Chrysostom), weighty judgements ('extra scripturas nihil'), historical notes ('Concil Pat.'), and various other miscellaneous references.[96]

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[93] All that remains after later rebinding is: 'Ista comedia sunt scripta <*unavailable text*> Euripides Sophocles et quod reliquum est Menandri: Ludovic: de trad dis. li. 3 page <*unavailable text*>', *Comedies,* a.1v. This appears to be a paraphrase from Vives' *De Tradendis Disciplinis,* book 3, which reads: 'Attici sunt Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, & quod Menandri est reliquum.' It is impossible to determine which version of *De Ttradendis* Ponet is using since the page number has been cut off after rebinding.

[94] Juan Luis Vives, *De Tradendis Disciplinis,* in Foster Watson (ed.), *Vives: On Education* (Cambridge, 1913), 108.

[95] See Ann Moss' excellent study in *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford, 1996).

[96] Ponet's commonplace-books are referred to 28 times within the *Draft Reply* (see Appendix B). The use of 'sylva' is derived from a figurative use of 'silva' (wood, forest). It may be used to indicate i) a large number or a mass of material, or ii) reference to literary work. E.g., 'Historia seu sylva potius abbatum ... monasterii a Kynlos' in J.P. Ferrerius, *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* (Edinburgh, 1839). Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books,* 186, points out

We can also observe Ponet's specific note-taking strategies while in Cambridge from his heavily annotated copy of Aristophanes. His approach bears a remarkable resemblance to that encouraged by Erasmus' *De Ratione Studii:*

> … you will, as you read the authors, methodically observe occurrences of striking words, archaic or novel diction, cleverly contrived or well adapted arguments, brilliant flashes of style, adages, examples, and pithy remarks worth memorizing. Such passages should be marked … by an appropriate little sign (*apta notula*). For not only should a variety of signs be used, but they should be employed systematically, so that it is clear to what sort of thing they refer.[97]

Throughout the pages of Aristophanes' plays, we find words or phrases underlined or written in the margins and a system of symbols deployed for specific purposes. For example, on one page of *Plutus*, Ponet underlined 'you will then be Midases, provided you grow ass's ears', wrote 'Μίδας' on the margin adjacent to it, and deployed two trefoil symbols to draw attention to two other lines of the play.[98] He deployed eight manicules amidst the plays of Aristophanes in order to highlight things of particular importance. One of these manicules illustrates Ponet's interest in — possibly opposition to — the then controversial prohibition on eating fish on Fridays and other holy days. In a section of *Clouds* where the character 'Just' lambasts the 'ancient system of education' for its rules and regulations, he includes the phrase 'nor to eat fish'. This was underlined by Ponet who wrote in the margin: 'nor to eat fish'.[99] Beneath his scribbled marginalia he drew a very large manicule pointing directly at the next line of the play: 'What

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its usage for commonplace-books such as the *Sylva Sententiarum ex Ovidio* (Leipzig, 1515). What indicates this as Ponet's commonplace-book is the comment in the *Draft Reply*, 333r: 'De hac re vide Sylvam meam in Parg. ex Polydoro et Huntingdonensis fo: 70 et fo: 72'. Since Ponet later mentions that Martyn has Cranmer's copy of Huntingdon, it is likely that Ponet's source for Huntingdon was Cranmer's library (which Ponet worked in) but was now written in his 'Sylva mea' used in exile. Furthermore, this reference referred to a section of church history rather than an individual text of Huntingdon, thus it is likely a section on church history in 'sylva mea'. That Ponet sometimes referred to Huntingdon without explicit reference to his commonplace-books may indicate that other citations also came from his commonplace-books. The reference to 'in Parg' is probably shorthand for 'in pargamento' and referred to his commonplace-book in parchment binding. This is distinguished from Ponet's paper-bound commonplace-books, as denoted by 'Cartaceus liber uterque'. Thus, we can further infer that Ponet probably had multiple commonplace-books, which would be unsurprising given the duration of his study in Cambridge and in Cranmer's library.

[97] Quoted in Moss, *Printed Commonplace-books*, 102.

[98] *Comedies*, 10 [Aristoph. Pl. 287]: 'Μίδαις μὲν οὖν, ἢν ὦ τ' ὄνου λάβητε.' Ponet also wrote Midas in the margin of Aristophanes, *Comedies (Princeps),* b.2r.

[99] *Comedies,* 74 [Arist. Cl. 983]: 'οὐδ' ὀψοφαγεῖν'; Latin: 'neque comedere piscis'.

antiquated rot, smelling of the Dipolieia, and crawling with cicadas, Cedeides and ritual bovicide!'[100] In three other places within his copy of Aristophanes he drew pictures in the margins: a small drawing of stony ground adjacent to the word 'stony ground' which he also underlined, a picture of a half-moon next to the phrase 'the moon met us', and a picture of a drum next to a discussion of metrical rhythms.[101] This supports Sherman's tentative suggestion that the use of illustrations within marginalia 'was advocated by Cheke and others and may even point to a general annotational style in mid-Tudor Cambridge.'[102] Indeed, Ponet's specific note-taking strategies are almost identical to that of his tutor Thomas Smith with the exception that Ponet displayed more interest in theological ideas and Smith drew more pictures and with greater detail.[103]

The main purpose of Ponet's annotation of Aristophanes' plays was for understanding the Greek language. In this, he was in step with the wisdom of Erasmus, who held up Aristophanes — more than even Homer or Euripides — as the most important source of Greek language within the corpus of classical poetry.[104] One of the main features of Ponet's approach to the text was to identify new Greek vocabulary. Where he came across a new Greek word he would write the Latin translation of the word above or adjacent to it.[105] It is possible to identify 1,493 translations of Greek words within the corpus of *Aristophanes* plays owned by Ponet.[106] Another noteworthy feature of his approach to the Greek of Aristophanes was the close attention paid to the grammatical features of the language. In one instance he noticed the unusual masculine accusative form of κοππατίαν ('branded with a k') and wrote 'for grammar' in the margin —

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[100] *Comedies,* 74 [Arist. Cl. 985]: 'ἀρχαῖά γε καὶ Διιπολιώδη καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα καὶ Κηκείδου καὶ Βουφονίω.'
[101] Stony ground: 'φελλέως', *Comedies,* 44 [Arist. Cl. 71]; Moon: 'ἡ σελήνη συντυχοῦσ', *Comedies,* 62 [Arist. Cl. 608]; Drum: 'ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν πρότερον ἡμιεκτέου', *Comedies,* 63 [Arist. Cl. 643].
[102] Sherman, *John Dee*, 78.
[103] Evident from my examination of 34 books held at Queens' College library printed prior to 1556 and owned by Smith.
[104] Matthew Steggle, 'Aristophanes in Early Modern England', Edith Hall, Amanda Wrigley (eds), *Aristophanes in Performance, 421 BC-AD 2007: Peace, Birds and Frogs* (London, 2007), 54.
[105] For Ponet's consultation of the lexical entries in *Suidae Lexicon Graece and Latine*, see *Comedies,* 100 and 112.
[106] 216 (Plutus), 531 (Clouds), 560 (Frogs), 16 (Knights), and 25 (Peace).

probably for inclusion in his own grammar notebook.[107] In another instance he noticed the form of τὸ βλάβος which appeared to be a mistaken gender and thus he wrote 'errore?' in the margin.[108] When he came across φθόις ('cakes') he noticed the possibility of both nominative and accusative cases for this plural feminine noun but due to the preceding accusative article τοὺς wrote in the margin 'it is nevertheless in the accusative case.'[109] This fine-tuned attention to grammar may also be observed in Ponet's own copy of Johannes Varennius' *Syntaxis Linguae Graece* (1539) which he owned for many years to come. Such was Ponet's linguistic interest that his copy of this important book of Greek grammar was heavily annotated; such was Ponet's linguistic ability that he even corrected Varennius' own text.[110]

It is highly probable that Ponet worked on the text of Aristophanes in at least two major stages between 1532-1541. Firstly, we can observe a change in the style of symbols used in the plays *Plutus, Clouds, Knights*, and *Peace* as compared with *Frogs*. The former of these plays exhibit a limited range of symbols and the latter play exhibits a broader range of symbols aligned closely with those used by Ponet throughout the rest of his life (e.g., trefoils, diamonds, etc). Secondly, *Frogs* is the only play that evidences Ponet's use of Erasmus' *Chiliades Adagiorum* (1539 or 1541 edition).[111] The *Adagiorum* was a collection of thousands of proverbs from classical literature arranged by century. Each proverb was cited from a classical text and expounded in relation to other classical texts. This was the harvest of Erasmus' research distilled into an easy to use format and perfect for budding humanist scholars to use alongside their study of Greek texts. Moreover, it was highly suitable for the study of Aristophanes since the great Greek poet was

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[107] *Comedies*, 42 [Arist. Cl. 23]: 'τὼ γραμματῖ',
[108] Normally this word for 'damage' was deployed as 'βλάβη', *Comedies*, 131 [Arist. Frogs 1151]. It is possible that this word was a *hapax legomenon* within the classical Greek corpus.
[109] *Comedies*, 23 [Arist. Pl. 677]: 'est tamen accusatiui casus',
[110] Ponet noticed the incorrectly declined noun 'foemoninina' so he struck out the 'a' ending and wrote 'is' above it. See *Syntaxis,* 20.
[111] Ponet cited the *Adagiorum* 25 times: *Comedies,* 93, 94 (x2), 96 (x2), 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, 106, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 120 (x2), 125, 126 (x2), 129, 140, 141. He probably used the 1539 or 1541 edition of the *Adagiorum* since 1) several references are to periods of literature only found in these versions, and 2) the page referencing only matches these editions.

the fourth most frequently cited source in the *Adagiorum*.[112] It would be fair to thus describe Ponet as thoroughly Erasmian. He used Erasmus' apparatus to understand one of Erasmus' favourite source texts; a text which he annotated in Erasmian ways and which resulted in his own commonplace books akin to that encouraged by Erasmus and others. Little wonder that Ponet would later underline the phrase 'our Erasmus is the glory of the world' during later research.[113] Though the great Dutch humanist would never return to Queens', his spirit well and truly lived on in John Ponet.

We may observe the application of this Erasmian humanism upon Ponet's biblical studies from the extensive marginalia within his personal Greek New Testament which he acquired in 1554. This was the 1546 edition of the New Testament produced by Robert Estienne (Stephanus) and, possibly with another version of the Scriptures nearby, Ponet denoted the verse breaks by drawing brackets in red ink where they occurred.[114] This enabled him to easily underline and annotate every book of the New Testament, except for Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon. Some books (e.g., Romans, Hebrews and Jude) had structural divisions written into the margins.[115] Others contained short and pithy theological arguments (e.g., his seven-point rationale for infant baptism).[116] He would often place a symbol next to a key text and replicate the symbol at the bottom of the page with additional commentary. In other places he would

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112 Cicero (892), Homer (666), Plutarch (618), Aristophanes (596), Horace (475), Plautus (475), Plato (428), 'Suidas' (392), Athenaeus (356), Lucian (335), and Aristotle (304), as per Steggle, 'Aristophanes in Early Modern England', 55.

113 *De Anabaptismi*, a.4r.

114 See 'Behind the Debate on Clerical Marriage' in Chapter 5 for evidence of an additional Bible.

115 Divided by chapter in Romans: 1-8 (Man's justification before God, by grace through faith without works), 9-10 (Concerning the rejection of the Jews and the vocation of the Gentiles), 12-15 (Concerning the lessons and duties of love), 15-16 (Concerning household matters); Divided by chapter in Hebrews: 1-4 (The supremacy of Christ), 5, 7, 9 (The relation of various priestly orders to Christ), 6 (A digression concerning apostasy), 10-14 (Brief instructions); Divided by verse in Jude: 1 (He desires his friends to persevere with struggles), 2 (To persevere in accordance with the faith which was handed down by Christ and the apostles), 3 (To be aware of the deceit of the imposters). See *GNT* 1/491, 2/299, 2/216 for Romans, Jude and Hebrews, respectively.

116 After quoting Augustine *Contra Donatistas* 'optimus parvulorum est traditio, sed que probetur ex scripturis,' Ponet outlined his argument using six biblical texts: Matthew 19 (It is not the will of the Father that such as are baptised into the church should perish), Ephesians 5 (Christ loved the church), Colossians 2 (Christian baptism succeeded circumcision), Genesis 17 (Those who had uncircumcised hearts will be removed from his people), 1 Corinthians 1 (Paul baptised Stephen's family), Acts 18 (Paul baptised the warden of the gaol and his whole family). See *GNT* 1/192.

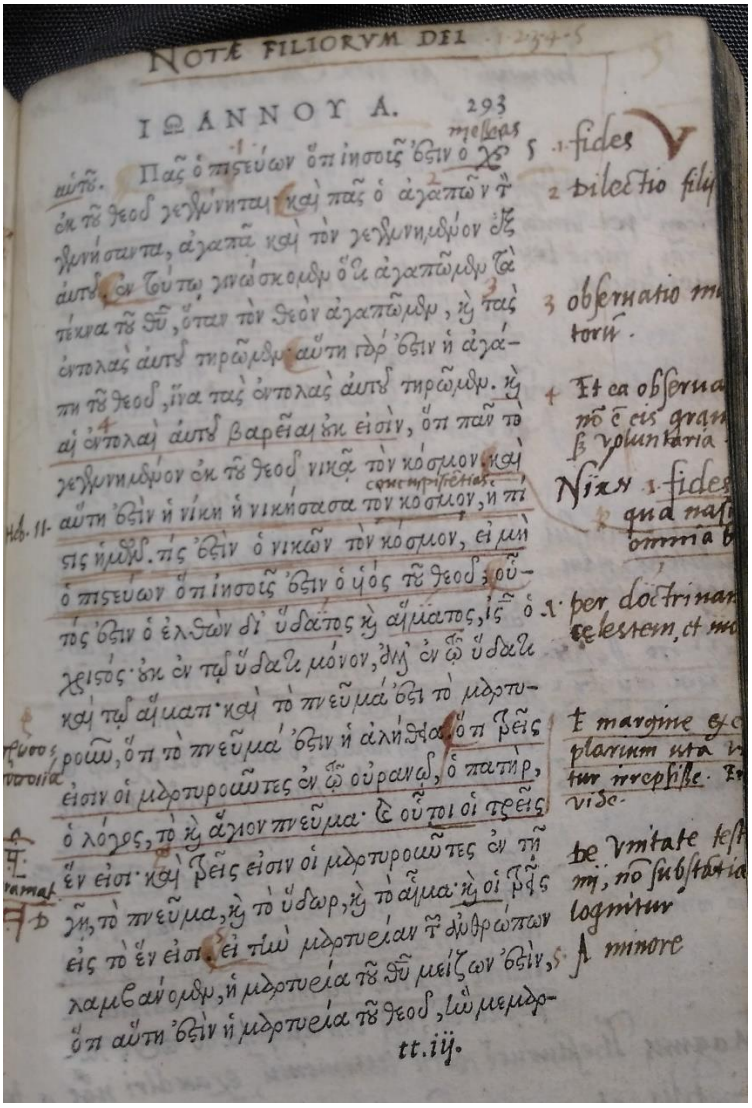
place numbers above the key clauses of a verse and comment on these numbers in the margin. His marginal reflections often contained various theological reflections on subjects such as illumination, the relationship between faith and works, the doctrine of Scripture, the communicatio idiomatum, the relationship between faith and conscience, the relationship between the heart and affections, the freedom of the will, and ecclesiology.[117]

Perhaps the most important reflections within these biblical annotations are those of an historical and text critical nature. Ponet displays awareness of the questions over the authorship of the second and third Johannine epistles. He underlined the word 'πρεσβύτερος' ('elder') in 2 John 1:1, and linked this into a handwritten note which discussed Jerome's contention that the two latter epistles were written by John the Presbyter in contrast to the first epistle and the Gospel of John which were written by John the Evangelist.[118] Whereas he indicated no firm position on the authorship of the Johannine epistles, he did so with the following letter, Jude. He underlined 'Ιούδας' ('Jude') in Jude 1 and linked this to the handwritten note: 'Thadeus lebaeus'.[119] Ponet considered Jude to be another name for the 'Lebbaeus who was named Thaddeus' mentioned in the list of the Apostles.[120]

There are also some interesting points of early modern textual criticism to be found within the marginalia. In three instances we see Ponet correcting the text. He inserted a missing δια ('through') in Luke 5:19, he inserted εἰπεν δὲ ὁ Κύριος ('And the Lord said') at the beginning of Luke 7:31, and in 1 John 4:3 he supplied the Latin 'spiritus' where it was missing between the articles το and του.[121] It is possible that the former two modifications came as a result of access

[117] Illumination: 1/388; faith and works: 2/255. 2/284, 2/285, 2/288, 2/292; Scripture: 2/283, 2/286, 2/287, 2/290, 2/300; communication of the idioms: 2/283; faith and conscience: 2/283, 2/292; heart and affections: 2/289; freedom of the will: 2/291; ecclesiology: 2/298.
[118] *GNT* 2/295.
[119] *GNT* 2/299.
[120] See Matthew 10:3 and Mark 3:18 – both unmarked in Ponet's *GNT*. This was a common position in Ponet's time but not in modern biblical scholarship.
[121] *GNT* 1/217, 1/229, 2/290.

to other biblical texts (e.g., the Stephanus editions of 1550 or 1551) and the latter by virtue of its context within the passage.


NOTÆ FILIORVM DEI

IOANNOY A. 293

**Figure I — John Ponet's annotations on 1 John 5:1-9, *GNT* 2/293.**

The clearest place to observe Ponet's text criticism is his discussion concerning the controversial *Comma Johanneum*: '… there are three that testify in heaven: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' (1 John 5:7-8). Ponet was likely aware of the issues at stake over the Johannine Comma. Indeed, his marginalia indicates that he followed Erasmus, who first cast doubt over the authenticity of this verse in his *Novum Instrumentum* which was finalised while the great humanist was staying at Queens'. Erasmus' public debates with Edward Lee (later Archbishop of York)

and others caused him to restore the comma into his edition of the New Testament. Tyndale and Coverdale registered their concerns, but Cranmer retained the full passage in the epistle for the Lord's Supper on the first Sunday after Easter in both the 1549 and 1552 versions of the *Book of Common Prayer*.[122] Ponet underlined the infamous text and revealed his position in the adjacent margin: 'This appears to have crept in from the margin of copied texts.'[123] We do not know when Ponet came to this position. Yet based on his meticulous humanistic scholarship we can assume he carefully arrived at this theologically significant conclusion that the Johannine Comma was not authentic.

## BURSAR OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

At the height of his teaching responsibilities, Ponet also took on the role of bursar at Queens'. He held this office for two years (1537/38-1538/39) and would likely have received an additional 26s 8d p.a. for the work.[124] In this capacity he was intimately involved in a significant event in the life of the college: the surrender of the neighbouring Carmelite friary to the crown and acquisition of the lands and buildings by the college. By the time Ponet entered Queens' college as a student the friary was sandwiched between Queens' and King's colleges and with the general collapse in morale among the friars during the mid-1530s it had entered a state of decline and divestment — perhaps not surprising when one of its most characterful and influential members, John Bale, had jumped ship in 1536.[125] On 22 February 1536/37 it sold

[122] Grantley R. McDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe: Erasmus, the Johannine Comma, and Trinitarian Debate* (New York, 2016).
[123] *GNT* 2/293: 'E margine exemplarium ista viditur irrepsisse.' I am grateful to Seumas MacDonald for his translation assistance on this important turn of phrase.
[124] The results of the royal commission into the revenues of the university (1546) listed this amount as payment for the bursar. Since other amounts matched those made during 1537-1539 (e.g., stipends for fellows, lectures, etc) we can assume the payment for the bursar was likely the same in 1537-1539 as it was in 1546. See Joseph Henry Gray, *The Queens' College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard in the University of Cambridge* (London, 1899), 91.
[125] Richard Rex, 'John Bale, Geoffrey Downes and Jesus College', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49/3 (1998): 490-492.

twelve wagonloads of wood and a thousand tiles to Queens' for a mere 22 pence.[126] On 11 June 1537/38 it sold 30 aged wooden rafters to Queens' for 2s 8d.[127]

In his role as bursar Ponet was responsible for all financial transactions related to the Carmelite friary. His handwritten entries into the bursar's book give several insights into the processes involved in acquiring the monastic lands and property. What is notable is the personal involvement of Thomas Cromwell in the sort of business of disposing friaries which he was almost invariably leaving to deputies in an extremely crowded twelve months of dissolving every friary in the realm. On 7 August 1538 Ponet authorised payment of £8 for Thomas Smith and Richard Wilkes to travel to London to negotiate directly with Cromwell over the Carmelite friary.[128] On the following day the prior of the friary, George Legate, signed and sealed the surrender of the 'howse and grownd called the White friers in Cambridge.'[129] Meanwhile, Smith and Wilkes' negotiations must have pleased Cromwell, because on 17 August he commissioned George Daye (Provost, King's College), William May (President, Queens' College), Smith and Wilkes to take possession of the Carmelite friary and catalogue its inventory. On 28 August 1538 the formal deed of surrender was made by the friary.[130]

The payments authorised by Ponet after the surrender indicate the rapid rate at which the college worked to absorb the Carmelite holdings. Final accounts were settled up and resignations were formalised.[131] Miscellaneous manual tasks were undertaken around the

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126 *MJ2,* 1536/37, 27r: 'Item xxij Februarii pro vectura xii plaustrorum ruderum et mille tegularum que emebantur a Carmelitis'.
127 *MJ2,* 1537/38, 37r: 'Item 11. Junii prefecto fratrum Carmelitarum pro 30 antiquis asseribus ligni macerati'.
128 *MJ2,* 1537/38, 40r: '7 augusti magistrii Wylles et Smythe pro expensis londini pro in negotiis carmelitarum ... vli'. See the additional expenses on *MJ2,* 1537/38, 41r: 'Item alia vice in expensis magistrorum Wylkes et Smythe circa negotia collegii Londini pro Carmelitis ultra C prius allocates iijli.'
129 Cited in William George Searle, *The History of the Queens' College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard in the University of Cambridge* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1867-1871), 1:222.
130 Searle, *Queens' College,* 224, records two deeds drawn up with minor differences. One of these probably corresponds to *MJ2,* 1537/38, 41r: 'Item expense Charmelitarum ut patet per syngraphum'.
131 *MJ2,* 1538/39, 51v: 'Item eodem die [14 Septembris] duobus fratribus pro solutione summe quam magister noster illis concessit presente vicepresidente'; *MJ2,* 1538/39, 52r: 'Item matrone coquisse Carmelitarum pro stipendo huius trimestris', 'Item. D. Pargatto pro exscriptione resignationis fratrum, inventorio, atque memoriale domini Engelsthorp, proque pelle membranea'.

friary.[132] The glass windows from the friary were removed at the end of September 1538 and more windows — possibly the same stained glass windows which remain in the Queens' College Old Library — were removed in January the following year.[133] Over the course of the next ten years the friary was dismantled and Queens' College constructed walls (such as those which surround the President's garden) and renovated various buildings from the materials.

The influx of building materials from the acquisition of the Carmelite friary slotted in neatly with a broader set of building works which involved Ponet and his tutor, Thomas Smith. In 1536/37 there was a large amount of repair work done to various rooms belonging to fellows — Ponet's room and fireplace were both fixed.[134] However, these repair works were not simply constrained to indoor areas. Thomas Smith paid for cartloads of mud and sand to be moved early in March, and Ponet was involved towards the end of March with the building of the inner part of the cloistered court ('peristilii') which took place over six days.[135] This construction experience may well have served Archbishop Cranmer around a decade later, when according to John Strype and Samuel Drake, Ponet built a lavish summer house in the garden of Lambeth Palace.[136]

The most intriguing item of expenditure in 1535/36 was the 'horologium' associated with frequent entries linked to Smith and Ponet. Just before the end of August 1537/38 there was some wood purchased by Smith to house a horologium.[137] One week later Ponet mounted onto

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[132] *MJ2,* 1538/39, 52$^{v}$: 'Item Jacobo Jakson et Kingo pro 4 diebus apud fratres carmelitas'; *MJ2* 1538/39, 53$^{r}$: 'Item Kingo et guilielmo Carter in fratribus 3 diebus.'
[133] *MJ2,* 1538/39, 51$^{v}$: '[Near end of September] Item Kingo et Geor. Cagell pro dejectione fenestrarum vitrearum apud Carmelitas et hostiorum ablatione 2 diebus'; 52$^{v}$: '[January] G. Carter et Georgio Cagell in dejiciendis fenestris vitreis et tollendo ferrum apud Carmelitas et conferendo res alias ad thesaurarium.'
[134] *MJ2,* 1536/37, 22$^{r}$: 'pro reparatione area in cubiculo magistro ponett'; 23$^{r}$: 'pro restauratione anterioris partis camini magistro ponet'. See 22$^{r}$ for other repairs to rooms of fellows, and 24$^{r}$ for other instances of Smith's moving carts of sand and building a fireplace.
[135] *MJ2,* 1536/37, 23$^{r}$: 'interiorem partem totius peristilii in sex dies'.
[136] John Strype, *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (London, 1711), 305, 332; c.f., Samuel Drake's comments within his additions to *Matthaei Parker ... De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* (London, 1729), 550. This summerhouse is a separate entity from Cardinal Pole's extension to Lambeth Palace as recorded in Matthew Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicae* (London, 1572), RSTC 19292, 419; c.f., Francis Godwin's *De Praesulibus Angliae* … (London, 1616), RSTC 11941, 217; Thomas Mayer, *Reginald Pole: Prince & Prophet* (Cambridge, 2000), 321-322.
[137] *MJ2,* 1537/38, 42$^{v}$: 'Item lignori maceratori pro magistro smythe in horologium'.

the chapel bell what was likely the same horologium.[138] The following year there was some unspecified maintenance work performed on the machine related to the horologium.[139] On 18 December 1539 George Daye was paid for iron tools used to finish off the horologium according to Smith's plan.[140] On 27 January 1539/40 some work was performed above the machine for the turret, and the work performed in March of the same year confirms the close association between the machine and the turret.[141] The connection between a 'machine' and 'horologium' suggests that this was not a sundial but a mechanical clock of some kind. Indeed, given the connections between the 'horologium', and the 'campanae' and 'turrimus', it is very likely to have been a striking clock mechanism housed in the bell turret.[142]

It is improbable that John Ponet designed the horologium.[143] It was Smith who dominated the recorded entries concerning the clock and the frequent references to 'per manus Smythe' during the final months of work indicate his particularly hands-on approach prior to his departure overseas for further education. It may even be possible that the two formal indentures he drew up in 1535/36 were agreements concerning the clock mechanism and bell turret.[144] However, it is most likely that Thomas Smith designed and led this five-year project while his former student John Ponet played a supporting role with practical assistance on one occasion and financial assistance as bursar throughout the main phase of installation.

The relationship between Smith and Ponet concerning the design and implementation of the astronomical devices at Queens' reflected their shared interest in the field of astronomy. It had

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138 *MJ2,* 1537/38, 42$^{v}$: 'Item 7 Septembris pro horologio magistro poinett adfixo campanae sacella'.
139 *MJ2,* 1538/39, 52$^{r}$: 'Item Jacobo pro deiectione machine extructae ad conficiendum horologium'.
140 *MJ2*, 1538/39, 61$^{v}$: Item 18 die georgio Daye pro quique ferramentis quo confecit ad omnia horologia per manus magistra smyth'.
141 *MJ2,* 1539/40, 62$^{r}$: '...cum magistro smyth super machina pro turrim', and 62$^{v}$: 'super machina iuxta turrim cum magistro Smythe'.
142 Gerhard Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders* (Chicago, 1996), 108-113.
143 Contra Charles Richard Nairn Routh, *Who's Who in History* (Oxford, 1964), 2:178. This suggestion was carried through in variants of this work up to the 1998 version edited by Ian Dawson, *Who's Who in British History: Beginnings to 1901,* 2 vols (London, 1998). Alison Weir cites Routh for this suggestion in *Henry VIII: King and Court* (Random House, 2011), 447.
144 *MJ2,* 1536/37, 30$^{r}$: 'Item magistro Smythe pro descriptione duarum indenturarum factarum inter euse [sic] et collegium'.

become a lively field of study by the time Smith and Ponet had entered Cambridge as students. Since the fourteenth century it had been included within the quadrivium and regularly focused on the thirteenth century *sphaera* texts of Robert Grosseteste, John Pecham, and John de Sacrobosco.[145] The latter of these texts was hugely influential before its first print edition in 1472, and the commendations and commentary of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Philip Melanchthon buoyed the interest in the field during the sixteenth-century.

The terms astronomy and astrology were basically interchangeable at the time, and those active in the field were commonly regarded as mathematicians who measured the movements of the heavenly bodies and interpreted them with an eye to the earthly bodies.[146] However, the application of the discipline was the cause of some consternation: whereas medicinal, navigational and horological purposes were widely encouraged, alchemical and prognostical applications proved to be more contentious. Indeed, the opinions of sixteenth century evangelical theologians were divided over the legitimacy of prognostical purposes. Melanchthon observed the stars and made regular use of them such that Lelio Sozzini wondered whether he relied more upon them or their Creator. Luther himself regarded comets as signs of God's wrath, and Zwingli read Halley's Comet as a sign of war and his own impending death.[147] Calvin was much less favourable and strongly denounced the attempt to interpret human history from celestial objects. In his *Traité ou Avertissement Contre l'Astrologie qu'on Appelle Judiciaire* (1549) he acknowledged the legitimate study of celestial objects and commended the doxological response to such endeavours. But he was acutely aware of the possibility of

[145] Peter Barker, 'The Reality of Peurbach's Orbs: Cosmological Continuity in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Astronomy' in Patrick Boner (ed.) *Change and Continuity in Early Modern Cosmology* (London, 2011). Both Pecham's *Tractatus de Sphaera* and Grosseteste's *Theorica Planetarum* were among the items noted in the Queens' college library by John Leland c. 1535, as listed in Peter D. Clarke and Roger Lovatt (eds.), *The University and College Libraries of Cambridge* (London, 2002), 585-590.
[146] Robin. B. Barnes, *Astrology and Reformation* (New York, 2015), 5-7.
[147] Philip Schaff, *The History of the Christian Church, Volume VII: The Swiss Reformation* (New York, 1894), 676-677.

attributing successes or failures to planetary movements rather than to the secret providence of God, and thus he condemned prognostical applications of astronomy.

From among the 'Athenian tribe' there were a significant number who would have found the astronomical outlook of Melanchthon more congenial to their own ideas than that of Calvin. Thomas Smith, likely the chief astronomical influence, calculated the nativity of John Cheke down to the hour and minute using a horoscope and ephemerides.[148] He later used astrology for political decision making, corresponded enthusiastically with Sir Francis Walsingham concerning a new star which appeared in Cassiopeia, dabbled with alchemical experiments, and constructed various Copernican globes of which one remains in the Queens' college Old Library.[149] The 1566 booklist from his library at Hill Hall contains 46 mathematical works including such significant astronomical authors as Euclid, Ptolemy, Sebastian Münster, and Nicholaus Copernicus.[150] Sir John Cheke was another devotee of astronomy who encouraged the study of the field while at St. John's and later as Edward VI's tutor. Indeed, it was Cheke's dependence on the prognostical application of astronomy that guided his fateful departure from Strassburg in 1556.[151] Cheke's influence may be seen in the work of astrologer Anthony Ascham (brother of Cheke's pupil Roger Ascham), who dedicated his *Lytel Treatyse of Astronomy* to Cheke and described him as 'his singuler good master'.[152] Smith's influence can be observed in Richard Eden, who studied at Queen's, graduating BA in 1538 and MA in 1544. Eden followed in Smith's footsteps by teaching civil law and attempting to find an alchemical process for turning base metal into gold.[153] The mathematician Robert Recorde completed his MD at Cambridge

148 *StrypeJC*, 4.
149 Mary Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor Intellectual in Office* (London, 1964), 15, 65, 149-155.
150 *StrypeTS,* 274-281.
151 See discussion in Chapter 4.
152 Anthony Ascham, *A Lytel Treatyse of Astronomy* (1562), RSTC 857a, A.ii$^{r}$.
153 Christopher Kitching, 'Alchemy in the Reign of Edward VI: An Episode in the Careers of Richard Whalley and Richard Eden', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London,* 44 (1971): 308-315.

in 1545, and although his college is unknown, his interest in mathematics, astronomy, and the debasing of the coinage suggests the influence of Smith or Cheke.

John Ponet was at the heart of this group of astronomers among the 'Athenian tribe'. Godwin described Ponet as 'an excellent mathematician' and Strype may be correct in claiming that Ponet was the author of various treatises on the same subject.[154] In addition to his involvement with the construction of the Queens' dial we can observe evidence for his astronomical interest within the extant copies of his personal books, and in particular, a book which he purchased and then shared with Thomas Smith: the *Geoponika.*[155] This was a collection of ancient agricultural wisdom printed in 1539. The original text was collated in 10th century Constantinople and presented to Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The text itself was a collection of the 7th century Cassianus Bassus who was one of the 'geoponici' (farmers). Thus, it could be described as a medieval best practice farming guide for such diverse subjects as meteorology, soil science, botany, horticulture and viticulture, from such diverse sources as Zoroaster, Sotion, Africanus, and so on.

Within the *Geoponika,* heavy underlining occurs around Florentinus' discussion of the solstice and equinoxes, Aratus' lunar signs of calm and tempestuous weather, and Diophanes' description of months according to the moon.[156] One of the particular interests within the *Geoponika* concerned the 12-year revolution of Jupiter and its influence when conjoined with the 12 divisions of the zodiac. For each of these 'Great Conjunctions' the signs for Jupiter and the appropriate zodiac symbol were written into the margin and relevant sections of the passage

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154 Francis Godwin, *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England* (London, 1601), RSTC 11937, 195; *StrypeTS*, 20.
155 Because Ponet and Smith's handwriting styles are similar it is difficult to identify their individual annotations. Moreover, the use of underlining, sentence breaks, manicules (109 ff.) and drawings (dung, sand mortar, vines, shoots, peach, apple tree, rose, flower, and an onion on pages 57, 65, 109, 126, 257, 258, 314, 315, 354) was common to both. The main argument in favour of Smith's hand is the level of detail within the marginal drawings. From my survey of the marginalia of both authors, it is Smith who uses the most shading and intricacy in his images. Nevertheless, there is evidence in the *Geoponika* of two hands at work. I am indebted to Andrew Dalby's *Geoponika: Farm Work: A Modern Translation of the Roman and Byzantine Farming Book* (Totnes, 2011) for his translation. Since Ponet used the Greek text rather than the Latin there remain differences between Dalby's translation and the edition I consulted.
156 *Geoponika,* 4-13.

underlined.[157] Various other sections were of interest because of their astronomical import. In a section from the Quintilli concerning manure, 'you are not to manure your grounds when the moon is increasing' was underlined, the drawing of a half moon was placed in the margin, and the full sentence of underlined text was handwritten into the margin.[158] In another section concerning the growing of vines in February, a half moon was drawn into the left margin and the text underlined: 'In this month it is also expedient to plant the vine and all kinds of trees, and roses, and lilies, when the moon is increasing.'[159] In a section from Florentinus concerning the grafting of plants, two half-moons were drawn into the margin, and the text underlined: 'You must cut the shoots for grafting when the moon is in the wane.'[160] In one place we can observe a spiritual aspect to these astronomical observations. When reading the section of bay trees, 'Daimon' was written into the margin, and the following text underlined: '… and the ancients consecrate this to Apollo, because the plant is of a hot nature, and Apollo is fire, for he is the same as the sun; whence it is hated by demons, and where there is a bay-tree demons betake themselves to flight.'[161] Just as Sotion cited Psalm 1:3 a few pages earlier in the context of trees bearing their fruit, so too Ponet understood the compatibility of astronomical wisdom with spiritual wisdom.

Another important piece of evidence for Ponet's early interest in astronomy is his personal copy of John de Sacrobosco's *Textus De Sphaera.*[162] Indeed, this volume was also bound with Gaius Julius Hyginus' *Fabulae* (which contained Aratus' *Phaenomena* and Proclus' *De Sphaera*), Ptolemy's *Almagest,* and Sebastian Münster's *Organum Uranicum.*[163] In Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera* Ponet

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157 *Geoponika,* 29-26.
158 *Geoponika,* 58.
159 *Geoponika,* 84.
160 *Geoponika,* 110. Also see the three moons drawn alongside Anatolios' section on planting and grafting (130) and the waning moon adjacent to Florentinus' discussion about planting trees (249).
161 *Geoponika,* 306.
162 It is intriguing that Ponet's copy of *De Sphaera* made its way into the library of John Dee (which now belongs in the library of the Royal College of Physicians).
163 It is difficult to determine when these books were bound together, and thus whether they were all owned by Ponet. His handwriting is certainly in both *De Sphaera* and *Fabulae.* We have no way of knowing whether these two were separate or bound with the others when Ponet owned them. The other mystery concerns the dating of

underlined 'the eclipse of the moon is not different' and wrote in the adjacent margin, 'which eclipse'.[164] In Aratus' *Phaenomena* he underlined some signs of the zodiac (Orion, Leo, Taurus), drew their signs in the margin, and noted some of their characteristics.[165] The unusually small number of marginal notes in these texts makes it difficult to determine how Ponet used them, but at a minimum they would have contributed to his general astronomical knowledge.

Arising out of Ponet's practical experience and theoretical knowledge of astronomy was the construction of an extraordinary sundial made as a gift to Henry VIII.[166] An account of his gift was first given by John Bale and afterwards elaborated upon by Francis Godwin's *Catalogue of the Bishops of England* (1601):

> He gave unto king Henry the eight a dyall of his owne devise, shewing not onely the hower of the day, but also the day of the moneth, the signe of the sonne, the planetary hower; yea the change of the moone, the ebbing and flowing of the sea; with divers other things as strange to the great wonder of the king and his owne no lesse commendation.[167]

An important source of evidence concerning this sundial comes from the record of the visit made to Whitehall Palace by Duke Johann Ernsten of Saxe-Weimar in 1613. His account indicates that this was not a mechanical striking clock like that of Queens' but a non-mechanical sundial:

> In the middle of the garden is a great quadrangular stone whose middle is hollow and round like a baptismal font. One walks up four steps to reach it. On this stone are more than 117 sun-circles on which one can see the hours. It is a beautiful piece of art. This sundial was first designed by John Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, in the

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*De Sphaera* and the presence of its moving vovelles. Owen Gingerich says these were only added after 1538 – but Ponet's copy of *De Sphaera* is dated 1534. Is it possible that this is a very rare copy? See Gingerich, 'Sacrobosco as a Textbook', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 19/4 (1988).

164 *De Sphaera,* 10: 'eclipsis lunae nihil aliud est' and 'Eclipsis quid'.

165 *De Sphaera,* 164-169.

166 I am grateful to Robin Walker, Estate Bursar of Queens' College, for his private email correspondence and work published on the Queens' College website concerning the history of the Queens' sundial and have incorporated various of his insights into the following discussion.

167 Godwin, *Catalogue*, 195; c.f., *Scriptorum*, 694: 'Pro ingenii certè miraculo ducebat Henricus octavus Anglorum rex, scioteria seu horologia quædam; quæ pro sua maiestate fecisset: tam arguta in illis erat, & in ambitu tam brevi, dierum, mensium, noviluniorum, fluxuum & refluxuum maris, cœlestium signorum, planetarum, rerumque contingentium descriptio.'

> time of Henry VIII, and has been subsequently restored by the current King as the inscription on it records.[168]

Further details of this sundial are provided in the account of its replacement by the Welsh clergyman and astronomer Edmund Gunter in 1622. His description of the new sundial provides further details of the previous creation:

> The stone whereon the Dials are described, is of the same length, bredth, and depth, with that which stood in the same place before. That, was of *Cane* stone, and of many pieces: this, all of one intire stone from *Purbecke* Quarrie. The base of it is a square of somewhat more then foure foote and a halfe… It is also wrought with the like Plaines and Concaves as the former, and so necessarily, the like lines to shewe the houre of the day.[169]

Gunter further describes that this stone sundial had a total of 30 gnomons (5 dials on the upper part, 3 dials on the northern face, 4 dials on each of the eastern and western faces, 10 dials on the southern face of which the two irregular dials contained three styles each). This comports with the observation — made before the 1622 replacement — of the German travel writer Lupold von Wedel, who visited Whitehall on 26 August 1584 and remarked: 'In the middle of the garden is a nice fountain with a remarkable sun-dial, showing the time in thirty different ways.'[170]

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168 J. Wilhelm Neumair von Ramsla, *Des Durchlauchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Johann Ernsten des Jüngern Hertzogen zu Sachsen … Reise in Franckreich, Engelland und Niederland* (Leipzig, 1620), 180: 'Mitten im Garten ist ein vierechlichter grosser Stein mitten hohl und rund wie ein Tauffstein. Man steiget vier Stufen hinauff An solchem Stein seynd über 117 Sonnen-Circul daran man die Stunden sehen kan. Ist ein schön Kunststuck. Solche Horologia ist zu Henrici VIII. Zeiten erstlich von Joan Pieneto Episcopo Wintoniensi delineiret, nachmaln aber vom jetzigen König restaurieret worden wie solches die Inscription daran meldet.' Although 'Horologia' is in the plural number, it is likely intended to be read as singular since the controlling verb is in singular form. This note was observed by Sir Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London) who between the 1979 and 1984 editions changed his opinion to confirm the identification of Ponet by the Saxon Duke. I am grateful to Prof. Diarmaid MacCulloch for pointing me to Strong's reference.

169 Edmund Gunter, *The Description and Use of his Maiesties Dials in VVhite-Hall Garden* (1624), RSTC 12524, B.1$^{r-v}$, *italics retained.* Unless Ponet designed more than one clock for Henry VIII, the square design rules out the suggestion of Joseph Burtt that the clock 'showing howe the see dothe ebbe and flowe' at Westminster was that of Ponet's design, for this clock was rounded and made of iron. This may be observed by comparing the clock mentioned in King Henry VIII's 1542 inventory with that made in 1546. See, Joseph Burtt, 'Inventories of Certain Valuable Effects of King Henry the Eighth, in the Palace at Westminster, A.D. 1542', *Archaeological Journal* 18:1 (1861): 134-145, and David Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII* (London, 1998), 241.

170 Gottfried von Bülow, 'Journey through England and Scotland Made by Lupold von Wedel in the Years 1584 and 1585', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* New Series 9 (1895): 234.

From this we may discount several erroneous assertions concerning Ponet's sundial. Firstly, there is no evidence to suggest that Ponet's clock was located at Hampton Court.[171] There is no extant evidence for this assertion and only evidence of its existence in the gardens of Whitehall. Secondly, there is no evidence to support the claim that John Ponet presented a copy of the Queens' sundial to Henry VIII.[172] The Queens' striking clock was likely mounted in the bell tower of Queens' College, and the King's creation was a large stone sundial located on the grounds of the Whitehall garden. In other words, Ponet was not simply copying a work which Thomas Smith had first designed. Thirdly, there is no evidence to suggest that Ponet's gift to King Henry was a mechanical dial.[173] Although Bale's use of 'scioteria' could include such a meaning, unless Ponet gave another dial to Henry, the extant evidence only affords the presentation of a stone sundial.

Lastly, it has been suggested that its presentation to the king occurred in 1540.[174] In the absence of any historical record of when it was presented by Ponet we may conjecture that it would likely have been given to Henry VIII shortly before 1546. It is likely that Ponet's appeals for patronage would have happened contemporaneously with those of John Cheke, who translated a treatise of Chrysostom as a Christmas present for King Henry in 1543 and continued to provide a translation as an annual present until the King's death in 1547. Further, since Ponet received patronage from Henry by being appointed his chaplain around 1546, we may surmise

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171 The earliest suggestion of Hampton Court comes from Routh, *Who's Who in History: England,* 178. Just as the assertion that Ponet designed the Queens' sundial, this suggestion has been carried through the various editions of this work up to *Who's Who in British History* (1998). Likewise with the Queens' sundial, Alison Weir cites Routh for this suggestion in *Henry VIII,* 447.

172 'John Ponet (c. 1514-1556)' in J. A. Wagner and S. W. Schmid (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Tudor England,* 3 vols. (Santa Barbara, 2012), 884.

173 The earliest reference to the clock being an astronomical clock is from Daines Barrington, 'Observations on the earliest Introduction of Clocks', *Archaeologia* 5 (1779): 425[footnote u]. The designation of 'astronomical clock' continued in the work Johann Beckmann, *A History of Inventions and Discoveries* (London, 1817), 454, and was followed by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry Eighth, from November 1529 to December 1532* (London, 1827), 311 and George Smeeton, 'History of Clocks and Watches', *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* 11/319 (1828), 436.

174 The earliest reference to the date comes from Weir, *Henry VIII*, 447. She claims the date as 1540 yet the source cited specifies no dating.

that the gift of the sundial occurred not long before this. Both Smith and Cheke were moving further into court circles around this time and Ponet was rising through the ministerial ranks.

That astronomy remained an important aspect of Ponet's life is evidenced by his astronomical interests that continued long after his years at Queens'. In his copy of Joachim Vadianus' *Aphorisms* he underlined the story of God's promise to extend the life of King Hezekiah as recorded by the prophet Isaiah. In this story God made a visible confirmation of his promise through astronomical means: 'I will bring again the shadow of the degrees, which is gone down in the sun dial of Ahaz, ten degrees backward.' (Is. 38:8). The aspect of the story noted in the margin by Ponet was not the confirmatory miracle but its means: 'horologium.'[175] In his copy of Zwingli's *Commentary on the Gospels* he underlined Zwingli's commentary concerning the wise astronomers from the east as recorded in Matthew's Gospel (Matt. 2:1-11). Zwingli made the comment: 'The Orientals were the most skillful with the stars, thus God urged them with the stars, and by an extraordinary star he led them to come to know his Son.' In the adjacent margin, Ponet seemingly in agreement with Zwingli's comment, suggested a similar fittingness could be observed with the appearance of singing angels to the shepherds as recorded in Luke 2:13.[176] These were undoubtedly vindications of prognostical astronomy against the likes of Calvin.

Perhaps the clearest example of his astronomical outlook is presented in the *Shorte Treatise* written just before his death in 1556. In the concluding section of the treatise against the Marian regime he prognosticated that the 'horible Comete and blasing starre that was sene this yeare greater in Englande' would bring great calamity. There are two particularly striking observations to be made from this text. Firstly, Ponet outlined his theological rationale for judicial astrology:

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175 *Aphorisms,* 25.

176 Zwingli, *Euangelicam,* 3. Although most of the marginal comment has been lost due to the rebinding of the book, there remains the partial comment: 'sic pastores u<*incomplete word*> cantu, indeos m<*incomplete word*> qui nimirum cra<*incomplete word*> gentes autem et per Rhetorica <*incomplete word*>'.

'For if it be laufull for man to diuine of Goddes wonderfull workes, and by the like thinges past, coniecture those that be to come: why should we not affirme, that these plages will folowe?' Secondly, Ponet demonstrated his keen interest in the history of comets. He cited ten major instances of comets that appeared in connection with wars, plagues, famines and other disasters, and that ranged from the time of Xerxes' war against the Greeks, to the fall of Jerusalem during Nero's reign, to the time of William the Conqueror, and up to the then recent Turkish invasion of Hungary.[177] This willingness to conjecture about divine judgement on the basis of astronomical occurrences demonstrates that Ponet clearly sat outside the Calvinian astronomical camp. Indeed, his mature astronomical outlook was the organic outworking of his early astronomical interests and activity while bursar of Queens' college.

## FINAL YEARS AT QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Ponet's remaining years at Queens' College involved a slight shift from academic to ministerial activity. In 1540 he relinquished his duties as bursar and taught his final year of Greek in the public schools. In the following academic year of 1541/42 Ponet became dean of the chapel at Queens' College and held this post until he left in 1543.[178] He was paid £3 per annum for this role and was likely given 40s per annum for bread, wine, wax and other chapel related expenses.[179] Although there is little trace of his activity we can assume his ministry was shaped by his various humanistic and evangelical convictions. Indeed, he would have been responsible for the introduction of new Bibles — presumably the Great Bible of 1540 which included Cranmer's preface — into the chapel around 29 December 1541.[180]

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[177] *Shorte Treatise,* K.v$^{r}$-K.vii$^{v}$.
[178] *MJ2,* 1541/42, 85$^{r}$: 'deacano sacelli'.
[179] The results of the royal commission into the revenues of the university (1546) listed this amount paid to the dean of the chapel. See footnote 124 for the rationale for the likelihood of this amount being paid when Ponet held this role in 1541/42-1542/43.
[180] *MJ2,* 1541/42, 92$^{r}$: '... biblia in sacello'.

He was very much a residential fellow during this period, as indicated by the substantial amount of work on his college chambers. Between 1 November 1540 and 28 August 1541 there were at least 64 days' worth of work completed on his chambers. Some of the labour was spent on his steps, the walls of his upper and lower chambers, the key and doorway to his chambers, the beams of wood presumably supporting his upper chamber, and a large amount of work upon his windows, some of which was completed under order of the fellows.[181]

Ponet was also involved in another construction project; this time for a play performed multiple times in Queens' College hall around 10 March 1541. The preparations for the performances had begun on 5 February with the preparation of various stage garments.[182] Later in the month, carpenter John Dowsey spent five days with two servants erecting the theatre stage.[183] In addition Dowsey built a wooden temple and a wooden candelabrum, and the blacksmith Nicholas Ott made 38 candle stands from iron and silver plate.[184] On 1 March Thomas the painter decorated the shrine with various colours, and the young and talented Thomas Tusser was paid for playing the organ (or some other kind of instrument) at the upcoming performances.[185] On 9 March Peter Ventresse was paid a substantial sum for garments, while

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[181] *MJ2,* 1540/41, 74r: 'dowsey cum uno famulo triduo operatibus in cubiculo magistri ponnet'; 74v: 'Joani morleo cum uno famulo sex diebus operatibus in cubiculo magistri poneti', 'morleo cum famulo illinenti murum inter cubiculum magistri burbanke et ponnet tam in superiori et in inferiori cubiculo', 'rogers yonge vitriarium pro confectione [prob. not consectione] fenestrarum 28 pedum in museo magistri ponneti'; 76r: 'magistro poinett pro confectione [prob. not consectione] fenestrarum in superiori cubiculo suo ex iussu magistri collegii'; 76v: 'Joanni Morley cum famulo sex diebus operatibus supra tertium cubiculum magistrii, et circa fenestras indras magistri ponnett', 'morleo cum famulo operatibus circa novas fenestras in cubiculo magistri poinett 5 diebus', 'banks pro clavis ferreis quibus opus est magistri poinnett pro reparationibus in suo cubiculo', 'Johanni volomer cum alio <*uncertain word*> fenestras in cubiculo magistri poineti', 'Joanni moreleo cum famulo operatibus super cubiculo magistri Poineti et fenestras quatriduo et biduo super cubiculum meum', 'Joanni Doloso et famulo pro <*uncertain word* – divina?> opera in cubiculo magistri ponnett', 'Joanni volomere biduo laborati in cubiculo magistr poinet', 'bankyse pro clavis sex nummorum et tiggilorum cubiculo magistri poineti'; 77r: 'morleo cum famulo sex diebus operatibus super cubiculum magistri poneti ex citeriori parte', 'rogero yong pro plivo novo, et adaptione 48 pedum vitri pro fenestris in superiori cubiculo magistri ponett'; 78v: 'Joanni Dolose cum uno famulum triduo restarti<*uncertain ending*> ostium magestri garret ... poinett.'

[182] *MJ2,* 1540/41, 78v: '5 ffebruarij sampsono pro confectione vestium scenicarum et panno pro commediis agendis'.

[183] *MJ2,* 1540/41, 79r: '18.o Ioanni Dowse cum 2 famulis ad quinque dies parantibus ac erigentibus scenam in aula pro commediis agendis', 'Item Dowseo cum famulo eo die quo agebantur commediae'.

[184] *MJ2,* 1540/41, 79r: 'Item eodem die pro parvis clavis pro candelabro et phano ligneo conficiendis et pro loris pro eisdem', 'Item nicolao ott pro triginta octo candelabris ex ferro et platt.'.

[185] *MJ2,* 1540/41, 79r: 'Item thomae pictori pingens phanum et pro coloribus quibus usi sunt actores commediarum', 'Item eodem die tusher qui pulsabat ~~ore~~ organa in agendis commediis'.

Nicholas Ott was paid for 6 oblong spikes used to fix the steps to the theatre stage.[186] On 10 March invitations were written and it was soon performed.[187] Afterwards John Dowsey and his servant pulled the stage down and returned it to the storeroom.[188]

John Ponet appears to have played a central role in the organisation of the performances. His name was one of the three that sanctioned the plays when preparations began on 5 February.[189] On 9 March he financially contributed towards the completion of various items for the comedies.[190] It would have been natural for Ponet to have taken the lead in organising the performance since this was the first year when Thomas Smith was absent from Queens' College. Indeed, Ponet was likely carrying on the special interest Smith had taken in dramatic performance. Smith organised a play at Queens' in 1536/37 and assisted John Cheke with Aristophanes' *Plutus* which was performed at St. John's in 1535/36.[191] This latter comedy was explicitly mentioned by Smith in his letter to Gardiner concerning the new pronunciation in 1542.[192] Evidently, for Smith and Cheke, the performances of ancient Greek comedies were the perfect vehicle for propagating the new pronunciation of the language during that fertile period of the mid to late 1530s. Since Ponet was a close friend and linguistic collaborator with Smith and Cheke, we may assume that his performance of a comedy in 1541 also furthered the controversial new pronunciation. Since around that time Ponet was heavily annotating the comedy 'Frogs' within his copy of *Aristophanes* it may be possible that this play was performed. This comedy was one of the earliest forms of ancient Greek drama that theorised about

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186 *MJ2,* 1540/41, 79r: 'Item petro Ventresse pro panno et confectione vestium scenicarum ut patet per billam visa et examinatum per presidentem et cetera … iii li iiii s vi d', 'Item nicolao ott pro 6 oblongis clavis quibus affigebantur gradus quibus ~~adse~~ ascendebant ad scenam'.
187 *MJ2,* 1540/41, 79v: 'Item 10 die scribenti invitiorum vestium scenicarum'.
188 *MJ2,* 1540/41, 79v: 'Item Ioanni Dowse pro bidui sua opera cum famulo diruentibus scenam in aula ac reponentibus res illa in lignario'.
189 *MJ2,* 1540/41, 78v: '...pro commediis agendis ut patet per billam visam et examinatam per presidentem doctor barnard, et magistros ponett, et hodshone'.
190 *MJ2,* 1540/41, 79r: 'Item magistro Ponett pro quibusdam rebus occupatis in commediis agendis ut patet per illius billam visam et examinatam per magistrum presidentem'.
191 *MJ2,* 1536/37, 27v-28r.
192 *De Recta & Emendata*, 42r: '... Proxima bruma ad Ioannis Comedia Graeca, Plutus Aristophanis, in hac pronuntiatione exhibita est, & alia deinceps atque alia, nec sane illorum qui Graece profitebantur & habebantur docti, quisquam fuit qui se opponeret...'

linguistic pronunciation and the nature of language itself. It was undoubtedly a timely performance and probably Ponet's last significant contribution to Greek scholarship at Cambridge. Moreover, Ponet's involvement in the production of this comedy accords him a place within the mid-Tudor period of early modern drama.

## SUMMARY

It has long been noted that Ponet was an able and influential humanist scholar at Cambridge but until now we have only had the testimony of others as evidence for his ability. However, this exposition of new source material provides a fresh description of John Ponet as a leading humanist of the mid-Tudor reformation period. His extraordinary linguistic abilities enabled his rapid rise into the most important position for teaching Greek at Cambridge and from this influential position he furthered the controversial new pronunciation of the Greek language. His interest in astronomical ideas enabled his involvement in the construction of the Queens' sundial and he utilised these abilities to procure the favour of King Henry VIII. Such were his humanist commitments that he was intimately involved in the production of a comedy at Queens' college. Among his English contemporaries only Thomas Smith and John Cheke could lay claim to such humanist credentials.

However, it is important to note the differences between Ponet and these other two leaders of the 'Athenian tribe'. Whereas Smith and Cheke blazed the trail for Cambridge humanism during this period, Ponet was their junior and followed in their footsteps. The new pronunciation was initially developed by Smith and Cheke and they afterwards co-opted Ponet into their circle. The dramatic performances of Greek comedy which furthered the new pronunciation were initiated by Smith and Cheke and only afterwards did Ponet organise his performance in the absence of Smith. Likewise, the horologium at Queens' college was designed by Smith, and Ponet played an assisting role in its installation. Ponet's gift of the sundial to King Henry VIII may have been inspired by John Cheke's gifts also. That Ponet was

a close collaborator with Smith in particular is evidenced not only by the affectionate language Smith used to describe his pupil, but also in the sharing of books between them. In addition to the copy of *Geoponika* which they both owned, Smith bequeathed to Queens' college a bound collection of Tacitus' works which were previously owned by Ponet. The most crucial difference between Ponet and his two 'Athenian' mentors lay in the fact that whereas they were non-ordained and pursued careers in academic and court circles, he was an ordained priest and used his humanistic talents in the service of the church.[193] This explains why when Thomas Smith was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University (1543), and John Cheke was appointed tutor to Prince Edward (1544), John Ponet came to the attention of Thomas Cranmer and put his immense academic abilities to the service of evangelical ministry around 1543.

[193] Thomas Smith is probably the author of the handwritten Greek fragment (labelled 'ad Ponetum') in CCCC MS 106, p.396, which seems to describe a transitioning relationship with Ponet from teacher to friend in deeply loving terms, and states 'Oh Ponet, nothing was necessary from me to teach rhetoric … For neither a son nor my disciple you have become … the friend of yours' ('οὐδὲν ἐδει κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ ῥητορεύειν ὦ πόνητε … ουδὲ υἱὸς γὰρ οὐδε μαθητὴς μου σὺ γέγονας … τὸν φιλὸν ἑαυτοῦ'). I am grateful to Peter Bolt for his translation assistance.

# Chapter 2 – The Rise of an Evangelical Theologian (1543-1549)

Ponet's departure from the cloistered academic environs of Cambridge and subsequent entrance into ecclesiastical ministry around 1543, saw him rapidly move from humanist scholar to one of the foremost evangelical theologians in England. The first half of this seven-year period spanned the final years of King Henry VIII. Although formal pronouncements and publications, such as the 'Act of Six Articles' (1539), the *King's Book* (1543), and the 'Act for the Advancement of True Religion' (1543) presented major challenges to the evangelical cause, Ryrie provides ample evidence that this was also a time of 'evangelical mobilisation', largely due to the restored authority and influence of Thomas Cranmer in the wake of the spectacular failure of the so-called Prebendaries' Plot of 1543.[194] The second half of this period spanned the early years of the reign of King Edward VI. These years, aptly described by MacCulloch as the beginning of the 'Tudor Church Militant', witnessed evangelical resurgence through the zeal of the young 'Josiah', and the dominance of Somerset's circle of evangelical agents.[195] Previous biographical work on Ponet has only captured the broad contours of his involvement but has often misinterpreted or neglected some of the most significant features of his involvement. Hudson's neglect of Ponet's role as royal chaplain, and his omission of Ponet's passport granted by Henry VIII and continued by Edward VI to travel overseas for study, are good examples of precisely this point. There is far more to John Ponet during these years than the simple narrative of his being chaplain to Thomas Cranmer under Henry VIII, and evangelical polemicist under Edward VI. Indeed, John Ponet exemplifies the mobilisation and resurgence of evangelicalism throughout this period.

[194] Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, 166.
[195] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant* (London, 2001).

## EVANGELICAL PATRONAGE AND PREPARATION

On 31 May 1543, John Ponet was collated by Thomas Cranmer as prebendary of the collegiate church of South Malling in Sussex, serving as Rector of Southeram in the Deanery of South Malling, a fairly nominal post attached to the almost equally nominal office of precentor in South Malling Church.[196] Since South Malling was a peculiar within the immediate jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it served as a means for Cranmer to provide talented evangelicals with a source of income. This position was previously held by Cranmer's long-time evangelical supporter, Richard Champion, who died toward the end of May 1543. Such was Champion's evangelicalism that at the end of his funeral at Canterbury Cathedral, the conservative bell-ringer named Ralph snatched the thurible, and poured the hot coals onto the deceased man's body to show that he was a heretic worthy of burning.[197] Although we know that Ponet swore to observe the South Malling college statutes, and that the elderly non-residential Dean Robert Peterson was due to induct Ponet into the prebend, it is unlikely Ponet actually spent long in this role. When the South Malling college was called to surrender its holdings to the crown around 10 March 1545, the document of surrender, which listed all the clergy associated with the various holdings of the college, originally had written '... John Ponet, clk., rector of Southeram ...' However, Ponet's name was struck out and 'he is released' was inserted above by Richard Rede, one of the clerks of the exchequer, who formally accepted the surrender.[198] Later documentation of the surrender also has no mention of Ponet's name adjacent to Southeram.[199] Thus, whereas the other clergy associated with South Malling had to

[196] LPL, Cranmer's Reg., 388v.
[197] CCCC MS 128, p.31 (*LP* 18 ii no.546, pp.300-301).
[198] TNA, E 328/394/ii: 'resolvit' (*LP* 20 i, no.333, p.151).
[199] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Literæ, et cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica...,* 17 vols. (London, 1704-35), 15:65; the 'Exemplification of Inspeximus' dated 16 January 1589 similarly has no mention of Ponet, TNA SAS/A13.

surrender their livings, it would seem there were already plans afoot to move Ponet on from South Malling.

On 15 November 1543, Ponet was collated by Cranmer again; this time as Rector of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane.[200] The parish — another of Cranmer's peculiars — was within the deanery of the Arches, and Cranmer's powerful vicar general, Dean John Cockes, was to induct Ponet into the parish. By 1548, Ponet and his curate served the 354 communicants of the parish, and Ponet himself received £13 6s 8d p.a.[201] There is no other evidence of Ponet's parish activities, but it would have served as a useful London base. Indeed, we can be sure that the ministry at St. Michael's made some impression on him. Its proximity to the white-coat wearing fish porters at Billingsgate inspired his later description of the clerical surplice, which was dredged up by a number of Puritans during the Vestments Controversy shortly after his death: 'Docter Poynet late bishop of winches. in his admonition to England likinith them to a porters weede of billingsgate.'[202]

Cranmer was clearly offering important patronage to the rising evangelical star during the year 1543. Indeed, Ponet was stated to be Cranmer's chaplain ('sacellanus') in both registry records of collation. Having the talented Ponet as chaplain would be a great asset to the Archbishop for his precise and sharp-eyed theological analysis. 'Like an Achates,' recounted John Bale (who also reserved these words for John Foxe's admirable service to himself), 'Ponet always held great authority with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, by his counsel in private discussions on the divine mysteries.'[203] The final words of this hagiography are suggestive of

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[200] LPL, Cranmer's Reg., 390[r].
[201] Christopher J. Kitching (ed.), *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate, 1548* (London, 1980), 23.
[202] This quotation is cited in the anonymous tract, *An Answvere for the Tyme* (Rouen?, 1566), RSTC 10388, 39. It refers to a non-extant treatise of Ponet's ('Admonition to England'), which Bale's *Scriptorum* names *Praemonitionem ad Anglos.* The reference to the porter's weed also exists in Henry Barrow's *Petition directed to Her Most Excellent Majestie* (London, 1591), RSTC 1522a, 75.
[203] *Scriptorum,* 694: 'Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Thomae Cranmero, tanquam Achates, in magna semper authoritate fuit, & a consilio in abditis diuinorum mysteriorum eloquiis.' Bale, *Scriptorum,* 763, said of Foxe: 'Decem fere annis mihi Achates fuit'.

Cranmer's particular interest in Ponet's assistance — his extraordinary exegetical skill with New Testament Greek and his impressive theological abilities. These words also suggest something about Ponet's probable occupation beyond parochial ministry during this period of chaplaincy: theological research.

It has been suggested — albeit without much evidence — that Ponet spent much of his period of chaplaincy working in Cranmer's library, which according to John Strype, was 'a Storehouse of Ecclesiastical Writers of all ages.'[204] The main piece of evidence used to support this theory is a letter from Roger Ascham to Ponet, written around January – February 1545:

> Let me borrow freely for an agreed time the Greek of Gregory Nyssa, if you have it, most learned Ponet: but if you do not have it, I ask you on the basis of our long-standing friendship, that you obtain it for me from the most reverend father for a few months.[205]

With recourse to Ponet's marginalia and book ownership, we are able to confirm and expand on this theory. In his *Draft Reply,* Ponet recorded his consultation of a copy of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* in Cranmer's library, which he afterwards quoted in the *Defence for Mariage* (1549).[206] Since Huntingdon featured among the notes in Ponet's commonplace books, it is probable that other sources in his commonplace books were likewise copied out of Cranmer's library. Also in the *Draft Reply,* Ponet recollected seeing Ignatius' letter to the Philadelphians in Cranmer's library.[207] This was an important manuscript regarding clerical marriage, and specifically, the marriage of the Apostle Paul — again, evidence of theological work on clerical marriage within Cranmer's library. Ponet's personal copy of Varennius' *Syntaxis* was even among the books in Cranmer's library prior to the Archbishop's arrest.[208] Thus, we

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[204] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 24; Bowman, 'John Ponet', 29-30; *StrypeTC,* 1:631.
[205] See Appendix B.
[206] *Draft Reply,* 334r; *Defence for Mariage,* C.8r.
[207] *Draft Reply,* 237r.
[208] Indicated by 'Thomas Cantuarien' on the title page; c.f., D.G. Selwyn, 'Cranmer's Library: its potential for Reformation Studies', in Paul Ayris and David Selwyn (eds.), *Thomas Cranmer: Churchman and Scholar* (Woodbridge, 1999), 46.

may be certain that the period of Ponet's chaplaincy to Cranmer involved phases of serious theological study within Cranmer's library.

One particularly significant book Ponet studied throughout this period of Cranmer's chaplaincy was *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man* (1543). The book was itself a revision of the 'Bishop's Book' (1537), and since it came with royal approval, the work became known as the 'King's Book'.[209] Generally conservative in nature, the King's Book was split into eleven sections: the preface, declaration of faith, the Creed, the seven sacraments, the 10 commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, an article on free will, an article on justification, an article on good works, and a concluding section on prayer for the deceased. In his personal copy of the book — acquired in 1543 and presumably annotated shortly thereafter — Ponet underlined and commented on every single section. These annotations reveal Ponet to be a convinced evangelical, with a number of opinions contrary to the teaching of the King's Book.

Whereas the so-called 'Bishop's Book' (1537) studiously avoided the term 'justification by faith alone', the King's Book directly confronted the solifidian controversy. While it denounced the solifidian slogan of 'justification by faith alone', a careful reading of the book demonstrates that the core doctrine behind solifidianism could be nevertheless maintained. This was the position of Thomas Cranmer which provoked Stephen Gardiner's strong disagreement: '[i]f suche as travaile in the doctrine of 'fayth only,' brought their water pott to the Kinges booke, they were lyke to goo thence with out lycquour.'[210] It is highly significant that Ponet's cautious parsing of the ambiguous solifidianism within the King's Book shows his thought to be aligned with Cranmer's general view. Ponet noted the distinction between the two 'acceptations' of faith in Scripture: dead faith and lively faith (adjacent to which, Ponet wrote 'a lyvely faith' in the

[209] Ryrie, *Gospel and Henry VIII,* 45.
[210] James A. Muller (ed.), *The Letters of Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, 2013 [1933]), 337-38.

margin). He underlined the phrase, 'but by it is ment faith, neither onely ne alone', and wrote in the margin: 'yes if ye mean faith in the second signification which is not alone.'[211] In other words, Ponet recognised that the exclusion of 'onely' in the King's Book was not explicitly promoting justification through human merit, but merely insisting that the virtues of hope and charity be not separated from the virtue of faith.[212] This language of 'annexed and ioyned' when connecting good works to faith in the second signification of faith in the King's Book would later become standard fare throughout the Reformed theology of the sixteenth century.

The careful analysis involved in Ponet's examination of justification can also be observed in his approach to, and mixed appreciation for, the broader soteriological teaching of the King's Book. In the preface, Ponet latched onto the rationale for Christian obedience to the Decalogue, and wrote the characteristically Augustinian comment in the margin: 'man canne do nothing pleasant to god with out his especiall grace'.[213] Under the heading, 'Faith', Ponet drew a large box around a section of text which rejected the possibility of soteriological assurance ('whether there be any special particular knowledge whiche man by fayth hath certainly [sic] ... that he is of the predestinates'), and replied with the marginal objection: 'how do those justified by faith have peace with God, unless the testimony of the spirit witnesses to their consciences that they are sons of God?'[214] On the same page, he underlined text concerning the related soteriological concept of the perseverance of the saints ('our perseueraunce ... is uncertayne and unstable') and commented in the margin, 'The condicione is to beleue in christ'. He supplemented this note with a trefoil symbol, and at the corresponding trefoil at the bottom of the page, wrote: 'Gods request is that we should beleue in Christ and we shall haue life everlasting. Thene if we

[211] *King's Book,* ii$^{v}$.
[212] See the dated but careful study of D.B. Knox, *The Doctrine of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1961), 256.
[213] *King's Book,* preface, a.ii$^{v}$.
[214] *King's Book,* iii$^{r}$: 'quo modo iustificati ex fide pacem habent apud deus, nisi spiritus testimonium perhibeat illorum conscientii quod sint filii dei [implied question mark]'.

beleve, we fulfil his request and kepe the condicione.'[215] For Ponet, faith in Christ was the sufficient means of receiving significant soteriological realities.

Ponet's marginalia also demonstrates that he took particular interest in the ecclesiology of the King's Book. Underlining almost a whole paragraph concerning the priority of primitive church practices, and drawing a large manicule in the margin, he wrote underneath: 'The usages of the primitive churche be more agreable to the doctrine of Christ than any lawes or customs made or brought in by the Bushop of Rome.'[216] He made marginal notes — without value judgement — for various ecclesiological concepts and practices advocated by the King's Book: Marian devotion, the necessity of the Scriptures for clergy, prayer to the saints, the relationship between preaching and calling, the mixed nature of the church, the unity of the church, Sabbath rest, and corporate prayer in the mother tongue.[217] The single ecclesiological disagreement Ponet made concerned a section of the exposition of the Creed. Observing how the King's Book joined its discussion of the communion of the saints to the discussion of the forgiveness of sins, he wrote: 'The furst part of this article should be annexid to the former article' — i.e., the communion of saints should be understood in terms of ecclesiology, not soteriology.[218] Years later, and indicative of the persistence of his intellectual ideas, Ponet would have the privilege of remedying this matter within his *Short Catechisme.* In his discussion of the church and the communion of saints, he wrote: 'These two thinges I haue alwai thoght to be most fitly coupled togither'.[219]

The final significant area of disagreement with the King's Book concerned sacramental theology. Ponet's written reaction to the suggestion that the sacrament of unction could be a means of receiving pardon and remission of sins confirms his evangelical convictions: 'thene

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[215] *King's Book,* iii$^{r}$.'
[216] *King's Book,* xli$^{r}$.
[217] *King's Book*, A.iii$^{r}$ (preface), A.iii$^{v}$ (preface), xi$^{r}$, xv$^{r}$, xv$^{v}$, xvi$^{v}$, liii$^{r}$-liii$^{r}$, lxx$^{r}$.
[218] *King's Book*, xviii$^{r}$.
[219] *Short Catechisme,* xliv$^{v}$.

god useth sum other means whereby to reconcile mane then the death of Christ.'[220] Concerning the 'Sacrament of the Aultare' in the King's Book, Ponet objected to its teaching on the substance of the Lord's Supper, and communion in one kind — both of which were explicitly advocated by the 'Act of Six Articles.' He underlined the text, 'the playne worde of Christ, whiche affirmeth that substaunce there offered, exhibited and receyued ...' and inserted a trefoil symbol in the margin. Adjacent to the associated trefoil symbol he drew below the printed marginal note: 'Mat. xxvi, Mar. xiiii, Luc. xxii, 1 Co. xi', he commented, 'these places of the scripture spek never a word of the substaunce ther offerid and exhibited'.[221] On the following page, where the King's Book attacked the evangelical argument for communion in both kinds, Ponet underlined the claim, 'For surely scripture teacheth the contrary', and pointedly interjected in the margin, 'where?'[222]

Ponet's major issue with the King's Book was not its teaching on justification by faith, but rather its related soteriological and sacramental theology. Indeed, his objections to the sacramental theology of the King's Book were intended to safeguard soteriology. That the evangelical Ponet would disagree with the general soteriology of the King's Book is unsurprising. However, it is significant that such an able scholar and chaplain to the Archbishop would find room to manoeuvre around the exposition of the solifidianism in the King's Book. This observation calls for a more nuanced appreciation for the evangelical reception of the King's Book than is often evident among modern commentary, such as with Richard Rex's statement, that 'the King's Book had decisively repudiated Protestant doctrines.'[223] While the thoroughly protestant John Ponet would have a certain sympathy with such a reading of the King's Book, he would not simply agree.

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[220] *King's Book,* xliii[r].
[221] *King's Book*, xxiii[v].
[222] *King's Book*, xxviii[r].
[223] Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (Basingstoke, 1993), 169. Also see Ryrie, *Gospel and Henry VIII,* 45-46; D.G. Newcombe, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (London, 1995), 70; J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1997), 407-408.

Therefore, even in this first year of Ponet's ministerial career, we can observe something of his transition from Cambridge scholar to evangelical theologian. His 1543 acquisition of the *Libri De Re Rustica* (1535) certainly demonstrates his continued interest in classical literature. This compilation of agricultural texts, which bears similarity to the *Geoponika* contained excerpts of ancient authors such as Cato and Terrence, and it is likely that he mined it for astronomical insights. However, Ponet's sustained theological annotations in the King's Book mark the beginning of his evangelical ministry and are indicative of the shrewd theological thought which would shape the rest of his life.

In 1545, Ponet continued his upward ecclesiastical progression under the patronage of Cranmer. He was evidently close to Cranmer during this period. When Ascham wrote to Ponet requesting the Greek of Gregory Nyssa, he also petitioned him at length for help in his obtaining a dispensation to eat meat during Lent from the Archbishop. Apparently, as he disclosed to Ponet, his body was feeble and disposition melancholic — he described the inability to have meat during Lent as the single matter which 'vehemently impedes all plans of my life and study.'[224] This dispensation was granted by Cranmer, who Ascham then requested in another letter to let Ponet give the seal of the license to John Taylor, Master of his college, St. John's, Cambridge.[225] Around this time Ponet received a dispensation of a different kind, for on 8 June 1545 he was granted a license to hold multiple benefices.[226] This was not uncommon, for Cranmer granted the same kind of dispensation to four others within the first fortnight of June 1545 alone. The significance of Ponet being granted this licence lies in its revelation about Cranmer's strategic deployment of him.

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[224] See Appendix B.
[225] Ascham, *Disertissimi*, 111$^{r-v}$: 'Nunc rogandus es, per humanitatem tuam vt illud per Ponetum nostrum Dom. Tailero praefecto nostri Collegij concedatur.' This page number is misprinted '131'.
[226] LPL, F I/A, 131.

Four days after being given the license for pluralism, Ponet was collated to another of Cranmer's peculiars: the benefice of East Lavant (12 June 1545).[227] However, less than one month later, Ponet resigned the position. The explanation for this unusual situation lies with one Richard Cawarden, Dean of Chichester, and previous Rector of East Lavant. Cawarden was deprived for withholding first fruits on the same day Ponet was collated, but received a royal pardon and was quickly restored (5 July 1545), and then collated on the same day Ponet resigned (11 July 1545).[228] Unfortunately for Cranmer and Ponet, Cawarden was well connected. He was not only chaplain to the King, but also the King's surveyor who was tasked, along with Richard Lee, to build various costly fortifications for the King during 1544. That the King would have entrusted Lee and Cawarden with £1300 to develop bulwarks at Harwich alone gives some indication of his importance around the time of Ponet's collation.[229] This adds to MacCulloch's suggestion that Cranmer's speedy action in substituting Cawarden with Ponet is somewhat suspicious. For, it was not only suspicious, but reasonably audacious for Cranmer, given the trust placed in Cawarden by the King.[230]

Nevertheless, this failed attempt at promoting Ponet did not deter Cranmer from another effort. In the middle of September 1545, Cranmer obtained a royal grant of a prebend in Christ Church, Canterbury for his chaplain.[231] Ponet's new position came in the wake of a turbulent period of the recently refounded Cathedral. The so-called Prebendaries' Plot of 1543 saw five of the prebendaries, two of the Six Preachers, and a number of local gentry and clergy attempt to unseat the Archbishop with a plan which spectacularly backfired.[232] Indeed, the promotion of Ponet was part of Cranmer's evangelical reaction to this conservative plot. On 29 January

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227 LPL, Cranmer's Reg., 395$^{v}$.
228 Cawarden's deprivation: LPL, Cranmer's Reg., 395$^{v}$; Cawarden's restoration and Ponet's resignation: LPL, Cranmer's Reg., 396$^{r}$.
229 The payment to Lee and Cawarden: *LP* 19 i, no.368, p.242; the plan of the bulwark at Harwich: BL, Cotton Augustus I.i, 61$^{r}$.
230 MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 324-5.
231 *SP* 4/1, 52$^{r}$(72): 'An advousion of a prebende in christchurche at canterburii granted to john ponet clerc. At the suyte of Tharchebisshopp of canterburie.' (*LP* 20: ii, no.418(72), p.184).
232 Michael L. Zell, 'The Prebendaries' Plot of 1543', *JEH* 27/3 (1976).

1546, Ponet was presented by John Sandford and Peter Lylly — the former, one of Cranmer's household servants, and the latter, on the staff of the Province's senior lawyer, Thomas Argall — to the eighth prebendary stall.[233] The previous holder of the stall was the conservative William Hunt (alias Hadleigh), who was implicated and imprisoned during the Prebendaries' Plot, but had recently died. So, with Ponet replacing Hunt, and William Devenish replacing the late William Gardiner (alias Sandwich), the remaining conservative plotters, Richard Parkhurst, Arthur St Leger, and John Milles, were now outnumbered by those who then favoured the Archbishop's reforms.[234]

Ponet would have further discountenanced the remaining conservative prebendaries when he moved from his recently renovated but gloomy prebendal house on the south side of the Cathedral, to the magnificent and greatly desired house called 'Meister Omers' which was formerly the Prior's great guest hall, but now the house of the eleventh prebendary stall.[235] With the death of John Daniel (alias Chillenden) in February 1546, the eleventh prebend was granted to the Scottish political exile and Bishop-elect of Caithness, Robert Stewart, on 24 March 1546. Stewart, however, remained in England only a short while and left for Dumbarton sometime before 27 May that year, only formally resigning his prebend in 1548.[236] Ponet must have moved into the more spacious abode sometime between the summer and the winter of 1546, because by early December that year, a distribution list was drawn up with the new housing arrangements, and Cranmer had to write to the Vice Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral and explain the legality of the prebendal house swaps contained therein.[237] Whereas Margaret Sparks

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233 John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857, vol III: Canterbury, Rochester and Winchester Dioceses*, compiled by Joyce M. Horn (London, 1974), 30; James Alsop, 'Thomas Argall, Administrator of Ecclesiastical Affairs in the Tudor Church and State', *Recusant History* 15/3 (1980): 231.

234 Richard Thornden (Bishop of Dover) was then Cranmer's ally, but turned on him under Queen Mary's reign.

235 Margaret Sparks, 'The 'New Foundation' and its Domestic Buildings', in *Excavations in the Cathedral Precincts* (Maidstone, 1990), 32.

236 Duncan Shaw, 'Stewart, Robert, earl of Lennox and earl of March', *ODNB*.

237 Distribution list: Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury* (London, 1868): 191-196; Cranmer to Dean and Chapter (12 December 1546): John Edmund Cox (ed.), *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1846), 417. This unusual arrangement of moving into new prebendal houses despite retaining original prebendal stalls can be illustrated by

attributes this relocation to Ponet's personal tastes (the previous house was 'scorned by Ponet'), Patrick Collinson asserts — without evidence — that Ponet moved his family into the grand abode.[238] Collinson is probably closer to the truth, for Ponet was definitely married around two years later, as evidenced by the dispensation to eat meat during Lent granted to him and his wife on 4 November 1548.[239] Indeed, Collinson's claim certainly makes sense of Ponet's move to larger and more pleasant quarters (especially if Ponet had young children), and the presence of a married prebendary priest may also have contributed to the consternation of those who wrote to Cranmer about the legality of such a move. Ponet may well have begun a trend of married prebendaries at Canterbury, for with the accession of Queen Mary, Edmund Cranmer, William Willoughby, William Devenish, and Robert Goldson were all deprived due to their marriages.[240]

A recently married Ponet would also explain the relocation of his residence from Lambeth to Canterbury, a possibility confirmed by his work as treasurer of the Cathedral Chapter between 1547-1548, and afterwards as receiver between 1549-1550. In his capacity as treasurer, Ponet would have had charge of the store house of materials (brick, stone, sand, etc) used for building projects. One such endeavour was the construction of Robert Goldson's new prebendal house in 1547. The indenture dated 4 July 1547 shows Ponet's interest in the construction of Goldson's new house on the site of the former refectory ('fraiter house') and the details of materials to be used (iron, stone, glass, and timber). His countersigning of the 1547/48 receiver's account (in which Goldson himself received the incoming funds) demonstrates his management of the project — all good training for an episcopal future.[241] This phase of

comparing the aforementioned distribution list to the anonymous list of Canterbury prebends at CCCC MS 349, p.202. This Corpus list retains prebendal stall holders (where Ponet has the eighth stall) whereas the distribution list retains the prebendal house occupants (where Ponet has the house of the eleventh stall).

238 Sparks, 'New Foundation', 32, 34; Patrick Collinson, 'The Protestant Cathedral, 1541-1660', in Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks (eds.), *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995), 173.

239 LPL, F I/A, 345.

240 *StrypeTC,* 1:471-472.

241 Indenture: CCA DCc/ChAnt/C/216/1; Receiver's account: CCA DCc/RA/3.

property management would also have been the period in which he built the gallery of ten yards upon the Bishop of Dover's garden wall adjacent to his lodgings at Meister Omer's, as mentioned in the distribution list but missed in Sparks' account of his prebendal activity.

During this time of ecclesiastical progression, in 1545 Ponet acquired the 1535 Greek edition of Diogenes' *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*. This was evidently a philosopher of some interest to Ponet, since he later underlined and wrote passages into commonplace books from his own Latin edition of Antonius Melissa's *Sententarium.*[242] Within Ponet's copy of *Diogenes* we can observe something of his continued appreciation for the classics. On the one hand, Ponet wrote 'hope' adjacent to an underlined story concerning Aristotle: 'On another occasion the question was put to him, what is hope? And his answer was, "The dream of a waking man."' On the other hand, Ponet underlined a number of passages concerning the exiled philosopher Diogenes himself, such as 'He used also to say that when he saw physicians, philosophers and pilots at their work, he deemed man the most intelligent of all animals.'[243] Ponet's interest in the Philosopher Aristotle and the Cynic Diogenes was emblematic of his theological outlook: an evangelical theologian rooted in the humanist tradition.

In addition to Ponet's sustained humanist interests, we can also observe an important stage of Ponet's theological progression. In 1545 Ponet acquired Huldrych Zwingli's *Regarding the Evangelical History of our Lord Jesus Christ*. This was an almost 600 page commentary on the Gospels and various Epistles as they accounted for the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. The bulk of Ponet's annotations followed the biblical narrative and were summary notes or underlined passages of particular interest. For instance, in Zwingli's discussion (and advocacy) of the perpetual virginity of Mary, Ponet underlined various phrases regarding the historical crux of the discussion: whether 'until' (Matt. 1:25) denoted the end of a definite period of

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[242] *Sententarium (Lat),* 219; 347.

[243] *Diogenes,* 222: 'ελπις ... ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστιν ἐλπίς, "ἐγρηγορότος," εἶπεν, "ἐνύπνιον."'; 271: 'ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅτε μὲν ἴδοι κυβερνήτας ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἰατροὺς καὶ φιλοσόφους, συνετώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζῴων νομίζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον'.

virginity, or whether it was to be understood as in the common allegorical interpretation of Isaiah 42:4 and 2 Peter 1:19, neither of which implied an end. Ponet commented in the margin: '"until" is not exclusive.'[244] Just as with Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Luther, and many other reformers, it is highly likely that Ponet held something close to a common evangelical position which retained the perpetual virginity of Mary while excluding her involvement in any mediatorial work. In his copy of the *King's Book*, he wrote 'our ladie' adjacent to the passage on Mary.[245] In his copy of Theophylact's *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, acquired in 1550, he took interest in the 12th century Bishop of Ochrid's commentary on Matt. 1:25. After underlining 'Scripture employs this expression', and also the examples of Gen. 8:7 and Matt. 28:20, Ponet wrote in the margin: 'until is a Greek idiom.' That he also committed this observation into his commonplace-books attests to the importance he attached to this reading of the perpetual virginity of Mary.[246] Lurking behind this surprising evangelical adhesion to the perpetual viriginity was, of course, the spectre of Anabaptism — a subject with which Ponet would soon became well aquainted.[247]

There were two major loci of interest to Ponet within his copy of Zwingli's *Euangelicam.* The first of which was the relationship between repentance and the gospel. Commenting on John the Baptist's words in Matthew 3:2, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' Zwingli taught, like Erasmus, that the Greek μετανοεῖτε was best interpreted as 'resipiscite', or 'to come to one's senses' (rather than to do sacramental penance).[248] Indeed, for Zwingli the repentant life required spiritual regeneration and new life. Ponet underlined all of this, and echoed Zwingli in the margin: 'you must come to your senses.'[249] Ponet, writing 'justification by faith' in the

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[244] Zwingli, *Euangelicam,* 3: 'non esse donec exclusivum'.
[245] *King's Book,* A.iii[r].
[246] *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, 7: underlined phrase: 'ἰδίωμα δὲ ἔκει τοιοῦτον ἡ Γραφή'; marginal comment: 'L.C. ἰδίωμα ἑλληνίκ donec.'
[247] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Mary and sixteenth-century Protestants' in *The Church and Mary, Studies in Church History* 39 (Woodbridge, 2004).
[248] On Erasmus and 'resipicite', see Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance* (Oxford, 2000), 87-88.
[249] Zwingli, *Euangelicam,* 6: 'Resipiscite'.

margin, underlined Zwingli's description of the way of receiving the regeneration which brought the believer to her senses: 'if we have a single trust, and cling to a firm faith, we will be justified and innocent before the face of God.'[250] Having been freed from condemnation, and thus having received spiritual life through Christ ('the sum of the Gospel'), the believer discovers that 'there is now no urge by the carnal spirit, but by the heavenly and divine, which is now made to be close to the will of God...' Ponet summarised this section in the margin: 'how we are free from the law through Christ.'[251] Noteworthy, both in Zwingli's treatise and Ponet's marginalia, is the presence of the condemnatory function of the law, and the absence of the positive use of the law. Zwingli (and Ponet, as indicated in his underlining) was acutely conscious of the need to expound the link between solifidianism and good works.[252] But the accent here — quite typical of this early phase of the reformation — was upon the condemnatory function of the law. This explains why Ponet wrote an early marginal note, which could have been written by Luther or Zwingli themselves: 'repentance is a synecdoche for the whole gospel.'[253]

This terminology points towards the other main interest of Ponet throughout *Euangelicam*: Zwingli's understanding of semiotics. Ponet observed Zwingli's explanation of how the Jewish people were God's people, despite having rejected Christ, and wrote 'synecdoche' in the margin.[254] He wrote 'metonumia' and underlined the adjacent eucharistic exposition, that 'the body was not given in memory of the body, but bread. ... a figure of what was figured, a sign of

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[250] Zwingli, *Euangelicam,* 1: marginal comment: 'iustitia fidei'; underlined phrase: 'Is nostra iustitia & innocentia erit coram deo, huic fidamus, huic firma fide haereamus.'
[251] Zwingli, *Euangelicam*, 294. Underlined section: 'Summa haec euangelii: Mortui eramus per delicta & maledictioni aeternae obnoxii, deus autem misit unigenitum filium suum & reddit nobis vitam in illo, 1 John 5, Rom. 3. Dicis, Ociabimur ergo? peccabimus? Nequaquam. Nam qui vere credit, hoc a sanguine & carne non habet, sed per aquam & spiritu coelestem, ideo iam non agitur spiritu carnali, sed coelesti & divino, qui iam iuxta dei voluntatem cuncta facit, cuius omne studium post hac huc tendit, ne in vitia relabatur pristina, a quibus sanguine Christi lotus est, nam pudet eum male vixisse'; marginal comment: 'Quomodo liberemur lege per Christum'.
[252] See, for instance, discussion on works and Ponet's manicule, Zwingli, *Euangelicam,* 118-119.
[253] Zwingli, *Euangelicam,* 6: 'poenitentia per synecdocium [sic] pro toto euangelio'.
[254] Zwingli, *Euangelicam*, 118: 'συνεκδοχή'.

what was signed, the name of a thing put on.'[255] Similarly, Ponet underlined Zwingli's statement that it was 'the cup of the testament ... not blood.' He then proceeded to draw a large manicule at the text, which he underlined: 'this is my body, that is, this represents my body, indeed, this is a commemoration of my body, which is given for you.'[256] Although Ponet does not register any judgement on Zwingli's semiotics, it is significant that he engages with this aspect of sacramental theology in this period. With the exposition of substantial presence in the King's Book already rejected, this interest in the relation between the sign and the thing signified indicates that Ponet was researching one of the most vexing questions with which the reformers were presented. Indeed, not only the subject matter but the timing is significant. For this was private evangelical research around the same time as Cranmer's second eucharistic 'conversion', under the persuasion of another former Cambridge Greek lecturer and contemporary Canterbury prebendary, Nicholas Ridley.[257] More significant still, is the fact that Ponet was rapidly moving into the favour of the King himself.

On 12 September 1546 Ponet was presented to the rectory of Towyn, in the Diocese of Bangor, which was in the gift of Henry VIII.[258] On 2 November he was instituted Rector of St. Cadfan's church and its associated chapels by Bishop Arthur Bulkeley of Bangor.[259] Towyn was one of the wealthiest benefices in Merionethshire, Bangor. Just as with East Lavant, there was some controversy with the appointment — however, this time the King sided with Ponet. The previous incumbent was George Wulflete, one-time Clerk of the King's closet.[260] As a result of neglecting to pay his first fruits and tenths, Bishop Bulkeley (known for his efficiency in episcopal administration) deprived him of all his benefices and replaced him in Towyn with

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[255] Zwingli, *Euangelicam*, 474: Ponet: 'μετονύμία' [sic]; Zwingli: 'non corpus datum in memoriam corporis, sed panem .... figura figurati, & signum signatae rei nomen induit'.
[256] Zwingli, *Euangelicam*, 475: 'Poculum testamenti... non sanguine'; 'hoc est corpus meum, id est, hoc repraesentat corpus meum, vel, hoc est commemoratio corporis mei, quod pro nobis datur.'
[257] MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 354-55.
[258] SP 4/1, 99[r] (*LP* 21 ii, no.200(27), p.95).
[259] Arthur Ivor Pryce, *The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century* (Bangor, 1923), 11.
[260] *LP* 12 i, no.329, p.148.

Ponet. In his bill of complaint to Thomas Wriothesley in Chancery, Wulflete argued that Bulkeley ought to have given him adequate warning. Wulflete was fortunate to have been later pardoned and restored to his prebend and all of his benefices, with the exception of Towyn, which remained with Ponet.[261] The fact that Ponet's presentation to the plum benefice of Towyn was preferred by John Gates and signed with the royal dry stamp under Anthony Denny and Gates' control means we cannot make too much out of this for Henry's patronage of the rising evangelical theologian. However, there is one further detail which gives us certainty of this fact: prior to his collation Ponet had become the King's chaplain.

The fact of Ponet's chaplaincy to the King has been widely neglected. Strype affirms it without elaboration.[262] However, his claim (in the same sentence) that Ponet attended St. John's College, Cambridge, has given rise to some hesitancy concerning the chaplaincy claim. Both Hudson and Bowman are doubtful about Strype's accuracy, but Newcombe rightly describes Ponet as King Henry's chaplain 'by the last months of his reign.'[263] Indeed, Ponet was clearly described as 'your maiesties chapellain' when presented as Rector of Towyn on 21 September 1546.[264] That Ponet — a staunchly evangelical theologian — would have moved into the King's confidence at this time is highly significant at a number of levels. It attests to the ability of evangelical clergy to operate among ecclesiastical and court circles at the end of Henry's reign, so often characterised as a conservative backlash. It also attests to the King's own interest in patronising talented humanists from among the ranks of the clergy, irrespective of theological convictions (and possibly marital status).

Confirming this latter point is another fact, shrouded by the neglect of Ponet's royal chaplaincy. Sometime in August 1546 (prior to his collation to Towyn), the following grant was made: 'A

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261 SP 4/1, 103v, 106v (*LP* 21 ii, no.475 (62), p.226; no.476 (71, 72), p.237).
262 John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it … under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary I,* 3 vols. in 6 (Oxford, 1822), 2i:403.
263 Hudson, *John Ponet*, 16-17; Bowman, 'John Ponet', 25; D.G. Newcombe, 'Ponet, John (c. 1514-1556)' in *ODNB*.
264 SP 4/1, 99v.

passport for John Ponnet, your maiesties chapellain.'[265] During this time passports were required for foreigners to travel through the King's realm, and for the King's subjects to travel outside the realm ('over the seas'). Hasted writes that Ponet was 'granted him at his request, a licence to travel with two servants, three horses, twenty pounds in money and other necessities.'[266] Seven months later (16 March 1547) — and with a new monarch on the throne — we see Ponet's passport reissued, with its purpose clearly described:

> Licence to John Ponett, clerk, chaplain ('sacellano nostro') that he may absent himself from any promotion and benefice within the king's dominion, even though residence be stipulated, and reside for study anywhere beyond the seas ('studio generali academia seu universitate partibus transmarinis'), enjoying the fruits, rents, issues, stipends, salaries, diets, dividends, distributions and moneys belonging to his benefices, notwithstanding the Act of 21 Henry VIII. or any other prohibition; provided that benefices requiring divine obsequies and cure of souls are not deprived of them.[267]

The purpose of Ponet's passport was for further education. Indeed, the phrase from the original text 'seu universitate partibus transmarinis' implies that Ponet was granted license to study at any overseas institution of higher education, whether or not it was of university status. This was important, for as the Cambridge University Grace Books reveal, the period covered by Ponet's passport corresponded to the final year required for his doctorate, which he received sometime between 14 June and Michaelmas of 1547.[268] It is unlikely that Ponet spent long studying overseas. His passport was first issued in August 1546 and he must have been back around the August of 1547 to comply with the royal visitation articles and perform his iconoclastic duties while treasurer of Canterbury Cathedral (see discussion below). The

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[265] SP 4/1, 96[v].

[266] Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent,* 12 vols. (Canterbury, 1801), 12:87. Although Hasted cites no source for this claim, he is usually a reliable guide.

[267] *CPR* 1547*,* i, 101; additional text from original patent roll, TNA C 66/802, m.9.

[268] When instituted Vicar of Ashford, Ponet is described M.A., LPL Cranmer's Reg., 403[r]: John Venn (ed.), *Grace Book ⊿ Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1542-1589* (Cambridge, 2009[1910])*,* 45-46: '[1546/47] Item conceditur magistro Ponett ut studium decem annorum in theologia cum uno sermone ad clerum habendo proximo anno sub pena xls ponendorum in manibus procuratorum antequam admittatur sufficiat ei ad incipiendum in theologia. Ita ut admittatur ad placitum citra festum Michaelis et eius admissio stet ei pro completis gradu et forma. Sic ut solvat universitati iiili vjs viijd et conviuet cum huius anni commensatoribus'; 54: '[1547/48] Item conceditur ut actus theologici omnes ad quos tenetur doctor Ponett hoc anno differri possint. Ita ut fiant proximo anno sub pena quatuor marcarum ponendarum in manibus procuratorum.'

controversy surrounding his relocation into Meister Omer's and his possible marital responsibilities further constrain the period of time available to overseas study. Thus, it would seem reasonable to assume that he may have spent one or two spells overseas and probably only for a maximum of a few months each.

It is tantalising to speculate as to where and what Ponet studied abroad. Bale tells us that Ponet knew Latin, Greek, Italian and German (which could be understood as German or also Dutch) — indeed, he was so accomplished that he spoke the first three for others fluently.[269] It seems possible that, like myriad English humanists including his former tutor, Thomas Smith, Ponet went abroad and moved in Italian-speaking circles. This theory might go some distance to explain his subsequent Italian connections: Peter Martyr Vermigli wrote warmly to him on 21 September 1548; Ponet translated Bernard Ochino's *Tragoedie* in 1549 and possibly some of the Italian reformer's sermons and Greek theological commonplaces around the same time; and Michelangelo Florio translated his *Short Catechisme* into Italian in 1553.[270]

One Italianate possibility is that Ponet followed in Thomas Smith's footsteps to Padua. During the mid-1540s, Padua laid claim to be Europe's greatest and most expensive university.[271] In the final decade of King Henry VIII's life it attracted some of England's brightest and best connected, many of whom had connections to Ponet (for example, Sir John Mason and Thomas Wyatt). However, no mention of Ponet has been found among the records of Englishmen who spent time in Padua.[272] There are also reasonable grounds for concluding that he went to the great Swiss city of Zürich. Ponet had deep respect for Zwingli, and in a private note written

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[269] *Scriptorum,* 694: 'Operam etiam non segnem linguis cognoscendis adhibuit, Latine scilicet, Graece, Italicae, ac demum Germanicae: in quibus tantum profecit, ut tres primas alijs eleganter praelegeret, & ex ipsis in Anglicum sermonem complures libros transferret.'

[270] George Cornelius Gorham, *Gleanings of a Few Scattered Ears, During the Period of the Reformation in England* … (London, 1857), 54: Peter Martyr to Jan Utenhove: 'I wrote to Master Doctor Ponet, as you requested, and not coldly; hence, if you should occasionally see him, salute him in my name'; *Scriptorum,* 694; Michelangelo Florio (trans.), *Catechismo, Cioe Forma Breue per Amaestrare i Fanciulli* (London, 1553), RSTC 4813.

[271] M.A. Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c.1535-c.1585* (Aldershot, 2008), 6.

[272] Jonathan Woolfson's extensive catalogue of Englishmen who travelled to Padua contains no mention of Ponet, *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Cambridge, 1998).

toward the end of his life described the famous Züricher, along with Erasmus, as 'the great learned men.'[273] Ponet's private theological research before and after the issuing of his passport also reflects a definite interest in Swiss theology, and Zürich in particular.[274] This was a city that attracted a growing Italian exile community at the time, and was the common thoroughfare for evangelical fugitives such as Ochino, Vermigli, and Peter Paul Vergerio.[275] However, just as with Padua, no mention of Ponet has been found among the records — including crucially, Bullinger's *Diarium* — of Englishmen who visited Zürich.[276]

Another possibility is the Imperial Free city of Strassburg, reformed through the work of Matthew Zell, Diebold Schwarz, Martin Bucer, and Vermigli. Given that various Italian reformers took refuge in Strassburg at this time, and that Ponet found such warm welcome there some years later, the Alsatian city might seem a likely candidate. However, during those same final years of his life, Ponet wrote a personal note concerning his *Defence for Mariage*: 'At this tyme when doctor ponet wrote this booke he ~~scarsely~~ knew not peter martyr nor never saw any thinge of his wrytinge.'[277] Since we know that Vermigli wrote to Ponet in mid-September 1548 (see above), not only does this indicate that Ponet wrote his treatise on clerical marriage the year before it was published, but it makes Strassburg an unlikely candidate for Ponet's travels between 1546-1547. For this possibility to succeed, Ponet would have spent his time with Zell, Schwarz, or Bucer, while simultaneously avoiding Vermigli — very unlikely from what we know about Ponet's theological interests. Moreover, this does not seem to be a case of faulty memory:

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[273] *Draft Reply,* 157ʳ.
[274] See discussion above concerning Zwingli around 1545, and discussion below concerning Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and Vadianus between 1548-1549.
[275] Mark Taplin, *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church* (Aldershot, 2003), 11-66.
[276] Torrance Kirby asserted that Ponet was entertained by Bullinger in his Pfarrhaus during the end of Henry VIII's reign, in *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden, 2007), 1. However, in more recent email correspondence with Prof. Kirby and Prof. Emidio Campi, I have been informed by both scholars that there is no mention of Ponet in Zürich.
[277] *Draft Reply,* 275ʳ.

that Ponet struck out the word 'scarsely' before writing 'not' indicates a high degree of certainty behind this recollection.

There is one further possibility which deserves mention: Basel. This was the city in which the great theologian and linguist Johannes Oecolampadius resided until his death in 1531, and where Sebastian Münster taught at the University of Basel during 1547 — both had authored books that Ponet had owned and read prior to his travel. Moreover, the Italian humanist, grammarian, and historian, Celio Secondo Curione taught at the University around the time of Ponet's travel. Curio is of interest, because on 9 September 1547 he wrote to John Cheke, praising his teaching skill and sending him two books (one was his translation of Cicero's *Philippics* and the other a volume of his son's translations). Of even more interest is the reference within the letter to Bernard Ochino, who was presumably the letter carrier.[278] Since 1545, Ochino had been pastoring the Italian church in Augsburg but fled to Basel with Francesco Stancaro in January 1547 when Charles V laid siege to the city. On 4 November 1547, the merchant banker John Abell was sent to collect Ochino from Basel, and afterwards Vermigli from Strassburg, and by 20 December 1547 they arrived altogether in England.[279] Abell's activities seem to be official because the total expenditure came to £126 and he tabulated the expenses for reimbursement by the Privy Council. So, we have Ochino in Basel by January, Curio and Cheke aware of Ochino's travel arrangements around 9 September, and John Abell bringing Ochino out of Basel on 4 November. In contrast to these facts, there remains a curious absence of evidence to indicate how Cranmer knew about Ochino beyond his famous reputation, and how Ochino's travel to England was officially co-ordinated.[280] Perhaps Ponet is the missing piece of this puzzle? He would certainly have been clued into the plans of

[278] Celio Secondo Curione, *Caelli Secundi Curionis Selectarum Epistolarum Libri Duo,* 2 vols. (Basel, 1553), 1:28: 'Sene Bernardino Ocello cognoscis.'
[279] Nicholas. Nicholas, 'The Bill of Expenses attending the Journey of Peter Martyr and Bernardino Ochinus, from Basil to England, in 1547', *Archaeologia,* 21 (1827), 469-73.
[280] M.A. Overell, 'Bernard Ochino's Books and English Religious Opinion, 1547-80', *Studies in Church History* 38 (2004): 202.

Cranmer for the import of foreign reformers, and both he and John Abell were very close — years later, they stood as godparents to each others' children while exiled in Strassburg.[281] It is very possible that Ponet's close collaboration with Ochino shortly after the Italian's arrival in England may well have been the fruit of a relationship which first began on the continent during his travel. Indeed, his overseas travel plans may have ostensibly been for further study, but encouraging the migration of evangelical theologians may have also been within his unofficial remit. This sort of possibility at least accounts for why Ponet — a key evangelical within the circle of Cranmer and Somerset — would leave England on the eve of, and during, significant regime change. Nevertheless, we need to remain somewhat circumspect, and simply ponder whether Ponet could have made contact with various reformers, under the guise of study, and in preparation for the serious evangelical overhaul of religion during the reign of Edward VI.

We may, however, be certain about John Ponet's evangelical progress. In the span of five years, Master Ponet had risen from the upper echelons of Cambridge academic circles, to become Doctor Ponet, among the upper echelons of the English theological, ecclesiastical and court circles. This rapid promotion was made possible only through the patronage of Cranmer and King Henry VIII. Unlike other evangelicals, Ponet managed to manoeuvre his way — even excel — through the theological and political quagmires which abounded during the final years of Henry's reign. Indeed, with the accession of King Edward VI, Ponet was able to make public the private evangelical convictions which had been deepened during his theological research throughout the previous years.

## EVANGELICAL STUDY AND PUBLICATION

John Ponet's first appointment during the reign of Edward VI is symbolic of his role in the political ascension of evangelicals. On 14 June 1547, he was instituted as Vicar of the parish of

[281] See discussion in Chapter 4.

Ashford with Archdeacon Edmund Cranmer of Canterbury set to induct.[282] The patron of the parish was Edward Thwaytes, a gentleman of esquire status and a curious character who was frequently on the wrong side of the new establishment. Thwaytes was an ardent supporter of Elizabeth Barton, the so-called 'Nun of Kent', until he was arrested, and after pardon for one thousand marks became an agent of Cromwell. Shortly thereafter, Thwaytes was implicated in the Prebendaries' Plot but came out relatively unscathed.[283] The previous vicar of Ashford was one of the arch-conspirators in the Prebendaries' Plot, and Ponet's fellow prebendary, Richard Parkhurst. It is uncertain whether any pressure was placed on Thwaytes and Parkhurst to hand over the living to Ponet. Ponet undertook to pay Parkhurst a pension of £10 per annum for life, so it is possible that these two prebendaries entered into an amicable arrangement. However, it is also possible that Cranmer was continuing his programme of evangelical mobilisation while settling some old scores with Parkhurst. After his various misdemeanours, Thwaytes would have been compliant. Whatever the case, the parish of Ashford had an evangelical flag planted upon it now. Affixed to a document dated 20 October 1548, which leased a manor held by the parish, were (and remain) the wax seals of the Dean and Chapter of Rochester Cathedral, Thomas Cranmer, and John Ponet. 'Non Ego Sed Christus' is inscribed upon Ponet's seal — a concrete testimony to Ponet's now public evangelicalism.[284]

In his capacity as treasurer of Canterbury Cathedral, Ponet quickly complied with the recent royal visitation articles promulgated late in August 1547 and paid out various persons for their assistance. In the months following he paid out money for the destroying of images, deforming the windows in the common-hall, and destroying feigned histories.[285] In all the chaos of financing the removal of superstition, the Cathedral Chapter realised that they could make some

[282] LPL, Cranmer's Reg., 403r.
[283] Zell, 'The Prebendaries' Plot', 250-252.
[284] ESRO, GLY/1402.
[285] Treasurer's payments: CCA DDc/TA/1. C.f., Eveleigh Woodruff (ed.), 'Extracts from Original Documents Illustrating the Progress of the Reformation in Kent' in *Archaeologia Cantiana,* 31 (1915): 111-112.

much needed money for their building projects. It seems that with the consent of the chapter, Ponet took responsibility for selling £169 9s 8d worth of valuable vessels and plate.[286] When the Lord Protector and Privy Council heard of this massive liquidation toward the end of October, Anthony Aucher was sent to investigate, and learned of the sale of an expensive silver crucifix, and also a gold pix, garnished with pearls and gems and weighing 35 oz., but yet unsold. Ponet accompanied Aucher to London to explain the situation, and no trouble ensued — the Chapter simply had to safeguard the pix and cash from the crucifix. However, the plans to liquidate assets were quickly curtailed. In the middle of January 1548, Ponet paid prebendary William Devenish to travel to London and receive instructions about handing over the silver vessels and the silver altarpiece recently pulled down from the high altar — by the end of the month, all removals of jewels and plate were to be handed over.[287] No embarrassment was to come to Ponet from this episode. If anything, it would have demonstrated to both the Chapter and the Privy Council that Ponet was an efficient but compliant bureaucrat. Indeed, around four years later, when Bishop of Winchester, he was commissioned to investigate the theft of church goods and similarly safeguarded the plate and jewels for the crown.[288]

During the autumn of 1547, Ponet's evangelical convictions were manifest in another manner — this time among the convocation of his clerical brethren. The Canterbury Chapter sent Ponet to act as Proctor, and he was granted an allowance of £6 to cover his expenses for 60 days.[289] Ponet attended all eight sessions of the lower house of convocation, which approved communion in both kinds (sixth session on 2 December) and appointed a committee to

[286] Ponet's treasurer's account where he charges himself with that amount in 1547/48: CCA DDc/TA/1; Goldson's receiver's account for that year which is additionally signed by Ponet in 1547/48: CCA DDc/RA/3.
[287] *APC* 1547, p.139-140 (PC 2/2, 239-240); CCA DDc/RA/1.
[288] See Appendix B for letter from John Ponet and John Kingsmill to the Privy Council, 22 October 1552.
[289] CCA DCc/TA/1, 19: 'Et in denariis eidem Johanni Ponet Thes' allocates pro expensis se h'it' et sustentat' iteneran' [sic] ad London' et ibidem tempore convocacionis cleri Provinc' Cantuar' procurator' capitulo ecclesie ibidem promoranti pro spacium lx dierum ad ii s per diem ... vi li.' I am grateful to Prof. Diarmaid MacCulloch for his palaeographic help here.

investigate urban tithes (seventh session on 9 December).[290] In the eighth session held on 17 December, he participated in the discussions concerning the controversial possibility of admitting clerical marriage. Ponet was probably already married and he had clearly given some consideration to this subject. In his private notes on the King's Book, he pushed back on the teaching of clerical celibacy. Where the relevant passages from 1 Timothy 3 and Titus 1 were quoted at length, Ponet noticed something missing, and wrote in the margin: 'he omits the opening sentence of Titus concerning a wife.' On the same page, adjacent to the printed word 'contynent', Ponet wrote a lexicon entry into the margin: 'ἔγκρατής see temperant and continent.'[291] Thus, he was well prepared to consider the proposition put forward for debate:

> That all such canons, laws, statutes, decrees, usages, and customs heretofore made, had or used, that forbid any person to contract matrimony or condemn matrimony already contracted by any person, for any vow or promise of priesthood, chastity or widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void and of none effect.[292]

The highly esteemed Dr. John Redman — Ponet's old 'Athenian' colleague — delivered a carefully worded speech supporting clerical marriage, and Ponet signed his name in the list of those who affirmed this proposition for clerical marriage (there were 53 in favour, and 22 against).[293] Indeed, it is very likely that around this time Ponet wrote the recently discovered short Latin treatise on clerical marriage, *De Ministrorum Coniugio* — maybe based on a speech to Convocation.[294] In addition to having a matching title and incipit with a work John Bale credits to Ponet, what suggests such an early date of authorship, is the content of the treatise which

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[290] CCCC MS 121, ff.5c$^{r}$-5.h$^{r}$. Gasquet and Bishop regard this manuscript as a part of the Journals of this Convocation although they refer to this MS incorrectly as 113, in *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, (London, 1928), Appendix VII, 449;

[291] *King's Book,* xxxvi$^{r}$: 'initius sententie Titi de uxore omittitur'; 'ἔΓκρατής vide temperat et continent'.

[292] CCCC MS 121, 5h$^{r}$ and the equivalent on 114A, p.398. This copy of Redman's speech is at slight variance with that recorded in Gerald Bray (ed.), *Records of Convocation VII: Canterbury, 1509-1603,* 296.

[293] Speech: CCCC MS 121, 5.h$^{v}$; votes: CCCC MS 121, 5.h$^{r}$; also CCCC MS 114A, p.398, where Ponet signed his name 'Johannes Ponetus' on the names and hands of the members of convocation that were for and against priests' marriage on 17 December 1547.

[294] This treatise mentioned by Bale (*Scriptorum*, 694, incipit given: 'Multi palam fatentur defendi coelebatum') and John Strype (*StrypeTC* 1:475) has not been noticed in Ponet scholarship but I have located it at CCCC MS 109, p.137 (bearing the incipit: Multi palam fatentur defendi coelebatum'). The incipit, the content, and its listing in Bale clearly distinguish this from Ponet's 1549 treatise on clerical marriage, and his 1555/56 treatise on the same subject.

reads as a microcosm of Ponet's 1549 publication on the subject (the Canons of Gangra, Nicaea and the involvement of Paphnutius, the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, etc). Ponet had privately believed in clerical marriage for years, but now nailed his evangelical colours to the ecclesiastical wall of the province.

From September 1548, when Ponet acquired the 1545 edition of Zwingli's *Opera*, we can observe an especial interest in his private research concerning the Lord's Supper.[295] In particular, Ponet seems to have been trying to obtain a comprehensive understanding of Zwingli's eucharistic theology, and where it differed from that of Luther. In Rudolph Gwalther's introductory summation of the Marburg Colloquy, Ponet underlined large swathes of the debate, and wrote 'Lutheranos' in the margin.[296] In the 'Amica Exegesis', Zwingli's friendly treatise to Luther concerning the Lord's Supper, banned by Cuthbert Tunstall as Bishop of London around 1530, Ponet underlined sections of various passages, and noted the major area of disagreement: 'Christ everywhere in his human nature'.[297] In Zwingli's first sermon delivered at Bern, Ponet noted various passages revolving around the relation between God's omnipotence and the eucharist. Ponet underlined the important syllogism of Zwingli's adversaries: Christ is at the right hand of God, and the right hand of God is everywhere, therefore Christ is physically everywhere.[298] Luther argued that to deny this was to deny God's omnipotence, but Zwingli thought otherwise. Underlining a range of passages where Zwingli emphasised that it was not a question of possibility, but actuality, Ponet wrote in the margin: 'God is therefore not an omnipotent God because he can do all things, but because he can do all things that he wills.'[299] The most heavily annotated section concerned the relationship

[295] Zwingli, *Opera,* title-page: 'Joannes Ponetus 1548. Mense Septembre.'
[296] Zwingli, *Opera,* 4[r].
[297] Zwingli, *Opera*, 356[v]: 'Christus humanitas ubiquaque.'
[298] Zwingli, *Opera,* 528[r]: 'Humanitas Christi ad dexteram dei est: Dextera dei est ubique: Ergo corpus Christi quoque ubique est.'
[299] Zwingli, *Opera,* 523[v]: 'Deus non propterea deus omnipotens quia omnia potest, sed quia est potentia omnium rerum & potest omnia quae vult.'

between grace and the sacrament, in Zwingli's *Ad Carolum Rom. Imperatorem, Fidei Huldrychi Zuinglii Ratio* presented at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. In a page filled with manicules, symbols, and underlining, Ponet wrote the summary statement, 'they [sacraments] are not vehicles of the Spirit since the Spirit has no need for vehicles.'[300] It would be a mistake to interpret Ponet's reading of these key texts and his notes concerning key doctrines as his introduction to the eucharistic discussion, for we have already observed his contrary position within his copy of the King's Book. What the annotations in Zwingli's *Works* and Zwingli's *Euangelicam* represent is the continuation of serious eucharistic research.

In 1549 Ponet acquired the 1536 edition of Zwingli and Oecolampadius' *Letters* which was bound with the 1536 edition of Vadianus' *Aphorisms*. Both volumes are heavily annotated, although his interest is predominantly concentrated in the writings of Oecolampadius and Vadianus. In contrast to various books annotated by Ponet until this time, his notes are strictly related to eucharistic theology. For instance, at the beginning of Oecolampadius' first letter, Ponet noticed how the credal statement concerning Christ's descent into hell relates to the doctrine of the eucharist. As Ponet's additional note makes structurally clear (Fig. 1), if descent into hell meant privation from the vision of God, then ascent into heaven meant the vision of God. This would certainly inform his comment in his Lenten sermon on the Lord's Supper, given before King Edward the next year, that '... as the sonne [sun] which is far of dystand, is absent from myne eye and yet is present to my syght euen so is Christes body absent from my mouth, and yet present to my belefe'.[301]

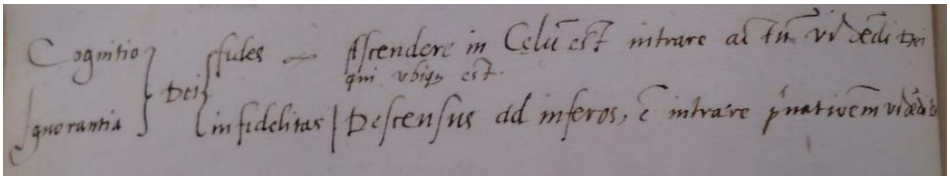


**Figure II — John Ponet's annotations in *Zwingli and Oecolampadius,* 4v.**

[300] Zwingli, *Opera,* 541r: 'non sunt vehicula spiritus quandoquidem spiritus [non] habet opus vehicular.'
[301] *Notable Sermon*, E.iiv.

The remainder of Ponet's notes upon the writings of Oecolampadius are vast numbers of underlined texts. Although these do not reveal much of Ponet's own opinions concerning the theology of the great Basel reformer, the ideas which are focused upon indicate his predominant concern: that Christ's ascended body is spiritually present to the faith of the believer. The underlining in Oecolampadius' 'Concerning the Divine Table' included 'therefore senses will not deceive us, because nothing is displayed to them'; the underlining in Oecolampadius' translation of Chrysostom's Homily 83, included, 'behold, you see him, you touch him'; within Oecolampadius' translation of Fulgentius' work, 'To Thrasimund', Ponet underlined 'the presence in the supper, it is, in a mystery, not displayed in the local presence.'[302] Various other translations of authors are underlined (Irenaeus, Bede, Athanasius, Cyril, Dionysius, Augustine, and Jerome), but the chorus remains the same: Christ is ascended into heaven, and so his presence is apprehended through the eye of faith.

The annotations made in Vadianus' *Aphorisms* were more voluminous and covered a wider theological range of ideas than those found in Ponet's copies of Zwingli or Oecolampadius. The use of both red and black ink suggests that Ponet examined the book in multiple sessions — again indicative of its significance to Ponet. Perhaps one reason for such interest lies in Cranmer's own gentle rebuttal of Joachim Vadianus around 1537 (though Cranmer's opinions had dramatically changed since then). Ponet's primary interests in Vadianus' *Aphorisms* were his method and content concerning the Lord's Supper. He noted as a 'rule' that clear passages of Scripture ought to interpret the more obscure passages, and spent much ink underlining and commenting on the locutions and 'kind of speech' used by Scripture in relation to the eucharist (eat, drink, hunger, thirst, etc).[303] What consumed much of Ponet's annotations was the discussion of the *manducatio indignorum*; whether the unbeliever could eat not only the mere

[302] *Zwingli and Oecolampadius,*145$^{r}$: 'propterea sensus non decipitur, quia nihil ei proponitur'; 146$^{r}$: 'Ecce ipsum vides, ipsum tangis, ipsum'; 165$^{r}$: 'praesens in coena, id est, in mysterio, non arguit localem praesentiam'.
[303] *Aphorisms,* 91: 'Reg.'; 60: 'genus sermonis'.

sacrament, but the body and blood truly signified by the sacrament. In a general description of the efficacy of the Lord's Supper for unbelievers, Ponet underlined the relevant text, drew a trefoil symbol in the margin, and at the corresponding trefoil at the top of the page, wrote, 'pertaining to them, concerning the inner man, the Lord's Supper is inappropriate — they are turned away.'[304] Ponet drew manicules, and heavily underlined the discussion of the Capernites of John 6, which Vadianus used to illustrate the spiritual sense in which Christ spoke of eating his body and blood.[305] Understanding John 6 in a physical sense was described by Ponet as a 'horror and nausea', but he also noted that this absurd reading would serve as a 'response to the papists'.[306] The discussion of unworthy eating as outlined in 1 Cor. 11:27 was heavily engaged with by Ponet — with 'antithesis' the key word among his marginal notes.[307] This, of course, was the very subject that Cranmer focused upon in the 1548 Lord's Debate on the Lord's Supper.

Therefore, throughout Ponet's notes in his copies of Zwingli, Oecolampadius and Vadianus, we can observe his engagement with some of the most important eucharistic themes in discussion amongst the evangelicals: the ascension of Christ, the presence of Christ, and the impossibility of unbelievers feeding on Christ. These were particularly relevant subjects to investigate, given the intense discussions on precisely the same subjects among Bullinger, Calvin, Bucer and Vermigli, in preparation for the Consensus Tigurinus (1549). Indeed, Cranmer himself would shortly publish his *Defence* (1550) and *Answer* (1551). At this stage though, Cranmer was bogged down with the embarrassing fiasco of the 1548 translation and publication of Justus Jonas' catechism which embodied a more Lutheran eucharistic theology. It has been suggested that the translator of this catechetical work was one of Cranmer's then

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304 *Aphorisms,* 64: 'pertinentia, ad internum hominem, in cena inproprie deflectuntur.'
305 *Aphorisms,* 67-75.
306 *Aphorisms,* 75: 'horror et nausea ... responsorium solution papistarum.' The latter phrase is a partial quote of a large sentence which has been cut off with rebinding.
307 *Aphorisms,* 76: 'αντίθεσις'.

chaplains, possibly John Ponet.[308] However, Jon Reimer has recently argued that Thomas Becon is a more likely candidate due to his familiarity with German translation around the time.[309] Ponet's overseas study and definite theological interest in the theology emanating from Basel and Zürich further strengthens Reimer's hypothesis that Cranmer did not task him with translating the catechism. Rather, as others have suggested, the most likely project given to him around that time concerned clerical marriage.[310]

In 1549, the now Doctor John Ponet published his first public theological work, *A Defence for Mariage of Priestes by Scripture and Aunciente Wryters.* As discussed above, by Ponet's own testimony this treatise was written before he knew Vermigli — prior to at least 21 September 1548.[311] Its publication was likely timed to support the legalisation of clerical marriage which passed through parliament in late February as the 'Act to Take Away all Positive Laws Against the Marriage of Priests'.[312] There was good reason why it had taken so long to progress from the approval at convocation (December 1547) to the legalisation at parliament (17 February 1549): clerical marriage was a significant threat to conservative clergy. Not only did it run contrary to their former stronghold of the Act of Six Articles but it had direct implications for the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Indeed, the whole debate over clerical celibacy functioned as a proxy war over the Lord's Supper. For conservatives generally held that the sacrificial duties of the New Covenant priesthood were more demanding than those of the Old Covenant, and since sex — even married sex — was an unclean activity throughout the Scriptures, it was therefore incompatible with the sacrificial duty of the mass. As the leading conservative theologian during

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[308] Thomas Cranmer, *Catechismus, That is to Say, a Shorte Instruction* (London, 1548). RSTC 5993. C.f., MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* 387-392; Edward Burton, ed., *A Short Instruction in Christian Religion, being a Catechism set forth by Archbishop Cranmer in MDXLVIII* (Oxford, 1829), viii.
[309] Jon Reimer, 'The Life and Writings of Thomas Becon, 1512-1567', Ph.D thesis (Cambridge, 2016), 152-154.
[310] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 25; *StrypeTC*, 1:475.
[311] This is also supported by the prefatory remark, 'my boke whiche I wrote aboue seauen yeres agon' in Ponet's *Apologie* (1555), A.4$^{r}$.
[312] 2-3 Edward VI, c. 21.

the reign of Henry VIII, Stephen Gardiner was the major defender of the conservative position against attacks led by Martin Bucer, William Turner, George Joye — all somewhat outsiders to the then ecclesiastical establishment. However, here in the reign of Edward VI, it was John Ponet — an insider on the ecclesiastical rise — who led the charge in the battle for clerical marriage. Thus, with this first foray into the world of evangelical publication, Ponet went toe to toe with his future nemesis, Stephen Gardiner.

The purpose of the treatise was to demonstrate that the decrees against clerical marriage issued by the Bishop of Rome were contrary to both the law of God and the practice of the primitive church. Framing the discussion in this way was a shrewd move: since the recent legislation that permitted clerical marriage explicitly cast the subject in terms of positive law, then it was now a matter of persuading evangelicals (especially through the law of God) and conservatives (especially through the practice of the primitive church) that clerical marriage was defensible. In order to accomplish this Ponet used references to 21 Scriptural texts (seven from the Old Testament, and 14 from the New Testament, mostly from Matthew and 1 Timothy), and made 24 references to theological and historical texts (ranging from Augustine, Cyprian, the Decretum, Eusebius, Huntingdon, Pope Leo I, and others). However, Ponet's treatise was more than a mere defence – it was an attack on the unchaste sole life and a trenchant assault upon the authority of the teaching of Rome. Indeed, it was the treatise that Ponet — a priest married before legalisation — had long hoped that someone else would have written, but now had his own opportunity:

> I haue wyshed that som learned man wold take the paynes to resolue the vnlearned sorte touchyng that poynt, who myght open to them somwhat of the matter, that they should not esteme it so heinous a thynge as they dooe, that a man whiche hathe vowed to lyue all his life sole, should in conclusion marry notwithstanding his vowe. But seyng my wishyng taketh no such effecte, as my wyll was it shoulde, I thought good to leaue of wyshyng and fall to writyng in that poynte, when I see few or none els wyll.[313]

[313] *Defence for Mariage,* D.viii[v].

The work began by demonstrating that marriage and the priesthood were compatible since positive law against clerical marriage ran against the order of creation (i.e., natural law). Next, the work demonstrated with recourse to the primitive church that marriage was no practical hindrance to ministry. Then the work proceeded to show from the Scriptures and the Church Fathers that the Apostles were all married with the exception of John. Following this, Ponet demonstrated that the putting away of wives often contradicted the teaching of Rome itself. Next, Ponet argued from Scripture that men may marry after ordination to the priesthood. Lastly — and most voluminously — Ponet demonstrated that the vows made at ordination do not refer to celibacy in particular but to the service of the Lord in general. This last point concerning vows was supported by the subordinate arguments that celibacy was a gift particularly given to some, and that the will of the Lord always took precedence above the will of man in his vows. It was a pithy treatise, strongly worded, but driven by tight logical and theological argument dressed up in racy prose.

It is possible that the treatise was originally in the form of a sermon but was later edited for publication and intended to be read aloud like the published *Book of Homilies*. The structure of the treatise fits the sermonic genre. There are no major breaks in the text, but the didactic points of the work are clearly signalled, and twice throughout the treatise the previous points are summarised for memorisation. The style of the treatise is also somewhat sermonic — it contains the colourful language and illustrations common to Ponet's work, and features short and pithy sentences, with vivid contrasts, paralleled phraseology, and repetition of language for effect. It is little wonder another accomplished preacher and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, John Taylor, would make use of Ponet's *Defence* in his private research, and laud the treatise publicly from the pulpit of Paul's Cross.[314]

[314] Taylor's marginal reference to Ponet: John Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500-1620* (Abingdon, 2017), 229; Taylor's sermon: *Draft Reply,* 203$^{v}$-204$^{r}$.

Ponet's colourful language was again on public display sometime before October 1549, with his translation of Bernard Ochino's *A Tragoedie or Dialoge.*[315] This quite remarkable work was a polemical account of the history of the 'uniuste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome' with the express purpose 'of all the iust abolishing of the same.'[316] Whatever base text Ochino provided had been translated and expanded upon such that the final form of the text bears the style of invective — and in many places the substance of argument — of Ponet's own theological work. The *Tragoedie* is structured into nine imaginary dialogues which are full of substantial theological and historical reflection, occasionally graced with a touch of evangelical humour. The main antagonist is Pope Boniface III, who succumbs to the plan of Lucifer and Beelzebub and driven by ambition and arrogance raises the authority of the Bishop of Rome to dizzying and distended heights. The heroic protagonists are Kings Henry VIII and Edward VI, who drive the tyranny of the Pope from the English realm as faithful servants of Christ and his archangels.

Professor MacCulloch has provided good reason to believe that Thomas Cranmer himself may have written the script for the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury.[317] It is the longest speech within the *Tragoedie* and contains some of the most careful theological and historical wording. However, there is good evidence to believe that Ponet wrote the section himself. For, one of the striking features of the Archbishop's speech is a section which contains both the tone and the substance of Ponet's *Defence for Mariage* written just months earlier:

> God forbiddeth adultery, and all vncleannes, & commaundeth by the mouth of Paule hym, who hathe not the gifte of chastitie to to mary a wyfe: but this shameles baude dothe the contrary, he forbiddeth marriage to al, that be anoynted of hym, whether they haue the gift of chastitie or not, as thoughe mariage were an vnholy, and an vncleane thynge, and not muche more holy, and more honest, then is theyr wiueles lyfe, and as thoughe accordinge to the doctrine of Paule, matrimonie were not honorable, holye, and vndefyled in all states. Yet in the meane space he graunteth to suche as hange vpon hym, all kindes of beastlynes, and fylthye

315 Bernard Ochino, *Tragoedie* (London, 1549). RSTC 18770.
316 Ochino, *Tragoedie,* A.iʳ.
317 MacCulloch, *Tudor Church,* 27.

> vncleanes. And also at sundrye tymes of the yere, and within sundry degrees deuised by him, he forbiddeth maryage for none other intent, but to kepe hys honor in estimacion, and to get greate summes of money by dispensinge therewith.[318]

The style of the passage matches the style and the strength of Ponet's prose. The choice of words also matches those used by Ponet throughout his writing on clerical marriage ('shameless', 'bawd', 'wifeless life', 'beastliness', 'filthy uncleanness', etc). Indeed, the final phrase in the excerpt above is a linguistic and conceptual match for a clause in the *Defence for Mariage:* '... and the cloud that blinded the eyes of the priestes, was the gaine that they gotte by their vnworthye estimacion.'[319] It may be possible that Cranmer provided the core of the speech for his character in the dialogue, but it is most likely that Ponet — at least — put his Archbishop's ideas into his own English words.

The *Tragoedie* has been described as 'so masterly in plan and so excellent in execution, that it may rank beside the most distinguished productions of the German [sic] Reformation literature.'[320] This may be true insofar as it represents a plan probably hatched among its various evangelical contributors strewn across the streets of London. Ochino, the former Capuchin friar and evangelical exile from Italy, arrived with Peter Martyr Vermigli in London around the end of 1547. He initially stayed with Cranmer at Lambeth Palace and by 1548 was preaching to the Italian 'Stranger' congregation in London. On 9 May of the same year he was presented to the eleventh prebendary stall at Canterbury Cathedral. Rather than taking over Ponet's 'Meister Omers', Ochino was granted a dispensation for non-residency and his family lodged with Richard Morison in London, thus remaining close to the Italian community within the city, to whom Ochino ministered.[321] Walter Lynne, the printer of the *Tragoedie,* was connected in intriguing ways to both Ponet and Archbishop Cranmer. He would go on to publish Ponet's

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318 Ochino, *Tragoedie,* Bb.ii$^{r-v}$.
319 *Defence for Mariage,* A.ii$^{v}$.
320 Karl Benrath, Helen Zimmern (trans.), *Bernard Ochino, of Siena: A Contribution Towards the History of the Reformation* (London, 1876), 188; Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2004), 100-115.
321 Tracey A. Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morison* (Oxford, 2010), 152.

*Notable Sermon* the following year and had already published Cranmer's catechism the previous year. He also lived in Somers Quay in Billingsgate — mere streets away from Ponet's parish of St. Michael's Crooked Lane.

As for Ponet, he was a regular visitor to London at the time. However, this polemical project would have required his presence more than normal, for as he would later admit, 'I turned a tragedy into the English tongue which was first written by the excellent learned father Bernhardinus Ochinus & did cause it to be printed'.[322] Clearly, Ponet was no mere translator of the *Tragoedie* but one of its masterminds. Nevertheless, however 'masterly in plan' it was, the *Tragoedie* was certainly not 'excellent in its execution.' Shortly after it had gone to print, a reprint needed to be issued after October 1549 that excised the glowing references to the lately fallen Lord Protector Somerset.[323] In the fallout of Somerset's removal, Ponet — for his involvement in the *Tragoedie* and its implicating of him in Somerset's circle — was arrested. He was brought out of Kent by John Clif in November to explain himself, but was subsequently restored without repercussion.[324] Years later in exile, Ponet would remember Northumberland as the 'thambicious and subtil Alcibiades of England' for his role in usurping the 'good duke of Somerset'.[325] However, in the next few years, the new Lord President of the Council would have his own uses for John Ponet.

## SUMMARY

This chapter has demonstrated that within the span of seven years John Ponet rose to become the foremost public evangelical theologian from among the 'Athenian tribe.' The first half of this chapter observed Ponet's entrance into the role as chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer and

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322 *Apologie,* CXI.
323 Compare the differences on the original preface ('and than with the advise of your most derest vncle the lorde Protector, and of youre trusty and faithfull counseylours'), RSTC 18770) and the reprint ('and than with the advise of your trustie and faithfull counseylours', RSTC 18771), both A.ii$^{r}$, and likewise on the Table of Contents, both A.ii$^{v}$; Alford, *Kingship,* 115-116.
324 *APC* 1549, p.358 (PC 2/3, 34).
325 *Shorte Treatise,* I.iii$^{r}$.

transition into the role of chaplain to King Henry VIII. His evangelical convictions were encouraged and rewarded through the patronage of Cranmer, and yet his evangelical convictions remained sufficiently private for his patronage under Henry VIII. The second half of this chapter observed Ponet's involvement with both controversial theological activity while prebendary and treasurer of Canterbury Cathedral, and theological publications in the service of Cranmer and Edward VI. Through close attention to Ponet's marginalia written across the two halves of this chapter we have observed the continuities between his private evangelical convictions under the reign of Henry VIII and those of his public evangelical convictions under Edward VI. In many ways, the patronage of Ponet was one of Cranmer's great successes during this time. The budding Cambridge humanist was now the flourishing English evangelical. He had academic experience, administrative experience, and public theological experience — all the right ingredients for the next phase in his ministerial career: episcopal experience.

# Chapter 3 - The Accomplishments of an Edwardian Bishop (1550-1553)

The period between 1550 and 1553 encompasses an important phase of John Ponet's lifetime. Having accumulated both academic and ministry experience, he entered the highest echelons of the ecclesiastical realm. This was, of course, the same path that Nicholas Ridley had trod before him: Greek lecturer at Cambridge, evangelical ministry under Cranmer's patronage, and then Bishop of Rochester. However, it was the age of John Ponet which makes his path all the more extraordinary: aged 34 in 1550, he was the youngest bishop during the Tudor period, and aged 37 in 1553, he was one of the highest ranking and most reformed bishops in the Church of England. Indeed, whereas during his Cambridge years, the academic triumvirate of Cheke, Smith and Ponet embodied the evangelical leadership at the academic centre of the university, during these final years of King Edward VI's reign, the episcopal triumvirate of Cranmer, Ridley and Ponet embodied the evangelical leadership at the ecclesiastical centre of the Church of England. Not only was Ponet quickly elevated from Rochester to Winchester (the wealthiest episcopal see in the land), but he was involved with important examinations into illegal book smuggling and heterodox theology in Kent, contributed to the reform of canon law, and wrote the most important catechism officially authorised by Edward VI, to the publication of which the *Forty-Two Articles of Religion* were appended.

In light of Ponet's significant role during this period, it is surprising that his episcopal ministry has had such little scholarly attention. The only two full length and scholarly works on Ponet pass quickly through his episcopal ministry in order to reach their political discussions, and only one article has been written which directly addresses Ponet's general approach to ministry.[326] This neglect of Ponet's episcopal ministry in particular has afforded conflicting evaluations of

[326] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 36-56; Bowman, 'John Ponet', 33-41; Glen Bowman, "'To the Perfection of God's Service": John Ponet's Reformation Vision for the Clergy', *Anglican and Episcopal History,* 72/11 (2003): 79-101.

his administrative ability. Peter Clark considered him less than a 'first class administrator' while Bishop of Rochester, whereas Barrett Beer describes his contribution when Bishop of Rochester and Winchester as 'greatly underestimated'.[327] Furthermore, this general neglect of Ponet's episcopal ministry is also reflected in the misreading and omitting of his various activities during the period. Hudson, his leading biographer, completely passes over his reforming activities among the parishes and fails to mention, or only partly elucidates various important activities. What Hudson does discuss is strictly limited to the published primary literature available during his time, but he leaves untouched the swathes of relevant archival material on Ponet's episcopate. There is a great deal more to say.

## THE NOTABLE SERMON

During Lent in 1550, Ponet had the honour of preaching before the King and the Privy Council in the King's Court at Westminster. King Edward was a connoisseur of evangelical expositions and the Lenten series included a cohort of talented evangelicals whose sermons were subsequently printed: Hugh Latimer, Thomas Lever, John Hooper, and John Ponet.[328] The subject for Ponet's sermon on 14 March was the Lord's Supper, and it earned the compliments of Hooper who described it in a subsequent sermon before the King as 'godlye and learnedly touched.'[329] The biblical passage for Ponet's sermon was the 'Parable of the Sower' found in Matthew chapter 13, and he based his sermon upon the text of verse 4: 'some fell by the wayes side.' In the sermon of the previous Friday he expounded the meaning of the 'way' and how it became hardened, whereas in this sermon, he focused upon the scattered seed which was lost,

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327 Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society*, 74; Barrett L. Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform in Mid-Tudor England', *Albion,* 23/2 (1991): 239.

328 John Hooper preached between 19 February – 2 April: *An Ouersight, and Deliberacion vpon the Holy Prophete Ionas* (London, 1550), RSTC 13763; Hugh Latimer preached 2 March: *A Moste Faithfull Sermo[n] Preached before the Kynges Most Excellent Maiestye* (London, 1550), RSTC 15289; Thomas Lever preached 9 March: *A Sermon Preached the Thyrd Sondaye in Lente before the Kynges Maiestie* (London, 1550), RSTC 15548; John Ponet preached 14 March: *Notable Sermon.*

329 Hooper, *Ouersight,* P.v$^{r}$. David G. Newcombe, *John Hooper: Tudor Bishop and Martyr (c. 1495-1555)* (Oxford, 2009), 132, probably overstates the significance of Hooper preaching on the same subject as Ponet, since Hooper himself preached on Ninevah which was the same subject of Latimer's sermon.

and how the seed was devoured and trodden upon. Ponet's opening words would have seized the attention of those listening, for with reference to John 6:53, Ponet declared the seed to be

> ... the doctrine of the heuenly banket wher wt our heauenly father fedeth all his elect and chosen people wyth the verye bodye and bloud of hys sonne our Sauioure Ieus Christ, which doctryne is so necessary, that without the comfort thereof it is impossyble, yt any man shoulde be sauid.[330]

Those listening would have been mistaken in interpreting Ponet's remark primarily in terms of the Lord's Supper. Indeed, this was the mistake of Ponet's leading biographer.[331] For, as Ponet continued to expound in his sermon, the necessary food was union with Christ, which only afterwards brought communion with Christ. Because the law of God wrought hunger in the soul (rather than any fasting or self-flagellation), satisfaction for this hunger was not to be found in the authority vested in the ecclesiastical offices, nor through the mercy of the saints or the Virgin Mary. True nourishment was only found in the feeding of the soul through Christ, who delivers from wrath and damnation, takes sin upon himself, overcomes the world, alleviates temptations, and removes the ultimate fear of death. Ponet defined this kind of eating as 'Spiritualiter', which spoke of spiritual comfort for the soul.

The other kind of eating, Ponet defined as 'Sacramentaliter', which spoke of the joining of the signs of bread and wine with the believer's faith, thus producing 'a visible testimony of our inward belief in the face of the congregation.' The necessity of faith implied that it was counter-effective for an unbeliever to make use of the Lord's Supper. To receive the outward signs and make the outward testimony without inward faith was to 'lye to the holy gost', and thus eat and drink the judgement of God according to St. Paul's warning in 1 Corinthians 11:27-39.[332] However, when the believer examined his faith, he was drawn to remember Christ's finished work on his behalf, and thus received the sacramental comfort and consolation of the Lord's

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330 *Notable Sermon,* A.ii$^{v}$-A.iii$^{r}$.
331 Hudson, *John Ponet,* 39-40.
332 *Notable Sermon,* C.vii$^{r-v}$.

Supper. Therefore Ponet drew the application that the sacrament was not to be elevated, nor hung up and worshipped, nor understood as the means of the remission of sin, nor means of procuring rain or fair weather.

Ponet singled out several groups who held to erroneous sacramental opinions and lambasted them as 'ignorant blyndlynges'. The school doctors held that Christ was present really and substantially but not naturally, others that Christ was present in the same physical dimensions as at the crucifixion, others that the bread was transubstantiated, and others that the bread was the body according to the theory of impanation. It is significant that Ponet also decried Luther's eucharistic theology, that the body of Christ was brought down from heaven with the words 'hoc est corpus meum' and was then contained under the bread. This position, according to Ponet, was repugnant to the teaching of Scripture that Christ will only return to judge the world. It is even more significant that Ponet named Bishop Stephen Gardiner for his position that Christ was 'naturally' present in the bread. Railing against the positions of Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Frith, Joye, Bale, Turner, but especially Oecolampadius, Gardiner had relied heavily upon the concept of the 'natural' presence in his defence of his conservative eucharistic theology.[333] Ponet's argument against this position rested on the absence of mention of the term 'natural' in any 'of the old aunceant doctors & writers, either in greek or latin, old or new.'[334] What is additionally striking in his denunciatio was the personalised attack on Gardiner before the King and Privy Council — indeed, an attack upon the very bishop Ponet himself would soon replace:

> And yet is there one who hath of late written a boke called the detection of the deuels Sophistry, whiche vsed this terme naturally twyse or thrise in his boke, belyke he lerned this terme in that schole wheras he learned the deuels Sophistry (that is to saye) in the schole of lyes, of whom the deuel is the chefe scholemaster.[335]

[333] Four references to Oecolampadius in Stephen Gardiner, *A Detection of the Deuils Sophistrie* (London, 1546), RSTC 11591.3: E.iv$^{r}$; K.vi$^{r}$; K.viii$^{r-v}$.
[334] *Notable Sermon,* D.vi$^{v}$.
[335] *Notable Sermon,* D.iv$^{v}$.

The major issue with all of these erroneous opinions was, according to Ponet, their common misunderstanding of the ascension of Christ. The assertion that Christ's body could be in more than one place at the same time was not supported by Scripture, and opened the door to the error of Marcion and the Manichees, who denied Christ's body to be the same substance as other human bodies. Foundational for this ascension theology were the writings of St. Augustine. We can be confident that Ponet consulted Johannes Piscator's 1549 *Epitome* of Augustine's works during the preparation of the sermon. For not only did Piscator's *Epitome* contain all three of Ponet's Augustinian ascension references, but the *Epitome* also contained the particular transmission error that Ponet called attention to during the sermon.[336] The fact that Ponet acquired a copy of Piscator's *Epitome* shortly after preaching the sermon attests to his appreciation for the Augustinian compendium despite this error. Such was the significance of this Augustinian triplet, that all three quotations used in Ponet's sermon were deployed in the same order, albeit with additional Augustinian citations, in Cranmer's *Defense* that was printed later that year.[337] The Archbishop was incensed that Gardiner described these ascension arguments as 'superfluous', and even commended his interlocutor, Richard Smyth, for at least attempting to engage with them. Nevertheless, in Cranmer's view, both of his disputants failed to appreciate the theological significance of the ascension, and he proceeded to pour scorn on them in his *Answer* published in 1551.[338]

After this outline of the ascension of Christ, Ponet outlined his positive understanding of the presence of Christ at the Lord's Supper. He stated that 'Christes very body is present at the mynistracion of the Sacrament of hys Supper.' However, the body of Christ was only present

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336 Ponet thought that 'potest' in Piscator's version of Treatise 30 on John 6 should be 'oportet': 'Corpus enim in quo resurrexit uno loco esse potest', *Epitome,* 100$^{v}$, *Notable Sermon,* D.vii$^{r}$.

337 Thomas Cranmer, A *Defence of the True Catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament* (London, 1550), RSTC 6000. Augustine's letter 57 to Dardanum cited in *Notable Sermon* (D.vi$^{v}$-D.vii$^{r}$) and *Defence* (N.i$^{v}$); Augustine's Treatise 30 on John 16 cited in *Notable Sermon* (D.vii$^{r}$) and *Defence* (N.ii$^{r}$); Augustine's Treatise 50 on John cited in *Notable Sermon* (E.i$^{v}$) and *Defence* (N.ii$^{v}$).

338 Thomas Cranmer, *An Answer of the Most Reuerend Father in God Thomas Archebyshop of Canterburye ... vnto a Crafty and Sophisticall Cauillation Deuised by Stephen Gardiner* (London, 1551), RSTC 5991, L.iii$^{v}$-L.iiii$^{r}$.

because the Christian's 'belefe ascendith in to heuen', and thus 'when I receaue the holy communion, mea conuersatio est in celis.' Ponet continued, 'Wher Christes body is euen so present to my fayth as the sone [sun] is present to my sight and as the bred and wyne bepresent [sic] to my mouth.'[339] In other words, Ponet believed that faith was the apparatus by which the very body of Christ was apprehended in an heavenly manner by the communicant at the Lord's Supper.

Predictably for someone with such great astronomical interest, the illustration of the sun and its rays was an important component of Ponet's theology of the Lord's Supper. As we have seen in chapter 2, the idea of ascending into heaven to receive the vision of God would have informed his theological deployment of the illustration of the sun and its rays. This illustration, which was important for Cranmer's theology of the Lord's Supper, was also one of the major sticking points between the Archbishop and Stephen Gardiner. Whereas Gardiner maintained that the communication of the substance of the body of the Son necessitated the communication of the corporal body of the Son, Cranmer believed that the illustration of the sun and its rays explained how the substance of the body of the Son could be communicated to the believer while the corporal body of the Son remained in heaven. Moreover, Cranmer also deployed the idea of fire and the substance of the fire to make the same point.[340] It is possible to observe Ponet's similar interest in both the illustrations of the sun and its rays, and the fire and its light, within his written marginalia. Of particular note is the way in which these written annotations also illuminate the Trinitarian grounding of these illustrations. Within his Latin copy of Antonius Melissa's *Sententarium,* acquired when Bishop of Rochester, Ponet underlined the entirety of the following from Tatian's *Oration to the Greeks*:

339 *Notable Sermon,* E.ii$^{r}$-E.iii$^{r}$.
340 Cranmer, *Answer,* K.iiii$^{r}$.

> For just as from one torch many others are lit, but the light of the first torch is not lessened by the kindling of many torches: so too the Word coming forth from the power of the Father, does not leave behind the generator free from the Word.[341]

Within his copy of Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, acquired when Bishop of Winchester, Ponet wrote 'solis' in the margin adjacent to a discussion of the relationship between the Word and the Father. He underlined 'the light of the sun on earth is indivisible and inseparable from the sun in the heavens', and also wrote the following annotation in the adjacent margin. What is especially noteworthy about this annotation is Ponet's inclusion of the relationship between Christ's natures — something Justin Martyr's text is silent about:

> The sun has light inseparably annexed, yet still diffuses light on the earth. In the same way the Father and Word of the Father are inseparably united. In the same way the divinity and humanity of Christ are united.[342]

Thus, for Ponet, the Trinitarian theology of the early Christian apologists provided resources for the eucharistic theology of the reformation apologists. Indeed, his retrieval of Tatian and Justin Martyr was structurally similar to Cranmer's retrieval of Cyril of Alexandria in order to explicate the presence and reception of the benefits of Christ's body and blood.[343] For, just as with Cranmer, the emphasis of Ponet's theology of the Lord's Supper was — to use Brian Gerrish's terminology — not symbolic instrumentalism, nor symbolic memorialism, but symbolic parallelism.[344] Although such theological detail of his position probably belonged in academic surroundings more than within a sermon before King and Council, they were well captured by Ponet's pithy phrase, 'mea conuersatio est in celis'. When believers partook of the bread and wine, the body and blood of the ascended Christ were made present to their faith,

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[341] *Sententarium (Lat),* 349: 'Quemadmodum enim ab una face aliae multae accenduntur, nec tamen primae facis lux minuitur propter plures inde succensas: Sic etiam Verbum [printed note: 'λογος'] e Patris potentia progressum, non relinquit genitorem Verbi [printed note: 'αλογον'] expertem.' [Tatian, Orat., V, 67]

[342] *Martyr's Works*, h.iiii$^{v}$: 'Sol cum lumen inseparabiliter habeat annexum, diffundit tamen lumen in terram. Sic pater et sermo patris inseparabiliter coniunguntur sic divinitas et humanitas Christi coniunguntur' [Just. Mar., Dialogue, CXXVIII, 264].

[343] On Cranmer's retrieval of Cyprian, see Ashley Null, 'Thomas Cranmer', in Justin S. Holcomb and David A Johnson (eds.), *Christian Theologies of the Sacraments: A Comparative Introduction* (New York, 2017), 209-232.

[344] Brian Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude: The Eucharistic Theology of John Calvin* (Eugene, OR, 2002).

granting them heavenly comfort and nourishment for their souls. In other words, Christ was the heavenly banquet whom believers fed on both 'Substantialiter' (union) and 'Sacramentaliter' (communion).

This doctrine was, in effect, the seed of which the parable spoke. Thus, for the remainder of Ponet's sermon he attacked those who trod upon this seed of salvation. On the one hand, the theological groups which were mentioned included 'the martians, the manycheis the arrians, the Pellagyans the Libertines, the Annabaptistes,' but above all, the 'chefe & arche capitayn tread worde is the Antichristian Biishope [sic] of Rome' — an interesting example of gathering heretics, radicals, and papists together, by implication as 'sects'.[345] In light of these threats, Ponet's advice to his hearers was to copy the Bereans of Acts 17:10-11 and compare all teaching — even his very sermon — to the Scriptures. On the other hand, the social groups which he mentioned included the judges, justices, bishops and their officers, schoolmasters, stewards, and priests who took auricular confession. Of these groups, it was the schoolmasters alone who received a remedial proposal. In the only direct address to King Edward during the entire sermon ('most noble prince ... your graces most godly procedynges'), Ponet made a brief proposal for a new Latin catechism to be produced for all grammar schools.[346] These final words of the sermon had their intended effect, for Ponet himself would author this catechism two years later, which contained a mature — and quite profound — synthesis of these earlier strains of eucharistic thought:

> But as touchynge the bodylye presence of Christe heare in earthe (if it be lawfull to place in comparison, great thinges wyth small) Christes bodye is present to our faith: as the sonne, when it is seen, is present to the eye the bodie wherof, although it do not bodylye touche the eye, nor be presently wyth together hear in earthe, yet is it present to the sight, notwithstanding, so large a distaunce of space betwen. So Christes body which at his glorious going vp was conueyed from vs: which hath left the worlde, and is gone vnto hys father: is a greate way absent from our mouth, euen then when we receyue wyth our mouth, the holye sacrament of his body and bloude. Yet is oure fayth in heauen: and beholdeth that sonne of righteousnesse:

[345] *Notable Sermon,* E.iiii$^{v}$.
[346] *Notable Sermon,* G.ii$^{r}$-G.iii$^{r}$.

> and is presently together wyth him in heauen, in sutch sort as the syghte is in heauen with the body of the sonne: or in earthe the sonne wyth the syght. And as the sonne is present to all thinges by hys light: so is Christe also in hys godhead. Yet neither can from the body the light of the sonne be sondred: nor from hys immortall bodye the godhead of Christe. We muste thearfore so say, that Christes bodye is in some one place of heauen, and hys godhead euerywhear: that we neyther of hys godhead make a body: nor of hys bodye a God.[347]

## BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

This sermon and Ponet's evangelical track record must have sufficiently impressed the King and Privy Council, for on 11 May 1550 he was appointed to the bishopric of Rochester, which was made vacant after Ridley was promoted to London.[348] Ponet was formally granted the bishopric by the King on 26 June, with Cranmer receiving the mandate to proceed the following day.[349] With awareness of his promotion, and presumably out of gratitude, Ponet alienated the manors and rents of Preston Beckhelwyn and Hooe (the former earning him £18 5d 8s per annum from a 99 year lease) to his old friend, John Cheke, on 19 May.[350] There were now, however, two matters which needed dealing with prior to his consecration: accommodation and finances. On 28 June the Privy Council granted an 'exceptional privilege': that since Ponet 'hath no house to dwell on and his lyving small ... he shulde enioye his benefice in commendam'.[351] The lack of finances reflected Ponet's scholarly background and short ministry career (not to mention his recent generosity to Cheke). The lack of accommodation probably implied that

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[347] *Short Catechisme,* E.iiii$^{v}$-E.vi$^{v}$.

[348] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 43, argues that Ponet's preaching had little to do with his promotion, on the basis of Ponet's nomination for Rochester on 8 March which occurred before his Lenten sermon. Hudson relied on John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 3 vols. (London, 1716), 2:570, which cited Cranmer's Register at folio 330 for this claim. This is a mistake, for there is no such comment in LPL, Cranmer's Reg., 330$^{r}$ or $^{v}$. Modern editions of *Fasti* have deleted this error. Additionally, Hudson, *John Ponet,* 43, assumed that Ponet was nominated to replace Bonner in London on 23 March 1549/50, citing Herbert Chitty, Henry Elliot Malden (eds.), *Registra Stephani Gardiner et Johannis Poynet, Episcoporum Wintoniensium* (Oxford, 1930), xix. Malden seems to have misread *APC* 1549, p.400, which stated that 'The busshop of Rochester [Ridley] to be Busshop of London [previously Bonner]'.

[349] Appointment: *APC* 1550, 30 (PC 2/4, 31); grant and mandate: *CPR* 1550*,* iii, 173. Note that Rymer, *Foedera,* 15: 237-238, records the grant on 6 June 1550. The difference between '2' and '26' appears to be a typographic mistake since Rymer's next entry is the mandate which is dated 27 June.

[350] License of alientation, 19 May 1550: ESRO, GLY 1377; Lease to John Comberforde, 20 October 1548: ESRO, GLY 1402.

[351] MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* 454; *APC* 1550, 57 (PC 2/4, 61).

the episcopal palace was unsuitable for use rather than an absence of all accommodation.[352] Therefore, Ponet received a license to hold *in commendam* the parishes of Ashford, Towen, and St. Michael's Crooked Lane, and his Canterbury prebend, from the Feast of the Annunciation 1550 to the Feast of the Annunciation 1555.[353] However, given the great abuse of plurality (which the evangelical leadership had previously attacked), the Privy Council made clear that Ponet's fixed-term *in commendam* arrangement would be the end of an era: 'from hensforthe it is decreed that no bushop shall kepe other benefice than his busshoprike only.'[354] However, if his consecration signalled the end of an era, it also ushered in a new one.

Ponet was consecrated as Bishop of Rochester on 29 June 1550, which fell appropriately on St. Peter's Day, which collect Cranmer recently revised to pray for 'all bishops and pastors diligently to preache thy holy woorde'.[355] The service was conducted in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, and was the first use of Cranmer's order of consecration from the newly sanctioned Ordinal which was recycled from the Sarum Pontifical and Martin Bucer's *De Ordinatione Legitima Ministrorum*.[356] There were many in attendance, both clergy and laity, including Cranmer's registrar Anthony Huse, public notaries Peter Lylly, John Howes, and John Incent, and those who represented the dean and chapter of Rochester Cathedral, Walter Phillips, John Sympkyns, and Walter Wilbore.[357] Those who had attended such services would have been struck, not only by the vernacular liturgy, but also by the simplicity and reformed nature of the consecration

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352 Patricia A. Clarke, 'The History and Architectural Development of the Old Bishop's Palace, Rochester', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 134 (2014): 10-11.
353 *CPR* 1550, iii, 293.
354 *APC* 1550, 57 (PC 2/4, 61).
355 LPL, Cranmer Reg., 330$^{v}$-332$^{r}$. Recorded on 30 June 1550 in the diary of King Edward VI, BL Cotton MS Nero C X, 24$^{v}$.
356 Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Anglican Ordinal: Its History and Development from the Reformation to the Present Day* (London, 1971), 1-36.
357 The service is partially recorded by *StrypeTC,* 1:363-64, but the full record in Cranmer's register is vastly more detailed.

ceremonies. Indeed, the significance of this momentous event is reflected by its lengthy and detailed account recorded in Cranmer's Register.

The Archbishop, wearing his mitre and silk cope, conducted Ponet's consecration ceremony according to the 'booke of commen service', with the assistance of evangelical bishops Ridley and Bulkeley, who wore surplices and copes with pastoral staves in their hands. Ponet entered and stood in their midst, before being presented to the Archbishop who was sitting upon the appropriate bishop's chair ('in decenta [sic] cathedra sedenti'). Geoffrey Glyn, advocate at the Court of the Arches and the brother of Ponet's former Queens' colleague, William Glyn, read out the Archbishop's consecration mandate in the place of Cranmer's chancellor, Griffin Leyson. Ponet proceeded to take the canonical oath of obedience, which promised to repudiate the authority of the Bishop of Rome and uphold supremacy of the King of England, ending with the soon to be controversial phrase, 'so helpe me god all saintes and the holie Evangeliste'. After supplications, examination, and the episcopal laying on of hands, Cranmer placed the Bible upon Ponet's neck and charged him with the faithful reading and exhortation of the same, before placing the pastoral staff in Ponet's hands and charging him to faithfully shepherd the flock of Christ. Bishop Ridley ('Reverendum patrem London antistitem') then preached on 1 Timothy chapter 3. After this, the service concluded with Holy Communion, which featured a table covered by a white linen cloth ('mensa lintheo albo cooperta') — an important instance of the evangelical programme of removing stone altars which took place throughout that year, and a strong signal to all in attendance of Cranmer's reformation goals.

There were, however, conservative elements of Ponet's consecration service that raised eyebrows, and indeed, contributed to the liturgical revision made over the next two years. In the Lenten sermons which he preached alongside Ponet, John Hooper publicly mocked the Ordinal for its oath of obedience which invoked the saints, and its prescription of vestments

that resembled those of the Aaronic priesthood.[358] To make such a comment before the King and Privy Council was highly embarrassing for Cranmer, and the Archbishop proceeded to drag Hooper over the coals for it. Nevertheless, Hooper was nominated for the bishopric of Gloucester — yet these two matters caused him to decline the offer. On the very same day Ponet was consecrated to Rochester, Hooper wrote to Heinrich Bullinger and again decried the 'shameful and impious form of the oath', and 'those Aaronic habits which they still retain'.[359] It was only when the King himself struck out the reference to the saints in the oath of obedience, and only when pressured by Bullinger, Bucer and Martyr to accept vestments as adiaphorous, that Hooper finally conceded, and was consecrated on 8 March 1551. Perhaps it came as some consolation to Hooper that the revision of the Ordinal in 1552 removed all reference to the saints in the oath of obedience, even if vestments were retained.

Since Ponet was as staunch an evangelical as Hooper, why did he consent to consecration under these terms? The answer lies partly in his conception of positive law, that category of political thought whereby rulers could promulgate legislation insofar as those laws did not contravene the law of God. In his copy of the King's Book, within the section on the sacrament of orders, Ponet underlined seven lines of text concerning the freedom of Christian regions to produce their own forms for the ordination of ecclesiastical ministers with the assent of their prince or ruler. In the adjacent margin, he wrote: 'The forme of makinge of bushops and ministers is left to the positif lawes of every Christiane region'.[360] This largely echoed the adjacent text, but the explicit mention of bishops, considering the absence of their mention within the text, is suggestive of a degree of independent — probably affirmative — reflection on episcopal consecration. Certainly, by the time of Ponet's exile in Strassburg, he placed great importance

[358] Hooper, *Ouersight,* H.iiii$^{r-v}$; J.H. Primus, *The Vestments Controversy: An Historical Study of the Earliest Tensions within the Church of England in the Reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth* (Kampen, 1960), 3-59.
[359] *OL,* 1:87; c.f., MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* 471-473.
[360] *King's Book,* xxxv$^{v}$.

upon positive law. This was one of the key aspects of his *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* and he included entire sections dedicated to its explication and illustration. One particular text is striking with respect to the relationship between positive law and his consecration:

> True it is, that in maters indifferent, that is, that of them selues be neither good nor euil, hurtfull or profitable, but for a decent ordre: Kinges and Princes (to whom the people haue geuen their autoritie) maie make suche lawes, and dispense with them. But in maters not indifferent, but godly and profitably ordayned for the common wealthe, ther can they not (for all their autoritie) breake them or dispense with them.[361]

This aspect of positive law contributes to our understanding of Ponet's view of vestments. We have already observed how, towards the end of his life, Ponet likened the surplice to a porter's weed at Billingsgate.[362] Although the text of this illustration is now lost, we can assume that it was framed negatively, given its use by puritan authors during the Elizabethan vestments controversy. We may also observe some of Ponet's comments concerning vestments in the early stages of his life while lecturing at Cambridge. In one of his personal copies of Aristophanes' *Comedies*, he focused upon the pagan initiation ceremonies mentioned in the play named Plutus. Drawing a diamond shaped set of crosses in the margin, he underlined the question of Carion to the Just Man, 'Were you initiated into the Great Mysteries in that cloak?' At the corresponding set of crosses at the bottom of the page, he wrote: 'The interpreter teaches two things to be initiated into small and great festivals; one creeps forwards, into the place where the poor men are initiated. Secondly, only those who have abstained from wealth will be initiated. And all of them offer to God in sacrifice with vestments.'[363] In light of his somewhat negative view of surplices and his awareness of the pagan use of vestments, Ponet probably held some sympathy for those — like Hooper — who opposed vestments. Indeed, five years later, he would go on to denounce 'albes, copes, vestments, mytars' as 'Aronicall stuffe out of

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[361] *Shorte Treatise,* B.v[v].

[362] See Chapter 2 under heading 'Evangelical Patronage and Preparation'.

[363] *Comedies,* 28 [Aristoph. Pl. 845]: 'μῶν οὖν ἐμυήθης δῆτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα;'; 'Duo fuisse initiandi festa paruum & magnum interpres docet; proserpivae unum, in quo pauperes initiati sunt. Careris alterum ubi divites solum initiabantur. vestimentum autem quo ubi sunt in sacris offerebatur deo.'

the old Testament'.[364] Nevertheless, he would have seen them as neither good nor evil in themselves, but only good or evil in terms of their function. Thus, because of their adiaphorous nature, Ponet would have understood them within the context of positive law, and as such, would have been able to wear them at his consecration with a clear conscience.

At first glance, Ponet's consent to the oath of obedience, with its reference to the saints appears more difficult to explain. It is unlikely to have been an oversight on Ponet's part, since within his translation of Ochino's *Tragoedie* made the previous year, he cited the offending phrase in a discussion of consecration oaths: 'taking god, and all saynctes to witness'.[365] Indeed, Ponet took oaths quite seriously. During his Cambridge years, his attention was drawn to a passage on oaths in his copy of Isocrates' *Orationes* and underlined the text: 'Never allow yourself to be put under oath save for one of two reasons — in order to clear yourself of disgraceful charges or to save your friends from great dangers.'[366] More important were his notes in his copy of the King's Book. He wrote 'Unlawfull othes' as a title at the top of the page which began the exposition of the third commandment. In agreement with the passage upon the following page, he wrote in the margin, 'an othe or promesse is of no strengt[h] if it be contrary to the lawes of God'. His most heavily underlined aspect of the exposition on the third commandment concerned prayer to saints, insofar as it took the Lord's name in vain by praying to the saints for gifts rather than to God himself. Ponet drew three semibreve symbols adjacent to this long passage to signal its importance. Although he underlined the bulk of the text, one underlined sentence is particularly illuminating: 'Therefore they that so pray to saintes for these gyftes, as thoughe they coulde gyue them, or be gyuers of them, transgresse this commaundment'.[367] In other words, the invocation of the saints was permissible only insofar as it recognised that the

[364] *Apologie*, CVII.
[365] *Tragoedie,* Bb.i$^{v}$.
[366] *Isocrates,* a.2$^{v}$ [Isoc. 1.23]: 'ὅρκον ἐπακτὸν προσδέχου διὰ δύο προφάσεις, ἢ σεαυτὸν αἰτίας αἰσχρᾶς ἀπολύων, ἢ φίλους ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων διασώζων.'
[367] *King's Book,* l$^{v}$-li$^{v}$.

saints themselves were not the givers of gifts, but merely spiritual intercessors to God on behalf of the prayerful believer. This was, in fact, precisely what Ponet had argued in his *Notable Sermon* just three months before his consecration:

> When all thys wyll not serue man is so afraid of almightye God, that he dareth not goo immediatly vnto him for help, but thinketh that he shall find more mercy at S. Peter his hand or S. Paules hande, or S. Iames hand, or S. Iohns hand, or at the blessed virgin Maries hande, then at the hande of allmightye God, by meanes whereof man falleth on callinge vpon some or many of them trustynge to haue some help that way. But when man perceaueth not that way to be alowed in scripture, but in consyderyng fyndeth that thys comminge fyrst to sayntes before he commeth to god, semeth rather to include a distrust in allmightie god, then to be a frut of a suer belefe in him, still she remaynet in hys former agony & vnquietnes.[368]

Therefore, Ponet's willingness to use the phrase, 'so helpe me god all saintes', in his oath of obedience was not due to flagrant disregard for the positive law which upheld the Ordinal, nor was it due to theological oversight. But was it due to theological compromise? His public swipe against the invocation of the saints in the *Notable Sermon* agreed with the prohibitions of the King's Book which he had carefully examined. Yet he nowhere affirmed the positive teaching of the King's Book on the invocation of the saints. Most likely, Ponet felt as awkwardly as Cranmer about the presence of the phrase. In a later discussion of oaths in his *Shorte Treatise,* he explicitly spoke of swearing on the holy evangelists, but was silent on the saints.[369] Thus, he may have wished the phrase to be struck from the Ordinal for the sake of evangelical clarity, just as with Hooper. Nevertheless, the utterance of these few words probably paled in significance compared to the utterance of the rest of the newly reformed Ordinal. Indeed, Ponet was delighted to have been consecrated under the new liturgy. Five years later, in the context of a debate with his interlocutor Thomas Martyn over the clerical promises of the Roman Pontifical, Ponet remarked, 'I rejoyse I was not made bushop by that order.'[370]

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368 *Notable Sermon,* B.i$^{r-v}$.
369 *Shorte Treatise,* I.v$^{v}$.
370 *Draft Reply,* 341$^{v}$.

Ponet spent only nine months as Bishop of Rochester, and establishing a full picture of his episcopal ministry is difficult in light of the absence of his bishop's register.[371] However, there is a surviving record from Star Chamber during the reign of King Edward VI that describes the complaint of 'John by the suffraunce of god busshop of Rochester' which alleged that William Parmenter, who along with John Colby of Brundish and some others, had 'riotously and with force' seized the parsonage of Brundish and Tannington in Suffolk on 16 January 1550/1551.[372] Ponet, being bishop of Rochester, was patron and appropriator of Tannington and Brundish, and so pursued the forcible ouster of these troublemakers from the rectory under his episcopal authority.

Additionally, we may gather some sense of his episcopal activity through a hitherto unexamined letter written during the time. Ponet wrote to the dean and chapter of Canterbury Cathedral from his episcopal palace in Bromley on 5 December 1550.[373] The letter was, in essence, an expression of his unhappiness with the 'great charge' unjustly laid to his account as a result of the prebendal house repairs which he previously commanded. We can glean something of Ponet's administrative ability within the details of this accounting dispute. Upon his episcopal consecration he delegated his duties as receiver of accounts to the chapter. However, since he was still formally the receiver of accounts, had monitored the expenses closely. The problem, as Ponet saw it, was that some of the other prebendaries were paying for repairs on his account book. He was not afraid to use his new episcopal authority to rectify the situation. He warned that those who had 'done the office' would be held accountable and made to answer for their actions, and he summoned auditor John Wilde and prebend Robert Goldson to meet him and clarify matters at Rochester the following Wednesday.

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371 Le Neve, *Fasti,* 46; David M. Smith, *Guide to Bishop's Registers of England and Wales* (London, 1981), 175.
372 TNA, STAC 3/2/9. The complaint states that John succeeded Nicholas on the see being void, thus it was made by John Ponet rather than John Scory, which implies the year 1550/1551.
373 See Appendix B.

The circumstances which afforded this situation to transpire also illuminate Ponet's activities during his episcopal ministry at Rochester. Ponet had been absent from Canterbury for 'the mooste part of this yeare' for two reasons: 'by the kinges maiesties commaundment', and 'for attending apon myne office'. He stated that the 'chefe cause' for his absence during the audit and chapter meeting on 25 November was that King's majesty's affairs required his 'personall presence at that present'.[374] All of this implies that Ponet had moved his family from 'Meister Omers', probably to Bromley palace, in light of the unsuitable state of Rochester Cathedral palace. Situated between London and Rochester, Bromley would have served as a good base from which he could execute his episcopal ministry and be personally present to attend to the King's requests.

Unfortunately, there is scant evidence for what affairs Ponet conducted during the latter half of 1550. It is very likely that he wrote a piece of eucharistic theology, *Axiomata Eucharistiae,* around this time. There is no evidence for the publication of this work though it likely reflected the harvest of his Lenten sermons on the same subject.[375] Additionally, he could possibly have helped with the prickly relationship between Ridley and John à Lasco over the Stranger Church in London, and he probably would have taken great interest in the examination and imprisonment of Stephen Gardiner. Scholars have also tentatively suggested that Ponet may have assisted Cranmer with his *Answer … unto a Crafty and Sophisticall Cavillation Devised by Stephen Gardiner* (1551).[376] As Cranmer's close friend and theological advisor, it is possible that Ponet assisted with such an important and quickly produced eucharistic response. Stephen Gardiner

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374 The General Chapter met twice annually, first of the feast of St. John the Baptist (24 June), then again on the feast of St. Catherine (25 November). Given that Ponet responded to letters sent by the Dean and Chapter dated 26 and 28 November, he is likely referring to the latter General Chapter meeting, though we cannot say with absolute certainty. The dates of the meetings are mentioned in the statutes, as recorded in Canterbury Cathedral, *The Statutes of the Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of Christ, Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1925) 85-87.

375 In his bibliographic notebook which is held at Bodl., Selden Supra 64, 112$^{v}$ (herein the *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*), Bale observed this manuscript while Ponet was bishop of Rochester, though there was no record him seeing it at Reyner Wolfe's workshop; c.f., listing in Bale, *Scriptorum,* 694.

376 Hudson, *John Ponet,* 29-32; Bowman, 'John Ponet', 61-63.

through his apprentice, Thomas Martyn, pondered whether Cranmer was the genuine author.[377] It was common practice for the Archbishop to draw other scholars into his various projects, whether catechetical translation, liturgical compilation, or homiletical production. Indeed, Diarmaid MacCulloch suggests that Thomas Becon may have contributed the more racy sections of the prose in Cranmer's eucharistic writings, based on the echoes of Becon's writings in Cranmer's treatise.[378] By this same logic, Ponet would also be a suitable candidate, for there are a number of echoes of his prose in the *Defence,* and a great many more in the *Answer.* We know that these two eucharistic publications were the fruit of a massive eucharistic research project instigated by Archbishop Cranmer and aided by his theological secretary, Pierre Alexandre.[379] However, in the absence of any evidence of Ponet's contribution we cannot be certain of his involvement.

We can, however, have confidence that one of Ponet's activities during this period was further theological research, especially concerning soteriology. Early in 1550 — before his consecration — Ponet acquired a copy of the eleventh-century Bishop Theophylact of Ochrid's *Commentary on the Four Gospels.* This was an important source for the reformers: an Eastern theologian who wrote erudite exegetical commentaries in the Greek language. Ponet's critical reading of Theophylact can be observed in his marginalia concerning the doctrine of justification. He wrote 'faith alone' next to a large underlined section of the introduction, which, despite the absence of an explicit mention of 'faith', described the remission of sins, justification, return to heaven, and adoption as sons of God, as being received by God's grace and without having 'laboured to obtain these good things' or by 'our own accomplishments'.[380] However, in a section of Theophylact's commentary of the Gospel of John, he noticed a section which

377 *Traictise*, f.ii$^{r}$. See chapter 5 for discussion of the dual authorship of this book.
378 MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* 463, 465.
379 I am grateful to Dr. Ashley Null for his conversations and partial preview of his forthcoming critical edition of Cranmer's 'Great Commonplace Books' under contract with Oxford University Press.
380 *Commentary on the Four Gospels*, 1: 'sola fides'; 'μη γαρ εκοπιάσαμεν ήμεις επι τή κτησει τουτων των αγαθων', 'εξ ιδίων κατορθωματων ταυτα ελαβομεν'.

strongly argued against justification by faith alone, and commented, 'not justified by faith alone'.[381] These two comments suggest that one of Ponet's research goals was to find and collect evangelical precedents from antiquity. Indeed, he later deployed a 'brefe collection out of the doctors whiche haue the very wordes *Sola fides'* against Thomas Martyn, though the absence of Theophylact is probably best explained by the Greek bishop's solifidian equivocation.[382]

Ponet's interest in soteriology can also be detected in his copies of Antonius Melissa's *Sententarium* acquired around this time. Melissa was an 11th century Greek monk who compiled a set of writings by Maximus the Confessor, Theophilus of Antioch, and Tatian, printed in both Greek and Latin, and Latin only editions by Christopher Froschauer in Zürich in 1546. In Ponet's Greek and Latin edition of the *Sententarium,* which he acquired in 1549, he underlined almost an entire paragraph of Theophilus' first book to Autolycus concerning the inability of man to see God. Using the illustration of the sun and its light, Theophilus expounded upon the inability of natural man to see God. Ponet summarised this section in the margin, 'Therefore the sun is not wanting in splendour, but the blind man cannot see the sun. The fault is in the blind man not the sun. So it is with God and the sinner.'[383] On the following page, Ponet took interest in another aspect of Theophilus' understanding of the knowledge of God. In a section concerning the perception of the invisible God through his visible works, Ponet underlined various relevant sentences, and wrote at the top of the page: 'Thus, is not the soul of man perceived by the government and motion of the body even though it is invisible? And although God is likewise invisible, is he not perceived by his government as the king of all things?'[384]

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[381] *Commentary on the Four Gospels,* 443: 'non sola fides iustificat'.
[382] *Apologie*, LXVI-LXVII.
[383] *Sententarium (Gk and Lat),* 245: 'sol propterea splendore non caret sed ceci solem non videat. vitium in ceco est non in sole: sic fit de deo & peccatoribus'.
[384] *Sententarium (Gk and Lat)*, 246: 'Quemadmodam anima hominis cum sit invisibilis a gubernationem et motu corporis deprehenditur? sic Et deus licet sit invisibilis, ab administrationem rex omnium deprehenditur?'

These reflections on the perception of God demonstrate Ponet's epistemological conviction that the saving knowledge of God was distinct from the general knowledge of God's existence.

We can observe related themes in Ponet's Latin edition of the *Sententarium* which he acquired when Bishop of Rochester. In additional to general Graeco-Roman observations, his attention was drawn to the soteriology within Tatian's *Oration to the Greeks*. Underlining 'in imitation of the Logos, being begotten again, and having become possessed of the truth', Ponet wrote in the adjacent margin: 'Regeneration'.[385] Further down on the same page, Ponet wrote 'Free will, Predestination' next to an important reflection on the same subject, which he underlined as follows:

> And each of these two orders of creatures [i.e., mankind and angels] was made free to act as it pleased, despite not having the nature of good, which again is with God alone, but is brought to perfection in men through their freedom of choice, in order that the bad man may be justly punished, having become depraved through his own fault, but the just man be deservedly praised for his virtuous deeds, since in the exercise of his free choice he refrained from transgressing the will of God. Such is the constitution of things in reference to angels and men. And the power of the Logos, having in itself a faculty to foresee future events, not as fated, but as taking place by the choice of free agents, foretold from time to time the issues of things to come; it also became a forbidder of wickedness by means of prohibitions, and the encomiast of those who remained good.[386]

These two pieces of evidence during the latter half of 1550 — episcopal exertion of authority in administrative matters, and further soteriological research — would have prepared Ponet well for an important responsibility he received at the beginning of the following year. For, on 18 January 1551, Ponet was selected to participate in an extraordinary commission to deal with all those who transgressed the Book of Common Prayer, and in particular, the heresies of the Anabaptists and Libertines.[387] The thirty-two person commission included the most prominent evangelical luminaries of the time, such as the bishops of Canterbury, Ely, London, Norwich, and Rochester, deans such as William May, John Taylor, Simon Haynes, Griffin Leyson, clergy

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385 *Sententarium (Lat),* 349: 'Regeneratio'
386 *Sententarium (Lat),* 349: 'Arbitrii libertas Predest [sic]' [Tatian, Orat., VII, 67-68]
387 Rymer, *Foedera,* 15: 250-252; *CPR* 1550, iii, 347.

such as Hugh Latimer, Matthew Parker, Miles Coverdale, Rowland Taylor, and Christopher Nevinson, and laymen such as William Petre, William Cecil, Anthony Cooke, John Hales, Thomas Smith, and John Cheke. What is especially noteworthy is that Ponet was named in a select subgroup, set apart from the others to execute the commission into what John Hooper (who had not yet backed down over the matter of vestments and was excluded from the commission) described as 'the frenzy of the Anabaptists'.[388]

Ponet's diocese of Rochester was situated in the county of Kent, which was a notorious region for heterodox activity. He would have been well aware of the religious volatility of the region during his upbringing through the heterodox religious activity among his extended family. Some of this earlier heterodox activity contributed to the theological positions acceptable to the Edwardian regime, whereas other early activity produced theological positions far more progressive and became a threat to the regime. Cranmer's letter to Cromwell in 1538 concerning the parishes of Smarden and Pluckley (discussed in chapter 1) explicitly mentioned one Henry Harte, who later became a principal leader of the 'freewiller' movement during the Edwardian reign, claiming that 'there was no man so chosen but that he might dampne hime selfe Nether yet anye man soo reprobate but that he mighte kepe goddes Commaundments'.[389] In the aftermath of the Prebendaries' Plot, in which the threat of heterodoxy was further uncovered, there was advice given to appoint 'learned men, with sufficient stipends' to the parishes of Sandwich, Dover, Folkestone, Tenterden, Cranbrook, Faversham, Hearne, Whitstable, Smarden, Maidstone, Wye, Wingham, and Ashford — the last of which parishes was not only granted to Ponet in 1547, but was where the commission sat in 1552.[390] If Ridley

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388 Rymer, *Foedera,* 15:252: '(quorum Abp Cantuar, Bp Ely, Bp London, Bp Norwich, Bp Rochester, Nicholas Wooton, William Petre, William Cecil, Richard Cox, James Hales, William May, unum esse volumus, & in executione Praemissorum interesse)'. John Hooper to Heinrich Bullinger, 29 June 1550: *OL,* 1:87.

389 Stype, *Memorials,* 2i, 370; Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), 2:1; Tom Freeman, 'Dissenters from a dissenting Church: the Challenge of the Freewillers, 1550-1558', in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), esp. 130-34.

390 CCCC MS 128, p.361.

had some experience of the Anabaptists and 'freewillers' during his time as bishop of Rochester, we can safely assume that Ponet would have been well suited for the commission as the new bishop of Rochester.

It is odd, however, to observe that the leading modern treatment of the Edwardian Anabaptists and 'freewillers' fails to mention Ponet in its discussion of the commission, despite Ponet being Bishop of Rochester at the time, despite his family hailing from precisely those places where Anabaptism and Libertinism was prevalent in Kent, and despite him being the vicar of Ashford which was the epicentre of that activity.[391] Even Ponet's main biographer merely mentions Ponet on the commission, but continues on without much comment.[392] Perhaps the simple reason for this neglect is the paucity of evidence for any of Ponet's actions on behalf of the commission. Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct some of Ponet's theological reflections on Anabaptism during this period.

During his time as bishop of Rochester, Ponet acquired Johannes Piscator's 1549 *Epitome* of Augustine's works. Although the whereabouts of this book is unknown, it would certainly have proven an invaluable compendium of resources regarding the Donatist controversy and have provided ample ammunition against reformation Anabaptism. However, we do have an even more valuable window into Ponet's consideration of Anabaptism through his copy of Joannes Gast's *De Anabaptismi Exordio* which he acquired in 1549. Gast was a disciple of Johannes Oecolampadius and deacon at St. Martin's in Basel, and his treatise was a detailed, though rather polemical, potted history of the Anabaptist movement. Ponet's interest was especially drawn to Gast's history of Anabaptism in Zürich. He underlined an important section of text concerning the Anabaptist ringleader ['Coryphaei'] Conrad Grebel, as well as the section

391 D. Andrew Penny, *Freewill or Predestination: The Battle over Saving Grace in Mid-Tudor England* (Royal Historial Society, 1990), esp. 49-51. On page 50, Penny — following Strype's miscount — labels the composition of the commission as 'thirty-one worthies'.
392 Hudson, *John Ponet,* 48.

describing the first rebaptisms of the reformation which took place in the house of Felix Manz on 12 January 1525.[393] He then enumerated Gast's instructions from this incident in the margins (underlining the second): firstly, that churches ought to handle division in the same way as hypocrisy and monastical superstition; secondly, that churches ought to regulate themselves with the judgement of undiminished doctrine; and thirdly, to understand that the troublesome ['seditiosorum'] Anabaptists are as volatile as rolling dice.[394] Ponet drew both a large manicule and a semibreve symbol adjacent to the text where Gast mentioned how the Anabaptists went through the streets of Zürich crying out 'woe, woe!' over the period of 40 days to imitate Jonah.[395] The decision of the Zürich council to punish Anabaptists by method of drowning was underlined by Ponet, who also wrote in the margin, 'punishment of rebaptisms'.[396] From Gast's concluding remarks in his account of Zürich, Ponet underlined some perceived characteristics of Anabaptism: their loveless knowledge that rots the common folk, their assault on the true ministers of the Gospel that was like the second century imposter Alexander Pseudomantis, and the simple disciples of Anabaptism who stand against the magistrates and cause audacity and impudence to thrive.[397]

Ponet also marked up various accounts of the more extreme instances of Anabaptism that occurred outside of Zürich. Some items of interest included the licentious exploits of those Anabaptists who sought refuge in Moravia, and the disastrous events surrounding the fanatical captivity of Munster through the Anabaptism of Bernard Rottman, Bernard Knipperdolling, and John of Leiden.[398] Of particular interest to Ponet was Gast's inclusion of Zwingli's account of the Anabaptists near St. Gallen. Zwingli told of an Anabaptist trick in Appenzell whereby Anabaptists would throw themselves down in a state of ecstasy, as in an epileptic fit, and wake

[393] *De Anabaptismi,* 5. The term 'coryphaei' was that which Huldrych Zwingli first used to describe Grebel.
[394] *De Anabaptismi,* 5-6.
[395] *De Anabaptismi,* 6.
[396] *De Anabaptismi,* 8: 'poena rebaptismarum'.
[397] *De Anabaptismi,* 9-10.
[398] *De Anabaptismi,* 115, 120, 149, 167.

up to prophesy and relay their trance-induced visions. Ponet underlined the point that these Anabaptists uniformly prophesied that Zwingli's theology was in error, and that their prophecies about the day of judgement frequently came to nothing. On the following page, Zwingli relayed the story of a twelve-year old Anabaptist girl from St. Gallen who performed this trick upon her father. Ponet not only underlined the opening sentence of this paragraph, but inserted a strikingly relevant phrase in the margin: 'Lyke The may[d] of Curtop streat'.[399] In other words, Courthope Street in Kent, the chapel at which Elizabeth Barton, the 'Holy Maid of Kent', had her first supposed visions.

This is highly significant, for it not only demonstrates the application of early Swiss Anabaptism to the context of early English Anabaptism, but it also demonstrates the application of early Swiss Anabaptism to the region of Kent in the lead up to the major commission into Anabaptism in 1551. Moreover, the significance of this marginal note is increased with the observation that the Holy Maid of Kent also featured in Ponet's later publications. In his *Apologie* of 1555, Ponet spoke both of the 'holy maide of Lymster [Leominster]' and 'the deuilishe mayde of kent'.[400] Ponet also commented on these two visionary maids within his private working notes around the same time: 'all heretiques in the beginning crepe in the estimation of the peple with a pretended outward holines. so the pope munks friers etc. the holy made of kent. & of lymster'.[401]

It is curious that both of these women feature in the short list of counterfeit visionaries within the anonymous *Confutation of Unwritten Verities*. Indeed, within this anonymous treatise, the Maid of Leominster is designated 'the holy maid of Lymster' (just as with Ponet's *Apologie*), and the Maid of Kent is designated 'the holy maid of Courtop Street' (just as with Ponet's marginal note in Gast's *De Anabaptismi Exordio*). The use of the adjective 'devilish' as the first descriptor used

399 *De Anabaptismi,* 12-13.
400 *Apologie* (1555), XXXXI; *Apologie* (1556), 48.
401 *Draft Reply,* 10v.

for the Maid of Kent also echoes Ponet.[402] Thus, it is a tantalising — though far from secure — possibility to consider John Ponet as the author of this anonymous treatise. Could it be that a twelve year old girl from St. Gallen might help solve the mystery of the authorship of the *Confutation of Unwritten Verities*?

Anabaptist theology was also a feature of Ponet's interest in his annotations throughout Gast's citation of Zwingli's *Elenchus contra Catabaptistas*. He drew a manicule next to the text which he underlined in various places that concerned the soteriology of Anabaptists such as Hans Denk, Ludwig Hätzer, and Hans Kautz. Because these Anabaptists denied Christ's atoning sacrifice for sin and promoted salvation through following Christ's example, they effectively promoted salvation through free will, and denied the teaching of the Old and New Testaments concerning the postlapsarian condition of mankind. Indeed, Ponet was attentive to Zwingli's view that these Anabaptists viewed the Scriptures as useless testimonies and refused to believe its teaching.[403] He also took interest in the discussion of the Anabaptist practice of holding possessions in common. In Gast's inclusion of Erasmus' *Libro de Amabili Concordia Ecclesiae* (1533), Ponet underlined a passage where Erasmus stated that the necessity of sharing goods was confined only to the apostolic age when the New Testament church was born, and was thus not appropriate for Christians afterwards.[404]

The theology of personal possessions would form an important part of Ponet's future work. In his private annotations within the *Draft Reply,* the discussion over possessions arose in response to an attack Thomas Martyn made in his treatise against clerical marriage (1554) upon Thomas Cranmer.[405] The lately deposed archbishop had argued against the trustworthiness of Clement of Alexandria's epistles, and one in particular because it taught 'a most perniciouse heresye, that

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402 Cox, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 64-66.
403 *De Anabaptismi,* 34-35.
404 *De Anabaptismi,* 66-67.
405 *Traictise,* H.1r.

all things ought to be common, and wyves also'.[406] Martyn retorted that Clement actually 'counsayleth the Clergie to haue propertie of nothing, but to live together', which brought the justifiedly sarcastic rejoinder of Ponet in the margin: 'if he so do, why doth gardiner and all the bushopes in England the contrary?'[407] What Martyn went on to explain was that Clement intended that the possessions of the clergy be held in common among the clergy, to which Ponet noted triumphantly in the margin: 'Agaynst the possessions of the clergy: opinio wickleffi'.[408] Martyn defended his position with reference to the Apostles of the early church who 'had all things in common' (Acts 2:44) and extended the logic out from the Apostles to the Apostolic clergy, which caused Ponet to question whether Martyn had become an Anabaptist![409]

Although this discussion over private property played a minor role in the *Draft Reply,* a fuller elaboration is contained within the *Shorte Treatise,* which dedicated a chapter to the relationship between princes and possessions. The fundamental problem with the Anabaptist position on possessions was anthropological: a failure to see the difference between the prelapsarian and postlapsarian condition of men and women. Because of the fall it was impossible to share possessions perfectly, as evidenced by the commandments 'do not covet' and 'do not steal', which presupposed private possessions and enforced their protection. Attempting the impossibility of communal possessions had bad consequences for the common Anabaptists, who under the guise of charity, merely suffered at the hands of those who took their rightful possessions away from them. Indeed, Ponet noticed that evil rulers actually excelled in the error of Anabaptism. For, they would publicly assert the perfect goal of communal possessions, but then privately take rather than give.[410] To Ponet's mind, this was the fundamental problem in

406 Cranmer, *Answer,* 167.
407 *Draft Reply,* 86$^{r}$.
408 *Traictise,* H.iii$^{v}$; *Draft Reply,* 88$^{r}$.
409 *Draft Reply,* 88$^{v}$.
410 *Shorte Treatise,* E.8$^{r}$-F.2$^{r}$.

Martyn's position, which legitimised the temporal authority of the church and risked restoring clerical corruption and greed.

Thus, within the five-year period between the Edwardian reform and the Marian exile we can observe that Ponet perceived two threats from the Anabaptist error of communal possessions. During the Marian exile, this error had serious implications for the understanding of property rights, and thus the temporal aspects of the commonwealth; whereas, during the Edwardian reign, this error had serious implications for the understanding of anthropology, and thus the spiritual aspects of the commonwealth. It is little wonder that Ponet's marginalia in Gast's *De Anabaptismi Exordio* reflects concern for the prevention, positions, and punishment of Anabaptism prior to the commission into heresy in 1551.

## BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

With the deprivation and imprisonment of Stephen Gardiner, King Edward VI appointed Ponet to the vacant bishopric of Winchester on 8 March 1551.[411] However, before he could be formally translated into the episcopal see, he was tasked with an urgent job. Indeed, at the same Privy Council meeting where Ponet was appointed bishop of Winchester, he was appointed, along with John Gosnold and John Throckmorton, to examine the servant of the recently deprived Bishop Bonner, William Seth, who had just been intercepted importing controversial books and various subversive letters from Paris.[412] The declaration of Seth received on the previous day revealed that he had smuggled into England 'a barrel of Doctor Smythes most false and detestable bookes'.[413] Richard Smyth was the former Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford before being replaced by Peter Martyr Vermigli, and so controversial were his subsequent vitriolic publications that they had been prohibited in England by June 1550.[414] Seth

411 *APC* 1550/51, 231 (PC 2/4, 240).
412 *APC* 1550/51, 231 (PC 2/4, 240).
413 *Cecil Papers*, vol.201, 86$^{r}$-87$^{r}$; cf., Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the … Marquess of Salisbury*, *Preserved at Hatfield House,* 24 vols. (London, 1833-1976), I:83-84. [Herein: *Hatfield Calendar*]
414 Gorham, *Gleanings,* 155.

revealed that there were two hundred of Smyth's books purposed for sale, and additional copies to be used as gifts for various people. These books would have included Richard Smyth's most recent treatise against clerical marriage, *Defensio Sacri Episcoporum & Sacerdotum Coelibatus,* which was written on 7 February 1551, and as its title noted, was explicitly written in response to both Peter Martyr Vermigli ('contra impias & indoctas Petri Martyris Vermelii nugas') and John Ponet ('Ioannis Poneti Angli refutatione').

The first examination by the Lord Great Master, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Great Chamberlain, the Marquis of Dorset, and the Lord Admiral, was held on 8 March 1551, and revealed a well-connected conservative resistance network.[415] Seth had also brought various controversial communications, including letters of the staunch conservative Ralph Bayne to the late Bishop Bonner of London and present Bishop George Day of Chichester, and letters of Richard Smyth to various laypersons (such as Anne Alford), priests (such as John Seton) and printers (such as John Cawood), many of which were accompanied by copies of his books.[416] Seth even confessed to hiding a number of undelivered letters right under the nose of Archbishop Cranmer in Lambeth Palace, inside the porter's bedchambers, and between the board of the bedhead and the wall. One letter which was delivered would have held present and future significance for Ponet. Seth was tasked with delivering a letter and set of books from Thomas Martyn, formerly a student of New College in Oxford, to Thomas White, then warden of Winchester College. The connection of New College and Winchester College to the bishopric of Winchester, along with the fact that Richard Smyth's recent book repeatedly attacked Ponet's

415 *Cecil Papers*, vol.201, 88$^{r}$-89$^{v}$; *Hatfield Calendar*, I:84-85.
416 Ralph Bayne (d. 1559) was a traditionalist English clergyman who removed himself to Paris during the final years of Henry VIII's reign. He returned to England at the accession of Queen Mary and as bishop of Coventry and Litchfield took part in the examinations of evangelicals John Hooper, Robert Glover, John Philpott and Joan Waste.

recent treatise on clerical marriage as shameless and impudent, certainly made this newly appointed evangelical bishop of Winchester a prudent choice of person to examine Seth.[417]

Ponet's examination of Seth on 10 March 1551 uncovered further evidence of his actions.[418] The fifteen interrogatory questions that Ponet ministered to Seth probed into the history and communications of this conservative resistance group.[419] Seth had been in the service of Edmund Bonner for five years, during which time he read for himself various French and English books, including Stephen Gardiner's treatise on the Lord's Supper, the *Detection of the Devil's Sophistry* (1546). Despite an incident in which Bonner physically beat him with a bed staff, the two reconciled, but Seth determined to leave Bonner and travel to Paris for further study with the blessing of his master. Here in Paris, Drs. Bayne and Smyth enquired as to the wellbeing of Stephen Gardiner, Edmund Bonner, Nicholas Heath, and George Day. Seth admitted to Ponet that he earlier brought a letter from Bonner to Paris, and also that he knew Richard Smyth prior to his arrival in Paris. He also admitted to bringing back to England a letter with a book — which he thought may be related to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper — from Thomas Martyn, for 'one Mr. Borne' (no doubt the conservative Worcestershire gentleman John Bourne) in London, which was delivered to the printer John Cawood. He admitted finally that he brought two books in French concerning the Western Rebellion which occurred recently. These connections must have proven invaluable at this juncture of the Edwardian reformation, for they also hauled in John Cawood for questioning, and Seth provided further information to Throckmorton on 18 March.[420] Therefore, the examination would have also been helpful experience for Ponet, not only in terms of understanding one of

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417 Richard Smyth, *Defensio Sacri Episcoporum & Sacerdotum Coelibatus* (Paris, 1550[1551]), attacked Ponet in various ways on 47$^{v}$, 49$^{r}$, 53$^{r}$-54$^{r}$, 47$^{v}$, 58$^{r}$, 60$^{v}$, 65$^{r}$, 76$^{v}$.
418 *Hatfield Calendar*, I:84-85.
419 *Cecil Papers*, vol.201, 93$^{r}$-94$^{r}$.
420 Cawood: *Hatfield Calendar*, I:85; Throckmorton: *Cecil Papers*, vol.201, 95$^{r}$-96$^{v}$.

the most important conservative resistance networks, but also in terms of providing further stimulus for evangelical reform within his future episcopal jurisdiction.

Before any progress could be made on his translation to Winchester, Ponet's talents were again called upon to assist with an urgent matter of the highest national importance. On 15 March 1551, Mary Tudor had arrived in London and sought audience with the King regarding her desire to hear the mass as expressed in previous letters to him. When the two met at Westminster on 17 March they faced a stalemate: Mary said she would not change her faith nor dissemble her deeds, whereas Edward, though he did not wish to constrain her faith, willed her to comply as his subject and thus provide a good example to his people.[421] Things escalated rapidly when the Imperial Ambassador, Jehan Scheyfve, called for an urgent meeting with the Privy Council over this royal disagreement. On 18 March, Scheyfve raised a number of grievances with the council, including the sermons of Ponet and Hooper which made inappropriate mention of the Emperor's name 'using very strange language', but the major issue was the continued hearing of the mass by the Emperor's cousin.[422] King Edward recorded in his diary that Scheyfve presented a startling message from his master that threatened war if Mary could not hear her mass. The very next day Cranmer, Ridley, and Ponet held conference over this urgent matter, and concluded that, 'to giue licence to sinne was sinn[e,] to suffre and winke at it for a time, might be borne, so all hast possible might bee used.'[423] After the Privy Council received the theological advice from this triumvirate of leading evangelical bishops, they decreed to temporarily bow to the Emperor's threat: they would not initially target Mary for hearing mass, but would instead commence punishing her servants.[424] This strategy worked, for the Emperor relented in his threat, and Mary's servants were punished for hearing mass, as

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421 BL, Cotton MS Nero C X, 30v.
422 Royall Tyler et al (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish,* 13 vols in 20 (London, 1862-1954): 10:254.
423 BL, Cotton MS Nero C X, 30v. That King Edward wrote '~~winch~~ Rochester' in his diary entry for 20 March, is reflective of the fact that Ponet had been appointed bishop on 8 March, and would only receive his letters patent on 23 March.
424 BL, Cotton MS Nero C X, 31r.

evidenced by Princess Mary's letter of complaint about the imprisonment of her chaplain, Francis Mallet, around the middle of the year.[425]

With the urgent matters of Seth's interrogation and Mary's pacification concluded, Ponet was formally translated from Rochester to the see of Winchester. Under the previous (and quite recent) system of episcopal appointments, the dean and chapter of the cathedral would elect a new bishop in the case of a vacant see. However, this system of *congé d'élire* was repealed by parliament on 4 November 1550, and was replaced with the requirement of letters patent. Adjusting to this new system was evidently a challenge, because the first bill for Ponet's translation (12 March 1551) had to be newly signed (15 March 1551) due to the omission of some key details.[426] Ponet eventually received the letters patent for his translation to Winchester on 23 March 1551.[427] That Ponet received the honour of being consecrated under the new Ordinal the previous year, and that he received the honour of being appointed without the licence of *congé d'élire* this year, demonstrates not only the turbulent ecclesiastical times of the period, but also his place among the vanguard of evangelical rising stars. These evangelical convictions were amply demonstrated at his enthronement, installation, and induction by proxy at Winchester Cathedral on 3 June 1551. In contrast to all that his predecessor Stephen Gardiner stood for, the ceremony was markedly reformed, with no sacrificial altar, no chanted *Te Deum,* and no bells. Just as his consecration to the bishopric of Rochester, it was simple, and it was evangelical.[428]

There was, however, a cost which came with Ponet's promotion during this time of rapid religious and political change. His entry into the episcopal see of Winchester was conditional on diverse episcopal manors and lands being granted away to the crown. Thus, whereas the see

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425 BL, Cotton MS Nero C X, 35r.
426 BL, Royal MS 18 C XXIV, 1st bill: 58v-59r; 2nd bill: 59r: 'New signed bicause the spirituall iuridictions and probate of testamente was not in thother.'
427 SP 10/13, 18r-19r; *CPR* 1551, iv, 34; Rymer, *Foedera,* 15:253-254.
428 Chitty & Malden, *Registra*, xxvii.

was previously valued at around £3,880, it was reduced to 2,000 marks, with first fruits and tenths fixed at 200 marks payable over a ten year period.[429] This radical dimunition of Winchester's wealth was significant enough for the King to have noted '2000 marcs land apointed to him for his maintenaunce' into the entry for 5 April 1551 in his personal diary.[430] The details of this arrangement were only finalised in September that year, with the deed of feoffment being brought to the King from Ponet, and his Dean and Chapter.[431] All the Dean and Chapter requested in this arrangement was for their customary grazing rights upon the benefices to be preserved despite the seizure.[432] Ponet may have been rather happy with these new arrangements. In his previous bishopric he needed the *in commendam* licence to stay solvent, and these new arrangements stipulated that he was now absolved from his obligations of the first fruits and tenths from his short spell as Bishop of Rochester. Despite the lamentation of Peter Heylin and various others since, this despoiling of episcopal wealth would probably not have flustered Ponet much, for he was a minister of humble origins, and would write strongly against the possessions of the clergy (discussed earlier in this chapter) and strongly for the commonwealth of the realm in the coming years.[433]

What mattered most for Ponet was that his episcopal ministry was an evangelical ministry, and one which was determinedly differentiated from that of his predecessor, Stephen Gardiner. This concern was shared by others, such as John á Lasco, who commended Ponet to Heinrich Bullinger on precisely the same account.[434] On 1 April 1551, Ponet's episcopal outlook was

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429 Record Commission, Great Britain, 6 vols. *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII.* (London, 1810-1833), 2:2 gives 'MMMDCCCiiij$^{xx}$li iij$^{s}$ iij$^{d}$, whereas *CPR* 1551, iv, 179 gives '3,885*l.* 3s. 3¾⅛d.' Grant (including repayment arrangements): BL, Royal MS 18 C XXIV, 102$^{v}$-103$^{v}$ (29 May 1551).

430 BL, Cotton Nero C X, 31$^{v}$.

431 *APC* 1551, 358-260 (PC 2/4, 387-388).

432 Diana K. Coldicott, *Manuscript calendar, with editorial note and index, of the Register of Common Seal 1541-1561 (DC/B5/4)*, (Hampshire Record Office: Unpublished typescript), 51.

433 Heylin, *Ecclesia Restaurata,* 101; Chitty and Malden, *Registra*, xix; this occurance would have contributed to Garrett's description of Ponet as 'avaricious', in *Marian Exiles,* 253.

434 Lasco to Bullinger, 10 April 1551: 'Stephanus Vintoniensis Episcopus, suo tandem Episcopatu exutus est adhucque in carcere detinetur; suffectus est in ipsius locum vir doctus & pietati favens Ioannes Ponetus, pridem Rossensis Episcopus.', in Daniel Gerdes (ed.), *Scrinium Antiquarium sive Miscellanea Groningana …,* 8 vols. in 4 (Groningae & Bremae, 1749-1765), 3i:470-471.

symbolised in the form of a personal arms granted by Gilbert Dethick, Garter king of arms.[435] His choice of a pelican 'in her piety' was an emblem of piety and sacrifice, and echoed the arms of his patron and friend, Thomas Cranmer. His selection of fleurs-de-lys, which originated in the French royal coat of arms, and subsequently formed part of the English royal arms, had a double meaning related to Queens' College, Cambridge. It symbolised his gratitude to his former President, the evangelical Thomas Forman, whose arms contained four fleurs-de-lys, but more importantly, it represented the college's first foundress, Queen Margaret of Anjou, whose arms sported a semy of fleurs-de-lys.[436]

With this indebtedness to his college and his archbishop, Ponet brought a 'draught of change' into the diocese of Winchester.[437] His primary visitation took place in September 1551 but the consistory court books indicate that similar examinations took place throughout the course of his episcopate.[438] From the Office Act Books between 1551-1553, the consistory courts recorded twenty-three clergy noted for failing to deliver quarterly sermons, at least fourteen clergy whose church or property were cited for being in a state of disrepair, ten clergy noted for non-residency, six clergy cited for not teaching the catechism (probably not Cranmer's detailed catechism of 1548 but the simpler A.B.C. catechism of 1551) to the children within their parish according to the rubrics of the Prayer Book, three laypersons found guilty of using magic, and many laypersons (no clergy) cited for adultery, or pregnancy out of wedlock.[439] Among the thirteen clergy or wardens noted for not having a copy of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* were the Dean

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435 College of Arms, Grants, 1.25; c.f., Joseph Foster, *Grantees of Arms Named in Docquets and Patents to the end of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. W. H. Rylands (London, 1915), 204: 'Party per bend indented or and azure, two pelicans between four fleurdelys all counterchanged.' John and Bernard Burke (eds.), *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (London, 1961), 813, inaccurately has 'dancettée' rather than 'indented', which matches Ponet's arms pictured in the stained-glass image of the fourth window (light 2) of the Old Hall of Queens' College, Cambridge, installed during the 19th century.

436 Thomas Forman: 'Gules a saltire voided and engrailed between four fleur de lis', Anjou (ancient): 'Azure semy of fleur de lis or three points gules' and Anjou (modern): 'Azure semy of fleur de lis or border gules'.

437 Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation, 1520-1570* (Oxford, 1979), 200-201.

438 Visitiation Book (1551): HRO, 21M65/B1/7; Consistory Court Office Act Books (1551-1553): HRO, 21M65/C1/5/1. My figures differ from Houlbrooke, *Church Courts,* since it appears that he was concerned only with early entries.

439 *An A.B.C. wyth a Cathechisme* (London: Whitchurch, 1551), RSTC 20.2; 20.3.

and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral themselves, who had previously refused to provide the book. There were other cases of latent conservatism cited, such as with the curate Thomas Eliot, who elevated the cup during the administration of the Lord's Supper, and one Thomasina Goodynowe of 'Bristeldum' [Brixton?], who was cited for genuflecting in the middle of the church. There were also some rather striking cases, including one William Elman, vicar of Longstock, who was cited for being 'day and night' in ale houses and for playing unlawful games, and one curate of Horley, who was caught serving two cures without a licence and was commanded to read two chapters of Matthew's Gospel before the next visitation.

John Bale's description of the 'Wynchester sessions' details their extensive and intensive nature, though they were not quite on par with John Hooper's use of the consistory court in Gloucester.[440] Indeed, one of the major differences between Hooper's and Ponet's use of the consistory court during this same period (1551-1553) is that whereas Hooper's comprehensive examinations appear not to have focused upon catechesis, Ponet's less comprehensive examinations do.[441] The value placed upon catechesis reflects Ponet's earlier comments in the *Notable Sermon,* and reflects the fact that he wrote his own, very important, catechism during his Winchester episcopate (see discussion below). Nevertheless, the most frequently prosecuted transgression — preaching — was especially important to him. As a noted preacher, he believed in the priority of preaching for salvation. Many years earlier, he wrote in the margin of his copy of the King's Book, 'wher there is no preachinge ther is no callinge', and he even obtained a licence on 5 May 1551 to preach throughout the realm, and to appoint and prohibit whoever he wanted throughout his diocese (though the license was slightly amended to uphold the royal prerogative two days later).[442] Thus, whereas Hooper inculcated a comprehensive programme

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[440] John Bale, *An Expostulation or Complaynte agaynste the Blasphemyes of a Franticke Papyst of Hamshyre* (London, 1552), RSTC 1294. Compare the summary above, with the Beer's summary of Hooper's activity in Gloucester as described in 'Episcopacy and Reform', 242-244.

[441] See F. D. Price, 'Gloucester Diocese under Bishop Hooper, 1551-3', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 60 (1938): 51-151.

[442] *King's Book,* xv$^{r}$; BL, Royal MS 18 C XXIV, 91$^{r}$ (May 5); 92$^{v}$-93$^{r}$ (May 7): 'Therefore new signed because it was provided in this that he shuld not forbid to preache theim that the K.M. licenced where in thither it was not'.

of church discipline that resembled his experiences of Bullinger's Zürich, Ponet seems to have prioritised the preaching and teaching of the Scriptures among his other theological and moral concerns.

Along with the new religious ethos introduced under Ponet's decidedly evangelical leadership, the diocese also experienced an influx of evangelical appointments. During Ponet's episcopal ministry between 1551-1553, there were 40 appointments, covering the vacancies caused by 28 deaths, 11 resignations, and the deprivation of Thomas Parys, rector of St. Maurice in Winchester. Judging by the consistory court books, none of the resignations were linked to religious disaffection, but Parys' deprivation may have had something to do with his conservatism, for he was the 'ghostly father' to the last Abbess of St. Mary's Abbey, Dame Elizabeth Shelley.[443] Indeed, he was brought before the consistory court on 16 November 1552 for not preaching quarterly sermons, nor adequately administering the Lord's Supper, and must have been deprived before 16 March 1553 when he was replaced by Thomas Blakewell.[444]

Eight of the appointments were made by the King, twenty-seven by various other patrons, and only three collations by Ponet himself. The earliest of his episcopal appointments was to the similarly fiery and intellectually able John Bale into the rectory of Bishopstoke on 26 June 1551.[445] Bale was an exceptionally good choice of clergyman to assist Ponet in converting Stephen Gardiner's former territory to evangelicalism and he remained in Hampshire until his elevation to the bishopric of Ossory toward the end of 1552. Bale's experience of his time around Bishopstoke was captured in his late 1552 publication against *A Frantycke Papyst of Hamshyre,* which catalogued his interactions with an outspoken French-born priest who had connections with the nuns in the city of Winchester — possibly Thomas Parys, who we

[443] John Paul, 'Dame Elizabeth Shelley, Last Abbess of St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society* 2/23 (1965): 69.
[444] HRO, 21M65/C1/5/1; Chitty and Malden, *Registra,* 137.
[445] Chitty and Malden, *Registra,* 133.

observed above, was deprived by Ponet.[446] Ponet's other two collations were to the rectory of Calbourne on the Isle of Wight.[447] Sometime before 14 January 1551/52, Ponet granted the living of Calbourne to his chaplain, Hugh Goodacre, who was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of Armagh in Ireland on 22 March 1553.[448] When Goodacre left England, the vacancy at Calbourne was filled by the eccentric academic, Nicholas Udall.[449] That two of these three appointments, Bale and Goodacre, were Ponet's chaplains and then moved on to episcopal positions in Ireland is highly suggestive of Ponet's own plan for his protégés.

Various other evangelicals entered into the Winchester diocese to assist Ponet's reforming efforts. John Watson, future bishop of Winchester (1580-1584), was made prebendary of Winchester Cathedral on 14 December 1551. Leonard Bilson, uncle to another future bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bilson (1597-1616), was made prebendary of Winchester Cathedral by the King in July 1551. Michael Renniger, future archdeacon of Winchester (1575-1609), was appointed rector of Broughton by his father Robert Renniger, on 14 June 1552. Ponet was evidently close to the Renniger family. On 8 March 1551/52, he granted a house in Southampton to Robert Renniger and also gave him the advowson and right of presentation to St. Mary by Southampton for the next two vacancies.[450] Michael Renniger later translated Ponet's 1549 *Defence* from English into Latin, and — possibly from his exile in Strassburg during the reign of Queen Mary — wrote an encomium, *Ad Ioannem Ponetum, Wintoniensem Episcoparum, Carmine.*[451]

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446 Bale, *An Expostulation or Complaynte,* especially C.i$^{v}$ and C.iii$^{v}$.
447 J.E.H. Spaul, *The Reformation in the Diocese of Winchester 1530-1616* (Hampshire Record Office: Unpublished typescript), 110, states that since 1547, the Bishop of Winchester was the arbitrator between the rector and local inhabitants and thus took over patronage.
448 Chitty and Malden, *Registra,* 147.
449 There seems to be a slight discrepancy over the patronage to this living. Chitty and Malden, *Registra,* 147n2, states 'Ex patronatu episcopi Wintoniensis', whereas, *CPR* 1553, v, 41, states 'at the king's presentation by reason of his royal prerogative.'
450 Caldicott, *Manuscript Calendar,* 51.
451 *Scriptorum,* 694, 755.

Not all these appointments went smoothly. Sometime before 27 May 1552, Ponet made the future martyr John Philpott his archdeacon of Winchester.[452] Philpott later noted that whereas he took up the position during Ponet's episcopate, it was actually Stephen Gardiner who first gave the advowson for this position before his deprivation (presumably before realising the full extent of their theological differences and not actually appointing him).[453] Philpott was a strong evangelical, and in his capacity as archdeacon, excommunicated the headmaster of Winchester College and future Bishop of Winchester, John White.[454] There was, however, a problematic misunderstanding that occurred between Ponet and Philpott, which derived from a disagreement between Philpott and Ponet's registrar, John Cook. From the consistory court records, it appears that Philpott stubbornly required Cook to release some expenses from the bishop's accounts, presumably by virtue of his earlier advowson from Gardiner.[455] Strype records that there were deeply personal issues involved too: Cook had ambushed and physically assaulted Philpott.[456] The financial issues were once again brought to the consistory court, and Ponet's name was brought into the mess, with the decision that 'my Lord Bishop and his chancellor cannot prove no testament but onely his master.'[457] The matter of Philpott's backpay being escalated thus, on 22 July 1552, the Privy Council itself decided that Philpott ought to 'demeane hym sellf towardes the Busshop ... but allso to pay unto hym such duties as appertaineth'.[458] There is no evidence that this matter put any bad blood between Ponet and Philpott, for Ponet himself granted various institutions to Philpott in Surrey, indeed, over the archdeacon of Surrey.[459]

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452 Chitty and Malden, *Registra,* 147.
453 Robert Eden, *The Examinations and Writings of John Philpot, BCL* (Cambridge, 1842), 5.
454 Eden, *Examinations,* 82.
455 HRO, 21M65/C1/5/1: 'sub pena soluciones expensis'.
456 Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials,* 3i:439.
457 HRO, 21M65/C1/5/1.
458 *APC* 1552, 99 (PC 2/4, 587).
459 Chitty and Malden, *Registra,* xxii.

One of the more controversial incidents during Ponet's life revolved around his divorce from 'a Nottingham butcher's wife' on 27 July 1551.[460] Given that he championed the cause of clerical marriage during the English reformation, this incident has provided much fodder for his detractors. Walter Hook showed his High Church prejudices in describing him as 'an immoral and low man, who was at last so lost to all sense of shame that he lived in open adultery with a butcher's wife', and Garrett passed over the incident with disdain, commenting that his 'matrimonial experiments we shall not dwell upon'.[461] Others have elaborated upon the incident with great colour and scant evidence: Hubert Burke claimed that ballads about the scandal were issued in Winchester and around Hampshire, and Nicholas Sander is the source for Gardiner's reported joke: 'Why (said Gardiner) should I have less hope for my bishopric, than for the butcher who recovered his wife?'[462] Yet despite the fascination with potential scandal, the two contemporary sources only mention the fact of the divorce, the date, the location of the ecclesiastical court at 'Powlls', that the woman was a butcher's wife, and the judgement that Ponet make yearly reparation payments. That one of the accounts rounds off the sentence by stating 'with shame enog[h]' seems to have created the impetus for the creatively elaborated accounts.[463] What is the truth behind this potentially embarrassing claim?[464]

Henry Malden's much neglected short study put forward a strong argument defending Ponet from open deliberate adultery or bigamy and suggested rather that he married a woman who was pre-contracted to marry a Nottingham butcher.[465] The major ground for his theory rested

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460 There is no evidence of her name.

461 Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, 7:244; Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 253.

462 Burke, *Historical Portraits,* 3:75; Nicholas Sander, *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism,* tr. David Lewis (London, 1877), 209; Sander, Rishton (ed.), *De Origine Ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, 127$^{v}$-128$^{r}$: 'Cur (inquit Gardinerus) minus expectem meum Episcopatum, quam lanio suam recepit uxorem?'. It is possible that the citation of Gardiner may have been a later addition by Rishton rather than Sander. Conservative polemicist Miles Huggarde chastised Ponet fairly lightly and without addition to the details over 'his double marriage two wyves at a clappe', in *The Displaying of the Protestantes*, C.1$^{r}$.

463 John Gough Nichols (ed.), *Chronicle of the Grey Friars* (London, 1852), 70; John Gough Nichols (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-taylor of London, from AD 1550 to AD 1563*, (London, 1848), 8.

464 Unfortunately, the Diocese of London Instance Act Book 3 (Guildhall Library MS 9533) that records from March 1551/52 – January 1552/53 has been lost.

465 Henry Elliot Malden, 'The True Story of the First Marriage of John Ponet, Bishop of Winchester', *Notes and Queries,* 235 (June 1914): 501-502.

on the statute 2 & 3 Ed. VI., c.23 enacted in 1548. This statute restored the old canon law rule about unconsummated pre-contracts of marriage overriding future marriages and setting provision for damages to be paid should such a future marriage obtain. Such a theory satisfies several pieces of evidence. Firstly, when Ponet married Maria Hayman three months later, on 25 October 1551, there was no evidence of any serious shame. Indeed, the evidence actually points in the opposite direction. Ponet's new bride was the daughter of one of Cranmer's chief fiscal officers (Peter Heyman), Cranmer himself attended the crowded wedding celebration, and the ceremony took place in the parish church adjacent to Cranmer's favourite palace, Croydon.[466] Secondly, we would expect Thomas Martyn to have made much of the incident in his later treatise against Ponet and yet there is not a single mention. Thirdly, there is evidence within Ponet's *Draft Reply* to suggest that this incident caused him no serious embarrassment. In two locations where Martyn explicitly addressed the matter of bigamy within the context of clerical marriage, there are only short comments from Ponet illustrative of the fact that he did not interpret Martyn's comments as personally directed.[467] Elsewhere Martyn gave Ponet a hypothetical situation of a husband who spends long periods of time away on business in Spain while his wife 'burneth at home'. He then asked Ponet whether they should both enter into another marriage, to which Ponet replied: 'no I wold haue the one of them resort to the other and rather to lose ther worldly profet then to forsake god'.[468] Moreover, he specifically pointed out that the man ought 'not mary another wife.'[469] In another place where Martyn accused the evangelicals of exhorting Christians to marry repeatedly, Ponet asked 'but seinge ye know well that we haue not why do not the boys whistell him out of his coat'?[470] This is significant because it points again to the facts that Martyn did not see Ponet's incident as serious enough to warrant

[466] John Gough Nichols (ed.), *Collectanea Topographica & Genaelogia,* 8 vols. (London, 1834-1843), 4:91; c.f., MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* 493.
[467] *Draft Reply*, 36$^{v}$, 226$^{v}$.
[468] *Draft Reply,* 289$^{r}$.
[469] *Draft Reply,* 290$^{r}$.
[470] *Draft Reply,* 253$^{r}$.

especial mention, and that likewise Ponet felt no need to defend himself from bigamy.[471] Indeed, Ponet could discuss without hesitation the situation 'that the man hathe an other wife liuing or the wife other an husbande' in the *Shorte Treatise*.[472] This additional evidence supports the need to relativise the significance of Ponet's separation from the butcher's wife in 1551. Machen's three words — 'with shame enough' — have caused a cottage industry of fanciful theorising but, in reality, probably reflect, as Beer rightly contends, 'at worst a minor blemish' on the character of John Ponet.[473]

Around this time, Ponet was embroiled in another controversy in his capacity as visitor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where a minor conservative rebellion had taken place. In March 1551, Vice-President William Chedsey had been summoned before the Privy Council, and was subsequently committed to the Marshalsea for 'sediciouse preaching' during Lent.[474] On 15 June 1551, the President, Robert Morwent, and two scholars of the college (Henry Welch and Richard Alan) were brought before the Privy Council, who committed them to the Fleet for using an illegal service upon Corpus Christi day that year. The Privy Council placed John Jewel in charge of the college in the absence of Morwent, who one month later was set at liberty on the basis that he did not return to the college for the rest of the term.[475] By October that year, the agitation of conservatives among the ranks of the senior members of the university catalysed the Privy Council to establish a new royal commission to visit the university.[476] Although Ponet was named a member of this new commission, there is little evidence of his specific role within

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[471] Prior's comment that confusing legislation concerning marriage at the time meant that 'it was possible for people to commit bigamy unintentionally' would also support this conclusion. See Mary Prior, 'Reviled and crucified marriage: the position of Tudor bishop's wives' in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society, 1500-1800* (London, 1985), 125-126.
[472] *Shorte Treatise,* C.v$^{v}$.
[473] Beer, 'Episcopacy and Reform', 251.
[474] *APC* 1550/51, 237 (PC 2/4, 246).
[475] *APC*, 1551, 295, 305, 307, 316-317 (PC 2/4, 318, 329, 331, 344). I am grateful to Dr. Richard Rex for his comments and advice concerning the matching identity of Morwent the President and Morret the Warden.
[476] SP 10/13, 123$^{r}$.

its remit. There is, however, evidence — hitherto unexamined by his biographers — of one particular interaction he took in his capacity as visitor of Corpus Christi College.

In an undated letter — probably around the time of the Morwent affair — to the president and fellows of Corpus Christi, Ponet was 'sory to here' of their 'contention' regarding the interpretation of founding statutes of the college, particularly regarding the nature of sacramental ministry required of the fellows.[477] Quoting the statutes, Ponet demonstrated that all fellows, excepting students of medicine, were to prepare themselves for the ministry of the Lord, which was the preaching of the Word and the ministry of the Lord's sacraments. We can assume that conservatives at Corpus Christi had interpreted these remarks in such as way as to prepare for the celebration of the mass, for Ponet continued his remarks as to shut this option down: 'whych ministry remayne, thowghe massing be gon; so that thowghe ye be dyschargyd off massyng, yet yet be not dischargyd a ministerio dominico.' Charging them in the name of God, Ponet commanded the fellows of Corpus Christi to comply with the statutes as interpreted by the statutes and laws of the land.

By this stage of Ponet's episcopal ministry, he had gathered sufficient theological and practical experience to be involved with two very significant reformation projects: the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* and the *Short Catechisme*. The former was the well overdue reform of canon law, and the latter was the publication of an officially sponsored national-wide catechism to which was attached the publication of the official articles of religion. If the *Book of Common Prayer* embodied the reformation of worship, then the reform of canon law, and publication of the catechism with accompanying articles embodied the reformation of doctrine.[478] Although there is little evidence to suggest that Ponet was involved with the revision of the English liturgy, the canon law and the catechism were two major projects he was involved with throughout the rest

[477] See Appendix B.
[478] James C. Spalding, 'The Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum of 1552 and the Furthering of Discipline in England', *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 39/2 (1970): 168.

of his episcopacy in England. The content of these official doctrinal projects involved all the major heads of doctrine (such as soteriology, ecclesiology, and sacramental theology) and the most significant ethical subjects (such as marriage, divorce, and church discipline). Indeed, Ponet's involvement in both of these doctrinal blueprints for the English reformation puts him in a company of two: himself and Cranmer, for they alone had both published an officially authorised catechism and had involvement with the reform of canon law. Thus, given the importance and the breadth of theology required for the undertaking of these projects, Ponet broadened his theological research.

In his copy of the 1552 publication of Justin Martyr's works, Ponet displays interest in a wide range of theological topics, heavily annotating the *Letter to Zenas and Serenus*, the *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, the *Dialogue with Trypho*, the *First Apology for the Christians*, the *Exposition of the Faith*, the *Refutation of Certain Aristotelian Theses,* and *The Christian's Questions to the Greeks*.[479] Throughout the moral and ascetic instructions in the *Letter to Zenas and Serenus*, Ponet peppered the margins with short observational notes, such as 'lust', 'flesh', 'love', 'sermons', 'repentence', and 'the word of God'.[480] Martyr's *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* was essentially a demonstration that Greek philosophical thought contained the seeds of Christianity, the true theosophy. Ponet, steeped in the world of Graeco-Roman texts since his humanist training and teaching at Queens' college, was especially interested in this text. He tracked Martyr's use of various ancient poets and philosophers in the margins, such as Homer, Zeus, Hesiod, Thales, Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, Empledocles, Plato, Aristotle, Orpheus, Sibyl, Sophocles, and Socrates.[481] Most of Ponet's marginalia reflect general observations, however, in the margin adjacent to Martyr's demonstration of the divergent opinions of Plato and Aristotle, he

[479] Of these, the *Letter to Zenas and Serenus*, the *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, the *Exposition of the Faith*, and the *Christian's Questions to the Greeks* are now not considered the authentic writings of Justin Martyr.

[480] *Martyr's Works,* a.2$^{v}$: 'Επιθυμία', 'σαρξ'; a.3$^{r}$: 'ὁμιλιαι', 'φιλος'; a.3$^{v}$: 'τα λογια θεου'.

[481] *Martyr's Works,* a.5$^{r}$: 'ὁμηρος', 'ζους'; a.6$^{r}$: 'Ησιοδος', 'θαλής', 'αναξιμύνης', 'Ε ρακλειτος', 'αναξαγορας', 'πυθαγορας. ο αριθμος','Επικουρός', 'Επεδοκλής'; a.6$^{v}$: 'πλάτων. ὁ θεος εν πυρώδει ὀυσια', 'αριστοτέλης πεμπτον τι'; b.i$^{v}$: 'ορφιυς', 'σιβυλλα'; b.ii$^{r}$: 'σοφοκλυς'; b.vi$^{r}$: 'χρηστήριον περι σοκάτος [sic]'.

commented, 'contradiction of thought, Aristotle and Plato'.[482] Although his comment appears to be an observation of Martyr's discussion, his choice of words not used within the passage itself indicates something more. For, this comment, coupled with his wider interest in Greek philosophy, represents Ponet's consistent evangelical humanism. It was with this same critical method of adopting philosophical concepts, that we can observe his heavy annotation throughout Justin's *Refutation of Certain Aristotelian Thesis.*[483]

Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* remains an immensely important example of early Christian apologetic. Set in the form of an intellectual discussion between Justin himself and Trypho the Jew, the purpose of the dialogue was to demonstrate that Jesus was the fulfilment of the Jewish scriptures. Ponet's purpose in reading the dialogue appears to be similar, in that he particularly focused on the typology between the Old and New Testaments. He noted Trypho's insistence on circumcision, the adherence to the law, and the observation of the Sabbath — the latter of which Martyr replied to with an explanation of the Christian Sabbath as perpetual repentance, summarily observed by Ponet as the 'true Sabbath' in the margin.[484] He also noted that Psalm 24 did not speak of Solomon but rather of Christ, that the activities of Moses were types of Christ, and that there was a typological link between Eve and Mary.[485] Beyond observations, we also see examples of Ponet's original thought with Martyr's *Dialogue.* In one place, as if he had been drawn to ally himself with Martyr while reading the dialogue, Ponet responded to Trypho's call for proof that Christ rose and ascended to heaven by writing a digest of the Apostles' Creed in the margin.[486] In another place, he followed Martyr's connection between the sacrifices spoken of in Malachi and the eucharist and drew a cross-hair symbol in the margin. At the corresponding cross-hair symbol drawn further down in the margin, he reflected in Latin

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[482] *Martyr's Works,* a.vi$^{v}$: 'εναντια λογου πλατων και αριστοτελης'.
[483] *Martyr's Works,* m.iv$^{r}$-o.iii$^{r}$.
[484] *Martyr's Works,* c.iii$^{r}$: 'περιτομη τό σάββατον ὁ νόμος'; c.iv$^{r}$: 'τό σάββατον αληθινος'.
[485] *Martyr's Works*, d.iv$^{r}$: 'χριστος κυριος τον δυναμεων'; d.v$^{r}$: 'τά ὑπο μωυσέας διαταϰθεντα παντα τυποι' [in context understood as types of Christ]; g.iii$^{r}$: 'Ενα. Μαρια'.
[486] *Martyr's Works*, c.vi$^{r}$: 'οτι χριστος εκ παρθενου γεννηθρη, στανρωε, αποθανων, ανεστη και ανεθη εις τον ουρανον κατα τας γραφαι'.

upon Martyr's comment that prayers and thanksgiving are the only sacrifices to God, with the obvious implication that the Lord's Supper was an act of thanksgiving.[487]

Justin Martyr's *First Apology for the Christians* is another highly significant early Christian text, which was originally written to Emperor Antonius Pius as a defence of Christianity and explanation of its various practices. Thus, it is significant that for all the varied subjects within this text that Ponet could have taken an interest in (idolatry, Christology, prophecy, continence, civil obedience, etc.), his major interaction was with Martyr's account of an early Christian liturgy. Ponet underlined the entire account of the liturgy, which is not only noteworthy for describing the eucharistic prayers in a manner reminiscent of the discussion in the *Dialogue with Trypho* ('prayers and thanksgivings'), but also because it remains the earliest depiction of sub-apostolic Christian worship still extant. In the adjacent margin, he enumerated and summarised the order of service: '1. The gathering of Christians, then 2. Reading scripture 3. Sermon 4. Prayers 5. Preparation of Communion 6. The rule of the people, Amen. 7. Distribution of Communion 8. Charity to the Poor'.[488] It is curious that Ponet — whose name has never appeared in conjunction with Cranmer's liturgical reforms — inserted this unusually structured marginal note. In the broader context of his annotations within Martyr's works, these notes probably do not imply any great liturgical interest but suggest the tantalising possibility that Ponet had some liturgical advice for his archbishop.

Ponet's marginalia within Justin Martyr's *Exposition of the Faith* and *Christian's Questions to the Greeks* demonstrates his anthropological interests as they related to the Lord's Supper and justification by faith alone. In the context of the public debate between Stephen Gardiner and Thomas Cranmer, and the private discussions between Vermigli and Bucer, Ponet's marginalia concerning the ascended body of Christ are revealing of his own thoughts. Drawing a cross-

[487] *Martyr's Works*, g.viii$^{v}$: 'Μαλαϰ .1. Ευχαριστια', 'Preces et gratiarum actiones Christianorum vocantur sacrificia'.
[488] *Martyr's Works*, l.i$^{v}$: '1. Congressus Christianorum deinde 2. Lectio Scripturam 3. Concio 4. Precationes 5. Communionis preparatio 6. Regula populi Amen 7. Communionis distributio 8. Beneficentia in pauperes'.

hair symbol in the margin adjacent to Martyr's discussion of the nature of Christ's resurrection body, Ponet wrote that 'the glorified body will not be everywhere, but will need [plants?] for movement and local change'.[489] Because of this locally present body, Ponet also wrote that the body of Christ is not everywhere; indeed, to make such an assertion provokes disbelief.[490] The other significant anthropological comment made by Ponet concerned the nature of human potential to be justified apart from grace. In agreement with Cranmer over Luther, Ponet noted that the fundamental anthropological question was not the ability of man, but the will of man.[491] In other words, what mattered most was not that man was unable to choose to believe in Christ, but rather that mankind did not naturally desire to believe in Christ for justification.

Thus, within Justin Martyr's works, Ponet's research interests were predominantly concerned with ancient Greek and early Christian philosophical and theological concepts. This was a sustained interest for Ponet during this period, as he also acquired and annotated the works of Philo of Alexandria and the *editio princeps* of Euripides's plays. While we do not know the content of Ponet's annotations within his copy of Euripides, we can assume that Ponet would have taken great interest in his writings (which were contemporaneous with Aristophanes), since he underlined and marked up various passages of Euripides within his copies of Aristophanes' plays, Antonius Melissa's *Sententarium*, and Isocrates' *Orationes*.[492] Ponet demonstrated little interest in the works of Philo, with the only substantial interaction noting Jerome's doubt over the ascription of the Wisdom of Solomon to Philo, and the author's lamenting idolatry of gods made of gold and silver.[493]

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489 *Martyr's Works,* f.i$^{r}$: 'Corpus glorificatus non er[it] ubique, sed indigebat [aris?] ad motum et ad localem mutationem'.
490 *Martyr's Works,* m.i$^{r}$: 'Corpus Christi non est ubique', 'vox (quomodo) proditur incredulitatem'.
491 *Martyr's Works,* f.iii$^{r}$: 'Ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro, non quia non possunt, sed quia non volunt homines'. For Cranmer and Luther on this subject, see Ashley Null, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of Repentance: Renewing the Power to Love* (Oxford, 2000), 196-198.
492 *Aristophanes,* 96; *Sententarium (Lat),* 219; *Isocrates,* H.1$^{v}$. For discussion of the unknown whereabouts of Euripides, see 'The Purpose and Methodology of this Study' in Introduction.
493 *Philo's Works,* t.p.: 'Hieronymis dixit in prologo super proverbia salomonis suspicari quosdam hunc Philonem scripsisse librum sapienteae?'; 557: 'avari ex auro & argento deos faciunt'.

One of the most important treatises used by Ponet in preparation for the reform of canon law and the production of his catechism was Peter Martyr Vermigli's commentary on 1 Corinthians, published in 1551, and annotated by Ponet between 1552 and 1553.[494] This publication was the fruit of Vermigli's lectures on 1 Corinthians which took place in Oxford after his arrival in 1548, and which brought on the ire of Richard Smyth and his treatises against Vermigli's (and Ponet's) theology of clerical marriage. It is likely that Ponet marked up Vermigli's commentary in at least two sessions, because there are two distinct uses of ink (red and black) within the text. The significance of Ponet's heavy interaction with this commentary is underscored by the fact that while the Apostle Paul's first letter to the church in Corinth was a major text in the debates over clerical celibacy, Ponet took only as much interest in that subject as he did with others, such as Scripture, ecclesiology, soteriology, and sacramental theology. This is indicative of the fact that Ponet did not see himself as the champion of clerical marriage at the time, but rather a generalist theologian. Ponet seems to have placed a great deal of importance on this commentary, for of all his books, this is the only one extant in which he wrote his personal motto on the title page: 'Non ego sed Christus'.

Another feature — also unique among Ponet's books — was his use of the inside front cover material for writing out key definitions specifically related to the content of the commentary. Concerning ecclesiology, Ponet wrote: 'The church is an assembly of believers and those born again where God in Christ assembles by the Word and Holy Spirit and where ministers rule by pure doctrine, legitimate use of the sacraments, and discipline. fo 8.b'. Concerning schism, he wrote: 'Schism is the tearing apart of the congregation as a result of difference of opinion. fo. 14.b'. Concerning heresy, he wrote: 'Heresy is an incorrigible schism. fo. 14.b'. Concerning the sacraments, he wrote: 'Baptism is the sacrament according to the Lord's institution

[494] For background on Vermigli's commentary on 1 Corinthians, see Jon Balserak, '1 Corinthians Commentary: Exegetical Tradition' in Torrance Kirby, Emidio Campi, Frank A. James III (eds.), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden, 2009): 283-303.

corresponding to water and the Word, by which we are regenerated and grafted into Christ for the remission of sins and eternal life. fo. 19.a'[495] These quick reference entries suggest Ponet's research in Vermigli's commentary strongly contributed to his ecclesiological and sacramental reflection in preparation for his two projects during this phase of his episcopal career. Indeed, this commentary was well suited for these ventures, since, as Vermigli remarked in his dedication to King Edward VI, that this book of the Bible, above all others, was 'made for the controversies of our times'.[496]

The preface of Vermigli's commentary included a theological discussion concerning the interpretation of Scripture, and an outline of the argument of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. Ponet underlined sentences concerning the inspiration of Scripture, and the 'primum principium' of interpretation, which was that 'DOMINVS DIXIT'.[497] This was best exemplified in the conversion of Saint Augustine, which section was entirely underlined and noted in the margin by Ponet.[498] In terms of human apprehension of the meaning of Holy Scripture, Ponet underlined Vermigli's discussion of the subject, and linked this discussion with enumeration and trefoil symbols to his own summary at the end of the relevant pages: firstly, we search out the truth of Holy Scripture with the aid of the Holy Spirit, secondly, by the Word of God itself, and thirdly, by the consensus of the catholic church.[499] By the first comment, Vermigli meant the assistance of the Holy Spirit in the illumination of Scripture. By the second comment, concerning which Ponet underlined additional material, Vermigli meant the organic unity of Scripture which requires that the Old Testament be interpreted in light of the New

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495 *Vermigli's Commentary*, inside cover: 'Ecclesia est coetum credentium ac renatorum quos Deus in Christo colligit per verbum et spiritum sanctum atque per ministros regit puritate doctrina legittimo [sic] sacramentorum usu et disciplina. fo. 8.b'; 'schisma est congregationis dissidium ex diversitate sententiarum fo. 14.b'; 'haeresis est schisma inveteratum fo. 14.b'; 'Baptismus est sacramentum a domino institutum ex aqua et verbo constans, quo regeneramur et Christo inserimur ad remissioen peccatorum et [ae]ternam salutem. fo. 19.a'.
496 *Vermigli's Commentary,* a.4$^{r}$: 'quae ad nostrorum temporum controversias faciunt'.
497 *Vermigli's Commentary,* 1$^{r-v}$, capitalisation retained.
498 *Vermigli's Commentary,* 2$^{r}$: 'in Confessionibus'.
499 *Vermigli's Commentary*, 2$^{v}$-3$^{v}$: '1. primum quo utemur veritatem indagandam sacrarum scripurarum est spiritus sanctus', '2. Alterum est: ipsum verbum dei', 'Tertium est: consensus ecclesiae catholicae'.

Testament.[500] By the third comment, which Ponet also underlined additional material, Vermigli meant the witness of interpretive community of the church throughout history, understood as a subordinate authority to the former two. Supporting his assertion of the inferior authority of the catholic church, Vermigli proceeded to list almost a page of conciliar errors, which Ponet underlined, and signaled his intention to commit this passage to his personal commonplace-books.[501]

These things in place, Vermigli proceeded to parse the first chapter of his letter to the Corinthians, which was of great interest to Ponet. He underlined content in the opening pages and marked up the tops of these pages with summary headings, 'On titles, and facts and vanities', and 'On the external and internal anointing'.[502] However, when Vermigli began to exegete Paul's ecclesiology, Ponet's interest was greatly piqued. He underlined Vermigli's definition of church, and wrote the same in the inside front cover (discussed above).[503] However, of the highest importance to Ponet was Vermigli's discussion of the marks of the church. Writing 'On the Church' at the top of the page, and deploying his shorthand annotations for 'observation' and 'rule' in the adjacent margin, he bracketed and underlined Vermigli's understanding of the marks of the church: where pure doctrine flourished, the sacraments were purely administered, and discipline was exercised.[504] Vermigli's understanding of these three marks is closely echoed in Ponet's *Short Catechisme,* which included the 'pure preaching of the gospel', 'uncorrupted use of the Lordes sacraments', and 'discipline'. However, it is just as important to note that Ponet did not follow Vermigli entirely, for he also included

[500] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 3r: 'Aliud praeterea est, quo ut nota certa'.
[501] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 4r: 'Ecclesiae posse errare', 'L'.
[502] *Vermigli's Commentary:* 7v: 'De Titulis & veris et inanibus'; 8r: 'De unctionem externa et interna'.
[503] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 8v.
[504] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 9r: 'De Ecclesia', 'ob', 'Ro', 'ubicunque [sic]; puritas doctrinae viget, sacramenta pure administrantur, & disciplina exercetur'.

another mark: 'brotherly love, out of which as members of al one body, springeth good wyl of eche to other'.[505]

Another major interest for Ponet in this chapter of Vermigli's commentary was the doctrine of faith. Ponet declared at the top of one page, 'Faith operates so that the faithful cannot be accused or damned before to the tribunal of God'.[506] Underlining various places and inserting several symbols around Vermigli's discussion on the following page, Ponet wrote the summary heading, 'Concerning the faithfulness of God and man'.[507] He understood well that this relationship between the faith of the believer and the faithfulness of God was both theologically and pastorally important. Related to its pastoral importance, Ponet drew a manicule which pointed toward the underlined printed marginal note: 'Our faith arises from God's faithfulness.'[508] Related to its theological importance, Ponet wrote his own paralellised reflection on Vermigli's thought at the bottom of the page:

> God's faithfulness is in constancy and truth of words and deeds.
> Our faithfulness is the assent and firm persuasion of the Word of God.[509]

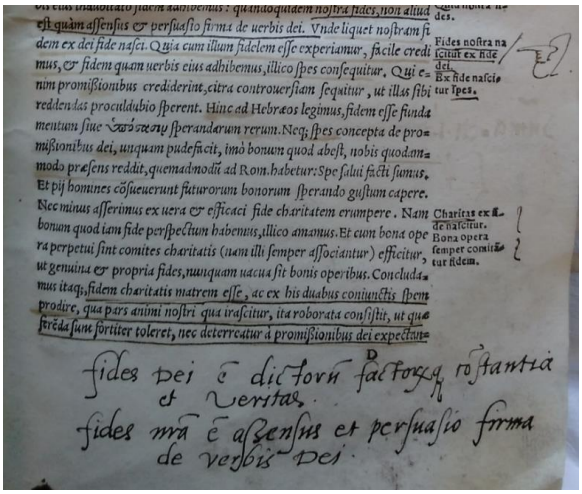



**Figure III - Ponet's annotation on faith in Vermigli's *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* 12r.**

[505] *Short Catechisme,* G.iiv.
[506] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 12v: 'fides efficit ut fideles neque accusari neque damnari poterunt ad tribunal dei'.
[507] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 12r: 'De fide dei & Hominis'.
[508] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 12r: 'Fides nostra nascitur ex fide dei'.
[509] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 12r: 'fides Dei est dictorum factorumque constantia et veritas // fides nostra est assensus et persuasio firma de verbis dei'.

The third and final major interest in the first chapter of Vermigli's commentary was the question of schism. At the top of the page, Ponet wrote the summary heading, 'On Schism and Obstinacy'.[510] He wrote 'the four sources which produce schisms' next to Vermigli's listing of disagreement over first order theological issues, disagreement over matters derived from first order theology, disagreement as a result of differing opinions over the requirement for theological exactitude, and disagreement when Christ is passed over and man puts himself in charge.[511] Ponet then underlined Vermigli's comment concerning the variety of liturgical rites ('Ritus quippe nonnulli sunt adiaphori'), and wrote 'adiaphora' and 'observatio' and 'rule' in the margin, and he also underlined Vermigli's comment that many things in the holy writings ('sacris literis') were ambiguous, and wrote 'ambigua' in the adjacent margin.[512] Ponet then enumerated Vermigli's warnings about adiaphora: firstly, beware they are not forced upon people as if holy things from God; secondly, beware of church law which does not tend to edification; and thirdly, beware that ceremonies do not increase to the detriment of piety. Having said all this, Vermigli discussed the Church of England, and Ponet penned his reflection at the bottom of the page: 'The Church of England is not schismatic'.[513]

The next chapter of Vermigli's commentary which featured a high concentration of marginalia was chapter seven — St. Paul's *locus classicus* concerning celibacy and marriage. One of Ponet's most heavily annotated sections occurred around Vermigli's reply to Cardinal Cajetan, who held the view that dialogue between Ahimelech and David recorded in 1 Samuel 21:4 supported clerical celibacy on account of the uncleanness of sexual intercourse. The biblical narrative stated that Ahimelech offered David the holy bread on the condition that David's travelling companions had kept themselves from women. Cajetan drew the link between the typological bread of 1 Samuel and the eucharistic bread of the Gospels, in order to make the point that if

510 *Vermigli's Commentary,* 14r: 'De Schismate & obstinationem'.
511 *Vermigli's Commentary*, 14r: '4or fontes unde nascantur schismata'.
512 *Vermigli's Commentary*, 14r: 'adiaphora', 'ob', 'Ro'.
513 *Vermigli's Commentary,* 15r: 'Ecclesiam Anglicanam non esse schismaticam'.

the act of sexual relations made David's men too unclean to touch consecrated bread in the Old Covenant, how much more unclean did sexual relations make handling the consecrated body of Christ under the New Covenant? Where Vermigli wrote about the Old Testament understanding of the uncleanness produced from menstrual cycles and contact with dead bodies, Ponet wrote, 'not all contaminations are said to be sins'.[514] Ponet then drew a manicule next to Vermigli's remark that not even the Canonists or Augustine believed semen itself to be sinful. The point was that sexual intercourse was not itself sinful, but rather illicit forms of intercourse. Thus, Ponet drew a large manicule pointing to a sentence he wrote at the bottom of the page, 'sexual intercourse, either for the begetting of children or to avoid fornication, does not render one impure'.'[515]

The same argument of Cajetan was later deployed by Ponet's detractor, Thomas Martyn, in his 1554 reply to Ponet's 1549 *Defence for Mariage.* Although Ponet never publicly responded to this argument in his *Apologie,* we can observe some of his private responses to Martyn within his *Draft Reply.* Ponet evidently relied on Vermigli's commentary on 1 Corinthians for his deliberation. In the context of the discussion of David's travelling companions in 1 Samuel, Martyn wrote (and Ponet underlined), 'Than if the scriptures do call it in a maried man uncleanesse to lye with his wife'. Ponet drew a line from this text to his response at the bottom of the page, 'Blasphemy it is to belye the Scriptures'. Evidently, it was Vermigli who Ponet thought best to engage with this at this juncture, for he wrote 'Pet Martyr' in the adjacent margin.[516] Nevertheless, we ought to take caution in ascribing too much influence to Vermigli for Ponet's overall response to the argument from David and his travelling companions. For elsewhere in the *Draft Reply* where this biblical pericope was discussed, Ponet cited Clement of

514 *Vermigi's Commentary,* 156ʳ: 'contaminationes omnes non possunt dici peccata'.
515 *Vermigi's Commentary,* 156ʳ: 'Coitus aut prolis aut vitandae fornicationis causa non reddit immundum'.
516 *Draft Reply,* 253ᵛ.

Alexandria's *Stromata* in his defense.[517] On the basis of Clement's position, Ponet conceded that the argument against clerical marriage which depended on the David and Ahimelech passage would only hold, 'if matrimony wer a fylthy thinge'.[518]

The last section of Vermigli's commentary which Ponet took great interest in concerned St. Paul's discussion of the Lord's Supper in chapter 11 of his letter to the Corinthians. Ponet underlined various short phrases and sentences, but his most heavily annotated passage was Vermigli's explanation of the great change which occurs when the signs become sacraments.[519] Vermigli used — and Ponet underlined — the examples of circumcision in Genesis 17 and Philippians 3, and bread in John 6, to illustrate the relationship between the *signa* and the *res significatas*. What was particularly interesting to Ponet was Vermigli's account of how the names and properties of these objects were transferred. He wrote in the adjacent margin 'The realities of symbols and names repeatedly exchange their natures. Likewise, names and properties'.[520] On the following page, Vermigli explained how Scripture mingles and alternates the names and properties of symbols and things. He warned — and Ponet underlined — that the change which obtains at the consecration of the elements at the Lord's Supper is misinterpreted by 'our enemies' as 'quasi transubstantionem'.[521] This, of course, would probably not have surprised Ponet too much. He would likely have read the published account of Vermigli's debate over the Lord's Supper at Oxford in 1549 which stated precisely the same. Vermigli claimed that there was a 'certain chaung & a mutation in the consecration' such that the bread and wine were 'now made sacramentes, to signifie vnto vs effectually, that (as concerning our mynde, or solle and oure feith,) the veray body and bloude of Christe is geuen and offred by the power of the

[517] *Draft Reply,* 29[r]: 'but Clement Alexandrinus στρωματα sayth τῶν δὲ ἁγιασθέντων ἅγιον οἶμαι καὶ τὸ σπέρμα legum ibi plura. latine pa 95'.
[518] *Draft Reply,* 29[r].
[519] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 306[r]: 'Magna est mutation qua symbola fiunt sacramenta'.
[520] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 306[r]: 'Symbolorum res et nomina identidem permutantur. nomina itidem et proprietates'.
[521] *Vermigli's Commentary,* 306[v]: 'ab adversariis eorum sensus accipitur, quasia transubstantionem asserant'.

holy ghoste'.[522] Although Ponet did not refer to the moment of 'consecration', his *Short Catechisme* presented basically the same position concerning the efficacy of the Lord's Supper: '…by the body, that is ys flesh & bloude of Christ, the soule is fedde through fayth, and quickened to the heauenlye and godly lyfe .. by a certanye secreate meane, and liuelye working of the spirit.'[523]

Thus, throughout Ponet's period of episcopal ministry at Winchester, we can observe a great deal of wide-ranging theological research. One of the purposes of this theological research was to contribute to the reformation of canon law. The reformation of the English ecclesiastical laws, known today as the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum,* had been suggested as early as 16 May 1532, under the previous reign of Henry VIII, but was revived in the third session of the first parliament held under King Edward VI, in November 1549.[524] On 6 October 1551, the Privy Council commissioned thirty-two men to attend to the reformation of canon law.[525] This commission was comprised equally of bishops, divines, civilians, and lawyers, with John Ponet named among the bishops. The group was comprised of an even greater evangelical contingent than the 1551 commission into Anabaptists and Libertines — it even included the two foreign divines, Peter Martyr Vermigli and John à Lasco. One month later, the illustrious group of thirty-two was narrowed down to a more manageable eight persons, including bishops Thomas Cranmer (Abp. of Canterbury), and Thomas Goodrich (Bp of Ely), Richard Cox, Peter Martyr Vermigli, William May, John Taylor, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrich.[526] This subcommittee was required to 'rough hewe' the canon law, with the larger committee to 'conclude it'

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[522] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *A Discourse or Traictise of Petur Martyr Vermilla Flore[n]tine … Concernynge the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper* (London, 1550), RSTC 24665, P.iii$^{v}$.
[523] *Short Catechisme,* li$^{r}$.
[524] Gerald Bray, *Tudor Church Reform: the Henrician Canons of 1535 and the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (Woodbridge, 2000); Spalding, 'The Reformatio Legum'.
[525] *APC* 1551, 382 (PC 2/4, 407).
[526] The initial subgroup (4 November 1551) also included Nicholas Ridley (Bp of London), Richard Cox, Bartholomew Traheron, and John Gosnold, who were replaced with the above listed members on the revised subgroup (11 November 1551). See *CPR* 1551, iv, 114.

afterwards.[527] The subcommittee having finished their draft of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum,* the larger group of thirty two must have been finalising it around 10 February 1552, for the diary of King Edward VI recorded that they were tasked to 'examin correct and set furth thecclesiastical lawes'.[528]

The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* provided a framework which included both theological and moral legislation. It opened with a summary of the Trinity and the catholic faith, and proceeded to address the subjects of heresy, blasphemy, the sacraments, idolatry, preaching, marriage and divorce. The remainder of the legislation addressed a wide range of ecclesiastical subjects including rules related to benefices, ministerial licenses, excommunication, possessions, and rules regarding judicial sentences. Ponet's theological publications and research would have placed him in a good position to contribute to the theological contents of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.* However, what can be said of his contribution to the ecclesiastical and legal matters? Undoubtedly, his episcopal experience and proximity to the archbishop would have exposed him to these complexities. But the greatest piece of evidence for his suitability to engage with them comes from evidence of his understanding of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* and other significant collections of canon law which sat behind much of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.*[529] Although it was a widely known and used source, Ponet had particular need to comprehend its contents for his engagement in the debates over clerical celibacy (which rested heavily on church tradition and thus the *Corpus Juris Canonici*). We can even glean a sense

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[527] As stated in the Privy Council statement of 6 October 1551.

[528] Compare King Edward VI's journal entry on 10 February 1552 in BL Cotton MS Nero C X, 53v, with the Calendar of Patent Rolls, which recorded the same on 12 February 1552, *CPR* 1552, iv, 354. The members of the commission listed on 12 February 1552 included the bishops: Thomas Cranmer (Canterbury), Nicholas Ridley (London), John Ponet (Winchester), Thomas Goodrich (Ely), Miles Coverdale (Exeter), John Hooper (Gloucester), William Barlow (Bath and Wells), and John Scory (Rochester); the divines John Taylor of Lincoln, Richard Cox, Matthew Parker, Anthony Cooke, Peter Martyr Vermigli, John Cheke, John à Lasco, and Nicholas Wotton; the civilians: William Petre, William Cooke, Rowland Taylor of Hadley, William May, Batholomew Traheron, Richard Lyell, and Richard Reade; the common lawyers James Hales, Thomas Bromley, Richard Goodrich, John Gosnold, William Stamford, John Caryll, John Lucas, and Robert Brooke.

[529] Bray, *Tudor Church Reform,* 765-768.

of his familiarity with it from his citations within the *Draft Reply,* wherein he used forty-eight citations from Gratian's *Decretum* and its glosses, and from the *Extravagantes* and its glosses.[530]

Ponet would certainly have understood and likely have contributed much to this important reform of canon law. The significance of implementing this reform was well understood by Vermigli, who exclaimed to Bullinger on 8 March 1552, 'May God therefore grant that such laws may be enacted by us, as by their godliness and holy justice may banish the Tridentine canons from the Churches of Christ!'[531] However, when the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* was finally presented to the parliament in April the following year, Vermigli — let alone Cranmer — would have been sorely disappointed, for Lord President Northumberland himself vetoed the work, according to a report from Jehan Scheyfve, dated 10 April 1553.[532] Ponet too, would have been disappointed with the outcome of such an important project. In the *Draft Reply,* he railed against the presence of the 'decrees decretals Sext Clementines, and Extra Vagants', and deployed this comment almost verbatim into his *Apologie* (1556), which he went on to describe as 'the deuils store house'.[533] We might fairly suppose also that the rejection of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* would have contributed to his generally negative view of Northumberland.

While Ponet's theological research undoubtedly contributed to his work on the *Reformatio Legum,* its most important contribution was to the crowning achievement of his episcopal ministry, the publication of his *Short Catechisme.* Instructing the young in the faith was an ancient concern for the Christian church; however, the needs of the reformation in England produced a concerted effort to nurture the new faith which was unhooked from the Bishop of Rome. Indeed, the years between 1536 and 1553 witnessed what Philippa Tudor has described as 'an ambitious

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[530] See Appendix E.
[531] *OL,* 2:503.
[532] *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish,* 11:33.
[533] *Draft Reply*, 335r; *Apologie*, XCV-XCVI.

programme of religious instruction for children and adolescents ... planned on a nation-wide basis in England.'[534] During the reign of Edward VI, Cranmer sought evangelical religious instruction for the young, and included a rubric in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer stating that curates ought to catechise candidates for confirmation at least once every six weeks, which became a weekly catechism class under the 1552 revision of the Prayer Book. Ponet was an enthusiastic advocate for Cranmer's catechetical plans, and as we have seen, prosecuted clergy for catechetical negligence during his episcopal ministry at Winchester. However, he also extended Cranmer's catechetical programme which was designed for the Christian home, by writing and publishing his catechism which was designed for the grammar schools nationwide.

Ponet's *Short Catechisme* was the realisation of his petition to King Edward during the *Notable Sermon* of 1550.[535] He sought from the King a catechism to be 'made in the Latten tonge, which shuld be red by commandment in al grammar Scholes though out your noble realme'. The goal of this catechism, which was to provide 'a fortresse to all your graces most godly procedynges', obviously appealed to the young King because Ponet received precisely what he asked for.[536] Published sometime after May 1553, the *Short Catechisme* was a theological compendium set in the form of dialogue between Master and Scholar and modelled explicitly on the method of Socrates and Apollinarius. It was structured loosely around the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and was designed to instruct and encourage grammar school students in the true and evangelical faith.

However, it was not simply the King who was responsible for bringing Ponet's catechism into being. The King's own printed prefatory note reveals that it was debated and diligently examined by 'certain Byshoppes, and other learned men, whose iudgement we haue in greate

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[534] Philippa Tudor, 'Religious Instructions for Children and Adolescents in the Early English Reformation', *JEH* 3/35 (1984): 391-392; Ian M. Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530-1740* (Oxford, 1996), 59-60.
[535] See the helpful discussion in MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* 535-538.
[536] *Notable Sermon,* G.ii$^{v}$.

estimation.'[537] Moreover, in a letter to William Cecil, dated 7 September 1552, Lord President Northumberland revealed that after 'grete labor and travaylle', Ponet had completed both Latin and English versions of the catechism, 'partlie at my requeste'. In the same letter, Northumberland requested that John Day, 'this pore man, who hathe byn allwaies a furderer of godlie things', should receive an exclusive license to publish Ponet's catechism.[538] Less than a week later, Day obtained the royal licence in answer to this request, not simply for the English publication, but also for the Latin version.[539] However, Day's licence was the bone of some contention, for Reyner Wolfe had also been granted the privilege of printing the Latin version of Ponet's catechism sometime before October 1553.[540] After the mediation of Cecil during the following months, it was decided in March 1553 that Wolfe would retain the rights to the Latin publications, and Day would have the lucrative English version, with the added compensation of the monopoly of printing all the works of both Ponet and Thomas Becon.[541] This contention dealt with, King Edward VI commanded by royal injunction issued 20 May 1553, that all schoolmasters and teachers of youth within the realm ought to teach Ponet's advanced catechism immediately after the basic *A,B,C. wyth a Catechisme,* to the end that the catechumen 'maye seem not bourne for theym selues: but bee profytable and dewtyfull, toward God, theyr Kynge, and theyr countrey.'[542] The *Short Catechisme* was thus printed in English and Latin, with Michelangelo Florio's Italian translation — the first Italian book printed in England — briefly appearing in the short and chaotic period after the death of Edward VI.[543]

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537 *Short Catechisme,* A.ii$^{v}$.
538 SP 10/15, 5$^{r}$.
539 BL Royal MS 18 C XXIV, 254$^{v}$.
540 Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501-1557,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2013), 2:735; MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* 524; Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot, 2008), 25-26.
541 20 March 1553, Chancery Patent: BL MS Royal C XXIV, 318$^{v}$; 22 March 1553, Warrant: TNA C 82/962/23; 25 March 1553: Patent Roll, *CPR* 1553, v, 43; letters patent to John Day in *Short Catechisme,* Aiiii$^{v}$-Av$^{r}$.
542 *Short Catechisme,* A.ii$^{r-v}$.
543 Florio, *Cathechismo*; Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge, 2005), 185; Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge, 1934), 11.

The degree of intellectual and political authority supporting Ponet's *Short Catechisme* was extraordinary. It was authored by one of the foremost reformed theologians of the period, driven by the impetus of King Edward and the Lord President of the Council, the product of various bishops and divines, and imprinted under the royal seal. Ponet was not simply the author of the Catechism, but was speaking as the mouthpiece of Cranmer's circle of reformers.[544] Thus, with respect to the authorities associated with its production, it was very much like the other key formularies of the reformed English church. Indeed, although the Forty-Two Articles of Religion were printed as a standalone document by Richard Grafton, they were also appended to both the English and Latin editions of Ponet's *Short Catechisme*.[545] The combined publication was the principal version, for the whole book was commonly understood as the catechism (not the articles), as evidenced by the *Greyfriars Chronicle,* which recorded that when Cranmer presented 'the new boke that the byshope of Wenchester, Powny, made' to convocation on 27 May 1553, there were 'dyvers that denyed many of the articles.'[546] This opposition to the book, spearheaded by Hugh Weston, also points to the dissimilarity between it and other key Edwardian formularies: it was not formally approved by convocation, despite its royal mandate and widespread publication.

Inevitably, since the book represented an indispensable part of the doctrinal stance of the Edwardian evangelicals, it became a priority target of the conservative strategy to unravel the reformation under the Marian regime. At the convocation which met on 18 October 1553, Weston once again led the counter attack. He claimed that 'a book of late set forth, called the catechism' had borne the name of the convocation house without its formal consent.[547] When John Philpott replied two days later, arguing that 'they were deceived in the title of the

[544] Parker, *English Reformers*, 147-152.
[545] Compare *Short Catechisme* with *Articles Agreed on by the Bishoppes* (London, 1553), RSTC 10034; 10034.2. Florio's Italian edition does not contain the articles.
[546] Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 77-78.
[547] Eden, *Examinations and Writings,* 179-180.

catechism', he was not pointing out the conflation of the catechism and the articles. Rather, he was calling attention to the fact that the printed title for the articles of the 'catechism' ('agreed upon by the Bishops & other learned and godly men, in the last convocation at London'), as distinct from the printed title of the *Short Catechisme* ('sett fourth by the Kings maiesties authoritie, for all Scholemaisters to teache'), was a legitimate product of the cited convocation, because the house had granted authority to certain persons to make decisions on behalf of the whole, and that this is what obtained the previous year (despite Weston's own objections). Similarly, when Weston challenged Cranmer at his Oxford disputation for having 'set forth a Catechism', the issue at hand was the claimed legitimacy of the articles proper, not the catechism itself.[548] Therefore, negatively, it is important to realise — for there abounds much confusion over this matter in the scholarly literature — that the main issue was not the conflation of the articles with the catechism, but was rather the wording of the title given to the articles of the 'catechism'.[549] Positively, it is important to understand these distinctions in order to comprehend the proper relationship between the articles and the catechism itself, and their combined role in the Edwardian church. While the articles received the name of the catechism, the catechism received the character of the articles.[550] Like the articles, the teaching of the catechism was representative of the Church of England. Although this has escaped the attention of modern scholars, it has been rightly noted by others, such as Bishop Randolph in the nineteenth century:

> …a Catechism published in the time of king Edward VI and was the last work of the reformers of that reign; whence it may fairly be understood to contain as far as it goes their ultimate decision, and to represent the sense of the Church of England as then established.[551]

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[548] Thomas Cranmer, *Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer,* John Edmund Cox (ed.), (Cambridge, 1844), 422.
[549] For example, Susan Wabuda, *Thomas Cranmer* (London, 2017), 228, who not only conflates the Articles of Religion with the Catechism, but wrongly describes it as Cranmer's catechism of 1548.
[550] Parker, *English Reformers,* 149.
[551] John Randolph, *Enchiridion Theologicum; or, a Manual, for the use of Students in Divinity,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1825), 1:vi.

Furthermore, the significance of Ponet's catechism also lies in its clearly reformed theological features. We have already observed Ponet's evangelical position on both the Lord's Supper and Marks of the Church as stated in the *Short Catechisme*, but he also made important soteriological remarks that derive from his years of theological research. On predestination, Ponet remarked that the faithful are those who 'weare forechosen, predestinate, & apoynted out to euerlasting lyfe, before the world was made.'[552] We may detect an infralapsarian position in Ponet's view, when he states that the context for predestination was the 'goodnesse and loue of God'.[553] Indeed, it was this goodness and love of God which provided the context for Ponet's *ordo salutis*: election, calling, regeneration, faith, justification and sanctification.[554] By justification, Ponet meant, 'that fayth, or rather truste alone doth lay hand vpon, vnderstand and perceyue, our righteousmakyng to be geuen of God freely: that is to say, by no desertes of oure own, but by the free grace of the almighti father.'[555] Sanctification, on the other hand, was the 'loue of God, & of neighbour: iustice: and vpryghtnesse of life'.[556] Faith was the nexus between justification and sanctification, such that 'althoughe good woorkes can not deserue to make vs righteous before god: yet do thei so cleaue vnto faythe: that neither can fayth be founde without them, nor good workes be any whear wythout faythe'.[557]

Perhaps more controversially, Ponet seems to have outlined what would later be known as 'particular redemption', the view that the intention of each member of the Godhead was to save the elect in particular, as distinct from the whole of humanity.

> On God the Father: '... plentifull fruit of immortalitye and blessed lyfe: whych God hathe by Christ prepared for his chosen, before the foundacyons of the world were layde ['quam Deus per Christum electis suis ante iacta fundementa mundi praeparavit'].'[558]

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[552] *Short Catechisme,* xxxviii[v].
[553] *Short Catechisme,* xxxix[r].
[554] The position of justification is inferred from Ponet's definition of faith.
[555] *Short Catechisme*, xl[r-v].
[556] *Short Catechisme,* xxxix[v].
[557] *Short Catechisme,* xli[r].
[558] *Short Catechisme,* lxviii[v].

> On God the Son: '... trew and euerlastyng sacrifice of Iesus Christ, done vppon the crosse. By the benefit wherof alone all the synnes of all beleuers ['cuius solius beneficio omnia omnium credentium peccata'], euen from the begynnynge of the worlde, ar pardoned ['condonata sunt'], by the onlye mercye of God, and by no desert of ours.'[559]
>
> On God the Holy Spirit: 'Whi is he called holy? Not onelye for hys owne holyness: but for that by hym are made holye the chosen of God, and members of Christe ['sed quod per eum electi Dei & membra Christi sancta efficiantur'].'[560]

Indeed, the *Short Catechisme* was one of the heavily debated reformation texts in the seventeenth-century theological debate between William Prynne and Peter Heylin over Calvinism and Arminianism, and in the eighteenth-century tract war between Augustus Toplady and Thomas Nowell over the same. Toplady was a great admirer of the *Short Catechisme* ('this excellent prelate's *Catechism*'), whereas Nowell held it in contempt ('excellent only for its *Absurdity*').[561] Indeed, Nowell believed that the *Short Catechisme* came into being because '*some rigid Calvinists in Power*, had imposed upon that good young King, and made use of his Authority to impose their Notions upon the Church.'[562] It would be highly anachronistic to posit Ponet as a defender of limited atonement (and Calvinism for that matter). However, the recent work of David L. Allen is incorrect to argue that the absence of explicit mention of 'limited atonement' proves the absence of its doctrine.[563] Rather, Toplady was correct to assert that Ponet outlined something close to the doctrine within the *Short Catechisme*. Nowell had no reply of any substance, and was reduced to screeching at Toplady, that the 'Catechism, which you call A valuable Monument of good old Church Doctrine' contained less 'sound Divinity than the old Koran of Mahomet'.[564] Whatever Ponet's convictions concerning the scope of the atonement, he assuredly would have been more comfortable with Toplady's 'Calvinism' than Nowell's scurrilous remarks. Indeed,

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[559] *Short Catechisme,* xii[r-v].
[560] *Short Catechisme,* xliii[v].
[561] Augustus Toplady, *The Church of England Vindicated from the Charge of Arminianism* (London, 1769), 42; Thomas Nowell, *The Church of England Vindicated from the Charge of Absolute Predestination* (London, 1771), 53. Capitals and italics retained.
[562] Nowell, *The Church of England Vindicated from ... Predestination*, 53. Capitals and italics retained.
[563] David L. Allen, *The Extent of the Atonement: A Historical and Critical Review* (Nashville, 2016), 122.
[564] Nowell, *The Church of England Vindicated from … Predestination*, 53.

the delicious irony of the debate between Toplady and Nowell over Ponet's supposedly 'Calvinist' catechism was that Nowell seemingly had no awareness that a possible relative of his, Dean Alexander Nowell of St. Paul's Cathedral, had copied and pasted from the catechisms of both John Ponet and John Calvin to produce his own — more influential and more 'Calvinistic' — catechism under Elizabeth's reign in 1570.[565]

Unfortunately for Ponet and the English reformers, the evangelical foundations laid between 1550-1553 — the Ordinal, the revised Prayer Book, the Forty-Two Articles of Religion, and Ponet's *Short Catechisme* — were all jeopardised by news of the grave sickness of the teenaged King Edward around June 1553. We do not know how Ponet reacted to such news, but can assume that he would have been as sorely disappointed as his fellow reformers to see his 'most noble prince' wracked with sickness at such young an age.[566] It is possible, though, that Ponet, or someone close to him, may have been in close proximity to the dying King. For within Ponet's personal copy of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, there is a prayer for the King written by hand (not Ponet's).[567] This prayer must have been written around 19 June 1553, for it is a copy of the prayer said in the King's chapel and subsequently published 'to be used of all the kinges trew subiectes.'[568] What makes this handwritten prayer especially curious is that it included a range of variations on the wording of the printed prayer, inserted its own title ('A godly prayer for the Kynge'), and was replete with breathing marks (':') which indicate some kind of liturgical and indeed choral usage.[569] We cannot be sure who penned this prayer, nor the circumstances surrounding its writing, but it is reasonable to assume that Ponet — or another clergyman close to him — prayed in earnest for the restoration of the King's health in

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565 Alexander Nowell, *A Catechisme, or First Instruction and Learning of Christian Religion* (London, 1570), RSTC 18708.
566 *Notable Sermon,* G.ii$^{v}$.
567 Church of England, *The Boke of Common Praier, and Administracion of the Sacramentes* (London: Richard Grafton, 1552), Chetham's Library, Manchester, 7.B.3.12, a.ii$^{v}$-a.iii$^{r}$. See Appendix C for transcription and comparison of the handwritten and printed prayer.
568 *A Prayer Sayd in the Kinges Chappell in the Tyme of Hys Graces Sicknes* (London, 1553), RSTC 7508.
569 The congregational context of the prayer is further confirmed by the style of writing and its positioning upon the large blank space at the end of the service of Holy Communion.

public worship. Although the King's health had a short reprieve in the week following these prayers, he died on 6 July 1553, and with him, many of the hopes of the Edwardian evangelicals.[570] Three years later, in exile, Ponet would remember Edward as 'innocent and blessed', 'the godly Iosias', and 'our one swete head'.[571] He would also fondly remember (and lament the loss of) 'the hevenly benefits that overflowed England with the preching of the gospel'.[572] Indeed, it was with such approval that he wrote and published the now non-extant *De Ecclesia, ad Regem Edwardum* (Zurich, 1553) which was likely a defence of the Edwardian church in which he served.[573]

## SUMMARY

This chapter has demonstrated that John Ponet's episcopal ministry throughout the years 1550-1553 was not only highly significant for him, but highly significant for the reformed Church of England during the reign of Edward VI. During this period, Ponet transitioned from evangelical theologian to effective and influential evangelical bishop. Whereas previous scholarship has tended to relegate Ponet's episcopal ministry to something of a footnote to his ministerial career, and to something of a footnote to the other bishops of the English reformation, Ponet was in fact one of the most important and influential bishops at the ecclesiastical centre of the Church of England. Indeed, by the end of Edward's reign, it is hard to conceive of a more senior English reformer who not only worked closely with Cranmer's vision for reform, but single-handedly contributed to one of its foundational reformation documents. This is not to argue that Ponet had a greater impact on the Edwardian church than, for example, Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley, or John Hooper. Latimer was a more important preacher, Ridley held a more important see, and Hooper was a more vigorous author. However, Ponet's episcopal ministry was remarkable nonetheless: he was one of the youngest bishops in

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570 Indicated by John Burcher to Heinrich Bullinger, 8 July 1553, *OL,* 2:683.
571 *Shorte Treatise,* F.ii$^{v}$, K.iii$^{r}$, K.iiii$^{v}$.
572 *Draft Reply,* 257$^{v}$.
573 This treatise is listed in Bale's *Scriptorum,* and Pettegree, 'Latin Polemic', 315.

the recent memory of the Church of England; he was a celebrated preacher; he was the first bishop consecrated under the new Ordinal, and the first bishop enthroned without *congé d'élire*; he was one of the King's trusted episcopal advisors along with Cranmer and Ridley; he participated in two of the most important evangelical commissions (Anabaptism and the *Reformatio Legum*); he had two of his lieutenants sent off to kickstart the Edwardian reformation in Ireland, and he produced one of the most important doctrinal texts of the early English reformation. The one major difference between Ponet and the other most senior evangelical bishops — which probably contributed to the historical neglect of his importance — was that whereas many of them remained in England to face the flames of martyrdom under Queen Mary, Ponet chose to fight back.

# Chapter 4 - The Life and Death of a Marian Insurgent (1553-1556)

The nigh-on four final years in the life of John Ponet were marked by vigorous efforts to defend the evangelical character of the English Church to which he had contributed so much. Many of these efforts have been traversed before. His involvement in Wyatt's Rebellion, his subsequent flight into Strassburg, and his various activities among his exiled colleagues have attracted a good deal of scholarship. These were the especial interests of Hudson and Garrett, who were respectively drawn to Ponet's political theology and role in exile. While both authors made significant contributions to the scholarly body of knowledge on Ponet during this final phase of his life, there are various questions left largely unanswered or wrongly answered. For example, how precisely did Ponet turn from supporter of Mary's accession to participant in Wyatt's Rebellion? Garrett does not address this subject, and Hudson, who provides some thoughtful analysis, is left to making an educated guess. It is the contention of this chapter that answering some of these questions provides clarity on other unsolved mysteries concerning Bishop Ponet. Indeed, various of these additional unsolved mysteries are further illuminated by the reassessment of Garrett's translations and presentation of the Strassburg archival material. In short, there is a great need, in terms of detail and scope, to reassess this phase of Ponet's life.

## The Rise of Queen Mary and the Rising of Thomas Wyatt

On 10 July 1553, Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen by the Privy Council, but on 19 July 1553, England had a new Queen, Mary Tudor. Understanding John Ponet's view of Queen Mary requires an understanding of the succession controversy which occurred around the time of the death of King Edward. Ponet believed not only that Mary was the rightful Queen of England, but concomitantly, that a grave injustice had occurred with the forcing of Lady Jane Grey into the regal seat. In Ponet's view, the alteration of King Edward's will to pass over Mary and Elizabeth and the preference for Lady Jane, 'was not by ciuile iustice laufull'. On the basis

that the two princesses were 'wrongfully disherited', Ponet fumed that the Privy Council 'caused the Quene to be proclaimed a bastarde throughout all Englande and Irelande.'[574] His understanding of Mary's legitimacy is important, for it demonstrates that he was not opposed to female rule (a vexing issue for the political theologies of Christopher Goodman and John Knox), nor in principle opposed to a ruler with conservative religious convictions (who could presumably stay apart from Roman jurisdiction and afford some religious compromises, as in the case of King Henry). His view of Mary's initial legitimacy is important, furthermore, because it illustrates a point of difference between Ponet on the one hand, and Nicholas Ridley and Thomas Cranmer on the other. Whereas the latter two senior Edwardian bishops put their signatures to Edward's device of succession, Ponet did not. Although Ponet did not name Ridley in conjunction with the succession device, he believed that his former master and friend, 'the blessed man of God, Thomas Cranmer ... did what he might to resiste to subscribe', but eventually 'did subscribe vnto it against his will'. However, even more compassion was reserved by Ponet for 'innocent Lady Jane' herself, who 'contrary to her will, yea by force, with teares dropping down her chekes, suffred her self to be called Quene of England'.[575]

Ponet believed that Cranmer and Lady Jane were condemned as traitors because of their forced subscription to the unlawful succession device, and he believed that the blame for such violence lay at the feet of certain Privy Councillors. Despite the complicity of the whole Privy Council, an unnamed subset of councillors was specifically singled out for their role in the affair. According to Ponet, they forced — under the threat of treason — an oath and subscription to Edward's device ('vnder hande by their wives and other secret shiftes'), and when Lady Jane

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[574] *Shorte Treatise,* D.vii[r-v], I.v[v]. It is highly likely that 'Jo. Wynchester' among the signatories on the printed edition of a letter from Jane's Privy Council to the Sheriff of Kent (Sir Robert Southwell) dated 12 July 1553, is an erroneous transcription. The printed letter explicitly describes Mary as an illegitimate bastard, and her title as Queen to be unjust and feigned. The placement of this signature, between 'T. Cant., T. Elye' and 'Bedford, Suffolke' was normally occupied by William Paulet (Marquess of Winchester) at this time, and probably was what the original letter contained. I have been unable — despite correspondence with the BL and TNA — to locate the original manuscript to verify this point. For the printed edition, see Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Allan George Finch, Esq.*, 5 vols. (London, 1913), 1:2-3.

[575] *Shorte Treatise,* D.vii[v].

was unseated, they were nevertheless restored to prominent positions under the reign of Mary. Thus, although Ponet restrained himself from calling these Privy Councillors the 'procurers', they were the 'counsaillours ... of the innocent Lady Jane's deathe'.[576]

It is surprising to observe the absence of explicit reference to the Duke of Northumberland in Ponet's account of the blame. Elsewhere within the *Shorte Treatise,* Ponet was content to rail against the memory of Northumberland as the 'thambicious and subtil Alcibiades of England' for his role in usurping Somerset.[577] But his silence concerning the Lord President of the Council's role in the succession device probably supports the contention of Eric Ives that Northumberland was not the solo mastermind behind the plot to put Lady Jane on the throne, for King Edward himself was also responsible.[578] Indeed, Ponet described the purpose of Cranmer's capitulation as 'to content the kinges minde and commaundement'. Nevertheless, Ponet also described the purpose of Cranmer's capitulation as 'to saue the innocent king from the uiolence of most wicked traiterous tirannes'. Thus, although Ponet contributed much to the 'Black Legend' of Northumberland, he attributed the blame beyond him: it was not only Northumberland, but a portion of the Lords (such as the Earl of Shrewsbury) who, just as they pressured Edward's lawyers to draft the succession plans, also pressured King Edward to insist upon subscription to the succession plans.[579]

Despite the paucity of evidence pertaining to Ponet's activities during the political and religious upheavals of the second half of 1553, we can make some informed speculation. As we have seen, Ponet was not involved in the major political controversies concerning the crown, though it is likely that he was close to London and his archiepiscopal colleague during the time. However, by the end of July he would have needed to be rather circumspect in his activities,

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576 *Shorte Treatise,* I.v$^{v}$.
577 *Shorte Treatise,* I.iii$^{r}$.
578 Eric Ives, *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery* (Chichester, 2009), 127-136.
579 Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain, from the birth of Jesus Christ until the Year MDCXLVIII,* 3 vols. (London, 1842), 2:370-371.

for his and Cranmer's old nemesis, Stephen Gardiner was on the rise. By 27 July, even before he had been freed from imprisonment in the Tower, Gardiner was attempting to reclaim church lands that had been forfeited by Ponet.[580] When Queen Mary rode into London at the beginning of August, Gardiner knelt to meet her, was soon released from the Tower, and then made Lord Chancellor on 23 August.[581] However, it was the event which took place on 6 August that caused the most significant blow for Ponet, for Gardiner was restored to the See of Winchester, displacing the evangelical bishop from office.[582]

Understanding the questionable legal basis for Ponet's ejection is of the utmost importance for understanding his initial support for Queen Mary and his later resistance against the Marian regime. In the Queen's view, the bishops deprived under Edward VI were deprived and punished unlawfully. Therefore, these bishops could formally appeal their wrongful deprivation through several commissions established in September which heard their cases. Hudson recognised this but assumed — following Richard Dixon — that Gardiner must have gone through the same legal processes to receive back his bishopric.[583] However, there is no evidence to establish Gardiner's involvement in such a commission. Rather, Mary simply chose to view as illegal the delicately arranged and lengthy commission and trial which deposed Gardiner from Winchester in 1551.[584] Indeed, reflecting upon the dubious legal basis of Mary's actions, Felicity

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580 James A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor reaction* (New York, 1970), 217.

581 John Stow, *The Abridgement of the English Chronicle* (London: 1618), RSTC 23332, 260, dates Mary's entry into the Tower and Gardiner's subsequent discharge as 3 August, though Robert Wingfield, *De Rebus Gestis Mariae Anglorum Reginae Commentarilous,* ed. and trans. Diarmaid MacCulloch as 'The Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham', in *Camden Miscellany. Vol. XXVIII* (London, 1984), 271-272 states 10 August. Gardiner's promotion: Raphael Holinshed, *The Third Volume of Chronicles* (London, 1586), RSTC 13569, 1089.

582 Nichols, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, 82. *StrypeTC*, 1:443, states that Ponet was 'ejected and imprisoned' and cites 'Registr. Ecc. Cant.' to support this claim. However, even with the assistance of the archivists at Canterbury Cathedral Library and Archives, I have not been able to find this reference among the relevant archives: CCA-DCc/Register/U3 (Chapter Register, 1553-1558), CCA-DCc/Register/U4 (Chapter Register, 1558-1565), and CCA-DCc/Register/V1 (Sede Vacante Register, 1553-1572).

583 Hudson, *John Ponet,* 59; Richard W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England,* 6 vols. (London, 1891-1902), 4:47: 'Nor seems it unlikely that similar proceedings marked the return of Gardiner …'. Because Hudson assumed this suggestion to be certain, he suggested that it was Mary's opposition to the Gospel, the re-instatement of the Mass, and breaking of her coronation oath with the 'Spanish Match' which caused Ponet to turn against her. These may all have been true, but Gardiner's intrusion is more crucial due to its early date and Ponet's explicit remarks about it.

584 David Loades, 'The Marian Episcopate' in David Loades and Eamon Duffy (eds.), *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot, 2006), 33-34; Muller, *Stephen Gardiner,* 376-377n8.

Heal concluded that 'Gardiner regained Winchester almost at once with no formal process: Ponet was merely ejected for having intruded himself into the see'.[585] The legal uncertainties involved in Gardiner's recapture of Winchester were felt by his successor, Bishop White, who in an effort to shore up the legal foundations, had Ponet's grants nullified and reissued to secure the episcopal lands years later, in 1557.[586] Ponet himself was certain that Gardiner had wrongfully intruded into his see, and it was this flagrant disregard for the rule of law — tyranny — which turned him from a theoretical supporter of Queen Mary into her ardent opponent. In a piece of political propaganda written in 1555, Ponet denounced the legality of the restoration of 'that most wicked bisshop' in the strongest of terms:

> … he wold haue all men beleue that he was wrongfully deposid from hys bisshopryche when in very dead yff the matter might be egallye and indifferently herde it wold be found that for hys contempte and dissobedience he was rightfullie deposid. But indead I confesse that he had wrong at that tyme that he had not had a typett of tybourne for hys rewarde according to hys desertes.[587]

Lest it be thought that this was John Ponet's own idiosyncratic legal opinion concerning his ejection and its implications for the legitimacy of the Marian regime, we find a striking parallel in the thought of one of his former students at Queens' College, Cambridge. This corroborator is none other than John Aylmer, who possessed such 'Athenian' talent that he progressed from Queens' and became tutor to Lady Jane Grey under the reign of Edward VI. Shortly after the accession of Queen Mary he left England and joined his former teacher in Strassburg. In his political theological reply of 1559 to John Knox — the *Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjectes* — he recalled that in the first days of Mary's reign married bishops were ejected 'before any lawe' was passed, and that the restoration of others took place 'withoute force of lawe'. Stephen Gardiner came in for special attention since, 'withoute tarying for any law', he deprived

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[585] Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980), 151.
[586] Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes,* 153.
[587] John Ponet, *A Supplicacyo[n] to the Quenes Maiestie* (Strassburg?, 1555), RSTC 17562, 23r-v. The author of this treatise has been formerly unknown, but the evidence for Ponet's definite authorship is discussed in the following chapter.

noblemen of the lands given to them by the King upon Ponet's accession to Winchester.[588] Aylmer not only described this flagrant disregard for the rule of law in terms which echoed Ponet's own experiences and opinions, but he explicitly described these illegal proceedings as 'tyranny'.[589]

Around the same time as his sudden ejection from Winchester, Ponet was tempted to put aside his convictions and regain his losses. During a walk through an unspecified garden (probably in London), he encountered Bishop Bonner, who attempted to persuade him to incline to Queen Mary's proceedings:

> Plaie the wise man (saieth he) and doo as I and other men doo: I haue knowen thee of long time, to be a good felowe. I warraunt thee, thou shalt recouer thy losse and liue in honour, if thou wilt be ruled by reason. And with that helept vp to clappe me on the sholder, for onles he stode on tippe to, he could not reache it. Tushe (saied he) thou art a foole: If the Turke ruled in England, I wold frame miself to liue according. I maie not nor wil tel you his name, bicause I hope he wil ones remembre himself, and cal to God for grace. But to put you somwhat from musing, I will tel you somwhat. In king Henries time, whan Gardiner was called the beare, he was called the ape. What saied dronken doctour Weston in the middes of his cuppes (for wine will disclose secretes, if it be as well plied, as his maistership dothe) by the masse, saieth he, that bocher the bishop of London wil cut al the gentilmens throtes in England, if he can.[590]

Ponet must have known that serious religious troubles were brewing. While August 1553 was a confusing month of political and religious turbulence, the following months saw religious battle lines harden, most notably through the deprivation of the rest of the evangelical bishops, and in particular Archbishop Cranmer.[591] Throughout November, the scheduled date upon which the repeal of the Edwardian legislation would take effect loomed large (20 December), and parliament was furiously debating the potential 'Spanish Match' of Mary and Philip of Spain.

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588 John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes Agaynst the Late Blowne Blaste* (Strassburg, 1559), RSTC 1005, O.1$^{v}$.
589 Aylmer, *Harborowe,* C.2$^{r}$.
590 *Shorte Treatise,* L.vi$^{v}$-vii$^{r}$. Hudson, *John Ponet,* 60, concludes his citation of this passage before the reference to Weston. This is presumably because Ponet says he will not name the person, but clearly refers to Bonner afterwards. However, these two sentences are textually and logically connected, and need to be read together. Strictly speaking, Ponet has not named 'the ape', for Bonner is named by Weston.
591 MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 549.

These factors provided the context for the meeting of a concerned group of prominent gentlemen on 26 November — a group responsible for initiating what has become known as Wyatt's Rebellion.[592]

Some have thought that Ponet was already in Strassburg during these months, and only returned to England to participate in Wyatt's Rebellion during January of 1553/54.[593] However, this is highly unlikely. There is no evidence for such a claim (in fact, the evidence for Ponet's earliest activity in Strassburg dates from April 1554), and it is difficult to imagine Ponet travelling to Strassburg with his wife and young children, only to leave them in the foreign city and return during the winter to join the risky rebellion. It is far more likely that Ponet and his family retired to the familiar surroundings of Kent and were sheltered by his own extended family or supported by the family of his father-in-law, Peter Heyman. This would have provided him not only with convenient proximity to the activities of the rebellion, but with familial and ecclesiastical networks to encourage the rebellion itself. Indeed, it is striking that out of all the parishes in Kent, Smarden — where a high concentration of Ponet family members lived — provided the second largest number of rebels (behind the much larger Maidstone).[594]

It is highly significant that both Ponet and Aylmer were involved in Wyatt's Rebellion, and not simply because it puts to rest the idea that this was a purely political rebellion.[595] Aylmer's involvement — though peripheral — is significant because he would later explicitly link the early tyranny of the Marian regime (as noted above) to Wyatt's Rebellion.[596] Ponet's involvement is significant not only because of his central role in the leadership of Edwardian

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592 Malcolm R. Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion of 1554', *Church History* 47 (1978): 366.
593 A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964), 261; Thorp, 'Religion and the Wyatt Rebellion', 377; Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation*, 59-60n86; Dan G. Danner, 'Christopher Goodman and the English Protestant Tradition of Civil Disobedience', *SCJ* 8/3 (1977): 71n40.
594 David Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge, 1965), 249-215. Strangely there is no listing of Tenterden in Loades' data. We might expect such a large centre with historic Lollard sympathies might contribute to the large 'unidentified' category in Loades' list.
595 Although Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies,* 34, 102, notes Aylmer's involvement, he does not mention Ponet and concludes that there was no substantial religious motivation in the rebellion, 88.
596 Aylmer, *Harborowe,* C.2$^{r}$.

evangelicalism, but because of his central role in the leadership of the Wyatt's Rebellion itself. The sole piece of evidence for Ponet's involvement — a memorandum written years later by a 'nere frynde' of Ponet's widow and afterwards incorporated by John Stow — narrates Ponet's involvement at a critical juncture of the final stages of the rebellion.[597] Wyatt and his men had just repaired and crossed the bridge at Kingston upon Thames, when the wheels which supported his 'great gonne' broke down. Ponet was with Wyatt 'at the verye instaunte tyme' that the massive ordnance broke, and this caused a serious issue for Wyatt's company since their attack upon London depended on the element of surprise. Ponet, along with other key leaders such as Cuthbert Vaughan and Alexander Brett, counselled Wyatt to leave the gun and march forwards, but he could not be persuaded and spent precious hours repairing the ordnance. Thus Ponet, seeing as Wyatt could be not reasoned with, and seeing that many of Wyatt's force had now deserted, began to counsel Captain Brett and his other friends 'to make shefte for them selves'. Although Vaughan and Brett continued with the fateful rebellion, Ponet rather chose to 'tak his leave of his secret frendes & said he wolde praye to god for ther good sucsesse & so dyd depart, & whente in to germayne'.[598]

This dramatic episode earned Ponet the scorn of Maitland, who described him as a 'run-away traitor', which opinion seems to have been followed by Garrett, who characterised him as a coward.[599] That Ponet immediately took his wife and children to the safety of Strassburg at this decisive juncture, when others from Wyatt's party remained to fight, may indeed have included some element of cowardice. However, it must be remembered that even in Cranmer's view, flight from persecution — out of Godly wisdom and to do more good — was permissible based

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[597] Bodl. MS Tanner 90, 195r; Glyn Redworth provides an excellent transcription and helpful commentary in 'Bishop Ponet, John Stow, and Wyatt's Rebellion of 1554', *Bodleian Library Record,* 16 (1999): 508-12. General commen on Ponet and Wyatt's Rebellion: John Stow, *The Annales of England Faithfully collected out of the Most Autenticall Authors* (London, 1600), RSTC 23335, 1048; c.f., Barrett L. Beer, 'John Stow and Tudor Rebellions, 1549-1569', *Journal of British Studies* 27/4 (1988): 363-364. That Peter Martyr Vermigli was aware of intimate details of Wyatt's Rebellion while they were camped at Southwark, is highly suggestive of Ponet's correspondence with him. See Vermigli to Bullinger, 24 February 1554, *OL* 2:512-514.

[598] Redworth, 'Bishop Ponet', 511.

[599] Maitland, *Essays,* 73; Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 253.

on the examples of the Apostles and Christ himself.[600] Cranmer may have given the same advice to Ponet himself, for the archbishop's former chaplain and friend would later write much the same:

> If he that is persecuted, fele in his conscience, that he maie doo God greater seruice and glorie by suffring than by fleing, he ought rather to suffre a thousaunt deathes, than to flee one foote. But if his conscience witnesse with him that he maie doo God greater glorie by flieng than by tarieng, he ought not to tempt God with tarieng, but is bounden by commaundement to departe.[601]

Moreover, Ponet's involvement in Wyatt's Rebellion and his subsequent flight into exile correspond neatly to his extensive research into the classical Greek world, and provides a more satisfying explanation than the simplistic accounts of Maitland and Garrett. Among the myriad annotations within Ponet's copy of Isocrates' *Orationes*, we can observe his interest in the honourable responses to persecution. In the *Panegyricus*, written to unite the Spartans and Athenians together against the Persians, Ponet underlined the common principle of the Hellenes, who 'thought it a more dreadful thing to be charged with dishonour by their countrymen than to die honourably for their country.'[602] Ponet was also drawn to the defiant stance of the Athenians and their attitude towards the various Hellenic cities who submitted to Persian rule, underlining the text, '… but they themselves made war for freedom. Although others would have preferred to enter slavery, they would easily have forgiven them for this.'[603] Thus, the former two annotations (which are indicative of the myriad other like annotations) indicate Ponet's deep interest in the classical Grecian understanding of honourable rebellion in the context of tyranny.

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600 Henry Jenkyns, *The Remains of Thomas Cranmer ...,* 4 vols. (Oxford, 1833), 1:363-365.
601 *Shorte Treatise,* E.vi$^{r}$; c.f., Jonathan Wright, 'Marian Exiles and the Legitimacy of Flight from Persecution', *JEH* 52/2 (2001): 220-243.
602 *Isocrates,* h.4$^{r}$ [Isoc. 4.77]: 'Enimvero gravius putabant esse, male apud cives suos audire, quae honeste pro patri mori'.
603 *Isocrates,* A.4$^{v}$ [Isoc. 4.95]: 'verum ipsi pro libertate bellum faciebant. Quod alii servire malverint, hoc ipsis facile condonarunt'.

The honour of exile was also part of Ponet's classical research, and in particular, the history of Thrasybulus and the Thirty Tyrants. Sparta had imposed a new oligarchic government upon Athens following its defeat in the Peloponnesian war. These governors became known as the 'thirty tyrants' for their cruel and unjust treatment of the Athenian citizens. Thrasybulus fled into exile and raised an army of fellow banished men and Thebans who altogether returned to overcome the tyrants. Upon his return Thrasybulus brought peace and harmony between the exiles and those who ashamedly consented to the recent tyrannical rule. Within his index to his copy of Isocrates' *Orationes,* Ponet wrote 'Ex' (for 'example') adjacent to headings which he also underlined and which were related to the Thirty Tyrants, such as 'Oligarchia Atheniensibus perniciosa' and 'Tyrannorum triginta Atheniensium saevitia'.[604] In his copy of *Aristophanes,* he underlined the response of Poverty to Chremylus, 'and you also say that Dionysius is no different from Thrasybulus!' In the margins he wrote: 'Thrasybulus was the expulsor of the tyrants', and 'Dionysius the tyrant'.[605] It is of the highest significance that whereas these research notes were drafted years prior to Ponet's exile, they also correspond to his comment concerning Thrasybulus and the Thirty Tyrants written during his exile, and thus represent an intellectual continuity through the period of Wyatt's Rebellion.

This insight illuminates a remarkable aspect of the *Shorte Treatise* that has hitherto gone unnoticed. Ponet not only used the story of Thrasybulus and the Thirty Tyrants to interpret the actions of the 'wise men and suche as loued their countrey' in Wyatt's Rebellion, but to frame the intentions and goals of the Marian exiles:

> ... if the traiterous bishoppes and priestes can ones set the commones against the nobilitie and gentilmen, they will sone (the nobilitie being ones suppressed) sende the commones to clymbe a dawes nest, and vse them at their pleasur. But wise men and suche as loued their countrey in tyme past, foresawe this mischief that came by inwarde grudge and ciuile discorde: and euer (as muche as in them laie) went about to let it. They thought it was most necessare to prouyde for the sauegarde of the hole by all meanes, and not for any particular parte: which maye

[604] *Isocrates,* H.4$^{v}$, I.3$^{r}$.

[605] *Aristophanes,* 19 [Arist. Pl. 550]: 'θρασυΒουλος [sic] tyrannor[um] expulsor erat. Διονύσιος δὲ τὺραννος'.

> wel appear by the wisdom of Thrasibulus, who being dryuen out of Athens (his countrey) by the xxx. tirannes, bicause he wolde not consent to their tirannye, ad to see his countrey destroyed: at leynght gathered to gether all those that were banished with him, and by the helpe of the Thebanes their neighbours, toke a castle besides Athenes, and afterwarde in batail he ouercame the tirannes, and restored all those that wer banished, to their countrey, and their olde lawes that were taken awaie by the tyrannes.[606]

## SETTLING IN STRASSBURG

Ponet made good his escape from Kingston upon Thames and, according to Johannes Sleidan, arrived in Strassburg sometime during April 1554.[607] At this time, Strassburg had a population of around 20,000 inhabitants. Throughout the next few years, the core of the exile community within the city would only make up a very small number of its residents, likely numbering around forty clergy and laymen and their families. Yet those who made up the Strassburg contingent of exiles were, according to Strype, 'English Protestants of the best rank, both of the laity and the clergy'.[608] John Abell, John Cheke, Anthony Cooke, Thomas Wrothe, Richard Morison, and Thomas Heton were the leading laymen who held residence or spent significant time in Strassburg. John Ponet, William Turner (Dean of Wells), Richard Cox (Dean of Westminster), Edwin Sandys (Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University), and John Aylmer (Archdeacon of Stow) were all senior figures of the Edwardian ecclesiastical establishment prior to the exile. Other important clergymen who would play significant future roles under Elizabeth's rule also resided in Strassburg: Edmund Grindal, James Haddon, John Jewel, Thomas Sampson, and Thomas Becon. So central was Strassburg to the Marian exiles that it functioned as the initial destination for many clergy and students, before they moved on to other cities. Thomas Lever, John Parkhurst, Michael Renniger, William Cole, and Robert Horne

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606 *Shorte Treatise,* L.i$^{r-v}$.

607 Johannes Sleidan, *De Statu Religiois et Reipublicae, Carolo Quinto, Caesare, Commentarii* (Strassburg, 1555), 2:698$^{v}$. It is therefore implausible to hold the view of Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 254, that the initials 'J.P.' added to the signatures of the imprisoned bishops who authored the statement of 8 May 1554 were those of John Ponet. This is further reinforced by the fact that the other bishops sign their names in full, and that the statement advocates an absolutist form of obedience.

608 John Strype, *The History of the Life and Acts of the Most Reverend Father in God, Edmund Grindal...*, 2 vols. (1821), 1:12.

all passed through Strassburg on the way to Zürich, whereas others such as John Foxe, Christopher Goodman, and Alexander Nowell, began their exile in Strassburg before moving to Frankfurt. Indeed, the evangelical students — representing the future of the church — were the first arrivals of exiles in Strassburg, as evidenced by Vermigli's comments to Bullinger in February 1554:

> English youths have come over to us in great numbers within these few days, partly from Oxford, and partly from Cambridge; whom many godly merchants are bringing up to learning, that, should it please God to restore religion to its former state in that kingdom, they may be of some benefit to the church of England.[609]

The group of students who arrived in Strassburg deserve special attention, not simply because they are underrepresented in the scholarly literature of the exile, but because they played an important part of the more contested issues during the exile. Just as various students of divinity were drawn to the learned Heinrich Bullinger at Zürich, many were also drawn to the 'petty college' at Strassburg led by Peter Martyr Vermigli until he migrated to Zürich in July 1556.[610] Here in Strassburg, Vermigli lectured through the biblical book of Judges and also Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, while his own former student, Girolamo Zanchi, taught from Aristotle's *Physics*. This would have provided much needed stimulation and encouragement for the English exiles and would have provided much needed education for the students among them. Hudson suggested that Ponet taught at Vermigli's college and this finds confirmation in the Council Protocols of 29 July 1556 which denote 'the highly learned and honourable men John Ponet and Edwin Sandys' as 'schoolmasters'.[611] However, the absence of further evidence for this educational preoccupation prompts consideration of what broader assistance Ponet, as the most senior Edwardian ecclesiastic, may have provided the Strassburg exiles at the time.

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609 *OL*, 2:514.

610 There is some conjecture about the physical location of Vermigli's college. Fuller, *Church History of Britain,* 2:420, states that it was held in his own home, whereas Torrance Kirby, 'Political Theology: The Godly Prince', in Kirby, et al, *Companion to Peter Martyr,* 404, states that it occurred in the 'College of St. Thomas' in Strasbourg'.

611 Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection,* 88; *Council Protocols,* 19:349r: 'Die hochgelerten vnnd Erwürdigen h<erren> Johan Ponetus vnnd Egmundus Sa[?]ns … schulherren'.

Garrett made the case that Ponet provided confessional assistance to the English exiles, by his authoring of the *Humble and Unfained Confession of the Belefe of Certain Poore Banished Men,* a doctrinal position statement from 'certain learned men ... in theyre exile' printed with the false colophon, 'From Wittonburge by Nicholas Dorcastor. Ann. M.D.Liiii. the xiiii. of May.'[612] This theory, if true, would certainly comport with Ponet's rank and demonstrate his leadership among certain Marian exiles. For the main support of this hypothesis, Garrett supposes that the Dorcastor texts were those of John Daye who held the licence to print Ponet's works, and that the *Unfained Confession* bears the same theological resonances with other Ponet texts. However, these two crucial suppositions cannot hold the weight of her theory. As Elizabeth Evenden has persuasively argued, the typographical evidence for Daye's responsibility for the Dorcastor texts is lacking.[613] The theological evidence also works against Ponet's authorship. For the *Unfained Confession,* while on a par with the theological acumen of Ponet's works, displays an emphasis on covenant theology foreign to that of Ponet, and a certain liturgical rigour absent in Ponet's thought. Indeed, that the discussion of baptism argues against adding 'rites and supersticions' to the rules prescribed by Christ, is highly suspicious of the exiles in Frankfurt, whose liturgical rigour would soon clash with the sensibility of the Strassburg and Zürich exiles.[614] Indeed, that the preface to the *Unfained Confession* was written by a 'curate' and not a senior ecclesiastic, that its theological methodology is more biblicist than humanist, and that the authors of this *Unfained Confession* would position themselves as representative of the whole contingent of banished clergy, certainly points in the direction of the ministerial mavericks who resided in Frankfurt.

On 2 August 1554 the infamous 'Troubles at Frankfurt' began, when the Frankfurt exiles, who had recently received permission to establish an English church, sent a letter to the other exile

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612 Christina Garrett, 'John Ponet and the Confession of the Banished Ministers', *Church Quarterly Review* 137 (1943-4): 47-74, 181-204. *The Humble and Vnfained Confessio[n] of the Belefe of Certain Poore Banished Men* (Wittonburge: Dorcaster, 1554), RSTC 5630.

613 Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, 37-39. Evenden also points to the internal contradiction and chronological impossibility of Garrett's position.

614 *The humble and vnfained confession[n],* D.v$^{v}$-D.vi$^{r}$.

communities inviting them to join the new church which was 'free from all dreggs off superstitious ceremonies'.[615] The turbulent history of the divergence between the Genevan-oriented and Edwardian-oriented parties is well traversed; however it is significant that Ponet was named by the Strassburg exiles as a potential superintendent for the Frankfurt church, for this would have undoubtedly required Ponet's consent. The Strassburg recommendation of superintendents had the effect of exposing the first major rift between the exiles. The congregation at Frankfurt desired a presbyterian form of church governance in which the congregation elected and called the ministers, whereas the Strassburg exiles desired an episcopal form of governance, under the authority of the appointed superintendent. This was the reason why, whereas previous bishops Ponet, Scory, and Bale were suggested by Strassburg, Frankfurt elected to invite the non-episcopal John Knox, James Haddon, and Thomas Lever to be their ministers. According to a recently discovered letter, dated 6 November 1554, Grindal explained to Cox that

> some younge heades thei have conceyved this opinion, that thei wyll not have any one superattendente or Pastoure that shall have preeminence above the reste of the ministeres, but that all things shall be done, communi consilio Presbyterorum …[616]

Ponet was himself an advocate of the name 'superintendent' over the term 'bishop'. In his *Apologie* of 1555, he dedicated an entire chapter to 'the good name superintendent' and argued that since the word 'bishop' had been so abused in recent times, it was necessary to rename the office 'superintendent' until such abuses could be corrected.[617] Although the chapter filled out the meaning of the term 'superintendent' quite briefly (it was discussed largely in context of the perceived Roman Catholic abuses of the office), we may glean more of Ponet's understanding of the concept in his annotations made during research for the *Apologie.* In 1554, Ponet acquired

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[615] William Whittingham, *A Brieff Discours Off the Troubles Begonne at Franckford in Germany* (Heidelberg, 1574), RSTC 25442, IX.
[616] Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, 38; c.f., Timothy Duguid, 'The "Troubles" at Frankfurt: A New Chronology', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 14/3 (2012): 248.
[617] *Apologie,* LIII-LIIII.

a copy of Cardinal Torquemada's *Summa De Ecclesia,* a treatise steeped in Thomist thought, and bound with a florilegium of ecclesiological opinions entitled *Flores Sententarium Beati Thomae de Auctoritate Summi Pontificis*. It was the most important ecclesiological treatise in the century leading up to the Council of Trent, and its anti-conciliar arguments for absolute papal power were reused by leading anti-evangelical apologists such as Robert Bellarmine, Thomas Cajetan, and Melchior Cano.[618] Ponet's attention was piqued by a section which argued that the Apostle Peter was not a 'maior sacerdos' but a 'maior episcopus'. Bracketing this body of text in the margin, Ponet wrote 'nota' adjacent to the text 'superintendens toti mundo'.[619] However, the most important demonstration of Ponet's understanding of superintendency comes from his notes written during 1554 in the *Draft Reply.* Railing against the abuses of the episcopate, he inserted the heading, 'Superintendent' on a blank sheet of paper, and wrote out this significant passage:

> This word superintendent ~~is the very~~ signefyeth ane overseer of the flok of ~~c~~rhrist, and by use is made a known word, wherby Episcopus is understanded. and This word ~~is~~ <superintendent> in the xxth of Actes of thapostles is playnly expressid by saynt paule spekinge to the Elders of ephesus in ~~the~~ sayinge Attendite vobis vobis [sic] et universo gregi.[620] where he prophecied that after his departure ther should arise even amongst themselves raveninge wolves, which should not spare the flok, spekinge things a wry to the intent to seduce the disciples. after then this prophecy began then to take effect, and this day by the helpe of you hereticall papists is continewed. paule <biddeth them> ~~sayeth they should~~ attend and ~~over~~look <to> ther flok. and he calleth them επισκοπους which is superintendentes. but you will <not> haue them so. but sacrificers and bludshoppes only. the name of bushop you retayne; but you be loth it should be declared which it doth signify. ye should be ministri, you wilbe magistri. for pastors you be imposters, for servi servorum you wilbe domini dominorum. for minimi you wilbe maximi for episcopi you wilbe monarchae. for Christiani you wilbe Antichristianissimi. ~~and I pray you what a number of in~~ of this word superintendent we haue as I haue alledged good grounds in the scripture, but what number of names I pray you haue ~~the~~ you popishe heretiques divised whiche haue no grownd of the scripture. furst pope. cardinall. legat archebushop dean archedeacon etc.[621]

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618 Romanus Cessario, OP, Cajetan Cuddy, OP, *Thomas and the Thomists: The Achievement of Thomas Aquinas and his Interpreters* (Minneapolis, 2018), 66; Thomas M. Izbicki, 'Papalist Reaction to the Council of Constance: Juan de Torquemada to the Present', *Church History* 55/1 (1986): 13.
619 *Torquemada,* m.4r.
620 Acts 20:28a.
621 *Draft Reply,* 230r-v.

Ponet's understanding and exercise of episcopal ministry is the major hinge upon which his involvement in the so-called 'Frankfurt Troubles' has been debated. Garrett claimed Ponet attempted to 'exert episcopal coercion' upon the liturgical debate and that he was the 'chief director in that campaign'.[622] Hudson, on the other hand, countered that this claim was driven more by conjecture than evidence, and that Ponet's continued use of the signature 'Jo. Ponetus Winton' could not be evidence for his continued sense of episcopal authority, since there are instances of his signature without episcopal mention.[623] However, where Garrett claims too much for Ponet's episcopal role, Hudson claims too little. For what both failed to notice is that that fellow Strassburg exile, Thomas Sampson, understood Ponet to be 'our bishop'.[624] It must be remembered that Ponet considered his episcopal ejection and Gardiner's episcopal restoration as illegitimate — he was the rightful Bishop of Winchester, though exiled in Strassburg. This ambiguous state of episcopal affairs equally applied to Bishop John Bale of Ossory, whom Ponet encouraged — when Bale was exiled in Frankfurt during 1555 — to 'play the bushop amonge your companions ther, as thoughe ye were amonge your flok in Yerland'.[625] This letter, discovered after Garrett and Hudson's research, was used by Baskerville to support Garrett's claim for Ponet's involvement in the Frankfurt Troubles. Baskerville also noticed that in the same letter, Ponet passed on specific greetings to Edward Isaac and Henry Parry, who were two of the three businessmen who colluded to bring down Knox.[626] This highly suspicious connection between Ponet and the Coxian collaborators cannot support the weight of Garrett's

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[622] Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 329, 256.
[623] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 75; Bowman, 'John Ponet', 51.
[624] Sampson to Heinrich Bullinger, 6 April 1556, *OL*, 1:173, c.f., Ponet to Heinrich Bullinger, 14 April 1556, *OL,* 1:115.
[625] See Appendix B. The importance of this turn of phrase is well expounded in Stephen Tong's recent article, 'An English Bishop Afloat in an Irish See: John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, 1552-3', *Studies in Church History* 54 (2018): 144-158.
[626] See Appendix B; Members of the Frankfurt church to Frankfurt Magistrates: Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, 45: 'Certeyn notes conteynid in a booke made by Mr Knokes for the which he was accused of treason againste themperour, his sowne & the quene before the Magistrates of Franckford the 15o of March A[nn]o 1555 by Mr Isaac, Mr Sutton, Mr Parry, with the consent of D. Cockes, Bale, Turner of Windesour, Juell, Machell, & divers other Englishmen.' C.f., Baskerville, 'John Ponet', 445; Duguid, 'The 'Troubles' at Frankfurt', 252.

conspiratorial claims, however the episcopal reference certainly gives it some credence. At a minimum, the letter to Bale indicates that Ponet understood episcopal ministry to have some continuity in exile, even if it operated in *de facto* rather than *de jure* circumstances.

In the autumn following the start of the Frankfurt Troubles, Ponet can be observed to exercise this oversight in his capacity as spokesman to the Duke of Württemberg on behalf of the exiled students in Strassburg. Christoph, Duke of Württemberg, had converted to Protestantism in the 1530s and had been a strong supporter of the reformation in Germany since. While in Strassburg on 31 August 1554, John Foxe attempted to secure Duke Christoph's patronage, by dedicating his *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* to him. Although Foxe told the sad story of the Duke of Suffolk and Lady Jane Grey, and lamented the circumstances of the exiles in the wake of the 'Equus Troianus in Angliam introductus ... (sive Romanus potius)', his ducal patronage was not forthcoming.[627] However, the Duke's support for the Strassburg exiles appeared unexpectedly and sometime before 6 November 1554, on which date Grindal reported to Cox that Duke Christoph had sent 200 gulden (approx. £43), which he described as 'a goode refresshynge for the poore students here.'[628] Ponet's letter of thanks to Duke Christoph, written on 28 December 1554 and sent around 2 January 1555, was briefly mentioned by Garrett but was not translated nor examined beyond the extent of the signatories.[629] The letter is a fine example of renaissance Latin prose, reminiscent of the high quality and style which is commonly associated with the successor to Ponet's Cambridge professorship, Roger Ascham. In addition to providing some of the lengthiest reflections on exile by Ponet, the letter provides us hitherto unknown detail into this monetary gift.

The letter of thanks reveals that while the exiles were coming to grips with their new situation, the evangelical agent and advisor of Duke Christoph, Peter Paul Vergerio, suddenly appeared

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627 John Foxe, *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (Strassburg: Rihel, 1554), a.v$^{r-v}$.
628 Grindal to Cox, Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, 39.
629 See Appendix B; Garrett, *Marian Exiles*, 364n2.

to them with news of the unexpected and generous gift from the Duke. Vergerio, the former Italian papal nuncio and bishop turned reformer, had business in Strassburg, as he was in the process of publishing Cardinal Pole's now embarrassing *De Unitate* with Wendelin Rihel. This would have been of some interest to Ponet, who later referred to the work, as he denounced the duplicitous 'Carnal Phoole' in his *Shorte Treatise.*[630] Vergerio likewise, seems to have taken some interest in the activities of Ponet, writing in another of his attacks on Cardinal Pole, that in contrast to Stephen Gardiner, the false bishop of Winchester, 'John Ponet was the true shepherd and true servant of Jesus Christ, living in exile'.[631] When Vergerio reported the successful distribution of gulden to Duke Christoph on 3 February 1555, he was evidently confirmed in his opinions about the danger of Cardinal Pole, presumably through conversation with Ponet or his friend Richard Morison.[632] In contrast to the claim of Anne Overell that Vergerio had sullied his reputation among the English reformers by his involvement with the Lutheran-leaning Duke of Württemberg, it was clear that the Strassburg exiles were deeply impressed with him: Ponet spoke warmly of his piety, and Grindal found him to be wonderfully friendly to the poor banished Englishmen.[633]

Ponet's letter of thanks also reveals the role of the Strassburg Council of XXI in the just distribution of the 200 gulden among the English students in Strassburg. Ponet described how the 'most illustrious lords of this city' distributed the Duke's financial gift with justice, equity, and fidelity. We can observe the accuracy of Ponet's comments from the distribution report of the Strassburg councillors, which indicates that the students received a portion of the gift commensurate with their circumstances. The recipients included John Falconer (10 florins), Christopher Goodman (10 florins), Guy Heton (18 gulden, since he had a wife and was poor),

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630 *Shorte Treatise,* G.iii$^{r}$.
631 Peter Paul Vergerio, *Epistolae Duae, Duorum Amicorum, ex Quibus Vana, Flagitiosaque Pontificum* (Strassburg, 1555), B.3$^{r}$: 'nam Ioannes Ponetus uerus illius ecclesiae pastor, & uersus seruus Iesu Christi, exulat'.
632 Eduard von Kausler and Theodor Schott (eds.), *Briefwechsel Zwischen Christoph, Herzog von Württemberg, und Petrus Paulus Vergerius* (Tübingen, 1875), 90; Sowerby, *Richard Morison,* 234.
633 Overell, *Italian Reform*, 148. Ponet's remarks: Appendix C; Grindal's remarks: Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, 37-39.

John Huntingdon (20 gulden, since he was a preacher with wife and children), Thomas Lakin (12 florins), Humphrey Alcockson (8 gulden), Michael Renniger (12 florins), Arthur Saule (10 florins), Augustine Bradbridge (12 gulden), John Bankes (12 florins), Thomas Steward (10 florins), Thomas Jeffreys (10 florins), Robert Sharp (10 florins), John Pedder (16 florins), and Michelangelo Florio (20 florins, since he had a wife and child).[634]

Lastly, the letter of thanks confirms Ponet's episcopal responsibility for the Strassburg students. His authorship of such an important letter to such an illustrious Prince is indicative of his pre-eminence among, and responsibility for the English theological students at Strassburg. Moreover, the existence and the positioning of his episcopal signature ('Jo Ponetus Winton') reflect the authority structure among the Strassburg exiles. Ponet's name is set above that of Grindal and James Haddon (denoting his clerical superiority), and the recipients of the Duke's gift are listed in a separate column altogether (denoting their student status). The fact that communications from Strassburg to Frankfurt reflect this grouping — without mention of Ponet's name — reinforces our contention that Ponet served as the *de facto* superintendent of the Strassburg exiles.

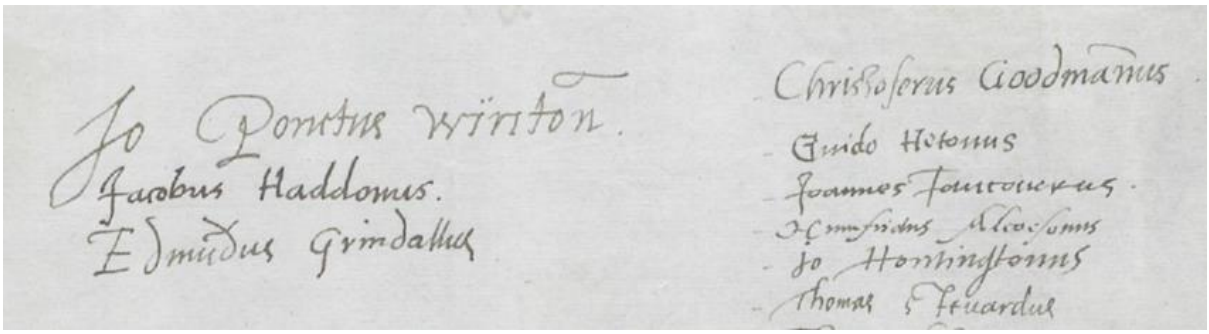



**Figure IV — Signatures in John Ponet to the Duke of Württemberg, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A 63 Bü 15/9, 71r.**

The centrality of Ponet among the Strassburg exiles at the end of 1554 may also be gleaned from the only two extant records for the baptism of children born to the English exiles in

[634] Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, A 63 Bü 15/9, 71r-v.

Strassburg. This unusual observation rests not on the baptism of the children as such (for presumably other exiles had children born in Strassburg), but on the location of the baptisms and on those who participated in them. Indicative of the perception of Ponet's dignity among the noblemen of Strassburg, both of these baptisms took place at the church of St. Thomas' where the Protestant nobility of Strassburg worshipped, rather than at the French refugee church where Vermigli and the English exiles normally worshipped.[635] On the second Sunday of Advent in 1554, John and Maria Ponet had their son John baptised, with evangelical merchant John Abell, former English diplomat Christopher Mont, and Bridget Morison (wife of Richard Morison, the first-rank former diplomat and client of Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell) standing as godparents.[636] Two weeks later, on the fourth Sunday of Advent in 1554, John Abell's son Elias was baptised, with John Ponet, Christopher Mont, and Joanna Heton (wife of evangelical merchant Thomas Heton) standing as godparents.[637] That Ponet — of all the English clergy in Strassburg — was socially stitched into the familial fabric of such illustrious diplomatic agents underscores the importance of his position within the exile community in Strassburg.

These baptism records serve not only to demonstrate the intimacy of the most senior English reformer in exile with some of the most important English laypersons on the Continent, but the decision to baptise these children among the Strassburg noblemen rather than the English exiles is indicative of the roots Ponet was putting down in Strassburg. For on 23 February 1555 — shortly after the martyrdom of John Rogers, Lawrence Saunders, and his old episcopal colleagues John Hooper and Rowland Taylor — Ponet presumably realised the need for

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635 Grindal to Cox, 11 August 1554, Denbighshire Record Office, Plas Power MSS, DD/PP/839, 29-31: 'The French Church her [sic] is very godlie ordered to the which Mr Martyr & all our nation resorteth.'

636 It may be this John Ponet Jr. who wrote a letter of thanks to Queen Elizabeth on 27 November c.1570-1575 in CCCC MS 114A, p.439 ('joannes punnetus'; 'quinto calendas Decembris'; Matthew Parker's red crayon and the youngest letter in the MS being 1570 give is approximate year). I cannot find any more evidence for him beyond this.

637 Garrett incorrectly attributed both children as Ponet's in *Marian Exiles*, 67, 255. See 1 RP 245 nos. 660 [Abell] and 783 [Ponet] (RP = Registres Parissiaux de la Ville de Strasbourg in the Archives de la Ville et de la Communaute urbaine, Strasbourg).

entrenched resistance. He became a citizen of Strassburg, being exempted on ministerial grounds from keeping guard, standing sentinel, and bearing arms.[638] The grant of full citizenship enabled his family to live in their own accommodation ('fire and smoke'), rather than having to live within the hostels established for the exiles, or the shared accommodation with other citizens such as Peter Martyr or John Burcher. This would have been a great relief for John and Maria Ponet, who would have had somewhere between two to four children at the time.[639] Moreover, it was an extraordinary privilege which put Ponet on a level with Vermigli in public esteem of his importance.

From this settled position in Strassburg, Ponet exchanged letters with his former chaplain, John Bale, and encouraged him in the battle ahead. In his letter dated 6 July 1555 (discussed above), Ponet advised Bale on priorities for the publishing of political propaganda. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the letter is the general strategy for evangelical resistance. Without wanting to remove Bale from his 'more weightie purposes' (presumably his *Scriptorum* or work with John Foxe), Ponet wanted him to 'pryk other men' to produce 'Ballets, rymes and short toyes' which were affordable 'at home among the rude pepl.' This principle concerning teamwork among the exiles was accompanied with his principle concerning teamwork back in England. 'Let us all feyght in a throupe together,' he explained, 'the learned with ther pen, the riche with ther substance, the poer with dispersing those things that may edify.' Thus, contrary to the view of Garrett that Ponet became a citizen when he realised 'that the protestant cause in England was hopeless', Ponet was optimistic about the evangelical cause at home and throughout Europe:

> The feeld is half won and more. Polonia, and (some say) Bohemia is won. All ready our brothern in England stand to it lyke men, ffrance hath more protestants then papists. The sone brusteth out wher the clouds of popery be thykest, the more they

[638] *Council Protocols,* 18:70$^{v}$-71$^{r}$.
[639] Bodl. MS Tanner 90, 195$^{r}$, reveals that Ponet had four children with Maria Ponet. Given the date of Ponet's son's baptism, it is unlikely that Ponet and Maria could have had any more than two additional children while in Strassburg.

> quench the cole the more it burneth, blow ~~the trumpet~~ therfor boldly the trumpet of Gods treuth … [640]

## TRAGEDIES AND TERMINUS

While producing his attacks upon the Marian regime, Ponet experienced a series of disasters, the first of which resulted in the loss of his home. When the ageing Diebold Schwarz, pioneer of Strassburg's evangelical liturgy, left his ministry at Old St. Peters's and became the pastor to the poor parish of St. Aurelia around the beginning of 1555, he generously passed on his house to Ponet. Located adjacent to the Weinmarket, this house ('zum Holderstock') would have afforded Ponet's family only a short walk to the parish of St. Thomas and would have given him excellent proximity to the Strassburg exiles.[641] However, sometime before September that year, while the chapter of St. Thomas' (who had previously leased the property to Schwarz) were still ratifying the transaction of the property, a disastrous fire broke out and Ponet lost approximately 4000 crowns (approx. £1,200) worth of silver, possessions, and 40 gulden in cash.[642] Former Marian rebel, Sir Peter Carew, was lodging with Ponet at the time, and John Hooker (alias Vowell) tells a fascinating — if not somewhat hagiographical — account of his involvement:

> It happened whilst he lay [stayed] there, that the house of Mr. Poynet fell to be on fire, and such money and and [sic] treasure as he had was in a cupboard in the wall, and the fire so increased that no man durst to adventure into the house to fetch it. Sir Peter, considering the distress and heavines of the man, and hearing him to make some moan for his money, ran with all his force and might to the cupboard, and with his foot gave such a stroke that immediately he broke open the cupboard, took out the money, and ran away. But he was no sooner come out of the door, but the house fell down, and so it was by a miracle he was preserved and saved.[643]

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[640] Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 256; see Appendix B.

[641] *Council Protocols,* 19:26$^{v}$-27$^{r}$ contains most of the rental arrangements (c.f., Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 367).

[642] *Council Protocols,* 18:401$^{r-v}$, overlooked by Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* contains other details such as the forty gulden and further rental arrangements; *Council Protocols,* 18:358$^{r}$-359$^{r}$ contains the details of Ponet's losses (c.f., Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 365, who misinterpreted 'klamotte' for jewels rather than its more likely meaning, possessions). I am grateful to Edmund Wareham for his assistance with this translation and am indebted to Anita Wilson's first noticing of this entry, in 'The Marian Exiles in Strasbourg 1553-1558', M.Litt. dissertation (Dublin, 1993), 138.

[643] John Hooker [Vowell], *The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew* (London, 1857), 62.

There is good reason to be somewhat sceptical of Hooker's heroic account of Carew's actions. An entry in the protocols of the Council of XXI which was overlooked by Garrett explicitly states that Ponet lost forty gulden in cash, and therefore Carew could only have rescued some of the money, not the whole endangered amount as implied in the account of the rescue. Moreover, the same overlooked entry of the Strassburg Council states that the effects belonging to a French-speaking nobleman were destroyed in the fire. Unless Ponet was housing another French-speaking nobleman at the time, these possessions undoubtedly belonged to Peter Carew.[644] Therefore, while Carew's rescue efforts may have involved some heroism, there was probably also some exaggeration and self-interest applied to the description. Indeed, the colourful account of the events from the pen of Vowell probably represents an attempt to repair the reputation of Carew's valour after his shadowy involvement in the Cheke affair the following year.

Nevertheless, there is probably some truth to the fact that Carew did rescue some of the money from Ponet's house, the existence of which money is itself intriguing. Garrett supposed that it was loot from Winchester or Gardiner's house in Southwark which was sacked during Wyatt's Rebellion, and thus cast him as 'avaricious'.[645] This cannot have been the case, since looting Winchester makes no sense of Ponet's desire to see Wyatt persist in attacking London from Kingston upon Thames — an attack which occurred after the sack of Gardiner's house. Moreover, in Ponet's draft response to Thomas Martyn written before the house fire, he made a personal note which makes no sense if he plundered Gardiner's wealth: 'yor master hath of doctor ponetts 1025$^{L.}$ of the meane fruts.'[646] Thus in all probability, the money lost in the house fire came not from the settling of scores with his rival Bishop of Winchester, but rather from the financial 'sustainers' of the Marian exiles, of which group of merchants belonged the

644 *Council Protocols,* 18:401$^{r-v}$.
645 Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 256, 253.
646 *Draft Reply,* 171$^{r}$.

Strassburg based Richard Springham, George Heton, and Ponet's close friends, John Abell, and Thomas Heton. This hypothesis makes sense of both Ponet's responsibility for the Strassburg students and the sustainers' goal of supporting them for the future of the English church.

To exonerate himself before the English exiles and the Strassburg magistrates for such significant financial and physical destruction, Ponet pleaded his case before the Council of XXI on 4 September 1555, supported by the long-trusted citizen, John Burcher. Since the fire began in a room which had been locked for four weeks and was thus outside of his control, Ponet begged for both absolution from blame and compensation for his losses. The Council itself was deeply sorry over the accident, and Stadmeister Sturm personally expressed his deep sympathy and called for an eleven person investigative committee to ascertain the cause of the fire.[647] In February 1556, Diebold Schwarz presumably took responsibility for the whole affair, since he asked for Ponet to be acquitted of any blame and asked the chapter of St. Thomas' to deal generously with him on account of his age and office.[648] Although there is no record of what conclusion the Strassburg magistrates decided upon, there is record of Ponet's general reflections on the subject of loss, recorded in a letter to Heinrich Bullinger on 14 April 1556:

> The Lord God, I acknowledge, has taken from me all that I had, which indeed was most ample. But why should he not? He who gave has taken away. But what? Worldly, earthly, perishable things: while he is intending, I hope, yea, I do not doubt, to bestow upon me things heavenly and imperishable. What is exile? A thing which provided you have wherewithal to subsist, is painful only in imagination.[649]

The second disaster to befall Ponet was the loss of his dear friend, Sir John Cheke. Having already heard of the burning of his former friend and patron, 'the blessed man of God' Thomas Cranmer, earlier that year, Ponet would have greatly enjoyed the company of Cheke, who had passed through Strassburg a number of times during exile, but was based in the city between

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647 *Council Protocols*, 18:358$^{r}$-359$^{r}$ (c.f., Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 365).
648 *Council Protocols,* 19:29$^{r-v}$ (c.f., Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 367).
649 *OL,* 1:116.

the last months of 1555 and spring of 1556.[650] Cheke too, would have appreciated the company of his long-time friend from the 'Athenian' days. In a letter to Calvin in mid-October 1555, Cheke warmly commented that he was 'enjoying in this my exile the society of old friends, from whose kindly intercourse I shall not willingly withdraw myself.'[651] Emblematic of their old friendship and shared love of original languages, Ponet presented Cheke with a Hebrew Pentateuch in the early months of 1556. The *Hamishah Humshei Torah* was one of Daniel Bomberg's 1525-1528 editions of the Old Testament, which introduced chapter and verse numbers into the Hebrew bible. In both Greek and Latin, Ponet wrote upon the title page of this fitting 'Athenian' present: 'John Ponet to John Cheke a gift dedicated from one friend to another.'[652]

Cheke and Ponet probably rekindled their old friendship over various Greek texts and manuscripts, just as they shared excitement over the discovery of a Greek manuscript of Ignatius' *Ad Philadelphiam.* Sometime during his exile, Ponet acquired the philosopher and astronomer Celio Calcagnini's *Opera Aliquot*, and made marginal notes around a wide range of ancient games, Roman laws respecting gaming, and various designs of dice (once drawing his interpretation of the game and its dice).[653] Given the influence of Calcagnini on various humanists, including the polymath Girolamo Cardano, we can imagine Ponet and Cheke poring over this text and mining it for its insights into astronomy and probability. However, this shared interest in astronomy and probability, which was a feature of the bond which held Ponet and Cheke together since their early Cambridge days, would shortly rend them apart.

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650 *Shorte Treatise,* D.vii$^{v}$; Needham, 'Sir John Cheke', 1:381.
651 *OL,* 1:142.
652 *Hamishah,* t.p.: 'ιωάννης πόνητες ιωάννη κήκώ // φίλος φίλω ἐδωκεν ἀφνώ'; 'Joanni Cheko amicus // amico dono dedit 1556'.
653 For example: *Opera Aliquot,* 295: 'Cubi Tessarae [sic] quadrantalia'; 296: 'Abacus Alveolus Tabula Lusoria πλίνθιον fritillum', 'Justinianus edicto sustulit ludum aleam et eius loco quinque alios ludos introduxit'; 297: 'κομονοβολον comodaumolo regindulia cempon reipursara'; 297: 'ψήφισμα decretum senatus'.

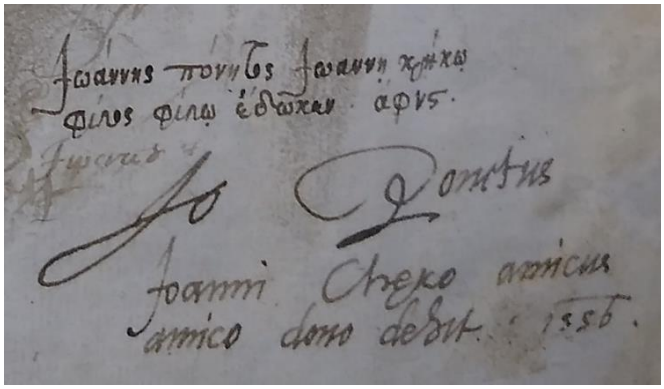



**Figure V — John Ponet's dedication to John Cheke in *Hamishah humshe Torah,* title-page.**

Sometime before 6 April, when Cheke left Strassburg for Brussels, he made use of the astrological arts to determine whether any danger lay ahead.[654] However, as Foxe later recounted, 'he was a litle to much addicted to the curious practising of this stardiuinitie'.[655] Indeed, this prognostication proved most unreliable, for when Cheke left Strassburg, he and Ponet would never meet again. Although Cheke and his fellow traveller Peter Carew assumed safe passage with John Mason and William Paget, they were double-crossed when leaving Brussels for Antwerp around the middle of May. By the order of King Philip, they were captured when they reached Vilvorde (where another brilliant linguist, William Tyndale, was imprisoned twenty-one years earlier to the month), and forcibly removed across the seas and into the Tower of London.[656] Ponet was understandably outraged at this treachery, and singled out Paget especially for his betrayal: '… his just reward is yet is not come, let him not look to speed any better than Heracleo, if he continue Judas still.'[657]

Ponet was even more concerned for Cheke's soul than his body. He received worrying news that he hoped would not prove prophetic from Bullinger in June, and firmly declared, 'I doubt

654 *OL*, 1:173; *StrypeJC,* 105.
655 John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (London, 1570), RSTC 11223, 2141. Foxe did not include this section in the 1563 version.
656 Vermigli provides the reference to Vilvorde ('Filfort') in his letter to Heinrich Bullinger, 22 May 1556 in, *Loci Communes* (London, 1583), RSTC 24668, 116.
657 *Shorte Treatise,* I.vi$^{v}$-I.vii$^{v}$; Vowell, *Peter Carew,* 64-65; *StrypeJC,* 105-110; John F. McDiarmid, "To content god quietlie': The Troubles of Sir John Cheke under Queen Mary', in Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (eds.), *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England* (Aldershot, 2015).

not that he will seal his testimony to the gospel with his blood.'[658] Indeed, on July 29 Ponet and Sandys, on behalf of the English exiles, requested the Strassburg council to write to Otto Henry, Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Württemberg to ask future Emperor Maximilian to intercede with King Philip for the two captive Englishmen.[659] It therefore, would have come as an immense blow for Ponet to hear the news of Cheke's written submission to Queen Mary exactly two weeks earlier, which included 'obedience of your laws, and other orders of religion'.[660] This gut-wrenching news of his old friend's capitulation must have weighed heavily upon Ponet's heart when writing the account of Cheke's capture in the *Shorte Treatise.* For, amidst the venomous lashings against Mason and Paget, none of the rousing words which he conferred upon his evangelical compatriots were used of Cheke. Indeed, Ponet's relatively silent description of Cheke is almost deafening in light of their dear friendship. More tragic still, is that Ponet would never have heard the report of Cheke's realisation of his erroneous recantations, as Vermigli and presumably others had in 1557.[661] For, on 11 August 1556, Ponet died.[662]

We do not know what the cause of his death was, but plague is likely, as Ponet and his Strassburg colleagues Richard Morison, and James Haddon were all dead within the same five months. It may well have been this sickness which prevented him from travelling with Vermigli and visiting Bullinger in Zürich the previous month.[663] What caused his death must have been reasonably sudden, for his wife and children were left in a precarious financial position. Maria hastily sold off her husband's library to Anthony Cooke but was later informed by John Jewel that she had

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658 *OL,* 1:117-118.
659 *Council Protocols*, 19:349$^{r}$-350$^{r}$. I am very grateful to Glyn Redworth and Tobias Graf for their transcription, translation and conversation about this tantalising record.
660 CCCC MS 102, p.324.
661 Vermigli, *Loci Communes,* 1118.
662 Holinshed, *Third Volume of Chronicles,* 1168 states 'about the tenth or eleaventh of August', but Bale, *Scriptorum,* 694, explicitly states 'die 11 mensis Augusti' and is more likely to be correct given his proximity to Ponet and details of the funeral. Hudson, *John Ponet,* 90, and Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 258 seemingly confused '11' with 'ii' and thus concluded Ponet died on 2 August.
663 *OL,* 1:117.

inadvertently sold some of Vermigli's personal books which had been on loan to Ponet. After unsuccessful attempts to recoup the books from Cooke, Maria purchased the books anew with what little money she had, and planned to courier them to Vermigli through John Abell.[664] When apologising to Vermigli one year after John Ponet's death, Maria was evidently still devastated by the loss of her husband, and described herself as a 'wretched widow, and entirely unaccustomed with these things'.[665]

## SUMMARY

The passing of John Ponet would have been sorely lamented among the English exiles, especially those in Strassburg to whom he was 'our bishop'. 'At his funeral', wrote Bale, 'was present an unbelievable multitude of learned men and citizens.'[666] Friends such as John Abell and Lady Morison, clerical colleagues such as Richard Cox, students such as Edmund Grindal, citizens such as Stadtmeister Sturm, and exiles from other cities such as Bale, would have come to pay their respects and mourn their loss. The most senior English ecclesiastic and most vigorous defender of the Edwardian regime in exile had now passed from their earthly hands into the heavenly hands of his maker. Many years earlier in Cambridge, Ponet underlined a question in the fourteenth oration of Archidamus in his copy of Isocrates' *Orationes*. 'I should like to ask these men in what cause they think we ought to fight and die', which was answered, 'For my part, I think that in such a cause as this we ought to endure, not only war, but also exile and death.' Ponet simply wrote in the adjacent margin: 'to die beautifully, or desire slavery'.[667] That he fulfilled these words in his death was the view of his evangelical comrade John Parkhurst, who mourned him epigrammatically, 'Learned Ponet, out of your native land you

[664] Maria Ponet probably sold the *Conciliorum* to Edmund Grindal, and Ponet's *Greek New Testament* to Edwin Sandys, for these ended up in their collections, presumably rather than Anthony Cooke's.
[665] *OL,* 1:118-119: Maria Ponet to Peter Martyr Vermigli, 15 July, 1557.
[666] *Scriptorum,* 695: 'In cuius funere incredibilis aderat eruditorum hominum ac ciuium multitudo'.
[667] *Isocrates,* z.1$^{v}$ [Isoc. 6.88-89]: 'Mori pulchre quam servire optabilius'

were exiled for Christ: now you are enjoying your native land with your desired Christ.'[668] Quite a fitting tribute to the Edwardian bishop whose motto read 'non ego sed Christus'.

[668] John Parkhurst *Ludicra, sive, Epigrammata Juvenilia* (London, 1573[1558]), RSTC 19299, 182: 'E Patria exuleras pro Christo docte Ponete: // Cum Christo optata nunc frueris patria.'

# Chapter 5 - The Theological Writings of a Marian Insurgent (1553-1556)

The theological writings of John Ponet, which traverse the rise and early reign of Mary Tudor, are as striking as they are surprising. Not only was Ponet the highest ranking ecclesiastical leader among the Marian exiles, but he was the only member of Cranmer's episcopal bench known to have published resistance literature that advocated tyrannicide in the case of ungodly rulers. Whereas some of the evangelical bishops (for example, Hooper, Taylor, Ferrar, Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer) faced the flames of their Marian persecutors, and other evangelical bishops (for example, Coverdale, Barlow, and Scory) entered into exile and eked out a cautious existence, it fell to John Bale and John Ponet to spearhead the episcopal polemics against the Marian regime. Even so, Ponet was the senior — and more radical — partner in this venture. Previously, he was the junior member of the academic trio which included Thomas Smith and John Cheke, and the junior member of the ecclesiastical trio which included Nicholas Ridley and Thomas Cranmer, but here in exile, John Ponet was the most vigorous and vocal evangelical bishop to resist the Marian regime.

## The Debate over Clerical Marriage

One month after he set foot in Strassburg, Ponet came under attack from one of the members of the conservative resistance network linked to William Seth which he helped uncover back in 1551. Thomas Martyn, who recently returned from Paris at the accession of Queen Mary, was busy writing against Ponet throughout September 1553 and produced *A Traictise Declarying and Plainly Provyng that the Pretensed Marriage of Priests … is No Marriage*, which was published in May 1554.[669] Queen Mary repealed the Edwardian legislation in the autumn of the previous year, and her injunctions of March 1554 took especial interest in removing married clergy. Now, Thomas Martyn's treatise — dedicated to Queen Mary — supported this purge through its goal

[669] Thomas Lanquet, *An Epitome of Chronicles Conteyninge the Whole Discourse of the Histories,* (London, 1559), RSTC 15217.5, Ffff$^{v}$.

of removing the doctrine of clerical marriage, which Ponet had championed during the Edwardian reformation. Indeed, of the fourteen chapters which comprised Martyn's book, there were three chapters specifically intended, according to the subtitle of the treatise, to provide 'a full confutation of Doctour Poynettes boke entitled a defense for the marriage of Priests'.[670]

Despite considering Ponet's book as 'so throughlye stuffed with cauils and untrueths, that it is not answer worthie', Martyn set forth a refutation which spanned 280 pages filled with polemically fiery and intellectually able arguments.[671] The major proposition of Martyn's book was set forth in the first chapter, that heresy and lechery were joined together. From his perspective, it was the heresy of evangelicalism which enabled lecherous priests to marry, and this heretical state of affairs, as evidenced by the married priests of the reformation, naturally produced sedition and treason against the faithful Princes and Kingdoms of the Empire. Martyn outlined his theological method in the second chapter, giving the grounds of both the unwritten and written Word to support his proposition. The following eight chapters focused largely on the unwritten tradition of clerical celibacy traced through the Canons of Apostles, General Councils, the successors to the Apostles, the Greek and Latin Fathers and Doctors of the Church, the exceptional cases of clerical marriage in the early church, the binding nature of vows, the punishment of married priests, and the question of whether deprived priests may keep their wives. The next three lengthy chapters largely focused upon Ponet's interpretation of crucial biblical passages concerning marriage and celibacy, and Ponet's interpretation of various councils, stories, and decrees of the Church Fathers. Having attacked 'Poinettes swete understandinge (or moore truely to speake) hys misunderstandinge of the Scriptures', Martyn

670 *Traictise,* t.p.
671 *Traictise,* U.ii$^{r}$.

concluded his treatise with an exhortation for married priests to return penitentially to the Catholic church.[672]

Undoubtedly, Ponet would have received Martyn's thunderbolt of an attack on his teaching on clerical marriage with some shock as he settled into Strassburg. However, this had the effect of pricking Ponet into action, and with 'pen, ink, paper and quietnes', in April 1555, Ponet published *An Apologie Fully Answeringe ... a Blasphemose Book,* which book, Ponet suggested, was gathered by Stephen Gardiner and Richard Smyth, and set forth under the name of Thomas Martyn.[673] This rejoinder to Martyn could hardly have been more trenchant in both tone and analysis. His first chapter focused upon the 'vngodly and vnchast beastlynes and raylinge' of the *Traictise* and declared it highly inappropriate to be dedicated to the Queen.[674] The second chapter focused on the premise embedded in Martyn's title, that the marriage of priests was a pretended marriage. 'The tytell of your bok', wrote Ponet, 'is not vnlike to a Tauerners wyne bushe hanged out for a shew wher ther is not one drop of wyne or at the least way of no good wyne in the Cellar.'[675] Ponet argued from both Scripture and tradition that priests' marriages were not illegitimate marriages, and then asked a series of questions exposing the absurdity of Martyn's position. Why do the Queen, the bishops, and the lawyers of England require priests to divorce before being readmitted as priests? Why was an act of parliament required to repeal the Edwardian statute for priests' marriages? Why did that act refer to the marriage of priests, and not the pretensed marriage of priests? And why, if priests' marriages were not marriages, were married priests deprived of their benefices?[676] The third chapter built on the legitimacy of clerical marriages and attacked the false grounds which undergirded Martyn's position. This was especially the case with the designation of 'spiritual' to the status of clerical persons which

[672] *Traictise,* Ff.iiᵛ.
[673] *Apologie,* CXX.
[674] *Apologie,* VIII.
[675] *Apologie,* XII.
[676] *Apologie,* XXII-XXIII.

implied the non-spiritual status of the laity despite their having the Spirit of God, and the particular purity associated with celibacy which implied the impurity of marriage contrary to the testimony of Scripture that the marriage bed was intended for purity (Heb. 13:4).[677] Thus, having dismantled Martyn's assertion that the spirituality and purity of the priesthood necessarily excluded marriage, Ponet believed himself absolved of the charge that clerical marriages were of necessity lecherous.

The final chapters of Ponet's *Apologie* turned to the subject of heresy. Throughout chapter four, Ponet lambasted Martyn's promotion of the austerity of life associated with the celibate priesthood. The corruption of clergy was evident in the amassing of benefices 'for the furringe of there bak, and the fattinge of there belly', and to support his counter claim he provided notorious examples of supposed austerity of life, such as the Holy Maid of Kent, and Dr. Andrew Boorde the physician who was sent to the Fleet in 1547 for keeping three loose women at once in his chamber at Winchester, and according to Ponet, not only for himself but 'also to help the virgin preests about in the contry'.[678] Indeed, after defending his doctrine of superintendency in the following chapter, he named Thomas Martyn 'for kepinge Alice lamme at the Christopher in Oxforde' and John Story for 'keping Madge Bowyer in [the] Cramphole [presumably in Oxford with Story]'.[679] Having exposed the hypocrisy of Martyn's claims concerning practices of the priesthood, Ponet spent the final chapters of the *Apologie* arguing that the true heretics were actually those in obedience to the Bishop of Rome, and who denied justification by faith alone, intelligible worship, communion in both kinds, the soteriological necessity of the Scriptures, and who advocated the doctrine of purgatory, the sacrament of marriage, private communion, and papal infallibility. Moreover, the final leaves of the treatise provided a table containing fifty specific heresies that agreed with the teaching of the Roman

677 *Apologie,* XXX-XXXI.
678 *Apologie,* XXXVI-XXXXII.
679 *Apologie,* LXI-LXII.

Catholic church, and which had convenient references back to the relevant folio within Ponet's treatise. Having cast Martyn and the Roman Catholic church as heretics, Ponet was now able to subvert the basic premise of his interlocutor's treatise. For, it was not the evangelicals but their accusers who were both the lechers and heretics.

## BEHIND THE DEBATE OVER CLERICAL MARRIAGE

To formulate this reply to Martyn, Ponet acquired several new theological books. One reason for this acquisition of books is because he probably left most of his library back in England when he fled with his family after Wyatt's Rebellion. This assertion is supported by the facts that his copy of Varennius' *Syntaxis* formed part of Cranmer's library which was confiscated in 1553, and that none of his many references to Peter Martyr Vermigli's commentary on 1 Corinthians within the *Draft Reply* (especially those concerning marriage) correspond to the marginalia in his copy of the commentary he acquired in 1552. The only books which we can say with confidence that Ponet brought with him into exile were his commonplaces and a Greek New Testament, both standard weapons in the humanist arsenal. The annotated references to 'sylva mea' before the exile seem to indicate the need for insertion into his commonplaces, and the use of 'sylva mea' during exile seems to draw upon specific locations in his commonplaces.[680] The evidence that Ponet brought his Greek New Testament into exile rests on the presence of a marginal note and lexicon entry in his *Draft Reply*. In the midst of debate over the meaning of 1 Timothy 5:22, Ponet wrote to himself, 'note the last end of my new testament in greeke' and then inserted the lexicon entry 'αγνον purum integrum upright'.[681] The reason this annotation points to the presence of a familiar Greek New Testament used before and during exile is that the particular Greek New Testament which Ponet acquired in 1554 has no such lexicon on its pages.

[680] See Appendix C.
[681] *Draft Reply,* 274v.

What Ponet's newly acquired Greek New Testament does contain are important research notes related to his rejoinder to Thomas Martyn. Throughout the Johannine corpus, Ponet appears to have been especially interested in the reliability and authority of the judgements of the church, and the relationship between heresy and heretics. Regarding the former, he heavily annotated the account of the disciples' ignorance concerning the meaning of Jesus' words recorded in John 16:17-20. From the disciples' hermeneutical hindrance, Ponet drew links to the various councils that met to deal with the Arian controversy, and wrote in the margin, 'and yet they did not think to say the church could not err.'[682] Indeed, he reflected the principle of *sola scriptura* in various marginal notes throughout the Johannine epistles.[683] Thus, for Ponet, the keeping of God's commands in the Scriptures provided assurance of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and thus of union with God, not adherence to the precepts of the Roman Catholic church.[684] The imposition of additional requirements to salvation above those set forth in Scripture he deemed heretical, citing the 'Ebionites, Cerinthus and the Papists', all three of which were included in the *Apologie*, with the former two nowhere else among his extant working notes.[685] Having considered the matter of heresy, Ponet drew a distinction between the Antichrist as the ruler who blasphemes the glory of God, and Antichrists as those who impose the reign of Antichrist upon the simple common people, which distinction was deployed in the same way in his *Apologie*.[686]

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[682] *GNT,* 1:387: 'Et tamen non rerentur dicere ecclesiam non posse errare'.
[683] *GNT,* 2:286: [1 John 2:20] 'Omni nostis ad salutem necessaria'; 2:287: [1 John 2:24] 'manete in prophetica et apostolica doctrina, Novas doctrinas fugite', [1 John 2:27] 'quecumque ad salutem sunt necessaria, ea scriptura sunt prodita'.
[684] *GNT,* 2:290: [1 John 3:24] 'spiritus est testis manentis dei in nobis non ecclesia romana'.
[685] *GNT,* 2:296: [paraphrase from 2 John 1:9] 'Heretici, ut Hebios, cerynthus, papistae, etc. non non [sic] habent deum'.; c.f., *Apologie,* LXXXVI-LXXXVII (Ebionites); XXXXV-XXXXVI (Cerinthus); most of the treatise was intended to expose the heresy of the Roman Catholic church, but see especially CLXVIII-CLXX.
[686] *GNT,* 2:286: [1 John 2:18] 'distinguit inter Antichristum et Antichristos. Antichristus est regnum quo gloria dei blasphematur. Antichristi qui simplici plebeculae imponent, magni vero illius Anti Christi anteambulones'; c.f., *Apologie*, LXXXII ('the pope the same antichrist the head of the popish sect'); CXIX ('throw down Antichrist of Rome'); CXII ('they made this antichristian law'); CLVI ('his antichristian boldness').

We have already observed Ponet's acquisition of Cardinal Torquemada's *Summa de Ecclesia* and interest in superintendency; however, most of his marginalia within this ecclesiological treatise concerned the superiority of papal jurisdiction. He heavily marked up the table of contents with scribbles adjacent to the unity, holiness, apostolicity, pre-eminence of the church over kingdoms and empires (annotated with 'nota'), and next to headings related to John Wycliffe and Jan Hus.[687] On one page of the table of contents, Ponet drew two large manicules next to the headings 'Papalis potestas plenitudo' and 'Papa iurisdictionis auctoritate superior est tota universali ecclesia', and twice wrote on the marginal space, 'Rede and refute'.[688] Various other manicules and 'nota' remarks were placed around the text at the passages noted in the table of contents, and at the end of the book within Torquemada's florilegium on the ecclesiology of Aquinas, Ponet wrote one significant 'nota' adjacent to a bracketed section concerning the scope of papal infallibility.[689] Though Torquemada's name does not appear in the *Apologie,* much of Ponet's general thought on Torquemada's theology does. Contra Torquemada, Ponet supported Jan Hus and denounced the broken promise which led to his capture. More importantly, Ponet deployed the breaking of the promise, and the subsequent decree of the council of Constance used to legitimise such promise breaking, as evidence for the fallibility of popes and councils.[690] Indeed, without reference to Torquemada, he turned Torquemada's vision for the superiority of the church into a case against its purported superiority. One wonders whether his 1554 acquisition of William of Ockham's *Commentary on the Sentences,* though left unmarked, might also have encouraged such a view.

Ponet also acquired and used Pierre Crabbe's 1551 edition of the *Conciliorum Omnium tam Generalium quam Particularium.* This three-volume collection of documents related to the conciliar decisions of the church was an invaluable resource for Ponet, who annotated sources

687 *Torquemada,* 4ʳ.
688 *Torquemada,* 5ʳ.
689 *Torquemada,* Aa.viiiiʳ.
690 *Apologie,* CXII.

ranging from the papal succession from Peter to Linus, through to the recent sessions of the Council of Trent. One subject of interest for Ponet was the presence of clerical marriage in the history of the church. He wrote 'coniugium sacerdotum' adjacent to Pope Stephen IV's non-condemnatory comment concerning the practice of clerical marriage in the Eastern church, and he underlined the requirement of Pope Silvester I, that one of the requirements for episcopal office was having been married to one wife who had been blessed by a priest.[691] Moreover, he noted with interest the statement of the Augsburg Interim, which permitted the presence of clerical marriage until the subject could be sufficiently dealt with at an ecumenical council (i.e., Trent).[692] Ponet also bracketed the entirety of the fourth canon of the Council of Gangra, which anathematised anyone who refused the eucharistic ministry of a married presbyter. This was of such importance that he dashed 'a married priest is able to offer' across the top of the page.[693] Indeed, the example of Gangra was expanded upon greatly in his *Apologie* and served as one of his major arguments for the heresy of Martyn's position.[694]

It is a curious fact that though there were some significant annotations in these books which directly impacted the *Apologie,* the bulk of Ponet's marginal notes did not carry through into his rejoinder in any significant manner. The explanation for this curious absence is related to the general neglect of the *Apologie* among Ponet's biographers and commentators, who in discussing Ponet's writings in exile have, almost without exception, misunderstood the publication date of this treatise and its relation to the 1556 edition. Hudson presumes the book bearing the date 1555 represents a 'typographical error', Bowman does not seem aware of the 1555 edition, Garrett does not mention any editions of the *Apologie* whatsoever, and seldom is the 1555

691 *Conciliorum,* 1:160; 1:229: 'Unius uxoris vir, uxore a sacerdote benedicta, & sic ad ordinem episcopatus asscenderet [sic]'.
692 *Conciliorum,* 3:864: [Underlined] 'quum multi, qui ministerii ecclesiastici functiones tenent, iam multis in locis duxerint uxores, quas a se dimittere nolint: super ea re generalis Concilii sententia expectetur, cum alioqui mutatio in ea re, ut nunc sunt tempora, sine graui rerum perturbatione modo fieri non possit.' [Comment in margin]: 'sacerdotibus permitetur uxores usque ad ecumenicum concilium'.
693 *Conciliorum,* 1:290: 'Si quis discernit presbyterum coniugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, per offerre non debeat, & ad eius oblatione ideo se abstinet, anathema sit'; 'coniugati sacerdos offerre potest'.
694 *Apologie*, CXVIII.

edition recognised in the broader scholarly literature.[695] However, the 1555 edition is significant, because it is substantially the same as the 'Newly correctid and amended' 1556 edition, which by contrast reflects the intervening death of Stephen Gardiner, includes new engagement with Albert Pighius, involves various formatting, spelling, and small textual changes, and cites an additional heresy in the final table of heresies.[696] It may be that these minor changes owe something to the feedback of John Bale, whom Ponet asked to provide advice and point out any faults with his 1555 edition.[697]

It is important to understand the correct dating of the *Apologie* to clear up some of the history concerning Ponet's theological publications during exile. Ponet stated his intention for future publications on the title page of the *Apologie*. The title of the treatise opened with 'An apologie fully ansvveringe' and concluded with 'The author desireth the reader will content himself with this first book vntill he may haue leasure to set furth the next'.[698] Hudson mistakenly understood 'the next' book as referring to the *Shorte Treatise* on the basis that the dating of the 1555 edition was a typographical error. For different reasons Baskerville came to the same conclusion. He called attention to the letter to Bale (6 July 1555) in which Ponet said: '[m]y furst book is ready and loe I send you one' and 'my second book must lye still till this be utterid.'[699] Based on this piece of evidence Baskerville believed that both the *Apologie* and *Shorte Treatise* were completed — even if the latter was not published until a year later — in 1555.[700] However, the major problem for Baskerville is that *Shorte Treatise* could not have been

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695 Hudson, *John Ponet,* 81-82n69; Bowman, 'John Ponet', 70; Garrett, *Marian Exiles,* 253-258; among recent secondary sources the 1555 edition is helpfully discussed only in Parish, *Clerical Marriage,* 123 and Baskerville, 'John Ponet', 443.

696 'Newly correctid and amended' (1556, t.p.); 'Steph. Gardiner nou Lord chauncelor' (1555, t.p.) changed to 'Steph. Gardiner, of late Lord Chauncelar' (1556, t.p.); 'Pighius' (1556, t.p.), 'The self same lye maketh Pighius of Lut. Controuersia 15' (1556, 161), 'and Pighius his fellow' (1556, 181) added to the 1556 edition; Chapter VII of the 1555 edition is moved back a few paragraphs in the 1556 version; 'his' changed to 'Popes soul' (1556, 78), 'Itali' changed to 'Italy' (1556, 147); 'Who wold not iudge these men holly?' added (1556, 47); 'Antidicomarianitae' added (1556, 181).

697 See Appendix B.

698 *Apologie,* t.p.

699 See Appendix B.

700 Baskerville, 'John Ponet', 443.

completed by the time Ponet published the 1555 *Apologie.* The 1555 version of the *Apologie* presumes that Stephen Gardiner is still alive, and *Shorte Treatise* presumes otherwise. Moreover, the extended sections concerning the details of Cranmer's martyrdom and Cheke's arrest in the *Shorte Treatise* could not have been written around the time of the 1555 version of the *Apologie* unless Ponet's admittedly exceptional cosmological abilities enabled him to predict these details. Ponet even made an explicit distinction between 'the year M.D.LV' and 'euen now this yeare' in two connected sentences in the *Shorte Treatise.*[701] Clearly the *Apologie* was written in 1555 and *Shorte Treatise* was not. So, what does 'my second book' refer to? Surprisingly, both Hudson and Baskerville overlook an important clue to this candidate within the *Apologie:*

> And although I haue here matter inoughe wherwith to charge the Papists and Martin ther proctour concerning this point that the vncleanes of the minister ought not to be regarded in case that mariadge could make the minister vnclean (as none but heretiques and Papists say): I will leaue that matter vntill another place where I intend to debate more at large the cleanes of mariadge in all states.[702]

Therefore, Ponet's second book was most likely concerned with 'the cleanes of mariadge in all states'. This probability is strengthened by the fact that Ponet was occupied with his rejoinder to Martyn throughout the whole period of his exile. On 14 April 1556, he requested additional sources from Bullinger and commented, 'I have now a controversy about this matter with a most impudent papist.'[703] This would explain an important — though strangely neglected — detail within John Bale's account of Ponet's publications in his *Scriptorum.* In addition to the two works on clerical marriage written during the reign of Edward VI, there were three books ('Lib. 3.') written by Ponet while in Strassburg and given the collective title 'Apologiam in T. Martini blasphemias' bearing the incipit 'Vbi incipiam premium? vel potius ubi' which corresponds to the first words of the *Apologie.*[704] Thus, if Ponet had written his *Apologie* in 1555,

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[701] *Shorte Treatise,* K.3$^{v}$.
[702] *Apologie,* CXXXII-CXXXIII.
[703] *OL*, John Ponet to Heinrich Bullinger, 1:116.
[704] *Scriptorum*, 694; c.f., *Apologie,* A.3$^{r}$: 'Where shal i furst begin? or rather where may I not begin?' The trilogy of books is noted in older scholarship such as Samuel Salter and Tanner, but it has been ignored in recent scholarship. Salter writes that 'there were five which the author intended', and that Bale spoke of 'this Apology as consisting of

his 'second book' could have dealt with 'the cleanes of mariadge in all states' and the third book could have continued against the individual described to Bullinger as 'a most impudent papist.' Although the *Apologie* is the only extant book of the three, such a theory explains why it only substantially engaged with the preface and title page of Martyn's *Traictise*. Moreover, such a theory accounts for the partial inclusion of relevant research from his books. The most compelling confirmation of this theory can be found in John Ponet's *Draft Reply*. This manuscript is a highly significant and hitherto unexplored source of John Ponet's thought which requires some unpacking and thus necessitates the detail and length of the following discussion.

## THE DRAFT REPLY: PROVENANCE

### *Questions of Authorship*

The identification of John Ponet as the author of the *Draft Reply* is demonstrable in six ways. Firstly, and most importantly, the English, Latin, and Greek handwriting of the *Draft Reply* matches the marginalia in Ponet's other books. Secondly, Ponet frequently refers to himself using both first person pronouns and possessives ('I', 'my') and by using his own proper name or initials ('Poynet', 'd.p'). An illustration of both uses in close proximity occurs when Ponet defends himself in the marginal notes on 233$^{r}$: 'this is the point which I allege Chrysostom for' and 'it is not d.p. intent to prove in citinge this pece of Chrys.' Interestingly, Ponet tends mainly to refer to himself in the third person, where Martyn has explicitly named him in the *Traictise*.[705] It is also possible to detect a general preference for Ponet to spell his name 'ponet' where Martyn has referred to him otherwise ('Poynet', 'Poynette', etc).[706] Thirdly, the style of notes in the

3 books' on the handwritten insert within his personal copy of Ponet's *Apologie* held at All Souls College Library, University of Oxford, 12:SR.77.c9. Tanner's position is stated in Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* ..., (London, 1748), 604.

[705] Three exceptions to this rule are on 171$^{r}$ ('ponetts'), 248$^{r}$ ('doctor ponet), and 277$^{r}$ ('doctor ponet') where Martyn does not name him.

[706] On 40$^{v}$ (P: 'ponet', M: 'Poynet'), 205$^{v}$ (P: 'D.p', M: 'Poinet'), 225$^{v}$ (P: 'doctor ponet', M: 'Poynet'), 226$^{r}$ (P: 'doctor ponet', M: 'Poynet'), 228$^{v}$ (P: 'poynet', M: 'Poynet'), 229$^{r}$ (P: 'd. Ponet', M: 'Poinet'), 275$^{r}$ (P: 'Doctor ponet', M: 'Poinet'), 283$^{r}$ (P: 'ponet', M: 'Poinet'), 285$^{r}$ (P: 'Doc ponets', M: 'Poynet'), 290$^{r}$ (P: 'ponets', M: 'Poynet'), 300$^{r}$ (P: 'Doctor Poynet', M: 'Poinet'), 305$^{r}$ (P: 'ponet', M: 'Poynette'), where P refers to the spelling by John Ponet and M refers to the spelling by Thomas Martyn.

*Draft Reply* matches the style of notes made by Ponet in other books he owned (the method of numbering the table of contents, use of underlining, deployment of symbols, etc). Fourthly, Ponet links the *Draft Reply* to his previous book which Martyn has attacked, *Defence for Mariage*. He made numerous explicit references to this book (e.g., 'I wrot my booke a whole yere before master hop. wrot his'), most of which accuse Martyn of misunderstanding or falsely reporting his text ('of my boke which you wold deface').[707] Fifthly, there are important links between ideas and identities across both the *Draft Reply* and the *Shorte Treatise.* Ponet's strong conceptual framework for the commonwealth is coupled with a strong denunciation of Anabaptist sharing of possessions in both books — much of this undergirded by his theory of natural law. The unchastity of Hugh Weston is scrutinised in both books, and Germaine Gardiner is singled out in both, being described in the *Draft Reply* as a traitor who 'so faythfully served ... the devell the pope and yor master agaynst god and his sone Christ, and his prynce.'[708]

Sixthly and finally, there are striking links between the *Draft Reply* and the *Apologie.* Several important unique references from the *Draft Reply* are used in the *Apologie:* that Martyn played the Lord of Misrule with clothes made of netting during Christmas at New College in Oxford; that Martyn's position is the same as Saturninus Basilides; that Martyn has misunderstood the theology supporting the concept of superintendents.[709] Various near-contemporary figures are utilised in the same fashion in both books: Queen Mary to whom Martyn's book is unbefitting; the Holy Maids of Lymster (Leominster) and of Kent who had a pretended outward holiness; Hugh Weston whose open unchastity is compared to the heretic Arius, and King Henry VIII who being a heretic by Martyn's argument should have his body taken up at Windsor and burned like Wycliffe.[710] Some near-identical quotations are lifted from the *Draft Reply* and placed

[707] *Draft Reply,* 191$^{r}$, 203$^{v}$, 204$^{r}$, 214$^{v}$, 216$^{v}$, 229$^{v}$, 233$^{r}$, 254$^{r}$, 262$^{r}$, 287$^{r}$, 295$^{r}$, 301$^{v}$, 329$^{r}$, 338$^{r}$.
[708] In respective order for concepts then identities: 342$^{r}$-345$^{r}$ and D.7$^{r}$; 86$^{r}$-88$^{r}$ and E.8$^{r}$-F.7$^{r}$; 222$^{r}$ and G.5$^{v}$-G.6$^{v}$; 168$^{v}$ and L.6$^{v}$; 311$^{v}$ and L.4$^{r}$ for *Draft Reply* and the *Shorte Treatise.*
[709] In respective order: 2$^{r}$, 4$^{r}$, 29$^{r}$, 106$^{v}$ and IX-X; 2$^{r}$ and XXII; 230$^{r-v}$ and LII-LXI for *Draft Reply* and *Apologie.*
[710] In respective order: 4$^{r}$ and VII-XII; 10$^{v}$ and XXXXI; 168$^{v}$ and CXXVI; 18$^{r}$ and CLXII for *Draft Reply* and *Apologie.*

directly into the *Apologie:* concerning 'decrees, decretals and Sext Clementines'; the accusation 'your proctor master doctor Martyn proved you all by St. Hierom desperat heretiques'; and most clearly:

> ... now take heed you seely souled papistes ~~that you carry no~~ of your glutonese brakfasts, dinners, suppers, reare suppers, banketts, and delicate fare, take heed of your hote wynes, and spices and junkettinge cheer... *(Draft Reply)*

> Then take you heed you seely sould Papists of your needles break fasts of your stretchbelly dinners of your gluttonuse suppers reare suppers blowsinge bankets & Epicureus fare: Take heed of your hote wynes of your hote spyces and continuall junketing chere ... *(Apologie)*[711]

In addition to questions pertaining to Ponet's authorship, the *Draft Reply* also sheds light on other questions of authorship such as the long-discussed question over the influence of Stephen Gardiner upon the *Traictise*. As we have already seen, although the book was published under the name Thomas Martyn, Ponet clearly stated in the title of the *Apologie* that it was 'gathered by D. Steph. Gardiner' — but it is unclear what this precisely means. Lanquet recorded the first iteration of the work as authored by Martyn who wrote it whilst at New College, Oxford, before it was given the finishing touches by Nicholas Udall (who had previously ministered in Ponet's diocese of Winchester), and thereafter came to the attention of Queen Mary and Stephen Gardiner. Gilbert Burnet reported seeing the proof sheets 'dashed and altered in many places by Gardiner's hand' such that '[i]t was certainly, for the most part, Gardiner's work'. Other commentators came to similar conclusions: Bale described it as 'Winchester's own voice', Strype said it was 'framed' under Martyn's name but written with 'Winchester's privity', and Muller noted that a significant portion of the work resembles Gardiner's diction, style and manner of argument.[712] But what did Ponet himself think? The *Draft Reply* discusses this

[711] In respective order: 335$^{r}$ and XCV; 17$^{r}$ and CXXXXVI; 17$^{r}$ and CXXXXVI for *Draft Reply* and *Apologie*.
[712] Lanquet, *An epitome*, Ffff.1v; Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England. The Second Part* (London, 1681), Wing B5798A, 277; John Bale, *A Declaration of Edmonde Bonners Articles concerning the Cleargye of Lo[n]don Dyocese* (London, 1561), RSTC 1289, 40; *StrypeTC,* 1:474; Muller, *Stephen Gardiner,* 317.

question at length and gives us — for the first time — a glimpse into his own opinion on the matter.

The simple answer is that Ponet believed that Martyn was the primary author of the *Traictise,* and it was likely that Gardiner gave his approval and modified sections at his good pleasure. In one place Ponet detected the specific involvement of Gardiner: '[t]hat is spoken more lyk a canonist then a civilion', yet Ponet most frequently attributed the authorship to Martyn and described Gardiner as his master.[713] The most extended discussion of the authorial relationship between Gardiner and Martyn spans almost four full folio pages in response to Martyn's suggestion that Cranmer was not the primary author of the celebrated polemical text on the eucharist that bears his name, the *Answer of the Most Reuerend Father in God Thomas Archebyshop of Canterburye.*[714] As Ponet leapt to Cranmer's defence, his opinion was made clear:

> So could I say that this booke was none of yor making, and I think if I had said so of some part of it, I had been hable to haue proved it, for I am hable to shew hole leaves not a few picked and stolen out of peresius the Spaniard, and some out of antididagma. And certayne I know gatherid out of your masters collections. And yet not withstanding I am well content for my part to let it be yours thoughe Gardiner had wrytten it, for ~~it should~~ allthoughe the bragginge and bostinge and heapinge up of many authorities be not ~~very~~ altogether unlyke to Gardiners witt and style aswell for that he rejoiceth ~~sumtyme~~ many tymes in raylinge, as in falsyfyenge the scriptures, belyenge the doctrines and fayninge of histories ... but it may be that he was so bent to persecution and martyns argument pleasith him so well, that he was only content to peruse adde and correct suche things as made for his purpose, and then left martyn to his shame, and torned his nose agayn to his accustomed savor of godly mens blud, kyllinge theme a gallope under the name of Traytors when he could <not otherwise> charge but for ther right belef in Chryst.[715]

Another much-discussed and perplexing question is Ponet's role in the publishing of *A Defence of Priestes Mariages Stablysshed by the Imperiall Lawes of the Realme of Englande* (1566 and 1567).[716] It

[713] *Draft Reply*, 127$^{v}$, 229v, 237$^{v}$, 285$^{r}$, 292$^{r}$, 311$^{v}$.
[714] *Draft Reply,* 64$^{r}$-65$^{v}$.
[715] This is an abridged version of the full discussion in *Draft Reply,* 64$^{r}$-65$^{v}$.
[716] RSTC suggests the date as 1567 for both RSTC 17518 and the moderately expanded RSTC 17519, and although no dates of publication are evident in the texts, we follow Ray Page's careful analysis which suggests the dates of publication as 1566 for the first edition and 1567 for the second. Ray I. Page, *Matthew Parker and His Books* (Kalamazoo, 1993), 89.

is generally understood that Matthew Parker was responsible for the publishing of the treatise, but who was its author? Parker — himself married — actively collected material on clerical marriage for his library, and wrote in his autobiographical journal: 'And still by this 6th of August, A.D. 1557 ... I have written a defence of the marriage of priests against Thomas Martin.'[717] An anonymous treatise printed in 1642 ('these times of sedition'), noted that at the time Parker's authorship was the mainstream position. However, this author dissented from the prevailing orthodoxy and believed that Ponet was the author since 21 pages of the *Defence of Priestes* were taken verbatim from his *Apologie*. The anonymous author concluded that this was something Parker would never have perpetrated, yet Ponet 'might bee bold with his owne.'[718] Centuries later, Hudson drew the conclusion that it 'now seems possible to establish definitely' that Ponet was the author of the *Defence of Priestes*. One aspect of his argument is that the opening address is 'reminiscent of the hierarchy of means for combating tyranny' in the *Shorte Treatise*. Another aspect is that within *Defence of Priestes* there is some reliance on Ignatius' view of clerical celibacy which Ponet referred to in a letter to Bullinger shortly before his death.[719] However these generic similarities by no means prove Ponet's influence — Parker could have independently decided to address his readers this way and would have had easy access to Ignatius. The surer ground for Hudson's confidence in Ponet's authorship lay in the following section of the preface to the *Defence of Priestes:*

> Where by chaunce came into my handes of late, a booke sent from beyonde the sea, wherein was highly magnified a treatise written by one Thomas Martin, doctour of the Ciuile lawe, and there muche labour bestowed to disproue the lawfull matrimonies of Ecclesiasticall Ministers: There came to my remembraunce a certayne wrytyng, beyng in my custodie, gathered together, and written, in the raigne of Kyng Philip & Queene Marie, wherin, much of the treatise of this Ciuilian is reproued. Which said booke, was written by a learned man of that tyme, who

[717] Matthew Parker, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury …,* eds. John Bruce & Thomas T. Perowne, (Cambridge, 1853), 483. An important piece of internal evidence on the dating is provided by Strype (*StrypeTC,* 1:475), who cites the *Defense of Priestes,* 269: 'As one man of Winsor made a goodly confession of his heartie and earnest repentaunce there, the .29. day of Iune last'. Strype goes on to comment: 'One such Confession, which was much cried out against, was made by one Sir Iohn Busby of Windsor, Iune 29. in the Year 1555.' This suggests that Parker was writing on the subject as early as 1555.
[718] Anon, *A Discourse Presented to those who Seeke the Reformation of the Church of England* (1642), Wing D1616, 181.
[719] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 86-87.

> shortly after dyed, meanyng, yf God had lent hym longer lyfe, to haue confuted more of the sandye groundes & principles of the sayde Ciuilian. And thynkyng it at these dayes not vnprofitable to be read for this controuersie, I committed it to the Printer, praying thee (good reader) to beare with the maner of the wrytyng in some partes therof, beyng more meryly penned, then some graue wryter would peraduenture alowe of. In which fourme of wrytyng, somewhat he foloweth, as he sayth hym selfe, thexample of Sir Thomas Moore knyght, in his booke of Dialogues for purgatorie. This wryter, abstaynyng yet from vnchaste tales, such as be in his booke ouermuch insparsed, and partly being in aduersitie, gaue himself to some solace to refreshe his minde with, & yet vsyng fewer insultations & reprofes, then the vnworthinesse of ye said Ciuilian, by his vnreasonable chalenge myght haue moued him to.

More recently, commentators have swung away from Hudson's strong assertion of Ponet's total authorship and have returned to asserting Parker as responsible. Kleist and Page argued that the treatise was sourced from Parker's own annotated manuscripts and that the treatise depended upon the Anglo-Saxon inclusions and the Anglo-Saxon typeface commissioned by Parker himself.[720] However, by attributing the entire treatise to Parker, proponents of this view are forced to perform significant hermeneutical gymnastics when expounding the preface. Kleist went as far as to suggest that the reference to the deceased author was 'a literary or rhetorical device', such that Parker engaged in 'a fascinating exercise in ironic understatement.'[721] This will not do. Evacuating the preface of any meaningful historical content flies in the face of its plain meaning. Indeed, Ponet not only used the Anglo-Saxon examples of Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald in his 1549 *Defence for Mariage,* but had access to, and used while in exile, Albert Kranz's *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium Daniae, Sueciae, et Noruagie.*[722] He also acquired and annotated Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* during exile, and his annotations demonstrate a shared interest in various aspects of Anglo-Saxon history, with

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[720] Aaron J. Kleist, 'Matthew Parker, Old English, and the Defense of Priestly Marriage,' in Thomas N. Hall and D.G. Scragg (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Books and Their Readers: Papers in Honor of Helmut Gneuss*, (Kalamazoo: 2008); Ray I. Page, *Parker and His Books*, 89-92. Their position is followed by N. Basler Bjorklund, "'A Godly Wyfe Is an Helper": Matthew Parker and the Defense of Clerical Marriage', *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 34/2 (2003): 347-365.

[721] Kleist, 'Matthew Parker', 131. Kleist makes highly significant errors, both literary (e.g., he misreads astonishingly the preface in Parker's *Defense*) and historical (e.g., he assumes Ponet wrote the 1549 *Defence* in reply to Thomas Martyn) in nature, throughout this work and his article 'Monks, Marriage, and Manuscripts: Matthew Parker's Manipulation (?) of Ælfric of Eynsham', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105/2 (2006): 312-327.

[722] See Appendix E.

attention given to the subject of marriage.[723] This raises the possibility that Ponet originally inserted some Anglo-Saxon sections, even if Parker had the typeface commissioned. It is certain that neither Ponet nor Parker authored the entire treatise, yet both Ponet and Parker contributed to its final product. Parker most likely inherited an incomplete but fairly full manuscript which needed smoothing out for publication — something resembling the text of the *Draft Reply* but perhaps another stage on.

Insights from the *Draft Reply* itself also support this dual authorship position, at least insofar as Ponet's contribution. There are modest links — both conceptual and linguistic — between the finer details of the *Draft Reply* and the *Defence of Priestes*. Some conceptual links include: similar discussion of Gardiner's triumphal sermon at Paul's Cross which stated that the legal canons concerning clerical celibacy were 'shadowed and aslepe' during Edward's reign; similar reply to Martyn's irreverent discussion of the *carnis resurrections;* and precisely the same inconsistencies exposed in Martyn's argument about St. Peter's wife. Some linguistic links are notable also: one of Ponet's trademark insults appears in both texts ('blynd bussard'), and although Martyn's disgraceful antics at New College could easily have been sourced from Ponet's *Apologie*, the *Draft Reply* provides the sole source for the fact that Martyn danced naked wearing a net.[724] These specific and unique pieces of internal evidence from the *Draft Reply* make up for Hudson's generic similarities. Matthew Parker may have had a strong hand in the production of the *Defence of Priestes,* but so too did John Ponet, and arguably more so.

*Dating of Annotations*

The dating of Ponet's annotations within the *Draft Reply* falls between the publication of Martyn's *Traictise* (May 1554) and Ponet's death (11 August 1556). Determination of a more

[723] For example, *Gesta Danorum,* index: underlined entry, 'Connubia e longinquis petita non expidere'; 43$^{v}$: marginal comment 'Adulterii poena' adjacent to underlined text: 'Adulteros a veris coniugibus corporus parte spoliandos constituit, quo minus continentia flagitiis elideretur.'

[724] In respective order: 174$^{r}$ and 172; 175$^{v}$ and 116; 317$^{r}$ and 157; 7$^{v}$, 228$^{v}$ and 107; 64$^{v}$ and 269 in *Draft Reply* and *Defence of Priestes.*

specific timeframe is a challenging — though possible — task. An important factor is the fact that Ponet did not write the *Draft Reply* in one single sitting, for it is possible to observe several passes across the text over several sittings. Evidence for this is seen in the fact that Ponet's handwriting varies significantly in terms of its orderliness. Sometimes neatly written marginal notes appear alongside messy scrawled sentences, and at other times block sections of text are hastily written and consume large amounts of space, only leaving later notes a space for small and carefully written comments.[725] Another piece of evidence lies in the formatting of the text. At some points Ponet wrote over the top of faded text, and at other points he needed to write around a previously written comment.[726] This frequent engagement is also evidenced in Ponet's use of inks. Red and black inks are used in the *Draft Reply* for both comment and illustration (e.g., symbols, underlining, enumeration, etc). The comments in red ink are generally shorter in length, used to correct easily-observable errors in Martyn's work, comment on where Martyn has stolen sections out of Peresius, frequently point out 'a lye', refer to 'mea sylva' (his commonplaces) and engage with the theology of Augustine and Ambrose.[727] Black ink is used most commonly throughout the *Draft Reply*. Various sections of the text indicate that Ponet usually used black ink at a later stage than red ink, and that he used black ink to pass through the text over several sittings.[728]

Particularly interesting is the way Ponet used the earlier pass with red ink to create placeholders which he revisited later in black ink: he returned to a large red symbol for a strong denunciation of Pelagianism in black ink, a short red comment about natural law is revisited and expanded upon later in black ink, Ponet wrote the heading 'Martin Manicheus' in red ink then returned

[725] E.g., a striking juxtaposition of orderly vs. disorderly marginalia appears on 187$^{v}$, a good example of large scrawled text leaving space for later small notes on 263$^{v}$.
[726] E.g., *Draft Reply,* 43$^{v}$; 104$^{r}$.
[727] Examples of short comments on 29$^{r}$, 31$^{r}$, 83$^{r}$, 102$^{v}$, 103$^{r}$, 123$^{v}$, 206$^{r}$, 216$^{r}$, 275$^{r}$, 283$^{v}$; correcting errors on 241$^{v}$; plagiarism of Peresius on 35$^{v}$, 36$^{r}$; 'a lye' on 329$^{r}$, 334$^{v}$; reference to 'sylva mea' on 227$^{r}$, 297$^{r}$; comments on Augustine on 264$^{v}$ and Ambrose on 288$^{r}$.
[728] E.g., red ink underneath black ink on 269$^{r}$ and 289$^{r}$; possibly three passes through the text in black ink on 136$^{r}$, various passes with black ink on 336$^{v}$.

later to insert a citation of Augustine's *Contra Manicheum* in black ink, an early red ink comment 'a lye' is revisited and explained in black ink, a red semibreve symbol in the margin of Martyn's text is linked to another red semibreve on a blank page — Ponet returned to this page and inserted a citation from Gratian in black ink, and in one place Ponet commented in red ink that he could not find Martyn's citation anywhere in Augustine, and on an adjacent page in black ink he later declared Martyn's error: 'vide Optatus is turned into St. Austen.'[729] Therefore from an analysis of the inks we may conclude that Ponet produced the *Draft Reply* in roughly two stages during his exile: an early encounter in red ink and a later sustained engagement in black ink.

Through further analysis of the content we may narrow down this window of engagement. The first clue concerning the dating of the engagement revolves around Ignatius' *Ad Philadelphiam* which provided a crucial argument for Ponet: that the apostles were themselves married. Martyn argued that the letter was corrupted by 'the Germaines', but Ponet unfortunately had no copy of this vital source ready to hand.[730] He remembered that '[i]n Cantorbery library ther was one whene I was ther' and made the note: 'remember to searcheth libraries for a written copy of ignatius.'[731] Later in the *Draft Reply* he made mention of Johan Faber who printed the letters of Ignatius in 1498, and referred to the Latinised surname of Strassburg printer Jacob Frölich: 'Jacobus Jucundus copi'.[732] There is no indication that Ponet managed to obtain *Ad Philadelphiam* from Faber or Frölich but he did eventually discover the whereabouts of a copy through John Cheke. His long time Cambridge humanist friend heard that Heinrich Bullinger had been sent a copy of Ignatius for translation and printing and mentioned this to Ponet before he left for his fateful journey to Brussels. On 14 April 1556, Ponet wrote to Bullinger and asked

729 In respective order: 216$^{r}$, 223$^{r}$, 263$^{v}$, 279$^{r}$, 290$^{r}$, 103$^{r}$ then 102$^{v}$.
730 *Draft Reply,* 236$^{v}$.
731 *Draft Reply,* 237$^{r}$.
732 *Draft Reply,* 301$^{v}$.

for a transcript of the passage in *Ad Philadelphiam* respecting the marriage of the apostles.[733] The *Draft Reply* only displays a need to locate Ignatius, but there was no hint that it had been located. It is therefore probable that they were composed prior to Ponet's awareness of Bullinger's copy around April 1556.

The second clue as to the dating of the *Draft Reply* concerns the trial and martyrdom of Thomas Cranmer. Ponet and Martyn had a longstanding debate over the veracity of the story concerning Cardinal John de Cremensis. The Cardinal held a council in London (1125) to preclude married priests from performing the mass and was apparently detected that very night in a brothel.[734] With reference to this episode concerning Cardinal Cremensis, Ponet wrote: 'you haue my Lord of Cantorburys books. wher ye shall fynd Huntingdonensi report it faythfully.'[735] Ponet indicated awareness of the seizure of Cranmer's library yet there is no indication here of Cranmer's death. Indeed, throughout the many warm and affectionate references to 'my lord of canterbury' there is total silence concerning his death.[736] If news of Cranmer's martyrdom had reached Ponet as he was privately writing his *Draft Reply* we would reasonably expect him to say something as emotionally passionate as what he publicly wrote in the *Shorte Treatise:* '... he (an innocent) piked out among a great nombre of very evil doers (to satisfie the lawe) was condemned as a traitour before he suffred as a martir.'[737] We can therefore conclude with a reasonable degree of confidence that Ponet's *Draft Reply* was completed prior to the news arriving in Strassburg of Cranmer's death on 12 March 1556.

The third and final dating clue concerns the relationship between the sources cited in the text and marginal notes of the 1555 version of the *Apologie* and the *Draft Reply*. There are a handful of patristic and medieval sources in the *Apologie* that correlate neatly with the many sources cited

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[733] *OL*, 1:116.
[734] See Ponet's mention of Cremensis in *Defence for Mariage,* C.8$^{r}$; Martyn's reply in *Draft Reply,* 334$^{r}$, Ponet's rejoinder in *Draft Reply,* 191$^{r}$.
[735] *Draft Reply,* 334$^{r}$.
[736] *Draft Reply,* 139$^{r}$, 37$^{r}$, 62$^{r}$-63$^{r}$, 74$^{r}$-79$^{r}$.
[737] *Shorte Treatise*, D.7$^{v}$.

in the *Draft Reply*.[738] These of themselves do not necessitate a causal relationship between the *Draft Reply* and the *Apologie*; however, there is one fascinating set of citations which most definitely does. At one point in the *Traictise,* Martyn castigated Martin Luther for the 'filthy doctrine' contained in *Captivitate Babylonica* that a man who 'cannot doe his duetie unto his wife' must provide some other person who can.[739] In the *Apologie*, Ponet described this interpretation as 'such a loud lyeng' and clarified Luther's point being that if a man cannot 'doe the dutie of a husband ... then his contract with a woman shall not bynde her to be his wif'. He then turned the argument back on Martyn and claimed that 'ye condempne the doctrine of your own father the Pope himself.' To defend Luther and support this point, Ponet briefly cited one reference from Gratian's *Decretum* and another from Lombard's *Sentences*.[740]

It is particularly interesting that in the *Draft Reply* Ponet replied in precisely the same way. In the margin next to Martyn's interpretation of Luther's position he retorted, 'a lye'. On the adjacent blank page, he copied down the entirety of both the Gratian and Lombard references. Thus, in the *Draft Reply* Ponet had evidently begun the working for what would end up being expanded and included in the *Apologie* on this point. This becomes even more interesting since all the citations in the *Draft Reply* that overlap with the citations in the *Apologie* were written in black ink in the *Draft Reply*. Therefore, if Ponet had begun his 'black ink phase' prior to the publication of the *Apologie* in April 1555 and his 'red ink phase' came even prior to that, then this suggests that much of his *Draft Reply* was made in the earliest stages of his exile in Strassburg (1554-1555). This is further supported by the fact that Ponet wrote in black ink that Rowland Taylor 'is and shall be a bushop in the sight of god I am suer when martyn and his maynteyners

738 E.g., Augustine on XIX on 5$^{v}$ and 268$^{v}$, Optatus on XV is on 104$^{r}$, Clement on XXXII is on 40$^{v}$, Gratian's *Decretum* on XVI on 4$^{v}$ respectively.
739 *Draft Reply*, 18$^{r}$.
740 *Apologie,* CLIII.

shalbe jac out of office'.[741] That Taylor was burned at the stake on 9 February 1555 further serves to confirm the early production of the *Draft Reply*.

## THE DRAFT REPLY: LITERARY STRUCTURES

### *Organisation of Notation*

The literary structures embedded into the *Draft Reply* give a rare glimpse of the methods employed by John Ponet to construct his engagement with Martyn's *Traictise*. Due to its careful rebinding, the organisation of notes within the *Draft Reply* follows the chronological structure of the fourteen chapters of Martyn's *Traictise*. Ponet added the relevant folio numbers to the chapter headings on Martyn's table of contents and wrote each individual folio number into the top right of every page of Martyn's text.[742] Ponet tended to make marginal notes throughout Martyn's text and using various visual connections either addressed these notes at length or marshalled relevant sources on the adjoining blank interleaved pages. There are some notable exceptions to this format of connecting marginal notes to short commentary or citations. On one occasion towards the beginning of the *Draft Reply,* Ponet wrote one extended block of text over multiple blank pages interleaved between the pages containing Martyn's preface.[743] That these pages do not engage heavily with the preface, but bear a remarkable resemblance to Ponet's *Apologie,* indicates that Ponet did not intend merely to use the *Draft Reply* to interrogate Martyn's *Traictise* but to also form a substantial response to it.

### *Symbols and Structures*

The style and range of most symbols used by Ponet in the *Draft Reply* reflect those used throughout his marginalia since his time in Cambridge. In the *Draft Reply* themselves, he employed 10 standalone manicule symbols to indicate the most important loci of engagement.

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741 *Draft Reply,* 204$^{r}$
742 *Draft Reply,* 1$^{v}$.
743 *Draft Reply,* 4$^{r}$-10$^{v}$.

The two manicules in red ink point to Martyn's understanding of vows and St. Paul's meaning of 1 Corinthians 7:1, 'it is good for a man not to touch a woman'.[744] Black ink manicules point to a range of important issues such as the gift of celibacy, the authenticity of Clement's epistles, common possessions, and the abstinence of Old Testament priests.[745] Ponet employed 16 diamond symbols formed from four small crosses written in black ink. These diamonds were utilised for fairly important issues such as examples of married friars, the relationship between Scripture and tradition, and the deprivation of married priests.[746] Ponet used 77 trefoil symbols to produce supporting notes for his more important arguments and used 23 semibreve symbols to produce supporting notes for his similarly important arguments. Interestingly, some black semibreves include fermata, although they are probably a reflection of additional care rather than conveying any additional meaning.[747] Ponet also used 9 'X' symbols to produce supporting notes for his more important arguments.[748]

However, indicative of the importance of his response to Martyn, Ponet also employed a range of additional symbols for both general and specific purposes. Unusual symbols used for general purposes include a large triangle in red ink, a diamond formed from four curved lines, a large tree symbol, a 'Q' symbol, two large caret symbols, a cross surrounded by a box, a circle with a slash, a circle with two overlapping semi-circles, a bent vertical line with dots either side, and an unusual (possibly musical) symbol.[749] Interestingly, two unusual symbols are used for appropriately specific purposes: a large 'E' is placed next to Martyn's citation from *Liber Extra*, and a carefully drawn crown symbol is used next to Martyn's defence of priests' crowns in their hair.[750]

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744 *Draft Reply,* 148$^{r}$, 211$^{v}$.
745 *Draft Reply,* 51$^{v}$, 78$^{r}$, 88$^{v}$, 113$^{r}$ – other black manicules on 128$^{r}$, 168$^{r}$, 258$^{r}$, 261$^{r}$.
746 *Draft Reply,* 16$^{r}$, 43$^{v}$, 56$^{v}$ respectively – other diamonds on 53$^{r}$, 113$^{r}$, 131$^{v}$, 191$^{v}$, 206$^{r}$, 221$^{r}$, 318$^{v}$, 322$^{r}$.
747 *Draft Reply,* 11$^{r}$, 13$^{r}$ (f), 14$^{v}$ (f), 27$^{v}$ (f), 28$^{r}$ (f), 33$^{r}$ (f), 61$^{v}$, 86$^{v}$ (f), 101$^{r}$ (f), 166$^{r}$ (f), 173$^{r}$, 173$^{v}$, 176$^{r}$, 277$^{v}$, 297$^{r}$ (f), 328$^{r}$, 338$^{v}$ where (f) indicates use of fermata.
748 *Draft Reply,* 28$^{r}$, 172$^{v}$, 173$^{r}$, 223$^{r}$, 274$^{r}$, 176$^{r}$, 331$^{v}$, 332$^{r}$. Total count includes multiple trefoils on various pages.
749 *Draft Reply,* 45$^{v}$, 46$^{r}$, 26$^{v}$, 27$^{r}$, 52$^{v}$, 53$^{r}$, 191$^{v}$, 213$^{r}$, 294$^{v}$, 228$^{v}$, 283$^{v}$, 264$^{r}$, 211$^{v}$, 176$^{r}$ respectively.
750 *Draft Reply,* 295$^{v}$, 146$^{r}$.

A further aspect to the effort involved in the *Draft Reply* is the range of notation structures used by Ponet in developing his thought. In his analysis of the *Traictise* he used enumerated lists to understand or reply to Martyn's position, a practice which can be found throughout his annotated books. In a number of places he added numbers in the margins adjacent to Martyn's text to piece together the elements of his opponent's argument, again a common feature of his annotations, especially within the Johannine material of his Greek New Testament.[751] In one place he began — but left unfinished — a list of points in response to a citation of Martyn's.[752] In another place he began a sentence, left a gap for a date and forgot to return to fill it in.[753]

*Corrections and Errors*

Evidence of the painstaking efforts involved in his response to Martyn can be found in Ponet's corrections and errors. He took great care with his wording, frequently crossing out sections of his text and rewording his sentences. When citing Peresius he incorrectly wrote 'sacerdotus', realised his mistake, crossed it out, and replaced it with 'sacrosanctum'.[754] When beginning a long comment concerning the authority of the Scriptures, he wrote 'Our only judge is Christ whiche is ascended in to heaven', then changed his mind and rephrased it as 'Our only judge is almightie god whiche is in heven'.[755] The rest of this citation reflects a change of mind from a Christocentric argument to a more theocentric point. In other places he crossed out entire blocks of text.[756] It is also significant to observe the manner in which Ponet reflected on his own errors from the *Defence for Mariage* which Martyn identified in the *Traictise.* In one place Martyn drew attention to a place where 'he falsify the meaning of S. Austen ... that he maketh upon the psalms'. Ponet's note conceded the error: 'a fault in my translation of Austen. I think

751 *Draft Reply,* 28$^{r}$, 93$^{r}$, 195$^{v}$, 262$^{v}$.
752 *Draft Reply,* 186$^{r}$.
753 *Draft Reply,* 166$^{v}$.
754 *Draft Reply,* 35$^{v}$.
755 *Draft Reply,* 44$^{r}$.
756 E.g., *Draft Reply,* 9$^{r}$, 30$^{v}$, 205$^{v}$.

it is not so in the copy.'[757] In a discussion over St. Paul's marriage Martyn noted that he had modified a citation from St. Ambrose and 'hath blotted out the name of Paule'. In his *Draft Reply* Ponet claimed that the copy he gave the printer Reyner Wolfe included the name and that he advertised this error and a number of other faults to him – faults which were never amended to the published version. Ponet then seized the opportunity and counter-attacked Martyn: 'Ther be so many things added left out and changed that ye canne neyther excuse yor self by the printer nor be the matter.'[758] These admissions, which do not appear in his *Apologie,* exemplify the high degree of care in the parsing of words and handling of sources which we would expect of an able reformation-era humanist.

*Use of Sources*

The most striking aspect of Ponet's notation structures is the way he marshaled his sources.[759] Ponet cited 161 sources in their entirety on the blank pages and made 250 shorter references to sources in the margins and body of the *Draft Reply.* The diversity of these sources is staggering: from early church fathers (e.g., Augustine, Clement, and Jerome) to medieval sources (e.g., the *Corpus Iuris Canonici,* Peter Lombard, Jean Gerson), to contemporary reformers (Vermigli, Bucer, Lasco, and especially Bullinger), to important historians (Nauclerus, Krantz, Funchius, Polydore, Huntingdon, Tzetzes). Roughly half of these sources were used to check Martyn's citations, and the other half were counter-citations which Ponet brought to bear upon Martyn. Ponet evidently had access to a great number of theological resources, but given he brought so few books from England into Strassburg, where did he obtain his sources from? We have already observed some of the books Ponet acquired while in exile, and he must have used at least the *Conciliorum* alongside his work on the *Draft Reply,* because there are ten explicit

[757] *Draft Reply,* 334$^{v}$, 335$^{r}$.
[758] *Draft Reply,* 312$^{v}$, 313$^{r}$.
[759] See Appendix E for a full listing of citations.

references related to clerical marriage which link the two annotated documents.[760] It is probable that many of the citations were pulled directly from his commonplace books (without explicit reference to 'sylva mea'), but given the vast range of sources and the example of his use of the *Conciliorum Omnium,* it is likely that he directly consulted a number of other books. Some of his books were borrowed from his friend Peter Martyr Vermigli, for as we have seen, a year after Ponet's death, his widow Maria wrote to apologise for selling some of the Italian reformer's books which had been in Ponet's library.[761] It is likely that Ponet also was aware of what publications were being produced in Strassburg and had access to them, for he seemed to have some awareness of what the printer Jacob Frölich had been producing.[762] It is also possible that Ponet took advantage of the books belonging to other exiles who stayed in his Strassburg residence. One guest, Peter Carew, had a copy of Peter Martyr of Angleria's *Decades of the New World* which Ponet explicitly drew from in the *Shorte Treatise.*[763] Ponet wrote to fellow reformers asking to borrow relevant theological texts, so it is to be expected that he would have approached his fellow exiles in Strassburg similarly. His former friends and now fellow residents of Strassburg, such as Edmund Grindal, Edwin Sandys, John Cheke, Anthony Cooke, Michael Florio, James Haddon, or Immanuel Tremmelius, could certainly have supplied him with many of the resources he used in the *Draft Reply.*

## THE DRAFT REPLY: POLEMICAL PROCESSES

John Ponet was a highly combative opponent and his ability to deploy sharp polemical invective has been frequently observed. Yet the *Draft Reply* offers us a fresh vision of what lies behind Ponet's cutting and oftentimes coarse tirades. An important initial observation is that Ponet

[760] See Appendix E.
[761] *OL*, 1:119.
[762] *Draft Reply,* 302r.
[763] Carew's personal copy of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (London, 1555) is held at Bodl., 4° L 84 Art. Garrett mistakenly identifies Ponet's hand in this book and draws erroneous links between it and the *Shorte Treatise*, see *Marian Exiles,* 256. Nevertheless, it is still possible that Carew had this book in Strassburg whilst staying with Ponet and thus had some influence upon its citation in the *Shorte Treatise,* F.viir-v.

himself felt under siege from Martyn's *Traictise*. Twice on the title page Ponet wrote: 'Martion maade me the enemy of all mariadge.'[764] At times Ponet felt that he had been unfairly represented by Martyn, such that he could claim: 'it semeth that he began to wryt this book before he red over myne...'[765] Indeed, the placement of Megara's cry for justice from Seneca's *Hercules Furens* at the top of the title page would suggest he felt a deep injustice over Martyn's attack.[766] It is within this defensive frame of mind that Ponet's polemical rhetoric issues forth.

The nature of Ponet's polemic is as colourful as it is brutal within the *Draft Reply*. Often the polemic is directed at aspects of the Roman Catholic church: 'ignorant bussards, unlearned dawcocks', 'hereticall papists', 'seely souled papists', 'abomination', 'Antichrist', 'popishe hand', 'yor romishe rebells and shameless shavelings' and those 'who had dronk of the whore of babylons cupe as you and yor men with other haue done in these dayes.'[767] Just as frequently the polemic is aimed squarely at Martyn specifically: 'shamefull lyer', 'blynd bussard', 'blynd puppie' and 'this rayler'.[768] The creative colour of Ponet's polemic comes to the fore with his extended sections of abuse, such as this appropriation of the 100-eyed mythological giant, Argus Panoptes:

> ... ye haue so many eyes that ye may be a very Argus who as poets fayneth had hundreth eies wherof tow alwayes slept and all the rest waked, so is it with you ye haue a nomber of eyes in whose sight all treweth appeare lies, and these eyes be ever wakinge. tow only eyes you haue with whom ye should see the trewrth but they be allwayes aslepe, or if they be awake they be blynd.[769]

One of the main strategies that undergirded such strong denunciations was Ponet's detection of what he perceived to be lies. Ponet detected Martyn bending the truth ('a sleight'), and drawing conclusions without sound reason ('This is not proved').[770] In a number of places

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[764] *Draft Reply,* 1[r].
[765] *Draft Reply,* 216[r], also see 214[r], 216[v], 223[v].
[766] *Draft Reply,*1[r]: 'dominare timidus [*original:* tumidus] spiritus altos gere sequitur superbos victor a tergo dues'.
[767] *Draft Reply,* 7[v], 12[r], 17[r], 17[v], 153[v], 181[r], 204[r], 191[r].
[768] *Draft Reply,* 127[v], 228[v], 238[r], 253[r].
[769] *Draft Reply,* 299[r].
[770] *Draft Reply,* 61[v], 111[v].

Ponet called Martyn out for falsifying his words, and in one place asked rhetorically: 'whether this be playn wranglinge brablyinge, cavillinge, and flat falsifying of my words or not'.[771] Indeed, there are at least 120 permutations of 'a lye' written into the margins or block sections of text within the *Draft Reply*.

Another important strategy deployed by Ponet to undergird his rhetoric was his utilisation of formal logic. His syllogistic training was utilised to both attack Martyn and to defend himself: 'ye fayle in the prof of yor minor', 'he hath not medelled one word with the minor profe of my saying'.[772] Ponet also made neutral observations on Martyn's logic in order afterwards to unpick his logic.[773] As we have observed in the *Apologie,* Ponet responded to Martyn's description of married clergy as 'pretensed marriages' by calling attention to the fact that the Marian regime actually insisted that such clergy divorce their wives. In the *Apologie* this brought forth Ponet's remark that 'your logique is so litell that no man nedeth regarde it', which evidently drew from his application of Aristotle's logic upon this passage in the *Draft Reply* ('cessante causa cessat effectus'), with the implication that — contra Martyn — such clergy were legitimately married.[774] In another place Ponet relied on 'Aristotell's judgement in the topiks' that because Martyn denied the major premise concerning the judgement of Christ over unwritten traditions, he denied the principles of divinity and as such ought to be no longer reasoned with.[775] Scattered throughout his engagement with the *Traictise* there were a number of logical fallacies detected by Ponet: 'ab inferiori ad superius particularitus' (from the inferior to the superior), 'ignorantia elenchi' (irrelevant conclusion), 'petitio principii' (begging the question), and 'a non causa ad causam' (questionable cause).[776]

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[771] *Draft Reply,* 214$^{r}$, also see 216$^{v}$, 223$^{v}$.
[772] *Draft Reply,* 27$^{r}$, 284$^{v}$, also 5$^{r}$, 52$^{v}$, 27$^{v}$, 31$^{r}$, 53$^{r}$.
[773] *Draft Reply,* 202$^{r}$: 'similtude'; 204$^{r}$: 'tropicall locutione'; 206$^{r}$: '[t]his hangeth apone that which was before'; 265$^{r}$: 'a genere ad speciem'.
[774] *Apologie,* XIII, *Draft Reply,* 5$^{r}$.
[775] *Draft Reply,* 27$^{v}$.
[776] *Draft Reply,* 22$^{r}$, 28$^{r}$, 198$^{v}$, 201$^{v}$, 203$^{v}$-205$^{v}$.

Another of Ponet's strategies that undergirded his polemical points was to divide and conquer his opponents. In his *Notable Sermon* before King Edward VI (1550) he mentioned that the best way to confute adversaries was to set one of them against another.[777] This was a strategy Martyn deployed against him in the *Traictise,* attempting to set Hooper and Vermigli against Ponet.[778] It was also a strategy which Ponet deployed frequently against Martyn in the *Draft Reply*. To combat Martyn's use of general councils, Ponet wrote himself the note: 'in all these generall counsell see what other wiked thing was concluded or who was Bushop of rome, or what was not objected.'[779] His use of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* was generally used in this way – selecting citations from patristic and medieval authors which suited his argument and setting them against Martyn's own position and supporting authors. In reply to Martyn's accusation that evangelical theologians could not agree amongst themselves, Ponet simply wrote: 'one of you agree not with another nor non of you with him self.'[780]

In several places within the *Draft Reply* Ponet set aside logical argumentation and embarked upon lively ad hominem attacks. Martyn's antics as a student at New College in Oxford provided plenty of fodder: 'Martyn playd allway the fole in Chrismas in new colledge in Oxforde', 'lords minion fole', 'you daunce nakid in a net in the sight of all men with shame enogh'.[781] On one occasion Ponet likened Martyn's rayling and lying to a weak man leaning on his staff, and on another occasion likened Martyn's irrational argument to a nonsensical argument between boys during a game of cayles [i.e. bowls].[782] Due to Martyn's equating of clerical marriage to whoredom, Ponet even suggested that 'peradventure martyn hath some experience'.[783] Others related to the conservative resistance network he helped uncover in 1551

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[777] *Notable Sermon,* D.8[r].
[778] *Draft Reply,* 262[r], 275[r].
[779] *Draft Reply,* 163[v].
[780] *Draft Reply,* 269[r].
[781] *Draft Reply,* 2[r], 4[r], 64[v].
[782] *Draft Reply,* 9[v], 205[v]. Cayles, also written kayles or keiles, derived from the French word quilles, was a game which involved a player attempting to bowl over pins. See, Joseph Strutt, *Glig-gamena angel-deod, or, The sports and pastimes of the people of England* (London, 1801), 202.
[783] *Draft Reply,* 13[r].

also came under attack for various reasons: Richard Smyth's sexual laxity, John White's corruption while headmaster of New College in Winchester, Edmund Bonner's improper ordination of a cook and a number of nineteen year old boys, and Stephen Gardiner's gluttonous entertainment of Sir John Godsalve.[784]

In addition to these primary strategies, Ponet also engaged in several minor tactics that supported his strong polemic. In one instance, he attempted to discredit Martyn's use of Cornelius Tacitus not only with recourse to Tertullian's opinion of the historian's work, but also on account of his fanciful stories about Christians worshipping an ass's head.[785] Ponet also noted a number of contradictions within Martyn's *Traictise:* conflicting accounts of whether the apostles were married, using the same place in Basil to prove opposite points, and contradicting remarks concerning whether 'clericus' may be used of priests.[786] In one instance, Martyn included a rhyming couplet to support his point, to which Ponet responded 'for lak of other weapons see if he take not a dishe clout'. After counting the syllables, Ponet declared that the metre was no good and that Martyn needed the assistance of Tudor playwright and poet, John Heywood: 'of heywoods helpe this meter hath need. the meter and the matter is all a lyke.'[787]

## THEOLOGY IN STRASSBURG: HOLY SCRIPTURE

The foundation of John Ponet's evangelical theology was his doctrine of Scripture. The gulf that lay between him and Thomas Martyn concerning clerical celibacy was created by their divergent opinions concerning the Bible and undergirded the vast majority of their interactions. Ponet wrote two treatises prior to Mary's reign, *Papiste Detectionem* and *De Detortis eorum Scripturis*, which presumably engaged with the relationship between Scripture and the traditions of the

784 *Draft Reply,* 263$^{r}$; 216$^{r}$; 345$^{r}$; 16$^{v}$.
785 *Draft Reply,* 227$^{v}$.
786 *Draft Reply,* 318$^{v}$, 176$^{v}$, 323$^{r}$.
787 *Draft Reply,* 138$^{v}$-139$^{r}$, 191$^{r}$.

church.[788] However, the earliest and clearest example of his thought concerning the relationship between the authority of Scripture and the authority of tradition comes from his *Short Catechisme*:

> It is not lawful for the church, to ordeine anye thynge, that is contrarie to Goddes word written. Neither may it so expound one place of scripture, that it be repugnante to an other. Wherefore although the churche be a wytnesse and a keper of holy wrytte: yet as it ought not to decree any thinge againste the same: so besides the same, ought it not to enforce any thinge to be beleued, for necessity of Saluation.[789]

The *Draft Reply* reveals that Ponet had an optimistic view concerning the purpose of the Holy Scriptures. He believed that the force of truth was such that all who search rightly for it would agree in matters of doctrine, whereas heretics such as Martyn would never discover it.[790] This evangelical optimism was grounded upon the divine source of the scriptures, which in turn led Ponet to prefer the original languages of the Scriptures over against the Latin Vulgate which Martyn prized.[791] This afforded Ponet the ability to make critical judgements about the canon of Holy Scripture. When Martyn asked whether Ponet would reject all of the 'godly & approved works, apocryphal', Ponet wrote in the margin, 'ye [you] all for the prof of ecclesiasticall dogma against the playne scriptures.'[792] Ponet's earlier use of Wisdom 8:21 on the cover of his *Defence* (1549) demonstrates that he was unlikely to be against any use of apocryphal works. In his Greek New Testament — annotated around the time of the *Draft Reply* — Ponet inserted a square symbol at the top of the page containing Jude's citation from the apocryphal book of Enoch (Jude 14-15) and wrote: 'Paul cites the testimonies of Menander, Epimenidis and Aratus. And why should Jude not cite out of the Apocrypha?'[793] Indeed, Ponet would even utilise the

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788 Compare listing in Bale, *Scriptorum,* 694, with the *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, 112v.
789 *Short Catechisme,* lxxvii.
790 *Draft Reply,* 275r.
791 *Draft Reply,* inspiration of Scripture: 205r; 252v; Martyn's dependence on the Vulgate: 37r.
792 *Draft Reply,* 73v.
793 *GNT* 2/300: 'Paulus citat Menandri, Epimenidis et Arati testi<*unavailable word*> Et cur non citet Judas ex Apocryphis?' Menander from 1 Cor. 15:33, Epimenidis from Titus 1:12-13, and both Aratus and Epimenidis from Acts 17:28.

possible saying of St. Paul concerning worship of the dead from an apocryphal work of Epiphanius in his *Apologie*.[794]

Ponet's interest was in the role of Scripture, not merely as authoritative but as bound up with soteriological concerns.[795] Echoing the annotations in his Greek New Testament, Ponet made two important points in this regard within the *Draft Reply*. Firstly, that the Scriptures 'conteyneth all things necessary for our salvation'. This implied that there was no church or council that supplied any soteriologically necessary truth in addition to the Scriptures. Secondly, that 'things needfull to be understandid may be necessaryly groundid apon the same'.[796] This implied that the church was built upon the foundation of the prophets, apostles and Christ himself, rather than vice versa.

Martyn's major contention with the necessity of the Scriptures was that there were times when the church lived without the written Word (*logos engraphon*) and only by the unwritten Word (*logos agraphon*). He asked how it was that the Scriptures were necessary when believers lived 2,000 years before Moses, and how it was that the New Testament church preached and administered the sacraments for 20 years before the Gospels were written.[797] Ponet answered the first question with reference to a printed marginal note in Martyn's *Traictise:* 'this note semeth to prove that the churche hath no need of the word now more then it had then'.[798] He responded to the second question with 'Christ defendid his churche with the presence of his spirit in the mothe of his apostles but his word was wryten therefor'.[799] A careful reading of Ponet's reply indicates two important strands to his thought concerning the necessity of the Scriptures. Firstly, he did not deny the important presence of the unwritten Word prior to Moses. Secondly, that the use of the word 'now' indicated the salvation-historical priority placed upon

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[794] *Apologie,* LXXIII.
[795] *Draft Reply,* 22$^{v}$: 'si que ad salutem sunt necessaria sunt omnes scriptam.'
[796] *Draft Reply,* 318$^{v}$.
[797] *Draft Reply,* 27$^{r}$.
[798] *Draft Reply,* 26$^{v}$.
[799] *Draft Reply,* 27$^{v}$.

the written Word over the unwritten Word. Indeed, he rhetorically asked, 'yf wrytinge wer not needfull why did god wryt moses tables in his own finger'.[800] To Ponet's mind the presence of the written Word eliminated the need for the unwritten Word.

Ponet's understanding of the sufficiency of the Scriptures found its correlate in the insufficiency of the church. He therefore strongly opposed Martyn's belief that General Councils of the church could not err. In the *Draft Reply* he claimed that councils contained more errors than truths and set himself to dismantling Martyn's claim to inerrant councils: 'Maak a discourse of generall counsels.'[801] He then proceeded to mark up 'wikked counsayles', pointed out Martyn's wrong use of local and provincial councils, and reminded Martyn of councils which excluded the Greek Church, in order to demonstrate that councils may and have erred.[802] Notwithstanding these erroneous councils, Ponet understood there to have been biblically faithful councils such as Nicea (325), which he deployed as a foil to reject contradictory councils.[803]

Another shape that this discussion took was a debate over whether the Scriptures were the witness or the judge of General Councils. Martyn argued that councils were the judge of Scripture which was the witness to the truth. Ponet took another approach and argued that these two offices (witness and judge) were not mutually exclusive but rather the incarnate Word fulfilled them both as both the 'faithful witness' (Rev. 1:4-5) and ultimate judge of the living and the dead. Since the Scriptures were the inspired words of the incarnate Word, then the 'Scripture be both witness and judge'.[804] Ponet pointed out that Martyn's downgrading of the Word of God to the status of witness pitted him against his fellow conservative Bartolomeus Latomus, and he illustrated his own position with recourse to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's years

[800] *Draft Reply,* 28r.
[801] *Draft Reply,* 49r.
[802] *Draft Reply,* 48r; 13v; 42r.
[803] *Draft Reply,* 166r.
[804] *Draft Reply,* 43v-45v.

and terms as per *La Graunde Abridgement* (1514). Just as Fitzherbert's collection of legal cases provided judgements upon various matters, so too did the Scriptural collection of law provide divine judgements upon contemporary matters such as clerical celibacy.[805] In sum, John Ponet's understanding of the sufficiency of Scripture rested upon the necessity of Scripture for salvation, which in turn was defined by the canonical norm and grounded upon the divine source of Scripture. His thought is distilled succinctly in this significant passage:

> Our only judge is ~~Christ~~ <almightie god> whiche is ~~ascended~~ in ~~to~~ heven, and he hathe disclosed to man his definitive sentence of his will and pleasure before the law wryttene by his holy spirit, and after man wold not longer follow the judgement of his holy spirit, he gaue his judgement in wryting to moses. of whiche wrytinge some was to continue but for a tyme, and some to be perpetuall. when this judgement of god was by the pharisees falsly glosed, and wrythed <by ther doctors> alltogether from the meninge of allmighty god, then allmighty god sent down his son to ~~and dost~~ declare~~d~~ once agayne his judgement sentence mynd will and pleasure whereto he wold haue all men to cleave and styk. who did thesame most diligently, and confirmed the trewth of his doctrine with the sheding of his most precious blud. and at his departure he sent his holy spirit who was so abundantly in the primative churche that they could not erre untill suche tyme as all things necessary for our saluation was committid to wrytinge whiche thinge beyinge done, he that refuseth to stand to the judgement of the scripture refuseth not he to stand to the judgement of god him selfe?[806]

## THEOLOGY IN STRASSBURG: CLERICAL MARRIAGE

### *The Tradition of Clerical Celibacy*

Ponet understood the way in which Martyn's position relied upon the unwritten tradition of clerical celibacy and set himself the note: 'prove contra that prests mariedgs is an old treuth and newly made heresy.'[807] His minor attacks upon clerical celibacy involved pointing to places where traditions were not observed. Martyn cited a time when clerical celibacy was observed and where there were seven deacons for every church, and a time when there were priests in the church on a daily basis, to which Ponet replied 'why is this not observed', and 'why be not

[805] *Draft Reply,* [Latomus] 45$^{r}$; [Fitzherbert] 46$^{r}$.
[806] *Draft Reply,* 44$^{r}$.
[807] *Draft Reply,* 20$^{v}$.

yor papists so?' On the very same page Martyn cited a time when priests were permitted to marry, to which Ponet noted: 'concession.'[808] Martyn attempted to shift the burden of proof onto Ponet by pressing him for his examples of married priests, to which Ponet gave this answer:

> The bushop of Londone D. Ridley made answer as I harde say to Dr Moremane beinge sent to him as a fox to feele him that althoughe he could not ~~prove that the~~ <shew one> mayor of londone that maried after he was mayor, should it therefor folow that it was not lawfull for the mayor of londone to marry: or aney queene of England etc?[809]

The more substantial attacks upon Martyn's credentials involved particular councils and church fathers. At the first council of Nicea (325), Paphnutius rose in the midst of the Bishops to declare that married priests were lawful and honourable. In his earlier *Defence for Marriage,* Ponet saw this event as affirming that marriage and priesthood may stand together, however Martyn interpreted it as a concession to priests married before ordination.[810] What clinched the argument for Ponet in the *Draft Reply* was the fact that the synod of Gangra (340) affirmed both the Nicene council and the legitimacy of married priests irrespective of whether they married before or after priesthood.[811] What could have potentially been a greater problem for Ponet was Augustine's supposed claim that priests ought to live in perpetual chastity. However, given that Martyn gave no citation for this passing reference, Ponet simply commented 'non dixit'.[812] In another place Martyn relied upon a letter from Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth to Pinitus, Bishop of Crete. Dionysius wrote to exhort Pinitus to relax his restriction that clergy should not marry, and Pinitus replied by stating that they were to remain celibate since they were stronger in that estate. For Martyn, this served as proof that the pattern of clerical celibacy was in existence within the early church. For Ponet, this was a severe concession: 'This place maketh

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808 *Draft Reply,* 111r.
809 *Draft Reply,* 122r.
810 *Defence for Marriage,* F.vv-F.vir.
811 *Draft Reply,* 52v; c.f., *Apologie,* CXXVI.
812 *Draft Reply,* 111v.

full against Martin.' It demonstrated to Ponet that not only did Dionysius deploy married priests in Corinth but since the Apostle Paul had established the ministry in Corinth before Crete, then it was actually Pinitus who changed the apostolic pattern away from clerical marriage.[813]

According to Ponet, another chink in Martyn's armour was the existence of married deacons and priests within the Greek Church. This practice was understood by Ponet to be a continuation of what the disciples preached as they established the church in Greece and the East.[814] However, Martyn understood the practice to have arisen from the multitude of Christians there and the increase of licentiousness.[815] It was practiced 'not according to the holy canon, but according to the fantasie of man'.[816] Ponet leapt upon this argument by citing two places in Gratian's *Decretum* that affirmed the lawfulness of clerical marriage among the Greek and Oriental churches.[817] Ponet then attempted to impale Martyn on the horns of a dilemma: if the church catholic was one then it must include the married priests of the Greek church, however, if the Greek priests were unlawfully married then the church was broken into a sect with two parts.[818] A few pages later Ponet concluded in the margins: 'see how he divideth the churche.'[819]

*Hermeneutical Framework*

Despite their marked differences concerning the importance of the Scriptures relative to the traditions of the church, both Ponet and Martyn agreed that the Scriptures were indeed important and required hermeneutical care. The particularly pressing question within the *Draft Reply* was how to understand the continuities and discontinuities between the Old and New Testaments. This question arose concerning the discussion over the marriage of Old Testament

[813] *Draft Reply,* 131$^{v}$; c.f., *Defense of Priestes,* 144-145.
[814] *Draft Reply,* 60$^{v}$.
[815] *Draft Reply,* 108$^{r}$.
[816] *Draft Reply,* 131$^{v}$.
[817] *Draft Reply,* 135$^{v}$, 340$^{r}$.
[818] *Draft Reply,* 132$^{v}$.
[819] *Draft Reply,* 136$^{r}$.

priests: 'but this is trew the papists brynge out of thold testament all things that arons prests had savinge only wives. and yet be wives only of all those things alowed in the new testament and all the other Hebrew shadowes forbidden as shadowes that be ceased.'[820] In Ponet's mind the ceremonial shadows of the Mosaical law had been abrogated by Christ, the Great High Priest. However, the issue of continuities and discontinuities arose sharply concerning an unusual matter that reveals some of the most significant detail behind Ponet's hermeneutical framework.

One of Martyn's arguments for clerical celibacy was that it was not expedient for a commonwealth to have priests marry. The general issue at hand was population control: 'What citie, yea what realme or countrey, would be able to hold the generations of a fewe yeares in so great a libertie of marriage?'[821] The theological issue at hand was hermeneutical: he argued that the command to 'increase and multiply' in Genesis 1:28 'dooeth not so appertayne to the estate of grace now at these dayes.'[822] Ponet sarcastically quipped in the margins that 'England hath to many men and therfor ye did well to hange them so fast.'[823]

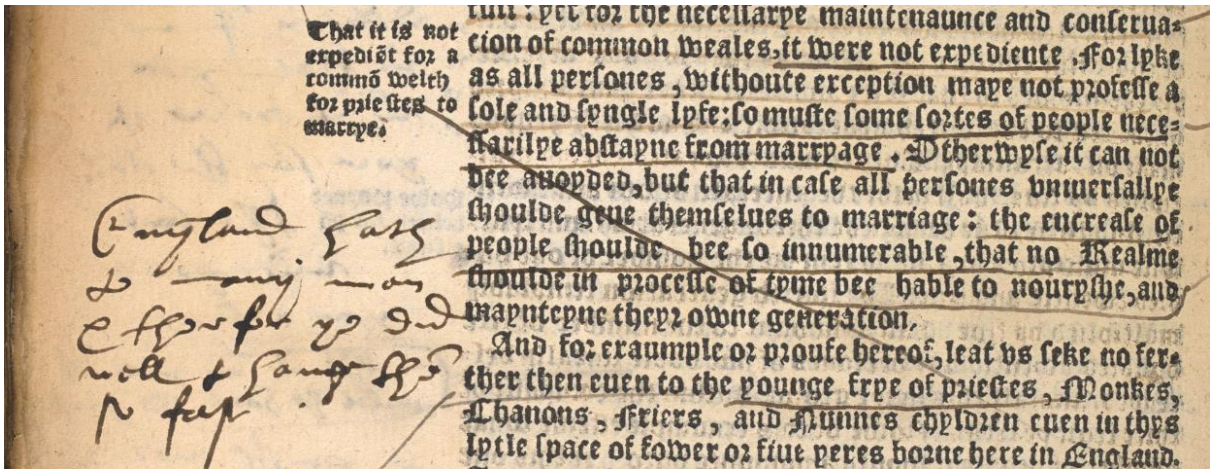



**Figure VI — John Ponet vs. Thomas Martyn, *Draft Reply,* 342[v]**

[820] *Draft Reply,* 252[v]; c.f., 102[v]; similarly phrased in *Apologie*, CVII.
[821] *Draft Reply,* 344[r].
[822] *Draft Reply,* 221[v].
[823] *Draft Reply,* 342[v].

Ponet's substantial reply was upon hermeneutical grounds: the theological relationship between the law of nature and the law of the Old Covenant. He noticed that Martyn had made a major mistake in his theological reasoning. Martyn's position was grounded in a sharp distinction between nature and grace. In suggesting that Genesis 1:28 no longer applied in the New Covenant, Martyn was essentially denying the continuing, universal applicability of the original creation order, and therefore, the natural law. According to Ponet, the problem was with Martyn's conflation of the law of nature and the law of the Old Covenant. He argued that while man had a human nature, so too did the law of nature persist.[824] Exclaiming that only the court fool, Will Sommers, would have made this mistake, Ponet declared his own position, in a remarkably lucid passage:

> This phrase of spekinge that the old law hath ane end ye seem not to understand. The doctors declare that the meaning therof is this. Christ is now come which is the trewth who was by all the shadowes of the old law ~~was~~ figured, whiche shadowes haue now all an~~d~~ ende at the commynge of Christ who is the light and the <end of the> thing shadowed. ~~when~~ And so the old law is now said to haue an end. because that part of the old law is ended which shadowed Christ. and also it is (named) ended because the malediction that came to us for breakinge of the law is now takene away, and the wrytng brokene ... it is not sayd that ~~nat~~ the law hath an end because ~~our nature~~ the blissings <hath an end> that god gaue mane wherby he should and doth increase and ~~he~~ multiply but <because the malediction hath an end>. Wherfor your ignorance here betrayeth you ... you understand not this poynt but confound benedictione and maledictione.[825]

*Old Testament Exegesis*

The *Draft Reply* not only demonstrates where Ponet and Martyn were at odds over hermeneutical framework, but also over hermeneutical detail. The main exegetical bone of contention between them as it related to the Old Testament, revolved around the biblical examples of married priests. Ponet had largely avoided this subject in the *Defence for Mariage* (1549) but since Martyn took the initiative in raising the issue, it became an important locus of discussion in the *Draft Reply,* the *Apologie,* and Ponet and Parker's *Defence of Priestes.* Ponet put the issue succinctly

[824] *Draft Reply,* 223r.
[825] *Draft Reply,* 220v; 222v.

in one of his marginal comments: 'the aronicall prests wore those femoralia, and yet were married."[826] The main line of the defence Martyn took was to argue that the marriage of priests within the Old Testament was a necessary dispensation for a limited time. In the beginning there were so few people inhabiting the earth that God permitted all sorts of marriages: King Cambises married his two sisters, King Darius took his sister Satyra to be his wife, and Olympias married her own brother. The priests within the people of God were permitted to marry also but with added reason: the line of succession was a necessary dispensation to continue the tribal priesthoods of Levi and Aaron. Ponet replied to the argument from dispensation in two parts: firstly, the Levitical law was passed prior to Martyn's examples of exceptionally permitted marriage, and secondly, that dispensation implies a command to the contrary — and there were no such commands for priests *not* to marry.[827] He saw the argument from succession to be something of a red herring: for if marriage was an unclean thing in a priest, it was unclean irrespective of whether a priest was by succession (Old Covenant) or election (New Covenant).[828] To drive home his point concerning married priests, Ponet stated that if there was any tribal impetus for the Christian life it was to put away whores and to marry women within the tribe of Christendom, for in Christ all are of the one tribe.[829]

*New Testament Exegesis*

The New Testament exegetical discussion over whether a priest could be bound to celibacy or had the liberty to choose marriage revolved around four main Scriptural loci. The first exegetical locus of discussion concerned St. Paul's counsel that 'it is better to marry than to burn with passion.' (1 Cor. 7:9). Whereas Martyn interpreted this advice for marriage in the negative sense of being a permissible and lesser good, Ponet understood it positively in the

826 *Draft Reply*, 116v.
827 *Draft Reply,* 121r, 213r.
828 *Draft Reply,* 253r.
829 *Draft Reply,* 352v.

sense of marriage as a medicinal remedy. According to Ponet, the medicinal remedy of marriage was to be understood as a gift of grace in line with the verse, 'sufficit sibi gratia' (2 Cor. 12:9).[830] To deny the positive sense of 'it is better to marry' was tantamount to denying the medicinal role of marriage. It was with this understanding of the blessing of marriage that Ponet repeatedly deployed the biblical refrain: 'melius est enim nubere quam uri' (1 Cor. 7:9).[831] When Martyn deployed the hypothetical case of a husband on business in Spain who left his wife 'burning with passion' back in England (discussed above), he raised the question of how Ponet's exegesis could cope with abstinence. Ponet answered with recourse to 1 Cor. 7:5, that 'for a tyme and continuall is tow things. and paule permitteth ad tempus but yet with this condicion ut iterum conveniant ne tenent eos Sathanas'.[832] He added another marginal note asking Martyn whether it would be better to burn for a time with the hope of a Godly remedy, or to burn continually with no hope of a lawful medicine? Ponet's own answer was clearly the former: 'a man may better abstey [sic] a month thene 12 months. a yere then seven yere.'[833]

The second exegetical locus of discussion pertained to St. Paul's remark that 'I wish all were as I am' (1 Cor. 7:7). The debate largely centred on whether marriage was a lesser good than singleness, which turned upon the interpretation of the matter of marital 'divided interests' (1 Cor. 7:33).[834] Martyn seemed to suggest that 'divided' implied an irreconcilable split between divine and human loyalties such that single persons could better serve God.[835] Ponet understood that the marital 'divided interests' implied additional responsibilities compatible with serving God.[836] However, although celibacy was to be held in high esteem, marriage was

[830] *Draft Reply,* 287[r].
[831] *Draft Reply*, 11[r]; 286[v]; 287[r] (x2); 287[v]; 314[r], utilised once in Ponet's *Apologie* and heavily deployed in Parker's *Defence of Priestes.*
[832] *Draft Reply*, 289[r].
[833] *Draft Reply*, 290[r].
[834] Gk: 'καὶ μεμέρισται'; Lat: 'et divisus est'.
[835] *Draft Reply*, 207[v].
[836] See the extended discussion in *Draft Reply*, 204[v].

also to be praised: can a person only praise gold if he or she dispraise silver?[837] Once he had settled the matter of 'divided interests' and greater-and-lesser goods, Ponet was in a position to wrestle with Paul's original remark.

Ponet and Martyn were both agreed that the nature of St. Paul's remark was a 'wish', and that 'as I am' referred to his single estate. However, the difficulty was the interpretation of the word 'all' — was it spoken of generally or particularly? Ponet called attention to Paul's meeting with King Agrippa (Acts 26:29). When Paul wished that all might become as he was here, did he really desire all people without exception to be on trial with heads shaven and bellies hungry?[838] The 'optarem' ('εὐξαίμην') in this passage had the same force as the 'volo' ('θἐλω') of 1 Cor. 7:7 — it was a general rather than particular wish. Moreover, it was possible to observe this distinction between general and particular answers in Christ's own ministry. When presented with a particular question about tribute he made a general answer concerning what to give God and Caesar (Mark 12:17), and when presented with an eschatological question by the Sadducees he made a general answer (Matt. 22:23ff).[839] Ever the preacher, Ponet illustrated the general meaning of Paul's wish, as compared to the particular remedy of marriage:

> a nomber of merchants have a great substance with them in a shype abrode apon the wylde seas a tempast ariseth ~~they aske the men~~ the burden of the ship is so great and the surges so dangerouse that they <say ther mynd ~~and ask~~> cry out to the master of the ship that it is good to hurle over <some part of> ther merchandise he answereth that it <wer> good not to cast over ... <any parte of ther> marchandise if the they could otherwise save themselves and ther shyp. but now for thavoyding of ther great parell that ~~hangeth over ther heds~~ is even now at the shipes brinke, <let every man> out with all the goods that ever he hath and into the seas with it better it wer for you to forsake yor worldly goods and all the comfort that you haue in them then utterly to be destroyed and cast away Thus it may be that pauls being demanded of the maried folkes <particularly> how they should

[837] *Draft Reply*, 313v. The comparison between gold and silver does not appear in the *Apologie,* but appears twice in the *Defence of Priestes,* 249; 289.
[838] *Draft Reply,* 229r.
[839] *Draft Reply,* 207r, 211r. In Ponet's copy of Vermigli's *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* he numbered Vermigli's exegetical reasons explaining Paul's wish (161v). Interestingly, none of these three points appear in the *Draft Reply.* This may further reinforce the fact that his *Commentary on 1 Corinthians* remained in England as he fled abroad.

> avoyd whoredom made <a generall> answer lyke the good ships for thavoyding of fornication let every man haue his etc.[840]

The third exegetical locus was the hotly contested requirement that 'A bishop must be ... the husband of one wife' (1 Tim. 3:2). The key exegetical dispute focused on whether this verse precluded bishops from marriage while in office (Martyn), or whether the verse precluded multiple marriages while in office (Ponet). Ponet had stated his interpretation at length in the *Defence for Mariage,* but in the *Traictise,* Martyn took him to task for his emphasis on 'esse'.[841] In Martyn's eyes, Ponet required that episcopal office holders must necessarily be married, and thus accused him of condemning his fellow reformers Ridley and Goodrick. Evidently, Ponet felt unthreatened by his earlier position, for he did not defend or restate his earlier position in the *Draft Reply.*[842] Rather, the bulk of his comments formed a sustained counter-attack upon Martyn's position. Ponet had earlier stated in the *Defence for Mariage* that he was content with those who render the 'oportet esse' in the pluperfect tense (e.g., 'must have been the husband of one wife'), but his chief concern in the *Draft Reply* was refuting Martyn's disallowance of the interpretation of 'oportet esse' in the present tense ('must be the husband of one wife').[843] Thrice when Martyn wrote against the present tense position, Ponet wrote 'esse' in the margins, and commented, 'the words of the scripture be playne in the present tense.'[844]

The fourth exegetical locus pertained to the marriages of the apostles themselves, and in particular, the meaning of Peter's answer to Christ, 'We have forsaken all and followed thee' (Matt. 19:27). Martyn held strongly to the opinion that the first married clergy were heretics,

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[840] *Draft Reply,* 209$^{r-v}$; c.f., another sermonic illustration using the metaphor of fleeing from sickness in *Draft Reply,* 209$^{v}$-210$^{r}$.
[841] *Defence for Mariage,* A.7$^{v}$.
[842] Interestingly, Ponet does not go to great lengths to defend himself in the *Apologie* either. Much of the elaboration on his earlier stated position (*Defence for Mariage)* occurs in Ponet and Parker's *Defence of Priestes.*
[843] *Defence for Mariage*, A.vii$^{v}$; described as the archaic 'preterperfect' tense in *Draft Reply,* 226$^{r}$.
[844] *Draft Reply,* 226$^{r}$; 228$^{r}$; 231$^{r}$.

and Ponet believed that the first married clergy were the Apostles themselves.[845] At the core of the debate were the Apostles, Peter and Paul.

The argument for Peter's single state had two parts. Firstly, that when Christ called Peter to leave his nets and follow him, he forsook all — including his wife. Secondly, that when Jesus healed Peter's mother-in-law, it was just as possible that her daughter had died as it was possible that she was alive. Ponet addressed both points in the *Draft Reply*. Addressing the first issue, Ponet went to great lengths to demonstrate that 'forsaking' could not be interpreted literalistically. After all, if Peter had forsaken all when Christ called him at the Sea of Galilee, why had he returned to his nets after Christ's death?[846] Also, if 'forsaking' required leaving one's spouse, then anyone who wanted to follow Christ must do likewise or be forsaken by Christ himself.[847] Indeed, the only divinely permitted reason to forsake one's spouse was the case of adultery.[848] Because the Scriptures were silent concerning whether Peter's wife was alive or deceased when the healing of his mother-in-law took place, Ponet made his arguments against the second issue from ecclesiastical tradition. According to Clement, Peter said to his wife when she went to her martyrdom, 'wife, remember the Lord.'[849] Indeed, such was the importance of Clement's testimony that it was the only comment on this subject within the *Draft Reply* which was picked up in both the *Apologie* and *Defence of Priestes.*[850]

In the *Draft Reply,* Ponet's defense of the Apostle Paul's married state rested upon two points. Firstly, that 'companion' (σὐζυγε) in Phil. 4:3 referred to a group of women, and naturally implied the presence of his wife. Secondly, that Ignatius' letter *Ad Philadelphiam* confirmed Paul's married state. The main issue for the first point was that Ponet and Martyn were working

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845 *Draft Reply,* 206r.
846 *Draft Reply,* 236v; 264v.
847 *Draft Reply,* 237r.
848 *Draft Reply,* 322r. Ponet also deployed 1 Tim. 5:8 and two citations from Gratian's *Decretum* for support: 312v, and 321v (x2).
849 See the extended discussion on Scriptural silence in *Draft Reply,* 318v. Chrysostom's support on 317v, Clement's support on 317r, 318r.
850 *Apologie*, CXXVIII, *Defence of Priestes,* 157.

with different Greek texts. The Greek word for 'companion' in Phil. 4:3 is a New Testament *hapax legomenon* for which Martyn's text had a masculine gender and Ponet's text a neuter. Thus, notwithstanding modern appreciation for the fallacy of connecting linguistic gender to biological sex, when Martyn insisted that Paul was referring to male companions, Ponet asked why it may not equally have been female companions to whom Paul referred?[851] Another stalemate occurred over the matter of Ignatius' letter. Martyn asserted that there was in existence a copy of Ignatius which had been corrupted by Germans to tell of Paul's marriage. The testimony of students and fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, reported to him that their copy had no such reference. Ponet replied in the margin that it was more likely deliberately removed from Magdalen College library than inserted by any German. Later in his *Traictise* Martyn repeated the accusation that it was a fabrication, to which Ponet recounted:

> I remember ~~poggius~~ Poggus telleth of a grey fryer ~~at~~ that tought virgill at rome, and ever when he came at a word that he did not understand, he sayd it was the name of a strange burde in Arabia. So ~~whe~~ martyn when he seeth him self overthrown by sufficient authorities, he ~~sayth he~~ answereth the matter easly saying they be falsli printed.[852]

*Vows of Celibacy*

This exegetical work from the Old and New Testaments supported the two major theological loci focused upon by Ponet, the nature of clerical vows and the nature of the gift of celibacy. We have previously observed some aspects of Ponet's doctrine of vows through his episcopal consecration, but there were two important theological points revealed in the *Draft Reply* which undergirded his thought on vows as pertaining to clerical celibacy: the relation of vows to the church, and the relation of vows to judgement. Firstly, vows of clerical celibacy were not scripturally sanctioned but were rather institutions of the church. Ponet believed that solemn vows were an important aspect of the Christian life since they so frequently characterised the

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851 *Draft Reply,* 311$^{v}$; 312$^{r}$.
852 *Draft Reply,* 236$^{v}$, 301$^{v}$.

biblical narrative. But not all vows had biblical warrant. To Ponet's mind, Martyn had committed a serious error of logic by listing various vows made in Scripture and extrapolating out the indissoluble nature of clerical vows of chastity. That Peter and the apostles made a vow to follow Christ did not imply vows of celibacy, and likewise the Nazirite and Rechabite vows did not imply vows of celibacy.[853] Ponet listed some absurdities possible from this logic:

> martyn and the lawyers of England be ~~[*uncertain word*]~~ ~~never~~ unlearned in the scriptures therefore all lawyers be unlearned men in the scriptures ... The children of israell ~~walked through~~ rode in the the [sic] red see, therefor all men may ~~walke~~ stand apon <the top of> paules steepell.[854]

Martyn had attempted to shore up his position by arguing that vows may be implicitly included within certain offices (e.g., a bishop is bound to feed his flock, a husband to nourish his wife, and a priest is bound to celibacy). Again, Ponet sighted another flaw: Martyn had made the unproven assertion that vows were annexed to the order of priesthood, just as feeding the flock was annexed to episcopacy and nourishing a wife was annexed to a husband's duty.[855] This only further served to underscore the point that vows of clerical celibacy were derived from the ecclesiastical institution and not from Scripture. While there were certain vows that derived from Scripture (e.g., a Christian person vowed to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil), there were certain vows derived from the church (e.g., clerical celibacy).

Secondly, because of Ponet's distinction between ecclesiastically derived vows and scripturally derived vows, there was also a distinction between the consequences of breaking these two kinds of vows. Breaking a lawful vow made in the sight of man incurred the reproach of man (κριμα) but breaking a lawful vow made in the sight of God incurred the condemnation of God (κατακριμα).[856] Since Martyn did not hold to Ponet's distinction between scriptural and ecclesiastical vows, he wrote strongly against the distinction between reproach and

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853 Cf., the heavy utilisation of the case of Nazirite vows in Parker's *Defence of Priestes,* 111.
854 *Draft Reply,* 265r.
855 *Draft Reply,* 140v.
856 *Draft Reply,* 264v; 266v; 267v; 272r; 272v.

condemnation. An example of their divergent positions came to the fore in their respective interpretations of 1 Tim. 5:12.[857] Martyn held that the widow had broken her vow (πρώτον πίστιν) of widowhood by desiring to remarry, and thus incurred the condemnation (κριμα) of God. Ponet held that the widow had broken her first pledge (πρώτον πίστιν) to Christ by playing the open harlot, and thus incurred the reproach of the world.[858] For Martyn, this text demonstrated the unforgivability of breaking a vow. For Ponet, this text demonstrated the forgivable nature of shameful sin such as 'infidelity', which he jotted in the margin adjacent to 1 Tim. 5:12 in his Greek New Testament.[859]

*The Gift of Celibacy*

The most important theological loci discussed by Ponet focused on the gift of celibacy. 'All my arguments tend to this', wrote Ponet, 'to move that manne whiche hath not the gift of sole lyf to lyve in chast matrimony, which martyn calleth unchast lyf.'[860] He did not deny that many were able to live celibate lives for the sake of the Kingdom of God. What he did deny was that all were able to live this way, for the ability for celibacy lay not in the hands of man, but of God.[861] There were three theological lodestars that guided the debate of this theological locus, each from the lips of Jesus.

The first of Christ's sayings which guided the debate was 'ask and you will receive' (Matt. 7:7). Martyn understood this verse to imply that all persons would receive the gift of celibacy if they asked for it. Ponet understood this to imply that all persons would receive the gift of celibacy if they asked for it *and* if God so chose to grant the gift. He saw that if Martyn's position was correct, then all things may be given to man for the asking: help, health, patience, riches, faith,

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857 *Draft Reply,* 264$^{v}$-272$^{r}$.
858 The interpretation of the passage also hinged on the nature of faith (πίστιν). Ponet's doctrine of faith is spelt out with remarkable clarity here, e.g. 'fayth signifieth not a promes. but it is the thinge or instrument wherby we either apprehend or lean on a promes made by another. and our fayth leaneth on gods promes', *Draft Reply, 2*68$^{r}$.
859 *GNT,* 2:195: 'infidelibus'.
860 *Draft Reply,* 263$^{r}$.
861 *Draft Reply,* 130$^{v}$.

deliverance out of prison, heresy, and even kingdoms.[862] He pointed out that Paul asked three times for the thorn to be removed from his flesh, and commented: 'where now is yor petite et accipietis paule asked and obteyned not.'[863] He recounted a story of the prominent civil servant (and traditionalist in religion) Sir Richard Southwell to further illustrate his point:

> I haue herd say that Sir Richard Southwell kepeth a whore besides his wif and that for his offence diverse tymes he whippeth himself with rodds, whiche if it be trew he is diverse tymes <when he is devowt at masse> in hand with petite [ask] but yet can he not inioy accipietis [receive].[864]

The second of Christ's sayings which guided the debate was 'he that is able to receive it' (Matt. 19:12). The wider context of this saying was Christ's discourse concerning those who become eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of God. Ponet noticed that the matter of eunuchs was conspicuously absent from Martyn's discussion of petite et accipete.[865] In a marginal note, he asked rhetorically: 'I pray the martyn tell me, and let thy concession mak answer whether they haue the guift of chastitie or not.'[866] When Martyn did discuss the matter of eunuchs elsewhere, he spelt out his understanding: 'he that can find in his heart rather to liue a single life, then in the state of matrimonie, leat him pray unto god for to geue him that grace, and undoubtedly he shall receiue it.'[867] In the adjacent margin, Ponet simply wrote, 'he that haue the gift'. A few pages later Ponet castigated Chrysostom's 'wrythynge or crokinge of the rule' that Christ laid out at the end of the passage: non omnes capiunt verbum hoc. Here lay the issue between Martyn and Ponet: were men and women at liberty to take hold of the gift of celibacy?

Ponet sensed Martyn's difficulty with this question. On the margin next to Martyn's comment, 'of our own free nature, we cannot possibly be chaste', Ponet wrote: 'where is now yor liberum arbitrium that you spek of in fo. ix 94. 97. 85.'[868] On the margin next to Martyn's comment, 'if

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862 *Draft Reply,* 239r; 279v; 313v.
863 *Draft Reply,* 287v.
864 *Draft Reply,* 215v.
865 *Draft Reply,* 240v.
866 *Draft Reply,* 241r.
867 *Draft Reply,* 241r.
868 *Draft Reply,* 238v.

virginitie were in oure owne power or nature: than should there bee no merite nor rewarde of God for it', Ponet wrote: 'virginitie is not in our owne poer. contra. fo. 111 fo. 108. et 93. et fo. 89.'[869] Although he acknowledged that Christ's 'bare words' seemed to imply 'could not', Martyn asserted that the true meaning was 'would not'. Ponet responded in the margin, 'posse pro velle a trope that can not be defended.'[870] This was not a matter of the liberty of the will, but rather the bondage of the will.

The third of Christ's sayings cut to the heart of the issue: 'thy will be done.' (Matt. 6:10). Ponet commented that 'martyn wold haue us scrape fiat voluntas tua out of our pater noster.'[871] Indeed, Ponet continued his sustained attack on Martyn's position by accusing him of Pelagianism with respect to the Lord's Prayer and his understanding of concursus.[872] Ponet also noticed the absence of any mention of 1 John 5:14b ('according to his will, he hears us'), a verse which he heavily annotated in his Greek New Testament and was described in the margin as a 'great treasure'.[873] In the *Draft Reply,* Ponet described the will of God as 'no stertinghole but the kings heygh way and that so brode and playn a highe way that all the popishe heretiques in Christendom be not hable to stope it'.[874] Thus, the question of clerical celibacy ultimately boiled down to the gift of celibacy. Or, in Ponet's words: 'the guift of allmightie god is a suer ground to all my doctrine, and an overthrow to all yours.'[875] The importance of this is reflected in the prominence given to the charge of Pelagianism in both Ponet's *Apologie* and Parker's *Defence of Priestes.*

Unsurprisingly, some of the theological lifting within the *Draft Reply* was incorporated into Ponet's *Apologie.* We have observed several explicit inclusions within the *Apologie*, but the above

869 *Draft Reply,* 292r.
870 *Draft Reply,* 251r.
871 *Draft Reply,* 305r; c.f., 280v.
872 *Draft Reply,* 216r; 283r.
873 *Draft Reply,* 282r; *GNT* 2:294: 'Magnus Thesaurus'.
874 *Draft Reply,* 280r.
875 *Draft Reply,* 229v.

analysis also elucidates much of the thought implicit in Ponet's reply. What is surprising, however, are the subjects that did not find their way into the *Apologie* in any substantial way. Although the Old Testament priests were discussed, there was no mention of the succession-election issue, nor King David and his men; although there was discussion of 1 Corinthians 7, there was no mention of the distinction between general and particular willing with respect to Paul's 'wish', nor either of the colourful illustrations of the point; and although there was a short section on vows there was no discussion of the distinction between Godly and ungodly vows, nor the distinction between reproach and condemnation. Moreover, there was no defence of Archbishop Cranmer, no story of Cardinal Cremensis, no mention of John Heywood's poetry, and no reply from Ridley to Moreman. Of note are the nature of the unmarried celibate life, and the discussion of vows, both of which theological loci featured in a minor way in the *Apologie* yet featured greatly in Parker's *Defence of Priestes*.[876]

This distribution of material from the *Draft Reply* supports our contention that John Ponet envisioned a three-volume response to Thomas Martyn concerning clerical marriage. The reason that the *Apologie* drew selectively from the *Draft Reply,* was that it was only intended to be a concise introduction to the debate over clerical marriage and was thus largely geared towards identifying Martyn's position with heresy. The swathes of material seemingly left lying around the margins of the *Draft Reply* were most likely to have been utilised in his second and third books against the blasphemies of Thomas Martyn. Though these books seemingly never materialised, some of the preparatory work within the *Draft Reply* eventually saw the light of day with the publication of Matthew Parker's *Defence of Priestes*. Nevertheless, the existence of the *Draft Reply* affords an invaluable window not only into the processes of production and preparation of the polemics which contributed to the *Apologie,* but also provides a snapshot of John Ponet's most mature reflection on clerical marriage and related theological and historical

[876] E.g., the near identical discussion of the gifts of marriage and singleness as gold or silver in *Defence of Priestes,* 249, 289; Nazirite and Rechabite vows in *Defence of Priestes,* 111.

positions, which he envisioned becoming the most important theological project of his time in exile.

## THEOLOGY IN STRASSBURG: A MISATTRIBUTION TO PONET ON THE EUCHARIST

Hudson has suggested that during the early phase of his exile, Ponet substantially produced an important piece of eucharistic theology known as the *Diallacticon* which was published posthumously and anonymously sometime before 21 October 1557.[877] The treatise was written in Latin and such was its intellectual success that it was translated into French and English, and republished a number of times.[878] The argument was irenic in tone and academic in style, with the goal of traversing the eucharistic walls which were being erected between the Lutheran and Reformed camps in relation to the ubiquity of Christ's body and the *manducatio indignorum.*[879]

The major theological contribution of the treatise was the deployment of the concept of transelementation, such that the bread and wine used in the eucharist are turned into Christ's body and blood in a spiritual rather than carnal manner.[880] The term transubstantiation — although new and unnecessary — might have had some place, if not for the introduction of a sacramental change of the substances, which destroyed the previous substance.[881] The transelemented signs which have spiritual virtue and grace joined to them, are received by the wicked and produce their death and damnation, and are received by the righteous as a great

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877 *Diallacticon Viri Boni et Literati, de Veritate, Natura atque Substantia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia* (Strassburg, 1557); Hudson, *John Ponet,* 79. Johannes Sturm sent Albert Hardenberg a copy on 21 October according to Hardenberg's letter to Melanchthon, in Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider (ed.), *Philippi Melanchthonis Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia* in *Corpus Reformatorum,* 28 vols. (Halis Saxonum, 1842), 9:348-350, no.6383. This book which contains Sturm's dedication is located at the Johannes à Lasco Bibliothek, Emden, Theol. 8° 0469 H. Contra Hudson, *John Ponet*, vii, the *Diallacticon* is not the *Axiomata eucharistiae* which Bale speaks of in the *Scriptorum,* 695, for this non-extant eucharistic work was written prior to his exile according to Bale's earlier notebook, the *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*.

878 Additional editions include 1566 and 1567 French translations, 1576 Latin republication, and 1605 and 1688 English translations.

879 Hudson, *John Ponet,* 79.

880 *Diallacticon,* 39r: 'Ita re ipsa convertur, & transelementatur panis in carnem Christi, sed spirituali non carnali conversione, quia panis virtutem carnis assequitur.'

881 *Diallacticon,* 49r-v: 'Quanquam vox ipsa transubstantionatis, nova quidem & non necessaria, locum tamen aliquem, ut transelemenatio fortassis habere potuisset, si non aliam quam veteres intellexerunt, hoc est, quam sacramentalem substantiarum commutationem induxissent, quae priore manente substantia peragitur'.

goodness.[882] Indeed, such was the emphasis on the joining of the grace of Christ to the bread and wine, that the *Diallacticon* argued that the sacrament of thanksgiving should be adored by the faithful.[883]

Considering these extraordinary theological positions, it is remarkable that none of Ponet's recent biographers have seriously questioned his authorship of the *Diallacticon.*[884] Fortunately, earlier scholars have been more discerning. Indeed, the best analysis of the authorship of the *Diallacticon* remains the work of Dean William Goode in the context of its use by ritualist Archdeacon George Denison and the celebrated 'Bath Judgement' of 1856.[885] Goode rightly noted that Joseph Justus Scaliger, Vincent Placcius, and Thomas Tanner all hesitated to ascribe authorship to Ponet, and gave equal weight to the possibility of Anthony Cooke as its author.[886] Moreover, Goode correctly interpreted Elizabeth Hoby Russell's intriguing preface to her English translation of the *Diallacticon* as referring to Anthony Cooke, rather than Ponet.[887]

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[882] *Diallacticon,* 77r-v: 'Nam si spectemus ipsam sacramenti naturam, divina virtus abesse a signo non potest, qua sacramentum est & huic usui servit: Sin mores & ingenium accipientis, illa vita & gratia non est, quod alio qui natura sua utrunque [sic] est, quia malorum nequitia tantae bonitatis non est capax, nec fructum in ipsa ferre sinit, imo contra, mors illa & condemnation est.'

[883] *Diallacticon,* 76v: 'veteres cum de sacramentis loquebantur, variis vocibus usos esse, honorandi, venerandi, adorandi ... Ut duplex adoratio esse definiatur, altera, qua Deum ipsum prosequimur, altera, qua praescripta signa, & mysteria divina ... poterimus dicere adorandam carnem Christi, quamuis creatura sit, propter coniunctam divinitatem, adorandam arcam foederis, propter divinae maiestatis praesentiam, quam Deus ipse pollicitus est affuturam, ad quem modum etiam Eucharistiam possumus adorare, propter ineffabilem & invisibilem'.

[884] Especially Hudson, *John Ponet,* 79, who claims it to be 'the definitive statement of the Protestant position in the controversy between Cranmer and Gardiner as to the true nature of the Lord's Supper.' Also, Andrew Pettegree, 'Latin Polemic', 309, who describes it as 'a cogent and effective statement of the position of the English Church on Eucharistic doctrine'.

[885] William Goode, *The Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist: or, The True Doctrine of the Real Presence Vindicated in opposition to the Fictitious Real Presence asserted by Archdeacon Denison, Mr. (late Archdeacon) Wilberforce, and Dr. Pusey.,* 2 vols. (London, 1856), 2:777-787.

[886] Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Scaligeriana sive Excerpta ex ore Josephi Scaligeri per F.F. P.P.* (Hagae-Comitis, 1666), 79: 'Cooki Praeceptoris Edoardi VI Diallacticon, non vixit tempore Bertrami, quia ante 150 annos non erat in usu vox illa Diallacticon'; Vincent Placcius, *Theatrum Anonymorum et Pseudonymorum* (Hamburg, 1708), 107: 'Huius libelli, qui utriusque partis cordatis viris plerisque placuit, auctor fuisse creditor *Ant.* COOKUS, Eduardi 6. Angliae Regis Praeceptor, & Consiliarius intimus'; Tanner, *Britannico-Hibernica*, 604: 'An idem, et an Poneto, vel D. Ant Cook'. Their authorial indecision likely stemmed from the fact that French editions were published under Cooke's name, and the fact that Cooke acquired Ponet's library (and presumably his unpublished manuscripts).

[887] Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell, *A Way of Reconciliation* (London, 1605), RSTC 21456, A.2v: 'And fearing lest after my death it should be Printed according to the humors of other, and wrong of the dead, who in his life approued my Translation with his owne allowance'. Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety, and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2013), 59-60, interprets Russell's dedication rightly, but by following Hudson and assuming Ponet's authorship, comes to a contorted conclusion.

Finally, Goode rightly observed the severe contradictions between the theology of the *Diallacticon*, and Ponet's *Notable Sermon* and his *Short Catechisme*.[888]

There was, however, once piece of evidence that Goode did not satisfactorily explain. In 1580, Johannes Sturm noted that the *Diallacticon* was written by 'P. Poneti Episcopi VVintoniensis.'[889] Goode noted the existence of one Petrus Ponetus whose treatise on the Lord's Supper he had not examined, and who may have been the actual author — the reference to the episcopal title would thus be an understandable confusion of surnames. The *Propugnaculum* of the Carmelite Ponetus did indeed contain a multitude of references to transelementation, so notwithstanding the intra-evangelical discussion of the *Diallacticon,* it may have been possible for Petrus Ponetus to have been the author.[890] Nevertheless, had Goode noticed that Sturm was also the author of the preface to the *Diallacticon,* his case would have been much stronger. For Sturm explicitly stated that he was unsure as to whom the author truly was.[891]

None of this, however, precludes the possibility that Ponet adopted Lutheran sensibilities during his time in Strassburg and subsequently wrote the *Diallacticon.* Ponet was aware of the concept of transelementation (also known as transmutation). His copy of *Theophylactus,* a text heavily utilised in the *Diallacticon,* was moderately marked up around Matthew 26:26-28.[892] He scribbled 'transmutation' in his copy of Vadianus' *Aphorisms.*[893] He underlined two examples of geological transmutation in the *Gesta Danorum.* In his copy of the *Conciliorum,* he underlined and made marginal comments concerning the decision of the Council of Florence to pass over the

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[888] Especially his denunciation of Lutheran eucharistic theology, and the term 'natural' as applied to the Lord's Supper in his *Notable Sermon.*

[889] Johannes Sturm, *Quarti Antipappi Tres Partes Priores* (Neapoli, 1580), 176: 'Quare, quae scripsi, in veteribus novis quatuor: & quae praefatus sum, ante annos viginti in diallacticum P. Poneti Episcopi VVintoniensis.'

[890] Petrus Ponetus, *Propugnaculum Christiani Dogmatis de Vera et Corporali Praesentia Corporis Christi* (Antwerp, 1565), for example, E.ii$^{v}$-E.iii$^{r}$, 56$^{r}$, 61$^{r}$, 62$^{v}$, 71$^{v}$, 75$^{v}$, 77$^{v}$, 84$^{r}$, 84$^{v}$, 100$^{r}$, 109$^{v}$, 149$^{r}$.

[891] *Diallacticon,* )(.2$^{v}$: 'Hic vero liber de hac quaestione confectus, cuiuscunque is sit, viri sane esse videtur boni, eruditi, moderati...'

[892] *Commentary on the Four Gospels,* 116.

[893] *Aphorisms,* 109: 'transmutationes'.

discussion of the transmutation of the elements in the Lord's Supper.[894] Furthermore, he would have been aware of the use of transelementation in Vermigli, Bucer, and the equivalent 'conversion' in Cranmer's eucharistic theology.[895]

However, the transelementation supported by the non-Lutheran reformers was not the transformation of the elements themselves, but the transelementation of the recipient into the likeness of Christ (thus, the similitude from the physical bread being transformed into the physical body).[896] We can observe this distinction clearly in the later eucharistic theology of Stephen Gardiner which upheld transelementation and adoration of the elements (1552), and that of Peter Martyr Vermigli which denounced transelementation and adoration of the elements (1559).[897] This latter form of transelementation is where Ponet's sympathies would have lain, and we can be sure from his marginalia in the *Draft Reply*. Denouncing Martyn's 'inventions of Antichrist', Ponet calculated the number of days in 42 months by using long multiplication. He came to the conclusion: 'numerus 1176 dies 42 mensium regni antichristi' – which dates back to the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent.[898] Not only did this session of the Council uphold the conversion of the substances of bread and wine into the substances of Christ's body and blood, but the concomitant feature of the worship and adoration of the most holy sacrament — precisely what was advocated in the *Diallacticon*, and precisely why Ponet was not its author.

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[894] *Gesta Danorum,* 2v: 'Sane quicquid fumi huius exhalatione respergit, in lapideae naturae duritiam transmutant', 'ut admotum quidlibet fumidoque eius vapore perfusum, in lapidis proprietatem forma duntaxat superstite subita conversione transmutet'; *Concilorum,* 3:474: Underlined comment, 'Quibus quidem quatuor quaestionibus dissolutis, summus pontifex petiit, ut de divina panis transmutatione, quae quidem quarta quaestio fuit, in synodo ageretur'; 3:475: Marginal comment, 'Grae[cae] transmutatione ulla fiat mentio', underlined comment, 'necnon, de diuina panis transmutatione'.

[895] Vermigli, *A Discourse*, xv$^{r}$; Edward Charles Whitaker, *Martin Bucer and the Book of Common Prayer* (Great Wakering, 1974), 56: 'eo mutarentur, & quasi transelementarentur'; Cranmer, *Answer,* 48, 81, 285, 288.

[896] An excellent example of this similitude in Roger Hutchinson, *The Image of God* (London, 1550), RSTC 14019, xxiii$^{r-v}$.

[897] Stephen Gardiner [Marco Antonio], *Confutatio Cavillationum* (Paris, 1552), 219; Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Defensio Doctrinae* (Zürich, 1559), 104: 'Nos in Christum transelementamur'; 410: 'Pii homines magis mutantur in Christum quam panis in corpus Christi', 403-410.

[898] *Draft Reply,* 24$^{r}$; c.f., *Draft Reply,* 102$^{v}$-104$^{r}$.

## THEOLOGY IN STRASSBURG: POLITICAL THEOLOGY

Ponet was not only occupied with the debate over clerical celibacy throughout the whole period of his exile, but he was also — to a similar degree — occupied with political propaganda against the Marian regime. However, while Ponet's *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* has attracted most scholarly attention, it has not been recognised that Ponet authored two other pieces of political propaganda in Strassburg. John Bale's *Scriptorum* indicates that Ponet authored 'Praemonitionem ad Anglos' and 'Ad Reginam interrogationes'.[899] Three main candidates have been suggested for these works: *Certayn questions*, *A Warnyng for England*, and the *Shorte Treatise.*[900] We know that 'Praemonitionem ad Anglos' is non-extant, since an anonymous tract printed in the context of the debate over vestments in 1566, makes the statement: 'Docter Poynet ... in his admonition to England liknith them to a porters weede of billingsgate', and this reference to clerical surplices does not concur with any of the abovementioned suggestions, nor other extant anonymous pieces of political propaganda.[901] Since Bale was Latinising the English titles, both *Shorte Treatise* and *A Warnyng for England* are not possibilities for 'Ad Reginam interrogationes', and it is highly unlikely that *Certayn questions* is a match given its use of gender as its argument against Mary and its argument from the bastardy of Mary.

The identity of 'Ad Reginam interrogationes' can be traced to another piece of political propaganda published in 1555, *A Supplicacyon to the Quenes Maiestie*. Although Tracey Sowerby has recently put forward a fair case for the probability of Richard Morison's authorship, there are good grounds to think otherwise.[902] The themes in the *Supplicacyon* concur neatly with Ponet's political theology as outlined in the *Shorte Treatise* (commonwealth, private possessions,

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899 *Scriptorum,* 694.
900 *Certayne Questions Demaunded and Asked by the Noble Realme of Englande* (1555), RSTC 9981; *A Warning for England Conteyning the Horrible Practises of the Kyng of Spayn in the Kyngdom of Naples* (1555), RSTC 10023.7 [Strassburg], RSTC 10024 [Emden]; Christopher J. Warner (ed.), *John Bale's Catalogue of Tudor Authors: An Annotated Translation from the Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae (1557-1559)* (Tempe, Arizona, 2010), 128-129.
901 Anon, *An Answere for the Tyme*, 39.
902 Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform,* 237-238.

tyranny), and crucially, both texts contain the autobiographical recollection of a known bishop who spoke of his willingness to serve under the Turks rather than risk trouble. *A Supplicacyon* also contains frequent personal invective against Stephen Gardiner, and an extended reference to Thomas Martin's *Traictise*, a phrase of which is closely echoed in Ponet's *Draft Reply* and *Apologie*:

> Martin doctor of lies (I wold haue said of laws). (*Supplicacyon*)
>
> ... suche a lewd lawyer with his legion of lyes. (*Draft Reply*)
>
> Master Doctor Martin the lawyer (as off himself he sayth) but I might better haue said of D. Martin the lyar. (*Apologie*)[903]

The *Supplicacyon* displays Ponet's characteristic deployment of historical anecdotes and biblical stories with the purpose of driving a wedge between Queen Mary and her conservative counsellors, to restrain the further lurch towards Rome and undoing of the Edwardian reformation. To discredit Mary's leading ecclesiastical operators, large sections of the pamphlet cited Stephen Gardiner's *De Vera Obedientia* and Edmund Bonner's prologue to Gardiner's now embarrassing treatise in support of the Royal Supremacy over Rome. Ponet also had in mind the deleterious effects of the royal prerogatives to be potentially granted to Mary's new husband Philip of Spain and cited various examples of the economic ruin which had come to cities under the Spanish mode of government. The examples of Naples and Milan were cited for their poverty due to overtaxation, and the intrusion of Spaniards without regard for the rights of the native citizens. Most of the *Supplicacyon* was completed by 26 January 1555, but upon the news of the burning of earliest Marian martyrs in early February, Ponet hastily added three pages before publication which pleaded for God to open the Queen's heart to perceive 'the wyckyd deuyses and tyranye of here shamlesse and crewell bysshoppes and clergye'.[904]

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[903] *Supplicacyon,* 7[r]; *Apologie,* CXXXV-CXXXVI; *Draft Reply,* 216[v].
[904] *Supplicacyon,* 25[v].

Seeing no end to the suffering of evangelicals in England, Ponet penned his *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* which was published around the time of his death in the latter half of 1556.[905] Although most political pamphlets were published anonymously, the *Shorte Treatise* featured a clue as to his authorship: the acronym 'D.I.P.B.R.W' printed on the title page was code for 'Doctor John Ponet Bishop of Rochester and Winchester'. It is probable that his close allies were aware of his authorship, and others such as Thomas Becon had heard rumours of his authorship through their evangelical networks.[906] Presumably the perceptive traditionalist in Marian England would have had the wherewithal to correctly interpret his initials.

This explosive contribution to the propaganda campaign was the centrepiece of the Strassburg resistance literature, forged in the context of Vermigli's public lectures on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, but going beyond the limits of Peter Martyr's exposition on resistance.[907] The purpose of the treatise was to give a theological rationale for the nature of political power and therefore outline the nature of true obedience which subjects owed their kings and governors, and exhort them toward this obedience. The structure of the treatise consisted of eight sections presented as questions, excepting the first and last chapters which provided the theological foundations and exhortations respectively. Not only does the *Shorte Treatise* capture John Ponet's most important assault upon the Marian regime, but it represents the culmination of his intellectual abilities and interests.

The first section of *Shorte Treatise* outlined the origin and purpose of political power. Ponet made the case that natural law was grounded in God's character and given to mankind to order and govern what should and should not be done. This natural law comprehended all justice (towards God and man) and its proper understanding was requisite for the flourishing of a

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[905] *Shorte Treatise*, A.1$^{r}$: 'And albeit the Printour is not sure whether the autor be gone to God allready'.
[906] Thomas Becon, *An Answer to a Certain Godly Mannes Lettres* (Strassburg, 1557), RSTC 658, A.ii$^{r}$; c.f., *Shorte Treatise,* E.iiii$^{v}$.
[907] Orazio Bravi, 'Über die intellektuellen Wurzel des Republikanismus von Petrus Martyr Vermigli' in Emidio Campi (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism*, *Reformation* (Geneva: 2002), 129.

commonwealth. Although the natural law was 'furst planted and graffed only in the mynde of man', an expression of this law was later published in the Decalogue and afterwards in Christ's two great commandments.[908] During the antediluvian period there was no corporal punishment for offending against the natural law — Cain and Lamech were protected by God's lenience. But after widespread iniquity God flooded the world and gave Noah the command for the shedding of blood to be punished with blood (Gen. 9:6). This command instituted political power and gave mankind authority to make laws over the body and life of man, his goods, lands, possessions and all such things for serving and glorifying God. The existence of laws implied the necessity of magistrates to execute the laws. Nevertheless, there was freedom given to nations to determine the appropriate number of lawmakers: one as per Moses, many as Lycurgus, Solon and 'the ten', or all. Consonant with the freedom to designate lawmakers was the freedom regarding how to govern:

> And these diuerse kyndes of states or policies hade their distincte names, as wher one ruled, a *Monarchie:* wher many of the best, *Aristocratie:* wher the multitude, *Democratie:* and wher all together, that is, a king, the nobilitie, and conmones, a mixte state: which men by long continuance haue iudged to be the best sort of all. For wher that mixte state was exerciced, ther did the common wealthe longest continue.[909]

Ponet understood that every kind of state tended to the end of justice, wealth and the benefit of the whole people. Where the superiors or governors abused their power, the polity of the commonwealth corrected itself for the sake of justice: from the judges to the kings in biblical history, and in Roman history from the tyranny of Tarquinius to the ten, and later three men. Healthy commonwealths were maintained by a means of protecting the people from princes or governors: ephors among the Spartans, tribunes among the Romans, and parliaments among the English. Where the commonwealth forsook God (e.g., the Hungarians, and the Turks) then 'by litel and litel' the whole body of people would be afflicted with tyranny. Therefore, the two

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[908] *Shorte Treatise,* A.ii[v].
[909] *Shorte Treatise,* A.v[r].

essential virtues for the health of the commonwealth were faith and friendship, the counterparts of love of God and neighbour, which love fulfilled the natural law.[910]

The second section of the *Shorte Treatise* broached the sensitive question of whether kings, princes or other governors had absolute power over their subjects. Ponet drew the distinction between the law of God and the law of kings in order to demonstrate that human powers do not have authority to dissolve or dispense with God's law, since 'before Magistrates were, Goddes lawes were'.[911] The question that followed was whether kings and princes may do things contrary to the positive laws of their country (e.g., enforce certain vestments or diets). To answer this question, Ponet drew another distinction, between two kinds of kings, princes, and governors: the first who alone may make positive laws because the country had resigned this power over to them (e.g., Dionyius, Philip, and Alexander), the other where the people had retained this power themselves (e.g., a healthy mixed state). Ponet argued that the former category, as illustrated by Caligula, ruled as tyrants who wielded absolute power; whereas the latter category, as illustrated by Antiochus III, preserved the wellbeing of the commonwealth through subservience to the law.[912]

This discussion naturally moved into the third question, which concerned how kings, princes, and governors, were subject to God's laws and the positive laws of their countries. The starting point here was the distinction between private and public persons. Since the Decalogue applied to kings and princes as private persons, how much more responsibility did they have as public persons to obey it? Ponet used general biblical principles and specific biblical examples (e.g., King Saul, King Rehoboam, and King Joram) to underscore this point.[913] His penetrating exegesis of the most pivotal New Testament text for political theology supported this point

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910 *Shorte Treatise,* A.v$^{v}$-A.viii$^{r}$.
911 *Shorte Treatise,* B.iiii$^{r-v}$.
912 *Shorte Treatise,* B.vi$^{r}$-B.viii$^{r}$.
913 General principles drawn from Psalm 2:10-12a; Psalm 110:5; Isaiah 3:14; Micah 3:1-4, 9-12; Wisdom 6.

also.[914] The use of 'ψυχὴ' in Romans 13:1 referred not to laypersons particularly (as distinct from clergy) but to all estates of people, since the same word applied to the souls in Noah's Ark and the souls of the house of Jacob. This enabled Ponet to observe that 'ἐξουσία', also in Romans 13:1, spoke of the law generally understood, rather than the law of kings and princes particularly. Thus, the true meaning of Romans 13:1 did not apply to the subjects of the commonwealth only. Rather, all persons — indeed kings, princes and governors — must be obedient to God's laws and the positive laws of their country. To confirm his point, Ponet pointed to the examples of agreement from Trajan and Zaleuchus among the 'Ethnikes' and Pope Innocent III from Christendom.[915]

Having argued for the binding nature of law on all persons within the commonwealth, Ponet turned to the nature of obedience between subjects and their princes and governors. The health of a commonwealth required the avoidance of too much or too little obedience. The latter was demonstrated by Anabaptism which held a false view of Christian liberty by denying the fall and thus the need for civil political powers. The former was demonstrated by 'theenglishe papistes' who did not consider degrees of power nor the proper place of civil power, but desired civil power to be blindly obeyed.[916] Those who denied the possibility for disobedience misinterpreted the text of 1 Peter 2:8 ('Seruauntes obeie your maisters, although they be froward and churlishe'). Ponet noticed that household servants or slaves were on view here, not free citizens. Notwithstanding the exegesis of this text, the Scriptures were replete with examples where God's people resisted tyrants and were saved: the Israelites from Pharaoh, Mordecai from Haman, Susanna from the wicked judges, Daniel from the lion's den, and Peter from Herod. The principle for Christian obedience was 'to doo good, and in no wise to doo euil,

914 Wollman, 'Biblical Justification for Resistance', 29-41.
915 *Shorte Treatise,* C.iiii$^{v}$-C.vii$^{v}$.
916 *Shorte Threatise,* C.viii$^{r-v}$.

whoso euer commaundeth it'.[917] Yet to 'doo good' one must understand the hierarchy of authority structures embedded within the commonwealth:

> And men ought to haue more respecte to their countrey, than to their prince: to the common wealthe, than to any one persone. For the countrey and common wealthe is a degree aboue the king. Next vnto God men ought to loue their countrey, and the hole common wealthe before any membre of it: as kinges and princes (be they neuer so great) are but membres: and common wealthes mai stande well ynough and florishe, albeit ther be no kinges, but contrary wise without a common wealthe ther can be no king.[918]

To illustrate the priority of the commonwealth, Ponet sympathetically turned to cases where resistance ought to have occurred on the occasion of the breach of law. Lady Jane Grey consented to that which was not by civil justice lawful and suffered for it. Thomas Cranmer attempted resisting but eventually subscribed to King Edward's will and suffered as a traitor for it. But Ponet saved his savage comments for those persons who flagrantly ignored the law under the Marian regime. Turning his attention to Bonner, the 'Archbocher of London', Ponet demonstrated that his disregard for law undermined the legitimacy of his ministry. Ponet recalled his heritage, 'thou were the sonne of the earthe by thy fathers side, and of an erraunt hoore by the mother, and so a bastarde' and demanded to know 'by what autoritie saiest thou thy masse, whan thy lawes suffre no bastardes to be priestes without dispensacion?' Ponet railed against Bonner for deceiving various nobles, gentlemen and commoners in his campaign to persecute evangelicals: 'what consciences maie they haue through thee?' He then shifted the focus from Bonner to 'the rest of the traitors thy Companions' who persuaded Queen Mary to 'geue ouer the towne of *Calese and Barwike* to a straunge prince'. This act, according to Ponet, was illegal since nobody in the commonwealth should have sold or given away fortresses (e.g., Calais or Berwick) without consent of the commons. Ungodly laws ought to have been disobeyed to the point of suffering, just as Isaiah stood up to Manasseh, Daniel to Darius and

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917 *Shorte Treatise,* D.iii$^{v}$.
918 *Shorte Treatise,* D.vii$^{r}$.

his councillors, and those three heroes of the faith, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego.[919] Thus, both disobedience to godly laws and obedience to ungodly laws suffered from the same problem: unfaithfulness to the righteous rule of law within the commonwealth.[920]

Since all members of the commonwealth must be law abiding citizens, then the subject of lawfulness came into focus. The pressing question for Ponet was how the commonwealth related to the theology of private property. He began with a discussion of Anabaptist errors concerning common goods: they imagine that Christians exist as Adam did before the fall, and as such all things are to be held in common. However, the Anabaptists neglected the fallen state of man and the provision of work for the means of existence east of Eden. To encourage this work God ordained a distinction of things and property, as evidenced by what was presupposed in the commands, 'Do not steal' and 'Do not covet'. Thus, when the New Testament spoke of common goods, it emphasised the generosity of the Christian community who liberally gave out of their private possessions to alleviate the suffering of others.[921] The error of wicked governors and rulers exceeded that of the Anabaptists for they held their subjects' possessions in common to themselves yet gave nothing away. In other words, this was theft of private possessions, as recently exemplified through mismanaged taxes, debasement of coinage, and the illegal sequestration of property. This denunciation was supported with the testimony of Scripture, which cast royal theft in a terrible light: when God's people first asked for a king they were warned that he would take their possessions, and when Ahaz was judged harshly over the theft of Naboth's vineyard.[922]

Ponet then began the most controversial section of his work: whether it was lawful to depose an evil governor or kill a tyrant. The first step in his argument was to broach the question of

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[919] *Shorte Treatise,* D.vii$^{v}$-E.vii$^{r}$.
[920] *Shorte Treatise,* E.vii$^{v}$.
[921] *Shorte Treatise,* E.viii$^{r-v}$.
[922] 1 Samuel 8:10-18; 1 Samuel 21.

deposition, and his answer was buttressed with examples of royal deposition: from the Bible ('it is full of it'), from post-Classical history (Edward II, the Danish King Christian II, Chilperic of France, King Andrew of Hungary, and King Sancho II of Portugal), and from conciliar theory and from the broader sweep of history.[923] But one of the most clear and compelling arguments from history was the ancient office of the High Constable of England who had authority not only to summon the King before parliament or other courts but also to commit him to the ward where necessary. Ponet then turned from deposition to tyrannicide. The argument was grounded upon natural law as described by a blending of St. Paul and, as discovered by Winthrop Hudson, the great Roman politician and lawyer, Cicero:

> But now to proue the later parte of this question affirmatiuely, that it is laufull to kill a tiranne: ther is no man can denie, but that the Ethnikes (albeit they had not the right and perfite true knowlage of God) were endued with the knowlage of the lawe of nature. For it is no priuate lawe to a fewe or certain people, but common to all: not written in bokes, but graffed in the heartes of men: not made by man, but ordained of God: which we haue not learned, receaued or redde, but haue taken, sucked, and drawne it out of nature: wherunto we are not taught, but made: not instructed, but seasoned: and (as S. Paule saieth) mannes conscience bearing witnesse of it.[924]

Upon this natural law, the 'Ethnikes' despised tyrants and held tyrannicide to be an act of great honour. They thought it a reasonable act and enshrined it in positive law. The person who killed a tyrant was highly esteemed, rewarded, commemorated and commended in praise, songs and verses. Indeed, this was where the idea of nobility came from. True nobility was not characterised by the 'destroieng of their natural countrey men, and traiterous betraieng of their countrey' but by those who out of 'their virtue and love to their country' delivered their people from wicked tyrants. There were abundant examples to be found in ancient Greece: Hercules

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[923] *Shorte Treatise,* G.iii[r-v].

[924] *Shorte Treatise* G.vi[r-v]. The biblical citation is from Romans 2:14 and the Ciceronian citation was first noticed by Hudson, *John Ponet,* 176-177, to be a rough translation from *Pro Milone:* 'This, therefore, is a law, O judges, not written, but born with us,—which we have not learnt or received by tradition, or read, but which we have taken and sucked in and imbibed from nature herself; a law which we were not taught but to which we were made,—which we were not trained in, but which is ingrained in us,—namely, that if our life be in danger from plots, or from open violence, or from the weapons of robbers or enemies, every means of securing our safety is honourable.' (Cic. Mil. 4.10).

and Theseus, and the various nobles who rescued the Romans, Spartans and Greeks at various times. The noblemen of God's people also attested to the lawfulness of tyrannicide: Gideon, Barak, Jephthah, and Sampson all delivered their people from the tyranny of the Philistines. Thus, tyrannicide was not peculiar to the gentiles but issued from natural law and thus was common to all persons, as evidenced in the books of Chronicles and Judges in other places of the Scriptures. Ponet cited examples of 'lawes of many christiane regiones' where private persons were permitted to kill malefactors as if they were magistrates: where a ruler shed innocent blood then their blood was shed, and similarly where a ruler was found in adultery or attempted to rape a virgin, and where treasonous acts were committed against a country.

Nevertheless, in order to maintain the order and charity of the commonwealth there was only one set of circumstances where Ponet deemed this act permissible: where the punishment of the tyrant (or idolatrous or treacherous ruler) was either neglected by the whole state, or there existed a conspiracy between the ruler and nobles, and where any private man had either a special inward commandment of God or surely proved motion of God.[925] Nevertheless, those who were judges within the commonwealth ought rather to summon the rulers to answer for their crimes. Where this did not occur then another means of remedy was for the ministers of the Word of God to excommunicate the tyrants. And where this did not occur then two other weapons remained: corporate penance and prayer. Thus, Ponet's advocacy for tyrannicide was a last resort. Deposition, legal recourse through magistrates, excommunication, penance and prayer were clearly set forth as preferable means of removing tyranny from the commonwealth.[926]

'What confidence is to be given to princes and potentates' was the title of the next section, and Ponet singled out the problem which lay at the heart of the English commonwealth: the absence

[925] Moses (Exodus 2), Phinehas (Numbers 25), and Ehud and the King of Eglon (Judges 3).
[926] *Shorte Treatise,* G.vi$^{v}$-H.vii$^{v}$.

of virtuous nobility and the presence of treacherous nobility. He told the stories of Heracleo who betrayed his city to Aurelianus, and Romilda who betrayed her city after lusting after the invader, King Cananus. These stories mirrored the recent betrayals of the English commonwealth. Ponet levelled his aim at Thomas Wriothesley, Henry FitzAlan (Earl of Arundel) and Richard Southwell for conspiring with Northumberland to bring down Somerset.[927] But even their ignoble efforts were hardly comparable to those of that 'outwarde monstre' with a 'vengeable witte', Stephen Gardiner. He caused the hanging of his nephew Germain Gardiner 'least he should haue to muche disclosed his maisters arte', betrayed his master 'Carnall wolsei', and spent 'halfe of his bishopriche in bribing'.[928] Ponet even identified his own former friends Paget and Mason as treacherous nobles for their role in the capture of John Cheke and Peter Carew, and thus they were numbered among the other ignoble councillors presently 'in the highest authoritie in the Queenes house'.[929] The message was clear: the commonwealth of England was in danger because of its rotten nobility.

The *Shorte Treatise* concluded with an exhortation, or rather warning, to the Lords and commons of England. Ponet outlined a series of recent monstrous deformities of children born in England and interpreted them as deformities of the body of the commonwealth: the child born in Oxford in 1552 with two heads warned of divided heads of England (Mary and Philip), the child born in Coventry in 1555 without limbs warned of England's lack of defences, and the child born in Fullham in 1556 with a great head and deformities warned of England's inflated monarchical rule and broken nobility.[930] In light of these signs of God's impending judgment, the final pages concluded with an extended reflection on the repentance required to avoid God's curses upon the commonwealth.

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927 *Shorte Treatise,* I.iii$^{r}$.
928 *Shorte Treatise,* I.vi$^{r}$-I.v$^{r}$.
929 *Shorte Treatise,* I.v$^{v}$-I.vii$^{v}$.
930 *Shorte Treatise,* K.ii$^{r}$-K.v$^{r}$.

## THEOLOGY IN STRASSBURG: CALVINIST RESISTANCE THEORY?

The *Shorte Treatise* has often been linked with the political treatises of John Knox and Christopher Goodman and thus referred to as 'Calvinist resistance theory'. However, this labelling is inaccurate and unwarranted. Notwithstanding the fact that Ponet's treatise predates those of Knox and Goodman, the *Shorte Treatise* is decidedly more humanist than biblicist in its theological methodology as compared with the two Frankfurt cum Genevan exiles. Moreover, although Ponet would have likely held theological sympathies with John Calvin, he was not a disciple. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the entire corpus of Ponet's marginalia is the near absence of reference to the great Genevan reformer. From the total of 411 citations within the *Draft Reply* alone there is a mere one reference to Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* which comes within the context of a discussion on clerical attire.[931] It is possible that Ponet owned and used several of Calvin's works that are now non-extant. However, even if this possibility obtained, the influence of Calvin on Ponet's thought is unlikely. For if Ponet did indeed have any significant dependency on Calvin — even a moderate dependency just as he had with Vermigli and more so Bullinger — we would expect to see some evidence of this within the *Draft Reply*. Moreover, there is an insurmountable chronological difficulty of positing his reliance upon Calvin's political theology. Ponet wrote his treatise which permitted the possibility of private resistance in 1556, whereas Calvin only moved to this possibility after 1559.[932] Thus, notwithstanding the anachronistic and outdated 'Calvin vs. the Calvinists' historiographical framework, it is reasonably safe to conclude that Ponet was no 'Calvinist Resistance Theorist' — indeed, given the chronology it would be more feasible to describe Calvin as a 'Ponetist Resistance Theorist'. Rather, the sources of Ponet's political thought suggest that it is better to view him simply as an evangelical and humanist political theologian;

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931 *Draft Reply,* 146r.
932 Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven, 2009), 312.

thoroughly committed to an evangelical appropriation of the results of his humanist scholarship in the field of political history and theology.

This view of Ponet's political theology is borne out in an analysis of his doctrine of natural law, which has been observed by scholars and described as 'unique in the history of English political thought before Hooker'.[933] We have already noted Hudson's important discovery of Ponet's reliance on Cicero for his deployment of natural theology in the *Shorte Treatise.* However, it is possible to observe some of his other sources for natural law theory in the context of his debate with Thomas Martyn over the continuity of nature under the new Covenant, for within the *Draft Reply* Ponet marshalled some of its most important theological advocates.

Citing Johannes Teutonicus' gloss on 'Ius Naturale' from the opening section of Gratian's *Decretum,* Ponet noted that there were many articulations of the natural law, and he proceeded to list three: the natural affection grafted into mankind, the instinct or stimulus arising from sensuality, and the instinct that comes forth from reason.[934] However, he turned to other places in the *Decretum* for more specific articulations. From Gratian's *Decretum* he copied out from Augustine's *Ad Cassulanum*: 'Ordinances therefore, whether ecclesiastical or secular, if shown to be contrary to natural law, are thoroughly excluded.'[935] Also from Gratian's *Decretum* he copied out from Isidore of Seville: 'The moral commandments observe the natural law, and therefore there was no inconstancy shown to have taken place' and afterward the citation, 'therefore natural law began with the introduction of rationale creatures, and as it was said above, remains unaltered.'[936] From Basil of Caesarea's *Homilae in Hexameron* he quoted three passages. The first

933 Stephen A. Chavura, *Tudor Protestant Political Thought, 1547-1603* (Leiden, 2011), 113-114; VanDrunen, *Natural Law,* 158;

934 *Draft Reply,* 222r: 'Ius naturale multis modis dicitur 1. vis στοργη φυσιχη insita nobis 2. instinctus vel stimulus ex sensualitate 3. instinctus ex ratione proveniens'.

935 *Draft Reply,* 221v: 'Constitutiones ergo vel ecclesiasticae vel seculares si naturali Iuri contrariae probantur, penitus sunt excludende'.

936 *Draft Reply,* 222r: 'Non est peccatum Moralia mandata ad naturale ius spectant, atque ideo nullam mutabilitatem recepisse monstrantur. et post statim Naturale ergo ius ab exordio rationalis creaturæ incipiens, ut supra dictum est, manet immobile.'

described the presence of the efficacious word of God from creation until the new creation, the second focused on the creative power of the word of God, and the third spoke of the word in relation to the formation of the created order.[937] Lastly, he cited (without quotation) a passage from Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*, and also glossed two key biblical verses, 'God always works in all things. In Him all men live and move and have our being' (Eph. 1:11; Acts 17:28).[938] The latter biblical citation is especially notable, since it was quoted in the *Shorte Treatise* immediately before a highly significant passage concerning natural law. Despite the *Draft Reply* being prepared for the *Apologie,* this connection between the above passages and his *Shorte Treatise* demonstrates a causal connection in his theological thought:

> By him we lyue, we haue our being, and be moued. ... He hathe taken upon him thordre and gouernement of man his chief creature, and prescribed him a rule, how he should behaue him self, what he should doo, and what he maye not doo. ... This rule is the lawe of nature, furst planted and graffed only in the mynde of man ...[939]

Considering Ponet's use of natural law has been granted such significance among his biographers, it is surprising that his earlier usage of the doctrine has not been appreciated. For, we can observe the explicit deployment of natural law within his translation of Ochino's *Tragoedie*, his *Defence for Marriage,* and its major role in his *Short Catechisme*.[940] Thus, while we can be certain of Ponet's reliance on Cicero and various Christian theologians for his formulation of natural law during his exile, it is probable that much of his thought concerning natural law was developed before his flight to Strassburg. Indeed, given the familiarity with Graeco-Roman literature among the Cambridge 'Athenians', and Ponet's explicit use of Basil, Augustine, and

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[937] *Draft Reply,* 222[r]: 'Νόησον ῥῆμα Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς κτίσεως τρέχον καὶ τότε ἀρξάμενον, καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐνεργοῦν, καὶ εἰς τέλος δεξιὸν, ἕως ἂν ὁ κόσμος συμπληρωθῇ', 'Νόησον γὰρ ὅτι Θεοῦ φωνὴ φύσεώς ἐστι ποιητικὴ', 'ὁ θεῖος λόγος φύσις ἐστὶ τῶν γινομένων'. See Appendix D for full translations. On the importance of Basil for Gratian's *Decretum,* see Michael B. Crowe, *The Changing Profile of the Natural Law* (The Hague, 1977), especially 76-77

[938] *Draft Reply,* 222[r]: 'Deus operatur omnia in omnibus. In ipso omnes vivimus et movemus et sumus'.

[939] *Shorte Treatise,* A.ii[v].

[940] *Tragoedie,* U.ii[r], X.ii[r]; *Defence for Mariage,* A.iiii[r-v]; *Short Catechisme,* x.

Clement among his Edwardian works, we have good grounds to believe his doctrine of natural law in the *Shorte Treatise* had its roots back in England.[941]

It is additionally remarkable that, despite the immense scholarly interest in Ponet's political theology over the course of the last century, there has been little connection drawn to his days at Queens' College, Cambridge. As part of the 'Athenian' tribe which included his colleagues Thomas Smith, John Cheke and Roger Ascham, he was plumbing the depths of Greek and Roman antiquity to gain insight into the language, culture and politics of this classical period. John McDiarmid has recently demonstrated the classical background to Smith and Cheke's political theologies as they began to encourage republican ideals from the 1540s.[942] McDiarmid has also noted that Ponet's 'humanistic conceptions' of the commonwealth resemble those of Smith.[943] However, through further analysis of Ponet's marginalia it is possible to demonstrate that not only did his ideas resemble those of Smith's but that his own thought had similar origins in classical literature.

Ponet's annotations within his copy of Isocrates' *Orationes* display a deep interest in republican concepts. Nestled within the complex array of symbols and underlining with the index, he focused upon several items which were directed to crucial republican ideas within the text. In one place he drew a large cross symbol adjacent to the underlined heading, 'Reipub. administrande tres forme'. This entry referred to an important passage in the *Panathenaicus* concerning types of government that was later echoed in the *Shorte Treatise*:

> But I, for my part, hold that there are three types of polity and three only: oligarchy, democracy, and monarchy, and that of the people who live under these all who are wont to place in charge of their offices and of their affairs in general those of their

941 Basil: *Defence for Mariage,* F.v$^{v}$; Augustine: his ownership and use of Augustine's *Epitome* in the *Notable Sermon* (see Chapter 3 under heading 'Notable Sermon'); Clement: *Defence for Mariage,* A.vi$^{r}$. We may assume Ponet's familiarity of Isidore's use of natural law since it appears in the first pages of the Decretum, which Ponet frequently railed against, e.g., *Tragoedie,* C.iiii$^{r}$,T.ii$^{r}$, Aa.iii$^{r}$.

942 John F. McDiarmid, 'Common Consent, *Latinitas,* and the "Monarchical Republic" in mid-Tudor Humanism' in *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England*: *Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson,* ed. John F. McDiarmid (Aldershot, 2007), 55-74.

943 McDiarmid, 'Common Consent', 58.

> fellow-citizens who are most competent and who will most ably and justly direct the affairs of state—all these, I hold, will govern well, under any type of polity, both in their domestic relations and in their relations to the rest of the world.[944]

Ponet took note of Isocrates' comment that the mixed state was preferable to absolute monarchy. He wrote 'Ex' for 'exemplum' next to the index entry: 'Monarchia prior caeteris Reip. formis' which recounted the time when 'monarchies governed the barbaric races and all the Hellenic states."[945] In another place within the index, Ponet wrote 'Ex' next to the title 'Democratiae magistratum, popularem esse convenit.' This referred to another section within the *Panathenaicus* in which he underlined the organic analogy similar to that of the *Shorte Treatise:*

> … every polity is the soul of the state, having as much power over it as the mind over the body. For it is this which deliberates on all questions, seeking to preserve what is good and to avoid what is disastrous, and is the cause of all the things which transpire in states.[946]

In addition to forms of polity, Ponet also took an interest in the principles that prospered commonwealths. In another place within the index he drew a large cross symbol next to the underlined heading: 'Respub. pulcherrime instituta describitur'. This entry referred to the *Panegyricus,* a speech written by Isocrates that retold Hellenic political history to bring the Athenians and the Spartans together in a united campaign against the Persians. This index entry referred to a section of the *Panegyricus* that concerned the best principles for approaching public and private property in a commonwealth:

> For they did not slight the commonwealth, nor seek to profit by it as their own possession, nor yet neglect it as the concern of others; but were as careful of the public revenues as of their private property, yet abstained from them as men ought from that to which they have no right.[947]

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[944] *Isocrates,* I.2[r] [Isoc. 12.132].
[945] *Isocrates,* H.4r [Isoc. 12.119].
[946] *Isocrates,* H.1r [Isoc. 12.138]; c.f., *Shorte Treatise,* C.viii[r].
[947] *Isocrates,* I.2[r] [Isoc. 4.76].

This section of the *Panegyricus* was evidently of some interest to Ponet, who wrote 'Respublica pulcherrime instituta describitur' by hand in the margin next to an ensuing block of text which he underlined as follows:

> The reason for this was that they gave heed to the laws to see that they should be exact and good—not so much the laws about private contracts as those which have to do with men's daily habits of life; for they understood that for good and true men there would be no need of many written laws, but that if they started with a few principles of agreement they would readily be of one mind as to both private and public affairs.[948]

Ponet was therefore also interested in the means of producing virtuous citizens of the commonwealth. He was drawn to the rulers, who 'in good time, trained the coming generation and turned the masses of the people toward virtue.' In addition to underlining that text, he underlined the printed marginal note: 'Resp. pulcherrime institute describitur.'[949] Moreover, he inserted the ∴ ('therefore') symbol next to the underlined heading 'Legum multitudinem perperam administratae Reip. argumentum esse' that described the principles for cultivating virtue:

> But in fact, they thought, virtue is not advanced by written laws but by the habits of every-day life; for the majority of men tend to assimilate the manners and morals amid which they have been reared. Furthermore, they held that where there is a multitude of specific laws, it is a sign that the state is badly governed; for it is in the attempt to build up dikes against the spread of crime that men in such a state feel constrained to multiply the laws. Those who are rightly governed, on the other hand, do not need to fill their porticoes with written statutes, but only to cherish justice in their souls; for it is not by legislation, but by morals, that states are well directed, since men who are badly reared will venture to transgress even laws which are drawn up with minute exactness, whereas those who are well brought up will be willing to respect even a simple code.[950]

In addition to general republican concepts, the *Shorte Treatise* contained specific references to ephors and tribunes used within classical Greek and Roman political systems. Ancient Rome instituted various tribunes who were endowed with special powers to intercede on behalf of the

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[948] *Isocrates,* H.4ʳ. [Isoc. 4.78].
[949] *Isocrates,* A.4r [Isoc. 7.75].
[950] *Isocrates,* H.3ᵛ [Isoc. 7.40-41].

people and veto undesirable legislation. Within the *Shorte Treatise* Ponet deployed the example of the tyranny of Tarquin who had his authority revoked by the tribune Lucius Junius Brutus.[951] Sparta elected five ephors on a yearly basis and endowed them with extraordinary power to pass judgement on their two kings and thus provided stability to the Spartan republic. Ponet used the concept of ephors and tribunes to defend and maintain the liberty of the people against tyrannical rulers and corrupt nobility.[952] They roughly approximated to his vision of a parliamentary system that was invested with an ephor-like authority. Since these classical concepts were discussed among fellow resistance theorists, scholars have tended to assume Ponet drew on them for the *Shorte Treatise.* However, while it may be true that Ponet's contemporary colleagues informed his use of them, this can only have been a re-informing since his interest in these features of classical political theory began well before his exile in Strassburg.

We may glean some insight into Ponet's understanding of ephors from his personal copy of Aristotle's *Politics,* a text he owned before exile and would have been familiar with since Thomas Smith's lectures in Cambridge during the new pronunciation discoveries.[953] Aristotle emphasised the importance of the election of ephors but described as 'immature' the Spartan selection process which left the office open to all. Since the office was of high importance but had historically been abused by ambitious persons, he emphasised — like Ponet after him — the need for virtuous officers.[954] Although Ponet made very little underlining or annotation within the book itself, he did insert a specific handwritten reference written into the final blank page: 'εὐθύνειν p. 58. a.' This referred to the printed *scholia* appended to Aristotle's text authored by the Spanish humanist translator Juan de Sepulveda, which contained the following:

> [to correct the other magistrates] for there was a challenge from all the magistrates against the Ephor. But to correct the magistrates, which is called in Greek εὐθύνειν, can be understood in two ways: in one way, through a challenge so that a superior

951 *Shorte Treatise,* A.5v.
952 *Shorte Treatise,* A.6r-v.
953 *StrypeTS*, 11.
954 *Politics,* 54r-56r [Aristot. Pol., 2.1270b-2.1271b].

> tribunal, or prince, or the people, correct unjust decisions of judges: in the other way, when from those who have already departed from their magistracy, a reckoning is demanded of the conduct of their office: and it is in this way that Aristotle says that the magistrates are to be corrected, not the former [way] alone, since either way the magistracy is ἀνευθύνους ['irresponsible'], it is permitted [for Aristotle's passage] to be understood without correction.[955]

The description of the importance and vulnerability of the ephorate by Aristotle is mirrored in Ponet's vision of the ephor-like role of the parliament. The classical ephorate and English parliament were both required to be elected representatives of the people; they both required virtuous citizens; and they were both invested with the power to veto legislation and to depose tyrannical kings and magistrates. These were not merely concepts recycled from contemporary reformers, but classical concepts used for specific purposes in the *Shorte Treatise.*

The advocacy of tyrannicide by private persons within the *Shorte Treatise* has earned John Ponet an important place within the annals of modern political history.[956] However, the classical background to his thought can easily be lost on the reader who interprets the treatise only within the political context of the Marian exile. Given the interest Ponet shows in the importance of resisting tyrannical rule, it is initially surprising to observe the absence of marginalia related to the private resistance of individuals. The only play in which Isocrates heaped praise upon individual action against tyrants was left completely unmarked by Ponet.[957] However, Hudson's observation of Ponet's use of Cicero's *Pro Milone* may suggest at least some import of Ciceronian thought.[958] In this work Cicero called Clodius a 'tyrannos' and supported Milo for personally

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[955] *Aristotle,* 58r-v: '[Caeteros magistratus corrigere] Nam ex cunctis magistratibus provocatio erat ad Ephoros. Sed corrigere magistratus quod graece dicitur εὐθύνειν dupliciter intelligitur: uno modo per provocationem, ut superius tribunal, vel princeps, aut populus iniquas iudicum sententias corrigat: altero cum ab iis qui iam abierint magistratu, ratio gesti muneris reposcitur: & hoc modo corrigendos esse magistratus Aristoteles dicit, non prior tantum, quoniam utrosque magistratus ἀνευθύνους, id est sine correctione intelligere licet.' I am grateful to Seumas MacDonald for his assistance in translation.

[956] Chavura, *Tudor Protestant,* 60; McDiarmid, 'Consent', 59; Hadfield, 'John Ponet and the People', 229; R.S. White, *Natural Law in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, 1996), 41.

[957] Aristophanes, *Lysistrata,* lines 631-634.

[958] Hudson, *John Ponet,* 176-177. Hudson is probably incorrect to link Ponet's theory of tyrannicide to Cicero's use of the body metaphor in *De Officiis* 3.6. Cicero does utilise this metaphor (including other places beyond where Hudson suggests), but not for the purposes of supporting tyrannicide.

slaying him: 'vos tanti conservatorem populi'.[959] Indeed, Cicero praised individual resistance within a passage that bears remarkable resemblance to the *Shorte Treatise:*

> The Greeks accord divine honours to those men who have slain tyrants. What sights have I seen at Athens and in other cities of Greece! What religious rites ordained in their honour! What magnificent musical compositions and odes! Their worship reaches almost to the observance and commemoration proper to immortal beings.[960]

It is possible that the absence of Ponet's marginalia concerning private resistance reflects the changing circumstances of his exile in Strassburg. However, this absence may also be understood by recalling three important aspects of his thought. Firstly, the careful caveats which surrounded the teaching that private persons may lawfully commit tyrannicide indicate a significant degree of caution was bound up with his thought. This nervousness is akin to the kind of hesitancy that his fellow 'Athenians' Thomas Smith and John Cheke held in the 1540s.[961] Secondly, his teaching was a logical outworking of his framework of political theology. Ponet was more invested in the structures of natural law and classical republicanism than their consequential feature of tyrannicide committed by individuals. Thirdly, and most importantly, his teaching must be read within the context of his wider political priorities. In other words, the tactic of tyrannicide by private persons was subordinate to the general goal of deposing tyrants. This explains why there are no annotations concerning tyrannicide by private persons but copious amounts of marginalia concerning the general strategy for the poor banished men in exile. Ponet's political preferences lay with the public resistance of Wyatt's rebellion and the public resistance of the 'poore banished men' in exile, more so than with acts of tyrannicide by private persons. Or, to put it simply: there is relatively little evidence of interest in private resistance in Ponet's marginalia, simply because of the relatively small importance assigned to it

[959] Cicero, *Pro Milone,* 13.35, 29.80.
[960] Cicero, *Pro Milone,* 29.80.
[961] McDiarmaid, 'Consent', 72.

by Ponet. After all, according to Ponet, Christian commonwealths demanded all things — even the resistance of tyrants — 'to be done decently and according to ordre and charitie.'[962]

In this light, it may be tempting to cast Ponet as a 'classical' resistance theorist rather than a 'Calvinist' resistance theorist. But even this betrays Ponet's basic theological outlook. He would have seen himself as an evangelical political theologian with an appreciation for God's common grace among the 'Ethnikes'. This was, of course, the theological method of the evangelical 'Athenians' in Cambridge. Thus, Ponet did not go into exile, and then 'switch camps' from mid-Tudor views of absolute obedience, to a new view of resistance.[963] Rather, his divergence from the absolute obedience doctrine — cradled in Cambridge, exercised in Wyatt's Rebellion, continuing with the *Supplicacyon,* and ending with the *Shorte Treatise* — was the consistent and natural outworking of his early 'Athenian' commonwealth ideals combined with his grasp of natural law. We would do well to understand John Ponet's political theology as an innovative view of 'true obedience' that began in mid-Tudor Cambridge and came to full fruition during the reign of Queen Mary.

## SUMMARY

Ponet's loving friend John Bale wrote an extended epitaph which captures well not only his progression from Cambridge humanist to evangelical theologian and bishop, but also reflects accurately the priorities Ponet placed on his theological writings in exile. He did not envision himself under the anachronistically applied term, 'political theologian.' Nor did he envision himself as the pioneer of Lutheran and Reformed eucharistic rapprochement. While Ponet was heavily invested and involved in fighting the Marian regime through his political publications, and while he was well versed in the history and theology of the Lord's Supper, he saw himself

[962] *Shorte Treatise,* G.8[r].
[963] Contra Reeves, *English Evangelicals,* 149-150.

primarily as a defender of the evangelical religion of Edward's reign, and in particular, as the leading exponent of the doctrine of clerical marriage.

> Lover of religion, and born for sacred arts,
> Preeminent in learning, and outstanding in piety,
> Ponet, illustrious with the distinguished name of doctor,
> was once a bishop of Winchester.
> A professor of Christ, at length for the name of Christ,
> was a poor exile of Strassburg.
> To whom so many successes, and many thousands streamed:
> he lived as a poor exile, and as naked exile he died.
> He served under Christ, supported by the fortress of piety:
> and by edict of the prince, he was honourably discharged.
> Though a discharged veteran, he rises up again to arms,
> dead, and yet he bites, and joins in the band of soldiers.
> Crying out from the grave, he protects the sacred marriage vows,
> and, though buried, he puts the pseudo-eunuchs to confusion.
> He refutes the shameful vows of the jurist Martin,
> and asserts the bonds of pure marriage.
> He wrote, and died writing: as he perished so too those writings perished,
> writings for which he was too eager to die.
> Nevertheless, part remained unharmed after death of the master
> but the remainder lies perished with him in his death.
> O death, most pleasing to Ponet, to be mourned by the Britons,
> though gladdening for the Martinists, to be grieved by the good.[964]

[964] *Scriptorum,* 695. C.f., Hudson's translation in *John Ponet,* 105.

# Conclusion

The coat of arms granted to John Ponet in 1551 was emblematic of his life and theology. The four fleurs-de-lys represented his intellectual indebtedness to the humanism found in the hallowed halls of Queens' College, Cambridge. The two pelicans in their piety represented his commitment to the program of evangelical reform spearheaded by his patron and friend, Archbishop Cranmer. These two characteristics contributed to his extraordinary evolution from leading Cambridge academic, to senior Edwardian bishop, to the foremost insurgent among the Marian exiles. However, contemporary research into John Ponet has focused almost entirely on his political theology written during the final phase of his life when exiled in Strassburg. The effect of this scholarship has been to understand Ponet's significance primarily in terms of his political theology and cast him as the political theologian of the English reformation. This dissertation has challenged the contemporary characterisation of John Ponet and has provided a major revision of Bishop Ponet's capacities and intellectual significance in the mid-Tudor period. John Ponet was not less than a political theologian, but he was very much more.

The argument of this dissertation — that previous views of John Ponet require major revision — has rested on the discovery and analysis of a substantial body of new source material. These primary sources included thirty-six books owned and annotated by Ponet, a seven-hundred-page manuscript owned and profusely annotated by Ponet, various hitherto untranslated, undiscovered, or overlooked letters related to Ponet, and diverse archival materials related to Ponet. The ability to chronologically organise these manuscript sources across the span of Ponet's life enabled this dissertation to provide the most balanced biographical and theological account of Ponet to date. This new account has produced numerous revisions to our understanding of Ponet's upbringing and education in Cambridge, his early evangelical ministry, his episcopal ministry in England, and his activities and theological writings during the Marian

exile. However, the three most significant contributions of this dissertation concern the role of John Ponet in relation to the intellectual, ecclesiastical, and political history of the English reformation.

Firstly, John Ponet has previously — and rightly — been understood as a member of the academic vanguard of Cambridge University. Surprisingly, his leadership role was not noticed by Winthrop Hudson, who both authored the first substantial biography on Ponet and first designated the intellectual luminaries at Cambridge as the 'Athenian tribe'. However, this dissertation builds on Hudson's ground-breaking work and demonstrates that the 'Athenian' leadership consisted in the triumvirate of Thomas Smith, John Cheke, and John Ponet. Indeed, it reveals that Ponet was intimately involved in the development and promotion of the controversial 'New Pronunciation' of the Greek language, something normally attributed only to Smith and Cheke. Theatrical performances were used by Smith and Cheke to further these linguistic advancements, and this dissertation reveals that in Smith's absence, Ponet was involved in a similar theatrical performance at Queens' College in 1541. Ponet's relationship with Smith is elucidated further through the discovery of their joint project to create and install what was likely a striking clock mechanism in the bell tower at their Queens' College. Indeed, as the fruit of Smith's tutelage and his own ingenuity, Ponet made a lavish summer house in the Lambeth Palace garden for Archbishop Cranmer, and an enormous sundial for King Henry VIII, probably at Whitehall Palace.

These insights mark out John Ponet as one of the leading intellectuals of the mid-Tudor period. Recognising Ponet's remarkable humanist abilities, Thomas Cranmer shrewdly recruited this leading light of the 'Athenian tribe' into his circle of influence, and thereafter Ponet embarked on an extraordinary ecclesiastical career. Although his intellectual abilities were predominantly applied to the service of theological research, astronomical and classical literature remained an interest throughout the course of his clerical life. Indeed, it is this twin interest in astronomy

and classical antiquity which illustrates his uniqueness among Cranmer's bench of bishops. None of Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, John Hooper, John Taylor, or the others, shared in the Greek linguistic advancements at Cambridge, nor did they make any sundials or promote any astronomical prognostication. Indeed, Ponet was a prodigious scholar-bishop who represented Cranmer's hopes for the evangelical equivalent of a John Fisher, Edward Lee, or Cuthbert Tunstall. Whereas under Queen Elizabeth I there were various bishops hewn from the 'Athenian' rock, Ponet stood alone as the first — and last — 'Athenian' bishop under King Edward VI.

Secondly, the most important contribution of this dissertation is to the ecclesiastical history and theology of the English reformation. Previous biographical accounts have treated Ponet's presbyteral and episcopal ministries under Henry VIII and Edward VI as a prologue to his ministry in exile. However, the attentiveness of this dissertation to those neglected phases of his ministry has yielded invaluable insights. Marginalia within Ponet's early theological treatises demonstrates his firm evangelical convictions. Indeed, the annotations within his copy of the *King's Book* reveal his theological opposition to the very King to whom he would shortly thereafter become chaplain. Ponet's ecclesiastical navigation of those turbulent final years of Henry VIII was due to Archbishop Cranmer's personal patronage and his cautious program of evangelical mobilisation in preparation for the impending regime change. Thus, with the accession of Edward VI, Ponet's private theological convictions were given public expression. He rose meteorically and soon held the one of the most important English bishoprics (Winchester) after Archbishop Cranmer (Canterbury) and bishop Ridley (London). Although ejected from his episcopal see after the accession of Mary I, Ponet became the highest ranking English exile and acted as the *de facto* bishop of those who resided in Strassburg.

Recalibrating the shape of Ponet's ecclesiastical rise and fall is crucial to understanding his theological significance, for previous accounts have misunderstood the importance of his

contribution to the Church of England during the reign of Edward VI. Ponet's theological publications during this phase of ministry had various links with not only his patron, Archbishop Cranmer, but with the successive Lords Somerset and Northumberland. Indeed, Ponet was now a spokesman for the English reformation. This underscores the importance of the discussion of the *Short Catechisme* within this dissertation. For although it has been briefly mentioned by Ponet's biographers, its status as representative of the official teaching of the Edwardian church has been largely forgotten. Indeed, that recent treatments of the 1553 catechism overlook its ecclesiastical status and that recent treatments of the doctrine of the Edwardian church overlook the 1553 catechism, suggests fruitful avenues for further research in the catechetical history and theology of the English reformation.[965]

The most significant aspect of the contribution of this dissertation to the ecclesiastical history of the English reformation concerns John Ponet's involvement in the debate over clerical marriage. Helen Parish's excellent survey on the subject has helpfully demonstrated the theological and polemical nexus between the clerical celibacy and eucharistic debates.[966] However, scholarly ignorance of the massive scale of Ponet's work on clerical marriage has not only marginalised his contribution in the literature on clerical marriage itself but has undermined the centrality of his role in the complementary clerical marriage and eucharistic debates. This dissertation has furthered the research on this subject in three ways. Firstly, it has demonstrated that Ponet envisioned writing five volumes on clerical marriage and it has furthered our understanding of the first four of these (the last volume was probably never written). Secondly, it has provided the most focused theological study of Ponet's understanding of clerical marriage (and attendant doctrines) to date. Thirdly, it has uniquely captured — in mid-debate — the

[965] Concerning the absence of the catechism in catechetical study, see especially, Tudor, 'Religious Instructions for Children' and Green, *The Christian's ABC*. Concerning the absence of the catechism in the study of the Edwardian church, see especially, Peter O.G. White, *Predestination, Policy and Polemic: Conflict and Consensus in the English Church from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1992), 58-59.
[966] Especially, Parish, *Clerical Marriage,* 177ff.

adversarial processes and annotational strategies of one of the most important theologians of the English reformation.

This dissertation has also provided fresh insights into various aspects of John Ponet's broader doctrinal understanding. It was Ponet's doctrine of positive law which undergirded his view of adiaphora and willingness to don clerical vestments at his consecration. His eucharistic theology embraced a symbolic parallelism akin to that of Cranmer, and his clear rejection of the adoration of the host contradicts his supposed authorship of the *Diallacticon.* His doctrine of Scripture demonstrates both the emphasis on *sola Scriptura* that we would expect from an evangelical reformer and the text critical awareness that we would expect of a leading 'Athenian' Greek scholar. Interestingly, his progressive ecclesiology resembles aspects of John à Lasco's 'Stranger Church' in London. Though there is no evidence that Ponet had much to do with the Polish reformer, it is striking that he advocated the remodelling of episcopacy as superintendency and that his four marks of the church included church discipline and brotherly love. Lastly, although Ponet's soteriology represented the standard evangelical emphasis on faith alone, his explication of predestination to eternal life in the *Short Catechisme* represents some of the more advanced thought among his peers and reinforces our understanding of the reformed character of the Edwardian church. From these theological positions we may now comprehend something more of John Ponet's churchmanship. He was a progressive evangelical theologian who, on the one hand, was doctrinally flexible enough to navigate through the constraints of the Henrician and Edwardian churches, but who, on the other hand, refused both the religious submission and theological nicodemism possible under the Marian church. His principled though moderate approach to the pace of reform was a great asset to Archbishop Cranmer, and his absence would have been sorely missed among the future archiepiscopal leadership of his former colleagues, Parker, Grindal, and Sandys.

The third major contribution of this dissertation is to the political history of the English reformation. It has demonstrated the anachronism and error in designating Ponet's political theology as a 'Calvinistic Resistance Theory'. Furthermore, it has shown that the intellectual roots of the *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* were planted in the fertile 'Athenian' soil of Cambridge University during the 1530s and 40s. Rather than suddenly change views from absolute obedience to resistance when in exile, this demonstrates that Ponet's political thought developed organically through the Henrician and Edwardian periods and was publicly deployed within the context of the Marian tyranny. Therefore, this study provides an important addition to the body of literature concerning the monarchical republicanism of early modern England, which sprung to life with Patrick Collinson's J. E. Neale Memorial Lecture of 1986 and has been fruitfully analysed and extended in John F. McDiarmid's recent edited volume of essays in response to Collinson's work.[967] In particular, this dissertation adds the fullest description of Ponet's political theology to the occasional references to his name within the corpus of contemporary literature on monarchical republicanism. Indeed, it confirms McDiarmid's suggestion that Ponet's humanistic notions of the *respublica* resemble those of his mentor Thomas Smith. In general, this dissertation has underscored the importance of the 'Athenian tribe' for the political history of the English reformation. To John McDiarmid's various short works on Thomas Smith and Paul Needham's unpublished work on John Cheke, we may now add this present study on John Ponet. However, the important 'Athenian' reformer and political theologian, John Aylmer, remains largely untouched after Strype's biography and this points towards opportunities for further research. Indeed, the fruitfulness of the present dissertation suggests that a comparative study of the political theories of Smith, Cheke, Ponet, and Aylmer would produce similarly — if not more — fruitful results.

[967] Patrick Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 69/2 (1987): 394-424; McDiarmid, *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England*.

Admittedly, while this dissertation has utilised the discovery of a vast number of new sources it does not claim to comprehend the full scope of Ponet's literary endeavours. There may be more extant source material yet to be found. The abandonment of most of his library at the accession of Queen Mary, and the post-mortem distribution of his books to Edwin Sandys, Edmund Grindal, and Anthony Cooke suggests that there may be more annotated books to be discovered and examined. The surprisingly small number of extant letters addressed to or written by John Ponet also raises the possibility of further letters hitherto undiscovered. Perhaps one of the most exciting possibilities which arises from this study of Ponet's notes is the replication of similar methodology in the study of his colleagues. Dr. Ashley Null is presently working on Cranmer's annotated books and manuscripts in order to publish a critical edition of 'Cranmer's Great Commonplaces' with Oxford University Press. However, the marginalia of Thomas Smith and John Cheke — both similar in style to Ponet — have never been studied at length.[968] These two leaders of the 'Athenian tribe' each received full biographical treatment from John Strype, however neither have received any published monograph in the last 50 years. This dissertation demonstrates that a substantial biographical update of Smith and Cheke is not only possible, but potentially very fruitful. Indeed, further scholarly study of the 'Athenian tribe' — especially concentrated upon the leadership triumvirate of Smith, Cheke, and Ponet — would not only build on the work of Winthrop Hudson's *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (1980) but could significantly reshape many of the intellectual and theological accounts of the development of the Tudor Church of England.

Ultimately, this dissertation has demonstrated the importance of rightly remembering John Ponet. He has been a peripheral figure within English reformation scholarship, but he was not a peripheral figure in the English reformation itself. He was a member of the leading academic

[968] Sherman's short and helpful discussion of some of Smith's marginalia in *John Dee: The Politics of Reading,* 75-78, pays attention predominantly to his style but does little to co-ordinate these with Smith's life and writings.

triumvirate within the University of Cambridge and he was a member of the most senior episcopal triumvirate at the apex of the Edwardian Church of England. During the reign of Queen Mary, he was the highest ranking clergyman in exile and put his immense academic and theological abilities to use in defence of the Edwardian church. Indeed, he was *the* 'Athenian Reformer' of the earliest stages of the English reformation. Whereas previous accounts of Bishop Ponet's life and theology have remembered him with varying degrees of success, this dissertation provides the fullest description of his life to date and contributes the most complete analysis of his theological thought within the history of reformation scholarship. If this study began with the Scholar's desire to remember what had been forgotten, it may possibly now warrant the words of the Master*:* 'I like well (my son) this thy shorte declaration: and I see nothing left out, that oughte to have beene spoken.'[969]

[969] *Short Catechisme,* lxiiii[r-v].

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# The Life and Theology of Bishop John Ponet (1516-1556)




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Thesis and abstracts submitted for the degree of

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## Volume 2 - Appendices

# Appendix A – Catalogue of Books Owned by John Ponet

**Author: Antonius Melissa**

Title: *Sententiarum sive capitum tomi tres per Antonium et Maximum monachos collecti.*

Publication Details: Zürich: Konrad Gesner, 1546.

Location: L'Eglise Protestante, London, X.h.1.

Signature: Joannes Ponetus 1549

Date Acquired: 1549

**Author: Antonius Melissa**

Title: *Sententiarum sive capitum, theologicorum praecipue, ex sacris et profanis librisper Antonium & Maximum monachos olim collecti Abbas Maximus Theophilus VI Antiochensis episcopi Tatian*

Publication Details: Zürich: Konrad Gesner, 1546.

Location: Marsh's Library, Dublin, Adams A. 1253.

Signature: 'Jo. Pon. Roffen'

Date Acquired: 1550/51?

**Author: Aristophanes**

Title: *Aristophanous Kōmōdiai ennea = Aristophanis Comoediae novem.*

Publication Details: Venice: Aldus Manutis, 1498.

Location: University of Manchester, Rylands Library, R213277.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus 1542' // 'ἰω πονητος'

Notes: This is the *edition princeps* of Aristophanes' Comedies.

Date Acquired: 1542

**Author: Aristophanes**

Title: *Aristophanous Eutrapelōtatou Kōmōidiai hendeka = Aristophanis facetissimi comœdiæ undecim.*

Publication Details: Basel: Andreas Cratander & Johann Bebel, 1532.

Location: Cambridge University Library, Adv.c.16.1.

Signature: 'ἰωάννης ὁ πονήτος' // '~~ponetus~~'// '~~Jo Ponetus~~' // '~~Jo? Ponetus~~' [struck out by subsequent owner]

Notes: This version contains two additional comedies to his other copy: Cereris Sacra Celebrantis, Lysistrate.

Date Acquired: From signature 1532-1550, however internal evidence indicates use at Queens' during the development of the 'New Pronunciation'. Thus, most likely acquired 1532-1542.

**Author: Aristotle**

Title: *Aristotelis de Republica Libri VIIII / Interprete & enarratore Io[anne] Genesio Sepulueda Cordubensi ; Ad Philippum Hispaniarum Principem.*

Publication Details: Paris: Vascosanum, 1548

Location: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wroclaw, Poland. sdXVI-11.587.

Signature: 'Joanni Poneto 1552'

Notes: This was previously owned by Martin Bucer, as per the signature on the title-page: 'Martino Bucero 1550'.

Date Acquired: 1552

**Author: St. Augustine**

Title: *Epitome Omnium Operum, primum quidem per Jo. Piscatorium Compendaria quadam via Collecta.*

Publication Details: Köln, Melchior von Neuβ, 1549.

Location: Unknown.

Signature: 'Jo Roffensis'

Notes: Details for Piscator's *Epitome* of Augustine's works in 'The Library Removed from Trentham Hall, The Property of His Grace the Duke of Sutherland, K.G.' in *Book-Prices Current: A record of the prices at which books have been sold at auction, from October, 1906, to July, 1907,*

*being the season 1906-1907'* (London, 1907), 85-86. Present whereabouts unknown.

Date Acquired: 1550/51?

**Author: Cassianus Bassus**

Title: *Geōponika = De re rustica selectorum libri XX, Graeci / Constantino quidem Caesari nuncupati, ac iam non libris, sed thesauris annumerandi; Io. Alexandri Brassicani opera in lucem editi, [based on the compilation of Cassianus Bassus]; Aristotelis De plantis libri duo.*

Publication Details: Basel: Robert Winter, 1539.

Location: Exeter Cathedral Library, C44.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus'

Notes: Also owned by Thomas Smith, as per title-page: 'Thomas Smithus'. Title page also contains the cost of this book: '2s'

Date Acquired: From date of publication and signature, 1539-1550. However, joint use by Thomas Smith indicates use while at Queens' College, and thus 1539-1542.

**Author: Celio Calcagnini**

Title: *Opera aliquot. Ad illustrissimum & excellontiss.principem d.herculem secundum, ducem ferrariae quartum.*

Publication Details: Basel: Hieronymus Froben & Nikolaus Episcopius, 1544.

Location: Lambeth Palace Library K11.4/C12

Signature: 'Jo Winton j.p.'

Date Acquired: Signature implies 1551-1556, however, the paste-down of Duns Scotus (*Scriptum Oxoniense super Sententias, et Quodlibeta*) also used in Ponet's *Hamishah humshe Torah* indicates ownership between 1554-1556.

**Author: Church of England (Thomas Cranmer)**

Title: *The boke of common praier, and administracion of the sacramentes, and other rites and ceremonies in the Churche of Englande.*

Publication Details: London: Richard Grafton, 1552.

Location: Chetham's Library, Manchester, 7.B.3.12.

Signature: 'Jo. Winton' // 'JP'

Date Acquired: 1552-1553 as indicated by handwritten prayer for the health of King Edward VI.

**Author: Diogenes Laertius**

Title: *Diogenous Laertiou Peri biōn, dogmatōn kai apophthegmatōn tōn en philosophia eudokimēsantōn, biblia deka, nyn prōton entypōthenta. = Diogenis Laertij De uitis, decretis, & responsis celebrium philosophorum libri decem, nunc primum excusi*

Publication Details: Basel: Hieronymus Froben & Nikolaus Episcopius, 1533.

Location: Christ Church College, Upper Library, Oxford, AC.6.16.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus 1545'

Date Acquired: 1545

**Author: Gabriel Dupuyherbault [Putherbei]**

Title: *Gabrielis Putherbei Turonici professione Fontebraldaei, Theotimus, siue De tollendis & expunge[n]dis malis libris, iis praecipuè, quos vix incolumi fide ac pietate plerique legere queant, libri tres, : multa complectentes, quae tum ad mores, tum ad religionem faciant, & lectorem oppidò iuuent, cuiuscunque tandem fidei illum nacti erunt: ad clarissimum virum Petrum Remoniu[m], Rotomagensis senatus praesidem primarium.*

Publication Details: Paris: Jean de Roigny, 1549.

Location: The Huntingdon Library, California, 371886.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus'

Notes: Publication date implies 1549-1556. However, it was not acquired when bishop in England, since he would have written 'Roffen' or 'Winton'. It was probably not acquired between 1549-1550 since he commonly wrote the date then also. Most probably it was

acquired during exile since 1) his episcopal signature was not uniformly used then, and 2) it was hardly annotated as per some other books acquired at the time.

Date Acquired: C. 1554-1556.

**Author: Euripides**

Title: *Tragoediae Septemdecim.*

Publication Details: Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1503.

Location: Unknown (US).

Notes: Details for Euripides' *Tragoediae* online [http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/music-continental-books-manuscripts/lot.192.html, last accessed 1 May 2018]. This book was sold at auction (5-6 June 2013), and I am grateful to Charlotte Miller from Sotheby's who attempted unsuccessfully to liaise on my behalf with the US-based purchaser regarding this present research.

Signature: Joannes Ponetus Wintoniensis Episcopus

Date Acquired: 1551-1556?

**Author: Joannes Gast**

Title: *De Anabaptismi Exordio, Erroribus, Historijs Abominandis, Confutationibus Adiectis, Libri Duo.*

Publication Details: Basel: Robert Winter, 1544.

Location: Middle Temple Library, L(A).

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus 1549'

Date Acquired: 1549.

**Title: *Της Καινης Διαθηκης ἁπαντα = Novum Testamentum***

Publication Details: Paris: Stephanus, 1546

Location: British Library, C.51.a.10.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus wint.' // 'Jo Ponetus 1554' // Ιωάννης ὁ πον[*damaged text*]

Notes: Additional signatures 'Edwinus Sandus' // 'Ed. Wigorn' on title-page suggest that

Edwin Sandys acquired this book after Ponet's death in Strassburg.

Date Acquired: 1554.

**Author: Daniel Bomberg**

Title: *חמשה חומשי תורה, נביאים ראשונים, ארבעה נביאים אחרונים, ספר כתובים [Hamishah humshe Torah]*

Publication Details: Venice: Bomberg, 1525-1528.

Location: Eton College Library, England, DDc.8.22.

Signature: 'ιωάννης πόνητες ιωάννη κήκώ // φίλος φίλω ἐδωκεν ἀφνώ ' // Jo Ponetus // 'Joanni Cheko amicus // amico dono dedit 1556'

Notes: The paste-downs from Duns Scotus (*Scriptum Oxoniense super Sententias, et Quodlibeta*) match those used in Celio Calcagnini's *Opera Aliquot.*

Date Acquired: c. 1556.

**Author: Isocrates**

Title: *Isocratis ... orationes. Ejusdem vita, ex Plutarcho, Philostrato et Dionysio Halicarnaseo. J. Lonicero interprete.*

Publication Details: Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1529.

Location: British Library, London, 656.d.4.

Signature: 'Jo Ponetus'

Date Acquired: Signature implies 1529-1550. However, given the use of Isocrates' *Orationes* by Thomas Smith at Queens' College during the 1530s, and the amount and type of marginalia, it is highly likely to have been acquired and annotated while Ponet was at Cambridge between 1529-1542.

**Author: Johannes de Sacrobosco; Lefèvre d'Étaples (ed.)**

Title: *Textus de sphaera Ioannis de Sacrobosco : introductoria additione (quantum necessarium est) commentarioque, ad vtilitatem studentium philosophiae Parisiensis Academiae illustratus. Cum compositione Annuli astronomici Boneti Latensi: et geometria Euclidis Megarensis.*

*Publication Details: Paris: Simonem Colinaeum, 1534.*

Location: Royal College of Physicians, Dorchester Library, D1/48-e-1(1).

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus'

Notes: Sacrobosco includes Bonet de Lattes (Annuli astronomici vtilitatum liber: ad Alexandrum sextum), Euclid (Geometria tran. Boethius), and is bound with three additional books:

1) **Gaius Julius Hyginus' *Fabulae***, which includes Gaius Julius Hyginus (Poeticon Astronomicon), Palaephatus (On Incredible Things), Fabius Planciades Fulgentius (Mythologies), Fabius Planciades Fulgentius (Explanation of Old Words), Aratus (Phaenomena), [now Pseudo] Proclus (De Sphaera).

2) **Ptolemy's *Almagest*.**

3) **Sebastian Münster's *Organum Uranicum*.**

Date Acquired: Since 1) Ponet wrote on the title page of Sacrobosco, and other volumes in this bound collection, and 2) the latest publication date of these volumes is 1537, we can assume Ponet acquired this between 1537-1550. However, given his astronomical interest and work while at Queens' College, the collection was most likely acquired between 1537-1542.

**Author: Justin Martyr**

Title: *Tou Hagiou Ioustinou philosophou kai martyros Zēna kai Zerēno : Logos pragnetikos pros Hellēnas. Pros Tryphōna iothdaion dialogos.*

Publication Details: Paris: Robert Stephanus, 1551.

Location: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, B.4.3(1).

Signature: 'Jo Winton'

Date Acquired: Signature implies 1551-1556. However, this volume is bound with Philo's works which signature implies earlier usage. Thus, probably 1551-1553.

**Author: King Henry VIII**

Title: *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christen man, set furthe by the kynges maiestie of Englande &c.*

Publication Details: London: Thomas Barthelet, 1543.

Location: Bodleian Library, Oxford, Arch. A.d.8.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus' // '1543'

Date Acquired: 1543.

**Author: Johannes Oecolampadius**

Title: *DD. Ioannis Oecolampadij et Huldrichi Zuinglij epistolarum libri quatuor, praecipua cum religionis a Christo nobis traditae capita, tum ecclesiasticae administrationis officia ... exprimentes ... Ad haec scriptorum Io. Oecolampadij & Hudrichi Zuinglij purgatio, per Theodorum Bibliandrum ... conscripta. Vtriusq[ue] uita & obitus, Simone Grynaeo, Wolfgango Capitone, & Osualdo Myconio autoribus.*

Publication Details: Basel: Thomas Platterum & Balthasarem Lasium, 1536.

Location: Palace Green Library, University of Durham, Cosin N.2.3/1.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus 1549'

Date Acquired: 1549.

**Author: Pierre Crabbe**

Title: *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium: quae iam inde ab Apostolis in hunc vsque diem celebrata, ex vetustissimis diuersarum regionum bibliothecis haberi potuerunt, in tres nunc tomos ob recente[m] multorum additione[m] diuisa, tomus primus [-tertius]. ... Cum indice novo copiosissimo.*

Publication Details: Cologne, Quentel, 1551.

Location: Queen's College Library, University of Oxford, 15.B.1; 15.B.2; 15.B.3.

Signature: 'Jo Winton Ponet' // 'Liber Collegii Reginae ex dono Reverendissimi D. Edmundi Grindalli Archiep. Cantuar'

Date Acquired: Signature suggests 1551-1556. However, subsequent ownership by Edmund

Grindal and explicit citation within John Ponet's *Draft Reply* implies use within exile, and thus 1554-1556.

**Author: Philo of Alexandria**

Title: *Philōnos Ioudaiou eis ta tou Mōseōs Kosmopoiētika, historika, nomothetika. Tou autou monobibla. = Philonis Iudaei In libros Mosis de mundi opificio, historicos, de legibus. Eiusdem libri singulares ex Bibliotheca Regia.*

Publication Details: Paris: Adriani Turnebi, 1552.

Location: Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, B.4.3(2).

Signature: 'Jo Winton' // 'JP'

Date Acquired: Signature and publication date imply 1552-1556. However, use of 'JP' which matches Ponet's signature on his personal BCP 1552 and his copy of Peter Martyr Vermigli's Commentary on 1 Corinthians implies acquisition between 1552-1553.

**Author: Saxo Grammaticus**

Title: *Danorum Historiae libri XVI.*

Publication Details: Basel: Oporinus, 1534.

Location: British Library, London, 590.k.10.

Signature: 'Jo Ponetus Wint.'

Date Acquired: Signature implies 1551-1556. However, use in John Ponet's *Shorte Treatise* implies acquisition between 1554-1556.

**Author: Cornelius Tacitus**

Title: *P. Cornelii Taciti Eq. Ro. Historia Augusta actionum diurnalium : additis quinque libris nouiter inuentis / Andreae Alciati Mediolanensis in eundem annotationes. De situ, moribus et populis Germaniae libellus: eodem Cor. Tacito auctore. Eiusdem dialogus: an sui seculi oratores antiquioribus, & quare concedant. Cn. Iulli Agricolae uita, per eundem.*

Publication Details: Basel: Froben, 1519.

Location: Queens' College Old Library, Cambridge, F.1.4.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus'

Notes: Purchase price indicated by '5s d4' on title page. Afterwards owned and annotated by Thomas Smith and then donated to Queens' College by him.

Date Acquired: Signature implies 1519-1550. However, since it was afterwards owned and annotated by Thomas Smith it was most likely used by Ponet while at Queens' College, and thus probably acquired between 1532-1542.

**Author: Theophylact of Ochrid**

Title: *ΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΟΠΟΥ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΑΣ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ.*

Publication Details: Rome: printed unknown, 1542.

Location: L'Eglise Protestante, London, IX.f.10

Signature: 'Jo. Winton' // 'Joannes Roffen' // 'Jo Ponetus 1550'

Date Acquired: 1550, and reused throughout 1550-51 (Rochester) and 1551-1553 (Winchester).

**Author: Juan de Torquemada**

Title: *Summa de ecclesia contra impugnatores potestatis summi pontificis et LXXIII quaestiones super potestate et auctoritate Papali ex sententiis sancti Thomae Aquinatis*.

Publication Details: Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 1496.

Location: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 1Q 4.16

Signature: [Title Page] 'Jo Ponett' // 'Jo Ponett' // [Final Page] 'Joannes Ponetus 1554'

Date Acquired: 1554.

**Author: Joachim Vadianus**

Title: *Ioachimi Vadiani ... aphorismorum libri sex de consideratione eucharistiae, de sententijs uidelicet super hac re contrauersis, de sacramentis antiquis & nouis ... de transubstantiationis.*

Publication Details: Zürich: Froschauer, 1536.

Location: Palace Green Library, University of Durham, Cosin N.2.3/2.

Signature: None [bound with Oecolampadius and Zwingli's letters]

Date Acquired: Approximately 1549.

**Author: Joannes Varennius**

Title: *Syntaxis linguæ Græcæ, ea potissimum complectens quæ a Latinis dissentiũt.*

Publication Details: Basel: Balthasar Lasius, 1539.

Location: British Library, London, 622.d.4.

Signature: 'Ponnet' // 'Jo Ponetus'

Notes: 'Thomas Cantuarien' is written on title-page thus associating this book with Cranmer's library.

Date Acquired: Signature implies 1539-1550. It was most likely acquired while Ponet was teaching Greek at Cambridge and involved in the development of the 'New Pronunciation'. It probably went with him to Cranmer's library when he served as Cranmer's chaplain.

**Author: Marcus Terentius Varro**

Title: *Libri De Re Rustica*

Publication Details: Basel: Joan. Hervag, 1535.

Location: Unknown, see notes below.

Signature: 'Johannes Ponetus, 1543' as per notes below.

Notes: Details for Varro's *De Re Rustica* in 'Books which have Histories, or which contain documentary evidence of having been in the hands of eminent or illustrious persons, now for sale by Thomas Kerslake', in *The Athenaeum Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts for the year 1854* (London, 1854), 854.

Date Acquired: 1543.

**Author: Peter Martyr Vermigli**

Title: *In selectissimam D. Pauli priorem ad Corinth. Epistolam … commentarij doctissimi.*

Publication Details: Zürich: Froschauer, 1551.

Location: Salisbury Cathedral Library and Archives, C.2.2

Signature: 'JP 1552' // 'Jo. Winton 1553'

Notes: Contains the motto: 'Non ego sed Christus' and monogram 'GHP'

Date Acquired: 1552.

**Author: William of Ockham**

Title: *Tabule ad diuersas huius operis magistri Guilhelmi de Ockam sup[er] quattuor libros s[e]n[tent]iaru[m] a[n]notato[n]es [sic] et ad ce[n]tilogij theologici eiusdem co[n]clusiones facile reperiendas apprime conducibiles*

Publication Details: Lyon: Johannes Trechsel, 1495.

Location: St. John's College, Cambridge, Ii.3.25.

Signature: 'Jo Ponetus 1554. M[ense] Janua[rii]'

Date Acquired: January 1554.

**Author: Huldrych Zwingli**

Title: *In euangelicam historiam de domino nostro Iesu Christo, per Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam, & Ioannem conscriptam, epistolas ... Pauli, annotationes D. Huldrychi Zuinglij per Leonem Iudae exceptae & aeditae. Adiecta est epistola Pauli ad Hebraeos, & Ioannis ... epistola per Gasparem Megandrum.*

Publication Details: Zürich: Froschauer, 1539.

Location: Palace Green Library, University of Durham, Cosin N.2.6.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus 1545' // 'Joannes Ponetus' // 'πονήτος'

Date Acquired: 1545, or possibly earlier due to second signature without date.

**Author: Huldrych Zwingli**

Title: *Opera d. Huldrychi Zuinglii ... partim ab ipso latine conscripta, partim uero a uernaculo sermone in*

*latinum translate.*

Publication Details: Zürich: Froschauer, 1548.

Location: Palace Green Library, University of Durham, Cosin N.2.4-5.

Signature: 'Joannes Ponetus 1548.  Mense Septembre' // 'ἰω πονητος'

Date Acquired: September 1548.

# Appendix B – Letters Relative to John Ponet

*(sources provided in relevant footnotes within dissertation)*

**Roger Ascham to John Ponet, c. January – February 1544[45]**

**[New Translation of Previously Published Latin Transcription]**

Many greetings to the distinguished Ponet.

I wrote a letter to the Most Reverend Father of Canterbury, which if by your help and your grace, through which you maintain considerable influence with said bishop, will assist, you will be doing something most grateful to me and most worthy of our friendship. I do not seek his finances, or anything that will bring any additional bother (I do not need him to write a letter, or to try and obtain anything from anyone in my name), but his help. Indeed, that help which is wholly situated in his power, which is a light matter for him to grant and essential for me to obtain, and which will be pleasing to you, and will be certainly respected with your help. I seek that, by his authority, I not be ensnared any more by that tradition, by which a certain selection of foods is prohibited at certain times. This single matter vehemently impedes all plans of my life and studies. The situation of place has caused me to ask this from the Most Reverend Father. It is cold and humid, and the arrangement of my life which is idle; the nature of my body which is feeble; and my physical disposition which is melancholic because of the remnants of the fourth fever, from which until I am (fully) refreshed I am unable to be liberated; and also my stomach which is averse to nothing except the eating of fish. Not that I might be seen to be seeking this request because of that matter, provided that the strength of my body remains unaltered in a certain condition, and before it grows worse from excessive sickness. For those heads of household never seem to me to be honourable, who do not repair their own homes unless fallen and about to collapse; those who act thus, never do it. I do not press this matter

with the Most Reverend Father, either because there is no need, or because I hope that the matter will succeed if you will do this. For which reason, if by your help and by his authority, this will be given to me. Neither for my sake will this be better done by you, nor more easily granted by him by your petition, nor at any rate to me at this time because I asked it from you, or I anticipated it from him, is it able to happen more desirably.

I ask that you let me know by your letter, what the Most Reverend Father thinks about the petition and my letter. You will do nothing more graceful. For nothing can be more pleasing than the speech of your letter. By your letter, you will bind me to you that I should write to you more frequently, and this will not be troublesome to me. Let me borrow freely for an agreed time Gregory Nyssa the Greek, if you have it, most learned Ponet: but if you do not have it, I ask you on the basis of the long-standing of our friendship, that you obtain it for me from the Most Reverend Father for a few months. Which if you do, you do a gracious deed as I will declare in my next letter. Farewell in Christ, most distinguished Ponet.

**John Ponet to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral (5 Dec 1550)**

**[New Transcription of Previously Undiscovered Letter]**

To the right worshipfull and my very lovinge frends master Dean of Cantorbery and in his absence the vicedean and the chapter ther.

After my verie hartie recommendations. These be to signifie unto you that I <haue> receyued this present daie your letters, dated xxviiith of november and even yesternight I receyuid from master Wilde to the same effect dated the xxvith of the same month. For aunswer to the whiche; I assuer you that it greveth not me a lyttell to here of the great charge that your house hath beene at this yere in reprations, howbeit my trust is that your wisdomes can right well consider myn absence, the moost part of this yere. Furst by the kinges ma<ties> [e.g., magesties] commaundement, and after for attending apon myne office by reason wherof I was fayne to leave that office of my receyvorshipp to sum suche of you as hath beene heretofore acquented with the doinges of yor house, as to master Goldson or master mylles or master parkhirst or some suche other. I am well assurid that the reprations done by my commaundment growe to no great sum, as I dout not but that master wilde can declare. Wherefore me semeth that the large charges of the reprations may not iustlie be laide to my charge; beinge all this yere (as ye know) for the moost part absent. And my trust is that suche of you as haue done the office in my absence wilbe prest and ready to make aunswere to these doinges, and to discharge me of the obloqui of them, who wolie fayne haue some cause to mysreport me. The chefe cause whi I could not come to Thaudit [the audit], and to yor generall chapter, wer certayne affairs of the kinges ma<ties> which required my personall presence at that presente; otherwise I wolde haye been (as my intent <was>), with you to haue forsene to sum thinges, whiche now be chaunged contrary to myn expectation. Nevertheles for satisfinge of yor request. that I shoulde deliver suche sommes of money, as I am charged within my debit, I am verie well content so to doe, so that ye will be thus goode and favourable unto me, that I

be no further charged then as myne owne hande can witnes agaynste me. And that I may haue that onlie sum dependinge apone my hedde in yor Audite booke; which is <*uncertain* - denoe?> by bills of myn owne hande; And after myne alowance. And that all suche somes as eyther master Goldson or any of you ells haue receyuid in my absence, may depend upon theire owne heddes, who haue receyuid them and I quyte of them discharged. The rest I will moost gladlie pay apon communycation with master wilde and master goldson, whom I pray yow desire to meete with me at Rochester apon wednesdaye next, wheras I must be in the kinges ma<ties> affairs and there I shall taike suche order for my parte, as my trust is that ye shalbe therwith ryghtwell contented.

Thus the lyving god kepe yow all, and mayntayne you in the knowledge of his truth, and the settinge suche of his worde.

From my Manor of Bromley the vth of December 1550.

Yor very lovnig frend,

allwayes to his poer

Jo. Pon. Roffen.

**John Ponet to President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (c. October 1551?)**[970]

**[New Transcription of Partially Published Letter]**

Interpretatio Episcopio Winton

After my very harty commendations theise be to signifye unto yow, that I am sory to here tell that ther should be any contention amongest yow, and especyally upon that pece of yor statute whych ys most playn. these be the words off yor statute, Ne quisquam se a dominico retrahat ministerio, sed seipsum praeparet ut quam primum in ejus recipiatur sortem, doth evidently shew that it ys yor founders mynde to have all the felows off yor howse, savinge the student in Physick, after certen yers to prepare them self ad ministerium dominicum, which ys as ye know praedicatio verbi et ministratio sacramentorum Dominici; whych ministry remayne, thowghe massing be gon; so that thowghe ye be dyschargyd off massyng, yet ye be not dischargyd a ministerio dominico. Wherfor I charge yow in the name of God & off yor founder that ye observe the statute in that poynte, ye must put them out according to yor statute in that behalf.

970 Previously partially published in Thomas Fowler, *The History of Corpus Christi College, with Lists of its Members* (Oxford, 1893), 100.

**John Ponet and John Kingsmill to the Privy Council (22 October 1552)**

**[New Reproduction of Published Letter Undiscovered by Ponet's biographers]**

To the Kinges Maiesties Most Honorable Counceill

Yt may please your honorable Lordeships to understande that wee have receyved your letters of the xvij Octobre detyd the ixth of the same declaring your pleasures that wher as we in the later end of our former letters to your Lordships made mencion of certayne plate and ornamentes recovered which were before alientated we shoulde now signifye particularly unto your good Lordships that those ornamentes and plate were to what value and in whose handes it dothe remayne, for aunswer whereunto it may please you to be advertised that within the citie of Winchester wherof only we were ioyntly appoynted Commisioners, ther is not more plate or ornamentes cum to our handes but only one chalice with a paten of the same of silver and gilt weyng xviij ounces and an half and fouer buttons of a sacrament clothe likewise of silver and gilt weyng one ounce and half a quarter which remaynethe in the handes of me John the busshopp of Winchester and this is all that wee have in our possession by force of that Commyssion which shalbe delyvered when and wher your Lordeships shall appoynte. No more unto your good Lordships at this tyme but that wee shall contynue in prayer for the preservation of your honors.

From Wynchestre the xxij of October 1552.

Your Lordeships to command,

Jo. Winton, B. John Kyngsmyll.

**John Ponet to the Duke of Württemberg (Strassburg, 28 December 1554)**[971]

**[New Transcription and Translation of Previously Identified but Unexamined Letter]**

There are two things, most illustrious and honoured Prince, which during our time in this exile have not been commonly consoled. One of these, the goodness and reasonableness of our cause, which we ought to carefully consider, ultimately with a good attitude and without consternation. That is, as those who have formerly learned from Paul, that for those so oppressed, there are things more worthy and more excellent by far than these pressures, things reserved in heaven by the certainty of which promise our spirit is encouraged and is able to be strengthened and supported to no small degree. The other of these, in the undertaking of this unfortunate exile, we have found the most fortunate places by goodness of God of alone. Indeed, we of the English dispersion have received the safest places of refuge. Thus far in these circumstances we have experienced things exceedingly milder and gentler than those of our ancient ancestors, and those of the holy fathers, who repeatedly suffered and were expelled from their borders and forced to flee on for the same cause. For it was not the noblest of German cities in which we are hosted with great courtesy that received them, but backwoods and uncultivated places, locations deserted and empty of buildings, the places most removed from all course and custom of people. Such places received them, where they went without food or any clothing other than that which was produced by the animals and the most savage beasts which live in the woodlands. Thus far, if for example, all of their misfortunes or most cruel calamities were compared with this cross of ours, we would immediately be held to be blessed, and they would be held wholly wretched (by human judgment). These two outstanding benefits of God, while we considered being pressed in these narrow straits, they conveyed no little importance when not only concerns and some distractions were recalled to our minds, but also when harsh anxieties needed to be relieved. Again, in these benefits we have satisfactorily

[971] Identified but not examined by Garrett in *Marian Exiles,* 364.

survived thus far, in these benefits we rested, in these benefits we were not scattered, but consoled each other. And while for this good way and great part of our cares, we were cast upon God himself, our ultimate and first refuge and sacred anchor. And while we were considering absolutely no-one (lit: 'none of mortals') to come forth from whom we would have been able to expect something of better fortune: why suddenly, to us, Reverend Father Doctor Peter Paul Vergerius (concerning whose piety is best known to you, for the place that he had earned before your highness alone, let us say nothing more) brought us a message. A message pleasing to all good men, and thus most pleasant to us distant English exiles. And a message to greet, of course, the most illustrious and distinguished: Your Highness, descended of a most noble family, who, as you most greatly support 'good letters', thus boldly fight for the Evangelical truth of which all the Englishmen who for the cause of the gospel now suffer voluntary exile for their natural piety. And a message to support up some of their trouble: and even moved with such loving affection towards them that would consider sending florins to the noble magistrates of the city of Strassburg, to those who exert power on behalf of its dignity, witness, and justice, to be distributed among the Englishmen and alleviate their present hardship. Indeed, with that most favourable and clearly inspired messenger, what could be more broadly pleasant or desirable in deprivation? In fact, this beneficence, when we examined what would be added to them [i.e., those deprived exiles], will help most readily, so that those who fled from England might rest and place all their confidence in Christ the Lord, and in him alone. And that considering these things which beyond the expectation of all people the compassion of God has foreseen, those deprived exiles may cease to be more troubled. We do not deny that we were formerly strengthened not a little by divine providence. We were even more peaceful and tranquil in our hearts, and were not lacking lodgings by those welcomed us, and thus far God has not withdrawn their helping hands from us. But truly, unless this third consolation had been added, which your great generosity had supplied to us all at this time, this body of exiles might possibly have become querulous, had not your enquiries settled down

those accustomed to being worrying spirits. No indeed, the future difficulties and imminent dangers and the pricking thorn of necessity have always been present before our eyes. For, in fact, our efforts having been undertaken a long time now, through the utmost poverty of possessions, is urged to be set aside. For this, with the former estate having been abandoned, requires another to be found. This presses hard on those not having been accustomed with harder circumstances, such as the family laden with children who are very much tormented and vexed. No mortal can be so firm and constant in heart, who falls into those thoughts, and cannot be moved. When, therefore, with these dangers from which many of us were not far off, Your Highness brought the magnificent gift of a most timely remedy, and freed us from all disturbance of heart, how then ought we not be most persuaded, that our Lord God Almighty has taken up our care entirely? How, after this which we did not expect from his goodness, who, lest there seem to be anything rightfully lacking toward us, stirred the soul of so noble and distinguished a Prince with great love for us. Indeed, to such a degree of love that he enquired about us and bestowed most ample gifts upon us. And despite not even one of us having seen by him, nor requested anything, the whole matter came from his own most holy heart. Certainly, greatly dejected ought to be his heart, who is not stirred by such an illustrious benefit. We wish to convey to him what great a delight and joy all the faithful (however much they dwell in the remotest places) were filled with, when the scattered sheep of Christ heard of such efforts and such benefits of the Illustrious Prince to foster and defend us. Indeed, this is easy enough when we consider it alone, yet it is worthy to be impressed more deeply in all hearts. Indeed, it is truly most worthy to be preserved forever in the memory of the pious as equal to the most precious of treasures. Wherefore most Holy and illustrious Prince, whom, noble and of such importance is this your great kindness to us, we have not expressed so much as we all feel. And certainly, we feel more than any suitable words can be declared to say or compositions cover. For this, how much to your Highness we therefore owe, we seem to comprehend with a certain capacity, but in another part, or at any rate from the least part, we shall respond to your

munificence as it lies deep within us. Nevertheless, whatever alone we were able, whatever our duty demanded, whateversuch letters we determined to send to Your Highness by which we might at least signify to the same, that this truly royal gift was distributed to us by the most illustrious lords of this city with no less justice, equity, and fidelity, than it was entrusted to the former by your piety. Thence, as by that method which can be used now, we return our shared and everlasting thanks. Who indeed, as with minds full of gratitude and extraordinary happiness which you have sent, receive your generosity. Thus certainly in our prayers to God, we mention your greatness continually with good faith, so that (God willing) forgetfulness of your benefit should never creep into our minds. That which we said earlier is always worthy of prayer (as deserved) and remembrance so that the posterity of future ages will not be forgetful of this deed. Farewell, most noble Prince. We entreat God Most High, that he make us worthy of such magnificent generosity. And that He bless Your Highness optimally in all things, both to be undertaken and to be done, and that He keep Your Highness and defend him. And that the fruits of piety, which he has displayed already through you, be — in perfect maturity — as much to the glory of his name, as it is released most fruitfully for the guardianship of the Church of Christ. Strassburg 28 December, A.D. 1554.

Faithful and most observant dependents of Your Highness.

Jo Ponetus Winton
Jacobus Haddonus
Edmundus Grindallus

Christoferus Goodmannus
Guido Hetonus
Joannes Fauconerus
Humfridus Alcocsonus
Jo Hontingtonus
Thomas Stuardus
Thomas Lakyn
Joannes Jefferaius
Augustinus Bradbrydge

Arthure Saulle

Michaelangelus Florius

Jo. Banchus

Nicolas Purfyt

Robartus Sharpe

## John Ponet to John Bale (6 July 1555)[972]

### [Corrected Transcription of Previously Published Letter]

To my verey lovinge frend Mr. Bale at Franckford

at Argentine the vith of Juli

I understand by your letters that ye be no lesse godly occupied then ye were wont to be, in whiche travayle no dout God will assist you. Ballets, rymes, and short toyes that be not deare, and will easily be born away doe muche good at home amonge the rude peple. To the whiche studies I mynd not to pluk yow, from your other more weightie purposes, but wishe that yow wold pryk other men to suche easy exercises, who either ~~will~~ can not or will not travayle in longe processes. The papists shew ther faces so shamelesly, and being destitute of all godly weapon presse so sore apon us, that it is an easy matter for any that hath ben a scholer in Gods spryte to wounde them where he ~~they~~ lust. Blynd fury hath made them witles, and if we ioyne strengths agaynst them, we shall make them hartles. Jonastias and his harmesberer agaynst the philistians, David agaynst Golias and suche lyke men of God have taught us boldnes. The unlearned must not be ydell. Ther dayly exhortations shall incoradge the laborers, the plowmans whissell is no vayn instrument, the horse laboreth more cherfully when he is chereshid. Let us all feyght in a throupe together, the learned with ther pen, the riche with ther substance, the poer with dispersinge those things that may edify. And all together with our prayers dayly to God. The feeld is half won and more. Polonia, and (some say) Bohemia is won. All ready our brothern in England stand to it lyke men, ffrance hath more protestants then papists. The sone brusteth out wher the clouds of popery be thykest, the more they quench the cole the more it burneth, blow ~~the trumpet~~ therfor boldly the trumpet of Gods treuth, and play the bushop amonge your companions ther, as thoughe ye were amonge your flok in Yerland. My furst book

[972] Baskerville, 'John Ponet in Exile' contains two transcription mistakes which have been corrected above: 'Argentia' is 'Argentine', and 'Jonathan and his harnesberer' is 'Jonastias and his harmesberer'.

is ready and loe I send you one, to reade as a tryfell and not as any wit. But yet your iudgement I wolde gladly here of it. Practyse hath taught yow what falts shoulde be shoned. Yf your counsell can helpe me to utter some copies ye shew me a pleasure, for my second book must lye styll till this be utterid. Common with your frends and I pray yow let me here from you. In the mean tyme I beseche yow remember me in your prayers and commend me to good m$^{r}$ Isaak and his wife and mr Parry etc.

your assuerid old frend Jo. Ponet

wint

# Appendix C – Miscellaneous Notes

*(sources provided in relevant footnotes within dissertation)*

**Memorandum concerning Thomas Smith, 15 January 1539[40]**

Memorandum magistris that the xviii th day of January yn the yere of our Lorde a m.v<c> | xxxix [1539] that this agreyd by the masters and felows bycawse | that thomas smythe felow of thys howse master art yntendyth | to goe beyonde the sees for the further yncrease of hys | learnyng and vertu we do lycens hym so to doe the | tyme that he is absent <for lernyng & study> alowyd of our college yn the | name of hys comons as a felow no prest payd hym | before hande yerly at our lady day the annunciation | iiii li [£4]. So that ~~with~~ at hys retornyng agayne he | be felow & inioy all pryvylegys & lybertes as a | felow owght to doe. & whyle he is absent be bownde | to kepe & ~~of~~ observe & kepe all syche laudabull customs | & statutes as other felowes being absent be bownd to | & that at the xth yere after that he was master | of art accordyng to the statutes he procede forth | other doctor in ~~ey~~ civile law or ells in physyk | or ells bachelor in divinitie.

## John Leland's Encomium to John Ponet[973]

'In your friendly way, by loudly praising absent Leland as often as you do, you demonstrate signs of both your good disposition and your fair manners, manners which, if I wanted to describe them with more words, words I would not have the time to utter, or you to hear at this time. In the meantime, lest I perhaps seem heedless of my well-tried dutifulness towards you, behold, I shall gladly express my thanks. Thus my humble Muse commands me, Ponet, since you extol me with magnificent words, although undeservedly. For, by all rights (and it should not embarrass me to say something so well known) I most certainly cannot honestly acknowledge with a straight face the glory you attribute to me. I know what a vehement pleader you are being in a humble friend's cause. You indulge me too much. But, lest my words detain you too long, I shall say what in my truthful heart I feel. I am immoderately overjoyed by the friendliness of your mind, and all the praises which you heap on me, I am content to repeat in turn to your splendid self.'

[973] I am indebted to the translation assistance of Seumas MacDonald and also Dana F. Sutton's 'The Philological Museum' [http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/lelandpoems, last accessed 11 May 2018].

**References to John Ponet's Commonplace-Books**

*From Draft Reply*

f.22r: 'Ext. li.o.3 | Tit. de voto et voti redemptio. Boniface Bi <in glosa> | Non est ipsum votum quod impedit vel dirimit matrimonis | sed est ipsa confundo constitutio ecclesiae. sylva mea 133 // Sylva P.A. Extra scripturas nihil etc. fol. 181 etc. // Sylva althi. 82.'

f.43v: 'And god is | content shalbe takene | for a judge in | controverseys may he | not therefore be a | judge? et apo. 4 | Nec dicit testis fidelia | Concil Pat. Syl mea | fo. 71.'

f.43v: 'Whether is god | a judge or not | but both word as the | scripture | [*faded text*] // Vide Clement | alex 261. ca 10 | et Chrysost | no. 49. Sylmea.'

f.45v: '// Jo. 5. Christ taketh witnes of the scriptures | ipse sunt quae testimonium perhibent de me // vide Chrysostom 24 math ho. 49 in Sylva mea 97. // et Aug. cum Maximino Arrianorum episcopo disputatis | li. 3.o silva mea 181.'

f.46r: 'vincentius lirinensis D. 10 // et Chrysosto 49 vide sylva mea'

f.49v: 'que Contraria. apostolorum et papista. // contra omnia repleantur haeresi, fugiendus es | ad scripturas sacras. Chryso. ho | 49 in 24 math. sylva mea 97.'

f.121v: 'L.C.' [concerning Martyn's comment that 'I demaund of the heretikes themselues what doctour they have, or approued story, by the which it may appear, that ever any person did in any Christian countre, after he had receiued holy orders, lawfully marrie.']

f.145v: L.C. Sylva mea. et Antonius de guara lio 1o f. 183 | pulcherima. // De Canonis Sacerdotum | L.C.

f.169r: ‘qui uxores secundum sacros canones habent, non prohibentus eas | seduare. Idem Justinianus impure permittat monastic | vulgari vita premature. vide Sylva mea parchment mel | melanchton fo. 31.’

f.171r: ‘[comment on Panormitan] Remember | panormitan | ca. cum olim | Sylva mea’

f. 201v: ‘L.C. | petition principii’ [concerning Emperor Augustus and the Law Julia]

f.227r: ‘[quotations from sources relating to 1 Tim 3 and 1 Cor 7] Sylva mea 159. // Di. 33. Acutius. qui uxorem prius habuit et | post concubina potest esse episcopus. | Di. 34. qui prius uxorem habuit et post | fraternitate meretricem potest fieri diaconus’

f.231r: ‘[comment on Ponet's use of Chrysostom on the Jewish polygamy problem] Chrysostom. Tit. 1. | et Hiero Marcellino et oceano vide | sylva mea parch 83.’

f.264v: ‘// [comment on Ponet's apparent mishandling of St Paul] and so doth | Epiphanius take it playnly p. __ 141 ___ | they that play open harlots habet κριμα [pity or shame] and thei | that play the secret harlots habent κατακριμα [condemnation] | vide Ephipha. Contra Catharos. | sylvam meam 165.’

f.279v: ‘nay to | a hundreth places | in the | scriptures | L.C. | Silva mea.’ [concerning other places in Scripture for vows]

f.280r: ‘// vide Sylvam meam de paulo etc. 133. 139. // This is no stertinghole [the condition 'if God will'] but the kings | heygh way and that so brode and playn a | highe way that all the popishe heretiques | in Christendom be not hable to stope it’

f.294v: ‘shew yor other | medicine // [comment on vowing only by ordinance of church, not scripture] [LARGE TREFOIL] L.C’

f.295r: ‘Sylva mea. | Cartacens liber uterque etc.’

f.296$^{v}$: 'Item li pargamento 47. 48.'

f.297$^{r}$: '[comment concerning Martyn's recording of quote] here he leveth | out ecclesiae // [SEMIBREVE] sylva mea | supra 51.'

f.333$^{r}$: '[comment on Henry 3rd, f. 322$^{v}$] de hac re vide Sylvam meam in | Parg. ex polydoro. et Huntingdonensis | fo. 70. et fo:27.'

f.340$^{r}$: 'LC: he sayth the bushops and the | prests in the grek churche | did not mary nor did not'

f.340$^{r}$: 'he saith sacerdotes copulatur matrimonio. if | they maried before they were prestes then | shoulde the text be false that sacerdotes | copulatis. vide Caietanum. // Silva mea'

*From Tatian, Oratio ad Graecos*

p. 347: 'L.C. | Diogenes |Aristippus | Plato' [concerning the vices and errors of the philosophers]

*From Theophylactus, In quatuor Evangelia enarrationes*

p. 4: 'L.C. Non pudeat nos | parentum' [concerning 'Uriah's wife' in Matt. 1:6]

p. 7: 'L.C. | Ἰδίωμα | ἑλλωια [*there is some uncertainty about the latter word*] [concerning 'until' in Matt. 1:25]

p. 7: 'L.C. Magorum idololat | adventus tam <uncertain - longinque?> est | Magna Iudeorum | contemperatio habeant | presentum' [concerning the use of the Magi to condemn the Jews]

*From Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quam particularum*

Vol. 3, p. 860: 'Sacrificium missae non instituitur ut remissionem | peccatorum de novo mereamur sed ut mertiam fide | nobis applicemus. ergo sacerdos non | applicat audientibus nobis, sed nos fide | et devotionem [*difficult to discern: vera or uram?*] nobis applicanus

[MANICULE] L.C. De Canone' [concerning the satisfaction made at the cross of Christ in the context of a discussion on the eucharist within the record of the Augsburg Interim]

*From Peter Martyr Vermigli's Commentary on 1 Corinthians*

Preface, p. 4$^{r}$: 'L.' written in the same fashion as the above, adjacent to a long list of councils which have erred. 'Ecclesia posse | errare' written in the margin above 'L', and 'errantibus' written below 'L'.

Preface, p. 4$^{v}$: 'L' as above, adjacent to printed marginal note: 'Quomodo possimus | nobis comparare | haec instrumenta, quibus | de scripturis | iudicandum | est.'

**Handwritten version of RSTC 7508 in John Ponet's 1552 Book of Common Prayer.**

A godly prayer for the kynge // Almightye and moste mercifulle Lord: the onelye lyffe and healing | off alle that truste in thee: <whiche> workeste salvacion in thyne electe: aswelle by syknes as | other wyse: & therefore bryngeste them verye lowe: & bryngeste [print: "restorest"] to health agayne: | looke downe with thi pytyefull yes: upon thi servaunte edwarde: the [print: "our"] kynge: | & upon the [print: "this"] realme of yngelonde proffessyng thi word: thi holye name: & as thou | dydeste moste favourablye delyver kynge ezechias: from extreme syknes | & prolonged hys lyffe for the saffegarde of thi people the Israaelytes: & defendedste them & theyre citye from the tyranye of the assiryans: so we moste entyerly appealle | unto [print: "to"] thi greate merci: graciouslye to restore to health & streyngthe agayne [print: "of"] thy| servaunte edward our soveraigne lord: that as thou haste begone by hym the roteynge [print: "rooting"] oute | of errore: Idolytre: & superstycion: and thou [print: "the"] plantynge of true relygyon true worshype | & veryte: so it maye please thi mercifulle goodness: longe to preserve hym: for the confyrmacion | & fulle [print: has no "full"] establyshemente of the same: & also the saffegarde & defence of thys thi [print: no "thi"]| realme: frome alle outeward [print: "and inward"] enemyes for the glorye of thi holy name: & loke not herin: | <*uncertain* – hogh> [print: "(O Lord)"] lord upon our desarts whyche for abusynge thy word & other [print: has no "other"] synfullnes: | deserve greate ponyshemente [print: "punishments"]: but upon thi plentyfulle mercyes: whyche reioyceste to | healle greate [print: "the greatest"] myseryes: be no lesse favourable: oh: lord at thys presente to edwarde | our kynge: restorynge thys thi true religyone: then in tyme [print: "times"] paste to ezechias reformynge | lykewyse thi religione: be no lesse mercifulle to yngelonge thi churche nowe: then [print: "in those days"] | to Jewrye [print: "Jury"] thi churche then: but as thi heavendlye grace hathe byne more clearly [print: has no "clearly"] revealed in the latter [print: "in these days"] dayes by the | cummynge of thi deare sonne: our savioure & master christe, | and preachyng of thi [print: "the"] gospelle: so it maye please thi

fatherlye [print: "love and"] goodness to bestowe upon | us more abundaunce of the same [print: "favourable"] grace & mercye: accordynge to thi | godlyewylle [print: "thy wyll"]: In heareynge[print: no "heareynge"] thys our moste [print: no "moste"] humble requeste: do thys | O moste mercifulle father for thi owne names sake: & for the merets of | thi onely [print: no "onely"] sonne: our onely medyatoure & redeemer Jesus Christe.

## Appendix D – Transcription of British Library, Additional MS 89067

**[TITLE PAGE] [F.1$^{r}$]** seneca in Hercules furete | dominare timidus [*original: tumidus*] spiritus altos gere |sequitur superbos victor a tergo dues[974] // In christes tyme |only counselled // Martion // Martion // Martion maade me the enemy of all maryadge | Martion maade me the enemye of all maryadge

**[F.1$^{v}$ – New Folio Numbers inserted according to Rebinding]** fo. 5. // fo. 11. // 13 // 25 // fo 36 // 45 // 51 // 59 // 67 // 78 // 101 // 116 // 136

**[F.2$^{r}$ – General Comments and Draft Response until F.11$^{r}$]** Martyn playd allway the fole in Chrismas in new colledge in | Oxforde // Epiphanius | Saturnilus ~~said that~~ being basilides fellow said that the heavens and the | world was made by angells and he proved it by this text faciamus | meum ad imaginem et similitudinem, leauing out meam as | the deuill luc 4.$^{o}$. left out ut custodiant te in omnibus uijs tuus whose | scholer ye be in leauinge out in Clement Alex. // Eusebius li.o 5 ca. 28 | creatorem made hominem de dicebat | citat volumen quoddam contra Artemonis haerisim quam Paullus Samosatenus nostris | temporibus renovare conatur est. et quoniam auctores illius de ea | quasi antiqua gloriabantur, post alia multa ad reprehendum blasphemum | eorum mendacium inducta, ista ad verba subjiciens sic scribit | dicunt enim majores omnes, etiam ipsos Apostolos ipam sensisse ac docuisse | que ipsi nunc dicunt servatamque eam praedictionis veritatem usque ad | tempora victoris qui tertius decimus Petro Romanorum Episcopus fuit: per Successorum | vero hujus Zephyrinum fuisse corruptam. Esset autem hoc | forsan verosimile, nisi reclamarent illis primum divine Scripture, | deinde et fratrum quorundam scripta temporibus victoris antiquiora.[975] // [SEMIBREVE] First shew how unmeet <and partiall a> [*uncertain word – iudge?*] origen is to be alledged | in the cause of matrimony who gelded himself shamefully | thinkinge ~~that mari~~ most erroneosly that maried men | could not please god. for the which he is condemned | Eusebius etc. and Tertullian that

[974] Seneca, *Hercules Furens,* li. 384-385.
[975] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastica Historia*, ca. 28.

condempeth | second mariadges. and St. Hierome that condempeth | all mariages. Siritius the author of the [*uncertain word – wifeles?*] | life of prests [*uncertain word – declares?*] popes and generall counsells | for the maynteneance of ther feyned holynes. // you [*uncertain words*] a quest of suche as be all either | giltie or suspected parsons and therefor meet it | is to take exceptions agaynst them

**[F.2$^{v}$]** wher they shall object that the maried priest | is provoked to noughtines by reason of his wife | thei obiect agayne to ther petite et accipietis | the vow once broken can not be made hole agayne. | ~~but~~ the papists torne then to break mariadge whiche as a work | of god for sealing up of the vow whiche can not be had | lyk to the surgeane that for recoveringe the sight of the right | eye put the medicine in the lefte. and so mindinge | to help one ey did put out both. // principibus contra Deum precipientibus obediebum non esse AL // Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te[976] is ther peace | of scripture wherby he proveth thapostles did put | away ther wyves? the lyk reason may be brought to prove that all men ~~did~~ must put | away ther wyves: si ~~qui domum reliquit patrem | aut matrem aut uxorem aut omnes propter meum | est non dignus~~ [977] Si quis venit ad me | nec odit patrem suum et matrem et uxorem | etc. Luc 14.[978]

**[F.3$^{r}$-F.3$^{v}$ – Blank]**

**[F.4$^{r}$]** your intent as appeareth by that tytell of your book is to prove | that the mariadge of prests and professed parsons is not | ~~mariadge~~ only a thinge altogether unlawfull, but also | that ther mariadge is no mariadge and you thinke | you have made so profound a resolution in this matter | by your cannoneicall wisdom and sophisticall cuninge | that you can fynde none so worthy unto whom you may | dedicate the first frute of your ~~miraculose wisedome~~ <fansey> | as not only to a queen, but also to a virgin queen, | (as by the end of your preface more playnly appereth). not | dourting belyke that her graces eares wil~~be~~ <not be> offended | wtith

976 Matt. 19:27.
977 Matt 19:29.
978 Luke 14:26.

~~the~~ your unchaste termes <of filthy whordom stinkinge lechery etc> your shamel~~y~~es shiftes, your | ~~fylthy~~ <ruffian lyke> talke and lowde lyes, whiche ~~in all places~~ | through your <hole> booke <But assure yor self> ~~you use for lack of other matter~~ | thoughe the queen be contented with what so euer you | ~~doe~~ <say>, yet ~~can~~ <will> learned men overlook you and ~~see~~ iudge | what you ought to ~~doe~~ say, it is not your net that can hide | your nakidnis ~~now~~ whene you daunse now as it was | wont whom you ~~wer wont~~ <used> to play <in new colledge> in Oxford the | lords <minion> fole in Christmas; belyke there ye learnid | your boldnes and lost your wit ~~so that now~~ and ~~have~~ <did then> put | of shame and put on impudency ~~with the visor~~ and so vnder | that visor ye think ye may now play your part as in tymes past

**[F.4$^{v}$]** but when your favorers shall perceaue that they shalbe accessory | to your foly if they favor you any longer when they shall se | you disclosed, then shall they be ashamed both of them | selfs and you, <for> sufferinge affection so to blynde ther | eyes, that amonge so many wise men they haue folowed | such a <merchant> fole. but to turne from you now to the | tytell of your booke, you say it is "a treatise declaring | and playnly provinge that the pretensed mariadge of priestes | and professed parsons is no mariadge but altogether | unlawful." If ~~this say~~ you have proved this | trew as you pretend that prestes mariadge be no mariadge | then hathe the queen and the consell don amisse in | deprivinge prestes of ther benefices and lyvinges for | they alledged non other cause but only that they | wer maried contrary to a law. now say you ther | mariadge is no mariadge; then say I ~~if ther | be no moe causes but mariadge? you take away | the cause you take~~ wher ther ~~is no~~ <is no> is no cause | of punishment ~~is <not> disproved ther must <not> betheffect | reason (that is to say) punishment follow~~ ther ought to no punishment in effect: | but <the> mariadge | of prestes for the whiche ~~you say prestes ought to~~ <cause only they haue> loste | benefices and lyvynges <takin from them> is ~~by~~ no mariadge therefore the | punishment which is deprivation of ther benefices and lyvynges

// d. 31 ante triennium suis uxoribus | synodus niceam legales nuptias | d. 82. plurimos. Syritius calleth them proprias uxores | and maketh a distinction between them and whores.[979]

**[F.5r]** ought not to folow <in effect>. The major is of Aristotell a | suer grownd in reason <cessante causa cessat effectus> ubi non est causa ibi non est effectus. | <if ther mariadge be mariadge then ought thei not to be punished for mariadge.> wher ther is no cause ther is no effect. The minor | is proved by your own words and the queens procedings | in the Bushopes visitation before easter the first yere | of her reigne. <wher mariadge in deed and not pretensed was the cause of deprivation> And as for the reason it self | whether it be silogisticall or not I am content | to let suche iudge as be seen in logique. // Now yor doctor ye must mak some ~~fol~~ foule shift | or your clyents which ~~be now dwelll in other~~ be put | in the possession of suche mens benefices as be deprived | with out a cause <if your sayinge be trew>. if now you and your companions helpe | not at a pinche, all suche new beneficed shavelings | shalbe thought to lyve in open extorsion and wrongfully | to withold other mens goods, and for the whiche | great danger ~~shall shalbe~~ is lyk to insew not only to | them <selves> but also to <all> suche as <haue> put out the one without a | cause, ~~but~~ <and yow seem to say> also maynteyneth the other without a | titell < as it most trew>. This muche I thought good to play | with you in the beginninge ut scilicet responserem | stulto scam stultitium via. myndinge ~~in the~~ | herafter by gods grace to shew at large ~~not only~~

**[F.5v]** aswell that mariadge of prests and ~~of~~ professed | parsones is a mariadge, as also a lawfull mariadge | and that it was never forbidden ~~by~~ in no age nor | in no cuntrye where and when the worde of <almighti> God | was trewly preachid, and the holy sacraments | of our savior Christ uncorruptly ministrid. | According to the saying of St. Paule who in his | epistell to the Hebrews 13 sayes in playne words | ~~Honorabile coniugium in omnibus, fornicatores autem | et adulteros iudicabit Deus~~. // fo. 17 | Niceno consilio | [*uncertain word*] loci expicatione //

[979] *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, D. 82 C. 3.

Honorabile est | inter omnes coniugium, et cubile impollutum, scortatores | autem et adulteros iudicabit Deus. // Mariaige is is honorable amongst all states, and | the bed of the maried is undefilyd. but you | will say (I know) as ye did that ther mariadge | <onles ye better clark then St austen no man must beleve you> is no mariadge. But ~~St Austen sayth qui~~ | spekinge of suche as had maried after that vow sayth | <Dist. 27 Qui. Nuptiarum> dicunt talium nuptias non esse nuptias, sed potius adulteria, | non mihi videntur satis acute et diligenter | considerare quid dicant etc. Fit autem per hanc | minus consideratam opinionem, qua putant lapsarum a sancto | proposito feminarum, si nupserint, non esse conjugia, | non parvum malum, ut a maritis separentur uxores quasi | adulterae sint, non uxores[980]

**[F.6r-v – Blank]**

**[F.7r]** They that say the mariadges of suche (meaninge of | them maried after they had vowed) be no mariadge | but rather adultery mesemeth they do not ~~so~~ | wittily and diligently <enough> consider the thyng that they say | ~~say as they ought~~ etc. for ~~it chaungeth~~ | by ~~[uncertain words]~~ means of this unadvised opinion | wherby they be persuadid that the mariadge of | suche women as haue forsaken ther vow, or ~~ho~~ holy purpose is no mariadge if they | mary, ther hapeneth no small mischef. whiche | mischef is this that women be separat from | ther husbands as thoughe the were hores | and no wives. etc. by the whiche words | of St Austen the gentell reader may perceave | that this holly <old> doctor of divinitie hath overthrown |~~this new do~~ master Tho martyn our new doctor | of the law ~~his doctrine~~ in tow poynts. first | wheras martyn <in the tytell of his book> sayth ther mariadge of ~~suche as~~ | professid parsons is no mariadge, St Austen | sayth that ther mariadge is a mariadge. and wheras | martyn sayth it is whordom and not lawfull, St Austen | sayth it is no horedom, ye and more over St. | Austen geveth therin a by taunt ~~callinge~~ judging all suche | as be of martyns opinion very martyns <in deed> voyd | of all consideration and knowledge.

[980] *Corpus Iuris Canonici,* C. 27 q. 1 c. 41.

**[F.7v]** ~~Thus~~ oh what goodly work think you this | is lyke to be wher the very words of his tytell | stope and foundacion be found false at the | first frute by the cleare contradiction of St | austen, yea and that any suche a sharpe ~~rep~~ | reproche as ought to ~~feare~~ put all honest | harts in feare herafter to open ther mothe | for the fortyfyng <of> martyns lyes agayngst St austens | trewth. his worde in equivalence be thys | muche, you ~~be~~ that say that mariadge of suche | as haue forsaken ther vow is no mariadge |

and ~~<which you> that~~ teache <that> suche ought to be devorcid |from ther husbands and wives, be ignorant | bussards unlearned dawcoks, blynde ass[es] | you understand not the scriptures you | understand not the doctors <nescitis quid dicitis> you know not | what you say, you say bonis est malis et | malis est bonis that that which is good is evell | <you call mariadge adultery> and that which is evell good ~~apon~~ the prophets | crieth vengaunce apon suche people. yor ~~ther~~ | doctrine is false ~~ther~~ yor grownd is nought for | great inconvenience inseweth therof. which is the | divorsemente of lawfull mariages ~~and~~

**[F.8r-v – Blank]**

**[F.9r]** and honest women be most falsly and slanderusly | judged and called hores to the great injury of holy matrimony | and the right understanding of gods holy worde // [the following section is entirely crossed out] yor intent as appeareth by the tytell of yor book is | to prove that the mariage of prests is and other | professed persons is <not only a thinge unlawfull but also that> ~~unlawfull no mariage but~~ ther mariage is no mariage | ~~altogether unlawfull~~. ~~then thus a reason | may be made whcrby it appeareth that this is yor~~ | <you think that you haue> ~~foundacion and had~~ <~~showinge you~~ handellid this matter so litel [~~*saye?*~~] ~~and conclusion whiche~~ | you take in hand ~~to prove~~ <~~and then thus~~> ~~wherein you haue~~ | ~~beaten yor braiynes <and that this so> withall this <to be so worthy> low great~~ marvelose | so clerkyly ~~peace~~ and mysticall a revelacion <that aper it> you | haue by yor legall canonicall wisdom, and doctorall cunnynge ~~determenid so well~~ determenid that <you can fynd non so worthy to dedicate this supernatural> ~~you haue thought it most worthy~~ as | yor preface declareth to be dedicate <not

only> to a queen | but ~~also~~ <especially> to a virgin queen. whose eares you | thinke ~~as by the whole discourse~~ will not be offendid with | these termes where, whoremongers, bawdy, lecherose | bestely etc. // This reason. The gentiles did so how | muche now should we do so? Idolatry | surplesses writers etc.

**[F.9$^{v}$]** lyk as the lame mane when his lymes | fayle him ~~he~~ taketh him to his staff, | or as his house. or ells he procureth | other men to beaere him, so now master martyn | when he perceaveth all other good the matter | agaynst him, and that his sophisticall | wrythinge and hereticall doctrine of | scholasticall papists will not serue | him, then he taketh him as his raylinge | stash, and then ~~most commonly~~ good | man his wit ~~is so~~ <beinge> weakened with malice | his leapeth from lye to lye untill all | men may see ~~he is~~ <him> tyred with trouble. | but what shall we say, Semei hurled | stones at David. the phariseys said | Christ was <a glutton and> a drunkard. and that John was | possessed any a deuell. the tow common | ~~places~~ <states> that the wicked haue all wayes used | for prof of ther arguments be raylinge | and lyenge. the practistes of

**[F.10$^{r}$]** the papists appear <now> most playnely: wher | arguth fayle them and matter probable | then reaste they rumours [?], and forge | they tales that never was and nether ~~speke~~ | done nor spoken, wherby to brynge | ther adversary in hatered and then | and ther freends in nomber many | that with lyeng ~~rays~~ raylinge facing | and braggingeth ther falshod is large | lies spred ~~ap~~ abrode in <months> ~~a day~~, then | gods trewth by his preachers in a <whole> yere

**[F.10$^{v}$]** hoc praeceptum commendo tibi fili Timothee secundum praecedentes in te | prophetias ut milites in illis bonam militiam habens fidem et bonam | conscientiam quam quidam repellentes circa fidem naufragaverunt |ex quibus est Hymeneus et Alexander quos tradidi Satanae ut discant | non blasphemare.[981] Perspicue autem per haec docuit | vitam inquam fundamentum esse impietatis. Bonam enim | conscientiam bonam vitam appellavit. Dicut

[981] 1 Tim 1:18-20.

autem | illos vero ait hac reiecta circa fidem naufragasse. Et rursus, | Profanas autem et aniles fabulas de vita. Et rursus, | Si quis aliter docet, et non acquiescit sanis sermonibus | Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et ei que secundum pietatem est | doctrinae, superbus est nihil sciens, sed verbis pugnans, | et circa questiones egrotans.[982] // The auncient Father and holy bushop of lyons Ireneus | in his 3rd book and 3rd chap wryting agaynst the heresies of valentines | marcion and suche lyke[983] maketh mention that <on a tyme> that marcion the | rank heretique and great enemy of <holy> mariadge met with the holy | father polycarpus St. Jo. disciple and bushop of Smyrna and | desiered him to know him and he answered cognosco te primogenitum sathanai | yt may be that martyins name should be marcion and that for shame | of the sect he hath nicely chaunged it as many doe now a dayes: but | Austeritie of lyf may impley as suspicion of untrewth | most of all when thesame austeritie is not groundid | apon gods word. for suche austeritie is [*uncertain Greek word*] | superstition. and quo curtius hath this notable sayinge | rei magis alliciuntur homines quae superstitione all | heretiques in the beginning crepe in the estimation | of the peple with a pretended outward holines. so the | pope munks friers etc. | the holy made of kent. & of lymster

**[F.11$^{r}$ – First Chapter of Martyn's *Traictise*]** [comment on 'pretensed'] Heresy riseth of bellycare | a terme not used of antiquitie | [SEMIBREVE] how this is proved in the end of | the chapter // [comment on 'companion of a woman be in a spiritual manner'] a spiritual man is he that is | led by gods spirit. Romans 8. and if | god have not given that mane a | gift of ~~chast~~ sole life, god | hath gifted him matrimony to | helpe to the protection of his religione, | and <that many> the wiveles bushops [?] | a hinderance for thesame. Melius | est enim nubere quam uri 1. Cor. 7. | This is the doctrine of thapostles and aucient fathers: and | because you and suche | as you be haue of | late taught the contrary doctrine | in England your doctrine of | false, and your gospell another | gospell then, and preached | by christ and his apostles

[982] Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium.*
[983] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies,* 3 li 3 ca.

whether | you be excommuncate and excluded | from the church of | Christ // [notes at bottom] [TREFOILx2] mariadge is callid carnall lybertie, carnall | lusts and fantasies. wheras in deed the unmaried | whore mongers lyve is carnall libertie, | and the maried in matrimoniall chastitie.

**[F.11$^{v}$]** [comments on 'and therefore made it a general doctrine that men shoulde satisfye their fleshly provocations by eating, drinking and mariyng' and 'that there was no difference between virginitie, and matrimonie'] Novatus // lyf of Hierome // the homily of fastinge and agaynst whordom teacheth | and proveth that the new | superintendents taught | no suche doctrine // [comment on Latin quote of 'heretike Vigilantius': 'non ordinant diaconos, nisiprius uxores duxerint'] how trewly St. Hierom objected

this to Vigilantius | you can not define because | you wold haue it trew | thoughe it were never | so false, but how falsly | you object~~ed~~ thys doctrine | to the new preachers as you | terme them suche as herd therin | all England does know <and be redy to confesse> that this | may well be accounted for another | lye. and here I can not but invayle of your boldnes that you dare so boldly ~~to~~ spek | of your doctrine when you had not as I am enformed nor wold not here <and that [*uncertain* word]>lest | knowledge of the trewth should afterward make you ashamed to lye.

**[F.12$^{r}$]** Euseb li$^{o}$ Cerdo magis roma [*uncertain* – venit?] sub [*uncertain* – Vig?] 44 | 4. c. 8.[984] // Polycarpus Smyrnensis Marcionem Rome arguit | anno Domini 160. Ireneus li.o. 3.o. ca. 3.[985] // Novatus Romane urbis presbyter rebaptizator | Rome tempore fabiani papa. ~~244 vel~~ 255 | Libernis papa fuit arrianus. A 353 tempore Constantius | platina 45.[986] // Aug. adversis hereseis. Iudeus | vocat hereticos. et orig. super | mathew loquor de pseudopropheticus[987] // [Comment in reply to f.11$^{v}$ and the difference between abstinence from meat and eating with thanks]

[984] Eusebius, (probably) *Ecclesiastical History*..
[985] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies,* li. 3. ca. 3.
[986] Bartholomeo Platina, (probably) *Vitae pontificum,* 45.
[987] Augustine, Adversis Heresies (this may be a confusion of *De Haerisbus* with Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*).

Ireneus li.. 1 c. 20 sheweth that Simo magus preached [*sainge?*] et docuit semetipsum esse qui inter Iudeaos quidem quasi filius | apparuerit, in Samaria autem quasi Pater etc.[988] // Suche book if it be <not> his (as it should be if you and suche hereticall papists as you | could make it) then might ther be some apparence of your reasone to thene | that haue red that work, but if it is his as you ~~say~~ untrewly defend | and that trew ~~that he so~~ whiche in that he reporteth, then in approvinge | that book you haue provid your self a lyer, and the stronger your | arguments be the stronger and mightier is your lye and therefore <[*uncertain*]> shalbe to | put in the nomber of your notable untrewthes. [SEMIBREVE] his words | and also you your self withyn ~~the fact~~ xxiij lynes of the next leaf confesse | that simon magus was the furst heretique, and that clement with many others | confesse that he preachid and deceavid the people at Rome, therefore to yow master doctor your | pene is not ashamed to beare witnes once agayne of your lyenge // you order man onles they furst forsake christ, and swere to the | pope rules they will forswer and abhorre matrimony: etc.

**[F.12$^{v}$]** if simon magus be no preste then is he without our cause: but he // desier encriseth it self until untill the thynge | desired be enjoyed. but chefly yf ther | the thinge desired be forbidden, as | ~~it is~~ matrimony is to prests

**[F.13$^{r}$]** [comment on 'doubling the natural burning of the flesh which for the most part in youth'] then was god | no wise physician // ιυδιαιος ἡ φιλητος // [comment on 'for the love of the fleshe and carnall concupiscens'] as longe as the churche | of Rome had not the world | at will, and as longe as the | bishopes ther were under the | cross, so longe ther was a | good churche and good bushopes | but when constantine did once set them at libertie ther was a | voyce herd from heven saying | hodie venenum [*uncertain Latin words*] in ecclesia | then became the pope a | heretike diseeved. | afide. 1 Tim 4. // [comment on 'Novantinus'] [TREFOIL]

[988] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies,* li. 1, ca. 20.

this may be trew in whoredom where horemongers | be dayly woers. wherin because peradventure martyn | hath some experience, he thinketh that is is so in

mariadge.

**[F.13$^{v}$]** [SEMIBREVE] omnes proprietates hereticorum. et vide and conveniant pope // [comment on 'virginum'] and the pope the supreme hed of | the church a deflowerer of | both of the male and female // [Latin comments on council held at Tours] provinciale | indefuerunt 8 epi. // Anno Domini | 555 Circa tempora | pellagii primi | to. 2.o // ergo de episcopo Romano quid | fiet

**[F.14$^{r}$]** [comment related to council of Tours on f.13$^{v}$] Si nulli clericorus ergo nec cantoribus et lectoribus. if you say | that clericus doth not signify so then make you a | lye wher you say clericus hath not other significatio. // This is the pope and his clergy // Hilarii et leonis | Tempore ~~Syritis~~ ante hec temporo | 100 annis. uxores habuerunt sacerdotis. | in gallia. permissum concilii Turonensis 1. | vide etiam 82 ca plurimus // marcus hereticus primi ad galliac venit | et eas partes per quos Rhodanus et | Garunna flumen sua doctrina maculant | vide Ireneaus et Eusebius li.o 4 r. 198.[989]

**[F.14$^{v}$]** Concilium Toletamis ex Hispanicis tantum Episcopis | papistis omnibus, per Regem Richaredam superstitiosissimus, | non per papam congregatum anno Domini 1118. // the fyfth canon <may> proveth ~~that~~ if it be well | wrythed that some of the prests wer maried | but it is a fowle lye that the same | canon proveth the first maried prests | in Spayne wer the Arrians. As the | note in the margent ~~of~~ by martyn | avowcheth. // The counsell as also alledged by | martyn fo. 61. wher he sayth it was | above ix yere ago .\. circa tempora | gregory concordat cum phrigionem | Gen. Cons. To. 2. p. 163. | circa tempora Gelasii 2.[990]

[989] Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae,* Li. 4, Ca. 158.
[990] Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 2:163.

**[F.15r]** Michael Ritius Neopolitanis li. 2o[991] | as ~~ph Paulus~~ phrygio ~~in his~~ maketh | mention testifyeth that ther was one | vitiza kinge of spayn ~~kn~~ about the | yere of our lord 700 that wold not | suffer a prest to marry but yet | made it lawfull by a law that they | might lawfully keepe as many nereby as | as they coulde.

**[F.15v]** [comment referring to next fol. discussion over first heretics in Spain etc.] verte hoc vet.o fol. [TREFOIL] // Priscillianistas in Hispania priscillianus instituit | jura, perjura, ~~perjura~~ secretum prodere noli | manicheos et gnosticos imitati sunt. Coniuges | distinguebant vide Aug De Hereticis to. 6 | pa 19.[992] // Infra fo 118 | he saith that helvidius | was the first maried prest in all | christendom. Contra.

**[F.16r]** [comment on 'the fifth canon of the third counsel of Tolet, nor in Africa'] Hispanius tantum | circa tempora |Gelasi 2. a.d. 1118. | ~~octo tanum [*uncertain word*] Hispanium~~ // a manifest | lye of optat // [comment on 'So in Italy, the first prieste that maried'] then Peter was | an heretique // [comment on 'he saith not that he was the first maried priest'] the text and the | commentary agreeth | not | Vide 118. // [comment on 'Manichaeus, et Marcion, et Arrius, et Tatianus'] Lutzburg | dicit esse in aug. // this place proveth the | sect of popishe heretiqueue | because thei love not chastitie [SEMIBREVE] | hereticorum nomina que caste | vixerunt. ut [*uncertain word*] | tatianus, flagellatores etc. // vetor quendum

**[F.16v]** [comment on 'nescantur carnibus'] if these prophets prove heretiques. ther is simple Sir John godsalve one of them | and many other yor master Gardiners house. yea then is the cort full of heretiques | and ~~they~~ if savors of Cynet perfumes and oyntments by your divinitie prove hereti[k] | then the gretter and stronger | savor shall prove the gretter | and stronger heretique | so that if one | wold know | who is the | grettest and strongest heretique | in all the cort | if he will apon highe | day cum to the court to | a popishe procession | he shall easly judge | by his nose who is | most worthy the name. | but yow will | peradventure | say for

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[991] Michaelis Ritii Neapolitani, *De Regibus Francorum … Hispaniae … Hierosolymorum … Neapolis & Siciliae … Vngarie* (Basel, 1517), li. 2.
[992] Augustine, *De Haeresibus,* Pa. 19.

your defense | thoughe the heretiques | do so yet be they not | all heretiques that | do so, then will I | answer thoughe some | heretiques eat fleshe | yet be they not all | heretiques that eat fleshe | for ~~you all~~ | ~~thoughe your~~ our | divinitie sayth that | christ that never syned | and yet he did eat | fleshe in lent, ye the | very same night before | whiche ~~died he~~ knew he | should suffer on the morrow. // The sixt hour he and dwelleth in the north, and hath lost the fauvor of fayth // [comment on 'Oecolampadius, Capito, ... Munster'] [TREFOIL] then wer Christ and his apostles fryers maryed to women? // [comment on 'all' of the above list of reformers] [DIAMONDS] Then wer ther noe fownders of religions before frie[rs] | and nunnes.

**[F.17r]** but let us way this peace of St. Hierom a litell deaper. | it appeareth by these words that St. Hierom notid .V. sondry | tokens wherby the heretiques did shew forth ther lyes (as you | take). one is ~~with~~ how they geve themselves wholly to glutteny and | delicatnes, another how they eat fleshe, whiche you turn | by the terme of fleshemongers, a ~~very~~ fylthy name for you whore hunting | wiveles prests then to but ne in this exposition. the third note, how | they are often [*hameters?*] of baynis. the fourthe how they smell | of musk and perfumes, the fyth how they seek to make | them selfes fayer and bewtifull in the sight of men with sondry | kinds of oyntments. These fyve notes well notid by your | ~~allegation~~ judgement shall shole out heretiques. well, let | it be so, ~~and~~ but <then ~~them~~> by all mens judgement they that haue | more of these notes than other, must be more heritiques | than other. now take heed you seely souled papistes | ~~that you carry no~~ of your glutonese brakfasts, dinners, | suppers, reare suppers, banketts, and delicate fare, | take heed of your hote wynes, and spices and iunkettinge cheer | take heed of how you eat fleshe or use baynes. take heed that | you use no stronge savors of Syvett, musk etc about | you, take heed ye paynt not your faces to make you | seem more bewtifull than you be, for ~~that~~ then hath | your proctor master doctor <martyn> proved you all by St. Hierom | desperat heretiques.[993] and in good fayth for my part | let this be the

[993] Also identical discussion in *Apologie, p.* 155.

issew, ~~who of both parte~~ who of bothe | parts ~~use~~ haue more of these notes let them be the | heretiques with shame inoughe,[994] and let the other syde enjoy | the name of Catholiques and Christians.

**[F.17$^{v}$]** C. 33 q. 1 | Grat | Quod autem | propter // Conjugium confirmatur carnali officio, ut supra | probatum est. postquam vero officio confirmatum | fuerit, nisi causa fornicationis non licet | viro uxorem dimittere, vel uxori a | viro discedere. Verum ante, quam confirmetur, | impossibilitas officii solvit vinculum conjugii.[995] // Ibidem | Quod int | Greg. Jo | Ravenat | epo // Quod autem interrogasti de his, qui in matrimonio | juncti <reddere debit propter [natura?] frigidatem> sunt, et nubere non possunt, si illa | alium vel illa aliam ducere possit, quibus scriptum | est: vir et mulier si se conjunxerint, et dixerit | postea mulier de viro, quod coire non possit cum ea | si potest probare per verum sit per justum judicium, | accipiat alium, si autem ille aliam acceperit, separentur.[996] // Ibidem | Si Quis // Ecce quod impossibilitas reddendi debitum vinculum | solvit conjugii. Sed hoc de naturali | impossibilitate statutum est.[997] // of this thinge ye may haue more largly and | plentifully. li.o Sententiarum 4.o di. 34.[998] // vide pantaleones anno domini 1260. et [*uncertain word*]

**[F.18$^{r}$]** [comment on 'where he sayth that a manne in conscience is bounde if he cannot' - Martin's comment on Luther's claim that a man who cannot have sex with his wife must provide another to have sex with her] a lye // [comment on 'heresie lightlye procedeth of lechery, or misseth not to kepe her coumpanie'] why name ye not your queen's | father K.H.8 | but he was a papist | man and had mass |

[994] Note that this term appears a number of times in Ponet's *Draft Reply* – interestingly, it is the same term used by Machyn to describe Ponet's own failed marriage.
[995] *Corpus Iuris Canonici,* C.33, q.1, d.p.c 1.
[996] *Corpus Iuris Canonici,* C. 33 q.1 c. 1.
[997] *Corpus Iuris Canonici,* C. 33 q. 1 d.p.c 3
[998] Peter Lombard, *Sentences,* Di. 34.

every day // Anno Domini ~~1260~~ <859> | vide summa generalii | concilium. Nicol. 1.º | fo 229 etc.[999] // in | gen concilium to. 2. | 742 859 | anno domini ~~859-899~~[1000] // [comment at bottom] if I should searche what abomination | etc. hath entrid into the churche of god | by the self will of ignorant priests | I think thys book wold not | hold them

**[F.18ᵛ]** [latin comment on 'thei added the holy gost to procede from the sonne'] vide etiam professionem fidei, quam Damascus 1.º Scripsit | paulino Anticheno et videbus ~~qua~~ errorem in spiritus sanctum ibi // cco. 1.o conc. | gen. 382.[1001] // [comment on 'the unreverent and uncleane handling of the holy sacraments by the old priestes'] ergo you be bothe <αντιθ> lechors and heretiques // [latin comment about Henry's lust with respect to him being father of queen mary; and Winchester also] vide nunc in toto hoc | capite notet henricum | octavum nomine libidinis. | (patrem scilicet | Reginae mariae) et cantauriensem | atque Wintoniensem | qui assenserunt lenones // ostende offendicula que illi faciunt et retorque

**[F.19ʳ]** in Constantinopolita [con.1º] Anno 383. pat 180 [*uncertain words*] | et socios ob eam heresium // Nicolaus 1. was 862 post Christum but the | heresy agaynst the holy gost was in the tyme | of nicean counsell as petrus lumbardus | witnessith li. 1 d. 11.[1002] And declareth that | ther was a table of silver was layd by behind | an altar <of St Paule> in Rome by leo 3 the third for [probication?] | of the Nicene Crede wherin was conteyned | the procession of the holy gost ~~without~~ procedinge | from the father, without the addition of procedinge | from the sonne. and in the latter end a | playn excommunication to all them that taught | or preachid and other doctrine then ther | was contayned. // et Con. Nicemus whiche | was longe before Nicolas his tyme made a decre de processione | spiritus sancti. funcius 434 p. ex [palmerio?][1003] // This genealogy of yours thoughe it ~~be~~ otherwise | not to be of any ~~grat~~ wit, yet is it in the |

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[999] This seems to refer to Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:229, however it is difficult to see the link between this annotation and Crabbe's text on this page.
[1000] Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 2:742-859.
[1001] 'Epistola Damasi Papae Primi, Ad Paulinum Antiochenum episcopum' in Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:382.
[1002] Peter Lombard, *Sentences*, li. 1, di. 11
[1003] Johann Funchius, (probably) *Chronologia*, 434.

papists rightly veryfyed. for that they love | lechery it appeareth in that they abhorre matrimony | and all men know ther <abhominable> practises how they satisfi | ther lusts otherways. ~~Ther lechery hath | broughte~~ <out> of devise of ther unbrydled lusts | haue risen all the heresyes of the papacie, | wherapon ther hath ensewed sedition in all realms | treason to all prynces, in that they haue put | down all princes and sett up ther selves so | highe that the hed of that sort calleth himself | Rex Regum. et pater patria etc.

**[F.19$^{v}$]** Aug. De moribus ecclesiae catho li.2 ca 18. | The manicheis said as the papists say that | they did not forbid mariadge god forbid | ~~but <yet> they did forbid concubitum it in deed | sayth saynt Austen~~ but they did alledge | castitatem perfectam so commendare atque laudare, | non tamen nuptias prohibere[1004] and apon | this poynt the stode. but saynt austen | this reasoned with them. you say you | forbid not mariadge, but I will prove | to you that you forbid mariade, even | accordingly as it was before prophecied | by the Apostle. You ~~forbi~~ fynde fault |[1005] and speke evell of suche as get chylde[ren] | after they be rid of the fayth of Christ | but mariadge <is the only thing> Talis operis et via | nostra defensis[1006] ergo ~~you forbid mar~~ | in deed you forbid ~~mariages~~ not | concubitum, but mariadge.

**[F.20$^{v}$]** if the kings magestie should ~~license and~~ | geue me his warrant ~~to goe kill a bucke~~ | for a buk in any of his parks <and yet shall prove it my selfe> I cum to | his keper and shew my warrant. mary | sayth the keper I will not deny my | masters warrant god forbid. ~~but~~ <and ~~ye~~> he taketh | ~~the man~~ <me by the arme> and tyeth ~~him~~ me fast to a | tre in the middest of the parke. I | demand of him why he so visteth me, and will | not ~~prove~~ let me shew my own warrent he | answereth that ~~ther is~~ <he and his folks haue taken> an order | that no prest shall ~~serve~~ haue any warrant | served ther I alledge, it is the kings | pleaser <who is the chef master> as you se his warrant. will you deny | his warrant no god forbid sayth he. it is your | order that hindereth you and owr ordinance wherby | all prests be forbidden to hunt here. I say unto

[1004] Augustine, *De Moribus Ecclesiae,* Li. 2, Ca. 18.
[1005] Marginal note: Li. 1, Ca. 31 = Augustine, *De Moribus Ecclesiae,* Li. 1, Ca. 31.
[1006] Marginal note: Li. 2. Ca. 18 = Augustine, *De Moribus Ecclesiae,* Li. 2, Ca. 18.

| him I will hunt ther accordinge to the tenor | of my warrant. he sayth <I shall not hunt> ~~if I hunt~~ ther | styll alledge my warrant, and ever he | alledgeth his ordinance. shall we not in | this case say that the keper forbiddeth me | to faste.[1007]

**[F.20$^{v}$]** martyn in the tytell of this chapter sayth that | he will deduce from the scriptures that | prests ought not to marry: but in the | body of the chapter he spendeth his paper | and ink to prove that the scriptures be of | noe authoritie. and that the ~~scripture~~ traditions | be of more authoritie. // [TREFOIL] prove contra that prests mariedges is an old treuth | and newly made heresy.

**[F.21$^{r}$]** [TREFOIL] [comment on 'shoulde prohibit mariage' with respect to Jovinian and the principal Epicure of Christians'] The principall | epicure of all the | Christians was an | unmaried prest // [note: 'All']

**[F.21$^{v}$]** [comment on 'thesame to be one of the holie Sacraments'] That matrimony is no sacrament. vide contra Catechisum [*uncertain si daris?*] // [comment on 'the churche doeth forbidde the breache of a profession, or vowe ones made to Christe'] infra 4B. mariadge | should <u>not</u> be | forbidden if it wer | not for a vow // a lye // [note: 'All']

**[F.22$^{r}$]** The popishe churche forbiddeth all votaries | to mary // all votaries by the popishe churche be forbidden to mariadge | ~~mary~~ but the popishe churche <you papists cope> forbideth ~~prest~~ <all> men | to be prests onles they be votaryes, ergo yor | popishe churche forbiddeth men mariadge // The Emperour kepeth war with the frenche king than | he shall not enter flanders. Ergo the Emperour kepeth | war with the frenche king. // The churche (that you call the churche) forbiddeth | mariadge to prests ergo the churche forbiddeth | mariadge. ab inferiori ad superius particularitus // Extra. li.$^{o}$.3 | Tit. de voto et voti redemptio. Boniface Bi <in glosa:> | Non est ipsum votum quod impedit vel dirimit matrimonis | sed est ipsa ~~confundo~~ constitutio ecclesiae.[1008] sylva mea 133 // Sylva P.A. Extra scripturas nihil etc.

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[1007] There may be echoes of this section in Parker, *Defence of Priestes*, p. 175.
[1008] *Ordinary Gloss* to Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Voto et Redemptione,* C.1 *non est.*

fol. 181 etc. // Sylva althi. 82. // [comment on previous page's reference to Donatists insistence on Scriptures only] Vide M. Passauantium C 3. // a lye. Heresius donatistarum erat ~~pedo~~ | anabaptimus / and they held that pedobaptism | could not be found in the scriptures // Di. 28. super ca nullius | in glosa. Dico que ecclesia neminem cogit continere | sed in ordine quem dat, potest imponere legem | quam vult sicut quibus in traditionem[1009] // Ibidem causae rei suae | ecce causae huius ecclesiasticae | constitutions.

**[F.22$^{v}$]** Dixit Christus <et apostoli> multa quibus ¦ ecclesia potest carere | tametsi bona fuerunt. // semper deficimus papistae in probationem minoris. Quia | deberent probare quae istae traditiones verbales, sunt | illos quas defendunt. verum est que omne traditions | non sunt scriptam. si quae ad salutem sunt necessariae | sunt omnes scriptae. // infra fol. 26. St austen wold not beleve αποχριφα | scripta sine scriptura, muche lesse traditiones non | scriptas // distinguendi sunt <ritus et> modi faciendi et doctrina | nam doctrina est perpetua, et ritus sui mutabiles | quo fit ut [*uncertain word*] omnes ritus rejiciantur et tantum impii.[1010] // Aug in fo. tract. 49. Nam cum multa fecisset Dominus | Jesus, non omnia scripta sunt; sicut idem ipse evangelista | testatur multa Dominum Christum et dixisse et fecisse | quae scripta non sunt electa sunt autem quae scriberentur | quae saluti credentium sufficere videbantur. Ab eo quod legitur, Erat autem quidam languens, Lazarus; usque ad id, Abiit in regionem juxta desertum, in civitatem quae dicitur Ephrem, et ibi morabatur cum discipulis suis.[1011] // vide Cyrillam li.$^{o}$. 12.$^{o}$ ca 67. In Iohannes[1012]

**[F.23$^{r}$]** whores may use that argument for | the contineth of ther stewes. and the devell for ydolotrs //

[1009] *Ordinary Gloss* to D. 28 C. 1 v. promiserit.
[1010] Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*, CXXIV.
[1011] Augustine, *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus*, XLIX.
[1012] Cyril of Alexandria, *Euangelium Joannis*, li. 12, ca. 67.

[notes of reference for St. John's proof of traditions] vide infra | fo. 14 // vide bul. in pref. ad D. Gray.[1013] et repli | contra Cochleus 22 | et ~~post~~ infra. | fo 30 locum Aug.[1014] // filius hominis non venit | ut sibi ministraretur | sed ut ministraret[1015] // [comment on traditions needing to be believed as of necessity] suche as be conteyned in | scripture | and not other | vide infra | fol. 14 ~~et 30~~ [reference to Origin cited by Martin] // necessary for order | sed non ad salutem | et illud temporale | necessary ad salute est eternum. // non ita necessus ut sine illis | non salvemur, sed necessare | ad arbitrem

**[F.23$^{v}$]** vide altherius | conciliationes patrem[1016] // nominee apostolorum | vocat episcopus // qui ista omnia | sunt ex traditionem | non scripta mutari | possent ut | illa degustatio | lacticet mellis | et Tho. Dicit | puerum non posse | salvari qui non | communicatur

**[F.24$^{r}$]** we take no traditions away which be made by the | churche of god. or that haue ground in the | scriptures. or ells be not contrary, and be necessary | and profettable for order. we take all away | that be directly agaynst gods worde: as all popishe devell lies | for the most part be. Item suche as be neyther necessary | nor profettable. Item all suche as be made for a good | intent but now be growne to an abuse because they | mayde more hurt than good. but in our doctrine | we here none other voyce but only of the sheperd christ. | pardons, purgatory, masse, auricular | confession and suche lyke be the inventions of antichrist. // what so ever you say; yea when you lye | shamefully and manifestly, ye allwayes say that the | churche hath so done and so determenid. and so | yo play with por mens soules // menses 42 | 42 | 28 | 336 | 84 | numerus 1176 dies 42 mensium | regni antichristi

**[F.24$^{v}$ – F.25$^{r}$ - Blank]**

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[1013] Heinrich Bullinger, *Sermonum Decas Quinta* (Zürich: Froschouer, 1551). Bullinger's preface to this decade of sermons was dedicated to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and was predominantly concerned with the role of councils, and the relationship between Scripture and tradition.

[1014] Heinrich Bullinger, *Ad Ioannis Cochlei de canonicae scripturae et Catholicae ecclesiae labellum* … (Zürich: Froschouer, 1544), 22-30. This section of text expounds Augustine's understanding of tradition and Scripture.

[1015] Mark 10:45

[1016] Uncertain author (Altherius?), [*Concilartiones Patrem*?]

**[F.25$^{v}$]** [reference to 'consecration of the host, and holy chalice' on next page] Ther is no mention in this | place of the canon of the masse | a lyke lye to this is ther fo. 41 apon St. | Ambrose

**[F.26r]** [comment on 'necessary] for tyme place order // [comment on 'what saint lefte us by writing the canon of the masse'] a lye ther // [comment on 'To annoynt the partye that is christened with the holy oyle at the time of his confirmation'] consecramus // [Referring back to St. Basil on previous fol.] Ther is no mention of confirmation | in the latyne

**[F.26$^{v}$]** [comment on 'Christe hath taught us by the penne of his Apostles, especiallye seying Goddes worde'] yea but now is it | not thesame churche | nor hath thesame | spirit // [comment on Martin's assumption that Matthew wrote Hebrews] a ly // [CURVED DIAMOND] // [comment on 'The church beleued ii. M yeres with out any worde] This note semeth to proue that the churche | hath no need of the word now more | then it had then

**[F.27$^{r}$]** [referring back to Martin's use of Irenaeus to prove Matthean authorship] [CURVED DIAMOND] Ireneus l.$^{o}$. 3. c. | columna autem et firmamentum | ecclesiae est euangelium et spiritus | vitae.[1017] Et loquitur ibi de euangelio scripto | in 4 <or> Euangelistis aptans numerum quaternarium | 4 <or> plagis mundi // [quote referring to f.26$^{v}$] Euangelio non credere nisi Catho. me commoveret autho.[1018] // [comment referring to f.26$^{v}$ on tradition] ye fayle in the prof of yor minor. we say it is not thesame | churche, nor hath not thesame spirit. but the spirit of error // [comment referring to f.26$^{v}$ on 'Christ hath taught us by the penne ...'] | if the mothe of the papists were as honest | as the pen of the apostles we could and | wold beleue them. but the one of them | doth set up Christ, and the other antichrist | and therfor it is necessary and profettable | to folow the one and so fly the other. // [comment on Matthean priority] with this false (but) martyn wold robb england of St Mathews | gospell. St. Hieromes words be these Matheus quidem hebraeos propria eorum lingua conscriptum edidit

[1017] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies,* li. 3. c.
[1018] Augustine, *Contra Manichei,* Li. 1, Ca. 5.

evangelium.[1019] // [comment on Matthean authorship on f.26$^{v}$] what reason is this? the churche lyvid 20 yeres without | any scriptures published in wrytinge, ergo now ther is | not enoughe in scriptures conteyned for our salvation? | And those 20 yeres the disciples | themselfves lyvid who were no suche dissemblers | or raveninge wolves as the papists be nor no man | doutid of ther honestie. // Moreover by this reason martyn goeth about to | blynd the reader. With (is ~~not~~) and (was ~~not~~) | we say al thing necessa 4 sa. etc is conteyned et | But martyn bryngeth his reason agaynst both of | of what was [*uncertain word*] in by scriptures

**[F.27$^{v}$]** your argument is nought quia non distinguis se yo | [SEMIBREVE] Remember St Austens answer of thabrogation | of the sacrifices of old law, by [*uncertain word*] | of vindecianus. ~~in his~~ the phisition li.$^{0}$ epistalorum | epistola.[1020] // Christ defendid his churche with the presence | of his spirit in the mothe of his apostles but | his word was wryten [THEREFORE]. if the papists now | a dayes had suche plentie of gods spirit now | as the apostles had and the preachers of the gospel | untill the ~~script~~ word of god was wrytten we | wold beleue them now as we did the other then. | But the papsts be so farre gone that they | refuse ~~the preachinge of~~ <Christ and the prophets and> the apostles to be the | judges whiche thinge this I prove. | what thing neuer is wrytten in the new | testament was spoken by Christ and <the very judge of the prophets> the apostles. | but the papists refuse to be judged by the | scriptures written, therefor they refuse to be | judged by the judgement of Christ the prophets | and theapostles. <furst [*uncertain words*]> the major if any was will deny. he denieth the principles of | divinite, and thene by aristotells judgement in | the topiks ye ought to reason no more with him | The second sentence of the reason is martyns | words fo. 15 [TREFOIL] // revertere ad folium

**[F.28$^{r}$]** [notes referring to later on page] vide Buceri prolegomena 103[1021] | Apostoli. Christum. pater ceteris omnia | probabat | Scripturis // if wrytinge wer not needfull | why did god wryt moses tables | in his own finger // his lye agayn // if now | thene was | ignorantia elenchi //

[1019] Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae,* Li. 5, Ca. 8.
[1020] St. Augustine, Letter to Marcellinum, Ep. 136.
[1021] Reference to Martin Bucer?

the diabolical [*uncertain word*] | a lye. Non | omnes sed est nuntias | et missa pargato | invocationem divo etc | but heretiques | could never | be refuted | by traditions // [comment on Arians rejecting tradition] reiecerunt homousion | quia non | continebatur in sacris | eris // [comment on prescription of 2500 years against married priests] Prescriptus | de regulis Iuris | regula 2a. possessor | malae fidei illo | tempore non prescriba | et oportuito habere bonam fidem initio | stolen out of peresius fol. 1 ch. 1. word by word // if prescriptione had ben a good argument then might | the Jews haue prescribed agaynst Christ // Ther hath beene so often clayme made and | possession so well kept of | prescribe

**[F.28v]** all these 3 reasons out of the old law prove that prests had | wives. and that ther abstinence should be but for a tyme and not | perpetuall // contra 9a // [enumerated list next to Martyn's text] 1. [OT priests had to abstain during administration of sacrifice] | 2. [Jews couldn't partake of paschal lamb unless they lived chastly] | 3. [Abimelech required David and his men to abstain from sex before having the priests bread] // infra 98 // [comment on Martin's from the lesser to the greater argument] it is agaynst | the law of nature. of | god etc | vide melanch[1022]

**[F.29r]** he will prov by the word both written and unwritten | that prests be bound to perpetuall continency | To this melancthon answereth in liber anglico | ob. 2a.[1023] // [comment on pertetuall continency on f.28$^{v}$] what reason is ther the prests of the | old law for a tyme, ergo of the new perpetuall | martyn befor he was doctor playd the fole | but everi Christmas therfor now he must perpetuall // [comment on Jewish sacrifice prep on f.28$^{v}$] by this reason shall no maried man receave the communion // if the uncleanes remayn then must | the washinge of the jewes remayne | but the washinge remayn not | therefor the uncleanes remayneth not // John baptist was promessid to Zachirias | even in the tyme of his ministration // [comment on David and Abilelech] thesame reasons made divysores coniugionem | if matrimony wer a

[1022] Melanchthon, uncertain source.
[1023] Melanchthon, uncertain source.

fylthy thinge ye argument | wer somwhat. but Clement Alexandrinus στρωματα | sayth τῶν δὲ ἁγιασθέντων ἅγιον οἶμαι καὶ τὸ σπέρμα | lega ibi plura. latine pa 95.[1024]

**[F.29$^{v}$-30$^{r}$ – Blank]**

**[F.30$^{v}$]** he did not counsell theme but licensed them if thei | wold. with this cautione that thei should come together | agayn. // ~~Hoc et apta comporatio nam et~~ | ~~ceremonialis ad qua tenebantur Judei~~, | ~~sed ad eadem liberatur Christiani~~ // a lyke reason if god commanded the women | of the jewes that if they bare a mane child the[y] | should absteyne xlti day. si se dies levit .12 | [*uncertain word*] magie Christiane mulieres [*uncertain word*] ~~magior~~ |debet esse condicius per totum annum, per totum annum | a templum abstinere debet // vide Peresius fo. 225. | Hieronymus cum Iouinianum impugnat | virginitati derogantem, sanctas nuptias videantur damnare, adeo ut | multis sui temporis scandolo fuerit, non tamen ex illis locis | petendus est horum genuinus sensus, sed ex aliis, quando serio et | absque commotione intendunt docere, non vincere aduersarium, | vel eius argumenta dissoluere.[1025] \\ Hoc loquitur de eucharistia originis sed | de sacrificio ni desinenti omnium Christianorum | .1. perptua puritate, et vitae sanctimonia

**[F.31$^{r}$]** [comment on St. Paul's call for temporary abstinence] That they are bound sayth the | tytell. and now due persuasions // infra to. 98 // [comment on 1 Cor. 7] Contra 8.6. | sed addit rursum | convenientes in vanum, ne tentet | vos Satanas. [comments on Ambrose on 1 Tim. 3] // Si que minus [*uncertain word*] | esse est et id quod // non est apta comparatio | quia altera quis | est [*uncertain word*] | ut igitur abstineat, sed non | perpetuo, quod tu conaris | probare // oporteret // [comment on Martyn's argument that because ministers ought pray night and day, they should abstain] the major is false in Abraham etc. // vide Andreus Fricius fo. 299 ad hec respondentem.[1026] // vide And. | fricius 298[1027] // Bulling. De Authoribus | 49[1028] // Clemens

[1024] Clement, *Stromata*, 3.6.46.5
[1025] Peresius, *De divinis apostolicis atque ecclesiasticis traditionibus,* fol. 225.
[1026] Frycz, *Emendanda Libri Quinque,* p. 299.
[1027] Frycz, *Emendanda Libri Quinque,* p. 298.
[1028] Heinrich Bullinger, *De authoritate scripture et ecclesia*, fo. 49.

Alexandr. | li.o 7 στρωμ 241[1029] | he proveth it not by | the scriptures, but | sayth mihi videtur // vide Andreas | phrisium li.4 pa. 298.[1030]

**[F.31$^{v}$]** [comment on Paul's call for temporary abstinence] here are condemned | Basills father and all

suche as kept ther | wives after they were | maried. judge | how this agreeth with | paphnutius in the

Nicen counsell | post 17 // [comment on Paul's reference to singleness and ministry in 1 Cor. 7] This place proveth | that it is better for him | to be without a wife that | lacketh the gift of sole | lif. // [comment on Basil's book which allegedly equates singleness with holiness] To make himself | Holy // if all lyved chast that lak wyves | then it wer good they laked wifes: | but the matter beinge weyed they prests | be more unchast that lak then they | that haue wives. // [comment on 1 Cor. 7] divisisque in corinthii habant | uxores ni fidens | et eis obsequendo, divinitate | non autem sic cit ubi fideles | uxori

**[F.32$^{r}$]** [reference to Martyn's comment on f.31$^{v}$ concerning prayer and the inability to administer sacrament] therefor a lay man may not receave but is excluded for | thei after both a lyke. || [reference to Martyn's comment on f.31$^{v}$ regarding 'the inhibition of prests mariadge'] the inhibition of prests mariadge // by these words qui sine uxore et he that is without a wife, is not | ment every one that is without a wif, but every one that hath | the gift of sole lyf, and is without a wyf, is carefull of the business |of the lord. but suche as haue not the gift be carefull how they | may catche other mens wives and [*uncertain word*] and be not espied // [reference to f.31$^{v}$ refuting Martyn's point about 1 Cor. 7 and the business of the Lord] vide Clement Alexandrinum stromat. li.3 fo. 105 | Sayth that Tatianus made thesame reason and | et infra dicit talibus argumentis utitur | castianus. quibus Tatianus qui prodiit ex | schola valentini. verba eius qui est celebs curat | qui et celebs que sunt homini, qui autem duxit uxorem

[1029] Clement of Alexandira, *Stromata,* li. 7, 241.
[1030] Frycz, *Emendanda Libri Quinque,* p. 298.

quomodo placebit | uxori. quid vero annon licet etiam eis qui secundum Deum placent uxori, Deo gratias agree | Annon permittitur etiam ei, qui uxorem duxit, una cam coniugio etiam esse sollicitum | de hiis quae sunt Domini? Sed quemadmodum quae non nupsit, sollicita est de | his, quae sunt Domini, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu: ita etiam quae nupsit, et | de iis, quae sunt mariti, et de iis, quae sunt Domini, est in Domino sollicita, | ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu. Ambae enim sant sanctae in Domino: hec quidem | ut uxor: illa vero ut virgo.[1031]

**[F.32$^{v}$]** 1. Tatianus // ναί,φησίν, ὁ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου: ὁ δὲ | γαμήσας πῶς ἀρέσει τῇ γυναικί: τί δέ οὐκ ἔξεστι καὶ | τῇ γυναικὶ κατὰ θεὸν ἀρέσκοντας εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ; | οὐχὶ δὲ ἐφεῖται καὶ τῷ γεγαμηκότι, σὺν καὶ τῇ | συζύγῳ μεριμνᾶν τὰ τοῦ κυρίου; ἀλλὰ καθάπερ | ἡ ἄγαμος μεριμνᾷ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου, ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ | τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ πνεύματι, οὕτω καὶ ἡ γεγαμημένη | τὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὰ τοῦ κυρίου | μεριμνᾷ ἐν κυρίῳ, ἵνα ᾖ ἁγία καὶ τῷ σώματι | καὶ τῷ πνεύματι· ἄμφω γὰρ ἅγιαι ἐν κυρίῳ, | ἡ μὲν ὡς γυνή, ἡ δὲ ὡς παρθένος.[1032] // The book de singularitate clericorum speketh | of those ministers who kept other women in | ther houses besides ther wyves. Habet | ista verba in fine. Si quis habet matrem | vel filiam, vel sororem, vel conjugem, vel | cognatam, sic habeat, ut nulla ancilla intersit | neque aliqua ingrediatur extranea ne ad | hoc videatur tenere proximas suas, ut ipsarum | causa libere sibi adhibeat alienas etc | fol. 411 in fine libri[1033]

**[F.33$^{r}$]** [comment on 'I set before you thys continent life'] St. tort a lye. [SEMIBREVE] // [comment on 'Ciprian de singularitate clericorum'] a false lye | this is not | in that book // [comment on pleasing a wife and caring for children as incommodities] I deni not this | but what if he had | not the gift of | sole lyf // [comment on 'nonnes demand to Jovian'] in this poynt | the papists be | Jovinians scholers | and haue learned | this lesson so well | that thei had rather dey | in the libertie of whoredom | then lyve in the bondage | of mariadge // vide

[1031] Clement, *Stromata,* li.3 fol. 105.
[1032] Clement Alexandrinus, *Stromata,* 3.12.88.2-3.12.88.4.
[1033] Cyprian, *De singularitate clericorum,* fol. 411.

contra quid faciant | Master barnandinus apologium[1034] // [comment on 'saying the masse'] quicumquae aliter sacramenta ministri | qui a domino instituta sunt idolatria | ad [*uncertain word*]

**[F.33$^{v}$]** [comment on top of page] papiste <aut> non sunt castrati aut non propter | reg cum celorum. circumsio condis circumsunt est | que spiriti [*uncertain word*] nostrum [*uncertain word*] // [comment on 'it is not good for a man to touch a woman'] whether this | be the devells | doctrine or not | let paule be | iudge 1 Tim. 4 | as I saidafur // a playne lye | of the scriptures // [comment near Paul's three warnings to Timothy to live chastely] matrimoniall chastitite // a lye. if ye mean | therby unmaried. [that when Paul speaks of a married man's chastitite, this cannot be true] this is trew and agaynst yor | selfe. for then if prests | be continent he calleth | them to mariadge. // a lye // a lye // [comment on Paul's three warnings to Timothy to live chastely] [TREFOIL] what mene St paule to | counsell the maried half of | corynth if the remayneth | to lyue chast.

**[F.34$^{r}$]** [TREFOIL] Read on gentell reader to the conclusion of St Paules words | and thow shalt perceave martyns slight in leaving out that | maketh agaynst him. alledging ~~than pece~~ <on> of St. Paules | mynd which can not be fully understanded without addinge of | the other. within niene lyenes concluding his purpose he saith | Hoc autem ad id quid vobis conducibile est dico, non uti | laqueum vobis iniiciam, sed ut quod honestum ac decorum est sequamini, | et adhaereatis domino, absque ulla distractione. and note | that ~~St. Paul~~ martyne sayth St. Paul had great reason to speke | these words to prests. volo vos sine solicitudine esse.[1035] | and agayne bonum est mulierem non tangere.[1036] but ther | also martyn leaveth out. attamen propter stupra vitanda | suam quisque uxorem habeat, et suum quaeque virum habet.[1037] // Si malum est generatio, in malo dicant fuisse | dominum qui fuit particeps generationis, in malo virginem

[1034] Bernard Ochino, (likely) *Apologi nelli quali si scuoprano* ... (Geneve, 1554).
[1035] 1 Cor. 7:32
[1036] 1 Cor. 7:1
[1037] 1 Cor. 7:2

qui genuit et [*uncertain word*].[1038] // St. Aug <to 1> De gratia et libero arbitrio. ca. 5. proveth by that | exhortation of paule to tymothi that he had freewill | to do what him lust either to mary or not to mary. | and that he persuadid tymothi no further thene his gift | extended. et ibi explicatur. locum. mul. 19[1039] // ad philadelphiam is either you ~~for~~ your ignorance or the | printers. But it is lyk to be yours because ~~of~~ [*uncertain word*]. | can not so lightley be wished. // our question is de jure et non de facto

**[F.34$^{v}$]** St. Paul cauleth the forbidding of mariadge | the devells doctrine. is paule the devell | child, I perceave now that D chadsey[1040] lacketh | not fellowes. forbidding of mariadge | is the doctrine of the devell, but ~~you~~ this | yor doctrine forbiddeth mariadge therfor it is | the doctrine of the devell. Clem[ent] | alex[andria]. Paulus [*uncertain word*] prohibuit nuptias | Theodoret.

**[F.35$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.35$^{v}$]** 15. S[an]cta Gelasius sayth canonus Apostolorum apocriphus // leo: aloweth fyfty // 16. Ex Isidoro. Canones Aplox Aplica rejiciuntur | authoritatae[1041] // origen tract 25 in math: libris qui fuit extra canonem Scripturam | non est utendum ad confirmanda dogmata | Christanorum[1042] plura infra fo. 15 // martines | Per. all this common place stolen out of peresius | ~~siritius~~ aiola. fo. 128.[1043] // ye do well to say | we for you could show none of this doctrine | if you had not playd the thef in stelinge | it out of Gusdiexsensis [sic] episcopus. martinus peresius // Seinge you ~~folow~~ haue stolen allmost allthese | chapter out of peresius. why stole you not | all this sentence. ubi vero et quando Apostoli[1044] | conuenirent ad hoc canones statuendos post illum | ~~sacerdotus~~ sacrosanctum conuentum Hierusolymis celebratum 17 aut 18 | anno a Christi ascesione, non satis exploratum habeo. | [quamvis?] hoc anxie nimis

[1038] Clement, *Stromata,* li. 3, ca. 17.
[1039] Augustine, *De gratia et libero arbitrio,* ca. 5.
[1040] William Chedsey (1510/11-1577?).
[1041] Gelasius, Isidore of Seville, Leo – all uncertain sources.
[1042] Origen, *Math Tract 25.*
[1043] Peresius, uncertain source, 128.
[1044] Peresius [Bishop of Guadix], *De divinis apostolicis atque ecclesiasticus,* ca. 11.

et solicite inquisierim; praeter | id quod in Divi anacleti 3. epistola et in epistola 18. Innocentii | primi deprehendi. Anacletus enim etc | and then foloweth the Englishe ~~stolen some~~ matter stolen | all out of him. But thei sae what you haue [*uncertain word*] because you wold fayne be knowne to be the | author of it yor self. yor master peresius | saith he knoweth not. but you put the matter | out of doute

**[F.36$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's reference to 1 Tim. 3 on f.35$^{v}$] This is not in | Paule to Timothi // a lye most shamefull | of St. Austen for ther is | no suche thinge in all | the booke // [three notes denoting Martyn's sources for Anacletus and Innocentius] Ex Peres | Pe | Pe // [comment on Pelagius being removed by Pope Innocent] Cal. who did else | a lye // Pa // [comments on the Antiochene Canons made in Syria] a lye // how know you that these | be they

**[F.36$^{v}$]** [comment on 'aut concubnam habuit' - 'or had a concubine'] quod dicemus de episcopo romano? // virginem tamen potuit // [comment on "The reason wherof I take to be thus, that he that marieth a widowe aloweth in her twise marying, and himselfe geueth her an occasion for bigamy"] Second mariadges then | may not be alowed | in your sight

**[F.37$^{r}$]** Gelasius [*uncertain words*] // nay that is your fashione of answeringe for so | ye refuse thauthoritie of Eusebius agaynst my lord | of Cantorberies grace. Sayinge playnly ~~th~~ with the reason | of your massebooke and leteanyes that Clement was | not next after peter but linus. so ye deny | Ignatius sayinge that he is falsifyed contrary to sundery | wrytten copies of v$^{\theta}$ yeres antiquitie. ~~but as~~ | ~~teaching these books luther never otherwise reiected them~~ | yea in England ye refuse the whole Bible and haue rent it | blasphemously because it is not soe wrythid from the greeks| hebrew as you wold haue it.

**[F.37v]** origen in math | Tract 26 | pa 148 To. 2. // nemo uti debet ad confirmationem | dogmatum libris qui sunt extra canonizatas Scripturas[1045] // [comment on 'I let passe a number of writers in Latin'] ye haue non

**[F.38r]** [noted citations lifted from Peresius] Pe // Pe // Pe // Pe [comment on Holander a great clarke of Germany as witness to the sayd canons] Whosoever is of yor syde he is a great clerk be he | neuer suche asse. if he be agaynst you he is | unlearned though it be Isidorus, Eusebius. | verte fo.

**[F.38v]** [comment on suche men that do write that the authors of the canons were heretics] Then summe suche ther wer // Pe // Per

**[F.39r – F.40r - Blank]**

**[F.40v]** nay rather put in by the papists | who allwayes haue had the kepinge of the copies [SEMIBREVE] and mingled at ple[as] // Remember the practise of zosimus papa in | concilio Affricano abusing the nicene counsell | vide bullinger De Autho Script et ecclesia | ca 14 fo 86[1046] // ~~If~~ doctor ponet alledgeth somme poynts of cannon ye will | you conclude that he aloweth all. you alledgeth |some things of tertulian, ~~and~~ shall I therfor say that | you alow his heresie ~~of~~ agaynst 2 marriages, and | some thinge of Cyprian and yet alow not his | heresye of Christianing anew etc. // when the foweler intendeth to deseaue the | byrds he will crye as lyk them as he can | a thefe will clothe himself lyk a trew man | for her purpose. and the devell will loke lik | an angell. by these practises the popes | churche furst encreased. // so may ye prove that the doctrine agreed | apon in Ancyreno concilia with all of the arrians | was the doctrine of thapostles, for it was [nighe?] | christs tyme then was the other // Clementus

[1045] Origen, *Math Tract 26,* pa. 148, fo. 2.
[1046] Bullinger, *De authoritate scripture et ecclesia,* ca. 14, fo. 86.

Alexandrinus. Apostolorum doctrina usque | ad pauli ministerium Neronis tempore | consumatur | Latine fo 265[1047]

**[F.41r]** [comment on how Ponet sees the Canons as true] and ye papists haue | put in and changed | a great number of them | so that now they can not | appear as be the | canons of thapostles. // if ye mean | some ye say | trew. but if | ye spek of all ye | bely d. po. // Pe // Pe // vide [Gerald?] | de annis ei [*uncertain word*] | ligatur cum cardano | ? 8 // [*uncertain Greek word*] // Marcedonia is not | in Asia | nor was not // [Regulenus venit?] | pro septembris

**[F.41v]** Cal // [Chapter 4] vide infra | fo 16 // what need we generall counsells whene | the pope may do all vide Dialogus | de libero arbitrio c.1. ex iure canonis[1048]

**[F.42r]** if ther was none other argument for profe that the | wiveles lif of prests is ungodly this wer | sufficient to say it is alowed of suche | counsells wher the bushop of Rome | did beare all the sayinge | or ells wher suche mene only were of the | counsell as haue sworne to say nothinge then | shall not lyke the bushop of Rome. // In many many generall counsells and of the [*uncertain word*] | doctores ther be mo heresies thene treuths // Generall counsells ~~seane the~~ wer not generall | when the grecians were excludid. // They be lyke acts of parlament wher all things | be concluded that pleaseth the prynce. // Sence phocas themporer and boniface the thurd | matters haue not bene orderid in generall counsels | by gods word but by the popes will. and what | ever he will the rest must assent or ells | shall they be forsworne. // He bryngeth in the bawds ~~of~~ reasons that | they can make for the standing of the | stewes. infra fol. 45.

**[F.42v]** The first generall counsell was for a murmeringe | of the greeks agaynst the jewes for that | ther wedowes wer contemned in the dayly | ministery. acto. 6. Hoc est placitu ut nos

[1047] Clement, *Stromata,* li. 7 ca. 17. fo. 265.
[1048] Anselm of Canterbury, *Dialogus de libero arbitrio,* c.1.

derelict | verbum dei ministremus mensis et placuit | hic sermo coram tota multitudine[1049] // Thesame reason made Manicheus vide Aug. | contra faustum manicheum li.º 32. ca 17 | quasi videlicet non omnem veritatem paulus et caeteri | apostoli docuissent, ac locum Cataphrygarum paaracleto | reservassent.[1050] // Passauantius. spiritus sanctus | bene sciuit quid sufficeret ecclesia, et ideo [*uncertain word*] non sunt | omnia scripta, tamen que scripta | sunt sufficiunt supra fo. 6[1051] // the first generall | counsell was not | so [SEMIBREVE] // si docebat apostolorum omnem veritatem ergo nihil ~~relinquit~~ resarvavit |Papis. est tamen spiritus prudentiam relictus | ecclesiae suae, ad applicanda facta particlaria ad | doctrinam universalem quae est scripta; et ad | ordinandum et dispensandum ea quae sunt subiecta mutationi | temporum et personarum et locorum.[1052] // Dicini Tria | 1. Papa ~~non~~ et prelati non sunt ecclesia sed synagoga diabolic | ~~quia~~ spiritus sanctus docuit omni apostolos | 2. apostoli fideliter fecerunt officium suum ipsi etiam scripterunt | quecumque necessaria sunt ad salutem ecclesiae suae usque | ad finem mundi | 3. si concederemus licere ecclesiae facere novum [sed vitium?] dei [tam?] | non sequitur que liceret papae, nisi probares que papa sit | ecclesia

**[F.43$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's position that General Council cannot err] vide supra fo. 6 // vide numerus generalia consilia | possint errare // vide cesius contra floribellum | [comment on Martyn's claim that general councils ceased between Apostles and Constantine] Gangrense was before // [comment on heresies when no general council akin to 16th C] and many of them were | made canons of theapostles

**[F.43$^{v}$]** [comment on scripture and tradition] [CROSSES] if these tow offeces beso distinct that one may not do both | then can not Christ himself be a judge for the Scripture| calleth him a witnes. gratia vobis ab Jesu Christo qui | est testis fides primogenitus mortuorum[1053] // And

[1049] Paraphrase of Acts 6:2.
[1050] Augustine, *Contra faustum manichaeum,* li. 3 ca. 17.
[1051] Passauntius, *Letter to Petrum Lysetum in Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, fo. 6.
[1052] Passauntius, *Letter to Petrum Lysetum.*
[1053] Rev. 1:4-5.

god is | content shalbe takene | for a judge in | controverseys may he | not therefore be a | judge? et apo. 4 | Nec dicit testis fidelia [*uncertain word*]| Concil Pat. Syl mea | fo. 71[1054] // They beare witnesse |God only as the judge | The scripture be | both witnesse and | judge [CROSSES] // // Whether is god | a judge or not | but both word as the | scripture | [*faded text*] // Vide Clement | alex 261. Lat[1055] // ca 10 | et Chrysost | no. 49. Sylmea.[1056] // [comment on Martyn's point about Arian debate: both Athanasius and Arius appealed to Scripture but only a Council sealed the debate] No man taketh witnes but | of his superior. If script of the churche take witness | then must the churche be superior // This is an evell [*uncertain word*] the heretiques brought scriptures for | thene therefor we must not beleue the scriptures, or then ye | bringe the scriptures from them. for then should we not | beleue christ. // When saw you every heretique confounded with tradition | and without scripture, that can not be deduced from the | scripture

**[F.44r]** Our only judge is ~~Christ~~ <almightie god> whiche is ~~ascended~~ | in to heven, and he hathe disclosed to man | his definitive sentence of his will and | pleasure before the law wryttene by his holy | spirit, and after man wold not longe follow | the judgement of his holy spirit, he gaue his | judgement in wryting to moses. of whiche | wrytinge some was to continue but for a | tyme, and some to be perpetuall. when this | judgement of god was by the pharisees | falsly glosed, and wrythed <by ther doctors> alltogether from | the meninge of allmighty god, then | allmighty god sent down his son to ~~and dost~~ | declared once agayne his judgement sentence | mynd will and pleasure whereto he wold | haue all them as cleave and styk. who did therefore | most diligently, and confirmed the trewth of his | doctrine with the sheding of his most precious | blud. and at his departure he sent his | holy spirit who was so abundantly in the | primative churche that they could not erre. // alak ye haue lost a pece of yor holy

[1054] Ponet, *Sylva Mea,* fo. 71.
[1055] Clement, *Stromata,* fo. 261.
[1056] Chrysostom no. 49 in *Sylva Mea.*

churche tradition. naminge 4 words | wher you should haue named fyve. Hec est enim c. m. remember | 1 Cor. 14. Malim .5. verba sensu quam 10000 verborum lingua[1057] // M Vincentii collationem inter maria matrem domini que non potuit [nisi?] | 8 verbis de recto evocare matrem domini. et sacerdos potest 5. // [TREFOIL] Optatus li.º 5.º fo. 54. Ad Christum et | testamentum eius fugiendum est in rebus | controversis tanquam ad indicem etc.[1058]

**[F.44ᵛ]** [continued from f.44ʳ] untill suche tyme as all things necessary | for our saluation was committid to wrytinge | whiche thinge beyinge done, he that refuseth | to stand to the judgement of the scripture | refuseth not he to stand to the judgement | of god him selfe etc. // vide consiliat partum | scriptura habere quicquid necessaria | ad salutem. // etc bull[inger] | in preface ad grey[1059] // Anastasius. Nihil est quod nequea sacris scripturis | dissolui // Ambrosius. Nihil [*delet?*] illi quae utriusque testamenti | authoritas munierit // Aug De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia | ad valerium | li.º 2.º ca 33. | contra Julian | ipse dicit quomodo rei sunt parvuli, pro | quibus Christus mortuus est? Nos respondemus: | Imo parvuli quomodo rei non sunt, pro quibus | Christus mortuus est? Ista controversia | judicem quaerit. Judicet ergo Christus, | et cui rei mors ejus profecerit, ipse | dicat. Hic est, inquit, sanguis meus, qui | Judicet cum illo et Apostolus, quia et in Apostolo ipse | loquitur Christus. Clamat et dicit de deo Patre, qui proprio | filio non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum etc[1060]

**[F.45ʳ]** Latomis in his epistel to Bucer pa 19. | Nec vos ullius hominis authoritatem recipitis. | quis igitur iudex erit in tanta controuersias nam | plane necesse est aliquem fore, ne perpetua seditione | iacetur Ecclesia. Quis igitur erit Scripturae | iniquis, quae falli non potest. Recte ais, et placet | iudex. Scriptura uerax est, nec mentiri potest | quae spiritu oris Dei dictata est. Hanc | iudicem esse oportet in omni caussa ecclesiastica, | ad cuius ueritatem tanquam ad certssimam

[1057] Reference to 1 Cor. 14:19.
[1058] Optatus, *Contra donatistum,* li. 5, fo. 54.
[1059] Heinrich Bullinger, *Sermonum Decas Quinta,* preface to Henry Gray.
[1060] Augustine, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, li. 2 ca. 33.

| regulam omnis doctrina de religione exigenda est.[1061] // here you se latomus agaynst you // [TRIANGLE] The superior and chef must geue | sentence and be judge but the scriptures | be aboue the churche and superior to | the churche therefor they must be judge. But | you will say the churche is of more authoritie | than the scriptures. Then be you yet again | agaynst latomus pa 19. Ecclesia authoritiate | sedin scripturam proxima est | certumque habemus etiam quod clausum et aspectibus nostris recte | veraciterque dictum esse. Sic enim homo licet iam spiritalis | et renovatus in agnitione dei secundum imaginem eius qui | creativit eum factor tamen legis debet esse non index[1062]

**[F.45$^{v}$]** If he douteth not that the scriptures wold geue sentence agaynst | hym he wold never refuse them to be judge in this matter // Christ made the scriptures judge between him | and the devell. Math 4.L.4. Scripture est | between him and the pharisees. peter paule | omnes apostolorum. // all other heretiques are yet content to stand to the | scriptures only the papists refuse to be | judged by the scriptures. and therfor they run to | traditiones unwrytten verities etc. // habet [*uncertain word*] et prophetas // Aug. To. i.o li.i. confess 13. ca 23. | spiritualis ergo, sine qui praesunt | sine qui obtemperant spiritualiter judicant: | non de cognitionibus spiritualibus quae lucant in firmamento. | Non enim oportet de tam sublimi authoritate iudicare, neque de ipso libro | tuo,etiam si quid ibi non lucet, quoniam submittimus ei nostrum intellectum etc[1063] // Jo. 5. Christ taketh witnes of the scriptures | ipse sunt quae testimonium perhibent de me[1064] // vide Chrysostom 24 math ho. 49. Sylva mea 97[1065] // et Aug. cum Maximino Arrianorum episcopo disputatis | li. 3.$^{o}$ silva mea 181.[1066] // mans conscience hath nether eares nor eyes therefore it | can nether see nor here. it can neither se nor | here therefor it can not judge. // veritas scriptura ab aplis. et apostolos scriptis petenda est? | Tertul. de

[1061] Bartholomeus Latomus, *Responsio bartholomei ad martinus bucerus*, pa. 19.
[1062] Bartholomeus Latomus, *Responsio bartholomei ad martinus bucerus*, pa. 19.
[1063] Augustine, *Confessionem,* li. 13.
[1064] John 5:39.
[1065] Chrysostom Homily no. 24 in Sylva Mea 97.
[1066] Augustine, *Conlatio cum Maximino,* li. 3 in Sylva Mea 181.

praescriptione haeret fo. 196.[1067] // Origen. Tract 26 in Math. libris qui sunt extra canones | scripturarum, non est utendum ad confirmanda dogmata | Christianorum.[1068] // either yor doctrine agree with the scripture nor not. yf not: they be no | yf yea why geue ye | not the scripture | the glory // vide plura in titulo Extra Scripturas | nihil est credendum. P.A.[1069]

**[F.46r]** whether mary the queene geue | sentence of lyf and | death beinge a woman is | [aline to her?] | [*uncertain word*] | a ly // [TRIANGLE] [TREFOIL] the papists haue | not the scriptures | for pandaris purgato | and therfore they | be fayne and fly to unwrytten | verities // The scripture is | res indicata and may | be compared | to fitzherbert | yers and termes // [TREFOIL] supra. 1. folio // Latomus // vide optatus | pa 54. Ad Christum| et testamentum eius in | verbus controversis tamquam | ad iudcem confugiedum est etc.[1070] | copiose // vide responsio | Bullinger contra coch | ca. 4.[1071] // no more can the holy fathers that be dead nether spek nor | heare. Martins Catholique churche is of the lyving only. // vide disputationes circularis melancthonis[1072] // defending the pope he is become a lutheriane // vincentius lirinensis D. 10[1073] // et Chrysosto 49 vide sylva mea[1074]

**[F.46v]** permitte the theves to | make law what they | will and to forsake the | law wrytten and to | make ther fellowes | ther judges and where | shall yer common welth | be. // [comment on 'Take me now awaye the authoritie of these holy fathers, auncient doctours, and generall counsels, and howe is it possible eyther or the lawe of Christ..'] yea but take me now | away the authoritie of the | scriptures and how shall | we beleue the doctors?

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1067 Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, fo. 196.
1068 Origen, *Math Tract 26,* pa. 148, fo. 2.
1069 Possibly a reference to Peter Alexander.
1070 Optatus, *Contra donatistum,* li. 5, fo. 54.
1071 Heinrich Bullinger, *Antworten contra cochleum* (?), ca. 4.
1072 Philip Melanchthon, (possibly) Circular Disputationes?
1073 Vincentius Lirinensis, source unknown, d. 10.
1074 Chrysostom, Sylva Mea 49.

**[F.47r]** Martyn ever harpes apon one prof. The | cousells the churche traditions etc. // Aug. Contra faustum manicheum li.o 9.o ca 2.[1075] | Eadem saepe vana repetere istum non pudet, | sed eadem saepe, quamvis vera, respondere me piget. | Quisquis itaque etiam adversus ista responsionem | quaerit, quae superius a nobis dicta sunt, legat // if the churche can not erre, and is a | sufficient witnis of the trewth from | tyme to tyme: then haue we no | need <the> of the word wrytten, ~~because~~ | but that we may be withowt: for all knowledge | and ordering of doctrine remayneth | in the churche. // when shall the stewes be pulled down | if you let the whores be judge // Christian peple take not away theauthorititie of suche old | fathers as agre in Christs word, nor of suche | generall counsells as grownd them selves theapon | but from suche as forsake gods worde, walking | in by pathes of mens traditions and inventions.

**[F.47v – Blank]**

**[F.48r]** [comment on bottom of page outlining all the heresy hunting councils] he leaveth out the wikked counsayles and wicked determinations | as things not to his purpose

**[F.48v]** [comment on Martyn's reference to two pre-Nicea councils against the mariadge of priests] a lye // why remembereth | he not gangresne? // [comment on Martyn's note that fornication or adultery causes a priest to be removed from the church] of this ye | spek nothing // [comment on Martyn's linking of pre-Nicean councils to Nicean confirmation] vide, vide, vide | postea in proximo | folio quem non sit | verum quod | dicit

**[F.49r]** for prayse of generall counsells he | bringeth in these whiche were without question | good. ~~bud~~ but on provinge of his purpose | ~~all~~ no ryf raf is refused, but sought out | with most diligence, sworne papists to mayteyn | the popes doctrine. // [TRIANGLE] Maak a discourse of generall counsels | An sint generalis cum greca ecclesia non adsit | cum una tantum adsit porta | cum tantum clerici habet vocem decisivam | vide alpho. [*uncertain word*] // [comment

[1075] Augustine, *Contra faustum manichaeum,* li. 9, ca. 2.

regarding Syracusane on f.48[v]] d.28 de syracusane horum tempore nihil est statutum de continentia | que ministrorum altaris.[1076] //

**[F.49[v]]** quid sit generali consilium // que spes partis // the pope callith him self nos, because he wold | seme to do no thinge alone. // que Accidentia? | que Contraria. // αντιθεσυς consiliores generalum | apostolorum et papista. // cum omnia repleantur haeresi, fugiendus est | ad scripturas sacras. Chryso. ho | 49 in 24 math. sylva mea 97.[1077]

**[F.50[r] - Blank]**

**[F.50[v]]** sequitur in Sozomeno. whome wryteth zozomenus | Et hec quidem paphnutius quamnis nuptiarus expers proposunt | sententiam illius approbavit eius de re nihil statuate sed | eam in uninsceniuses arbitrium non necssitatem rejecit | de aliis vero sicut ipsi <recta> videbantur leges prascripsit secundum quae | res ecclsiasticaticas administrare conveniret.[1078] // who so ever will force a <bushop or prest by a law> ~~man~~ to absteyn from his lawful | wif, refuseth the order in Nicene councell. Whiche | left that thinge in uniuscuiusque arbitrium non necessitatem: | but you papists force bushopes prests etc by a law and | drive them to absteyn from ther wives by necessitie | therefor you papists be agaynst the order taken in the | nicene counsell.

**[F.51[r]]** [Ponet checks Martyn's translation of Sozomen from Wolfgang Musculus' translation] Musculi translatio sayth concubitus cum propria uxore castitatem re [dicms ver?] | but his translation is virorum cum uxoribus consuetudinem continentam vocat | musculus hath et ipsis et uxoribus[1079] // [comment on 'quibusdam visum est legem introducere'] therfore ther was none before // [comment on 'virorum cum uxoribus'] This peace aunswereth | all the arguments | of uncleannes, and | of perpetuall abstinence | from the wif in the | tyme of the

[1076] *Corpus iuris canonici,* d. 28.
[1077] Chrysostom, *24 Math* in Sylva mea fo. 97.
[1078] Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesia,* li. 1, ca. 22.
[1079] Possibly Wolfgang Musculus, *Historiarum libri quinque priores: item epitome sequentium librorum* (1554).

ministry // non probat quod pollicetur | facit [*uncertain word*] [CROSS] // [comment on Paphnutius rising up before the bushops, 'cleped'] cleped maketh | the Englishe | dark // [bottom comment] And for asmoche as the question is of Bushopes prests decons and sub | it appearith that he judgeth ther mariadge honourable, and | ther company chastitie, and ther bed undefiled. Heb 13.[1080] | vide antea fo. 9. b.[1081]

**[F.51$^{v}$]** [comment on 'novam legem Ecclesiam introducere'] therefor they lay with ther wifes before | which they altered not therefor after also | lay with them // [comment on Socrates reference to different orders affected by the mariadge laws] omittuntur subdiaconi [a reference back to f.51$^{r}$ where subdeacons were mentioned] // contra 21. Ex | Clementes epistolis | epistola 2.[1082] // [comment on the Bishop's new law for abstinence for previously married newly made priests etc] note the practise of prelates | that went about to bryng | in a new law nighe | the apostles tyme. // [comment on 'mariage to bee honorable emong all persons, and a bedde undefiled' - maybe not though] where is now your | petite et accipietis | whi did not the | fathers in Nice | teache that remedy [MANICULE] // [comment on 'every one of ther wiues cannot well kepe'] what talke you me of can not, | can not they aske it, and | shall they not haue it for the | askinge.

**[F.52$^{r}$]** [comment pertaining to f.51$^{v}$] [TREFOIL] vivi congressum. musculus vertit congressum cum legitima uxore. [ver?] | potius sacerdotis congressum cum se.[1083] // contenti essent unis nuptiis. nota vocabulum deinceps. et in musculo amplius | Nam ea erat vetus traditio ne transirent ad 2<as> nuptias. Erant enim quod | eom tempore qui duxerant uxoris post gradum susceptum a quibus retinae | [fuit?] 2<e> nuptia. in socrate est postea. in musculo [*uncertain* word] Soz. | ne posthac amplias nuberent .\. iterum[1084]

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[1080] Heb. 13:4
[1081] Possibly Wolfgang Musculus, *Historiarum libri quinque priores: item epitome sequentium librorum* (1554).
[1082] Clement, *Epistola 2*.
[1083] Possibly Wolfgang Musculus, *Historiarum libri quinque priores: item epitome sequentium librorum* (1554).
[1084] Possibly Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesia.*

**[F.52$^{v}$]** [comment linked to Latin comment on f.52r, and also to quote from Socrates on f.51v] [TREFOIL] Oh shameles lyer. Paphnutius is not alledg | to that end to prove that poynt or end that ~~ma~~ | a prest may mary after his prestod. but to | prove that mariadge and presthod may stand | together. and that his ministration is not unclean | whiche is maried. accordinge to the | determination of the counsell of gangres. // [comment referring to f.53r] [TREE] how holdeth this argument it is an old | tradition of the churche, therefor then mariadge is | lechery. ~~it is an~~ lyke is this. it is agaynst | an old tradition of the churche that the bushop who hath once | forsaken the pope should sit in and [*uncertain word*] and yere after | And the minor must nedes be but bushops prest and deacon | be one state of christen peple, therefore ther mariadge is honorable, | ther matrimoniall use is chastitie, ther bed | is undefiled. otherwise should not paphnutius persuading. // the chalcelers judgement is | no judgement, it is agaynst | an old tradition of the church that christeninge shall | not be without milk and hony | therefor they be not Christen but it

**[F.53$^{r}$]** [comment on 'the use of man with his lawful wife be called chastitie'] The use of a prest with | his wife is chastitite // if ther wife died // ~~abstinerent~~ // [comment on Paphnutius giving himself to living in a Monastery] how prove you | this // [comment on Paphnutius and tradition] no, they only take | away the 2 mariadges // [comment on Paphnutius's remark about 'the use of a manne with hys owne wyfe'] yea but the mane that | he ment is a prest // [CROSSES] [comment referring to top of page] this sentence is other | wise in the | former counsell // [comment on 'is against the auncient traditione of the churche'] how prove you that? | not by scripture | but by tradition // The major whiche paphnutius used was that the mariadges | honorable of buschoppes prestes and deacons should be | continewed was the 13 Heb. that it was honorable | in all states, and the bed undefiled in all estates.[1085] and

[1085] Heb. 13:4

**[F.53v]** [comment on 'farther in the thirde canon of thesaid counsiall' refering to Nicea] therefore paphnutius | his counsell | tooke not | effect

**[F.54r]** Di. 81. Volumus Symmchos | volums ut sacerdotus prohiberi debeant ne cum | mulieribus conversentur, excepta duntaxat matre | sorore vel uxore quae caste regenda est[1086]

**[F.54v-F.55r - Blank]**

**[F.55v]** you will neyther beleue god neyther mane | besides your selfe

**[F.56r]** [comment on Melanchthon's approval of councils from his Loci Commues] Hic possunt adferre Ar <ca> 19 | Apologia ascripta per melancthonem.[1087] // quantum ad symbola | attinet. de aliis | rebus ad mores pertinentibus | non est tanta cura // [comment on 'congruence ye muste nedes beleue some body besides your selfes'] ye gods word ~~not~~ or | mans if he bringe gods | word with him.

**[F.56v]** [comment on 'By the civill law, the father maye disherit his sonne for heresie'] [CROSSES] a very good law wherby all catholique christians may | dishinherit ther chyldren if they folow the heresy of the | papists <or> anabaptists etc. // Conciliorum nomine | symbola appellat. | integra enim concilia non | recitabant? // et tamen Arri[a]ninesse | fuit prorsus cum Arrianis

**[F.57r]** a notable to know the lyeing of the papists how they | belyed the counsell of nicea. Bul. De Authoritie | Scripturare et ecclesia[1088]

**[F.57v]** [comment on the emporers and emperesses subscription against the married priests] what tell you me of the subscription | of the emperor and the emperess. as | who~~se~~ should

[1086] *Corpus iuris canonici,* d. 81 c. 14.
[1087] Martyn seems to have misunderstood Melanchthon's reference to Gregory the Great. Melanchthon referred to Gregory the Great in article 19 of the Schmalkalden Articles, however Ponet seems to point out that the Appendix to the Schmalkalden Articles was written by Melanchthon.
[1088] Bullinger, *De authoritate scripture et ecclesia.*

say kynge and queen | can not be heretiques. or can | not erre. Julian apostata. | [Constantius?] Arrianus. | Justina Imperatrix. Lucilla | Africana donatista // persequebantur sit Ambrosium. Fuit mater | Valentiniani imperaturis. who be wors | then women when they tak a hed. // Ber Lutz li. 11[1089]

**[F.58$^{r}$]** That they could not | obteyn in one parlament | they broched | in another. ol Aut. // cum potuit // [comment on Silvester] One Sylvester | gave him self | to the deuell furst // [comment on Helen and Constantine's time] Encratitis opinion | he did what he could | to disswade men from | mariadge and // as who should say that thei | meane not well, nor | intend not to please | god that marry. // [comment at bottom of page] that appearith by all the discourse that the mariadge of | prests hath continued from the apostles, and that ever generall | counsells went about to subvert and put it down | and yet they could not, R.$^{o}$ qua a duos factum est [ist?]

**[F.58$^{v}$]** [comment on the council of Trullo'] Ca. 6. | vide contra | ista. D. 31 | quoniam | in Ro[1090] // clerus // [comment on 'Hilarius'] And yet was hylarius | maried. // [comment on 'forbidding priests to mary, under payne of deprivation'] Shew me one prest that was deprived for | marieng after he was prests. if you can not | we will proscribe agaynst you.

**[F.59$^{r}$]** by these words it should seeem [sic] that if he | were deacon he might mary before he ever | prest, or ells that these orders were not | orderly ministerid. for otherwise why should | he make rehershall of them all if | mariadge were excluded at the furst.

**[F.59$^{v}$-F.60$^{r}$ - Blank]**

[1089] Bernardus aus Luxemberg, (probably) *Catalogus haereticorum omnium* (1522), li. 11.
[1090] *Corpus iuris canonici*, d. 31 c.13.

**[F.60$^{v}$]** but the churches wherin the disciples preached | continued the mariadge of prest as apereth | by all the churches of the east and grecia | at this day. therefor by yor reason they out to be | folowed.

**[F.61$^{r}$ – Chapter 5]** [comment on 'consulere ecclesias, in quibus Apostoli verbantur'] verum est quam diu veri illorum | successores ibi manserint | alioqui diceres Hierosolymitanam, | ephesinam, et corynth. | consulendas esse quas nunc | turcae occupant

**[F.61$^{v}$]** quomodo hoc convenit cum dicto | paphnutii fo 17 etc. sunt contra nicenum | consilium epistole iste. ergo aut eravit | Clemens aut consilium // [comment on 'the other whiche departe theimselues from the principal succession] [SEMIBREVE] succession not only in | place but also in doctrine // [comment on 'qua in nullo ab ecclesiastica traditone discrepat'] sed si romana discrepet | vel Hierosolomitana | non est sequenda. // of the primative churche // [comment on 'ecclesiastica traditione' and 'aliter credere'] [SEMIBREVE] symbolo | credere // [comment on 'Decree of Saint Clement'] a sleight. the reader | may take it as thought | paule had | made mention | of the decre. // [comment on Clement's 3rd epistle?] Epistola 3. vult uxores | communes. fortassis ne | aliorum uxores suis | clericis dessent, velutus | Dominus vult lupanaria | qui enim usus | erigi // [vertically inverted comment which begins on f.62$^{r}$ and continues here] [TREFOIL] wold haue defaced D. Martyr and master bucer | but what is his reward, whosoever hath herd <or [*uncertain word*]> them | both either spek or wryt geue sentence by and by | that gardiner is either maliciouse or unlearned or both | D. Lee the bushop of york wold haue defaced Erasmus | till the boyes in the street made a laughing | stok of him etc.[1091]

**[F.62$^{r}$]** [vertically inverted comment runs into previous fol.] And seing also ~~ye~~ it is thought ye wold haue | named ~~the~~ <some> other author of the book if you had | knowneth ~~him~~ any, And

[1091] Martyn would have defaced the works of Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer, and Bishop Edward Lee would have defaced the work of Erasmus.

finally seeing you | alledge non other reason of yor conjectur why | you should be of that opinion, it must | needs folow that it is very malice that | hath made you ~~spill out~~ to utter these words | minding thereby if any mane wold beleue you | and persuade the world that my lord of Can[terbury] | is a man alltogether unlearned and not | hable to <make such a booke or to> say nor wrtye any thinge worthy | the reading or heringe. but ~~my Lo of, marty~~ | it is evell spurninge agaynst a ~~thorne~~ | pryke, and evell byting of hots coles. My L[ord] of | Canterburyes learninge is to well knowen all | the world over to be defaced with suche ~~a~~ | Sicophant and marchant slanderer as | martyn is. ~~if a man~~ if a man be | desierose to haue his folishenes knowene it | is best for him to say the fyer is ~~col~~ could | the snow is whyte, the sone is dark, | all trewth is falshod, and falshod trewth, | and that men see not that whiche they see | nor know that they know. This method | and order hath martyn <and the praletes> taken wherby to make himself [*incomplete word - famus?*] | ~~but~~ and the more paynes he taketh the soner he | shall haue his purpose. so great is [*uncertain word*] of [*incomplete word*] | wit and learning and so well known both within the realme and without | that learned and other [*uncertain word*] must by and by judge he unlearned that | will once open his lyppes agaynst him. So gard [TREFOIL]

**[F.62$^{v}$]** [Ponet replies to Martyn's comment on 63.$^{r}$: 'or by whosoever is the authour of that booke (for I am lothe to charge thesaied Lorde so farre as to thincke it to bee all his, and therefore, when I shal name the Bishop of Cantourburie, I meane the maker, and authour of his boke).'] why think you that the book is none of his making | either it is because ye think the booke full of wit and | learninge, and then ~~of~~ peradventure you be a man | who haue been muche in my Lord of Canterburies | company and haue had conference with him in matters of | learninge wherby ye haue a knowledge that he | is a man of no suche learninge hable to make suche | a booke. or ells it may be that you ~~can name~~ <know> | some other man ~~that~~ <whiche> made that booke, whiche | if you had, yor freends thinke you be wold and | that you should haue don well to name ~~him~~ <that man>, or | ells some other matter you haue that moved |

you so to ~~say~~ wryte which you will not utter. But | what soever the matter be, seinge ~~most~~ <many> men know | well that you had never any conference with my Lord of Can[terbury] | wherby you might understand his learninge otherwise then | by heresay wherby you might aswell be deceavid as | you <wold> haue <now> deceavid other by your report, and seinge // Remember ad proximam paginam [TREFOIL] // The Bushop of Cantorberies words | But that thesaid epistle of Clement was fayned be | most certayn arguments. for ther be fyve epistles of Clement so | knit together, and referringe one to another, that if one be | fayed all must needs be fayned.[1092] // Why do you not | aunswer that book | all you papists.

**[F.63$^{r}$]** [comment on 'Cauntorburies boke against the Sacrament of thalter'] a lye // it is of the | trew doctrine of the | sacrament. // [comment on 'or by whosoeuer is the authur of that booke'] you thinke it to wittie | to be of his makinge | and all men see that it | is to trew for you and | your master to confute. [TREFOIL – linked to previous 63$^{v}$] // So Gardiner wold not of | <malice> vouche saith to call him | the author ther of.

**[F.63$^{v}$]** [comment on 'Caunterberies obiections against S. Clements epistlse confuted'] vide epipha | de [*uncertain word*] | pa 66.[1093] // [comment on 'nor the old writer maketh any mention of these epistles saith he'] see how he wryteth | the matter to catche | some hold if it wold | be.

**[F.64$^{r}$]** The words that martyn leave out be these | whiche authors in rehersinge what works Clement | wrote, (not leaving out so muche as one epistle of his) | wold suerly haue made some mention of the fyve epistles | whiche the papists longe before our tyme fayned in | his name, if ther had been any suche in ther tyme. // So could I say that this booke was none of yor makinge, | and I think if I had said so of | some part of it, I had been hable to haue provid | it, for I am hable to shew hole leaves not | a few picked and stolen out of peresius | the

[1092] Citation of Cranmer, *Answer,* 166.
[1093] Epiphanius, *uncertain source.*

Spaniard, and some out of anti | didagma. And certayn I know gatherid out | of your masters collections. And yet not | withstanding I am well content for my part | to let it be yours thoughe Gardiner had | wrytten it, for ~~it should~~ allthoughe the | bragginge and bostinge and heapinge up of | many authorities be not ~~very~~ alltogether | unlyke to Gardineres witt and style aswell | for that he rejoiceth ~~sumtyme~~ <many tymes> in raylinge, as in | falsyfyenge the scriptures, belyenge the doctrines | and fayninge of histories that wer never done nor | wrytten as by the [*uncertain word*] to ~~markus~~ marcus Antonius | and other places it may largely appeare yet

**[F.64$^{v}$]** yet as I not thinke <him> so simply seen in the | ~~arte of lyenge~~ arte of lyenge and <in the> deuells ~~f~~ sophistry | ~~wherof~~ (in detection wherof he taketh apon | him to be a professor) but that he wold | haue caried his matter more clearly than | all the world should not haue espied | him <as there see you> daunce nakid in a net in the sight of | all men with shame enoghe. neither is ther | any suche wit, learninge, godlynes treuth | or knowledge in ~~yor book~~ the booke why | ~~I should~~ <all men may> not either iudge it yors, or | ells some other mans who is | asmoche a fooele as you. wherfor it may | be that wise men wonder whi I wold | auswer suche a <horn wood> here brayne. certainly | thoughe ther be many other <causes yet gods glory> ~~causes yet [uncertain word]~~ | ~~is and~~ was one and his impudency another, whiche | beinge <consideryd> ~~espied~~ so with the indifferent reader, | shall so move to that overthrow of queene and | his [*uncertain word*] then the overthrow of a man muche wiser than he | ~~[uncertain word] when they shall see ther chef proven~~ | ~~so shamelless a lyer so unchast in his work~~ | ~~so impudent of ly?, suche a shameles falsifyer~~ | ~~of the scriptures, and doctrine blasphemose an~~ | ~~heretique, suche a ruffian and bawdy talker,~~ | ~~suche angerdy unlearned~~

**[F.65$^{r}$]** And yet dare I not utterly excuse Gardiner | as a man unaquayntid with ~~thes~~ the publishishinge | of this folishe boke, for ~~me thought it could~~ | ~~not be otherwise~~ it is not lyk that martyn | ~~wold set suche a book abrode~~ beinge so vayn | gloriose as this book in sundry

places declareth | him to be, when he hath named | Gardiner in sundry places, and in some | places ~~ex professe~~ taken apon him ex | professo (~~as agaynst my Lord of Cantorbery~~) | the defence of Gardiners quaroll, as | in thavouchinge here thauctoritie of Clemente | epels [epistles] agaynst my Lord of Cantorbery his | grace: but that <I say> he wold also shew thesame | ~~to books of his~~ defence <to his good [*uncertain word*]>, and the rest of his | doings beinge so plausible a matter, | <to his good love> he might be praysed, stroked and | receave a popishe bushops blissinge for | his labour, then ought Gardiner (as he had | with suche wisdom ~~that some of~~ <as> his flattarers puppils | whiche he hath) he to haue suppressid | martyns boldnis, and to haue been afrayd | of his own shame and rebuke, which now must | ~~needs redowned to him~~ either for his winking | or for his seinge of necessitite redound [*uncertain word*] him.

**[F.65$^{v}$]** but it may be that he was so bent to persecution and | martyns argument pleasith him so well, that he | was only content to peruse ~~and~~ adde and correct | suche things as made for his purpose, and | then left martyn to his shame, and turned | his nose agayn to his accustomed savor of | godly mens blud, kyllinge theme a gallope | under the name of Traytors when he | could <not otherwise> charge but for ther right belef in Chryst. // and yet it may be that | doutles he that wrot these epistles must be some old | wryter, because he holdeth that wyves | should | be common as did Nicolaus the deacon. // Moreover these ep[ist]les make mention that Clement at James | request wrote unto him the maner of peters deth. | but how could that be ~~trew? for asmuche as~~ seinge that James | was ded by yeres before peter. for James died the [7$^{th}$?] | yere and peter the xiiii$^{th}$ yere of Nero the emporer. // the can not be old. because they conteyne doctrine | contrary to the doctrine of paphnutius. vide fo. 21. p. // vide in Conciliis gen. To. 1.$^{o}$ 35.[1094] // vide infra 35 // vide peresius fo 47.[1095]

[1094] Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:35.
[1095] Peresius, uncertain source, 47.

**[F.66r]** [comment on the 10th book of Clement's epistles] the lyk negative | he useth saying no | lawfull or old wryter | aloudth the mariadge | of prests // They be so many | that no man can | see them // [comment on Clement's letters and church authority] he sheweth not | one for this poynt | but only; that clement | was peters successor. | he bringeth in | Damascus | Platina | Marinus | Scotus // [comment on Peter and Clement] Peter biddeth | him wryt to | James of peters | death when | he <peter> was dead ... | not before | epla. 1.a 35 // [comment on Peter and Clement] [TREFOIL] it is not lykly that he should wryt at peters commandment | seinge he knew not whether should dey first

**[F.66v]** [comment on 'Peter made this requeste to Clement'] how prove | you that? // [comment on Cramer's refutation of Clement as 'poison' and 'medicine'] that was more by | hap then wit. | but the deuell | worketh by wit | not by happe. // verte 2 folia

**[F.67r]** [Latin quote from Epiphanius] Epipha. contra | Carpocratitac | pa. 50 | Clemens post obitum Lini et Cleti | quorum uterque ad duodecim annos | episcopatum tennuit, post petri et pauli | obitum, qui contigit 12 anno neronis hunc | rursus coactum ad suscipienddum episcopatum[1096] // [comment referring back to previous page's remark about Peter requesting to Clement] a lye for I deme that he | made him any suche delyls // S. Hierom Scriptorus Ecclesiasticus | sayth that Peter was put to death | and of James he | sayth that he was put to death | 7o Neronis [1097] // [comment referring to previous page around notes concerning Cranmer] T.C. | This lesson the papists learned in poyseninge | Clements epistles. They durst not put in any | more poyson but as the book might be saved and | find ther turms // See how the yeres of Damascus | agree with the tyme of Nero

**[F.67v]** for theprof ~~he~~ of this my argument that Clement | was not peters successor he bringeth | in Damascus papa. Platina | and Marianus scotus.

[1096] Epiphanius, *Contra carpocratitas,* pa. 50.
[1097] Possibly, Hieronymus Stridonensis (Jerome), *De viris illustribus* / *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*.

**[F.68r]** [correction to Martyn's text: 'gubernanti'] di. // [comment linked to Martyn's latin text about Clement and Damascus] Roman[es?] ad ista | vide in consiliis | nam supputatio | non convenit // [comment about Linus as choreepiscopus] a lye vide in | conciliis to. 1o p.30.[1098] // [comment at bottom] a lye. vide supputatio | nam sunt ex mariano | stoto et nota | ex danasu

**[F.68v]** [comment on Martyn's claim that Damascus' written account of the lives of the bishops was not set forth] how know you | this? // [comment on Damascus having all the monuments and writinges] therefore married | them as hym | lusted. // Anno Christo | 681 | infra sum verba | mariam scota et | non Leonis. vide | in conciliis genal. | fo .1. pa 31.[1099] // a lye | because marianus lyeth in this he must not | be belef in the rest // [comment on Linus's exterior ministry] Linus constituit yet mulier velat | capite templum [*uncertain word*] decetur

**[F.69r]** [Latin quote from Latomus to Bucer] Barth | Latomus | in epla [epistola] | contra Bucerus | pa. 15 | Illud ignorari non potest ecclesiam interdixisse connubia sacerdotibus | Idque decretum primum Clementis illius fuisse traditur qui in pontificatu quartus a petro fuit, | hoc decretum Calistus postea et ceteri summi pontifices confirmarunt, addita conciliorum authoritate.[1100] // verba Eusebius Li.o 3o Ca. 2. | Linus vero primum post petri et pauli martyrium Romana ecclesia | Episcopatum sortitus est. Meminit huius Paulus in epistola | quam Timotheo, Romae constitutus scripsit, in saluatione circa | calcem epistolae adiecta sic dicens: saluatat te Eubulus & prudens & Linus et Claudia.[1101] // et Ca. 4 | Linum vero quem sibi Rome adfuisse in posteriore ad Timotheum | memorat, primum post Petrum Romanae ecclesiae episcopatum | sortitum esse, iam antea declaratum est. Sed & Clemens qui tertius | Romanae est ecclesiae episcopus constitutus, Pauli cooperarius | & commilito fuisse ipsius

[1098] Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:30. See Appendix A for John Ponet's ownership details.
[1099] Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:31. See Appendix A for John Ponet's ownership details.
[1100] Bartholomeus Latomus, *Responsio bartholomei ad martinus bucerus*, pa. 15.
[1101] Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae,* li. 3, ca. 2.

testimonio probatur.[1102] // et Li.º.5 Ca.6.º | Ecclesiam itaque fundates et aedificantes, episcopatus ministerium | beati apostoli Lino tradiderunt. Lini huius meminit Paulus | in epistolis ad Timotheum. Successit huic Anacletus. Post | hunc Clemens tertio loco ab apostolis epicopatum fortitur, qui // vide etiam optatum[1103]

**[F.69ᵛ]** [continued from 'qui' at the end of 69ʳ: Latin quotes from Augustine, Irenaeus, Optatus and one other all demonstrating the order of apostolic succession from Peter] beatos Apostolos vidit, atque una cum illis conversatus est, et adhuc | insitam menti suae predicationem Apostolorum et traditionem eorum ante oculos habebat, non tamen solus.[1104] | Canon missae. Letania papist | Petrum, Linum, Cletum, et Clementem ordine recitatur // August | cum Fortunato et Alipio | Epla 165 | pa. 483[1105] | Petro, Successit Linus; Lino; | Clemens, Clementi Anacletus | Anacletuo Enaristus etc. // Irenaeus | 180. post Christum | li.3 ca. 3 | fundantes igitur et instruentes | beati Apostoli ecclesiam. Lino episcopatum | administrandae ecclesie tradiderunt. | Huius Lini paulus in | his quae sunt ad Timotheum epistolis meminit | Surredit autem ei Anacletus, post eus tertio | loco ab Apostolis Episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui | et ipsos vidit, Apostolos, et contulit cum eis. | et post. Clementi succedit Enaristus.[1106] // Optatus li.º 1.º | Contra Parmenianum Donatistum | In urbe Roma petro primo Cathedra | episcopalem esse collatam, in que sederit | omnium Apostolorum caput petrus etc cum | successit Linus, Loni, Successit | Clemens, Clementi Anacletus etc.[1107]

**[F.70ʳ]** [comments concerning the order of Bishops of Rome] Epipha sayth that Anicetus was the | 9 post obitum petri et pauli | contra marcionem fo. 171.[1108] // perge. 2 fo. 8 // Ex li.o Sacarum | Ceremoniarum | Romane | ecclesiae | De usu pallii | usus antem pallii huiusmodi

[1102] Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae,* li. 3, ca. 4.
[1103] Optatus, *uncertain souce.*
[1104] Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae Historiae,* li. 5, ca. 6.
[1105] Augustine, *cum fortunato et alipio?,* epla. 165, pa. 483.
[1106] Irenaeus, *uncertain source – possibly through Eusbius' ecclesiastical history*, li.3 ca. 3.
[1107] Optatus, *Contra parmenianum Donatistum*, li. 1.
[1108] Epiphanius, *Contra marcionem,* fo. 171.

in quantam | potiumus explorare antiquissimus est | et a Lino pontifice, Petri | Apostoli immediato successore habuit | origine. Ita enim scriptum legimus a | Maximo Episcopo in homilia de veste | sacerdoti. In lege gratiae antiquum | est illud Ephod id est pallium. Quod nostri Patriarchae arbitratur a Lino post | Petrum secundo Romano Pontiface institutum et | in singulare potestatis priuilegium nostris| Deo plenis praesulibus datum etc | De Ecclesia etiam habetur c. 1.[1109]

**[F.70$^{v}$]** Platina de lino pa. 10 Tempor | vitellii et vespsiani | in vita lini | hoc itaque Tempore linus fuit petri successor. | sunt qui hunc locum Clementi ~~assignant~~ asscribant, | et Linum et Cletum praetermittant, | quos non solum historia, verum etiam Hieronymi | auctoritas reprehendit: Quartus, iniquit, | post Petrum Rome Episcopus Clemens fuit: | siquidem Linus secundus, Cletus tertius sunt habiti | and so furth which must be omitted for brevitie[1110] // (et post) | A Saturinum consule | supplicio afficitur cum sedisset in pontificatu | annos 11 menses 3. dies 12.[1111] // Tell me who reigned in this space | in that se // Platina citat hec ex Egesippo li. 3 ca. 2 // vide Egesippum[1112] // Vide Abbatem urspergensem in vita Claudius[1113]

**[F.71$^{r}$]** [comment on Platina to Linus] these words may | be trew. and also that | they succeded peter // [comment on Peter going to Rome to be crucified] Turn over the | leaf in Platina | martyn and | you wilt say tonge | the liest

**[F.71$^{v}$]** [comment on 'sicut cum Petro fuerunt'] hec ex conciliis | generalibus ad | verbum to. 1o. 31.[1114] // note the latyne // [comment on Clement's words] et hoc etiam

[1109] Patrizi, ed. Marcello, *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum Sive Sacrarum Ceremoniarum* (1516), c. 1. Agostino Patrizi (d. 1495), was Bishop of Pienza and C. Marcello (d. 1527) was Archbishop of Corfu.
[1110] Bartolomea Platina, *Vitae Pontificum,* pa. 10.
[1111] Bartolomea Platina, *Vitae Pontificum,* pa. 10.
[1112] Bartolomea Platina, *Vitae Pontificum,* li.3 ca. 2.
[1113] Bartolomea Platina, *Vitae Pontificum,* vita Claudius.
[1114] Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:31. See Appendix A for John Ponet's ownership details.

**[F.72r]** [section heading - De Lino (concerning Linus)] Hiero De | Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis. 285 | Clemens, ~~quo~~ de quo apostolus | paulus ad philippensus scribens, | ait cum clemente et ceteris | cooperatoribus meis quorum nomina scripta | sunt in libro vitae, quartus post | Petrum, Rome episcopus. siquidem secundus | Linus fuit, et tertius Anacletus, | tametsi plerique Latinorum scholam post | Petrum Apostolorum putent fuisse Clementem | etc de Epistolis.[1115] // if peter gaue up his see ix yeres before his deth thene | account peters age by the acts. and ad gal. [galatians?] and St Hier | sayth sedebat annis 25. // [TREFOIL] Epiphanius contra | Carpocratitas | hec 27 fol. | 48 | In Roma fuerunt primi petrus et paulus Apostoli | etc. Attamen Episcoporum in Roma | successio hanc consequentiam habet: Petrus | et Paulus: Linus, Cletus, Clemens, | Euaristus, Alexander, Chistus, Telephorus, | etc. usque ad Anicetus[1116]

**[F.72v]** Ignatius in Epla ad Trallianos | epla. 2 Anacletus cui successit | beatudine dignus clemens Petri | et pauli auditor // mark martyns reason, he erred in these | therefor he said not treuth in the other.[1117] // If Eusebius err then is not all that he sayd | gospell. Eusebius did err and Eusebius | is as yor doctors therefore / one of yor doctors doth | err.

**[F.73r]** [comment on Eusebius] when you haue | broken Eusibeus hel | you wold lay unto | him a plaster

**[F.73v]** [comment regarding Peter's death before James, thus the undermining of Clement's letter] Irenaeus saith he | was 50 yers old | before he suffered // [comment on Macabees] Apocryphus quid | sit vide in prefatione | beati Attenani in | Tertullianum // Item 15 sancta | in glosa[1118] // [comment on rejection of apocryphal works: 'wil ye therefore reject them al'] ye all for the prof of | ecclesiasticall dogma agaynst | the playne scriptures

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[1115] Hieronymus Stridonensis (Jerome), *Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis (De viris illustribus),* 285.
[1116] Epiphanius, *Contra carpocratitas,* fo. 28.
[1117] Ignatius, *Epistola ad Trallianos,* epla. 2.
[1118] *Ordinary Gloss* in *Corpus Iuris Canonici,* D. 15. C.3.

**[F.74r]** T.C. [Thomas Cranmer's *Answer*, 167] | Fourthly the author of these epistles sayth that | he made the book called Itenerarium Clementis | which was but fayned in clements name as | it is declarid dist. 15 Sancta and then it foloweth | lykwise of the other epistles.[1119] et 16 Clements | vide Epipha. pa. 66[1120] // Apocryphus | Aug. contra faustus Manicheus li.º. 11.º. ca. 2 Aliud est ipsos libros | non accipere, et nullo eorum vinculo detineri, quod Pagani | de omnibus libris nostris, quod Judaei de novo testamento | faciunt, quod denique nos ipsi de vestris et aliorum haereticorum, | si quos suos et proprios habent, vel de iis qui | appellantur apocryphi: non quod habendi sint in aliqua | auctoritate secreta, sed quia nulla testificationis luce declarati, | de nescio quo secreto, nescio quorum praesumptione prolati | sunt[1121] // Aug. li.o 4. ca. 42. q. super numerous | De Talibus occasiones reperiunt, qui libros apocryphos | incautorum auribus et curiosorum conantur inserere, | ad persuadendas fabulosas impietates[1122] // Cyprianus in symbolus expositionem. 377. Que omnia legi | in ecclesiis quidem voluerunt non tamen proferri ad | auctoritatem ex hiis fidei confirmandam[1123]

**[F.74v]** fo. 6 Aug. Contra fastus | Manicheus li.o 22 | ca. 79 | Legunt scripturas apocryphas | Manichaei, a nescio quibus sutoribus | fabularum sub Apostolorum nomine scriptas: | quae suorum scriptorum temporibus | in auctoritatem sanctae Ecclesiae recipi mererentur, | si sancti et docti homines, qui tunc | in hac vita erant et examinare talia poterant, | eos vera locutos esse cognoscerent[1124] // [Jerome's letter to Galatia] Epistola Galeata Hieronimi | ante libros regum | de libris Apocriphis | ~~Legantur quie~~ // legantur quidem, sed ad | nullum ecclesiasticum | dogma confirmandum // Hieronymus ad | Laetam de institutionem filiae | Discat primo psalterium etc | elegantissia | caveat omni Apocrypha, et si | quando ea non ad dogmatum | veritatem, sed ad signorum reverentiam | legere voluerit sciat non eorum esse, | quorum titulis

[1119] *Corpus Iuris Canonici,* D. 15. 3.
[1120] Clement [of Alexandria?], *uncertain reference*; Epiphanius, *uncertain,* p. 66; Cranmer, *Answer,* 167.
[1121] Augustine, *Contra faustum manichaeum,* li. 11, ca. 2.
[1122] Augustine, *Quaestionum in heptateuchum*, li. 4, ca. 42.
[1123] Uncertain location in Cyprian. Cited in Rufinus Aquileiensis, *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum,* 377.
[1124] Augustine, *Contra faustum manichaeum,* li. 22, ca. 79.

praenotantur: multaque his | admixta vitiosa, & grandis esse prudentia | aurum in luto quarere etc[1125]

**[F.75$^{r}$]** Epistole Clementis mentionem faciunt de | te Jacobus esse gubernationem | omnem ecclesiarum Christi | ergo Clementis non sunt [*uncertain word*] // Isidorius in aetymologico li.o 6.to fo. 46 | Απόχρυφα autem dicta, id est, secreta, | quia in dubium veniunt. Est enim eorum | occulta origo, nec patet Patribus, ex quibus | usque ad nos auctoritas veracium scripturarum | certissima et notissima successione pervenit. | In iis apocryphis, etsi invenitur aliqua | veritas, tamen propter multa falsa nulla | est in eis canonica auctoritas, quae recte a | prudentibus judicantur non esse eorum credenda quibus | ascribuntur. Nam multa, et sub nominibus prophetarum, | et recentiora sub nominibus apostolorum | ab haereticis proferuntur, quae omnia sub nomine | apocryphorum auctoritate canonica diligenti | examinatione remota sunt.[1126]

**[F.75$^{v}$]** T.C. // Fifthly the author of these epistles takth apon him | to instruct S. James in the sacramente and | in all manner of fashion etc.[1127] // [SEMIBREVE] he wold not haue the reader understand that | the author of this booke should take apon | him to instruct James in the sacraments etc. | for therin he is not hable to answer and therfor | lyk a false childe he leaveth it out quiet

**[F.76$^{r}$ – F.77$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.77$^{v}$]** T.C // Sixtly, there be few things in those epistles, that | either be obserued at this day, or were at | any tyme obserued sythens Christes religion furst | beganne.[1128] // T.C // Seuenthly a great nomber of scriptures in those | Epistles be so far wrasted from the true sence

[1125] Hieronymus, Ad laetam de institutione filiae,
[1126] Isidorus, *Etymologiarum*, li. 6, ca. 2. fo. 46.
[1127] Cranmer, *Answer,* 167.
[1128] Cranmer, *Answer,* 167.

| thereof, that they haue an euell opinion of | Clement that thinke that he would doe such iniury | to Gods word.[1129]

**[F.78r]** vide Epipha | 66 | vide p. 35 | etc[1130] // [some faded text] // [comment on 'out of the whiche words, the late Archbishop'] I thynk not out | of these words but | out of these and other // uxorum cogitas // [comment on Martyn's counter to Cranmer's argument that Clement's letters refer to things not observed in the church. Particularly whether a single instance of salvation-historical change is enough to destroy the principle of authoritative unwritten verities] may traditions be changed. | a singular is enoghe to | destroy any injunction // [MANICULE pointing at 'The chief contentes, of saint Clementes epistles] note how he | seeketh matter | and forsaketh my lord | of canterbury. // [comment on Martyns assertion that Clement 'speaketh of the prerogative of S. Peter'] belyke ye are pontificius therefor [*uncertain word*]

**[F.78v]** [general comment] mendacia // a lye // [comment on Calixtus and Siritus 'the opinion of al the old writers' - Ponet or Cranmer have reported that they authored and affirmed priests marriages] all

**[F.79r]** T.C. // Eightly, those epistles spake of palles, and | Archdeacons, and other inferior orders, which is | not like that those things began so soone, but | as the histories tell were inuented many | yeres after Peters tyme.[1131] // [comment on f.78v about Cranmer's allegations] my Lord of Cantorbery (I think sayth | not so

**[F.79v – F.80r - Blank]**

**[F.80v]** Thesame reasons that martyn haue alledgeth | for the defense of Clement may be | brought for the defence Simon Magus | li.o de | heresibus | qui (Augustino teste) permisit

[1129] Cranmer, *Answer,* 167
[1130] Epiphanius, *certain text,* 66.
[1131] Cranmer, *Answer,* 167.

indifferentem | usum foeminarum: Ibidem etiam eadem | dicit de nicolao And also for the | Anabaptists / And also | Heresini Apostolicorum. Vide Aug De Heresibus[1132] // vide etiam Theodoretum de haeret fab pa 288. | de prodico. qui mulieres comes constituit | citat autem ad eam res Clementem Alexandrius | relineverunt conjugatos ministros Ber Lutz[1133] // This is muche lyke the opinion of the | sect of the Abelonians[1134] of whom St. | Austen sayth non miscebantur uxoribus, | non tamen sine uxoribus vivere sectae | ipsius dogmate non licebat.[1135]

**[F.81$^{r}$]** [comment on 'and their wives didde remaine with them, non in usu coniugii (saith he there) sed tantum ad usum ministerii'] haec legem martynus ipse | non librus admittet | est enim opinio wicklefi: | yet thei remayned in | on house

**[F.81$^{v}$]** [comment on Nicolaites and evangelicals as 'Lions and Apes'] but he is most mad | that defendeth suche | error. of whom you | be one.

**[F.82$^{r}$ – F.82$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.83r]** [comment on 'as thesame S. Clement saieth, per iniquitatem'] St. Austen saith iure | humano. Clement | saith per iniquitatem. | doth yor clement call | mans lawes iniquas // [comment on quote of Augustine concerning John] traditiones multas in | scripturis non habemus | ergo non sunt ius divinium // vide super fo. 8

**[F.83$^{v}$]** [comment on 'An heretique coulde enioie nothyng of the churche'] what | should | then you and ye pope | haue if you had | ~~right? A galloes~~

**[F.84$^{r}$ – F.85$^{r}$ - Blank]**

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1132 Augustine, *De haeresibus.* Uncertain source, and thus difficult to determine whether this is a direct quote or summary statement.
1133 Theodoret, *Haereticum fabularum compendium*, pa. 288. It is possible that Ponet sources these citations from Bernadus aus Luxemberg's *Catalogus haereticorum.*
1134 A North African group duting Augustine's time who insisted that a marriage couple must not have sex, but must adopt children.
1135 Augustine, *De haeresibus,* li. 1, q. 87.

**[F.85ᵛ]** vide Bernard Lutzebur | de heresi Nicolaitarum[1136]

**[F.86r]** [comment on 'So than may I say to the', where Martyn moves from the relationship between King and subject to King and possessions of the subject] say not therefor what | haue I to do with the | kynge or he with | me, for so may I | say to the agayn // [comment on St. Clement's council to the clergy that all should have possessions in common'... the subtext for discussion is the concept of a common wealth] if he so do, why doth | gardiner and all the | bushopes in England | the contrary? // a lye

**[F.86ᵛ]** [comment on Martyn's attempt to protect the wealth of the clergy over against the common wealth of both clergy and laity] an non laici possunt | dicere pars mea | Dominus? an non illis licebit aurum | possidere? etc. // vide quo modo ista sed [nantur?] | a papistis (papists) // [comment on 'for if κλερος in greeke a Clerke in Englishe'] this is clerkly | termed | [SEMIBREVE] Jo. a lasco // vide fo. 21 cleros[1137]

**[F.87r]** [Continued text from à Lasco] Revera sunt[1138] clerici omnes qui ullo modo pertinent ad papistici sacerdotii ordinem, | atque in eo sibi placent, quaqunque tandem illius professione et quibuscunque notis ipsius; sed longe | alia ratione, quam nescio quis Isydorus in decretis ipsorum legitur attulisse. Atque verum | sane est, clericos a voce Graeca κλερος vocari, sed no quatenus sortem peculiumve | aut haereditatem absolute significat. hac cuim ratione Paulus multis locis universam | Christi Ecclesiam clerum esse apertissime testatur, et passim id alioqui in Scripturis habentur | Sed quatenus naturam ac ingenium vermis cuiusdam referunt, qui a Graecus etiam κλερος | vocatur. Refert autem in historia animalium Aristoteles, nasci in apum alvearibus | insectum quoddam, araneo simile, quod no favis tantum sit noxium, sed in ipsum quoque apum | examen universum exitialem quandam contagionem inducat. Eum porro

[1136] Bernardus aus Luxemberg, *Catalogus haereticorum omnium* (section: *de heresi nicolaitarum*).
[1137] Jan à Lasco, *Brevis et Dilucida de sacramentis ecclesiae Christi*, fo. 21, continued on next fol.
[1138] Lasco has 'Revera autem sunt' in the original text.

vermem, ubi et mel | totum infecerit et apes maxima ex parte enecarit, alas demum assumere, et deinde | a nonnullus purausten vocari, quod lumen ignis nocte perpetuo circumvolitans | soleat infestare. Plinius vero κλερος morbum ipsum, veluti tuberculum | quoddam, ex cerae duricia in favis collectum, vocat, ex qua demum infectis alvearibus | vermum illum nasci plerique putarunt. Ad hoc igitur clero, sive morbo iuxta Plinium, | sive insecto iuxta Aristotelem, vere proculdubio clerici vocantur, quicunque | ad ordinem illum papistici sacerdotii quoquomodo pertinent, atque illius nomine sibi ita placent | ut inter laicos censeri nolint, quorum alioqui opus aliud non sit. quam terram colere, | uxores ducere et decimus solvere; hisce namque notic laicos a se discernunt. | Etenim ordo hic natus est in mediis ecclesiae penetralibus, ad quem modum | clerus ille nascitur in mediis apum alvearibus, adeoque in ipsis favis mellis, | hoc est, in partis aliorum ~~laboribus operibus~~ labore opibus ac fortunis. Deinde | favos omnes lue sua inficit, ipsam inquam doctrinam Euangelii salutarem, quam Propheta | favis mellis comparat atque etiam antiponit. Neque hoc tantum, sed in ipsum | etiam universum apum examen, in univerum inquam Christi Ecclesiam contagionem suae | superstitionis ac idololatriae invehere modis omnibus conatur. Praeterea in hoc ipso | clericorum ordine pyraustae ingenium referunt, qui alas sibi qualescunque artibus suis | collegerunt, ut, quemadmodum pyrausta noctu duntaxat volitat, posteaquam volare coepit, | et oblatum quodque lumen semper infectat, donec alis adustis concidat,

**[F.87v]** [Continued text from à Lasco] ita et clerici isti e mediis ignorantiae tenebris impetere non cessant | oblatum nobis in Christi Euangelio, velut in lucerna quadam, divinae cognitionis | lumen, neque prius cessabunt impetere quam igne ad extremum ilo | divini iudicii adusti tandem concidant, ut non amplius unquam omnino resurgant. | Huius generis igitur clerici sunt, ad quos <solos> Papa etc.

**[F.88$^{r}$]** [comment on section about having the lord as your part, and what the lord does not take part in] [TREFOIL] contra | Agaynst the possessions | of the clergy: | opinion | wickleffi:

[vide?] que wicklefus | defendebat se cum | ista epistola Hieronym. // [reply to Martn's position concerning the possessions of a priest from sacramental ministry 'haueing meate and clothing, with this I shall content my selfe, and folowe the naked crosse al naked.'] this peace proveth | all the bushopes of England | holy mene. for | ye see the poer mene thei haue | nothyng but meat drink | and cloth. oh // [comment on '[clergy] shoulde not gredily searche after particular profite'] a generall expression // [comment on St. Hilary as example] he had a wif | contra | this is agaynst that you | seyd before [TREFOIL]

**[F.88$^{v}$]** [comment on 'if ye call this heresie' ... martyn calls for sharing of possessions based on his interpretation of Acts 4:32] whether now martyn | wilt then be an | anabaptist? I pray the make | a difference between | nunc et tunc, or ells

**[F.89$^{r}$]** Epiphanius sayth that uxores erat [*uncertain word*] | apud valentinianus. Index 90. | et apud servimus. Index 100. | et apud gnosticos. Index 40.[1139] | the same reasons may martyn alledge | for ther defense

**[F.89$^{v}$ – F.90$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.91$^{r}$]** [comment on communal possessions] yes but Clement saith | per iniquitatem alius hoc | dicit sunt alius illus[1140] // [comment on Tuberies and communal possessions] by alledginge these places | out of Chiliades ye shew | yor owne iudgement to be[1141]

**[F.91$^{v}$]** [comment on the mechanism of sharing common goods] then is not the determination | of the clergy good wherby | they hold monasticall possessions.

**[F.92$^{r}$ – F.92$^{v}$ - Blank]**

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[1139] Epiphanius. Difficult to determine which text Ponet is referring to. The multiple references to 'Index' would likely refer to a catalogue of heresies by Epiphanius.
[1140] *Corpus iurus canonici*, C. 12 q.1 c.2. This is now understood as pseudo-Clement IV.
[1141] Ponet notices that Martyn is heavily dependant on the 'Chiliades' which is most likely, Erasmus' *Adiagorum Chiliades* rather than Tzetzes' *Book of Histories* (Chiliades).

**[F.93$^{r}$]** [comment on 'christen men shold use their proper goodes which god hath sent theim'] and yet St. Clement saith | per iniquitatem alius | hoc dicis funt alius illud // [comment on 'Damascus'] tyme enoghe | for the corruption // [Ponet places numbers adjacent to Martyn's comments] 1. [Damascus confirms Clement's letter to James] // 2. [Ruffinus confirms the letter] // 3. [Council of Valence confirms the letter]

**[F.93$^{v}$]** [comment on the council of Gangres] lyk to one of the the virgin | prests at paules crosse | who said it | is either in | the 8 to the | romans or the 8 to the Cor. | wherby appeared he knew neither of the | places // [comment on repentance for fornicating priests] if he had said with bred | and beere ye might haue | ben sure he had lyed // a wise | exposition

**[F.94$^{r}$]** [comment on Council of Valence from f.93$^{v}$] Epistola non dicit epistolis // [comment on Cranmer's understanding of Clement from f.93$^{v}$] none of these profes worth a butten

**[F.94$^{v}$ – F.95$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.95$^{v}$]** The furst epistle is wrytten to | James and not ad Corythions and | therfor semeth to be conterfayt // The Canons of the Apostles in approvynge of Clements | epistles improve themselves. // of these ~~second~~ epistles this wrytet St. | Hierome De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis | ~~fertur et secunda~~ Scripsit ex persona | Romanae Ecclesiae ad Ecclesiam Corinthiorum | valde utilem Epistolam, quae et in nonnullis | locis publice legitur, quae mihi videtur characteri | Epistolae, quae sub Pauli nomine ad Hebraeos | fertur, convenire. Sed et multis de | eadem Epistola sensibus, <non> solum sensibus, sed juxta | verborum quoque ordinem abutitur. Omnino | grandis in utraque similitudo est, | fertur et secunda ejus nomine Epistola, que a | veteribus reprobatur. Et Disputatio eius | Petri et apionis longo sermone conscripta, | quam Eusebius in tertio historiae Ecclesiasticae: reprehendit | hoc meminit Hieronymus | Itineraii[1142]

[1142] Hieronymus Stridonensis (Jerome), *Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis (De viris illustribus),* ca. 15.

**[F.96r]** [Authenticity of Clement's epistles] Thre of the epistles of | Clement be shronke in | the wetinge. // [comment on Clement's supposed injuction that marrieds who priest should cease sex] now how say you to | Nicene counsell and paphnutius?

**[F.96v]** [comment on Calixtus dating before Lucius Bishop of Rome] 222. | Bout 34 yer // [comment on use of Calixtus] qua authoritate?

**[F.97r]** [comment referring back to f.96v] Lucius was bushop of Rome but 8 moneths

**[F.97v]** vide Glosam ~~C.12~~ d.82 Proposuisti[1143] // ~~S~~ // [commentary on Jovinian's text] Jovinian held that the state of virginitie is no better | of it self then the state of mariadge. whiche | we subscribe to be fare doctrine and hold | with [*uncertain word* – eusibeose?] and Hierome. and the matter makes | no thinge agaynst us. // vide pet mar .1. Cor. 7 quo modo | discrepat a Jovinianus[1144]

**[F.98r]** [comment on Silvester] Sylvester vide de | Sylvestro // not the continnance [sic] of prests | mariadges in | desipit of anti | Christ // [comment on Siritus] Siritus // his opinione was | that virginitie and mariadge | wer equal gifts

**[F.98v – Chapter 6]** [comment on 'of al' the old fathers] Remember that all is | an universall note.

**[F.99r]** all the bawds that ever were in the stewes | hold playnly that it is good to haue | a stewe

**[F.99v – F.100r - Blank]**

**[F.100v]** Bas. Epistola 70. unum est crimen quod nunc vehementer | damnatur ac punitur, diliges observatio traditionum | Patrum. Ob hoc fugantur patriis iii, et ad | solitudines

[1143] *Corpus iuris canonici,* D. 82, c. 2.
[1144] Peter Martyr Vermigli *Commentary on 1 Corinthians.*

habitionem transferunt. Non canicies | apud iudices iniquitatis, venerabilis est: non exercitatio | pietatis non vita iuxta Euangelium a | iuventute usque; ad senecta peracta.[1145]

**[F.101r]** [Comment on 'antiquitus a patribus traditam derelinquit novitate pro vetustate utitur'] on authoritie agaynst | the papists // [Comment on the heretics in Basil's time who condemned the fathers] then popery began to | take roote and agaynst | ther new doctrines he spake // [comment on the glory of the cross being held in abomination] [SEMIBREVE] wher [*uncertain word*] | be set pope // [comment on old catholics much like our time - the young men then were heretics] the younge men then | made these traditions | whome you | follow now. // the younge men thene | be fathers now.

**[F.101v]** [comment on 'conceipt of my own brain'] but the papistes do | nothinge ells.

**[F.102r – Blank]**

**[F.102v]** [Title] Tables be called altars. vide in dicet Aust. // all things be brought out of thold testament saving | prests wyves, and not praying for the dead // This whole peace of optatus Toucheth you who | haue pulled downe mensam Domini the lords | table. whiche hath the name of an alter because | it succedid in the place of the alter, and | haue set up the old ~~fleshe~~ Jewishe fleshtables | and bluddy bucherly sacrificinge bloks. // Tell me wher about standeth mensa domini | in yor churches? yor alters be nothinge | lyke but a table. // [Martyn cites Optatus on the next leaf but Englishes it afterwards as Austen's text] vide Optatus is turnid into St. Austen // Aug Epla 95 | cum aliis multis | epistolis to. 2 | he calleth it mensam dominum | Inde melchisedech prolato sacramento | cene dominicae, novit aeternum enis sacerdotium | figurare[1146] // et Optatus li.º 5.º pa 6.o calleth it | mensam dominum | et Idem li.º 3.º pa 41

[1145] Basil of Caesarea, *Epistola 70*.
[1146] Augustine, *Epistola 95*.

confundit [*uncertain word*- nominare?] | et mensam. detruncat sunt | multi quorum corpora usque in hodienum diem | per dealbaras aras aut mensas poterunt | numerari[1147]

**[F.103r]** St. Austen wryteth books de baptismus contra donatistas | ells wryteth he not so many in number and in the text it is not // [comment on Optatus recording the same as the Donatists] Optatus fuit | li.º 6º in initio | Donatista // this text is [*faded text*]| all together [*faded text*] | sundry places | gratianus // [comment on 'Quid est enim altare nisi sedes corporis atque sanguinis Christi?'] ./. Sacramentis eius. | alioqui sedes corporii | Christi est in celo // [comment on Martyn's use of Augustine – related to the note about Optatus turning into Austen on f.102v] This I can not | fynd in St Austen // [comment on the mass] a lye | the word masse is | not in all optatus // [comment on 'and a sure defence of their faith'] the defence whiche is | by fayth // [comment on 'the altar is the seate of the body and bloude of Christ'] therefore either | not in heven | or ells in | 2 places at once

**[F.103v]** [comment on 'the accustomed seasons'] therefor not allway // [comment on 'the breakers of altars compared to the Jewes] tables // The altars that wer | hurled down wer | not the altars of | god but of the | Idoll of abhomination // [comment on Martyn's exegesis of 1 Tim 3, Titus] falsly turned.

**[F.104r]** The donatists brake downe the lords table | as the papists haue done. and ordered | the matter so that the people could not | make ther prayers together to allmighty | god. as the papists haue done for now | the people pray not, for eyther they | say nothinge or, or ells they can not tell | what, or ells to them they ought not | or all these together | [reference to previous page] adde that foloweth in optato // that is not in the mariadge of prests only | but in all other heresies that you papists be | drowned // impia mamu scalam subducere laborastis | et postea optatus clare ostendit altaria illa | de quibus loquitur fuisse mensas. quae postea [*uncertain word*]

[1147] Optatus, *De schimate Donatistarum,* li. 5, pa. 6; li. 3, pa. 41.

| donatiste tanquam impuras et cariatas facticiis | catholicorum. Enis verba. quis fidelius. | nescit in peragendis mysteriis ipsa ligna linteamine | cooperiri. Inter ipsa sacramenta velamen potuit tangi | non lignum. Aut si tactu possit penetrari velamena, ergo | penetrantur et ligna. Si penetrari possunt ligna, penetratur et | terra. Si a vobis lignum raditur, et terra qaue | subtur est fodiatur.[1148]

**[F.104$^{v}$]** Luc. 22. ~~veruntamen~~ ecce manus prodentis | me mecum est in mensa[1149] // 1 Cor. non potestis mensae Domini participes esse et mensae daemoniorum.[1150] // Levit 24a. panes propositiones ponebantur super mensam | mundam contra domino. et ibi comedebant | ab arone et filiis cius, et non | super altare ni quo immolabantur sacrificia[1151]

**[F.105$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.105$^{v}$]** veteres omnes suadent non imperant | coelibatium sacerdotibus

**[F.106$^{r}$]** [comment on 'a great nomber more of Greke authors I could bring forth'] you had need | for none of those | will prove // be lyk you suspect the | rest that you pray of those | so muche // ornat se ecclesia // [comment on 'secundas nuptias'] the nuptius regantur sacerdoti. | he calleth also the | weringe of beads the | doctrine of the apostles wherwith | you fynd fals. | contra massalianus fo. 512.[1152] // Epiphanius non imperant | vos imperanus caelibatum

**[F.106$^{v}$]** with Eusebius | (cleret) supra. fo. 38 | but he denieth not | one mariadge, neyther | nameth he mariadge | before presthod // [comment on 'howe Epiphanius termeth the matter. A laie man (saieth he)'] he hath not that | terme // [comments on Eusebius against the Cathari]

[1148] Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, li. 6.
[1149] Luke 22:21.
[1150] 1 Cor. 10:21.
[1151] Lev. 24:6.
[1152] Euthymius Zigabenus, *Expositio symboli – disputatio de fidecum philosopho Saraceno in urbe Melitine – contra Messalianus,* fo. 512.

bigamos rejicit // non suscipit ergo non licuit | suscipere est malum [*uncertain word*] // vide continuationem | coniugii sacerdotum // ergo non erat talis | necessitas quis immutari | poterat interveniente necessitate // [comment on Eusebius' latin blockquote on Cathari] [TREFOIL] This man readeth not therfor he can not rede. or ergo it is | not lawfull for him to rede. | martyn playeth not the fole now as he was wont | therefor he can not play as he was wont.

**[F.107$^{r}$]** [comment on quote from Gregory Nazianzen] [Nicea?] questio est invis non facti. utrusque tamen | probari potest. pater Gregorii Nazianzeni | etc // [comment referring to Eusebius on f.106$^{v}$] est ergo [regulus?] canon[us?] et non verbi Dei

**[F.107$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.108$^{r}$]** [comment on 'if he continue in the use of matrimonie & getting of children'] contra decretum | Niceni consilii | suadente paphnutius // [comment on 'the multitude of Christians there can not otherwyse bee had priestes to serue in the ministration.'] if ther | lif be worse | then whoredom | as in England you | make it, what manor | of prests should the | old fathers haue suffered | in those days // [comment on 'christen men ought to kepe no more company with their wiues'] marke what a | mischef [*uncertain word* – serasge?] of the | wiveles lif of prests

**[F.108$^{v}$]** [comment on 'unas in civitate Episcopus'] it were meet they | should but if thei | haue not the guift | they should not. // D. // [comment on 'quanto magis levitis aut'] | suadet non imperat | optamus idem nos | et nos cogitis.

**[F.109$^{r}$ – F.110$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.111$^{r}$]** [comment near the 'seven priests' and deacons for each church] why is not this observed // [comment on 'muste alwaies absteyn'] deberent // [comment on 'daiely prest in the churche'] why be not yor papists | so? // [comment on 'a playne profe for the sacrifice of the masse'] vide fol. 7 | here is no | word of | masse nor | mattyens // [comment on Martyn's admission

that some of the priests under the old law were 'permitted' to have marriage] concessum est | permittuntur | mala

**[F.111$^{v}$]** [comment on how Greek and Latin doctors show that priests had sole life] [*uncertain word/symbol?*] This is not provid // [comment on Augustine's use of 'continentiam'] Thoughe ther wer | no suche there whose | wiveles continency they | might alledge yet | may you not therfor | conclude agaynst all // [comment on Augustine's supposed claim that 'Thei lyue in perpetual chastitie'] non dicit // [comment on Augustine's block quote earlier] [TREFOIL] it be may that St Austen ment of ther matrimoniall | chastitie, how they kept themselves to | one. condempinge the judgement of suche as | wold haue many wives. ~~De a~~ as the title | declareth

**[F.112$^{r}$ – F.112$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.113$^{r}$]** St Austens reason is a minore ad maius. wherby it apereth | that mariadge is lesse falt in a prest than fornication | or adultery contrary to yor prouvings in England. // [TREFOIL] // [comment on Martyn's claim that David's men abstained from their wives] that can not be gathered | of the text // [comment on Martyn's claim that the OT priests only touched their wives once a year, and they abstained when sacrificing] [CROSSES] [MANICULE] // is not this now superstition | of the gentiles | [CROSSES] so ye see that if the holynes of ministers stand in suche | things then may the gentyles holynes be compared | with yors.

**[F.113$^{v}$ – F.115$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.115$^{v}$]** This place is in in the decrees D. 31 Ante | triennium: wher it appereth playnly that | gregory was the furst that bound subdeacons | from mariage by confirmation of pellagius decree | whiche he made iij years before. of whiche decree gregory | saith even in that place ~~by~~ which you byde // durum mihi atque incompetens videtur ut qui usum continentiae | non invenit neque castitatem promisit compellatur | a sua uxore separari.[1153] // and the glose apon

[1153] *Corpus iuris canonici*, d. 31 c.1.

that | place this expoundeth durum ~~fuit~~ statutum | pellagii fuit contra Euangelium in quo excipitur sola fornicatio.[1154] // and yet in that Pelagius | handells theme not as you handelled | them in England. for he licensed them either | to kepe ther benefices only or ther wifes | only, but you made havok of all lyk | [*uncertain word* – horn wood?]

**[F.116r]** [comment on Gregory's doctrine] This was wrytten | petro subdiacon | Sirilus and not Angliae | as in wanderinge the world ye | wold pretend. // non hoc | dicit | Paulus // thene is this a good reason | they maried mane is allway | in the necesserio of matrimony | therefore he can haue | no leasure to pray

**[F.116v]** [comment on Bede's quote] the aronicall prests wore | those femoralia,[1155] and | yet were married // papistenos contra et | legem dei et Beda | imperatis, cogitis // [comment on virtue] verum est if he haue | the guift. as foloweth | non omnes capiunt verbum | hoc.

**[F.117r – F.117v - Blank]**

**[F.118r]** [comment on 'that not so muche, as a maried manne maye bee a Prieste'] therefore Niceni counsell is not | to be regardid or ells | beed or you hold an | erroneus opinion // [*uncertain word*] | alia | [*uncertain word*] for | cyrillis // [comment on conclusion with Cyril] Conclude with this agaynst | him &

**[F.118v]** The Christian catholique preachers wold haue non other | words used in the churche but suche as may be expresed or | ells necessaryly deduced of the scriptures // The seet of the papiste heretiks bringe in the nouelties of voy[ces] | of pope cardinall | monk, fryer, | purgatory, | masse, dirge, | supererogation. // How many think you | haue ther been out | of Christendom that | god hath suffered to | lyve in blyndeness

[1154] *Corpus iuris canonici*, d. 31 c.1.
[1155] Eng: breeches.

**[F.119r]** [Latin quotes from Vincentius Lyrinensis] Vincentius Lyrinensis / D. 10 | Antiquitus sanctorum patrum consensio, non | in omnibus divinae legis quaestiunculis, | sed solum certe praecipue in fidei regula | magno nobis studio et investiganda | est et sequenda etc[1156] // vide ibidem c8. Antiquitus ecclesiam | catholicam.[1157]

**[F.119v – F.120v - Blank]**

**[F.121r – Chapter 7]** The law of god that sayth for thavoydinge | of fornication let every man tak his wif | etc was not made for the beginninge but | for the endinge // he bringeth in | the bauds reasons | for the standing | of the stewes // [counters martyr's argument to support his comment: 'Mani thingses wer permitted in the beginninge for necessite which afterward were chaunged.' Martyn claims that interfamilial marriage was permitted and then changed, to support his view that married priests were permitted then rescinded.] you make a longe | beginninge that call | from the begyninge of | the world untill Cambises | and Cyrus but a begynninge. | whose doings you | can not defend ~~be case~~ | because god in the leviticall | law took order | longe before ther tyme | that no man might | mary his sister, which | thinge he wold not | haue done in ther dayes | if ther had been any | suche necessitite as | you fayn ther was. // how prove you this by | ἀυτὸς ἐφα

**[F.121v]** [comment on Polycrates] Polycrates | Notetur tempus | [euis or cuis?] quando | vixit // Pater basilii | etc qui genuerunt | in [epatus?] tempore // J.C. // [comment on condemnation of heretics] ~~if~~ all were not | condempted for | heretiques // Ex

**[F.122r]** The bushop of Londone D. Ridley made answer as I | harde say to Dr Moremane beinge sent to him as | a fox to teele him that althoughe he could | not ~~prove that the~~ <shew

[1156] Vinentius Lirinensis, *Duo commonitoria*, d.10 (prop. 28).
[1157] Vinentius Lirinensis, *Duo commonitoria*, c.8.

one> mayor of londone that | maried after he was mayor, should it | therefor folow that it was not lawfull for | the mayor of londone to marry: or any | queene of England etc?

**[F.122$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.123$^{r}$]** all is condempned that | maketh agaynst him // Contra | here be | wise persons // [comment where Martyn makes married priest mututally excluded from the ruling of Latin church] Then Nicene Counsell proved not the Latyn churche

**[F.123$^{v}$]** [comment on Latin quote] ask my fellow | whether I | be a thef // See how he bringeth in the pope to prove the popes | doings good

**[F.124$^{r}$ – F.125$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.126$^{r}$]** [comment on the year of one's conversion a year of abstinence] before a yere after his | conversion from hethennes to | Christs religion

**[F.126$^{v}$]** [comment on council of Cathage (419)] what puttinge in and | puttinge out of canons ther | was of the papeste that | made with or agaynst ther | purpose it may appeare | in this counsell whiche | they alledged | for the supremecy if the bushop | of rome which never | was ther granted | vide [*uncertain word* – proved?] librum emperorum in Anglia

**[F.127$^{r}$]** De Virginibus preceptum Domini non habeo

**[F.127$^{v}$ – Blank]**

**[F.128$^{r}$]** [MANICULE] contra // [comment on 'not that matrimonie is of the churche abhored'] The churche aloweth the | matrimony of preests | sayth martyn. // St Austen | agayne | [de] bono | [vid]uitatis[1158] // Matrimonialis // A law wrasted out | of [*uncertain word* – time?] // therefore they had ther wyves | in ther houses

[1158] Augustine, De bono viduitatis, *uncertain location.*

**[F.128ᵛ]** if you wold haue any | man to beleue you in this | poynt, you were best to | cause if you can all that | you haue hetherto wrytten | be burned, or ells yor | own booke will disclose | you to all men that you | be shamefull lyer // That is spoken more | lyk a canonist then | a civilion, and it may be that experience | hath taught you | summwhat

**[F.129ʳ]** no sed onles Christ haue two churches | no sed we must be Romishe by yor advise // Extra li.3 De Clericis Coniugatis Tit 3. Cum olim | Graeci possunt contrahere in minoribus ordinibus | et in superioribus, uti matrimonio contracto. Orientalis | ecclesia votum continentiae non admisit.[1159] quo modo probant Anglicam ecclesiam admisisse // Extravagent. Innocentius 22. De Voto et Voti Redemptio | Antiquae concertationis | votum per susceptionem sacri ordinis solemnizatum | Licet impediat matrimonium sequens, non tamen | praecedens, sed cogitur per consuras ecclesiasticas matrimonium | consumare si uxor non vult[1160]

**[F.129ᵛ]** Clementes Alex H. Stromatorum 3.º pa 98 | qui autem ex Indis vocantur ~~se~~ σεμνοί hoc | est honesti ac renevandi, nudi totum vitum transigunt // Neque vero gymnosophistae, ~~neq~~ nec | qui dicuntur σεμνοί, venerandi utuntur | mulieribas, hoc enim preter naturam, et iniquum | esse existimant. qua de causa seipsos castos | conservant. Virgines autem sunt etiam mulieres | qua dicuntur σεμνοί, .\. venerandae.[1161] // et li.º 3.º graece 178. quibus lat. qui etiam ii qui colunt idola a | cibis et venere abstinent. Non est autem inquit regnum Dei cibus | est potus. Certe, Magis incantatoribus quoque cura est | qui Angelos colunt et daemones, simul a vino et | animatis, et rebus abstinere venereis. Quemadmodum | autem humilitas est mansuetudo, non autem afflictio | corporis: ita etiam continentia est animae virtus, quae | non est in manifesto sed in occulto.[1162] est et statisequitur [TREFOIL] // vide etiam infra 125. De Democrito et

[1159] *Corpus iuris canonici, Extravagentes Joannis XXII, Ordinary Gloss* to X.3.3.6 v.*cum olim.*
[1160] *Corpus iuris canonici, Extravagentes Joannis XXII, De Voto et Redemptione,* c. 1
[1161] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, p. 98.
[1162] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, p. 178.

Epicura | e Clemente alex: in cart. precedent[1163] // Clementes Alexandrinus Stromat. 3.º pa 96. Contra Manicheos | Marcionistas, Tatianos, prodicum et reliques | qui eodem usi sunt argumento | solutio | Aiunt autem Athletas non pantos abstinere a venere propter | exercitationem corporis continentes. quemadmodum Crotoniatem Astylum, | et Crisonem suerennt? Quinetiam Amoebeus Cytharoedus, | cum recenter uxorem duxisset, a sponsa abstinuit, et [continued on next fol.]

**[F.130r]** [continued from previous fol.] Cyrenaeus Aristoteles amantem Laidem solus despexit | et Paulo post. quare nec castitas est bonum et ex | virtute, nisi fiat propter dilectionem in Deum.[1164] // quo martinus utitur de pellagio. sed que martynus | infert nomine pellagii illi tractant nomine Christi. | dicunt autem (in Clementes) Gloriosi iaetatores se imitari | Dominus, qui neque uxorem dixit neque in mundo aliquid | possedit, se magis quac alii Euangelium intellexisse gloriantes. | R.º Eis autem dicit scriptura, Deus superbis resistit | humilibus autem dat gratia. ~~Deinde nesciunt causam cur Dominas | uxorem. Primum.~~ (et Paulo post) Neque | erat ei necesse procreare filios qui manet in aeternum | (Alia solutio) dicunt autem etc[1165] // Jam de iis qui matrimonium abhorrent dicit Beatus | paulus, In novissimis diebus deficient quidam ad fide attendentes | spiritibus impostoribus etc Et rursus nemo vos seducat | voluntaria in humilitatis et religionem et parcimonia corporis | Et rursus. Unusquisque autem suam uxorem habeat, ne tentur | vos Sathanus. Quid veto non etiam iusti veteres creaturam | cum gratiarum actione participabant? Alique autem etiam liberos susceperunt, cum continenter versati essent in matrimonio.[1166] | et citat Heliam, Samuelem, Petrum, Philippum, Paulum, et reliques apostles.

1163 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, p. 125.
1164 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, p. 96.
1165 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, ca. 6.
1166 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, ca. 6.

**[F.130ᵛ]** [comments related to Maryn's use of Epiphanius on f.131r] Extra in | decretalibus | Gregorii | li.º 3.º De | Clericis | coniugatis | ca. rum | olim Acherontino | Archiepiscopis | Innocentius 3ᵘˢ [= tertius] | Cum olim ad nostram audientiam pervenisset | canonici Anglonenses cantorem | Tricaricensem , sibi elegerant in pastorem tibi | Licet tibi de forma electionis canonicae | ac idoneitate personae in aliis constitisset, | movit te tamen, quod cum pater eius | Graecus fuerit, et juxta ritum Graecorum | uxorem duxerit in minoribus ordinibus | constitutus, cantorem ipsum ex uxore legitima | in sacerdotio suscepisset. Nos igitur, attendentes | quod Orientalis Ecclesia votum continentiae | non admisit, quin Orientales in minoribus | ordinibus contrahant et in superioribus | utantur matrimonio jam contracto; mandamus, | quatenus, nisi pro eo quod inter latinos Graeci | hujusmodi conversantur religionis [ME: Ponet mistakes 'regionis' for 'religionis'] consuetudo | repugnet, si aliud canonicum non obsistit, ad | confirmationem et consecrationem ejusdem | sine dubitatione procedas.[1167] // Why reasoneth martyn this without reason, we doe | not deny (whiche thynge I wold all papists | should know) that ther be many ath these dayes | whiche can geld themselves for the kinge doom of | god: ~~but we deny~~ that is to say all suche unto whom | that gift is geuen: but wheras you say all haue | the guift because Christ denied it we utterly denie.

**[F.131ʳ]** [comment on Martyn's use of Epiphanius] [CROSSES] tow lyes // verte rectº [TREFOIL] | fo. 1 // this is to no purpus | that his example | hauinge the guift | should bynd men | who haue not the | guift. ye or Abraham // the abstinence of geldar could | not bynd peter

**[F.131ᵛ]** this is noted of | eusebius for a wonder | vide historiam.[1168] // [comment on Martyn's description of austerity of life ceasing in Greece and licensiousness increasing - i.e., married priests] he yeldeth that | the more part of | Grecia usid prests | mariadge // No[n?]

[1167] *Corpus iuris canonici,* X. 3.3.6. Ponet mistakes 'regionis' for 'religionis' – a rare mistake.
[1168] Eusebius, (probably) *Tripartite History.*

Eusebius[1169] // [comment on Dionysius Bp of Corinth writing to Pintyus Bp of Crete criticising his severity in restraining priests from marriage] here appereth how | Denise byshop of Corynth | usid the | prestes of Corynth. | Belike he | continued ther the | institution and order | left by paule. which | order also beinge | continued in Creta pinitus went about to chaunge | Eusebius prayseth him for wise orderinge of his subjects | but he ordered them otherwise than pinitus | or ells wold he not haue wrytten as he did to him // Therefor Eusebius is agaynst you | This place maketh full | agaynst Martin

**[F.132r]** Non sunt facienda mala ut veniant bona // Nicophorus. Dionysii quidem sententia | meliori concilii amplectitur // [comments on Dionysius] Eusebius li. 4 c. 22 | Eusebius commendeth wonderfully dyonisium episcopum corinthiorum ob | divinam suam industriam quam suis subditis, sed quam etiam | exteris communicant. and after shewing what number of epistles | he did wryte to sundry bushops and prests and amongst all | one to ~~pynitus bushop of Creta~~ epistole ad Gnosios in qua | Pinitum paroeciae illius episcopum horatur, ne grave servandae castitatis onus | necessario fratribus imponat, sed multorum sese imbecillitati attemperet | ad quam epistolam Pynitas respondens, suscipit quidem ac laudat | Dyonisium; verum vicissim hortatur, ut iam solidiore cibo | traditio populum sibi concreditum perfectioribus literis pascat ne | perpetuo lacteis sermonibus immorantes, in puerili institutione | negligenter consenescant.[1170] // he folowed Paule // [comment referring back to Martyn's discussion of Pintyus and Dionysius on f.131v] immediately | martyn leaveth nothing other mens judgement wher as | matter is of both syds. // And Platina sayth in vita soteris | 1. thus of him. Instructus enim pauli | apostoli doctrina, facillime potuit sanctitate et eruditione | alios in officio continent.[1171]

[1169] Eusebius, (probably) *Tripartite History.*
[1170] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* li. 4, ca. 22.
[1171] Bartolomeo Platina, *Vitae pontificum*, specific reference uncertain.

**[F.132$^{v}$]** either yor Catholique churche is not una. But sectam | duas partes or ells, the greek churche beinge a | member of you Catholique churche useth and hath allwayis | continewed the mariadge of prests, that is to say that | thinge whiche you condemped

**[F.133$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's reference to Canons preventing married priests] belyk the prests | of the west churche | haue no privat | masses // but disagreinge | with what Dionisius // [comment on Martyn's block quote of Latin from the Canons] this proveth that | it is no gods word | matter, but a | canon matter.

**[F.133$^{v}$]** [comment on Martyn's use of Epiphanius] the discipline of the | churche is not | named // vide // [comment on Council of Constantinople] The asse will | appere thoughe she | by cappid in a lions | skyn.[1172] // sorex suo se prodit | indicio // [comment on the council of Constantinople which apparently was very gentle with married priests and allowed them to use their wives occasionally] if you had | done none otherwise | in England men | wold not haue callid | you oppressors and | theves for spoylinge | men of ther lands | and goods that wer | married.

**[F.134$^{r}$]** That the increase of the number of Christians | wer a <necessary> cause that ~~maried~~ prests ~~must~~ <should> be | maried, then must it folow that the | nomber of Christians being now more increasid, it | must now be more necessary. // [comment relating to what the evangelicals are reported to be saying on f.133$^{v}$] wher is this // [comment relating to the time of the Constinapolitan canons licensed in Greece on f.133$^{v}$] he confesseth that the sixt counsell authorised | prests to kepe ther wyves before maried. // vide post 61. proxio fo. 51. contra // [comment on Cathaginian counsel as provincial on f.133$^{v}$] yea but these words alledged D.31 | Quniam be ~~not~~ <otherwise> in the greeke | vide Canones 8g | apostolorum grece [1173]

[1172] Ponet appropriates Aesop's fable about the Ass and the Lion's Skin.
[1173] *Corpus iuris canonici*, D. 31 C. 13.

**[F.134$^{v}$ – F.135$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.135$^{v}$]** [reference Vide Glo. 84 cum in preterito] vide glo. 84 cum in preterito. Apostoli non institerunt | de non utendum iam contracto qui si apostoli hoc | instituissent, orientales hoc admisessent [*uncertain word* - admisessent][1174] // d.56 Cenomanesem. that was lawfull for prests | to continew in ther matrimony before contracteth | as at this day they do amonge the grecians and | ther childern be lawfull[1175]

**[F.136$^{r}$]** all laws // [comment on 'that our priests of the west church have no such daies of vacation, but their vocation to bee continuall and perpetuall'] see how he divideth the | churche. // [comment on 'by all lawes in al countries'] then is gods | law none // contra prev[io?] pag. // [quoniam?] de convenit | cum exponet tum qui super eodem // Prests | Never | maried | by law // Conseutudo eccleisa latinae | non facit ut sit catholicum | quod adfertur. quoque | ne hic quidem sunt contra | dictione. // A bushop may not lye with | his lawfull wife.

**[F.136$^{v}$ – Chapter 8 - Blank]**

**[F.137$^{r}$]** yea and so be all Christen men. Levit 19.20 | sanctificarium et mundi estote quia ego [sectus?] sum | Luc 12. sint Lumbi vestri praecinti: 1 Tim 5. | Temetipsum purum servat. Apol. Baal 35. // [comment on 'Tradition of the Apostles' from f.136v] The tradition of St. Paul is that it is | better for them to marry then to burn.

**[F.137$^{v}$]** [note referring to next page] vide infra 76. et 115 | Cyprianus 1 epistolarii 11.[1176]

**[F.138$^{r}$]** [comment on 'what a vow is'] fo. 21 Baal. Apolo. // 1 voti // [comment on definition of a vow] no mention of possibilitie | infra 115 // [comment on the Martyn's claim of goodness of vows] If I promes to geue that | which is not in myne hand to | give whether do I preiudicat

[1174] *Corpus iuris canonici*, *Ordinary Gloss* in D. 84 C.3. v. *apostolic.*
[1175] *Corpus iuris canonici*, d. 56, c. 13.
[1176] Cyprian, *Epistolarii,* 11.

| another mans titell or | not // [comment on vows being 'counsayled' by St Paul, and rewarded of Christ] a lye paule | knew no | vowinge of | sole lyf // vide Cajtani ecc. | parte 3ª.[1177]

**[F.138ᵛ]** [comment on 'ordo sacer, vestis, professio religionis, quae sit facia palam, faciunt solemnia vota.'] oh these verses thoughe ~~be so~~ they be | not scripture yet they <be> suche tradition | recorded in octo [*uncertain word* – aulicum?] that thei must | not be denied // for lak of other weapons see if | he take not a dishe clout // [comment in top right corner] Because this argument | is invincible it is | not left for men to | medell with it. // Crownes and typetts make | papists in England for other | learning have they none. // [comment on garments in religion used for a long time] then rilla facit monachum // votus annexus | hoc is [*uncertain word*] // [comment on the auncient and learned writers] whiche be they // [comment on 'Christs vicar'] hath christ no vicars | then the pope, fye | heretique // [comment on Apostles Canon and vows] [TREFOIL] vow is not ther named

**[F.139ʳ]** [comment on the rhyming couplet] hark to martyns divinitie // of fyne meeter. The meter is so good the matter can not be evell [*uncertain word* – schaci?] // [comment on auncient and learned writers on f.138ᵛ] ye charge my lord of canterbury for alledgynge | an author without a name. now Item | to you martyn // [comment on the Apostles Canon on f.138v] yet <distinction of> vowt simplex and solemne shallbe still new | untill suche tyme as you can shew ther | words // Ther wer no suche orders of readers and singinge men in | the apostles tyme. wherfor yor reason is but a dreame

**[F.139ᵛ – F.140ʳ - Blank]**

**[F.140ᵛ]** mandatum | Qui non continent contrahat matrimonium | exhortatio | melius est nubere quo uri // by yor similitude that bushop that feedeth not his flok braketh | his vow: therfor he must be deprived ipso facto by yor reason | then must it folow that as the prests of

[1177] (Possibly) Tommasa de Vio Cajetan, *De Comparatione Auctoritatis Pape et Concilii seu Ecclesie Universalis.*

England ought | to lose ther lyvinge for breking of ther vow so ought all the | bushops and prests of England for breaking ther | vow on the other side. Se whether yor sophistri hath broughte | you // if the vow were anexeid to the order, as the | renowncinge of the devell and all his works is to | Christendom, or feeding of the flok to the bushoprik | ye had said somwhat. but that is not yet proved | accordinge to yor promesse and boyes that learn logique | ar wonte to be ~~brecched~~ whypped in the universities | if they make a <proposition the> grownd of a treuth before it | be provid. for all the arguments that be conditionary | buldid upon that grownd be petitiones principly | but this is divinite handellid when it cometh into | lawyers handlynge that hath not learned ther logique.

**[F.141r]** [comment on 'seipsum castum custodire'] [TREFOIL] by these words paule wound him not | mariadge // [TREFOIL] // [comment on the above words] the bushop of norwiche said it | was caelibem at paules crosse[1178] // you haue taken in | hand to bringe yor | distinction | of votum simplex | and solemn from | the apostles etc. // [comment on 'charity is annexed unto the ordre of priesthode'] [TREFOIL] supra | ye kepe | not yor promes [CIRCLE AND CROSS] // [CROSS] // [TREFOIL] from the beginninge it was persuadid and not commanded, | and now you make a matter of necessitie of it.

**[F.141v]** [comment on conditions of vows] Civile law in | stede of divinite // fo. 37 b // [TREFOIL] if tavernas non intrare be anexid ordini with | non oportet by theauthoritie of ther counsell | thene do all prests that haue tavernas in England | brook ther order. Symell and carkas[1179] | of winchester. but you will sey of the | sole lyf ther was a necessitie which ye can not prove | but here is the playn word non oportet.

**[F.142r – F.142v - Blank]**

[1178] This presumably refers to Bishop Thomas Thirlby for whom there is otherwise no record of his preaching at Paul's Cross. See Millar MacLure, *Register of sermons preached at Paul's Cross: 1534-1642* (Ottawa, 1989).
[1179] What 'Symell and carkas' refers to is uncertain – possibly a tavern or taverns in Winchester? As Bishop of Winchester Ponet appointed one Edmund Carkas as Rector of Eldon parish during 1551.

**[F.143r]** [comments related to the previous argument on f.141v] therefore a vow is not so necessary | a thinge annexed to the | order, but that a | man may haue the | one without the other // [Ancyra Council where Bp speaks to Deacons - Latin block quote] These words be not | in all pontificalls | and yet they bynde not | for ther is not one | worde here either of | mariadge or of sole | lyf // [comment on 'castitatem illo adiuuante' - 'that chastity assistance'] castitas coniugalis etiam castitas est

**[F.143v]** [comment on St Gregory's days] now you be in | yor rush

**[F.144r – F.145r - Blank]**

**[F.145v]** L.C. Sylva mea. et Antonius de guara lio 1o f. 183 | pulcherima.[1180] // De Canonis Sacerdotum | L.C.[1181] // C.12 q.1 | Duo sunt | genera Christianorum | Ex Hiero. ad | quendam sunt Levitam| de duobus generibus | hominum | Clerici namquam sunt reges, .\. se et alios | virtutibus regentes, et ita in deo | reginum habent, ~~ad institutione Romanae | ecclesiae~~ et hoc designant corona | in capite, hanc coronam habent | ab institutione romanam ecclesiae, in | signo regni, quod in Christo expectatur. | Rasio uero capitis est temporalium omnium depositio. | Illi enim uictu et uestitu contenti nullam inter | se proprietatem habentes, debent habere omnia | communia.[1182] // 23. prohibere | ex Aniceo papa | desuper caput in modum sphere | radant[1183]

**[F.146r]** [comment on Jerome's supposed insistence on priestly vows] ye should note the place [CROWNS] // [comment on Arians and Spanish Heretics refusing priestly clothing] vide calvinum in institu | de ordine eccelisa. p. 468[1184] // [comment on Ambrose against priestly

[1180] Antonio de Guevara, *Libro Primo Delle Lettere Dell'll S. Don. Antonio Di Guevara* … (1547), 183, in Ponet's 'Sylva Mea'.
[1181] 'De Canonis Sacerdotum' in Ponet's 'Sylva Mea'.
[1182] *Corpus iuris canonici,* C. 7, q. 1, c. 7.
[1183] *Corpus iuris canonici*, D.23, c. 21.
[1184] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* p. 468.

marriadge] see what a | book of St. Ambrose | he fyndethe out | to prove his purpose | and all. // Leo

**[F.146$^{v}$]** [comment on the Council of Ancyra] Idem consilium | permittit protestari | et postea nubere

**[F.147$^{r}$]** [refernce to Siracusame which demonstrates the findings of the Ancyran Council] D. 28 De | Siracusame. | tempore Ancyrane Synodi nondum | erat introducta continentia ministorum | altaris vide infra 59.[1185]

**[F.147$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.148$^{r}$]** [comment on a biblical example] This is a rare | thinge that he | citeth something | out of the bible // A singulare ad | universale hoc ipse | sciperus reprehendit // [comment on 'bring lowe her body with fastinge'] in the old testament was nothing | promessid but suche as was | in ther hands to performe // whereas you should prove that | the vow is employed thoughe theyr | vower hold his pece: here you | for gett yorself here you wold prove | the vow good if the man hold | his pece and nought if he | say nay to it. // [comment on 'a vow must take awawy no mans title, right, or interest] if a vow made by man can | not take away mans interest | muche lesse a vow | made by man shall take | away gods interest [MANICULE]

**[F.148$^{v}$]** [comment on 'our late preachers' who insisted that he who vows must vow in words, not in thought] nay he should // [comment on 'as good as his taciturnititie as his speache, saieth the Scripture'] ye lye // [comment on 'it is damnable to break it' - a vow] a lye

**[F.149$^{r}$]** The vow once broken can not be made holy agayne. yet ye | papists force prests to breake ther mariadges which is a | sacrament instituted by god for sealing up of the vow | made by man. which in no wise can be sealed. muche lyke | an yrishe surgeon that dwelled in

[1185] *Corpus iuris canonici,* D. 28, c.13.

Cantorbery when I | was a boy whiche toke apon him to hele the sore eye of | a monk in Cantorbery, and the left eye being sore he | said he must furst put his medicine in the right | eye, and after ward he wold aide the left. so | at the last he made the monk to see aswell with the | one as with the other. for in pretendinge to heale the one <eye> | he did put out both.

**[F.149$^{v}$ - F.150r - Blank]**

**[F.150$^{v}$]** remember to objecte this place to martyn wher | he sayth that these virgins had only made | simplex votum. infra 74. // [comment on Cyprian's Latin quote on f.151$^{r}$] if they wer no vowesses wherfor | should god be angry with them | for lyeng with ther husbands | if they were vowesses you be | overthrown for Cyprian counsels | them to mary.

**[F.151$^{r}$]** [comment on 'voluntatem ad nuptias'] this pece of | St Austen is | agaynst you. // not for mariedge. for he sayth | nuptiae enim vel talium sunt bonae[1186] | [more comment on Cyprian's latin quote] infra 74 | this ~~may~~ is to | be understandid | out of matrimony | as the place it self | maketh playn mention | and thesame epistle sheweth it | is lawfull for them to | mary. // [quote at bottom] talis seruo | non est sed exercitationis | ad pietatem | ser. 4. | fo. 447 in | exercitamentis[1187]

**[F.151$^{v}$]** [comment on 'vow or promise'] vow | prommese

**[F.152$^{r}$]** statim sequitur in Basilio | eodem sermone 4. exercitationes | ad pietatem fo. 447 // Dico autem hoc non | solus ad unam vitii | speciem respiciens, velut | quidam putant, qui in | sola corporis custodia virtutem | virginitatis conservant: sed ad id ut secundum | omnem vitiosi affectus modem, nullo mundano | vitio iniquinent is qui seipsum deo custodire | studet. Ira et invidia, et memoria illati | mali, mendacium et arrogantia, mentis supinitas | et intempestiua garrulitas, pigritia ad orandum, | et cupiditas eorum quae non sunt, negligentia

[1186] Augustine, *De bono viduitatis*.
[1187] Basil of Caesarea, *Exercitationis ad pietatem*, sermon 4 ,fo. 447.

mandatorum, | et ornatus vestium, faciei ornamenta, et congressus ac colloquia extra decorum et | necessitatem fientia: Haec omnia tanta digna sunt | observatione ei qui seipsum per virginatem deo consecravit, et parum [continued in next fol.]

**[F.152$^{v}$]** [continued from previous fol.] absit aequale periculum esse, ad unum aliquod ex his deferri, et in prohibitio peccato verfari etc. [1188]

**[F.153$^{r}$]** [comment on Jerome to Susanna] this is for brekinge | the vow | but not for maryenge | agayn.

**[F.153$^{v}$]** [comment on Martyn's description of evangelicals: 'these lecherous and filthy beastes condemned of all the world'] ve | Antichrist. f.// [coment on Italians mortifying the flesh rather than indulge in marriage] mariadge usid as it | ought is not delectation | and wantonnese // [TREFOIL] | all // [comment on Martyn's point that 'never was there called into marriage any of their apostleships'] never was ther any papist that can shew us any story | or good wryter or in these mens own works, that thei | did minister the sacrament under one kynd taking | a way that part that representeth christs blud from | common peple. shall we therfor conclude agaynst you that it | ought not to be ministered in one kynd. nay fye on the [*uncertain word*] | whorsom heretiques thei shall not chek as is with ther own argument.

**[F.154$^{r}$]** [TREFOIL] This rayler ceaseth not to abuse yor ears with unchast words | spekinge of the godly maried prests as thoughe he wer | a lechor and a fylthy beast. and so termeth the matter | as thoughe it wer impossible for a married minister | to mortify the fleshe and to lyve out of delectation and | wantones. But in this as in all other things he sheweth | his learning not to understand what is ment by mortification, | neither how a maried man may lyve without | lechory and ungodly wantones. Clement Alexandria and | Ignatius and Eusebius say that the apostles and prophets | had wives non voluptatis causa etc [and not a source of pleasure?] ~~And~~

[1188] Basil of Caesarea, *Exercitationis ad pietatem*, sermon 4, fo. 447.

| ~~further~~ if paule had not ~~thought known~~ <judged by his learninge> that | the maried man may mortify his fleshe why should | he hath wrytenne to the <congregation of the> coloss the 3 chapt. Mortificate | membra, erat terrestria: stupuum, immunditiam, molliciem, concupiscentiam | malam, et avaritiam, quae est simulacrorum cultus, ob quae venire | selet ira bei im filios intractabiles, miler quos ambulastis quodam cum | viveretis in hic ~~deponita~~. Nunc autem deponite et vos omnia: | iram, indignationem, etc.[1189] mortify (sayth paule ~~yor earthly~~ | to the maried aswell as the unmaried) yor earthly members | but martyn iudgeth that mortification of the fleshe | and mariadge can not stand together, wherby paules doctrine | in this place should be vayn and folishe. it may be that | martyn is so voyd of shame that he wold say that this pece of | paules is spoken to the unmaried. but he can not [continued on next fol.]

**[F.154$^{v}$]** [continued from preivous fol.] escape so, for in the end of the same chapter st | paule declareth playnly that he did ~~exhort~~ <wryt> this | ~~no~~ to the maried. ~~for~~ gevinge ther precepts | furst to the wif how she should behaue her self | towards her husband, and the husband towards his | wif and so furth of other sort of peple every one in his | vocatione, evenso declaringe by exhortation in the | end whome he ment in the beginninge when he | bad them mortyfy ther earthly members. Thesame | meaneth paule Rom. 8 citing the place of | ~~Esai~~ ps. 43 wher both ~~the prophet~~ dauid and paule | use this terme θανατωμεθα propter de | <morti [*uncertain word*]> mortificantur tota die:[1190] And here I wold | ask of martyn and all the papisticall heretiques of | England and the world over whether a maried | man hauinge the use of his wif in godly matrimony | may be governid by gods sperit or not? yf they say | no? then condempneth he Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Esai | and all the prophets. and all the holy martyrs and | godly men synce Christs tyme, whiche the very ~~cha~~ | churche of Antichrist of Rome can not impeache | for wicked. if the saye that a maried man | haueinge the use of godly matrimony

[1189] Col. 3:5; 3:8.
[1190] Rom. 8:13; Ps. 44[43]:20.

may be at thesame | tyme governed with gods spyrit, then must it | folow that the same maried man may be [continued on next fol.]

**[F.155r]** [continued from previous fol.] the child of god. quicumque spiritu dei ducuntur hii | sunt filii dei whosoever be led by gods spirit be the | children of god. if he be the child of god then | is the maried man clean in the sight of god. | if the lif of the maried man be clean in the | sight of god then be martyns termes not | to be sufferid ~~in most~~ amongest Christian eares | callidnge ~~them unto whome he hath more other~~ | ~~quarall but mariadge~~ the maried prests | for the only quarell ~~which~~ of mariadge lecherose | and fylthey beasts, and belyeinge them that they | more then other godly maryed Christen peple | lyve in delectation and wontones: if | the <godly> maried men wold read martyns | ~~book wold~~ book with judgement they shall se that martyn | hath so farre [*uncertain word* – anshot?] himself in inveihing agaynst | the <godly> mariadge of preests and bushops leaninge | apon the reason of cleannes ~~and [whiche uncle]~~ | in the unmaried state and of uncleannes in the | married; that ~~the~~ the maried may never | receave the communion at easter onles they put | away ther wives. for ther must be as great | a holynes in him at easter ~~that~~ then receaveth | as ther must be in them that receave all the | yere. but he that receaveth all the yere must [continued on next fol.]

**[F.155v]** [continued from previous fol.] put away his wif <or ells he can not be clean> wherby it should | folow that the lay man must at easter | put away his wif or ells he can not | be clean. ~~T~~ Thus under the color of | cleanes holynes and religion ~~may~~ might every | man put a way his wif at easter by | martyns divinite. but whi doe I | call it martyns divinitie? when it was a | conclusion amongst the clergy in the <convocation> lower | house in the furst parlament the queen | But what maner of convocation that was ~~this~~ | the papists them selves wer ashamed to report | how <the clarks> wer assembled by corruption in | all contreys, how godly bushopes and others | that ought ther to haue voyce wer sume ~~locked~~ | ~~up in capadocia~~ layd in prison before that | thei should not hurt thene, some by false | verdet condemped <to deth>

lest they should lake excuse | that thursted ther blud. some rayled at in the | house and comandid to sylence. but suche is | gods worke that in seekinge ther kindgdome | in the sight of ther poplyings thei so shamed themselves | by openinge ther folishenes ther ignoraunce | and ther obstinacy in the sight of the world, that they | which wold fayn haue had matter for the whiche they | might haue praysed ther proctors ceased not | to lament that they saw no more in suffering

**[F.156r]** [comment on vows] They shune out| suche chastite as | abraham the father hath // [comment on 'The benefice is geuen them by thee reason of their office'] therefore the bushop of Exceter | etc ought not to | haue ther bushopriks.[1191] // the bushop of rome | saith masse and | many mo.

**[F.156v]** ve // [comment on Council of Neocesariense] you read not that this was | put in execution // [comment on adultererous priests being deposed and driven to do penance among the laity in the Greek church] But now for mariadge he is drivene to do penance amonge the laitie | and horedom and fornication notwithstandinge he shall haue the name | of a virgin prest and be advanced to lofty favor and promotion

**[F.157r]** but martyn is deceavid | in his cosmographi because | he understandeth not the | note ad lectorem in the generall | counsell fo .1.o[1192] Before the counsell | of Neocesaria .. ~~where be these~~ | ~~words~~ reed and ye shall see[1193] // He nameth Armenia and paphlagonia | as thoughe thei were the cities between whom | Neocesaria should stand. when in deed they | be tow [two] great contreyes. | ~~Gangra~~ <Neocesaria> was a citie of ~~Pamphlagonia~~ <Cappadoca> as | ~~strabo~~ Pli li. ~~propra~~ 6. ca. 6.[1194] // so that martyns description | is as thoughe he | should say

[1191] Likely referring to Bishop James Turberville (1494-1570?) who was Bishop of Exeter from 1555-1559.
[1192] Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:221. See Appendix A for John Ponet's ownership details.
[1193] The note in the General Council reads: 'The Synod gathered together at Neocæsarea, which is a city of Pontus, is next in order after that of Ancyra, and earlier in date than the rest, even than the First Ecumenical Synod at Nice...'
[1194] Plinius Major, *Naturalis Historia,* li. 6, ca. 6.

~~london~~ | it is a counsell | holden between | scotland and france // [related to above point] D. 28 De | Syracusarae | pelagius cethego | tempore ancerytane synodi et neocesariensis | Nondum erat introducta continentia ministrorum altaris et | utraque sinodus orientalis est, et | orientalis ecclesia non suscipit generale votum | castitatis[1195] //[comment on Augustine and 'Helena, queen of England'] was ther never queene | of England popishe? | and unlearned? I | will maak a stronger | reasone than that. Kyng | Edward being learned | and all the realme and | the great learned men Zuinglius erasmus | Clemens Alexandrinus hole counsells subscribed to the contrary

**[F.157$^{v}$]** [summary list] 1. non est generale. 2. habet multa | absurda. 3. favebat papismo | 4. Episcopi erant indocti in scriptum | 5. Trahebantur nutu principum | 6. <metu admissionis bonorum> Inficiebantur heresi ~~crede~~ veterum hereticum credentiaum immundiciet esse in nuptius | a.p. 314 // 7. non citant verbum dei scriptum | 8. non probant traditionem esse Apostolicam | 9. dissentiunt a greca ecclesia // bona | Ap. 314 [SEMIQUAVER] // 10. dissentiunt a veteribus dotto | 11. Non obligant nisi suos et sui temporis penalis obligatio non traxit ad heredi nese [*uncertain word*]

**[F.158$^{r}$]** [comment on 'Sylvester'] whiche Silvester // [comment on Silvesters position on clerical celibacy] but with this the counsell | of nece agreed not | as by paphnutius apereth // [comment on Martyn's Latin words from the Canon] Non conveniet cum | concilio viteno et | ideo reijciendum // [comment on Restitutus, Bp of London about 1200 years ago] you sayd | before that | St Austen was | the furst that brought | faith in to England | in gregories tyme // [comment on Restitutus] London was made a bushoprik | an D. 610 vide pantaleones | 300 yere after this tyme.

[1195] *Corpus iuris canonici*, D.28, c. 13.

**[F.158$^{v}$]** [comment on Martyn's approval of the pain of deprivation against married priests] yet haue you named | none that lost ther | lyvinge // [comment about African evidence] What need you to lede | them to Africa | if it be trew that ye | said before, that ye haue | proved it and shewed it | in all contreyes allredy. // [reply to Martyn's Latin quote from the canons of Carthage] Non convenit cum | Niceno, ergo reijciendum // [comment on the heresy of the Priscillians] Spanierds were ever papists:

**[F.159$^{r}$ – F.160$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.161$^{r}$]** [comment on those young ones pledged to the church - martyn says bishops ask them to confirm this at age 18] some wer asked at | 14. // [comment on 'the grace of chastitie by the inspiration of God'] it may be that it liketh | them than but they | afterward lose thesame | spirit and grace, as the | electe of god many tymes | doeth. vid. Pet. alexand.[1196] // anno domini | 627

**[F.161$^{v}$]** [comment on 'si suffragatur virtus' = 'If supported by strength'] They be not severed | houses // [comment on 'obscene cum uxore elegerit viuere'] obscene // [comment on bishops and priests who live with their wives, using Titus 1:5-6 in response] [TREFOIL] Titus 1. | Constituas | oppidatim presbyteros | si quis est | vinus uxoris vir etc. // contra fo 60 et | 49 et 50 // [comment on maid and wife in houses - martyn prohibits both] a distinction | betwyen wyves and | women // [comment on Bishops selling concubines] Bushopes may | sell women

**[F.162$^{r}$]** Extravagante fo. 22 Antiquae Ti. 6 De Voto | et Voti Redemptione | Votum per susceptionem sacri ordinis solennizatum, licet | impediat matrimonium sequens, non tamen praecedens[1197] // De eadem re vide Extra De Voto et Voti Redemptione li. 3. | Titulo 15 Quod Votum in Glosa e: sponsalia de praesentisie | non soluitur per susceptione sacri ordinis. Non |

[1196] Petrus Alexandrinus, *unknown work.*
[1197] Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Voto et Redemptione,* C. 1.

enim recipiendo sacrum ordinem vonet se castitatem servaturum | in hoc seculo, et tamen tale votum castitatis in | seculo servandae non dissoluit sponsalia de prae praesenti. et | post. Plura profitendo promittit monachus | quam recipiendo sacrum ordinem clericis.[1198] // by this canon martyn wold haue proved | that the furst maried prests in Spayn | wer Arrians fo. 3

**[F.162$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.163$^{r}$]** [comment on King Ricardus of Spains people crying out for help against the Arians] not for the | disalowinge of prests | mariadges // [comment on how the Spanish king was first called the Catholic King] vide 2.$^{o}$ dialogi | Italici[1199] // [comment on how Spanish princes ceased to be heretics] read the beginninge of | Antonio De Guevera[1200]

**[F.163$^{v}$]** in all these generall counsell | see what other wiked thing was | concluded or who was | Bushop of rome, or what was not objected // [comment on Martyn's account of councils] see how this rome | runner | rangeth all | contreys forsakinge Christ | and folowinge the | pope. // [comment on Arvernense] but if wold at that | tyme haue | gone in to germany you | should haue found all | prests maried and in | England likewise // [comment on marriadge] Here you see that | the name of husband | and wife be not geven | to continew aslounge as | life shal enduer | contrary to the state of holy | matrimony which they terme | to be a sacrament.

**[F.164$^{r}$ – F.165$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.166$^{r}$]** [comment on the 2nd council of Tours] because all these | counsells be contrary to the | Nicen counsell, they | ought to be | rejected. // [SEMIBREVE] // [SEMIBREVE] [comment on 'Kyng Childeberte'] He nameth the kinge of france and spayne etc who | reigned

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1198 *Ordinary Gloss* to Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Voto et Redemptione,* C. 1 e. *quod votum.*
1199 Uncertain source, possibly an early and non-extant edition of Giovanni Battista Gelli, *De naturae humanae fabrica dialogi decem.*
1200 Antonio De Guevera (1481-1545) was the Spanish author of *Aureo de Marco Aurelio* which was very popular in England.

at the tymes of these generall counsells, but | they had not vocem decisivam in ~~capi~~ consiliis. he nameth | not the romishe bushopes who gatherid these counsels | lest all this gere should appeare the popes practise.

**[F.166$^{v}$]** [comment on 'doctor Poynet doth slaunder it'] where? | C.3 // [comment on Council of Venice] Venice this day is in | yor eyes a catholike | town thoughe it | norishe 30000 | open whores // [comment on Council at Wormese in Charle Maignes daies - e.g., Worms in Charlemagne's days] thesame is the | place I thynk | that he alledgeth // [TREFOIL] // [TREFOIL] [comment on 'I have proved by the consent of all christendome, by the space of a thouande yeres, immediately after Christ and his Apostles'] Nay by yor leave the most auncient counsell that | you recite in this chapter is anno domini ... [Blank Space where perhaps a year was intented to be put] ... wherfor | you lye loudly when you say you haue don what you haue not [There is some irony here given the blank space above]

**[F.167$^{r}$]** For all these counsells they could not obteyn ther | purpose in fraunce // See how the Bushop of Rome with his monkes ~~friers,~~ bushops and ~~sworlyng~~ sworne brothers goe from | contrey to contrey to bringe in and stablishe a law | agaynst gods word, whereby to bringe themselves into | estimation. and yet wold not all this bind. // These shamefull practises declare the horrible | impietie of the papists from tyme to tyme agaynst | gods words. and I thank you <master martyn> that you haue | taken the paynes to gather together [*sic*] | these pestilent practises of yor father antichrist | wherby the ~~author of yor~~ the devell practises | the only of yor doctrine may appeare.

**[F.167$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.168$^{r}$]** [comment on canon law which is impossible to find fault with] [SEMIBREVE] Acta to | improve the | canon law // Clericos // [comment on 'ex nostra constitutione Sacerdotio] non dicit ex Dei verbo

**[F.168$^{v}$]** Clerus // [comment on Justinian's constitution - 'clero' singled out] de hiis porro qui | secundum sacros canones | uxores habetn nihil | hic dicit // oh what a sore law | was this for D. Nix | the blynd bushop of | Norwiche. Stokesley | Weston, Smyth, | moremane etc.[1201] // [comment on Martyr's claim that Justinian said priests 'could not' marye] he saith non | habent // [comment that if there is a woman in clergy house, there may be suspicion] a wife can not be cause | of suspicion.

**[F.169$^{r}$]** [comment pertaining to the canon law on f.168$^{v}$] sed quid si uxores secundum sacros canones | habeant? tum licet alias mulieres | itidem habere. // qui uxores secundum sacros canones habent, non prohibentus eas | [seduare?]. Idem Justinianus impure permittat monastic | vulgari vita permutare. vide Sylva mea parchment mel | melanchton fo. 31.[1202] // [comment referring back to f.168$^{v}$] non loquitur de uxore sed | de muliere que non sit | uxor // [comment referring back to f.168$^{v}$] Cyprian de singularitate clericorum | in the end. pa. 411. hath all this | exceptione, and (uxore) addid | whiche martyn, and Justinian | leave out. and it | is also a canon of concilium.[1203]

**[F.169$^{v}$ – F.170$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.170$^{v}$]** vide | [*uncertain word* - ?ultr?] | fo. | epist | conc. // The decrees of this counsell can not be gotten | other then be cited in the Clementinus. made | by Clement .5. A.D. 1372. aut circa | This counsell hath not that they be ipso | facto excommunicati nor none other generall | counsell. So is martyns ground false | And besides this that counsell was only | of suche as agreed to the heresies of the papists. // a benefice and a whore be bothe in predicamento | relationis. Sir John Mason dean of Winchester[1204] // Gardiner forsaking the bushop of | Rome

[1201] Reference to Richard Nix, John Stokesley, Hugh Weston, Richard Smyth, John Moreman.
[1202] *Sylva Mea*, possibly section concerning Melancthon, fo. 31.
[1203] Cyprian, *De singularitate clericorum*, 411.
[1204] Sir John Mason was a married layman, but stripped of benefices and forced to resign his benefices and chancellorship at Oxford under Mary. With perhaps an eye to the John Cheke affair, see Ponet's comments in the *Shorte Treatise,* I.6$^{v}$*:* Sir John Mason is accused of breaking loyalty to God, the imperial Crown of England, and is guilty of the innocent blood of sondry.... he was 'ones my great frende, and nere neighbour.'

and wryting a book agaynst | him, is ipso facto excommunicat // nullum est ius ne canonicum quidem quid dicit | eos debere puniri ipso iure vel ipso facto // [comment referring to f.169$^{v}$] [SECTION] [SECTION SYBMOL] non autem. Justi. de perpe et temp. | Penales [actiones?] sunt temporales | sublatio uxoris est perpetua pena.

**[F.171$^{r}$]** [comment on predicament of marriage and benefice] they be both in | predicamento relationis // [comment on justice and 'meane fruictes' of evangelicals] yor master hath of doctor | ponetts 1025$^{L.}$. of the | meane fruts. // [comment on excommunication via GR at Vienna] [TREFOIL] ther was | never generall | counsell | at Vienna // [comment on Panormitan] Remember | panormitan | ca. cum olim | Sylva mea[1205] // Ius canonicum fuit | in Anglia sublatum | posteriore Anno. quando | Anglia non agnonit. | supremitate[?] Romani | pontificis // [TREFOIL] Gods law sayth not ipso facto nor ipso iure. but aloweth | though, and commandeth it also. wherfor seinge you teache | another gospell you be excommunicat from the churche | of god ipso facto. Gal. 1[1206].

**[F.171$^{v}$]** it is not this // [comment on breaking of law] if you ment not here | the popes churche ye | I wold for the rest | haue thanked you | for it is a | playn overthrow to all | yor queens standinge. // [interpretation of inward and outward church in Constantinus'quote] invisible. | κατ ἑαυτ[ον?] | invisible // [comment on discussion over inward/spiritual and outward/temporal powers - jurisdictionary powers - in the OT] They wer distinct | amongest the jewes [they being the offices of bishop and king which Martyn combines] // Thene all bushops | that be consecratid authoritate | reginea be no | bushops in deed and | then must yor new bushops | be newly anoynted. // [relates to the previous text] Item the law of prests | mariadge was not | lawfully <concluded> talked apon | in the parlarment of [queen] | marie 1. contrary to yorself | fo. 67. p.2

[1205] *Sylva mea,* reference unknown.
[1206] Gal. 1:8-9.

**[F.172r]** [comment referring to top of f.171v - acts of parliament] An act of parlament a poor shift // he taketh away the authoritie from temporall princes | and magistrats to make lawes for thecclesiasticall government. | bull. martyr Vr [=verso] re [=recto].[1207] // Well translated Martyn

**[F.172v]** Tell me why doth the parlament now | decyde spirituall matters // [reference from Clement of Alexandria] unam esse veram ecclesiam, eam quae | vere antiqua est. etc. Vide | Clement Alexans. στρωμ li..7. | fo. 265[1208] // [comment refers to f.173r] [CROSS] If ther wer a schisme thesame contineweth. For | ther be in England I trust 1000 that thinke | and know all the papists of England to be not | only schismatiques, but also rank heretiques | and traytors to ther owne realme and naturall | contrey.

**[F.173r]** [comment about the 'name'] Arguments deviced of the name not allwayes good | for thene the lord chauncellar yor master should be of a meane occupation | and smyth yor reader in Oxforth, and brewar, yea and the very | name of martyne wold prove you a dronkerd. | Take hede that you | make not temperall | men ecclesiasticall men | they may be none of | the churche of god | because thei be maryed. // [comment on rules of civil law] [TREFOIL] by consent of bushopes prests lawfull mariedge was taken | away, and by the consent with the lords it was receaevid | agayn.

**[F.173v]** [comment on 'opininon of many learned men'] and many be of the | contrary opinion // [comment on statutes in force] The canon lawes | wer extinguished | by speciall words | I know. [SEMIBREVE] // But thei be not revived | agayn by | speciall words | and therfor they be this | day in no force.

**[f.174r]** [TITLE HEADING] [SEMIBREVE] questions to be movid to the lawyers of | England // it was extinguished not for a tyme but for | ever with this terme (and hence forth),

[1207] Bullinger and Martyr – no more source information given.
[1208] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 7, fo. 265.

whiche terme | what it is in equivalenci with (for ever) I referre | me to the reader. // [comment on f.173$^{v}$ - hedge and stake etc] The stake of this hedge be so stronge and pithy that thei wer | set before you wer born and will stand when you be dead | and rotten // Then was the latter law to be considered in kinge | Edwards dayes. // They that in the tyme of Kinge Edward maried | by a law, did not contrary to any law that was | effectuall whene they maried for the cannone | law was ther was shadowed and aslepe as you | terme it. But now in the tyme of queene mary | you punishe them for marieng contrary to ~~a law~~ | that law which you say is so aslepe therefor you haue don | them wronge and yor fact is unlawfull | but in that you be lyke yor selves for you haue | no leasure to look what is lawfull, yor lyppes be | so deseirose of blud.

**[F.174$^{v}$]** The queen can not take away benefices | from theme to whom Kinge Edward | gaue them benefices after they were | maried. But it must be done | by her superior. Nemo debet | venire contra factum suum | Extra De Clericis Coniug. Innocentius[1209] | [*uncertain word*] Diversis [SECTION SYMBOL] sed nisi forte.

**[F.175$^{r}$ – Blank]**

**[F.175$^{v}$]** it must needes be ~~that~~ <that a nomber of you about> (as by yor wrytynge aperth) | of carnis resurrection meaning therby as | becometh a chast tonge to talk the resurrection | of yor body: that ye ~~dowt if~~ care not | for vita eternia. what filthy ruffian of | the stewes the furst frutes of yor reformed | religion in England could haue used | a more lecherose terme in that sense | as you spek of carnis resurrectione | o wicked thinketh thou that the lyvinge | lord ~~will~~ hereth thee not, or if that he here thee | he will ~~bere m~~ suffer thee? or if he | suffer thee for a tyme he will suffer the | for a tyme, he will suffer thee always, | yea and besides thy baudy thought which thee | art not ashamed to utter to the ~~eyes~~ | eares and eyes of a queen unto whom | you thinketh thi book worthy to be dedicated, then | hath also abused thee of the

[1209] Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Clericis Coniugatus.*

scripture | and of the apostolicall tradition as Irenaeus | termeth it, the ~~punishment wherof~~ | ~~is no lesse then~~ praise which is | used by the devell math. Luc. 4[1210] and | the punishment thow mayst lerne by ~~Ari~~ | the death of Arrius. Julianus etc. | [TREFOIL] This sayinge condemneth all the | old counsells.

**[F.176r]** ther the kinge be hed of his realme he is hed of the [*faded word – sp?alt?*] | if he be hed he is judge, if he be judge these lawes stand. | [SEMIBREVE] Win. De | Verra Obedie[1211] // ve. | oratio impura | est imagione improbitate argumentum // [comment on 'That whiche is done of a Judge, if it apperteineth not unto his office, is voide and of no force or strength'] [CLOUD] [CROSSES] Thene if the | queene haue | don any thing or | her counsell that | aperteyne not to | ther office it is | of no barre or strength // [comment on 'concilia posteriora prioribus praeponuntur'] [X] There afor wold | how haue it | Tertull. contra quod | primus et verus est | quod posterius adulterinus // a doctor of divinitie will aunswer by divinitie that we must | here christ ipsum audite and not regard what posteriora concilia say | Cyprian epistola 3.[1212] // [CLOUD] aske this fellow whether thow be a thefe or | not. but aske the temporall lawyers | and the divines of England whose overthrow | hangeth apone the establishement of yor | popishe law and kingedom. // [comment on the order of councils as above] and I think that this sayinge concilia posteriora etc | ought to be understand if they be meliora, et non | repugnantia verbo domini

**[F.176v – Chapter 10]** [comment on 'God punisheth not twice for one fault' which apparently the evangelicals held to] Remember if | martyn aunswer this |place // [comment on Poet Plautus] the virgin prests love | not this charge and | therfor had they rather | be troubled with a | 100 hores then one | wif. // vide per fo. 82 // [comment on 'not holiness, but sinne; not

[1210] Luke 4:1-13.
[1211] Paraprase of Stephen Gardiner, *De Vera Obedentia Oratio,* sigs. D.ii[r-v], RSTC 11587.
[1212] Cyprian, *Epistola 3.*

iust matrimonie'] he alledgeth basill to the | contrary in the beginninge of | the chapters // [comment on 'all Catholike writers'] all Catholik | writers

**[F.177r]** Aug De Bono Viduitat | Nuptia quidem vel talium sunt bonae[1213] // Clement [of] Alexandria | στρωμ li. 3 p.105. | Si quis autem matrimonium audet | dicere fornicationem, rursus, | legem et Dominum insectans, | maledictis impetit. / etc.[1214] // prests mariage is worse then adultery therefor | sum mariadge is worse then adultery. whether is prests mariadge a mariadge or not | if it be a mariadge and mariadge a sacrament | then is that sacrament nought | if it be no mariadge. therefor thei ought then | not be deprivid. for he shall not be deprivid for kepinge a hore.

**[F.177v - Blank]**

**[F.178r]** this is not yet provid | incestuosum.

**[F.178v – F.180v - Blank]**

**[F.181r]** [comment on Basil's supposedly unprinted canons which Martyn has access to] these are | lyke be god | stuff if they | com out of a papists | hand // Clericos Ve // [comment on the doctors of the church] whiche call you the | doctors of the primative | churche?

**[F.181v]** [comment on the 10th canon] all wold | not prevayle that ever | thei could doe as you | may here see.

**[F.182r – F.183r - Blank]**

**[F.183v]** therefore it is no new | thinge // [comment on canons of Winchester in Edgar's days] therefor it is no new | thinge // The practise of | Antichrist by Kinge | Edgar, lyke as | his other practises | in generall counsels // Worcester

[1213] Augustine, *De bono viduitate*, *unspecified reference.*
[1214] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, ca. 22.

**[F.184r]** md [modo?]. the rood that spak at Winchestser for | the prof of celibacy.

**[F.184v – F.185v - Blank]**

**[F.186r]** whene popishe bushopes | doe rule Kings what godlynes | can continew | what superstition shall | not enter // [Ponet marks our 4 points in Edgar's text, and comments thus] 1. [no comment] | 2. if he did well | thene doth England | evell in not rescuing? | of them | 3. [no comment] | 4. [no comment]

**[F.186v – F.187v - Blank]**

**[F.188r]** [comment on 'the honour of the holye mother of GOD, Saincte Marie the virgin'] A superstitiose | oblation for remission

**[F.188v]** [Ponet makes a note about the foundation of Winchester and the displacement of married priests] Winchester

**[F.189r – F.190v - Blank]**

**[F.191r]** answer this with the speking of | the roode // [comment in response to poem] lyk matter | lyk meter // [comment on another poem] of haywoods helpe | This meter hath nede | The meter and the | matter is all a lyke. / 9. 8. 8. 6.[1215] // [comment on Anselm and Henry I] here he refuseth to tell | the story of Jo. Cremensis | told in my book | fo. 24.[1216] // [comment on punishment of maried priets in Henry I's days] another champion | of Antichrist // by this you prove well | that the mariadge of | prests is no new thinge | utteringe by the way | the popishenes of ignorant | kinge and bushopes who | had dronk of the whore of | babylons cupe as you | and yor master with others haue | done in these dayes.

[1215] This is Ponet's enumeration of the meter in Martyn's rhyme.
[1216] John Ponet, *Defence for Mariage*, fo. 24.

**[F.191$^{v}$]** [comment on Augustine quote] no good St if you wold | playly and fully recyt St. | Austens mynde all men | wold judge you a niggellinge | marchant, or | ells out of yor wittes in | handellinge this place // [comment on 'hearing he lyueth'] [TREFOIL] that St. Austen sayth not // [CROSSES] [comment on Martyn's claim that Augustine says priests marriage worse than adultery] that is a playne and a shamefull lye // [Q] [comment on Martyn's claim that heretics take authors out of context] if this nature shew an heretique then be you a ranke | heretique provid by yor own book. furst here et fo.

**[F.192$^{r}$]** [comment on Latin quote of Augustine on f.191$^{v}$] omittit fraudulenter quae precaedunt, quae | clare contra enim faciunt

**[F.192$^{v}$ – Blank]**

**[F.193$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's use of St Augustine] a false | glose // [comment on St. Augustine's wife's promise] this semeth not to be | St. Austens meaninge.

**[F.193$^{v}$]** [reply to Martyn's accusation that Luther misreported Cyprian] li 1. ep 11[1217] | Ther were non suche professed | and unprofessed shauelings in | Cyprians days

**[F.194$^{r}$ – F.195$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.195$^{v}$]** [3 comments on St. Cyprian] St. Cyprian // 1. If these virgins had not declared ther vow openly | they had not been knowen for vowesses when they | wer taken in bed with men // 2. Ther knittinge themselves together in companies of | in theapparell of suche as had vowed proveth ther | vow. for that apparell wer not worn but of | them that had so vowed. // 3. votum simplex is not knowene but to the party. but these | were knowene to pamponius and to the contrey that the had | fully decreed and resolutely determenid to continew ther | state of sole lyf. wherfor St. Cyprians words | and the circumstance of the case doth playnly shew

[1217] Cyprian, *Epistola 11*.

that | they were as playn votaries as any were in St. | Cyprians dayes. // Crimen Carnis here is not with a lawfull husband | as Cyprians words playnly declare.

**[F.196r]** Peresi // [TREFOIL] [comment on some of Cyprian's cited words] These words firmiter | decreuerint | overthrow yor assertion | or ells is it | solemnitas voti whiche | byndeth theme and that | is contrary to yor | saying fo. 115 // [comment on some of Cyprian's cited words] it seemeth by the epistle | that he ment in all | places one sort of | vowesses // [TREFOIL] li. 1. epla 11.[1218] // [comment on some of Cyprian's cited words] [TREFOIL] if she were maried she would not haue been | callid adultera for the acte done with her husband | but being fownd with other she must be callid adultera | for brakinge the command of Christ.

**[F.196v]** Peresi. est | Ar in 162 // [comment on some of Martyn's exposition of Cyprian] the playn words of | Cyprian be agaynst | you saing non adultera | mariti // [comment on when the death penalty for adultery came in] you grant | somewhat | when ye grant it to | be then.

**[F.197r]** [comment on female adultery at top of f.196v] St. Austen De Bono Vidiuitatis sayth they understand | not what they say that bring in ther reason. // And here I wold aske you whether every maried | Christian man and woman be maried to Christ or | not? Paul saith desponsavi vos uni viro[1219] | Eph 6. therefore by yor reason no man nor woman may | marry. onles you wold say that only pertayneth | to the Eph. // Tertul. divortium tam dirimit matrimonium contra [mors?] | Amb. 1. Cor. 7. sayth playnly that the giltles mane may | mary agayn. | Eras. 1. Cor. 7. proveth the thing playnly. | in annotatiobus [sic].[1220]

**[F.197v]** [comment that refers to unwryten verities on f.198r] you and yor fellowes do nothinge ells but | wrast and falsyfy all scriptures all | doctors and all mens doings for the | mayntanence of yor blasphemy agaynst mariadge | and the continewance of yor whoredom // C 17 q.1 | ex

[1218] Cyprian, *Epistola 11.*
[1219] Ponet cites 2 Cor. 11:2 and notes 'Eph 6' – probably a mistake, but possibly a second reference.
[1220] Erasmus, *Novum Instrumentum … una cum Annotationibus,* (1 Cor. 7).

autem | glosa | Hugo | A voto quod verbis exprimitur, sive cum solemnitate | voti sive sine es, non licet recedere sine | mortali peccato? secundum omnes. vide supra S2.[1221]

**[F.198r]** [a comment on Augustus' law] Lex Julia // unwryten vanities // so do you when you | pretend yor unwrytten | verities // [reference of St. Cyprian] Ciprianus li.1.º epistola 11.º Ad Pomponium[1222] // [comment at bottom] Peresius non audet de hoc loco pronunciarum sed dicit | esse difficiles

**[F.198v]** [comment on Martyn's assertion that Cyprian said virgins may not marry AND virgins may marry] a lye of | Cyprian // [comment on virgins and penance] petitio principii // [comment on the holy veil] how prove | you ther holy veyle? | now come out with yor | traditions // [comment on young men's contract of marriage] but tel me wher we may learne that god requireth this | service? Esa. quis requiret hec de manibus unis.

**[F.199r]** how say you now to Cyprian whiche speketh de | virginibus relatis. Contra. // here you hold that vowes simpley may not be | broken // and fo. 108. you call them adulteresses

**[F.199v – F.200r - Blank]**

**[F.200v]** Liber ad Virginem lapsam non est Ambrosii teste | Erasmo in prefatione operum. Ambrosii in hec liber. // Libellus qui hunc (\. ad virginem denotam proxime | sequitur. titulo: ad virginem lapsam, videtur non |ineruditus, apparet declamationem esse, qualis est | illa sancti Hieronymi de matre et filia reconciliandis, | et habetur inter huius opera, si titulis | habenda fides: quanquam hic, ne deprehenderetur | facus, scriba omisit principium, et in fine quaedem | adjecit, aliaque nonnulla variavit. Huius extrema | pars in qua consolatur virginem, non est novus | libellus ut a typographis distinctus est, sed extremum | caput superioris.[1223]

[1221] Hugo St. Victor, *Deliberatio papae,* C. 17, q. 1.
[1222] Cyril, Ep. 11, *Ad Pomponium.*
[1223] Erasmus, *Prefationes et censurae in ambrosium.*

**[F.201r]** Ther // [comment on quote of Ambrose: 'et sanctum velamen accepit' = 'and most took shelter'] non quia nubit sed | quia vult nubere | sayth St. Austen | Nam nuptie vel talius | sunt bonae. de bono vid[1224]

**[F.201v]** Adultery death // L.C // petitio principii // This is a god lessen | for the virgin prests // ve

**[F.202r]** [comment referring to previous fol.] Augustus made legum Julia // First he must prove the mariadge of | prests adultery. // Vide Nicepho li.o. 10 ca. 39 Nota tempus | Joviniani[1225] // The law continewed but for a tyme as | many other. because that Julianus apostata | going immediately before him prostituebat | omnes. [*uncertain word* – Remes Baldwinus?].

**[F.202v]** and also beinge Christians and gods | people they maried infideles, which | ~~wherfor~~ thinge was not done among | prests wherfor yor simlitude holdeth | not. vide pet. mart. 1 Cor 7 | 173.[1226]

**[F.203r – Chapter 11]** [comment on Martyn's reference to Numbers and Nehemiah as preventing foreign wives] These maride | contrary to | gods speciall | commandment | and word. but the | ther prests haue | gods speciall | word for them // [comment on last sentence of chapter: that lechorous priests must be purged] Then must yor virgin prests be | banished

**[F.203v]** [comment that no lies ought to be told at Pauls Cross] and yet since the | reign of queen | mary ther hath | been taught all | most nothinge ells // [comments on 'The contentes of Docter Poinets booke for priestes mariages] ii the furst all over // 1. 2. 3. [Enumerated points matching Martyn's outline of Ponet's book] [comment on Ponet's 'Defence of maried Monkes, etc'] [SEMIBREVE] not | the contents of | my booke // nemo militas | deo [*uncertain* – iniple?] // here at | the beginnige | you lay a false fowndacion <with ii lies at a clappe> for

[1224] Augustine, *De bono viduitatis.*
[1225] Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopolous, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* li. 10, ca. 39.
[1226] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* p. 173.

neither dothe the | scriptures in any one place throughout speke of the single | lif of prests <which you assume as a grownd gathered> neither ~~that the~~ <of any suche> cause ~~of prests~~ <as you pretend> | ~~o singell lif for prests~~ furst <it behovid> you ~~must~~ <to> prove the | scriptures make mention ~~that they meane that~~ that prests should | lyve a singell lyf. and then that this is the cause. whiche seinge [continued on next fol.]

**[F.204$^{r}$]** [continued from previous fol.] this is yor tropical locutione. to call him bushop that | thene was not ~~because he was afterward~~ | nor afterward neither because he lacked | oylinge as some of yor romishe rebells and shameles | shavelings sayd openly. onles the words spoken | now by yor holly tongue calling him bushop haue | the vertew of conformation. I think by this | you repent you that you callid him bushop. but | it forceth not what martyn sayth when he is disposed | to play his part, he is and shalbe a bushop | in the sight of god I am suer when martyn | and his maynteyners shalbe iac out of office. // [comment on 'which seinge' in f.203$^{v}$] you neither haue nor can <doe> ~~prove~~ learned men | shall judge whether you haue made this fallax | or sophisticall lye a non causa ad causam | or I who benige nothynge ashamed of any word | that I haue spoken will recite agayn the | hole <of my boke which you wold deface> ~~and then set~~ that therby the reader may | ~~espy~~ playnly perceave ~~how false ye call me this~~ | ~~because ye wold not be espied runninge away with~~ | ~~the purse~~, yor slyght and falshod.

**[F.204$^{v}$]** 1 Cor. μεμέρισται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος[1227] | .\. divorsa sunt vocatione genera uxor et virgo | it is not ment by this place that the maried | canne not please god but is dividid for god as | you seem to wryth it but that the vocation of the | one as ~~to ple~~ without burdene of the world, | and of the other ~~charged~~ to haue an eye to | ~~the pleasure of god the~~ how to please | ~~god~~ both her husband and the world in the sight | of <almighti> god. and wheras you ~~say~~ ~~intent by~~ <ground yourself apon> this | place divisa sunt hec duo uxor et virgo | that virgo should signify yor virgin prests | which you think so holy to be troubled with gettynge | ther

[1227] 1 Cor. 7:34.

lyvinge with ther hands as paule did, but | "they should better serve god and not be troubled" | with worldy busynes <as you word wrot> the place can | not serve you. for it <is> not ment ~~more~~ of ministers | <specially more> then of any other kynd of peple. for prof | wherof St. paule maketh his repetion of the | members speking furst of the unmaried man | and after of the unmaried woman. ~~and~~ so that | lyk as in maryinge virgin women he meaneth | generally all women ~~generally~~ that be virgines | for that such can not be prests so in marying vyrgin men he meaneth ~~not~~ | generally all men ~~generally~~ that be virgines and not | suche as be ~~virgines~~ <prests> only. Then when [continued on next fol.]

**[F.205$^{r}$]** [continued from previous fol.] you wryt this word virgo to yor virgin prests | by false understandinge of this word divisus, yow | be not only injurose to all virgins that be no | prests but also to the holly gost who so wryting, | suffereth no suche restraynt.

**[F.205$^{v}$]** D.p words | you papistes alledge the levit. | 21 for that purpose sancti estole | quia ego sanctus sum[1228] and agay | si in veteri lege sacerdotibus fuit | where etc etc. quanto [*uncertain word*] in nova | & si laveris & interdictum ovare quanto magis | sacerdoti // [crossed out section] Martyn | ~~Tow~~ <certayn> boyes playd together at cayles, and sodeynly | one of them complayned that he had lost his coat | bygod but another, for because thou spekest of a steple | I dare clyme even as highe as ~~the~~ he that | is twyce as bygg as I. nay how ther is | the thurd for <what> my father <can do not> is best at the | forbell in all the town <I pray you> ~~even as these ii~~ | boyes. of these ~~boyes~~ <or suche lyke reasones> be lyk master martyn hath | learned his logique. as by this (for what) | informing the profe his purpose the reader | may perceave, and also that in reprovinge me | untrewly for <takinge and> reasoninge non causum causa: is | ~~worthyly and~~ evidently twise taken in his own | turne, wher he is now so be suarid that | all

[1228] Lev. 21:8

his chastles clyents haue with cause in the beginninge | to be afrayd of ther proctor that he will take ther | money and deceave them in the end. [end of crossed out section]

**[F.206ʳ]** [comment on accusation of Paul's words not understood by Ponet] His words [St. Paul] be not so | But the be those lego | titulum, libri et [*uncertain word*] | utque ad. // [comment on religion and hypocrisy] To them | these things agre wel | amonge for all yor prests | be hypocrites // This hangeth | apone that which was | before // onles he wold | inferre all | maried folke to be | hypocrites // make an αντιθεσις of all | paules words agaynst him // Die. a lye. // [TREFOIL] ἐν ἀγνέᾳ | in puritate // [comment on 1 Tim 3 - 'kepe thy selfe chaste'] a lye. // [comment on how Matthew wrote that the apostles forsook all and followed Christ] theapostles forfoke not | ther wives nor abraham // Cal // [TREFOIL] a lye // [comment at bottom referring back to church decrees] The churche made the decre of sole lyf | continew after the doctrine of the apostles

**[F.206ᵛ]** [comment on 1 Cor 7] St. paule speketh of the | unmaried man and the | unmaried woman | vide pet mar. 1 Cor. 7[1229] | [comment on who 'unmaried' refers to in 1 Cor. 7] he entered his communicatione | to the maried at uxori | vir debitum reddat. and | returneth his oratione at | dico autem non nuptis et viduis | et // vide qui contra | sentias // [reference to 1 Cor continued] They that demanded this question either fearid god or not. | if thei fearid not god they <wold not> move no suche questione of forsakinge ther | wif for holynes saake. if they fearid god they should not | be in danger of fornication for they wold retorne to ther own | wifes. ~~By~~ so that paules cautione should be but vayne | lest they should fall into fornicatione.

**[F.207ʳ]** Our saviour Christ many tymes made generall | answers, by generall doctrines, when the demand | was but particular. as of the tribute beinge demandid, | he made a generall answer and a generall doctrine | of all things Jew to Caesar. and to the question of the | saducees for

[1229] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* ca. 7.

the knowledge whose wif that one woman shoulde be | he answered by a generall doctrine. In the resurrection they | shall neither mary nor be maried. for marri. [symbol break] he correctid | the fact of the magnifers of on tradition with a generall doctrine | that overthroweth all traditiones, frustra me volunt etc // Read on doctor clyp scripture. if you will not | I will. it foloweth but si non continet, contre sunt | matrimonis. mesius est enim nubere qui uni. In this | place you can not hide yor head for ~~you be taken~~ | paule taketh you with the matter, saying that he | spoketh to the unmaried, aswell virgins | as widows. // a new glose // within <the compasse of> this talke ~~to maried folke~~ (is as you say) had | to the maried folkes, paule wisheth ~~himself~~ all men | to be as he is himself. wherefor I conclude agaynst | you apon yor own confession that neither paule was | maryed for as yet by yor words he is not com to the | place where he speketh of the unmaried, or ells | he was unmaried, and then also I conclude that <agaynst> all | that pere of the scripture is spoken ~~agaynst~~ to | the unmaried. // et Acts 1 beinge demandid <particularly> whether then he wold presently | restorid the kingdom of Israell he answerid generally | by a universall doctrine that is aperteyned not to them to | know the tymes whiche the father had reserved to his | own poer.[1230]

**[F.207$^{v}$]** [TREFOIL] Aug. Li.$^{o}$ 1$^{o}$. ca. 10. De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia | Bonum est mulierem inique tangere homini | verum quia non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed | quidem datum est; restat eu propter fornicationes | vitandam, quisque uxorem suam habeat, ac sic | infirmitas conscientiam, ne cadat in ruinam flagitiorum | excipiatur honestate nuptiarum.[1231] // Indulges | non precipiens | marten sayth contrary // [reference to Jerome, and comment] Vide perfat. B. Rhe. | et post. in vitam ex Hierom$^{o}$.[1232] Hierom sayth that he saw | Tertulians ~~secretary~~ votary, and that he reported that | Cyprian wold not misse every day to reed somewhat of | Tertulian. Ac sibi crebro dicere. Da Magistrum | Tertullianum videlicet significans Hic cum

[1230] Acts 1:6.
[1231] Augustine, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia,* li. 1, ca. 10.
[1232] Beatus Rhenanus, (probably) *Compendiosa vite eiusdem descriptio.*

usque ad mediam etatem | presbyter ecclesiae permansisset, invidia postea et contumeliis clericorum Romanae | Ecclesiae, ad Montani dogma delapsus, in multis libris Novae Prophetiae | meminit. Specialiter autem adversum Ecclesiam texuit | volumina, de pudicitia, de persecutione, de jejuniis, de | monogamia, de ecstasi libros sex, et septimum, quem adversum | Apollonium composuit[1233]

**[F.208$^{r}$]** [comment on staying single in 1 Cor. 7] but it foloweth si | duxeres uxorem non | peccasti // [comment on Paul's instructions to Timothy regarding widows] ii lies. No wedowes | vowed chastitie in paules | tyme. neither paule forbad | any widowes marryd | but he forbaid that the | younge huswifes should | folow and be fed of the | congregation but will | them to marry. // [comment on 'Tertullian in his booke de monogamia, agaynst the new teaching] in this book 1 | tertulianus heresy | contra ecclesia // [comment on 'id est indulgens, non percipens ita fieri'] hiis quibus non fuit opus | veria // [comment on Paul and Tertullian - Paul on 1 Cor 7] he [Paul] sheweth it not wherfor St. Tertullian sayth not treuly.

**[F.208$^{v}$]** [comment on martyn's understanding of Paul's permission to marry in 1 Cor. 7] paule sayth playnly | unusquisque suam uxorem habeat[1234] | commanding // [comment on Chrysostom's exposition of 1 Cor. 7] Chryso. torquet | debitum: ad debitum | honorum

**[F.209$^{r}$]** Theodoretus in li.$^{o}$ Divinorum Decretorum Epitomes | p. 456 | Corynthiis autem qui scire volerant | an oporteret eos qui Domino crediderunt, coelibatum | matrimonio praeferre, haec declaravit: De quibus autem | scripsistis mihi Bonum est homini mulierem non tangere, | sed propter fornicationes unusquisque suam uxorem habeat | et unaquaeque proprium virum habeat. Haec cum decrevisset | per sectam eos inter se habere iubet benevolentiam[1235] // it may be that paule was askid the question as Chrysostom | sayth whether the <married> man should

[1233] Hieronymus Stridonensis (Jerome), *De viris illustribus ad dextrum,* ca. 53.
[1234] 1 Cor. 7:2.
[1235] Theodoretus, *Divinorum Decretorum,* 456.

absteyn from his wif for religion | but it semeth that his answer is generall aswell of the | maried as the unmaried in that he said unusquisque and unaquaeque | and Chrisostom sayth in this place that beinge demandid | of the ~~on~~ maried state, he fell into the talke of virginitie | in virginitatis sermone devenit. so that what soever the | question was the answer was generall. ~~the lyk~~ whiche | thinge may in this case appeare. a nomber of merchants | have a great substance with them in a shype abrode | apon the wylde seas a tempast ariseth ~~they aske~~ | ~~the master~~ the burden of the ship is to great | sunges so dangerouse that they cry out <say ther mynd> to the master | of the ship that it is good to hurle over <some part of> ther marchandise | he answereth that it <wer> good not to cast over | vide plurra super fo. 79 p. 2 [continued on next fol.]

**[F.209$^{v}$]** 1 Cor 7 // ~~all ther~~ any parte of ther marchandise if the they could otherwise | save themselves and ther shyp. but now | for thavoyding of ther great parell | that ~~hangeth over ther heds~~ is even now | at the shipes brinke, <let every man> out with all the goods | that ever he hath and into the sees with it | better it wer for you to forsake yor worldly | goods and all the <comfort> that you aue in them | then utterly to be destroyed and cast away | Thus it may be that pauls being demandid | of the maried folkes <particularly> how they should | avoyd whoredom made <a generall> answer lyke the | good ships for thavoyding of fornication | let every man haue his etc. // Aliter | If the plage wer in a town of the which plage | for the most part died none but ~~the~~ | ~~old folks~~ maried folkes and the elder ~~folk~~ | sort. They ~~send a message~~ wryte to a very | expert and cuninge phisition to know whether | it be ~~best~~ good for ~~for~~ all the maried folke to | flye the Cytie or not? He answereth | in this wise, as touchinge that you wrote to | me, it is good ~~to flye the cytie~~ for the [continued on next fol.]

**[F.210$^{r}$]** 1 Cor. 7 // maried folke to flye the cytye, but for | thavoydinge of ~~this~~ the pestilence that now | reygneth amongste you let every man aswell | old as younge fle and save himself. in this | ye see a particular demand of the maried folk, | answerid with a generall precept of the

| phisitian. So St. paule answerid the particular | demand of the corynthians with this generall | commandment ad vitanda autem fornicationes| unusquisque suam uxorem habeat, et unaquaeque suum | virum habeat[1236] [Latin text of 1 Cor. 7:2] // This is a law sayth theodoret. | fo. 456-457 | Hec cum decrevisset perfectum nibet eos habere | inter se benevolentia. and ~~after agayn~~ anon he sayth | quia autem verisimiliter fieri poterat ut vel | maritus vel uxor continentiam coniunctione preferrent | id autem si non ex consensu fieret, eveniret ut | qui continere et firmus esse non posset, in scortationem | incideret. prohibet eam, quae sit absque, | consensu continentiam ~~et dicit~~ etc. et confirmas | legem subiunxit, ne fraudetis vos invicem | fraudationem vocans cessationem a coniunctione | quae sit praeter animi sententiam. and after ibid | sed unusquisque proprium habet donum ex Deo, hic quidem sic, ille vero sic. | Si autem beatisimus Paulus donum Dei vocavit matrimonium | quod est cum temperantia: clarum est esse iniquas miserorum | Haereticorum leges latas adversus matrimonium. etc qui | illud soluit, legibus Domini teneri.[1237]

**[F.210$^{v}$]** The question be [*uncertain word* – something to do with 'particular'] | but yet is the | answer generall

**[F.211$^{r}$]** ?41 // furst paule spak of the married | as yow grant and afterward he | spake of the unmarried sainge | si se non convenient contrahat ergo he | spake of all // [comment on 1 Cor] no but he maketh a | generall answer to | a speciall demand // [comment on 'Pauls answer'] nay it proveth that | the question was | suche as you say and | apon the occasion paule | utterid the generall | doctrine. // [comment on ambrose on abstinence] [TREFOIL] therefore is answer | was generall // .\. novas relicta | ethnica, et infideli // [comment at bottom of page] [TREFOIL] it is not lykly that being so viciose they wold wryt | to paule ~~whether~~ that it was good for them to | absteyn from ther own wif for religions sake wherfor |

[1236] 1 Cor. 7:2.
[1237] Theodoret, *Divinorum decretorum,* 456-457.

in sheweth that they asked paule counsell whether ther | unmaried might mary or not not [listed more?] | then religion

**[F.211$^{v}$]** [comment on Jerome's supposed pre-conversion context of the text] sleyght // [MANICULE] // vide infra fo 97 | august. De nuptiis | li.$^{o}$ 1.$^{o}$ ca 16[1238] // [comment on Jerome's supposed application that converts should put away their wives] you reason apon | the question of the | corinthyans, and | my argument standeth | apone paules answer.

**[F.212$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's position] [TREFOIL] bonim est homim uxorem non tangere | mar: yt it good for a man to haue no wif at all // [comment on Paul's pre-conversion context in f.211$^{v}$] that meaneth not new wivinge in deed then that were maried | all ready, but it signifieth mariage to them that wer unmarried | and so signifyeth εχετω not as you ~~think I take~~ wold it | should signify, that is to haue her and not to touche her, but both | to haue her and use her as his wif.

**[F.212$^{v}$]** Tacianis marcion, prodicius etc concluded | mariadge as an evell thing. and the papist | prohibent matrimonia wherfor it semeth | that the papists be spokene of in paule and | not Taciani etc only. // [TREFOIL] ... paule prophecieth not only of one | ~~sort of~~ manne or tow men that shoulde | forbid mariadge but of all suche as | should after insew that should forbid | mariadge. ~~saying the~~ signifienge unto | us that ~~these~~ this should be one mark wherby | we should know these heretiques when they | should com. that they shall forbid mariadge | and so mad and to absteyn from suche hearth as god | hath created it. // The papists forbid mariadges <in prests> therefore they forbid | maraidge. Paule sayth not that they shoulde | forbid mariadge generally so every body | a tercio adiacente ad secundum aviacens. // whoever forbid mariadge to ~~any~~ <some one> state, they be forbidders | of mariadge, but the papists forbid mariadge to | some one state, therefore the papists be forbidders of | mariadge. verte

[1238] Augustin, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia,* li.1 ca. 16.

prox. fo. [TREFOIL] // man is not allwayes in gods favor, and it | may be that he is out of gods favor for some other | matter when he maketh his vow. as they that make | them selfes prests for benefice or to kepe his colledge. | ther promes is ungodly yet indissoluble by yor divinite.

**[F.213r]** 1 Tim 4. // [comment on the church not forbidding marriage] supra fo 67 yow say | that prests maraidges be | worse then adultery // and yow the papists // yet to prests | you consider not | whether the vow | be good or not // [comment at bottom of page] dispensation imployeth a commandment to the | contrary, but you can neither shew the contrary | commandment nor prove the dispensation therfor | the reader may perceave this to be a toy of yor | owne hed.

**[F.213v]** ~~Nubere malum~~ // via | minoris | conciliis // secta papisticum | dicit sacerdotum | nuptias esse | malas ergo prohibet // loquitur de hius | que nupserint per | votum. // then this cavillinge calumniator wold let my | words stand as they be written it wer unpermissible for | the devell himself to fynd falt with them onles it were because | thei be most playnly trew. but here ye may see of what | mature martyn is of judgement whether this be | playn wranglinge brablyinge, cavillinge, and | flat falsifying of my words or not, ye se by his [continued on next fol.]

**[F.214r]** [TREFOIL] ~~Nubere malum~~ // Saturnilius provid that the hevens was made by the | angels. alledging facians hominus ad imaginam et similtudinem, leaving out nostrarum. // [comment] so the devell when he cited scripture playd with | Christ. saynge angelis suis mandabit de te ne | forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum. leavinge out | ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis[1239] which was a solution | to his whole matter. // [continued from previous page] own confession ~~at the laft how~~ furst he sayth I haue | allegyd this place contrary to my

[1239] Ps. 91:11.

self, but how | forsothe whene he lyke a mychinge [= mischevious?] thef hath stolen | away ~~in one place~~ tow whole lynes out | of my ~~word sent~~ saying ~~and in another place a~~ | ~~a word~~ wherby he maketh the sentince now not | as I wrot it but as he wold haue it alltogether | ungodly. [SEMIBREVE] This is the practise of ~~all~~ | the ~~heretiques~~ flesh. Epiphanius De Saturnitio | Basilidis Socio vide supra fol. 1.$^{o1240}$

**[F.214$^{v}$]** if this wranglinge wryter had done this but in one | place of my book his ~~might~~ shame should haue | bene the lesse but for asmoche as ~~here ye~~ beside | wonderfull nomber of other places in this unchaste | book the you see thre here in sight written ~~beb~~ | in maner with one penfull of ynk that | lesse shame otherwise may worthily now be | termed shameless

**[F.215$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.215$^{v}$]** Hier in Hier | ca. 32 supra verbo | omnia quae mandasti | non feverunt[1241] | Ad retundendam inquit ~~quorundam nisaniam~~ | eorum impudentiam, qui putant hominem | omnia posse complere quae se facturum esse | pollicitus.[1242] // vide to. 5. p$^{t}$. // I haue herd say that Sir Richard Southwell | kepeth a whore besides his wif and that | for his offence diverse tymes he whippeth himself | with rodds, ~~and belik~~ whiche if it be | trew he is diverse tymes <when he is devout at masse> in hand with petite | but yet can he not injoy accipietis [receive]. and | Gerson witnesseth saying multi boni fuerunt | qui conati sunt domare corpus, tamen non potuerunt.[1243] | wherby it cometh to passe that many haue ~~so~~ | ~~vowed~~ promessed chastitie to the lord, ~~and~~ <but> they performe | to the devell, fornication, adultery, and | fylthy sodamy wherof St. Paule speketh in | his first chap to the romayns here wherfor | all the doctors that haue lyved wickedly | St. Hierom. Austen. Bushopes of Rome | etc. | if origen could haue had it for the askinge | what added he to hav gelded him self.

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[1240] Uncertain whether this specifically refers to Epiphanius or to Ponet's previous discussion on f.2$^{r}$.
[1241] Jer. 39:22.
[1242] Hieronymus Stridonensis (Jerome), *Commentariorum in Jeremiam Prophetam,* li. 6, ca. 32.
[1243] Jean Gerson, (probably) *De castitate clericorum.*

**[F.216r]** [comment on Martyn's accusation against Ponet] martyn was | sory to see that folowed // it semeth that he began to | wryt this book before | he red over myne or ells | his memory was so stout | that he could not remember the | condicionall // [comment on 'God will give his grace to withstande temptation'] why geveth he not it to | the virgin prests // vide fo. 17 | supra 108.8 et infra 86 // [comment on 1 Cor. 9 and chastity] (I add) if he haue not | the guift // [comment on 1 Cor. 9 notes] set them together // how chaunceth it that | he sufferid N to be | so farre temptid etc. | 1 Cor. 10 // Judas Herod | Jacob petiit cum [lacris?] // yf ye ad the respect of gods | will saying fiat voluntas tua [your will be done]. su secundum voluntatem | eius [according to his will] thene ye yeld to me in yor overthrow | if not you be a pellagian in understanding this place | as yor virgin prests know that here ye lye.

**[F.216v]** [TREFOIL] see how falsly he | reporteth my words | in my boke fo. 5.o // it is 17 // a lye // [comment on God's commandment to pray - from pater noster] ye gard it but if ~~he~~ | ~~be~~ yor virgin prests be | led into temptation | ought they not | to mary if the can | not otherwise withstand. // [comment on 'weak Christians'] he is a very weak | Christian that will | forsake Christ | ~~at~~ to folow suche | a lewd lawyer with | his legion of lyes. // [comment at bottom of page] therefor of necessitie it | foloweth that all yor fat | fed ydell belie prests and bushops be after ther stemed | bankets, hote wynes and unnecessary dishes overthrown of ther | fleshe, and dryven in dryven into [sic] the subjection therof. and then | I wold aske you whether it be lykly that ther holy virginitie | seying a womane should not be and adulterer in | his hart.

**[F.217r]** [comment on concupiscence on f.216v] nay good Sir. Appetitus gen 4 στορη φυσικη is | not all one // it is στορη φυσικη that worketh this effect | in man wherfor allthoughe temptation | might be steyd yet can not it be | steyd without the speciall work of god | or some other ungodly means. // Tertullianus De | praefeci adversis | hereticos. p. 108. | Petite et accipietis ei competit qui | sciebat a quo aliquis esset petendum, a quo et erat aliquid promissum,

a Deo scilicet Abraham, Issac et Jacob et vide fo. 17 De Niceno[1244] // multa proclara de querile et invenietis in | scripturis.

**[F.217$^{v}$]** The medicine of gevinge good eare to gods worde and | hearing of it away is not in yor churches <no in yor churches it maketh no matter whether a man haue eares or not>, wher | the unlearnid herer can learne nothinge, though | he give neuer so good ane eare because yor popishe | service is in a tonge that can not be understanded | so that forasmuche as yor churche hath not | cyrills medicine and yet ~~yor church~~ is full of them | that be seek of the dissease of the fleshe that cirill | speketh of, my grownd <should> stande suer in yor churche | if I had spoken if I had spokene [sic] of the unlawfull | carnall luste of concupiscence as you falsly report | me. [TREFOIL]

**[F.218$^{r}$]** [two quotes alongside Martyn's Latin of Cyril] at hic si non intelligentur | non [*uncertain word*] // si modicum corrumpit, quod tanta | [*uncertain word*] in uris sacerdotibus // inter // [comment at end of Cyril, on God's word] why haue you not this | word medicine in | yor churches? // 1.2.3. The papists haue | none of these thre [scripture reading, prayer, and doctrine]

**[F.218$^{v}$]** [interpretation of Cyril] This saying of Cyrill | I think is not spoken | to prests only but to | all indifferently. // ve // [comment on Chrysostom] thre lyes at | one clappe, for | he useth non of | these termes as | martyn reporteth | for he sayth it is not | impossible for him | that hath the guift | to lyve chast. // [comment on 'That to kepe perpetual chastite is a thing possible for us to doe'] verum est if he haue the | guift

**[F.219$^{r}$]** The abuse of prayer and fastinge may and is well so termed, and ~~lyvinge~~ | the chast lyf an impossibilitie to him that hath not the guift. // [comment relating to Chrysostom

[1244] Tertullian, *De praescriptionibus adversus haereticos,* ca. 8 (p. 108).

interpretation on f.218$^{v}$] but martyn fo. 94 et 109. will prove that every man | may haue all guifts for the asking

**[F.219$^{v}$ – F.220$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.220$^{v}$]** Thomas Cartipratensis [sic] li.$^{o}$ 2.$^{o}$ De Bono | Universali ca. 56 Baal fo. 20 Apologi. | Incubi daemones ita religiosas virgines opprimebant, ut nulla eis valeret | crucis signatio, nec aqua benedicta, | nec ipsum Christi corporis sacramentam.[1245] // But note of what condicion and qualitie the prayer must | be of him that shall haue when he asketh. for by | origens own words in this place concludid with | this adversative (but) <he> doth playnly prove that all | aswell yor virgine prests as other that aske not | in spirit and mynd praying without intermission | shall not aue what they aske. joyn than | these tow together furst the lak of the guift, | and then the lake of that kinde of prayer that | origen speketh of, and ~~then standeth~~ | my reason standeth sounde, onles you wyll | say that a man may lyve in puer virginitie | whether god will or not. // hoc vocabulo indidit uni generandi homini deus. et | ca 9 ost delinium repetit. [*uncertain word*] alias non cremissen // here he some and conclude that the tyme of nature is | expired, and that in the tyme of grace, nature | leaveth workinge. oh what a great clerk this is | I thinke never a clark in all England was hable to | haue made suche a resolution saving master William | Sommers. and yet I think his ~~wit so~~ learning not simple | to judge nature to cease operation sence the tyme of grace by Christ entred.

**[F.221$^{r}$]** obiice verba paphnutius | vide supra 84 p.a. // [comment on Martyn's use of Origens against him] origen askid | but he receavid | not as apeareth by | gelding of him selfe | wherfor this glose | must be layd | up with the rest. // [CROSSES] chastitie in our | poere // AυΓ εξ // [comment on 'howe that it is in oure power to live chast if we will oure selues'] a playn | pellagian // in ye 4 // v // gen. 1. et 9. // Basill sayth no | in hexameros[1246] // non dicit |

[1245] Thomas Cantipratensis, *De bono universali de proprietibus apum*, ca. 56.
[1246] Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron.*

votariarum sed | omnim // [comment relating to the above, though locating at bottom of page] that it be in oure ower to lyve chast | what then need we of the guift? | or what need we to ask it? // verte xxii fo. [TREFOIL]

**[F.221$^{v}$]** [comment on Cyprian's exegesis of Genesis] note Cyprians | exceptione qui capere | possunt // 1. 2. // papists contra | iubent. et iugum | neccessitatis imponunt. // vide Epiphanius | contra Senecianos | hec. 45. fo. 182.[1247] // [comment on Martyn's statement that 'increase and multiply' of Genesis 'dooeth ot so appertayne to the estate of grace now at these dayes' ... due to sufficient human population] ~~but~~ you should | prove that the | blessinge easeth or | ells must my saying | be trew. and yor cavvillation | appeare a willfull | stryvinge agaynst | gods trewth. // Aug. Ad Cassulanum. Constitutiones ergo vel ecclesiasticae | vel seculares si naturali Iuri contrariae | probantur, penitus sunt excludende[1248]

**[F.222$^{r}$]** Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam; ad imaginem Dei creavit illum; masculum et feminam creavit eos. | Benedixitque illis Deus et ait illis Deus: "Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram et subicite eam et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli et universis animantibus, quae moventur super terram"[1249] | This blissing contineweth with the | rest therefore in this also: what holdeth up the sone the mone comprehendeth all kynds in ther state | but the furst blessinge which you say is now chaungid and wold bely [*uncertain word*] for the [*uncertain word*] | This place you brynge in to prove that the furst commandment | gevene by allmightie god to nature, that it should increase | and multiply is chaunged. and that it doth not so apertayn to the tyme | of grace as in the tyme of nature. here all old wryters | be agaynst you. for basill whome you aledge sayth that the | word spokene thene by god worketh until this day, that it is efficay // D. 6 ex | Isidoro | sent Li.$^{o}$ 1.$^{o}$ | C. Non est | peccatum | Moralia mandata ad naturale ius pertinet, atque | ideo nullam mutabilitatem recepisse monstrantur. | et

[1247] Epiphanius, *Contra Senecianos,* fo. 182.
[1248] Augustine Ad Cassulanum, in *Corpus iuris canonici,* D.9, d.p.c. 11. [This cannot be found in PL 36]
[1249] Gen. 1:27-28.

post statim | Naturale ergo ius ab exordio rationalis creaturæ | incipiens, ut supra dictum est, manet immobile.[1250] // D.1 Ius | Naturale | et Glosa | Ius naturale multis modus dicitur[1251] 1. vis .\. | στοργη φυσιχη insita nobis 2. instinctus | vel stimulus ex sensualitate 3. instinctus | ex ratione proveniens // verte tua folia post. // Basilius | in εχα | Νόησον ῥῆμα Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς κτίσεως τρέχον | καὶ τότε ἀρξάμενον, καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐνεργοῦν, | καὶ εἰς τέλος δεξιὸν, ἕως ἂν ὁ κόσμος | συμπληρωθῇ[1252] et post | Νόησον γὰρ ὅτι Θεοῦ φωνὴ φύσεώς ἐστι ποιητικὴ[1253] | et iterum | ὁ θεῖος λόγος φύσις ἐστὶ τῶν γινομένων[1254] // Deus operatur omnia in omnibus. In ipso omnes vivimus et movemus et sumus[1255] // vide etiam Clement Alexandrinus ped[*uncertain letters*]o li$^{o}$ 2. pa 67 71.[1256]

**[F.222$^{v}$]** This phrase of spekinge that the old law hath ane end | ye seem not to understand. The doctors declare that | the meaning therof is this. Christ is now come which | is the trewth who was by all the shadowes of the old | law ~~was~~ figured, whiche shadowes haue now all | an~~d~~ ende at the commynge of Christ who is the light | and the <end of the> thing shadowed. ~~when~~ And so the old law | is now said to haue an end. because that part | of the old law is ended which shadowed Christ. and | also it is (named) ended because the maledictione | that came to us for breakinge of the law is now | takene away, and the wrytng brokene deleto quod | [Sidenote: Col 2 | Eph 1.] adversus nos erat, chirographio decretis, quod erat contrarium nobis, | per decretal, et illud sustuli medio affixum cruci;[1257] | it is not sayd that ~~nat~~ the law hath an end | because ~~our nature~~ the blissings <hath an end> that god gaue | mane wherby he should and doth increase and multiply | <but because the malediction hath an end>. wherfor your

[1250] Isidore of Seville, in *Corpus iuris canonici,* D.6, c.3.
[1251] *Corpus iuris canonici,* D. 1.
[1252] Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron,* homily IX.2: 'Behold the word of God pervading creation, beginning even then the efficacy which is seen displayed to-day, and will be displayed to the end of the world!
[1253] Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron,* homily IIII.2: 'Think, in reality, that a word of God makes the nature.'
[1254] Basil of Caesarea, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron,* homily VIII.1: 'It is the word of God which forms the nature of things created.'
[1255] Eph. 1:11; Acts 17:28.
[1256] Probably Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 2. pa. 67, 71.
[1257] Col. 2:14.

ignorance here betrayeth you, not | to be son in ~~divinitie~~ that all men knoweth most trew | men <that you be> lest of all <son> in divinitie when you understand | not this poynt but confound benedictione and maledictione. who knoweth not that the | precepts of the law of nature and the law morall remanye | styll. which you lyk a <un>learned canonist say that | this precept <which is grafted by god in nature> now none byndeth us. | st. Austen | verte fo. sequent | et Anis.

**[F.223$^{r}$]** [TREFOIL] these [John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Paul, Jesus] all had the guift, and therfor might well | absteyn from mariadge according to any doctrine. // the strength | thee blessinge which | it cease how shall // he confowndeth the | end of the old | law, and the law | of nature all one | but as longe as mane | hath nature, so longe | shall the law of nature | never cease. // mariage be a sacrament | or an ordinance of god // it should appeare by | St Hieromes saying | that ~~be~~ in the begyninge | suche as had | guift wer bound to | mariadge, but now | contrariwise. // [comment on how Martyn tries to account for these changes] This is aswell | spoken to saye | man as the | prest. // sayth

**[F.223$^{v}$]** [comment on 'bonum est homini sic esse'] he commandeth not | as the papists doe. // [comment on 1 Tim. 3 and Titus] very well, for | St. Paule referreth | his doctrine allwayes | to suche as haue the | guift and willeth | all men so to continue | as the lord hath | callid them, yet | because suche as had | the guift | myght chose whether | they wold mary | or not, therfor | he exhorteth them | not to marry | yet, sayth he if | they mary they | synne not ex | se duceret virgo | non peccat // [ponet notices that Martyn missed out a word when quoting him!] [TREFOIL] (great) is left out

**[F.224$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's ommission of certain phrase in St. Paul] Doctor clipscri~~pp~~ture | but it foloweth in the next word ex si duxeris uxorem non peccasi | et si nupserit virgo non peccavit // but it foloweth in the text. sed unusquisque proprium | habet donum ex Deo alius

quidem sic // if volo omnes homines esse sicut me ipsum[1258] be a | commandment then he commanded all | all men to absteyn from mariadge and | were by yor iudgement a Tatianist // and so bonum est homini non bibere vinum[1259] | shall be a commandment.

**[F.224$^{v}$]** Amb. in .7. ad Romanos | Sicut enim mulier mortuo viro | liberata est a lege viri, non a lege naturae, ita et hii | qui gratia Dei a liberati a lege sunt a qua tenebantur rei | (et mox) mori legi, deo vinere est. quia lex dominabitur peccatoribus.[1260]

**[F.225$^{r}$]** Sayth quest. novi et vet. test. q.44. sicut justificatus | est Abraham, ut cessantibus neomeniis et sabbato et circumcisione | et ceteris praeceptis; non quae naturalis legis sunt | et post. q 69. Lex autem duplici modo cessavit | nec quidem tota: nam et id quod cessavit poterit permanere | si servetur conditio. Aliud enim cessavit in sententia | aliud in ipsa Lege. Praedicante Joanne baptismum poenitentiae | in remissionem peccatorum, cessavit sententia Legis, quae reos tenebat | peccatores; cessaverunt etiam onera Legis, quae ad duritiam | cordis judaici fuerant data in escis, neomeniis, sabbatis, | et caeteris. Misericordia enim adveniente, cessavit vindicta. | Sed onera Legis in perpetuum cessaverunt. Sententia vero | his cessat et aboletur, qui permansere in beneficio consecuto. | His autem qui redeunt ad hominem veterem, refricatur | Legis auctoritas, quia immemores beneficiorum redeunt | sub sententiam Legis etc[1261] // [summary of the Latin above] The law shewed nothynge ellse but damnation | to the intent that therby we might know our | own infirmitie and then call apon him for helpe. | forsaking our selves utterly and putting all our hole | trust in him.

[1258] 1 Cor. 7:7.
[1259] Rom. 14:21.
[1260] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaria in epistolam ad Romans,* ca. 7.
[1261] Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones veteris et novi testament,* q.44; q. 69.

**[F.225ᵛ]** vide Andreas Phrysius pa. 302.[1262] // St. Hierome sayth that helvidius denied the <perpetuall> virginite | of the blissed virgin and that was his chef poynte | wherin nor in none other of his heresies doctor ponet | men assentid. therefor martyn is a rayling lyer.

**[F.226ʳ]** remember that doctor ponet allways referreth the | to the guift // [reference to 1 Tim 3] the words of the | scripture be playne | in the present tense. // but in the leaf | N you wyll not haue | him a bushop that had wif | in the preterperfect tense. // scripsit, fateor hec | Hironii? sed calore | Disputationis. vide. | And. Fricius fo. 302[1263] // [commeont on 'Paul saide not, leat him bee chosen a Bishoppe that marieth a wife...'] yet but paule saith | oportet esse.

**[F.226ᵛ]** only of St. Hierome. // [comment on Martyn's position - the contra bigamy exegesis of 1 Tim 3] whi more in a | prest then in a | lay mane. this is tertullians | error. and many | of the old fathers. | whose error you | here playnly defend. // [comment on Paul and the Apostles putting away their wives] not but suche as had | ii at once // Herby may it appeare what manor of counsell | Neocesariense was.

**[F.227ʳ]** [quotations from sources relating to 1 Tim 3 and 1 Cor 7] Sylva mea 159. // Di. 33. Acutius. qui uxorem prius habuit et | post concubina potest esse episcopus. | Di. 34. qui prius uxorem habuit et post | fraternitate meretricem potest fieri diaconus[1264] // Petrus Martyr 1 Cor 7. fo. 166. intelligit hanc | prohibitionem fuisse de secundis nuptiis que post | divortium fiebant viuente prima uxore. vide | locum confute tract. et bucerus et latomus.[1265]

**[F.227ᵛ]** I marvayle he bringeth not in Theophelact expounding | unius uxoris virum. 1. unius sacerdociii. // Terullianus in Apologetico adversus gentes cap. 16 | geveth Cornelius Tacitus this preyse amongst | other. At enim idem Cornelius tacitus, sane ille | mendaciorum

[1262] Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, (likely) *Emendanda libri quinque.*
[1263] Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, (likely) *Emendanda libri quinque*, fo. 302.
[1264] Neither of those two Latin comments are reflected in *Corpus iuris canonici,* D. 33 or D. 34, thus it is likely that they refer to Ponet's *Sylva mea.*
[1265] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* fo. 166.

loquacissimus. and in the same place be | further declareth That Cornelius tactitus in | his story ~~gave~~ moved the gentiles to beleue | that the Christians worsheped an Asses hed | rede the place and ye may add yor story // Cor. Tactius li.º histo sua ii scripsis religionem | Christianam esse superstitionem exitiabilem.[1266]

**[F.228r]** contra secundas nuptias // [comment near description of unbelieving authors against twice marriage] montanistas | cum tertullianum // obiect licurgus etc.| the romanyes // [comment on Cornelius Tacitas writing in Germany about widows being prevented from marrying again] but St paule saith | mortum vivo libera | est ut nubat cui volet[1267] | so by yor reason paule | should alow a lawfull | incontinency or | adultery by law. // [comment on 'as had been but once married' regarding 1 Tim. 3:2] His word is esse

**[F.228v]** [comment countering Martyn's accusation that Ponet's position makes unmarried bishops guilty as per 1 Tim 3:2] Dr poynet holdeth | not theme gyltie that | be unmarried, if | they haue the guift | of sole lyf as | he thinketh bothe | the most worthy our | Bushop of London. Dr. | Ridley and the | Bushop of Ely[1268] hath // [comment on the pure of heart seeing God] this saying is so | often repetid in | his book that | it is fyrste in one | page of the 4th | leaf of his book. // [comment on John the Evangelist] see how this blynd | bussard | understandeth [? the]| not. // et f. 92. 112. | et 123 // supra [Q SYMBOL] // [comment on superintendents] vide | post | verso fo. | [TREFOIL] [SQUARE links with fol. 230r] // [citation of Jerome] Hiero. in Apologia pro li.o Adversus Jovinianum | vult apostolus in nuptas et viduas absque coitu permanere | et ad exemplum sui provocat et feliciores vocat | si sic permanserint.[1269]

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[1266] Tertullian, *Apologeticus adversus gentes,* ca. 16; Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales,* li. 2.
[1267] 1 Cor. 7:3.
[1268] Nicholas Ridley (1500-1555) and Thomas Goodrick (1494-1554).
[1269] Hieronymous Stridonensis (Jerome), *Apologeticus ad pammachium, pro libris contra jovinanum,* epistola 48.

**[F.229r]** [comment referring back to f.228v - applies Gardiner's logic 'I wish all were as I am' to Acts 26:29 with the implication that 'I wish all were arrested and shaven'] I mervayle Martyn hath suche subtall shift of [destane?] | that he is driven foure or fyve sundry tymes to defend hymself | with this one place volo omnes esse sicut meipsum. me thynketh | ther <is a> place in the 26 of act that maketh for him asmoche as this. when | paule was before ~~kinge Agrippa festus~~ kinge Agrippa he sayd unto | him. optarem apud non se modo sed omnes etiam qui me audiunt hodie esse tales | qualis ego sum exceptis vinculis hiis[1270] Paules hed was then shaven and hungry belyk // another lye apon d. ponet. for he saith not soe | shew the place and leaf // [comment on section about Ridley, Ely and Bishops] Within 8 lynes before you said that doctor ponet | holdeth they be no bushopes <that be unmaried> and now you say ~~they~~ | that he sayeth they ~~be sh~~ be not blameles | bushopes. if a bushop worthy of blame be a bushop, thene | within these 6 lynes you haue made a lyer of of doctor ponet // yor lyes be of a wondrose nature, for in some | place you can not see my words, onles ye put some | of yor own amoungst them. in some place | ye can not see my words onles ye fake them | otherwise then the sense leaveth and all other men | judgeth of them, in some place ye can ~~not see~~ | see one pece that goeth before, but you can not | see that commeth after <immediately>. ye haue so many eyes | that ye may be a very Argus who as poets | fayneth had hundreth eies wherof tow | alwayes slept and all the rest waked, so is | it with you ye haue a nomber of eyes in whose | sight all treweth appeare lies, and these eyes | be ever wakinge. tow only eyes you haue with | whom ye should see the trewrth but they be | allwayes aslepe, or if they be awake they be | blynd. for the playne words of the text they

**[F.229v]** cane not se oportet <must> nor esse be | but for oportet you <see> non oportet <fo. N> and | ~~for esse you put in fuisse~~. by the | helpe ~~of yor~~ St. Hierome agaynst | Jovinian ~~as blynd you~~. and for esse | be <husband of one wif> see fuisse hath been the | husband of

[1270] Acts 26:29.

one wif. and allthoughe | in my boke ther ~~is~~ be no thinge so of | repetid as the hauinge or not havinge of | the guift of sole lyf, yet be you | ~~so~~ either so blynd that you will not | or so malitiose so that you can not, or | so afrayd to displease Stephen yor master | that you dare not doe it. whiche | relation of the guift of allmightie god | is a suer ground to all my doctrine, | and an overthrow to all yours. // This is the very playce of allmightie god | which lighteth apon all suche heretiques as | you be prophecied by Esai. | et non vident audirunt, oculus et non | vident, non, et non intelligiunt etc[1271]

**[F.230r]** [SQUARE] [Heading: Superintendent] This word superintendent ~~is~~ | ~~the very~~ signefyeth ane overseer of the | flok of c~~r~~hrist, and by use is made a known | word, wherby Episcopus is understanded. | and This word <superintendent> in the xx[th] of Actes of | thapostles is playnly expressid by Saynt | paule spekinge to the Elders of ephesus in | ~~the~~ sayinge Attendite vobis vobis [*sic*] et universo | gregi.[1272] where he prophecied that after his | departure ther should arise even amongst | themselves ravenous wolves, which should | not spare the flok, spekinge things a wry | to the intent to seduce the disciples. after then | this prophecy began then to take effect, and this | day by the helpe of you hereticall papists is | continewed. paule <biddeth them> ~~sayeth they should~~ attend | and ~~over~~look <to> ther flok. and he calleth them | επισκοπος which is superintendentes. but you | will not haue them so. but sacrificers and bludshoppes

**[F.230v]** only. the name of bushop you retayne; but you | be loth it should be declared which it doth | signify. ye should be ministri, you wilbe | magistri. for pastors you be imposters, for | servi servorum you wilbe domini dominorum. for | minimi you wilbe maximi for | episcopi you wilbe monarchae. for Christiani | you wilbe Antichristianissimi. ~~and I | pray you what a number of in~~ of this word | superintendent we haue as I haue alledged good | grounds in the

[1271] Is. 64:4.
[1272] Acts 20:28a.

scripture, but whatever | of names I pray you haue ~~the~~ | you popishe heretiques divised whiche | haue no grownd of the scripture. furst | pope. cardinall. legat archebushop | dean archedeacon etc. // vide andreas fricius pa. 302 fusissme[1273] // Nay every affirmative doth exclude only | on negative <his contredictary> and includeth no negative | that may be gatherid that I am not at york | because I am at London. but spekinge | properly that proposition is not included except | ye wold make London a cace for Yorke

**[F.231r]** [comment on 'husband of one wife'] yet is it better then that thei shall haue but one benefice at once? // [comment on Ponet's use of Chrysostom on the Jewish polygamy problem] Chrysostom. Tit. 1. | et Hiero Marcellino et oceano vide | sylva mea parch. 83. | or that the jewes continewed | ther law concerning wyfs | as thei did the law of | circumcision[1274] // [comment on Martyn's argument generally] that may be answered | with this law did | now restrayn that | whiche before was law | full. or ells | that it was commonly usid | and yet agaynst the law. | as a nomber of things be | in England. // [comment on tense of 1 Tim 3] in the leaf next | you say had and not | hath | here you turn | esse into fuisse // of yor liberalite | here yow turn | esse into fuisse // [comment on Ponet's exposition] that [didst?] expositions | be not cause of | contradiction // [comment on note: 'Paule the v ch. to the same'] note this noter how | he noteth

**[F.231v]** [comment on Ponet's take on Titus] the 7 leaf | nay it is | the 10th | leafe. and he skippeth | Chrysostom | the eyth leaf // [comment on use of Chrysostom] my intent was | to prove that | mariadge is no | hinderaunce to a | godly lif. as appeareth | by the titell in | the margen in the | 8 leaf of my | booke, which thinge | is planyly proved | by these words | of Chrysostom as | appeareth. but | this is the nature of this heretique, when I | intend the prof

[1273] Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, (likely) *Emendanda libri quinque*, pa. 302.
[1274] Chrysostom and Hieronymus Marcellino in *Sylva mea,* fo. 83.

one thinge, he wold make you | beleue that I am in hand with another of his own | devysinge. he cryeth hold the thef and | he hath the purse.

**[F.232$^{r}$]** potuit tamen vinente prima. or ells wer not Chrysostoms | reason good. Therefor this must ye grant to be his judgement | The furst part proveth that havinge on wif he might | be mad a bushop. and the second part proveth that | he that hath had tow wyves may not be a bushop. // nay without the same if his wif be ded.

**[F.232$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.233$^{r}$]** [comment on Ponet's view that Paul means for a married man to be able to be bishop] this is the point | which I alledge Chrysostom | for. // [comment on Paul writing to Timothy about election of bishops - 1 Tim 3] a lye | no not so syr. he | saith that he must | be the husband | of one wif. // [in left hand margin] a lye // [comment on Ponet's position] thoughe this be | trew that a bushop | may mary, yet | it is not d.p. intent | to prove that in citing | this pece of Chrys. | wherfor here is one | ther lye. // this place is not for that purpose brought | in as apereth fo. 10 in my book.[1275]

**[F.233$^{v}$]** [comment on use of Martyn's 'must' abstein from matrimoniall use of ther wives] a lye // nay Ambrose // [comment on Martyn's view of Peter's wife: 'yet it foloweth not therefore, that when the mother was healed, the daughter was alive.'] Peters | wif // [comment on comparison between Peter's mother-in-law and Mary, mother of God] The scripture | witnesseth of the | abstinence of the | one but not of the other | wherefor yor similtude halveth. | and the scriptures witnes | that the one had the guift of chastitie | and not so of the other.

**[F.234$^{r}$]** ambrose and Hierome contrary

[1275] Ponet, *Defence,* fo. 10.

**[F.234$^{v}$-235$^{r}$ – Blank]**

**[F.235$^{v}$]** allthoughe you leave out invenio I pardon | you for it is not in yor old text, and | how well you be seen in the greeke I | know not. but in the latyn all men | may see that you be ignorant.

**[F.236$^{r}$]** [comment on 'Poinet never reade Martiales Epistles the Martyr'] How know you // whene Esop [=Joseph] was set | to be sold, because | he that was set to be | sold with him said he | know all. Esop | sayd he knew nothyng | you know all things | then must I know nothing. // [comment on Ponet not reading Tertullian] Then Tertulian | had a wif and he | was presbyter as both | st. hierom and Beatus rhena [=Beatus Rhenanus] | witness // [comment on Ponet never reading any old story] | He haue red all the | chapter he can not excuse | his malice in leaving | out that maketh agaynst | him wherby the diet is | mad playn and the contineweth | opened. // [comment on Martyin's quote of Latin of Paul cited originally by Ponet] forte left out // although he leave out | [Juvenio? ? pardo?] // man added // martyn standeth jolyly in his own conceyt, and thinketh no | man learned but himself, and because I favere to speke | of matters not perteyning to my purpose he thinketh that | I never haue seen them whether I haue | seen these authors or not they know my wrytinge and doinge | but tru this text that you alledge of paule, you falsify and | I seem as unlearned as I any.

**[F.236$^{v}$]** iuxta indulgentia // 1 Cor. 7 // [comment on 1 Cor. 7:5 and coming back together after prayer-abstinence] Martyn will not here | playnly use paules words | pro tempore etc // a lye // [comment on the controvery over whether Paul was married - and the copy at Magdalen College at Oxford of Ignatius] it is more lyke that | some papist left that | out in Oxforth libuary | then that any german hath | put it in. for ther be | no written copies of // [comment engaging with Martyn's reason behind why Peter was not married - and indeed left his wife to follow Jesus] by that reason ye may | prove that he returned | to ~~fish~~ his bote again | after

christs death | and yet in the 24th of | Luc[1276] and in the 22 of John it apereth | that Christ found him a fishing | agayn.

**[F.237r]** he commandeth then that one of them should not defraud another and | he permitteth them to depart but for a tyme with this condicion that | they com together agayn for thavoyding of suche | inconvenience as might insew // [comment on the corrupted letter of ignatius on f.236v] In Cantorbery library ther was one when I was ther | that had as the prynt hath // Ignatius in Epistola ad Philadelph. facit catalogium caelibum | sed apostolorum nullas mentioem facit. vide peresiu 152.[1277] // if all the rest be maried ther is matter enough | agaynst you // [TREFOIL] ignatius thene one. [SEMIBREVE] remember to searcheth | libraries for a written copy of ignatius. for // Thene that maried mane that leaveth all and foloweth | christ must forsake his wif. and contrarywise he | that kepeth his wif can no folow Christ.

**[F.237v]** [comment concerning f.238r] no. but suche | papists and heretiques | as martyn and his | master is. // [comment concerning f.238r] see how still he | buildeth apon his | false grownd // Gen. 26. Isaac uxorem suam vocat sororem.[1278]

**[F.238r]** [comment on forsaking things to follow Christ] oh what a thunderbolt | is this. σου τὴς | αρχινοριας // [comment on Peter's leaving for increase in virtue] yor cause not beinge | provid yor grownd is | naught // [comment on 'crucifying the flesh' to folow Christ] see how the blynd | puppie thinketh he | hath reproved his | adversary whene he | hath shamed himself. // 1 Cor. 9 // Hier. li.º 1.º adversus | jovinian. ubi | sororis nomen est | suspicio omnis foedi | amoris excluditur.[1279] [comment on Martyn's passing refererence to sisters vs. wives] where? lye [*uncertain word*] | So doth Clement alexandrius take it

[1276] Luke 24; John 22.
[1277] Peresius, *De divinis apostolicis atque*, 152.
[1278] Gen. 26:9.
[1279] Hieronymus Stridonensis (Jerome), *Adversus jovinian,* li. 1.

**[F.238v]** [comment on 'fear of incontinencye'] why then doe you | not answer myn | argument // [comment on a wise man asking God for the gift of continency] by this of the sapience ye[1280] | should conclude impossibilitie | if god geue it you not. // [of our own nature, we cannot possibly be chaste] where is now yor | liberum arbitrium [free choice] that | you spek in fo. Ix | 94. 97. 85. // [*faded ink*] chastitie | [*faded ink*] Aug.

**[F.239r]** [reference to an uncertain work of Luther at top of page] 4or gradus conjugum vide Luth. in 25 genes f. | 41.[1281] // The master of the sentence [Lombard] calleth it a remedy[1282] | and tertull. Li.o 1.o ad uxorem. useth these words | propter insidias tentationem necessitate nobis concessam esse | nobis nubendi potestatem.[1283] // [reference to Augustine on Pelagianism] Pellagiani dicunt hominem posse in hac vita | sine peccato vinere. Aug to. 2 pa. | 273 a etc. confutatur to. 7. p. 446 | et posse hominem mandata dei custodire si | veli. Aug. to. 2.o p. 256.[1284] ubi etiam quaedam de renditiones | omnium.[1285] // he sayth that all men shall haue the guift of chastity | that will pray for it. | aswell may you prove that you shall have helpe | when you pray for it. and money. And | deliverance out of prisene, and heresy etc. | then wold you not say fiat voluntas tua | but hec est mea volunatas good lord and therfor | I will haue it whether thou willt or not.

**[F.239v]** Clemens Alexand. li.o 7.o Stromatum 243. Quo modo enim | quicquid vult potest deus, ita quicquid petierit is | qui est cognitioe praeditus, id accipit. Omnio enim | novit Deus eos qui bonis digni sunt, et qui non | unde dat ea quae singulis conveniunt. Quamobrem indignis, | etiamsi saepe petierit, non dabit. Dabit autem | scilicet iis qui sunt digni. Non est tamen petitio | superflua, etiamsi bona dentur absque oratione.[1286] // et paulo post eadem

[1280] Reference to Wisdom 8.
[1281] Martin Luther, *Lectures in Genesis* (25), 41.
[1282] Lombard, (likely) *Sentences.*
[1283] Tertullian, *Ad uxorem,* li. 1, ca. 3.
[1284] Uncertain works of Augustine.
[1285] Certain sources for Augustine references.
[1286] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 7, 243.

pagina | Sceleratis ergo hominibus oratio, non solum in alios | sed etiam seipsos est perniciosissima, siquedem estiamsi | quae fausta et prospera sunt dicunt, perita | acceperint, ledunt eos qui acceperunt ut qui | sint usus eorum nescii. Qui enim orant | ut possideant ea bona quae non habent ea | que videntur bona, non ea que sunt bona | petunt. Qui autem est cognitione praeditus, eorum | quidem que possidet permansionem, ad ea autem | quae est supernaturus aptitudine eorum autem | que non est accepturus, petet aeternitate. | Quae autem vere sunt bona quae versantur in | animo, ea et sibi esse, et ei permanere precatur: neque; | aliquid ex iis que absunt desiderat, contentus | praesentibus.[1287] Aug de bono viduitet | Abraham propterea tenuit coniugii | castitatem, quia non potuit ampliorem.[1288]

**[F.240ʳ - Blank]**

**[F.240ᵛ]** another lye. for Christ in that place | where ~~he putteth forth this explanation~~ | he sayth petite et accipietis, putting not | forth this example of the Enuches // [quote in relation to 1 Cor. 9 on next fol.] contra to himself | omnes [curruntall?] men defer. petunt pulsant | non omnes capiunt Bravium.

**[F.241ʳ]** [comment on Eunuches] I pray the martyn | tell me, and | let thy concession | mak answer whether | thei haue the | guift of chastitie or | not. if not who | ther be in a falt | or not that doest not | ask it // [comment on the 'he who can accept this teaching'] Ex. he that hath | the guift. // [comment on Bucer/Ponet's understanding of the gift] whi com you not | furth with yr doctors | to prove this?

**[F.241ᵛ]** AυΓ // [correcting Matt 19] math. 9 // Christ nor paule | nor none of Christs | apostles wold command | it. therfor must | antichrist or ells he | should not be antichrist | command it.

[1287] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* 243.
[1288] Augustine, *De bono coniugali,* ca. 22.

**[F.242r]** [link back to f.241v and reference to Clement] Clemens Alex. pa 108[1289] // [link back to f.214v and reference to Augustine] Aug. De bono viduitatis, Abraham propterea | tenuit coniugii castitatem quia non potuit ~~ampli~~ | ampliorem[1290] // [comment on agreement between Paul and Jesus on f.241v] in deed the very same. to you that be | willingly blynd. but to them that will see | the most manifest scriptures expoundinge these | it is not thesame as you take it but quiet | contrary.

**[F.242v]** Christs maxime must be atrew rule. Non omnes | capiunt verbum hoc. with the whiche rule ~~of~~ | Chrysostom must agre without wrythynge or | crokinge of the rule to him. // Supra fo. 80. Verba Aug. De nuptiis et concupiscentia li.o 1.o ca. 10 / Bonum est etc.[1291]

**[F.243r]** [the final of the three short quotations labels this position as Pelagian.] // omnes qui habent donum | possunt capere, sed | illi omnes volunt // infra 109. Clemens | Alex. 7.o Stro. 1. sisent digni[1292] // Er. // non est hoc consumus | scripturis. debet | enim gratia precederer | voluntatem alioqui est | pellagianisimus. // [reference to Jerome] Vide Hieronymus ad Ctesiphontem contra Pellagianus | To. 2 epistolarum. fo. 606.[1293]

**[F.243v - Blank]**

**[F.244r]** here martyn calleth it a falt ~~no~~ and a gevinge | over of man to the fleshe and the devell; when | when [sic] of a virgin he becometh a maried ~~p~~ man | and so must it follow that what abraham | (the righteous man by the judgment of god him | self) maried he gave him self over to the | devell and the fleshe. and not only he but also | all other men lyvinge. // my sinne is no small some. but all the baudy prests, luggard | preests, all prests that haue not the guift to

[1289] Clement of Alexandria, *unknown text,* 108.
[1290] Augustine, *De bono viduitatis.*
[1291] Augustine, *De nuptiis et concpuiscentia,* li. 11, ca. 10.
[1292] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 7, 109.
[1293] Hieronymous, *Ad Ctesiphontem contra Pelagius*, fo. 606.

lyve without a | wif. all prests that defer the company of womane velle nubere | vive damnable: qui viderit mulieres ad concupiscendum eam | iam merchatus in [*uncertain word*]

**[F.244$^{v}$ – F.245$^{v}$ – Blank]**

**[F.246$^{r}$]** [comment on Cyprian] Cyprianus magis | adulter // [comment on Jesus' response to the prayers of Susan and Tecla] how know you that | she usid this fashion | of prayer

**[F.246$^{v}$ – Blank]**

**[F.247$^{r}$]** [reference to Epiphanius Contra Antidicomarianitas] vide Epiphanius Contra Antidicomarianitas. Ubi | fusisse. Contra eum habentur valde multa et si.

**[F.247$^{v}$]** Aug De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticus Ca. 63 | Bonae sunt Nuptiae, sed causa filiorum et cognescendi | fornicationes obtentu. Melior est continentia, sed non sufficit | sibi ad beatitudinem. Si pro solo amore pudicitiae | retinetur, sed si et cum affectu causa vacandi Domino | eligatur, alioquin divortium magis coniugii videtur esse | quam appetitio castitatis. et post[1294] // ca. 72 | Bonum est cibum cum gratiarum actione sumere, et quidquid | Deus praecepit edendum est. Abstinere autem ab | aliquibus, non quasi a malis, sed quasi non necessariis, | non est malum. Moderari <non dicit abstinere> vero eorum usum pro | necessitate et tempore, proprie Christianorum est. | Malas vero dicere nuptias, vel fornicationi | comparandas aut stupro; cibos quoque credere malos, | vel malitias causare percipientibus, non est Christianorum, | sed proprie Hierachitarum et Manichaeorum[1295] // et De Bono | Viduitatis | vel quascumquae nuptias[1296] // Vide Epiph. | Contra Catharos | pa. 241 | Melius est lapsum a cursu palam sibi | uxorem sumere secundum legem, et | a virginitate multo

[1294] Augustine, *De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticus,* ca. 63. This is now understood to be pseudo-Augustinian. This version is likely to have been that of Gennadii Massiliensis.
[1295] Augustine, *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticus,* ca. 72.
[1296] Augustine, *De bono viduitatis.*

tempore paenetentiam | agere, et sic rursus ad Ecclesiam induci, | velut qui mala operatus est, et non quotidie sauciari[1297]

**[F.248r]** [comment on adultery and priests marriage] Worse than | adultery [according to Ponet's take on what Martyn says here] // a lye // wyll you never | leave lyenge apon | St. Austen // What is all this to doctor ponets booke // Those desierid haue and had it given them | other haue desiered it and can not haue it | non omnes capiunt verbum hoc.

**[F.248v]** [comment on what is possible for God and man] yes sine dono | These had donum // adfer contra

**[F.249r]** [short reference to Clement of Alexandria] Vide Clementes Alexandrinus de Ethnics | etc. fo.[1298]

**[F.249v - Blank]**

**[F.250r]** Hilarius in | 19 Math. | Nobis circa Eunuchos sermo sit | et voluntas. Et in uno posuit | naturam, in altero necessitatem, in | tertio voluntatem. Naturam in eo qui | ita nascitur, necessitatem in eo qui ita factus |voluntatem in illo qui spe regni coelestis, talis | esse decreverit: cui nos similes effici, si tamen | possimus, admonuit.[1299]

**[F.250v]** Hier. contra Jovinianum. Li. 1.º | Eliguntur mariti in sacerdotium, | non nego: quia non sunt tanti virgines, | quanti necessarii sunt sacerdotes. Numquid quia | in exercitu fortissimus quisque eligendus est, idcirco non | assumentur et infirmiores, cum omnes fortes esse | non possint?[1300] // Aug. De. Gratis et Libero Arbitrio. ca. 4. he sayth that Timothy had not necesitatem; | thoughe he wer a bushop, but potestatem, voluntatis, suae. and | then declareth who hath the guift and who not. quibus enim non est datum: aut nolunt aut non

[1297] Epiphanius, *Contra catharos*, pa. 241.
[1298] Clement of Alexandria, *De Ethnics.*
[1299] St Hilary, *Evangelium matthaei commentarius,* ca. 19.
[1300] Hieronymus Stridonensis (Jerome), *Adversus jovinianum,* li. 1.

implent | quod volunt. quibus autem datum est sic volunt ut impleant quod volunt.[1301] // Aug. De Numptiis | et concupiscentia | lib.1. ca. 16 | Illud potius excellentis continentiae bonum, qui | potest capere, capiat. Qui vero id | capere non potest, et si acceperit | uxorem, non peccat: et femina si se | non continet, nubat. Bonum est enim homini mulierem | non tangere. Verum quia non omnes capiunt verbum | hoc, sed quibus datum est[1302]; restat ut propter | fornicationes unusquisque suam uxorem | habeat, et unaquaeque virum suum habeat:[1303] ac sic infirmitas | incontinentiae, ne cadat in ruinam flagitiorum, | excipiatur honestate nuptiarum. Quod enim ait | Apostolus de feminis, Volo igitur juniores nubere; | hoc et de maribus dici potest, Volo juniores uxores | ducere: ut ad utrumque sexum pertineat, filios procreare, | patres et matresfamilias esse, nullam occasionem | dare adversario maledicti gratia. Refer hecas | fo. 81[1304]

**[F.251ʳ]** [comment on Martyn's position on Augustine and Christ's words about celibacy] you <are> had lyk to | pray yernestly as st | austene. and yet | goe without it. // [comment on comparison between 'able' and 'will'] vide Bernard | fo. 16 et 17[1305] // posse pro | velle | a trope that | can not be | defended // [comment on 'Christes meaning there is they would not. And yet the bare worde semeth to imploy that they could not.'] nay it is | the could | not, that by ther | fals helth might | com to the gentiles // [Ponet adds an additional verse to Martyn's 'Mat. xxxiii, Luke xiii'] Ro 11 // oh what a | clark is this | that could | bringe forth so | many places to | no purpose // quia non potuistis // [reference to Jerome] Vide Hieronymus ad CTesiphontem contra | Pellagianus To. 2 epistolarum 606.[1306]

**[F.251ᵛ]** [comment on comparison of protestant position to turtles: 'setting a man ... in a baser case ... as the Turtell, whose propertee we reade to bee, that after the death of his mate he doeth

[1301] Augustine, *De gratia et libero arbitrio,* li. 1, ca. 4.
[1302] Matt. 19:11.
[1303] 1 Cor. 7:28.
[1304] Augustine, *De nuptiis et concupiscentia,* li. 1, ca. 16.
[1305] (possibly) Bernardus aus Luxemberg, *Catalogus Haereticorum,* fo. 16-17.
[1306] Hieronymus, *Ad Ctesiphontem contra Pelagius*, 606.

never use ne take up any newe mate.' But ever after liveth as it were in chastitie of wydowhod'] propertie is donum | dei in all mens | sights, sauinge | in martens. // [comment on Martyn's reference to Hebrews' 'marriage is honorable... ' etc.] if prests be | folkes thene yor own | translation maketh | it honourable amonge | prests // [comment on Martyn's bringing 'vowed chastitie' into Pauls words in Hebrews] These words | he hath not // a lye of paule

**[F.252r]** Abraham propterea tenuit coniugii castitatem | quia non potuit ampliorem change non potuit | in to non volunt and it shall folow that | abraham loved not virginite for | you say before non potuint signifyeth non volunt | that is to say ~~he c~~ abraham could not, because he wold | not take virginite. // you haue brought St. Austen agaynst yor self. | fo. 97, p. 2, Ite. 93, fo. pa. 2[1307] // ~~this sense was alowed~~ in the generall counsell | ~~of nice aledge ther by~~ paphnutius et.

**[F.252v]** Everi mane ought to try him self, and so | to goe forth or to tary | at hand with his wif. // he reporteth, he demeth not. // vide pet. martyre 1 Cor. 7[1308] // a man may tary a yere without a wif therefor | test. fals socrates per portare pandera | therfore decree. and why not // one wif at once is alowed by gods word | duringe the lyf of the partyes Ro. Math. | Cor. 7. and therefore the holy gost in this place | useth the singular number. ὁ γαμος. honorabile | coniugum.[1309] wherefor this text will not | suffer martyns shameles wit to bulde ~~his~~ | these and suche lyk blasphemose lyes | apon this pece of gods holy word | as martyn pretendeth. but in deed | som of yor virgin prests haue ~~change~~ | more change thene you spek of. // if they be not lyke whi alledge you then | cleanes and uncleanes. but this is | trew the papists brynge out of thold testament | all things that arons prests had savinge only | wives. and yet be wives only

[1307] Augustine, *De bono coniugati,* ca. 22.
[1308] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians.*
[1309] Heb. 13:4.

of all those things | alowed in the new testament and all the other | Hebrew shadowes forbidden as shadowes that be ceased.

**[F.253r]** Vide 32 q. 7 | c. quod proposuisse[1310] [comment on number of marriages allowed] When paphnutius | in Nicea counsell | alledged this place | in this sense. proving | that mariage was | honorable amongst | prests, and in the state | of presthod. // [comment on Martyn's argument that if marriage is honourable, then one ought to marry frequently] If I or ever | any other whom | this rayler nameth | of the ~~trew~~ new | learning had taught | this doctrine, then had | he said somewhat. | but seinge ye know | well that we haue not | why do not the boys | whistell him out | of his coat // [comment on 'bothe men and women may honorably renounce the honorable estate of marieing'] aswell prests | as other // [comment on priests went by succession not election --> priests in those days must necessarily marry again] ~~The~~ if mariadge | be an unclean thing in | a prest, it is a well when | in that prest that is made by | succession as in him that | is by election. | [comment as above] suche persuasions used Tacian Encratites | Tertulian et vide Clement Alexand. // it went by succession to declare but [*uncertain word*] that | ther mariadge was not uncleane.

**[F.253v]** forte but 15 | 4 reasons that alow | the prests in the | old law to haue | wyves and ours not. // 1 reg. [=Kings] 21 // [comment on 'mulieres'] the old text hath | mulieris // AυΓ // Pet. Martyr[1311] // [comment on use of scripture] This blasphemy it is to belye the Sciptures

**[F.254r]** The place that I alledge out of the old law | is Lev. 21. Sacerdos viduam prophanam repudiate | et meretrirem non ducet uxorem sed virginem.[1312] And | that this ought to take place in the new law | vide in decretis innocentii 4 ca. ad victurium | Rothomagorum and Leo 1. episcopos[1313] whiche | place be both alledged in my booke.

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1310 *Corpus Iurius Canonici,* D. 32 c. 7.
1311 Peter Martyr Vermigli, uncertain source though probably his *Commentary on 1 Corithians*.
1312 Gloss on Lev. 21:14.
1313 Pope Innocent IV to Victor of Rouen, *Decretis* (uncertain loc.); Leo I, *Epistola* 85.

**[F.254$^{v}$ – F.255$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.255$^{v}$]** The libertie that ~~the prest of the~~ may be gathered | in this place is the free choyse that is left | to the prest eyther to mary or not to mary, | and not, whene he is yet unmaryed, so | when I ~~talk of~~ <ground the> reason ~~of the~~ apon the | Christians libertie ~~before~~ in election before mariadge he chattoreth of the | ~~bond~~ troubles <that folow mariadge> mariadge [sic]

**[F.256$^{r}$]** [comment on whether David's men were precluded from using their wives [Martyn] or harlotts [Ponet]] it is not lykly that | a souldiar will | haue a whore. // [comment on whores and wealth] therefore it foloweth yor | prests and bushopes | of England // [comment on Ponet's understanding of the discontinuity of Old and New testaments] judge reader whether | these words call | mariadge a lybertie | or not // [comment on whether Gods word calls a thing a liberty and also bondage] well bowled martyn

**[F.256$^{v}$]** [reference to Clement of Alexandria] vide infra 125 et fo. cart precedente ibi | ex Clement Alex. // [comment on brother or sister ... this is the divorce section of 1 Cor. 7] These termes brother | and syster you cane | not abyde // ye wille ever | lyk yor self | leaving out that | that foloweth // [*faded text*]

**[F.257$^{r}$]** here ye may se this great ravine, and cherubicall | sorbonist what logik he hath: I say | the prests now be not so muche bound with laws | now as they were in the tyme of moses law | and to improve that he goeth about to prove | that no mane denieth that ther is a kind | of service <and [*uncertain word* – persistens?]> in mariadge whiche whene he | hath proved what cane he conclude? ~~forsother | this be~~ that prests be now in the tyme of the | gospell more bownd thene they were in the | old law of moses. this is playne | homo currit ergo baculus stat in aiugulo | and yet he thought this | so worthy a reasone of his that he had in his | hed wherwith to overthrow my saying, that before | he wold utter it he fell to his exclamations | as thou mayst se in pa. 100.

**[F.257v]** martens penne is very meet for martens | eyes for his eyes be so infected that | he can se that thinge that is not, and | his penne is as ready to utter ynk, ~~as~~ and | his maliciose noughtines, as his eyes | ~~be ve~~ were unwillinge to see the | hevenly benefits that overflowed england | with the preching the gospell. he coud | not see that whoringe ceased in all | places then and how the stewes be not | set up agayn. how sweryng was | lost etc. he could not se | iii houses kept thene for one now. | he could not se one prest with out | lawfull wif thene and he will not | see <some> one prest with iij or fewer unlawful | whores <and boyes> now. Godlynes in | martyns eyes is dyvellshnes and | wholly matrimony carnalytie, wantonibrasinge, | dissolutnes, lechery, voluptuosnes, | his virginall bychery, or | rather buggery is made hollynes | and holly matrimony whoredom. this | man may now a dayes be sufferid in England | to rayle without punishment.

**[F.258r]** Nole. J.ij. in master alens book | in engel.[1314] // [THROUGH F.258R-V, F.259R. IS A HANDWRITTEN VERSION OF MARTYN'S TEXT FROM F.256V, 259R, 259V] Nowe than the light is to come (thancks be to god) what | have we seen sins this light began. we have sene prestes | become to be laye men, we have sene thosse whom paule | would have to kepe hospitalitie, to have ben most covetuous | and most gredie gathorous of private gaine, we have againe | seene soch as paule would and to be attendaunte apon their flocke | and spirituall ministration, noe have sene them wantonly embrasinge | women, under the pretensed name of mariage. we have seene | those that ought for the example of others most principally to walke | after the spirite, those haue noe seene most licentiouslye | and most dissolutlye to wallowe in all carnall delites and in all | volumptuousnes of the fleshe, we have sene them that should contemme | the world to have bene most of all others overwhelmed and | drowned with the

[1314] This may refer to Edmund Allen (1510s-1559) who was at Corpus Christi around Ponet's time at Queens, wrote two important catechisms, and was exiled under Mary. *A catechisme, that is to saie, a familiar introduccion and trainyng of the simple in the commaundementes of God*, has a section expounding 'Lead us not into temptation', RSTC 359, J.ii. Equally, it might refer to Alexander Alane, or even Peter Alexander who was Cranmer' theological secretary in England and in Strassburg during Ponet's exile.

worlde. them that ought to have bene the most | comforters of the pore, those have now sene to be the most gredy | getters and [uncertain - pourloyners] for their mysbegotten genres, we have | syns the light of the gospell begane seene a generation of prechers | that had nothinge but godes word in ther mouthe, and in there | lyvinge the devill and his dame with all ther foule legions: now | have seene the fruictes of they preachinge to have been heresye, | lecherie, covetyse, sedition, and treason. This have now seene | in this lighte that doctor Jn Poinet talketh of, what have | they them selves seene, I explayn you, that brought us to this | light.

**[F.258$^{v}$]** Light. what have they seene in them selves. They have most | manifestly hath seen and felt the hand of god to have touched | them that whereas a great whyles the had disguised | gods trewth, and under the maske of trew religion said brought | furth most detestable heresies and with the mischievous | succees preceded to robb England of the greatest comfort that Christ | left us in this world, which is his most blessed body and blood | in the sacrament of the altar / gods high provision was | that he suffered a great many and specially the chiefe ring leaders | and Captaines of all suche preachers of new doctrinne to runne | furth hed long, from heresie unto treason, wherein we cannot | be wonder much at the providence and the unscruttable worke of | god. For whereas the whole realme was much infected with | their pestilens, preachinge, and soweing of ill opinions, and they had | instead of gods worde, statute, lawes, for their bulworke, in the | traditions of the fathers, the kinge procedings of ther none devilinge | for their defense, and in stede of gods spirit, the powers of the realme | ther maintenance. which powers they by theier ill persuasions had perverted | to be ther bucklers, in soch sorte that it semed to man impossible to have | any redresse: yet god suffered heresye boldlie so made into the works | of treason, and so these naughtie preachers, which could not other wise be | punyshed as beynge the archehereticks, were delived of god into | the victorious hands of our most godlie queen to be punyshed as archtreitors.

**[F.259r]** Note answer | to all this J.ii | in master alens booke | in Engleshe.[1315]

**[F.259v - Blank]**

**[F.260r]** [This page, like the others, is the handwritten version of Martyn's text on fols. 256v, 259r, 259v] and we <wold> wonder as muche at the sufferance of god | we saw not evidently that he is bent to plage you with | eyes that can not see and ears that can not here. | ~~behold you see with~~ with sorowfull eyes behold you | setting up yor goldene calf, considering how geuen | you be of yor reterning into egypt etc.

**[F.260v - Blank]**

**[F.261r]** Ante 100. [MANICULE] it may be that | ye remembered the unreasonable leafe that | what the <popish> heretique which now usurpeth | the bushoprik of lyncholn gat for | his <[papitas?]> profet and the other vurgine prests | of new colledge in winchester. | coloring the matter with profet for the | children. but yet I thinge ye did | not for it is yor properties allwayes to | so see a note in another mans eye | but ye can not see a <great> beame in | yor own. // D. 91. Clericus sine officii sui detrimento artificiolo necessria querat[1316]

**[F.261v – Blank]**

**[F.262r - Chapter 12]** [comment on Ponet's supposed implicit rebuttal of Hooper] ~~Hop~~ I wrot my booke a whole yere before | master hop. wrot his. I never red master hopers | book touchinge that poynt. and whether you | lye or no I know not. He speketh ~~of~~ it | not ex professo but by the way you say etc.

**[F.262v]** Cal // a lye // manne // [comments on Martin's attack of Ponet's work] se how this calumniator | inverteth | my words // why martin | is it the devell | that callith men | to

[1315] See above note to 258r.
[1316] *Corpus iuris canonici,* D.91, c.3.

mariadge // [comment on revoking a vow] I adde of | solo lyf. // and also when | it shall please god | to call him | to a contrary | estate [TREFOIL] | [TREFOIL] // [comment on vows] [TREFOIL] yes forsothe, if he haue the guift as the blessed | virgin mary had, and to John thevangelist | and all suche as be hable with the guift of whome | Christ spak math. 19. be he added non | omnes capiunt verbum hoc.

**[F.263r]** I pray thee martyn what is the contrary | estate to a sole lyf. is it not the stat | of matrimony? the kepinge of whores | and yor sole lyf stand together in fygure | well inoghe in England. prove by Weston | Smiyth etc.[1317] // ther is difference betweene mariadge and | unchast lyf. // all my arguments tend to this and to move that | manne whiche hath not the gift of sole lyf to lyve | in chast matrimony, which martyn calleth unchast lyf. // martyn calleth the state of matrimony | a develishe state. et fo. 98 he | sayth that the scriptures doe call it in a maried | manne uncleanes to ly with his wif. // the Nazareis and the rechabites did not vow sole lyf. | which is my only sayinge. vide pet. mart. 1 Cor. 8 fo. 211.[1318] // Those vowed nothinge but that they wer hable to | performe // The make Christ the auther of synne whiche say that | Christ byndeth the man from mariadge that hath not the | guift of chastitie if he haue made a vow.

**[F.263v]** Ja. Faber in Lucan ca. 18 fo. 91. questio petri | est de hiis qui quo ad affectuum adhaesionem, dimissis | omnibus secuti sunt enim.[1319] et in Marci 10 ca. | nu 58.[1320] Petrum et alios discipulos, affectuum | rerum terrenarum dimisisse, et secutos fuisse dominum, constat: at eos res suas | totas vendidisse et erogasse pauperibus, non constat, cum posteaquae petrus serutus est dominum | legamus apud Matthaeum: et cum venisset Iesus in domum Petri, vidit socrum | eis iacentem. Et apud Marcum: Et protinus egredientes de synagoga venerunt | in

1317 This accusation of sexual laxity is directed at Richard Smith (1499/1500-1563).
1318 Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* fo. 211.
1319 Luke 18:28.
1320 Mark 10:28.

domum Simonis et Andreae. Etapud Lucam: Surgens autem Iesus de synagoga, | introiunit in domum Simonis. Et rursus capite quinto: Ascendens aut in unam nauim, quae erat Simonis, | rogavit eum a terra reducere pusillum. Ergo affectum ad res, non res ipsas reliquerant.[1321] // Jo. 21. Erant simul et Petrus et Thomas | qui dicitur Didymus et Nathanael qui erat in | Chana Galileae et filii Zebedaei, et alii ex discipulis | duo. Dicit eis Simon Petrus: Vado piscari Dicunt ei | Venimus et nos tecum. Exierunt et ascenderunt mane steti?[1322] // Paul laboris with his own hands <2 Cor.>, and made | tenthes act. 18[1323] // [Title: Martin Manicheus] Aug. contra | adimantum | manichaei | discipulum | l.o unico | To. 6 pa | 120 | et 21 | ca 5. | Manichei dicebant Novum Testamentum esse contra vetus, quia vetus | dicit Relinquet homo patrem et matrem etc. et in | novo testamento dicitur. Omnis qui reliquerit domum aut uxorem aut | parentes aut fratres aut filios propter regnum coelorum, centies | accipiet in hoc tempore, et in futuro saeculo possidebit vitam aeternam.[1324] // et pa. 123 ca. 6 // Reliquenda est uxor infidelis si impedimento | sit ad vitam aeternam. | Homo debet relinquere patrem et matrem et adher? | uxori suae. Tamen inquit Aug. ibidem. Manifestum | et Honorem parentum in gradu suo esse servandum, et: | eos tamen in divini amoris comparatione, praesertim si impedimento | sunt, nulla dubitatione oportere contemni.[1325] // Clemens Alexand. | Stroma 3 | pa 97. | supra hunc locum | Pulchre ergo non prohibuit esse divitem | sed esse divitem iniuste, et inexplebiliter etc[1326] ~~pro~~

**[F.264r]** de hoc loco vide Aug. To. 2 Epla. 89 Hilario q. 4[1327] // [comment on 'mathe: xix'] verte 2 folia | infra | Bernardus | Contra Cath.[1328] // [comment on Peter's leaving everything to follow Christ] after ~~peter~~ Christs | death peter returned | to fishinge // [comment on

[1321] Jabob Faber, *Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor evangelia, lucam,* no. 58.
[1322] John 21:2-3.
[1323] 2 Cor. 11:27; Acts 18:3
[1324] Augustine, *Contra adimantum manichaei discipulum*, li. 1, ca. 3.
[1325] Augustine, *Contra adimantum manichaei discipulum*, li. 1, ca. 6.
[1326] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, pa. 97.
[1327] Possibly, Augustine's letter to Hilarius.
[1328] Bernardus aus Luxemberg, *Catalogus haereticorum omnium* (section: *contra catharos*).

Augustine's hoc votum potentissime uouerant. (this vow was vowed powerfully)] and yet they retorned agayn to ther | occupation fo. 21 | therefore he brak his vow. // See how he wold | blynd the reader asking | him to take a | vow for another. // [coment on Augustine's apparent rebuttal of Ponet] He wryteth | not in libra regum // verum est if he haue | the guift // [comment at bottom of page - some Latin to translate] si utaris dono et intra limites te contineas, sed si limiter | exieris, cave ne cadas. He that will adventure | to leape down from the pinacle of the church in when | he hath a payer of stayers, shall not folow Christe | example. and may chance with broak his neck for his | vowes.

**[F.264$^{v}$]** a lye of St. Austen // of chastity | St Austene | saith not that | that theapostles made | a vow of chastitie // [comment on man being aided by God's grace 'whiche any manne maie haue if he will himselfe'] all menne that | haue | tasted the [*uncertain word*] | of the fleshe | wyll say whene | thei reade this that | martyn | is a | lyer. // [comment on Ponet's apparent mishandling of St Paul] and so doth | Epiphanius take it playnly p. __ 141 ___ | they that play open harlots habet κριμα [pity or shame] and thei | that play the secret harlots habent κατακριμα [condemnation] | vide Ephipha. Contra Catharos. | [TREFOIL AND COMPLEX SYMBOL] sylvam meam 165.[1329] ~~melius~~

**[F.265$^{r}$]** he saith that peter and all thapostles made a vow | belyke he meaneth of folowinge of Christ, and | not of sole lyf. as apereth in the furst capt. of | the former leaf. // See martins logique. A vow is alowed | by scripture therefore the vow of chastitie is allowable | by scripture <in him that hath not the guift> a genere ad speciem particulariter // ~~boyes in the universities wher I haue beene~~ // vide locum // The apostles kept ther vow <inviolably> in that they promissed | to folow Christ, therefore all men may kepe the | vow of chastitie. // The apostles kept ther vow inviolably therefor all | men may kep ther vow inviolably. | This is ~~as good~~ suche an argument ~~the men | of London speak Englishe~~ the byshopes of | England be heretiques.

[1329] Epiphanius, *Conta catharos,* p. 141; *Sylva mea,* 165.

therefore all bushops | be heretiques. martyn and the lawyers | of England be unlearned | in the scriptures therefore all lawyers be unlearned | men in the scriptures. // The children of israell ~~walked throughe~~ <rode in the> | the [sic] red see, therefor all may ~~walk~~ stand | apon <the top of> paules steepell

**[F.265$^{v}$]** Paulus 1 Cor. 7. Alligatus et uxori ne | queras solutionem.[1330] how stand these | two together? // Math. qui dimiserit uxorem nisi fornicationis | causa facit eam moechari[1331] // Ista etiam fuit opinio Eustachii heretici condemnati | in Gangresi Concilio ut patet clare | Concl. ge. to 1.$^{o}$ fo. 288. Qui in dicebat que | nullus in Coniugali gradu positus, nec ullus fidelis | qui non omnibus renunciaret quae possideret, spem | ullam ad Deum haberet.[1332]

**[F.266$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.266$^{v}$]** vide Epipha. Contra Catharos pa. 241[1333] [TREFOIL AND COMPLEX SYMBOL] // yea but that breaketh a promis made to manne | which is wicked in the sight of god, hath his | condemnation in the sight of manne, but none in | the sight of god. as you now condempne | all they that ye call votaries but before god | they be not condempned.

**[F.267$^{r}$]** a lye // barnardine de votus | casper [*uncertain word* - cruceger][1334] // vide aug. citatum proxio | folio. 104 de dicto | damnationem.[1335] [TREFOIL] // [comment on the question of damnation of breaking a vow] yes <not> in the sight of men | thoughe in the sight of God uti epiphanius | vide Bucer | contra Latomus pa. 86.[1336]

**[F.267$^{v}$]** we haue the consent of all the | learned etc. // [comment on Martyn's use of tradition 'ne can brynge anye good wryter that expoundeth this place of Saint Paul after his sense'] this is

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1330 1 Cor. 7:27.
1331 Matt. 5:32.
1332 Pierre Crabbe, *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:287-8. See Appendix A for John Ponet's ownership details. C.f., *Corpus iuris canonici*, D. 16, c. 11.
1333 Epiphanius, *Contra catharos,* pa. 241.
1334 Uncertain source.
1335 Uncertain source.
1336 Martin Bucer, *Scripta duo adversaria D.Bartholomaei Latomi LL. Doctoris et Martini Buceri Theologi*, pa. 86.

yor old practice [TREFOIL] // bernhardinus[1337] // a lyer //ρροτηστεν πιστιν .\. | ther forme credit // [comment on Martyn's use of tradition] ye think ye may | now lye by authoritie

**[F.268r]** Epiphanius contra ~~Catharos~~ <Aplicos> sayth that they | haue tow significations. pa 241. melius est iudicium | quae? condemnatio. et melius est unum peccatum habere | et non plura, melius est lapsum a rursu palam sibi | uxorem sumere.[1338] // a lye. Ephipha. Austen. // Epiphanius Contra Aplicos. haeresi vi | omnia divina verba non | allegoria opus habent, sed prout se habent accipienda sunt | etc. multis verbis explicat 7. ca. 1. ad con. et tandem | dicit melius est indicium quaequi condempnatio. quo arguit | illud dictum habentes iudicium esse sumendum de indivo? | huis mundi? coram hominibus.[1339] // [comment on faith] πιστις <faith> signifieth not a promes. but it is the thinge or | instrument wherby ~~the~~ we either apprehend or lean on a | promes made by another. and our fayth leaneth on gods promes. // Nay if by fides in this place he had ment the | vow then belyk the text should haue been | δευτεραν πιστων because it is a second promes. // gods promis is not properly callid fayth. so the wedoes | made a promis and the apostles beleft [=believed] and gave πιστιν fayth | belef to ther promis. which promis whene they brak | theapostles <and suche as trusted them> wer deceavid. and so the wedowes by breking | ther promes brake ther credit in hering they were with thapostles

**[F.268v]** martins judgement | for one always // This place proveth playnly that St Austen | condemnpnethe not the mariadge whiche is | made after the vow. // And althoughe by this place it might be gatherd | that they be worthy fo some punishment for breking | of ther vow, yet doth this place playnly shew that | ther mariadge is good vol talin, even of suche | as haue vowed. wherfor they haue don wickedly which | haue punished the prests of England for mariadge by deprivation // see how wickedly martyn leaveth out some | 4o lynes together that

[1337] (probably) Bernardus aus Luxemberg, *uncertain reference.*
[1338] Epiphanius, *Contra aplicos,* p. 241.
[1339] Epiphanius, *Contra aplicos,* page unknown.

make all quiet agaynst | him. for it foloweth Proinde qui talium | nuptias non dicut esse nuptias sed potius adulteria | non mihi videtur satis accurate ac diligenter | considerare quid dicant, fallit quippe eos | similtudo veritatis. etc.[1340]

**[F.269r]** [comment on how Protestant authors disagree so much] one of you | agree not with | another nor | non of you with him | self. // ergo qui nubunt post votum | si conservent pudicitiam | damnationem timere non | debent. // [TREFOIL] // mark the furst non. ['damnatio non timetur'] // non habent damnationem | nubendo // coniugium ergo posterius | est bonum. // [comment on 'non quia non damnentur ipsae'] additur // damnata voluntas

**[F.269v]** [comment on Martyn's translation of Augustine] a sleyght | he leaveth out the | non // [comment again on Martyn's translation of Augustine] here he hath | left out the interpretationem of (vel | talin) master pighius | controversia. 15 fo. 214.[1341] // ergo votarii non dabantur | quia nubunt | post votum // [comment on Martin's translation of Augustine] these words be | added by martyn | both in the latyn and Englishe.

**[F.270r]** not the recavinge of that good thynge which in comparison | is of lesse estimation

**[F.270v – F.271r – Blank]**

**[F.271v]** St. Austen in the last leaf hath made playne what | he meaneth by non licet

**[F.272r]** .\. si habeant donum // [comment on the goodness of widowhood] see how he | mangelleth | the booke of | St. Austen | 3 patches of | ii books and because | the furst maketh | agaynst him he | patched apon of another | book and then reterned agayn | to the same.

**[F.272v]** perisius | 159[1342] // I think this place | be contra Aplicos and | because ther is a | playn declaration | of κριμα and | κατακριμα it | may be that he leaveth | it out.

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[1340] Augustine, *De bono viduitatis,* ca. 10.
[1341] Albertus Pighius, *Controversiarum praecipuarum,* fo. 214.
[1342] Peresius, uncertain source, 159.

**[F.273$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.273$^{v}$]** [comments referring to f.274$^{r}$] it was don of force. what? the saying | of epiphanius is playn. that in the apostles | tyme they turned to mariadge after ther virginitie | declared. whereby it apereth playnly | that in the apostles tyme they maried. but | you will say that ~~st paul~~e epiphanius speketh | this of the virgin of whom st. paule saith | quo si virgo nubat non peccat: but that | can not be so onles ye will say that thene | ther lacked people in the world to store the | world in ~~consideration whereof vowesses~~ | with Christen peple, by means of whereof virgins | were of free and neceessitie compelled to | marry.

**[F.274$^{r}$]** [comment on 'The holy apostles have leaft in writinge'] traditerunt apostolorum // [comment on 'necessitie' as per f.273$^{v}$] what necessitie | was it a necessetie | in the apostles tyme that | vowesses should | become whores which | martyn sayth thei do | if they mary. // Cal // [comment on maligning the doctors] who maligneth | the doctors thou | lyer [CROSS] // by this thei mayst see that not the | mariadge but the mynd and | will to forsake the vow is condemned | by epiphanius.

**[F.274$^{v}$]** Cal // [comment on Peter Martyr] Raylinge | verte sequentes | folium. de | clement alex // AυΓ a lye // [comment on Timothy and age] ynglishe ther I | pray you martyn | doe these sayings | exhort all menne | with the vow of | chastitie? // [comment on putting ones hand to the plough] is this place ment of the vow of chastity | you ignorant lawyer? vide doctors // αΓνον purum integrum | upright for ther goeth afor | ne communicaveris peccatis alienis. // note the last leaf of | my new testament in | greeke.

**[F.275$^{r}$]** wher fynd you that tymothy made a vow of | ~~chas~~ sole lyf? a prety reasone of martyns | paule exhorted Timothi to kepe him self | puer. Therefore Timothi made a vow of chastitie. // divorse [*uncertain word*] the queen that she should not mary | therefore she made a vow of

chastitie. // florentinus epo[1343] // D.34 Fraternitats | Pellagius had respect to the spent | age of the deacon which had furst a wif | and then kept a hore callid Minera and | after was made a popishe deacon. and to declare that he | considered his age he saith etas istius de quo agitur | future incontinentie suspicionem auferre dinoscitur; ut ad | diaconatus ordinem possit provehi consensisse nos noveris.[1344] // At this tyme when Doctor ponet wrote this booke he | ~~scarsly~~ knew not peter martyr nor never | saw any thinge of his wrytinge. neither hath | he lookid at this day what Luther wryteth | of this argument. But of suche force is | the treweth that all suche as serche for | it shall agree in doctrine, and because | the papists be heretiques therfor can they | never agre. // For if paule should haue ment it is that some | you take it he should haue geven a precept | of virginitie. whereof he had no concessio? de virginis | preceptum Deus non habeo. wherefor it is playne that ye | falsify this text.

**[F.275$^{v}$]** Clementes Alexandi. στρωματων 3. fo. 105 | expoundinge the place of the prophet Capito Amos 7 | Pollutus es in terra aliena, coniunctionera sceleratam | existimans, quae cum alieno corpore factae, | et non cure eo, quod datur in coniugio, ad liberorum | procreationem. Unde etiam Apostolos volo, inquit, | juniores nubere, filios procreare, domui | praesse, nullam dare occasionem adversario maledicta | gratia. Jam enim quaedam diverterunt post Satanam. | iam vero unius quoque uxoris virum utique admittit seu | sit presbyter, seu diaconus, seu laicus, | utens matrimonio citra reprehensionem | Servabitur autem per filiorum generationem etc.[1345] // κατεμιάνθης ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ, τὴν τε κοινωνίαν | μιαρὰν ἡγούμενος τὴν ἀλλοτρίῳ σώματι συμπλακεῖσαν | καὶ μὴ τῷ κατὰ συζυγίαν εἰς παιδοποιίαν | διδομένῳ. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος βούλομαι | οὖν φησὶ νεωτέρας γαμεῖν, τεκνογονεῖν, οἰκοδεσποτεῖν, | μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν διδόναι τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ | λοιδορίας χάριν· ἤδη γάρ τινες ἐξετράπησαν | ὀπίσω τοῦ

[1343] This may refer to Peter Matyr Vermigli (Florentinus), and epo = exposition or similar.
[1344] *Corpus iurus canonici,* D. 34, c. 7.
[1345] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, fo. 105.

σατανᾶ. ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν τῆς | μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα πάνυ ἀποδέχεται, |κἂν πρεσβύτερος ᾖ κἂν διάκονος κἂν | λαϊκός, ἀνεπιλή πτως γάμῳ χρώμενος· | σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας[1346]

**[F.276ʳ - Blank]**

**[F.276ᵛ]** [TREFOIL] [TREFOIL] these 2 places prove playnly that younger | ~~huswives~~ widowes shold not be <receaved and> fed of the | congregation, but suche as were spent | with age. and yet standeth paules saying | in force. volo uxores nubere.

**[F.277ʳ]** [TREFOIL] [TREFOIL] [comment on 'liberorum' in Jerome quote] liberarum he termeth | not // children // [comment on prohibitions of widow remarrying] it is trew he forbiddeth | theme not to be | wedowes, but he forbiddeth | theme to be | fed of the congregation. | therefore this | place is not agaynst | doctor ponet

**[F.277ᵛ]** [SEMIBREVE] [comment on St. Lawrence] how many | yeres St. Lawrence | was after | thapostles // [comment on vows for those under 30 years of age] Clement Alexand // Thene thei vowed postque | reciperentur et non | autem, which if ther had been any vowing shoulde seem | untrew as apereth by this word reiice iuriones viduas | reiicius autem tandem datum et non post. for otherwise | the apostles should haue broken promes with | them in casting them of after thei had promessed to [*uncertain word* – feed?] | them.

**[F.278ʳ]** Thesame treasure for the poer was ~~used~~ | gatherid in the churches of England before it | reterned to Idolatry. of this Treasure | for the poer Tertullian maketh mention in | Apologetico adversus gentes but he maketh no | mention of vowesses in that place whom you | seme to alowe to be sed of the congregation | or ells all yor reason should | lye in the dust. // 1 Tim. 5. Viduas honora quae vere vidue | sunt: et post. Porro qur vere vidua est ac | desolata sperat in deo etc. Vidua allegatur | non minor annis 60 que fuerit unius uxoris vir |

[1346] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, 3.12.89.2 - 3.12.90.2. This is a commentary on marital corruption and its consequences for the people of God. According to Clement, marriage is for child-bearing and not for fornication.

etc. porro iuniores viduas reiice, cum enim lasciuire | ceperint adversus Christum, nubere volunt, habentes | condemnationem quia primam fidem reiecerint etc. | volo igitur iuniores nubere.[1347]

**[F.278$^{v}$]** St. Austen sayth not so. he sayth | playnly that they syn not nubendo in | marying. but in volendo in wishying any | thinge contrary to ther vow. and these also | be the words of which you ~~falsly~~ falsify: | etiamsi non nubant, nubere velle damnabile | est. you say that St. Austen saith it is | damnabull to mary which is a loud | lye. and here I will joyne an issew | with you and all the papists of England | that ~~ye~~ in divorsinge suche as be | maried after ther vow ye haue done | agaynst the mynde of St Austen in | this place. he sayth not non solum | capessere nuptias damnabilie est but | non solum non capessere nuptias damnabile // then can not the bushop | of Rome dispence with the | vow. Canones docent in omni | voto ius superioris debere excipi.

**[F.279$^{r}$]** Non solus non capessere nuptias, sed velle nubere damnabile // [comment on whether the act, or the mind and will to marry someone is damnable] de bono viduitatis | a lye of St Austen | if this be in all | St Austen I willI | recant. supra 104.[1348] // [comment on Martyn's citation of Ponet] to this he answereth | not on hand. // [comment on different views on how many parts are involved in a vow] I think it be trew as you | say amongest the papists | for when they vow they ment | make god a partie for they | will kepe ther vow and force | other to doe the lyk whether | god will or not, but the | Christian man etc.. // [faded text] This opinion of Ciprianus St. Austene doth | reiect de bono viduitatis // and note this | worde qui se Christos dicanerunt. for so he speketh <li. 1.o ep. 11.a> of theme | of whom martyn sayd thei made votum simplex. | vide supra fo. 76 et 77.[1349]

[1347] Various phrases from 1 Tim. 5.
[1348] Augustine, *De bono viduitatis,* fol. 104.
[1349] Augustine, *De bono viduitatis,* fols. 66-67.

**[F.279$^{v}$]** [comment on Ponet's exegesis of James - reference to contrast between St. James chapel in Spain and England] his mynd is all | apon spayn. // a lye // [comment on other places in Scripture for vows according to Ponet] nay to | a hundreth places | in the | scriptures | L.C | Silva mea. // the guift of helth. of fayth. of riches. of | pacience be of lyk suche the guift of god. | and yet be they not geven to all men for the askyng | eyther must we cease our prayer notwith standing | so might we refuse medicine and stik to petre?

**[F.280$^{r}$]** ~~he semeth~~ // by these words viduae autemque nupteae, it | apereth playnly that St. Ciprian bent | his talk to suche virgins as should | at the last marry; and therefor he exhorteth | them so to kepe them selves in and to bringeth | themselves duringe the tyme of ther | virginitie that they ~~become~~ seme not [*uncertain word* - revowed] | before they marry. // vide supra 17. 83. 86. // verso fo vide Cyrillum // vide Sylvam meam et paulo etc. 133. 139. // This is no stertinghole [the condition 'if God will'] but the kings | heygh way and that so brode and playn a | highe way that all the popishe heretiques | in Christendom be not hable to stope it: | I convayle martyn sayth not that I did | also learne this of D.M. Luther or master doctor | martyr or bucer or some other. // The prests when they be made | make no further promes thene quantam | humana fragilitas permitted

**[F.280$^{v}$]** Cyrillus in Euangel | Jo. li.o ca. 28 | Moneri nos arbitror, non oportere | quicquam Deo a nobis promitti ut | certum, quasi nos Domini rerum | essemus: partim quia quod posse a nobis | fieri credimus, vires nostras nonnumquam excedit, | partim quia non sine arrogantiae crimine hoc nos | aut illud facturos dicimus. Illud enim in omnibus | quae agere volumus dicendum est, quod discipulus | Christi nos docuit, si dominus voluerit, | Voluntas enim apparatusque animi nobis ad bene | agendum semper inesse debet, viam autem potestatemque | agendi quam non habemus temerarium est nobis | attribuere. Sic et deo rerum omnium gubernationem | ut decet accommodabimus et tutius faciemus | non voventes quam ea

voventes quae reddere potestatis nostrae non est.[1350] // 1. Jo. 5. Secundum voluntatem eius[1351] | If thow cause be gods will of thy self | why sayth thow in thy pater nos. fiat volunto | tua. | Clem Alex Philaper

**[F.281$^{r}$ – Blank]**

**[F.281$^{v}$]** Esau petiit veniam cum Lachrimus et tamen non | potuit impetrare // Math. 13 vobis datum est scire mysterium regni | caelorum, ceteris autem in parabolis.[1352] //vide doctors // [comments concerning who has the intrinsic power to grant the gift of sole lyf] Paulus and Philemonem. He byddeth Philemone | prepare chamber for him. Simul autem etiam | prepara mihi hospitium. Spero enim quae auxilio prerum | vestrarum donabor vobis[1353] for I trust sayth he that | by the helpe of yor prayers I shalbe geven | unto you. whereby in appeareth that both | paule prayed, and all the congregation prayd | for paules delivery and yet could | they not be herd. // what if Zacharie had askid of God the guift | of sole lyf think you god wold haue grantid | it him. | if it be gods will that queene shall beare | a prince to rule the realme after her in gods | feare thinke you god wold here her prayer if she | desiered to lyve out of matrimony?

**[F.282$^{r}$]** whie passe you over by | slight the place of St. | Johne that most maketh | agaynst you saying quodcumque | petieritis pro secundum voluntate | eius etc? // .\. habentes donum // supra 94 // non loquitur de | dono castitatis // [sees Pelagianism in Chrysostom: 'debet sane voluntas praecedere: et tunc sequetur gratia'] pellagianus est // [comment on Chysostom] [TREFOIL] thene can not manne haue it onles god will // Thereby be we taught in our prayers to say fiat | voluntas tua.

[1350] Cyril of Alexandria, *Euangelium joannis,* ca. 28.
[1351] 1 John 5:14.
[1352] Matt. 13:11.
[1353] Phi 1:22.

**[F.282$^{v}$]** [UNUSUAL SYMBOL] Sufficit tibi gratis | mea // [comment on Cyril interpretation] Cyrillus non cogit | eos qui non habent | donum

**[F.283$^{r}$]** Grace can work nothinge without our will / heresies // When sayth ponet ~~that Christ wold not~~ that Christ wold not haue a mayd kepe chastitie | the contrary? and yet saith paulus. Si | virgo nubat non peccat // I aske thee martyne do all raylers break chastitie | than marry? Thene make ye mariadge a | goodley sacrament. now art thee not martyn, but marcion himself or worse? // if this sayinge be trew, then must it folow. If | every trew Christen man be vowed to Christ in | his baptisme, then may he doe nothinge ~~that perteyneth~~ | afterward that perteyneth to his present | lyf. but the vow in baptisme has of | now highe perfection thene any other vow | after baptisme. onles ye will ~~mak~~ that | a vow of your owne makinge be rather to be | observed then theordinance of god. // sancti estote is generally spoken and it | may not be wrythed to a particular

**[F.283$^{v}$]** This is a lowd lye. and the practise of you | and all the papists in the leves // [SEMIBREVE] N N N // yea and in rehersinge my words in this | very place ye leave out the beginning | and chef substance of them // [UNUSUAL SYMBOL]. Bucer. // in every authoritie

**[F.284$^{r}$]** [comment on quotation of Ponet] here he leaveth | out the cause | whe I brought | in these words // a sleyght // [comment on 'Poinettes impudente woordes'] This impudent | be[a]st is not ashamed | to | say as ye see that | the holy state of | matrimony is a | state of lyf contrary | to chastitie // in paules dayes ther wer no professed parsons | ~~but~~ whether knew paule these now distinguished | creatures of the popes makinge and | therfor must the words be good all, for paule | accepted not them whiche were wrot many hundreth | yeres after. so yo se now yor own foly.

**[F.284$^{v}$]** he hath not | medelled one | word with the minor | profe of | my saying // [comment on prayer and fasting as means of chastitie] a lye | of the scriptures // [comment on 'God willeth becausehe doth so counsayle'] that is asmoche to say that he commandeth that he expecteth

**[F.285$^{r}$]** here wold martyn fayn make the | reader beleue that in rehersing of the | doctours I leave out somewhat either | in the beginninge or in the endinge | and for a profe therof he useth | this medium. Bucer doth so agaynst | my lord of Winchester. | Suche a reason is this. martyn in | this poynt belyeth my lord of winchester | therefore master gardiner doth so to. // it is trew them unto whom he geveth the geveuth. // see how he refuseth to answer ~~the~~ doctor | ponets reason grownded apon the popes | decrees. // this reason knoweth your virgin prestes | and that maketh then plye so well the pot | if they were not so well feed [sic] how should | they be so ready [evell] for all mens [kayne?]?

**[F.285$^{v}$ – F.286$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.286$^{v}$]** maiori say yow but // The most part of the unmaried wyll not | be content with xx ells what good should the | stewes doe? // he compareth the honest maried | womane with the rankest whore | that can be found in Terence // The goinge to a whore martyn, and resortynge | to a wif is two thinges, the one blissed of | god and alowed of all ~~good~~ men savinge papists and | heretiques, the other contempned of god and all | men savinge papists and heretiques. // Then in suche as are professid melius et | unique nubere. here may you see whether | this be antichristes doctrine or not | The doctrine of Christ saith melius | et nubere qua uri. and he saith, melius | est uri que nubere. So wryth they | make peace of the scripture. which sayth | bonum est homini esse solum. yes say | they bonum est homini esse solum. // brok the mint master ~~said~~ beynge deceved | of this text his mynd. said that St. | Austens mynde was melius et nubere deo | qua uni in purgatario.

**[F.287r]** [comment on Paul being either single or maried but without use of a wife] here he douteth whether paule haue a | wif or not // [comment on Martyn's view that marrying increases the 'burning with desire' rather than decreases it] then ~~sene~~ is mariadge | no medicine contrary | to the doctors // if some maried do so | therefore more unmarried | do so! // non sustulit non enim erat est | ne sua ut ipse fatetur // sufficit sibi gratia | mea vide Bucer | 2 Co. 12.[1354] // [on the issue of burning with lust] here he forsaketh | my booke and | seketh otherwise // [comment on 'neither marrying nor burning better'] a lye // mariage is // [comment on 'to burn in concupiscene is ever evil, and in this case, to marrie also ever evil'] St. Austen saith | nuptie vell talium | sunt bonae // [comment on burning] melius et nubere sedqua uni | melius est unique nubere[1355]

**[F.287v]** [reference to previous fol.] Theodoretus De. 2[nd?] nuptiis latine fo. 458. | vocat autem ustionem, non cupiditatis | repationem, sed enis victoriane.[1356] // [comment on 'ipsius Dei nutu' - the will of God himself] note the exception // If burning // [TREFOIL] // [comment on Martyn's take on Paul's thorn in the flesh] But he tok it not | away but said unto him | sufficit tibi gratia mea[1357] | where now is yor | petite et accipietis | paule asked and obteyned | not. // how chanceth abbot Ramridge he | sed masse and hange him | self when he had done | and Jo. cremensis at london | counsell // [TREFOIL] se how these | differ // melius et nubere qua uri

**[F.288r]** Paule with Cyprian and Gregory, it is better to | mary then to burn. but these popishe | heretiques say it is better not onley to burn ~~then to~~ | but also to lyve in whoredom than to mary: | or to haue a hundreth hores than to mary. // [comment on Martyn's previous use of Ambrose on f.287r-v] all these words be not in St. Ambrose | wherfor they be a fowle lye. //

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1354 2 Cor. 12:9
1355 Augustine, probably *De bono viduitatis* since this phrase it cited often in conjunction with this Augustinian text.
1356 Theodoret of Cyrus, *De divinorus decre...* ca. de nuptiis fo. 458.
1357 2 Cor. 12:9

Master Latimers answer to Fekman[1358] in the | Tower. | But what if God geue not | persons the guift? as he gaue it not to abraham | to Zachari nor a nomber to bushops of rome. // Burnging he saith is incontinent lyvinge. but all | the bushopes and prests in ~~the~~ England and all | the world over that haue not the guift of | chastitie lyve in burninge therefore they lyve in | in [*sic*] incontinent lyvinge.

**[F.288$^{v}$]** nomine est legittimum certamen in matrimonio? // martyne his mynd is alltogether | in spaygne

**[F.289$^{r}$]** [SEMIBREVE] math. 11.$^{o}$ // the wiveles prests that haue | not the guift certane non | legittime // he condemeth mariadge | utterly. // [UNUSUAL SYMBOL] // [comment attacking Ponet's understanding of the gift] no I wold haue | the one of them | resort to the other | and rather to lose | ther worldly profet | then to forsake god. // [comment replying to attack on Ponet's understanding of the gift] [TREFOIL] for a tyme and continuall is tow things. and paule | permitteth ad tempus but yet with this condicion ut | iterum conveniant ne tenent eos Sathanas.[1359] // whether it is better to burne for a tyme with a hope of | a godly remedy. or to burne continually without hope of | lawfull rememedy.

**[F.289$^{v}$]** [SEMIBREVE] [comment on new temptation] no you haue an | easyer way to | run strayght to the | stewes. // [comment on Martyn's note of Ponet's position on the Spirit's testimony for those who take vows] he readeth not | to the poynt fo. 38 | Li.$^{o}$ me // a lye // a lye // a lye // [comment on Martyn's description of Ponet's position as taking 'any suche professed persones'] understand | if they haue not | the guift, and thene will the reader perceave | who hath the better part.

**[F.290$^{r}$]** if he be absent he must go to him or | if he be sick he must tary wyll he be whole | and that shall he doe with ~~more ease~~ lease | trowble then they which burn allways and will not

[1358] John Feckenham (1510-1584).
[1359] 1 Cor. 7:5.

| take the rememdy apoynted of god this | may he doe and not tary another wys. | a man may better abstey a month thene 12 months. | a yere then seven yere. Socrates melius potest | portare 10 pondera quam virginitie // mark his confutation. Paule saith volo omnes | esse sicut meipsum.[1360] therefore ponets doctrine is false | that the spirit of God must geue testimony. etc. | so he sayd also act. 26 when he was before Festus[1361] // not for taking of lawfull husbands but for lyenge with | unmaried knaves that Cyprian li.° 1. epla. 11. | nuptie vel talium sunt bonae. de bono videntatis[1362] // [SEMIBREVE] Ca. 32 q. 7 | Gregorius Iunior | Bonifacio episcopo | yor lewd decrees answer thys | Quod posuisti, si mulier infirmitate | correpta non ualuerit | uiro debitum reddere, quid eius faciat | iugalis: bonum esset, si sic permaneret, | ut abstinentiae uacaret. Sed quia hoc magnorum est, ille, | qui se non poterit continere, nubat magis; non tamen | ei subsidii opem subtrahat, quam infirmitas prepedit[1363]

**[F.290$^{v}$ – F.291$^{r}$ – Blank]**

**[F.291$^{v}$]** he sayth that ~~the~~ it is ann evell doctrine to | say // yes allthinge that god hath called | you unto, but he hath not called | all men to chastitite. Non omnes capiunt | verbum hoc. // he confoundeth these two termes in nostra potestatem | and a natura.

**[F.292$^{r}$]** Luther // [comment on Martyn's take on Luther and freedom] That same mynde | should thy master | be of if he was | an honest man // martyns doctrine | is contrary fo. | est in mea arbitrio | saith he. // [comment on use of Isaiah] this is trew so | longe as they walk | in ther vocation, | but let his trust | be never so great | he shall never fly | whom god hathe geven | no wyngs. contrarywise ye | should say if ye spek | either lyk a divine or like | a philosopher // virginitie is not in our owne | poer. contra. fo. 111 fo. 108. et 93. | et fo. 89.

1360 1 Cor. 7:7.
1361 Acts 26:29.
1362 Cyprian, li. 1, *Epistolari* 11; Augustine, *De bono viduitatis.*
1363 *Corpus iuris canonici,* C. 32 q. 7, c.18.

**[F.292$^{v}$]** [comment on Martyn's accusation that Ponet elevates virginite too highly] a lye // [comment concerning quote of Gregory Nazianzen] nihil ad res // [comment on Chrysostom quote] [SEMIBEREVE] seek | the place

**[F.293$^{r}$]** in all his booke he hath no suche terme. But | in sundry places commendeth the sole lyf in | them that haue the guift. but this is yor | old practise to fayne a matter and then | to charge me withall.

**[F.293$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.294$^{r}$]** [comment on Christ's precept for taking or not taking a wife] This is agaynst paul | and all the old doctors | preceptum domini non habeo | whereby it should either | apere not Chrys[sostom]. orells | spaken in severitie to | his frend to dissuade | him from mariadge. // Cal // [LARGE TREFOIL]

**[F.294$^{v}$]** [comment on the difficulty of reconciling 'ask and ye shall receive' vs. God's gift - on the mother of the children of zedebee] a lye | in the exception // our prayer thene is | more effectuall and | earnest then the mother | of james and john | fore she was not | herd. then | wheras petite etc. | you say she was carnall. But | our prests be more carnall // [comment on 'Ponet shew when he affirmeth none other medicine lefte for a man to avoide fornication... let them marie'] shew yor other | medicine // [comment on vowing only by ordinance of church, not scripture] [LARGE TREFOIL] L.C[1364]

**[F.295$^{r}$]** here he falsefieth my words fo. 40 of my booke | my words that folow ther be these. | she asked and obteyned not, because her request | had not a relation to the wil and pleasure | of God, who geueth sundry gyftes as it | shal please hym, and as he thynketh meet | and conuenient for them that call vpon hym. | Judge reder whether this my saynge be rightly | penned and accordinge to the meaning of the | scriptures or not. and whether martion | lye or

[1364] Ponet's commonplace-books.

not in ~~alteringe~~ sayinge these to | be my words whiche I never wrot. // here joyn an issew with him. Sylva mea. | Cartacens liber uterque etc.[1365]

**[F.295$^{v}$]** Extravagant | ante trienum | in glosa | Jo. 22 | Admiranda res videtur esse | ista: Cum enim sacramentum | matrimonii a Deo ipso fuerit | institutum in statu innocentiae ante peccatum, | sed post in subsidium fragilitatis humanae 32. q2.[1366] // In summa | et [SECTION] his ita. Quomodo voti solemnitas | ex sola constitutionem ecclesiam | inducta. Extra de voto et voti redemptione. | Ci. 1. 6$^{to}$.[1367] potest sacrament ut | a Deo institutum tollere. vel aliquotemus | impedire? R.$^{o}$ Ad hoc | breviter potest dici sed istud fit | per constitutionem ecclesiarum. conditam per vicarium | Christum, et sic non per purum honorem | ex potestate clavium quodcumquae solutes // when preface of the Clementines in the margent | papa nec est deus nor est homo. // Item decretal 1.$^{o}$ De electionem et electi potesta | papa non est homo.[1368] E ergo diabolu.

**[F.296$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.296$^{v}$]** vide cap. 8 | et ca 10 fo 75 p.1 // vide etiam infra 131. // vide li. Nigrum 149[1369] // Item li pargamento 47. 48.[1370] // you say that the difference between votum | simplex and solemme is the outward ceremony | and notwithstandinge votum simpex | ye say a manne or womanne may mary and | by that shift you wold avoyd St. Cyprian | fo. N. ~~So~~ This I reason. Solus | votus solmne impedit matrimonium contradendi | et diriment contractum. ~~sed sola~~ sed votum | solmne est institutio ecclesiae. ergo quod | impedit matrimonium contrahendem et sola constitutio | ecclesiae. // Before ther was a solempnite of vowynge | prests might mary.

[1365] Either of both of Ponet's paper commonplace-books.
[1366] *Ordinary Gloss* to Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Voto et Redemptione,* C.1 *admiranda*
[1367] Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Voto et Redemptione,* C. 6.
[1368] *Corpus Iuris Canonini*, *uncertain reference.*
[1369] Uncertain references. Possibly a black covered commonplace-book (see following reference)?
[1370] Ponet's commonplace-book 'in pargamento', 47, 48.

but the solemnitie | of vowynge is only <of> the institution of | the churche. therefore it is only thinstitiution | of the churche that is impediment | of prests mariadge.

**[F.297r]** The glose saith non est ipsum votum sed ipsa | constitutio ecclesiae // St. Tho. | all notes etc. // vide cum 40. ante. // [comment concerning Martyn's recording of quote] here he leveth | out ecclesiae // [SEMIBREVE] sylva mea | supra 51. // [SEMIBREVE] [comment concerning Martyn's use of the quote] both the text | and the glose be | quiet agaynst | this great clerk // [comment on quo ad vinculum] quo ad vinculum votum | simple and bindeth afore | ad votu soleme // Cal. vide // [comment on the goodnes of widowhood as per St Austen] you doe | well to say | this of yor selfe // how chaunceth it then that [~~*uncertain word*~~] | bonifacius was licensed in by St. Austen | in his epistles to mary afterward? | and the [*uncertain word*] by Cyprian .1.o epla. 11[1371]

**[F.297v]** a lye // and doe not you say | that you will haue it | for the askinge // a lye

**[F.298r]** yet could he not get away stimulum carnis // saving in some poynts [this is a reference to f.297v and rejection of doctors]

**[F.298v – F.299r (Chapter 13) – Blank]**

**[F.299v]** [comment on whether Ponet affirms that all NT apostles were married] ~~a lye~~ | the phrase you | you [sic] as oftene as you | say all the doctors | all the scriptures | all the counsells etc. | ~~[TREFOIL] luc. 20~~ fo. 124 // [comment on Tertuallian's claim that Peter was married] a lye | in this book is | Tertul. his heresi. fo. 667.[1372] // [comment on Martyn's quote of Tertullian] This place is falsified | by putting in and out | as apereth. and that | that [sic] maketh against | him he leaveth out.

[1371] Cyprian, *Epistolarii 11.*
[1372] Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum,* fo. 667.

**[F.300r]** Clement Alexand. fo. 3. infra numbereth him amongst thei | that wer maried. if you will say it is for his fastinge | R.o therefore then should not Clemente argument folow. // he neither sais that all thapostles had wives in all | his booke <otherwise then St. Ambrose speketh> neither yet than John had a wif // doctor poynet saith not that John was maried | but he playnly saith the contrary that John | had the guift of chastitie twyse in one leaf. | fo. 42.[1373] // St Hier. witnesseth that this is a book of heresy | and wrytten agaynst the churche. // he defineth not but reasoneth the matter only. | Terullian in the place proveth by the place lev. 22. that as | prests in the old testament might mary but once so may not | prests <now a dayes> in the new law mary but once. saing: Certe sacerdotus | sumus a Christo vocati monogamaniae debitores, ex pristina Dei lege | que nos tuus in suis sacerdotibus prophetavit etc. Thene he | proveth that after our confession to the gospell no prests haue ii | examples set before us one ~~that we should mary but of~~ mariadge | the other of sole lyf. Jesus and zachary the one halve in | Jesus, the other pleasinge God.[1374] // Forsoth Sir that I read in vincentius in a homely | that he wryteth apone the gospell <of St. John> of the mariadge in | <the evangelist> ~~the cana a citie of Galile~~ wher he sayth that | it was John that was ther maried after he | was callid to thapostleship. thesame hath the second wryter | divine secure. etc. // vide matutinas eius in festo Jo evangeliste | et infra fo. 120

**[F.300v – F.301r - Blank]**

**[F.301v]** ~~Martyn~~ when I alledge old | authors written 1200 yeres agone and | above, then martyn runneth to the common | braynles shift of the unlearned sayinge the | authors be false printed; and that those | authors wrot otherwise. I remember | ~~poggius~~ Poggus telleth of a grey | fryer ~~at~~ that tought virgill at rome, | and ever when he came at a word that | he did not understand, he sayd it | was the name of a strange burde in | Arabia. So ~~whe~~ martyn when he | seeth him

[1373] Ponet, *Defence for Mariage,* 42.
[1374] Tertullian, *De monogamia,* ca. 7.

self overthrown by sufficient | authorities, he ~~sayth he~~ answereth the | matter easly saying they be falsli | printed. // I goe not about in all my book to prove that | paule had a wif knowinge that somme of the | old doctors be with it and some agaynst it. | but ~~bringinge~~ in alledging certayne places | of the old doctors for other matter that | apereth wherwith martyn so offendid. and playeth | the doge that swame ~~over~~ on the water with | meat in his moth and spide the shadow in the | bottom snatched at it disterest of bothe and lost all. so | martyn in snatching at Ignatius Clement Alexandrius | and Eusebius impunging the doctrine <either leaveth of purpose> forgetteth | by negligence that that I intend and so he wadeth in [continued on next fol.]

**[F.302r]** [comment on liberty to marry] fyve or six old | doctors say that | you lye // ~~a lye~~ // AυΓ // contra 121 and that | the stories dout of | this folio 124. // a lye // Jacobus Jucundus[1375] | copi: // [comment on falsifying of Ignatius] Faber had copi | Ignatius | was printid at | paris by Faber | as his argument before | the book declaring // [further comment on falsifying Ignatius] [TREFOIL] Clement confessed to me the corrupting of | Theodoret. St. Origene is set out | apone John without the 6th chapter. | The decrees be [*uncertain words*] all counsell with omittyng that | <maketh agaynst the papists> // [comment which completes the final sentence of previous fol.] confuting them which I say not and brawleth with Clement Alexandria and Ignatius.

**[F.302v]** [comment on Peter Martyr alledging Clement supported priests marriages] a lye // [comment on Philippe] Clement sayth | was an apostle | vert sequens folium // [comment on Deacons] deaconis you hold | be votaryes // Eusebius and | Clement Alexandrius | sayth it | was Philip thapostle | for he nameth this philip | mynding to | prove that | thapostles | had wyves | and Hierom de Scriptoribus | ecclesiasticus sayth | that Philip thapostle had | 2

[1375] Jacobus Jucundus was the alias of Jacob Frölich who was a printer in Strasbourg.

daughters, and | so doth periorias | in votam philippi | ibid est plura de [*uncertain word*][1376] // [comment at bottom] he hath red well Hierome agaynst | Jovinian <li.1.>[1377] who sayth of philip. post crucem christum | statim in actas apostolarum, una dominus philippi | euangelistae quadrigam producit virginam. Filios

**[F.303$^{r}$]** Clement . 3. στρωματων p. 179, Reasoninge agaynst Manichees | Tatianoes, Marcionstas, prodicum etc. when he hath | proved by diverse reasones that chastitie is no vertew | onles it be for love to god only without respect of any other | law or lyvinge thus he knitteth up his argument | ὥστ' οὐδ' ἡ εὐνουχία ἐνάρετον, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀγάπην | γίνοιτο τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. Αὐτίκα περὶ τῶν βδελυσσομένων | τὸν γάμον Παῦλος ὁ μακάριος λέγει· ἐν | ὑστέροις καιροῖς ἀποστήσονταί τινες τῆς πίστεως, | προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις | δαιμονίων, κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων. | καὶ πάλιν λέγει· μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς καταβραβευέτω ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ | ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος. ὁ δὲ | αὐτὸς κἀκεῖνα γράφει· δέδεσαι γυναικί; μὴ ζήτει | λύσιν· λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός; μὴ ζήτει γυναῖκα. καὶ | πάλιν· ἕκαστος δὲ τὴν ἑαυ τοῦ γυναῖκα ἐχέτω, // ~~The Greek word in Clement is ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο~~ // ἵνα μὴ πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ σατανᾶς. τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ | οἱ παλαιοὶ δίκαιοι εὐχαρίστως τῆς κτίσεως μετελάμβανον; | οἳ δὲ καὶ ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο γήμαντες | ἐγκρατῶς. καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἠλίᾳ οἱ κόρακες ἔφερον | τροφὴν ἄρτους καὶ κρέα· καὶ Σαμουὴλ δὲ ὁ | προφήτης, ἣν ὃν καταλελοίπει κωλεὸν ἐξ ὧν ἤσθιε, | φέρων ἔδωκε τῷ Σαοὺλ φαγεῖν. οἳ δέ, καὶ τούτους | ὑπερφέρειν λέγοντες πολιτείᾳ καὶ βίῳ, οὐδὲ συγκριθῆναι | ταῖς ἐκείνων πράξεσι δυνήσονται. ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων | τοίνυν τὸν ἐσθίοντα μὴ ἐξουθενείτω, ὁ δὲ ἐσθίων τὸν | μὴ ἐσθίοντα μὴ κρινέτω· ὁ θεὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν προσελάβετο. | ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κύριος περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγω:[1378]

[1376] Hieromymus Stridonensis (Jerome), *De viris illustribus / De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*.
[1377] Hieromymus Stridonensis (Jerome *Adversus jovinianum,* li. 1
[1378] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 3.5.51.1 - 3.6.52.4.

**[F.303v]** ἦλθεν φησὶν Ἰωάννης μήτε ἐσθίων μήτε πίνων, | καὶ λέγουσι· δαιμόνιον ἔχει. ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου | ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, καὶ λέγουσιν· ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος φάγος | καὶ οἰνοπότης, φίλος τελωνῶν καὶ ἁμαρτωλός. | ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀποδοκιμάζουσι; Πέτρος | μὲν γὰρ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, Φίλιππος | δὲ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐξέδωκεν, καὶ ὅ γε | Παῦλος οὐκ ὀκνεῖ ἔν τινι ἐπιστολῇ τὴν | αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύειν σύζυγον, ἣν οὐ περιεκόμιζεν | διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐσταλές. λέγει οὖν ἔν | τινι ἐπιστολῇ· οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν | γυναῖκα περιάγειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι; | ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν οἰκείως τῇ διακονίᾳ, ἀπερισπάστως | τῷ κηρύγματι προσανέχοντες, οὐχ ὡς | γαμετάς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφὰς περιῆγον τὰς | γυναῖκας συνδιακόνους ἐσομένας πρὸς τὰς | οἰκουρούς γυναῖκας, δι' ὧν καὶ εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν | ἀδιαβλήτως παρεισεδύετο ἡ τοῦ | κυρίου διδασκαλία. ἴσμεν γὰρ καὶ ὅσα | περὶ διακόνων γυναικῶν ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ πρὸς | Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολῇ ὁ γενναῖος διατάσσεται | Παῦλος. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος κέκραγεν ὡς | οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βρῶσις καὶ πόσις, οὐδὲ | μὴν ἀποχὴ οἴνου καὶ κρεῶν, ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ | εἰρήνη καὶ χαρὰ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. τίς αὐτῶν | μηλωτὴν καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην ἔχων περιέρχεται | ὡς Ἠλίας; τίς δὲ σάκκον περιβέβληται γυμνὸς| verte[1379]

**[F.304r]** et nulies nulies | mulieres adiuvaret // [comment on apostles passing down the importance of an continent life] no nor no manne | saith so. // He falsyfieth | Clement // [comment on Martyn's citation of Ponet's text at 'whooe euer readde, or hearde tell of soche a straunge…'] Clement | Ignatius

**[F.304v]** [comment on 'all (I saye) reported that the Apostles'] a lye // [comment on 'the old fathers every one wrote that a man may lyve chast...'] a ly // [comment on 'Poynette affirmeth that the ordinance of God is planted in mannes nature to the contrarie.'] in thesame | place it foloweth (if he | haue the guift) // a lye // [comment on 'furst married priest that we reade of in Christendome'] contra fo. 3 // [comment on 'Pierius an auncient Greeke writer'] Pierius

[1379] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* 3.6.52.5 - 3.6.53.5.

**[F.305r]** γυμνὸς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἀνυπόδετος ὡς Ἡσαΐας, | ἢ περίζωμα μόνον λινοῦν, ὡς Ἱερεμίας. Ἰωάννου | δὲ τὴν ἔνστασιν τὴν γνωστικὴν τοῦ βίου τίς μιμήσεται; | ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτω βιοῦντες ηὐχαρίστουν τῷ | κτίσαντι οἱ μακάριοι προφῆται.[1380] // [comment on mannes nature, related to f.304v] if by this word a man ye mean ~~every~~ suche man as | hath the guift ye belye ponet. ~~if you mean~~ | for the exceptione he hath in the iiid leafe that you | aledge. if ye mean by this word a manne every | manne ye belye the olde doctors. // belyke martyn wold haue us scrape fiat | voluntas tua out of our pater noster. // [comment on Jerome writing to the first heretic in Christendom] The furst maried prest who peter and thapostles | as witnesses. Clement Alex Ignatius Eusebius. | etc. But the furst heretique that was | read of was ~~Simo~~ an unmaried preest | that is to say Simon Magus. who kept Helena | as Theodoret and Epiphanius etc. // [comment on the terms continent and chast] allwayes he useth this terme continent and chast | to the unmaried and never will call the | maried continent or chast asthoughe ther wer | no chastitie in mariadge.

**[F.305v – F.306r – Blank]**

**[F.306v]** D.31 omnio | Leo i | contra Epistolam | Niceti abbatis | Interpretatur hunc locum de uxoribus Apostolorum | et Clemens Alexandrinus[1381] // et Polycarpus nomine mulierum | appellat uxores philippes sine.

**[F.307r]** [comment on Ponet's 'a couple of doctors, corrupted in the print'] a sleyght. a lye. | he findeth that falt | but with one. // 1 Cor. 9 // [comment on the apostles taking women around with them: carrying or marrying?] those termes be used of | the master of the sentences etc. | otherwise thei then unchast to reterneth | them. // [comment on Paul calling a women sister] They called uxorem | amongest the Heb. | Sua sorore so Abraham called sara.[1382] // [on

[1380] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* 3.6.53.5-END.
[1381] *Corpus iuris canonici,* D. 31, c. 11.
[1382] Gen. 20:2.

assistance and working] working at all if the | wif did not helpe to | labor for the husbands | lyvinge // P Mar.[1383]

**[F.307$^{v}$]** [comment on 'wanton wives'] Cal // Clement of Alexandrinus | maketh mention of | both and oecumenius | denieth not the one // [comment on agreement between Augustine and Oecumenius] non est Augustine // [comment on the confusion about sister/wife with NT Greek] αδελφη by is self | signifyed sororem | but when γυναιχα | was added it signified | uxorem.

**[F.308$^{r}$]** These riche wives folowed paule. phebe folowed | him from Chenchris to Corynth and caried his | epistole to the Romans. but when he commendeth her | Junia was concaptiva. Priscilla folowed with Aquilas | Stephana. Triphona. Triphosa. etc. | but touchinge carienge about suche womene as thei | paule used not suche authoritie as he might | haue done. Non sumus usi ista potestate. Therefore Paule | ment them not but his wyf whome in deed | he caried not.

**[F.308$^{v}$]** Sermones Domini Secure // Sermone 10 spekinge | of St. John sayth that it was St. John | which was maried in Cana Galilee to Mary | Magdalene. et citat Hierom. in logum | Joannes idem proportium | Sermone parati De Sentis ser. 10. de // Jo. Evange. Sayth sponsarum suam divisit | he did put away his wif // Vincentius De Valentia. a fryar preacher | in a sermon of St. John the Evangelist. | Cum Joannes fuisset 37 annorum, desponsavit | uxorem, deinde fecit convivium nuptiarum in quo fuit | Christus, et mater eius virgo maria, ut dicit Hieronymus | ubi Christus mutavit aquam in vinum. et facto | convivio in sero, forte jam sponsa | erat in camera, et forte in | lecto etc. et paulo post: tunc [*uncertain word*] vocavit enim | dicetur, veri mecum, volo sed sic religiosus etc. | ~~Ex hoc~~ et post. Ex hoc etiam determinatur

[1383] Peter Martyr Vermigli, *uncertain referenc.*

| sed desponsati possuat separari per ingressum religionis | et citat Hieronymum[1384] // No rewarde but | he lye demands the | geldinge of ther lyvinge.

**[F.309$^{r}$]** [comment on all the old writers agreeing with Austen] a lye // vide supra 116 pa.8 // [comment on John and James never having wives] then lieth St. Ambrose | and the text also. // it may be gathered | that thei both had by this | word fratnes // both went about. but | you mistake the text. // if other women wold | not refuse that payne | muche lesse the wif. // [comment on the unlikely nature of apostles carrying the wives around given their need to sustain them] the one aswell | as the other

**[F.309$^{v}$]** [comment on Philip's wife Marianna] 3 leyes in translating 2 words | una being systerly: another in | addinge ths woord good | which is not in the text, and | the third in callinge (by the | judgement of clements alexandrinus) | γυνη womane and not wif. // [comment on Hooper's letters] Cal // Hoper

**[F.310$^{r}$]** how can this be trew when he had daughters.

**[F.310$^{v}$ – F.311$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.311$^{v}$]** because your master had a traytor and his kynsman that was | hanged named german gardner suche love you [The word german relates to the discussion on f.312$^{r}$ and the 'kinsman' word used in Philippians] | beare to his master that you canne not forget german | but think it a common name amogest the | grecians, and wold fayn haue that <name> saynted | in the new testament, so faythfully served | Germane gardiner the devell the pope and yor | master agaynst god and <his sone> Christ, and his prynce. // Clement Alex and Eusebius sayth the contrary [relates to discussion on f.311$^{r}$ and Phil. 4:3 - does it refer to Paul's wyfe or Paul's friend Epaphroditus?] // and I pray the martyne why doeth thow | not aswell say maryied woman,

[1384] Vincent Ferrer, *Sermo XIII,* p. 41.

but that thou | art disposid to be froward? seinge it | is of the common of ij genders. [this is a debate over the gender of the hapax συζυγη in Phil 4:3]

**[F.312r]** Cal // [comment on Paul's wife vs. Epaphroditus - the old authors opinion] how know | you this is the masculine when | it ὁ και ἡ | ΣυζυΓὸθ licet hic et [*incomplete word*] // [comment on the above] no one // [comment on how suzugus sounds 'in Englishe maried man, or husbande.'] not only | belyk paule ~~called~~ | spake to his | maried husband and | then was paule a | woman. // [comment at bottom] [TREFOIL] of all learned men | and every one of them say [this is quoting Martyn above]

**[F.312v]** Cal // [comment on Martyn's accusation that Ponet amends Ambrose] a lye // [comment on 'all the apostles had wiues' - a disputed quote from Ambrose] contra 117 | this cavillatione | maketh sayth also // [comment on 'Ambrose and al the olde writers'] if Ambrose say | treweth that all | had wives saving | paule and john | then lye you that | say none had | wives saving | peter fol. 117. // [comment on Paul extolling virginity for the best estate] martyns sleyght. by cavillinge of paule to avoyd | the answer to the rest. what say you to the rest? // [comment at bottom] yea but that best is worst to | him that hath not the guift.

**[F.313r]** fo. 10 ad philadelphiam. Ignatius | 124. luc 20 for luc 10. et alio loco math. 3.º // Ther be so many things added left out and | changed that ye canne neyther excuse yor self | by the printer nor be the matter. but ye | must nedes be a falsifyer a calumniator, and | ignorant. [SEMIBREVE] all his places evell turned | for ~~thexposition~~ answer of lyes. // Yn this place I appeale to the copy that I | gave to the prynter, who is a manne of honestie | and I dout not but either he ~~hau~~ can show | my copy or testify the trewth wherby it shall | appeare that I did not leave out paules | name. therebe a nomber of other faltes in | the printinge whereof I ~~aduis~~ advertised him | but this was the only one of most weight. // [Martyn chastised Ponet for blotting out the name of Paul in Ambrose on f.312v] but see the printng of yor own book [TREFOIL] | And it was not needfull for me in the | place wher I ~~be~~ alledge St. Ambrose to

prove | that all the aples had wyves. as you falsly | reported fo. 118 p. 2. for the scope of myne | argument in that place was to prove that | mariadge and presthod might stand together. | Which beinge provid by St. Ambrose ~~as~~ that it | stode together in all <or in some of> thapostles ~~except paule | and John~~ my argument stode sownd in that | place. // If I had ment any falshod as you charge me I wold not | haue ~~done as you do~~ notid the place of St. Ambrose.

**[F.313$^{v}$]** manne wisheth many tymes that thinge <to his friends> whereunto | he knoweth they be not hable to attayne, as | kingdomes etc. and paule wished to be | anathema a Christo pro fratribus,[1385] whiche | wishe is wickid if you take paules | [*uncertain word*] away. // Why, can not a mane prase one thinge and | also thinke the other good. is sylver nowght | be cause gold is better. or can not a man | prayse gold onles he disprayse sylver.

**[F.314$^{r}$]** [on virginitie the best estate] by this ye may mak | paule montanum | that wold no man mary. // no but he addeth | sed unusquisque proprium | donum habet a Deo alius quidem | sic alius autem | sic, et post | quod si non se continent | not haue matrimonium | Melius est enim | nubere quam uri.[1386] // [on Paule's wish] paules wishe | is with a condition | which condition you | take away and | marre the text | and meaninge of paule // [on Paul's wish] that paule wished | them with a condition if | thei had the guift.

**[F.314$^{v}$]** supposally // [on Paul's supposed widowhod] nay it should | folow ye may | say if yor fayned | case wer | trew. // [comment on Martyn's claim that Ponet wants a miracle in his meaning of Paul's wish] yea but what | if all this be | a lye of yor own | forging then | must ye be a | lyer or rayler. // [comment on Ponet's reading of Paul] a lye. for he | sayth not so in | his booke though | it be trew. // [comment on Paul not using his matrimony] this is trew if you lye | not.

[1385] Rom. 9:3.
[1386] 1 Cor. 7:7, 1 Cor. 7:9.

**[F.315r]** why thow fole, Clement Alexandrinus saith playnly that | he was no wedowar // Nec. This scripture is now | so wrythed that he hath made paule say | that all menne ought to absteyn from ther wives. // and so then wold ye make paule condepne mariadge | and mynd that all mene shoulde abstayn from ther wives. | ~~fo~~ for those words ~~be not~~ volo omnes ~~esse~~ homines | esse sicut meipsum[1387] be spoken to all men.

**[F.315v – F.316r - Blank]**

**[F.316v]** if paule wold haue all be as he was and he wer | a virgin, then wold you make prests wishe the | destruction of mariadges.

**[F.317r]** Ca. Aplox 25 [25th Canon of the Apostles] // 1 Cor. 7. volo omnes | esse sicut meipsum[1388] // [comment on Paul's, 'and I say to the unmarried'] what? that, they shoud | not mary, than should | St. Paul be a Tatiani[st] // [comment at bottom on ... if paul should have said, I wish all to be maried] Thesame reason may be made agaynst both you and St. Ambrose | if St. Paule in wishing all to be as he was wished | all to be virgins then he wold haue had none | to be maryed which god forbid say I.

**[F.317v]** [comment on Paul's possible 'leiser', i.e., leisure] he had leasure | to persecut Christs | churche but not | to mary belyke? // [on the married apostles] thene lyeth | ambrose // [comment on Peter's wife having died by the time he was called to be an apostle] then lyeth Clement | Alexandrinus | on of more auncientie // [on the likelihood of Peter's wife being alive when Peter was called] Read Chysostom de Verbis Esaie ho. 4. to. 1[1389] // So lyk a reason it is that paule wold haue | made some mention of peter in his epistles and that | peter wold haue stand by paule with paule | denieth if peter had been at rome.

[1387] 1 Cor. 7:7.
[1388] 1 Cor. 7:7.
[1389] Chrysostom, *De verbis esaiae,* ho. 4, to. 1.

**[F.318r]** in spekinge of votaries you say they <ought> nay | not mary because paule compelleth them | that they should not mary .. for ye cane not | say that he commandeth theme not to mary // Thesame reasone may be made of them that | be not votaries that they ought not to | mary, because paule compelleth them ~~not~~ | that they should not seek to mary. for | in both places paules counsell only byndeth // [comment from previous fol.] in li.o monogamias / hereticu[1390] // [comment on what Peter's wife would have said to Christ if she had been alive, f.317v] peter said to his wif when she went to | martyrdom | uxor mememtote domini li.. στϱωματων 7.[1391]

**[F.318v]** [extended comment on Peter's wife as per discussion on f.319r] [TREFOIL] I can not fynd that peter nor the rest | of thapostles did wer clothed when thay | folowed Christ. will you therefor conclude | that they went naked | I can not prove by Scripture that they wer | allwayes sober. will you then without scripture | conclude them dronkards. | I can not prove by Scripture that | ~~they~~ paule did spit or sweet etc. | will you then conclude that he did neyther. | suche is your kynd of reasoning. | but it is not necessary that the scripture | should make mention of these accidental | things, as that peters wif were present | or not, or whether ~~any~~ <what they were named, that> any maried after | thei prest. it is enoghe for us | that scripture conteyneth all things necessary | for our salvation, and that | things needfull to be understandid may be | necessaryly groundid apon the same // [comment on the diversity of stories in tradition about who of the apostles was maried] now he sayth it is not certayn whether thapostles | had all wives or not. why thene doth he | pronownce as certayn fo. 123b and 137a and 121a. // [commment on the admission of ancient married priests on f.319r] [CROSSES] then shall it folow that mariadge and presthod | may stand together

1390 Tertullian, *De monogamia in De praescriptione haereticorum.*
1391 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, li. 7.

**[F.319r]** [comment at top of page] that peters wif was not alyve when he was | called to thapostleship // [TREFOIL] [comment on Martyns question about biblical reference for Peter's wife being alive when he was an apostle] it may be that | the thapostles wives | wer of that number | that be spoken in | the viijth of Luce[1392] // I // [comment on the suspicion if Peter went as Apostle but left his wife behind.. thus she must have earlier died] nay it could not | be voyd of suspicion | for him to cary one | about that was | not his wif. whether | it must folow that either | he caryed non or that she | that he caried was his | wif. // [comment after argues that the reader should judge whether it is likely that Peter was married, and then 'the lyke' may be said of all the apostles] The lyke? when ye haue don with this, and brought in | the lyk for the rest, he shall not be judged wise | that will take paynes to confute you, whene you | confute yor self so handsomely.

**[F.319v]** Luc. 9.º [ER SYMBOL] // [comment on some of martyns overstated language] all the doctors // AυΓ // [comment on "To marie is a state of lyfe verie honorable, and yet it is the basest state of life in Christes churche.'] no but they both | ~~they~~ may stand | together. // [comment on movement from baser state of life to more honorable] yes, from a mayor | to an alderman. | and from a maried | mane to a wedow?

**[F.320r]** [comment on putting the hand to the plough] this is spoken to all the folowers of Chryst. // [comment on Luke and Peter's wife] we reade luce 23, et fo. 21. That the apostles | retorned agayne to ther fishinge whiche ye saye | they before forsook saying ecce nos religionibus ordinibus et | secuti sumus te[1393] // [comment on the baser and more honorable states of life, as per f.319v] bondmen, hangemen, gally, ~~sh~~ slaves | skullions. yea if the churche of Christ be | of the good and the bad as you fayne it to be | the whores of the stewes, the

[1392] Luke 8:3.
[1393] Luke 18:28.

ruffians, | traytor and theves be worser states of lyf | in Christe churche, thene is the state of | maryadge. // paule 1 Cor. 7 putteth a difference amongst these

**[F.320$^{v}$]** M.22, Luc. 14. The self same argument made Tatianus | Cassianus as Clemens Alexandrinus witnesseth | στρωματωνn Li. 3. verba enim sunt haec fo. 105 | qui autem dicet, uxorem duxi non possum venire ad divinam | coenam, est quidera exemplum ab eos arguendos, qui propter | voluptates abscedunt a divino mandato: Nam hac | rationem, nec qui justi fuere ante adventum, nec qui | post adventum uxores duxerunt, servabuntur, etiamsi | sint apoostli. | Talibus argumentis utitur quoquae Julius | Cassianus qui fuit princeps phantasiae: | ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν γυναῖκα ἔγημα καὶ οὐ δύναμαι ἐλθεῖν | εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ θεῖον ὑπόδειγμα ἦν εἰς ἔλεγχον | τῶν διὰ ἡδονὰς ἀφισταμένων τῆς θείας | ἐντολῆς, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ οὔθ' οἱ πρὸ τῆς | παρουσίας δίκαιοι οὔθ' οἱ μετὰ τὴν παρουσίαν | γεγαμηκότες κἂν ἀπόστολοι ὦσι σωθήσονται. | et post Τοιούτοις ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ὁ τῆς δοκήσεως | ἐξάρχων Ἰούλιος Κασσιανός[1394] // Clemenes Alexandrinus | στρωματωνn li. 2. | p. 81 | Democritus autem repudiat matrimonium, | et procreationem liberorum, | propter multas, quae ex ipsis | oriuntur, molestas, et quod abstrahant | ab iis, quae sunt magis | necessaria. Ei autem Epicurus | quoque affentitur, et quicunque in voluptate, | molestiaeque et doloris vacuitate bonum collocant. | vide supra 48. pre.[1395]

**[F.321$^{r}$]** ~~31. Ante triencium? | in Glosa.~~ | pretrea ex stoicorum sententia est indifferens, et matrimonium | ex liberarum susceptio; ex peripateticorum vero bonum. | ut semel autem dicam, illi lingua tenus | sua deducentes dogmata, voluptatibus seruierunt, alii quidem pellicibus, | alii vero meretricibus, plurima autem untentes | adolescentulis. // et post pa. 82 Clem | Non permittunt autem Legislatores | maximos magis fratus genere iis | qui uxorem non duxerint. // et statim Clemens Al. | Iam vero est ignavi et imbecilli animi | fugere convictum et vitae

[1394] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* 3.12.90.4 - 3.12.90.5, 3.13.91.1 (fo. 105).
[1395] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 2, p. 81.

consuetudinem | cum uxore et liberis. Cuius enim est amisio | malum, eius omnino possesio est bonum. Ita autem etiam | se habet in reliquis. Atqui liberorum amisio | inquiunt, est ex supremis malis filiorum ergo possesio | bonum est. Quod si ita est, etiam matrimonium.[1396] // Idem Clemens | li.º στρωμ. | 3. p. 4 | contra illud | Dicunt etiam pytagores abstinere a rebus | venereis. huic a favis abstineto qua venerorum. | provocant.[1397]

**[F.321ᵛ]** [TREFOIL] Jo. 21 // Act. 21 P. Et explicitis diebus profecti ibamus | deducentibus nos omnibus, una cum uxoribus et filiis | donec exissemus foras civitatem; et positis genibus in | litore precati sumus. Et consalutatis nobis | in vicem, conscendimus nauim, illi autem redierunt | ad sua.[1398] hic videre licet discipulos | Christi discipulos Christi et uxores et liberos | habuisse, denique domus possessiones. hoc | enim illud vult, redierunt ad sua. // Math. 5.º ~~19~~. Quicumquae repudiaverit uxorem suam nisi ~~et | Stupri~~ causa Stupri efficit ut illa sit | adultera. So that the scripture aloweth | no more causes but this one.[1399] // 28 Si quis | ex ca Apostolorum | vide etiam canone | 5. | si quis docuerit sacerdotem sub | obtentu religionis propriam uxorem | contemnere Anathema sit.[1400] // Si quis suis et maxime familiaribus non | promidet, fidem abegauit, et est infideli deterior.[1401] // In li.º meo fo. 11 et 12. Goddes word sayth that no manne | may put away his wif except for adultery, therefor | the Apostles did not put away ther wyves. // ~~verte vet.o fo. 1~~ | 31 Ante Trienium | in glosa | Durum statutum pellagi fuit | contra euangelium, in quo excipitur | sola fornicatio. vide et?[1402]

**[F.322ʳ]** [comment at top of page] I dare boldly say with Clement Al. and Epipha. | that here Hierom marcionistas // vide Ephipha. p. 175 | ubi Marcione omittit | vocem uxorem etc. // sic marcion hunc | locum intellegit ut | martinus epipha. contra | marcionem.[1403] p. 163 ubi |

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[1396] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 2, ca. 23.
[1397] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, p. 4.
[1398] Acts. 21:5-6.
[1399] Comment on Matthew 19:9
[1400] *Corpus iuris canonici,* D. 28, c. 14.
[1401] 1 Tim. 5:8.
[1402] *Corpus iuris canonici, Ordinary Gloss* to D. 31 C. 2 a. *durum.*
[1403] Epiphanius, *Contra marcionem,* fo. 175.

clare dicit non oportere | homine uxorem | deserere[1404] [TREFOIL] // [comment on marriage being a lette for a man wholly to give himself to Christ - e.,g forgoing marriage is right to fully following Christ] idem citatur fo. 102.[1405] | This was the argument | of Tacianus. // Math. 22. Luc 14 | revertere .1. folio. // [comment on Martyns reliance on Jerome for the statement: if Peter forsook all, he forsook his wife] they forsoke all | that by gods word | they might forsake. // but the wif canne not be | forsakene nisi | fornicationis | causa // [comment at bottom of page, linked to middle para about giving oneself wholly to Christ] [CROSSES] mariadge is an instrument to pluk a | manne away from god. take heed | you kings lords gentell men poor men | and women.

**[F.322$^{v}$]** Agaynst my allegations of the decrees // [grammatical correction on 'clericum'] clericus // this is some tryk | added by a papist

**[F.323$^{r}$]** [comment on 'clericum' on f.322$^{v}$] o shameles man. <he canne not se sacerdos in the text> Innocentius expoundeth himself | what he meaneth by this word clericus. for in | the next lyne he sayth sacerdos uxorem virginem | accipiat. whiche thing is also provid by the | prophet Eze. out of whom the sentence is taken // Clericus is not ment for a prest he | sayth // Contrary fo. 2, p.2 | et fo. 20 p 2. fo. 31 p2. | et fo. 41 p. 2. et 65. p1.2. | et fo. 70 pa 1. et fo. 72 pa 1.

**[F.323$^{v}$]** sensus scripturae lorquetur a lacis et omnibus | hominibus ad sacerdotus. vide 1 Pet. 1.$^{o}$ | petrus scribit advenis sparsivi incolentibus | Pontum, Galatiam, Cappadociam etc.[1406] // The Scripture sayth not Abstinete vos | ad tempus. but it maketh propervenium | [EARLY EQUAL SYMBOM?] hypotheticam. Ne fraudetis voa aut | Nolite fraudare invicem, nisi forte ex | consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi[1407] | he commandeth them not to depart as thoughe

[1404] Epiphanius, *Contra marcionem,* fo. 163.
[1405] Epiphanius, *Contra marcionem,* fo. 102. (this does not directly refer to Jerome as the souce due to 'Idem' and pagination)
[1406] 1 Peter 1:1.
[1407] 1 Cor. 7:5.

| ther prayer wer nought if they did not | depart. but leaveth ther departure to | ther will whiche is imported by forte or | si quid / τἰ αν with a <strayth> commandiment to | retorne together agayn and not remayne continually | a sunder and tentet vos Satanas | as Theodoret in his book de divinorus decretis | de matrimonia. pa. 456[1408]

**[F.324r]** [comment on quote from Innocent] 1 Pet. 1 // ob immundicie logale? // iam autem omnia munda modis | et ceremonie // s. tart // mundus est qui caste coniugio | utitur. et in coniugatis | non est mundus | si illicita concupiscat // [comment on 'Qui autem in carne sunt, Deo placere non possunt'] | therefore maried men | can not please | God.

**[F.324v – F.326v - Blank]**

**[F.327r]** epla 85 | sed in veteri testamento | habebant | uxores ergo magis | in novo[1409] // [comment on exposition of Leo on 1 Tim 3, that it refers to those married to more than one spouse – Ponet underlines 'not' twice in Leo] This froward | settinge of not | will not serve| you martyn

**[F.327v]** [comment on quote of Leo on f.327r] Leo 1. | Epla 85.[1410] // [TREFOIL] // est // .\. verbi: | unam // [comment on Martyn's gloss of Leo's quote] here martyn | leaveth | out at that | maketh agaynst hym // oh how clerkly | this is turned.

**[F.328r]** [comment on Leo's quote on f.327v] [LARGE SEMIBREVE] a staff to brek his owne | hed withall // This place proveth playnly mariadge | after presthod. if ther be a | diligence and a consideration to be had in ther | choyse of her that shalbe maried to a prest | therefore prests did mary or els ther should | read no suche choyse // [comment on Martyn's gloss of Leo on f.327v] as martyn hath turned it, it may seeme | that leo speketh of the manne that should be chosen | to be a bushop. wher as the latin speketh | playnly de muliere sacerdotis

[1408] Theodoret, *De divinorum decretorum, ca de matrimonia,* p. 456.
[1409] Leo I, *Epistola LXXXV*.
[1410] Leo I, *Epistola LXXXV*.

eligenda, | his sence maketh the text to be de muliere sacerdotis eligenda | of must // [LARGE SEMIBREVE] will that by lynes in latyn. for thei | be full of good matter. apone this | wrythed grownd he buldeth his solution | how wisely thou shall judge.

**[F.328$^{v}$ – Blank]**

**[F.329$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's interpretation of Leo] Leo speketh of the | qualities of the | woman that shalbe | chosen to be a prests | wif. and he wrythes | it to the qualities of the | mane that is to be chosen | to be a bushop. // a lye // non est Leo // [comment at bottom of page] a lye. for my scope is ther to prove that a | prest may marry after he hath receaved | orders as apereth which apereth the next | leaf before in my booke. fo. 25[1411]

**[F.329$^{v}$]** [comment on quote of Rustiens, Bishop of Narbon] you force theme | to put them | away

**[F.330$^{r}$]** [comment on Rustiens citation on f.329$^{v}$] this mariadge you call worse then adultery // [comment on spiritual vs. carnall matrimony] yow say ther mariadge is no mariadge in the | tytell of yor booke. ye and yow license the | partie that hath not vowed to mary agayne. // Read commenteria mulieuei pa 204 | et ibi invenis mirablias.[1412] // [comments on Hildebrand on f.329$^{v}$] vide conciliationes patrum pa. 460. flo. anno domini 1074. | ex Nauclero. Alberto Crantz. et Lamberto Hirsuelumensi[1413] // Faber supra 1 Timoth usque ad tempora Gregory 7. qui ordinis sunt | [*uncertain word*] licebat virginem habere uxorem.

**[F.330$^{v}$ – F.331$^{r}$ – Blank]**

**[F.331$^{v}$]** [comment on Martyn's reading of Henry III's opening up of benefices] I think the contention was for ymages <or ells that the emperour refusid to admitt him.> and | that this

[1411] Ponet, *Defence for Maria,ge 25.*
[1412] Source unknown.
[1413] Johannes Vergenhans (Nauclerus), *Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium gentium chronic commentarii,* p. 460; Albert Krantz, *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium daniae, sneciae, et noruagiae.*

Gregory and the chuche fownd means | to poyson this Emperour H. [3rd?]. with the | bred of the sacramente. Wherby ther | transubstation may well be provid. | [*uncertain* word] to look platina. // Epitome Concilorum | fo. 245 | Henricum quartum. Imperatorem, qui quia multis malis | et iniurijs affecerat ecclesiam Romanam, ipsum | privatum prius omni regia administrationem Anathemate | notavit, nec fuit absolutus, donec deposito | regali ornamento, nudis pedibus (quantumuis aspera effet | hyems, et gelu cuncta rigescerent) venie ad ipsum Pontificum, | et veniam petens absoluitur, et ecclesiae reconciliatur.[1414]

**[F.332r]** [comment on Henry 3rd] vide Funchius | Chronol. | li. 10 pa. 204. | ex unicentio | etc.[1415] // [comment on Henry 3rd] a lye. | it was H. 4tus | Chro. Phrig. filius | li. 3. // the scism | hyldebridi tempore[1416] // [comment at bottom] Hildebrand was made pope 17 yere after | Henry the thurds death.

**[F.332v]** [comment on Martyn's commendation of Platina] Platina | praysed // [comment on Martyn's accusation that Ponet wrote that marriages were not forbidden during Henry I] a lye. [TREFOIL] // [comment at bottom] he saith not so. but he sayth that Huntingdonensis | li.o. 7.o saith so. and yf it be not | trew that he sayth so li.o 7.o. thene may | you chalenge men worthye otherwyse | you shall answer to the slander, and ~~tak~~ | take the name of lyar to yor self.

**[F.333r]** Potest ita omne // in Edgars dayes they wer forbidden by commandment of | the kinge // ~~the one is trew~~ In Henry the furst days | by commandment of the Synod. // [comment on Henry 3rd, f. 322v] de hac re vide Sylvam meam in | Parg. ex polydoro. et Huntingdones | fo. 70. et fo:27.[1417]

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[1414] Bartolome Carranza, *Conciliorum epitome,* fo. 245.
[1415] Johann Funchius, *Chronologia, hoc est omnium temporum et annorum ad initio mundi usque ad anno Christo 1552 in prima edition,* li. 10, pa. 204.
[1416] Paulus Constantinus Phrygio, *Chronicum regum regnorumque omnium catalogum,* li. 3.
[1417] References to Virgil Polydore, *Anglica Historia* and Henry Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* in *Sylva mea* fols, 70 and 27.

**[F.333$^{v}$]** if he had ever travayle in reading | the old cronecles of England he should | haue seen this. but he can not see | on that syde. I ~~am suer~~ <think> polydor | virgell hath this booke wrytten and so too | diverse other to martyns shame. // my intent of this decre <was to prove> that of | some in some case might mary after | they had taken orders. which thinge | this proveth playnly. but ~~yow~~ martin | saith noe if they hold ther peace in | ordeninge. but I say <yea> and so sayth the | decre if they speke.

**[F.334$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's accusation of a forged John Cremensis] you haue | my Lord of | Cantorburys | books. wher ye | shall fynd Huntingdonensis | report | it faithfully

**[F.334$^{v}$]** [comment on the counsel excluding the priest] a lye. | it is a plane commandment | in the | latyn maneat | in ministerio // [comment on vows in the counsel] | vow is not | made in | the decre. // a lye // [comment on whether words are from Bp of Rome or Augustine] a lye. | he sayth fo. 28 | I will set the | bushop of rome | to answer you | with his decrees | meaninge the | booke that it called | the bushop of romes | decrees // [comment related to the above] Di. 15. | In the chap. sancta | The pope | confirmeth all St Austen | to be good doctrine[1418] // tantum

**[F.335$^{r}$]** of this it foloweth that the protestations beinge | added and the thinge beinge done ~~he ma~~ | mariadge and holy orders may stand together // if these words be in St. Austen in the 30$^{eth}$ psalme | I will recant if not let martyn be | the lyer. // a manifest lye. // The decrees, decreetalls, sext Clementines | and extravagants be knowne to be the popes | instruments with whom he feyghteth agaynst Christ | and therefore in namyinge the book I call them by suche | common name as all men doth the popes decrees. // a fault in my translation of Austen. I think | it is not so in the copy. // d. 82 quia | aliquate | Syritius durst not say: authoritatie |

[1418] *Corpus iuris canonici,* D.15, c. 3.

verbi Dei; but) Apostolicae sedes | authoritate decretos. the maried | prests wer not by gods word but by | the pope unhablid. yet none | they not put out of the lyvinge thei had[1419]

**[F.335$^{v}$ – F.336$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.336$^{v}$]** if thys sense of yors wer trew then wold | ye make St Austen say: that the act of | matrimony before his presthod, was forbidden | by the ~~church~~ law of the churche only. // Then the sentence of St Austen should | be that the act of matrimony should be | forbidden suche as wer made <[vi?]> prests | before they were prests. // Extr li. 3. de | clericis coniugatus | ca. cum olim | in Glosa c.[1420] | Illud verum, quae ex constitutione | ecclesie introductum est ut qui | ad sacros ordines vult promoveri | prius continentiam debet profitere | expresse. D. 28 c. nullam.[1421] // vide supra fo. 115. Voti Solemnitas

**[F.337$^{r}$]** [comment on copulum sacerdotum] note tantum | evell turned. // I report me to | all that be seen | in the latyn tonge // [comment on Martyn's unusual interpretation of Augustine's meaning] the acte | before presthod | can not be called | copula sacerdotum // [comment on 'multa permittebantur'] you suppresse | what that | multa be. the | matrimoni of | prests is one | of them.

**[F.337$^{v}$]** [comment on the fourth canon of Gangres] prests ministered

**[F.338$^{r}$]** [comment on Martyn's reflection on Gangres on f.337$^{v}$] of these there I alledge only the second in | my booke which maketh fully for my purpose | the furst and the last martyn addeth because | he wold blynde the eyes of the reader, as though | that counsell spake of suche as contemed mariadge | generally in all men and not in prests. | but the cause of the gathering of the | counsell declareth the contrary.

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1419 *Corpus iuris canonici,* D.82, c. 4.
1420 *Ordinary Gloss* to Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Clericis Coniugatus,* C. 1 c. *cum olim.*
1421 *Corpus iuris canonici,* D. 28, c. 1.

**[F.338$^{v}$]** Then did the apostles teache contrary to ther | doinge if it be trew that you say. for you | ~~ye say~~ <prove> they forsook ther wyves by this text | ~~ex~~ ecce vos reliquius omnia et sequenti sumus | te fo. 125 a [TREFOIL] fo. 102 a. // [SEMIBREVE] ye and the pope yor god doth | teache that if a man will enter religione | his wif is no more his wif.

**[F.339$^{r}$]** [comment on those heretics who thought they were no longer married, so that they could become priests] yf this be the doctrine of the | apostles then belyk did not | thei put away ther wives | after they were apostles and | if they be no heretiques | that say thei did lye with | ther wives, whether by ther | owne testimony by you | catholiques or not that | say thei did not. // maried before priesthod did not put away | ther wives after, but by consent before

**[F.339$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.340$^{r}$]** LC: he sayth the bushops and the | prests in the grek churche | did not mary nor did not[1422] // [Ponet links this to Greek church on f.339$^{v}$] De Clericis coniugatis ca cum olim in decretalibus: gre | Innocentius 3$^{us}$: orientalis ecclesia votum continentie | non admissi / etc pulchre[1423] // he saith sacerdotes copulatur matrimonio. if | they maried before they were prestes then | shoulde the text be false that sacerdotes | copulatis. vide Caietanum. // Silva mea[1424]

**[F.340$^{v}$ – F.341$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.341$^{v}$]** I rejoyse I was not made bushop by |that order

**[F.342$^{r}$]** [comment on the form of consecration] to the prest and | deacone I met [sic] | in that place | which is trew. if | you say the contrary | the booke | will prove | you a lyar. // [comment on cum Dei auxilio] this is no promis | onles he haue the guift. // [comment on the

[1422] Ponet's commonplace-book.
[1423] *Corpus iuris canonici,* X. 3.3.6.
[1424] Sylva Mea, Caietanum (Thomas Cajetan)

word not in the pontificall] to prests nor | deacons of England | whose cause I did | and doe defend | ~~yor~~

**[F.342$^{v}$]** [comment at top, hard to determine what it links to] belyk it is unprofettable for a common welth to haue | many men. Plato Iudei Lacadem[?] | in constituerent leges de conctio et [*uncertain word* - prudant] | celibs // [latin comment from Gerson] civics et petus [consuat?] | individunt | matrimonium speci| Gersone de castitate | Clericorum[1425] // Syngell lyf | of prests for | a common weale // [Martyn's argument from population increase to support single priests] England hath | to many men | and therfor ye did | well to hange them | so fast. // [more on the increase of population -> no married priests] | younge frye of | papists, and of | spanierds in | England may | be suffered. // oh this is martyns | scripture // whene these godly peple had lyvings martyn | wer fayn to goe a begging and this more | willing to prate for his halfpenny

**[F.343$^{r}$]** [citation from Clement Alexandrinus] Clemens Alexandrinus. στρωματων. Li. 3.$^{o}$ pa 15 lat. | he sayth they be lyers whiche say, non admittendum | matrimonium et liberorum procreationem ~~liberorum~~ | nec in mundum inducendos alios infelices futuros. | etc.[1426] // And, why wyll you exclude prests rather than other | men? except it be to help ~~other~~ all the papists being | of the womens counsell. // stews also and whoredom and usury, and spanierds. | and ~~teft~~ theft, and treason for a common wealth. // vowes be unprofettable for a common wealth | for they take a way all obedience to magistrate | to parlamente. vide mel. a Regem Augere[1427] // Raylinge words // ymagine econtra how many peple ye wicked | law hath undone. // Theodoretus in divinorum decretorum | epitome. ca. de virginitate. Cerdo iatque | marcion virginitatem lege constituerius, | adversus creatorem bellum gerentes, ne per | matrimonium, illius augerent opificium. | Manes autem dixit nuptias esse materiae adiutrices, | et ea causa

[1425] Jean Gerson, *De castitate clericorum.*
[1426] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* li. 3, ca. 6 (p. 15).
[1427] Philip Melanchthon, *uncertain work.*

iussit virginitatem exerceri. | Saturnilus autem et Tatianus aperte matrimonium Diaboli | nominarunt. Dominus autem Deus not tulit | quidem leges de virginitate: intellexit enim esse rem | supra naturam.[1428]

**[F.343$^{v}$ - Blank]**

**[F.344$^{r}$]** [comment on what may forbid marriage or not] shall any pollicye | of mane subvert | the word of god | and stey the commandment? | for thavoyding | of fornication | let every | mane haue his wif | etc. // [comment on Martyn's thought experiment about population growth if Ponet is correct] how many thousands | haue lyved this | 60 yeres in England | and yet no suche | inconvenience etc.

**[F.344$^{v}$]** [comment on courtly apparel] a lye. // [comment on Martyn's connection between married priests, deformation of the church, lack of appeal of pastoral care] Cal. // [comment on 'the goodes of the churche bee the goodes of the poore'] and now they | be bona Epicureorum // [comment on what has already ensued with maried priests] a lye

**[F.345$^{r}$]** [comment relating back to f.344$^{v}$: 'a way was opened to euery skipjack that lusted to make himself a priest, as wel as the priest would bee a lay man, and every shake buckler, tinker, tailour, hooper, hostler, ... and all other offices above a doctour of divinitie'] Bushop boner mad a Cooke preste besids | other unlearned and boyes of xix yeres. // be your prests all saynts? | did not all the churche of god resort to maryid | prests for counsell in the primative churche.

**[F.345$^{v}$ – F.346$^{r}$ - Blank]**

**[F.346$^{v}$]** [comment on Ophni and Phineus on f.347$^{r}$] suche as Ophni and Phinees wer be yor virgin | prests[1429]

[1428] Theodoret, *Divinorum Decretorum Epitome,* li. 5, ca. *De virginitate.*
[1429] 1 Sam. 2.

**[F.347r]** [comment on poor syr Johns] Cal. // [comment on Martyn being afraid that he has spoken 'over truly'] he is a frayd that | he speketh trewth // [the example of Ophni and Phinees] this is a good lesson | for yor bushops | now a dayes.

**[F.347v]** ob // [comment on whether castration is a hard thing for a priest] in deed to them | that haue the gift | but all the rest | say that you lye. // [comment on entering the ministry for livings' sake] how many of | the popishe | parte cometh | in otherwise.

**[F.348r-v - Blank]**

**[F.349r]** [comment on Martyn's comparison between making surety for a friend and making a vow] the sueritiship he | is hable to perform | but the vow he | can not without | gods help. | the similitude is not | lyke.

**[F.349v – Chapter 14 - Blank]**

**[F.350r-v – Blank]**

**[F.351r]** 1 Cor. 3 // [*some other marginalia on the left hand margin uncertain due to rebinding*] [comment on Martyn's use of Lev. 19:2 'be holy as I am holy'] this should be | understandid | generally. // generally // generally // [comment on Martyn's use of Is. 52:11 'mundamini, qui fertis vasa Domini.' = be ye clean, that bear the vessels of the LORD.'] generally. this | specially spoken to | the levites that | had wives and wer | thought of god mundi | but generally to all Christien | peple.

**[F.351v – F.352r – Blank]**

**[F.352v]** be so in the devells name put a way yor hores | and mary honest godly women within the trybe of | Christendom for now be we all of on[e] trybe.

**[F.353r – F.358v - Blank]**

# Appendix E – List of Sources in British Library, Additional MS 89067

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- Uncertain sources. 3 (239[r])

Basil of Caesarea (1)

- *Homiliae in Hexameron* 1 (221[r])

Bucer, Martin (3)

- *Scripta duo adversaria D.Bartholomaei Latomi* ..., pa. 86. 1 (267r)
- Uncertain source. 2 (283v, 287r)

Bullinger (8)

- *Ad Ioannis Cochlei de canonicae scripturae* … 1 (23r)
- *Antworten contra cochleum* (?), ca. 4. 1 (46r)
- *De authoritate scripture et ecclesia*, fo. 49. 1 (31r)
- *De authoritate scripture et ecclesia,* ca. 14, fo. 86. 1 (40v)
- *De authoritate scripture et ecclesia* (unknown loc.) 1 (57r)
- *Sermonum Decas Quinta,* preface to Henry Gray 2 (23r, 44v)
- Uncertain source. 1 (172r)

Cajetan, Tommaso de Vio (1)

- (possibly) *De Comparatione Concilii seu Ecclesie* 1 (138r)

Calvin, John (1)

- *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* pa. 468. 1 (146r)

Chyrsostom (1)

- *De verbis esaiae,* ho. 4, to. 1. 1 (317v)

Clement of Alexandria (13)

- ? 4 (74r, 75r, 242r, 256v)
- *De Ethnics* 1 (249r)
- *Epistola 2* 1 (51v)
- *Epistola 3* 1 (61v)
- *Stromata,* li. 2, p. 67, 71. 1 (222r)
- *Stromata,* fo. 261 1 (43v)
- *Stromata,* li. 7 1 (318r)
- *Stromata,* li. 7 fo. 109 1 (243r)
- *Stromata,* li. 7 fo. 241 1 (31r)
- *Stromata,* li. 7 fo. 265 1 (172v)

Chrysostom, John (1)

- *De verbis esaiae,* ho. 4, to. 1 1 (317v)

Corpus Iuris Canonici (18)

- D. 15 C. 3 (Friedberg, I, 35-36) 2 (74$^{r}$; 334$^{v}$)
- D. 28 C. 1 (Friedberg, I, 100) 1 (336$^{v}$)
- D. 31 C. 1 (Friedberg, I, 111) 1 (4$^{v}$)
- D. 31 C. 11 (Friedberg, I, 114) 1 (306$^{v}$)
- D. 31 C. 13 (Friedberg, I, 114-115) 2 (58$^{v}$, 134$^{r}$)
- D. 32 C. 7 (Friedberg, I, 119-120) 1 (253$^{r}$)
- D. 82 C. 2 (Friedberg, I, 290) 1 (97$^{v}$)
- D. 82 C. 3 (Friedberg I, 291) 1 (4$^{v}$)
- D. 82 C. 4 (Friedberg, I, 291) 1 (335$^{r}$)
- D. 56 C. 13 (Friedberg, I, 223) 1 (135$^{v}$)
- D. 91 C. 3 (Friedberg, I, 316) 1 (261$^{r}$)
- Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Clericis Coniugatus,* 1 1 (174$^{v}$)
- Extravag. Johann XXII, *De Voto et Redemptione,* C. 6 1 (295$^{r}$)
- *Ordinary Gloss* in D. 15 C.3. *sancta* 1 (73$^{v}$)
- *Ordinary Gloss* in D. 84 C.3. v. *apostoli* 1 (135$^{v}$)
- Uncertain 1 (295$^{v}$)

Crabbe, Pierre (10) [Personally owned by John Ponet]

- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:30 1 (68$^{r}$)
- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:31 2 (68$^{v}$, 71$^{v}$)
- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:35 1 (65$^{v}$)
- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:221 1 (157$^{r}$)
- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:229 1 (18$^{r}$)
- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:287-8 1 (265$^{v}$)
- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 1:382 1 (18$^{v}$)
- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 2:163 1 (14$^{v}$)
- *Conciliorum omnium tam generalium quàm particularium,* 2:742-859 1 (18$^{r}$)

Cyprian (8)

- *Epistola 3* 1 (176$^{r}$)
- *Epistolarii 11* 7 (137$^{r}$, 193$^{v}$, 196$^{r}$, 198$^{r}$, 198$^{v}$, 290$^{r}$, 297$^{r}$)

Cyril of Alexandria (3)

- Epistle 11, *Ad Pomponium.* 1 (198$^{r}$)
- *Euangelium Joannis*, li. 12, ca. 67. 1 (22$^{v}$)
- *Uncertain source* 1 (280$^{r}$)

Epiphanius (11)

- *Conta catharos,* p. 141 — 2 (264$^{v}$, 266$^{v}$)
- *Contra marcionem,* fo. 102. — 1 (322$^{r}$)
- *Contra marcionem,* fo. 162. — 1 (322$^{r}$)
- *Contra marcionem,* fo. 171. — 1 (70$^{r}$)
- *Contra marcionem,* fo. 175. — 1 (322$^{r}$)
- *Contra Senecianos,* fo. 182. — 1 (221$^{v}$)
- *Uncertain,* p. 66. — 2 (74$^{r}$, 78$^{r}$)
- *Uncertain* — 2 (63$^{v}$, 78$^{r}$)

Erasmus, Desiderius (1)

- *Novum Instrumentum … una cum Annotationibus* (1 Cor. 7) — 1 (197$^{r}$)

Eusebius (3)

- (probably) *Ecclesiastical History*, 44 4.c.8. — 1 (12$^{r}$)
- (probably) *Ecclesiastical History* — 2 (131$^{v}$)

Frycz, Andrzej Modrzewski (Fricius) (6)

- (likely) *Emendanda libri quinque,* fo. 298 — 2 (31$^{r}$(2))
- (likely) *Emendanda libri quinque,* fo. 299 — 1 (31$^{r}$)
- (likely) *Emendanda libri quinque,* fo. 302 — 2 (226$^{r}$, 230$^{v}$)
- (likely) *Emendanda libri quinque* — 1 (225$^{v}$)

Funchius, Johann (2)

- *Chronologia, hoc est omnium …,* li. 10, pa. 204. — 1 (332$^{r}$)
- (probably) *Chronologia,* 434. — 1 (19$^{r}$)

Gardiner, Stephen. (1)

- *De Vera Obedentia Oratio,* sigs. D.ii$^{r-v}$ — 1 (176$^{r}$)

Gelasius (1)

- Uncertain source. — 1 (35$^{v}$)

Gelli, Giovanni Battista (possibly) (1)

- (possibly) *De naturae humanae fabrica dialogi decem* — 1 (163$^{r}$)

Gerson, Jean (1)

- (probably) *De castitate clericorum* 1 (215$^{v}$)

De Guevara, Antonio (1)

- *Aureo de Marco Aurelio,* 'beginning' 1 (163$^{r}$)

Hieronymus Stridonensis (Jerome) (5)

- *Ad Ctesiphontem contra Pelagius*, fo. 606. 2 (243$^{r}$, 251$^{r}$)
- *Adversus jovinianum,* li. 1 1 (302$^{v}$)
- *De viris illustribus / De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (uncertain loc.) 2 (67$^{r}$, 302$^{v}$)

Ignatius of Antioch (1)

- *Epistola ad Trallianos,* 2. 1 (72$^{v}$)

Irenaeus of Lyon (2)

- *Against Heresies*, Li 3/Ca 3 1 (10$^{v}$, 69$^{v}$)
- *Against Heresies,* li. 3. Ca. 3. 1 (12$^{r}$)

Isidore of Seville (1)

- Uncertain source 1 (35$^{v}$)

Krantz, Albert (1)

- *Chronica regnorum aquilonarium daniae,* … (uncertain loc.) 1 (330$^{r}$)

Latomus, Bartholomeo (1)

- Uncertain source. 1 (46$^{r}$)

Leo I (4)

- *Epistola LXXXV* 3 (327$^{r}$, 327$^{v}$, 254$^{r}$)
- Uncertain source. 1 (35$^{v}$)

Lombard, Peter (3)

- *Sentences*, li. 1, di. 11 1 (19$^{r}$)
- *Sentences*, li. 4 di. 34. 1 (17$^{v}$)
- (likely) *Sentences* (unknown loc.) 1 (239$^{r}$)

Luther, Martin (1)

- *Lectures in Genesis* (25) 1 (239$^{r}$)

Luxemburg, Bernardus aus (Bernhardi Lutzenburgi) (6)

- *Catalogus haereticorum omnium,* li. 11 1 (57$^{v}$)
- *Catalogus haereticorum omnium* (section: *contra catharos*) 1 (264$^{r}$)
- *Catalogus haereticorum omnium* (section: *de heresi nicolaitarum*) 1 (85$^{v}$)
- (likely) *Catalogus haereticorum omnium,* fo. 16-17 1 (251$^{r}$)
- (likely) *Catalogus haereticorum omnium* (loc. unknown) 1 (80$^{v}$)
- Uncertain 1 (267$^{v}$)

Melanchthon (5)

- ? 4 (28$^{v}$, 29$^{r}$, 56$^{r}$, 343$^{r}$)
- *Circular Disputationes* 1 (46$^{r}$)

Musculus (3)

- (likely) *Historiarum libri quinque priores* 3 (51$^{r}$,52$^{r}$)

Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos (1)

- *Historia Ecclesiastica*, li 10, ca. 39 1 (202$^{r}$)

Ochino, Bernard (1)

- (likely) *Apologi nelli quali si scuoprano* ... (Geneve, 1554). 1 (33$^{r}$)

Optatus (3)

- *Contra Donatistum*, li.5 fo. 54 2 (44$^{r}$, 46$^{r}$)
- *De schimate Donatistarum,* li. 3, pa. 41. 1 (103$^{r}$)

Origen (3)

- *Math Tract 25* 1 (35$^{v}$)
- *Math Tract 26*, pa 148, fo. 2 1 (37$^{v}$)
- *Math Tract 26*, pa. 148, fo. 2. 1 (45$^{v}$)

Patrizi (Augustinus Piccolomini) (1)

- *Rituum Ecclesiasticorum Sive Sacrarum Ceremoniarum* (1516), c. 1. 1 (70$^{r}$)

Peresius (Martin Perez de Ayala) (20)

- *De divinis apostolicis atque*, 152. 1 (237$^{r}$)
- Uncertain source, pa. 47. 1 (65$^{v}$)
- Uncertain source, pa. 128 1 (35$^{v}$)
- Uncertain source, pa. 159 1 (272$^{v}$)
- Noted places 16 (36$^{r}$ (4), 37$^{r}$, 38$^{r}$ (4), 38$^{v}$ (2), 41$^{r}$ (2), 45$^{v}$, 196$^{r}$, 196$^{v}$, 272$^{v}$)

Phrygio, Paulus Constantinus (1)

- *Chronicum regum regnorumque omnium catalogum,* li. 3. 1 (332$^{r}$)

Platina, Bartholomeo (3)

- (probably) *Vitae pontificum* 45. 1 (12$^{r}$)
- *Vitae pontificum*, li. 3 ca. 2 1 (70$^{v}$)
- *Vitae pontificum*, vita Claudius. 1 (70$^{v}$)

Ponet, John (7)[1430]

- *Defence for Mariage,* fo. 5 1 (216$^{v}$)
- *Defence for Mariage*, fo. 10 1 (233$^{r}$)
- *Defence for Mariage*, fo 11 et 12 1 (321$^{v}$)
- *Defence for Mariage,* fo. 24 1 (191$^{r}$)
- *Defence for Mariage,* fo. 25 1 (329$^{v}$)
- *Defence for Mariage,* fo. 38 1 (289$^{v}$)
- *Defence for Mariage,* fo. 42 1 (300$^{r}$)

Pighius, Albertus (1)

- *Controversiarum praecipuarum,* fo. 214. 1 (269$^{v}$)

Rhenanus, Beatus (1)

- (probably) *Compendiosa vite eiusdem descriptio.* 1 (207$^{v}$)

Ritius, Michael Neapolitani (1)

[1430] This list is limited to explicit references to Ponet's *Defence for Mariage* where a page number is mentioned – there are various implicit references to Ponet's book elsewhere as detailed in the body of this dissertation.

- *De Regibus Francorum* … li. 2. 1 (15r)

Seneca (1)

- *Hercules Furens,* li. 384-385. 1 (1r)

Sylva Mea (29)

- ? 4 (171r, 279v, 294v, 340r)
- 'In pargamento' 1 (296v)
- 'Cartaceus liber uterque' 1 (295r)
- Fol. 27 (Henry Huntingdon) 1 (333r)
- Fol. 31 (Melanchthon) 1 (169r)
- Fol. 49 (Chrysostom) 4 (42v, 43v, 46r, 49v)
- Chrysostom, Homily 49 on Fol. 97. 1 (45v)
- Fol. 51 1 (297r)
- Fol. 70 (Virgil Polydore) 1 (333r)
- Fol. 71 (Concil Pat.) 1 (43v)
- Fol. 82 1 (22r)
- Fol. 83 (Chrysostom, Hieronymus Marcellino) 1 (231r)
- Fol. 97 (Chrysostom) 1 (49v)
- Fol. 133 (22r: 'extra scripturas nihil') 2 (22r, 280r)
- Fol. 139 1 (280r)
- Fol. 159 1 (227r)
- Fol. 165 1 (264v)
- Fol. 181 1 (22r)
- Augustine, *Conlatio cum Maximino* on Fol. 181 1 (45v)
- Antonio de Guevara, *Libro Primo, Letters*, 183. 1 (145v)
- Caietanum (Thomas Cajetan) 1 (340r)
- 'De Canonis Sacerdotum' 1 (145v)

Tertullian (4)

- *Apologetico adversus gentes* 1 (278r)
- *De praescriptione haereticorum*, fo. 196. 1 (45v)
- *De praescriptione haereticorum,* fo. 667. 1 (299v)
- *De praescriptione haereticorum* (section *De monogamia*) 1 (318r)

Theodoret (1)

- *De divinorum decretorum, ca de matrimonia,* p. 456. 1 (323v)

Vergenhans, Johannes (Nauclerus) (1)

- *Memorabilium omnis aetatis* pa. 460 — 1 (330r)

Vermigli, Peter Martyr (8)

- *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* (chapter 7) — 3 (97v, 206v, 252v)
- *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* (chapter 7), p. 173. — 1 (202v)
- *Commentary on 1 Corinthians,* (chapter 8), fo. 211. — 1 (263r)
- Uncertain source — 3 (172r, 253v, 307r)

Vincentius Lirinensis (2)

- Uncertain source, d. 10 — 1 (46r)
- *Duo commonitoria* (?), c.8. — 1 (119r)

Zigabenus, Euthymius (1)

- *Expositio symboli* …, fo. 512. (contra Messalianus) — 1 (106r)

**Explicit Citations of Scripture in *Draft Reply* (Only Explicit Citations in Annotations)**

- Genesis 1:27-28 (222r)
- Genesis 20:2 (307r)
- Genesis 26:9 (237v)
- Lev. 19:2 (351r)
- Lev. 19:20 (137r)
- Lev. 21:8 (205v)
- Lev. 24:6 (104v)
- 1 Samuel 2 (346r)
- Psalm 19 (87r – in a Lasco's citation)
- Psalm 91:11 (214r)
- Wisdom 8 (238v)
- Isaiah 51:11 (351r)
- Isaiah 64:4 (229v)
- Jeremiah 39:22 (215v)
- Matthew 3 (313r)
- Matthew 5:32 (265v, 321v)
- Matthew 11 (289r)
- Matthew 13:11 (281v)
- Matthew 19 (262v)
- Matthew 19:11-12 (250v)
- Matthew 22 (320v, 322r)
- Mark 10:45 (23r)
- Luke 4:1-13 (175v)
- Luke 8:3 (319r)
- Luke 12:35 (137r)
- Luke 14 (320v, 322r)
- Luke 18:28 (320r)
- Luke 20 (313r)
- Luke 22:21 (104v)
- Luke 24 (236v)
- John 5 (45v)
- John 21:2-3 (263v)
- John 22 (236v)
- Acts 1:6 (207r)
- Acts 4:32 (88v)
- Acts 6:2 (42v)
- Acts 18:3 (263v)
- Acts 21:5-6 (321v)
- Acts 26:29 (229r, 290r)

- Romans 8 (11[r])
- Romans 9:3 (313[v])
- Romans 11 (251[r])
- Romans 14:21 (224[r])
- 1 Cor 7 (11[r], 32[r], 97[v], 197[r], 202[v], 206[v] ff, 223[r] ff, 317[r], 320[r])
- 1 Cor. 7:1 (34[v])
- 1 Cor. 7:2 (208[v], 34[v], 210[r])
- 1 Cor. 7:3 (228[r])
- 1 Cor. 7:5 (289[r], 323[v])
- 1 Cor. 7:7 (224[r], 290[r], 314[r], 315[r], 317[r])
- 1 Cor. 7:9 (314[r])
- 1 Cor. 7:27 (265[v])
- 1 Cor 7:28 (250[v])
- 1 Cor. 7:32 (34[v])
- 1 Cor. 8 (263[r])
- 1 Cor. 9 (238[r], 307[r])
- 1 Cor 10. (216[r])
- 1 Cor. 10:21 (104[v])
- 2 Cor 11: 27 (263[v])
- 2 Cor. 12:9 (287[r], 287[v])
- Ephesians 1 (222[v])
- Ephesians 6 (197[r])
- Philippians 4:3 (311[v])
- Colossians 2:14 (222[v])
- 1 Timothy 1:18-20 (10[v])
- 1 Timothy 3 (226[r])
- 1 Tim 4 (33[v], 34[v], 213[r])
- 1 Tim 5 (137[r], 278[r])
- 1 Tim 5:8 (321[v])
- 1 Tim 5:12 (286[r])
- Philemon 1:22 (281[v])
- Heb 13:4 (51[r], 53[r], 252[v])
- 1 Peter 1 (324[r])
- 1 Peter 1:1 (323[v])
- 1 John 5:14 (280[v])