

## Towards a Critical Edition and Modern Translation of Robert Persons' *De persecutione Anglicana*

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This article introduces a project that aims at providing new authoritative English versions of important (but neglected) documents originating from the Reformation. The translating and editing team consists of both classicists and church historians. The initial text is Robert Persons' *De persecutione Anglicana epistola* (1581/2), described by Thomas S. Freeman as the most famous martyrological work produced by an Elizabethan Catholic exemplifying the pseudo-martyr debate of the sixteenth century. *De persecutione Anglicana* is an original document which gives a first-hand account of the sufferings of Catholics in England under the rule of Elizabeth I; the translation project will make this valuable source accessible to scholars from various disciplines. The specific aim of the article is to illustrate the inadequacy of the existing translation of *De persecutione Anglicana*. Two selected passages from the Latin text are juxtaposed with the only existing English translation as well as our proposed new translation.

**I**mportant writings of the author Robert Persons, though recognized as highly significant in their day, have long been inaccessible to scholars, students and the general reader because they lack modern translations and annotation. Although his works provide a one-sided view of the precarious situation of Catholics in England under the Protestant rule of Elizabeth I, the subject matter will be of interest to scholars of law, politics, (church) history and theology, whatever their

persuasion. Since Persons' *De persecutione Anglicana*<sup>1</sup> provides us with one of the best sources to have addressed these questions,<sup>2</sup> our aim is to present his version of events in a new critical edition furnished with a translation into modern English with relevant scholarly analysis and apparatus.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the mission and educational work of the religious order of the Jesuits largely contributed to the shaping of the Catholic mind, adds to the importance of this author. The project will bring this work (and hopefully more, similarly inaccessible documents) to light and life while shared experiences and hardship will play an important part in building bridges between the Reformed and Catholic traditions.

### The Catholic persecutions in England and the treason laws

At the time of Persons' writing the Catholics were a minority in England and their religion differed from that of their sovereign, Queen Elizabeth. In 1581, parliament passed two new laws which made it treason to reconcile anyone to the Roman Catholic Church and misprision of treason to assist anyone in such reconciliation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Robert Persons, *De persecutione Anglicana, epistola* (Rouen, 1581); rpt as *De persecutione Anglicana libellus* (Rome, 1582) and *De persecutione Anglicana commentariolus* (Ingolstadt, 1582). For details of the various editions, see A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers (ed.), *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1989–94), I, 120–21: the volumes of this work will be referred to as ARCR I and ARCR II, followed by the serial number. This article also makes use of the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) database (<http://ustc.ac.uk>), which records all books published in Europe between the invention of printing and the end of the sixteenth century. All translations, except for the 1582 English translation by G. T., are our own.

<sup>2</sup> T. S. Freeman, 'Introduction', *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England c. 1400–1700*, ed. T. S. Freeman and T.F. Mayer (Aldershot, Hampshire, 2007), 1–34 (p. 24).

<sup>3</sup> The team consists of Nancy Llewellyn (a fluent speaker of Latin who worked and studied in Italy); Marianne Dirksen (classicist and retired director of the School of Ancient Languages and Text Studies at North-West University, South Africa); Donato de Gianni (recipient of the Alexander von Humboldt Fellowship for postdoctoral researchers, who specializes in Late Latin literature, textual criticism and patristics), and Koos Kritzinger (University of Pretoria, a classicist with specialisation in patristics and theology). Apart from producing accurate and readable translations, the classicists in the team will also illustrate how material from the earlier Roman past could be preserved, reassessed, adapted, or rejected in the new cultural, social, and political realities of the late sixteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> Persons summarizes the content and effect of these laws (see below, 'Summary of

In 1585 another law was passed which targeted the missionaries and made it treason to draw English subjects away from their loyalty to the Queen. Catholic martyrology includes the conservative total of nearly 200 Britons executed between 1570 and 1603 in Elizabethan England while more than 300 Roman Catholics were put to death for treason by English governments between 1535 and 1681.<sup>5</sup> Coffey maintains that they were almost all executed for 'seditious' religious activities without any evidence that they had plotted the overthrow of the government.<sup>6</sup> Four Catholics were executed in 1581, the year before *De persecutione Anglicana* appeared. Many of those executed were simply hanged until they died, but in other cases the rope was cut before the victim had been strangled, and he was disembowelled while still alive, then beheaded and quartered.<sup>7</sup>

### The author, Father Robert Persons

There is no shortage of biographical and historical information on the life and times of the English Jesuit Robert Persons (1546–1610), the author of *De persecutione Anglicana*.<sup>8</sup> He was born in 1546 at Nether

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the contents of the *De persecutione Anglicana*'). For a more detailed account of the treason laws and the execution of Catholics on account of treasonable activities, see A. L. Rowse, *Eminent Elizabethans* (London and Basingstoke, 1983), p. 50; J. Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558–1689* (Harlow, Essex, 2000), pp. 86–88; P. Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The political thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 86–88; and Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), pp. 274–75.

<sup>5</sup> See G. F. Nuttall, 'The English martyrs 1535–1680: A Statistical review', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 22 (1971): 191–97.

<sup>6</sup> Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England*, 26; Michael L. Carrafiello, 'English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581', *Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 761–74, challenges this assumption: see note 10 below.

<sup>7</sup> For a more detailed account of the executions see Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 243–76; for examples of the readiness of English Catholic martyrologists to record the goriest details of the deaths of contemporary Catholic martyrs, see J. H. Pollen, *Acts of English Martyrs* (London, 1891), pp. 141, 352, 356.

<sup>8</sup> See Victor Houlston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580–1610* (Aldershot, Hampshire and Rome, 2007), pp. 1–22; Rowse, *Eminent Elizabethans*, 41–74; Francis Edwards, *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546–1610*. St Louis, MO, 1995; John Bossy, 'The heart of Robert Persons', in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed.

Stowey and was one of 11 children of a Somersetshire yeoman and his wife. He went to Stogursey grammar school, to the free school at Taunton and subsequently attended St Mary's Hall, Oxford (1564–66) and Balliol College, Oxford (1566–68).<sup>9</sup> After offering himself to the Society of Jesus in 1575 he was ordained as priest and employed at the Roman College in 1578. Pope Gregory XIII then sent him along with Edmund Campion on a mission to England. Despite the fact that the English government knew of their plans, Persons, disguised as a soldier returning home, managed to arrive safely in England in 1580.<sup>10</sup> He was fortunate to escape with his life and 'from his lair in Normandy' he wrote *De persecutione* about the persecution of

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Thomas M. McCoog (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1996), 141–58; A. Lynn Martin, *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians* (Geneva, 1973). Persons' correspondence has also proven to be a valuable source of knowledge about his life and times: *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons: Volume I: To 1588*, ed. L. Hicks, Catholic Record Society 39 (London, 1942) and *Correspondence and Unpublished Papers of Robert Persons, SJ: Volume 1: 1574–1588*, ed. Victor Houlston, Geneva Crosignani and Thomas M. McCoog (Toronto, 2017). Persons' political agenda is discussed by J.E. Parish, *Robert Parsons and the English Counter-Reformation* (Houston, TX, 1966), Michael L. Carrafiello, 'English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581', and *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580–1610* (Selinsgrove, PA, and London, 1998), Houlston, *Catholic Resistance*, 71–92, E.E. Reynolds, *Campion and Parsons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580–1* (London, 1980), and Rowse, *Eminent Elizabethans*, 41–74. The last two sources also provide information about Persons' reception into the Society of Jesus and his role as a missionary. The spelling 'Persons' prevails in the correspondence and in the printed works of Persons and his associates.

<sup>9</sup> Ceri Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing 1580–1603* (Madison, WI and London, 1995), p. 146; see Rowse, *Eminent Elizabethans*, 43–44, for more details about Persons' education and possible reasons for his resignation as Fellow of Balliol.

<sup>10</sup> Carrafiello, 'English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581', 761, challenges the traditional view that the purpose of the mission was 'essentially pastoral' and maintains that 'the mission was fundamentally political in nature'. He maintains that it was aimed at bringing about a forcible conversion of England. See also Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558–1630* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 124–39, who argues that the mission was designed to sabotage the Anjou match and promote Spanish interests. Robert S. Miola (introd.), *Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources* (Oxford and New York, 2007), p. 20 also states that the clergy in the English college wished to distance themselves from 'Jesuits such as Persons, who favoured military intervention in England'. He similarly regards Persons as a radical Catholic thinker who advocated rebellion against Elizabeth (pp. 40, 71, 289). Bossy, 'The Heart of Robert Persons', 155, is of the same opinion.

Catholics in England from which he had recently escaped.<sup>11</sup> He spent the winter of 1581/2 in Rouen where this work was first published.<sup>12</sup>

Persons was the founder of seminaries at Valladolid (1589), Seville (1592) and a pre-seminary school at St-Omer.<sup>13</sup> These seminaries played a large part in keeping English Catholicism alive. Persons, focused on the task of reconverting England, was one of the most significant recusant writers and, according to Houliston 'at least as important as Thomas Stapleton, Edmund Campion and Robert Southwell'.<sup>14</sup> He spent the next nine years mostly in Spain and his last years in Rome where he was the rector of the English College.<sup>15</sup> He died on 15 April 1610 and was buried in the chapel of the English College next to Cardinal Allen.

### Summary of the contents of *De persecutione Anglicana*

*De persecutione Anglicana* belongs to the genre of martyrology which epitomizes Catholic opposition to Elizabeth I. Already in 1571 Nicholas Sander wrote a book entitled *De visibili monarchia* in which

<sup>11</sup> Rowse, *Eminent Elizabethans*, 51.

<sup>12</sup> V. Soen, 'Exile Encounters and Cross-border Mobility in Early Modern Borderlands', *Belgeo* 2 (2015): 1–13, explains that transitions over borders limited the chance of persecution as justice officers operated within bounded territories (p. 4). This also explains Persons' choice of St-Omer for the foundation of a seminary – it was, like Douai, 'a safe location' for Catholics.

<sup>13</sup> M. Netzloff 'The English Colleges and the English Nation', in *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. R. Corthell, F. E. Dolan, C. Highley and A. F. Marotti (Notre Dame, IN, 2009), 236–60, describes Persons' efforts to preserve English culture in these colleges; see also Miola (ed.), *Early Modern Catholicism*, 24.

<sup>14</sup> Houliston, *Catholic Resistance*, 21, claims that he played a key role in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of the day: 'Any aspiring ecclesiastical historian of the English Reformation knows that Persons has to be taken into account. All the same, as a figure who was a formidable presence in English affairs in the period 1580–1610, he has not intruded on the consciousness of many nonspecialists. This is a pity, because not only was his an extraordinary life in itself, but we will not understand the cross-currents of English religion, politics and literature in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries without coming to terms with his career' (p. 2). Rowse, choosing him as one of his *Eminent Elizabethans*, writes: 'I find him fascinating – infinitely more so than ordinary conventional people, even when they make some figure in history' (p. 43).

<sup>15</sup> For Persons' activities in Spain see Rowse, *Eminent Elizabethans*, 57–58, 64, and for his final years spent mostly in Rome, pp. 65–73.

he described the sufferings of Catholics under Elizabeth.<sup>16</sup> However, between 1580 and 1583 as many English Catholic books were printed as in the previous ten years together,<sup>17</sup> and they introduced the important new theme in Elizabethan Catholic literature: the idea of persecution. It seems that the floodgates were opened for a torrent of martyrological works.<sup>18</sup> Allen and Persons were the principal authors at a time in which martyrology was a potent weapon of Catholic missionaries.<sup>19</sup> Gregory explains the impact of martyrs: '[P]ublic executions became a powerful arena for evangelization . . . To onlookers, the sight of men and women going to their deaths willingly, and bearing extreme pain with extraordinary patience, could spark interest and even conversion.'<sup>20</sup> Persons was well aware of the emotional impact his writings would have.<sup>21</sup> On page 47 of *De persecutione Anglicana* he professes to prefer the fate of a martyr above any worldly riches.<sup>22</sup> Books describing the fate of martyrs were also

<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Sander, *De visibili monarchia Ecclesiae, libri octo* (Louvain, 1571).

<sup>17</sup> *De persecutione Anglicana* was included in John Gibbons' influential collection, *Concertatio ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia* (Trier, 1583, 1588, etc.; ARCR I 524–27; this also incorporated a Latin version of Allen's tribute to Campion and *A briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of xij Reverend Priests*), and in the *Historia Particular de la Persecution de Inglaterra* by Diego de Yepes, first published in Madrid in 1599. See Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 1–6, for a comprehensive overview of Christian martyrological literature during the early modern period. In 1582 Thomas Pounce also offered comfort to afflicted Catholics in a poem, based on *De persecutione Anglicana*, with the title 'A challenge unto Foxe'.

<sup>18</sup> 'Between 1580 and 1640, at least 203 editions of more than 50 different works either about the English Catholic martyrs or in which they occupy an important place were published throughout Europe . . . Of these, 95 appeared in the 1580's' (Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 289).

<sup>19</sup> See Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 52.

<sup>20</sup> Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 7. On the rewards of persecution see Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 56–57.

<sup>21</sup> Although most historians agree that martyrdom was portrayed as romantic and admirable, Carrafiello, 'English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581' denies the existence of a 'growing martyr cult' and warns that not all professions of martyrdom should be taken literally (762, 771); cf. Houliston, *Catholic Resistance*: 'It was common cause among both Catholic and Protestant adversaries that Persons and his fellow-Jesuits secretly welcomed persecution for its propaganda value' (p. 10).

<sup>22</sup> *'Antefero enim catenas eorum, praefero carceres, praepono contumelias, cuiusvis Craessi, vel opibus, vel diademati'* (I prefer their chains, prisons, insults to the riches

used to gain money and political support for the seminaries abroad, to give confidence to the faithful in England and to encourage their opposition to the Elizabethan religious settlement.<sup>23</sup>

*De persecutione Anglicana* takes the form of an outraged letter, *epistola*, addressed to ‘Gerard at Bologna’ – conceivably John Gerard (1564–1637), later to become a Jesuit and famous for his daring escapades. At this time Gerard was only 16 or 17 years of age but had already spent three or four years in France as a Catholic exile. While studying at the Jesuit school at Cleremont he fell ill and was taken to Rouen to meet Persons, who had just arrived after escaping from England. The Bologna address was presumably as false as the Bologna imprint.<sup>24</sup> Persons describes the persecution of the Catholics in a series of martyrological narratives, which define the persecution of the Catholics as religious, not political.<sup>25</sup> It was intended for a continental audience and the aim was to give readers in Europe a window on events in England, especially those readers who were open to suggestions of the illegitimacy of Elizabethan regime.<sup>26</sup> It was rapidly distributed in England through a network organized by a lay brother, Ralph Emerson.

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or crown of any Croesus); all references are to the 1582 edition published in Rome by Zanetti: *De persecutione Anglicana libellus: Quo explicantur afflictiones, calamitates, cruciatus et acerbissima martyria, quae Angli catholici nunc ob fidem patiuntur* (Romae, apud Franciscum Zanettum, 1582).

<sup>23</sup> Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 48, 52.

<sup>24</sup> John Gerard, *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, trans. Philip Caraman (London, 1951), p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Rowse, *Eminent Elizabethans*, 51, has no doubt about Persons’ motivation: ‘No one ever accused Parsons of being a saint, and he was always the politician’. But he concedes that the overthrow of the established religion implied the overthrow of the state (p. 42). In his discussion of the question of Persons’ motives, Gregory (*Salvation at Stake*, 275) refers to John Bossy, ‘The Society of Jesus in the Wars of Religion’, in *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. Judith Loades (Bangor, 1990), 229–44 (pp. 232–233), Martin, *Henry III and the Jesuit Politicians*, 65–74, 80–82, Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1541–1588: ‘Our way of proceeding’?* (Leiden, 1996), 129–264, Carrafiello, ‘English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581’, 761–74 and *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism*, 266 and 279, for the most important views on the matter.

<sup>26</sup> ‘In his Latin writings he posed as the ambassador of English Catholics, interpreting the religious conflict in his country to the outside world’ (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance*, 177; see also p. 49).

The general content of *De persecutione Anglicana* typifies martyrological literature: after the perfunctory salutations Persons reflects on the dangers of pinning down the information Gerard has requested from him and promises to adhere to the precepts of the Bible and abstain from bitterness and reproach. He bemoans the fate of the Catholics in England who are subjected to vexations, imprisonment and torments and, worst of all, are forbidden all practice of the Catholic religion and forced to profess new strange precepts which they detest. He then sets out the two kinds of public laws (penal and capital) which England has promulgated to the detriment of the Catholics. The most important of the penal laws stipulated that Catholics who refused to attend Protestant services or who had been found guilty of having heard mass, were fined and if they were not able to pay, imprisoned. The penalties for priests were even more severe – the fines were heftier and if they refused to renounce the Roman religion they forfeited all ecclesiastical privileges. Loss of possessions and perpetual imprisonment awaited Catholics who refused to take the oath more than once or denied that the Queen was the supreme head of the Church of England. Persons then dwells on the inequity of these laws before he moves on to the enumeration of capital crimes for which the charge is treason. In essence all these crimes amount to the affirmation in any way of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, practising of the customs of the Church of Rome or implying that the Queen is a heretic. Perpetrators of such a crime were to be charged and punished as traitors. Details are then provided of the torturing and humiliation to which the accused were subjected, the interrogation, the inhumane conditions in various jails as well as the cruel way in which prisoners were transported. Another indignant tirade, interspersed with rhetorical questions and validated by biblical quotations, follows. Going into particulars Persons then tells of the tribulations of the martyr, Everard Hanse, who was accused of making contentious statements in a publication, and of priests, apprehended during mass, then ridiculed by the people, jailed, tortured and interrogated. The filthy and unwholesome conditions to which martyrs were subjected in prisons such as the Tower of London, Bridewell and Launceston (Cornwall), and the inhumane and humiliating way in which they were transported to a prison in London are described. The fate of the twelve priests under Edmund Campion is related next, followed by another rhetorical outburst denouncing the cruelty and heartless barbarity of the enemy. Persons now goes into particulars about the



circumstances which led to the charge of treason against individual Catholic prisoners in the Tower of London and the fate which befell them. The typical pattern is as follows: the innocent man or woman, mostly young and of good parentage and learning, is captured (often after having been betrayed) and mocked by the crowd *en route* to prison where the torturing commences. Not being very strong he/she falls ill because of the poor conditions (hunger, cold, filth), but receives inhumane and barbarous treatment, is interrogated by the commissioner, found guilty of blasphemy and eventually succumbs, but shows the utmost virtue during his/her dying hours.<sup>27</sup>

The narration then turns to the proposal put to the imprisoned Catholics challenging them to engage in a debate with their foes. The unfair conditions and deceitful manner in which the disputation was conducted is illustrated by examples. The focus then shifts from the prisons to the conditions of other Catholics living in England: they were always under suspicion and their houses were ransacked in search of incriminating evidence.

Quotations from the Bible are used throughout to underscore the righteousness of the Catholic cause.

Although general appreciation for Parsons' style has been expressed, very little (apart from a few contextual references and short summaries) has been written about his Latin works. Houliston confirms that although casual references to the vigour and lucidity of Parsons' prose abound, 'there has been little sustained analysis apart from a short essay by Joseph Crehan and one chapter in a dissertation by Edwin Broderick, written in the 1950s'.<sup>28</sup> The authors of this article

<sup>27</sup> One of these cases is analysed below in order to highlight themes peculiar to martyrology.

<sup>28</sup> Houliston, *Catholic Resistance*, 21. J.H. Crehan, 'The Prose of Robert Parsons', *The Month* 175 (1940): 366–375, writes: 'The excuse for selecting here one only of the Elizabethan exiles as representative of this stream must be that his works are so generally inaccessible and even when found are sometimes in need of historical exegesis, that their stylistic merits have been largely overlooked' (p. 367). He does not mention *De persecutione Anglicana* in this short article. He concludes that Parsons imitated the noble, direct and disciplined style of Thomas More and was not influenced by the new Elizabethan prose which typically piled on quaint images and classical parallels (pp. 368–69). He emphasizes the need for closer attention to recusant prose: 'Indeed it would be wished that some Catholic publisher would undertake to satisfy the desires of students – and not Catholic students only – by producing an anthology of Recusant Prose' (p. 375n.2). This need has now been partially fulfilled

were not able to find any secondary sources which focus primarily on *De persecutione Anglicana*.<sup>29</sup>

### The textual history of *De persecutione Anglicana* and its translations<sup>30</sup>

#### Latin texts

The first edition of this text appeared in 1581 under the false imprint 'Bononiae [Bologna], apud Io. Baptistam Algazarium,' with the title *De persecutione Anglicana epistola, qua explicantur afflictiones, aerumna, [et] calamitates gravissimae, cruciatus etiam [et] tormenta [et] acerbissima martyria, quae Catholici nunc Angli ob fidem patiuntur*.<sup>31</sup> It was in fact printed by the Englishman George Flinton in Rouen, probably at the printing shop of George L'Oyselet. Persons himself seems to have supervised the printing. It seems most likely that he worked on this report almost immediately after his arrival in France,

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by Miola's edition, *Early Modern Catholicism*. Houlston, *Catholic Resistance*, analyses Persons' rhetorical strategies, but does not refer to any passage from *De persecutione Anglicana*. General appreciation for his style abound: Rowse refers to his 'great gifts for languages', and regards him as 'one of the best writers of Elizabethan prose, natural and easy, admired by Swift', adding: '[O]ne cannot but join Swift in admiring Parsons' prose style: nothing of the turgidness of so many Elizabethan writers about it' (*Eminent Elizabethans*, 41, 68). Vernon Blackburn, 'Robert Parsons', in *English Prose: Selections: Vol. I: Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century*, ed. Henry Craik (London, 1893), 385–90, praises his lucidity: 'Parsons, from conscious or unconscious art, was before all things, simple, lucid, and without the slightest taint of obscurity' (p. 385). Edwin B. Broderick, 'Robert Parsons' The Christian Directory: prolegomena to an edition' (dissertation, Fordham University, 1951), comments: 'as a stylist, he has made a significant contribution to the prose development of the English language' (p. 97). Broderick provides a stylistic analysis of Persons' *Christian Directory* (chapter 3), and a survey of general comments on Persons' style made by authors such as Swift, Harvey, Sheffield, Disraeli, Law, Butler and Strathmann (pp. 140–141).

<sup>29</sup> Persons' classical education had a marked influence on his style, and this is especially evident in his liberal use of rhetorical elements. Although this aspect will be highlighted in the eventual publication, the scope of this article does not allow for sustained stylistic analysis.

<sup>30</sup> The literary production of the Jesuits is recorded in Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 11 vols (Bruxelles-Paris, 1890–1932).

<sup>31</sup> 'A letter about the persecution in England, in which the afflictions, the hardships, the harm, the most terrible torture, pain and martyrdom which the Catholics are now suffering because of their faith, are set out' (ARCR I 874, USTC 141801).

but before the death of his companion and fellow Jesuit, Edmund Campion, who was executed on 1 December 1581.

In 1582 the work was reprinted in Paris by Thomas Brumen, with the same title as the Rouen printing (ARCR I 875), but adding a letter (included in subsequent editions) written by the priest Alexander Briant, who was incarcerated with Campion and Ralph Sherwin in the Tower of London and desired to be admitted to the Society of Jesus. All three suffered at Tyburn together. It was reprinted at least twice in Rome, by Francesco Zanetti and Giorgio Ferrari, with the title *De persecutione Anglicana libellus*.<sup>32</sup> Although the page numbering differs quite considerably, there are very few textual discrepancies between the Zanetti and Ferrari texts. The Ferrari text does, however, append six engravings of martyrological scenes, made from woodcuts in Richard Verstegan's *Praesentis Ecclesiae Anglicanae typus* (Rheims, 1582).<sup>33</sup> Since we are concerned only with the main text, and the Rouen and Paris editions have not been accessible to us, we are using the text printed by Zanetti as source text and all source references are to the page numbers in this text. All discrepancies between the two texts are indicated in footnotes.

The text was reproduced again in 1582, this time by Wolfgang Eder in Ingolstadt, under the title *De persecutione Anglicana commentariolus* (a short treatise on the English persecutions).<sup>34</sup> The *libellus*-text was reprinted in Trier in 1583 as part of the *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos sub Elizabetha Regina quorundam hominum doctrina et sanctitate illustrium renovata et recognita*. This book had many reprints (1589 and 1594) and proves that Persons' *De persecutione Anglicana* became an historical source for other authors since it was a first-hand report by a correspondent about the situation of Catholics in England.

<sup>32</sup> 'A little book/pamphlet about the English persecution' (ARCR I 876–77).

<sup>33</sup> ARCR I 1293; see Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom*, 123–38.

<sup>34</sup> To this edition (ARCR I 878) was appended a letter by Pope Gregory XIII, appealing to readers to come to the aid of the suffering Catholics in England: this was a reprint of the papal bull *Omnipotens Deus* of 21 January 1582 (ARCR I 321). There was an important Jesuit college in Ingolstadt, a city where many Jesuit publications were printed.

## Translations

Translations appeared almost immediately in various European languages. It was translated into French, by Matthieu de Launoy, and published in 1582 by Thomas Brumen in Paris, with a reprint in 1586 (ARCR I 879–81; USTC 21105). An anonymous Italian translation was published in 1582 in Bologna by Alessandro Benacci, with another edition printed by Vincenzo Sabbio in Brescia in the same year (ARCR I 883–84; USTC 846896, 805767). The Bologna edition claimed to have been commissioned by the cardinal of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotti, who had shown a special interest in the English College, Rome, during the troubles there of 1579.<sup>35</sup> A Polish translation was also made in 1582, printed by J. Wolrab in Poznań.<sup>36</sup> Johann Christoff Hueber translated the text into German, and it was published in Ingolstadt by David Sartorius in 1583 (ARCR I 882; USTC 615861).

The first English translation, bearing a date of 1582 (ARCR II 627; USTC 407856), was printed in the very same printshop in Rouen where Flinton was operating and the original Latin version of the work had appeared, although it bore the false imprint of Douai. The heading of the English translation reads:

An epistle of the persecution of Catholickes in Englande.  
Translated ovvt of frenche into Englishe and conferred vvithe  
the Latyne copie. by G. T.

To whiche there is added an epistle by the translator to the right  
honorable lordes of her maiesties preeuie councill towchyng  
the same matter.

There is some debate about the identity of the translator, G. T. Anne Dillon names Gabriel Thimbleby; Peter Holmes suggests that G. T. is a pseudonym for Persons himself, despite A. C. Southern's doubts.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> See the letter, possibly composed by Persons, from the scholars of the English College, Rome, to Paleotti, 25 July 1579, in *Correspondence and Unpublished Papers of Robert Persons*, 71–75.

<sup>36</sup> M. Hanusiewicz-Lavallee, 'La traduzione polacca del *De persecutione anglicana* di Robert Persons', *Europa orientalis: studi e ricerche sui paesi e le culture dell'est Europe* 31 (2012): 247–66; USTC 242426 attributes the translation to Jean Boyron.

<sup>37</sup> Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, 146; Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 234; A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose* (London, 1950), 319–20.

Persons would have had no need to work from the French, but in any case the advertisement, ‘Translated ovvt of frenche into Englishe’, should be read with caution: it may simply have been devised to make an English version seem overdue, as implied in the translator’s prefatory matter.

The English version differs considerably from the Latin originals. Most striking is the inclusion in this English version of a long letter by the translator to the members of the Privy Council. The translator explains that, after finding the text divulged in diverse foreign languages, he was moved to translate it into English since the content relates properly to his countrymen. He hopes that his letter will move the powers that be to a merciful consideration of their (the Catholics’) calamities. He explains how the strict teachings and practices of the Catholic religion (e.g. confession, vows, fasting) encourage moral stability as well as economic advantages. It is for example argued that the Roman Church does not allow divorce and that this contributed to social stability; the fact that Catholics abstain from flesh for about 160 days a year, including Lent, also contributed to the economy; clerical celibacy was another political advantage since it kept the population low.<sup>38</sup> After listing and comparing twelve of these virtuous principles of the Catholic Church, and making an urgent and dramatic appeal for ‘favourable toleration to the Catholique parte’ the letter ends with a plea that ‘your honours’ will at last take merciful notice of their distress and afflictions. The translator also added a letter to the ‘gentle reader’ at the end of the translation about the fate of Briant, Campion and Sherwin.<sup>39</sup> The many smaller divergences from the Latin text amount to embellishments, mostly amplifications, in the English translation. As we will illustrate in the analysis below, these changes were made for the sake of greater dramatic effect.

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<sup>38</sup> See Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise*, 75 for estimates of the monetary advantages of Catholicism to the state. Abolishing fasts would, for example, cost close to £3 million (in modern currency).

<sup>39</sup> The translator also inserted a paragraph of his own which does not appear in the original Latin texts (page 90 of the Zanetti text) and omitted a lengthy section from the translation (pp. 81–88 of the Zanetti text).

### The need for a critical text and new translation

The following two Latin texts are extracts from the proposed critical edition of *De persecutione Anglicana*. Since Neo-Latin differs in many aspects from classical Latin we have decided to provide a critical edition to accommodate the classicist of the 20th century.<sup>40</sup> Although we have restored the Zanetti text to classical (or ancient)<sup>41</sup> orthography we have preserved the spelling conventions of the original document. In preparing the critical edition, the publication by Zanetti was used as primary source. Where this text differs from the reading of the Ferrari text, it is noted and if the difference would result in a different meaning, the alternative translation is provided. The annotations cover words that have gained new meanings after the classical period, terms not known to Latin antiquity, non-classical spelling of words and medieval grammatical constructions. We have not provided notes to post-classical words such as *Evangelium*, *presbyter*, *Londinium*, *Catholicus* etc. since new words were continually formed at this time in analogy with the derivational rules of ancient Latin and their meaning can easily be deduced. The Latinization of personal names is also self-explanatory.

Finally, a comparison between the present English translation of these texts and the 1582 English translation by G. T. is provided, to illustrate the need for an accurate translation into modern English.

#### Text 1: Edmund Campion and his company escorted to London<sup>42</sup>

*imponebantur equis cum macris, tum miseris: sine freno, sine calcare, ceterove apparatu equestri; equi longa serie alter ad caudam alterius subnectebantur. Equitantibus, pedes sub equorum pectore, brachia<sup>43</sup> a*

<sup>40</sup> H. G. Helander, 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 76 (2001): 5–102, dates the use of Neo-Latin from 1300–1800 (p. 5) and R. Swanson, 'Elephants in Camera: Latin and Latinity in 15th- and Early 16th-century England', in *Latin in Medieval Britain*, ed. Richard Ashdowne and Caroline White (Oxford, 2017), 106–130, regards the mid-1530s as the cut-off for 'Medieval Latin' in England (p. 106).

<sup>41</sup> According to Helander, 'Neo-Latin Studies', 'we ought to talk about "ancient Latin" rather than "classical Latin" when we discuss vocabulary of Neo-Latin authors' (p. 33).

<sup>42</sup> This extract can be found on page 34 and 35 of the Zanetti edition and 39 and 40 of the Ferrari edition.

<sup>43</sup> Although *brachium* instead of *brachium* can be found in the works of classical

*tergo revinciebantur. Cum ad urbes et oppida appropinquabatur, erat qui præcurreret, renunciaturus incolis, adventare papistas,<sup>44</sup> hostes Evangelii, et inimicos reipublicæ. Qua voce populus excitatus et gregatim ædibus effusus in plateas, excipiebant adventantes quibus poterant contumeliis. Simili plane pompa ad opprobrium et omne genus ludibrii composita, duxerunt nuper per civitatem Londinensem<sup>45</sup> duodecim viros orthodoxæ fidei, quorum erant quinque presbyteri, reliqui conditionis bonæ et fortunæ. Horum illud erat crimen, quod in eadem domo cum Edmundo Campiano, Societatis Iesu, viro doctissimo, et innocentissimo, orantes et sacra Catholica facientes, sint inventi. Cui tanquam seditioso, ob æquissimam suæ fidei ministris oblatam disputando defensionem, adversarii volebant infamiam concitare, in eumque finem, spaciosam<sup>46</sup> chartam maiusculis litteris odiosissime descriptam, in illo triumpho gestare capite compulerunt. Quod ille non aliter tulisse dicitur, quam Christus suæ crucis inscriptionem pertulit, pacate, modestissime, et animo læto, vultuque sereno. Tandem cum peracta tragædia in arcem Londinensem pervenissent, sicut reliquis antea Dei servis, maxime vero sacerdotibus fecerant: ita nunc Campiano cruciatus et tormenta crudelissima subiecerunt . . .*

They were forced to mount horses that were both scraggy and wretched, without bridles or spurs or any other saddlery. The horses were tied one to another by their tails, in a long line. Each rider had his feet tied together under the horse's barrel and his arms tied behind his back. And every time they drew near to a city or village, there was a man who ran before them to announce to the inhabitants that the 'papists', 'enemies of the Gospel and traitors to the State', were arriving. The townsfolk, roused by these shouts, came out in a body from their houses into the squares and assailed them with every possible sort of abuse as they arrived. It was in just such a procession – set up for taunting and every kind of insult – that twelve men of orthodox faith, of whom five were priests and the others of good vocation and

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authors such as Livy (e.g. *Ab urbe condita* II:19; IV:9; IV:28; X:34), Cicero (*Pro Caelio* XI:5), Seneca (*Epistulae* IV:33; IX:80) and Pliny the Younger (*Epistulae* VI:31), it seems that the form *brachium* is more commonly used in Neo Latin.

<sup>44</sup> The word *papista* originated in the 16th century and is derived from ecclesiastical Latin, *papa* = bishop (of Rome). The classical Latin word *papas* = governor.

<sup>45</sup> *Londinensis*, adjective derived from *Londonium*.

<sup>46</sup> = *speciosam*

circumstance, were recently conducted across the city of London. The charge laid against these men was that they had been found in prayer, attending Catholic Mass, in one and the same house, in the company of the Jesuit Edmund Campion, of the Society of Jesus – a most learned and perfectly innocent man. Since he had given a very just defence of his faith before the preachers by way of debate, his enemies wanted to incriminate him as a seducer of the people, and to that end they forced him to wear on his head during that triumphal procession a large paper, inscribed in a most hateful manner, in large letters. It was reported that he bore this in no way differently from the manner in which Christ bore the inscription on His Cross: meekly, most humbly and in a spirit of joy and with a serene countenance. When this tragedy had been brought to a close and they had at last reached the citadel of London, just as they had done before to other servants of God, especially priests, they put Campion on the rack and subjected him to the cruellest torture . . .

[G. T.] Euery one of them was fett on a selie leane & bare horse, withoute bridle spur, or other furniture for a horseman: the horses were fastned eche one to others taile, marchinge in a long rewe one after an other. Eche mans feete were tyed vnder his horse bellie, and his armes were bound hard & fast behinde hym. VVhen they came neare to anie citie or towne: one was appointed to ryde before, and to geue warning to the inhabitants, that there were cominge at hand, certain papifits, foes to the Gospell, and enemies in the common weale. Vppon whiche notice, the people beinge sturred vpp, dyd runne in flocks forth of their houses in to the stretes, and welcome the commers with as spitefull contumelies as they could. VVith a verie like pomp and solemnitye<sup>47</sup> (fashioned and framed all together for reproche, & to euery tricke & toye of mockerye) dyd they latelie leade throughe the citie of london, twelue catholicks, whereof fyue were priests, & the rest were of good estate and callinge. Their fault forsoothe was this: they were fownde prayeing & at masse all in one house with maister Edmund Campian, of the Societie of Iesus, a greate lerned clerk, a harmesse and verie Innocent man. This good man, for offeringe to the ministers a most iust defense of hys faithe by waye of disputation, was by oure aduersarie slaundered as a sediciouse persone, and to that end and effect, a large paper was most spitefullie written with

<sup>47</sup> [*marginal note*:] Maister Edmund Cāpian of the Societie of Iesus, led ī triumphe.



great letters, which they forced hym to beare vppon his heade in this triumphe. All this the good mā did beare (not vnlike as Christ dyd beare the title and superscription of his crosse. Calmelye, myldlie, modestlie, with a gladde mynde and a cherefull countenance.) At last after this tragedie was ended,<sup>48</sup> when they were come to the tower of London: as they had before that tyme entreated other of gods seruants, and specialle priests: so dyd they novv put Maister Campian to the racke and to extreme torments . . .

### The G. T. translation of text 1: Discussion

Some features of the G. T. translation will be unfamiliar to the twenty-first-century reader: sixteenth-century ligatures and contractions (e.g. fett, papiffts, mā), unfamiliar vocabulary (e.g. selie), and early modern English spelling (e.g. hys, mynd, tyme) constantly remind us of the fact that the text indeed dates from the sixteenth century. When G. T. translates *apparatu* as ‘furniture’ it also becomes clear that the contextual meaning of some English words has evolved over the centuries. The translation is not always accurate: some Latin words and expressions were omitted in the translation (*tum . . . cum* = both . . . and), while others were translated incorrectly (e.g. *miser* = bare). The fact that a single Latin word is often translated into a doublet is a clear indication of a rhetorical slant: *pompa* = pomp and solemnity, *composita* = fashioned and framed, *omne genus* = every trick and toy, *innocentissimo* = harmless and very innocent, *inscriptionem* = title and superscription.

In the description of the Catholic martyrs being led through the towns, the Latin text merely states, *brachia a tergo revinciebantur* ([each rider’s] arms were tied behind his back) but G. T. translates: ‘his armes were bound *hard & fast* behind hym’. G. T. also tends to add his own ironic twist to his translation: the phrase *excipiebant adventantes quibus poterant contumeliis* merely means that the townsmen ‘received the men on their arrival with every possible insult’ but G. T. sarcastically translates ‘welcomed them’ with ‘*spitefull* contumelies’. When he refers to Campian as ‘the good man’ while no Latin equivalent for this phrase is present, G. T. is deliberately heightening the tragic effect. Being well aware that reported speech has less impact than direct affirmation, the word *dicitur* is ignored and *quod ille non aliter tulisse dicitur* is

<sup>48</sup> [marginal note:] Hovv Catholiques be tormented in the tover.

translated as ‘all this the good man did bear’. G. T. was undoubtedly emotionally involved in the events of *De persecutione Anglicana* and wanted to evoke sympathy for the common cause with the Catholic reader of the late sixteenth century.

**Text 2: The suffering of Sir Robert Dymoke<sup>49</sup>**

*vir illustris et magnanimus, peculiari quadam dignitate armorum<sup>50</sup> spectabilis, et clarissimi comitis Lincolniensis gener,<sup>51</sup> cum paralyti membrorum vehementissime nonnullis iam ab annis laborasset, ita ut nec domum egredi,<sup>52</sup> nec loco pedem efferre posset, nisi servorum manibus sublevatus; accusatur tandem de religione Catholica apud Superintendentem<sup>53</sup> illius provinciae (eo enim vocantur nomine, qui antiquorum episcopatum possessionibus incubant); defertur ut avitae fidei suspectus, et citatur in iudicium tanquam<sup>54</sup> Catholicismi manifeste reus. At homo paralyticus non comparuit: excusat se tamen diligenter per litteras, sed non admittitur. Accurrit domum superintendens ipse, perlustrat oculis hominis impotentiam, sed non movetur. Comportari vult ad carcerem: quid multa? nec aetas viri, nec conditionis dignitas, nec generis amplitudo nec magnatum<sup>55</sup> propinquitas, nec membrorum paralysis, ab ergastuli molestia liberare poterant. Quid ergo? Brevissime*

<sup>49</sup> This extract can be found on page 45 and 46 of the Zanetti edition and 52 and 53 of the Ferrari edition. Robert Dymoke or Dimock of Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire (1531–1580) was reconciled to the Catholic church in 1580, chiefly through the influence of his sons’ schoolmaster, the priest Richard Kirkman. He is officially recognized as a Catholic martyr: see *The Catholic Martyrs of England and Wales* (London, 1985), p. 47.

<sup>50</sup> In classical literature *arma* refers to warfare, more specifically to ‘arms and weapons or equipment’ (OLD 170–171), but in Renaissance Latin it obtains the additional meaning of ‘blazon’, i.e. arms in a heraldic sense: see R. Hoven, *Dictionary of Renaissance Latin from Prose Sources* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), p. 48.

<sup>51</sup> *gener* (= son in law) Zanetti; *genere* (= family) Ferrari.

<sup>52</sup> *egredi* with the accusative is also found in Sallust (Iug. 101), and Livy (I.29, III.57).

<sup>53</sup> *superintendens* is not found in classical literature. It was used by Catholic authors of the reformation period to denote [pseudo-] bishops.

<sup>54</sup> *tanquam*] Zanetti; *tamquam* Ferrari

<sup>55</sup> Medieval Latin: *magnas magnatis* = the great men: see J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1984), p. 626. The genitive plural is also found in the legal phrase *scandalum magnatum* = slander of great men.

*his incommodis moritur. Sed nec morientem dimittunt, immo divexant,<sup>56</sup> et affligunt<sup>57</sup> magis; adsunt enim ægrotanti, adsunt confligenti cum mortis doloribus, adsunt animam agenti,<sup>58</sup> adsunt iam iam<sup>59</sup> spiritum efflaturo, quiescere non sinunt, mori qua ratione cupiebat, non permittunt (cupiebat autem, universalis ecclesiæ christianæ consuetudine), sed obtrudunt<sup>60</sup> se ministri, suasque preculas ingerunt, quas ille sanus contemnebat, egrotus<sup>61</sup> clamore respuebat, iam mutus et semimortuus<sup>62</sup> vultu, signis, corporisque gestu detestabatur.<sup>63</sup> Quid hoc immitius aut crudelius fingi potest?*

At length, an accusation was laid with the bishop of that province (for they who occupied the episcopate in earlier times were addressed by that title) against an illustrious and noble-hearted man, concerning his Catholic religion.<sup>64</sup> The accused was remarkable for a certain special honour in heraldry and he was also son-in-law to the right honourable Earl of Lincoln.<sup>65</sup> He had been troubled so severely for some years with paralysis of the limbs, that he could not go out of the house or set a foot out of the place without being carried by the hands

<sup>56</sup> The meanings given by OLD for the word *divexo* are either 'to pull this way and that' or 'to harass (a person)'. Suetonius (*Nero* 34) uses the word in the sense of 'vex, worry or trouble'.

<sup>57</sup> The meanings given by OLD for *affligo* range from the literal 'strike, knock, or dash against' to 'to make dejected, distress'. Cicero also uses the word in the sense of 'weakening the mind' or 'to dishearten' (*Brut.* 12; *Tusc.* 4,15,34).

<sup>58</sup> See *Lucr.* 3,493: *agens animam spumat*.

<sup>59</sup> *iam iam*] Ferrari; *iam* Zanetti

<sup>60</sup> OLD gives the literal meaning: 'to push (food or drink) down the throat of' for *obstrudo* (*obtrudo*). It is an ante- and post-classical word found in Terentius (*Ps.* 945) and Plautus (*Cur.* 366) with the meaning 'to thrust, press, force, obtrude upon'.

<sup>61</sup> *egrotus*] Zanetti; *ægrot* Ferrari

<sup>62</sup> *semimortuus*] Zanetti; *semimort* Ferrari

<sup>63</sup> *Detestor* is specifically used in religious language with the meaning 'to call a solemn curse on' (OLD). It is also used by Quintilian (*Decl.* 19.4).

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Cooper (c.1517–1594), Bishop of Lincoln, ordered Dymoke to be taken to Lincoln gaol.

<sup>65</sup> Dymoke was married to Bridget Clinton, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, Edward Clinton (1512–1585) by his first wife, Elizabeth Blount, a former mistress of King Henry VIII. He was the Queen's champion, an hereditary feudal office attached to the manor of Scrivelsby since the Norman conquest.

of servants. He was accused as suspected of keeping the faith of his ancestors, summoned to judgment (before the commissioners) and charged with being openly of the Catholic faith. But this palsied man did not appear. He did, however, excuse himself in due form by way of letters, but that was not accepted. The bishop himself rushed to the house, examined the man's disability with his own eyes, but was not moved. He wished him to be picked up and carried to jail. What more can I say? Neither the age of the man, nor the dignity of his position, nor the distinction of his brother-in-law, nor his affinity to the great, nor the paralysis of his limbs, could deliver him from the vexation of prison. What else is there to say? He died shortly afterwards because of these adversities. Yet they did not leave him alone even when he was dying; instead they harassed him and tormented him even more. There they were, when he was sick; there they were when he was wrestling with the sorrows of death, present while he was departing life, present just as he was about to give up the ghost – then, yes, even then, there they were. They gave him no rest, nor did they permit him to die in the manner in which he desired (for he wished to die according to the custom of the universal Christian church), but the ministers thrust themselves on him, they forced upon him their own wretched prayers: he detested them in health, in sickness he spurned them with a shout; already dumb and half dead he abominated them with his countenance, by signs and bodily gesture. Can anything harsher or crueller be imagined?

[G. T.] Euen so yt feel oute against a right woorshipfull and valyant gentleman, one (for a peculiar honor in the Armurie whiche he dyd beare) verie famouse, and sonne in law to the right honorable Erle of lincolne. This gentleman had bene troubled many yeres with a vehement palsey, & suche a resolutiō of his sinewes, as he was not hable to goe forth of his owne house, or moue a foote oute of his place, but as he was lyfted or holden vp by the hands or armes of his seruants. At the last vpon an informatiō touching the Catholique Religion, preferred against hym to the superintendent of that prouince (for by that terme wolde they be named whiche now detein the possessiōs of auncient byshopriks:) he was noted & appeached as suspected to holde the faithe of his auncesters: and thereupon he was summoned to appeare before the cōmissioners as eidentlie giltie of Catholicisme or Catholique Religion, which they in contempt call papistrie. But this palsey sicke man appeared not. Neuerthelesse he

made his owne excuse verie aduisedlie by letters. Yet is it not accepted: for the superintendent hym selfe cometh with all spede to the diseased mans house, & throwghlie veweth with his owne eyes the impotencie of the gentleman: but no motion of cōpassion entereth in to this superintendents breeste: he cōmaundeth hym to be caried to the laile. VVhat nede manie words? Nether the age of that man, nor his degree in callinge, nor the woorshipp of his kynred, nor the noblenesse of his affinitie, nor the resolution of his limbs couldde delyuer hym from the present trouble and mischefe of imprisonment. VVhat folowed? by these inconueniences in verie short space after, he dieth. And yet they leaue hym not when he is dyeing: yea then they vexe and afflict hym more. For they come when he is extreme sick, they come whiles he is wrestling with the pangs of deathe, they come as he is passing oute of this lyfe, they come whiles he is yeelding vp the Ghoost: then they trouble hym: thē they doe not suffer hym to rest, nor permit hym to die in suche sorte as he desired to die: (for his desire was to die according to the custome of the vniuersall christian churche:) but then the ministers flocke aboute hym: thē they intrude them selues vpon hym: then they vrge him to praye such sorie prayers of their owne making, as in heathe he cōtemned, in sicknesse with open voice he reiected, and (nowe dum & halfe deade,) by his countenance, by signes & tokens, & by gesture of his bodie he dyd vtterlie detest and abhorre. VVhat greater vncourtesie, or crueltie rather, can be imagined than this?

### The G. T. translation of text 2: Discussion

Elaboration is once again an important characteristic of G.T.'s translation of this passage. He provides emphasis and exaggerates by translating a single Latin word with a phrase or by adding detail: *defertur* = 'he was noted and appeached'; *manibus* = 'hands or arms'; *Catholicismi* = 'Catholicisme or Catholicque Religion'; *innocentissimo* = 'harmlesse and verie innocent man'; *diligenter* = 'verie aduisedlie'; *domum* = 'diseased mans house'; *sed non movetur* = 'no motion of cōpassion entereth in to this superintendents breeste'; *molestia* = 'trouble and mischefe'; *ægotanti* = 'extreme sick'; *quiescere non sinunt* = 'then they trouble hym: thē they doe not suffer hym to rest'; *sed obtrudunt se ministri* = 'but then the ministers flocke aboute hym: thē they intrude them selues vpon hym'; *signis* = 'by signes & tokens'; *detestabatur* = 'dyd vtterlie detest and abhorre'; *sublevatus* = 'lifted up

or holden up'. G. T. translates *vehementissime* as an adjective and adds his own detail to the description of Dymoke's disability: *cum paralyti membrorum vehementissime nonnullis iam ab annis laborasset* = "This gentleman had bene troubled many yeres with a vehement palsey, & suche a resolutiō of his sinews'. When G. T. elaborates on the nature of Dymoke's disability and impaired movement, his rhetorical aim is to conjure up a vivid picture and arouse the reader's sympathy.

Deliberately stirring the Catholic reader to anger, G. T.'s translation also inserts an additional remark, for which no equivalent exists in the Latin: Dymoke was charged with being evidently of the Catholic religion, but G. T. adds his own explanatory note: it is a religion 'which they (i.e. the Protestants) in contempt call papistrie'. "Church papist" was a pejorative phrase coined in an era of unprecedented disorder and dislocation, a stinging insult, and even worse, 'a term of abuse and opprobrium'.<sup>66</sup> The word 'papist' was evidently used disparagingly to show contempt for both the Catholic religion and the pope, and it was sure to evoke indignation with the Catholic reader.

## Conclusion

Apart from the fact that the modern reader will not be familiar with the sentence construction and vocabulary of G. T.'s early modern English, we have found that his translation is often neither accurate nor complete.<sup>67</sup> We must bear in mind that the original Latin document may have already passed through the hands of the French translator Matthieu de Launoy, who perhaps also put his own "twist" on the translation. According to the title of the G. T. translation, he 'conferred with the Latyne copie'. Our analysis has, however, shown that the English translation of these extracts does not provide a true rendering of the original Latin text. A closer look at G. T.'s translation of the two passages above has revealed exaggeration, dramatization, colouring and the insertion of additional detail. It has become clear that G. T. had a specific agenda when translating this text. We have shown that G. T.'s version of events was aimed at arousing resentment

<sup>66</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1993), pp. 2, 6. Walsham refers to Catholics who attended the Protestant churches but were despised as papists nonetheless.

<sup>67</sup> See footnote 39.

and anger amongst fellow Catholics towards those responsible for such cruelty and unfair victimizing and that the pathos is therefore more evident than in the original text. The total effect is that of a rhetorical translation, aimed at evoking sympathy and indignation.

The need for a new translation is borne out by the fact that recent publications on Counter-Reformation Catholicism frequently refer to this important document,<sup>68</sup> but textual references are to the deficient English translation. Although the comparison of the translation by G. T. to our modern translation was restricted to two short passages, the many shortcomings and inaccuracies of the G. T. translation are apparent. The document, once translated and made available to a wider readership, will open up exciting possibilities for comparative studies based on the shared experiences and similar motives and themes in the work of Protestants and Catholics during the time of the Reformation. The text bears undisputable witness to the classical education of the author and his peers, an aspect which likewise presents rich and rewarding research possibilities. This short preliminary study of Persons' *De persecutione Anglicana* has led to the conclusion that a critical edition, accompanied by an annotated translation into modern English will increase the accessibility of the text and lead to wider recognition of this important document and its remarkable author.

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<sup>68</sup> e.g. Dillon, *Construction of Martyrdom*, *passim*.

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