

Sixteenth-century ownership of the Bohun Apocalypse, New College MS 65

A previously undeciphered signature adds a missing link to our knowledge of the sixteenth

manuscripts, MS 65, known as the New College or Bohun Apocalypse. This late thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman manuscript book, exquisitely and originally illuminated, is an excellent quality small

lifelong religious conservatism, and the evidence of his association and interests partly proven by evidence taken from the evidence of the provenance alone, including the new signature also indicate he was a spiritual and intellectual comp autograph, and hence that of a if not the previous owner, is that of Thomas Hervey.

under May Tudor, but unlike Martin his Catholicism sends him into exile on the

the Protestant disturbances in the Netherlands result in his arrest and, presumably, death.⁶ This establishes an extended provenance of the New College Apocalypse through the hands of sixteenth

mutual connections to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, it also corroborates the connections which have been ma

7

This may certainly indicate a Catholic web of book exchange and collection amongst figures whose interests have both a scholarly and a political aspect. However it also raises larger questions especially in the context of the entire donation concerning sixteenth century medievalism and apocalypticism.

In its medieval function, the text, commentary and image of our New College Apocalypse worked together as a form of lay devotion and a re-actment of John the -sent vision of eschatological crisis and resolution. As I shall

maintained with its sixteenth century ownership. It has been demonstrated that contemporary thirteenth and fourteenth century illuminated apocalypses can have a

narrative, or perhaps the allegorisation of their patronesses lives and histories, as the use of heraldic devices and other identifiers associate contemporary figures and events with elements of the narrative. This gives an intriguing meditative context for the New College version which, whilst it is certainly aristocratic in the gilded delicacy

willingly confessed by email to myself.

⁶ For the biography of Thomas Harvey or Hervey see S. T. Bindoff, *The History of Parliament*, II, pp. 311

of its illustration, appears in its medieval conception to be a more eternally and mystically presented depiction.⁹ However our manuscript itself has not been immune to more historicising readings, especially those relating to the interest in apocalyptic significance of the arrival of the mendicant order.¹⁰ This historical dimension of

experienced would have had perhaps the most impact on Thomas. He was at least six years older than the other two boys.¹³ Their first tutor was no ordinary schoolmaster, but Nicholas Bourbon, a French neo-Latin poet who would count amongst his friends Heinrich Bullinger, Joseph Justus Scaliger, Thomas Cranmer and Hans Holbein.¹⁴ Whilst there is no reason to think he did not remain a Catholic,

incarceration in his home country for his writings on French reform. His cause had been taken up by the French Ambassador and he had been rescued and brought to England. From the Boleyn family perspective, which espoused reforming principles

executed and Nicholas Bourbon, as her dependent, returned to France. His

executed in the same year. The boys were now all royal wards, and figures whose dubious parentage, with the exception of Hervey, meant their correct and controlled education was of importance. Rather than breaking their schoolroom up, their new patron Frances Bryan, had the boys transferred to Woburn Abbey and put under a new tutor, James Prestwich. Prestwich would have been selected for his tempering conservatism, for he appears to have been strictly Catholic. Their relative tranquillity was dramatically interrupted when the abbey was dissolved in 1538, and the abbot and superior accused of sedition and treason.¹⁷ At this point the Abbot, Robert Hobbes, in the cause of frankly confessing his own misgivings about Reformation changes, reports that

Mr James, schoolmaster to the young gentlemen, Mr. Norice, Mr. Carye, and Mr. Hervye, when they were commensals in the house, declared he could

begs pardon¹⁸

Despite these words on his behalf, Prestwich appears not to attempt to apologise for himself and face the commissioners. He fled North, where he was apprehended,

¹⁹ Back at Woburn the Abbey was broken up, its property probably distributed, and the sick and elderly Abbot, the prior and one of the monks were hung from an ancient tree at the entrance to the Abbey buildings. It is before these dramatic and potentially quaking events that we might find, in the medieval library of Woburn Abbey the second opportunity for Hervey to have found himself in possession of a medieval illuminated book.

accounts appear to find to be some true holiness at both Syon and Woburn

and the evidence before his eyes of the

¹⁷ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 21, vols, 13.1 (for 1538), pp. 350; 356-3; 561.

¹⁸ *Letters and Papers*, p. 561

¹⁹ Quoted in Susan Brigden and Nigel Wilson, p. 407.

bloody and politically-motivated reality of these early stages of the English Reformation, left Thomas Hervey a lifelong Catholic. Between the ages of 19 and 26

favour and leaves for the most sympathetic air to be found on the continent. From there he does attempt probably for reasons of self-preservation to assert his continued loyalty to sovereignty, claiming insolvency alone drives him abroad; however from 1560-1577 he is acting as Philip well as for a number of other Catholic nobles. Nicholas Throckmorton asserts later that Hervey told him he was indeed abroad for reasons of conscience.²³ Hervey is in and out of Louvain the Duchess of Feria thanks him in

and has contact with other English Catholics in exile.²⁴ Hervey dies in obscure circumstances, arrested during the revolts against Catholic rule in the Netherlands sometime after 1577. Whilst he appears to have had a wife and two daughters who were his co-heiresses, it seems likely that any manuscript he might have had in his possession would have been transferred prior to this point.²⁵

It is here that the Courtenay connection becomes significant. At precisely the moment known donator of the manuscript, Thomas Martin, in correspondence with the Earl, interceding on his behalf with Gardiner and exchanging news domestic and international. A series of letters which pass between him and Courtenay whilst Martin in Calais where he is accompanying Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester as his Chancellor suggest a familiar intercourse.²⁶

what secures Courtenay permission to proceed on the Italian voyage which proves his last he dies of the plague, in Venice, on 13th September, 1556. Martin was also instrumental in making key introductions between Courtenay, Alderman John White and Anthony Hussey. There was also a strong association between Martin and

death in Nov lu Ah.*41 To56(.)] TJ ET q 0.00125 -0.12134 595.08 842.16 re W* n BT /F1 8.

speaking.²⁸

ngly.

Cade:Nay, then, he is a conjurer.

architectural and funerary monuments indicate.³⁵

Despite or perhaps in a sense because of
should not be presumed that sixteenth-century medievalism and manuscript collection

and the Church of Antichrist, naturally to be identified with the revealed true church of the Protestants and the oppressive material church of the Catholics, written as a commentary and exposition on the Book of Revelations. It has a significant narrative and visual aspect: drawing on the powerful historical patterns and dichotomies of Revelations to found a Protestant apocalyptic symbolism of the Catholic Church as the Whore of Babylon and the Protestant Church as the woman in the wilderness, depicted in similarly sized woodcuts to our apocalypse illuminations. This symbolic rhetoric would go on to have a significant impact on English thought and on English

Faerie Queene can be read as the allegorical expression of the woman in the wilderness, seeking to save her kingdom whilst lost in the wandering woods. The sorceress Duessa, who we at one of it.³⁷

xiety. Frustrated by, but adopting, the apocalyptic dichotomy he speaks of the Catholic and Protestant churches in terms

Demanding in effect a new vision, a revelation he refuses their diametric opposition as his concluding couplet embraces a Donnean paradox of adulterous and marital espousal, appearing to collapse the false duality of virgin and whore:

Betray kind husband thy Spouse to our Sights,
 And let myne amorous Soule court thy mild Dove,
 Who is most trew, and pleasing to thee, then

38

As this article will go on to delineate, the New England historians with whom we may especially associate Thomas Martin were not immune to or uninterested in the apocalypticism of the new historians. The presence of the illuminated apocalypse in his benefactor forms a part of the interest he shows in it as a whole, given new value in the sixteenth century as a source of revelation, and it may also indicate

³⁷ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by A.C. Hamilton (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), Book I, Canto VIII, st. 6, p. 104.

³⁸ Gary A. Stringer, ed., *The Variorum edition of the poems of John Donne*, 8 vols (Bloomington: Indiana Press, 2005), 7.1, p. 19, lines 141

his own exploration of the apocalyptic understanding of history. In the case of our new owner, Thomas Hervey, without such a context we have only the testimony of the manuscript itself. This does however provide some flavour, both in the autograph itself and in certain annotations.

The evidence is of a dual interest, at once devotional and humanistic. In what appears to be the same or a very similar sixteenth-century hand to the autograph of Thomas Hervey, a series of brief marginal annotations which collate the Anglo-Norman text with the chapters of the Book of Revelations to which it corresponds. This hand goes so far as to make a correction on the recto of folio 55 where the text which appears to be an authorial translation from Revelations 15:6 of an English or Latin Bible, as it does not correspond to any vernacular Bible.

The autograph is written in a large, clear upright sixteenth-century secretary hand, its clarity almost giving the aspect of a handwriting manual. Its long descenders and ascenders are probably indicative of a date later in the century, since they suggest the influence of the humanist italic style. Following the square now nearly indecipherable Hervy or Harvy lies a third element: the stem and incipient e, writing hand.³⁹ A reasonable surmise is that this is either a self-portrait

⁴⁰ This latter hypothesis would render it a distinctly eschatological quotation, taken as it is

sa O death where is thy styng? O hell where is thy

³⁹ The spelling of his last name, as was typical in the period, varies. Hervey appears to be the most likely tutor Nicholas Bourbon latinus to Th. Harvæos. The decrypted signature appears which appears in British Library, Harley MS. 4025 (III) of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century perhaps a frenchified spelling in the heraldic context.

⁴⁰ But thankes be vnto God, whiche hath brought vs victorie through our Lord Iesus Christo

victorie?⁴¹

inactive, worldrefusing *stasis*

not necessarily that of

the Satanic dragon to the beast from the sea. The two toothy chimerical animals, hovering between horror and heraldry, play something of the role of a book curse: a warning to the thief or the curious. Nor is the reader herself exempt from the

⁴³ In the centre of the horror, in the dreadful turn of the

hypocrites, is where this orthodox medieval commentary, largely a figurative reading of the Book of Revelations, situates the present moment. It is *in heredia res*, in *medium aevum* that our noblewoman chooses for her own name to be scribed. Henry

and shares with hers an implicit identification of the apocalyptic struggle as her struggle *in specie aeternitatis*. There is something emblematic, however, in its colophon position on the final folio of the manuscript. In the sixteenth century apocalypticism, certainly not for the first time but for the first time at the heart of the most politically and religiously influential thought, brought an apocalyptic imminence and an urgency to the historical present and the immediate future. Protestant thinkers were writing of as the historically decisive moment, relating it to the coming of Antichrist and increasingly over the course of the 17th century moving towards hope of material apotheosis and utopia. As we shall begin to see, Catholic thinkers, in inverted manner, were not immune to this new mode of thinking, though they shied from its extremes. We have a glimpse in

accession of Elizabeth, suggest he would have remained emotionally affiliated to this group of New College exiles who continued to fight the polemic war from abroad. His pride in his status as *socius novi collegi*, as demonstrated by his donation, is likely

Catholick

calls it by the late Elizabethan period, he may have even still have been capable of envisaging a future in which the times were changed once again. When Thomas Harding, the main antagonist in the Jew Harding controversy, a key battle of the

included amongst his bequests to the English Church in exile one to the future of the English Church at home

⁴⁴ This final sign of loyalty to his college is also a token of belief in a Catholic future. Thomas Martin leaves a book collection. I argue that his 1588 donation including the New College Apocalypse, is no arbitrary assortment from his library but a deliberate, and politic selection. The 27 books and 4 manuscripts, taken together, furnish the library with key necessary materials which relate especially to the study of world history understood as a divine science. This is the emergent field which Protestant historians, but also the Catholic historiographers are actively engaged. The donation also has more than one element which points

Whether there be anye person or persons, ecclesiasticall or temporall within your Parish, or else where, within this Dioces, that of late have retayned, or kept in theyr custodie, or that read, sell, or disperse, cary, or deliver to others anye Englishe bookes, set forth of late yeares at Louain, or in any other place beyonde the seas, by Harding, Dorman, Allen, Saunders, Stapleton,

46

Unmentioned, as their contributions were more monumental and circulated more abroad than domestically, are the Harpsfield brothers, whose refusal to take the

In the mid 1540s, when Martin was a young fellow and pursuing his legal studies at Oxford in the Faculty of Civil Law, the presence of these future

49 That such an

identification made sense meant, of course, that the forebreezes of the wind of reform had already been stirring: Henrician and Edwardian visitations had removed the now effectively redundant Faculty of Canon Law and endowed new lecturers in Latin and Greek, humanist moves which would not have in themselves been repulsive. The Visitors had however at the same time taken somewhat radical steps to prevent scholastic study it was two years before Martin came from Winchester where the leaves of Duns Scotus had been sent flying. Speedily reforming Britain under Edward VI, and more especially the particular attention given to turning Oxford into a Protestant academy, would have escalated matters. These years saw the appointment of the reformist Peter Martyr Vermigli as Regius Professor of Divinity, burnings of scholastic and modern Catholic authors and an open debate on the Eucharist in the University Church.⁵⁰ following, as well as his close friendship with John Jewel, created a powerful reformist presence in the University. By 1550 it appears to have made the situation untenable for the Harpsfield brothers that year Nicholas becomes the first Louvain exile, fleeing the Edwardian regime, and John leaves Oxford soon afterwards to take up a position under a sympathetic Bishop in the Diocese of Chichester.⁵¹ Thomas Martin appears to have left in the same year, and it is hard to imagine it was not as part of the same impulse, or on consultation with the Harpsfields. We find Nicholas and Thomas associates on their return, their names of membership of Doctors Commons on the same day in 1554.⁵²

for a young aspiring advocate, having just concluded his preliminary studies, to gain further education abroad. He returns from travels in Bourges and Paris with a degree

⁴⁹ By the report of Thomas Harding, Regius Professor in Hebrew-1542, defending his own religious position in 1566 which appears to have wavered somewhat during his time at Oxford

as Doctor of Civil Law from the university of the former, which was a centre of humanist jurisprudence⁵³.

, consisting of largely scurrilous and but presumably stock accusations

Archbishop Cranmer. His performance and oratory on this occasion has been praised by historians on both sides of the somewhat polarised field of Reformation historiography it was probably key at least to the sense of real defeat of this giant of the Reformation.

In all his assistance in the reimplementation of the Catholic Church Martin would have been continuously in contact with his elder colleague Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury and Vicar General of London, who presided over hundreds of convictions for heresy in the brief period given to the regime.

is attested by his authorship of

to attend the services of the Church of England an examination of his will leaves the reader in no doubt that his conservative sympathies and in all probability his Catholic faith survived until the end.

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57

Besides family portraits, the one picture described in the will is that hanging in the Great Chamber of his Steeple Morden home in southwest Cambridgeshire. It is a portrait,

the height of his career and fortune under that queen, remained a thorough Marian to the end of his life. This portrait is bequeathed to his second wife, Margery, with whom and with whose progeny ~~hope~~ the continuation of his religious orthodoxy appears to lie. She was a widow who had married Martin by 1565, and it is worth noting that her former ~~administeed~~ (administered by Martin) reveals a preface whose references to the Virgin and the saints suggest his continued Catholicism.⁵⁸ is to Francis, their daughter, that he gives a collection of devotional objects and semi relics of the Catholic Elizabeth, receives a portrait of her mother and a pair of virginals, bequests to Francis

Wykehamist, the Louvain apologist John Martiall, had published a treatise on this subject, addressed as a direct appeal to his monarch, as the systematic and

59

Dialogi Sex was printed by the learned editor/publisher John Fowler, only one image, in the central pages: a double-page facsimile of the image of a miraculous cross which had appeared in a lightning-struck tree on a Glamorganshire estate, pictures of which

of known recusant association⁶³.

occupy a contented role amongst the doctors of civil law, of a certain investment in and hope for a future where orthodoxy and religious conservatism might yet win the day although of course he is also engaged more simply in selecting wealthy and potentially influential godmothers for his youngest daughter, who was under thirty and unmarried at the time of writing. So Martin remains, despite his outward conformity and comfortable employ, a likely crypto-Catholic or church papist. In 1590 the atmosphere for English Catholics was becoming increasingly adverse. The political climate, already hardened significantly by the Northern Rising, the papal excommunication of Elizabeth I *Regnans Excelsis* in 1570 (despite its later repeal), the Ridolfi, Throckmorton and Babington Plots and of course the Wykehamist invasion, had become direaching its crisis in the decision to execute Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587. These last years of the century are also those after which the hopes which had remained flickeringly alive for a marriage alliance with either the French or the Spanish Catholic powers could be seen to have ended. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 would have been a final straw. At the same time, the strong sense by the 1590s that the century was drawing to a close meant that the possibility of regime change was inevitably in the air. Overall, despite the desperate state of affairs for English Catholics, there was a sense of material hope of better days to come.

Annus mirabilis, annus horibilis?

This latter year of 1588,

Muller, or Regiomontanus, was associated with portentuous events that might even be world-ending.

If then the world do not go under

ran one of the many verse prophecies circulating concerning this year⁶⁴ Such prognostications of cataclysmic event were only confirmed by the report that the

detailed, points to a sophisticated scholarly interest in ancient, ecclesial and contemporary history, geography, astronomy, chronology and ancient and modern

partly continental education. This attention to Greek history suggests its important

Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium gentium chronici commentarii

(1516) is along similar lines – a work with a preface by Erasmus himself, and

theologically situated, history. It is in the context of the importance of sequence and order to the collation of human experience against the revealed truth of scripture, and particularly prophetic texts like those found in the Book of Daniel, that we might

Benefactors Book describes it, is a collection of five chronological

with no conclusion about calendar reform. It was written under the name of Joannes Lucidus Samotheus, a probably fictional Frenchman behind whom lay the Dominican monk Giovanni Maria Tolosani.⁷⁵ Calendar reform was controversial in a way we perhaps cannot now imagine. The gradual loss of alignment with the seasons caused by the Julian calendar also meant a gradual loss of the correct calculation of Easter: by the sixteenth century the seasonal equinoxes fell on the 11th of March and 1st of September and the shortest days were the 1st of December and the 1st of June instead of the 21st in each case. It is easy to see how this must have seemed like a kind of

sense of how far distant these events were as possibly to lose the insight human knowledge can have into divine purpose. The degree of error had been known since the thirteenth century, so the controversy was around how to correct it. The papal promulgation of our current calendar had to await the energy and decisiveness of Pope Gregory XIII, but since his Bull was issued in 1582 Protestant nations took a great deal of time to conform. England did not align itself until 1752.⁷⁶ Knowledge

gical calculations of a kind necessary for the apocalyptic historiography being undertaken. *The Ephemeredum reliquia* of the priest, mathematician, instrument maker, astronomer and astrologer Johannes Stoeffler is an astronomical table extended for use until 1556. Stoeffler was the first to show that the Julian calendar could be brought into harmony with

Ephemerides, he was himself

75

given to apocalyptic predication, predicting a great world-gulping flood from planetary conjunctions to occur in 1524. The work is also an introduction to astronomy and the study of the heavens, positions and revolutions of planets, tables of the height of the sun in the day, and of the position of the stars by night. This interest is supported by further volumes from Martin on astronomy and astronomical instruments: the *Sphaera mundi* of the eleventh-century Jewish mathematician astronomer Abraham bar Hiyya Ha-Nasi, a 1580 reprint of a 1542 edition of *The Perspectiva* of John Peckham, the thirteenth-century Franciscan Archbishop of Canterbury, theologian, and Baconian student of optics and astronomy, is conveniently combined in

on the astrolabe and its use, which consists in unveiling of the new (to be called the Rojas) astrolabe created by orthographic projection. The increasingly advanced and technical study of the motions and relations of the bodies of the universe had not disassociated it as of yet from science's deepest sense as an attempt to understand the casting of horoscopes, for example, or the apocalyptic projection of disaster and the study of portents. This was equally true of geographical advances and exploration into the New World. Martin makes a very significant donation of atlases and geographical texts. Like a good humanist, he includes the classical text of the Roman geographer Ptolemy, *De Situ Orbis* (1493), and alongside this the most current world atlas in what is a very recent purchase, perhaps deliberately made for his benefaction world atlas in 53 maps, the *Theatrum Mundi* and its accompanying gloss of geographical terms, both in their 1584 editions. Not less than three books touching on the voyages to the New World suggest the historical and incidental interest of geography. Finally, *The Principall Nauigations, voiages and discoveries of the English nation*, confirmed by William Poole as a late edition of Hakluyt's, ⁷⁷ is a collection of voyages made by the sixteenth-century fellow of Christ Church and covering a period from the fourth century to those of Drake and Raleigh. Hakluyt writes within of his own vocational epiphany as that of the theological nature of global discovery. Told by his lawyer cousin to do so, Hakluyt reads Psalm 107, where

⁷⁷ In this issue.

I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ~~ships~~ occupy by the great

murky

thoroughly milked by Protestant historians

to the correct manner of reading the Book of Revelations, and this orthodox commentary, then still by some thought to be patristic, may have been also curative to historicising Protestant readings.

bronze and feet of iron and clay. Gower takes on himself the role of prophet to decree that the present time is the divided kingdom of iron and clay, representing the remnant of *romanitas*, and hence the only next step is the stone of destruction which represents the coming of the divine kingdom.⁹⁰ *Actes and Monuments*, mentioning this prologue as corroboration of his apocalyptic chronology, counts Gower amongst the

interests covered by his nation embrace the utopic hopes concurrently invested in the Hapsburg and Spanish empires as well as in New World exploration. They may also relate to the desire of historians both Protestant and Catholic to elucidate the place of the English Church within this dawning moment. One set of Catholic hopes may have been dashed by the failure of the Armada, but apocalyptic thinking does not simplistically allow such judgement: the signs of disaster are signs also of complete deliverance drawing near. By the 1590s when he will does appear to bequeath his religious orthodoxy to the next generation

later 1590s brought renewed expectations and the prospect of regime change. The light of actual political hope in continental rescue through invasion or perhaps conversion expanded this, and the Catholic historiographers could draw the sixteenth century plight up into the divine plan without necessarily having a resonance to *apocalypsis*. The Jesuit Robert religiosity to make an appeal to him as the coming Constantine.⁹³

The Louvain Apologists and Apocalyptic Historiography

Diarmaid MacCulloch has gone so far as to suggest the Reformation derived its main impulse from an atmosphere of apocalyptic expectation. Whilst the Protestant form this eventually took dominates our modern understanding, a sense of imminent change and transformation associated with divine purpose was in the air long before the Reformation took on its clear Protestant character. Fourteenth century climactic crisis, schism and epidemic built up towards the year 1500, the chronological milestone of a millennium and a half from the birth of Christ.⁹⁴ Apocalyptic thinking was a justificatory tool for those at the forefront of radical political and religious transformation and a resort or refuge for those experiencing its ravages, deprivations and persecutions. More literal apocalypticism, after Savonarola and the Spiritual Franciscan revival in the 1490s, was severely treated by the Catholic magisterium, le 0 1 (r)3(a)4 cha

popular and intellectual spheres in Italy and Spain. From initial Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinist scepticism of prophecy and prophetic books, there was a turn in mood by which Protestant theologians, concerned to establish the historical importance of this reformation moment, began to identify historical prophecies particular to the Reformation in scriptural and apocryphal material.⁹⁵

Church after the 1000-year binding of Satan in Revelations 20:1, latterly associated by Foxe with the cessation of persecution

edition, this is interpreted as having come to a close in the approximately contemporary moment, during the fourteenth century, since when the Antichrist has been quite literally at large. This period is identified

a projected brevity which suggests the imminence of the Second Coming itself. The identification of the Pope and Roman Church with the unbinding of Antichrist, a theme drawn some remove from John Wycliffe, became an increasingly standard element.

What remains less examined than this Protestant apocalyptic historiography is the Catholic response, and indeed the possibility of a parallel Catholic account of Reformation events in the light of the Book of Revelation. Catholic writing of the nation, from exile and prison, is dialectically engaged with the Protestant account in a

church is crucial to this, and it is possible to see how the dualities of the Book of Revelation became a kind of epistemological battleground for opposed sides in the

arose from the need to tell the story of the Lutheran mystical church. If theirs was the true religion and the institutional church a false Babylon, where, when and how had had it been battling against Antichrist for the past five centuries? Particularly unglung down the gauntlet

Church, this need redoubled back on the conservative historians and history became increasingly needed as the Protestant narrative gained ground. Although political disturbance and radicalism within the Roman Catholic fold, including that of the celebrated Dominican preacher Savonarola, led to the papal foreclosing of further apocalyptic speculation by decree in 1513, we should not think eschatologically tinged Catholic hope thenceforth ceased. Our New College Louvain apologists were engaged in the response to, inversion of, to a degree resistance of, but nevertheless also participation in the increasingly apocalyptic vein of these histories.

The dichotomy of the true and the false church, undichot48>5<0003>] TJic1tTm [(32tr)-8

This paradigm of competing truths and embodiments can also probably trace its

De Civitate

Dei. These two cities of God and of man, or piety and impiety, are never for Augustine purely earthly metropolises, but rather the eschatological realities given a certain material realisation, in the Church as it will be on the one hand and on the other in all that which, in this world and the next, lies outside it. Processed perhaps through the material of the Antichrist legends derived from Revelations with its , and channelled through the twelfth-century work of Otto of Freising, is the Augustinian notion of

idea of two rival powers or churches, Jerusalem and Babylon, coexistent in the world.⁹⁷ Where Augustine does depict

and instantiated terms, it is only in the final books of his work: that is to say, when he is turning his attention to the revelation and swelling of the powers of darkness that will occur in the last days⁹⁸. In the twelfth-century development of Otto of Freising where more, but rather th

whether the Catholics or the protestants were in the current ascendant. The apocalyptic gaze pierces through to the eternal significance of history as in some

prophecy and particularly in that vision and prophecy which formed part of canonical scripture. This need not necessarily mean assuming that the end times are literally imminent, although it may include such thought, or certainly expectation of moments of grand reversal, catastrophe or deliverance.

Image of

both Churches, structuring his *Historia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, into a two-part history of continuity on the one hand telling the history of the True Church through accounts of the

part to align the Protestants with all other heretics and sectarians pretty much indiscriminately, and to deny them their special providential place. On the other hand, there are elements of this counter-current which point to an alternative, Catholic triumphalist, understanding of the current onslaught of the Antichrist. Alongside the column recounting the progression of *the stas diaboli* is a third column in which the wisdom of fathers and doctors of the church is attested against the heretics. This is a broad column of black typeface which gradually, as the pages turn towards the sixteenth century advances, it visually drowns out the increasingly pinched box allotted to the *haeretici* more visible monarchy is complete. When Henry Bullinger declares in his *scriptis* his Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse that there is no Antichrist but that which now presents itself in the Roman Episcopate, the event is recorded under 1570

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V, is praised extremely highly

may not be the Great Antichrist, but he is the closest the world has seen, in other words

certain pitch, may be read apocalyptically as a sign of the proximity of God's judgment in some form, and perhaps the final ~~Thus~~ for Catholics as for Protestants even great tribulation could be the source of hope, ~~the~~ and avenger and regenerator, in temporal and eschatological form, might still be expected. ~~with~~ Catholic difference remains the idea that, despite rupture, the heavenly Jerusalem would be in the shape of the earthly, and conversely that this is a matter of such gift that it cannot be grasped and formed by human hands.

In the only major remnant of his prosecution of Thomas Cranmer, he himself subtly engages with the complexity of the relationship of this destruction to Christic sacrificial closure, employing the antithetical and apocalyptic rhetoric of this period. He describes Cranmer as the exact

-glorying leap,

knowing it not to be the true fruitful self-offering, Cranmer, then head of the earthly body, plunged straight into the abyss responding with terrifying iconoclastic zeal which brought all down with him:

down with the sacramentes, downe with the Masse, downe with the Aultars, downe with the Armes of Chryste, and vp with a Lyon and a Dog, downe with Abbeyes, down with Chauntreys, downe with Hospitalles and Colledges, downe with fasting, and Prayer, yea downe with all that good and godly is.¹⁰⁶

Here Martin displays a subtle understanding of the paradoxical difficulty of identifying how the Protestant iconoclastic and destructive institutional asceticism is other than the theologically ordained perfect-self-offering. He associates it with the ~~h~~ perhaps he finds an analogy for the Protestant eschatological ~~ally~~ even, grace-emphasising theology of the time. The Body of Christ, Martin implies, has been thrown down in and by Cranmer, not in the spirit of loving self-sacrifice but in the spirit of dreadful self-elevation.

the head of that body as Archbishop, prepares to die in what can only be a prideful ~~drove~~ drove both halves

¹⁰⁶ *Acts and Monuments* (1583), p. 1876.

of the Reformation argument forward is here at work, and Martin is truly engaged in naming Cranmer as antichristic, if not Antichrist. The analogy of course carries implicit questions about what true Christic transformation in sacrifice might look like.

For the Catholic adoption of an apocalyptic paradigm, emphasis was laid on the continuity of ecclesiastical history and doctrine from the time of the early church interpretation, referred to all that which stands outside sin following the redemptive act of Christ. The Protestant Reformation itself, alongside other heretical periods throughout history could nonetheless be seen as a new height of the eternal period of suffering and second Coming. The logical conclusion of the most literal Catholic apocalypticism would also be that the Reformation must be about to lead to its own overthrow hope remaining for a second reversal and new triumphant restoration of the True Church. Hence Catholic apocalypticism resists the Joachite age of spiritual perfection in human terms, and rather embraces a pattern of chastisement and renewal.

Catholic Apocalypticism within England

Elsewhere, in homiletic and in music, we find that hope for the restitution of the Catholic Church in England is characteristically expressed in terms which relate it to divine Advent. At the moment the Jesuit Edmund Campion was captured in 1581 he had just concluded a sermon on Luke 19:41 the course of which his congregation had been urged to imagine the English Catholic Church in persecution and exile as like the biblical city of Jerusalem over which Christ weeps as he enters it, prophesying its destruction.¹⁰⁷ This is a circumstance usually supposed to have been fulfilled with the Roman sack of the city in AD 70, and it occurs within a passage where Christ appears to speak as an apocalyptic sermon intends to convey is a divine foreknowledge of even this present destruction of a nation which loyal Englishmen must still in some sense see as their promised city whilst at the same time they were faced with the clash of Renaissance

¹⁰⁷ T. , ed, *Reconfiguring the Renaissance: essays in critical materialism* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1992), p. 65.

orthodox eschatological mentalities. Thomas Martin and his daughters must have
-circulated despite their often
barely cloaked Catholicism, on the pairs of ~~viols~~ he bequeaths them probably

private performance of semi

been, as it was for many, a great source of devotional sustenance.¹⁰⁸

Byrd writes a series of motets in his *Motiones Sacrae* which appear to make
oblique reference to the plight of English Catholics. As Joseph Kerman has suggested

and then resurrected.¹¹¹

musically is placed on Southwell and Garnet specifically as a pair: two coupled voices enter the music in a portentous minor key. The motet, by its historical application of scriptural text, draw the sixteenth century plight up into the divine plan. The apocalyptic resonance without necessarily having a resonance to *actualia*.¹¹² Byrd also sets a very significant number of other motets around the theme of the -part motet where,

civitas electa should be associated with Catholic restitution for the English nation.¹¹³ The point is here that texts associated with eschatological hope for the coming of Christ are here employed in contexts which relate this to hope for a temporal, historical restitution.

Conclusion

Both of the men who owned th

