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CHAPTER I

LADY MARGARET BEAUFORT
AND THE WIVES OF
HENRY VIII

This chapter is meant to serve as background to the printed book dedications directed to Queen Mary I. It will first examine the printed dedications given to Lady Margaret Beaufort. Next, I will explicate the printed dedications given to the six consorts of Henry VIII, the subject matter of those dedicated books, and the influence of royal printers on book dedications. The late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (the period in which these royal ladies lived) saw a transition from manuscripts to printed books, and with this change in media came change in book dedications and their uses. The dedications discussed in this chapter demonstrate the commercial potential of printed book dedications, particularly in the new market of print. Yet, this chapter also suggests that once commercial success was determined, dedicators were able to use printed dedications to appeal for patronage.

The printed book dedications directed at Lady Margaret were more often than not given from a commercial perspective; men dedicated books to Lady Margaret to have her name endorse the new practice of print. Her name was also invoked in colophons because she gave authority to texts and enhanced their commercial potential. Nevertheless, Lady Margaret actively involved herself in the printing process, perhaps even making suggestions to printers. The model of attaching Lady Margaret’s name to a book was so successful that dedicators attached the names of the six consorts of Henry VIII to enhance their importance and saleability. But printed dedications to the six wives of Henry VIII were more clearly done as an attempt to gain or maintain patronage relationships, knowingly appealing to the consorts so that they in turn would entreat Henry VIII on the behalf of the dedicators.
Granted, these women had different roles and responsibilities than Mary. Consorts might have had great influence, but they often had to work through others to effect change or give rewards. However, in tracing the dedications of Lady Margaret as a royal lady, the six wives who, as royal ladies, received printed book dedications, and Queen Mary I as the most powerful royal lady to receive book dedications, one can discern a pattern among dedications to royal women. In sum, this chapter will reveal how dedications to Tudor queens were first written and formulated and the impact that these early dedications had on the manuscript and print dedications given to Mary Tudor.

Lady Margaret Beaufort

This chapter begins with a cursory look at the dedications to Lady Margaret, as straddling the new type of client-patron relationship that developed with the early book trade. One may wonder why Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, is the launching point for this chapter, and not Elizabeth of York, queen to Henry VII. Mainly, this is because Elizabeth of York only received one printed book dedication, and it was shared jointly with Lady Margaret Beaufort. So while she might have more in common, in terms of roles and responsibilities, with the six consorts, she simply did not receive enough dedications to warrant beginning this study. The dedication that she and Lady Margaret shared is described below. Moreover, Lady Margaret’s literary patronage has been well documented, making her fit better in a study on dedications to royal ladies. Of all of the women mentioned in this study, Lady Margaret has been the subject of the most modern scholarship of her relationship to books and literary culture. Finally, Lady Margaret also is a model example of how a “female audience for early English printing had been developed in the fifteenth century,” mainly via religious houses and aristocratic women. She was closely tied to both communities. Lady Margaret was the first English royal lady to see the real use of print, and printers found real use of her.

Franklin B. Williams identified ten printed books dedicated to Lady Margaret Beaufort. A cursory look at these ten books reveals that seven did not really contain dedications to her, but simply mention her in the colophon as commanding or funding their printing. Those colophons tend to follow a generic formula of listing the printer, the location of the printer’s house, and Lady Margaret as a
funder or commissioner of the book, as well as the date of publication. For example, the title page of *Imitatio Christi* features a woodcut of a pieta, Mary cradling a deceased Christ. Beneath that reads:

A full deuout and gostly treatyse of the Imytacion and folowynge the blessed Lyfe of oure moste mercyfull Sauyoure criste: compyled in Laten by the right worshypfull Doctor Mayster John Gerson: and translate into Englysshe: The yere of oure lorde. M.D. ii. By mayster wyllyan Atkynson Doctor of diuinite: at the specyall request and cōmaundement of the full excellent Pryncesse Margarete moder to our Souerayne lorde kynge henry the. vii. and Countesse of Rychemount and Derby.4

Only three of the ten dedications mention Lady Margaret beyond the colophon: *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, the *Hereford Breviary*, and Bishop John Fisher's sermons entitled the *Fruytful Saynges of King Davyd*.5 Since Williams included the seven colophons in his compendium, I will also treat them as dedications, while differentiating between colophons and actual dedicatory verses in my discussion below. As is usual for the types of works that these colophons accompany, they show not only that Lady Margaret read works in English and French, but also that she was integral in getting foreign language books printed in English for the benefit of other English readers and hearers.6 But printers would not have included Lady Margaret’s name just to inform their readers that she liked the book, but rather to use her name and approval of the book as a marketing strategy to bolster the importance of a book. I suggest that colophons and dedications to Lady Margaret were given generally for commercial purposes, to promote the sales of books made with the new printing technology, while the dedications to the six wives, which will be discussed later, were given for different purposes.

During her lifetime, and ever since, Lady Margaret was regarded as a literary patroness. In Bishop Fisher’s “Mornynge remembraunce” sermon for Lady Margaret’s month’s mind, Fisher mentions that she was a mother to universities and a patroness to learned men for the benefit of England.7 According to Susan Powell, foremost authority on Lady Margaret and her association with books, Lady Margaret frequently purchased and read manuscripts and books, and she even had a library at her house at Collyweston. She was not that unusual for her time, as other royal ladies, including her own grandmother, Margaret Holland, Duchess of Clarence, read, were pious, and had
Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications

close connections with religious foundations. But Powell does convincingly argue that Lady Margaret’s involvement in the book trade was largely for the religious benefit of herself and others, using Lady Margaret’s household accounts to trace when she purchased books, how often, and how much she paid for them. In doing so, Powell shows that Lady Margaret purchased books that were often translations of French and Latin, as she was not able to read Latin herself.

Building from Powell’s study, I contend that Lady Margaret did command many works to be translated and printed for their religious benefit, but that printers were quick to mention Lady Margaret’s commandment in their colophons to associate their books with her as a marketing tool. Noting that a book was good enough to be recommended by the king’s mother for print must have shown ordinary readers that the book was worth purchasing and recommending to others to purchase. Printers profited by including her name within their colophons. Works related to Margaret show that she had a unique relationship with print and that she understood its potential to distribute texts. For royal women in the generations after Lady Margaret (particularly the six consorts of Henry VIII and Mary I), book dedications took on different forms and meanings.

Besides being actively engaged in commissioning books to be translated and printed, Lady Margaret actively translated as well, and her desire to translate texts was appreciated in her own lifetime. In his “Mornynge remembrance” sermon, Fisher noted, “As for medytacyon she had dyvers bokes in Frensshe wherewith she wolde occupy herselfe whan she was wery of prayer. Whefore dyvers she dyde translate oute of Frensshe into Englysshe.” Powell notes that in 1503 Pynson printed the first three books of *Imitatio Christi*, as were translated by William Atkinson, a fellow at Cambridge, in 1502. Lady Margaret commissioned the printing of Atkinson’s translation in 1503, as the colophon of book three states. Once she became aware of the fourth book, she herself translated it from a French-language edition, and Pynson added it to Atkinson’s translation in a 1504 edition. Lady Margaret also commissioned the 1504 edition. It was reprinted in 1517, 1519, and 1528 with the original title page that mentions Lady Margaret’s commission. Powell also suggests that Lady Margaret later purchased and distributed many copies of *Imitatio*, specifically to Syon Abbey. This colophon, like many others, shows not only Lady Margaret’s interest in the use of print translating work into English for the benefit of England by
providing it with accessible religious texts, but also the commercial possibilities of adding a specific patron’s name to the title page.

Interestingly, the three dedications and seven colophons were printed by only four different printers, and these four printers wrote all of the dedications and colophons except for one. Bishop John Fisher, long-time friend and confessor of Lady Margaret, actually wrote a dedication to her of his *Fruytful Saynges of King Davyd*. The printers affiliated with Lady Margaret were William Caxton, who printed the two earliest books at her command, one with a dedication and one with only a colophon; Richard Pynson, who included her in the colophon of two printed books; Inghelbert Hague, who dedicated one book to her that was printed in Rouen; and Wynkyn de Worde, who included her in five colophons, only printing the actual dedication by Fisher. Also interesting is that all dedications to Lady Margaret were made after the late 1480s, when she would have been in her late fifties and sixties. This is probably because of the late arrival of the printing press to England and because of her elevated importance as mother to the king after 1485.

All of the books associated with Lady Margaret seem to sincerely attest to her piety except for *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, the earliest book dedicated to her. *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* is a medieval courtly romance with French origins. Lady Margaret Beaufort first came across this romance when she purchased a French manuscript copy from William Caxton. In his appendix on the versions of *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*, Kellner identifies six manuscript versions of the romance all in French verse and five prose versions, with two in French manuscripts and three in print in English. On Early English Books Online (EEBO), three editions of *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* exist: 1490, 1595, and 1597. Lady Margaret was only associated with the first English edition. As the dedication explains, Lady Margaret quickly asked Caxton to translate this work into English, and he dedicated his translation to her.

Apart from Lady Margaret being an excellent princess, her most important asset was that she was mother to the king, which Caxton acknowledged at the beginning of his dedication. As was typical of dedications, Caxton continued with modesty, but immediately coupled his modesty with a statement of how Lady Margaret had previously made a purchase from him of the French version of *Blanchardyn and Eglantine*. She then commanded Caxton to translate this book into English, as he was known for being a printer and a translator.
When he mentioned that he had previously sold this book to Lady Margaret, he also mentioned that he knew it was “honeste” for decent young nobles to read to pass the time. It was appropriate for young gentlemen because it was a story of ancient knights who took up arms, which was something young men should aspire to. Moreover, it offered a model for young men of how to receive the love of a lady. This book was appropriate for young noble women because it would teach them how to be steadfast in both love and promises, which, for Caxton, was just as important a lesson for women to learn as were those offered in books of contemplation. Here, Caxton was traditional in his views that women should not spend too much time thinking or studying because it was a more fruitful endeavor of men. So, perhaps Caxton suggested this text to her early in their relationship as something that was appropriate for a noble woman, which could explain her interest in this romance. After his brief explanation and justification for printing this romance, Caxton concluded his dedication typically by taking responsibility for any problems with the translation, praising his patroness one last time, and finishing with a prayer.

But, as Edwards and Meale note, it is very difficult to determine the exact role of Lady Margaret in the printing of *Blanchardyn*, even though she was mentioned as having commanded its translation. While Edwards and Meale are very skeptical of the ability of scholars to determine client-patron relationships between printers and patrons, I suggest that dedications and colophons that mention commandments by patrons can be understood as having actually happened. This should be the case with *Blanchardyn*, as Caxton later printed another work at Lady Margaret’s commandment, and she most likely would not have allowed Caxton to attach her name to a work if he had earlier mentioned her without her permission or approval. Besides, in Lady Margaret’s household accounts payment to printers is frequently mentioned, even if the names of the books purchased or commissioned were not recorded, as it was more important to account for the fees of the books than their titles. Therefore, even if the exact relationship is difficult to ascertain, Lady Margaret was certainly involved in the printing and distribution of books.

While *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* seems to be exceptional compared to all of the religious texts associated with Lady Margaret, its dedication to her really may not be that unusual. It was the first dedication that Lady Margaret received. Perhaps she was just establishing a
relationship with Caxton and was not yet sure of his ability to translate texts. As a reader of French and English, Lady Margaret may have been able to use Blanchardyn to measure his ability as a translator and printer to the royal family. This book was the first dedicated to Lady Margaret, but it was not the first dedication of an English-language book by Caxton. He printed the first English book in 1473 in Bruges, and dedicated it to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, who was an Englishwoman.

Importantly, Blanchardyn and Eglantine serves an example of a text that straddles the transition from the medieval to the early modern period. It follows in the tradition of French and English love literature directed at a courtly audience, particularly as it was bought by one of the most important women of the court. Lady Margaret may have even purchased it and ordered its translation so that the young members of the court could read a piece of love literature of which she approved. Lady Margaret was very much concerned with having books printed for the benefit of English readers, as evidenced by the number of colophons which stated that she commissioned or funded the books to which they were attached.

The Hereford Breviary is the second book that bears an actual dedication to Lady Margaret, and also attests to her desire to see books printed for the benefit of English readers. Printed in only one edition in 1505, the breviary also exists in approximately five manuscript editions, with the earliest dated to the thirteenth century.23 It also exists in one modern edition in which the title page and the dedicatory preface are included via photocopy, while the remainder of the breviary has been retyped, noting the changes among the five manuscript and one printed editions.24 Lady Margaret’s household accounts indicate that she purchased two vellum copies of the breviary by Ingehelbert Hague on August 20, 1505.25 The title page of the printed edition features the title Breviariu(m) secundu(m) usum herford. Beneath the title is a woodcut of the device of Lady Margaret, and beneath the device are four lines that praise her. They read,

No(n) opis est clero que digna repe(n)dere possit  
Pro tantis meritis alma virago tuis  
Ecclesie sacris que margareta ministris  
Consulis /ethereo vive beata polo.

“No work of a cleric can be considered worthy of the great merits of your ladyship, and of the sacred ministers of the church whom you
advise. I wish that you may live eternally blessedly.” These words seem typical of book dedications, as straightforward praise for the dedicatee while the author assumes a position of modesty. The actual paragraph dedication which follows these four lines, however, is not so typical.

The dedication is in Latin as well and begins by praising Lady Margaret for being mother to King Henry VII, and continues on to hope that this breviary is worthy of her, which is quite traditional. Hague mentioned how he had first purchased this breviary at a marketplace in Rouen and asked Lady Margaret to take account of “impensas nostras.” Asking a patron for reimbursement was not unusual. Many dedicators wanted payment for their work of translating or even recovering texts from foreign markets. Lady Margaret often paid for foreign texts, as was even mentioned in the colophon for the Sarum Breviary of 1507. Pynson noted that it was “Impensis Margarete comitisse Richemondie et derbie.”

It is “margaritarum decore,” decorated with daisies. While this was obviously a play on Lady Margaret’s name, it had other significance. The margarite, or daisy, was the device of Lady Margaret, as it had been of her namesake, Margaret of Anjou. Examples of Lady Margaret’s daisy badge can be found over the gates of Christ’s and St. John’s Colleges in Cambridge, as well as in some of her plate.

What is unusual about this dedication is that in three places Hague refers to Lady Margaret using masculine Latin words. In the second line, Hague calls her “comitis Richmontii et derbii,” or count of Richmond and Derby. Later, when asking her to recognize and do something about the expense of the book he asked her for her “paternitates,” or paternity. And lastly, Hague called her “excellentissime domine et patron nostre,” or most excellent lady and our patron. Why would Hague three times refer to Lady Margaret in the masculine? One simple explanation is that his Latin skills were poor; he may have just used the incorrect endings. Another explanation is that Hague thought he was actually sending the book to the Count of Richmond and Derby and his masculine endings were intentional—in the places where Hague called Lady Margaret “mother” and he uses the word “parentis.” This was a word that could be used for either gender and would be understood in the context in which it was written. However, the fourth word of the dedication is “viraginis,” meaning ladyship, and thus undercutting all of the remaining masculine words. So, Hague must have engaged in bending the gender of his words to apply to
Lady Margaret to imply that a woman so powerful must have had some masculine qualities. Moreover, in using these masculine words to describe her, he must have been complimenting her and her activities. What is also interesting is that “paternitates” and “patrone” are both in sentences which kindly ask Lady Margaret to remember the expense that he endured to get this book. Perhaps Hague used masculine words here to remind her of her duty to take ownership of this book, and he saw patronesses as having less power than patrons.

Bishop John Fisher was a frequent recipient of patronage from Lady Margaret. His 1508 treatise, *The fruytfull saynges of Dauyd the Kynge*, was the third and final book that had an actual dedication to Lady Margaret, and its full title explains that it is a compilation of seven sermons at the “exortacion and sterynge of the moost excellent pryncesse Margarete countesse of Rychmount & Derby & moder to our souerayne lorde kynge henry the vii.” In the short prologue that follows, Fisher began by mentioning that it had been traditional for learned doctors to translate and put into writing scriptures so that readers and hearers would benefit from them. He continued that he had recently preached these sermons before Lady Margaret, and that she “delyted” in them, thus commanding him to write them down so that they could be printed. Once read and heard, they would aid in the pursuit of eternal salvation. Fisher ended the prologue wishing that the holy Trinity “preserue ghostly & bodily my foresayd lady” and “that the intellygentes of the sayd sermons may be gladder in the path of ryghtwysnes dayly to persuer.”

Fisher’s remarks are those of a compassionate friend, as well as a spiritual leader. He was a respected theologian, which is why Lady Margaret wanted to print his interpretations of scripture. Fisher was so influential that this collection of sermons was printed five more times, in 1509, 1510, 1525, 1529, and 1555. This final printing occurred after the Fisher’s 1535 execution, during Mary Tudor’s reign. But again, the prologue is not really a dedication to Lady Margaret, claiming to be written for her or to glorify her; rather, it explains that the book was printed at her request. The prologue as well as the title show that rather than being a passive receiver of written works, she was an active participant in the printing of written works. The 1509 edition gives evidence of this as it includes a colophon by Wynkyn de Worde in which he states that he was “printer vnto the moost excel-lent pryncesse my lady the kynges graundame.”

Fisher’s book of sermons was not the only book printed by Wynkyn de Worde in which de Worde refers to himself as Lady
Margaret’s printer. *The Shyppe of Fooles* is an allegory in which the ship of fools is really a ship of sinners to serve as a lesson for believers, and Henry VII’s funeral sermon by Bishop Fisher also contains colophons in which de Worde mentions that he is printer to the king’s grandmother. There are four other books from 1509 in which de Worde refers to himself as “Prynter unto the moost excellent Pryncesse my Lady the Kynges Moder” and later “graundame to the kynge.” It appears as though he only took that title during 1509. This title has also been useful in determining the chronology of some of the last books dedicated to Lady Margaret. Susan Powell has argued that the chronology of Lady Margaret’s last commissions must be Fisher’s *Frutyfull Saynges of Davyd*, *The Lyf of Saynt Ursula*, and then Fisher’s funeral sermon for Henry VII. This is because *Fruytfull Saynges* is dated June 16, 1508, *Saynt Ursula* has a colophon in which she is called the king’s mother, meaning that it must have been printed before his death in April 1509, and *Shyppe* appeared in July 1509, after her death in June. *Saynt Ursula* may have been printed as early as 1508, since there is no mention of de Worde as Lady Margaret’s royal printer, as was the case with the rest of his 1509 books. Its colophon reads: “Vite sancte ursule sodaliumque suarum translate e sermone latino in anglicum/ rostatu fratris Edmūdi hatfeld monachi Roffensis a iussi illustrissime domine dēe Margarete matris excellentissime principis Henrici septimi. Impressa finit feliciter per me Wynaudum de Worde Londoniis cōmorantem in vico vulgariter dicto the fletestrete in signo solis et lune.” Here, Henry VII is invoked to remind the readers that Lady Margaret was a powerful woman because her son was king (never mind that she was also the wealthiest woman in England because of her land holdings).

As previously mentioned, however, the other most powerful woman in England, Elizabeth of York, was only given one printed book dedication. The book, *O Jhesu endless sweetnes of louying soules*, is also dedicated to Margaret Beaufort. Like so many of the other dedications to Lady Margaret, there are no actual dedicatory verses, only a colophon. The colophon states, “Thiese prayers tofore wret on enprinted by the commaundmentes of the moste hye & vertuous pryncesse our liege ladi Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of Englonde & of Fraunce. & also of the right hye & most noble pryncesse Margarete Moder unto our souerayn lorde the kynge.” Elizabeth of York must have been at least interested in reading and print, but not nearly to the extent of her mother-in-law. Most likely, Lady Margaret was behind the printing of this book and asked Elizabeth
to also take some interest. It is interesting, however, that Elizabeth is not mentioned in any other dedications or colophons. *O Jhesu* was printed in 1491 and was only the second book dedicated to Lady Margaret. Elizabeth lived another 12 years, passing away in 1503. She would have had many more occasions to be involved in print culture, but perhaps left that endeavor to a more interested Lady Margaret. Elizabeth of York and Lady Margaret did have a special bond as it was Lady Margaret who negotiated Elizabeth’s marriage to Henry, the two women were barely separated on the day in which Elizabeth was crowned, and in 1488 the two women were given liveries of the Order of the Garter together, but this bond does not appear to have been shared over a love of books.44

Elizabeth of York and Lady Margaret share one other book in common: Walter Hilton’s *Scala perfectionis* of 1494.45 This is a piece of devotional literature which has been connected to the mystical tradition of the late Middle Ages, and was reprinted three more times in 1507, 1525, and 1533.46 *Scala* does not appear to be related to *Imitatio Christi*, but both books were incredibly influential devotionals, with *Imitatio* being the most-read Christian devotional book next to the Bible. Of the 17 extant copies of the 1494 edition, three belonged to laywomen and three belonged to nuns, showing the interest of women who were able to read in devotional works.47 Hilton had written an ordinance for private worship in the late fourteenth century, which must have appealed to Lady Margaret, as she then asked Wynkyn de Worde to print *Scala* in 1494. In 1507, Lady Margaret bought another edition of *Scala*, which also included Hilton’s earlier work.48 The colophon of *Scala Perfectionis* is a rhyme by de Worde that only mentions that it was commanded by Lady Margaret.49

According to Keiser, de Worde’s printing of *Scala* was probably a beneficial professional move, as this was the first book that de Worde printed for her, and he probably did so without much worry over payment.50 Caxton had printed the only other two books dedicated to her, but died in 1492, and by 1494 de Worde had taken over his shop. This book was probably the beginning of a professional relationship between Lady Margaret and de Worde. However, there is a copy of *Scala perfectionis* which is now in the Yale University Library that has an inscription which was actually written by both Lady Margaret and Elizabeth of York.

I pray you pray for me
Elysabeth ye quene
This handwritten inscription was included in a presentation copy to Mary Roos. Roos was a lady of the queen, and between 1497 and 1503 she married Hugh Deny, a servant of Henry VII. This transaction of presenting books to close friends or other courtiers was not unusual and was the type of patronage work that a queen would naturally be engaged in. But it is odd that after 1494 Elizabeth of York is not associated with any other books. And, if she commissioned any other books, they have been lost since their printing, which is always a viable possibility.

These ten dedications to Lady Margaret Beaufort show not only her commitment to using the printing press for the spread of education and lay piety, but also how printers were eager to use their affiliations with Lady Margaret for their commercial benefit. Not all books dedicated to Lady Margaret had actual laudatory words for her, but in just mentioning her commission of or relationship to the book, the printers benefited their presses. Jones and Underwood note that “she was not simply a pious laywoman lending the London printers her name to grace the devotional works which left their presses.” This assessment seems correct. Lady Margaret was a politically astute woman who knew that as much as her name benefited the printers with whom she was mentioned, that her name would also insure purchases of books with proper liturgies and religious ideas. That her name meant popular success for devotional literature reflected her important status as both the king’s mother and an independent female. While the full story of Elizabeth of York is only now being explored, the six consorts of Henry VIII have received the opposite treatment.

The Six Wives of Henry VIII

The dedications to the six consorts of Henry VIII vary greatly, as does the subject matter of the books to which they are attached, ranging from devotional literature to needlework patterns. These books can be organized for better understanding into three categories: instructions for women, devotional works, and general instructions and philosophies. Devotional texts provide the bulk of these works and
it is easy to understand why. A large repercussion of Henry’s annulments and subsequent marriages was the ushering in of possibilities for evangelical theology. With Henry proclaimed Supreme Head of the Church of England in 1534, and the preferment of evangelical sympathizers, such as Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell, came greater acceptance of evangelical religious ideas. Even though Henry's and his wives’ religious commitments have never been clearly determined, the men who dedicated books to these wives clearly had ideas of the religion they thought the queens adhered to or that the men wanted them to adhere to, which is why with each succeeding queen the dedicated works, and the dedications themselves, became more evangelical in nature.\textsuperscript{57} Thus, the majority of books dedicated to Henry’s six consorts are devotional in nature.

Humanism, like religious reform, also had a great impact upon the books dedicated to the six wives. Maria Dowling notes that as humanism developed in the early sixteenth century, learning and reading for women became more acceptable. As such, the six wives made it fashionable for women to read, and dedicators to these women also furthered this idea. Dowling goes so far as to claim that Katherine of Aragon championed humanism to prepare Mary for the throne.\textsuperscript{58} Yet, Dowling is critical of the use of dedications in determining female interest in humanism, as the dedications may have been rhetorical and with so many books lost to posterity, for her it is impossible to make generalizations.\textsuperscript{59}

Not surprisingly, politics forced many printed book dedications to change over time or to be left out of later printed editions. The most basic reason for these changes was that Henry VIII was married six times. Dedicators attempted to use dedications to change politics, by first interceding with different consorts with different interests to get to the king. For example, in 1535 William Marshall dedicated his translation of \textit{The forme and maner of subvention or helping for pore people, deuysed and practived in the city of Hypres in Flanders}, a treatise on the poor relief that had been done in Ypres, to Anne Boleyn.\textsuperscript{60} Interestingly, a poor relief program was put in place in England the next year, which historian Eric Ives suspects was because Anne Boleyn passed the information to Henry VIII.\textsuperscript{61}

Dedicators even replaced the name of one queen with the name of another, much in the same way that initials of one queen were replaced with the initials of the next in royal emblems. It was possible that a book dedicated to one consort was printed many times through the sixteenth century, so with each new edition, the dedication reflected
the current wife. For example, Coverdale’s translation of the Bible in 1535 contained a dedication to Anne Boleyn. In the 1537 edition of the Coverdale Bible, “Queen Anne” was replaced with “Queen Jane,” with the rest of the dedication remaining the same. Yet in appealing to the king and his wife, Miles Coverdale was attempting to get his English Bible sanctioned and widely circulated in England. It did not work; Coverdale’s Bible was never royally approved, but the Great Bible (also prepared by Coverdale, but largely based upon William Tyndale’s English translation) was approved only a few years later, in 1539.

Some dedicators chose not to change the name of the queen, so dedications were left out of concurrent print editions, with the possibility of being added back to even later printed editions. Shifting dedications may have happened because of print house difficulties or differing printers simply leaving the dedication out to save paper, but primarily reflected the shifting political and religious situation of sixteenth-century England.

Juan Luis Vives’s dedication to Katherine of Aragon underwent many such changes in the nine English editions of The Instruction of a Christen Woman. Vives’s Instruction was written in Latin, as De institutione Foeminae Christianae, and first printed in Antwerp in 1524, with a dedicatory preface to Katherine of Aragon, a countrywoman of Vives’s. Instruction was translated into English by Richard Hyrde, a member of the household of Thomas More, and first published in England in 1529, including Vives’s original dedication and a new dedication by Hyrde. Vives’s dedication notes, “The preface of the moste famous clerke maister Lodovic Vives upon his boke called the Instruction of a Christen woman unto the moste gratious princes Katharine quene of Englande . . . And this worke most excellent and gratious quene, I offer unto you in lyke maner . . . bicause that you have ben both mayde, wife, wydowe, and wife agayne.” Katherine was qualified to take the advice prescribed by Vives in his book because in it he offered guidance specifically to maids, wives, and widows, and Katherine had experience being all three. Vives’s and Hyrde’s names appear on all editions, yet Hyrde’s preface is omitted from all editions after 1531, and all mention of Katherine as queen was removed, to reflect her demoted status after her annulment from Henry. In 1541, the word “queen” was reinserted in place of “princess” in Vives’s preface.

Instruction is often examined by scholars for its impact on sixteenth-century female education, specifically that of Mary
Lady Margaret Beaufort

Tudor. However, Katherine of Aragon commissioned Vives to write a specific tract for her daughter's education, *Epistolae duae de Ratione Studii Puerilis*. This was written approximately one year after *Instruction*. *Epistolae duae* is comprised of two letters, one for Mary Tudor and dedicated to Katherine of Aragon, and the other for Charles Mountjoy and dedicated to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, Charles's father. Vives's dedication to Katherine in *Epistolae duae* is much briefer than his dedication in *Instruction*. Instead of praising Katherine for her own learning and interest in humanism, Vives simply mentions that he has written a plan of study for Mary but that her actual tutor will be the man responsible for Mary's education.

Juan Luis Vives's *Instruction of a Christen Woman* is the most famous of the books that falls into the category of instructions for women, along with other such books as Erasmus's *Institution of Christian Marriage* and Roselin Eucharius's *Byrth of Mankynde*. Each of these works targets a female audience and provides guidance specifically for females in areas in which men felt that women needed men's advice, such as midwifery, marriage, and education. Though these works form the smallest category, next to general instructions and devotional works, they speak not only to the *querelle des femmes* that was taking place in Europe generally, but also to three very specific events in England: the possible succession of Mary as queen, the queen's primary duty to produce heirs, and the place and ideology of matrimony.

The second category, devotional works, includes the majority of books dedicated to the wives of Henry VIII. Yet within this devotional literature, the topics vary greatly. As expected, when Katherine of Aragon was queen, the devotional works were orthodox and argued directly against Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon. Alphonsus de Villa Sancta, a Spanish observant and Katherine's confessor, wrote two tracts defending against reform that were dedicated to Katherine. Both printed in 1523 by Pynson, the first was *Problema indulgentiarum, quo Lutheri errata dissolventur, et theologorum de eisdem opinionibus hactenus apud eruditos vulgata astruitur*, followed by *De libero arbitrio aduersus Melanchtonem*. Similar in nature to Henry's publication against Luther, *Assertio septum sacramentarum*, these identify Katherine as an active participant against heresy and reform. In the dedications, Villa Sancta names Katherine, *fidei Defensatrix*, Defendrix of the Faith, mimicking the title that Henry was given by the pope, Defender of the Faith, after writing *Assertio*.  

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The devotional works dedicated to the five wives after Katherine of Aragon took on a much more evangelical flair. In 1535, Anne Boleyn was the joint recipient of Miles Coverdale’s English translation of the Bible, as mentioned above. In 1536 she also received Tristram Revel’s translation of Frances Lambert’s *The summe of christianitie gatheredyd out almoستe of al placis of scripture*. In his dedication Revel called upon Anne to have Henry direct the bishops to teach grace and to lead Henry to become a true champion of the true church and to act against “the church of the Antychryste, the men of synne, the Pope, and his sects.” However, Revel’s translation proved to be too evangelical, as Anne Boleyn refused to sponsor it. In a deposition, Revel admitted to giving his translation to William Latimer, the queen’s chaplain, to show Anne, as well as to the Archbishop of Canterbury’s brother, who gave it to the Archbishop, who then gave it to Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester to read and examine. Worcester noted that in two or three points it was extremely evangelical. Later, Anne Boleyn denied its sponsorship.

Following Anne Boleyn, Anne of Cleves received a dedication in *The Pomaunder of Prayer*, written by Thomas Becon in 1553 but not published until 1558, the year after Anne died. Addressed to “the moste honorable and vertuous Lady Anne of Cleve,” it exhorts Anne to remember to pray and give thanks to God, while in the body of the text were many prayers in English. *Pomaunder* was printed in at least six editions, 1558, 1560, 1561, 1563, 1565, and 1578, but the dedication was not present in the 1560 and 1578 editions. In the case of the 1560 edition held by the British Library, the dedication pages are most likely missing, while for the 1578 edition, there is only an exhortation to the Christian reader, as Anne had passed away in 1557 and Becon in 1567.

Two devotional books dedicated to Henry’s final wife, Katherine Parr, were also evangelical in nature, even though Mary Tudor was involved in the translation of one of them. One devotional work dedicated to Katherine Parr was Anthony Cope’s *A godly meditacion vpon. xx. select and chosen Psalmes of the prophet Dauid as wel necessary to al them that are desirous to haue ye darke wordes of the prophet declared and made playn: as also fruitfull to suche as delyte in the contemplatio[n] of the spiritual meanyng of them*. Printed in 1547, yet after the death of Henry VIII, this collection of prayers is evangelical in nature, as Cope was a devout Protestant and one of Katherine’s chamberlains. The other, *The first tome or volume of the paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the newe testament*, translated in part by Nicholas Udall, was dedicated to
both Edward VI and Katherine Parr, as it was printed in 1548, when Katherine was no longer queen. Katherine Parr received a dedication before the gospel of Saint John, which is fitting, as Mary Tudor was the translator of this gospel, at Katherine’s request. Mary Tudor was unable to complete the entire translation, but she did complete a majority of the work. Katherine Parr also received the dedication of the manuscript translation of Marguerite of Navarre’s *Mirror of the Sinful Soul* from her other stepdaughter, Elizabeth, as a New Year’s gift in 1545, when Elizabeth was only eleven years old. In the dedication, Elizabeth acknowledged women have sinful souls and only through the grace of God can be saved.

The final category of books, general instructions and philosophies, encompasses the remainder of the books dedicated to Henry’s wives. Ranging from a French textbook dedicated to both Anne Boleyn and Mary Tudor, to William Marshall’s plan for poor relief, to a needlework pattern book, to a general defense of women, these books were not necessarily geared for a female audience. Giles Duwes’s French textbook was written specifically for Princess Mary, but had a wider circulation than Mary, since it was printed. It will be discussed in detail in chapter 3. John Taylor’s work, *The needles excellency a new booke wherein are diuerse admirable works wrought with the needle*, was not contemporary to the queens and was printed in many editions in the seventeenth century. Not exactly dedicated to Katherine of Aragon, his work examined many pieces of embroidery by famous English women, about each of whom, Katherine of Aragon, Mary Tudor, and Elizabeth, he wrote a small poem. Sir Thomas Elyot’s *Defence of Good Women* was dedicated to Anne of Cleves in 1540 and was written for a male audience on the merits of women and the benefit of teaching women. Elyot will be discussed further below. William Marshall’s translation on a treatise on poor relief was already mentioned above.

Though the subject matter of the books dedicated to the wives of Henry VIII varies greatly, they illuminate some of the most important political changes and concerns of the Henrician period. In line with the *querelle des femmes*, some of these books were directed at women and their place in learning. Reflecting the great religious changes taking place in England, many of the dedicated books were devotional in nature and keyed into the religious leaning of each queen, being traditional for Katherine of Aragon and evangelical for Anne Boleyn and Katherine Parr. More specifically, Katherine of Aragon understood English and French rudimentarily, but was well
versed in Latin, so she would have understood any books dedicated to her in Latin about religion. Anne Boleyn was fluent in both English and French and her books highlight her preference for France and religious reform. Even Henry’s own book collection transformed over time, reflecting his changing views. A few books dedicated to his wives were meant for a general audience, and these typically praised the virtue and learning of women, as able creatures to receive education and even influence the men around them. Now it is time to turn to a discussion of the printers of these works to see how they fit into the political scene, where their sympathies were, and what other types of works they were printing.

The printers of the books dedicated to the wives of Henry VIII vary just as much as the subject matter of the books. Yet, the intersection of these printers and the dedications is very revealing of what was sanctioned by the King and what was done simply for patronage. The books dedicated to the wives of Henry VIII were printed by both royally sanctioned printers (e.g., the King’s Printer) and independent printers. Of the 17 books dedicated to the six queens, six were printed by the king’s printers. All of these save one were books dedicated to Katherine of Aragon, meaning that five of the eight books dedicated to Katherine of Aragon were printed by royal printers.

Richard Pynson, the second printer to hold the title of King’s Printer, was responsible for four books dedicated to Katherine of Aragon, three related to traditional religion and one that was a translation of Plutarch. The three religious works most likely were part of Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey’s press campaign to advance Catholic interests against Martin Luther and promote a holy war against France. Katherine’s confessor, Aphonsus de Villa Sancta, wrote two of the religious works in 1523, one against Luther and the other against Melanchthon, as mentioned above. The other religious book printed by Pynson, circa 1515, was written by Franciscan Gilbert Nicolai. Tractatus de tribus ordinibus beatissime virginis dei genitricis Marie only exists in one copy in La Biblioteca Columbina, Seville. This work is not very well known because of its rarity. Gilbert Nicolai is more well known for having written “The Rule of the Ten Virtues of the Beastissime Virginis Mariae,” the rule under which Joan de Valois, Queen of France and Duchess of Berry, established a nunnery dedicated to the contemplation of the Virgin Mary. The work Nicolai dedicated to Katherine of Aragon coincided with the approval of the second edition of Nicolai’s rule,
which he wrote in the hopes of uniting the Order of the Annunciade with the Conceptionist Sisters, an effort that ultimately failed. But this does not explain why this was published in London, as the rest of his works were printed on the continent, or why he even chose to dedicate it to Katherine. Most likely, Nicolai was trying to either spread the order to England or have one of England’s nunneries join with it. As the Annunciade is based out of Poland now, there are few western European sources that even mention Gilbert Nicolai apart from noting that he was Joan’s confessor.

The nonreligious book printed by Pynson and dedicated to Katherine of Aragon was Thomas Wyatt’s translation of Plutarch’s *Quyete of Mynde*. According to James Carley, Katherine originally asked Wyatt to translate Petrarch’s *De remediis utrusque fortunae* out of Castilian into English. But, due to the changing political scene, Wyatt instead presented her, on New Year’s Day 1528, with Plutarch’s *De tranquillitate et securitate animi*, as this book encouraged “passive acceptance,” and it was hoped that Katherine would quietly accept an annulment. But she did not and Katherine disapproved of the book.91 In his dedication, Wyatt himself claimed that Petrarch’s work was “tedious,” which is why he changed subjects.92 But, as one scholar has noted, both works emphasized that Fate cannot be avoided and that his translation of Plutarch helped to solidify Wyatt’s reputation as an English humanist.93 Pynson, then, printed works that supported religion and queenly obedience within England. Though early in his career he printed some evangelical humanist works, such as a sermon by Savanarola, Pynson for the most part printed texts that supported and solidified traditional religion and Henry’s authority.94

Thomas Berthelet was the other King’s Printer responsible for books dedicated to the queens. He printed Juan Luis Vives’s *Institution of a Christen Woman* and Sir Thomas Elyot’s *Defense of Good Women*. Berthelet was appointed King’s Printer in 1530, approximately one year after Richard Pynson’s death, and kept the post until Henry’s death in 1547.95 According to EEBO, approximately 200 titles can be attributed to Berthelet, albeit some are editions that were reprinted after his death and many were royal proclamations. As many of the books dedicated to Henry’s latter five wives were more radical in nature, it is not surprising that Berthelet did not print them; he was generally conservative.

Anne of Cleves was the dedicatee of Sir Thomas Elyot’s *Defence of Good Women*. Elyot was a clerk of the Privy Chamber who in September 1531 was named ambassador to Charles V, so that he
could explore Charles's feelings regarding Henry and Katherine's marriage. Elyot was a known sympathizer of Katherine's, and as such he was recalled to England in January 1532 to be replaced as ambassador by Thomas Cranmer, a man more sympathetic to the annulment and who it was thought would attempt to push Charles in the same direction. Upon his return to England in 1532, Elyot had a frank conversation with the king in which he cited his position of the annulment not being good for England, and was soon relieved of his post. Being distressed by the annulment and no longer in favor with Henry, Elyot lost his public office and retired to his home in Cambridgeshire to work on scholarly activities. He went so far as to feed imperial ambassador Eustache Chapuys information to send to the Emperor about the unhappy state of England without Katherine as queen in 1533 and 1534. Greg Walker claims that it was not so much Elyot's dislike of the treatment of Katherine as it was his dislike of the consequences of the annulment that caused Elyot to speak out against it for over a decade. Elyot's concern was that Henry VIII was placing himself above the good of the commonweal in divorcing Katherine and marrying Anne Boleyn, thereby acting like a tyrant. Both Anne's and Katherine's deaths in 1536, however, allowed Elyot to write more freely against Henry's actions toward Katherine, as works supporting Katherine would not have been as directly subversive.

Elyot wrote *Defence of Good Women* sometime between 1531 and 1538, with the first printing done in 1540 by Berthelet. The only extant copy of the 1540 edition is held in the Huntington Library and was often missed by scholars of Elyot, such as Foster Watson, who cite the 1545 edition as its only early modern printing. When Watson published excerpts of Elyot's *Defence* for the first time since 1545, he identified it as the first English attempt at a Platonic dialogue, which has since been refuted, and as a reference to the discarded Queen Katherine of Aragon. It does resemble a Platonic dialogue in that it takes the format of a debate between Caninius and Candidius over the goodness of women. Caninius views women as inferior creatures, while Candidus views womankind as prudent and reasonable. To support this view, Candidus extols the virtues of many wise women from antiquity, most notably, Queen Zenobia. Zenobia was a Syrian queen in the third century AD, who led a revolt against the Roman Empire. She was Queen of Egypt until 274, at which time she was captured and taken to Rome as a hostage, where she lost her title of queen and died as a prisoner of the Emperor. By the end of the dialogue, Caninius shares the view of Candidus.
Watson’s second claim, of the similarities between Queen Zenobia and Katherine of Aragon, was echoed by Stanford Lehmberg. Though Lehmberg does not agree with most of Watson’s findings, he finds even more similarities between the queens than does Watson. First, Elyot identifies Queen Zenobia’s home as Surry, rather than Syria, which could be reference to Surrey, where Katherine of Aragon was removed to Richmond Palace in 1530 by Henry VIII. Second, like Katherine, Zenobia was educated and gave her children the opportunity for education. Third, both queens were not married to their respective kings until the age of 23. And finally, during the times of their captivities, both Zenobia and Katherine found solace in their learning, Zenobia in moral philosophy and Katherine in religion. Greg Walker concurs that Elyot deliberately enhanced the character of Queen Zenobia to align with Katherine of Aragon, more so than the historical queen already did.

As many similarities between Katherine of Aragon and Queen Zenobia have been drawn, there is also a similarity between Anne of Cleves and Zenobia, which warrants Anne’s comparison to her. Like Zenobia, Anne of Cleves was an anti-imperial queen, married as part of Thomas Cromwell’s attempted alliance with the Lutheran princes of the Holy Roman Empire. Even though this is minor in comparison to all of the similarities between Katherine and Zenobia, it shows how one book could be adapted and dedicated to support many causes at different times.

Constance Jordan furthers Watson’s findings in her 1986 article, “Feminism and the Humanists: The Case for Sir Thomas Elyot’s Defence of Good Women.” In it, she offers a hypothesis as to why Elyot would have written a disguised defense of Katherine of Aragon nearly four years after her death. She speculates that the Defence was really written for an audience of those disaffected with Henry VIII and his new queen, Anne Boleyn, in approximately 1533, because it reads stylistically like some of his other work around 1533. The frontispiece of both the 1540 and 1545 editions has the date 1534 within the wood cut, which could serve as further evidence for an earlier, now missing, edition. For Jordan, Defence was really an apology for Katherine as regent and could have been written for her eyes.

Yet, Jordan has missed one piece of evidence that nullifies the possibility of an earlier printed edition, although Elyot’s text may have been written as early as 1533. In the Privy Purse expenses of Princess Mary, there is a payment to Thomas Elyot of five shillings in January 1540. This is the only time that he is mentioned in her
expense accounts. This payment most likely is related to the *Defence of Good Women* because Elyot probably gave Mary a copy as a New Years’ gift. Mary could have given Elyot this payment because she was aware that *Defence* was meant to contain veiled illusions to her mother. There is no reason for Mary to have rewarded Elyot for his book if it was initially printed six or seven years earlier. Besides, the 1540 edition contains a dedication to Anne of Cleves, diverting any attention from Katherine of Aragon to Anne. According to Watson, in Elyot’s preface to his *Image of Governance* he says “My little book called the Defense of Good Women, not only confoundeth villainous report, but also teacheth good wives to know well their duties.” In the same preface he says that his *Dictionary* is not yet ready, which he completed in 1538, which means that *Defence* was written before 1538, but there is no evidence explaining exactly when.¹¹¹

Thomas Berthelet was the King’s Printer at the time of the printings of all of Elyot’s editions. It seems odd that Berthelet would print a work so obviously meant to be support for Katherine of Aragon, particularly if its first edition really was 1533 of 1534. J. Christopher Warner provides an explanation for this. He argues that books published by Berthelet represented Henry VIII as a philosopher king, a learned ruler who listened to wise council, thus allowing philosophical inquiry into the king’s actions.¹¹² However, Warner’s argument seems somewhat improbable as Henry was not usually a king who accepted criticism graciously.

The dedicatory preface by Sir Thomas Elyot mainly describes his dialogue, but also praises Anne of Cleves’s grace and virtue, noting that Elyot hoped his text would “be receyved thankfully and joyously of al good women in this your noble realme, who by the onely example of your excellent majestie, maye be alway desyreous to imbrace vertue and gentylnesse, wherin consisteth verye nobilitie.”¹¹³ This dedicatory preface only exists in the 1540 printing. It is dedicated to Anne of Cleves, as she was the current queen in 1540, though not for long. Her marriage to Henry VIII lasted from only January 6, 1540 to July 9, 1540, at which time their marriage was annulled and Anne of Cleves became the “King’s Sister.” Elyot was one of the gentlemen appointed to receive Anne of Cleves in 1540, which is probably why he dedicated this work to her. It was probably a present of some sort that he gave to her on her entrance into England or as a wedding gift.

The 1545 edition has no dedicatory preface, which is odd, as Katherine Parr was the current wife of Henry VIII. She herself was
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educated and regarded as virtuous, but the dedication was not made. Katherine Parr’s exclusion from a dedication may have reflected her weakening power at court, as her zealous evangelical position worried many conservatives, who in early 1546 plotted to remove her as queen. The plot was unsuccessful, and Henry forgave Katherine once she promised to be more obedient, but with Henry’s temper growing short, Berthelet could have simply not included a dedication to any queen so as not to anger Henry.

Elyot’s dedication appears very similar in content to that of Vives and Hyrde for Instruction. Like Vives, Elyot chose to write a book like this about women so as to promote virtue among women, for there were texts (unmentioned) like this in other languages, but English women needed to be able to read about virtue in their own tongue. Like Hyrde, Elyot noticed that men often rebuke women for their shortcomings, but do not teach them any differently. But unlike Vives and Hyrde, Elyot wrote his treatise to defend women against bad words. His dedication goes beyond just saying that women need to be taught, but defended why they need to be taught. Elyot pleaded for Anne to accept his treatise and allow it to be printed so that other women can read it as well, for they need to know that they are worthy of education and defense. Elyot concluded with more praise for Anne, to reinforce that he is writing this because of Anne’s great example (and so as to ask covertly for patronage).

Besides the questionable date of when Elyot’s text was written, this dedication leaves an unanswered question. Was this dedication made and printed in the first six months of 1540, perhaps as a wedding present to Anne of Cleves? Or, was it dedicated and printed in the last six months of 1540, perhaps as a message defending Anne of Cleves, who was Henry VIII’s second wife whom he annulled and simply put in a different palace in England so that he did not have to face her anymore? Since it refers to “Queen Anne,” rather than “Lady Anne,” change evident in another book dedicated to her, the former is probably true. Again, this dedication is reflective of the political situation in which it was written. It was most likely written in a brief window in which Anne of Cleves was queen, but not included in the subsequent 1545 edition. So, as wives changed, so did dedications.

No matter when it was first dedicated or printed, one cannot escape the political message being delivered by Defence of Good Women. Elyot did not like when a man rebuked a woman for no reason, other than because he thought that as a man he is her superior. Elyot set out to write a treatise that defended virtuous women and taught gentlemen
not to rebuke women for no reason, but to listen to them and respect them. Clearly this was a commentary on the marital situation of Henry VIII, supporting one, if not both, of Henry VIII’s deposed queens. Henry rebuked one virtuous queen, Katherine of Aragon, for not producing a son, and another virtuous queen for not being attractive enough. For Elyot, neither of these reasons was sufficient to annul a marriage. Thomas Berthelet must have held similar opinions, as he printed all of Elyot’s books between 1530 and 1545.

Of the eleven books not printed by the King’s Printers, these can be attributed to ten different printers. Robert Redman printed Tristram Revel’s translation of the *The summe christianitie gatheryd out almoste of al placis of scripture*, a reformist text. Redman himself was most likely reformist in nature and was a major print competitor to both Pynson and Berthelet. Redman used the same sign as Pynson and upon Pynson’s death, moved into his print shop. John Day, another reformer, printed Thomas Becon’s *A pomaunder of prayer* and Sir Anthony Cope’s *A godly meditation on select and chosen psalms*. Thomas Godfray printed one book sanctioned by King Henry VIII, Giles Duwes’s *An introductory to learn to rede, to pronounce, and to speak French*, Mary’s French textbook, and the one book rejected by Anne Boleyn, William Marshall’s text on poor relief in Ypres. Richard Faques was a near relation of William Faques, King’s Printer from 1503 to 1508, the first man to hold the title, and succeeded William’s shop upon his death. Faques printed the first book dedicated to Katherine of Aragon, *Salute Corporis*, which contained William of Saliceto’s *Salute Corporis* as well as excerpts from other texts. It was dedicated jointly to Henry and Katherine in 1509 and is generally considered to be a wedding present for the couple, as its printing was financed by Petrus de Champaigne, Squire to the Body to the king. Edwards and Meale note that this commission paid dividends for Champaigne, as he was later rewarded by the king.

As there is not much known about any of these printers or the others who printed the remaining books dedicated to the wives, it is difficult to deduce common patterns linking print culture and dedications. Generally, the books dedicated to the later five wives were more evangelical in nature, which probably explains why they were not printed by the King’s Printers. For men trying to get reformist texts to the queens, it would have been much easier to have them printed by anyone on Fleet Street than first get the text approved by the king. This way, the evangelical books did not have to agree with the image of the king, yet could still be allowed to be printed
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and distributed. It just would have been too difficult to try to have the King’s Printer print something that Henry may not have agreed with, but there would have been many other printers who would have happily printed books meant for the eyes of the king and queens, just to compete with the King’s Printer.

Yet, during Henry’s reign, there were strict regulations regarding the printing of religious material. As early as 1407, statues were put in place that allowed the Bishop of London to prosecute heretical books.\(^{119}\) Later, in 1524, Bishop Tunstall issued a warning against importing books that supported Lutheran heresies and declared that they must first be shown to either “the Lord Cardinal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, or the Bishop of Rochester.”\(^{120}\) Other statutes were passed in the 1530s and 1540s that allowed confiscation of texts that did not conform to the Henrician religious settlement.\(^{121}\) While Mary was queen she also made three proclamations which ordered punishments for seditious and unlicensed bills and books.\(^{122}\) For example, in 1554, Mary made provision “that none evil books shall either be printed bought or sold without just punishment.”\(^{123}\)

One such regulated book was Erasmus’s *Institution of Christian Matrimony*. First printed in Latin in Basel in 1526 as *Christiani matrimonii institution*, it was dedicated to Katherine of Aragon and praised her marriage to Henry as a model marriage. It also mentioned Mary as a girl who was following in her mother’s footsteps of virtue, learning, and someday, queenship. This work fit into the large debate over the sacramental status of marriage taking place all over Europe. As I have argued elsewhere, it was never printed in England or in English because it was too dangerous to print for Henry VIII.\(^{124}\) By the time an English translation or printing could have been undertaken, it would have been too controversial, as Henry was just beginning his quest for annulment from Katherine. It was even placed on the Catholic Church’s Index of Forbidden Books in 1559 because of its evangelical overtones. *Institution* was not quite as evangelical as many of the books dedicated to Henry’s latter five wives, but nonetheless, it is an example of a text that did not concur with royal approval.

**Conclusion**

Dedications to the six consorts of Henry VIII were much different than those to Lady Margaret Beaufort. Those to Lady Margaret were done generally for commercial purposes, just briefly noting their
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connection to her in a colophon. Those to the six queens consort were all actual dedications that praised their patron and pleaded for patronage. They were more concerned with praising the virtues of the queens and appealing to their interests in hopes that the queens would then make appeals on their behalf to the king. Also unlike those to Lady Margaret, these dedications more explicitly show the patronage and power of the Tudor queens at court, as they reflect specific changing religious and political ideas that were influencing the Tudor court. Yet, the dedications to the six consorts still added authority and commercial appeal to books. The dedications to Lady Margaret and the six wives laid the groundwork for how to dedicate printed works to queens. They were not quite the same types of books and subject matter as were those to Mary, but they certainly influenced Mary, particularly with their emphasis on humanism and religious devotion. Many of them even mention Mary or focus on political situations involving Mary. The next chapter will explore the dedications that Mary received at this same time, while she was both princess and lady.
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