

## What Wyatt really did to Aretino's Sette Salmi

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INTRODUCTION: CATHOLIC/PROTESTANT=MEDIEVAL/EARLY MODERN?

I have of course, in the spirit of *imitatio*, borrowed the title of my article from C. S. Lewis's essay 'What Chaucer Really Did to *Il Filostrato*'. Lewis famously claimed that Chaucer 'medievalized' Boccaccio's proto-Renaissance poem, as 'Boccaccio [...] wrote for an audience who were beginning to look at poetry in our own way' whereas 'Chaucer wrote for an audience who still looked at poetry in the medieval fashion – a fashion for which the real literary units were "matters", "stories", and the like, rather than individual authors.'<sup>1</sup> This alleged process is an inversion of what a number of commentators have claimed for Wyatt's translation of Pietro Aretino's prose paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms – that is, that Wyatt's translation is a Protestant reforming of Aretino's paraphrase, which is part of a long-established Catholic tradition of rewriting the seven psalms.

For example, Harold Mason claims that 'we can see in what spirit Wyatt handled Aretino. There is no doubt that a full and faithful translation of Aretino would seem to us a sickening performance, offensive alike to literary and religious taste.'<sup>2</sup> What exactly is meant by 'religious taste' is not clear, but Mason does confirm that Wyatt 'avoids all that is characteristic of the Catholic account'.<sup>3</sup> R. A. Rebholz judiciously translates Mason's 'sickening performance' when he says that Wyatt 'draws away from Aretino partly because of the Italian's verbosity', which is undoubtedly true. Following Mason, Rebholz claims that 'Wyatt departs from Aretino in order [...] to create a shape for the whole work that presents a Reformed Christian's view of the individual's experience of redemption rather than a Roman Catholic's', clarifying the former by arguing that Wyatt attempts

to make David the type of Reformed Christian who experiences the genuinely profound, almost despairing sense of his sinfulness only once before the critical act of believing that God forgives him, justifies him by imputing righteousness to him, loves him, and will make him holy.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. S. Lewis, 'What Chaucer Really Did to *Il Filostrato*', in Sheila Sullivan (ed.), *Critics on Chaucer* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), 78–87 (at 78).

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Mason, *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

<sup>4</sup> R. A. Rebholz (ed.), *Sir Thomas Wyatt: The Complete Poems* (1978; London: Penguin, 1988), 454. Rebholz's account, interestingly, echoes the spiritual crisis of the Venetian humanist (and later Cardinal) Gasparo Contarini just as much as it does Luther. See Elizabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome and Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 13–18. As Anne Overell notes, 'Contarini was not alone with

Indeed, Wyatt's David proclaims in the *De profundis* (Ps. 130:4–5) that because 'in thi hand is m[er]cys resedence/By hope whe[re]off thou dost our hertes move;/I in the, lord, have set *my confydence*' (681–3, emphasis added).<sup>5</sup> Yet Aretino also enacts the movement from despair to assured hope in his extended paraphrase of the same lines:

sempre sperai in lui, e sempre *mi co[n]fidai* ne lo ammendarmi [. . .]. E p[er]che io so senza alcun dubbio di hauere a trovare pace seco . . . voglio rallegrarmi in me[z]zo e la mia tristitia (emphasis added).  
[always I will have hope in him, and always have confidence in his amendment of me [. . .] And because I know, without any doubt, that I will find peace with him [. . .] I will rejoice even in the midst of my tears.]<sup>6</sup>

Does this make Aretino a Reformed Christian? Or are both authors responding to the soteriology of the sequence itself? Stephen Greenblatt's reading of the sequence points us towards an answer to the second question, following which I will turn to the first.

Greenblatt, echoing Mason and Rebholz, claims that 'Wyatt captures the authentic voice of early English Protestantism, its mingled humility and militancy, its desire to submit without intermediary directly to God's will, and above all its inwardness.'<sup>7</sup> However, he adds a significant codicil: 'Though Wyatt gives it both a personal and markedly Protestant cast, the inwardness of the Penitential Psalms is by no means either his own innovation or the invention of the early sixteenth-century reformers. It is embedded in the poems themselves.'<sup>8</sup> The 'inwardness' which is the primary characteristic of Wyatt's allegedly

his anguish and the conclusion of his crisis left him inside the Church. That is where he and many Italian reformers remained.' See *Italian Reform and English Reformations c. 1535–c. 1585* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 18.

<sup>5</sup> For Wyatt's Penitential Psalms I use Kenneth Muir and Patricia Thomson (eds.), *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1969), 98–125 (hereafter MT), using the line numbers therein. When necessary I amend MT in accordance with BL MS Egerton 2711. The numbering of the psalms in Egerton follows the Hebrew Masoretic, rather than the Vulgate, so I have done the same. However, as Chris Stamatakis (following Harrier) notes, the numbering of Psalms 102 and 130 was added by a later hand – that of Sir John Harington the Younger, of *Orlando furioso* fame, who added his own version of the Penitential Psalms later into Egerton (ff. 104r–107r). See *Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Rhetoric of Rewriting: 'Turning the Word'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 93. Psalm 130 had been numbered by Harington as Psalm 129 (f. 97r) before he corrected himself. Significantly, Wyatt's sequence was first published by John Hereford for John Harington the Elder in 1549. On the *Certayne Psalmes* see Clare Costley-King'oo, 'Rightful Penitence and the Publication of Wyatt's *Certayne Psalmes*', in Linda Austern, Kari McBride, and David Orvis (eds.), *Psalms in the Early Modern World* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 155–74, and David R. Carlson, 'Manuscripts after Printing: Affinity, Dissent and Display in the Texts of Wyatt's Psalms', in Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Pres-tige, Authority, and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000), 171–88.

<sup>6</sup> MT note that 'W conflates the two verses of the Bible and freely elaborates them, without any obvious reference to Aretino's paraphrase' (387), but Wyatt's 'confydence' clearly is owing to Aretino's 'co[n]fidai'. I have used the 1539 reprint of the 1534 paraphrase throughout. See Pietro Aretino, *I sette salmi della penitentie di David* (Venice: F. Marcolini, 1539), sig. E8v.

<sup>7</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 115.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

evangelized Penitential Psalms is found inwardly, as always-already within the sequence, which had been a mainstay of the medieval Church.<sup>9</sup> Even Mason notes that 'Wyatt had a detailed exposition before him in Fisher of the stages of penance.'<sup>10</sup> Wyatt's reformation of Aretino's text must then take place at the basic verbal level. The verbosity Rebholz notes, which Mason found 'sickening', is – according to this critical tradition – to be torn away in a linguistic corollary to the stripping of the altars (to use Duffy's phrase), as Thomas Greene argues: 'This suppression of ornament and [...] imagistic asceticism, is essential to Wyatt's language because it strips the word of its aesthetic pretentiousness and leaves it as a naked gauge of integrity.'<sup>11</sup> This argument is on safer ground, although Wyatt's sparseness is a characteristic of his overall poetic output – we find it for example in his divestment of Petrarch's rich *integumenta* – and not an exclusive characteristic of his translation of the psalms.

Through this critical accumulation we become aware of the shortcomings of the 'Protestant Poetics' narrative that has become the mainstay of commentary upon Wyatt's sequence.<sup>12</sup> It is a narrative underpinned by a periodization that privileges the early modern at the expense of a denigrated Middle Ages by means of a Protestant/Catholic dividing line that was still blurred in the mid 1530s. As we shall see when discussing Aretino's doctrinal position, the distinction between 'Reformed Christian' and 'Roman Catholic' is a false dichotomy – Aretino was a Catholic in favour of reforming the Church, who associated with leading Italian reformers or *spirituali*, as they would come to be known after 1540. As Anne Overell very sensibly notes, '[e]arly contact with the ideas of Luther (from about 1520) did not make Italian reformers into "protestants". Later generations have used this confessional shorthand but it would have been meaningless to most contemporaries.' And whilst 'it is necessary to distinguish between reformers-who-became-protestants and reformers-who-remained-catholics' – a distinction which later, with qualification, helps to clarify the positions of Antonio Brucioli and Aretino, respectively – it is prudent 'to avoid using the words "catholic" and "protestant" for the period before 1550, on the grounds that these divisions had not come into existence.'<sup>13</sup> As such, I will use these terms only with reference to previous critical anachronism.

Yet the critical commonplace that in the Penitential Psalms 'Wyatt captures the authentic voice of early English Protestantism' stems in part from Wyatt

<sup>9</sup> There are far too many studies of the Penitential Psalms for me to list here, so I will mention a select few: Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalms Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), and Clare Costley-King'oo, *Miserere Mei: The Penitential Psalms in Late Medieval and Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University Press of Notre Dame, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> Mason, *Humanism and Poetry*, 213. I will return to Fisher's 1509 *Treatyse* shortly.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 256; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 – c. 1580*, 2nd edn. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992; repr. 2005).

<sup>12</sup> I have taken the phrase 'Protestant Poetics' from the title of Barbara Kiefer Lewalski's *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979).

<sup>13</sup> Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations*, 2.

himself. In the *Defence* which he composed in 1541 following allegations of treason made against him by Bishop Edmund Bonner and Dr Simon Heynes, as part of which Wyatt was accused of consorting with papists (not Catholics, note), he claimed that 'I thynke I shulde have more adoe with a great sorte in Englande to purge my selffe of suspecte of a Lutherane then of a Papyst.'<sup>14</sup> Wyatt was in fact known on occasion to fraternize with the evangelicals who frequented Queen Anne's court.<sup>15</sup> However, Wyatt's statement clearly shows that he aligns himself with neither extreme – his way is the *via media*, and in this he was entirely consonant with the equivocating doctrine of the inchoate English church.

The image of Wyatt as The Protestant Poet is also partly the responsibility of the Earl of Surrey. In an elegiac sonnet which was later added by Harington the Elder (it would seem) as a politically charged prohemium to the Penitential Psalms in Wyatt's partial holograph, the Egerton MS, Surrey claims Wyatt

dothe paynte the lyvely faythe and pure,  
The stedfast hoope, the swete returne to grace  
Of iust Dauyd by parfite penytence,  
Where Rewlers may se in a myrroure clere  
The bitter frewte of false concupiscense.<sup>16</sup>

However, against the critical tradition which is founded upon misprision of these two statements I recommend Rivkah Zim's point that whereas early modern imitation of classical texts emphasizes rupture and alterity, 'in the case of psalm versions we should emphasize rather familiarity and continuity-in-change. Despite the doctrinal upheavals of the period sixteenth-century readers and writers continued to participate in a long and relatively stable tradition of Christian devotion.'<sup>17</sup> Raymond Southall also tempers the 'Protestant Poetics' reading, arguing instead that 'In Wyatt, then, can be perceived that impulse which was forming itself into a movement of reformation and in his poetry is revealed something of that crisis of consciousness which must have had a catalytic effect upon the diverse elements of the new civilization which were appearing,' a view echoed by Susan Brigden in her recent biography of Wyatt.<sup>18</sup> The process of confessional division was not yet complete.

<sup>14</sup> The *Defence* appears in BL MS Harl. 78, fols. 7–15, and is transcribed in Kenneth Muir, *Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1963), 187–209 (at 195–6).

<sup>15</sup> See Susan Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt: The Heart's Forest* (London: Faber, 2012), 195–203.

<sup>16</sup> BL MS Egerton 2711, fol. 85v.

<sup>17</sup> Rivkah Zim, *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer 1535–1601* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; repr. 2010), p. 26. The rupture which begets imitation is of course the principle underpinning Greene's *Light in Troy*.

<sup>18</sup> See Southall, *The Courtly Maker* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964), 104, and Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*: 'Embarking on a journey in the dark, slowly he reveals his faith to himself. [...] Wyatt is pondering the doctrines at the heart of Reformation debates, and as he examines David's sin and seeming helplessness before divine grace, as he tries and tests each contested word, he is discovering his own belief as he writes' (451).

Indeed, so far was this division from being realized that many English reformers continued to look to Italy for doctrinal guidance rather than opposition.<sup>19</sup> Many of the seemingly evangelical elements in Wyatt's poem are to be found in his principal Italian source, Aretino's *I sette salmi de la penitentia di David* (1534), which is not as conservatively Catholic as certain commentators would like to think. If Chaucer medievalized Boccaccio (which I am not at all convinced he did), then Wyatt politicized Aretino, but – and it is a significant but – in doing so Wyatt was drawing on an established late medieval tradition in English rewritings of the Penitential Psalms, as Lynn Staley, amongst others, has pointed out, just as Wyatt's lyrics drew on the fourteenth-century politicized love elegy, as has been discussed by James Simpson.<sup>20</sup> Wyatt's sequence balances traditional and evangelical theology primarily because the embryonic English church did the same. Again, the clear distinction between Catholic Aretino and Protestant Wyatt is more indebted to a literary history which seeks to divorce early modern England from its medieval inheritance than it is to a radical break enacted by Wyatt's sequence. I argue here that Wyatt uses Aretino's paraphrase, and Antonio Brucioli's 1534 commentary – a source previously unidentified – to correct the doctrinal inconsistencies of the Ten Articles of 1536 and the Bishops' Book of the following year. Moreover, Wyatt's translation of Aretino and Brucioli is part of a wider, occasionally haphazard Tudor practice of collecting eclectic reformist doctrines in the 1530s.<sup>21</sup> The question of just how haphazard this particular instance was depends upon whether it was Wyatt's or Cromwell's decision to produce the translation.

#### WYATT, THE BISHOPS' BOOK AND DATING

In October 1537 Thomas Wriothesley responded to a letter he had received from Wyatt, who was then Henry VIII's resident ambassador at the court of Charles V. Wriothesley, in addition to upbraiding Wyatt jovially for persistently writing in cipher, adds that 'The Book of the Bishops I send not

<sup>19</sup> As Overell notes: 'If Italy seems an unlikely source of reform influence, that is because it *became* associated with reaction – but that was later, another story. Before 1550, English contemporaries found this brand of reform all the more interesting because it had developed in the Pope's back-garden and involved his most senior staff.' *Italian Reform and English Reformations*, 3–4.

<sup>20</sup> See Lynn Staley, 'The Penitential Psalms: Conversion and the Limits of Lordship', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37 (2007), 222–69; James Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, Oxford English Literary History Vol. 2: 1350–1547 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 121–90. See also of course Simpson's contribution to the present issue.

<sup>21</sup> As Overell argues, 'Tudor Englishmen [...] found doctrines and role models on a random basis, picking up ideas and contacts in the ordinary course of their reading and travels. Especially in the first half of the century, influences were extraordinarily eclectic and pan-European. Their variety imparted vibrant eccentricity, together with a capacity to experiment, absorb, discriminate and reconsider. Thus, all the various "borrowings" are important, especially those which historians overlook through hindsight.' *Italian Reform and English Reformations*, 3. It is my contention that Aretino's paraphrase and Brucioli's translation and commentary constitute just such overlooked borrowings, in terms of vernacular poetry's capacity to disseminate doctrine.

because the same shall be reformed, as it had need in many points.<sup>22</sup> The Bishops' Book is of course the formulary entitled *The Institution of a Christen Man*, which Henry had required in 1537 as a means of expounding the Ten Articles of 1536, and was partly a response to the Pilgrimage of Grace.<sup>23</sup> It was, as Wriothesley says, in need in many points. Its primary failing is its equivocation, which at times becomes outright self-contradiction. This contradiction stems from the fact that the bishops who composed the book were a mixture of older conservatives (such as Stokesley) and younger, more reform-minded theologians (such as Cranmer), not to mention that the king added his own amendments, which accorded with his traditionalist religious sympathies. As George Bernard argues, '[w]hat the king sought was a search for a middle way between Rome and Wittenberg, between Rome and Zurich.'<sup>24</sup> Theological contradiction thus constitutes the structural and rhetorical corollary to the eccentricity that characterized the sources of early Englished doctrine.

And so the Book contains evangelical statements which approach the Lutheran position of *sola fide*.

the penitente muste conceyue certayne hope and faithe, that god wyll forgyue hym his synnes, and repute hym iustified, and of the nombre of his electe chyl dren, not for the worthynes of any merite or worke done by the penitent, but for the onely merites of the blode and passion of our sayvour Jesu Christe.<sup>25</sup>

Yet such statements are undermined by those which depend upon a more traditional formulation of penance (such as that detailed by the recently executed Bishop Fisher in his 1509 *Treatyse*, discussed below):

although Chryste and his deathe be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompense, for the whiche god the father forgyueth and remytteth to all synners not onely theyr synnes, but also eternall payne due for the same: yet all men truely penitente, contrite, and confessed muste nedes also brynge forthe the frutes of penaunce, That is to saye, prayer, fastynge, and almes dede, with moche mournynge and lamentyng for theyr synnes before commytted. And they muste also make restitution or satisfaction in wyll and dede to theyr neyghbours, in suche thynges as they have done them woronge and iniurie in. And fynally they muste do all other good workes of

<sup>22</sup> BL MS Harl. 282, fol. 281, transcribed in G. F. Nott, *Works of Henry Howard Earl of Surrey and of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder*, 2 vols (London: T. Bensley, 1815–16), 422–3 (at 423); paraphrase included in J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie (eds.), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed., 21 vols in 33 (London, 1862–1910), XII(2), 871 (hereafter *LP*).

<sup>23</sup> See G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 475–90: 'in the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace, [Henry] once again sought to secure from the leading Churchmen a statement of true religion' (475).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 475.

<sup>25</sup> *The Institution of a Christen Man* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1537), sig. K1v.

mercy and charitie, and expresse theyr obediente wyll in the executyng and fulfillinge of goddis commaundment ovtwardely, whan tyme, power, and occasion shall be ministred vnto them, or elles they shall neuer be saued.<sup>26</sup>

'Good workes' are acts of contrition by any other name. Exactly why the penitent 'muste do all other good workes [...] or elles they shall neuer be saued' when 'the worthynes of any merite or worke done by the penitent' was previously confirmed as having no influence upon his or her salvation confirms Wriothesley's criticism. Wyatt needed to reform the reformers' book if his sequence was to adhere to official doctrine without tying itself in knots.

Wyatt evidently obtained a copy of the Bishops' Book somehow as one of the catchphrases of the treatise – echoed from the Ten Articles of the previous year – is 'grace and fauour', which finds its way into Wyatt's Penitential Psalms: 'Let Israell trust vnto the lord allway,/Ffor grace and fauour arn his propertie' (691–2).<sup>27</sup> The phrase, thought to be an English cognate of Machiavelli's 'grazia e concessione' was still a neologism, suggesting Wyatt's encountered it either via the Ten Articles or the Bishops' Book.<sup>28</sup>

It is my view that Wyatt had requested the Bishops' Book of Wriothesley as he was already planning on writing his Penitential Psalms. However, the contradictions within the Bishops' Book caused Wyatt some problems if he was to 'paynte the lyvely faythe and pure'. As such, Wyatt turned to the work of a reform-minded Catholic, Pietro Aretino, and one of the foremost Italian reformers, Antonio Brucioli, whose combined theology coincided with the mixture of tradition and reform which is the primary characteristic of the Bishops' Book, and by drawing on these Italian texts Wyatt was enabled to move beyond doctrinal contradiction towards a more consistent poetics of grace. Nobody has yet made the case for Brucioli's influence on Wyatt.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. K2r.

<sup>27</sup> For example: 'by baptisme they shal haue remyssion of all theyr synnes, the grace and fauour of god, and everlastyng lyfe' (sig. I3r); 'by the applyenge of Christis wordes and promyses of his grace and fauoure' (sig. K1v); 'For the absolution gyuen by the prieste was instituted by Christe, to applye the promyses of goddis grace and fauour to the penytente' (*Ibid.*).

<sup>28</sup> The phrase is thought to have entered the English language from cap. IV.1 of Machiavelli's *Il principe* (published 1532, but widely circulated in MS since 1513): 'per grazia e concessione'. See Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il principe (De principibus)*, ed. Brian Richardson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), 11. William Fowler's translation, which postdates Wyatt's sequence, uses the phrase 'grace and permission'. See Alexandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles: Two Early Modern Translations of The Prince* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 150.

<sup>29</sup> Wyatt's sources for the psalms are manifold; in his diverse doctrinal models he is very much of his time. In addition to the Latin Vulgate *Biblia Magna* (Lyons: J. Mareschal, 1525) and Aretino constituting his base texts, he also consulted the following: the *Enchiridion Psalmorum* of Johannes Campensis (Lyons: S. Gryphius, 1533), which also contains Ulrich Zwingli's paraphrase; the English translation of Campensis by Coverdale, *A paraphrasis upon all the Psalmes of Dauid* (London: T. Gybson, 1535); Bishop Fisher's *Treatyse concernyng . . . the seven penyencyall psalmes* (London: W. de Worde, 1509); Luther, *Enarratio psalmorum LI* (Strasbourg: C. Mylius, 1538); George Joye, *The Psalter of David in Englishe* (Antwerp: M. de Keyser, 1530) and Tommaso Vio, Cardinal Cajetan, *Psalmi Davidici* (Venice: L. Giunta, 1530).

Indeed, Aretino's own reading of Brucioli has been doubted by a leading contemporary Aretino scholar.<sup>30</sup>

However, before I attempt to determine what Wyatt did to Aretino's *sette salmi*, I should briefly mention the issue which has dogged so many studies of Wyatt's Psalms – the date of composition. Wyatt's request for the Bishops' Book whilst in embassy suggests, but does not confirm, that he began work on the sequence whilst in Spain. Wyatt's sequence would appear to have been influenced by the 1538 publication of Luther's paraphrase upon the Penitential Psalms – Luther's polyptoton, 'sum Justus et justificatus per justum et justificantem Christum' ('I am just and justified by a just and justifying Christ') is seemingly echoed by Wyatt's 'then forthwith justly able,/Just I am, jugd by justice off thy grace' (454–5).<sup>31</sup> Luther's line informs Southall's revised dating of Wyatt's sequence, as part of which he claims that the psalms were not composed directly into Egerton but transcribed from an earlier draft: 'Consequently, the composition of the Psalms could have begun as early as 1536, the echo of Luther's commentary being the result of a later emendation, with Wyatt returning to the task in earnest in 1540, which appears the most likely date of their entry in E.' However, the fact that Egerton had degraded from a fair-copy manuscript to a working manuscript into which poems were directly composed during the Imperial embassy somewhat undermines Southall's revised thesis, especially given the emendations made to those very lines which echo Luther. If we look at the lines in Egerton we can see that Wyatt has altered them in the process of inscription, which does not suggest the use of an initial draft:

then  
~~and~~ forthw<sup>t</sup> Iustly able  
 I ame  
 Iust to ~~be~~ Iugd/by Iustice off thy grace<sup>32</sup>

The substitution of the conjunction by the adverb speaks to the preceding clause 'by cawse y<sup>t</sup> whan/I pardond ame' (when/then). Likewise the replacement of the impersonal infinitive with 'I ame' accords with 'I pardoned ame' to

<sup>30</sup> See Paul Larivaille, *L'Aretin entre Renaissance et Maniérisme 1492–1537* (Lille: Université de Lille III, Service de Reproductions de Thèses, 1972), II, 1094–95, n. 110. Maria Palermo Concolato argues that 'if Brucioli did not provide the model, he surely must have given Aretino a prompt or a suggestion' ('se il Brucioli non gli fornì il modello, certamente dovette offrirgli uno stimolo o un suggerimento'). See 'Il viaggio del testo: I Salmi penitenziali dall'Aretino al Wyatt', in Maria Teresa Chialant and Eleonora Rao (eds.), *Per una topografia dell'Altrove: Spazi altri nell'immaginario letterario e culturale di lingua inglese* (Naples: Liguori, 1995), 399–412 (at 404).

<sup>31</sup> On the Lutheran claim see Mason, *Sir Thomas Wyatt: A Literary Portrait* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1986), 162–3. Mason here revises his earlier reading (which informed Greenblatt and Rebholz), in which he argued that the sequence was probably composed in 1536. Greg Walker notes that 'as Mason also pointed out, Wyatt comes closest to Luther's text precisely in those places where Luther relies most obviously upon those commentaries and translations that Wyatt himself was using,' which should dissuade us from jumping to Lutheran conclusions when reading Wyatt's sequence. See *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 367.

<sup>32</sup> BL MS Egerton 2711, fol. 93r.

create greater tonal unity and confidence in salvation through grace. The emendations here suggest composition, decisions being made in the process of writing, not transcription from foul papers.

The poems composed during the Imperial embassy appear between folios 62r to 70r in Egerton. On folio 65v appears a partial translation of Psalm 37, *Noli emulare*, in the hand of John Brereton (Egerton Hand D), who was part of Wyatt's ambassadorial family, and whose hand can also be observed in a letter of 23 June 1537 addressed to Wriothesley.<sup>33</sup> This psalm is not part of the penitential sequence but one of the Wisdom Psalms, yet, like the Penitential Psalms, its authorship is ascribed to King David. It seems more likely that Wyatt was inspired to take on the Penitential Psalms following the successful translation of Psalm 37 – if he was not 'inspired' by directives from above in the more secular sense – rather than undertaking the relatively slighter translation following his completion of the penitential sequence, which from the perspective of the ordering of Egerton alone seems very unlikely. The Penitential Psalms themselves were entered in a blank portion of the manuscript from fols. 86r–98v in Wyatt's own hand (Egerton Hand B). They are written in light brown ink until fol. 90v, then darken for a period, before returning to brown on fol. 97v. The brown ink-fade suggests the use of powdered ink such as one would use on board ship. The implication is, as Jason Powell convincingly argues, that 'Wyatt began paraphrasing the Penitential Psalms in Spain or before' and completed them subsequently.<sup>34</sup> The *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the sequence cannot be confirmed – they most likely began in embassy, but whether they were completed there remains to be seen. They might have been completed during Wyatt's second imprisonment in the Tower in 1541, but this is necessarily conjectural. This is not to say that the 1536 imprisonment did not play an important part in the decision to translate the Penitential Psalms, as the sequence was commonly used as a supplement to the ritual of penance.

#### WYATT, ARETINO AND THE BISHOPS' BOOK

The theory that the unambiguously Protestant Wyatt translated the unambiguously Catholic Aretino, aside from the anachronistic confessional division, is further complicated by the fact that Aretino had reformist sympathies and moved in reformist circles. His sympathies were in many ways inevitable given his experience of corruption in the Papal Court of Clement VII and also due to the situation in Venice, where the reformers clustered around the printers'

<sup>33</sup> I am indebted here to Jason Powell's superlative palaeographical work on Egerton 2711. See in particular 'Thomas Wyatt's Poetry in Embassy: Egerton 2711 and the Production of Literary Manuscripts Abroad', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67 (2004), 261–82.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 279.

shops – and Aretino's element was print.<sup>35</sup> Aretino's paraphrase appeared in November 1534. In May of that year Antonio Brucioli published *I Sacri Psalmi di David Distinti in cinque libri, Tradotti [...] in lingua Toscana, & con nuovo commento dichiarati*, which had been preceded by his 1531 edition of the psalms. Brucioli's commentaries, as Raymond Waddington has pointed out, were 'largely translations and paraphrases of Martin Bucer's and Marin Luther's commentaries'.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, Brucioli's vernacular Bible of 1532 became one of the most popular text amongst the *spirituali*. To indicate the bond between Brucioli and Aretino we need only point to the fact that Aretino was godfather to Brucioli's two sons.<sup>37</sup> Other members of Aretino's circle included Pier Paolo Vergerio, who was tried for heresy in 1546, fled to Geneva in 1549 and attempted to set up a Lutheran Church in Lithuania and Poland in the mid 1550s, and the preacher Bernardino Ochino, *quondam* tutor to the young Elizabeth I.<sup>38</sup> Aretino himself always condemned Luther, as we see below, but he also condemned Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa, who, despite being a member of the 1537 commission that produced the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* – a document that recommended reform of the Church – was a co-founder of the ascetic, conservative order known as the Theatines, and became one of the most notable *intransigenti*. He was one of the architects of the Roman Inquisition which was set up in 1542, and in 1555 became Pope Paul IV.<sup>39</sup> Thus Aretino, akin to Wyatt's shunning of both Lutheran and papist camps, occupied a median, reformist ground. In a letter to Brucioli of 7 November 1537, Aretino outlines his religious views. He inveighs against the corruption of friars and priests but also condemns the

<sup>35</sup> Aretino's activities in Rome ultimately resulted in his assassination being ordered by the papal datary Gian Matteo Giberti in July 1525. Aretino survived but was very severely wounded and upon his recovery left Rome in October 1525. Aretino is in need of an updated English biography. The most reliable extant version is Edward Hutton's *Pietro Aretino: The Scourge of Princes* (London: Constable, 1922) – on Aretino's Roman years under Clement VII see 57–83. However, it contains errors and shows its age. See Raymond Waddington's note on Aretino's biographies in *Aretino's Satyr: Sexuality, Satire and Self-projection in Sixteenth-century Literature and Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 160 n.8.

<sup>36</sup> Raymond B. Waddington, 'Pietro Aretino, Religious Writer', *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006), 277–92 (at 280). Brucioli's commentaries are thus co-extensive with reformist patchworks such as the influential *Beneficio di Cristo* (Venice, 1543), which was translated by Edward Courtenay into English in 1548.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 288. Aretino opens his letter to Brucioli of 7 November 1537 by addressing him as 'compare' ('godfather') (*Lettere*, I, sig. Z1r), and again in a letter dated 17 July 1542 Brucioli is 'Signor Compare' (*Lettere*, II, sig. Oo5r), which clearly distinguishes its honorific usage, as opposed to its more casual meaning of friend. I have used the six-volume Paris edition of Aretino's *Lettere* throughout (Matteo di Maestro, 1608–9), unless stated otherwise, but with occasional reference to Paolo Procaccioli's superb edition for the *Edizione Nazionale* (Rome: Salerno, 1997–2002)

<sup>38</sup> On the English connections of Ochino and Vergerio, see Chs. 2 and 7 of Overell, respectively.

<sup>39</sup> On the *intransigenti* as the triumphant inverse of the *spirituali* see Paul V. Murphy, 'Between *spirituali* and *intransigenti*: Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga and Patrician Reform in a Sixteenth-Century Italy', *Catholic Historical Review* 88 (2002), 446–69. On the Roman Inquisition as a response to Italian reform see Paolo Simoncelli, 'Inquisizione romana e riforma in italia', *Rivista storica italiana* 100 (1988), 105–25; John Tedeschi, *The Prosecution of Heresy: Collected Studies on the Inquisition in Early Modern Italy* (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1991); Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Jane K. Wickersham, *Rituals of Prosecution: The Roman Inquisition and the Prosecution of Philo-Protestants in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

calumnies of Lutherans who attack the most just and most Christian ('molestano con la calunnia [*sic*] di Luterano i piu giusti, & i piu Christiani').<sup>40</sup> As Waddington notes, Aretino in this letter confirms his adherence to 'the central tenets of Christianity – the Virgin birth, the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead; and above all the priority he places on faith alone'.<sup>41</sup> Such views might be interpreted as generally evangelical, and correspond to Wyatt's own, insofar as we can glean them. They also underpin the *sette salmi*. Interestingly, Aretino writes that 'we [Aretino and Brucioli] are defended by the faith which they [the corrupt clerics and Lutherans] have lost' ('siamo difesi dal credito; che essi hanno perduto'), which suggests that he did not view Brucioli as being a Lutheran either, despite Brucioli's sympathies and consultation of Luther's commentaries. And yet he praises Brucioli's translation of the Bible and edition of the psalms, which, according to Aretino, are distasteful to corrupt Christians: 'la Biblia, i Salmi e gli altri immortali sudori del Bruciolo non son' cibi dal gusto di tali'.<sup>42</sup> Again, the Catholic/Protestant dichotomy does not appear. For Aretino there are true Christians ('i piu giusti ed i piu Christiani') and those corrupt Christians who attack with lies ('molestano con la calunnia'). Aretino thus reinforces Overell's claim that many reform-minded Italians remained within the Church, and even though Brucioli falls into Overell's category of 'reformers-who-became-protestants', Aretino's condemnation of heretics to him suggests that at this point (if not beyond) he considered *Signor Compare* as also remaining within the fold.<sup>43</sup>

And yet Aretino's sequence does not begin from a reformist position, rather it opens with a post-stilnovistic, post-Petrarchan treatment of the tale of David's lust for Bathsheba, and his role in Uriah's death (from 2 Samuel: 11–12), which serves as a frame-narrative for the Penitential Psalm paraphrases. This third-person framing device is distinct from the psalms in terms of the sections being clearly demarcated and titled, but both components of the sequence are in prose. Wyatt accentuates the division of the sections by setting his third-person frame in *ottava rima* – the default narrative stanza in early modern Italian – and his first-person paraphrases in Dante's theological scheme, *terza rima*, which points obliquely to a medieval, Catholic poetic tradition that was ongoing because not yet Other.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. Z1v.

<sup>41</sup> Waddington, 'Pietro Aretino, Religious Writer', 288. Aretino stresses that belief in Christ is infused in the mind inseparably from those tenets listed by Waddington: 'Onde, chi crede a Giesu, da cosi fatta credenza gli è infuso nell'intelletto il parto de la Vergine, l'immortalità de l'anima e la risurrection' de i morti' (sig. Z1v).

<sup>42</sup> *Lettere*, I, sig. Z1v.

<sup>43</sup> Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations*, 19.

<sup>44</sup> Wyatt was more likely influenced in this schema by Luigi Alamanni, whose *Satira X* was adapted as *Myne Owne Jhon Poyntz*. I have discussed the movement from frame to psalms in Wyatt's sequence in Ch. 5 of my most recent monograph *Wyatt Abroad: Tudor Diplomacy and the Translation of Power* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2014), so will not discuss it again here. This dyadic structure, predicated upon a shift in focus between 'he' and 'I', problematizes the diverse autobiographical readings of the sequence, as I have addressed elsewhere. See 'Transgression *in potentia*: *Translatio* and *Imitatio* in Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poetry', in Sophie Chiari and Hélène

One of the earliest passages in Wyatt's paraphrase which commentators have read as indicative of the Protestant reformation of his Catholic source appears in the second Penitential Psalm (No. 32):

Oh happy ar they that have forgiffnes gott  
 Off their offence (not by their penitence  
 As by meryt wych recompensyth not  
 Altho that yet pardone hath non offence  
 Withowte the same) but by the goodnes  
 Off hym that hath perfect intelligens  
 Off hert contrite, and coverth the grettnes  
 Off syn within a marcifull discharge. (217–24)

The dismissal of penitence as the cause of forgiveness – although, as Wyatt notes, divine pardon entails penitence in the first instance – and the emphasis upon Divine mercy born of ‘perfect intelligens/Off hert contrite’ as opposed to outward acts appear to diverge from the doctrine of another of Wyatt's sources in the Psalms, namely John Fisher's 1509 *Treatyse*, in which he discusses the three parts of penance in the Catholic tradition:

By [th]e virtue of co[n]trycyon our synnes be forgyuen/by confessyon they be forgoten/but by satisfaccyon they be so clene done away [tha]t no sygne or token remayneth in ony condycyon of them/but as clene as ever we were. [...] Even soo in mannes soule which fyrst hath brought forth the budde of contrycyon/and after the floure confessyon yf at the laste it brynge not forth the good werkes of satisfaccyon it is to be dredde lest ony preuy gyle or deceyte remaine styll in the soule [...]. It is not ynough for a penytent to be contryte for his synnes/but also he must shewe theym all vnto a preest his ghostly fader/whan he hath conuenyent tyme and space so to do.<sup>45</sup>

Wyatt, despite doctrinal divergences, does draw on Fisher's commentary repeatedly – more frequently than previous commentators have noted – which is not surprising given that Wyatt was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, as Susan Brigden has recently shown, which was founded by Lady Margaret Beaufort under the direction of Fisher.<sup>46</sup>

Fisher's emphasis on ‘the good werkes of satisfaccyon’ and his statement that ‘[i]t is not ynough for a penytent to be contryte for his synnes’ is echoed by the Bishops' Book's insistence on ‘good werkes of mercye and charitie’ and the position that ‘all men truly penitente, contrite, and confessed muste nedes

Palma (eds.), *Transmission and Transgression: Cultural Challenges in Early Modern England* (Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2014), 101–17 (at 113–17). See also Stamatakis, 66–7.

<sup>45</sup> Fisher, *Treatyse*, sigs. CC2r–CC5r.

<sup>46</sup> It was previously thought that Wyatt was educated at St John's, another college founded by Beaufort under Fisher's direction. See Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, 88. Unfortunately, there is not the space here to provide a detailed account of Wyatt's use of Fisher's *Treatyse* in the Penitential Psalms.

also brynge forthe the fruites of penaunce, That is to saye, prayer, fastynge, and almes dede [. . .]. And they muste also make restitution or satisfaction in wyll and dede to theyr neighbours.' And this despite the immediately preceding statement that 'Chryste and his deathe be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompense'.

Wyatt's repudiation of good works or outward acts of contrition as being necessary conditions of God's mercy and the penitent's salvation, as detailed in both Fisher's *Treatyse* and the Bishops' Book, is indebted to Aretino:

O beati coloro le cui iniquità perdona Iddio, lasciandole impunte, non per le opere de la contritione, ne de la penitentia, se ben senza esse le colpe nostre non hanno remissione, ma per beneficio de la gratia sua; la bontà de la quale nel cor rintenerito riguarda, e per la compunction sua moue a ricoprirgli i peccati col lembo de la misericordia.

[O blessed are they whose sins God pardons, leaving them unpunished, not through acts of contrition, nor through penitence – except insofar that without these our sins can have no remission – but through the benefice of His grace, the bounty of which in the returned heart you observe, and through its compunction determine to cloak our sins with the mantle of mercy.]<sup>47</sup>

In fact, Aretino goes further than Wyatt by using a number of disputed terms, such as acts of contrition (*opere de la contritione*), penitence (*penitentia*), remission of sin (*le colpe [. . .] remissione*), compunction (*compunction*), and the term which is noticeably absent in the equivalent section in Wyatt's translation: grace (*gratia*). Aretino's emphasis upon the bounty of God's grace, and the penitence which God regards in the heart of the penitent, is reformed as Wyatt's 'perfect intelligens/Off hert contrite', which does not need an external act of contrition.

Wyatt thus maintains the position that salvation is given 'not for the worthynes of any merite or worke done by the penitent, but for the onely merites of the blode and passion of our sayour Jesu Christe', as the Bishops' Book says, but, following Aretino, refutes the emphasis on almsdeeds and good works. And whereas the Bishops' Book emphasizes 'the executynge and fulfyllinge of goddis commaundment ovtwardely', Wyatt refutes the worth of outward deeds at the close of his paraphrase of Psalm 51 (the *Miserere*):

Ffor if thou hadst estemid plesant good  
The ovtward dedes that owtward men disclose,  
I would have offerd vnto the sacryfice.  
But thou delightes not in no such glose  
Off owtward dede, as men dreame and devyse.  
The sacryfice that the lord lykyth most  
Is spryte contrite: low hert in humble wyse

<sup>47</sup> Aretino, *I sette salmi della penitentia di David* (Venice: F. Marcolini, 1534), sig. C3v.

Thow dost accept, o god, for plesant host.  
 Make Syon, lord, accordyng to thy will  
 Inward Syon, the Syon of the ghost:  
 Off hertes Hierusalem strength the walles still. (495–505)

The disparagement of ‘ovttward dedes that owtward men disclose’ develops the earlier divergence from acts of contrition to divine grace, and again is dependent upon Aretino:

Laude, e gloria con la bocca, e col core ti ho sacrificato Signore, e se tu hauessi voluto altro sacrificio certamente io te lo haurei fatto; ma io veggio in spirito che tu non ti diletterai de gli holocausti; & verrà tempo che non hauerai agrado cotal sacrificio, perche sono ceremonie che appaiono di fuora, et a te sono grate le intentioni de l’animo [...]. vn core contrite, & humiliate Iddio mai non dispregierà [...].<sup>48</sup>

[Praise and glory with my mouth and heart have been my sacrifice to you Lord, but if you had willed another sacrifice I would certainly have made it. But I see with the eye of my spirit that you do not delight in such burnt offerings, and that there will come a time when there will be no need for such sacrifice, because they are ceremonies which appear outwardly, and to you are given the intentions of the soul [...] . God will never scorn a contrite and humble heart.]

Wyatt’s ‘ovttward dedes’ translates Aretino’s ‘ceremonie che appaiono di fuora’, although the addition of ‘owtward men’ is Wyatt’s own, and appears to be a direct refutation of the term ‘ovtewardely’ as it is used in the Bishops’ Book.

However, there are long-standing points of doctrine upon which Aretino, Wyatt and the Bishops’ Book agree. Wyatt’s emphasis upon the inward Zion is perhaps more traditional than previous commentators would allow, given its quasi-Augustinian tenor of the heavenly Jerusalem gained through *caritas* as opposed to *cupiditas*, of a life lived *secundum spiritum* as opposed to *secundum carnem*. This emphasis again is frequently claimed as Wyatt’s innovation but in fact has its roots in Aretino’s denigration of outward sacrifice and his extended exposition of the inward Zion:

Per la tua summa bontà Signore sia benigno a Sion, che cotal nome ho posto a la speculatione di quelli, che per desiderio de la verità verranno a cognitione del tuo figliuolo [...] acciò sieno edificati i muri di Gierusalemme, il qual tolgo come visione de la pace, e de la vnione che debbe essere nel genere humano circa il laudare, honorare, & adorare te solo. [...] e cosi edificandosi le mura Gierusalemme si edificherà ne le anime la virtù de la tua sapientia. [...] riceverai da loro non solamente le vittime, le oblationi, e gli holocausti, ma il sacrificio del cor sincero [...].<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Aretino, *I sette salmi*, sig. H1r.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, sigs. H1v–H2r.

[Through your high bounty Lord be merciful unto Sion, which name I have given to the speculation of those who out of desire for the truth will come to understanding of your son [...] so that the walls of Jerusalem may be built, which I conceive of as a vision of the peace and union that must maintain amongst those people who praise, honour and adore you alone. [...] And so [it is understood that] building the walls of Jerusalem will build in people's souls the virtue of your wisdom. [...] receive from them not only the victims, the oblations, and the burnt offerings, but the sacrifice of the sincere heart.]

Aretino's tripartite movement is clear: Sion is the as yet unrealized Christian community; the walls of Jerusalem represent the peace and union which gird that community, and by establishing communal peace and union the virtue of patience will inhere within the individual soul of each member of that community, whose individual sacrifice will be the inward holocaust of the sincere heart. The inward, individual relationship with God is thus an atomic or molecular part of the wider Christian communion. This emphasis on the commonwealth via the individual underlines Aretino's conception of a reformed Catholic Christendom. Happily for Wyatt, Aretino here corresponds with the Bishops' Book, which clarifies the Christian communion in its exposition of the ninth article of the Creed:

And I beleve assuredly that this congregation, accordyng as it is called in scripture, so it is in very deed the Cite of heuenly Hierusalem . . . . And lyke as citizens assembled in one cite do lyue there vnder commune lawes, and in commune societie, and there do consult, studie and labour eche man in his roume and office, and accordyng vnto his callinge for theyr common welth, and fynally be made participant, or partakers of all and syngular suche benefites, and commodities, as do aryse unto them therby: Even so I beleve, that the members of this holy catholique churche, or congregation be collected, & gathered togyther within the same churche, as within one cite or folde. and that they be therin all vnited, and incorporated by the holy spirite of Christe into one body, and that they do lyve there all in one faythe, one hope, once charitie, and one perfyte vnitie, consent, and agrement, not onely in the true doctrine of Christe, but also in the right vse and ministration of his sacramentes.<sup>50</sup>

However, if the Bishops' Book image of the spiritual commonwealth accords with Aretino here, Aretino also accords with Brucioli.

'TOURNE, AND TRANSLATE': WYATT, ARETINO AND BRUCIOLI

Aretino's discussion of Sion in his paraphrase of Psalm 51 owes something to Brucioli's commentary in its moral exegesis of the walls of Jerusalem as

<sup>50</sup> *Institution*, sig. D1r-v.

signifying a proto-Christian vision of peace and communion ('i muri di Gierusalemme, il qual tolgo come visione de la pace, e de la vnione che debbe essere nel genere humano circa il laudare, honorare, & adorare te solo'). In his commentary on Psalm 51: 18 Brucioli writes:

Et che Dauid tanto grandemente orasse per la perfettione del principiato edificio di Ierusalem, & culto di Iddio, non fece questo perche esso facessi grande stima dello esteriore splendore della città, ò dello strepito solamente cerimonie, ma riguardò in queste cose, il uero, & in eterno culto di Iddio, & la solida de santi del popolo, anzi infino nel regno di Christo eleuò la mente, l'ombra del quale uedeua in se.<sup>51</sup>

[And when David prays so earnestly for the completion of the building of Jerusalem's walls, and the worship of God, he does not do so because this would create great admiration of the city's splendid exterior, or simply for the clamour of ceremonies, but because he regarded in these things the true and everlasting worship of God, and the solid piety of the popular saints, at least until the reign of Christ elevates their minds, which [elevation] he sees foreshadowed in himself.]

Brucioli's emphasis, like Aretino's, is upon the common good and the model of a Christian society, as the reference to the popular saints ('i santi del popolo') testifies. Brucioli's 'true and everlasting worship of God' is extended into Aretino's 'vision of peace and union that will inhere amongst those who laud, honour and adore God only', which also draws on Brucioli's later exegesis of Zion as signifying the church of the faithful in his commentary on Psalm 102:22. David's traditional foreshadowing of Christ in Brucioli informs Aretino's statement that Zion is 'the name I have given to the speculation of those who, by means of a desire for the truth, will come to an understanding of your son' ('[il] nome hò posto a la speculatione di quelli, che per desiderio de la uerità uerranno a cognitione del tuo figliuolo'). Indeed, it is to Brucioli's influence upon both Aretino and Wyatt that we ought now to turn, and in doing so turn back to begin anew.

In the opening paraphrase of the first line of the second Penitential Psalm (Psalm 32, *Domine ne in furore*), as we have already seen, Aretino writes

O beati coloro le cui iniquità perdona Iddio, lasciandole impunite, non per le opere de la contritione, ne de la penitentia [...] ma per beneficio de la gratia sua [...].

[O blessed are they whose sins God pardons, leaving them unpunished, not through acts of contrition, nor through penitence [...] but through the benefit of His grace [...].]

<sup>51</sup> Antonio Brucioli, *I sacri psalmi di David* (Venice: A. Pinzi, 1534), sig. IIIv.

This emphasis upon God's grace, not acts of contrition or penitence, as being the source of divine forgiveness corresponds with Brucioli's commentary on the same line of the same psalm:

Et beato anchora quello, del quale non imputaua il signore la sua iniquita, cioè quello giustifica Iddio per la gratia sua, & non per i meriti, & che puramente, & semplicemente conosce il suo errore.<sup>52</sup>

[And blessed yet [is] that one to whom the Lord does not impute sin; that is, the one whom God justifies through His grace, and not through his merits, and who purely and simply recognizes his sin.]

The correspondence here is not only doctrinal but phrasal: Brucioli's 'la sua iniquita' is echoed by Aretino's 'le cui iniquità', Brucioli's 'per la gratia sua' becomes Aretino's 'per beneficio de la gratia sua'. However, Aretino expands Brucioli's 'not through his merits' into the more explicitly catechistic 'not through acts of contrition, nor through penitence'. Wyatt in his turn fuses the two commentaries, adding Aretino's *penitentia* to Brucioli's *i meriti*:

Oh happy are they that have forgiffnes got  
Off their offence (not by their *penitence*  
As by *meryt* which recompensyth not .) (217–19, emphasis added)

Wyatt's addition of 'meryt', which has no equivalent in Aretino, or Campensis, or any of Wyatt's previously established sources, can be read as evidence that he had read Brucioli's commentary, just as Aretino had. Brucioli also refers to merits in his commentary on Psalm 6, in which he writes that by asking 'not to be castigated and rebuked by God in His ire and fury, David is effectively saying "do not condemn me according to what I deserve [my merits]"' ('ma hora di no[n] essere castigato & ripresa in ira, & furore, quasi dica, non mi uolere condannare secondo i meriti miei').<sup>53</sup> Likewise in his commentary on the opening lines of Psalm 143, Brucioli writes how David wills God not to render justice in accordance with deeds, 'no[n] voglia rendere loro [giudico] secondo l'ope[re]', which informs Aretino's plea that he be judged 'not in accordance with the truth and justice of Your laws, which swiftly condemn and punish the sinner according to the gravity of his sin' ('non secondo la uerità e la giustitia de le leggi, le quali condannano, e puniscano di subito secondo la grauezza del demerito', both of which produce Wyatt's 'answere to my desire/Not by desert' (728–9).<sup>54</sup> However, it is in his emphasis on *i meriti* that Brucioli accords with the Bishops' Book, which confirms that salvation is granted 'not for the worthynes of any merite or worke done by the penitent'.

<sup>52</sup> Brucioli, *sacri psalmi*, sigs. X1r–v.

<sup>53</sup> Brucioli, *sacri psalmi*, sig. E2r.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. XXX3r, and Aretino, *I sette salmi*, sig. L1v, respectively.

It might yet be argued that Wyatt is reiterating Brucioli through Aretinian osmosis, or that his emphasis on merit comes from his reading of the Bishops' Book only. Something more tangible is needed. In his translation of Psalm 51:7 Wyatt writes 'And as the Juyz to hele the liepre sore/With hysope clense, clense me, and I ame clene' (469–70). Muir and Thomson note that this is 'W[yatt]'s independent paraphrase of the Bible. His *liepre sore* is not fully accounted for by any known source, but possibly he was influenced by Aretino who draws out the idea of the healing God.<sup>55</sup> However, in his commentary on Psalm 51:7, Brucioli writes 'it is known that hyssop was employed in that solemn sacrifice for [the cleansing of] the sin which is related in Numbers 19, in the same way that it is used in the purging of leprosy, as treated in Leviticus 14' ('è da sapere, che in quel solenne sacrificio, per il peccato del quale è scritto nel libro de Numeri. Cap. 19. & medesimamente nella purgatione del lebroso, della quale tratta nel libro del Leuitico. Cap. 14, si toglieua l'hysopo').<sup>56</sup> This passing reference to leprosy follows an extended comparison of David's sense of sin to leprosy in Brucioli's commentary on the second verse of the psalm:

Et domandando Daud di essere lauato da peccati, non gli basta domandare essa lauanda [...] ma si humilia facendosi come lebroso, & riconosce il peccato suo, come lebbra, dicendo multiplica il lauare me dalla iniquita, cioè come pien di lebbra [...] & come si mondano i lebbrosi dalle lebbra loro, monda me dal peccato mio [...].<sup>57</sup>

[David asks to be cleansed of his sin, but it is not enough to ask to be cleansed ... [rather] he humbly likens himself to a leper, and acknowledges his sin as being like leprosy, saying repeatedly 'cleanse me of my iniquity', as if full of leprosy, [...] and as lepers are cleansed of their leprosy, cleanse me of my sin.]

On the basis of this evidence, we can see not only that Aretino's paraphrase was influenced by Brucioli's commentary in relation to specific points of doctrine – most notably in relation to divine grace superseding acts of contrition – but also that Wyatt often fused the two together in relation to those same cruces. Wyatt's doctrine thus accords with that of the reform-minded Catholic Aretino and the reformist proper Brucioli. That Wyatt's patron Cromwell was in correspondence with Aretino during this period, and that the same Cromwell would have exhorted and expected diplomats working under his direction to obtain and translate continental works that supported the developing doctrine of the fledgling English church, not only supports the view that Wyatt turned to Aretino because his doctrinal position was consonant with the more evangelical views expressed in the Bishops' Book and the Ten Articles, but also explains why he

<sup>55</sup> MT, 377.

<sup>56</sup> Brucioli, *sacri psalmi*, sig. HH4v.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. HH3v.

would have sought out and incorporated Brucioli's commentary also.<sup>58</sup> It is not surprising to find that Cromwell is the first signatory of the Bishops' Book. He would have been all too aware of its doctrinal shortcomings, and so it is not impossible to imagine him endorsing Wyatt's sequence as a means of furthering a more reformist agenda. During his Imperial embassy Wyatt was required to disseminate reformist propaganda, which led the Spanish Inquisition to pursue him. More significantly he was adjoined to 'kindle a fire' in Italy, by being instrumental in bringing German (Lutheran) troops – allegedly to be funded by Henry – into the peninsula and thereby reigniting the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry and the Italian wars, or at the very least spreading rumours to that effect.<sup>59</sup> Obtaining and translating variously reformist works such as those by Aretino and Brucioli would thus be part of one of the overarching unofficial objectives of the embassy – and admittedly a very small part when compared to starting a war or assassinating a cardinal – but recognizing that such translations *were* components of an accepted but covert set of diplomatic practices is just as essential to achieving a fuller understanding of Wyatt's sequence as is the situating of his translation within the pre-Tridentine moment of doctrinal heterodoxy and eclecticism that briefly blossomed before the entrenchment of confessional schism.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, Clare Costley King'oo has shown that the post-humous publication of Wyatt's Penitential Psalms in 1549 was part of a Protestant propaganda campaign – but by 1549 the religious divisions were, of course, far more clearly delineated and codified than they had been at the time of the Ten Articles, the Bishops' Book and Wyatt's Penitential Psalms.

In the mid 1530s, however, the Protestant/Catholic dichotomy, in terms of distinct and discrete doctrines and religious cultures, had not yet fully emerged, as the Bishops' Book shows not only in its equivocation, but illustrates in its discussion of the term Catholic:

<sup>58</sup> I discuss Aretino's correspondence with the English court and its representatives in a forthcoming study. During his Imperial embassy, Wyatt was required to disseminate reformist propaganda, which led the Spanish Inquisition to pursue him. More significantly he was adjoined to 'kindle a fire' in Italy, by being instrumental in bringing German (Lutheran) troops – allegedly to be funded by Henry – into the peninsula and thereby reigniting the Hapsburg-Valois rivalry and the Italian wars, or at the least spreading rumours to that effect. See Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, 339–42. Obtaining and translating variously reformist works such as those by Aretino and Brucioli would thus be part of one of the overarching unofficial objectives of the embassy, and admittedly a small part, but recognizing that such translations were components of an accepted set of diplomatic practices is essential to achieving a fuller understanding of Wyatt's sequence.

<sup>59</sup> See Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt*, 437–42. The nature of both the fire and the kindling has been shrouded in secrecy and conjecture ever since it was first offered to Wyatt as a practice. We only know of it due to the paranoid Wriothesley ordering a clerk of the ciphers to decipher a letter sent from Wyatt to Cromwell. Brigden's superlative scholarship has deciphered the matter further, it must be noted. For the original details see BL Cotton MS Vespasian Cvii, ff. 24r–33v.

<sup>60</sup> The cardinal in question is of course Reginald Pole. Translation of European reformist texts whilst in embassy is the obverse extension of the kind of dissemination with which Wyatt was charged. On this topic see Tracey Sowerby, "All our books do be sent into other countreys and translated": Henrician Polemic in its International Context', *English Historical Review* 121 (2006), 1271–99. On obtaining texts whilst in embassy see Joanna Craigwood, 'Diplomats and International Book Exchange', in Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski (eds.), *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*, SVEC 2010:4 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), 57–6, and Edward Wilson-Lee and José María Pérez Fernández (eds.), *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

I beleue that this holy church is catholyque, that is to say, that it can not be coerced or restrayned within the limites or bondes of any one towne, citie, prouince, region, or countreye: but that it is dispersed and spredde vniuersally through out all the hole worlde. [...] And I beleue that these particular churches, in what place of the worlde so euer they be congregated, be the very partes, porcions, or members of this catholyque and vnyuersal church. And that between them there is in dede no difference in superioritie, pre-eminence, or auctoritie, neither that any one of them is heed or soueraygne ouer the other [...]. And therefore I do beleue that the church of Rome is not, nor can not worthily be called the catholyque church, but onely a partycular membre therof, and can not chalenge or vindicate of righte, and by the worde of god, to be heed of this vniuersall church, or to haue any superioritie ouer thoghter churches of Christ, which be in England, France, Espayne, or in any other realme [...].<sup>61</sup>

Whilst it is clear in its refutation of the arrogated superiority of the Church of Rome, the early English church does not consider itself as removed from the Catholic communion. This vision of the Church is entirely in accordance with Aretino's 'vision of peace and union that will inhere amongst those who laud, honour and adore God only', as represented by the walls of Jerusalem. Those walls, which gird 'the very partes, porcions, or members of this catholyque and vnyuersal church', confirm the existence of Wyatt's 'Inward Syon, the Syon of the ghost', as detailed in Aretino's exposition of the heavenly Jerusalem, which accords with the Bishops' Book's account of the relationship between the individual Christian and the wider communion. The retrospectively premature partitioning of Protestant and Catholic cultures supports the literary-historical narrative that would put the medieval and the early modern asunder, and in its insistence upon rupture neglects the long-standing tradition of translating the Penitential Psalms which stands behind Wyatt's sequence. That Wyatt would turn to a Catholic reformer as a primary source for his Protestant sequence confirms the inadequacy of this narrative. What we find in Wyatt's sequence, as the sections of this article have, I hope, illustrated, is a series of interrelationships, or continuities, and overlaps which interrogate the narrative of doctrinal rupture: Wyatt-Bishops' Book-Aretino; Wyatt-Aretino-Bruccioli; Wyatt-Bruccioli-Bishops' Book. Wyatt's method of translation in the Penitential Psalms, moreover, whereby a plurality of commentaries is pressed into the service of the new work, illustrates clearly how the methods of medieval *translatio* informed and infused early modern *imitatio*. It is perhaps as necessary to ask what Aretino really did to Wyatt, or what Aretino really did to the Bishops' Book, as it is to ask what Wyatt really did to Aretino's *sette salmi*.

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<sup>61</sup> *Institution*, sigs. D2v–D3r.