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Jean Hotman's English Connection

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INTRODUCTION

Jean Hotman (1552-1635), the eldest son of Calvin's and Beza's friend, the pamphleteer, jurist and 'monarchomach' François Hotman, spent some ten years in England, whence he also visited the Netherlands¹. At the time he was on the threshold of his career, and no doubt the experiences he gained in those years were of crucial importance to his later life. It was in England that he discovered his own identity, as the saying goes. Here it was that he found out what road he was destined to follow, and, above all, it was here that he began to extricate himself from the fate of being the son of so famous a father. In this country he developed from a Calvinist into a convinced adherent of the notion of an established church, just as it was here that the foundations were laid for his later activities in the field of irenicism. To him, England was to be the exemplary country for having realized the Reformation both legitimately and happily – or rather: legitimately and *therefore* happily. All of his subsequent life was one sustained effort to have the English example adopted in his native country, and to contribute to the creation of a Gallican church in France, just as England had its Anglican church.

He entered the English world through protestant and academic channels. At Oxford, where he settled in 1580, it did not take him long to get in touch with a number of scholars of repute, who accepted him into their circle and also introduced him to others. Thus he became a member of that international community of scholars known as 'the republic of letters'. Although he produced a couple of publications – either independently or as an editor or translator –, he cannot be counted among the great scholars of his time. Within the republic of letters he did not belong to the top flight. Much as he must have regretted it, he was in any case fully aware of this rating. He considered it as his duty to serve as a humble servant of the great, furthering their interests, acting as their armourbearer and, if need be, as their *postillon d'amour*. As such, however, his role was far from negligible, in particular as regards the contacts he established between British scholars and their continental counterparts.

In this connection it should be remembered that in sixteenth-century England the pursuit of the humanities, including jurisprudence, lagged behind

¹ For J. Hotman, see J. Delaborde, 'Deux diplomates français du XVIIe siècle. Correspondance de Dumaurier avec Hotman de Villiers', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* [= *BSHPF*] 2 sér. I (Paris 1866), 401-413; 497-510; F. Schickler, 'Hotman de Villiers et son temps', *BSHPF*, 2 sér. 3 (1868), 98-111; 143-161; 401-413; 464-478; 513-533; David Baird Smith, 'Jean Villiers Hotman', *Scottish Historical Review* 14 (1917), 147-166; Corrado Vivanti, *Lotta politica e pace religiosa in Francia fra Cinque e Seicento*, Torino 1963, 204-246; the present author's 'Jean Hotman's Syllabus of irenical literature', in *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c 1500 - c 1750*, ed. Derek Baker, Oxford 1979 (Studies in Church History, subsidia 2), 75-93, and 'Jean Hotman en het calvinisme in Frankrijk', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 64 (1984), 42-77.

the continent². The innovative achievements in these fields, especially in France, began to bear fruit in England only later, and then thanks to impulses from the continent. But in this process Jean Hotman was instrumental and contributed considerably to this kind of cultural cross-fertilization. And just as he himself felt enriched by what England and his English friends had to offer him, he in his turn enriched them by introducing them to scholars from the continent, in particular those in France. It is the purpose of the present paper to offer some insight into this process, and generally to investigate Jean Hotman's English connection in more detail.

Our data are mainly derived from letters and drafts Hotman either received or wrote himself. Partly they are available in printed form, partly they remain unpublished, scattered among European libraries and archives. I have made use of unpublished letters, but mostly relied on the edition by the Dutch collector J.G. Meel (Meelius) entitled *Francisci et Joannis Hotmanorum patris ac filii et clarorum virorum ad eos epistolae*, published in 1700 in Amsterdam by Huguenot exiles, the brothers Huguetan³. This edition is largely based on a dossier Hotman himself compiled and arranged, which after his death came into the possession of the famous Colbert and through him ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where it is now to be found as codex BN lat. 8586⁴.

A comparison of the printed edition with this codex reveals that Meelius was interested in the letters' literary beauty, i.e. their Latinity, rather than in their content. He ignored the letters in French which the collection also contains, and which, from a historical point of view, are often more interesting than those in Latin. Meelius also omitted to pay attention to the marginal annotations to some of the letters which, as is evident from the shaky handwriting, must have been added by the aged Hotman, and which, even though not always correct, can elucidate dates or addressees⁵. It is also not-

² Cf. Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship. Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance*, New York / London 1970; Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1568-1631, History and Politics in Early Modern England*, [Oxford] 1970, 21ff & 85ff. See also the older work by Franck L. Schoell, *Etudes sur l'humanisme continental en Angleterre à la fin de la Renaissance*, Paris 1926.

³ Abbreviated: Hotman, *ep.*

⁴ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae*, pars tertia, t. IV, Parisiis 1744, 473: "BN lat. 8586, Codex chartaceus, olim Colbertinus", Colbert possessed also a collection of Hotman's more official letters and documents from the years 1585-1608, predominantly concerned with the Leicester period, preserved in the *Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères* (sign. Correspondance Hollande II & III). See for this and other collections of *Hotmanniana* the present author's 'Jean Hotman and Hugo Grotius', *Grotiana* N.S. (1981), 3-33. Presumably these collections came into Colbert's possession through Jean Hotman's grandson (?), Vincent Hotman (d. 1683), seigneur de Fontenay (son of T. Hotman, 'trésorier de France'), who married Marguerite Colbert, sister of Louis XIV's minister. Cf. *Mémoires du P. René Rapin*, III, Paris 1865, 386 n.

⁵ Hotman, *ep.* 109 e.g. was given the heading 'N.N.' by Meelius, while the letter was in fact addressed to no less a person than Theodore Beza, as appears from the initials 'Th.B.' added by Hotman himself (BN lat. 8586 fol. 159r).

able that certain letters (and other writings), even though written in Latin, were not incorporated by Meelius⁶. As far as the transcription is concerned Meelius' work is reliable.

Jean Hotman was born in Lausanne in 1552. In his youth he shared the hunted existence of his parents and so many other Calvinist families during the French religious wars. His father, a scholar as impetuous as he was ambitious, was in 1555 appointed professor of law at Strasbourg, after having taught Latin for some years at the Academy of Lausanne. Eight years later he exchanged Strasbourg for Valence (1563-66) and then for Bourges, always in the same capacity. His stay there was abruptly terminated in August 1572, for Bourges, like Paris, suffered its own massacre of St. Bartholomew. Hotman's house was pillaged, but the family managed to escape and went to Geneva – Jean disguised as a servant –, and thence to Basel (1578), where François died in 1590⁷. His wife having died earlier, their five surviving children were now orphans. Jean, as the eldest, was charged with the responsibility for his three sisters and his brother.

In Valence and Bourges John studied under the guidance of his father, who put him on a mixed diet of jurisprudence and Holy Scripture⁸. It is not clear what exactly were his activities in the subsequent years. He probably travelled in France, perhaps also in Germany, and occasionally visited Strasbourg and Basel. The outlines of the picture begin to emerge more clearly when, in 1579, thanks to his father's mediation, he obtained an appointment as tutor to the two sons of the English ambassador in Paris, Sir Amias Paulet⁹. Thus, at the age of twenty-seven, Jean Hotman started to develop his English connection.

⁶ This is the case, for instance, with two letters which Hotman received from Thomas Savile (BN lat. 8586 fol. 239r s.l.s.a., resp. fol. 264r s.l. VI kal. Junii [1583?]). See also nn. 31 and 37.

⁷ Besides the older articles on François Hotman which retain their value, as R. Dareste, 'François Hotman. Sa vie et correspondance', *Revue Historique* (1898), 1-129, and David Baird Smith, 'François Hotman', *Scottish Historical Review*, 13 (1916), 328-65, we now have the excellent biography by Donald R. Kelley, *François Hotman: A Revolutionary Ordeal*, Princeton 1973. See also Gerhard Menk, 'Landgraf Wilhelm IV. von Hessen-Kassel, Franz Hotman und die hessisch-französische Beziehungen vor und nach der Bartholomäusnacht', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 88 (1980/81), 55-82.

⁸ Baird Smith, *a.c.*, 148.

⁹ *Calender of State Papers (Elizabeth, 1579-1580), Foreign Series (= CSPF)* 14, London 1904, nr. 67, 74 (1579, Oct. 21): Poulet to the Secretaries: "Ottoman, a professor of civil law, not unknown to you I think, has his eldest son dwelling with me, and is schoolmaster to my children. He has lately written to his father that his friends here advise him to agree with his brethren for his portion of the heritage; the father being a native of this town of good parentage and having a good right to lands of good value ..." This probably concerns father Hotman's small estate in Villiers Saint-Paul, north of Paris, which came into Jean's hands before his father's death. See also Hotman, *ep.* 78, Fr. Hotman to A. Paulet (Basel, 1 April 1579) and Fr. Hotman to the same (Basel, 1 July 1580, BN lat. 8586 fol. 80r): "Filius meum Johannem, mihi et familiae meae universae carissimum et exoptatissimum, Amplitudine tuae commendo et oro, ut qua benevolentia ipsum Lutetiae complexus es eadem, si officio suo fungatur, prosequare."

I. THE ENGLISH CONNECTION

Sir Amias Paulet (1534-1588) was a wealthy man, possessing large estates in Dorset and Somerset¹⁰. He used to alternate his stay in these regions with administrative activities on the Channel Islands. On Jersey he served under his father for a number of years, and was then appointed vice-governor. He was a strict Calvinist and followed the affairs of the Huguenots in France with close attention. Convinced that they would never be able to cope without outside help, he painstakingly committed himself to their cause. He granted them, for instance, political asylum on his island, where on his order worship was purified. Knighted in 1576, he was in September of that same year appointed Queen Elizabeth's representative at the French Court. He corresponded copiously, if not enthusiastically, on the proposal to marry the Duke d'Alençon to Queen Elizabeth. But his career was uneventful, and in November 1579 he was recalled¹¹. He enjoyed the unreserved confidence of the puritan Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham, at whose instigation he was not only appointed privy councillor in January 1585, but was also charged with the delicate responsibility for keeping Mary Queen of Scots under close surveillance. Although for good reasons, he discharged this task with iron rigour, wholly in accordance with his statement to Walsingham that "whenever an attempt at rescue seemed likely to be successful, he was prepared to kill Mary rather than yield her alive"¹².

When Paulet was recalled as ambassador, Hotman remained in his service in order to continue his tutelage over the two sons, the seventeen-years old Anthony, and the three years younger George, now in England. In March 1580 the threesome settled down in Oxford, and found lodgings in Christ Church.

The English universities were at the time in a state of turmoil. There were the occasional violent outbursts of tension, specifically between 'conformists', supporters of strong governmental interference in ecclesiastical affairs, 'non-conformists', more puritan inclined minds, and – in all secrecy, of course – adherents of the old faith. These tensions and the increasingly important role of universities as nurseries for the upbringing of the clergy made governmental interference in their affairs more necessary and more persistent. The interest of courtiers and landowners in the education of their sons and in the advancement of their protégés exposed both Oxford and Cambridge to the demands of royal and lay patronage¹³.

¹⁰ The following details were borrowed from *DNB XV*, 526-28, s.v. Paulet, Amias, and P.W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603*, II Members M-Z, London 1981, 187ff. See also Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, I-III, Oxford 1925, reg. s.v. Paulet, Sir Amias.

¹¹ *DNB XV*, 526.

¹² *DNB XV*, 526.

¹³ Penry Williams in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. by James McConica, III [= *HUO III*], Oxford 1986, 439.

Hotman, though brought up in keeping with calvinistic principles, sympathized with the conformist point of view as a matter-of-course. His entire life testifies to his assessment of 'Kingship' and 'State' as representing the highest values, and shows that he found it hard to understand those who thought otherwise. It was a sentiment he shared with most of his friends in the Republic of Letters, who no more than Hotman had much use for theologians or were greatly interested in theological writings, that is to say if they were of a confessional and not of a historical nature¹⁴. How deep his aversion from puritans was, is evidenced by an autograph found among his papers and obviously written for kindred spirits in France. In this document he describes the puritans as 'Cathars' and shows himself to be fully sympathetic to the severity of King James's actions against them¹⁵.

In bringing this to the fore I do not intend to suggest that he was uninterested in the Christian cause. The opposite is the case. He only felt an Erasmian aversion from dogmatic hairsplitting and confessionalism. In fact he was a convinced irenicist and as such advocated a form of Christianity which transcended religious differences. It is precisely in this respect that he was to play an important role in his later life. In practice Hotman's irenicism meant that the divine right of kings was his lodestar and that in general he remained faithful to a simple, strongly ethically coloured piety, which ignored scholastic commentaries and was drawn directly from Scripture¹⁶. It is likely that he educated the Paulet boys in this spirit; at the same time, however, he was enough of a diplomat not to disregard the puritan sympathies of his hero Sir Amias. After all he had no scruples either about presenting himself in his letters as "Calvini et ecclesiae Genevensis alumnus", whenever he had reason to suppose that this would please the addressee. A calvinist, however, he was decidedly not¹⁷.

¹⁴ See the present author's 'Protestant Irenicism in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries', in *The End of Strife*, ed. David Loades, (Proceedings of the CIHEC conference held at Durham, 1981), Edinburgh [1984], 94-119.

¹⁵ Ms. Collection *Hotmanniana* I no. 9 (Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français, Paris), fol. 57v: "... et parce qu'ils pretendoient une pureté de service de Dieu plus grande jusqu'à des scrupules ridicules, comme de jamais ne nommer le jour de dimanche que 'Sabbath' et le preche que 'congregacion', ils furent appelez 'Puritains', comme les katharoi du temps passé."

¹⁶ Most revealing is the letter Hotman wrote in 1593 (BN lat. 8586 fol. 169r) to his nephew François, Hotman, *ep.* 157: "Satis esse ... si textum utriusque testamenti solum perlegatis, minime adhibitis commentariis ... hominum rixorum huiusce nostri saeculi, qui omnia tenebris opleverunt. Et vero cui bono pleraeque istae quaestiones theologicae, vel potius scholasticae? Ex sacris ipsis literis, seu fontibus abunde, quae ad pietatem usui sunt, haurire potestis. Pietate, fide, caritate ad patriam via ex praescripto legum divinarum sedulo sternenda nobis est; per pietatem patebit nobis ad eam aditus, non per subtilem earum rerum indagacionem, quae captum pleraeque nostrum superant et turbis dumtaxat excitandis in ecclesia christiana adhuc profuisse visae sunt." For a similar statement made by the jurist Cujas, see R. von Stintzing, *Das Sprichwort "Juristen böse Christen" in seinen geschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Bonn 1875, 29 n. 7: "In seinem Testamente empfiehlt er [Cujas] ... den reinen Text des N.T. ohne Commentar (ital. PM) als Richtschnur religiöser Ueberzeugung."

¹⁷ Hotman, *ep.* 4, H. to Arthur Wake (Oxford, 23 April 1581). I cannot agree with C.M. Dent,

2. OXFORD

In Christ Church Hotman and his pupils were allotted a house for their private use by Arthur Wake, a strongly puritan canon. Although he had at his disposal two floors, he had for the time being consented to let the top floor be occupied by others, in particular by a man called Janson. For himself and his pupils he put up with the ground floor, where for a year they lived in two small, chilly and damp rooms. It was due to this unsuitable accommodation that Anthony became seriously ill in the winter of 1580/81. Fearing that he might be blamed for negligence, Hotman asked Janson to let him have the use of at least one of the rooms occupied by him, for the sake of the health of the Paulet boys. An altogether reasonable request, seeing that Janson very frequently stayed in London, while moreover the use of the top floor had been promised to Hotman and his pupils. Janson, however, far from being the most accommodating of men, refused in a very rude and aggressive manner to co-operate in any way. This threw Hotman into a panic, for Anthony's condition worsened alarmingly. Letters begging for support were sent to all and sundry: to the boys' father, to the canons Wake and Stone, and even to the Dean, Tobie Matthew. At this point the story ends abruptly, for, whether or not as a result of actions taken by any one of these, Janson appears all of a sudden to have vanished into thin air, and the boys could move into the rooms¹⁸.

There is little to be found in the letters as regards Hotman's tutorship and how he exercised it. It is well known, however, that at the time tutors in general were closely watched due to the prevailing fear of infiltration from the continent, particularly by Jesuits. The chancellor of the university decreed in 1581 that "private tutors should only practice with the consent of the vice-chancellor, the head of his own house and at least two doctors, bachelors of divinity or preachers"¹⁹. Letters dating from the first period of his stay at Oxford prove that Hotman must have been informed of this regulation. He, however, had no cause for anxiety whatsoever; indeed the names 'Hotman' and 'Paulet' guaranteed *religio purior* and reliability.

As regards his tutorial tasks Hotman not only supervised his pupils in their

Protestant Reformers in Elizabethan Oxford, Oxford 1983, who concludes from Hotman's campaign to secure an Oxford place for Samuel Chevalier (see below, n. 91) that he "brought Oxford into the circle of Beza" (79). Hotman had personal reasons to help Chevalier, not confessional ones. For his attitude towards Calvinism, see the present author's 'Jean Hotman en het calvinisme in Frankrijk', (above, n. 1).

¹⁸ Hotman, *ep* 86, Hotman to Tobie Matthew; *ep*. 87, Hotman to Stone (both s.l.s.a., but simultaneous and before *ep*. 4, see above n. 17); *ep* 10, Hotman to Arthur Wake (Oxford, 22 Aug. 1582). Cf. also *ep*. 156, Wake to Hotman (Oxford, 30 May 1582). Through Thomas Bodley Hotman had come into contact with Stone, see *ep*. 5, Hotman to Bodley (Oxford, 13 June 1581): "reversus est is, cui tu me ... commendatum voluisti, D. procurator Stonius." – the Paulet boys matriculated from Christ Church on the same day: 10 April 1580, see J. Forster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, I/II, Oxford / London 1891, 1188 (a).

¹⁹ Penry Williams in *HUO* III, 413.

studies but also instructed them in religious and other matters. Certainly he would have taught them, for instance, the epistolary art in which he himself excelled, imparted to them the finer points of etiquette and closely kept watch over how they spent their time and their money. Moreover, he introduced his pupils to the Students of Christ Church and accompanied them when visits had to be paid to the great of Oxford²⁰. In short, his tutorship aimed at teaching his pupils everything considered fitting for a courtier and a gentleman.

As a tutor Hotman was well thought of and well-liked in Christ Church; and so were his pupils, in whom the students discerned with pleasure the salutary results of his wise guidance, and for whom they not only showed a touching solicitude but even an almost excessive adoration. One of them went so far as to predict that the sons might even surpass their father one day²¹. This prophecy, however, was not to be fulfilled. The eldest son, Anthony, achieved nothing more spectacular than opting for an obvious career. After having obtained an M.A. *nativitatis causa*²², he continued the family dynasty and succeeded his father and grandfather as governor of Jersey, a function he exercised very autocratically²³. The youngest son, George, also opted for the easiest way, though differently: he contented himself with a good marriage²⁴.

In a surprisingly short time Hotman secured for himself a place among the Oxford scholars, to which the fact that he bore a famous name and had Sir Amias Paulet as his patron undoubtedly contributed considerably. On March 6, 1581, the doctorate in law was bestowed upon him by the university²⁵. Although he felt very honoured by the degree his friends had arranged for him, his new dignity was also to bring him some trouble, as we shall see.

²⁰ On tutorship in Oxford, see James McConica in *HUO* III, 693ff. Richard Madox mentions in his diary (1582) that he had met "the Paulet boys and an unnamed" (probably Hotman, PM). See Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642. An Essay on Changing Relations between the English Universities and English Society*, Oxford 1959, 238.

²¹ Hotman, *ep.* 126, Thomas Savile to H (Oxford, 9 May 1582), and *ep.* 155, Savile to H. (Oxford, 26 Jan. [1583]: "... iuvenes ... si ab ea, in qua obfirmati sunt via non deflexerint, ... clarissimi patris gloriam assequuntur, ne quid amplius." Cf. also *ep.* 156, Wake to H. (Oxford, 30 May 1582).

²² Wood, *Fasti* I, 1598: "On the tenth of July these knights and esquires following were actually created masters of arts: Anthony Paulet [etc.]." Joseph Forster, *Alumni Oxonienses, I/II*, 1188 (a) says: "... perhaps created M.A. 10 July 1598".

²³ *DNB* XV, 527.

²⁴ *DNB* XV, 528.

²⁵ Forster, *Alumni Oxonienses, I/II*, 751 (b): "Hottoman, John LL.D. of university of Valence, incorporated 6 March 1580/81; admitted to Gray's Inn 5 March 1587/88. See *Fasti* I 217; & Forster's *Gray's Inn's Reg.*" Cf. Hotman, *ep.* 12, H. to Wake [Oxford, March 1583]: "... vix credas quam humaniter in Academia ista Oxoniensi fuerim exceptus, ac praesertim a doctoribus, qui me ultra et in suum numerum cooptarunt..." Being 14 years old when he left Valence, it seems unlikely that he received a doctor's degree from that university. The hesitations, moreover, he had about his doctorate (see his letter to Savile, cited below n. 79) seem to point to the fact that he had obtained this degree *recently*. But cf. Hotman, *ep.* 97, H. to Arthur Atey (s.l. [1587]), in which he suggests to have obtained his doctorate *before* coming to England.

In the initial months of his stay at Oxford it was especially Sir Thomas Bodley who took him in hand. Bodley was a close friend of Paulet's²⁶. It is likely that Bodley brought him into contact with Thomas Savile, and he it was primarily by whom Hotman was introduced into the learned circles of Oxford and elsewhere in England²⁷.

Thomas Savile, a brother of the famous Sir Henry Savile – also a friend of Bodley's and chiefly known as editor of the works of Thomas Bradwardine and John Chrysostom, “the first work of learning on a great scale in England”²⁸ – was Hotman's junior by a few years. He studied at Oxford, became Fellow of Merton in 1580, took his B.A. in the same year and five years later his M.A.²⁹. During that time he travelled to Greece, from where he wrote three letters to Hotman, all dispatched from Issicus on the Bosphorus³⁰. In 1592 he was appointed proctor, in which capacity he partook in the ceremonial reception of Queen Elizabeth that took place in the same year. On this occasion he delivered a learned discourse which is unpublished and has been preserved among Hotman's papers³¹. Thomas, like his brother a passionate antiquarian and in general having interests parallel to those of Sir Henry, was called “one of England's most learned men” by Richard Montagu³². We have to take Montagu's word for this, for Thomas has not written much, which may be attributed to his somewhat scrupulous nature but was chiefly caused by his premature death in 1593, some month after the resplendent reception of Queen Elizabeth.

Thomas was a member of a circle of scholars that had been formed in Oxford approximately at the time when Hotman arrived there. It consisted of the two Savile brothers, the geographer-cosmographer and chaplain Richard Hackluyt, the historian-antiquarian William Camden, the consummate courtier-poet Sir Philip Sidney, the mathematician Thomas Harriot, the puritan theologian Laurence Humphrey, the jurist Alberico Gentili and the Hungarian scholar Stephanus Parmenius³³. It goes without saying that

²⁶ *DNB* XV, 527.

²⁷ Cf. e.g. Hotman, *ep.* 18, H. to Camden (Oxford, 12 March 1582/3).

²⁸ *DNB* XVII, 856-58, s.v. Savile, Sir Henry. See S. van der Woude, ‘Sir Henry Savile's Chrysostom edition in the Netherlands’, in *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, Amsterdam 1966, 437-44.

²⁹ *DNB* XVII, 856-58, s.v. Savile, Sir Henry; Wood, *Fasti* I, 227.

³⁰ Graesse/Benedict/Plechl, *Orbis Latinus* II, Braunschweig [1972], s.v. Issicus sinus: “Ikenderun Korfezi (Golf v. Alexandretta) Meeresburcht bei Iskenderun, Prov. Hatay, Turkey.”

³¹ Title: Savillus ad Elizabetham Reginam Oxonij. Quaestiones: An rei militaris scientia et literarum studium simul legere possint; An astrologia inter artes habenda sit (BN lat. 8586 fol. 376r-381v).

³² *DNB* XVII, 859. The Savile brothers were in close contact with the Hungarian scholar André Dudith. See Pierre Costil, *André Dudith Humaniste Hongrois 1533-1589. Sa vie, son œuvre et ses manuscrits grecs*, Paris 1935, reg. s.v. Savile, Sir Henry & Thomas.

³³ James McConica in *HUO* III, 717. One letter of Parmenius to Richard Hackluyt (s.l. 1583) is to be found in H's collection (BN lat. 8586 fol. 266r-267v). H. introduced Parmenius to Camden, see Hotman, *ep.* 19 (Oxford, [1582]).

these eminent men were interested in the *bonae litterae*, but what was particularly characteristic of them was their keen interest in astronomical-astrological and geometrical problems and, in general, their enthusiasm for the sciences³⁴. Thomas Savile, for instance, corresponded with Tycho Brahe³⁵. Rather than as a rigidly institutionalized organization, this coterie should be pictured as a free association of scholars who were interested in each other's work, shared 'Entdeckerfreuden', and occasionally exchanged views on them in Christ Church, this College being the meeting place.

Hotman's correspondence shows that he belonged to this circle, even if only for a short time. Mediocre jurist that he was, without a marked interest in the natural sciences, his activities in this group will have been peripheral, which, however, does not alter the fact that he kept in touch with most of the members, either through personal contact or by correspondence.

This is particularly true in the case of Thomas Savile, with whom he had struck up a very close friendship. Apart from regular visits back and forth, they wrote to one another frequently, both personal and literary letters in which politics as well as strictly Oxonian issues were dealt with³⁶. Thus, for example, we read that Savile was very pleased at Hotman's studying Tacitus again, even venturing to suggest textual corrections, which, however, were rejected by Savile in a manner which was both friendly and decisive. On the same occasion Savile criticised Lipsius' emendations, saying that he was prepared to adopt at most a tenth part of them³⁷. Savile scoffed at Hotman's still being unmarried, asking him in a letter from Greece: "Should you intend to marry, please make sure whether you like a black woman or a white one. And send me some money, if she must be handsome too"³⁸. Savile drew also Hotman's attention to the letters of Ascham – the young Queen Elizabeth's tutor – which were a revelation to Hotman³⁹. The latter in turn tried to rouse Savile's interest in law, but was rebuffed⁴⁰. Otherwise, the letters

³⁴ Cf. also Brian Vickers (ed.), *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, Cambridge / London / New York [etc.] [1984]. Hotman, *ep.* 50, H. to Hackluyt (Windsor, Dec. 1582); *ep.* 35, Hackluyt to H. (s.l. [1582]).

³⁵ Curtis, *o.c.*, 239 n. 34.

³⁶ Thomas Savile wrote the following letters to Hotman: *ep.* 13, 16, 17, 32, 40, 43, 62, 63, 70, 100, 126, 154, 155, to which must be added the unprinted ones, mentioned above n. 6. H. wrote five letters in reply: *ep.* 24, 37, 47, 67, 72. *Ep.* 37, although addressed to John Savile according to Meelius, must in fact have been sent to Thomas because of H's statement: "Te vero Oxonii unicum habui ...", by which only Thomas can be meant, John living outside Oxford.

³⁷ Savile to H. (BN lat. 8586 fol. 239r, s.l.s.a.): "Quoties ipse [sc. Lipsius] non necessarias falsasque adferat emendationes tu vidisti; mihi enim vix decima quam censura legitima videtur." For some details on Savile's research, see Hotman, *ep.* 37, H. to Savile (s.l. 1582). H. alludes here to his relation with Lipsius.

³⁸ Hotman, *ep.* 13, Savile to H. (Issicus, 15 Jan. 1582/3): "Tibi nuptiae animo fuerint, uxorem atram velis vel albam, certioorem me facias. Si formosam etiam pecuniam mitte."

³⁹ Hotman, *ep.* 37 (see n. 37): "Incidit in Aschamii vestri latinas epistolas ... Aschamus vester puritate latini sermonis cedere paucis, argumenti gravitate omnes mihi superare visus est. Adde quod iuvat me miris modis temporum illorum recordatio, cum homines docti magis inter se amarent, minor esset fucus, invidia ex interis credo nondum eruperat."

⁴⁰ Hotman, *ep.* 47, H. to Savile (Windsor, Dec. 1582).

frequently deal with political matters. The Duc d'Alençon's expedition to the Netherlands in particular receives a great deal of attention⁴¹.

Thomas Savile, as already indicated, brought Hotman into contact with William Camden⁴². The relationship with the latter offers the finest demonstration of Hotman's role in the field of cultural transmission. From 1581 onwards close ties developed between the two men, as is evidenced by an extensive and interesting correspondence that was to be kept up till 1618, for almost forty years, and only interrupted during the period when Hotman held the post of ambassador in Düsseldorf⁴³.

Initially, it is a correspondence between equals exchanging the usual courtesies and political bits of news, on the Alençon expedition in particular, on which both men commented derisively⁴⁴. But when, as time went on, Camden's star kept rising and he developed into England's foremost historian, their relationship changed in the sense that, while their intimacy remained the same, Hotman increasingly played the part of the devoted squire. As such he deserved well of Camden by bringing him into contact with celebrities such as Jacques-August de Thou, Pierre Dupuy, Isaac Casaubon, the jurist Theodore Godefroy and his son, Louis XIII's librarian Nicolas Rigault, and other scholars of repute in France⁴⁵. Nor was he content with initiating those relationships; he also, whenever necessary, kept them going by acting as mediator in all sorts of ways, virtually without exception through

⁴¹ On Alençon's expedition see now M.P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge 1986. See below n. 44.

⁴² Hotman, *ep.* 158, Camden to H. (s.l., 11 July [1581]): "Et Savilus noster ad hanc amicitiam mystagogus responderit." Cf. *ep.* 18, H. to Camden (s.l., [12 March 1582]). For the relationship between H. and Camden, see also the letters contained in *V. Cl. Gulielmi Camdeni et illustrium virorum ad G. Camdenum epistolae ... Praemittitur G. Camdeni vita [by Th. Smith]*, Londini 1691 [= Camden, *ep.*]. Cf. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Queen Elizabeth's First Historian, William Camden and the beginnings of English 'Civil History'*, (2nd) Neale Lecture in English History, [London] 1971.

⁴³ Camden, *ep.* 135, H. to Camden (Paris, 20 Nov. 1616): "J'ay esté cinque ou six ans en Allemagne, où il ne s'est point présenté de sujet de vous écrire ..."

⁴⁴ Hotman, *ep.* 18, H. to Camden (s.l., 12 March 1582): "Ceterum praeclaræ Alanzonii fortunæ quis invadeat? Praesertim qui... olim hic in Anglia et aliorum alibi, vel inanes vel infelices expeditiones animo repetere, et Belgis innatam levitatem, omnium saeculorum exemplis comprobata, recordari voluerit. Adde dissidentiam, quae ex diversitate regionum nasci solet... Hispani Regis calliditatem ... consilia Medae nostrae, quae mihi semper suspecta fuerunt, Regis Galliae cunctationem et simulationem erga fratrem animum..." Camden to H., Hotman, *ep.* 69 (s.l., March 1583): "Vaccam illam macram Belgicam, non dubito quin videris, ut ille emulget ... Vides ut biliosi Belgae, quicquid edunt et egerunt, in bilem et contumelias vertunt, quod etiam cantiuncula Gallica declararunt ..." Camden directed H's attention to a virulent anti-Alençonian pamphlet circulating in England (Hotman, *ep.* 19, s.l. [beginning 1582?]) and *ep.* 17 Oxford, 5 Kal. April. 1582). In another letter (Hotman, *ep.* 69, Camden to H., Westminster, March 1583) Camden refers to a treatise written in French on Dutch affairs, which H. is busy preparing: "Si tractatum illum Gallicum de rebus Belgicis evolveris, mitte quaeso..." In a simultaneous letter to Savile (Hotman, *ep.* 67, Richmond, 13 Febr. 1583), H. announces that he has finished the translation of a German booklet. He hopes that it will be printed soon. It is unclear what pamphlet is meant and whether it ever appeared.

⁴⁵ Cf. Camden, *ep.* passim.

diplomatic channels, which seems to be characteristic for the section of the republic of letters to which he and most of his friends belonged.

Thus it was Hotman, then secretary to Leicester, to whom Camden entrusted copies of his *Brittania* in order to present them to Dousa the elder and Lipsius⁴⁶. Conversely, Hotman called Camden's attention to Bongars, a highly learned diplomat of the King of France, who in 1608 went on a 'platonical travel' to England⁴⁷. On behalf of Godefroy he asked Camden for information about the English practice with regard to royal *préséance* and the genealogy of the royal house of Stuart⁴⁸. And when De Thou had died in 1617, Hotman did not fail to send his learned friend a copy of the testament without delay⁴⁹. It would lead us too far afield to go in more detail into Camden's correspondence with all the French scholars and to examine the actual effects of this learned exchange on the parties concerned, but so much is certain that anyone undertaking an investigation of the sort is bound to come across Hotman's name very frequently.

Another of Hotman's acquaintances was the man of whom Camden wrote that "God had brought him into existence with the purpose of showing our century a specimen of the primeval giants"⁵⁰, meaning Sir Philip Sidney. The term 'friendship' to denote their relationship would not be appropriate; indeed, one does not befriend a celestial being, one is devoted to him and receives his mercies on bended knees, which is exactly what Hotman did when at Sidney's intercession he secured a position at Queen Elizabeth's court.

Their relationship was short-lived, however, because Sidney was to die at the end of 1586, when he was killed in action near Zutphen, fighting for the freedom of the Low Countries. In the later years of his stay in England Hotman came to know not only Sir Philip's brother Robert, but also Penelope Devereux, the famous 'Stella' in Sidney's *Arcadia*.

In spite of a very euphoric start, Hotman's relationship with Alberico Gentili (1551-1608) was even more ephemeral than that with Sir Philip Sidney, but

⁴⁶ Hotman, *ep.* 160, Camden to H. (Westminster, 13 June [1586]).

⁴⁷ Camden, *ep.* 72, William Becher to Camden (Paris, 13 April 1608): "[Bongars] makes a platonical voyage, whereof the chief occasion is, to see our universities and searche our libraries." Camden, *ep.* 73, H. to Camden (Paris, 14 April 1608): "Monsieur Bongars, l'un des plus rares hommes en scavoir, experience et pieté que nous ayons aujourd'hui en nostre France..." For Bongars' biography, see H. Hagen, *Jacobus Bongarsius*, Bern 1874, and L. Anquez, *Henri IV et l'Allemagne d'après les mémoires et la correspondance de Jacques Bongars*, Paris 1887, [XIII]-LXXXVI.

⁴⁸ Camden, *ep.* 135, H. to Camden (Paris, 20 Nov. 1616). Cf. Camden, *ep.* 140, Godefroy to Camden (Paris, 20 April 1617).

⁴⁹ Hotman, *ep.* 145, Camden to H. (London, 7 July 1617): "De testamento vere christiano et tanto viro dignissimo gratias, quas possum maximas, habeo."

⁵⁰ "Hic ille Sidneius est, quem ut Deus ideo natum voluit, ut priscorum specimen nostro seculo ostenderet, ita ex improvviso ad se ut coelo quam terris digniorem revocavit et nobis subdidit." The statement stems from Camden's *Brittania* and is cited by Smith in his *Camdeni Vita*, which precedes his edition of Camden's *epistolae*. See above n. 42.

for a very different reason. It lasted only one year; then Hotman severed all connections with him and even went so far as to intrigue against him both in England and France. He did, however, maintain a relationship with Alberico's brother Scipio (1563-1618), the poet and future professor of law at Altdorf⁵¹. What caused the rift between Hotman and Alberico?

Prior to his appointment as Regius professor of Roman law at Oxford (1587), Alberico Gentili had published his *De iuris interpretibus libri sex*, which he dedicated to Leicester⁵². In this work he proved himself an ardent Bartolist, defender of the so-called *mos italicus* in the practice of Roman law, which implied that, with an Italian profusion of invectives, he assailed the protagonists of the more humanistic and strongly historically oriented so-called *mos gallicus*, like Alciato, Douarens, Cujas and Hotman the elder. Jean Hotman was grievously hurt by the vicious attacks on his adored father and other French jurists. Alberico had hit him in his familial and national pride, and this made him hit back without delay and with no less ferocity.

When, at the end of 1582, a few months after the publication of Alberico's offensive book, he was asked for an assessment, his answer ran as follows:

"I deem the style of this book ludicrous, the views defended in it absurd, the argumentation inferior, the presentation verbose and conceited, and the rest insipid, in bad taste and altogether meaningless. In my opinion it is a foregone conclusion that such is going to be the general feeling. The distinguished Earl finds it hard to accept that he allowed himself to be persuaded by Alberico into agreeing to be patron of such a lot of gibberish"⁵³.

Alberico, he then continues, is solely slinging mud at the 'scholars of the century' in order to look himself the more brilliant. Hotman anticipates with anxiety that Alberico's detrimental opinions will lure many people into dismissing dialectics and the other liberal arts as all useless and even harmful in the future, things that up till then had always been considered indispensable to jurists⁵⁴.

In assessing this venomous stab one should not forget that the controversy

⁵¹ H's relationships with father Matteo Gentili and his sons Alberico and Scipio appear from the following letters: Hotman, *ep.* 2 & 3; 74, 78, 79, 85; 108, 111, 135. See also n. 26. For Scipio's career, see R. von Stintzing, *Geschichte der Deutschen Rechtswissenschaft* I, München / Leipzig 1880, 392-95. He studied at Leiden and had Donellus as his teacher.

⁵² See G.J. van der Molen, *Alberico Gentili and the Development of International Law. His Life, Works and Times*, Amsterdam 1937. I have not seen D. Panizza, *Alberico Gentili, giurista ideologo nell' Inghilterra Elisabetiana*, Padova 1981.

⁵³ Hotman, *ep.* 51, H. to Payne (s.l., 20 Nov. 1582).

⁵⁴ Hotman, *ep.* 51. A still more severe attack on Alberico is contained in *ep.* 41, H. to Georg Bergmann, author of the *Liber iconum omnium iurisconsultorum*. H. denounces those who would separate jurisprudence from history and letters, and quotes many of the expressions employed by Alberico in his book, without, however, mentioning his name. Cf. Baird Smith, *a.c.*, 156.

between the two juridical schools was already some decades old and that in the meantime a change of position of the fronts had taken place. David Baird Smith writes about this shift: "The quarrel began between the degenerate Bartolists and Alciatus and his followers, between the mere *practiciens* and those who would colour jurisprudence with history. It ended with the positions reversed. The historians had become antiquarians and the *practiciens* had changed place with them"⁵⁵.

This traditional interpretation of Gentili's position has been modified in recent times by the Italian historian Panizza, who makes clear that, although Gentili in his earlier works expressed severe hostility to legal humanism, he soon shook off his devotion to the *mos italicus* and in later works not only employed humanist techniques himself, but also praised the writings of Alciato, Cujas and others⁵⁶.

Be this as it may, the young Hotman could derive pleasure from the fact that also among non-jurists Gentili's book had caused consternation. So Thomas Savile, in slightly conspiratorial tones, informed him:

"Our friend [Alberico] has set off for London in order, as he told me, to take the first book of his lectures on civil law to the printer. That most likeable young man Faucher wrote to me from Paris that he had handed over the damned dialogues to Cujas. He promised me more information in the near future. Meanwhile, our masters at Oxford are greatly puzzled at such a reputedly good teacher writing so badly. You, being a jurist yourself after all, would greatly ease their minds if you could explain this to them"⁵⁷.

Reassured by this supportive judgment from his learned friend, Hotman – soon joined by others who were only too willing to crucify Gentili as soon as they learned that the man wrote a barbaric Latin⁵⁸ –, continued his crusade against the modernist. Pompously he informed his friend that he had received letters from scholars in Germany and France expressing that they were "highly amazed that in England, where one knows an ass for an ass,

⁵⁵ Baird Smith, *a.c.*, 156; Kelly, *o.c.*, 89ff.

⁵⁶ Here I follow J.P. Sommerville in a review of Panizza's work.

⁵⁷ Hotman, *ep.* 17, Savile to H. (Oxford, 17 Febr. 1583): "Interim Oxonii apud magistros nostros magnum ζήτημα, quomodo homo tam bene doceat, tam male scribat." Cf. also *ep.* 32, Savile to H. (Oxford, 13 Aug. 1582). Faucher was a pupil of Lipsius.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Hotman, *ep.* 77, Henry Cuffe to H. (s.l., Dec. 1582): "Qualis, me hercule, vel in primis noster ille vere Italus, (quippe cui nec pietas nec probitas curae), cuius amicitia omnis iisdem quibus oculorum aspectus limitibus terminari solent, qui tamen ne amicorum omnium memoriam penitus abolevisse videretur, nuper ad Savillum nostrum literas misit, quales et quam elegantes, dii boni! Plenas ruris et inficetiarum, (ut inquit ille), nihil nisi prunalpeias(?), nempe ad pastum et pabulum proiectum, crepat. Crescent, adolescent, maturescant nec ne id unum scilicet curat, cogitat, ingeminat, ut id ei haec scribenti prope solum in animo fuisse intellegamus."

an ass of these proportions should be accepted and fed”⁵⁹. It should be observed that the said letters are conspicuous by their absence in Hotman’s dossiers! What is present amongst his papers is the draft of a letter he addressed to the famous Jean Bodin, in which he expresses his heartfelt wish that someone might finally brace himself to teach Gentili a thing or two and unequivocally give him a piece of his mind⁶⁰. Alberico, having got wind of Hotman’s negative thoughts about him, repeatedly tried to draw him out. As a colleague he put juridical problems before him, asking for an open discussion, but gave up when no reactions were forthcoming⁶¹.

In conclusion, we may mention that in 1584 both Hotman and Gentili received the honourable request to advise the Privy Council on the trial of the Spanish ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza, who had been caught in the act of conspiring with the purpose of freeing Mary Stuart and putting her on the throne. The question put to both jurists was: should an ambassador be tried according to the law of the country of origin or according to the law of the country he is accredited to? Mendoza himself referred to the international law which takes the former position, but some members of the Privy Council did not consider this law applicable in the case concerned, arguing that “in vaine he putteth himselfe under the safeguard of nations, which violateth the lawe of nations”⁶². Hotman and Gentili, however – for once surprisingly unanimous and *uni sono* –, judged that in this case the international law was indeed applicable and that as a consequence Mendoza’s plea of diplomatic immunity was legitimate. In their opinion the man should be expelled from England in order to be tried in his own country. Hotman’s pride at having been of service to the English throne still reverberates in the description of this event he gives in his *De la charge et dignité de l’Ambassadeur*:

“Me trouvant pour lors en la Court de l’Angleterre, quelques Seigneurs du Conseil et des plus grands, me firent l’honneur, comme pareillement au feu Docteur Alberic Gentilis, d’en vouloir entendre nostre advis, bienque ce Royaume là ne manque de personnes d’expérience et d’érudition. Nous leur dismes conformément que le plus expédient et ordinaire moien et le plus salutaire à l’Estat estoit d’en avertir son maistre et attendre l’aveu ou le desaveu; mais le gentilhomme qu’ils y envoyèrent ne fut ni veu ni ouy du feu Roy d’Espagne, qui se faisoit excuser de son indisposition, afin de n’avoir à respondre sur l’aveu ou le desaveu ...”⁶³.

⁵⁹ Hotman, *ep.* 72, H. to Savile (Richmond, 12 March 1582/3): “Scribunt ad me e Germania et Gallia viri docti, mirari se Anglia asinorum expers, tantum et ferat et alat asinum. Sed si tam essent illi vestri diligentes et boni iurisconsulti, facile illud quod scribis ζήτημα solverent iudicarentque fieri non posse, ut qui male scribit bene doceat.” Cf. Savile’s question to H. in *ep.* 17 (above n. 57).

⁶⁰ See *Appendix 1*.

⁶¹ Hotman, *ep.* 85, Alberico Gentili to H. (Oxford, 8 Nov. 1582): “Tu vero siles Hotomanne? Quid ais de libello meo? Sat scio non probari opiniones, qui coram refutare solebas.”

⁶² Van der Molen, *o.c.*, 49. Cf. also Hotman, *ep.* 66, H. To Richard Garthus (s.l.s.a.).

⁶³ Hotman, *De la charge ...*, Paris 1616, 559-60. Baird Smith, *a.c.*, 147, observes that Hotman’s

Hotman's dossiers contain a number of letters from Henry Savile's star pupil, Henry Cuffe, who after a short-lived and promising professorship in Greek at Oxford cast in his lot with the Earl of Essex. These letters, as we shall see, give an interesting insight into the commotions prevailing in the Oxford Colleges.

Apart from these resounding names Hotman also associated with the younger students of Christ Church, many of whom, especially when they were law students, he took under his wings and helped along⁶⁴.

It goes without saying that, surrounded and accepted as he was by so many illustrious and less illustrious friends, Hotman lead a very contented life at Oxford. "I would not know of any university either in France or in Germany equalling Oxford"⁶⁵, he writes after five months. Or better still:

"I am now at Oxford, *i.e.* I continually rub shoulders with men who are as learned as they are pious, whose company is the more pleasant to me as they make me feel welcome"⁶⁶.

In no less a grandiloquent manner he describes his life in Oxford to his father in the following terms:

"The affection my *heros* Paulet feels for me grows daily. Even if it evidences his kindness rather than my merits, he yet tells all and sundry how satisfied he is with the dedication and care with which I serve him, especially from the time he sent me on to Oxford with his sons. Moreover, I am given here so much time for my own studies that I thank God, the bestower of all, on bended knees. And even though, remarkably enough, the study of civil law languishes in this place, and nobody in England

Traité de l'Ambassadeur appears to have circulated in manuscript in England before it was published, and that an English version of Books ii. – v. was printed in London in 1603 without the name of either the author or the editor, but with a dedication to William Earl of Pembroke and entitled: *The Ambassador*, ed. by J.S. (*i.e.* James Shaw?), London 1603, 16°. The next year a French ed. was published: *De la Charge et dignité de l'ambassadeur*, par le sieur de Villiers Hotman, 2e éd., Paris, J. Perier, 1604, 8°, VI-96. This edition was followed by *De la Charge et dignité de l'ambassadeur*, par Jean Hotman, 3e éd., avec une liste des auteurs qui ont escrit en ce mesme sujet et un extrait de l'Anti-Colazon, Dusseldorf, B. Busius, 1613, 12°, XII-274. H. incorporated his work also in: *Opusculs françoises des Hotmans*, 'De la Charge et dignité de l'ambassadeur', par Jean Hotman, Sieur de Villiers, 4e éd., avec une liste [etc.], Paris, Veuve M. Guillemot, 1616, 2 parties en 1 vol., 8°, which ed. was re-edited the next year: [...], Paris, Veuve M. Guillemot, 1617, 2 parties en 1 vol., 8°. The work was also translated into Dutch: Hotman, [Jean] de Villiers, *Van de last en waerdigheyt eenes ambassadeurs ... Nieuvelijcks uyt 't Fransch vertaelt, midtgaeders Vita politica ... door Simon Stevin, alsmede een brief van Laur. Reael ... aen Joa. van Walbeeck in Oost-Indien*, Amstelredam, Nicolaes van Ravesteyn, 1646, 12°. For the content and an evaluation of the book see Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Penguin Books 1973, reg. s.v. Hotman, Jean.

⁶⁴ See e.g. H's correspondence with William Watkinson, John Llwyd and John Bennett: Hotman, *ep.* 15, 23, 26, 27 & 29.

⁶⁵ Hotman, *ep.* 10, H. to Arthur Wake (Oxford, 22 Aug. 1581).

⁶⁶ Hotman, *ep.* 90, H. to Giles Swete (Oxford, 2 Jan. [1582]).

evinces any interest in what I am doing in this field, I nonetheless have every hope that some day my diligence will be rewarded and that, God willing, my knowledge will benefit others, either practically or theoretically. Meanwhile I am studying languages, dedicating myself to English as well as to German and Italian. I am doing this because I feel I have a talent for languages and because it pleases me, not because I should have to. Recently I also started on Spanish, because my Mecaenas thought that would be wise. I am also very interested in the history of England, as it throws a revealing light on our own French history”⁶⁷.

This happy stay at Oxford came to an end when Hotman, thanks to the intercession of both Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Philip Sidney, caught the attention of the latter’s uncle, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the Chancellor of the University⁶⁸. Around May 1582 or somewhat later, the Earl engaged Hotman as his foreign language secretary⁶⁹, which brought him to the Court.

Of course his friends regretted his departure, but at the same time they were delighted at his good fortune and the happy progress of his career. It may be presumed that they organized a farewell party for him, and that it was on this occasion that Thomas Savile produced a poem in Latin in which he sang the praises of Hotman’s scholarship and lauded his diligence, as shown in his study of Roman law in the small hours. He considered him fortunate because he had crossed the ‘proud boundaries’ that surround power and was now enabled to serve princely interests, while keeping abreast of secret war plans and being initiated into the *machinas Ibericas*. Referring to Hotman’s father, who likewise combined a scholarly existence with royal service, he assured him of fame and expressed the wish that as a friend he might share in it⁷⁰.

Hotman in turn expressed his gratitude for what Oxford had given him by donating two books with a dedication to the library of Christ Church. A fine gesture, which was in conformity with what undergraduates used to do

⁶⁷ Hotman, *ep.* 76, H. to his father (Oxford, 20 April 1582).

⁶⁸ In an unpublished, fragmentary and undated minute of a letter to Sidney (BN lat. 8586 fol. 85v), H. writes: “... je vous remercie bien humblement de la bonne souvenance qu’il vous plaist avoir de moy, et de toutes faveurs et courtoisies que j’ay receues de vous à mon entrée au service de Monseigneur le Comte, vostre oncle, vous assurant, Monsieur, que vostre bon et prudent advis m’a si très tost servy, qu’au lieu que je craignois infimes difficultez je ne me trouvoy jamais mieux, Dieu mercy, ayant cest honneur d’estre favorisé de mon dit Seigneur, aymé d’un chascun et surtout de celuy de qui je commence fort admirer la prudence, discretion et suffisance, et à qui je sasche de me rendre familier, qui est Monsieur At[c]y...”.

⁶⁹ Hotman, *ep.* 26, H. to Lhuidus (= John Llwyd) (Greenwich, 19 June 1582) is probably the first letter we have, written in his new function. From *ep.* 155, however (Thomas Savile to H., s.l., 26 Jan. [1583]), we may conclude that he entered Leicester’s service about Sept./Oct. 1582, for Savile opens his letter by saying: “Mensis iam tertius praeceps est, neque de adventu tuo praeter verba quicquam...”

⁷⁰ See *Appendix 2*.

when they had taken their degree⁷¹. Now that he was to leave Oxford, the Paulet boys were entrusted to the care of Alberico Gentili⁷².

3. LONDON

In exchanging Oxford for London, Hotman exchanged an existence on the lighter side of scholarship for a life close to power. The letters from these years, alas, tell us little about the details of his daily life. While his correspondence as a whole demonstrates that he was far from being shy of making exuberant remarks and his new life presumably offered him opportunities in abundance for his ingrained euphoria, there are no lyrical outbursts about London, the splendour of the Court or at least about his new hero Leicester. Nor do we find a trace of gossip about the great, save an isolated exception. This apparent reticence is probably partly due to the fact that Hotman did not keep copies of all his letters, or removed drafts from his dossiers, and partly to the fact that things connected with *aula* were in principle *arcana* and for that reason only used to be transmitted in confidential conversations – but then frequently and with zest – rather than by correspondence. Indeed with letters one could never be sure that they would reach the right person.

At Court Hotman was provided with an office, and he could now proudly write under his letters: 'from Windsor', 'from Greenwich', 'from Nonesuch'. But he had no lodging there. Where he actually lived is not quite clear. To his father he gave the address of the French pastor Fontaine, who lived in Blackfriars⁷³, but his friends mostly sent their letters to other addresses⁷⁴, which make it likely that he had taken up residence at the latter.

It is obvious that he will have met Leicester regularly at Court and composed many letters for him, thereby getting *au fait* with confidential affairs of state as a matter of course. Evidently he must also have met and accompanied other court dignitaries and attended official receptions, ceremonies

⁷¹ N.R. Ker, 'Books at Christ Church, 1562-1602', in *HUO* III, 505, 514, mentions H's dedication: "Collegio Aedis Christi, doctissimisque et ornatissimis Magistris, ceterisque studiosis, optime de re meritis, pignus hoc amicitiae et observantiae suae reliquit Jo. Hotomannus Franc[isci] F[ilius] L[egum] doctor, X Kal. Jun. MDLXXXII [= 23 May 1582]." The books which he presented were: F. Arrianus, *Periplus* (Geneva 1577) and *Leges Wisigothorum* (Paris 1579). BN lat. 8586 fol. 240r contains an epigram which might be related to Hotman's donation. See *Appendix* 3.

⁷² Van der Molen, *o.c.*, 47. Thomas Savile also felt responsible for the boys, see Hotman, *ep.* 62, Savile to H. (Issicus, 21 Dec. 1582): "Succrescentes paternae gloriae Pouleti mihi curae sunt et accurabo eorum lepidissimum ingenium". At an earlier date Stone was involved in the care of the boys, see Hotman, *ep.* 86 & 87.

⁷³ See how Hotman, *ep.* 32 (BN lat. 8586 fol. 244r) Thomas Savile to H. (s.l., 5 Aug. 1582) is addressed: "To the right woorthshipfull Mr Doctor Hotman at Court deliver theis or els leave the same at Mr Fountaynes lodging in Blackfriars." *Ep.* 70 (fol. 257r) Savile to H. (Oxford, 9 March 1583/4): "Deliver these at Mr Fountaynes Lodging in Black Friars." This remains H.'s postal address till the end of his stay in England, as appears from *ep.* 105, [London, May 1590].

⁷⁴ Hotman, *Ep.* 62 (BN lat. 8586 fol. 252r) Savile to H. (Issicus, 21 Dec. 1582) has the following address: "To the right woorthshipfull & his singular good friend Mr Doctor Hotoman living at Mr Pooopes house in Trinity Lane."

and festivities. But all that emerges from the letters is that he occasionally saw Sir Amias Paulet – who lived outside London –, kept in touch with Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Francis Walsingham⁷⁵, with Leicester's private secretary Arthur Atey, with Sir Edwald Dyer, and some others.

There is not much to tell about these contacts as they were mainly of an official nature. This is less so in the case of Sir Philip Sidney, but, as I indicated earlier, we should not overestimate the intimacy of their relationship. It will have been limited chiefly to an exchange of elegant courtesies and frivolities. A few unpublished letters from Hotman to Sidney and a single one from Sidney are of minor importance⁷⁶. In fact, Sidney's scribbled note to Hotman, written in French, seems even more insignificant than Hotman's letters. These only demonstrate boundless adoration. In order to reciprocate Sidney's intervention on his behalf, Hotman suggested to his father to dedicate one of his recent treatises to Sidney, arguing that the latter was considered "le plus docte, vertueux et courtois gentilhomme d'Angleterre, et à qui vous et moi sont infiniment obligez"⁷⁷. The advice, however, was ignored by the elder Hotman.

Notwithstanding the *splendor aulae* by which Hotman was surrounded, it is rather doubtful whether the life he spent in London was quite as glamorous. Apart from the reiterated complaints that courtlife bored him and that he was nostalgic for Oxford⁷⁸, we have a letter of his to his friend Savile, in which he unburdens his heart and gives a very sad picture of himself. It is a touching document that must have been written in a very depressive mood, but of which he was obviously not ashamed, since otherwise he would have removed it from his dossier. He depicts himself as somebody suffering from shyness. He had been a shy person all along, which did not get any better as he grew older. In his eyes, this disablement was painfully incompatible with his doctorate, and he worried lest people, noticing his shyness, might suspect him not to have received his degree honestly! Keeping up the depressive self-destruction, he then starts to speak about his command of languages. People praise me for it, he says, but I know better: it all amounts

⁷⁵ From time to time letters destined for Walsingham were entrusted to Hotman. See *CSPF* (Jan.-June 1583), nr. 323, J. Lobetius to Walsingham (May 21, 1583), 355.

⁷⁶ Besides the letter from Hotman to Sidney mentioned above n. 68, see also the letter printed in *Appendix 5*. A letter from Sydney to H. (12 Febr. 1580/1) is present in Brit. Libr. 12102 addenda (Bibliotheca Butleriana) fol. 1.

⁷⁷ See *Appendix 4*.

⁷⁸ Hotman, *ep.* 29, H. to John Bennett (s.l., 1 June 1582): "... ut me non Aulicum sed Academicum agnoscas."; *ep.* 42, H. to Henry Cuffe (Windsor, 17 Nov. 1582): "... Aulicus iste splendor a docto pulvere scholastico animum meum nunquam abalienabit"; *ep.* 67, H. to John Savile (Richmond, 12 Febr. 1583/4): "Etenim miseriae istius splendidae aulicae cepit me iampridem taedium et odium maximum."; *ep.* 82, H. to Camden (Oxford, 1 Oct. 1583): "Aulam pertaesus, quaero latebras, atque utinam mihi tam sit diuturnum hoc otium quam est exoptatum, ac dum fruo, iucundum." See also *ep.* 80 (which is the end of *ep.* 84), H. to Wilkes (Oxford, 25 Sept. 1583).

to nothing. The worst thing, however, that which drove him to despair, was that he blushed at the slightest provocation. The greater part of the letter is devoted to an effort at producing a careful analysis of this evil.

He discerns four causes: his constitution, causing him to colour on making the slightest movement; his upbringing, that had taught him modesty as a Christian virtue *par excellence*; his sluggish speech (*tarditas linguae*), which he blamed on a multilingual youth; and, finally – but not surprisingly – the desperate feeling that he did not come up to the expectations people had of him, the son of so famous and erudite a father. He concludes his letter with the urgent request that Savile, with his vast knowledge of philosophy and ethics, come to his rescue and suggest a remedy for his ailments⁷⁹. If Savile ever gave him any advice of the kind in writing, we must alas conclude that it was lost.

Apart from these psychological problems, his new position entailed material worries as well. As long as he was in the service of Sir Amias Paulet, his salary had never caused any problems, at least not as far as we know. But now that he was in the service of the Earl of Leicester, it gave him nightmares. Already before a year at court had passed he had to borrow money, as he could not possibly get by on what he received. *Non quicquid splendet aurum est*⁸⁰, he exclaimed when it was his turn to find out that the splendour of Tudor England was by no means reflected in the manner in which it remunerated its servants. Others experienced the same difficulties, but most of them had private means, and Hotman had none, that is to say not in those years. He began to long for the time of his tutorship, and put out a feeler to his former patron, arguing that his present function left him plenty of time to continue the guidance of the eminent boys⁸¹. At the same time he turned to Sir Philip Sidney in hopes of preferment through his support. Indeed it was rumoured that there were episcopal mutations in the air, entailing new prebends⁸². But both actions led to nothing, and Hotman had to content himself with the miserly salary of twenty-eight pounds a year that Leicester paid him for his services⁸³. In principle this was a quarterly payment, but sometimes he was forced to beg for it and the amount was never increased. In order to see this in its proper perspective, we must compare this sum with the cost of Leicester's burial, which amounted to four thousand pounds – almost one hundred and fifty times Hotman's annual wages⁸⁴.

⁷⁹ Hotman, *ep.* 24, H. to Thomas Savile (s.l.s.a.).

⁸⁰ Hotman, *ep.* 71, H. to N.N. (Richmond, 9 March 1583/4).

⁸¹ Fragment of a draft, H. to Paulet (BN lat. 8586 fol. 90v, s.l.s.a. [1583?]): "... et vous prie de croire que de tout mon coeur je voudroyt encor avoir l'un [de vos fils] près de moy, pour luy continuer faire poursuyvre ses estudes, attendu le beau plaisir que j'en ay depuis, n'ayant jamais eu mesmes à Oxford si bon loysir de vaquer à mes estudes, qui m'est bien le plus grand contentement que je saurois avoir et trouve qu'il n'y a jeune homme en ceste court qui n'aist assez de loisir d'en avoir mesmes, si la volonté en manque."

⁸² H. to Sidney, see *Appendix* 5.

⁸³ Hotman, *ep.* 81, H. to Arthur Atey (Oxford, 30 Sept. 1583).

⁸⁴ *DNB* V, 120, s.v. Dudley, Robert, Earl of Leicester.

His shabby salary certainly gave him ground for bitterness, especially when, at the end of 1585, he followed his patron to the Low Countries without receiving any reimbursement of the necessary travel expenses. From Utrecht he sent a letter to Leicester's private secretary Arthur Atey, who was well-disposed towards him, dated significantly: '*infausto Bartholomei die festo 1586*'. In it he complains:

"... I lacked everything necessary for a journey such as this. Through Morus I have asked the illustrious Earl for money, but the answer I got was cryptic, as though from an oracle. Out of the salary promised me I have received fifteen pounds at the most during the past nine months, whereas I had to spend at least forty pounds. My request for a horse for my transport was turned down. Somebody else snatched away a coach from right under my nose. And a pistol, an absolute necessity here nowadays, I could not buy for lack of means"⁸⁵.

In view of his devotion and loyalty to Leicester's cause, and especially considering the relatively heavy responsibility he had shouldered during Leicester's absence in the Netherlands, Hotman had actually expected to receive some special reward afterwards. But – the story is monotonous – to his sorrow this hope, too, came to nothing. The only support he had from Leicester consisted in the latter's mediation with the bishop of Salisbury, which resulted in a prebend of – we know the amount – twenty-eight pounds a year. This seemed to give some security, but very soon Hotman to his dismay found out that, all innovations of the reformation notwithstanding, the annates-tax still prevailed, and it was scant comfort that it was no longer levied by the church but by the state. His installation, moreover, required some supplementary expenses. To Camden, who had simultaneously received a benefice from the cathedral of Salisbury, he writes:

"If the Earl now thinks he is relieved of any further responsibility for me ... because of this *beneficium* granted me, you will understand why I am rather inclined to speak of a *maleficium*"⁸⁶.

Be this as it may, the tree was to bear fruit somewhat later than expected, and consequently Hotman was forced to extend his stay in England a little in order to derive at least some benefit from his benefice. But first, let us return to London and the Court.

As long as his stay in London lasted, Hotman remained in touch with his friends by correspondence. Not exclusively, though, for occasionally he revisited his beloved Oxford – just as he from time to time went to France as

⁸⁵ Hotman, *ep.* 96, H. to A. Atey (Utrecht, 23 Aug. 1586).

⁸⁶ Hotman, *ep.* 103, H. to Camden (London, 19 Aug. 1588). See also Baird Smith, *a.c.* 152 n. 2. John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857*, VI Salisbury Diocese, London 1986, 53; "Prebendaries of Ilfracombe ... John Hotman 1588-? Instal. 9 July 1588 ...; William Camden MA 1589-1623. Coll. 3 Febr. 1589. Instal. by proxy 6 Feb."

Leicester's agent, where in 1584 he was nominated '*prieur du collège des droits*' at Caen⁸⁷ – and his friends also reciprocated his visits in London. When they came to see him, he naturally allowed them a peep behind the scenes, introduced them to some dignitary or other, in short let them experience for a moment the intoxication of life at Court⁸⁸.

Thematically the correspondence at this time changes in so far as the inevitable, to modern readers rather puerile and almost amorous declarations of friendship and adoration which characterise most of the letters from the early years, are now often supplemented by very down-to-earth requests for help or intervention. The reason is obvious: Hotman's new position within the sphere of power did raise the hope of his friends that they could take advantage of him and, if need be, correct quirks of fate through his mediation. Likewise, his support was courted in finding a patron, somebody who could provide an allowance, a situation at a College or just a job. When the effort was a success, the patron concerned would receive a book with a hyperbolic dedication, and in the mean time he was kept in the right mood with flattering letters – of course invariably written in as intricate a Latin or Greek as the author was capable of –, in which the praises were sung of his qualities as patron, and his genius and generosity were praised to the stars.

Hotman's role with respect to patronage was twofold. In the first place he acted under the authority of his master Leicester, 'patron of letters'⁸⁹, but besides he also operated independently; evidently not as a patron, but as a kind of patronage broker, a *proxeneta*, as indeed he is called in certain letters⁹⁰.

On Leicester's order he greatly exerted himself in favour of a Genevan refugee, Samuel Chevalier (Cevalerius), for whose benefit he wrote no less than fifteen letters of recommendation, without exception addressed to his friends at Oxford⁹¹. This in itself already points to a personal rather than formal interest, but he also states it in so many words, saying that Chevalier was an old friend of his, even almost a brother. Chevalier, citizen of Geneva and elder brother of this city's secretary, had come to England provided with references from Theodore Beza in particular to the archbishop of Canterbury⁹². He was physically handicapped, is described as an allround semitist and as a pupil of his namesake, Antoine Rudolph Chevalier, who was well-known

⁸⁷ In Dec. 1583 he stayed in Paris, as appears from a letter by Stafford to Walsingham, see *CSPF* (1583-84), nr. 293, 259. Soon he abandoned his post at Caen, because the College failed to pay him. Cf. Jules Cauvet, *Le collège des droits de l'ancienne Université de Caen*, Caen 1858, 71; 133, as cited by Dareste, *a.c.*, 117 n. 5.

⁸⁸ See Hotman, *ep.* 16, Thomas Savile to H. (s.l.s.a.), and *ep.* 126, Savile to H. (Oxford, 9 May 1582), where he says, after having visited H.: "Aulicam ante mirabar elegantiam, nunc prolixam miror aulae elegantiam..."

⁸⁹ See Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters*, New York 1955.

⁹⁰ For his role as *proxeneta* see Hotman, *ep.* 22, 23, 31, 38, 42, 61, (62), 75, 77, 89.

⁹¹ Hotman, *ep.* 45, 46, 48-50, 52-61. Cf. above n. 17.

⁹² Hotman, *ep.* 49, H. to Underhill (Windsor, Dec. 1582).

in England, a former Cambridge student. Hotman writes that Samuel's edition of the Talmud was highly praised by Beza, and that he had translated Josephus from the Hebrew into Latin, revealing a great number of variants from the Greek text⁹³. Speaking highly of his piety and scholarly prowess, he warmly recommends him: as a teacher of Hebrew he was bound to become a credit to the university. But all efforts to provide Chevalier with a post at Oxford came to nothing. What did happen was that a few years later he became a French minister in London, and afterwards at Canterbury, where he died in 1619⁹⁴.

Hotman's activities as *proxeneta* in the field of patronage are clearly demonstrated in the case of Henry Cuffe. Cuffe (1563-1601) was a talented but also very ambitious and hot-tempered young man, who in his fifteenth year was admitted to Trinity College. Trinity was one of those colleges where popish influence was long and firmly embedded. Even though the Fellows in 1566 had signed the Thirty-Nine Articles, there were repeated indications that the popish fire kept burning underground. "A strong, though discreet, popish element survived at Trinity into the 1580s", Penry Williams remarks, and by way of illustration he mentions that "as late as 1583 four or five students left Trinity for Rheims"⁹⁵.

Everything points to the fact that the central figure who kept the fire burning in Trinity was Elizabeth Paulet, Sir Amias' stepmother and diametrically opposed to him in religious matters. She was a devout Roman Catholic lady, the widow by her first marriage of Trinity's founder Sir Thomas Pope⁹⁶. Cuffe came from the same village as Lady Elizabeth, which explains why he was admitted to Trinity on her recommendation. At the same time it suggests that Cuffe as a fifteen-year-old boy will have been untainted by protestant feelings, which only in Oxford came to life within him in a rather eruptive manner.

At the end of May 1582, Cuffe turned to Hotman – who had earlier made a successful effort for him⁹⁷ – with a panicky letter, writing that a message

⁹³ Hotman, *ep.* 46, H. to Raynolds ([Windsor, Dec. 1582]). See about this text S. Krauss in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII 280, s.v. Josephus: "A Hebrew translation of Josephus' *Contra Apionem* was printed together with Zacuto's 'Yuhasin' in Constantinople (1566). The translation was not made by Zacuto ... but was appended to the Yuhasin by its first publisher, Samuel Shullam. This Hebrew translation is very free, whole phrases of the text being omitted, and was probably made with the aid of the Latin translation." See also Heinz Schneckenburg, *Bibliographie zu Flavio Josephus*, Leiden 1968, 16.

⁹⁴ See *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève, (1559-1878)*, publié par Suzanne Stelling-Michaud, IV, H-M, Genève, s.v. Le Chevalier, Samuel, 289, and Beate Magen, *Die Wallonen Gemeinde in Canterbury von ihrer Gründung bis zum Jahre 1635*, Bern / Frankfurt/M. 1973, 76ff, 136, 138, 218 (219).

⁹⁵ Penry Williams in *HUO* III, 409.

⁹⁶ See *HUO* III, reg. s.v. Pope, Sir Thomas.

⁹⁷ Hotman, *ep.* 14, Cuffe to H. (Oxford, 29 Jan. 1582/3): "Heros ille [sc. Amias Paulet] et singularis meus εὐεργέτης, literas ad Antonium filium paternae nobilitatis χαρακτηῖρα misit, quibus pro singulari humanitate significavit, se, una cum ornatissima Margareta coniuge, mei memorem futurum. Ecquid maius, non dicam sperare, sed vel optare poteram? Neque dubito, me her-

had arrived at Trinity from the *fundatrix*, i.e. Lady Paulet, containing venomous and bitter remarks about him and a few other students. In other words, his place in the College was in jeopardy. He urgently, if not peremptorily, asked Hotman to mobilize his connexions immediately, Sir Francis Walsingham in particular⁹⁸.

Hotman, as it would seem, did nothing for the time being. Some months later he again received a letter from Cuffe, in which he went into the situation at Trinity in more detail:

“What one sees happening here before one’s very eyes is that persons who previously had been expelled because of their impiety, illiteracy, their ungodliness even, are now re-admitted, restored to their former rights and even invested with positions ... And who is responsible for all this? It is, lo and behold, perpetrated by the bishop, whom I can now only see as an emissary of the Antichrist”⁹⁹.

He asks Hotman again to find him lodgings, since “in this female-run college” he had become *persona non grata*. He adds that were he to have the final word, he would prefer Merton, this being the College of Sir Henry Savile whom he admires greatly¹⁰⁰. Hotman let him know that he would draw Leicester’s attention to him and recommend him to the Warden of Merton. He did not think it would be wise to follow Cuffe’s suggestion and to involve Leicester’s secretary Atey in the affair, as the latter was not very well liked by the Warden, who anyway had the reputation not to be susceptible to manipulations and pressure from Court¹⁰¹.

Presumably there had been some personal contact along with the correspondence, for Cuffe’s next letter is dated a few months later. “The day is drawing near”, he writes, “that I shall have to look for someone who is willing to provide for me. Otherwise, I anticipate having to yield my place at the university.” Again he begs Hotman to see to it that Leicester will exert pressure on Elizabeth Paulet so that the will of this lady, as he expresses it, “either bows to his charm or is broken by his authority”¹⁰².

The correspondence does not yield more information about Cuffe’s worries. From other sources, however, we know – and we may perhaps attribute this to Hotman’s intercession – that finally Cuffe got himself appointed Fel-

cule, quin tu huius rei suator, autor, actor fueris; quid ergo mirum si te amem?” See also *ep.* 44, H. Cuffe to H. (Oxford, 18 Dec. [1582]).

⁹⁸ Hotman, *ep.* 19, Cuffe to H. (Oxford, 19 May [1582]).

⁹⁹ Hotman, *ep.* 30, Cuffe to H. (Oxford, 8 Aug. 1582). Cf. *ep.* 126, Thomas Savile to H. (Oxford, May 1582): “Cuffius, Martinus, reliqui lectissimi iuvenes Episcopi Bulla (illiterati enim hominis literas dicere religio est) amouentur, suctectis in eorum locos nequissimis nebulonibus.”

¹⁰⁰ Hotman, *ep.* 30, Cuffe to H. (Oxford, 8 Aug. 1582).

¹⁰¹ Hotman, *ep.* 42, H. to Cuffe (Windsor, 17 Nov. 1582), and *ep.* 77, Cuffe to H. (s.l. [Dec. 1582]). According to George C. Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College with biographical notices of the Wardens and Fellows*, Oxford 1885, 166, Thomas Bickley must have been the Warden in question.

¹⁰² Hotman, *ep.* 75, Cuffe to H. (Oxford, 8 April 1583).

low of Trinity (May 30, 1583). That was not to be for long, however, for a severe remark about the practical jokes which the Founder of Trinity, Sir Thomas Pope, was fond of playing on his friends, led to his expulsion from the College¹⁰³. So it was back to square one again. But in the end he obtained what he had always wanted, and perhaps had known all along that it would happen: Sir Henry Savile, whom he so greatly venerated, offered him a tutorship in Merton, and there he continued his Greek studies with conspicuous success. In 1589 he took his M.A. and soon after he was appointed professor of Greek. In 1594 he was proctor. But his ambition and restlessness kept driving him, and made him again look for another possibility. He accepted an appointment as private secretary to the Earl of Essex, with whose cause he identified himself completely. This led to his ruin: he was executed in 1601¹⁰⁴.

4. THE LOW COUNTRIES

In his marvellously written *History of the United Netherlands*, Motley gives a very detailed description of Leicester's activities in the Netherlands. He expertly deals with this period on the strength of an admirable knowledge of the sources which – let us not forget – were in his time far less easily accessible than nowadays. Of course he does mention Hotman occasionally but he does not show himself to be really familiar with him. Evidently not knowing that his father was François Hotman, nor what exactly his function with Leicester was, Motley portrays him as “a non-descript, whom Hohenlo characterized as ‘a long lean Englishman, with a little black beard’”¹⁰⁵. He continues: “This meagre individual, however, seems to have been of doubtful nationality. He called himself Otheman, claimed to be a Frenchman, had lived much in England, wrote with great fluency and spirit, both in French and English, but was said, in reality, to be named Robert Dale.” Quite nicely but somewhat overstated he calls him ‘Leicester’s eavesdropper-in-chief’¹⁰⁶. All in all the picture Motley paints of Hotman is based in fact on only one letter he

¹⁰³ *DNB* III, 273, s.v. Cuff or Cuffe, Henry.

¹⁰⁴ Brodrick, *o.c.*, 274. It would be desirable if someone would make a study of Cuffe's *The Differences of Ages of Men*. A.L. Rouse (“The Tragic Career of Henry Cuffe”, in *Court and Country, Studies in Tudor Social History*, Athene [1987], 211-41), has drawn attention to Cuffe again, but about the intention and importance of this work he fails to make us any wiser.

¹⁰⁵ John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands from the death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort*, Rotterdam 1872, 394.

¹⁰⁶ Motley, *o.c.*, 394-96.

¹⁰⁷ H. to Leicester (Utrecht, 29 Jan. 1587), printed in R. Broersma & G. Busken Huet, *Brieven over het Leycestersche tijdvak uit de papieren van Jean Hotman* [= Broersma / Busken Huet, *Brieven*], Amsterdam 1913 (Bijdr. en Med. Hist. Gen. 34), nr. 21, (The Hague, 1 Jan. 1587), 100-20. See also Gilpin to Leicester (The Hague, 6/16 Dec. 1586) in H. Brugmans, *Correspondentie van Robert, Graaf van Leicester, en andere documenten betreffende zijn gouvernement-generaal in de Nederlanden, 1585-1588* [= Brugmans, *Correspondentie*], Utrecht 1931 (Werken Hist. Gen. 56), 302: “... doctor Hotman and others are there [Utrecht] and labour by all means to pacify matters, whereof there is some hope and good issew expected.” See also letter nr. 175, 329-30.

wrote to his chief after the latter's (first) departure from the Netherlands¹⁰⁷. Of this letter Motley gives a very amusing and readable paraphrase. The question is, however, whether this paraphrase is adequate, and whether it does not testify to Motley's own Victorian preconceptions rather than show an understanding of the playful character of Elizabethan courtesy¹⁰⁸.

At the end of May 1585, Hotman followed Leicester to the Low Countries and, now on foreign soil, continued to serve him as secretary. His position became more important when Leicester in December 1586 went back to England and left Hotman behind as his agent, with the special commission to pacify the troubles in Utrecht¹⁰⁹. With his whole heart he applied himself to this task, along with Thomas Wilkes, one of the English members of the Council of State. It was a taxing task, but he performed it with great success. On the strength of his activities in Utrecht, Broersma characterizes Hotman as 'a sensible man'¹¹⁰. It did not take him long to form a clear picture of the factions and complicated interplay of forces in the town and province of Utrecht, and he gave a lucid account of the confused situation in his report to Leicester. Broersma sums it up: "If the report on the Utrecht troubles given to Leicester really is Hotman's work, it may be considered as proof of his clear insight. It goes without saying that in his capacity as Leicester's secretary he enjoyed the confidence of many. As to the governor himself, he could not have relied on his secretary more than he did. Indeed, haughty though he was, he confessed to Hotman what he probably never revealed to anyone else: that he was not equal to his task in the Netherlands"¹¹¹.

It would seem that Hotman permitted his new responsibility to go to his head a little, for he made so bold as to write to Queen Elizabeth directly, in order to spur her on to continue her support of the cause of the Netherlands. This flagrant violation of hierarchical code was immediately punished by Leicester, who in unmistakable terms put him in his place, with the words:

"I marvayle not a little what shoulde move you to wryte to Her Majestie without my knowledge, being my servant and left there only for my affaires, and so doth Her Majestie also"¹¹².

¹⁰⁸ Motley, *o.c.*, 397-99.

¹⁰⁹ See the 'Instruction' (27 Nov./7 Dec. 1586) in Broersma/Busken Huet, *Brieven*, nr. 15, 87.

¹¹⁰ R. Broersma, *Het tusschenbestuur in het Leycestersche tijdvak naar officieele bescheiden bewerkt*, Goes 1899, 11: "Dat hij [Hotman] overigens een verstandig man was kan uit hetgeen hier en daar van hem zal worden aangehaald voldoende blijken."

¹¹¹ Broersma / Busken Huet, *Brieven*, introduction, 6. For a good survey of the situation in Utrecht, see Helen Bannatyne, 'Utrecht in Crisis, 1586-1588', in *The Dutch Crisis, 1585-1588, People and Politics in Leicester's Time*. Papers of the annual symposium held on 27 Nov. 1987, Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden 1988, 35-52. Neither in F.G. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands 1586-1587*, Utrecht 1988, nor in Jan Albert Dop, *Eliza's Knights: Soldiers, Poets and Puritans in the Netherlands, 1572-1586*, Alblasterdam [1981], is Hotman's name mentioned.

¹¹² Broersma / Busken Huet, *Brieven*, nr. 33 (15 Febr. 1587), 159-61, & nr. 37 (22 Febr./4 March 1587), 170.

This incident, however, did not lead to any lasting estrangement between master and servant.

What greatly worried Hotman in these years was his future. He had married shortly before, and there was a child on the way¹¹³. He was very well aware of the fact that as a foreigner his chances to build up a diplomatic career in England were very poor. He had been in Leicester's service for five years now, but it was far from certain whether this would be continued, and if so for how long. In addition, his salary caused him sleepless nights. At one of his visits to France, Henry of Navarra had appointed him 'conseiller et maître de requêtes'¹¹⁴, out of kindness to Hotman the elder, who likewise had been given this title. Even if it did not involve any function or remuneration – it was no more than a title of honour –, it did imply that he belonged to the *familia* of the court of Navarre, and this gave him food for thought. Would it not be wise to consider the very insecure English adventure closed now and to offer his services to the great Béarnais? When in 1585 he stayed for some months in France, his family and friends had urged him to do so. But he had ignored their advice and, acting from a sense of loyalty and duty, had returned at full speed to England when Leicester had summoned him in view of the expedition to the Netherlands. He had followed the Earl, but his loyalty had remained unrewarded. He poured out his tale of woe to Atey¹¹⁵, and embittered wrote to Leicester himself:

“For rather than to be so much disgraced, I will beseeche your Excellencie to geve me my leave, that I may goe to my old master ye king of Navarra, whose fortune I would rather run with daunger, then to remaine here in such disgrace as I have ben, and am every day ...”¹¹⁶.

Whether or not his situation improved as a result of this cry of distress we do not know. So much is certain that thanks to Leicester's mediation Hotman obtained a benefice in July 1588¹¹⁷, which enabled him to prolong his stay in England and to make preparations for a new future.

Let us turn now to his contacts with scholars in the Netherlands. In contradistinction to present-day diplomats, among whom it is a happy exception if they have any sense of scholarship, their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century

¹¹³ See the charming letter from father Hotman to his new daughter-in-law, incorporated in P.J. Blok (ed.) 'Correspondance inédite de Robert Dudley, Comte de Leycester, et de François et Jean Hotman', in *Archives du Musée de Teyler*, série II, vol. XII, deux. partie, [= Blok, *Correspondance*], Haarlem / Paris / Leipzig 1911, letter 85 ([Basel], 20 May 1587), 224. About 1585, I suppose, and probably in France, Jean married Jeanne de Saint-Martin, daughter of René de Saint-Martin, sieur de Veivigne.

¹¹⁴ See Eug. & M. Haag, *La France Protestante*, IV, Paris 1853, s.v. Hotman, Jean, 539: "... [Hotman] fut nommé conseiller du roi de Navarre et maître des requêtes ordinaire de son hôtel, par lettres du 14 janvier 1585".

¹¹⁵ Hotman, *ep.* 97 (s.l. [April 1587]), 343-44.

¹¹⁶ Broersma / Busken Huet, *Brieven*, nr. 55 (The Hauge, 22 June 1587), 238-40.

¹¹⁷ See above n. 86.

predecessors were scholars almost to a man. What is more, they were by preference recruited from among the ranks of learned men, on the assumption that their knowledge of the sources of wisdom, i.e. antiquity, was directly profitable to the political cause they served. In other words: activities in the field of diplomacy – at the time hardly to be distinguished from espionage – and scholarship used to go hand in hand. Hotman, though he had up till then not yet developed into ‘a man sent to lie abroad’¹¹⁸, i.e. a fully-fledged diplomat, is no exception to this rule, and it is therefore not surprising that he tried to come into contact with scholars in the Netherlands as soon as he had gone ashore. The university of Leiden, as the country’s new centre of learning, was the natural meeting-place.

When Hotman, at the beginning of January 1586, visited Leiden in Leicester’s retinue, he at once availed himself of the opportunity to meet the university’s famous men¹¹⁹. As was to be expected, he especially selected those whom he had already met as a member of the Leicester-Sidney circle in England, or who belonged to his father’s friends. Next to Janus Dousa the elder and the younger, these were Justus Lipsius, Donellus, Bonaventura Vulcanius, Baudius and, presumably, Saravia, at that time rector of the university¹²⁰. Without exception they all shared a christian-humanist persuasion, but they also agreed in political view, in that they expected great things from England in general, and from Leicester in particular.

Dousa the elder, for example, who first on his own initiative and later as official delegate of the States General had gone to England, together with Buys, to plead Leicester’s presence in the Netherlands, had been delighted at the Earl’s arrival. Lipsius and Donellus also strongly sympathized with Leicester, especially because both were convinced that after the death of

¹¹⁸ Ascribed to Sir Henry Wotton: “Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa”, as indicated by Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Penguin Books 1973, 228 n. 7.

¹¹⁹ R.C. Strong and J.A. van Dorsten, *Leicester’s Triumph*, Leiden / London 1964, (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, spec. series no. 2), 61ff. Hotman must have arrived a few days before, as is apparent from the date of his inscription in Bonaventura Vulcanius’ *Album Amicorum* (Bibl. Royale Bruxelles, ser. II no. 1166). According to a copy of this album, deposited in the Univ. Libr. of Leiden (*BPL* 1912, nr. 109), the inscription runs: ‘O quelle bonn’ aventure. Aiunt nostri patris filiique eandem censerī personam. Certe, ut nomen mihi cum patre commune, ita et amor in te communis, commune studium. Proinde quid meo insuper nomine fuit opus, mi Vulcane? Vel quid potest a me ornamenti accedere ornatissimo huic libello tuo? nisi quod tu me voluisti patris mei sequi iudicium; ac pium est. Itaque ego te ex patris sententia ac longe et magis ex tuo in me merito, ob tuam singularem pietatem, eruditionem, humanitatem, colo, observo, magnifacio. Summi honoris loco vicissim habeo tuam in me benevolentiam. Lugduni Batavorum urbe primaria et tuo maxime nomine celebri. V Kal. Jan. MDLXXXVI [= 28 Dec. 1586], Jo[hannes] Hotomanus I[uris] U[triusque] D[octo]r Fran[cisci] Hot[omani] f[ilius].’ Cf. H. de Vries de Heekelingen, *Correspondance de Bonaventura Vulcanius pendant son séjour à Cologne, Genève et Bâle (1573-1577)*, La Haye 1923, 497.

¹²⁰ Willem Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (c. 1532-1613)*. Dutch Calvinist, first Reformed defender of the English episcopal Church order on the basis of the *ius divinum*, Leiden 1980, (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 21), 96ff.

William of Orange the States would not be able to deal with the situation without help from abroad. All of them were of the opinion that the States General constituted a powerless body, but, unlike Lipsius, the more hot-tempered and imprudent Donellus stated this feeling openly. He spoke slightly of the States, of Prince Maurice and Hohenlo, and in so doing overreached himself: it led to his immediate dismissal as professor in the spring of 1587, well over a year after Hotman's visit to Leiden¹²¹. How much Saravia sympathized with Leicester is well-known; he even got himself involved in a coup in favour of Leicester, with the result that his position at Leiden became impossible. He fled to England, where he was to become a pillar of the Elizabethan and Jacobean establishment¹²².

Most of the persons mentioned had for a long time lived in close touch with humanist circles in England. The late Jan van Dorsten in his *Poets, Patrons and Professors* has excellently mapped out Anglo-Dutch cultural relations in this period, paying ample attention to Hotman's role in these matters¹²³. I shall therefore limit myself to Hotman's contacts with Justus Lipsius and Janus Dousa the younger.

Initially John's relationship with Lipsius derived from the latter's friendship with Hotman the elder¹²⁴. Later it was strengthened owing to the fact that Lipsius, through Dousa the elder, had come into contact with scholars from among Leicester's circle – Sir Edwald Dyer and Sir Philip Sidney in particular – who, full of admiration for his learning, had even attempted to lure him away to England. When Leicester visited Leiden and its university, it was Lipsius on whom was conferred the honour to regale the Governor-General with a lecture on Tacitus, on which occasion Hotman must certainly have been present.

Five letters testify to Hotman's contacts with Lipsius¹²⁵. On his visit to this scholar in January 1586, he must have asked him to write something in connection with the edition he was planning of a treatise by an unspecified author. The first letter on this subject is somewhat cryptic. We learn only that

¹²¹ Donellus was an intimate friend of the elder Hotman. They had been colleagues in the law faculty at Bourges, whence both had fled in August 1572. On Donellus' dismissal, see W. Bischof, *De woelingen der Leicestersche partij binnen Leiden, 1586 en 1587*, Leiden 1867, 23-46 & 83-98. For his works, see Margreet Ahsmann & Robert Feenstra, *Bibliografie van hoogleraren in de rechten aan de Leidse Universiteit tot 1811*, Amsterdam 1984, 105-29. After his dismissal he became a professor at the university of Altdorf.

¹²² See Nijenhuis, *o.c.*, third chapter.

¹²³ J.A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons and Professors. Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden University*, Leiden / London 1962, (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, General Series 2).

¹²⁴ Cf. his letter to Savile, quoted above n. 38. For Lipsius, see Gerhard Oestreich, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606). Der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, [ed.] Nicolette Mout, Göttingen [1989] (Schriftenreihe der historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38).

¹²⁵ Hotman, *opp.* 88, 93, 94, 95, 98. In the new edition, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* [= *ILE*], II & III, Brussels 1983/1987, these letters bear the numbers: 672, 469, 474, 506, 531.

Lipsius found the task hard, because he was forced, as he puts it, “to express my own thoughts in the words of somebody else”¹²⁶. Apparently something was missing in the text which needed supplementing. In a subsequent letter Hotman clarifies – and that gives us a better clue – that the *libellus* concerned was written by a member of his family. Although the booklet had been printed before, distribution had not taken place, its author having bought back all copies, fifty in number. Admittedly, Hotman did anticipate some difficulty for the printer because of Lipsius' recommendation; yet, he adds consolingly, “this will only increase the value of the booklet”¹²⁷. What, then, was the booklet concerned?

We need have no doubts: the entire discussion concerns a learned treatise entitled *POGONIAS sive de barba dialogus*, written by an uncle of Hotman's, the Gallican-inclined ‘Conseiller du Parlement’ Antoine Hotman (1525-1596)¹²⁸. Around May 1586¹²⁹ it was published in Leiden by Raphelengius, with a short dedication by Lipsius addressed to Hotman¹³⁰. In some twenty brief chapters the booklet gives a detailed survey of beard- and hair styles in antiquity and the middle ages. It was to be reprinted several times¹³¹.

In later letters Hotman approached Lipsius with the purpose of acquiring an atlas of Ortelius from Plantin in connection with a journey to Germany he had in mind¹³². He also sent him a booklet that was unknown in the Netherlands with the suggestion to have it reprinted by Raphelengius¹³³. When Sir Philip Sidney had died in battle, Hotman urged Lipsius to compose a tribute to him. Finally, he begged Lipsius to see to it that the dismissal of his friend Donellus be cancelled¹³⁴. A superfluous request, for immediately after Donellus' dismissal Lipsius had already taken action on behalf of his friend.

Hotman had met the younger Janus Dousa when the latter accompanied his father on one of his trips to England¹³⁵. Presumably Janus, himself a fledgling

¹²⁶ Hotman, *ep.* 88, Lipsius to H. [Leiden, March 1586] [= *ILE* III nr. 672]. I disagree with the editors of the new edition who consider this undated letter as alluding to Lipsius' *Politica*.

¹²⁷ Hotman, *ep.* 93, H. to Lipsius (Utrecht, 9 April 1586) [= *ILE* II Nr. 469].

¹²⁸ See *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 25, Paris 1858, s.v. Hotman, Antoine.

¹²⁹ Cf. also Janus Dousa's letter to H., quoted beneath, n. 142.

¹³⁰ Dedication: “Iustus Lipsius Iohanni Hotomanno Fr[ancisc]i f[ilio] I[ur]is C[onsulto] Salu-tem D[icit], VI Kal. Maiias [= 11 May] 1586”, see *ILE* II nr. 472. On this edition of *De barba*, see Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589)*. A bibliography of the works presented and published by Christoph Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden, III, G-L, Amsterdam [1981], nr. 1405, [186]. Mistakenly Voet calls Antoine Jean's ‘brother’.

¹³¹ The different editions are summed up in the art. mentioned above, n. 128.

¹³² Hotman, *ep.* 94, H. to Lipsius (Arnhem, May 1586) [= *ILE* II nr. 474].

¹³³ Hotman, *ep.* 94, H. to Lipsius (Arnhem, May 1586) [= *ILE* II nr. 474]. As the editors of the new edition suggest, this might concern the booklet by Geoffrey Whitney, *A choice of emblems and other devices*, Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius, 1586.

¹³⁴ Hotman, *ep.* 95, H. to Lipsius (s.l.s.a.) [= *ILE* II nr. 506]; *ep.* 98, H. to Lipsius (s.l. [shortly after 24 April 1587]) [= *ILE* II nr. 531].

¹³⁵ Janus Dousa the Elder stayed in England from August – 20 Sept. 1584, and from July – Dec. 1585. See also Van Dorsten, *o.c.*, 79ff.

ling poet, would have eagerly looked forward to meeting English poets personally and to get to know their work. Very likely Hotman lent a helping hand, and it was due to him that Dousa made the acquaintance of both Sir Philip Sidney and Henry Constable.

The latter came from a prominent family with a long tradition of military and public service, connected through marriage with the nobility. He was born in 1562, studied briefly at Cambridge, then went to Paris to start a typically Renaissance life with that peculiar mixture of – in modern eyes hardly compatible – interests and activities as secret agent, courtier, theologian and above all poet. It was chiefly as the latter that he gained a reputation. His contemporaries considered him a major poet, someone equalling Sidney, Daniel, Drayton and all the other great luminaries of the English Renaissance.

It is not quite clear why exactly Constable went to Paris at the beginning of the eighties, but so much is certain that secret diplomacy was also involved. At the end of 1583 he applied, at Walsingham's recommendation, to Stafford, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in Paris. At the time, he felt very sympathetic towards the Protestant cause. In diplomatic correspondence he is mentioned as eminently suited to strengthen Henry of Navarre in his Protestant persuasion, to counteract Roman-Catholic attempts at undermining it. Constable himself reports that he intended to visit Beza in Geneva. For some time, after he had left Paris in April 1585, we lose sight of him. He then travels in Germany, Poland and Italy, suddenly turns up in Heidelberg, but also appears frequently in his native country. On the basis of a sonnet he composed in honour of Louise de Coligny, it is assumed that he must also have visited the Netherlands¹³⁶. He probably sojourned at the English court in 1588 and 1589.

Apart from the courtesies he must have revelled in, it is to be assumed that at the time he engrossed himself in the controversy theology. This contributed to his conversion to the Roman-Catholic church. This conversion had been prepared in secrecy, and bears an unmistakably French stamp, which is evidenced in particular by an anonymous eirenical piece from his hand that he brought out in 1589 and bears the title *Examen pacifique de la doctrine des Huguenots*. Its main tenet – comparable to the one defended some decades earlier by George Cassander from the southern Netherlands – holds that the Huguenots were to be considered as schismatics, not as heretics. Hotman was

¹³⁶ Joan Grundy, *The poems of Henry Constable*, Liverpool 1960. This work opens with an extensive biographical sketch. For a discussion on Constable's possible stay in the Netherlands, see Grundy, 24. It is just possible that the following statement by Leicester in a letter to Burghley (Vlissingen, 7/17 Nov. 1587), as in Brugmans, *Correspondentie*, III, nr. DL, 238, concerns Henry Constable: "I have made choyce of your old honest servant Constable to cary this paquett to Hir Majesty and mylords. I wold God, thir had byn occasion to have placed him here. He ys worthy, for hy is forward, honest and painfull..." This would prove that C. did in fact visit the Netherlands in these years. For Hotman's contacts with Louise de Coligny, see Jules Delaborde, *Louise de Coligny, Princesse d'Orange*, I, Paris 1890, 184ff.

highly satisfied with this treatise, and sent it to ministers among his friends for their assessment. In spite of the title-page which gives Caen as place of publication, it came out in London¹³⁷.

Constable's life as a secret agent was not affected by his conversion, but his poetry was. Exchanging the life at the worldly court for contemplation of that of heaven, he no longer sang the praises of ladies-in-waiting, but devoted his sonnets to virgins and saints. From now on he spent his days in the service of the counter-reformation and the ideal of the return of his native country, England, to the Mother Church. The 'assemblée du clergé' in France repeatedly entrusted him with considerable amounts of money destined for the payment of priests in England¹³⁸. He died in 1613.

It seems probable that Hotman and Constable met for the first time at the beginning of the eighties either in France or in England, and from then on their paths were to cross more than once. In the absence of the necessary documentation – letters in particular – it is, however, hardly possible to describe the exact nature of their relationship. Nevertheless it may be assumed that they knew each other quite well and even were on intimate terms.

This may be concluded in particular from the fact that Hotman was in the possession of copies of Constable's poems even before they had appeared in print. It is likely that he will have shown them to the younger Dousa when the latter visited England in the company of his father. The young Dousa was so much impressed by Constable's poems that he proceeded to translate a couple of them into Dutch and Latin. They are all contained in the collection *Poemata* that was published in 1704, well over a century after his death. Van Dorsten has demonstrated that young Dousa, even if he himself mentions only one instance, modelled several of his poems on the example of Constable¹³⁹.

Restricting ourselves to the contacts that Hotman and the young Dousa shared, we may notice that Dousa addressed poems to Hotman's hero Leicester, to Mello Brunsema and to Melissus¹⁴⁰. His warm feelings for Hotman himself are evidenced in an eighteen-line poem dedicated to him, which is included in the printed collection under the heading *Epigrammata puerilia*. It evokes the dog days in which they first met, the heat of that time being reformed into a symbol of their mutual feelings of friendship¹⁴¹.

¹³⁷ See the present author's 'L'Examen pacifique de la doctrine des Huguenots (1589), Henry Constable et la critique', in *LIAS* XIV/1 (1987), 1-14.

¹³⁸ See Jacques Pannier, *L'Eglise de Paris sous Henry IV*, Paris 1911, 311 n. 3.

¹³⁹ Van Dorsten, *o.c.*, 90.

¹⁴⁰ J. Dousa, *Poemata*, Rotterdam 1704, 183 (Mello Brunsema); 185 (Leicester); 191 (Melissus). Hotman, *ep.* 92, Mello Brunsema to H. (Leeuwarden, 1/11 April 1588); *ep.* 101, Paulus Melissus to H. (London, 12 Febr. 1586/7). For Brunsema, one of Donellus' pupils, see *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, III, 177, and Margreet Ahsmann, *Collegia en Colleges. Juridisch onderwijs aan de Leidse Universiteit 1575-1630 in het bijzonder het disputeren*, Groningen 1990 (thesis Leiden 1990), reg. s.v. Brunsema, Mello.

¹⁴¹ See *Appendix* 6. The poem was added by Hotman to his collection of letters, where he placed it at the end (BN lat. 8586 fol. 374r).

The great admiration young Dousa felt for Henry Constable was even surpassed by his veneration for the English prince of poets, Sir Philip Sidney. It was Hotman again who acted as intermediary and *postillon d'amour* between both men, in England as well as in the Low Countries. Shortly after Hotman's arrival in this country, the two friends met. One can imagine discussions in which, political news having been exchanged, the *bonae litterae*, the art of poetry in particular, will have received their due attention. At such an occasion, Dousa told Hotman that he was putting the final touches to his poem *De narcissis*. Shortly afterwards he sent it to him, with the request to show it to Sir Philip Sidney for his opinion.

Now this was considered to be a highly sensitive task. Hotman received the poem in question, accompanied by a letter written half in prose half in rhyme¹⁴². The poetic part contains a detailed instruction from Dousa to his Muse how to lead Hotman to Sidney. He would find him at the court of Gelre in Arnhem. Once there, Hotman would have to proceed as a spy: first cautiously finding out what occupied Sidney's noble mind, at all costs avoiding to disturb him, but then, at exactly the right moment, he would have to present him with the poem¹⁴³.

Alas, the carefully contrived plan must have miscarried; in fact Dousa's poem never came into Sidney's noble hands. Something must have happened that prevented Hotman to do as asked; for what other reason could there be for the presence of the daffodils in the tomb that is now known as BN lat. 8586?

As to Hotman's contacts in the Netherlands, we have to mention in conclusion the name of Pierre l'Oyseleur de Villiers, William of Orange's court chaplain and afterwards counsellor of Louise de Coligny¹⁴⁴. Both men had their origin, their function at court and their English experience in common, but in religious matters there was some difference. L'Oyseleur, though far from being an extremist, was a much more convinced Calvinist than Hotman. The latter's thinking was strongly Gallican-inclined and for that reason he kept calvinism at arm's length¹⁴⁵. The difference of religious opinion comes out clearly in a comparison of their attitudes to both Henry Constable and Antonius Corranus.

Hotman, as already indicated, was in raptures about Constable's *Examen Pacifique*. He sent it to l'Oyseleur who, however, would have none of it. One

¹⁴² See Appendix 7.

¹⁴³ Cf. Van Dorsten, *o.c.*, 86ff.

¹⁴⁴ See C. Boer, *Hofpredikanten van Prins Willem van Oranje, Jean Taffin en Pierre Loyseleur de Villiers*, 's-Gravenhage 1952 (Kerkhistorische Studiën behorende bij het Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis). This work remained unknown to Irene Backus, when she prepared her very well documented article, "Pierre l'Oyseleur's Connections with England in the Sixteenth Century", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, XXII no. 5 (1975), 441-48. In fact this article contains much more information on l'Oyseleur's stay in England than does Boer's dissertation.

¹⁴⁵ See the present author's 'Jean Hotman en het calvinisme in Frankrijk', mentioned above, n. 1.

of the main points of his criticism was that Constable had greatly erred in that he had totally misjudged the good right of the Huguenot cause. Completely trivializing the seriousness of the religious situation, he had blamed the schism solely on the Protestants and with his excessive zeal for moderation had sacrificed truth to peace¹⁴⁶.

The Spaniard Antonius Corranus was cast in an altogether different mould, much more uncouth and wild than was the courtier Constable. After having been a monk in Sevilla for some time, he had fled to Geneva, and from there went by way of France and the Netherlands – where he stayed a little longer – to England, arriving in London in 1567. Soon after, he was appointed pastor of the Spanish-Italian refugees' church. Corranus was one of those people who have a special talent for making enemies. On the other hand, we must make allowances for the fact that, time and again, this Schwenckfeldian and anti-calvinist saw his path crossed by fervent calvinists. Small wonder that his sermons in the London refugees' church soon gave rise to serious conflicts, and it was l'Oyseleur in particular who attacked him and accused him of all sorts of heresies.

In the years to follow Corranus tried to take a degree at Oxford. In this he succeeded, in spite of the new conflicts this provoked, and in spite of fierce opposition on the part of especially Reynolds, Humphrey and other more strict presbyterians, who did not fail to involve sister-congregations abroad as well. The fact that Corranus was one of Leicester's powerful favourites will undoubtedly have contributed to the antagonism, and at this point Hotman reappears in the story¹⁴⁷.

Some letters from Corranus to Hotman¹⁴⁸ and the fact that the latter had a copy of Corranus' *Tabula divinarum operum* in his possession¹⁴⁹, prove that the two men had more than a nodding acquaintance. The letters are mainly concerned with political and ecclesiological problems. As to the latter, it is ironic to note that Hotman, obviously motivated by discussions on the nature and essence of the Church, applied to l'Oyseleur for his theses '*de ecclesia*', in order to direct them to his enemy Corranus¹⁵⁰!

¹⁴⁶ See the art. mentioned above, n. 137.

¹⁴⁷ For Corranus see Edward Boehmer, *Spanish Reformers of two Centuries from 1520. Their Lives and Writings*, III, New York s.a. (Burt Franklin Bibliographical and Reference Series, 32), 3-146, & Paul J. Hauben, *Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation*, Geneva 1967, 35-44. I could not obtain William McFadden, *The Life and Works of Antonio del Corro 1527-91*, (Belfast Ph. D. thesis 1953).

¹⁴⁸ Hotman, *ep.* 64 (Oxford, Jan. 1583/4); *ep.* 107 (Oxford, 13 June 1590): "Quod ad theses illas Villerii [i.e. Pierre l'Oyseleur de Villiers] de Ecclesia attinet, eas numquam vidi et lubenter apud me esse cuperem."

¹⁴⁹ *Bibl. du Protestantisme*, Paris, series *Hotmanniana* I 43.

¹⁵⁰ See above, n. 148; Boehmer, *o.c.*, 76, and the present author's article (mentioned n. 137), 11 n. 30.

5. SCOTLAND

When Leicester, after his second stay in the Netherlands, returned to England (December 1587), Hotman was one of his retinue¹⁵¹. Thus the final stage of his stay in England started, which was to be terminated definitely at the end of 1590. After that date he was not to see his second fatherland ever again¹⁵². Our information about these three years is only very scanty; a couple of letters, a few entries in the Scottish *Calender of State Papers* and some diplomatic reports will have to do. What we can at least glean from these particulars is that this period of his life bore the stamp of both termination of one phase as well as preparation for a new start.

As has been said before, Hotman himself had serious doubts as to the possibilities of making a career in England as early as the time when he was in Leicester's service. These doubts only increased when his hero died in September 1588, just after the defeat of the Armada. The benefice from the cathedral of Salisbury that Hotman meanwhile had come to enjoy¹⁵³, gave some comfort; it enabled him at least to prepare in peace and quiet for a new future. In March 1588 his name was inscribed in the register of Gray's Inn¹⁵⁴, an indication that at that time at any rate he had not yet totally abandoned the idea of building a legal career, although there is no evidence whatsoever of any activities in this field.

Presenting himself in England as an 'exile because of his faith'¹⁵⁵ – something of an overstatement, one imagines –, he certainly was a protestant and as such followed the latest developments of the reformation in his country with keen interest. The obvious figure on whom Hotman, like all Protestants in France and elsewhere, had focused his hopes and expectations was of course Henry of Navarre, the Protestant prince, who as Henry IV was to ascend to the French throne after the assassination of Henry III in 1589. Hotman, who was not one likely to forget his appointment as 'maitre des requêtes et conseiller' of the court of Navarre some years previously, saw this as an excellent means to secure his future, and decided to use his remaining years in his second fatherland to serve the interests of Henry. He now started to deploy his connexions in England and his knowledge of the country to support the political goals of the Béarnais across the Channel, acting from London as his unpaid agent¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵¹ *CSPF* 21 III, 437, Pierre Loyseleur de Villiers to Wilkes (Middelburg, 1/11 Dec. 1587): "Mr. Hotman, now going over with the Earl of Leicester..." From H's letter to Wilkes (s.l. [11 Jan. 1588]), *CSPF* 21 IV 12, it appears that he was in London at the beginning of 1588.

¹⁵² In Hotman, *ep.* 115, H. to 'cuidam Anglo' (= William Fowler, as rightly stated by D. Baird Smith, *a.c.* 154) s.l. [1603], H. writes that his wife intended to go to England. "...uxor mea proficiscatur in Angliam..."

¹⁵³ See above, n. 86.

¹⁵⁴ See above, n. 25.

¹⁵⁵ Hotman, *ep.* 103, H. to Camden (London, 19 Aug. 1588): "[Leicester] ... omnem in posterum mei curam abiecerit neque *exiliū* tenuitatis meae rationem habeat..."

¹⁵⁶ See *Appendix* 10, H. to Guez de Balzac: "... cela estans ... la pluspart de ma negotiation, lorsque je serois Sa Majesté en Angleterre."

This led to contacts with the Earl of Essex, whose passionately anti-Spanish and therefore anti-Ligue politics inevitably resulted in an alliance with Navarre. That Hotman belonged to the Essex circle is clear from the fact that when the latter in 1589, contrary to Queen Elizabeth's wishes, joined Drake's expedition against Spain and Portugal, Hotman belonged to the Earl's *intimi*. Indeed he received a farewell letter from the son of the Portuguese pretender, Don Antonio, written from Plymouth shortly before the fleet was to set sail¹⁵⁷.

Hotman's journey to Scotland in July/August 1589, too, was connected with the Earl of Essex. The journey formed a part of a diplomatic intrigue aimed at securing Essex the favour of King James VI. Along with Hotman, the persons involved in this undertaking were Archibald Douglas, the Scottish ambassador in London and his nephew Richard, furthermore Navarre's ambassador Buzenval, Essex's beautiful sister Penelope Devereux¹⁵⁸, the poet Henry Constable and a few others¹⁵⁹.

Hotman was specially commissioned to contact an unnamed lady at the Scottish court and to ask her advice about a mysterious marriage arrangement. His patience was put to the test for some while before he could meet her, but in the end he succeeded. His report runs as follows:

"She told me on entering that she knew my father by reputation, and that she was very glad to see me here. We entered into discourse about the lover and the gentleman, but she knows them both as well as I, and lends a willing ear to such speeches, and has fixed tomorrow for me to explain everything to her more particularly."

The letter continues:

"The affair of the marriage with Navarre has been so badly managed that ... he [James] has entered into a treaty with Denmark, and is so far advanced therein that the marriage is considered as concluded; but the news now comes of the death of the King of France and the new greatness of the King of Navarre has caused them to repent of having made such haste ... This news from France will cause me to hasten my return for reasons which you can guess."

These details cause no problems: the treaty with Denmark which he mentions concerns the marriage that James was to conclude with princess Anna of Denmark, while the allusion to Navarre refers to the recently interrupted negotiations about a marriage of the king with Navarre's sister, Catharina of Bourbon.

¹⁵⁷ Blok, *Correspondance*, nr. 105, Don Emanuel to Hotman (Plymouth, 7 April 1589), 249.

¹⁵⁸ A few letters from Penelope Devereux to Hotman and his wife are preserved in Teyler's Museum, Haarlem. Cf. Blok, *Correspondance*, 256. n. 1.

¹⁵⁹ See Grundy, *o.c.*, 27ff; D. Baird Smith, *a.c.*, 154, and Boehmer, *o.c.*, 76 n. 146: "On three letters of Hotman to Archibald Douglas, Oxford Sept. 15. 1583, Wanstead July 15. 1588, Edinburgh July 29. 1589, see Cecil Mss. Part. III, 1889."

The same letter also tells us that Hotman had met the king in person. Proudly he writes:

“I have kissed the King’s hands, whom I find a very complaisant and gracious prince, and it seems to me that I am in France when I am at this court”¹⁶⁰.

In terms of diplomacy, this meeting seems to have been a success. At any rate on October 7 a spy from Burghley informed his master that Hotman meanwhile had returned to London with letters from James to Essex. He furthermore said that Hotman had more than once been received in audience by the king, and that he gave the impression that he was pleased with the results achieved¹⁶¹.

For the rest passing by the diplomatic aspects of the matter, we may observe that this encounter also produced a cultural effect, in so far that as a result some years later Hotman was to become the editor of a French translation of James’s *Basilikon Doron* (1599), the political, rather macchiavellian manual, intended for the king’s son Henry; the book has been described as “one of the most characteristic and tactless expressions of the theory of the Divine Right of kings”¹⁶².

When Hotman in 1603 started the translation, he was back again in France. He undertook it on the initiative of Sir Thomas Parry, the English ambassador in Paris, who had asked for his opinion on another translation attempt, which had been submitted to him and which had been made by Geneviève Pétau with the help of her husband John Gordon¹⁶³. Hotman considered this attempt abortive and agreed to prepare a translation himself, hoping of course that James would reward him. To this end he applied at an early stage to Parry, requesting him to inform the king of his translating activities. He sent Parry a sample translation, and wrote:

¹⁶⁰ *Calender of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, X (1589-1593), Edinburgh 1936, nr. 174 [Jean Hotman de Villiers] to Mademoiselle Hotman (Falkland, 9 Aug. 1589), 135-36; see also nr. 188 [Jean Hotman] to [William Asheby] (Whittingham, 20 Aug. 1589), 144-45.

¹⁶¹ Grundy, *o.c.*, 28. This autor is perfectly right in supposing that by ‘V.S.P.’ Hotman is designated (30). Cf. how he subscribes the letter to his wife, mentioned in the preceding note. ‘V.S.P.’ is an abbreviation of ‘Villiers Saint-Paul’, see above n. 9. For his (unpublished) *Advis et dessein nouveau sur le fait de la religion...* he used the initials ‘L.S.D.V.S.P.’, which means: ‘Le Seigneur de Villiers Saint-Paul’. Cf. the art. by the present author (above n. 1), 43 n. 4.

¹⁶² Stevie Davies, *Renaissance Views of Man*, Manchester [1978] (Literature in context series), 150.

¹⁶³ Geneviève Pétau to Sir Thomas Parry (s.l. [1603]), BL Cal. E. X nr 109, fol. 286 (partly burnt): “mon mari ... m’a fait prendre la hardiesse de translater le livre du Roy d’Angleterre, ce que j’ay fait avec l’aide de Monsieur Gordon et avec très grande admiration de excellence d’iceluy... Je prens la hardiesse de le vous envoyer en la premiere copie, vous suppliant très humblement, Monsieur, le recevoir et le faire voir par quelqu’un des vostres, qui considera s’il luy plaist...” Apparently the ambassador considered Hotman as to be ‘quelqu’un des vostres’. For Hotman’s opinion about this translation, see *Appendix 8*. For Gordon, see *DNB XXII*, 212-214.

“J’ay commencé la traduction du livre de Sa Majesté et en ay fait plus de la moitié, mais afin que je [sache que] ma peine sera agreable, je vous supplie luy vouloir envoyer cet echantillon, par lequel S.M. juger[oit si] j’ay bien et fidelement rapporté le sens et l’intention [de] son livre ... [J’ay] usé de quelque liberté pour en rendre la lecture plus agre[able] aux François, mesmes aux courtisans extremement desireux de le voir, accomodant cette traduction au [goust] et à l’oreille de la nation, laquelle ne se plaist guère [aux] citations des auteurs, ni aux textes latins et aul[tres] choses d’eschole, que j’ay incorporés au texte de telle façon que je fais parler Sa Majesté comme de son mes[me] et de son invention propre, chose que chascun [jugera estre] plus convenable à sa dignité ...¹⁶⁴.

A great deal more letter-writing lay ahead for Hotman, to Parry and others, in his desperate attempt to attract the king’s attention. For James remained cloaked in silence, apparently unaware of the devotion with which someone in France worked himself to the bone for him. Hotman continued mobilizing his friends and the entire diplomatic corps in Paris in order to reach his goal. Through the Scottish diplomatic agent and poet, William Fowler, an old acquaintance, he enlisted the help of Sir Robert Sidney and Penelope Rich to inform the king of his loyalty and devotion and to induce him to give his humble servant a reward¹⁶⁵. Through his friend Henry Constable he had a copy of his translation presented to the prince of Wales¹⁶⁶, nor did he omit to drop a new bait for James by sending him a copy of his father’s collected works, thereby keeping a promise he had made to the king personally¹⁶⁷. In addition, he made it known to James through his diplomatic friends that in France his translation was very highly thought of, and that particularly Duplessis-Mornay had praised it as an in more than one respect truly ‘regal’ work¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁴ H. to Parry (s.l. 18 July 1603), British Library, Caligula E X nr. 70 fol. 223 (partly burnt).

¹⁶⁵ See D. Baird Smith, *a.c.*, 154-55, and *The Works of William Fowler, Secretary to Queen Anne, wife of James VI*, ed. by Henry W. Meikle, James Craigie & John Purves, III, Edinburgh / London 1940, Introduction, XXVIff.

¹⁶⁶ H. to Parry (s.l. [1603]), Br. Libr., Caligula E X, nr. 10, fol. 31 (partly burnt): “J’envoye par Monsieur Constable un βασιλ [ικον δωρον à] Monseigneur le Prince de Galles...”

¹⁶⁷ In the letter, mentioned above (n. 164), H. writes: “Je vous envoie ray bientost toutes les oeuvres imprimées du feu jurisconsulte Hotman, mon pere; ainsi [que sa Majesté] m’a commandé de faire lorsque j’eus l’hon[neur de] luy faire la reverence en Escosse.”

¹⁶⁸ In the letter mentioned above (n. 164), H. writes: “... je vous supplieray ramen[tevoir] ... ma fidelité et affection [à l’égard] du Roy vostre Maistre, et comme son livre est tellement bien receuilly, en quoy chascun [dit que] je luy ay rendu un bon service. L’o[pinion] de Monsieur du Plessis en fera foy...” Duplessis’ positive judgement is contained in his letter to H. (Saumur, 23 Oct. 1603), Br. Libr. Caligula, E X, nr. 138, fol. 337 (partly burnt). He thanks H. for having sent him copies of his father’s collected works and of the *Basilikon Doron*, and continues: “J’avois [dé]ja veu celuy du Roy d’Angleterre, mais non p[as] habillé à la françoise comme il est de vostre m[ain]. Le livre reluit beaucoup de pieté, de justice et de probité... de jugement et d’erudition plus que royale... il n’oublie point le style, en quoy il s’esleve pardessus tous aultres escrits de ce g[enre]...”

We do not know whether these transparent actions and flatteries had the desired effect and Hotman was ever rewarded by the king¹⁶⁹. What we do know is that Hotman's translation appeared in print, with the effect that James's *Basilikon Doron* became relatively widely known in continental literary and court circles. The translation saw four printings¹⁷⁰.

After his journey to Scotland, Hotman's stay in England soon came to an end. The death of his father in February 1590 made it imperative for him to go to Basle in order to produce some order out of an estate which was chaotic and in debt, and to take care of his younger brother and sisters. But he permitted himself to be detained. In June, he wrote from London that he intended to go to Basle via France, and that he hoped to arrive there two months later at most¹⁷¹. But this was not to be. In December he was still in Dieppe¹⁷². From there he got in touch with Henry of Navarre, to whom he transmitted a message from Queen Elizabeth¹⁷³. All this happened in the tense period when Henry still had to conquer his kingdom and Paris in particular. For the time being, Hotman remained in the king's orbit, probably spending most of his time on the modest family estate in Villiers Saint-Paul, situated just north of Paris, that he had inherited a few years before. In his idle hours he produced a satirical work against the Ligue, written in 'style macaronique'. It was entitled *Anti-Choppinus*, and was to appear anonymously in 1592, giving Hotman some measure of repute¹⁷⁴. His long sojourn in France caused him to arrive in Basle as late as December 1592, almost two years after his father's death.

¹⁶⁹ The king seems to have been grateful for Hotman's work. Cf. Hotman to Parry (s.l. [1605/06?]), Brit. Libr. Caligula E X nr. 88, fol. 251 (partly burnt): "Le Seigneur d'Oual a dit ... que le Roy vostre maïstre a esté fort aise de ma tra[duction] et qu'il m'en avoit fait une lettre de remercie[ment], laquelle est aussi en chemin."

¹⁷⁰ *Βασιλικον δωρον, ou Présent royal de Jaques premier, roy d'Angleterre, Escocce et Irlande, au prince Henry, son fils, contenant une instruction de bien régner*. Traduit de l'anglois, Paris, G. Auvray, 1603, in 12°, 155 with a portrait. Second edition: Paris, G. Auvray, 1604. The work was also incorporated in the two editions of the *Opuscules françoises des Hotmans*, see above n. 63.

¹⁷¹ Hotman, *ep.* 106, H. to B. Amerbach (London, 2 June 1590): "... legatus noster gallicus parat literas ad Regem, quibus me ipsius Majestati commendet. Necessè enim habeo iter facere per Galliam, quamvis tempore omnium periculosissimo. Ac spero, volente Deo, infra duos ad summum menses fore vobiscum."

¹⁷² D. Baird Smith, *a.c.*, 160 n. 4: "In December 1590, he wrote to Archibald Douglas from Dieppe, where he was awaiting the arrival of Biron (*Salisbury MSS. H.M.C. part IV*)."

¹⁷³ Hotman, *Traité de l'Ambassadeur*, 469: "... comme la dernière Reine d'Angleterre m'en fit porter parole au feu Roy, quand je retourney le trouver pendant le siege de Paris, sur le sujet d'un gentilhomme de qualité qui avoit esté envoyé aux Princes protestants d'Allemagne, et qui n'y estoit pas le bien venu."

¹⁷⁴ *Anti-Choppinus, imo potius Epistola congratulatoria M. Nicodemi Turlupini de Turlupinis ad M. Renatum Choppinum de Choppinis, S. Unionis Hispanitalogalliae Advocatum incomparabilissimum in suprema curia Parlamenti Parisiis*. Carnuti, anno a Liga nata septimo, et secundum alios quintodecimo calculo Gregoriano, 1592, in 8°, IV-116. Second ed. 1592; third ed. 1593. Cf. Schickler, *a.c.*, 107ff. and Blok, *Correspondance*, nos. 111&112.

CONCLUSION

Surveying the ten years which Hotman spent in England and Scotland, it appears that there were four factors by which his life was determined: scholarship, religion, patronage and diplomacy. The son of a calvinist father he entered the service of the puritan Sir Amias Paulet, his first patron, through whose agency he went from Paris to Oxford. Helped by the reputation of both his learned father and Sir Amias, he was soon accepted in a circle of christian-humanist scholars who not only bestowed upon him a doctor's degree, but also brought him to the notice of the Chancellor of the university, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. The latter engaged him as his foreign language secretary, and it was in this capacity that Hotman moved to the Court in London and afterwards followed his master to the Netherlands. As Leicester's agent he also stayed from time to time in his own country, France.

Hotman's initial doubts as to whether he should become a jurist like his father or aspire to a diplomatic career were, thanks to his experience in Leicester's service, resolved in favour of diplomacy. His chances as a foreigner to pursue a diplomatic career in England were poor and were practically reduced to zero when Leicester died in 1588. From that moment onwards Hotman, always fiercely conscious of his French origin, strove after a diplomatic career in his fatherland. He saw his chances multiply considerably when in 1589 the Protestant Henry of Navarre ascended to the French throne. Already belonging to his *familia*, Hotman from then on had only one wish: to be allowed to serve his king as a diplomat. He had to exercise some patience, but in the end his heart's desire was fulfilled. Having discharged some minor diplomatic tasks, he was appointed the king's ambassador to Düsseldorf in 1609, a position he was to hold until 1614.

From a cultural point of view Hotman's stay in England was important in that through his person and mediation a great number of connexions between British and continental scholars were brought about. Precisely because he himself undeniably belonged to the second echelon of scholarship, it is all the more surprising with how many top scholars he was intimate. The easy access he had to the international world of learning he invariably used as a contribution towards the furthering and strengthening of the republic of letters. That was his great ambition, an ambition prompted by the expectation that it would be primarily the world of learning that would inspire a Europe, now as hopelessly divided against itself by its endless and useless religious quarrels as it was bitterly wounded by its wars, finally to restore peace and to realise the ideal of the *respublica christiana*. To Hotman, England was precisely in this respect a shining example, and he never tired of bearing witness to it after having experienced a ten-years stay on its shores¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷⁵ For some effects of Hotman's British experiences, see the present author's 'Jean Hotman en het calvinisme in Frankrijk' (above n. 1, 73ff.), and the *Appendices* 9 and 10 to the present communication.

Appendices

Appendix 1

1582. JEAN HOTMAN TO JEAN BODIN

Monsieur,

Je vous ay escrit par deux fois sans entendre de vos nouvelles. Ne voulans neantmoins faire ce tort à nostre amitié de penser qu'il y ait en vous aucune alteracion en la bonne volonté qu'il vous a tousiours pleue me porter, laquelle j'estimeray de beaucoup accreue si vous me faictes ceste faveur de faire au gentilhomme¹, present portant, le racceuil que meritent ses vertues singulieres et que vostre courtoisie accoustumée me permet d'attendre, mesmement qu'il est fort desireux de vous baiser les mains et vous offrir son service. Il a esté quelques mois en ce pays et maintenant s'en retourne en Prusse, dont il est natif, après avoir voyagé par toute la France, l'Italie, l'Allemagne, où il a apprist choses rares et singulieres, lesquelles il sait que vous avez autant bonne part que homme docte d'Europe.

Je l'ay prié vous faire part du livre de Gentilis², qui est jeune docteur Italien qu'un jour je vous fys voire en ceste court³; qui a autant trompé l'esperance que tous avoient de luy, comme il pense avoir acquis de nom et reputacion, en publians un escrit si sot et si mal basty que sont ses perverses nouveaux, lesquels n'ont besoin que d'un strigilis d'un passavant⁴, si temps est que aucun en veuille prendre la peine. J'attends sur ce vostre advis, vous baisant bien humblement les mains, prians Dieu ...

Windsor, le 2e November 1582

(BN lat. 8586 fol 89r)

¹ An unknown German visitor.

² This concerns Alberico Gentili's *De iuris interpretibus libri sex* (1582).

³ As a member of the retinue of the Duke d'Alençon, Bodin had paid a visit to England in 1581, where he observed English affairs for several months. Following his master to Flandres (Febr. 1582), he returned to France at the beginning of 1583. Cf. Jean Bodin, *The six books of a common-wealth*, ed. with an Introduction by Kenneth Douglas McRea, Cambridge/Mass. 1962 (reprint: Arno Press, New York 1979) 14.

⁴ 'Strigile' (strigilis): Sorte d'étrille, de racloir (E. Huguët, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, VII, Paris 1966, 88b. – 'Passavant': Sorte de jeu (Huguët, *o.c.*, V 666a).

Appendix 2

A poem by Thomas Savile dedicated to Jean Hotman when he left Oxford (19 May 1582)

Clarissimo viro DD Hotomano amico ornatissimo et integerrimo ex Academia in Aulam evocato MDLXXXII° XIV° Kal. Iunii, Thomas Savile moerens posuit gaudetque.

Beatus ille qui libros inter suos
Miscet secretus otia.
Incultus cura qui Quiritum excolit,
Cura laboris improbi.
Spinas legentem quem reliquit vespera,
Quem reprehendit Lucifer.
Felix et ille qui superba conterens
Potentiorum limina,
Alumnus aulae principum negotia
Gaudente tratat principe;
Artes ferales, machinas Ibericas
Doctus latentes noscere.
Tibi parentis maximi fili optimis
Et huic et huic stat gloria.
Non una sola contigit felicitas
Corona crescit bifida,
Quam tu vocatus illubenter expetens
Me non beatum redigis.
Ast urge fatum flagitor improbus
Communis haec gloria.

(BN lat. 8586 fol. 240r)

Appendix 3

An epigram composed by an unknown, and dedicated to Jean Hotman (presumably for having donated books to the library of Christ Church)

Ad humanissimum doctissimumque virum Joan[nem] Hotom[annum]
Francis[ci] optimi parentis optimum filium

Vera patris suboles, verae virtutis imago,
Luminis Europae Francisci vera propago,
Te, nostros curare libros? et velle referri
In numerum? te velle meas invisere chartas?
Foelices chartae! me terque quaterque beatum!
Accipe, sed facilis, (vitae pars altera nostrae)
Pauca (fatebor enim) neque magna volumina verum
Fortunata tuis quod si lustrentur ocellis!

(BN lat. 8586 fol. 240r)

Appendix 4

(1582) JEAN HOTMAN TO HIS FATHER

Monsieur et pere,

J'ay receu vos lettres du XIIe Aoust avec le discours de ce qui s'est passé en vos quartiers, dont j'ay faict part à Monseigneur le Comte, mon maistre, et à Messieurs de Sidney et de Walsingham, qui tous vous en remercient. Mais je voudroys que vous prinssiez la peine de les escrire et les remercier de la faveur qu'ils me font, et les tenir souvent advertis des occurences de vos quartiers, comme je vous ay prié par plusieurs de mes lettres. Ce sera un moyen très precieux, d'autans mieux à nos desseins que Dieu bénira, s'il luy plaist.

Vous ne me mandez rien touchant les partitions dont je vous ay si souvent escrit, lesquelles on me demande pardeça. Aussi si vous avez quelques-uns de vos petits ouvrages prest, je desiroy que l'eussiez dedié à Monsieur Sidney, nepveu de Monsieur le Comte, mon maistre, et au demeurant estimé le plus docte, vertueux et courtois gentilhomme d'Angleterre, et à qui vous et moy sont infiniment obligez.

Monsieur Paulet ne fait pas sa residence en Court et est à present assez loin d'icy. Toutefois je luy feray vos recommandations.

Je suis marry de la peste qui a fait changer de demeure à ma mere et à mes soeurs. La mesme maladie fort aspre de present à Londres, dont la Court est esloigné d'environ vingt milles, au Chasteau de Windesor, le plus beau de toute l'Angleterre, là où tout se porte à l'accoustumier, Dieu mercy. Cependant que tout le reste de la Chrestienté est en trouble et combustion, l'Ecosse est en meilleur train, Dieu mercy ...

12 Octobre, Windesor

(BN lat. 8586 fol. 88r)

Appendix 5

(1583) JEAN HOTMAN TO SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

Monsieur,

Je n'ay pas grand sujet pour le present à vous escrire, si ce n'est pour me ramentevoir à vos bonnes graces par ce mot de lettre, et vous asseurer que vous n'avez point de plus fidele et affectionné serviteur que moy, qui vous suis redevable de tant de faveurs et courtoisies, lesquelles vous accroistiez de beaucoup, s'il vous plaist, à vostre retour en Court à quels moyen et acheminement de ce que vous et moy avons quelques fois parlé et discouru ensemble, estans toujours les premieres années de service meilleures et plus avantageuses que toutes les suyvantes, et que le peu de gages que me donne Monseigneur ne me suffit pour m'entretenir en sa suite.

J'entends que quelques Evesques seront bientost changez de lieu à autre et m'a on dit que cest'icy est le temps le plus propre du monde pour obtenir quelque prebende que gens laics peuvent tenir aussi bien que gens d'Eglise. Vostre faveur et bon advis m'y peut servir de beaucoup, suyvant laquelle je delibere de me regler et conduire en mes petites affaires, l'acheminement desquelles derechef je vous recorde bien humblement.

Monsieur, vous obligez mon pere et moy, et bon nombre de gens de bien, mes amis, à prier Dieu pour vostre bonheur et prosperité, et moy specialement à vous faire toute humble service, qui sera quand vous m'en ouvriez l'occasion par vostre commandement.

Monsieur, je vous baise bien humblement les mains et prie Dieu vous avoir en sa garde.

Vostre humble et affectionné serviteur

De Richmond, ce 8me Mars 1583

(BN lat. 8586 fol. 101r)

Appendix 6

A poem dedicated to Jean Hotman by Janus Dousa the younger

[Epigrammata puerilia]

Jani Hottomanni F[ilii] F[rancisci] Albo inscriptum

xviii

Jam Canis indomito furit Erigoneius aestu
Igne urens herbas & sata lacta suo:
Cum croceis languent candentia lilia calthis
Perdit odoratas & rosa pulchra comas,
Malvaque conspectu tabescit Solis amati,
Et cum flore thymi rosmaris alba cadit.
Et si quas alias tellus creat humida plantas
Deficiunt aestivo exoriente Cane.
Haec mala quantumvis inducat fervidus ardor,
Nil illi nostro juris amore tamen.
Fallor? an hic vires ipso quoque sumit ab igne,
Et pressus lenta se mage tollit humo.
Sic certe est: nam me sic vestri agit aestus amoris.
Carmen ad injussos ut fluat usque modos.
Ergo agito, atque pari paria hostimenta referto,
Ne labet ex ulla parte fidelis Amor.
Sic diu florebit, longumque manebit in aevum,
Ne noceant aestus, neu fera carpat hyems.

(BN lat. 8586 fol. 374r / J. Dousa, *Poemata*, ed. G. Rabus, Rotterdam 1704, 180)

Appendix 7

(1586) *A letter by Janus Dousa the Younger to Jean Hotman, containing poetical instructions as to how to deliver the poem 'De narcissis' to Sir Philip Sidney*

Quaecunq̄ue mihi mandaras coram, ea sum diligenter executus. Lipsium nondum potui convenire, quod bis vel terve ab urbe abisse dictus est, sed tamen certior sum factus de eo quod volebam, nam librum patrui tui *De Barba* vidi et legi, quem iam missum Plantiniani mihi dixerunt. Catalogum librorum Francfortensium nondum acceperant, alioqui tibi misissem. Carmen ita ut petieras mitto, quod, quoniam tibi probatur, non potest mihi non probari, quanquam indignum sit quod Domini Sidneij politissimis auribus obtrudatur, tantique viri iudicium subeat, ut te velle videris. Sententiam tamen hac in re meam proferre non ausim, tum quod tuo iudicio plus tribuam quam meo, tum quod tibi exedendum erit, si quid intriveris. Itaque te mihi arbitrum capio, qui cognoscas totam rem. Sed, ut epistolam extenderem, id ipsum de quo agimus his versibus exaravi:

Ad nostrum hoc rude carmen Hotomannum
I perfer, mea Musa, ne putet me
Largum pollicitis, datisque parcum.
I perfer, labor est duum dierum,
Priusquam venias ad Arnemum Urbem.
Quo cum veneris hinc petas licebit
Aulam Geldriaci Ducis superbam.
Illic invenies vel occupatum
Scribendo studiisve, vel legendo
Relaxantem animum, vel ambulando.
Quod si excipiat bene et benigne,
Audebis minus anxius tremensque
Docti iudicium subire Sidnaei;
Si te illuc quoque mittat Hottomannus,
Sed ne tempore non tuo politias
Sidnaei properes caveto ad aures,
Neve seria et occupationes
Eius impedias, vide impudenter.
Sed si quando animum ociosum habebit
A curis molestiisque cunctis,
Tunc accedere, tunc memento Musa
Illud, sed reverenter et pudenter.

Quod si te exigat aure non severa,
Nec fronte excipiat parum serena,
Tunc tu nec facias pili, nec assis,
De te sentiat hic vel ille quicquid.

[follows the poem *De narcissis*¹].

Habes hic, amice iucundissime, in quo frontem exporrigas et quod videre magis possis quam invidere. Vale.

Lugduni Batavorum, XV Kalendas Quint. [1586].

(BN lat. 8585 fol. 374r)

¹ The above poem as well as the poem *De narcissis* appeared both in print, in J. Dousa, *Poemata*, G. Rabus, Rotterdam 1704, 186-87 resp. 'Carmen XIV' (without title), 157-58. A comparison between the ms. of *De narcissis* and the printed text brings a considerable number of differences to light.

Appendix 8

1603. JEAN HOTMAN TO SIR THOMAS PARRY

Monsieur,

J'ay veu et leu avec admiracion le traitté du Roy vostre Ma[jesté] portant vrayement le titre de Don Royal, et en sa fo[rme] et en sa maniere, puisque le sujet de bien regner y est es[crit] par un Roy mesme avec tant de scavoir et de dexterité q[u'il] semble avoir espuisé tout ce que les anciens et les nouveaux [ont] dit de plus beau, et voulu reduire en abregé tout ce qu'ils [en] ont escrit en tant de volumes¹. Je voy neantmoins que sa Ma[jesté] s'est encore d'avantage servie de son experience propre et [de] son iugement excellent pour accommoder cette instruction a[u] Seigneur le Prince, son fils, et à son Estat particulierement, [que] ce n'estoit son dessein au commencement que le livre fust [traduit] comme il a esté depuis, contre son intention, moins enco[re qu'il] fust traduit en toutes langues pour estre veu des yeu[x de] tout le monde, comme il sera maintenant malaisé d'e[n] empescher le cours, mesmement en France où [il] y a ta[nt] d'esprits curieux et tant de personnes zelées au bien e[t à la] prosperité de Sa Majesté. Et arrivera que estant cet escri[pt re]manié des mains de quelque escervellé ou ignorant, il p[er]dra bonne partie de son beau lustre au deplaisir de sadite Majesté plus affectionnez serviteurs, qui ne desirent rien tant [que] voir sa reputation conservée et espandue par tout le m[onde], non seulement par la gloire de ses autres belles actions [mais] aussi par l'admiration de son scavoir, vertue fort rare ac[quise] et quasi particuliere à luy seul, comme je le reconnus il y a [quinze] ans lors que j'allay en Escosse, expres pour le voir et adm[irer] et qu'il me commanda de luy envoyer les traittez du feu [iuriscon]sulte Hotman, mon pere, à mesure que je les ferois impri[mer], comme j'ay fait et feray encore si sa Majesté l'a agreable.

C'est pourquoy, Monsieur, luy ayant cette obligation particu[liere], /219v/ outre la generale de tous gens de bien qui le croyent envoyé de Dieu pour la restauration de son Eglise en ce climat d'Occident, j'aye creu vous devoir donner cet advis mesme sur le sujet de la traduction qu'en a faite le Seigneur de Gordon², docte et qualifié gentilhomme, mais non assés poly en une langue pour scavoir contenter les yeux et les oreilles delicates des François, qui attendent d'un grand Roy quelque chose de bien royal. Joint qu'il sera plus à propos, ce me semble, d'omettre les citations en marge, afin de faire parler à Sa Majesté un discours non emprunté et de le faire paroistre plus sage que

¹ See above, 42 ff.

² See *DNB* XXII, 212-14, s.v. Gordon, John (1544-1619).

scavant, et de mettre en François tous les mots et traits sententieux qui sont en Latin, afin que ce langage ressent plusost la Cour que l'escole, et que nos Princes et nos courtisans en tirent plaisir et utilité.

Si vous jugez qu'il soit besoin d'en scavoit la volonté de Sa Majesté, plus capable qu'aucun autre de faire entendre ses conceptions, et que je sois digne de la servir en cette traduction, m'en donnant un mot de vostre advis, j'y apporteray ce peu d'industrie que Dieu m'a donné pour tesmoigner mon zele et fidelité à son service et le desir que j'ay de vous obeir avec pareille volonté. Et après vous avoir très humblement baisé les mains, je veux demeurer, Monsieur,

Vostre plus humble et affectionné serviteur

Hotman

Vil[liers St, Paul]

1603

A Monsieur

Monsieur Parry, Chevalier

Ambassadeur du Roy d'Angleterre

près de Sa Majesté très Chrestienne

Paris

(British Library, Caligula E X nr. 67, fol. 219, partly burnt)

Appendix 9

(1614) JEAN HOTMAN TO ISAAC CASAUBON

Monsieur,

Attendans que je vous escrive plus amplement parce que le messenger me presse, ce mot ne sera que pour remercier bien humblement de la vostre du 1r aoust, de laquelle j'ay tiré fruit et consolacion; et puisque nous sommes separez de lieux, au moins jouissons de ce contentement qui m'est certes très grand.

Plus que je lis vos deux escrits¹ plus je les admire, et ne doubte point que vous vous surpasserez vousmesmes quand vous viendrez à cette theologie historique contre Baronius, et prie Dieu que rien ne vous desmenne de ce beau desseign et tant utile à l'Eglise². Ce que par occasion vous y direz de feu mon pere en faveur de la verité, je le tiendray pourtant pour une obligacion que vous aurez acquise sur moy. Je n'ay point veu ni le livre de Marillac ni les livres de ceux qui, en vous blasant pour la responce à Monsieur le Cardinal Du Perron, *per tuum latus Regem ipsum configere conantur*. Je ne doubte point que ce sont ces deux especes de gens qui vous retiendront en vostre exil volontaire; aussi certes n'auriez vous repos pour les ungs, ni seureté pour les autres; de là où vous estes *licebit eos magnifice contemnere, idque impune*. Vous sachez que ça toujours a esté mon souhait.

Quand à nostre Monsieur Dumoulin³, il est imprudent, impudent et ingrat tout ensemble. Il a appris sa meilleure theologie en Angleterre et a receue trop de bien de sa Majesté et de ses ambassadeurs s'il ose l'attaquer en vostre personne; et luy ay ouy dire autrefois qu'il eust souhaité en France "la mesme forme de gouvernement ecclesiastique qui est en Angleterre"; et lors je passay plus outre, "que soit en la doctrine ou ès ceremonies nulle eglise aujourd'hui, telle qu'elle soit, approche davantage de celle des quatre premiers siecles." Il cuida enervé quand je fict imprimer ce livre du bon Melan-ton⁴ que je vous ay envoyé et dont vous ne m'avez point dict le jugement

¹ I. Casaubon, *Ad Frontonem Ducaem S.J. Theologum epistola*, (London 1611), and *Ad epistolam illusterrimi et reverendissimi Cardinalis Perronii responsio*. (London 1612).

² About these plans, see Mark Pattison, *Isaac Casaubonus 1559-1614*, sec. ed. (Slatkine reprints, Genève 1970), 315ff.

³ See L. Rimbault, *Pierre du Moulin, 1568-1658: un pasteur classique à l'age classique*. Etude de théologie pastorale sur des documents inédits, Paris 1966.

⁴ Hotman was the editor of an anthology, entitled *Sententiae Philippi Melanchthonis, Martini Bucerii, Casparis Hedionis et aliorum in Germania theologorum de pace Ecclesiae*, (Paris 1607). Cf. the statement of Pierre de l'Estoile, *Journal pour le règne de Henri IV*, II (1601-1609), Paris 1958, 272: (24 Sept. 1607) "Ledit Hotman m'a donné le petit livret de *Pace Ecclesiae* de Melanchthon et des autres, qu'il a fait imprimer: qui m'a dit avoir été si mal reçu à Charenton qu'ils avaient défendu, et dit qu'il le fallait brûler: dont il se plaignait fort, comme il avait raison."

qu'en faict sa Majesté. Vray est qu'il est plus propre pour une eglise non encores reformée.

Je n'ay point veu non plus le resultat du Sinode de Privats¹, duquel vous m'obligerez de m'envoier la coppie, mais bien ay je entendu que Monsieur Du Ferrier², *qui nobiscum sentit in plerisque*, harassé par ses compagnons bienqu' appuyé de la Reyne, s'est desmis volontairement de son ministere.

J'ay pleuré avec tous les gens de bien de la mort de Monsieur Bongars³ auquel nous perdons *et privatim et publice*. Dieu nous consolle tous et vous maintienne en sa sainte et digne garde. Vous baisant bien humblement les mains et à Mademoiselle Casaubon, comme font ma femme et ma fille, et finit, Monsieur,

vostre plus humble, fidele et très affectueux serviteur,

Hotmannus

Dusseldorff, ce vje septembre 1614

I.m. Monsieur, J'entens qu'il y a un certain Monsieur Pochel⁴ qui continue l'Histoire de Baronius à Paris. Je vous prie me mander qui il est, et aussi comment vous gouvernez Monsieur De la Fontaine⁵, qui *a pace ecclesiae semper mihi visus est alienissimus*, aussi bien que la pluspart, et a eu pour ce mesme sujet de grandes riottes avec le D. Baro⁶, François de nation et professeur de theologie à Cambridge, mort depuis douze ou quinze ans.

A Monsieur Casaubon,
Conseiller et Bibliothecaire du Roy
à Londres

(British Library, Burney ms. 367, fol. 23)

¹ About this synod, which took place in June 1612, see Rimbault, *o.c.*, 57 ff.

² Probably Jérémy Ferrier (1585-1657), who was dismissed as a pastor of Charenton and converted to Roman Catholicism. Cf. J. Pannier, *L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII*, Strasbourg 1922, 165.

³ See above p. 17 n. 47.

⁴ An unknown.

⁵ See F. de Schickler, *Les églises du refuge en Angleterre*, 3 vols., Paris 1892, reg. s.v. Le Maçon, sr. de La Fontaine (Robert). Hotman knew him quite well, as appears from the fact that he used De la Fontaine's home as his postal address. See above, n. 73.

⁶ Peter Baro (1534-1599). Cf. H.C. Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge*, Cambridge 1958, 376-90; De Schickler, *o.c.*, I, 235-239.

Appendix 10

(1631) JEAN HOTMAN TO GUEZ DE BALZAC

Monsieur,

J'ay veu vostre livre excellent¹ tant pour le style que pour le sujet, mais ne l'ayant que pour emprunt il me l'a fallu aussy tost rendre à celuy qui me l'avoit presté. L'envie est quasi inseparable de la vertu et la suit comme l'ombre le corps. C'est pourquoy vostre escript a assez et trop de contredisans qui seront bien empechez de faire mieux. Il me semble que vous avez imité Xenophon en sa Cyropoedie pour représenter non seulement les perfections de vostre Prince, mais aussy pour servir de leçon à ceux qui viendront après luy, tant les enseignements sont judicieux et les exemples bien appropriez.

Plusieurs de vos amis eussent desirés que vostre plume se fust abstenue de toucher la vie d'une grande Princesse, qui est et sera louée en tous les siecles, et laquelle n'a pas peu contribué par l'assistance de ses moyens au retablissement de cest Estat lors de la Ligue. Je vous en pourrois montrer une douzaine de lettres de remerciement du feu Roy, cela estans non seulement de ma cognoissance mais la pluspart de ma negotiation, lorsque je servois Sa Majesté en Angleterre.

Les Anglois icy et l'ambassadeur mesmes sont jaloux de tout ce qui touche l'honneur de leur Prince et de leur nation, et qui au demeurant font très grand estime de vostre livre en ont la lecture moins agreable. C'est pourquoy je prens la hardiesse de vous dire, Monsieur, que si vous avez dessein d'en faire presenter à ces grands Princes que nommez le gentilhomme qui est logé chez vous, il sera fort à propos et necessaire auparavant d'en oster cet article, en changeant seulement la demy feuille ou le quarton, et remplissant ce vide de quelque autre sujet moins odieux, comme cela se fait assez souvent, et pour autant de lignes que vous en aurez retranchées, ainsi qu'autrefois feu M. Bodin a fait en sa *Republique*² et Mr. Matthieu en son *Histoire*³, car l'un et l'autre avoient esté mal informez des choses qu'ils avoient publiées touchant Angleterre, et me souvient d'avoir en ce credit et ce bonheur d'en appaiser les ambassadeurs /177v/ qui vouloient en faire plainte.

En quoy et en toute autre occasion je vous rendray le service que je doibs

¹ Guez de Balzac, *Le Prince* (1631). For the effects of Hotman's criticism expressed in the present letter, see Jean Jehasse, *Guez de Balzac et le Génie Romain*, Saint-Etienne [1977], 233 ff.

² Jean Bodin, *La Republique* (1576).

³ Pierre Matthieu (1563-1621) wrote all kinds of 'Histoires'. Probably Hotman alludes here to his *Histoire de la mort déplorable du roi Henri le Grand* (Paris 1611).

à vos merites et à l'amitié qu'il vous plaist tesmoigner à mon fils¹, lequel est depuis six mois en Allemagne pour le service du Roy avec Mr. de St. Estienne. Mr. Gaillard, autheur de *l'Antiphilarque*², attend vostre retour avec impatience, m'ayant prié de vous baiser les mains de sa part. Je fais le semblable avec humilité et prie Dieu pour vostre santé, me disant comme je dois, Monsieur,

Vostre plus humble et obeissant serviteur,

Hotman Villiers

(BN lat. 8586 fol. 177r-v)

¹ Hotman had two sons, who were both in the army. The elder one, Robert, was an infantry captain in the French army; the younger one, Henri, a company lieutenant, was serving in the Netherlands. Probably Robert is meant.

² Probably the author Antoine Gaillard.