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Certayn and Tru Good Nues: Early English Printing and the 1480 Siege of Rhodes and the 1565 Great Siege of Malta, a Comparison

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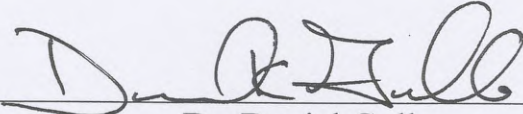
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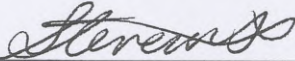
**CERTAYN AND TRU GOOD NUES:
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OF RHODES AND THE 1565 GREAT SIEGE OF
MALTA, A COMPARISON**

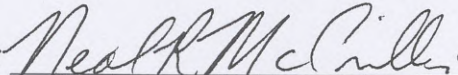
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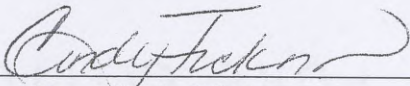
*Certayn and Tru Good Nues: Early English Printing and the 1480 Siege of Rhodes
and the 1565 Great Siege of Malta, a Comparison*
by
Kevin Stanford

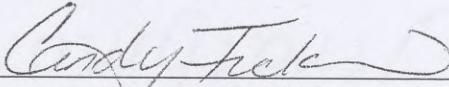
A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
Requirements of the Honors College
for Honors in the Degree of
Bachelor of Arts
in
History
College of Letters & Sciences
Columbus State University

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PURE COTTON

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....1

THE ORDER OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM AND THE 1480 SIEGE OF RHODES,
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....6

PRINTING AND THE SIEGE OF 1480, ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL
RESPONSES.....11

FROM RHODES TO MALTA, THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN IN TRANSITION.....25

CONCLUSION.....49

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....52

*Certayn and Tru Good Nues: Early English Printing and the 1480 Siege of Rhodes and the 1565
Great Siege of Malta, a Comparison*

In the early 1480s, the Englishman John Kaye was moved to publish “dylectable newesse and tithynges of the glorious victorye of the Rhodyans agaynest the turkes.”¹ The self-described “poete lawreate” of King Edward IV of England (1471-1483)² assumed the responsibility of describing the events of the 1480 Siege of Rhodes, which eventually manifested as the *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*.³ The *Description*, however, was not an original. It was in fact an English translation of Guillaume Caoursin’s 1480 Latin history of the siege, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*. Kaye translated the work for English readers a few years after the event while the fame of the Knights’ victory was still making news in Europe. Kaye’s edition was not quite the same text, for he added the preface in which he dedicated his work to Edward IV. Furthermore, Kaye described a desperate but hopeful situation for Christendom in his message to the king. Christendom was in jeopardy. The Ottomans took Constantinople and then Negroponte, and then attempted to conquer Rhodes.⁴ Furthermore, Edward IV needed to know the news, for it was the responsibility of “all crysten prynces here after to recover the partyes crysten.”⁵

Kaye’s *Description* represents how members of the English court responded to the Siege of Rhodes with the newly invented printing press. Kaye followed the steps of the Hospitallers, who themselves utilized the printing press to generate support in Europe after their successful defeat of the Turks in Rhodes. In 1480, the vice-chancellor of the Order, Guillaume Caoursin

¹ John Kaye, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, in *Hospitaller Piety and Crusader Propaganda*, by Theresa M. Vann and Donald J. Kagay, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 181.

² Hannes Kleineke, *Edward IV*, Routledge Historical Biographies (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2009), 3 and 11.

³ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁴ Theresa M. Vann and Donald J. Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety and Crusader Propaganda* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015), 178-179.

⁵ Kaye, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, 181.

(1470-1501), published *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* to spread the news of the victory, while the Grand Master of the Order also published his letters in the same year.⁶ Edward IV, perhaps at Kaye's urging, permitted the Order's English *langue* to sell printed indulgences in the kingdom while Kaye's translation circulated the English readership.⁷ The press had become the vehicle for news and for support.

It is not unusual, therefore, to see the English and the Knights responding similarly to another major conflict between the Turks and the Order of St. John, in this case the Great Siege of Malta in 1565.⁸ England's presses, like in the 1480s, responded with printed material associated with the event. However, times had changed, and so too the relationship between the English Crown, the press, and the Catholic Order of Knights. The creation of the Church of England as a result of the English Reformation and the crown's control of the press affected the content and type of documents produced in England. A variety of different types of print emerged from English presses including parish prayers for all Christians under siege, including at Malta⁹ along with translated and local English news pamphlets.¹⁰ Although England exhibited an interest in the Siege of Malta, the response appeared more remote, as the island kingdom had distanced itself from the support of the Order after Henry VIII had expelled the knights in 1540.¹¹

⁶ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, ix, 1 and 65.

⁷ Gregory O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460-1565* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 75-76; Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 177.

⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St. John* (Rio Grande, OH: The Hambledon Press, 1999), 108 and 111.

⁹ Natalie Mears, "Brought to Book: Purchases of Special Forms of Prayers in English Parishes, 1558-1640," in *Negotiating the Jacobean Book*, ed. Pete Langman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2011), 41.

¹⁰ Hellen Bonavita, "Key to Christendom: The 1565 Siege of Malta, Its Histories, and Their Use in Reformation Polemic," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33/4 (2002): 1023 and 1026.

¹¹ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 223.

This paper will compare English print concerning the Siege of Rhodes in 1480 and the Siege of Malta in 1565 in order to address how the responses differed and why. Although there is abundant scholarship on the two sieges and the press, most research concentrates on each specific period rather than comparing the two. The Historians Theresa Vann and Donald Kagay for example, described how John Kaye transformed Guillaume Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* through translation for an English-speaking readership and the Order's relationship to the printing press during the period surrounding the Siege of Rhodes.¹² Helen Vella Bonavita discussed Malta-related print during the years surrounding the 1565 Great Siege, focusing on the changes made due to Protestant and Catholic writers. Bonavita emphasized the cultural aspects that influenced the translation of the first history of the siege in 1565 and discussed how Elizabeth's Protestant reign influenced the printed prayers.¹³ However, a lacuna in the comparative study of the siege literature remains.

Religious and political developments such as the English Reformation and the monarch's strengthening authority affected how the English population encountered printed material and how English printers approached their trade throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁴ The Knights became caught in the clash of state and ecclesiastical interests in England under the reins of the monarchs from Edward IV to Elizabeth I. The comparison of the English printed texts on the Siege of Rhodes with those of the Siege of Malta speaks of the politico-cultural transformations in English society that affected the distinct relationships between the English monarchy, England's literate audiences including printers, and the Order throughout the period from 1480 to

¹² Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 177-179.

¹³ Bonavita, "Key to Christendom," 1026-1027.

¹⁴ Joad Raymond, "Development of the Book Trade in Britain," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, Vol. 1, ed. Joad Raymond (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 65 and 69-70.

1565 and suggests that the Knights' cultural influence in England, as well as the activities of English printers and readers, became more subjected to the power of the monarchy.

This work is divided into four main sections. Section one details the background of the Siege of Rhodes and the efforts of the Order to handle the crisis. This section also discusses the relationship between the English *langue* and King Edward IV as well as the factors that influenced the monarch's response to the siege. Section two involves a look at the printed material that the Knights produced in relation to the siege, specifically, England's reaction to Guillaume Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* which resulted in John Kaye's edition. This section also features an examination of multiple editions of Guillaume Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, printed letters from the Knights to European nobility, and printed indulgences that the Order sold. The printed material of the period indicates that the Order maintained an influential position in English culture throughout the period. Section three concerns the period between 1480 and 1565 and focuses on the second Siege of Rhodes in 1522, the Order's movement to Malta in 1530, and the interaction of the English *langue* with Henry VIII, Mary I, and Elizabeth I. The years between the sieges resulted in the conditions that influenced the English response to the 1565 Siege, such as the English Reformation and increased press censorship in England. Section four concerns how English printers expressed the Siege of Malta in print. In this section, a comparison of English printed Protestant prayers for the Knights and news pamphlets with Italian works on the Siege provides perspective on the English response. The comparison of the literature from the two conflicts indicates that political and cultural developments in England resulted in very distinct responses to the Siege of Rhodes and the Siege of Malta and highlights an evolution in the Knights' influence on English society

based on political and religious changes that confronted England during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

I. The Order of Saint John of Jerusalem and the 1480 Siege of Rhodes, Historical Background

The Knights Hospitallers were a Catholic military order whose origins date to the early years of the First Crusade, in 1095. Originally a monastic order that cared for ill pilgrims visiting the religious sites of Jerusalem, the Order eventually evolved into a military order to help with the defense of European states that appeared in the Levant during the twelfth century.¹⁵ The Order also had European holdings, called preceptories, and other properties throughout the continent and in the British Isles. In 1330, several nationality-based sections of the Order came into existence, called *langues*, of which England was one. Each *langue* carried out the duties of the Order in its established country and provided spiritual services.¹⁶

The Order of St. John moved from the island of Cyprus to the island of Rhodes in the early fourteenth century. Rhodes is one of the larger islands near the coast of Turkey. Landings on the island began in the summer of 1306 with its capture in 1310 with the help of the Genoese. The Order prioritized the defense capabilities of their settlements which resulted in the construction of heavy fortifications around the city throughout the fourteenth century.¹⁷ Renovation and construction of fortifications continued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries due to constant anticipation of attacks from the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II's (1451-1481)¹⁸ conquering of the Byzantine capital Constantinople in 1453 caused the Order to prepare for attacks on nearby Rhodes.¹⁹

¹⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St. John* (Rio Grande, OH: The Hambledon Press, 1999), 19 and 33.

¹⁶ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 12, 14, and 16.

¹⁷ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 89-94.

¹⁸ John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2005), 355.

¹⁹ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 12.

Rhodes provided a strategic point from which the Order continued their activities. The Order's approach to carrying out its military activities became more focused on naval expeditions than on ground based combat in the fourteenth century. A growing navy gave the Hospitallers strength in carrying out their duties on the seas, although the Order possessed a rather small fleet of about eight galleys at the time. Nevertheless, the sea-faring Knights sailed from Rhodes' harbor with the ability to influence Mediterranean trading networks and to participate in crusades using the advantages of the island.²⁰ One of the Order's primary adversaries during the period was the Ottoman Empire. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire expanded its borders through conquest of European, Middle Eastern, and North African territory.²¹ By the mid fifteenth century, the Ottomans had captured territory in Eastern Europe and in 1453 conquered Constantinople. The taking of Constantinople inspired the Sultan to proclaim powers similar to those of Roman Emperor which influenced the Ottomans' imperial motivation to expand their Islamic empire.²²

Two major factors contributed to Sultan Mehmed II's 1480 siege. The first was the Order's continued rejection of Mehmed II's demand of tribute payment since the 1460s. Mehmed II previously attacked other towns on Rhodes as a result of the Knights' refusal to submit to the sultan's demands. Additionally, the Knights had forged agreements with the enemies of the Ottoman sultan, namely with the Mamluk sultans of Egypt.²³ The Grand Master of the Hospitallers, Pierre d'Aubusson (1476-1503),²⁴ began to prepare for an attack long before the Turks landed at Rhodes. Throughout the years leading to 1480, the master summoned the

²⁰ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 91, 95-6, 98, and 100.

²¹ John Tolan, Gilles Veinstein, and Henry Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World*, trans. Jane Marie Todd, foreword by John L. Esposito (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 11-12, and 14-18.

²² Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 96-97.

²³ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 6.

²⁴ France, *The Crusades*, 358.

Knights from the Order's *langues* for military duty at Rhodes. With the help of an espionage network of merchants and spies, d'Aubusson wrote to the European priories and confirmed that the Ottomans set sail for Rhodes armed with siege weaponry.²⁵

The Turkish fleet landed at Rhodes on 23 May 1480.²⁶ Contemporary accounts described large numbers of Ottoman fighters that appeared on Rhodes' shore. Guillaume Caoursin claimed that approximately 100 ships arrived. D'Aubusson wrote to King Ferrante of Naples on 28 May and claimed that 160 ships landed at Rhodes with 70,000 men. Modern historians calculate between 10,000 and 15,000 Ottoman fighters with 3,500 defenders of Rhodes that were present.²⁷ The first object of Ottoman attack was the tower of St. Nicholas on 18 and 19 June which stood at the edge of Rhodes' harbor. Ottoman cannon blasts damaged the structure, but the Knights rebuilt the broken sections of the walls.²⁸ Additional attacks on the walls of the city's Jewish section in July also failed, and the siege ended on 27 July. The siege was over, Rhodes left wrecked, yet the island remained in the Order's possession.²⁹

Constant preoccupation with Ottoman threats to Rhodes motivated the Knights to appeal to European fighters and royal allies for resources. Funding, supplies, and defenders were necessary to maintaining a level of readiness required to defend the island. Grand Master d'Aubusson sent ambassadors to request funding from Pope Sixtus IV during the initial months of the siege. The efforts resulted in a combined 67,000 ducats allocated for Rhodes' defense from the Papacy and other states.³⁰ In addition, the Papacy allowed the Order to sell indulgences throughout Christendom to fund the defense of Rhodes. After the siege, plans to rebuild broken

²⁵ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 36-39.

²⁶ Kenneth M Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571), Volume II, The Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1978,) 350.

²⁷ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 228.

²⁸ Setton, *The Papacy*, 351 and 353.

²⁹ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 40 and 41.

³⁰ Setton, *The Papacy*, 355.

walls and organize additional knights took form. The need of money for the Hospitallers' endeavors persisted after the initial wave of funding. The Hospitallers' Treasury debts complicated pre-siege preparations, as well as the lack of Europe's priorities to pay their parts.³¹ In addition, western aid was inconsistent. While the Pope and King Ferrante of Naples showed the Order their support, some of Europe's nobles were not as enthusiastic. England's participation was more restrained.³²

Prior and during the 1480 Siege of Rhodes, the English monarchy prioritized the affairs and needs of the English nation as opposed to full support for the Order of St. John. The priorities of the monarchy affected the English response to the crisis and influenced the monarch's treatment of the English *langue*. Domestic conflict was a major concern in England and diminished crusading efforts and interest. The monarch expected English nobility to use their energy to fight for England and the crown when the kingdom needed them. For example, in 1440 Henry VI prevented the English prior of the Order from attending the convent at Rhodes due to conflicts with France in relation to the Hundred Years War. The king valued the Order's priors as assets of the kingdom due to their military and managerial experience.³³ However, other factors also influenced the English response. Fifteenth-century English kings resented the church's constant accumulation of funds from the kingdom for crusading endeavors. Edward IV and other monarchs disliked crusading taxes from at least the fourteenth century, when the monarchy gained more influence over papal taxation. There was thus a growing sense of control of England's resources on the part of the English monarchy.³⁴

³¹ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 37 and 41-42.

³² O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 119.

³³ *Ibid.*, 118-119, 122, and 124.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 118-119.

Yet, some enthusiasm for crusading remained.³⁵ In the wake of the monarchy's changing outlooks upon the church's activities, elements of crusading culture and support for the Order continued in fifteenth century England. The English monarchy retained its title of the defender of the faith, and would continue to do so until Henry VIII's reign.³⁶ In addition, English writers and printers penned and printed literature that contained crusading themes that was popular among English audiences. An author named Jean de Waurin detailed battles with the Ottomans and dedicated the work to Edward IV. Printers such as William Caxton participated in the printing of crusade-themed works as well. Some men even participated in crusading, such as the groups of Scotsmen and Englishmen who ventured to battle the Ottomans in the years after Constantinople fell.³⁷ Nevertheless, it seems that the monarchy's domestic priorities overcame mass crusading. Edward IV expressed disdain for his brother-in-law who left the kingdom to crusade in Portugal when "there was much to be done" in England.³⁸

The Siege of Rhodes occurred during the reign of King Edward IV, who displayed a moderate attitude toward the event. Edward IV's piety was rather standard and reserved. The king did not exhibit any form of piety that could be deemed excessive or which was outwardly demonstrative of a deep preoccupation with his religion, and thus may possibly reflect Edward's feelings for the church.³⁹ Likewise, his dealings with the Order corresponded with his normal duties as king. In fact, Edward acted against the interests of the Order and church on some occasions throughout his reign. In addition to papal tax protests, Edward may not have trusted the English *langue*'s loyalty to his new regime, for he attempted to influence the presence of

³⁵ Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 302-303.

³⁶ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 118-119.

³⁷ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 302-305.

³⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 308.

³⁹ Kleineke, *Edward IV*, 181-182.

specific knights in the Order in 1467, 1468, and in the 1470s. It is possible that Edward may have sought to choose the English prior in defiance of the election process of the Order because he believed his choice would be loyal to the crown. Nevertheless, the king showed some support for the Knights in his response to the siege. Edward IV provided two large ships and raised money for the Knights. However, he initially held Prior John Weston in England when Rhodes summoned him during the siege, but eventually allowed his departure.⁴⁰

The relationship between the Order and the English monarchy in 1480 showed signs of erosion. Edward IV exerted his influence on the Order, yet the relationship between the monarch and the Knights retained a large degree of agreeability. Although monarchs restricted resources that would have gone to the church, the church was able to raise some money for defense and crusading purposes. Edward IV allowed the Order to sell indulgences for the defense of Rhodes, yet he complained about the loss of England's wealth through other routes such as taxes. The interest in crusading also persisted in England but was in the process of waning. The popularity of the subject is evident in the choice of literature that writers and printers promoted. Some monarchs even allowed the activity during peacetime, yet the crown came to prioritize fighting in the service of the country when the need was present. England's unique interests began to counter and overpower those of the church.⁴¹ The English *langue* was in an uncomfortable position in the late-fifteenth century. As a military order, the Knights answered to the papacy, but the church's activities began to fall under Edward IV's scrutiny. In addition, the monarch expected some Knights to provide service for England when their country needed them. Nevertheless, the order found an ally in technology in the midst of the desperate times.⁴²

II. Printing and the Siege of 1480, English and Continental Responses

⁴⁰ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 119, 126-127, and 135-138.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 117-119.

⁴² Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 42 and 45.

The printing press offered the Order an opportunity to increase support for its defense in Rhodes.⁴³ Printed indulgences raised money for Rhodes' fortifications and other projects.⁴⁴ Pierre d'Aubusson urgently sent diplomats and letters to European nobility and appealed for aid against the Ottomans before, during, and after the event. However, once the Knights' victory at Rhodes was imminent, d'Aubusson and Caoursin authorized and urged the printing of some of the letters to prominent European figures in order to gain their backing and to exalt the Order in Christendom. Caoursin wrote the *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, a humanist-inspired history of the 1480 siege designed to document the victory at Rhodes and promote the Order as the acclaimed defenders of Christendom and worthy of continued European support.⁴⁵

The works of d'Aubusson and Caoursin differed, but both retained the same overall function; garnering support for the Order. D'Aubusson wrote to King Ferrante of Naples, Pope Sixtus IV, and once the siege was over, Emperor Frederick III of the Holy Roman Empire. The Order published the letters to Pope Sixtus IV and Frederick III as the *Relatio Obsidionis Rhodie*.⁴⁶ The papal letter survives as a reprinted and translated version from the 1700s. The *Relatio* of Frederick III survives in five original copies of which two are bound volumes and the others are printed broadsides. The broadsides appeared with indulgences for Rhodes, possibly to increase indulgence sales. The two publications indicate a large readership and high degree of popularity.⁴⁷ Heinrich Knobloch printed an edition of the letter in Strasbourg around 13 September 1480. The letter is short, consisting of only 9 leaves and is an octavo, 127 x 190

⁴³ Theresa Vann, "Guillame Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae Descriptio* and the Archives of the Knights of Malta," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds., Zsolt Hunyadi and Jozsef Laszlovsky (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2001), 109.

⁴⁴ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 142.

⁴⁵ Vann, "Guillame Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae Descriptio*," 112.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁴⁷ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 149.

mm.⁴⁸ The printer used Rotunda type, a Gothic type that was popular during the late fifteenth century.⁴⁹

Grand Master d'Aubusson's letter fits into the genre of crusading correspondence, which often provided information about crusading battles.⁵⁰ Caoursin possibly influenced its creation, for there are similarities in style between Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* and the *Relatio*. The letter is brief and informative, functioning as news communication. The letter describes the siege's battles and the outcome to the emperor.⁵¹

The Order also employed additional strategies to obtain funding for Rhodes: the selling of indulgences.⁵² The goal of indulgences was to erase time spent in Purgatory after death, and developed to the extent of helping the souls of already deceased persons escape Purgatory. Pardons took the form of prayers or purchased indulgences.⁵³ Indulgences proved to be a significant source of income for the Order during the years surrounding the Siege of 1480. The Knights sold indulgences throughout Europe and in England. For example, the turcopolier of the order, John Kendal, was responsible for indulgence collection between 1479 and 1482. Kendal consulted William Caxton to print indulgences for Rhodes, and although the total figures for donations for the defense of Rhodes are faulty, the order may have generated at least a couple thousand English pounds between 1479 and 1480.⁵⁴ Some indulgences included other printed material that promoted the cause of the Knights and spread the news of the siege.⁵⁵ For instance,

⁴⁸Pierre d'Aubusson, *Invictissime ac serenissime pri[n]ceps Que in obsidione Rohdie urbis a Thurcis expugna[n]do ... gesta sunt* (Strasbourg: Heinrich Knobloch, after 13 September 1480), 5r.

⁴⁹ Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 18.

⁵⁰ Vann, "Guillame Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae Descriptio*," 110.

⁵¹ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 149.

⁵² Vann, "Guillame Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae Descriptio*," 114.

⁵³ N. Swanson, "Letters of Confraternity and Indulgence in Late Medieval England," *Archives*, 25 (2000): 40.

⁵⁴ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 75-76.

⁵⁵ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 179. Vann and Kagay comment on the possibility that John Kaye used indulgences for the Siege of Rhodes for information to construct his translation of Caoursin's history.

Michael Herzfeld showed how a printed broadside that the Order sold along with indulgences for Rhodes' defense supported its sale. The broadside consisted of descriptions of miracles that occurred during the 1480 Ottoman Siege of Rhodes with the miracles forming part of the strategy to gain support.⁵⁶

Herzfeld attributed the broadside to Michael Greyff, who printed the sheet in Latin in Reutlingen, Germany in 1480. The sheet features a Rotunda type similar to the type that Heinrich Knoblochtzter used for the *Relatio*. The author of the sheet was Johannes de Cordona, a bailiff of the Hospitallers and second-in-command to Pierre d'Aubusson. The content of the sheet consists of five paragraphs that describe numerous miracles of the 1480 Siege. The miracles reference particular events throughout the siege, and support the idea that divine intervention played a role in the Knights' victory against the Ottomans.⁵⁷ The miracles provided powerful religious meaning for Christian readers showing the Knights as a holy order receiving God's favor.

The first two paragraphs describe three miracles that took place during the month of June. The author attributed the source of the majority of the miracles to the Turks. The first reported miracle occurred during the Ottoman attack on the tower of St. Nicholas on 9 June. Ottoman "fugitives" who entered the city of Rhodes described the sighting of two mysterious horsemen fighting Ottomans in the tower of St. Nicholas. Secondly, a number of the Turks reported seeing a mysterious woman in the tower cheering the Christians. The same group described Knights in white garments battling the Ottomans in the tower of St. Nicholas during an 18 June attack. An additional miracle involved an overwhelming force of Knights pushing back Ottoman forces at the tower to the Ottoman's disbelief. The broadside's display of the Ottoman casualties

⁵⁶ Michael Herzfeld, "New Light on the 1480 Siege of Rhodes," *The British Museum Quarterly*, 36/3 – 4 (1972), 70 and 73.

⁵⁷ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 229.

enhances the idea that divine intervention aided the knights over the Ottomans, noting how 600 Ottomans died in the first battle and 2,500 in the second.⁵⁸

The remaining miracles occurred during the battles of 27 July. More Turkish fugitives reported seeing knights dressed in white fighting the Ottomans near the city walls. In addition, some saw a woman “flourishing her robes before the enemies’ eyes,” protecting the knights.⁵⁹ The author also described the conversion of a Jew who saw a golden cross during the battle that inspired his conversion. Finally, the author claimed that he consulted the calculations of d’Aubusson and others to arrive at the sum total of 9,000 Ottoman casualties.⁶⁰ The figures listed provided a testament of God’s aid to the Knights to the reader.

The printed indulgence for Rhodes appeared widely throughout Europe and in England. It falls into the larger category of Catholic indulgences in fifteenth-century European society.⁶¹ Indulgences were very common in England, where it was “almost universally accepted” that spiritual pardons affected one’s fate in the afterlife.⁶² The Catholic Church widely advertised indulgences in England as well. In addition, the variety of indulgences was diverse, consisting of pardons that “addressed different issues and demanded different responses.”⁶³ Religious bodies sold pardons. The Hospital of St. Antony of Vienne sold about 30,000 per year during the later years of the fifteenth-century, an indication of the popularity of such pardons.⁶⁴ Promotional broadsides were a common feature of indulgences during the fifteenth century, including in

⁵⁸ Herzfeld, “New Light,” 69.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁶¹ R. N. Swanson, “Praying for Pardon: Devotional Indulgences in Late Medieval England,” in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*. Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, Vol. 5 (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 215.

⁶² Swanson, “Letters of Confraternity,” 40.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 41 and 57.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 49 and 57.

England.⁶⁵ Kendal had a license from Pope Sixtus IV to sell indulgences in territory under the English monarch's rule. Indeed, Kendal commissioned Caxton to print indulgences for Rhodes' defense in 1480.⁶⁶ As with the miracle broadside, other types of English indulgences are known to have included complementary materials that promoted the purchase of indulgences, such as in the case of an indulgence for construction on St Thomas' shrine at the Cathedral in Hereford.⁶⁷

Buyers' beliefs in the spiritual value of the indulgence added to the importance of the Hospitallers' cause. The Order offered spiritual pardons and defended the belief system that made the pardons possible. This made the protection of Rhodes more urgent. Due to the importance attached to the purchased indulgences, it was essential that they remained intact throughout the life of the buyer.⁶⁸ Printers sometimes printed indulgences on vellum, a more durable material than paper, helping them to last longer and to preserve the buyer's future salvation.⁶⁹ This is the case with the Rhodes indulgence. The physical nature of the object reflects its spiritual purpose and had to be durable. One indulgence that Caxton printed for Rhodes' defense between 1480 -1481 is on vellum.⁷⁰ Thus, the Hospitallers played a significant role in English spiritual life. The role of the Order may have added to the reasons for the Christian population to support the order during the Siege of Rhodes. However, indulgences primarily speak of the Knights' importance in relation to the spiritual, while other printed material of the time speaks of the Order's military value.

⁶⁵ Falk Eisermann, "The Indulgence as a Media Event: Developments in Communication Through Broad­sides in the Fifteenth Century," in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*. Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, Vol. 5 (Leiden, Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006), 313-314.

⁶⁶ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 138.

⁶⁷ Swanson, "Letters of Confraternity," 50.

⁶⁸ Eisermann, "The Indulgence as a Media Event," 326.

⁶⁹ Eisermann, "The Indulgence as a Media Event," 326.

⁷⁰ R. N. Swanson, "Caxton's Indulgence for Rhodes, 1480-1481," *The Library*, 5/2 (2004): 195.

Caoursin's history of the Siege of Rhodes provided English readers the chance to read about the conflict in the Mediterranean. It first appeared in Latin, but soon after began to appear in other languages. Theresa Vann argued that the original Latin *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* eventually escaped the management of the Order after publishing, spreading to areas all over Europe. Readers translated and copied the document according to their own purposes and desires, and printers printed it according to their needs.⁷¹ John Kaye claims that he was the translator responsible for the English version of Caoursin's text, the *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*. Kaye's translation contained a preface of Kaye's hand in which he dedicated the work to King Edward IV.⁷² Theresa Vann asserts that Kaye may have sought Edward's patronage, but due to the king's death in 1483, never achieved it.⁷³ Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs claimed that Edward did own a translation of the *Siege of Rhodes* before his death. Unfortunately, whether or not it was a copy of Kaye's version is unknown. Nevertheless, Edward IV was aware of Caoursin's work.⁷⁴

Scholars dispute the date and the printer responsible for the English *Description* and the date of printing. Theresa Vann argues that scholars have been unable to connect William Caxton to Kaye's work.⁷⁵ Gregory O'Malley claims that Caxton was the printer. Christopher Tyerman agreed that Caxton was the printer, but disputed the date of publication; Tyerman listed the date of publication as pre-1484.⁷⁶ Summerfield and Allen argue that William de Machlinia, another English printer, was the printer of the work. Summerfield and Allen argue that the similarity of

⁷¹ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 67.

⁷² O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 142.

⁷³ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 177.

⁷⁴ Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1997), 238.

⁷⁵ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 67.

⁷⁶ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 305.

the two printers' printing styles resulted in claims that Caxton printed the *Description*.⁷⁷

According to Summerfield and Allen, Machlinia printed the document sometime after 1483, the year in which his partnership with another printer, John of Lettou, dissolved.⁷⁸ This is a reasonable position to take because while in partnership, the two printers utilized similar typefaces that Caxton used during the early 1480s, resulting in a similar appearance in the press work of all three printers.⁷⁹

Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell also provided information that helps to identify the responsible printer. All three printers had a reputation for printing materials for the Yorkist kings. A contemporary of Caxton, William Purde, described him as the king's printer in 1482. Lettou and Machlinia printed statues for Edward IV. Yet, Gillespie and Powell asserted that Caxton held the title of "King's printer." He in turn employed other printers to print less-known works while he reserved his presses for personal projects and more profitable ventures. Gillespie and Powell also cited his popular reputation among the royal courts and highlight the fact that Caxton became the only known printer working in England during the year 1491.⁸⁰ Gillespie and Powell tie the printers together under the management of Caxton. Therefore, Caxton could have likely been the consulting printer for the *Description* and could have either printed it himself or submitted the job to William de Machlinia to print sometime between 1482 and 1484.

Beyond the problems of date and publication, scholars disagree over the source of the translation. Edward Wheatley claimed that John Kaye translated his work from a French

⁷⁷ Thea Summerfield and Rosamund Allen, "Chronicles and Historical Narratives," in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 1, to 1550* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 352.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 352.

⁷⁹ W.J. Partridge, "The Use of William Caxton's Type 3 by John Lettou and William De Machlinia in the Printing of Their *Yearbook 35 Henry VI*, c. 1481-1482," *The Electronic British Library Journal* (1983): 56, accessed 3 November, 2015, <http://www.bl.uk/ebli/1983articles/pdf/article5.pdf>.

⁸⁰ Pamela Robinson, "Materials: Paper and Type," in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476-1558*, eds., Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), 129.

edition.⁸¹ However, Kaye claimed in his introduction that he translated the document from its original Latin.⁸² O'Malley claimed that Kaye translated and wrote the English version in Italy, where he would have most likely encountered an original Latin version.⁸³ However, it is possible that he could have obtained a Latin version in England, but is not likely since he encountered other literature about the Ottomans in Italy.⁸⁴

The *Description* is a rather simple document in its appearance. It features no visual images, no woodcuts, borders, or printer's colophons, nor pagination or other additions. The body text and Kaye's dedication are the only features of the document.⁸⁵ The type is a variation of a Gothic bâtarde script, which was in use in England and the Low Countries during the late fifteenth century.⁸⁶ It closely resembles the bâtarde type that Machlinia and Caxton used in the early 1480s.⁸⁷ Although the text is visually simple, it varies from other editions of the period, highlighting the uniqueness of the English version.

Other editions show that the text became more sophisticated over time. The Venetian printer Erhard Ratdolt published the first edition of Caoursin's account of the Siege of Rhodes in Venice in August of 1480.⁸⁸ Ratdolt's *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* differs from Kaye's *Description* typographically. Ratdolt used Roman type for his edition, which took inspiration from humanistic handwriting and became very popular in Italy in the fifteenth century, largely

⁸¹ Edward Wheatley, "The Developing Corpus of Literary Translation," in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Volume 1, to 1550*, ed. Roger Ellis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 178.

⁸² Kaye, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, 178.

⁸³ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 93.

⁸⁴ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 181-182.

⁸⁵ Guillaume Caoursin, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, Translated by John Kaye (London?: j. Lettou? And W. de Machlinia?, ca. 1482?), 1v. and 2r.

⁸⁶ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 18-19; Caoursin, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, 1r.

⁸⁷ Partridge, "The Use of William Caxton's Type 3," 56, 58, and 59.

⁸⁸ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 65.

due to the type's legibility.⁸⁹ A preface is missing from the Latin text although the first page contains a title located at the top of the page on the first recto⁹⁰ which suggests that the author did not intend to use the history in a similar manner that Kaye did.

Johan Reger from Ulm produced the last edition of *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* in 1496. Caoursin reedited his history for the 1496 release. His edits made the edition more visually appealing and structurally complex than the first edition. Reger used elaborate woodcut capitals and numerous illustrations throughout the text, nine in all, which visually narrate the history. In addition, Caoursin added chapters with titles and woodcut capitals, making the document more appealing in appearance.⁹¹ This is in contrast to the empty slots for decorated capitals in both Ratdolt and the English translation, although in the Ratdolt edition exists a small printed capital "R," used to identify the letter for the artist to design in a woodcut, after which the printer added to the page in the space.⁹² The English version's capital space is blank.⁹³ The 1496 Reger edition was the Order's additional attempt to generate funding and to keep the event in the minds of readers.⁹⁴

Late fifteenth-century English printers and authors looked to continental Europe for inspiration and technology. John Kaye translated the *Description* at a time when translations had a strong influence on English culture. Printers and translators had the power to influence the types of literature English audiences encountered as well as the demand of readers.⁹⁵ The late-medieval English book trade thrived mostly on imports from the European mainland during the

⁸⁹ Guillaume Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* (Venice: Erhard Ratdolt?, after 19 August 1480), 1r; Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 20.

⁹⁰ Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, 1r.

⁹¹ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 65, 70, and 72.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁹³ Caoursin, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, 2r.

⁹⁴ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 69-70.

⁹⁵ A.E.B. Coldiron, *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3.

1480s and 90s.⁹⁶ In addition, English translators predominantly translated texts from other languages into English until the 1580s and 90s, although some translated texts from English into other languages.⁹⁷ England also looked to the Continent for most of its resources for printing.⁹⁸ There was also a desire among some translators and printers to bring continental literature into English in order to allow its influence to contribute to English culture. Caxton noted in the preface of his *Recuyell of the Hystories of Troye* that he wanted to bring the text to readers in England in order to solve the lack of such literature there since works like the *Recuyell* were widespread and valued in Europe.⁹⁹

The translation and printing of the *Description* was similar to Caxton's reasons for translating his *Recuyell* in 1473 in Bruges in the Low Countries. A.E.B. Coldiron identified the outlook of translators who translated texts during the period and their methods. Her idea of "catenary" translations helps to understand the *Description*'s relation to the society in which Kaye brought it.¹⁰⁰ Catenary translations appear at different times and experience translation according to interest, are retranslated with different intentions, and appear in different editions over time.¹⁰¹ Paratexts, or a text's additional information other than the main body text, such as a preface or epilogue,¹⁰² play a very important role in catenary translations because they influence the reader's approach to the translation. In the case of English translations of foreign

⁹⁶ Alan Coates, "The Latin Trade in England and Abroad," in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476-1558*, eds., Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2014), 45.

⁹⁷ Coldiron, *Printers without Borders*, 11-13, and 14.

⁹⁸ Robinson, "Materials: Paper and Type," 64.

⁹⁹ Coldiron, *Printers without Borders*, 11, 12, 38, and 53.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 and 22.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 21 and 22.

¹⁰² Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, "Introduction," in *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-2.

material, catenary productions resulted in a transformation of the original text in which non-English literature took on English aspects.¹⁰³

An example of a catenary translation is Caxton's *Recuyell*. Caxton translated the document in reference to the kingdom of Burgundy and the patron of the work, the Duchess of Burgundy. At the end of his work, Caxton emphasized gender in relation to morality, war, and concepts of empire concerning Helen of Troy, and presented a Scriptures-inspired pacifist position toward warfare to the readers so that they would take heed of the lessons of the history of Troy in order to live in a peaceful manner. The pacifist message took inspiration from the times Burgundy experienced. Indeed, Burgundy fell in 1477. The state of Burgundy was similar to the history of Troy due to Caxton's connection of the state of Burgundy at the time of the translation with the events of ancient Troy. Caxton's paratexts influenced readers' approach to the text long after its publishing.¹⁰⁴

John Kaye translated Caoursin's work in reference to specific English phenomena including the country's relationship to Christendom. The *Description* contains similar elements of catenary translation in this respect. In his preface, Kaye dedicated the work to Edward IV and placed the Siege of Rhodes in relation to the other Ottoman military conflicts, beginning with the fall of Constantinople.¹⁰⁵ In addition, he mentioned that it was the duty of "all crysten prynces here after to recover the partyes crysten."¹⁰⁶ Significantly, Kaye referred to Edward IV, placing responsibility on the king for the defense of Christendom. Kaye further claimed that in the same manner as former writers, he translated Caoursin's history into English in order to promote action against the Ottomans and to confirm to the readers the "inestimable power & certente of

¹⁰³ Coldiron, *Printers without Borders*, 20-22, 26, and 28.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 43-46, 52, 54-55, 59, and 60.

¹⁰⁵ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 179.

¹⁰⁶ Kaye, *Description of the Siege of Rhodes*, 181.

our crysten fayth.”¹⁰⁷ Lastly, Kaye commented on the relationship between the monarch and the people of the kingdom. Kaye believed that “al the comyn wele & comyn gode cometh through god & the kynges to their peoples” and hoped his readers would give thanks to the monarch for such goodness.¹⁰⁸

The preface is an addition in itself, but Kaye also added much to Caoursin’s work through translating it.¹⁰⁹ Like Caxton’s preface, Kaye’s preface provided instruction to the reader; a lens through which to read the work. Kaye’s connection of the Siege of Rhodes to the previous Ottoman military conflicts was available in Caoursin’s text. However, unlike Caoursin, Kaye emphasized the importance of Christian piety in the battle with the Ottomans and interpreted the conflict as primarily a religious battle.¹¹⁰ Kaye also wrote the preface with England’s relationship to Christendom and England’s unique political situation in mind. His references to the responsibility of Christian kings and the king’s place in upholding the well-being of the kingdom refer to Edward IV’s role as a Christian king. Kaye’s flattering words about the monarch suggests that Kaye supported Edward in his rule after Edward’s restoration to the throne in 1471¹¹¹ and wanted to inspire readers of his translation to support the king as well as monarchical action to participate in preserving the borders of Christendom.

Kaye’s references to ancient Troy in the *Description* show that he molded Caoursin’s work to English cultural ideas of monarchy. Kaye compares the Rhodes conflict with ancient Troy’s conflicts. Kaye described the battle of the tower of St. Nicholas using references to Achilles and Hector fighting alongside the other to describe the Latin Christians and Greek Christians who fought together against the Ottomans. Malcolm Hebron mentioned that Kaye

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 182.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 182.

¹⁰⁹ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 178.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 179.

¹¹¹ Kleineke, *Edward IV*, 120-122.

alluded to a united Christendom against the Ottomans with his reference.¹¹² There may also be an important cultural reference touching on imperial ideas of monarchy. Kings of England and other European kingdoms claimed heritage from heroes of Troy according to the “*translatio imperii*.”¹¹³ In the late medieval period, stories about Troy appeared as histories, epics, and romances which often contained information concerning war and politics. In addition, the stories found the hands of a broad range of readers and informed them about the subjects of war, monarchy, and the “national genealogy.”¹¹⁴ Kaye may have intended to show support for Edward’s reign here as well with his allusion to the heroism of Achilles and Hector. Further showing Troy’s appeal, the very first book printed in English was a translation of *Recoiel des histories de Troie*, by Raoul Lefèvre. Caxton’s *Recuyell of the Hystories of Troye* appeared in 1473 in Bruges, the place where Caxton began his printing operation.¹¹⁵ Kaye’s translation shows how he fitted Caoursin’s history into an English context.

The indulgences and English translation worked together to promote support for the Order and shows that the Knights’ contribution to various aspects of English culture was manifold. Indulgences played a role in the everyday life of English society during the late fifteenth century. The indulgences provided income for the Order and spiritual relief in the hereafter for the buyer. The Knights’ role in selling indulgences for Rhodes is an example of their influence on English religion of the period. On one hand, the Knights offered pardons to English society. On the other hand, the Order’s military aspects of protecting the religion of English society established their need for the population’s support. The Order was a cultural asset with a well-established presence.

¹¹² Malcolm Hebron, *The Medieval Siege: Theme and Image in Middle English Romance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 83.

¹¹³ Coldiron, *Printers without Borders*, 40-41.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

Kaye's translation of Caoursin's history brought the news of the Knight's military triumph during the siege to English readers. Kaye altered Caoursin's work to stress the importance of religion in relation to the battle and altered the history for an English audience. Kaye promoted Christianity as a powerful religion in his additions to the Latin history. He also managed to recreate the history in that he added important cultural elements of English culture to it. He appears to have written the history in a way to appeal to the English monarchy. He simultaneously encouraged readers to support Edward IV and a united Christendom against the Ottoman Empire during a time of uncertainty and conflict with outside forces. Kaye brought the siege to English readers and he was able to use it to address English problems. England's response to the Siege of Rhodes suggests that the Hospitallers' influence on English society was multi-faceted yet began to clash with the monarch's.

III. From Rhodes to Malta, the Order of St. John in Transition

England responded to the crisis on Rhodes with support. However, the monarch began to affect England's relationship to the Order and church. Edward IV expressed a resentful attitude toward the Catholic Church's activities in England, yet he did respond with aid for the Knights' need and showed an interest in the literature of the Order. The English population offered its support through the purchase of indulgences and Kaye's history. But, the Order's relationship to English society evolved as the sixteenth century progressed, for the Knights encountered new obstacles in England and in the Mediterranean. Religious controversies placed the Knights in peril and the expanding Ottoman Empire continued to be a challenge.¹¹⁶ In England, the monarch's political actions affected English printing as well as England's role in Christendom.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 11 and 223.

¹¹⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The Change of Religion," in *The Sixteenth Century*, Short Oxford History of the British Isles, ed. Patrick Collinson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 92-93.

The decades prior to the 1560s created the conditions for a different English response to the Knight's needs in 1565.

An unstable peace characterized the time between the two sieges. In the months following the incident of 1480, Mehmed II died, and his son Djem (d.1495)¹¹⁸ fled the empire to Rhodes after a succession crisis that resulted in Bayazid II (1481-1512)¹¹⁹ taking the Ottoman throne. The Hospitallers established a treaty with Sultan Bayazid II in 1482 in return for maintaining the well-being of Djem, who the Order eventually sent to Europe. However, the peace began to crumble after 1501, when circumstances forced the Order to participate in a conflict between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, and piracy became enflamed between the Ottomans and the Knights. Sultan Selim I, the Grim (1512-1520)¹²⁰ vowed to take Rhodes to avenge his grandfather, Mehmed II, but Suleiman I, the Magnificent (1520-1566)¹²¹, was the sultan to accomplish the attack.¹²²

Triumph in 1480 brought the Order success, support, and time.¹²³ However, the time was short, and in the summer of 1522 the second Ottoman siege of the island in fifty years commenced.¹²⁴ Sultan Suleiman I led his forces to the island on 24 June 1522. The siege lasted from July to December and resulted in the loss of the island to the Ottomans. The sultan chose to attack using a land-based approach instead of a predominately marine attack, the route of 1480. September brought the destruction of the city walls which were under the authority and protection of the English and Italian *langues*. In November, the Ottomans gained access to the

¹¹⁸ Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 70.

¹¹⁹ France, *The Crusades*, 355.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 355.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 355.

¹²² O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 6, 7, and 8.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹²⁴ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 102.

interior of the city. The new Master of the Order, Philip de l'Isle Adam (1521-1534)¹²⁵ led the Knights and fighters of Rhodes against the Ottoman attack. However, the Ottomans overcame the defenders and the Master surrendered the island on 18 December.¹²⁶

The Hospitallers' loss led to new gains. The end of a lengthy period of movement and uncertainty between 1522-1530 ended when the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, bestowed upon the Knights the islands of Malta, Gozo, and the Spanish-conquered city of Tripoli in 1530.¹²⁷ Malta placed the Order in the position to supplement Spanish attempts to compete for control of North Africa and the Mediterranean with the Ottomans. The deal between the Knights and Charles V called for their defense of Sicily and Spain if those countries encountered hostilities from the Ottomans or other opponents. In addition, the Knights obtained a strategic point from which to carry out their duties to defend Christendom. Although Malta was a desolate island with little resources, the Knights soon made Malta their new headquarters and constructed new defenses. They constructed two forts; St. Michael's at Isola San Michele, St. Elmo at Mt. Sciberras, and a wall along the Birgu. Malta provided shelter for the Order at a time when great religious changes occurred in Europe that threatened their very existence.¹²⁸

The English *langue* remained in England until 1540, the year King Henry VIII (1509-1547)¹²⁹ ended it. The early years of Henry's reign were less chaotic. Henry's lack of support for the Order corresponded with his break from the Catholic Church, for in the early years of his ascension, Henry embraced his role as a Catholic king. He supported crusading endeavors and praised pilgrims. Additionally, Henry received the responsibility of the protector of the Order

¹²⁵ France, *The Crusades*, 358.

¹²⁶ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 102 and 106.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹²⁸ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 231; Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 106 and 107.

¹²⁹ France, *The Crusades*, 365.

upon taking his place at the throne.¹³⁰ Yet, Henry VIII's relations with the Order mirrored earlier attempts at controlling the English *langue*. He restricted Prior Thomas Docwra from travelling to Rhodes during the times of crisis, downplayed the Ottoman threat, and did not send any aid for the Siege of 1522. Henry took loans from the Order to pay for campaigns in France (gaining £1000 from the prior per year) and employed English Knights to fight on England's behalf. Henry focused on using the *langue's* revenues and skills for England's sake when necessary. Although Henry granted the Order artillery as a gift to use to settle on Malta or to retrieve Rhodes in 1528, relations had begun to sour. Some of the Knights' property and responsions due to the Hospitallers came under threat of seizure in 1527 due to Henry's desire to employ the Order on his behalf and his perception that the Order had become useless in its defense of Christendom.¹³¹

The English Reformation as well as Henry's governmental actions during the 1530s further impeded the life of the English *langue* and led to its demise. The Act of Appeals and Dispensations (1533) restricted it from obtaining license from the papacy. The Act of Supremacy (1534) severed papal authority from England and nullified the Hospitallers' indulgences or penance offers, which caused a drop in the Order's income. Other acts further weakened the Knights. On 1 May 1540, the House of Commons received legislation to suppress the Order in England. Several days later, the crown absorbed all of the Hospitallers' Irish, Welsh, and English properties. Henry forbade the English *langue* to assemble and the crown granted pensions to the *langue's* Knights.¹³² All Catholic monasteries in England and Wales suffered the same fate and allowed the monarch to obtain vast amounts of wealth for the crown. Henry cultivated political support for his reign when he made some of the land available to

¹³⁰ O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 161, 163.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 161, 163, 165, 168, and 170.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 210, 212, and 223.

English nobles through grants or low prices. Although theological changes were underway under Henry's power, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in England maintained most of its structure and would continue under Elizabeth I.¹³³

Henry VIII ignited the English Reformation which made Protestantism the state religion and established the official Church of England. Edward VI (1547-1553)¹³⁴ continued the English Reformation during his reign.¹³⁵ However, Mary I became queen in 1553 and sought to re-establish Catholicism once again.¹³⁶ Mary reinstated the English *langue*. The Queen's Letters Patent of 2 April 1557 revived the Order in England. The Knights received some of their previously lost properties and created new knights.¹³⁷ However, Mary became ill in 1558 and died on 17 November. Elizabeth I (1558-1603)¹³⁸, her half sister, ascended the throne to become Queen of England.¹³⁹

When Elizabeth took her place at the throne in 1558, she returned Protestantism to England and impeded the survival of the English *langue*. The monarch immediately issued a set of injunctions and articles designed to enact reforms on religion.¹⁴⁰ Elizabeth brought more changes in the realm of theology and liturgy, but largely maintained the structure of the former Catholic Church and clerical hierarchy, although she altered the power structure of the clergy. She submitted the clergy to the authority of the monarchy and relegated their authority to

¹³³ Brett Usher, "The Elizabethan Church," in *The Elizabethan World*, eds., Susan Doran and Norman Jones (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2014), 209-210.

¹³⁴ France, *The Crusades*, 365.

¹³⁵ MacCulloch, "The Change of Religion," 90-92.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 95.

¹³⁷ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 358.

¹³⁸ France, *The Crusades*, 365.

¹³⁹ Susan Doran and Norman Jones, "Introduction," in *The Elizabethan World*, eds., Susan Doran and Norman Jones, (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2014), 7.

¹⁴⁰ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 565, 566, and 568.

ecclesiastical affairs.¹⁴¹ Elizabeth suppressed the English *langue* and it lost its previously re-obtained English property. However, Mary's reinstatement of the Order gave the *langue* a legal existence. Elizabeth did not nullify the former reinstatement which kept the Order active by law, but the Knights were unable to function due to lost means of income and political opposition.¹⁴² Nevertheless, the Order of Malta maintained communication with Elizabeth, hoping to reclaim the former properties. Indeed, Grand Master Jean de La Valette (1557-1568)¹⁴³ sent a knight to Elizabeth's court in 1561 for diplomatic purposes.¹⁴⁴

Elizabeth not only controlled the activities of the *langue*, but also enabled the English state to control the English press. Elizabeth approved Mary's royal charter that established the Stationer's Company in 1559 and allowed the company to monitor and control printed material. In 1567, Elizabeth ordered the company to make a record of all works of English presses, the amount of working presses, and the number of total workers employed in the trade. The laws prohibited new printers to appear without approval as well as the selling of books that were not registered. Legislation also limited the numbers of printers and workmen active in England. In the late 1540s, only fifteen printing houses existed in London and by the 1580s, twenty. The monarch also released injunctions in 1559 which granted the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London power to influence the work of the press.¹⁴⁵

The Hospitallers encountered great challenges on multiple fronts during the sixteenth century. The Ottoman Empire left the Knights to search for a new home after the 1522 Siege of Rhodes. In England, Henry VIII uprooted the English *langue* which ended their operation in the

¹⁴¹ Usher, "The Elizabethan Church," 211.

¹⁴² Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 358.

¹⁴³ France, *The Crusades*, 358.

¹⁴⁴ Helen Vella Bonavita, Introduction to *Caelius Secundus Curio his historie of the war of Malta*, trans. Thomas Mainwaringe, 1579, ed. Helen Vella Bonavita, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, Vol. 339.. Renaissance English Text Society, Seventh Series, Vol. 33. (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 2007), 12.

¹⁴⁵ Raymond, "Development of the Book Trade in Britain," 65 and 69-70.

kingdom. The sixteenth century was also a time of transformation for English society. Henry VIII's acts caused the monarch to rule absolutely in the kingdom, including over England's religion.¹⁴⁶ Although Mary I attempted to push back Henry's reforms, Elizabeth brought them back with variations. The Knights were fortunate to stabilize their position on Malta, but were unfortunate in relation to their presence in England. The English state increased its power over many aspects of English society which altered its relationship to Europe. Censorship limited what literature was permissible. The relationships between the monarchy, the Order, and English society fundamentally changed. A strengthened crown weakened the Hospitallers' influence in England. Nevertheless, the Knights reappeared, although their presence and influence took new forms.

IV. Printing and the 1565 Great Siege of Malta, Continental and English Responses

The Hospitallers' movement to Malta placed them at the forefront of a great battle for domination in the Mediterranean. The Ottoman Empire and Spain both sought to control the waters. The agreement between Charles V and the Order allied the Knights with Spain if Spain became engaged in conflict, and thus subjected them to greater chances of warring with the Ottomans. Spain achieved possession of the North African territory of Tripoli in 1510, and placed the Hospitallers in defense of the area as a part of the deal for accepting Malta.¹⁴⁷ The Ottomans under Suleiman I reached their greatest expansion during the mid sixteenth century, capturing the Hungarian city of Mohács in 1526, laying siege to Vienna in 1529, capturing Tripoli in 1551, obtaining the island of Jerba in 1560, and finally, besieging Malta in 1565.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ John Guy, "Monarchy and Counsel: Models of the State," in *The Sixteenth Century*, Short Oxford History of the British Isles, ed. Patrick Collinson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 117-118.

¹⁴⁷ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 230-231.

¹⁴⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 346; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 232; Tolan, Veinstein, and Laurens, *Europe and the Islamic World*, 142.

The Knights deflected the Ottoman attempt to take the island. The Turkish force arrived on the coast of Malta on 19 May 1565. The battle for Malta lasted until 8 September that year.¹⁴⁹ The Ottomans were under the leadership of Mustafa Pasha and Admiral Piali Pasha.¹⁵⁰ The Master of the Order, La Vallette, led the Knights and defenders of Malta. The Ottoman forces heavily outnumbered the Hospitaller defense; roughly 25,000 men to La Vallette's 8,000-9,000 men. The Ottomans began their attack with assaults on the southern areas of the Grand Harbor and then extended their forces to Fort St. Elmo. The Hospitaller forces held Fort St. Elmo from the Turks for a full month before the Knights lost it on 23 June. The fight for St. Elmo proved to be the most destructive of the battles on Malta, resulting in 1500 men dead from La Valette's forces, including 150 from the Order, and 8000 Ottoman fighters. As September unfolded, the Turks unleashed further attacks until Don Garcia de Toledo of Spain arrived with a 12,000-man Spanish and Italian army ready to relieve the Knights. Suleiman's forces departed the isle and the Knights held their island until 1798.¹⁵¹

The island of Malta provided inspiration for the Order to print works about their new home, but the Siege of Malta generated a more widespread response which resulted in a diverse body of printed material throughout Europe. Printed publications on Malta began to appear after the Order's acquisition of the island. In 1536, a Hospitaller named Jean Quintin published *Insulae Melitae descriptio: ex commentarijs rerum quotidianorum F. Ioan. Quintini Hedui ad Sophum.*, or *A Description of the Isle of Malta*.¹⁵² Quintin sought to inform readers about Malta, and described the topography and landmarks of the island in his work. His description of Malta acted as a guide for visitors to the island who were interested in learning about the home of the

¹⁴⁹ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 108 and 111.

¹⁵⁰ Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 231.

¹⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*, 108-111, and 122.

¹⁵² Jean Quintin, *Insulae Melitae descriptio: ex commentarijs rerum quotidianorum F. Ioan. Quintini Hedui ad Sophum*, (Lugduni: Apud Seb. Gryphium, 1536).

Knights.¹⁵³ Years later, the island inspired other publications. The 1565 Siege generated a variety of responses across Europe, including the creation of songs, poems, and histories.¹⁵⁴ Additionally, the Siege of Malta was a popular topic for news publications. In general, Ottoman advances throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth century inspired news prints throughout Europe. Major events such as the conflicts at Mohács in Hungary and the capture of Tunis in North Africa found expression in European news pamphlets. Publications followed the events and sometimes included printed maps that detailed major battles, which popularized map publication in news thereafter.¹⁵⁵ In England, the church printed prayers for the Knights. Also, the Siege of Malta became the topic of multiple translations of histories.¹⁵⁶

The Great Siege of 1565 motivated writers to create numerous versions of the history of the event throughout the following decades. The Historian Helen Vella Bonavita produced a study on some of the most important works to appear after the siege. She claimed that Pietro Gentile de Vêndome's history of the Great Siege, *Della Historia di Malta, et successo della guerra seguita tra quei Religiosissimi Cavalieri ed il potentissimo gran Turco Sulthan Soliman, l'anno M DLXV*¹⁵⁷ was the first printed history of the event and was the primary source on which other historians based their work. Mariano Fracasso created an edition of Gentile's history in 1565 in Rome. An additional edition appeared under Giovanni Rossi in the following year in Bologna, of which the former title belongs.¹⁵⁸ Both are in Italian. A copy of Fracasso's edition is entitled, *Trattato del successo della potentissima armata del gran Turco Ottoman*

¹⁵³ Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, "Early Mediterranean Travel," in *Melitensia, A Newsletter of the Malta Study Center* (2012): 2-3.

¹⁵⁴ Arnold Cassola, *The 1565 Great Siege of Malta and Hipólito Sans's la Maltea* (San Ġwann, Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group (PEG) Ltd, 1999), 14-15.

¹⁵⁵ Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 139, 143-144.

¹⁵⁶ Bonavita, "Key to Christendom," 1026-1027.

¹⁵⁷ Pietro Gentile de Vêndome, *Della historia di Malta: et successo della Guerra seguita tra quei religiosissimi caualiere, & il potentissimo gran Turco Sulthan Solimano, l'anno 1565* (Bologna: Per Giouanni Rossi, 1566), 5r.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1027-1029.

*Solimano, venuta sopra l'isola di Malta l'anno 1565.*¹⁵⁹ Vêndome was affiliated with the Hospitallers and thus may have published the history much in the same way as Caoursin published his: with the objective to help gain support for the Knights in their time of need. Bonavita did not go into detail about Vêndome's relationship with the Hospitallers other than the fact that he was in some way "in the service of" the Order.¹⁶⁰

Other histories of the siege appeared soon after Vêndome printed his work. Bonavita argued that many authors altered their original sources in accord with their ideologies and in order to promote specific ideas through translating them.¹⁶¹ Bonavita's observation reflects very similar instances of Coldiron's catenary translations; translated texts that reflect the environment in which translators recreate the work and focus on new purposes. Vêndome's version expresses a historiography that argued for Catholicism's role in the conflict, Catholicism's triumph at the end of the siege, and included Catholic-inspired aspects such as the celebration of the pope and the aid of the saints in the Order's victory. Bonavita showed that this contrasts to other versions of the siege. The Protestant Caelius Secundus Curio produced a history of the Great Siege in Basel, Switzerland in 1567, which was likely a translation of Vêndome's original text. However, Curio's version (*Caelii Secundi Curionis de Bello Melitensi a turcis gesto historia nova*) is much like John Kaye's version of Caoursin's *Siege of Rhodes* in that it contains additions and subtractions from the original. Curio's textual additions included a new introduction and material that linked the conflict to the larger history of the Crusades. Curio omitted the Catholic-inspired aspects of Vêndome's text and argued for the battles of the Reformation to cease for the

¹⁵⁹ Marino Fracasso and Pietro Gentile de Vêndome, *Trattato del successo della potentissima armata del gran Turco Ottoman Solimano, venuta sopra l'isola di Malta l'anno 1565*, S.l., s.n., 1565?, 6v.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1032.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 1028.

sake of the protection of Christendom overall. Bonavita's work shows how different editions of the history of the event reflected different uses of the event in print.¹⁶²

The Italian histories show that the siege literature appeared differently outside of England due to variations in the social conditions in which the authors created them. Vincentius Castellanus was responsible for an account of the conflict which appeared in 1566 in Pesaro, Italy. Another author, Giovanni Antonio Viperani, created another in 1567 in Perugia, Italy. Both are entitled *De bello Melitensi historia* and are in Latin, yet do not seem to be copies of the same work, although the titles are identical. They do however, share characteristics. Both works feature censorship approvals which are positioned either at the beginning of the work or at the end of the work.¹⁶³ Italian censorship required writers and printers to align printed works to the dictates of the Catholic Church which thus allowed the Church to maintain its influence on the spread of ideas. Long before works on Malta emerged, the papacy issued bulls, or proclamations, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries directed at managing texts. The Church either approved or condemned texts, which sometimes resulted in the burning of books. The Roman Inquisition, beginning in 1542, intensified censorship and by the 1560s an organized system of review took form in many Italian states involving clerical approval of printed texts before publication.¹⁶⁴ Castellanus' and Viperani's works bear printed approval statements of clergy, leaving a record within the text that the book was clear of heresy.¹⁶⁵ Although there were

¹⁶² Ibid., 1028-1029, 1032-1033, 1035, 1036, and 1040.

¹⁶³ Giovanni Antonio Viperani, *De bello Melitensi historia* (Perusiae: Ex officinal Andreae Brixiani, 1567), 2v; Vincentius Castellanus, *De bello Melitensi historia* (Pisauri: Apud H. Concordiam, 1566), 40v.

¹⁶⁴ Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 39, 43, and 45-46.

¹⁶⁵ Viperani, *De bello Melitensi historia*, 2v; Castellanus, *De bello Melitensi historia*, 40 v.

many Italian editions of the history of the Great Siege, only one appeared in English during the following years.¹⁶⁶

Two printed English prayers regarding the Malta Siege survive. These are *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer every Wednesdaye and Frydaye, within the Cittie and Dioces of London: to excite all godly people to praye unto God for the delivery of those Christians, that are now invaded by the Turke...* and the other prayer is entitled, *A short forme of thanksgeuing for the delyuerie of the isle of Malta from the inuasion and long siege thereof by the great armie of the Turkes both by sea and lande, and for sundry other victories lately obtained by the christians [sic] against the said Turkes, to be vsed in the common prayer within the prouince of Canturburie on Sondayes, Wednesdaies, and Fridaies, for the space of syx weekes next ensuing the receipt hereof...* The exact date of *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer* is difficult to pinpoint because only the year is available on the document.¹⁶⁷ However, it appears to have come before the other prayer because it suggests that the siege was occurring during the time of its publication. The other prayer mentions the Knights' victory, suggesting that the siege had ended. Both documents are short pamphlets, with dimensions of about 177 x 127 mm.¹⁶⁸ *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer* is the lengthier of the two documents in number of pages,

¹⁶⁶ Bonavita, "Key to Christendom," 1021, 1023, 1026, 1029, and 1041-1042; There is only one account of the history of the Siege of Malta printed and translated in English, which was also the first account translated in English, in 1579. Bonavita suggested that the printed histories of the Siege of Malta probably did not find widespread distribution due to conflicts with Catholicism in Protestant-controlled areas, including England. Bonavita argued that Thomas Mainwaring chose Curio's history because it may have been the most appealing of the histories to an English Protestant audience facing intense conflicts with the papacy. Mainwaring made use of the message of unity of Christendom exhibited in Curio's writings. He placed them in context of England's conflict with the papacy. Christian unity became a metaphor for English unity against the conflicts of the 1570s such as the papacy's promotion of Irish rebellions and Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570. Nevertheless, in the 1560s, other publications concerning the siege of Malta appeared on the island.

¹⁶⁷ *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer every Wednesdaye and Frydaye, within the Cittie and Dioces of London: to excite all godly people to praye unto God for the delivery of those Christians, that are now invaded by the Turke* (London: Wyllyam Seres, 1565), 1r.

¹⁶⁸ *A short forme of thanksgeuing for the delyuerie of the isle of Malta from the inuasion and long siege thereof by the great armie of the Turkes both by sea and lande,...*Hedgehog (London: Wyllyam Seres, 1565), 1r.; *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1r.

having eight from beginning to end. All pages feature printed text.¹⁶⁹ *A short forme of thankesgeuing* also contains eight total pages, but only six pages of text with a blank sheet following the title page.¹⁷⁰ The London printer William Seres printed both documents.¹⁷¹ Seres had the privilege of a patent to print primers and other religious material during the 1560s.¹⁷²

A Fourme to be used in Common prayer is a more complex document than the other. It has a more sophisticated appearance and structure; the only one of the two printed prayers to feature a preface.¹⁷³ However, it lacks some information that the other prayer features. Specifically, the attribution of the authorship of the pamphlet to the archbishop, whose name is featured on the title page of *A short forme of thankesgeuing*.¹⁷⁴ The *Fourme*'s preface is extensive compared to the entire content of the document; it consists of three pages of the total eight. Additionally, the document includes instructions for priests to follow in carrying out the prayer, as well as Psalms for recital during service, and ending with the prayer itself.¹⁷⁵ *A short forme of thanksgiving* is a very similar document, although lacks a preface, and in this way, is similar to other printed prayers.¹⁷⁶

A Fourme to be used in Common prayer is decorative and visually appealing. The title page features a full woodcut illustration that covers the entire page and surrounds the centered title and publication information. Four angels grace the corners of the page, each playing an instrument. In addition, the printer used two woodcut capitals in the document with the largest located in the preface. Interestingly, no colophon, or printer's identification mark, of William

¹⁶⁹ *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1r.

¹⁷⁰ *A short forme of thankesgeuing*.

¹⁷¹ *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1r; *A short forme of thankesgeuing*; 1r.

¹⁷² H.S. Bennet, *English Books and Readers, 1558-1603, Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 65.

¹⁷³ Mears, "Brought to Book," 32.

¹⁷⁴ *A short forme of thankesgeuing*, 1r.

¹⁷⁵ *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1r-2r.

¹⁷⁶ Mears, "Brought to Book," 32; *A short forme of thankesgeuing*, 1v.

Seres' exists in *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*.¹⁷⁷ There is, however, one present in *A short forme of thankesgeuing*. Also, publication information exists at the end of the text explaining where it was printed, but no printer's mark of Seres' press.¹⁷⁸ *A short forme of thankesgeuing* contains fewer images than *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*. The document contains no images other than two woodcut capitals and William Seres' colophon. Only the title and publication information along with Psalm 50 exist on the title page.¹⁷⁹ The content of Psalm 50 suggests that the Church of England wanted to communicate to readers that the first prayer achieved the goal of helping the Knights triumph over the Ottomans. The existence or lack of features may be connected with the fast-paced publishing of such prayers and the intent of the author or printer.¹⁸⁰

A Fourme to be used in Common prayer exhibits a mixture of typefaces throughout the document. The majority of the text features a Gothic black letter type, but uses Roman Italics type to emphasize specific words and for section titles and running heads.¹⁸¹ The title of the document is in black letter, but the printer's information is in Roman Italics, a format that applies to *A short forme of thankesgeuing*, also.¹⁸² Seres used Roman Italics type to emphasize "Malta" on the title page, but the type appears in no other places in the document. Seres used Roman type to entitle Psalm 50 on the title page and at the end of the document for Seres' publication information. The rest of the document is in Gothic black letter.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1r, 1v, 2v, 3v, and 4v.

¹⁷⁸ *A short forme of thankesgeuing*, 3r and 4r.

¹⁷⁹ *A short forme of thankesgeuing*, 1r.

¹⁸⁰ Mears, "Brought to Book," 35.

¹⁸¹ *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1v-2r.

¹⁸² *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1r; *A short forme of thankesgeuing*, 1r.

¹⁸³ *A short forme of thankesgeuing*, 1r. and 4r.

Natalie Mears studied Elizabethan English prayer booklets, specifically “occasional prayers,” or published prayers for special or specific events.¹⁸⁴ Elizabeth’s religious dictates of 1559 established public prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays.¹⁸⁵ Mears showed that the prayer booklets existed before Elizabeth’s reign, but became more common and structurally more complex during the Elizabethan era. She argued that many had anonymous authors, were cheap, and very widespread throughout England during the late sixteenth century. The prayers became part of normal English parish life and religion under Elizabeth’s reign and evolved into complex pamphlets that included a liturgy and explanatory introductions for carrying out the prayer.¹⁸⁶ The prayer pamphlets usually called for churches to repeatedly use the prayer for a specific, designated amount of time, in line with Elizabeth’s 1559 dictates on the English Church. The prayers usually either prompted thanksgiving or sought the help of God in a matter or event. Prayers referenced a variety of events, including prayers for Christians engaged in armed conflict at Malta.¹⁸⁷

Parish congregations used the prayers in an individualized manner and in common with the congregation during public church services. Individual parishes bought the prayers, which then came into use during services. Clergy began the prayer after the usual service requirements of the Book of Common Prayer. The Book of Common Prayer guided the proceedings of services, but the different prayers offered a variation to the service. The prayers also permitted individual, personal use along with other religious material such as ballads. Mears suggested that it is possible that readers of the prayers altered the subject of the prayer to conform to their personal standards and utilized the prayer past the event the prayer addressed. One surviving

¹⁸⁴ Mears, “Brought to Book,” 33.
29-30.

¹⁸⁵ Usher, “The Elizabethan Church,” 216 and 217.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 29-31.

¹⁸⁷ Mears, “Brought to Book,” 30, 31, and 33.

prayer regarding conflicts with the Ottomans from 1566 contains scratched-out references to the Ottomans and inserted references to Catholics.¹⁸⁸ Purchasers may have attached printed woodcut-illustrated ballads on walls for the purpose of viewing the woodcut designs, possibly in a pious manner. It may be the case that owners of the prayers treated them in such ways considering the elaborate woodcut title page of *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*. This implies a pious approach to religious images and indicates that elements of Catholicism remained among the population during the early years of Elizabeth's enforcement of Protestantism.¹⁸⁹

The special prayers serve as an example of Elizabethan censorship which shows how the monarch was able to influence the religious activity of the kingdom and highlights the monarch's new relationship with Christendom and the Knights.¹⁹⁰ The prayers also introduced the populace to events outside of England. Through parish church services, members encountered news about English or foreign affairs. This is one way in which the laity learned about the Siege of Malta in 1565.¹⁹¹ Readers met descriptions of the Siege of Malta in the preface of *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer* and learned the purpose of the prayer.¹⁹² *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer* shows concern for the defenders of Malta, but also a possible desire to not affiliate England with Catholicism in that the preface announces that the prayer is for all Christians under Ottoman attack.¹⁹³ The preface indicates that Elizabeth's kingdom did not plan to provide funding or military aid to the Knights, but rather included them in a wider appeal to God for the safety of all Christians. The preface reads, "it is our partes whych for dystance of place cannot

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 41 and 44.

¹⁸⁹ Peter Lake, "Religion and Popular Print," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, Vol. 1, ed. Joad Raymond (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 221 and 217.

¹⁹⁰ Mears, "Brought to Book," 41; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 570.

¹⁹¹ John Craig, "Parish Religion," in *The Elizabethan World*, 231-232.

¹⁹² *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1v.

¹⁹³ Bonavita, "Key to Christendom," 1026.

succor them wyth temporall relief" yet England prayed for their safety.¹⁹⁴ The high clergy, archbishops and bishops, created the prayers but the government reviewed and approved them before publishing.¹⁹⁵

The Elizabethan prayers contrast to the indulgences from 1480 in many respects. The transformation of the relationships between English society, the Order, and Europe is evident from a comparison. Perhaps most obvious is the fact that the prayers came from Protestant sources instead of Catholic. The prayers were not an artifact or confirmation that one had escaped time from Purgatory. The prayers offered no pardon to those who recited them and thus differed from the indulgences theologically. The 1565 prayers suggest that the Order's relationship to English society appeared to be the opposite of their late-fifteenth-century position. The 1565 English response took the form of prayers for the Knights. The English Church and the monarch worked together to publish the prayers, not the Catholic Church. In the early 1480s, the Order sold indulgences to support their defense of Christendom which connected it to the Catholic Church that in turn included England. The English monarch supplanted the influence of the Catholic Church in England, resulting in a power shift. The Knights' influence became less direct due to the monarch's separation from the Catholic Church. Thus, the Knights' relationship to English society became more subjected to the power of monarchy.

The very different nature of the prayers and indulgences resulted in different ways that the English population used them. The documents' uses were tied to institutional and theological changes in England's religion. The indulgence was stored or protected for the duration of the life of the buyer due to its nature as an important spiritual artifact. However, the prayers offered a text that potentially had multiple uses and a source that the owner could reference. Although

¹⁹⁴ *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer*, 1v.

¹⁹⁵ Mears, "Brought to Book," 33-34.

the prayers may have offered uses beyond their topics, the prayers nevertheless focused on short temporal events, while the indulgences lasted a lifetime and addressed the problems of the afterlife. The promotional material of the indulgence differed from the content of the prayers. The preface of *A Fourme to be used in Common prayer* acted in a similar way as the miracle broadside in that it related to the reader the news of the event. However, the preface did not describe details about the siege, such as miracles and casualty figures. The prayers thus indicate a different approach to presenting the material to readers that maintained its informative quality yet controlled the reaction of the reader. The indulgence material contained a more persuasive element.

The comparison of the indulgence and prayers indicate changes in English print culture. The indulgence for Rhodes consisted of only a couple of sheets and likely included promotional material. The printed prayers were short pamphlets and exhibited more sophistication in publishing, including illustrations. The difference thus shows the developments in English print-making throughout the century and how English printers incorporated foreign elements of print culture, such as Roman type. The printed prayers speak loudly of various transformations in English society that occurred by the late sixteenth century. Other types of printed material that emerged in response to the Siege of Malta illustrate them further.

Andrew Pettegree discussed Western Europe's preoccupation with the advancement of the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth century and the widespread appearance of news pamphlets that carried the conflicts of the sixteenth century to Europe's readers. Overall interest in the Ottoman advances was more popular than other significant events such as the European exploration of the Western Hemisphere.¹⁹⁶ News pamphlets about Malta eventually appeared in

¹⁹⁶ Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 140-141.

England.¹⁹⁷ In England, officials of Elizabeth's government took interest in the siege. Secretary Of State William Cecil, Lord Burghley followed the development of the siege, and he requested of the Italian historian Pietro Bizari to send him newsletters. Lord Burghley also exchanged information about the siege with William Phayre in Madrid.¹⁹⁸ Printed news in general in England during the late sixteenth century was in demand among the English population.¹⁹⁹

Two surviving English news pamphlets detailing the progress of the Siege of Malta are *[C]ertayn and tru good nues, fro the syege of the isle of Malta: wyth the goodly vyctorie, wyche the Christenmen, by the sauour of God, have ther latlye obtayned, agaynst the Turks, before the forteres of Saint Elmo, and A copie of the last aduertisement that came from Malta of the miraculous deliuerie of the isle from the longe sieg[e] of the Turke, both by sea and lande...Translated out of ye Italian tongue, into English* and *A copie of the last aduertisement that came from Malta of the miraculous deliuerie of the isle from the longe sieg[e] of the Turke, both by sea and lande...Translated out of ye Italian tongue, into English.*²⁰⁰ The pamphlets fall into the genre of news that Historian David Randall designated as "military news," which began to appear more frequently in England during the 1560s. Randall claimed that the English pamphlets had specific features that distinguished the genre from others. The pamphlets were direct in communicating information, which readers associated with the truth value of the news, and were very partisan and influential. Catholic-authored pamphlets were few in number in England due to the religious controversies of the period, yet pamphlets about the Siege of Malta appeared in England.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ Bonavita, "Key to Christendom," 1023.

¹⁹⁸ Bonavita, Introduction to *Cælius Secundus Curio*, 12.

¹⁹⁹ S.K. Barker, "International News Pamphlets," in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, eds., Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2013), 146.

²⁰⁰ Bonavita, "Key to Christendom," 1023.

²⁰¹ David Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets, 1513-1657* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011), xii, xvii, xviii, xxv, and 21.

Both pamphlets are short in length but communicate details of specific events of the siege. *[C]ertayn and tru good nues* is only eight pages long.²⁰² The content of the pamphlet consists of English translations of two letters from those fighting the Ottomans. One is from Jean de Vallette, to Don Garcia de Toledo, captain of the Spanish fleet that arrived at Malta. The other is from Orlando Magro, the captain of La Vallette's galley.²⁰³ The letters each contain a summary introduction that an anonymous author arranged. The introductions are short paragraphs of information which summarize the documents and include the names of the authors. The only other publication information that exists is on the title page and concerns the place of publication and the original language of the document. The author or editor of the text is missing.²⁰⁴

A copie of the last aduertisement is tattered and fragmented,²⁰⁵ making its exact length difficult to determine. However, it may have consisted of between eight and ten pages, according to the pieces that remain. Like *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, the pamphlet contains information from sources of the siege. The pamphlet consists of a Christian soldier's description of his wounds as well as descriptions of the battles fought and losses accrued during the siege. In addition, the source included a list of deceased knights that fell during the siege.²⁰⁶ The subject matter of military news pamphlets covered typical topics such as details of a specific

²⁰² *[C]ertayn and tru good nues, fro the syege of the isle of Malta: wyth the goodly vyctorie, wyche the Christenmen, by the sauour of God, have ther latye obtayned, agaynst the Turks, before the forteres of Saint Elmo, and A copie of the last aduertisement that came from Malta of the miraculous deliuerie of the isle from the longe sieg[e] of the Turke, both by sea and lande...Translated out of ye Italian tongue, into English* (Gaunt: 1565).

²⁰³ Bonavita, Introduction to *Cælius Secundus Curio*, 14.

²⁰⁴ *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, 1r, 1v, and 3r.

²⁰⁵ Bonavita, "Key to Christendom," 1023.

²⁰⁶ *A copie of the last aduertisement that came from Malta of the miraculous deliuerie of the isle from the longe sieg[e] of the Turke, both by sea and lande...Translated out of ye Italian tongue, into English* and *A copie of the last aduertisement that came from Malta of the miraculous deliuerie of the isle from the longe sieg[e] of the Turke, both by sea and lande...Translated out of ye Italian tongue, into English*, (London: Thomas Marshe, 1565), 1v and 3r.

military conflict and the number of the enemy slain.²⁰⁷ However, there are problems with identifying the identity of the soldier due to its condition. The rest of the pamphlet consists of an anonymous letter from Sicily at Syracuse on 19 September that arrived at Rome on 28 September. The pamphlets measure approximately 152 x 88 mm.²⁰⁸

The two news pamphlets are translated documents according to the title pages of both. *[C]ertayn and tru good nues* came from French, and *A copie of the last aduertisement* from Italian.²⁰⁹ Translated news outnumbered domestic news stories during this period. The audience's demand for the English language prompted London translators to often produce anonymous translated foreign news.²¹⁰

The title pages list the place of publication. The title page of *[C]ertayn and tru good nues* lists "Gaunt," or Ghent, as the printing city. However, the name of the author of the pamphlet is absent.²¹¹ Authors' names of news pamphlets were often absent and usually only the names of the persons involved in the content of the news appeared on title pages.²¹² There is a possibility that an English printer printed *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*. In the times of religious controversy, Catholic-associated works that contained publication information of a continental area of print may have actually originated in England. The fear of punishment prompted printers, writers, and publishers to print an alternate publishing location on their works.²¹³ However, the title page of *A copie of the last aduertisement* lists London as the city of

²⁰⁷ Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets*, xiv.

²⁰⁸ *A copie of the last aduertisement*, 3v, 4r.

²⁰⁹ *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, 1r; Anon, *A copie of the last aduertisement*, 1r.

²¹⁰ Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets*, xvi-xvii.

²¹¹ *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, 1r.

²¹² Barker, "International News Pamphlets," 149.

²¹³ Brenda M. Hosington, "Commerce, Printing, and Patronage," in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation Volume 2*, eds., Gordon Braden, Robert Cummings, and Stuart Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 50.

publication and Thomas Marshe as the printer, but the author of the document is anonymous.²¹⁴ Thus, it is possible that religious conflict did not impede importation of *[C]ertayn and tru good nues* from the Low Countries if in fact it appeared in England. According to Randall, the news of the Order's victory represented a victory in which all Christendom took part and prompted Protestant England to ignore the Catholic origins of the news.²¹⁵

The typefaces of the documents hint at their country of origin. *[C]ertayn and tru good nues* exhibits a Roman type throughout.²¹⁶ Roman type became a popular printing type in France and Antwerp during the mid sixteenth century (c.1540) and in England during the late 1550s.²¹⁷ *A copie of the last aduertisement* features Gothic print for the body text and Roman Italics for running heads and the introduction to the Syracuse letter. In addition, proper nouns are emphasized using Roman type throughout the sources of *A copie of the last aduertisement*.²¹⁸ Gothic type was a traditional type in England and printers often used it.²¹⁹ In the case of *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, the entire document features Roman type throughout which was characteristic of continental printing.²²⁰ Ghent was located in Flanders, a city and area that had strong commercial ties with England and which impacted England's printing industry. Furthermore, the area contained a large population of Protestant sects, as well as a thriving pamphlet and printing culture that the religious and political conflicts of the late sixteenth century helped to create. It was thus very likely that printed news from the area made its way to England easily, especially through Protestant contacts.²²¹

²¹⁴ *A copie of the last aduertisement*, 1r.

²¹⁵ Randall, *English Military News Pamphlets*, xiv, xv, and xxiv.

²¹⁶ *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, 1r-4v.

²¹⁷ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 20.

²¹⁸ *A copie of the last aduertisement*, 1r and 3v.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

²²⁰ Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 20.

²²¹ Margit Thøfner, "The Netherlands," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, Vol. 1, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 196-198.

Government censorship of domestic news likely caused profit-seeking printers and the interested public to look to international stories to print news pamphlets. News printers chose stories based on their perceptions of audience demand, as well on established tastes.²²² In this way, printers played a role in shaping the variety of news the audience encountered. In sixteenth-century England, court opinion held that the population did not need to know about the news of the government or kingdom. Popular attitudes shunned inquiry into English events. The Act of Supremacy (1533) suppressed criticism of the monarch and its rule, and maintained its power during Elizabeth's reign. However, the state allowed the population to acquire foreign news prints. An interest in foreign news was present in members of Elizabeth's court such as William Cecil, Lord Burghley. However, the government often approved foreign news that favored Protestantism, but discouraged it when Protestants encountered political challenges.²²³ Joad Raymond argued that Elizabethan England was engaged in common concerns with other continental Protestant areas during the Religious conflicts between Catholics and Protestants of late-sixteenth-century Europe, especially in France.²²⁴ Thus, the influence of the English monarch caused the demand for news to shift toward continental news which affected the printer's choice of product and the information the audience encountered.²²⁵

Printers structured the title pages of news in order to make them appealing to buyers of a diverse audience. News drew an audience with different interests in such books as the Bible and was not designed to be a status symbol.²²⁶ Yet, the audience of such cheap material was not limited to the less wealthy either. In fact, a precise identification of a complete audience for

²²² Barker, "International News Pamphlets," 147 and 151.

²²³ Raymond, "Development of the Book Trade in Britain," 379-380.

²²⁴ Joad Raymond, "News," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, Vol. 1, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 380.

²²⁵ Barker, "International News Pamphlets," 147.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 147, 148.

cheap news pamphlets is difficult to make. However, such publications may indicate the motives of those involved in producing them.²²⁷ Readers of news were very concerned with the truth of the events in the news. Printers usually included the word “true” or other words in news pamphlets’ titles to identify translations as well as the accuracy of the content.²²⁸ *[C]ertayn and tru good nues* is an example of the practice.²²⁹ These words gave support to the claim that the content was accurate, and thus was a market tool printers used to compete with other sellers. Other choice words on news’ title pages indicated the recycled nature of news. The word “copy” often appeared on title pages in order to show that printers reproduced productions.²³⁰ This is the case with *A copie of the last aduertisement*.²³¹ In addition, on the title page of *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, at the bottom of the page, is the phrase “and nuli prented yn Gaunt,” indicating that the news contained therein appeared in other areas.²³² Information about languages also commonly appeared and showed the path of translation that the news followed to the present reader.²³³ Both pamphlets included this information on their title pages. It was thus the printers’ responsibility to market the stories to an interested audience.

The monarchy maintained an influence on literary culture from the late fifteenth century to the late sixteenth and this influence seemed to strengthen. The English response to the Siege of Rhodes showed that the monarch’s relationship to the kingdom and Christendom affected literary culture. However, the monarch’s control over England’s literature was less apparent. John Kaye translated Caoursin’s history with Edward IV in mind. Yet, Kaye expressed the need to share the work with the entire kingdom. During the reign of Elizabeth, the monarch and state

²²⁷ Michael J. Braddick, “England and Wales,” in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, Vol. 1, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 21 and 22.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 152.

²²⁹ *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, 1r.

²³⁰ Barker, “International News Pamphlets,” 152.

²³¹ *A copie of the last aduertisement*, 1r.

²³² *[C]ertayn and tru good nues*, 1r.

²³³ Barker, “International News Pamphlets,” 152-3.

had a more direct control on the output of the press and influenced the material English readers viewed as well as the content of all printed works in the realm. Censorship exerted a constricting force on printing in England. There was therefore an evolution in how English readers encountered literature. John Kaye translated the history of the siege according to what he believed the monarch and kingdom would accept, and in the process, influenced the type of literature that existed in England. Elizabeth's government controlled the focus and source of reading material, but printers nevertheless worked under the more constricted conditions to bring news to interested readers.

V. Conclusion

The comparison of the English printed material on the 1480 Siege of Rhodes and the 1565 Siege of Malta speaks of a tumultuous period of social conflict in Europe and its effects on English society, and of particular English developments leading into the early modern period. The comparison shows that the monarchy's activities throughout the era between the sieges impacted how the events appeared in English print. The responses tell of the cultural and political change that occurred in England between the sieges. The English response to the Order's need in the late fifteenth century was enthusiastic yet markedly antagonistic. The texts from the period exhibit the Order's influence on English culture. As a military order, the Knights represented an aspect of late medieval Catholicism. However, England's position in Christendom began to change. Edward IV protested the actions of the papacy in England. The monarch also began to assert control on the Knights. Yet, John Kaye's history shows that England welcomed the news of the siege, and support for the Knights commenced with the purchasing of indulgences and monarchical gifts. Later in the sixteenth century, after the English Reformation transformed England's religion and the Order's place in England, Elizabeth I

responded to the Siege of Malta with prayers for the Knights. Although the monarch's relationship to Rome eroded and the crown separated the Order from England, the siege remained an object of English interest, evidence of which is in the existence of English news pamphlets of the Great Siege of 1565. However, Elizabeth and her government controlled English society much more so than Edward IV did. The English response in 1565 indicates that the monarch had more control over multiple aspects of English society which diminished the influence of the Order. Additionally, the English state's actions affected how English printers and audiences for printed material responded to the Mediterranean event.

The evolving relationship of the monarch to English society affected how interested English readers learned of the events. In the late fifteenth century, the monarch had less control over foreign literature entering the kingdom. John Kaye introduced Guillaume Caoursin's work into England through translation. His work combined political aspects of English culture with the message of the Order of St. John and resulted in a renovated English version of the history. The relationship between England and foreign literature later changed, however. In the late sixteenth century, state censorship affected how English audiences interacted with literature of all kinds. Printers and readers turned to foreign news pamphlets in part due to the restrictive actions of the monarchy. English political culture shunned public discussion of domestic events and this caused the news demand of English printers and audiences to focus on news from France, Italy and other areas. In addition, English printers began to utilize type that was common in France, the Low Countries and in Italy which represents how English print culture maintained connections with European print culture, yet began to develop distinctions such as printers' use of black letter in publications. Yet, the comparison tells of the evolving nature the relationship of the English kingdom with its European neighbors. The Order became contrary to

the interests of the English state, yet elements of the Hospitallers' cultural presence remained. Although the Hospitallers were no longer standing on English soil by the late sixteenth century, they lived in the minds of English readers.

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[C]ertayn and tru good nues, fro the syege of the isle of Malta: wyth the goodly vyctorie, wyche the Christenmen, by the sauour of God, have ther latlye obtayned, agaynst the Turks, before the forteres of Saint Elmo, and A copie of the last aduertisement that came from Malta of the miraculous deliuerie of the isle from the longe sieg[e] of the Turke, both by sea and lande...Translated out of ye Italian tongue, into English. Gaunt: 1565.

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