

Books & Readers
IN EARLY MODERN BRITAIN

VI



CATALOGUE 1495 MAGGS BROS LTD

The fyrst Chapter.

The original of the heathen
Goddess.



H A T

tyme the spi-
rites of the aire
(whō the scri-
pture callethe
rulers of thys
worlde) began
to geue answes
res of Prophe-

Eph. vi.

cie out of Images made to resemble
mortall menne, and by their wicked
subtelte dyd pretend the selves some
tyme to be of the number of good spi-
rites, some tyme Goddesses celestiaall,
and sometyme the solles of valiaunt
lordes: they brought men into suche
errour, and perplexitee, that in short
space they dyd all together alienate
mens heartes from the religion and
reuerence of the verye God. And for
somuche as their spiritual nature is
subtile, they vsurped the name of good
Angels. For after the opinton of an-
tiquitie, not onely to every man, but

a. i.

also



Books & Readers
IN EARLY MODERN BRITAIN



VI

CATALOGUE 1495



BY APPOINTMENT TO
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN
PURVEYORS OF RARE BOOKS
& MANUSCRIPTS
MAGGS BROS. LTD., LONDON

MAGGS BROS. LTD.

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This is the sixth in our occasional series of *Books & Readers in Early Modern Britain* Catalogues which commenced in 1999.

It is the first to be issued from our new premises at 48 Bedford Square, a Grade I listed Georgian house in the heart of London's Bloomsbury and it will be seen that some of the books and manuscripts included have emerged blinking into the daylight after many years in the legendary basement at 50 Berkeley Square.

The series was conceived as an attempt to present books and manuscripts in the context not only of their content and the purpose of their production, by author, editor, printer, scribe, or binder, but also of their reception by the reader, either at the time of production or later. In 1999 this was a relatively new concept but it has now become an academic standard for early printed books and manuscripts that has also been adopted by many collectors – though not yet for Modern First Editions.

On looking back at the first Maggs catalogue I was involved in the preparation of, Catalogue 987, *English Literature 1500–1800*, Part IV, issued in 1978, I discovered that of the 750 items described, there were only seven references to annotations, all unspecific: “a few early marginal notes just shaved”, “contemporary annotations in margins around portrait and title”, “eighteenth-century inscription”, “a few contemporary notes and comments”, and just under fifty notices of signatures, bookplates, library stamps, etc. The collector or librarian reading the catalogue was presumed to know what the Huth, Wilkinson, Heber or Loveday copy was, where the Kirkleatham, Belton or Signet Libraries had been, who John Burns was, or what the Crewe or Rolle bookplate meant. The only book to have a detailed provenance was the truly bibliophilic Richard Farmer - Isaac Reed - William Beckford - Cortlandt Bishop copy of the 1634 edition of Malory's *Morte Darthur*. What provenance information there was, was of this bibliophilic nature, concentrating on the ownership of later collectors rather than contemporary readership.

But it is the unsung, unidentified, and ordinary reader who is now attracting more attention and this change is exemplified by item 19 in this Catalogue, *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any christen man* (1543), the so-called *King's Book* from King Henry VIII's role in its composition. It has been annotated in English and Latin by a contemporary reader who must have been a parish priest concerned with how he was to fulfil his duties. When this copy was purchased at auction by Bernard Quaritch in 1983 these annotations were considered amongst the other defects with a pencil note at the end that it was “wormed, heavy annotations, some stains”.

It is the hope of this Catalogue to try to convey an understanding of why it was considered worth producing a book or manuscript at the time, what were the hopes or expectations of those involved in its creation, and how it was received by both contemporary and later readers and owners and thus, why it is worth buying today. So, if in 1978 the Kirkleatham Library was a mystery it will be so no longer (Item 84).

Robert J.D. Harding, F.S.A.

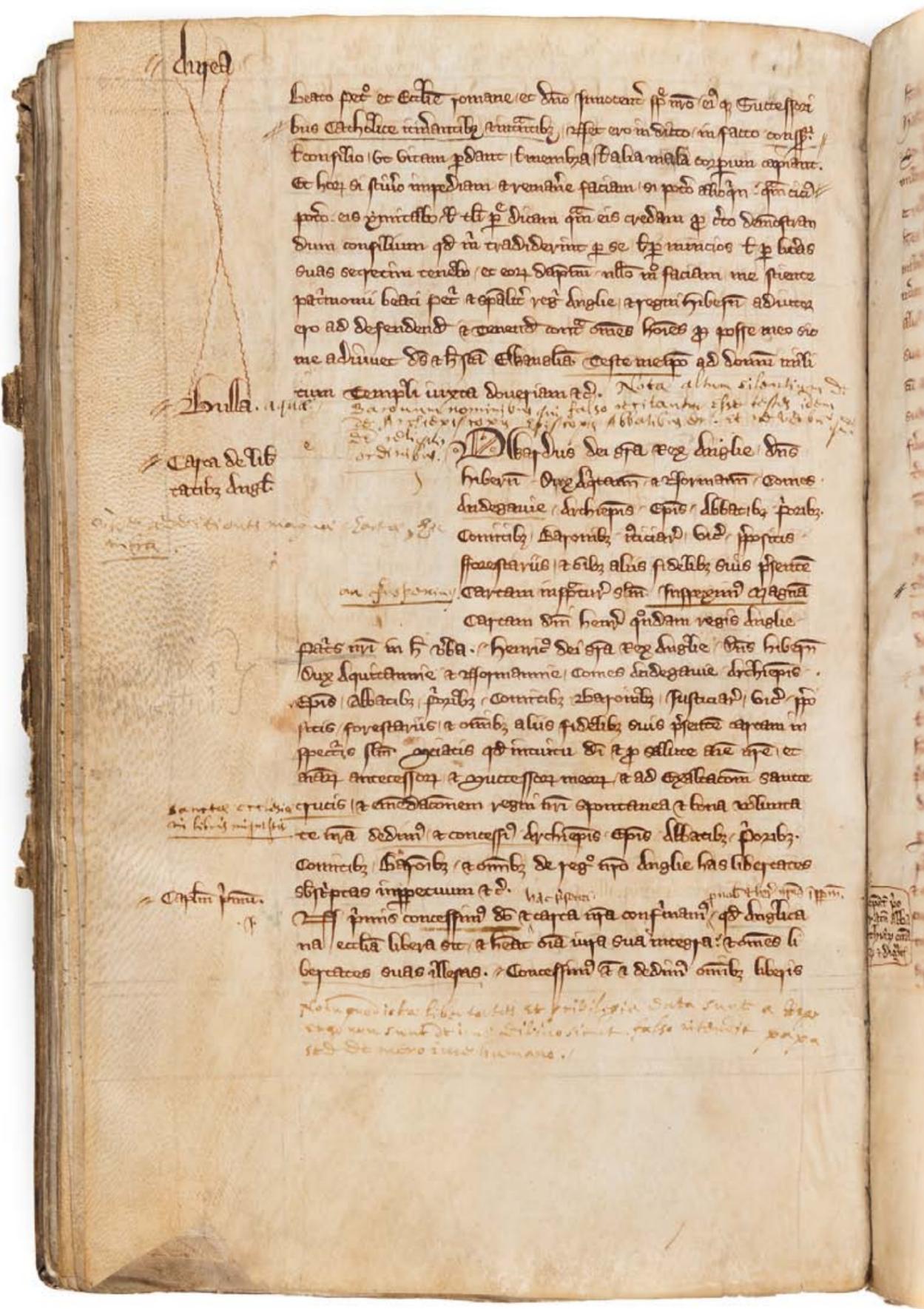
September 2017

- 1 **MAGNA CARTA.** *Registrum Brevium* (Register of Writs), Statutes, including *Magna Carta* (as re-confirmed by Edward I in 1300), the Charter of Forests (1213), the *Summa magna* of Ralph de Hengham, Bracton, etc., in Latin and French (England, probably London; 14th century, soon after 1316). Manuscript on parchment in a contemporary medieval binding. With an important text of the *Magna Carta* preserving an Article found only in copies of the original Charter of 1215. £175,000
- 2 [BRADMORE (John), d. 1412]. Middle English translation of his medical treatise known as the *Philomena* (England, doubtless London, c.1530–35). Manuscript on paper. The second known copy of an important English Medieval medical text with an apparently unique *Tretys of the Mynd* – a new discovery. £250,000
- 3 [ABBOT (George, Archbishop of Canterbury)]. *A Treatise of the Perpetuall Visibilitie, and Succession of the True Church in all Ages* (London, 1624). Plain calf with Edward Gwynn's name tooled in gilt on the front cover and his initials on the back cover. £1,100
- 4 BACON (Sir Francis). *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (London, 1625). First Complete Edition. Annotated throughout by a contemporary reader. £8,500
- 5 BEACON or BEACON (Richard). *Solon his Follie, or A Politique discourse, touching the Reformation of common-weales conquered, declined or corrupted* (Oxford, 1594). First Edition. One of the three great Elizabethan socio-political treatises on Ireland by Englishmen who were or had been resident there. £2,800
- 6 BENTLEY (Thomas), editor. *The Monument of Matrones: conteining seven severall Lampes of Virginitie* (London, 1582). First Edition. The single most important Elizabethan book written by and for women. With unstudied annotations essential for any new edition. £65,000
- 7 BIBLE. ENGLISH. (Great Bible Version). *The Byble in Englyshe* (London, 1540 [-41]). Seventh & Last Great Bible edition. Lacks 6 leaves in all (including one blank) of the total 534 leaves. This copy is unusual in preserving both the General and New Testament title-pages with their magnificent woodcut border (though the General title-page is damaged). It is also notable for its detailed early ownership notes by two identifiable families in Liverpool and Chester in north-west England. £26,000
- 8 BIBLE. ENGLISH. (King James Version). *The Holy Bible* (Cambridge, 1660 [-59]). Two-volume folio Bible elaborately bound in 1692 by Robert Steel with the Royal Arms and cyphers of King William III & Queen Mary II uniquely emphasising the Arms of Ireland and fore-edge paintings with the Royal Arms. Supplied by the stationer Samuel Carr to the Master of the Great Wardrobe for the Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle. SOLD
- 9 [BIRKENHEAD (Sir John)]. *Paul's Church-yard. Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, Nundinis Paulinis (una cum Templo) prostant venales.* (London, 1652–52). 3 parts. A satirical royalist spoof purporting to be a list of new books advertised for sale. £1,200
- 10 BOSWELL (James). *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (London, 1791). First Edition. At least three (possibly four or even five) readers have used the margins of Vol. 2 to battle out their opinions for posterity. £8,000
- 11 [BRISCOE (C. W.)]. *Clerimont, or Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Mr. B*****. (Written by Himself)* (Liverpool, 1786). A rare (?factual) account of the life of a feckless but charming and romantic wastrel set in Manchester, Dublin, Liverpool and London. £2,500
- 12 BROWNE (Sir Thomas). *Pseudodoxia Epidemica: Or, Enquiries into very many received Tenents, and commonly presumed Truths* (London, 1656). First Edition. £950
- 13 BROWNE (Sir Thomas). *Religio, medici.* Second (unauthorised) edition. On the endleaves are 2pp of prayers in a small mid-17th-century hand for a Nonconformist (probably Quaker) wedding ceremony. £3,500
- 14 BURGHEY (William Cecil, 1st Baron, 1520/21–98). Document signed “W Burghley”, dated 16 February 1592/3, ordering payment of £20 to Nowell Sotherton, Clerk of the Estreats [Extracts] for taking charge of the Records of Recusants ([London:] 16 February, 1592/3). £1,500
- 15 CAREW (Thomas). *Poems, with a Maske* (London, 1651) & DAVENANT (Sir William). *Gondibert: an heroic poem* (London, 1651). Bound together in Paris for John Evelyn. £5,000
- 16 CHARLES I. Letter signed “Charles R” to his nephew Prince Rupert two days before the capture of Bath. With an autograph 4-line postscript signed “CR” urging Rupert to “hasten your business” and reminding him to “restraine plundering”. (Oxford: 24 July 1643). £8,000
- 17 [CHARLES I.] BALZAC (Jean Louis Guez, Sieur de). *Les Oeuvres* (Paris, 1645). 2 vols. King Charles I's copy, with his autograph ink motto and cypher “Dum spiro spero / CR” on the flyleaves. One of only 8 known books with the same inscriptions owned by the King while a prisoner in the Isle of Wight and in London in the months before his execution in January 1649. £35,000
- 18 CHRISTIAN MAN. *A necessary doctrine and erudition for any christen man, set furthe by the kynges maiestie of Englande &c.* (London, 29 May 1543. Annotated by a contemporary owner in the margins of many of the most contentious sections. £5,000
- 19 CLERKE (Bartholomew). *Fidelis servi, subdito infideli responsio, una cum errorum & calumniarum quarundam examine quae continentur in septimo libro de visibili Ecclesiae Monarchia* (London, 1573). First Edition to this officially-sponsored attack on Book 7 of Nicholas Sanders' attack on Queen Elizabeth's legitimacy, *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae.* £950
- 20 CUDWORTH (Ralph, D.D.). *The True Intellectual System of the Universe: the first part; wherein, all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is Confuted; and its Impossibility Demonstrated* (London, 1678). First Edition. Fine copy. £1800
- 21 CURSON (Henry). *A Compendium of the Lawes and Government Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military* (London, 1716). Second Edition. From the library of the Hon. Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche, traveller and bibliophile. £450
- 22 [DAY (Thomas)]. *The History of Sandford and Merton, a work intended for the Use of Children.* (London, 1783 – 1786 – 1789). 3 Vols. First Editions. A famous rarity of children's literature. £3,500
- 23 [DEVONSHIRE (Christiana (Bruce) Cavendish, Dowager Countess of), attributed to]. Unpublished treatise on Original Sin prefaced by a remarkable spiritual autobiography describing her 15-year battle with her conscience over the fundamental tenets of her faith and written for publication after consultation with Dr Jeremy Taylor and two other eminent divines. The anonymous woman writer may be identified as the Dowager Countess of Devonshire (1595–1675). £45,000
- 24 [DONNE (John)]. BLACKWOOD (Adam). *Adversus Georgii Buchanani dialogum, de iure regni apud scotos, pro regibus apologia* (Poitiers, 1581). John Donne's copy with his pencil reading markings of a book on the nature of kingship, a subject central to his first published work, *Pseudo-Martyr* (1605). In fine original condition, exactly as it was on Donne's shelves. £30,000
- 25 [DONNE (John)]. VITTORELLI or VICTORELLUS (Andrea). *De Angelorum custodia lib. II* (Padua, 1605). John Donne's copy with his pencil reading marks throughout of a work on Guardian Angels from which he quoted in his first published published work, *Pseudo-Martyr* (1605), and probably referred to in his poem “Air and Angels”. £40,000
- 26 DRAYTON (Michel). *[Poly-Olbion]. A Chorographical description of all the tracts, rivers, mountains, forests, and other Parts of this Renowned Isle of Great Britaine* (London, 1622). Fine copy of the First Complete Edition with the beautiful maps of England and Wales, in mid-1640s calf. £24,000
- 27 DUGDALE (Sir William). Autograph Letter Signed to Dr. Robert Brady, Master of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge (“Blythe Hall neere Coleshill in Warwickshire 6. Octobris, 1684). £7,500
- 28 DUGDALE (Sir William). *The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated* (London, 1656). Fine copy in contemporary calf of this lavishly illustrated work. £4,500
- 29 DUGDALE (Sir William). *The Baronage of England* (London, 1675 [-]76]). Contemporary black morocco by Roger Bartlett of Oxford, the covers with a “cottage-roof” design and with an original fore-edge painting of flowers and leaves. One of a group of similar bindings belonging to Theophila Dyve. £8,000

- 30 **DUGDALE** (Sir William). *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, 1658). Narcissus Luttrell's Large Paper copy with fine impressions of the plates by Wenceslaus Hollar. £3,600
- 31 **EDWARD III.** [Yearbook for Edward III, Years 40-50 (1367-1377)]. *Regis pie memorie Edwardi tertii a quadragesimo ad quinquagesimum* (London, 1565). Second Edition. Annotated throughout in the margins a series of late 16th / early 17th-Century hands with Welsh connections. £2,850
- 32 **EDWARD III.** [Yearbook for Edward III, Years 40-50 (1367-1377)]. *Regis pie memorie Edwardi tertij a quadragesimo ad quinquagesimum* (London, 1576). Third Edition. Annotated throughout in the margins in three or four late 16th-century hands with Welsh connections. £2,500
- 33 **ELSYNGE** (Sir Henry). *Modus tenendi Parliamentum apud Anglos in two Bookes Composed by Henry Elsinge Esquire Clerke of the Parliament* (London, c. 1625-35). Manuscript on paper in a neat scribal hand. £2,800
- 34 **ERASMUS** (Desiderius). *De contempt mundi* (London, 1533). Translated by Thomas Paynell. Second Edition in English of this treatise on the solitary life. From the Bute library at Cardiff Castle. £4,200
- 35 **ERASMUS** (Desiderius). *Liber cum primis pius, de praeparatione ad mortem* (Basel, 1534). First Edition of this treatise on the art of death commissioned by Thomas Boleyn. With an appendix of letters from Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. £7500
- 36 **ERASMUS** (Desiderius). *Morias Enkomium. Stultitiae Laus* (Basel, 1676). First Illustrated Edition with reproductions of Hans Holbein the younger's sketches made in a copy of the second edition. In a fine red morocco binding by Robert Steel. £6,000
- 37 **EUCLID. BILLINGSLEY** (Henry), translator. **DEE** (John), preface by. *The Elements of Geometrie* of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara (London, 1570). First Edition in English. The architect and stage-designer Inigo Jones's newly- discovered copy. £175,000
- 38 **FABLES.** *The Dialoges of creatures moralysed* (Antwerp, ?1530). A very fine copy with a distinguished provenance of the first and only complete early edition of the only English translation of the *Dialogus Creaturarum Moralisatus*, a collection of moral fables. It is one of the most lavishly illustrated English printed books of the age with a woodcut to each of the 122 Dialogues (though with some repeats). This is one of 7 known complete copies. £140,000
- 39 **FOUGASSES** (Thomas de). **SHUTE** (William), translator. *The Generall Historie of the Magnificent State of Venice* (London, 1612). First Edition in English. Contemporary calf, gilt royal arms (dated "16011") on the covers. £2,800
- 40 **FULLER** (Thomas). *Pisgab-Sight of Palestine and the confines thereof* (London, 1650). First Edition of this great illustrated historical/geographical description of the lands of the Tribes of Israel. Bound in Paris for John Evelyn. £16,500
- 41 **GAMBIA ADVENTURERS.** Manuscript Minute Book of Committee Meetings of the General Court of the Gambia Adventurers and the Committee for the Inspection of the Books from 22 Jan. 1683/4 to 23 Dec. 1686 & 31 Jan. 1695/6 to 25 June 1700. £2,400
- 42 **GIBBON** (Edward). *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Londo (London, 1776 - 88). First Edition. 6 Vols. A fantastic copy of the earliest possible state of Gibbon's monumental work in a contemporary binding. £30,000
- 43 **GIOVIO** (Paolo). **DANIEL** (Samuel), translator. *The Worthy tract of Paulus Iovius, contayning a Discourse of rare inventions, both Militarie and Amorous called Imprese* (London, 1585). First treatise in English on the art of making *imprese* or emblems. £4,500
- 44 **GODWIN** (William). *An Enquiry concerning Political Justice, and its influence on general virtue and happiness* (London, 1793). First Edition. With annotations by a sceptical contemporary reader. £3,000
- 45 **GUICCIARDINI** (Francesco). *The Historie of Guicciardin: Containing the Warres of Italie and other parts, continued for manie yeares under sundrie Kings and Princes* (London, 1618). Third Edition in English. Contemporary calf, gilt arms on the covers of Walter Chetwynd. £1,500
- 46 **HADDON** (Walter) & **FOXÉ** (John). *Contra Hieron. Osorium* (London, 1577). First Edition of an attack on the Portuguese bishop of Sylva, Jeronymo Osorio da Fonseca. Five-sixths of the text was completed after Haddon's death by John Foxe. In a handsome Elizabethan gilt corner and centre-piece binding. £14,000
- 47 **[HAWKINS** (Henry)]. *Partheneia sacra. Or the mysterious and delicious Garden of the sacred Parthenes* (Rouen, 1633). Fine copy of one of the most original and lavishly illustrated of early English emblem books and certainly the most original by an English Catholic. £9,500
- 48 **[HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES]. POSSEVINO** (Antonio). *Bibliotheca Selecta de ratione studiorum.* (Cologne, 1607). Third Edition of this great work on education and study bound for Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales with the royal arms and lions rampant on the covers. £24,000
- 49 **HERALDRY.** *English Heraldic Manuscript, of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, with Medieval and later Texts including material associable with Yorkshire and two drawings apparently of the fortifications of Hull.* Two of the texts belonged to the Herald Peter Le Neve. From the library at Burton Constable, near Hull. £14,000
- 50 **HILARY OF POITIERS.** [*Opera*] (Basel, 1523). First Edition edited by Erasmus. Contemporary London binding of blind-stamped calf over wooden boards. From the library of and annotated by George Folbury / Fowlbery (d. 1540), Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. £5,000
- 51 **HILL** (John). *The British Herbal: an History of Plants and Trees, Natives of Britain, cultivated for beauty* (London, 1756). First Edition. Frontispiece and 75 engraved plates, all with contemporary hand-colour. £7,500
- 52 **[HOTMAN** (Francois)]. *De furoribus Gallicis* ("Edimburgi", *i.e.* Basel, 1573). First Edition of the key source for Christopher Marlowe's play *The Massacre at Paris*. This copy has been annotated by two contemporary readers with an eye for the theatricality of the story. £4,200
- 53 **INQUISITIONS POST MORTEM FOR SOMERSET & DORSET.** *Abstracts of Inquisitions post mortem for the Counties of Somerset and Dorset from 20 Henry III to the end of Richard III (1235-1485)* (London, c. 1620-30). Manuscript transcript of records then in the Tower of London. This manuscript was bound for the collector Dr Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) and lent by him to Thomas Carew who failed to return it. Subsequently in the Phillipps collection. £9,500
- 54 **[JAMES VI, KING OF SCOTLAND]. LUCRETIVS CARUS** (Titus). *De rerum natura, libri VI* (Paris, 1570), Bound circa 1580 with the gilt arms of King James VI on the covers. One of a very few surviving bindings from his library as King of Scotland. £16,000
- 55 **JAMES I. ESTABLISHMENT BOOK.** *A Catalogue of the Nobilitie of England, and a Collection of his Maties Courtes of Record as of his highnes most honourable houshould* (London, 1619). Manuscript on paper. Contemporary limp vellum. £2,500
- 56 **[JEWISH KALENDAR]. [ABENDANA** (Isaac)]. *An Almanack for the Year of Christ, 1693. Being the First after Bissextile or Leap-year. To which is Added the Ancient Roman Kalendar. / The Jewish Kalendar* (Oxford, [1693]). Interleaved and annotated, probably by John Cowper, student at Brasenose College, Oxford. £4,000
- 57 **JONSON** (Ben). *The Workes.* Second Edition of Vol. 1. (London, 1640). In this unique copy *Epicoene or the Silent Woman* has been marked-up in ink with early manuscript "theatrical" directions and corrections for performance. SOLD
- 58 **JONSON** (Ben). Vols. 2-3 of the *Workes* with an unrecorded title-page to Vol. 3, *The Mirror of Eloquence and Wit* (London, 1640). All bibliographical sources are united in stating that Vol. III was issued without a title-page. £8,000
- 59 **[KYNASTON / KINASTON** (Sir Francis), 1586/7-1642]. *A True Presentation of forepast Parlyaments to the view of Present tyme and Posteritie* (London: c. 1630). Contemporary manuscript copy of this unpublished text. From the collections of Fabian Phillips and Thomas Carew. £3,500

- 60 **L.** (Fr.). *An Elegie upon the much lamented death of Henry Bradshaw of Marple Esquire who departed this life March the .11. Anno dom[in]i 1661 [1662].* (Cheshire, 1662). Unrecorded single-page manuscript poem on the funeral of the brother of the Republican politician and regicide John Bradshaw. £1,200
- 61 **LA FAYETTE** (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, Madame de). *Zayde. A Spanish History, or, Romance. Originally Written in French. By Monsieur Segray. Done into English by P. Porter, Esq* (London, 1690). Second Edition in English of a key early feminine novel. Contemporary red morocco, elaborately tooled in gilt by “Queens’ Binder A” (probably William Nott). £6,000
- 62 **LAMBARDE** (William). *Archaionomia, sive de priscis anglorum legibus libri* (London, 1568). First Edition. This copy had at least four scholarly early owners, one of whom used it to transcribe passages from the *Liber Horn*, a manuscript then in the possession of the legal antiquary Francis Tate (d. 1616) and which is today divided between the Guildhall Library, BL MS Cotton Claudius D. ii. and Oriel College, Oxford. £6,000
- 63 **[LA PLANCHE** (Louis Régnier de), pseudonym Francois de L’Isle]. *A Legendarie conteyning an ample discourse of the life and behaviour of Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, and of his brethren, of the house of Guise.* (?London or Geneva, 1573). First Edition in English of “the most gratuitous attack upon Mary Queen of Scots found in Sixteenth century English”. Contemporary calf, gilt arms of Thomas Wotton I, the “English Grolier”. £6,000
- 64 **LEGH** (William). *The Accedence of Armory* (London, 1612). Sixth Edition. The last edition of a popular Elizabethan book on heraldry, with the rare folding plate showing the coat-of-arms borne by Lord Robert Dudley as Pallaphilos, Knight of the Order of Pegasus, in the *Masque of Desire and Lady Beauty* at the Inner Temple in January 1562. £1,500
- 65 **LUCRETIVS CARUS** (Titus). **EVELYN** (John), translator and editor. *An Essay on the first book of T. Lucretius Carus de rerum natura. Interpreted and Made English Verse by J. Evelyn Esq.* (London, 1656). First Edition in English. Evelyn’s plan to publish his translation of Books II-VI was abandoned. £1,800
- 66 **LUTHER** (Martin). *A Commentarie of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Galathians* (London, 1575). First Edition in English. “I do prefer this book . . ., (excepting the Holy Bible), before all books that I have ever seen, as most fit for a wounded Conscience” (John Bunyan). £2,000
- 67 **MAIMONIDES** (Moses), 1135-1204. *De sacrificiis liber* (London, 1683). Edited by Louis Compiègne de Veil. Handsome copy in contemporary red morocco from the library of the Earls of Aylesford. £1,200
- 68 **MANCHESTER** (Henry Montagu, 1st Earl of). *Manchester al mondo. Contemplatio Mortis, & Immortalitatis* (London, 1633). Third Edition. Contemporary velvet binding with emblematic silver furniture. Uniquely, this family copy from Kimbolton Castle also contains an extra 4-leaf gathering after the title with printed Latin poems addressed to the author by Edward Benlowes. £18,000
- 69 **[MASON** (Richard, O.F.M.)]. *A Manuell of the Arch-Confraternitie of the Cord of the Passion, instituted in the sersaphicall order of S. Francis* (Doway, 1654). Second (enlarged) Edition. With an apparently unrecorded “Animadversion to all the happy Children”. £750
- 70 **MAXWELL** (James). *A Monument of Remembrance, erected in Albion* (London, 1613). First Edition. The Britwell Court copy of a rare prophetic poem celebrating the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James I. £2,800
- 71 **MAYERNE TURQUET** (Louis de). **GRIMSTONE** (Edward), translator. *The Generall Historie of Spaine* (London, 1612). First Edition in English. A handsome copy from the Macclesfield library of an important history of Spain continued by the translator to include accounts of the Armada and other events. £2,800
- 72 **MILTON** (John). *Paradise Lost. A poem in ten books* (London, 1669). First Edition, Third issue. Mid-19th-century green morocco by Hatton of Manchester, gilt arms of the Earl of Macclesfield. £5,200
- 73 **MOORE** (Sir Francis), 1559-1621. “*Ex libro Francisci Moore Militis servientis ad Legem scripto propria Manu ipsius*” [Manuscript collection of Law Cases dating from 1533 to 1603] (London: circa 1625-30). £2,400
- 74 **[MORE** (Cresacre)]. *D. O. M. S. The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore Lord high Chancellour of England* (Douai, ?1631). First Edition. £1,800
- 75 **MORE** (Sir Thomas). *A Dialogue of Cumfort against Tribulation* (Antwerp, 1573). Second Edition, dedicated to Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria. £2,800
- 76 **MORLEY** (George, Bishop of Worcester). Manuscript of three tracts (the first apparently unpublished, the others published in 1683) on Holy Communion and Transubstantiation presented by the author to the Duke of Ormond (England: March 1661 - April 1662). £7,000
- 77 **NAPIER** (Archibald, 1st Lord Napier of Merchistoun). *A True Relation of the injust Persute against the Lord Napier, written by himselfe* (Edinburgh: c. 1635-40). The only known contemporary manuscript of Lord Napier’s memoir / apologia, with a family provenance, said by the historian Mark Napier in 1838 to be autograph. The copy-text for the first edition of 1793 privately printed in 100 copies for the 8th Lord Napier. £12,000
- 78 **NAPIER** (Archibald, 1st Lord Napier of Merchistoun). *Memoirs of Archibald, First Lord Napier: written by himself. Published from the original manuscript, in the possession of the present Lord Napier* (Edinburgh: [privately published] 1793). First Edition. One of 100 copies privately printed. Lovely copy from the library of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. £2,800
- 79 **NEVILLE** (Henry). *Plato Redivivus or a dialogue concerning government* (London, 1763). “Fourth Edition” (i.e. a reissue of the third edition of 1745). One of 24 copies specially bound by John Matthewman for Thomas Hollis (1720-74), the republican political propagandist, “for his own use and to scatter among his friends (as he expressed it) at home and abroad”. £4,500
- 80 **NEWMAN** (Samuel). *A Large and complete Concordance to the Bible in English, according to the last Translation* (London, 1643). First Edition. Bound in Paris for John Evelyn. Building on Clement Cotton’s *Complete Concordance to the Bible* (1631) this is a work, not only of monumental scholarship but also of monumental assiduity. Though Samuel Newman (1602-63), a Minister in Massachusetts, commenced this project in England it is the largest compilation to be completed in New England in the first half of the 17th Century. £7,000
- 81 **NOWELL** (Alexander). *A Reproufe, written by Alexander Nowell, of a booke entituled, a proufe of certayne articels in religion denied by M. Iuell* (London, 1565). Bound with: **VALERA** (Cipriano de). *Two Treatises: The first, of the Lives of the Popes, and their doctrine* (London, 1600). Sir Edward Dering, 1st Baronet (1598-1644), with his coat-of-arms (a saltire) in blind on the covers. £5,500
- 82 **OXFORD UNIVERSITY**. *Iusta Oxoniensium* (London, 1612). First Edition. Included among the 207 (mostly Latin) poems on the death of Henry, Prince of Wales by scholars and masters at Oxford is an astrological poem by Robert Burton (his third (published work)). £850
- 83 **PEACHAM** (Henry). *Minerva Britanna or a garden of heroical Devises, furnished, and adorned with Emblemes and Impresa’s of sundry natures* (London, [1612]). First Edition. 100 Woodcut Emblems. *Minerva Britanna* is the most original in concept of the early English Emblem Books. £18,000
- 84 **PEPYS** (Samuel). *Memoires relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England* (London, 1690). First Edition, Fine Paper Issue, with manuscript corrections. From the library of Kirkleatham School & Hospital established by Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London 1668-9 and a relative of Pepys by marriage. £2,800
- 85 **[PÉRIN** (Léonard), S.J; translator]. *Bien-seance de la conversation entre les hommes. Communis vitae inter homines scita urbanitas* (Pont-à-Mousson, 1617). Rare first edition of a popular courtesy book for schoolboys. Bound in Paris circa 1650 for Sir Richard Browne, father-in-law of John Evelyn. £7,250
- 86 **PLOT** (Robert). *The Natural History of Stafford-shire* (Oxford, 1686). First Edition. Bound in red morocco, with the gilt arms of Walter Chetwynd (1633-93), county historian, of Ingestre Hall, Staffordshire, who subscribed for a Fine Paper copy. £2,800

- 87 **PSALTER.** A Tudor Miniature Manuscript on vellum containing selected Psalms from Miles Coverdale's translation *A Paraphrasis, upon all the psalms of David, made by Johannes Campe[n]sis* (1535 & 1539) & Bible Verses from *The Fountayne or well of lyfe* (1534?; reprinted 1548?). Miniature manuscripts from 16th-century England are extremely rare. This seems to be a unique manuscript survival of a version of a text which itself is known in only two other contemporary printed copies. Both its miniature size and the fact that it is in the vernacular suggests that it was created for a female audience. (London: 1535-40). SOLD
- 88 **[RALEGH (Sir Walter)]. VIGNIER** (Nicolas, the younger). *Theatre de L'Antechrist* ([Saumur], 1610). First Edition. Contemporary limp vellum, the covers tooled in the centre with the armorial crest of Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618). A French Protestant text suppressed by the King of France. One of only ten known printed books certainly from the library of the courtier, explorer and author Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower of London and one of only four known volumes stamped with his personal armorial crest. £48,000
- 89 **ROSS** (Charles, of Greenlaw, 1722-1806). Manuscript Pocket-Diary of a Scottish surveyor, architect, farmer, nurseryman and gardener, near Paisley, with daily weather readings and notes of his activities and health from 1 January 1795 to 27 June 1805. Charles Ross was at the forefront of the Agricultural Revolution in south-west Scotland in the second half of the 18th Century. In his late 70s and early 80s he remained physically and socially active and fully employed despite chronic health problems. £6,500
- 90 **SANDERSON** (Robert, D.D.). *Fourteen Sermons Heretofore Preached* (London, 1657). Fourth Edition. Contemporary calf, gilt arms on the covers of Robert Spencer (1629-1694), created Viscount Teviot in 1685. Subsequently in the Sunderland Library at Blenheim Palace and the Spencer Library at Althorp. £950
- 91 **SAVILLE** (Henry), 1642-87, courtier and diplomat. Manuscript Letter Book containing copies of 178 letters, mostly between Henry Savile and his brother George, Marquess of Halifax, written between 9 April 1661 and 29 August 1689 (No place, circa 1760). The original letters are lost but this is one of two known mid-18th-Century fair copies - the other is at Chatsworth. This copy is from the Holland House Library. The letters were published from the Chatsworth manuscript as *Savile Correspondence* (Camden Society, 1858). £2,500
- 92 **SHIP-MONEY.** Arguments of the Counsel in the case of the writ of 'scire facias' issued by the Crown on 11 August 1637 against John Hampden for his refusal to pay Ship Money tax of 31/6d and heard in the Exchequer Chamber by the 12 Judges of England. Contemporary manuscript copy of the speeches by Oliver St John, Sir Edward Littleton, Robert Holborne & Sir John Bankes. £2,500
- 93 **[SMOLLETT (Tobias George)].** *The Adventures of Roderick Random. In Two Volumes.* (London, 1748). First Edition. 2 vols. Contemporary calf. From the library of the Countess of Aboyne. £3,000
- 94 **SOROCOLD** (Thomas). *Supplications of Saints: A Book of Prayers and Praises in Four Parts. ... The 40 Edition Corrected and Enlarged* (London, 1678). Fine copy in contemporary black morocco, with a gilt "drawer-handle" design. One of the most popular of all devotional aids with nearly 50 editions between 1612 and 1723, many of which are known in only one or two copies. £1,500
- 95 **SPENSER** (Edmund). *Colin Clouts Come home againe* (London, 1595). First Edition. Mid-19th-century green morocco, gilt arms of the Earl of Macclesfield. £16,000
- 96 **SPENSER** (Edmund). *The Faerie Queene. Disposed into twelve books, fashioning XII. Morall vertues. [- The Second part of the Faerie Queene. Containing the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Bookes.]* (London, 1590-96). First Editions. 2 vols. Mid-19th-century green morocco, gilt arms of the Earl of Macclesfield. £24,000
- 97 **[SPENSER (Edmund)].** *The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning twelve aeglogues proportionable to the twelve Monethes* (London, 1581). Second Edition. Mid-19th-century brown calf, gilt arms of the Earl of Macclesfield. Apparently the only copy of the first four editions in private hands. SOLD
- 98 **STAPLETON** (Thomas). *Tres Thomae* (Douai, 1588). First Edition of these lives of St Thomas the Apostle, St Thomas a Becket and Sir Thomas More. 19th-century morocco for Sir Mark Masterman Sykes. Subsequently owned by William Beckford. With early manuscript notes in the life of More. £1,800
- 99 **TASSO (Torquato). KYD (Thomas), translator.** *The Housholders Philosophie. Wherein is perfectly and profitably described, the true Oeconomia and forme of Housekeeping. ... Whereunto is anexed a dairie booke for all good huswives [by Bartholomew Dorwe]* (London, 1588). First Edition of Kyd's translation of Tasso, Second Expanded Issue with the First Edition of Part 2 by Dowe. Modern calf. £12,000
- 100 **THEMYLTHORPE** (Nicholas). *The Posie of Godly Prayers, fit for every Christian to use* (London, 1632). "Sixteenth" Edition. Lacks 1 leaf of text. Contemporary embroidered binding. This edition is unrecorded. £1,800
- 101 **TREATIES OF PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, SPAIN & ENGLAND.** Mid-16th-Century manuscript copies of the terms of four International Peace Treaties relating, in particular, to the 1529 Treaty of Cambrai; written for Jehan or Jean Barrat (1496-1576), Councillor & Master of Finance in the Chambre des Comptes [Exchequer] at Lille. (Lille or Brussels], 1562). £8,500
- 102 **VEIL** (Charles-Marie de). *Explicatio literalis Cantici Canticorum* (London, 1679) & *Explicatio literalis duodecim prophetarum minorum* (London, 1680). 2 vols. Bound in matching contemporary red morocco, gilt, for the Earl of Essex. £1,500
- 103 **VERGIL** (Polydore). *An Abridgement of the notable worke of Polidore Vergile conteynnyng the devisers and firste finders out aswell of Artes, Ministeries, Feactes & civill ordinaunces, as of Rites, and Ceremonies, ... Co[m]pendiously gathered by Thomas Langley* (London, 1546). Second Edition in English, second issue. Lacks 3 leaves. The handsome illuminated border to the first page of text and the illuminated initial are most unusual in English printed books of the Tudor period. £4,000
- 104 **WALKER** (Anthony). *Eureka, Eureka. The Virtuous Woman found* (London, 1678). Handsome copy in contemporary morocco of the funeral sermon for Mary Rich, Dowager Countess of Warwick. The Countess's own writings are published in the appendix. £2,500
- 105 **[WETENHALL** (Edward, later Bishop of Kilmore & Ardagh)]. *Enter into thy Closet. or, a Method and Order for private Devotion* (London, 1679). Fifth Edition. Fine copy in contemporary red morocco, covers with an elaborate gilt design. £1,500



WITH AN IMPORTANT TEXT OF THE MAGNA CARTA PRESERVING AN ARTICLE FOUND ONLY IN COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL CHARTER OF 1215

1 Registrum Brevium (Register of Writs), Statutes, including Magna Carta (as re-confirmed by Edward I in 1300), the Charter of Forests (1213), the Summa magna of Ralph de Hengham, Bracton, etc., in Latin and French.

England, probably London; 14th century, first quarter (soon after 1316) £175,000

Manuscript on Parchment, perhaps sheepskin, I+172+ii leaves c.265x170mm, foliated i, 1-173 (fols.1-55 foliated in old ink); collation: 1-5² (fols.1-60) | 6⁴ (fols.61-64) | 7-12² (fols.65-136), [one or more leaves missing] | 13-15² (fols.137-172), [one or more leaves missing at the end] | 16¹ (original flyleaf and pastedown); with catchwords throughout except at the ends of codicological units; ruled in plummet and written with 32 lines per page in an elegant anglicana script in brown ink; spaces for large decorated initials. Contemporary binding: sewn on four wide slit straps and laced and pegged into thick oak boards with rounded edges flush with the edges of the leaves, covered with off-white skin (partly defective), flat spine, traces of two woven strap-and-pin clasps (securing from the top to the bottom cover, as usual in England), the original front pastedown lifted so now forming a flyleaf (fol.i).

Text

[Art. 1 occupies quires 1-5]

- (fols.1r-59v) Registrum Brevium: first heading: "Incipit Registrum"; marginal title: "Breve de recto"; main text: "[E]dwardus [I] dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Hibernie, et Dux Aquitannye maiori et vicecomitibus London' salutem. Precipimus vobis sine dilatione plenum rectum teneatis tali de uno mesuagio cum pertinenciis in London' ... Hec est differencia inter breve de recto in London' et brevia de recto in aliis civitatibus ... apud Westmonasterium quinto die junii Anno regni nostri vicesimo [i.e. Easter Saturday, 1292] ..."; the last writ by the main scribe (before an early 5-line addition) "De Prohibitio Advocationibus Ecclesiorum" concerns "ysabelle de mortuo mari" (Isabelle de Mortimer, d. ?1292, daughter of Roger de Mortimer, of Wigmore, married 1stly John Fitzalan, feudal lord of Clun and Oswestry and Earl of Arundel, d. 1271/2) and the "manerio Albi monasterii" (Album Monasterium = Oswestry in Shropshire); fol.60r-v ruled, otherwise blank.

[Art. 2 occupies quire 6 (on a slightly smaller sheet)]

- (fols.61r-64v) Capitula lists of headings of the following items: "Capituli de libertatibus Carte Anglicane. / Capitulum primum. De libertatibus Ecclesie Anglicane. / Capitulum ij. De relevis capiendis. / Capitulum iij. De custodibus terre et heredis. / ..." (33 chapters), followed by "Capitula Carte foreste [17 chapters] ... Provisionum de Mertone [11 chapters] ... Statutorum de Marleberge [29 chapters] ... Westmonasterium primum [53 chapters] ... Statutorum Gloucestrie [19 chapters] ... Wintonie [7 chapters] ... Westmonasterium de anno xiiij [66 chapters] ...".

[Arts. 3-44 occupy quires 7-12]

- (fols.65r-v), Charter of submission of King John given at Dover on 15 May 1213 in which he surrendered the kingdoms of England and Ireland to Pandulf, the envoy of Pope Innocent III and promised to pay an annual tribute of 1000 marks; with heading "Aurea Bulla" and signed "Teste meipso ad domum militum templi iuxta doveriam". As a later annotator has noted the list of witnesses at the end has not been included. The heading "Aurea Bulla" [Golden Bull] refers to the confirmation ceremony held in London on 3 October 1213. Not included in the list of contents.

4. (fols. 65v–69r) Magna Carta, with inspeximus of Edward I, dated 8 [recte 28] March 1300.
5. (fols. 69r–70v) Charter of Forests with heading “Carta de libertatibus foreste”.
6. (fols. 70v–71r) “Sentencia cartarum” [Sentencia Excommunicationis lata in transgressores Cartarum (1253)]
7. (fols. 71r–73r) “Provisiones de Mertone” (1235).
8. (fols. 73r–77v) “Statuta de Marleburge” [Marlborough] (1267).
9. (fols. 77v–79v) “Item de Kenelworth” [Dictum of Kenilworth] (1266).
10. (fols. 80r–89v) “Statuta Westm. primi” [Westminster I], in French (1275)
12. (fols. 90v–93r) “Statuta Gloucestr.” [Gloucester], in French (1278).
13. (fol. 93r–v) “Explanationes statutorum Glouc.”.
14. (fols. 93v–95r) “Statuta Wintonie” [Winchester], in French (1285).
15. (fol. 95r–v) “Articuli statutorum Winton.”
16. (fols. 95v–112r) “Statuta Westm. secundi” [Westminster II] (1285).
17. (fol. 112r–v) “Statuta de religiosis”, in French (1279).
18. (fols. 112v–114v) “Statuta de mercatoribus” (Statute of Merchants or Statute of Acton Burnell, 1283), in French.
19. (fols. 114v–116v) “Le rey veut que touz maners de baillifs et autres ministres ...” [Statute concerning the Exchequer or the Statute of Rutland, 1284], in French.
20. (fols. 116v–117r) “Statutum de iniustis districcionibus”, in French.
21. (fol. 117r–v) “Statutum de Mediis”, *i.e.* Westminster III (Quia emptores), 1290.
22. (fol. 117v) “Statutum de quo waranto [II]”.
23. (fol. 117v) “Statutum de champertours” (*i.e.* de conspiratoribus), in French.
24. (fol. 118r) “Legia prohibicio” (Circumspecte agatis).
25. (fol. 118r–v) “De iusticiariis assignatis” (Statute of Justices of Assizes, 1293, in French).
26. (fol. 119r) “Statutum de anno et die bisextili” (Provision for the day in Leap Years, 1256).
27. (fol. 119r–v) “Statutum de Juratoribus” (Statute of persons to be put in Juries and Assizes, 1293).
28. (fol. 120r–v) “Statutum de moneta”, in French (1284).
29. (fols. 120v–121r) “Articuli de moneta”, in French.
30. (fol. 121r) “Computo monete et ponderum”.
31. (fols. 121r–122r) “Statuta de Eccestrie” [*sic* for Excestrie (Exeter)] (of Bishop Peter Quinel, 1287), in French.
32. (fols. 122r–124r) “Articuli eiusdem”, in French.
33. (fol. 124r–v) “Extenta manerii”, in French (instructions of 1276 for surveying manors in preparation for a new Domesday survey).
34. (fol. 125r) “Statutum de quo waranto [III]”, in French.
35. (fols. 125r–126r) “Confirmacio regis super cartas” (5 November 1297), in French [the Additional articles to the Magna Carta and Charter of Forests given by Edward I on campaign at Ghent in the face of opposition at home to his taxation policies led by the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, Humphrey (VI) de Bohun and Roger (IV) Bigod]
36. (fols. 126r–128r) “Sentencia super confirmatione”. Injunctions of Robert of Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury declaring that all violators of ecclesiastical property should be excommunicated; to be read twice a year in all cathedrals and churches in the province of Canterbury, dated at Otford [Kent], July 1298.
37. (fol. 128r–v) “Statutum de militibus” (1307; for respiting of knighthood in feudal service).
38. (fols. 128v–129r) “Quot modis dicitur exceptio” [for the above].

39. (fol. 129r–v) “Statutum de Gauellet” (1316; for “tenure by, or action for default of rent” in the City of London and Kent)
40. (fol. 129v) “Articuli contra regiam prohibitionem” (1285).
41. (fols. 129v–130v) “Statuta de bigamis” (1276).
42. (fols. 130v–131r) “De vocatis ad warantum” (1292, on the calling to warrant).
43. (fols. 131r–135r) “Addiciones magne carte”, in French [the “Articuli super chartas”, supplementary articles over the Magna Carta issued by Edward I at the Lenten parliament at Westminster on 6 March 1300].
44. (fols. 135r–136v) A contemporary addition, an extract from Bracton: [De vetito namii:] “[D] eteticio [recte Detentio] namii pro districcione facienda pertinet ad coronam domini regis ...”; ending imperfect at “... recordum vices. vel servientis sive iusta fuerit sive iniusta.” (*De legibus et consuetudinibus Anglie*, ed. Woodbine, II, pp. 439–43).

“Among the most popular secular books in medieval England was the *Statuta Angliae*, a private compilation of statutes, common-law tracts and treatises, and contemporary documents in Latin and Anglo-Norman (or law) French. From the 1290s to early 1500s manuscript *Statuta Angliae* were produced in considerable numbers by commercial scribes and stationers for reference use by major landholders (both lay feudal and ecclesiastical), public officials, merchants, and especially common lawyers.” – Don C. Skemer, “Sir William Breton’s Book: Production of *Statuta Angliae* in the Late Thirteenth Century”, in Peter Beal & Jeremy Griffiths, eds, *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, Vol. 6 (1997), pp. 24–51.

Skemer noted that some 350 manuscripts of the *Statuta Angliae* are known of which some 57% consist of the *Statuta Vetera* or *Antiqua* (“statutes from Magna Carta to the death of Edward II, including the so-called ‘statutes of uncertain date’ and a variety of contemporary common-law tracts”) which were produced before the accession of Edward III in 1327 and with only a very few pre-dating the 1297 issue of *Magna Carta*.

The very elegant writing and the large spaces left for decorated initials (typically 7 lines in height) indicate that this was always intended to be a *de luxe* copy.

The Statutes open on f. 65r with the text of King John Charter of submission of 15 May 1213 surrendering the kingdoms of England and Ireland to Pope Innocent III, an act which lifted his excommunication of 1209. The constitutional consequences of this act interested Tudor lawyers and historians, such as Holinshed who prints the 1213 Charter in full in both Latin and English, and writers, such as Shakespeare, as much if not more than the *Magna Carta* itself – for example, the former plays a major part in Shakespeare’s play *King John* (Act V, Scene 1) while the latter is not mentioned in it at all. John Foxe’s great *Actes and Monuments*, known as the “Book of Martyrs” (1563 and later editions) prints the 1213 Charter in full in English (1576 edition, p. 257, as “the letter obligatory that K. Iohn made to the Pope”) but only mentions

the 1215 Magna Carta for the fact that when he heard of it Pope Innocent III “rent and destroyed” it (1576 edition, p. 258). The 1225 Charter gets the briefest of mentions (1576 edition, p. 273) and the 1297/1300 Charters are not mentioned at all. It was not until the early 17th Century and the work of Sir Edward Coke that the *Magna Carta* fully achieved its modern pre-eminence.

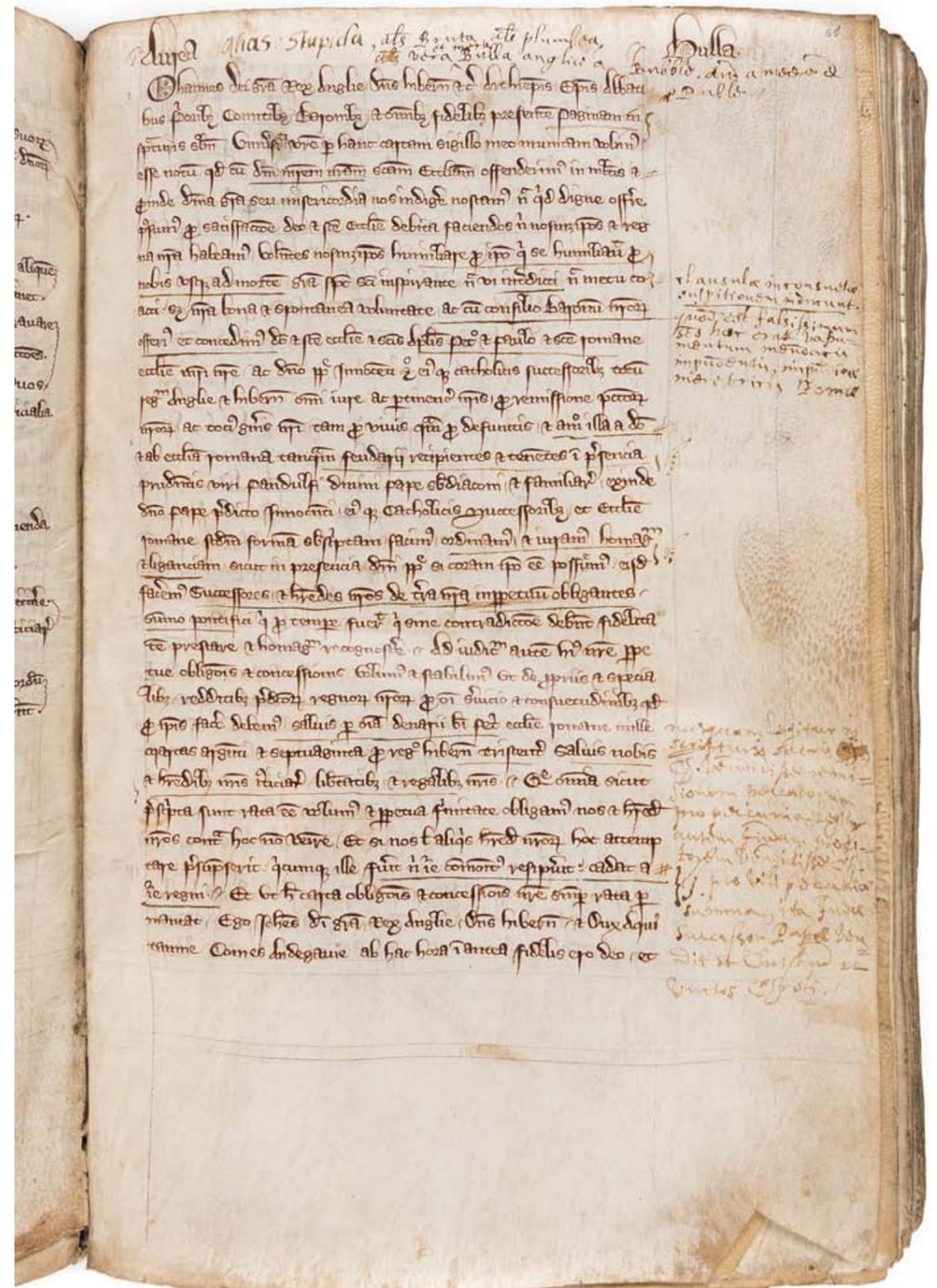
The text of the 1213 Charter is most uncommon in early manuscripts and does not usually accompany collections of statutes. The British Library online manuscript catalogue only specifies its presence in Lansdowne MS 467/1, a volume of Statutes, similar to the present, dating to the first half of the 14th century.

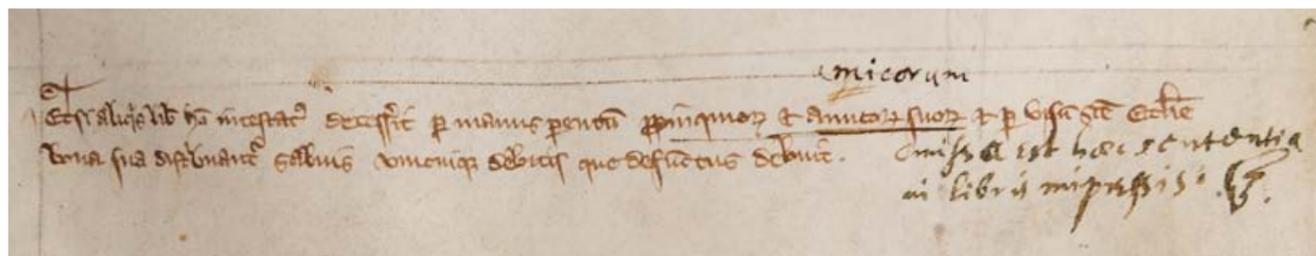
The text of the *Magna Carta* found here is the final reissue of the 1225 confirmation of Henry III as re-confirmed by Edward I in 1300 and with the additional articles of 1297 and 1300. The previous confirmation of Magna Carta, 1297, had been issued by King Edward’s councillors under his seal of absence as he was in Flanders and there was a fear that he might declare it invalid. This 1300 re-confirmation was the last time the Magna Carta was “distributed to the counties and cathedrals of England under the king’s great seal” (Nicholas Vincent, *Magna Carta: a very short introduction*, p. 88).

For a (very slightly earlier) manuscript with the 1300 Magna Carta and similar contents (but not the 1213 Charter) see Phillipps MS 9603 sold from the Abel E. Berland collection, Christie’s, New York, 8/10/2001, lot 82 (\$171,000 including premium); another manuscript with the 1297 Magna Carta and with similar contents though the latest document was dated 1299 (but again without the 1213 Charter) and dated to c. 1300 from the Schoyen collection was sold at Christie’s on 15/7/2015, lot 24 (£170,500 including premium). Approximately 100 manuscript copies of the *Magna Carta* written in the first 100 years or of its original issue in 1215 have been identified by the Magna Carta Project <http://magnacarta.cmp.uea.ac.uk/>



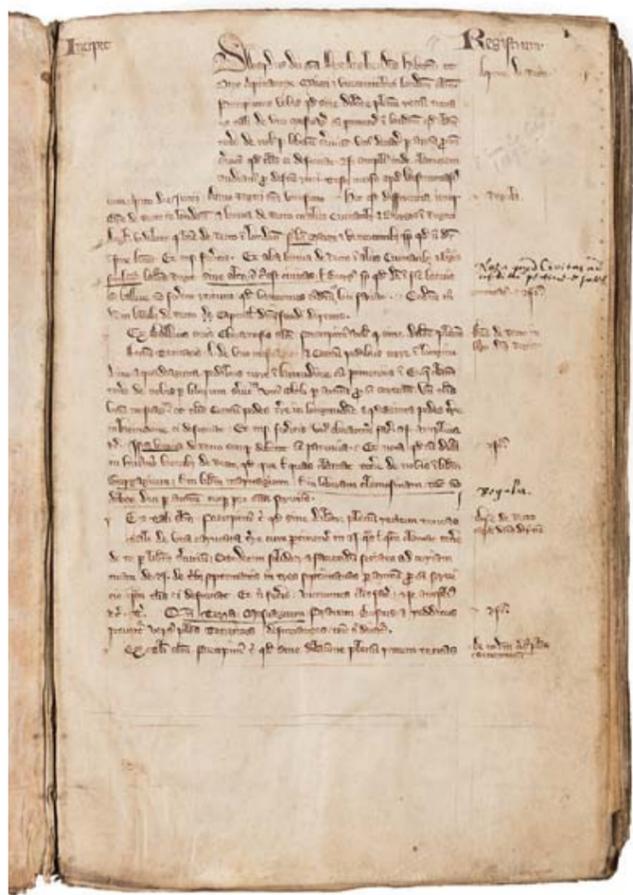
MAGGS





The texts of the *Magna Carta* and the *Charter of Forests* are the most heavily annotated part of the volume, with some interlinear corrections and a two-line addition to the text of the *Magna Carta* at the foot of f.67r that are very early if not strictly contemporary.

This two-line addition to the *Magna Carta* is of great significance and is also most unusual if not unique as it is a text from the original 1215 Charter that never reappeared. It was excluded from the November 1216 Charter that was issued immediately after the coronation of the nine-year old King Henry III, soon after King John's death. It was also excluded from the 1225 and later confirmations and from the early printed editions, as a 16th or 17th century owner noted (see Provenance 3). The text is Article 28 in David Carpenter's new *Penguin Classics* edition - Si



aliquis liber homo intestatus decesserit, catalla sua per manus propinquorum parentum et amicorum suorum, per visum ecclesie distribuantur, salvis unicuique debitis que defunctus ei debebat / If any free man dies intestate, his chattels are to be distributed by the hands of his nearest relations and friends, under the supervision of the church, saving to each person the debts which the deceased owed him). We are grateful to Professor David Carpenter, of *The Magna Carta Project*, for identifying this. He noted that this implies that the text was being collated directly with a copy of the 1215 Charter at a very early date, a phenomenon previously unknown to him.

This particular article on intestacy is significant as, despite its removal from the 1216 *Magna Carta* and the later confirmations, its basic premise, that an intestate estate did not revert to the Lord of the Manor but remained to be divided in the family under the supervision of the Church, survived. The Article originated in Henry I's Coronation charter of 1100 (itself "based on the tradition of previous royal coronation oaths but the first to be committed to writing" - *ODNB*). It was also included in the draft *Articles of the Barons* of 1215 (Article 16). As Sir Frederick Pollock wrote in the chapter on intestacy in *The History of the English Law before the time of Edward I* (1895) of the original 1215 Article: "The Church now asserts a right to supervise the process of distribution. But this clause was omitted from the Charter of 1216 and was never again enacted. Why was it omitted? Having regard to the character of the other omissions, we may guess that it was withdrawn by Henry counsellors in the interest of their infant king. The thought may have crossed their minds (and John may at times have put this thought into practice) that intestacy is a cause of forfeiture. But this clause, though it was deliberately withdrawn, seems to have settled the law." (p. 357). David Carpenter suggests, more simply, that it was "perhaps because they [wills] were considered entirely a matter for church regulation" (*Magna Carta*, p. 409).

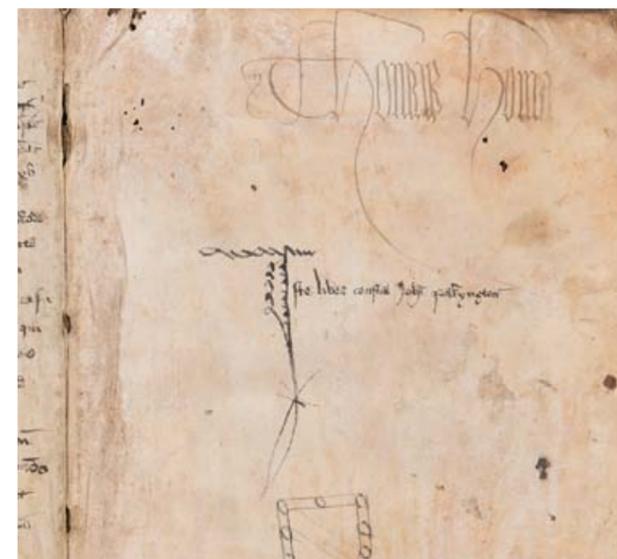
PROVENANCE

1. Perhaps written for someone with a particular interest in the descendants of Isabella, Countess of Arundel (see fol.59v, cf. fol.173v), perhaps in London to judge by the beginning of art.1 and the inclusion of art.38, the Statute of Gavelet in London, the latter

usually being dated 1316. However the links to Shropshire and the Mortimer / Fitzalan family (Art. 1) and in the 14th Century, to Herefordshire and the Delamare family (Art. 49) circa 1500, together with a probable 16th-century ownership with strong Worcestershire connections (see Pakynton below) all point to a particular connection lasting over 200 years with those English counties bordering Wales and the Welsh Marches. The Mortimer and Delamare families are directly linked through Sir Peter De la Mare (fl. c. 1365-87), M.P. For Herefordshire in the "Good Parliament" (1376) at which he was appointed the first named Speaker of the House of Commons (as he was again in Richard II's first parliament of October 1377), and whose illustrious career was closely linked to Edmund (III) Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March & 1st Earl of Ulster (1352-81) to whom he had been "steward and retainer" (*ODNB*).

2. Inscribed with various 15th and 16th-century notes, including: "Iste liber [...] Ioh[?] [...] / [...] Pakynton" (fol.173r; largely erased [see 3 below]). Probably: **Sir John Pakynton / Pakington** (?1488-1551), judge and M.P., on whom see the *History of Parliament* entry by A.D.K. Hawkyard and the *ODNB* entry by John Baker and Baker's *The Men of Court 1440-1550* (2012): "Iste liber constat John Pakynton" with a flourished "I" to "Iste" (rear pastedown; a rough penwork coat-of-arms (two bendlets within a bordure bezantee [not Packington]); he may also be responsible for "Pret[ium] vj s." and initials "J K" either side of a symbol (perhaps a rebus intended as a flower or a knot?) (fol.ir). Pakington held senior offices in the Inner Temple, was Chirographer of the Common Pleas from 1508 to his death, was appointed solicitor to the Mercers' Company in 1512, was a Justice of the Peace for Gloucestershire in 1513 and M.P. in 1515 (and Worcestershire in 1539); "in 1529 he received a very remarkable patent allowing him to wear a hat in the king's presence and in the presence of his successors (and on all other occasions), and exempting him from being made a knight, a baron of the exchequer, or a serjeant-at-law" (*ODNB*) and waved his exemptions in 1531 when he was appointed a serjeant-at-law and in 1545 when he was knighted; in 1534 he was made a member of the Council of the Marches in Wales; he acquired the manors of Westwood, Chaddesley, Sapey and Hampton Lovett in Worcestershire, most formerly belonging to Westwood Monastery. At Hampton Lovett he built "a veri goodly new house of brike" (Thomas Leland) that was destroyed in the Civil War and was buried in the parish church there. British Library MS Add. 31314 is a large 4to register of title-deeds of various manors and lands purchased by him. His descendants, the Pakington baronets (from 1620-1830 and from 1846) and Barons Hampton (from 1874) lived at Westwood House near Droitwich, a late Elizabethan banqueting house that was greatly expanded after the Restoration.

3. "Thomas [?]Thoma[s]" (late 15th / early 16th-century flourished signature on the rear pastedown), "Qui plus expendit quam rerum copia tendit" [f. 173r, 16th-century; the first half of an old proverb (He who spends more than his means allow ...)], "Rob[ertus] Hill in hospito / Graiensis [Gray's Inn] me / possidet" (f.173r, early 17th-century; largely blotted) [a **Robert Hill, of Gray's Inn**, petitioned the Earl of Salisbury for a place in the Alienation Office, vacant by



the death of Mr. Fortescue [British Library MS Lansdowne 92/13] and may have been a clerk of Assignments in 1609]. Unidentified 16th (and 17th?)-century English antiquarian readers: marginal annotations by more than one hand, in Latin with some English; above the 15 May 1213 Charter of King John, for example, next to the original heading "Aurea Bulla", is added "alias Stupida, alias Bruta, alias plumbea, alias vera ^et mera^ Bulla anglice. a Bubble and a meere Buble"; many of them (particularly in the *Magna Carta*) noting that the text differs from printed editions, e.g. "in impressis adduntur haec verba. ...", "haec verba, scilicet: saccarii nostri, omittuntur in libris impressis", "omissa est haec sententia in libris impressis" [the last referring to the two-line insertion from the 1215 *Magna Carta* at the foot of f.67r], etc.

4. A 19th-century reader has made occasional pencil notes (some identifying dates) in the text.

5. Inscribed in pencil at the front by James Stevens Cox, F.S.A. (1910-94), bookseller and collector, of Bristol, Ilchester in Somerset, Beaminster in Dorset (from 1953) and, later, Guernsey, including his cost-code "YCZ/-/-", "14 C", "D3", "25 St Mary at Bowe" (referring to the text on fol. 25v where the English Nunnery at Stratford-le-Bowe is mentioned - of interest to him as Chaucer's Prioress learnt her French there). Thence by descent.

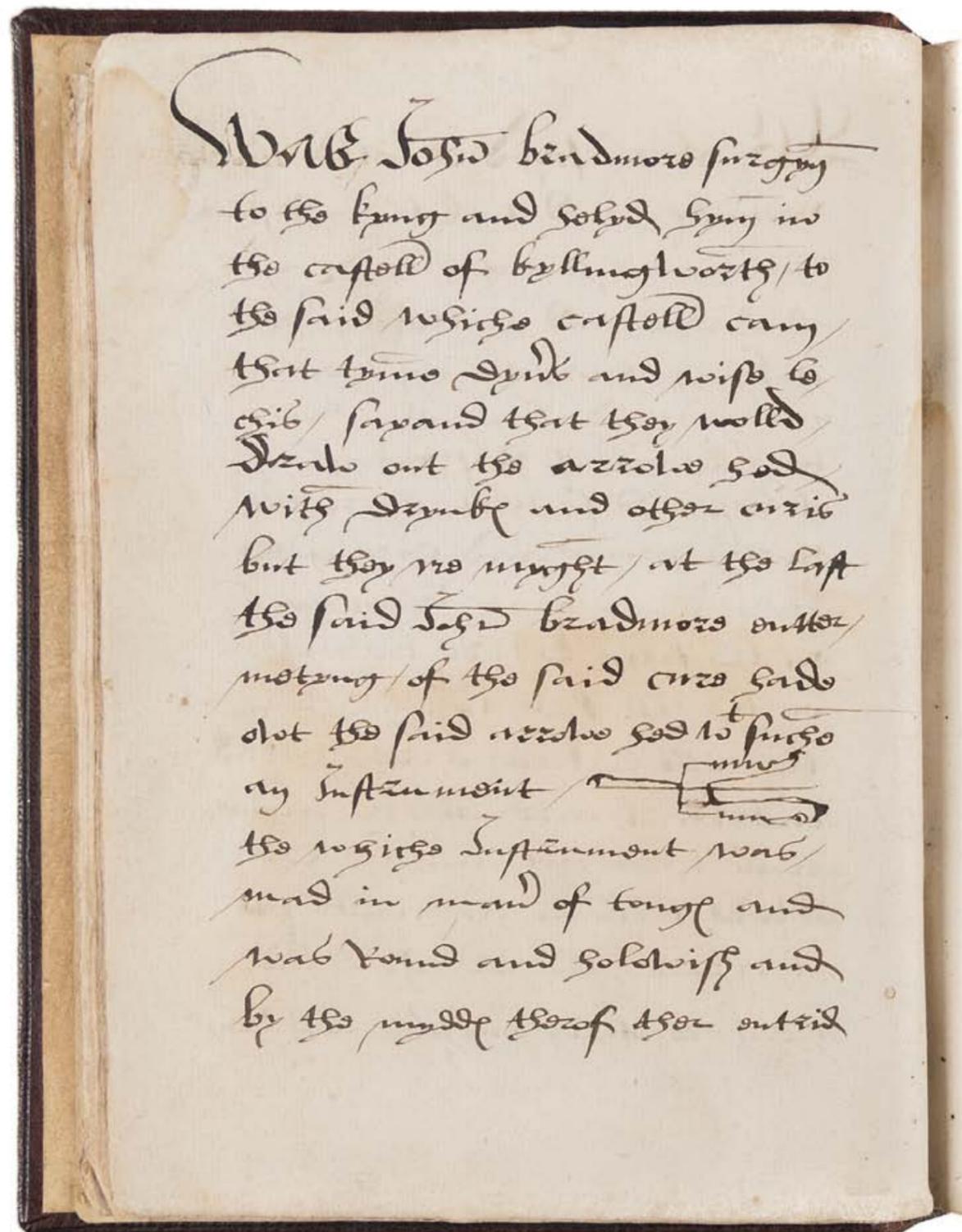


FIG. 3; see page 12

THE SECOND KNOWN MANUSCRIPT OF AN IMPORTANT ENGLISH MEDIEVAL
MEDICAL TEXT WITH AN APPARENTLY UNIQUE TRETYS OF THE MYNDE –
A NEW DISCOVERY

2 [BRADMORE (John), d. 1412]. Middle English translation of his medical treatise known as the *Philomena*.
[England, doubtless London, c.1530–35] £250,000

Manuscript on paper. See below for details.

KING *I prithee, Harry, withdraw thyself; thou bleed'st too much.*

Lord John of Lancaster, go you with him. ...

WESTMORLAND *Come, my lord, I'll lead you to your tent.*

PRINCE *Lead me, my lord? I do not need your help;*

And God forbid a shallow scratch should drive

The Prince of Wales from such a field as this,

Where stained nobility lies trodden on,

And rebels' arms triumph in massacres!

William Shakespeare, *1 Henry IV*, Act V, Scene 4.

We are pleased to be able to offer a second, previously unidentified, manuscript of the 1446 Middle English version of the *Philomena* of John Bradmore, a surgical-medical treatise by one of the most English famous surgeons of the early 15th Century. The only other example is in the British Library MS Harley 1736 and it is largely unpublished. It includes the famous account of how he saved the life of the young Prince of Wales (Prince Hal, the future King Henry V), after the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403.

It was owned and perhaps written by an early Tudor Barber-Surgeon Charles Whyte (d. 1545) and is presumably one of the two manuscript volumes described in his Will, the other being in the British Library (MS Sloane 776). The manuscript also includes an apparently unique late Middle English “Tretys of mynd” that may be the earliest English work on the subject of the mind and memory.

The “shallow scratch” that the 16-year old Henry, Prince of Wales (Prince Hal, the future King Henry V) received on 21 July 1403 while defeating the rebellious Sir Henry “Hotspur” Percy at the Battle of Shrewsbury almost proved fatal. He was struck by an arrow in the face, to the left of his nose. The shaft of the arrow was pulled-out leaving the metal tip or bodkin buried six-inches deep in his skull, narrowly missing his brain and spinal cord. That his life was saved was due to one of the most remarkably inventive and famous examples of battlefield surgery in English medieval history. The victorious but grievously wounded prince was taken some 65

miles from Shrewsbury to Kenilworth Castle where “diverse and wyse lechis sayand that they wolde draw owt the arrow hed with drynkys and odyr curis but thei no might”.

It was now that John Bradmore, a surgeon attached to the royal household, arrived at Kenilworth. He designed a narrow metal instrument with a central screw that could be gently inserted into the wound which first had to be gradually reopened with narrow slivers of wood known as tents. Once it made contact with the bodkin the screw could be turned causing the instrument to expand and grip the inside of the bodkin and extract it – then the tents had to be gradually removed allowing the wound to heal from inside. The last part of the process alone took 20 days to accomplish. It is no surprise that after surviving this Henry who as Prince of Wales, as the *Brut Chronicle* reported, “fell and inclined greatly to riot, and drew to wild company” before he became King should have undergone a radical character change, such that Shakespeare imagined him throwing off his old friend Falstaff and his former debauched ways.

John Bradmore (d. 1412) was a surgeon, resident in London from at least 1377. In 1390 he was one of four surgeons appointed by the Mayor as overseers of surgery in the City of London. He was associated with the royal household from at least 1399 throughout the reign of the Lancastrian King Henry IV. After 1403 he received a pension of 10 marks from the Prince of Wales. In 1408 he was appointed Searcher of the Port of London with payment of £10 a year. In 1409–10 he was Master of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity in the parish of St Botolph without Aldersgate, having been a founder-member from 1377. He died on 27 January 1412 and was buried in St Botolph's church.

Sometime before his death John Bradmore composed a surgical-medical treatise in Latin called *Philomena* [Nightingale]. The text is divided into seven parts: anatomy, apostumes (abscesses), wounds & ulcers, fractures & dislocations, other diseases treatable by surgery, antidotary (recipes for medicines), and a resumé of the whole. It contains a full account of his treatment of the prince including a small illustration of his special instrument.

The prince's wound was mentioned by all the early chroniclers, e.g. Raphael Holinshed: “The prince that daie holpe his

father like a lustie young gentleman: for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, so that diverse noble men that were about him, would have conveyed him fourth of the field, yet he would not suffer them so to doo, ..." (*The Third volume of Chronicles*, 1586 edn, p. 523). Bradmore's account, however, is the only one to describe its severity and its treatment.

Bradmore's innovative and successful treatment of the young Prince Henry has been widely discussed in the literature of medieval battlefield surgery (e.g. Michael Livingston's essay "The Depth of Six Inches: Prince Hal's Head-wound at the Battle of Shrewsbury" in Larissa Tracy & Kelly DeVries, eds, *Wounds and Wound Repair in Medieval Culture* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 215-30 and there is a terrific Discovery film reconstruction of the treatment on Youtube: www.youtube.com/watch?v=C8NefisiUus. However, his *Philomena* has otherwise received little notice, particularly in comparison with the works of John of Arderne (b. 1307/8, d. in or after 1377) who was active a generation earlier and which have survived in many more manuscript copies both in the Latin original and in Middle English translations (including one also owned by Charles Whyte, British Library MS Sloane 776, the owner of the present manuscript) which have been widely published and commented on since.

Bradmore's original Latin text survives in a unique, probably autograph, manuscript in the British Library (MS Sloane 2272) and is unpublished except for a few extracts (see below). In addition, the Antidotaries (medical recipes) for Wounds and Ulcers and for Fractures and Dislocations and some other extracts are also found on fols. iv-12v & 179r-181r of All Souls' College, Oxford MS 73 (the rest of which contains the *Chirurgia* of Petrus de Argellata).

However Bradmore's *Philomena*, or rather a large part of it, also survives in an anonymous Middle English version, part translation / part adaptation / part resumé, dated 1446, hitherto known only in a unique manuscript in the British Library (MS Harley 1736, fols. 2-184v of 234).

We are now able to announce the discovery of a second, previously unidentified, manuscript of the 1446 Middle English version.

Sheila J. Lang was the first to recognise the original Latin text in Sloane 2272 and compared it with the Middle English version in Harley 1736 in a PhD thesis, *The "Philomena" of John Bradmore and its Middle English derivative: a perspective on surgery in Late Medieval England* (University of St Andrews, 1998; available online). She noted that the "Middle English text consists of Bradmore's sections on Anatomy, Wounds and Apostumes with a small Antidotary [not apparently based on Bradmore's main Antidotary]. Bound later in the manuscript is a drastically reduced

version of Bradmore's section on Ulcers. ... In other words, what we have in the Middle English text is derived only from parts one to three of Bradmore's work. Whether this is due to an incomplete translation in the first instance or to the later loss of material from the Middle English text can only be a matter for speculation." (Lang, p. 92).

The discovery of this second manuscript of the Middle English translation with almost the same contents as the first shows that it must have been a deliberate decision to translate only parts of Bradmore's text and that nothing else can have been lost.

As Lang concluded, "The Middle English translation of Bradmore's text, made within fifty years of his death, is interesting both for the translator's methods of dealing with the technical vocabulary of his subject, and for the adaptations he made to the text. The translator plainly does not feel the reverence for the text which he might for an ancient authority, and indeed he alters the text very freely, even in the case of Bradmore's accounts of his own treatment of patients. As he is dealing with a near-contemporary text, he is not altering it simply because its methods are outmoded. The translator appears, like Bradmore himself, to wish his text to be of practical use, but perhaps for those less well-educated than the intended readers of Bradmore's Latin text. He is still intending the text for other surgeons rather than lay people, but cuts out much theory and reduces the length of the text considerably, offers alternative recipes for those less able to pay, and clearly accepts that his text may pass out of the hand of surgeons to 'men of the contre that wyll be ther owne leche (Harley 1736, fol. 144r). He shows an interest in treating the poor, the very young, and the very old, providing alternative methods and recipes for these when it is necessary. Though the identity of the translator remains elusive, the text he produced 'sympyll after my sympull wytt' (Harley 1736, fol. 87r) bears evidence of his concerns and interests as much as it does of Bradmore's." (Lang, pp. 152-3).

As James J. R. Kirkpatrick & Ian Leslie Naylor commented on the Middle English translation of *Philomena*: "As one of the earliest texts on surgery written in English this book, which is comprehensive in its scope and rich in detail, is of historical importance and it is curious therefore that it has lapsed into obscurity." - "The qualities and conduct of an English surgeon in 1446: as described in a manuscript attributed to Thomas Morstede", in *Annals of the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, Vol. 79/3 (June 1997), pp. 225-8.

The Middle English translation opens with a charming analogy (missing from the Latin original and from the present manuscript) based on Matthew 13.24-30 in which it is noted that just as wheat and darnel [a weed] are impossible to distinguish before they are ripe so "nowadays in surgery the darnell of arror

[error] with the whete of trewth growys to gedyr amonge full sympyll letteryd men". Therefore, so "that the darnell of surgery may be done away yt ys nedfull that the erys of the whet of trewth may be mad opyn be the knowledge of the pryncypylles of the crafte of surgery, wherfor to the worschype of all mighty gode and his glorios modyr saynt Mary and all halows & to the prophete of crysten pepull. and manly of studyars of [or] practyzars in surgery I have compylyd & made this boke In the yer of owr lord MICCCC & xlvi In the Wyche I have set the pryncypalles with the secundarys as the kalendyr makyth mencyon Capitulum of common thynges that ar necessary to a surgen & what ys a surgyne and how he owyth to govern hym in all hys curis ..." [transcript from Harley 1736 by R. Theodore Beck, pp. 107-8].

Although the introduction clearly states that the translation was composed in 1446 it is possible that British Library MS Harley 1736 was also copied in the early 16th Century – Juhani Norri cites it as a source for the *Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary in English, 1375-1550* (2016) and dates the manuscript to 1500-25. It is on paper with a hand and star watermark found from the mid-15th Century until well into the 16th and similar to one of the two watermarks found in the present manuscript (see below, Paper).

Surgical-medical texts remain the least researched area of Middle English studies – As Linda E. Voigts commented in her survey of scientific and medical books produced in England from 1375 to 1500, "it is clear, I trust, that medical and scientific handwritten books – particularly those containing vernacular texts – warrant more scholarly heed than has been paid to them in the past, if we are to understand the intellectual milieu of the period 1375-1500." (p. 384) – "Scientific and Medical Books", in Jeremy Griffiths & Derek Pearsall, eds, *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (1989), pp. 345-402.

Now, following Sheila Lang's pioneering research, it will be possible to produce a full edition of the Middle English version of John Bradmore's *Philomena* for the first time.

Unfortunately the present manuscript is imperfect at the front. It lacks the whole of Book I (Anatomy, Chapters 1-15) and the opening of Book II (Surgery, Chapters 1-3 & half of Chapter 4).

It opens two leaves into Book II, Chapter 4 ("of bressynge of the hed with hurtyng of the pann and of drawynge owt of an arrow hede ther from") on fol. 3 of 241 (in the modern pencil foliation – fols. 1-2, perhaps fragmentary have disappeared – but before 1927, when the leaf-count was 238; see below) with the words: "Then it is best furst to do shave away the here from the brosyd place, and if the brosor be but little then ley therto a stryctory plaster of the whyte of a naye and powder of bolamoniak to gyther and lat it lye styll ther to ...". This chapter appears on fols. 44r-46v in Harley 1736. [FIG. 1]

It is the next Chapter ("of woundes in the eris and in the face and of the Iyen & of ye nose & to swage ake of the Iyn by dust or here") **which contains the account (beginning on fol. 13r) of Prince Henry's treatment as well as a small drawing of Bradmore's special instrument:**

"And it is to understond that in the yere of o[u]r lord Mli CCCC and in the iijth yere of kyng henry iijth on mary madalanes even at the battayle of shrewsbury it happonyd so that henry the worthy prynce and heire of the kymg henry was smitten in the face beside the nose on the lyft side wt an arrowe the whiche sade arrowe entrid overthwart and after the arrowe was taken owt and the hed abode styll in the hynder parte of a bone [in] the hed after the measure of vi ynchis, and then was John Bradmore surgyn to the kyng and helyd him in the castell of kyllingworth, to the said whiche castell cam that tyme dyvers and wise lechis, sayand that they wolld draw out the arrowe hed with drynkes and other curis but they no might, at the last the said John Bradmore enttermetyng of the said cure hade owt the said arrowe hed wt suche an Instrument [drawing] the whiche Instrument was mad in manner of tonges and was round and holowish and by the myddes therof ther entrid a lytle

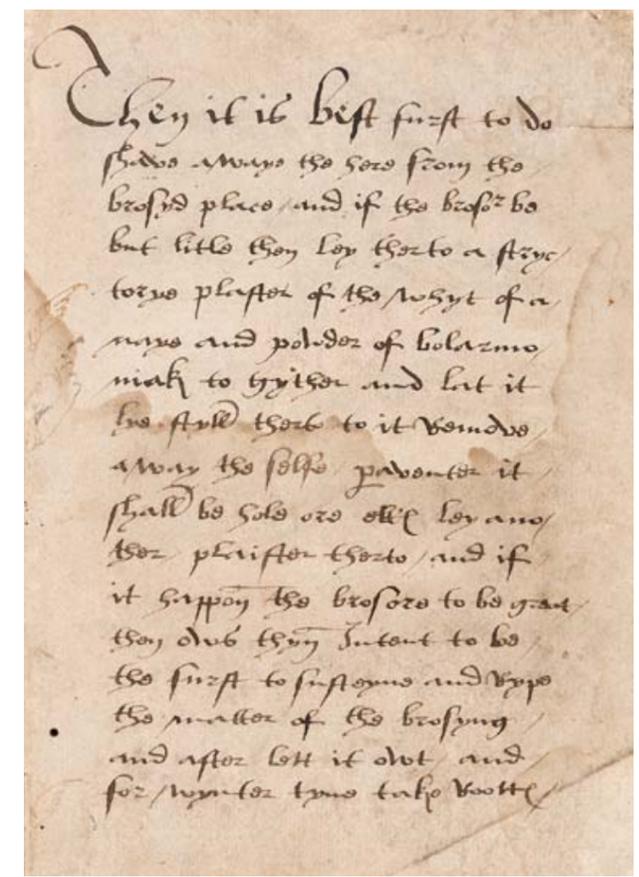


FIG. 1

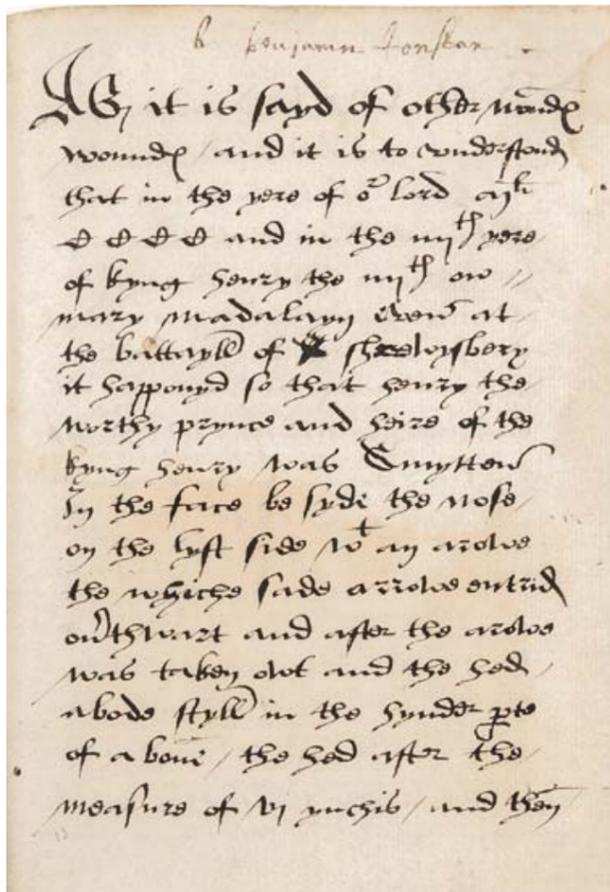


FIG. 2

vyce w^t the whiche Instrument was pullid ow^t the arrow hed, and afterwards the wound was washid w^t wyne and clensid with mundificatiff oynement w^t iij partes of popullyon and the iiiith part of hony so contynuyng the space of a sevyntynght [Harley 1736 has 'vii dayes'] and afterward the place was helid w^t unguentum fuscum cirurgicum and understond for a general rule that is full profitable that where so ever an arrowe hed or a darte hed stike fast, that it is nedefull before the drawing out to sustayne the place w^t som mollificatiff thing as oyle of Rosis for peradventure if that was not, it might cause deth to the pacient ... [FIG. 2 & 3]

Book II is in the same order and with roughly the same chapter headings as Harley 1736. It ends with Chapter 25 “of akyng of a wounde” (fols. 82v-84v).

It is followed by a 5-page treatise (approx. 750 words) in Middle English on Phlebotomy or Bloodletting not found in Bradmore’s original Latin text or in the Middle English translation and which we have been unable to identify exactly in any other manuscript, titled “Here is the crafte & science of blode lettyng & to know the waynes”; beginning, “The wayne in the myddes of the forehed is good to blede on for the tothe ache

and for the mygrem, and for the letarge that makyth a man to forget all that he herith...” (fols.85r-87v). (See below for further details).

Book III, Chapters 1-49 (fols.3-171r) are in the same order and with roughly the same chapter headings as Harley 1736. **The present manuscript also includes an extra chapter on treatments for burns and scalds not found in Harley 1736** (approx. 470 words) added in a smaller contemporary hand: “of brenninge or scaldyng of water or any other brennyng thinge” (fols.164v-165r).

Chapters 50-58 (fols.171r-208v) are in a different order. Chapter 50 “de lepra an[glice] lepur” (fols.172v-185r) = Chapter 55 in Harley 1736; Chapter 51 “of Impetigo and formica” (fols.185r-188v) = Chapter 56 in Harley 1736; Chapter 52 “de serpigine” fols.188v-191v = Chapter 57 in Harley 1736; Chapter 53 “de morphea” (fols.191v-197r) = Chapter 58 in Harley 1736; Chapter 54 “of the scabbe & Iche” (fols.197r-202v) = Chapter 50 in Harley 1736; Chapter 55 incorrectly titled “de tremore lactiaco[n]e i[n] se[n]sibilitate membrorum” (fols.202v-205v) = Chapter 51 in Harley 1736 “of the pallesy”; Chapter 56 “de tremore lactigacione & i[n] sensibilitate membroum” (fols.205v-207r) = Chapter 52 in Harley 1735; Chapter 57 “de spasmo & titano” (fols.207r-208r) = Chapter 53 in Harley 1736; Chapter 58 “de co[n]cussione an[glice] brysyng” (fols.208r-v) = Chapter 54 in Harley 1736.

The present manuscript omits the entire Antidotary of 137 short medical recipes (fols.143v-167r in Harley 1736) but an incomplete Antidotary with 44 recipes has been added on the last 5pp.

The text then continues with the section on Ulcers, etc. in 11 chapters (fols.208v-233r), beginning “Capitulum primum of dyfferens betwixt Ulcys & Vulnus & after of spekyng universally that is to saye a unyversall sermon of Ulcers” and ending “Explicit Ulcers”. **The present manuscript contains the two final chapters on Ulcers in the Nostrils and Polyps missing in Harley 1736.**

The present manuscript also concludes with a ten-page (approx. 2000 words) Tretys of the Mynd which we have been unable to identify in any other manuscript and seems to be unique (fols.234r-239r): A treatise on the mind and memory, in three chapters: “Thys tretys of mynd is compilyd for bycause of good dysposycyon therof is prophetable & nedefull ...”. (See below for further details).

Extracts from the opening sections of this Middle English version of the *Philomena* were published by R. Theodore Beck in *The Cutting Edge: early History of the Surgeons of London* (London, 1974). Beck attributed the translation to Thomas Morstede (d. 1540), a surgeon to Henry IV & V and chief surgeon at Agincourt in 1415 who had succeeded Bradmore in 1412 in the office of Searcher of the port of London (see *ODNB*): “So far as is known no other surgeon

could have written with such authority at that time” (*The Cutting Edge*, p. 83). However, this attribution was rejected by Sheila Lang, principally because of her discovery that it is largely a translation rather than the original composition that Beck presumed. Beck, however, stood by his attribution (see below).

Beck transcribed fols.6-14 of Harley 1736 (from the first page of the main text, comprising Book I, Chapters 1-9, of 15 of the Anatomy) and fols.41-52 (Book II, Chapter 3-7, of wounds to the head, throat and neck including the account of the treatment of Prince Henry). The rest of the manuscript remains unpublished except for some extracts published by Sheila Lang as comparisons with the Latin text (see below).

A modern translation of Book I, Chapter 1 (just a few hundred of an estimated 80,000 words in total) of the Middle English version with a commentary was published by Kirkpatrick & Naylor in their essay “The qualities and conduct of an English surgeon in 1446”. They reported that Beck still maintained his original attribution of the translation to Morstede as the only credible candidate. They promised a translation of the entire text but it has not appeared.

Aside from these extracts by Beck and by Lang and the “translation” of the first few paragraphs by Kirkpatrick & Naylor the bulk of *Philomena* remains unpublished.

Beck’s transcription is good, though comparison with the original shows it is not absolutely accurate. Comparison with his extracts and the passages transcribed by Lang as well as the original show that **Harley 1736 and the present manuscript, although almost identical on a sentence-for-sentence basis, differ greatly in spelling and more than occasionally in wording.** It might be considered that the present manuscript is slightly modernised in spelling and where there is a difference in wording it has generally been improved and made clearer.

We have not made a detailed comparison but the differences that we have noted are nearly all minor and, generally, the contractions have been expanded and the spelling, where different, is usually slightly modernised (in particular the older spelling “sch” becomes “sh” as in the Battle of “Schrewesbery / shrewesbery” and “deynschy / devynshire” for Devonshire) in the present manuscript.

Three good examples are among the passages selected by Lang for comparison with Bradmore’s original Latin text.

The first passage is on the treatment of scrofula in the breasts and refers to Bradmore as the author of *Philomena*. The present manuscript reads:

“... & master John bradmor tellythe in his boke of surgery callid *Philomina*, of a woman that hade scrophules in her tett, the whiche was like to have bin ded therof and at the Instance of

great prayers off gode fryndes he medelid w^t hir and helpyd hir on this wise he layd to hir a plaister of gracia dei maior every other day remevyng the plaister the whiche plaister is made in this wise, take betony pypmpernell varvayne ... and seethe[n] this to it be playster wyse, the whiche may be knowyn by dropping therof in watter, whan it is hardyshe and not fatty nor clevyng to the fyngars this plaister may well be callyd gracia dei maior for after the propertie and vertuis therof it was rather fownd by the grace of god then by manys witt, for it hathe the vertue, to dissolve and to consume hardenes of scrophules and in corrupt sorys to freat away prowde fleshe and after to consownde and hele them.” (fols.153r-154v). [FIG. 4]

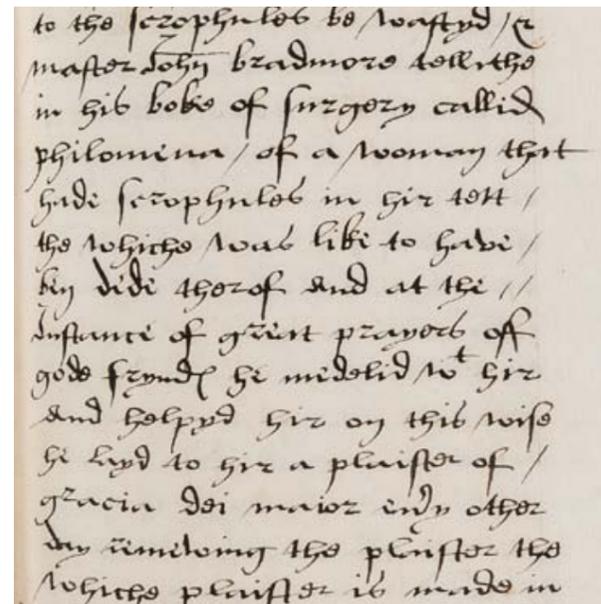
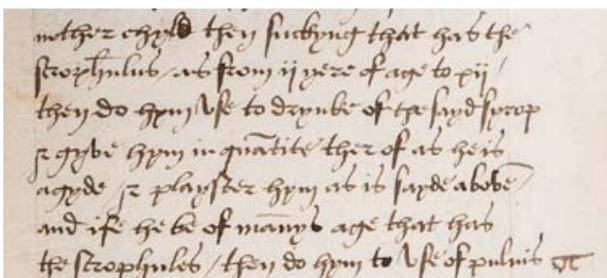


FIG. 4

Lang’s transcript (pp.131-3) of this passage in Harley 1736 (fol.117v) reads:

“And master John Bradmor tells in his boke off surgery cald *Philomena* off a woman that had scrophules in hyr tete the wyche was lykly to a ben ded ther off and at the Instance of great praes off good frendys he mellyd w^t hyr and helpyd hyr in this wyse he layd to hyr a playster off gracia dei maior every odyr day remevyng the playster the wyche playster ys mad in this wyse. Take betony pypmpernell verueyne ... and seth thes to yt playster wyse the wyche may be known be droppynge ther off in watter when yt ys hardysche and not fatty nor clevyng to the fyngurs. This playster may well be cald *Gracia dei maior* for after the prophete and virtues ther off yt was Rather fownde be the grace of god then be manys wytt for yt has the vertue to dissolve and consume hardnes off scrophules and in corrupte sores to frete away prowde flesche and after consowd and hele them.”



The second passage is also on the treatment of scrofula. The present manuscript reads:

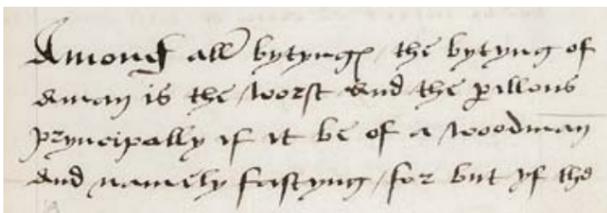
“... & if it happen a sukkyng chylde to have scrophulus than do the noryse use of thys syrrope first & laste viij sponfulls at onys, in the somer cold, in the winter lewke warme, the space of a fortnight or iij wekys, take the roote of an erbe callyd scrophularia, ... (fol.124v) ... & if it be a nother child then suckyng that has the scrophulus, as from ij yeres of age to xij, then do hym use to drynke of the said syrop & gyve hym in qua[n]tite therof as he is agyde & playster hym as is sayde above. And if he be of man[n]ys age that has the scrophulus, then to hym the use of pulvis albus” (fol.125r). [FIG. 5]

Lang’s transcript (p. 146) of this passage in Harley 1736 (fol.104r-v) reads:

“... and yf it hoppon a sowkyng child to have scrophules than do the noryse use off this syrrop fyrste and laste viij sponfull at onys and in the somer cold and in the wyntter lewke [‘warme’ is omitted] the space of a fourtnyght or iij wekes. Take the Rotte of an erbe cald scrophularia ... And yff yt be anodyr child than sokyng that hath the scrophules as from ii yer off age to xij, than do hym to drynke off the sayd syrupe and gyffe hym in a quantyte as he ys in age and plastyr hym as is said abouffe. And yff he be off a manis age that has the scrophulys than do hym to use of pullus albus.”

The third passage is on the death of a man bitten on the thumb by a “wodeman” (madman). The present manuscript reads:

“Amongst all bytynges the bytyng of a man is the worst and the p[er]illous pryncypally if yt be of a woodman[n] and namely fastyng, for but yf the grace of god be, he that is bytton shall dye, for as I sayde and know in my tyme In a towne callid exetur in



devynshire a man was byton[n] by the thombe of a woodeman[n], thorough the whyche woodemans bytyng all the hande was bolne and aft[er]warde all the arme to the body, and wtin x dayes the man was dede, not wstandyng the leches In all the cuntrye and I myself dyd all ovr dyligen[n]s and connyng, and some men have ben knowen dede wtin v dayes of a woode mannys bytyng.” (fol.69r-v). [FIG. 6]

Lang’s transcript (p. 140-1) of this passage in Harley 1736 (fols.75v-76r) reads:

“Amonge all bytynges the bytyng of a man ys the werste and moste perlyous pryncypally yff yt be a wode mane and namly fastyng for but yfe the grace of gode be he that ys betyne schall be dede ffor as I sayd and [haue in margin] know in my tyme a town callyd exetyr in deynschyr a man was betyne be thombe of a wod man thorow the Wyche bytyng ale the hond was bolne and after warde ale the harme to the body and with in x dayes the man was dede Notewithstandyng the beste leche of all the contre and I my selfe sympull dyd all ovr dylygens and kunnyng and sum men have be know ded with in v days of a wod mans bytyng or woman or of anybody. ...”

Lang noted that Bradmore’s original Latin text does not mention that the case occurred in Exeter in Devonshire and actually implies it was in London as the “omnes magistri et optimi cirurgici Ciuitatis londonii” [all the masters and the best surgeons of the City of London] were unable to cure the man. She also suggests that her reading of Harley 1736 as “the beste leche of all the contre and I my selfe sympull” might be referring to Bradmore as the “beste leche” and the translator might thus be referring to himself as his apprentice (“sympull”). However the present manuscript has “leches” in the plural (as does the Latin) and omits “beste” so it cannot refer to Bradmore alone. It also omits the word “sympull” after “I my selfe” removing any suggestion that he may have been Bradmore’s apprentice but was rather one of the several physicians “of all the contre [?county]” present.

Lang also noted (p.142) another reference to the West Country not found in Bradmore’s original Latin text, as given from the present MS (fols.200r-201v): “& thou shalt underston yt natural sulphur bathes ar good for the scabbe to be bathen in, as is [er]ten bathes in a towne of England called bathe”. However her supposition that the translator may therefore have had West Country connections is rather diluted by the rest of the sentence which she does not quote “& in a towne beyond see toward rome callyd Aken [Aachen] where ovr ladyes smock is”. On p. 143, n. 62 she notes that a brief check of the vocabulary of Harley 1736 “showed no particular West Country bias, but if anything a preponderance of forms from Norfolk and Lincolnshire”.

TEXT

1. (fols.3r-84v & 87v-233r) **Middle English translation of the Latin treatise on surgery by John Bradmore known as *Philomena*** here beginning imperfectly in Book II, Chapter 4, concerning flesh wounds and their cures, working downwards from the head to the feet, beginning on fol.3r “Then it is best furst to do shave awaye the here from the brosyd place, ...”, and ending with Chapter 25 on fol. 84v “Explicit Secunda pars istius libri”.

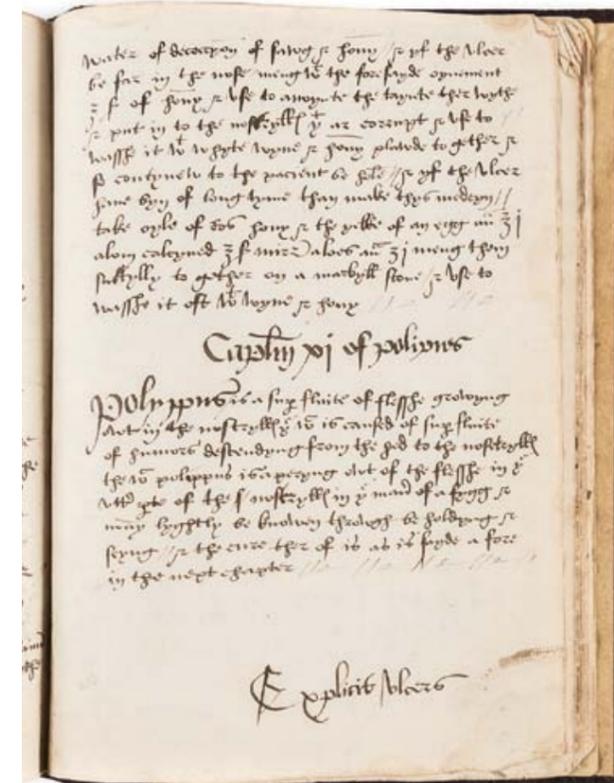
Followed by a 5-page treatise on Phlebotomy or Bloodletting not found in Bradmore’s original Latin text or in the Middle English version (Harley 1736), titled “Here is the crafte & science of blode letting & to knowe the vaynes”. Approx. 750 words, beginning, “The vayne in the myddes of the forehed is good to blede on for the to the ache and for the mygrem, and for the letarge that makyth a man to forget all that he herith ...” and ending on fol. 87v: “... The ij vaynes undir the ankylls on the utter syde of the ankylls ar for grevancys of the ankylls & the loynes & the raynes & for swellynges & b[-]hes & postumes ballock stonys and for letting of the vayne & for the shawdepysse [chaudepiss = hot piss]. Explicit blode letting” (fols. 85r-87v).

The incipit is very close to that of the Phlebotomy treatise included in Wellcome Library MS 5650 (fols.58v-61v): “Ffor blode lettyng. Seth þe authoritie of ypocras þe noble phisiciane...The vayne in þe myddest of the for hede serves for hede ache and for þe mygrayn...”.

In addition to the Wellcome MS the online Voigts-Kurtz Search Program of Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English records several mid-15th-Century Middle English manuscripts containing a short treatise on phlebotomy with close variants of this opening, e.g. Huntington Library MS HM 64, Bodleian MS Ashmole 1438, Bodleian MS Digby 67, Bodleian MS Bodley 591, BL MS Egerton 2433, BL MS Sloane 442 & 706, Trinity College Cambridge MS O.9.10 & R.14.32. However all read that the vein in the midst of the forehead is good for the headache and migraine but none are for the toothache and migraine.

The inclusion of a treatise on Phlebotomy here is significant as Lang specifically notes that, “This is a subject commonly altered in the Middle English version [of *Philomena*], with all references to phlebotomy simply omitted in many chapters. When retained, it is rarely without some alteration, and the general impression created is that the Middle English author was rather wary of the procedure.” (p. 116).

Bloodletting manuals are amongst the most common of surviving medieval medical manuscripts, an indication of the important role the procedure played in treatments. For a general discussion of Middle English Phlebotomies see Linda E. Voigts



& Michael R. McVaugh, “A Latin Technical Phlebotomy and its Middle English Translation”, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 74:2 (1984).

This is followed by Book III of *Philomena*, treating of Apostumes (fols.87v-208v), beginning “In the third parte of thys boke it is to treate alonly of postumes and first in thys chaptyr I shall treat a universall sermon of the apostumes”; including an extra chapter added in a smaller hand of treatments for burns and scalds: “of brenninge or scaldyng of water or any other brennyng thinge” (fols.164v-165r).

The text of *Philomena* concludes with the section on ulcers, swellings, and polyps, in 11 chapters (fols.208v-233r), beginning “Capitulum primum of dyfferens betwixt Ulcys & Vulnus & after of spekyng universally that is to saye a unyversall sermon of Ulcers”. Chapters 1-9 (fols.208r-232r) are in the same order and with roughly the same chapter headings as Harley 1736. Harley 1736 then concludes with a single leaf (fol.212) containing five unrelated recipes for cures not in the present manuscript. **However, the present manuscript contains the two final chapters on Ulcers and Polyps missing in Harley 1736:** Chapter 10 “Of Ulcers in the nostrelles” (fols.232r-233r) and Chapter 11 “of polipus” (fol.233r, though only 8 lines). This is followed by the final line “Explicit Ulcers”. As noted by Lang (p. 92) this is a “drastically reduced” version of Bradmore’s original Latin text. [FIG. 7]

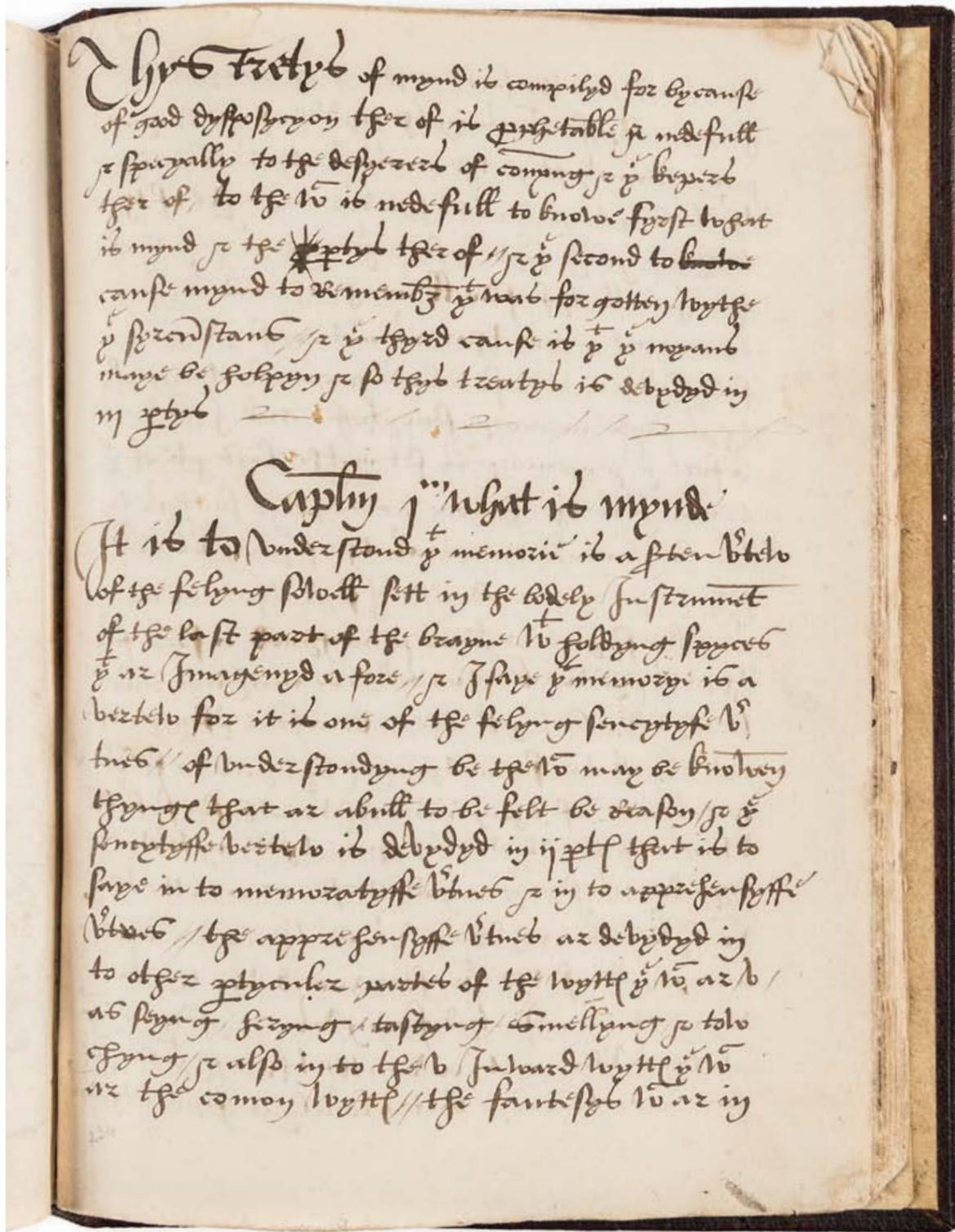


FIG. 8

2. (fols.234r-239r) An unidentified (apparently unique), late Middle English treatise on the mind and memory, in three chapters (approx. 2000 words): "Thys tretys of mynd is compilyd for bycause of good dysposycyon therof is prophetable & nedefull & specially to the desyrers of conyng & ye keepers therof, to the wch is nedefull to knowe first what is mynd & the p[ro]p[er]ties therof, & ye second to [know (deleted)] cause mynd to Remember yt was forgotten wythe ye syrconstans, & ye thyrd cause is yt ye noyans maye be holpyn & so thys treatys is devyded in iij p[ar]tys". [FIG. 8]

The first chapter, "What is mynde" discusses comprehension ("by seyng, heryng, tasyng, smelling, & towchyng") in the front part of the brain, imagining in the mid part of the brain, and "in the hyndermost parte of the brayne" estimating and remembering. "It is to understond yt memorie is a p[ro]ven vertew of the felyng sowell sett in the bodily Instrume[n]t of the last part of the brayne wtholdyng spyers yt ar Imagenyd afore, & I saye yt memory is a vertew for it is one of the felyng sencytfe vertues of understondyng be the wch may be knowen thynges that ar abull to be felt be reason, & ye sencytff vertew is devyded in ij p[ar]tes that is to saye in to memoratyffe vertues & in to apprehensyffe vertues ..."

The second chapter, "Of remembering of yt yt was forgotten, wth ye syzenstans", discusses how forgotten things can be remembered by remembering their context, with examples ("insample I bethynke me yt I met wt a p[er]son in suche a place but I bethynke me not of ye tyme than I [-]slake my wyttes how I may come to knowledge of the tyme, as yf he ware a scoller goyng to scole or com[m]yng ther froo of ye wch followes mynd & yt on suche a tyme happenyd the fore sayde thyng, the second helpe is yf I dowt what daye I yede [went] owt of my howsse & than count how many dayes after & so may I knowe what day I met wt ye p[er]son, also insample I thynke on a verse in the sawter but I cannot thynke in what psalme the verse in is then I begyn to serche all the salmes of the sawter tyll that I cum to that salme that the verse is in, & so of suche other thyngs").

The third chapter, "Of tokyns, causys, & noyans of seruptyng of the brayne & mynde wythe the cure"; includes the Aristotelian image (derived from *De memoria et reminiscencia*) of the impression of a seal in water, "as by ensample of water yf a seale be put ther in it lightly ressayves the print therof but a non after ye seale is removyd awaye ye print is lost therof". It then provides a number of recipes and treatments for those suffering from memory loss: "... also doo the pacyent use ofte to smell must & charge ye pacyent to absteyne from raw frute & especially from cherys & strawberys, also charge ye pacyent to fede hym not to myche at supper, nor to sing late, nor slepe not to myche, after meate slepe but a lyttell, & do the pacyent use to walke a lyttell afore meate

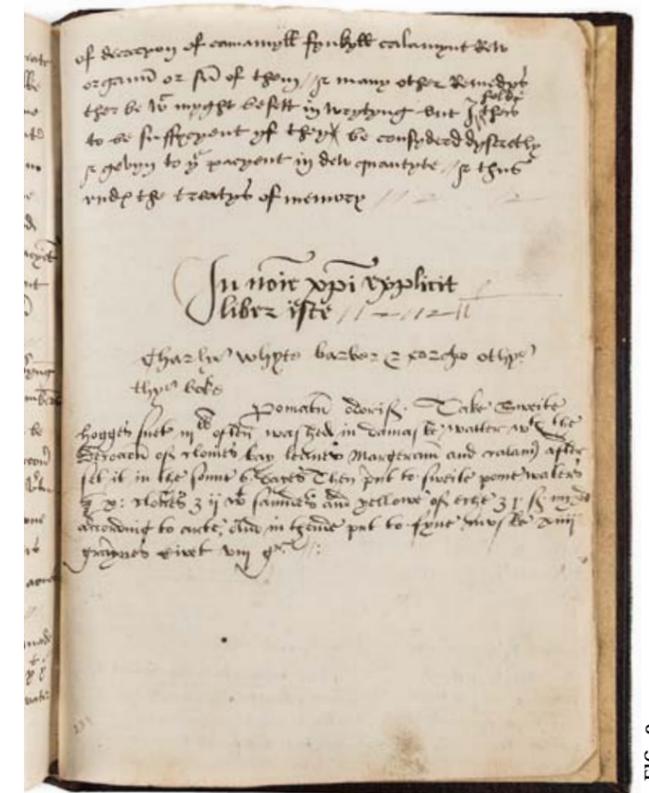


FIG. 9

& charge hym to absteyne from anger & wrathe & hevynes, & in ye winter tyme to kepe hym warme & yt he walke not in no wyes in no myst nor trubly eyre, nor in tyme of winter to dwell in low places ..."

The text ends: "... & many other Remedys ther be wch might be sett in wrytyng but I ^hold^ theis to be suffycient yf they be consyderd dyscretly & gevyn to the pacyent in dew quantyte. & thus ends the treatys of memory. In nomine xpi explicit liber iste." [FIG. 9]

We are grateful to Dr A. S. G. Edwards for confirming that this text appears to be unique and may, indeed, be the earliest original English treatise on memory. Nothing like it appears in the online Voigts-Kurtz Search Program. Frances A. Yates surveyed the very small group of early 16th-century English printed writings on the subject: "In the earlier years of the sixteenth-century there had been a growing lay interest in the art, as elsewhere. In Stephen Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* (1509), Dame Rhetoric describes the places and images [in 40 lines of verse], perhaps the first account of the art of memory in English. The 1527 edition of Caxton's *Mirroure of the World* contains a discussion of 'Memory Artyfycyall'. The continental memory treatises spread to England, and an English translation (1548 [STC 24112, c. 1545]) of the *Phoenix* of Peter of Ravenna was published." (*The Art of Memory*, 2008 edn, p. 255). Medieval and Renaissance writers on memory were usually

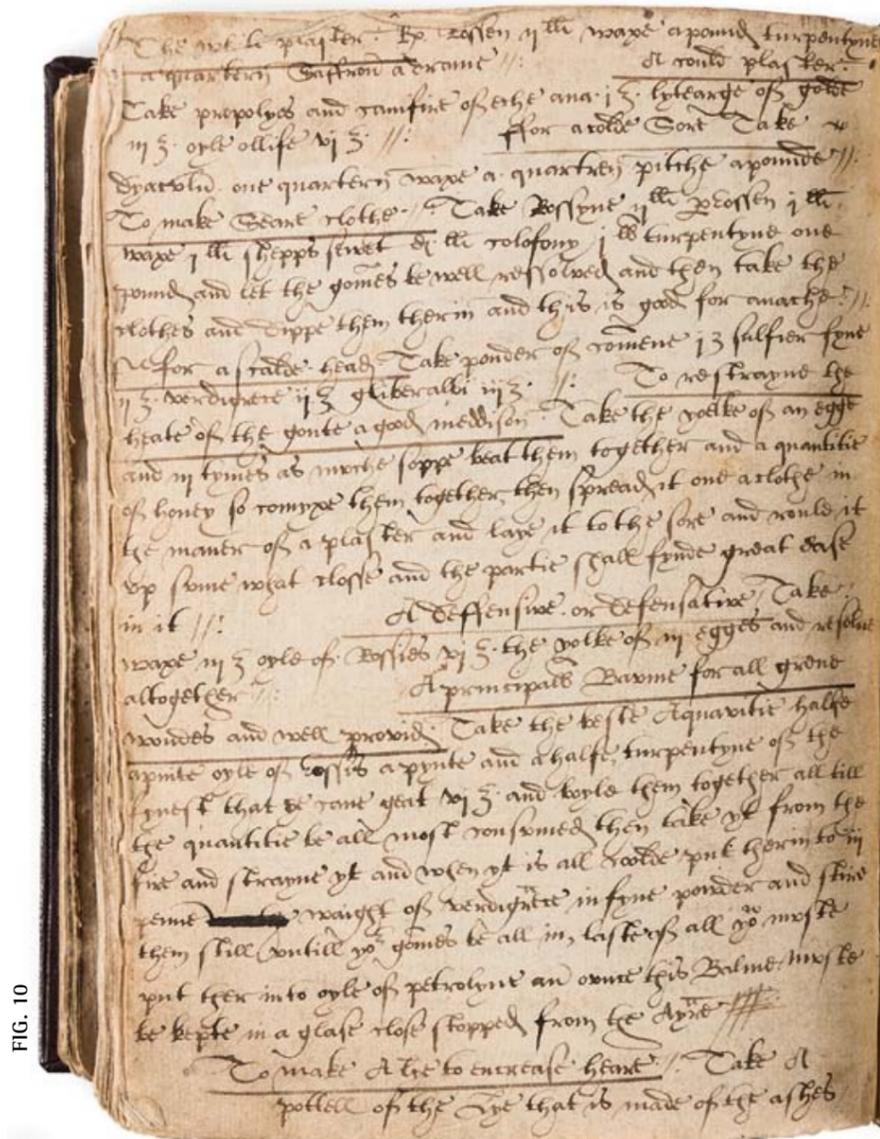


FIG. 10

clerics, academics or lawyers who had a professional interest in the art of improving memory and treated it from a scholastic perspective. The present treatise, however, treats it from a purely medical perspective.

3. (fols.239v-241r). Recipes for ointments, plasters, etc., ending imperfectly at “**To make a lye to increase heart.** Take a pottell of the lye that is made of the ashes ||” (fols.239v-241r) [FIG. 10]. There are 44 recipes. Given that at least another two leaves are probably missing this may well have equated to the missing Antidotary that contained 137 recipes in Harley 1736. However, there are only a few that seem to coincide, e.g. “To make Colman” (fol.143v in Harley 1736), “ffor Burning or scalding” (fol.166r in Harley 1736),

“Grene trette” (fol.153r in Harley 1736) and “To make Seare clothe” (fol.147r in Harley 1736, “serge cloth”).

There are also occasional contemporary added recipes in margins or spaces previously left blank, e.g. “Aches swaged bothe of maturacon and resolucon” (fol.84v), “marche mallowes prepared with swynes greace ...” (fol.100r, lower margin, upside-down); “Onyons and garlike rosted; Or rubbe the bark of marche mallowe & the roote of lyllie ...” (fol. 99v, lower margin, upside-down); “A verie good oyntmente to take awaye anye swelling” (fol.233v); “Pomatum odoris. Take sweite hogges suet iijlb often washed in damaske water ...” (fol.239r); a recipe ending “yt healeth all manner scabbes and mormalles & universally all infections of skyne, probatum” (fol.202r).

ILLUSTRATIONS

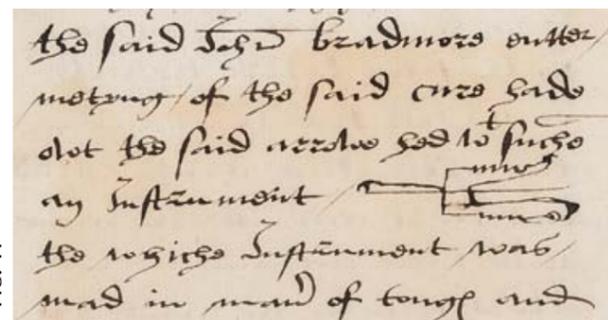


FIG. 11

(fol.13v) A small diagram of the device devised by Bradmore to remove the arrow-head stuck in the face of Henry, Prince of Wales (“... at the last the said John Bradmore enttermetyng of the said cure hade owt the said arrowe hed with suche an Instrument [diagram] the whiche Instrument was mad in maner of tonge and ...”). [FIG. 11]

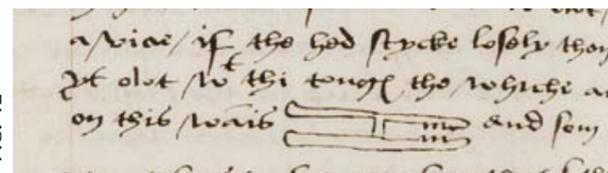


FIG. 12

(fol.80v) A small diagram of tongs for removing an arrow-head (“... if the hed stycke losely then take yt owt with thi tonges the whiche ar made on this wais [diagram] ...”). [FIG. 12]

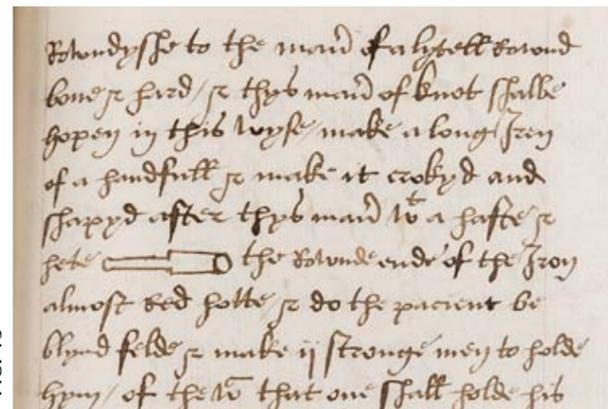


FIG. 13

(fol.146r) A small diagram of a searing iron to treat a “nodus the wch is a postume lyke to a knot sprongen in ye wrest of the hand” (“... make a long Iren of a handfull & make it crossyd and shapyd after thys maner wt a hafte & hete [diagram] the rownde ende of the Iren almost red hotte, & do the pacient be blynd felde & make ii stronge men to holde hym ...”) [FIG. 13]

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

239 leaves (inc. 23 leaves of parchment), with modern pencil foliation 3-241. When catalogued in 1927 and 1947 it was counted as “215 leaves of paper and 23 leaves of vellum” = 238 leaves (see Provenance). [Text: various sizes, up to 204 x 145 mm].

Paper, with two watermarks, one very close to Briquet no. 12835 (Pot with one handle, name “BMD / DANT”, Rouen, 1535), the other similar to nos. 11236-11312 (Hand with closed fingers and a five-pointed star, initial “G” or “3”, cf. 11267 (Saumur, 1532). Harley 1736 has a similar hand and star watermark (Lang, p. 93, n. 4); the leaves c.200x140mm, 1+237+1 leaves, foliated in modern pencil 3-241.

Condition, first page grubby; dampstained in the lower half at the front, gradually fading away; occasional minor stains; last few leaves lightly browned; single wormhole in the inner margin to fol.150; closed tear in fol. 132; sections of margin have been neatly excised removing inscriptions on fols. 12, 64-65, 207, 221, and 223.

Binding, sewn on four raised bands and bound in modern brown crushed morocco, the covers with a blind panel and centrepiece. The original binding is described in Charles Whyte’s will (“coveryd wyth black lether having on th’one syde the armes of England and Spayne” - see Provenance, below). It was presumably blocked with examples of the numerous blind-stamped binding panels of a Tudor Rose and the arms of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon which were still in use in the 1530s (e.g. J. B. Oldham, *Blind Panels of English Binders*, blocks RO.15 and HE.1 & 2). When it was sold in 1927 by W. H. Robinson no binding was mentioned and when sold in 1947 the Parke Bernet catalogue described it as “loose from its binding but held together by sewing and leather bands” however *American Book Prices Current* listed it as “loose in leather binding” (see Provenance).

Collation, the physical composition of the volume is complicated and irregular, with a number of leaves missing at the very beginning and one leaf missing after fol.59; the quires are composed of varying numbers of leaves and sometimes differing dimensions, but they appear to be as follows:

1^o (fols.3-12), 2¹²⁻¹ (fols.13-23; catchword on fol.12v does not match fol.13r (“sow / as”) but this may be due to eye-skip as only 13 words are missing from the text in Harley 1736 (“... to abyde styll and to [saffe ye wound and use to roll ye place and hele yt up] sow / As it is sayd of other woundes ...”); stub after fol.16 but the text is continuous from 16v to 17r as in Harley 1736), 3¹⁶ (fols.24-39),

4^a (fols.40–43), 5^s (fols.44–51), 6^s (fols.52–59; a single leaf missing after fol.59 which ends “oynement to kepe the wounde opyn, to the” comprising 23 lines in Harley 1736, fol.71r to the end of Chapter 18 “of a wound made in a senewe of the prykyng ther of”, 7^m (fols.60–70; fols. 60, 64–5 & 70 are parchment), 8^m (fols.71–82; fols. 71, 76–7 & 82 are parchment), 9^{a,2} (fols.83–84; last two leaves cancelled: 2 stubs after fol.84, with the end of Pars 2; no text missing; fol. 83 is parchment), 10² (fols.85–96; fols. 85, 90–1 & 96 are parchment), 11² (fols.97–108; fols. 97, 102–3 & 108 are parchment), 12⁶ (fols.109–114; fols. 111–2 are parchment), 13¹⁰ (fols.115–124), 14¹⁰ (fols.125–134), 15¹⁶ (fols.135–150; text breaks off mid-sentence, 1/3 of the way down the page, the remaining space being filled by a later recipe attributed to ‘The Countise of Arundell possit drink for the stoane’ and ‘another for the same’ (lower margin of fol.151r); but then the text continues without break on the next quire), 16⁸ (fols.151–158), 17⁶ (fols.159–164; fols.159–60 preceded and followed by two stubs, but no text is missing; fol.164v ends ‘finis’ near the top), 18¹² (fols.165–176; fols. 165, 170–1 & 176 are parchment), 19⁸ (fols.177–184), 20⁸ (fols.185–192), 21⁴ (fols.193–196), 22⁸ (fols.197–204), 23¹² (fols.205–216), 24 (five leaves, uncertain structure; fols.217–221), 25¹⁰ (fols.222–231), 26^{12,2} (fols. 232–241; last two leaves, originally blank but probably with added recipes, missing). Quires 10–15 have quire signatures a–f; quires 7–22 having vertical ruling in reddish ink.

SCRIPT

The volume is written in a variety of secretarial scripts, of varying sizes and with a varying number of lines per page (14, 19, 20, 25, 27 or 28), occasionally changing dramatically from one sheet to the next, even mid-sentence, as it adjusts to the number of lines per page. This lack of consistency argues against it having been written by a professional scribe, and suggests that it may have been written in whole or part by Charles Whyte himself. This hypothesis is supported by the script of Whyte’s other manuscript (BL, MS Sloane 776): the colophon tells us that the main text was “Compylyd by me Charlys Whytte Citezen & Barbour Cirurgyon of London and wrytton by the hande of Nycholas Browne” on 6 January 1532. Nicholas Browne is otherwise unknown as a scribe but he wrote in a neat, consistent, professional hand quite unlike the present manuscript.

PROVENANCE

1. **Charles Whyte** (d. 1545), Barber Surgeon of London; inscribed “Charlys Whyte barber & cargeo[n] othys [i.e. owes = owns] thys boke” (fol.239r); perhaps copied by himself c.1530–35, to judge by the watermarks and script and by the 1532 date of the other manuscript owned by him. Charles Whyte was twice Warden of the Company of Barber-Surgeons in 1535 and 1542. [FIG. 14]

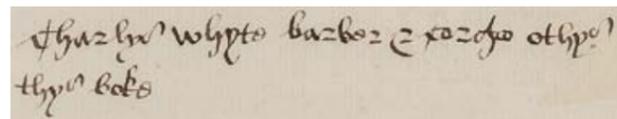


FIG. 14

Whyte made his will on 3 July 1544, and it was proved on 14 February 1545; a copy is in The National Archives, PROB 11/30/337 (largely printed in Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, 1890; PDF scan of the original available on request), and includes the following passages:

“I Charles Whyte Citezen and Barbour surgyon of the City of London ... I bequeathe unto the hygh aulter of the paryshe churche of Saint Martyns wythin Ludgat where as I ame nowe a paryshoner and dweller ... I bequeathe to Nicholas Archepolle the surgion two booke of surgery, thone ys bordyd and coverd wyth yelowe lether and ys namyd John of Ardren [sic] being wryten hande wyth divers pictures. And thother booke being coveryd wyth black lether having on thone syde the armes of England wyth a rose paynted and one thother syde the armes of England and Spayne being wryten hand. Also I bequeathe to John Colman that was my prentyce my great black boke borded and coveryd wyth black lether wher in is the boke of the harball and the shepardes kalender wyth divers other booke. ... Also I bequeathe to Robert Clerk and Wyllyam his brother all my boke of surgery and physyck equally to be devided betwene them yf so be they wyll study the science of surgery. And yf they wyll not study the science, then I wyll the sayd boke to be solde to the company that wyll give most for them. ... And moreover I wyll that my sayd wyf and executrix shall not give nor sell none of my booke of surgery to no maner of persoune except yt be to some barbour surgyon.”

Only two of Whyte’s various books are described as being “wryten hande” (i.e. manuscript, rather than printed) and both are “booke of surgery”: the John of Arderne “with divers pictures” is British Library, MS Sloane 776, which is elaborately illustrated and contains this colophon: “Here endythe a noble boke of cirurgerye truly provyd, Compylyd by me Charlys Whytte Citezen & Barboure Cirurgeon of london and wrytton by the hande of Nycholas Browne the vj daye of Januarij in the yere of oure lorde god M.d.c.xxxijth and in the xxxiiijth yere of the Reygne of Kynge Henrye the viiith after ye Conqueste of Englande” (fol.271v). This is, therefore, presumably the other manuscript mentioned in the will and described only by its elaborate binding with a rose on one side and the royal arms of England and Spain on the other.

There are a few short 16th-century marginal references and several pointing hands or manicules (particularly near the beginning). These refer to the use of medicines, “ung[uentu]m

defensivum” with a manicule (fol.26v), “apostolicon cirurgicum” with a manicule (fol.42r), “ung[uentum] pimp[er]nel” (fol.68v), “a water of ulcers” (fol. 211r) and “To ye cowre of the festela [cure of the fistula]” (fol.218). Except for the last these are very similar to the main text hand. They are also very similar to the few marginal references (though there without the manicules) in Whyte’s other manuscript (Sloane 776) and may be in his hand.

2. Presuming it is the second manuscript mentioned in Whyte’s will then the next owner was **Nicholas Archepoole**, who was admitted to the Company of Barber Surgeons on 13 March 1547 and is probably the same man as Nicholas Archenbold who was Warden in 1564, 1566 & 1568 and one of the governors named in the 1569 grant of arms to the corporation.

3. Inscribed in the 17th century with various names, including: “I am Rob[er]t Lambert” (upside-down, lower margin, fol.12v); “benjamin Jonston” (fol.13r); “Hobson” (fol.39v), “Mary Hobson” (fol.127r), “in nomine dei amen / James Harker et” and “(?) James Connell” (erased) (fol.165v); “Charles Hobson” (twice, fol.233v); also various marginal comments, e.g. “Comit thy Shippe unto the winde, but not thy faith to woman-kinde” (fol.151r), “Twentie wheat cornes maketh a scruppull in medesin ...” (fol.164v), in the upper margin of fol.64r is the date “quinto die Janu. 1646”, on fol.187r is “In the thirteenth year of our soveragne lord Charles the second ...” (i.e. 1661/2), on fol.155v is “A Scruppull weight is xx wheat cornes & iij Scrupulls is a Drame ...”.

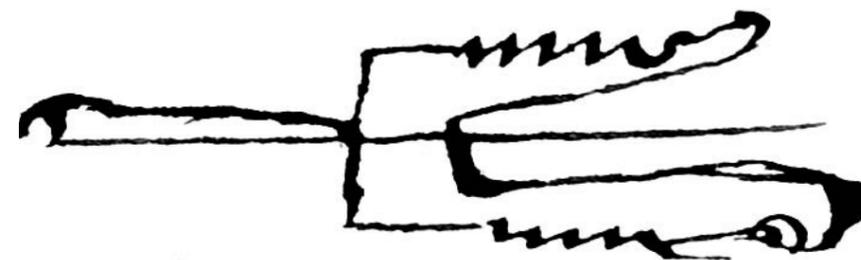
4. W. H. Robinson, bookseller of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (later of London), Catalogue 17 (1927), item 464, £95 [with a full-page description, the binding not mentioned (“enclosed in a buckram case”) – “at the conclusion is the writer’s autograph ‘Charlys Whyte barber [-surgeon?]”].



5. **Boies Penrose II** (1902–1976), Barbados Hill, Devon, Pennsylvania, collector and writer; Penrose sale at Parke-Bernet Galleries Inc., *Important Incunabula and Early Printed Books*, New York, 28 January 1947, lot 79, \$375; subsequently rebound. Included in Seymour De Ricci’s *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, II (1937), p. 1996, no. 9 [Boies Penrose, Devon, PA].

6. Private collection, USA. Consigned anonymously to Christie’s, London, 13/7/2016, lot 121 [as “a Tudor Barber and Surgeon’s Handbook” containing an unidentified “compilation of apparently unpublished recipes and treatises on everything from bloodletting to polyps”].

Imported into the UK from the USA in 2016 and thus an Export Licence would be granted automatically.



BOUND FOR EDWARD GWYNN

3 [ABBOT (George, Archbishop of Canterbury)]. **A Treatise of the Perpetuall Visibilitie, and Succession of the True Church in all Ages.**

London: by Humfrey Lownes, for Robert Milbourne, 1624

£1,100

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [Text: 178 x 120 mm]. [viii], 116 pp. Title-page browned at the margins and chipped at the fore-edge; top fore-corner of the title and following missing (slight loss to the rule border of the title). Contemporary calf, covers with a single gilt



STC 39.3 (variant state of the first edition: title without Milbourne's address and with a woodcut ornament of David & Goliath [the "sill piece" of McKerrow & Ferguson 172] in place of a woodcut of Abbot's arms; preface ends on A4r). Another issue has sheet A reset and there is another edition printed by Augustine Mathewes & John Norton for Milbourne.

Probably once bound with other items as a tract volume.

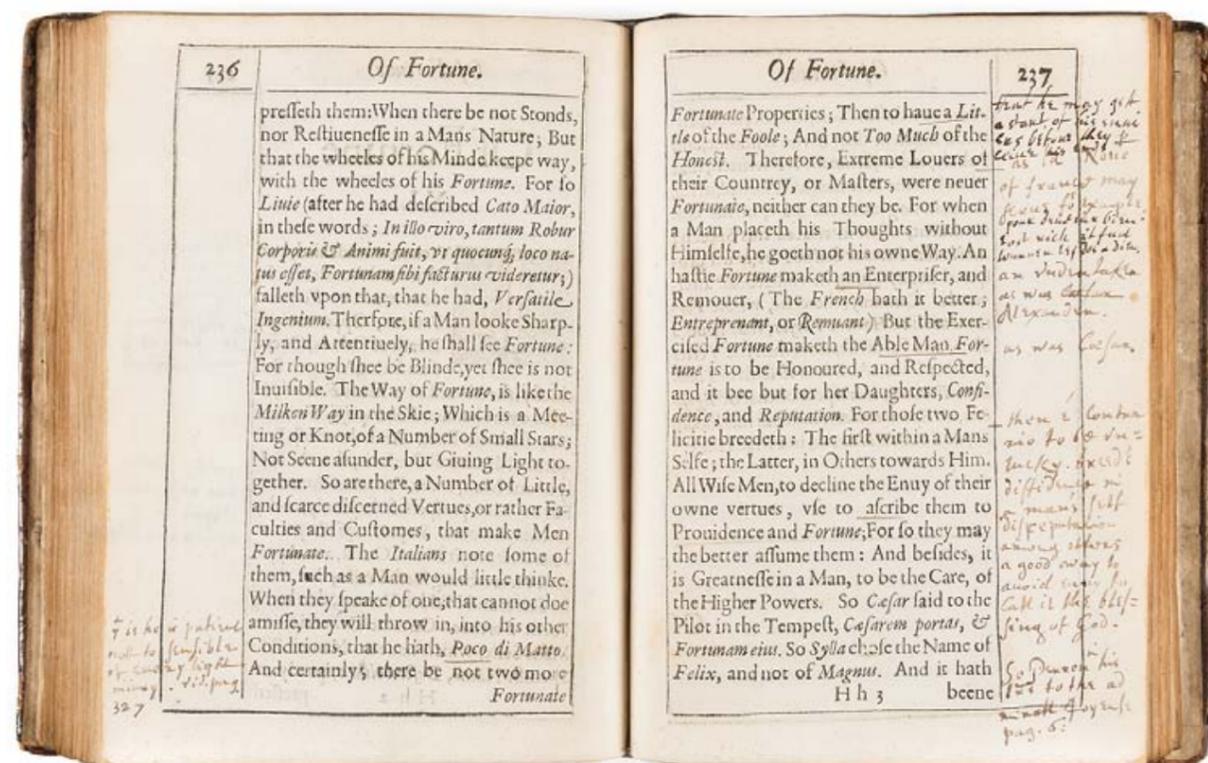
"And in this year [1603] it was (but whether in reading of the Lecture of Mrs. May's Foundation, or some other *Chappel Exercise*, I am not able to say) he [William Laud] maintained the constant and perpetual *visibility* of the Church of Christ, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, continued in that Church (as in others of the *East* and *South*) till the *Reformation*. Dr. *Abbot* Master of *University* colledg, and Vice-chancellor, was of a different opinion, and could not finde any such visibility of the Christian Church, but by tracing it as well as he could from the *Berengarians* to the *Albigenses*, from the *Albigenses* to the *Wickliffists*, from the *Wickliffists* unto the *Hussites*, and from the *Hussites* unto *Luther* and *Calvin*; for proof whereof, we may consult a Book of his, entituled, *The Visibility of the Church*, published in those busie Times when this impertinent Question, *viz. Where was your Church before Luther?* was as impertinently insisted on by the Priests and Jesuites." - Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus anglicus* (1668), p. 53.

"*A Treatise of the Perpetuall Visibilitie and Succession of the True Church in All Ages* contributed to an active debate between Catholics and English protestants, its hostility to Rome and its claim of doctrinal bonds between proto-protestants and their Reformation successors identified clearly England's friends and enemies

fillet border, front cover with the name "EDWARD*GWYNN" tooled in gilt near the head; rear cover with gilt initials "E G" in the centre (rebacked, corners worn, endleaves replaced).

in the current European conflict. Its anonymity is a measure of Abbot's vulnerability and the king, for one, was sceptical of its authorship." (ODNB).

Provenance: 1. A characteristically simple binding for **Edward Gwynn** (d. 1645). Edward Gwynn has been described as "one of those mildly eccentric bachelors who have done so much for English book collecting" (T. A. Birrell). In the course of a blameless and apparently rather dull career as a lawyer, living in chambers in the Inns of Court, he managed to accumulate a really first-rate library, including the unique copy, on vellum, of *Helyas Knight of the Swan* (Wynkyn de Worde, 1512), now in the Library of Congress, and the now-famous volume of nine Shakespeare Quartos (sold by Rosenbach to the Folger Shakespeare Library in 1919 for \$100,000) from which W. W. Greg was able to prove that the Pavier quartos were falsely dated. He died in 1645, leaving his library to his old friend Alexander Chorley, with whom he had lived for nearly twenty years. The books must have been sold soon afterwards, as a Gwynn volume in the Folger Library bears the ownership inscription of the antiquary Roger Twysden, dated 1652. There are probably several hundred books surviving from Gwynn's library, now scattered all over Britain and America (Marsh's Library, Dublin, contains nearly 40). A full census would be of great interest. 2. **Rev. Joseph Mendham** (1769-1856), religious controversialist and book collector, with his ink note "by Abbot Archbp. of Canterbury" on the title, pencil note on A4v (otherwsie blank) and a few pencil markings in the text; bequeathed to the Law Society; the Mendham Library was latterly on deposit at Canterbury Cathedral Library (University of Kent); with recent pencil shelfmarks on the pastedown; Mendham sale, Bloomsbury Auctions, 20/3/2014, part of Lot 3 (since rebacked).



ANNOTATED THROUGHOUT BY A CONTEMPORARY READER

4 BACON (Sir Francis, Viscount Saint Albans). **The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. Newly written.**

London: by Iohn Haviland for Hanna Barret, 1625

£8,500

First Complete Edition, second issue. *Small 4to.* [Text: 187 x 138 mm]. [10 (first blank leaf cancelled)], 340pp. Contemporary calf, covers ruled in blind, in the centre the 19th-century oval gilt arms block of the Society of Writers to the Signet (neatly rebacked,

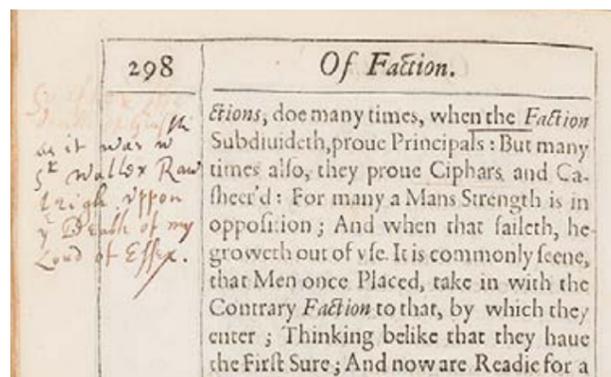
after 1978, with an old red morocco label preserved, endpapers replaced with old laid paper, an original flyleaf preserved at the front and back).

STC 1148. Gibson, *Bacon*, 14. Pforzheimer 30. The second issue with "Newly written" for "Newly enlarged" on the title and without Richard Whittaker's name in the imprint as joint publisher. The title is a cancel with a stub after A3 and the first blank leaf has been cancelled.

The first ten essays were published in 1597. Other gradually enlarged editions soon followed. This, the twelfth overall, is the first complete edition, containing fifty-eight essays, and represents the final text, being the last edition published in the Bacon's lifetime. As Bacon wrote in the dedication to the Duke of Buckingham, "I doe now publish my Essayes; which, of all my other workes, have been most Currant: For that, as it seemes, they come home, to Mens Businesse, and Bosomes. I have enlarged them, both in Number and Weight; So that they are indeed a New Worke."

Annotated throughout by one contemporary reader (sometimes in a much lighter ink showing more than one reading) with circa 200 notes ranging from single words to sentences as well as underlining, marginal dashes and crosses and three pointing hands / manicules (pp. 126, 216 & 289). Most are in English, but occasionally they are in Latin, Spanish or French. They range from elucidating single words or phrases and critical praise to drawing comparisons to contemporary and historical events and with other writers both ancient and modern.

The annotations open with a note on the first flyleaf: "The best Composition and Temper for a sole: is have openesse in fame and opinion. Secrecy in habit, dissimulation in seasonable use, and a power to faigne if there be no remedy. pag: 31. All vaine natures: all yong men and women, ambitious men such as prosper in their



undertakings. Such as conceive well of themselves, proud men are easy to be flattered. Fortune though shee bee a goddesse yett is shee noe saint. The meanes to obtaine her favour are nott always vertuous. Some princes as demetrius ^and augustus^ are hard to be charactered. They are so inconstant in their actions they cannott sitt to have their pictures drawne."

Our reader was most interested Bacon's Essays on Simulation (9 notes), Envy (14 notes), Great Place (8 notes), Seditions & Troubles (14 notes), Cunning, Riches, Ambition, Fortune, Sutours, Faction, Ceremonies & Respects, Honour & Reputation, all of which have 7 or more notes, while Friendship and Suspicion have many marginal markings. He was not interested enough in Death, Revenge, Adversity, Parents & Children, Marriage & Single Life, Atheism, Superstition, Travaile, Expencc, Regiment of Health, Plantations, Masques & Triumphs, Usurie or Gardens to

"A MACHIAVELLIAN SOLUTION TO THE IRISH PROBLEM"

5 BEACON or BECON (Richard). **Solon his Follie, or A Politique discourse, touching the Reformation of common-weales conquered, declined or corrupted.** By Richard Beacon Gent. Student of Grayes Inne, and sometimes her Maiesties Attorney of the province of Mounster in Ireland.

At Oxford: by Ioseph Barnes, Printer to the Universitie, 1594

£2,800

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [Text: 200 x 150 mm]. [12 (first leaf blank excerpt for signature between two ornaments)], 114, [2 (blank)] pp. Large copy with several leaves uncut at the fore-edge

and tail (corners a little frayed, a few minor paper repairs to the extremities). Rebound in red half calf circa 1950.

Rare. STC 1653 (+ in UK & Ireland; Folger (2), Harvard, Huntington, Newberry, Texas & Yale in USA). No copies are listed on ABPC-online and only this copy (sold in 1998) and another sold in 1919 on Rare Book Hub.

(p. 108), with rebel leaders such as "the Earle of Desmond" and "James Fitz Morice" (p. 17), "Shane Oneile" (p. 109) and "Thomas Fitz Garralde" (p. 112).

Cast in the form of a dialogue between Solon, Epimenides and Pisistratus concerning the problems faced by Athens [England] in dealing with its dissident colony Salamina [a lightly disguised Ireland] which is peopled by "Omores, Odempsiens, Oconores"

Solon his Follie is one of the three great Elizabethan socio-political treatises on Ireland by Englishmen who were or had been resident there and the only one to be published in print in the 16th Century. The second is Sir William Herbert's Latin treatise *Croftus, sive de Hibernia liber* which was written circa 1591 but not published until the one surviving original manuscript was

annotate those essays, while Truth, Goodness, Innovations, True Greatness of Kingdoms & Estates and Building have single notes and Delays has a single pointing finger. He quotes from or refers to a range of writers: from the Classics, Cicero, Ovid, Juvenal, Propertius, Sallust, Tacitus, and Plutarch and from contemporary writers, Machiavelli, Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, Michel de Montaigne, Philippe de Commynes, Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1614), Stefano Guazzo's *The Civile Conversation* (1581 & 1586) and John Florio's *Giardino di ricreatione* (1591).

From this one might draw the conclusion that he was relatively young, single, well-educated but not a cleric or academic, probably moved in court or diplomatic circles, and was ambitious for influence and wealth. He demonstrates a keen and deep engagement with one of the most important and widely-read texts of the age.

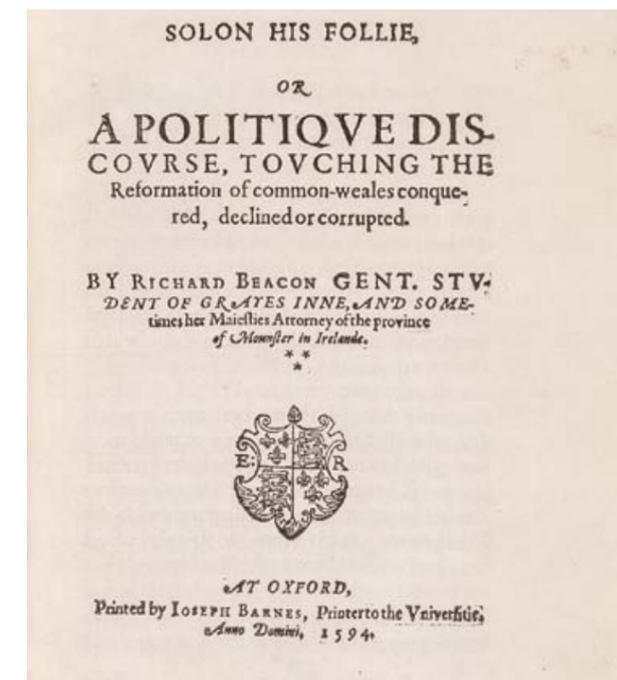
Later provenance: 1. Occasional neat ink notes in an early 19th-Century hand, usually just a word or two but with a long note across two margins on pp. 251-2 (Essay XII "Of Beauty") quoting Sir Joshua Reynolds. Old pencil sketch of a three-masted Man-of-War (seen from two angles) on the old rear flyleaf. 2. **Society of Writer's to the Signet**, Edinburgh, with their arms block on the covers, sale, Sotheby, Edinburgh, 12/4/1978, lot 258 (with another), £450 + premium to Maggs. 3. **George Armin Goyder** (1908-97), newsprint supplier, social philosopher and bibliophile, with his bookplate, sale, Christie, 20/11/1997, lot 95, £1900 + premium to Quaritch. 4. Private collection, USA.

discovered at Powis Castle, the seat of his descendants the Earls of Powis, and edited first by the Rev. William Buckley (Roxburghe Club, 1887) and more recently, with a modern English translation, by Arthur Keaveney and John A. Madden (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1992), although an earlier Jacobean translation into English, *A Discourse of the Realme of Ireland*, known in two manuscripts (British Library MS Harley 35 & Yale University Library MS Osborn fb233) remains unpublished. The third is the poet Edmund Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* which was written in 1596, but circulated only in manuscript until it was printed in 1633.

Having been educated at St John's College, Cambridge and Gray's Inn and called to the bar in January 1585 Richard Beacon or Becon was appointed the Queen's Attorney for the province of Munster in December 1586. He retained the office for five years during which he was also an undertaker for 6000 Irish acres at Cork and Waterford, but presumably then returned to England where he died some time after 1611.

"In 1594, Joseph Barnes, Printer to the University of Oxford, published Beacon's only surviving book, *Solon his Follie*, setting forth, in 114 violent and energetically argued pages, the measures Beacon recommends to reduce Ireland to peace. His work, though neglected now for nearly four centuries, deserves to be better known. Not only is it intrinsically interesting - bizarre, even - but it also has several implications for the study of Renaissance colonial theory, the methodology of sixteenth-century political thought, and, most significantly, the history of Machiavellism. Despite Machiavelli's popularity in the sixteenth century, there are astonishingly few political treatises built substantially upon the foundation of his writing. Beacon's book is one of them." - Sydney Anglo, "A Machiavellian Solution to the Irish Problem: Richard Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594)", in Edward Chaney & Peter Mack, eds, *England and the Continental Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp* (1990), pp. 153-64.

"The great burden of Beacon's argument was to demonstrate the priority of reforming colonial government and society by carrot and stick. Undeniably, however, Beacon laid greater emphasis on the latter, urging the adoption of strong coercive measures in order to eradicate Irish national feeling, and assuming that success would depend on building from entirely new foundations laid in the wake of a total military conquest. Ironically, some years earlier he and Sir William Herbert had been heavily criticized by Herbert's rival in the affairs of Kerry, Sir Edward Denny, for establishing a regime ostensibly intended to civilize the native population (principally by enforcing the adoption of English dress codes) which was effectively exploited to no other end than the enrichment of the two settlers - one of the abuses which Beacon subsequently diagnosed as a source of Ireland's 'declination'. It



is worth noting that Beacon's discussion of the causes of corruption in a society also included passing reference to the dangers of 'faction' and 'bitter adversities' among colonists. For all the intellectualism characteristic of an elevated and highly bookish Renaissance humanism, it would be surprising if Beacon's text were not firmly rooted in its author's experiences as one of those responsible for restoring order in Munster in the aftermath of the Desmond rebellion." (ODNB).

Provenance: 1. Brogyntyn [or Porkington], Oswestry, Shropshire, seat of the **Ormsby-Gore family, Barons Harlech**. The Brogyntyn estate descended through the heirs of John Owen, Secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, who married by 15 September 1599 Elin Morris, granddaughter through her mother of John Wyn Lacon of Brogyntyn to Mary Jane Ormsby who married in 1815 William Gore, later Ormsby-Gore (1779-1860), M.P., of Woodford, Co. Leitrim, a descendant of Capt. Paul Gore, of Magharrabeg, Co. Donegal, Commander of a troop of horse in Ireland at the end of Elizabeth's reign who was created a baronet in 1622 and his second son Col. Arthur Gore, of Newtown, Co. Mayo, who was created a baronet in 1662; their son John Ralph Ormsby-Gore was created Baron Harlech in 1876; by descent to **(William) David Ormsby-Gore, 5th Baron Harlech** (1918-85) for whom it was bound circa 1950, with his pencil note on the flyleaf "Harlech, Brogyntyn. Found at Brogyntyn unbound in the cellar. H."; sold with other Harlech books at Christie, 13/2/1998, lot 126 (with another). 2. Dr. Tony Sweeney (1931-2013), Irish collector and bibliographer (no marks of ownership), sale, Adams, Dublin, 12/5/2015, lot 26.

THE KEY COPY FOR ANY FUTURE EDITION OF THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT BOOK WRITTEN BY AND FOR ELIZABETHAN WOMEN

6 BENTLEY (Thomas), editor. **The Monument of Matrones: conteneing seven several Lampes of Virginitie, or distinct treatises;** whereof the first five concerne praier and meditation: the other two last, precepts and examples, as the woorthie works partlie of men, partlie of women; compiled for the necessarie use of both sexes out of the sacred Scriptures, and other approved authors, by Thomas Bentley of Graies Inne student.

Part 1: [London: by] Henrie Denham [1582]. Part 2: London: by H. Denham, being the assigne of William Seres, 1582. Part 3: [Colophon:] London: by [H. Denham (quires A-B) and] Thomas Dawson, for the assignes of William Seres, 1582. £65,000

First Edition of all seven Lampes in 3 parts (see below for full collation). Thick 8vo. [Text: 192 x 135 mm].

Pagination: Part 1: [22 (of 24; lacks A1 (blank except for signature); last page blank], 49, [1 (blank)]; 36 [first page with sub-title to "The Second Lampe"], [4 (Letter of William Cecil)], 37-252, [4 Aa1 blank except for signature, Aa2 sub-title to "The Third Lampe"], 253-362, [8 - full-page woodcut of the Last Judgement, table to Lampes 1-3 (4pp.), 1 blank page, sub-title to "The Fourth Lampe" verso blank], 363-862, [leaf Rrr6, full-page woodcut of the Last Judgement, verso blank, bound after Cccc8 (p. 994)], 863-994 [lacks pp. 995-999, [1 (conclusion)], [1 (full-page woodcut of the Last Judgement)], [8 (Table to Lamp 4, errata at end)], [1 (blank)]; Part 2: [2 (title to Lampe 5), 213, [5 (table)]; Part 3: [2 (title to Lampe 6), 115, [3 (blank, sub-title to Lampe 7, blank)], 331, [1 (colophon)], [2 (final blank leaf)].

Collation: Part 1: [A1-4 (A1 blank lacking)], B-G8, H8 + 2

This copy has been annotated by a widely-read early 17th Century reader who has identified many of Bentley's sources and, also, the re-appearance of many of his texts in a wide range of other contemporary books including a number of very rare small format Elizabethan private Prayer Manuals – most of which have not been identified before in connection with Bentley's book (see below).

It includes the revelation (unnoticed by modern scholarship) that the Prayers of Frances Neville, Baroness Bergavenny were also printed anonymously and in their entirety in John Phillips's *The Path to Paradise* (?1580).

Although it lacks 8 leaves this is still one of the top ten finest copies known. It is also certainly the most interesting copy known and it will be crucial to untangling the full (and still untold) story of Bentley's book in any future edition.

Thomas Bentley was Churchwarden of St Andrew Holborn, City of London, where he was buried on 14 December 1585 - see Colin B. Atkinson & Jo B. Atkinson, "The Identity and Life of

leaves signed H5-6, I-X8, Aa-Cccc8 (with the blank Aa1), [Lacks Dddd1-8]; Part 2: A-N8, O6; Part 3: A-X8, Y4 (with the last blank leaf)].

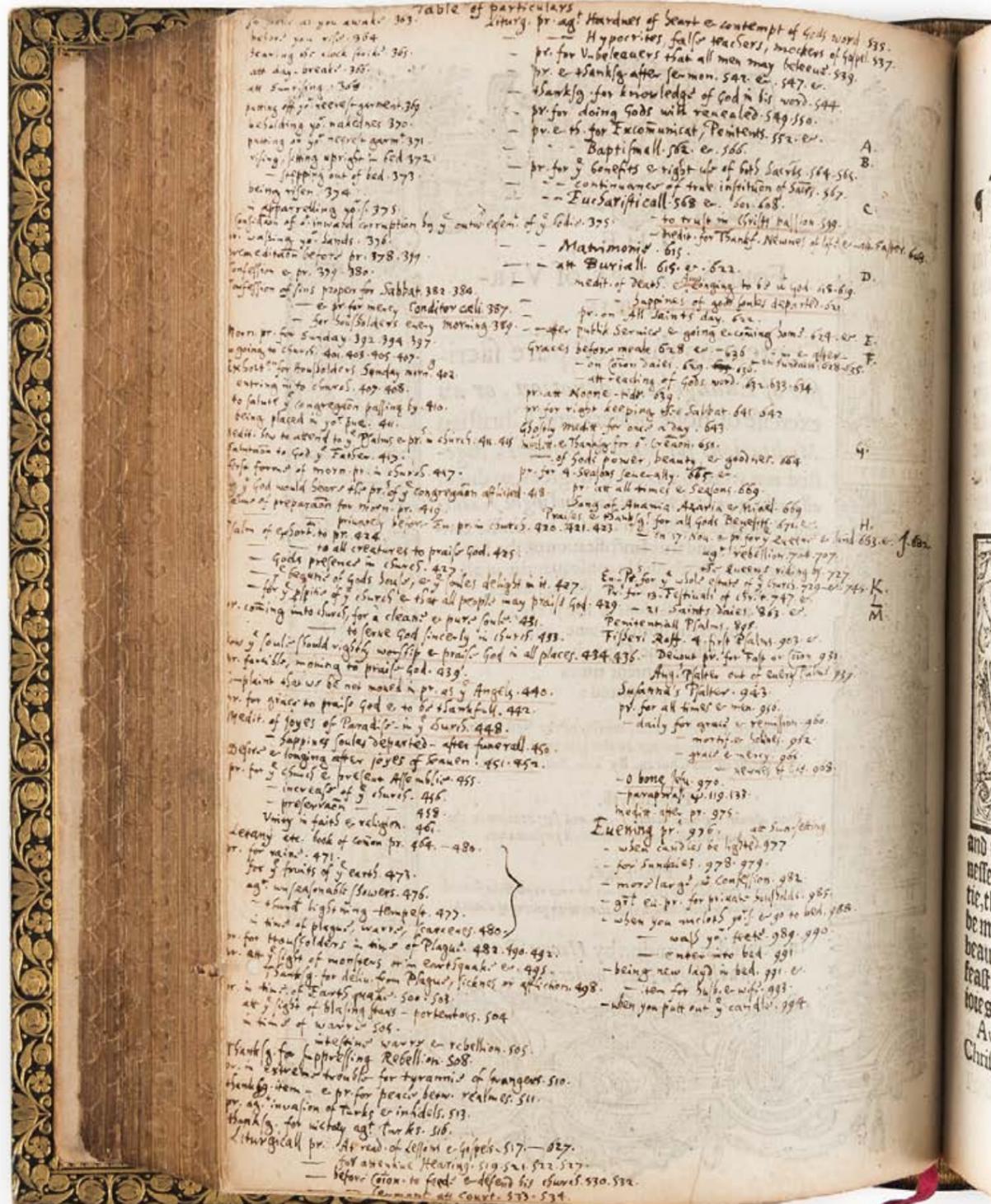
Condition: Part 1: Title-page rubbed and faded (first few leaves washed and pressed); generally lightly browned with some dampstaining in the upper margin in places, occasional grubby marks and stains. Part 1: Yy6-8 soiled (washed), triangular closed tear from a flaw in the top three lines of Ss5 (no loss); a single wormhole in the lower fore-margin runs from the start to p. 446. Part 2: L2-3 darkened and stain on L6-7 (washed).

Bound circa 1850 in black morocco, the covers filled with elaborate gilt tooling in mixed 17th/18th-Century styles; spine with five raised bands, the second and third panels lettered in gilt, the others filled with similar gilt tooling to the covers; edges gilt and gaufered with an elaborate diaper pattern; comb-marbled endleaves (joints and headbands rubbed).

Thomas Bentley, Compiler of *The Monument of Matrones* (1582)", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXXI/2 (2000), pp.323-348.

The Monument of Matrones is a substantial volume comprising seven books (Lampes) in three parts. The three parts are listed separately by STC & ESTC: STC 1892 (Lampes 1-4), STC 1893 (Lampe 5) & STC 1894 (Lampes 6-7). It seems that Lampes 1-3 may initially have been available separately (there are separate Tables for Lampes 1-3 & for Lampe 4; see, e.g., the copies at Bodley & Harvard).

No more than six complete copies are recorded. STC and ESTC record copies of all three parts at the British Library (ex Grenville), Cambridge UL, Chatsworth (Duke of Devonshire); Folger [ex Harmsworth], Huntington [ex Huth], Pierpont Morgan Library [Parts 2-3 ex William Herbert] & Yale [2 copies: 1 lacking c. 20 leaves acquired from Maggs in 2014; the other severely defective, with the first 964pp. of Part 1 and 5 leaves in Part 3 in photostat facsimile]. In addition, copies of part 1 are at Bodley (Lampes 1-3 only: ex Thomas Baker, Harleian Library, Richard Rawlinson), Oxford University Press (Lampes 2-4 only), Dulwich College



(imperfect), Folger [2 copies: 1 ex Herbert, Heber, Harmsworth], Harvard (Lampes 1-3 only). Folger have an additional copy of part 2 (imperfect) and two copies of part 3 [1 ex Bliss, Harmsworth] and the British Library has an additional copy of part 2 (title mutilated). An additional copy of part 3 only is at Cambridge.

The last complete copy sold at auction was in 1911 the Huth copy (Sotheby, 15/11/1911, lot 1252) now at Huntington. The last incomplete copies sold at auction are the present (*see* Provenance), the one now at Yale which was sold by the Museum of Springfield History at Knotty Pine Antique Auction Company, West Swanzey, New Hampshire, 31/10/2009, lot 10A; a copy of Part 1 (Lampes 1-3 only) was sold at Sotheby, 22/3/1937, lot 20 and is perhaps the copy now at Harvard. We can find no other sale records since 1937.

TEXT

Lampe 1: Contains “divine Praiers, Hymnes, or Songs, made by sundrie holie women in the Scripture”.

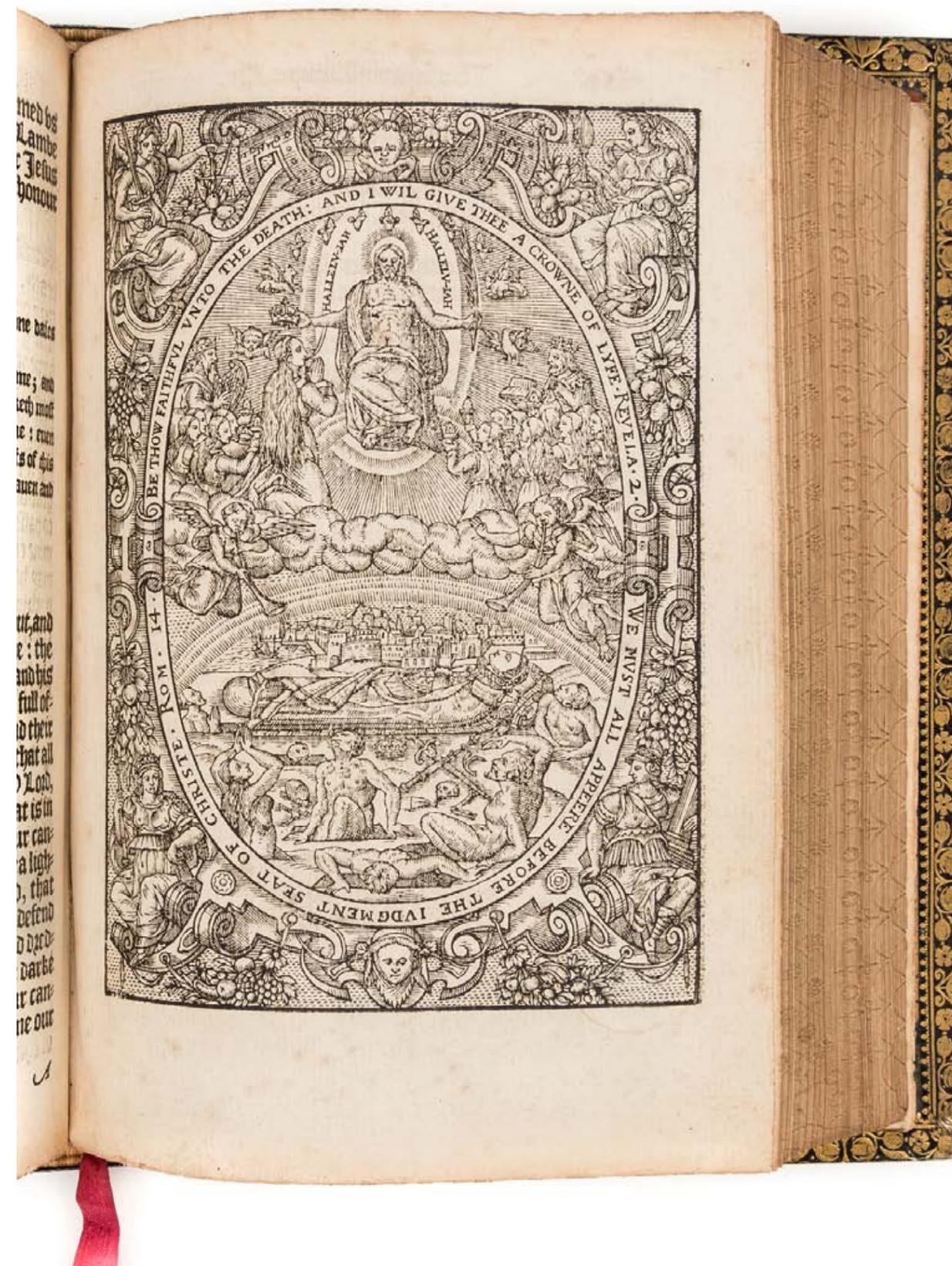
Lampe 2: Contains “divers godlie Meditations, and Christian Praiers made by sundrie vertuous Queens, and other devout and godlie women in our time” written by Queen Margaret of Navarre and translated by Queen Elizabeth; from p.35 are “Christian praiers” by Queen Elizabeth “made in the time of hir trouble, and imprisonment in the Tower, and after hir Coronation”; H5-6 is a letter from William Cecil to the reader; from p. 37 is Queen Katherine Parr’s “Lamentation or Complaint of a Sinner” (first published in 1547); from p. 80 are Queen Katherine Parr’s “Praiers and Meditations” (first published in 1545); from p. 98 are a prayer and exhortation of Lady Jane (Grey) Dudley before her execution; from p. 103 are “Morning and Evening praiers, with divers Psalmes, Hymnes, and Meditations” of Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, a lady-in-waiting to Katherine Parr (first published in 1574, but “substantially altered” and about 25% longer here); from p. 139 are prayers by Frances Neville, Lady Bergavenny or Abergavenny (d. 1576), including (from p. 207) acrostick prayers spelling the name of her daughter Mary Fane; from p. 214 are “Certaine praiers made by godlie women Martyrs”, including the prayer of Anne Askew before her execution; from p. 221, is an “instruction for Christians” translated from the French by Dorcas, Lady Martin (first published a year earlier but no copy survives) and the only Elizabeth catechism where the instructor is a mother).

Lampe 3: Contains “Right godlie Psalmes, fruitfull Praiers, and comfortable Meditations” to be said of Queen Elizabeth, particularly on her accession day (17 Nov.), some from Théodore Bèze, inc. from p. 280-302 two sets of acrostick prayers on “ELIZABETH REGINA”; from p. 306 “The Kings Heast, or Gods familiar speech

to the Queene” from Bèze’s *Psalms*; from p. 320 “The Queenes Vow, or selfe-talk with God” also from Bèze’s *Psalms*.

Lampe 4: Contains from p. 363 “The sacrifice of Evangelicall devotions, conteining Christian Praiers and Meditations” from p. 363 for different times of day, in effect a Protestant Book of Hours, starting with “So soone as ye awake in the morning, meditate thus, and saie” and ending [some of these are from Richard Day’s *Book of Christian Prayers* - this part has been little studied, for example on p. 369/70 a prayer to say “at the putting off of your nearest garments” is dramatically rewritten for a woman transferring the blame for the Temptation from Eve to the serpent: “... clogged with the grevous & heavie burden of the first woman Eve, ... I beseech thee, to strip me out of the old corrupt Eve, ... Rid me also quite and cleane of that hir tempter, the deceitful serpent” is altered from Day’s original intended for a man: “... clogged with the grevous & heavy burthen of the first man, ... I beseech thee, to strip me out of the old corrupt Adam, ... Rid me also quite and cleane of that his tempter, the deceitful Eve”]; continuing with prayers for sickness and times of plague (p. 482), the appearing of monsters or earthquakes (p. 495), blasing stars (p. 504), war (p. 505), invasion by the Turke (p. 513), on 17 November, the queen’s accession day (from p. 683), to be said by mother and daughter; from p. 747 are prayers for all the main feast days of the year; from p. 895, “The Dolefull Doove, or Davids penitentiall Psalmes” (this starts with a woodcut initial “O” with Sir William Cecil’s crest); from p. 903 “other Psalmes or Praiers”; from p. 937 “The Psalter, which S. Augustine composed out of everie Psalme of David a verse, for the use of his Mother”; from p. 943 “Shus-hanna hir Psalter” [this lacks the final 5pp. and the Table].

Lampe 5: “Christian praiers and meditations, to be used of and for all sorts and degrees of women”, this section includes prayers for virgins, adulteresses, betrothed maids, brides, newly married couples, “the wife that hath a froward and bitter husband”, for wives whose husbands are abroad as soldiers or merchants, for a wife whose husband is in prison; from p. 95 “Praiers to be said of women with child, and in child-bed, and after their deliverie”, inc. on p. 106 one by Lady Francis Abergavenny; on p. 108 “Another meditation on Meeter, to be said of a woman with child. made by W.H.”, [*i.e.* from William Hunnis, “A Handfull of Honisuckles”, appended to *Seven sobs of a sorrowfull soule for sinne* (entered in the Stationers’ Register by Denham in 1579 but the earliest surviving edition is 1583)]; this is followed by prayers to be used by women before, during and after childbirth, including (on p. 121/2) one by Lady Frances Abergavenny, prayers for midwives and husbands, for women in danger of or dying in childbirth, for thanksgiving for a successful birth, one “made for the Lady Lettice” (p. 157); prayers for “maid-servants, or hand-maids” (p. 167-173); p. 173-77



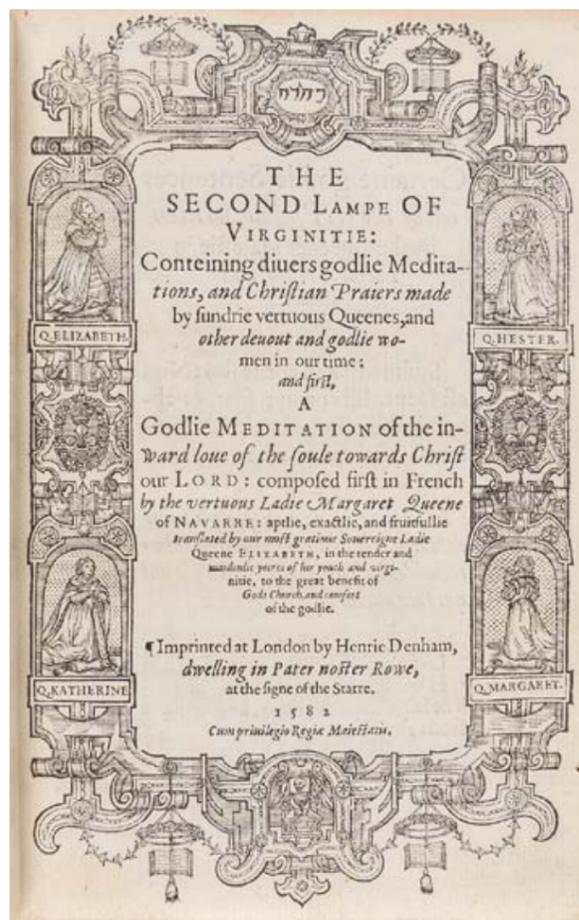
–“The poore Widowes mite, ... gathered by William Hunnis, one of the Gentlemen of hir Highnes Chappell, and maister to the children of the same” (in verse) [printed as part of Hunnis’s *Seven sobes of a sorrowfull soule for sinne* (1583)]; from p. 177 are prayers for widows, orphans, and old women; from p. 208–213 are morning and evening prayers. Many of the prayers concern childbirth and its dangers and a number of them include the initials of the speaker, often “S.B.,” who dies in childbirth. She has been identified by Colin B. and Jo B. Atkinson as Susan Bentley, Thomas Bentley’s wife, who died in childbirth with their infant 2nd son Nathaniel in 1581. Thomas himself died in 1585 and their 1st son Samwell in 1587 leaving only a daughter Hannah.

Lampe 6: “Conteining a Mirrou for Maidens and Maitrons: or, the severall Duties and office of all sorts of women in their vocation out of Gods word”. Contains from p. 1–9 “Of Virginitie, and the state of single life, together with the dutie of Virgins, of Maids, or single Women”; from p. 10–69 the duty of husbands to their wives, wives to their husbands, mothers to their children, children to their parents, masters and mistresses to their servants, servants to their masters and mistresses; from p. 69 on divorce; from p. 71 on widows and second marriages; from p. 75 “that widowhood is a plague of God upon the ungodly”; from p. 81–2 the duty of old women; from p. 82 the praise of worthy women and dispraise of wicked and foolish women; from p. 98–103 “the description of an Harlotte”; p. 103–115 “the penal punishmentes, and terrible threatenings of God in his worde, against all sortes of ungodly women”.

Lampe 7: “containing the acts & histories, lives, & deaths of all manner of women, good and bad, mentioned in holy Scripture, as well by name, as without name, set forth in alphabeticall order, ... Whereunto are added (for the affinitie they have with some part of the Scripture) the lives and storyes of sundrie such other women, as are mentioned in the thirde booke of Macchabees, and Josephus.”

WOODCUTS

Part 1: The general title has a woodcut border with the royal arms at the top, small scenes of the Creation, Annunciation, and the Seven Wise and Seven Foolish Virgins at the sides, and a standing woman (the Spouse of the Canticles) at the foot holding a candelabrum (menorah) and an open Bible (this woodcut is rubbed and faded). The sub-title to Lampe 2 has a woodcut border with four kneeling female figures: Queen Elizabeth, Queen Hester, Queen Katherine Parr and Queen Margaret of Navarre; at the foot is a small image of a skeleton seated on a throne. The sub-title to Lampe 3 has a woodcut border with four kneeling female figures: Queen Elizabeth, Bathsheba, Deborah and Judith. Leaf



Hh2 has an extraordinary full-page woodcut of Queen Katherine Parr at the Last Judgement in an oval with female figures of the four Cardinal Virtues in the corners with the Queen kneeling at the right hand of Christ who is crowning her and below her body lying in state with a view of London in the background (second state with her name in letterpress below her feet). The sub-title to Lampe 4 has a woodcut border with four kneeling female figures, Queen Elizabeth, Anna, Hulda and Susanna. Leaf Rrr6 (misbound after Cccc8) has another impression of the woodcut of Queen Katherine Parr at the Last Judgement (first state without her name) [a further impression of the woodcut (on Dddd4 is lacking)]. **Part 2:** The title to Lampe 5 has a woodcut border with four kneeling female figures: Queen Elizabeth, Martha, Abishag and Sarepta. **Part 3:** The title to Lampe 6 has a woodcut border with an architectural design with military trophies at the sides and two cupids at the head.

The woodcut title-page borders and the extraordinary full-page woodcut of Queen Katherine Parr at the Last Judgement (which proposes a Protestant version of the Crowning of the Virgin Mary) have been discussed by John N. King in *Tudor*

Royal Iconography (1989) pp. 243–56. The borders to Lamps 1–5 have been tentatively attributed to Nicholas Hilliard and the royal arms at the head of the title to Lampe 1 has been compared to those in the border of the illuminated Foundation Charter of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1584). The border to Lampe 6 is by a different hand. See: Roy Strong, *The English Renaissance Miniature* (1983), p. 100.

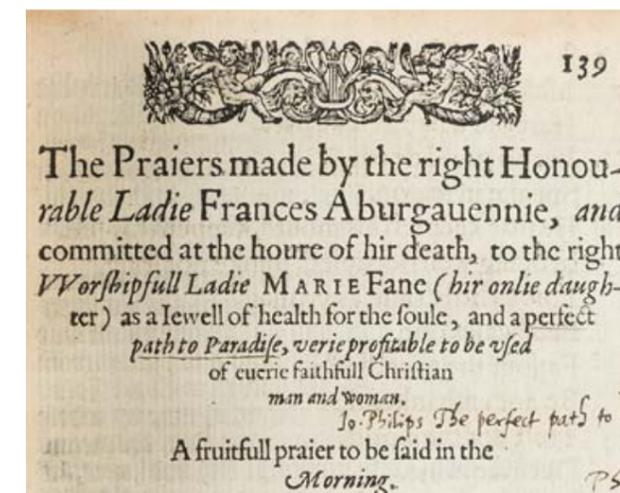
PROVENANCE

The first part (Lampes 1–4) has been annotated (soon after 1625) in ink in a very tiny neat hand by a very careful reader who lists the contents of the various parts and supplies a wide range of literary references, some of which we have been able to identify and others which we have not. Although many of the notes have been slightly trimmed by the 19th-Century bookbinder they are all recoverable. The annotator knew a little Latin (so was presumably but not necessarily male) and had access to a good range of popular but not scholarly theological works intended for both a male and female readership of the middling to lower gentry or educated working classes so was probably not a scholar or cleric though bibliographically competent and understood the use of signature references and recto-verso distinctions for unpaginated books.

For example, our annotator here identifies the section of Prayers of Lady Frances (Manners) Neville, Baroness Bergavenny or Abergavenny (d. 1576) – printed on pp. 139–206 – and recognised as a pre-cursor of the Mother’s Legacy genre of female advice books as also appearing (anonymously and re-ordered) in John Phillipps’s *The Perfect Path to Paradise* (London, 1617 edn – STC 19873.5 Folger only). Five editions of this popular work by the poet and miscellaneous writer John Phillipps (fl. 1570–91) are recorded of which the earliest (?1580 – not in STC but on ESTC) survives in a unique fragment that probably predates Bentley’s work. The first three surviving editions of Phillipps’s *Perfect Path* were published by Hugh Jackson, bookseller in Fleet Street. It has long been noted (first by the 18th-Century bibliographer William Herbert and most recently by Jayne Elisabeth Archer in the entry on Frances Neville in *The Encyclopedia of English Renaissance Literature*, 2012, I, p. 733) that on 2 December 1577 Jackson (“Hugh Jaxon”) had entered in the Register of the Stationers’ Company: “a booke intituled *precious perles of perfecte godlines to be used of every faythfull christian* begonne by the lady FFRAUNCES ABURGAVENTNY and finished by JOHN PHILIPP. auctorisid by the Bisshop of London.” (Arber, II, 144).

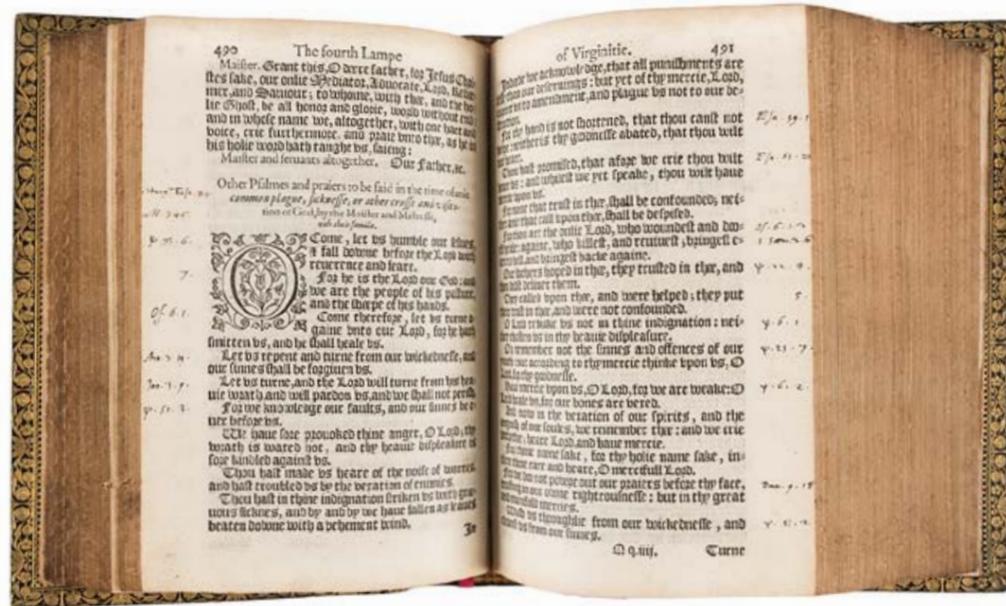
No copy of that title has survived, if it was ever printed, and Phillipps clearly thought it safe to appropriate all 45 prayers almost verbatim (there are variations in some of the opening

sentences) under his own name (unless of course they really were written by him rather than just “finished” by him) and include them in his most popular work where they have remained hidden, except to the eyes of our annotator, ever since. On the other hand, and presuming that she was the prime author, it makes Frances Neville, though under an appropriated male identity, one of the most widely reprinted English female writers of her time.



Somehow, however, Bentley knew of their attribution to Lady Bergavenny but he does not give his source. Their title in *The Monument*, “Praiers made by the right Honourable Ladie Frances Aburgavennie, and committed at the houre of hir death, to the Worshipfull Ladie Marie Fane hir onlie daughter as a Jewell of health for the soule, and a perfect path to Paradise, verie profitable to be used of everie faithfull Christian man and woman”, is ambiguous. It includes the phrase “a perfect path to Paradise” (echoing the title of Phillipps’s book) rather than “precious perles of perfecte godlines” (as in the Stationer’s Register entry) but it also includes the phrase “to be used of every faithfull Christian” which is in the Stationers’ Register entry but does not appear in surviving editions of Phillipps’s book. It is most likely, however, that Bentley did use an earlier now-lost printed edition; as he said in his preface many of his sources were “dispersed into severall pamphlets, and in part some thing obscured and worne cleene out of print, and so out of practise” (Bir).

Thus, as titled by Bentley and in the order as printed in *The Monument*, all 45 prayers in this section (plus 2 others in Lampe 5) can also be found as identified by our annotator among the 67 prayers in the unpaginated 1617 edition of Phillipps’s *Perfect Path*. This leaves only the onomastic prayers spelling the name of MARY FANE with their opening letters and pp. 207–12 and the two-verse acrostick poem spelling FRAUNCES ABERGAVENTNY (p. 213) unpublished elsewhere.



A sample of the annotations, which are concentrated principally in the prayers of Lady Bergavenny in Lampe 2 and in the anonymous prayers and meditations in Lampe 4 identify Bentley's sources using

a contracted author/title with the relevant page reference. Some of these are easily identifiable while others remain obscure to us.

The principal marginal references are:

Fisher's / King's Psalms = The King's Psalms = *Psalmes or Prayers taken out of holye scripture* (London, 1544, STC 3001.7 + numerous other editions to 1613) - the first reference on p. 80 is to the first of Queen Katherine Parr's prayers, printed with the King's Psalms in later editions
 Fox = John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments [Book of Martyrs]* - the source of Lady Jane Grey's last prayers.

Phil. = John Phillips, *The Perfect Path to Paradise* (London, 1617 edn - STC 19873.5 Folger only). Our annotator here identifies the section of Prayers by Frances Neville, Baroness Bergavenny as also appearing in the 1617 edition of Phillips's book.

H. Smith = Henry "Silver-Tongued" Smith (?1550-91), author of numerous sermons, etc.

W.P. = ?William Perkins (1558-1602), prolific author - a 12mo.

Stubs. pathw. = Philip Stubbes, *A perfect pathway to felicitie* (1592 & 1610) - STC 23398 (BL - ends of P5) & 23399 (Eton, Bodley, Huntington) - the ref. on p.828 to R6b = "A Prayer to Christ in glorie" in the 1610 edn.

g.Gard. = *A godlie garden out of the which most comfortable hearbes may be gathered*. STC 11557ff lists 6 editions between 1569 and 1621, all 16mos. The page references here apply at least to the 1604 (Bodley only) and 1619 (not in STC, BL copy on EEBO) editions.

g.Rule = *A right godly Rule; how all Christians ought to occupie and exercise themselves in their dayly prayers*. The only recorded edition is a 16mo dated 1602 (STC 21446.7, Downside Abbey & Folger only) but the page references here are to a lost edition. This is a Catholic prayerbook as STC notes "largely derived from STC 16060", a 1555 Marian Primer.

Viv. / Viu. = Apparently not Juan Luis Vives.

Aug. Med. / pr. / man. / Solil.] = St. Augustine, numerous editions, for example, *A right christian Treatise entituled S. Augustines Praiers*. tr. Thomas Rogers. 1581 edn., p. 115ff. STC 950, prob. issued with 938 *S. Augustines manuel* and 944 *A pretious booke of heavenlie meditations*.

[-]ear. = these two references are obscure (pp. 634 & 962) remain obscure but the 2 prayers (after communion & for mortification and holinesse) are from an edition of Edward Dering, *Godlye private praiers for housholders in their families*, earliest known edition 1574 (STC 6684.5), latest 1624 (STC 6690).

Jan. R. = ?

Cur. = ?

Kysp. = ?

Lant. = Thomas Lant, *The dailie [/ daily] exercise of a christian* (1590?, 1615, 1623). Apparently uses the 1615 edition, STC 1522.5 (Harvard only).

Aven. Secur. = Johann Habermann [John Avenar], *The enemy of securitie or a dailie exercise of godly meditations*. STC 12582.2ff (numerous editions from 1579 to 1625). 12mo. The first few editions were published by Henry Denham. The page references match the 1593 (STC 12582.9, Harvard only) and 1615 (STC 12582.18, 5 copies) editions - but most seem to be page-for-page reprints.

[Li]turg. Thanksg. after Plague. 1625 = *A short forme of thanksgiving to God for staying the contagious sicknesse of the plague* (London, 1625), STC 16542 [reprinting Psalm 85 from the 1553 Prayer Book]

Bull = Henry Bull, *Christian praiers and holie meditations* STC 4029ff lists 10 editions between 1570 and 1614 - the reference to p. 256 in Lampe 4 (p.618) matches the editions of ?1578 (STC 4030, Cambridge, Huntington & Northwestern University) and 1596 (STC 4032, BL, Peterborough Cathedral & Folger).

Themylth. = Nicholas Themylthorpe, *The posie of godly praiers / prayers*. STC 23934.5ff (1618 and later edns). 12mo.

Isacs. = ?

Jewel / Jewell = Apparently not John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury; cf. *A Jewell for Gentlewomen, containing divers godly prayers*. STC 14578 (1624, BL only). 32mo.

The Psalter, which S. Augustine composed = *A right christian Treatise entituled S. Augustines Praiers*. tr. Thomas Rogers. 1581 edn., p. 115ff. STC 950, prob. issued with 938 *S. Augustines manuel* and 944 *A pretious booke of heavenlie meditations*.

Wigm. = ?

It is clear from the above list that our annotator had read and deeply absorbed a wide range of small format popular Elizabethan private prayer manuals - these were the cheaper but not cheapest sort of books, intended for the lesser gentry and educated working classes, and often printed in multiple editions over many years.

Many of these editions are now very rare and some have disappeared completely. They have been studied by Ian Green in *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (2000) and Mary Morrissey in "Sermons, Primers, and Prayerbooks" in Joad Raymond, ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture. Volume 1. Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (2011, Chapter 35).

The concept of authorial integrity was rather fluid in the late 16th / early 17th Centuries and this applied in particular to private prayer manuals - as Ian Green noted the popularity of the genre "made it much easier for less scrupulous editors and

publishers to offer 'new' works culled from less well known older collections." (p. 253). They are also as Green noted "among the most neglected documents of the early modern period" (p. 252).

The discovery of Frances Neville, Lady Bergavenny's prayers hiding under the apparently appropriated authorship of John Phillips is therefore of great significance in this context.

LATER PROVENANCE

An old printed description from a bookseller's catalogue has been removed from the front flyleaf leaving a narrow strip of paper. Modern English bookseller's pencil collation notes (pre-1986 as a reference to STC has "NEW" added to it) and pencil price "£700" (deleted) and "NETT (600)". **Dr Howard R. Knohl**, of Fox Pointe Manor, Anaheim, California, with his bookplate, sale, Sotheby, New York, 26/10/2016, lot 19 [the binding described as 16th-Century and the annotations unnoticed].

LITERATURE

The modern literature on *The Monument of Matrones* is immense. It is referred to or quoted from in almost every book or article on women's writing or reading in the early modern period that has been written in the last quarter-century. A good example is Jennifer Summit's groundbreaking *Lost Property: the Woman writer and English Literary History, 1380-1589* (2000), pp. 157-61: "... Bentley's work compiles the pious writings of contemporary, ancient, and Biblical women into a collection so exhaustive that Suzanne Hull finds that it [comes] close to being an entire female

library between two covers'.... Bentley brings the monumental into the female space of the domestic, by conflating the history of women's writing with the history of women's prayer. As a collection of literary history that is also a prayer book, it offers the writings of the past as exemplars for the women readers of the present....".

A "selected" facsimile edition was edited by Colin B. Jackson & Jo. B. Atkinson (3 vols., Ashgate, 2005) and their essay "The Identity and Life of Thomas Bentley, compiler of *The Monument of Matrones* (1582)", in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXXI/2 (2000), pp. 323-348 was very helpful.

WITH THE MAGNIFICENT WOODCUT TITLE-PAGES

7 BIBLE. ENGLISH. (Great Bible Version). **The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holye scripture**, both of the olde & newe testament with a prologe therinto, made by the reverende father in God, Thomas archebysshop of Canterbury. This is the Byble appointed to the use of the churches.

[London:] Printed by Richarde Grafton, 1540 [Colophon: "... Fynyshed in December. Anno M.CCC.CC.XLI."]. £26,000

Folio. [Text: 386 x 261mm]. See below for collation. Late 18th century reversed calf, the covers panelled in blind with a greek-key

roll, plain spine, red morocco label (joints repaired, corners and edges worn, late 19th-century endleaves creased).

The Seventh & Last Great Bible edition. Lacks 6 leaves in all (including one blank) of the total 534 leaves. This copy is unusual in preserving both the General and New Testament title-pages with their magnificent woodcut border (though the General title-page is damaged). It is also notable for its detailed early ownership notes by two identifiable families in Liverpool and Chester in north-west England.

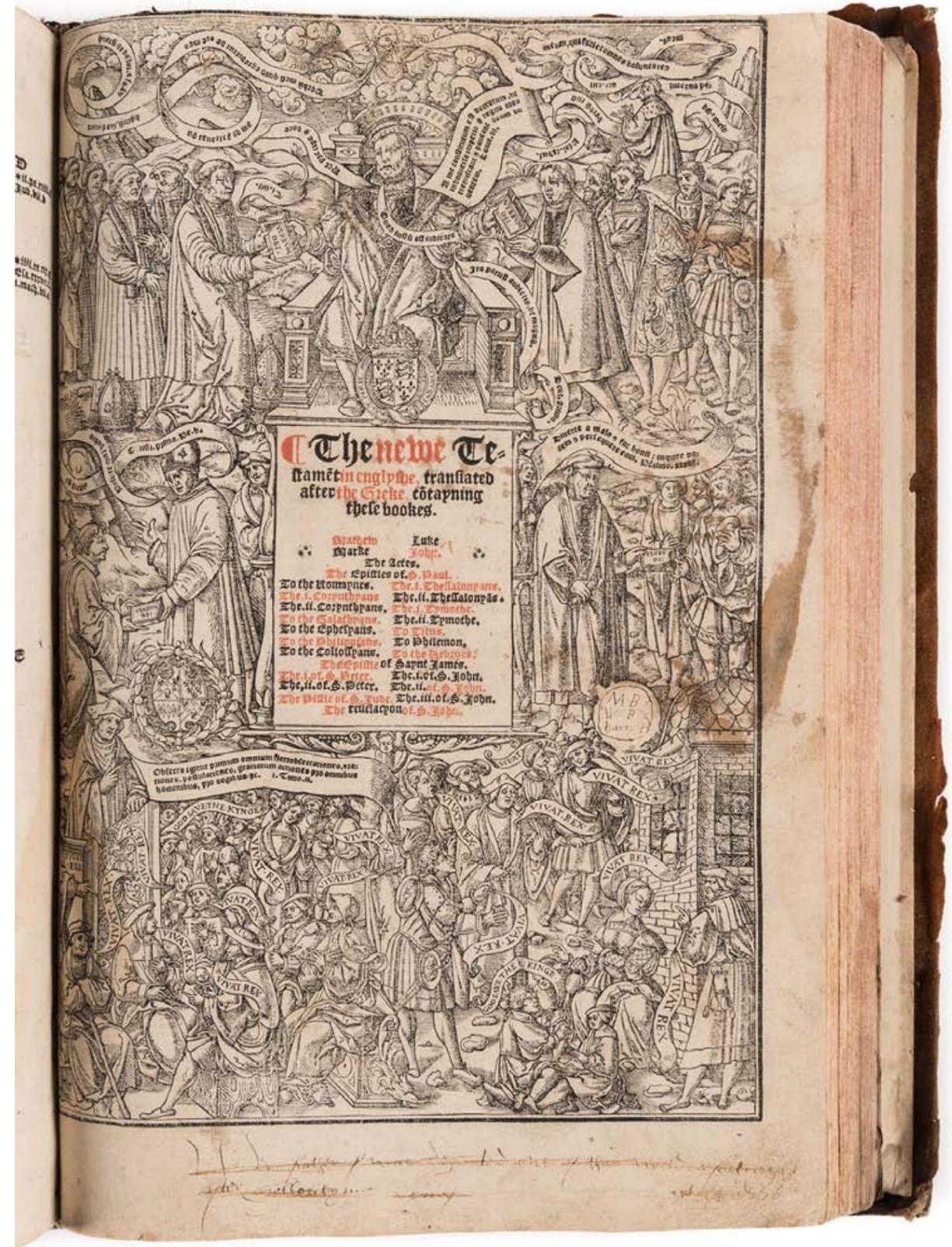
booksellers and collectors. This copy has no supplied leaves and appears to be uniform throughout.

The "Great Bible" Version: First published in 1539, the so-called "Great Bible" version is a "revision by [Miles] Coverdale of Matthew's Bible, which he corrected chiefly by the aid of Sebastian Münster's Latin translation of the Hebrew OT (1534, 35), and of the Vulgate and Erasmus' Latin version in the NT, with collateral help of the Complutensian Polyglot (published about 1520). Coverdale worked under [Thomas] Cromwell's direct patronage; hence the result is sometimes known as 'Cromwell's Bible'. This version and its subsequent editions are often called 'Cranmer's Version', although that Archbishop had little, if anything, to do with their preparation, beyond adding a Prologue, which first appeared in the second large folio edition, April 1540." (Darlow & Moule, p. 25).

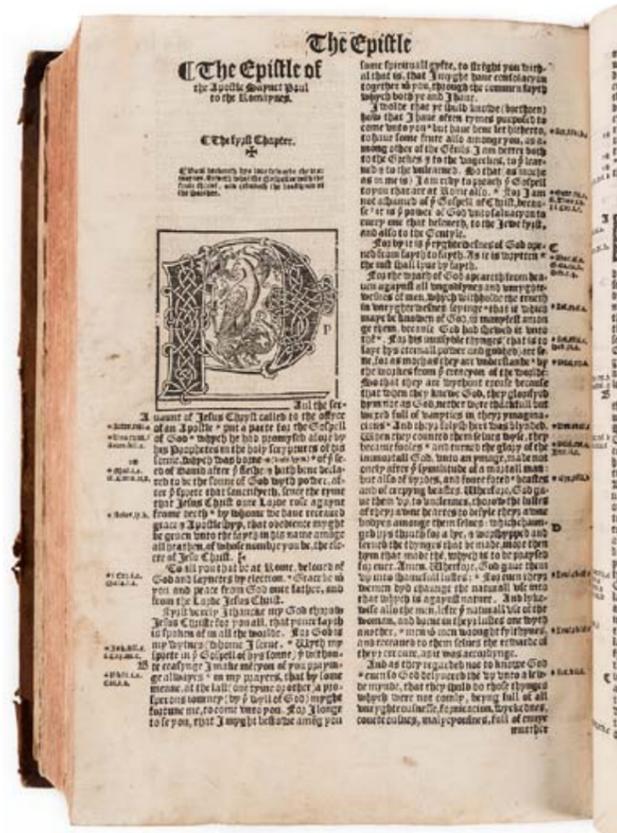
David Daniell adds that, "This Bible's distinction is three-fold. First, it was the only Bible ever to be 'authorised' in Britain. (The Bible that from the late eighteenth century until recently was universally known as the 'Authorised Version', that of 1611, now more frequently known by its American name, the 'King James Version', was never authorised. Passionate believers in its royal authority are soothed by the unlikely suggestion that a document of authorisation has been lost.) Second, only thirteen years after Tyndale's first and smuggled-in 1526 English New Testament, it

STC 2076. Darlow & Moule, *The English Bible*, 63.

The copies recorded on ESTC are mostly imperfect in some way or completed with leaves from other editions: British Library [x 2, both with a few leaves supplied from other editions], Bodley, Cambridge University, Canterbury Cathedral [imperfect], Downside Abbey, Glasgow University [not on their online catalogue], National Library of Scotland [not on their online catalogue], New College Oxford [lacks title], Trinity College Dublin; Folger [3 leaves only], Honnold Library [lacks 2 prelims], Huntington [lacks circa 10 leaves], New York Public Library [x 2, one lacks title with some leaves mutilated, the other lacks several leaves], Pierpont Morgan Library [colophon in facsimile with the wrong month], Yale [not on their online catalogue]. COPAC adds Aberdeen University [lacks first 6 & last 2 leaves], National Library of Wales. A number of copies have been catalogued with the proviso that the "Sheets [are] frequently found mixed with other editions" [e.g. the New College, Oxford copy] but this may well be due to *post-hoc* restoration by



brought the English Bible to the people in a massive way. In most of the parishes, its arrival, and contents, must have been surprising. Third, though Coverdale's revision was generally in a more Latin direction, the parishioners' encounter with the Bible was still with the greatness of Tyndale." – David Daniell, *The Bible in English* (2003), pp. 204-5.



ILLUSTRATION

The General title and New Testament title are printed in red and black and are framed within the magnificent woodcut border showing Henry VIII at the head (in the later state with the small circular coat-of-arms of Thomas Cromwell at centre-right removed leaving a blank space). Sadly, the General title is damaged but the NT title is intact. The part-titles to "The seconde parte" and "The thyrede parte" are printed in red and black within a frame of 16 woodcuts of Biblical scenes. There are numerous small woodcut illustrations in the text.

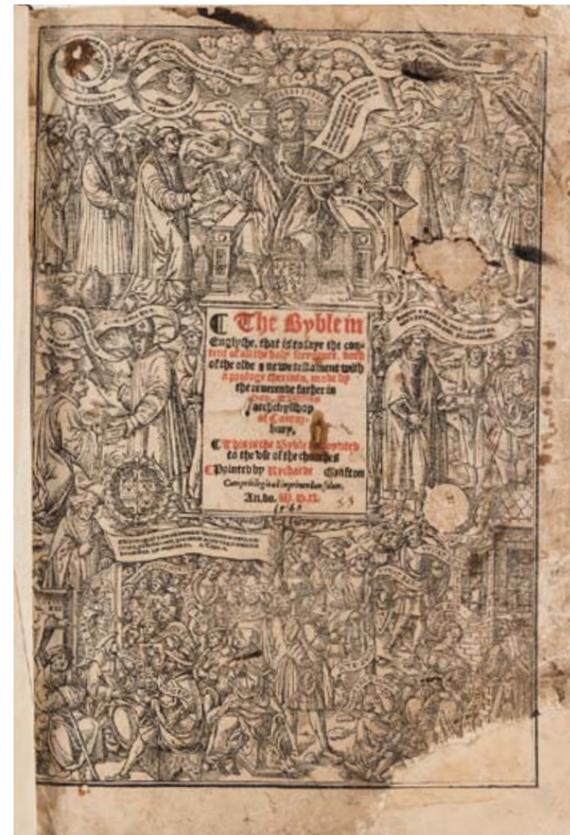
The woodcut border to the General and NT titles (the finest woodcut made in the first half of the century) is by an anonymous artist, trained in the school of Hans Holbein the younger and inspired by his woodcut title border for the 1535 Coverdale Bible. It "shows Henry VIII giving the book to the clergy on one side (Cranmer and others and on the other a layman

with a group of splendidly dressed figures (privy counsellors) and through them to the nation, the people to the bottom right crying 'Vivat Rex'. The different ways of spreading the word of God are shewn, on the left a mitred Bishop Cranmer (with his coat of arms), ... handing the word to a tonsured priest, and on the other side a layman handing it on to a layman/farmer who has taken his hat off. It can be seen that the roundel for a coat of arms on this side is blank. The reason for this is very simple. The lay figure was originally Thomas Cromwell, Vicar General and Vice-gerent in Spirituals, and by this time he had, of course, well and truly fallen from grace. He was executed 28 July 1540. Cranmer was Henry VIII's Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of piety and learning, who was burned at the stake in Oxford in the reign of Mary Tudor on 21 March 1556, six months after the burning of Bishops Latimer and Ridley. In this one picture one may see the genesis and early history of the Anglican church." – Paul R. Quarrie, *Winchester College and the King James Bible* (2011), p. 60. For a more detailed analysis of the imagery see: John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (1989).

Collation: [*]1 (title with woodcut border), *2-3 [of 6] (Kalendar / Amanack in red & black), [maltese cross]1-4 ("A prologue" by Cranmer, "The names of all the bookes", last page blank), a-k8, l4, A-P8 (A1 subtitle to "The seconde parte"), Q1-3 [lacks Q4 blank], Aa-Pp8, Qq-Rr6, Aaa2-8 [lacks Aaa1 (subtitle to Hagiographa)], Bbb-Kkk8, Aa-Mm8 (New Testament title with woodcut border), Nn2-8 (lacks Nn1).

Lacks: *4-6 ("exhortation, summe and content, A Prologue, expressynge, A Description and successe"), Q4 (blank), Aa1 (subtitle to "The volume of the books called of Hagiographa"), Nn1 (f. xcvi in the Revelation of S. John). **Lacks 6 leaves in all (including one blank) of the total 534 leaves.**

Condition: The General title is slightly grubby and has a few ink stains, there is a patched hole [22 x 33 mm] caused by an ink-stain affecting the lower part of two of the figures at the top-right receiving a Bible from the King; a small hole caused by an ink-stain in a blank portion of the letterpress area and in the top-left corner in the centre of the outer scroll; the lower fore-corner is torn-away and patched with a triangular area [33 x 67 mm] missing with loss to the image; and there are three wormholes at the top affecting the image of Christ in the Clouds. The first few and last few leaves of text are lightly and evenly soiled; the rest of the text is slightly grubby in places throughout, some damp-staining in the inner margin and outer column, heavier in a few places and at the end, and occasional stains and marks in places; the lower fore-corner of a2 has been torn-away and crudely repaired with slight loss to the ends of the bottom 10 lines; lower half of the



inner margin of b3 damaged and crudely repaired (with slight loss to the inner sidenotes) and with a diagonal closed tear towards the top partly repaired with a patch on the verso; blank lower fore-corner of h8 (f. lxiv in Numbers) torn-away and repaired (no loss); woodcut title to the "seconde parte" and the following leaf (A1-2) with a minor repair in the lower margin (no loss); short closed tears in the lower margin of O8 & P1 (ff. cxi-cxii in Esther); the "constauntnesse" of Job is more worn from heavy use (as often) and P7-8 (ff. cxix-cxx) have been crudely repaired in the lower and fore-margins (no loss) and the last leaf (Q3, f. cxxiii) has been crudely repaired in the lower margin and a closed diagonal tear across the penultimate paragraph of the inner column has been repaired on a blank part of the verso (no loss); woodcut title to the "thyrede parte" (AA1) with the lower fore-quarter torn-away and replaced with blank paper (with the loss of 3 and damage to 3 of the 16 woodcuts); small patch in the lower margin of DD6 (f. xxx in Proverbs of Solomon) and the lower margin of DD7 strengthened with a patch on the recto and with a short tear near the inner margin (affecting the final sidenotes on recto and verso); Ii3 (f. lxvii in Machabees) with a three-line closed flaw across the outer column (partly repaired with a patch in the outer margin; no loss); Dd1 (f. xxv in Luke) damaged in the lower fore-corner and crudely patched with loss of the catchword some loss to the ends

of lines 8-11 from the bottom on the recto and the bottom 12 lines on the verso and with a diagonal closed tear extending across the first column and then horizontally across the inner column (partly repaired with a patch in the blank area between the column and in the inner margin); closed tears in the lower margin of E5-7 (ff. xxxvii-xxxix of John); lower fore-corner of E8 (f. xli in John) torn-away and patched with loss of the catchword and bottom 10 lines on recto and verso; H8 (f. lxiii in Romans) damaged and crudely patched in the lower corner with loss to the lower margin taking the catchword on recto and to the fore-margin up to line 14 and with a short closed tear in the inner margin (affecting a sidenote on verso); Nn4-8 (ff. c-cii in Revelations and the final Table leaf) damaged and repaired in the lower fore-corners (without loss); occasional other minor marginal defects/repairs have not been noted. **Despite these numerous (but mostly minor) defects this is, generally, a much above-average copy.**

PROVENANCE

With numerous Liverpool / Chester ownership inscriptions and family records of births, deaths and marriages, dating through the 16th and 17th Centuries (a transcript of the notes is available).

Early Provenance: Henry Bedford, of Liverpool. His son **Henry Bedford** (b. 1562), merchant of Liverpool, was captain and (?part-owner) and of the *Harry Bonaventure*, 90 tons, 12 guns, master William Thornton, recorded as sailing out of Liverpool in 1591/2. In 1590 or 1591 the *Harry Bonaventure* was "fitted out with 12 guns, victualled for six months and manned by a crew of 60 to be used 'in warlike manner agaynste the Kinge of Spayne and his subiectes and his or their goodes.'" – D. M. Woodward, *The Trade of Elizabethan Chester* (1970), p. 41. Bedford would have paid for a Letter of Reprisal enabling him to act as a privateer with impunity. It is not known where the *Harry Bonaventure* headed but she was probably bound for the West Indies. Having been apprenticed to Richard Knee or Knye (Mayor of Chester 1586/7), Bedford was made a Freeman of the City of Chester in 1592 and married Knee's daughter Rachel in the same year.

Inscriptions by Henry Bedford the elder include: [maltese cross]1r: "my sone henry Bedford was borne the ... June on wynsenday in anno 1562, god make him his [servant?];" arv: "my sone w[illia]m Bedford was borne ye xxi day of June being son-day god geve him good grace 1556"; a3r: "my sone henry bedford dep[ar]tyd this worlde on wenesday following his berth the god send hym a joyfull resurrection 1557"; a3v: "my doster Jane was borne the xxxiii day of decembre being satterday in ye morning dod geve her good grace, ano 1559"; a4r: "my doster Jane beford dep[ar]tyd this world the xxvi day of June following her berth, god send her a Joyfull resurrection 1560"; a4v: "my young son

hary Bedford was borne in Lyv[e]rpoll the [blank] day of June being wytsunday in the morning god geve hym good grace 1562”; a5r: “Henry Bedford was married the 14th daye of June being mondaye to Rachell Knye one of the daughters of Richard Knye of the Cittie of Chester ... in the yeare of our lord 1592 was made freeman of the said Cittie the 12 of July in the said yeare of o[u]r lorde ...”; a5v: “my yo[un]g doster Jane bedford was borne the xiiij day of Aprill one a Sunday morning, god geve her good grace, & in Ano Domini 1564”; a6r: “my you[n]g doster Jane Bedford dep[ar]ted this world one wyke after her berth god send here a Joyfull Resurrecon ano domini 1565”.

William Knee, Freeman of Chester (1603/4) and master of the *Success* of Chester in 1616, with his inscription on Arv (blank): “William Knye [Knee] is the true oner of this booke god whit”. **Thomas Knee**, with his inscription on Bbb3r: “Thomas knyie is my nam and with my hand / I wryt the sam[e] god make me a good man and / June ye 24th”.

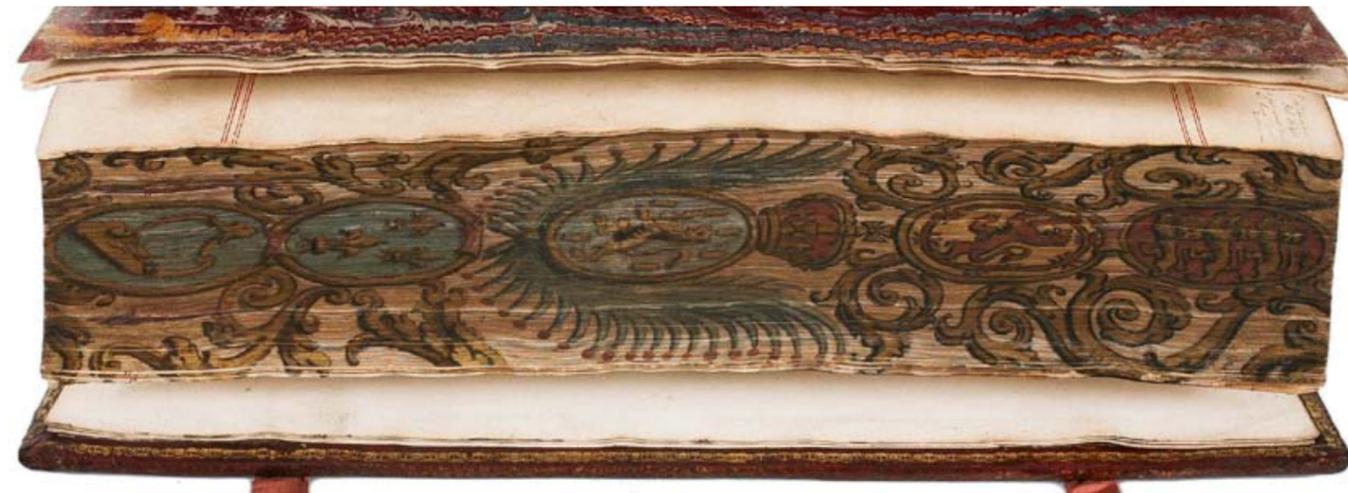
Thomas Barlow, of Upton-by-Chester, was buried at the Church of St Mary-on-the-Hill there on 7 Sept. 1683, having been a churchwarden and leaving them a silver paten in his will (which still survives *in situ*). Given to him in 1620 by his godfather Thomas Barlow of Saughall [where he is recorded in the 1613 Visitation of Chester], a village north-west of Chester, presumably as a christening present. He was perhaps the son of John Barlow of Upton (inscription on *3v): “John Barlow of Upton died the 7th day of May in the yeare of our lord 1659 hopinge of joyfull resur[rectio]n”. He records the birth of four children (and the deaths of three) and was survived by his second wife, Jane Donne, daughter of Peter Aspinall or Aspinwall, of Ormskirk, whom he had married on 4 Feb. 1663 and who was still living in a tenement at Upton in 1696.

With his inscription on Arv (blank): “Thomas Barlowe is ye true oner of this booke being given me by my godfather Thomas Barlow of Saughall my grandfather in ye yeare 1620”. Other

ownership inscriptions by him are dated 1633, 1634, 1639, 1648 & 1655; undated is the charming “Thomas Barlow” / “The man is blest that hath a brest / of rosted mutton fine / a sharpe knife and a patient wife / and a Cup of Claret wine” on (RRR6v (blank)); he records the birth of his children Thomas (b. 1647), Elizabeth (b. 1650, d. a month later) William (b. 1655, d. 1663) and Sarah (b. 1662, d. 1671) and notes his love for his second wife: “I blesse the Lord for his mercy in bestoweinge on me such A happie blessinge in bestowinge on me soe good & Comfortable wife as I thanke god I enioy in being married to Jane Donne widow daughter to Mr: Peter Aspinall of Ormes Church [Ormskirk, Lancashire] w[hi]ch I desire of ye: Lord that we may longe live together to his glory & ye Comfort of us your relations I pray god Amen being married the 4th day of ffebr in ye yeare of our Lord 1663 Tho: Barlowe” on Aaarv (blank).

LATER PROVENANCE

The Dowdeswell family of Bushley [or Buckley] Park, and neighbouring Pull Court, Worcestershire were established in the county in the 16th Century and supplied several MPs for Tewkesbury in the 17th and 18th Centuries. They appear to have owned land in Lancashire but there is no obvious connection to Chester. Armorial bookplate, circa 1800 of Buckley Park, Worcestershire and two late 19th-century Pull Court labels.



MAGNIFICENT WILLIAM & MARY BINDING FOR THE CHAPEL ROYAL AT DUBLIN CASTLE

8 BIBLE. ENGLISH. (King James Version). **The Holy Bible Containing the Bookes of the Old & New Testament.**

Cambridge: by John Field, 1660 [- 1659]

SOLD

2 vols. Folio. [Binding: 445 x 300 mm]. Engraved title-page by Peter Lombart after Abraham Diepenbeck but without the other engraved plates [“Chorographical Sculps by J[ohn]. Ogilby”] promised in the imprint and without Ogilby’s dedication to Charles II which has been deliberately removed. Ruled in red throughout. Text with some light browning, occasional spots.

Bound by Robert Steel in 1692 for the Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle in Ireland. Dark-red morocco; the covers elaborately tooled in gilt with a border of a wild-strawberry roll and repeated impressions of a wild-strawberry “bat-wing” tool with a small crowned “RWMR” with palm fronds cypher at the corners, in the inner corners filled with massed wild-strawberry volutes outlined with a row of open drawer-handle tools and with a crowned Irish Harp tool in a three-quarter oval, a large central lozenge of scroll volutes outlined with drawer-handles contains a central shield-shaped cartouche is a block of the Royal Arms with

the Garter, a crown above and the initials “WR” and “MR”, at each corner of the lozenge is a large crowned “RWMR” cypher; spines with seven raised bands, the panels tooled alternately with a crown or “RWMR” cypher with gilt corner tools; board edges and turn-ins tooled with a flower-in-circle roll; comb-marbled endpapers; edges gilt and with handsome fore-edge paintings under the gilt with five oval shields, the top and bottom two with the quarterings of the Arms of Great Britain and France surrounded by foliate scrollwork and the central one with the Lion of Nassau within a pair of palm fronds and with a crown above; “scarlet garter silk” ties with gilt tassels (corners bumped, some rubbed areas on the covers, particularly the front cover of Vol. 2, spine-bands rubbed, inside joints strengthened; the silk ties and tassels are original but they had become badly worn and repaired with blue silk; they have now been shortened and restored). Preserved in two quarter red morocco boxes.

A two-volume folio Bible elaborately bound in 1692 by Robert Steel with the Royal Arms and cyphers of King William III & Queen Mary II uniquely emphasising the Arms of Ireland on the covers and fore-edge paintings with the Royal Arms. Supplied by the stationer Samuel Carr to the Master of the Great Wardrobe for the Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle.

Robert Steel was apprenticed to Samuel Mearne, the King’s bookbinder, from 1668 to 1675. He seems to have taken over the tools of the Mearne bindery soon after the death of Charles Mearne in 1686 and may have operated from the same address in

Little Britain. He was regarded as one of the best binders of his day, the bookseller and pamphleteer John Dunton writing in 1705: “I may call him my Occasional Binder: for, when I meet with a nice customer, no binding would serve him but Mr. Steels; which for the Fineness and Goodness of it might vie with the Cambridge binding; but (as Celebrated a binder a Steel is) he is a Man very humble and lowly in his own Eyes ... yet he has a sudden way of Repartee, very agreeable and surprising, but every way inoffensive, within the Rules of Vertue and Religion”. He died about 1710 when the business was run until 1718 by his widow Jane at which time



the tools passed to one of his former apprentices (he is reported as having had eight) Thomas Elliott, who became one of the principal binders for the Harleian Library.

The large “RWMR” cypher and crown appears on a copy of Richard Lucas, *Human Life, or, a second part after the Enquiry after Happiness* (1692) at the Royal Library, Windsor Castle (purchased 1932); the smaller crowned “RWMR” with palm fronds cypher is one of three versions - it can be seen at the centre of the long sides of the cover of an Oxford 1680 folio Bible formerly in the libraries of the Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme at Clumber Park,

J. R. Abbey and Lord Wardington (illustrated, with its fore-edge painting, in G. D. Hobson, *English Bindings 1490-1940 in the collection of J.R. Abbey*, 1940, no. 62. The wild-strawberry roll in the border (notable for a small defect in the design) also appears on that binding and on a Bible (Oxford, 1685) and Prayer Book (Oxford, 1681) bound for James II and now in the British Library (H. M. Nixon, *English Restoration Bookbindings*, nos. 22 & 23), the dedication copy of Sir John Narborough, *An Account of several late Voyages* (1694) in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge (H. M. Nixon, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, Vol. VI:



Bindings, 1984, frontispiece and plate 52); the wild-strawberry and scroll volutes can be seen on numerous published Steel bindings. The Irish Harp tool appears to be unknown elsewhere.

The elaborate fore-edge paintings depicting the quarterings of the Royal Arms of Great Britain and France and the Lion of Nassau can be compared to that on the former Duke of Newcastle Bible (noted above) which G. D. Hobson illustrated. Hobson commented that “Fore-edges painted with the Royal Arms just after 1685 are sufficiently rare to make it probable that they were executed at one workshop only”. Hobson was certainly correct as to their rarity and as Robert Steel apparently succeeded to the workshop of Samuel Mearne and his son Charles, then he was probably correct in also saying that they were the work of one workshop only.

Howard M. Nixon gave an account of what he had discovered about the supply of Royal Bibles and Prayer Books in the second half of the 17th Century in the section “Bindings for the King’s Own Use” in *English Restoration Bookbindings: Samuel*

Mearne and his contemporaries (1974), a book which accompanied a major exhibition at the British (Museum) Library: “The fullest record of books supplied for royal use is to be found in the Lord Chamberlain’s Bill Books in the Public Record Office [now the National Archives], of most of which there are duplicates in the Royal Archives at Windsor. These begin in 1667 and seem to be fairly faithful copies of the actual bills for books supplied. ... The greater part of the service books were supplied for the Chapel and the Closet in Whitehall. The choir, the dean and sub-dean, the officiating chaplains, privy councillors, and members of the household entered at ground level and sat in the body of the Chapel. The Closet was a gallery at the west end of the Chapel used by the Royal Family and connecting directly with the first floor on which were the royal apartments. All the necessaries for both Closet and Chapel were supplied by the Great Wardrobe on separate Triennial Warrants, so that in theory every three years there was a complete refurnishing of both, with new wall-hangings, altar cloths, cushions, carpets, a great fire shovel, a

perfuming pan, two great hammers and two brushes, as well as the necessary service books. Towards the end of Charles II's reign the intervals tended to lengthen to five years and sometimes not all the Bibles and Prayer Books were replaced. When they were changed the old books became the perquisites of those who used them, but the Bible and Prayer Book which had been used by the King (together with the ones he had used in his Private Oratory) became the perquisites of the Clerk of the Closet. They were the most elaborately bound and costliest of all. They always had the royal arms or cyphers painted on their fore-edges and it has been possible to trace a number of them, ..." (pp. 14-15).



The question then is what was this elaborately bound Royal Bible with its unique emphasis on the Arms of Ireland for?

Displayed in the Treasury of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, is an elaborate set of silver-gilt Communion plate, consisting of a large Alms Dish with a repoussé scene of the Last Supper, a footed Paten on Foot, a smaller Alms Dish, a Chalice and cover, a pair of Flagons and a pair of Tripod Pricket Candlesticks; they are all London work and bear makers' marks and hallmarks dating from 1697-99. There has been a longstanding debate / dispute over whether they were intended for Christ Church Cathedral, where they have been only since the 1922 for certain, or for the Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle where they had been throughout the 19th and early 20th Centuries at least. In two essays H. J. Lawlor argued that they were intended for the Castle Chapel which was undergoing extensive restoration at the time. The gift was presumably intended to replace a similarly elaborate set of church furnishings and plate presented by King James II in 1687 at a cost of £789 which had not survived the Glorious Revolution. H. J. Lawlor, "The Chapel of Dublin Castle" in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, New Series, Vol. XIII/1 (June 1923), pp. 34-73 & XVIII/1 (June 1928), pp. 44-53. A recent essay by Canon Roy Byrne, "That is what began the controversy': The Chapel Royal, Christ Church Cathedral and the silver-gilt altar plate" in Myles Campbell & William Derham, eds, *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle: An Architectural History* (2015), pp. 107-121, has argued more convincingly that the plate could only have been intended for the Chapel Royal. A little-noticed entry in the *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. 16 (1700-1701) confirms this

theory: Aug. 13, 1701 "Master of the Jewel House for the delivery to Earl of Rochester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of gilt plate, detailed, for the use of the Chapel" - *Warrants not Relating to Money*, XVII, p. 118 (National Archives T 54/17).

There are records of a Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle dating as far back as 1225. That Chapel was destroyed by fire in 1684 and a new one was constructed on the site. A set of church furnishings and plate presented by King James II in 1687 at a cost of £789 marked its completion but the plate, it would seem, did not survive the Glorious Revolution of William III. That Chapel survived until 1807 and the Chapel Royal now at Dublin Castle is an extraordinary early Neo-Gothic construction completed in 1814.

As well as Communion Plate all Chapels Royal as well as the Chapels of Ambassadors and Governors of British colonies were supplied with suitably bound sets of Bibles and Prayer Books. Indeed, four Prayer Books in handsome Irish bindings dating from the later 18th and early 19th Centuries and used at the Chapel Royal in Dublin Castle have survived (though none *in situ*) and they have been recently described by Joseph McDonnell, "Divine Service ... every day in the week': The bindings of the service books for the Dublin Castle Chapel" in Campbell & Derham, *The Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle* (pp. 83-93). As Howard Nixon explained (see above) these would be replaced every few years and the old ones would become the perquisites either of those who used them or of the Chapel clergy.

Until now, however, no surviving example, or even any record, of any 17th-century Bibles or Prayer Books in the Chapel Royal at Dublin had been discovered. However, previously unnoticed in the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts in the National Archives, is the stationer Samuel Carr's 1692 bill to Ralph, Earl of Montagu, Master of the Great Wardrobe for just such a set:

"Item to Samuel Carr Stationer for two Bibles Imperiall paper richly bound in Turkey leather inlaid and double ruled two Common prayer bookes bound suitable one bible Royall paper richly bound Turkey leather ^ruled^ extra ordinary three Common prayer bookes Turkey wrought with small tooles and ruled for the Altar twenty of the same bound Turkey extraordinary Twenty four smaller calves leather with edges seventy eight yards of scarlett garter ribbon and fifty seven yards of blew garter ribbon for strings and for fringing nine of the said bookes all for the Lord Sydney Lord Lieuten[an]t. of Ireland for the Chapel there. CCVI li xvij s [£206/17/-]" - (Lord Chamberlain's Department: Miscellaneous Records. Great Wardrobe. Copies of Warrants: particular. 1691-99: LC 5/43, f. 59r-v: "for wares by them delivered and worke done for the Kings and our service within the space of one whole year ended att the feast of St Michael the Archangell One Thousand six hundred ninety two ..."). The same account in Latin appears

in LC 9/126 (f. 31-32r). This is the only record of the supply of books to the Chapel Royal at Dublin during the joint reign of William III & Mary II which ended with the Queen's death on 28 December 1694 and during which the joint cyphers found on this binding show it must have been bound as later royal bindings bear William's cypher as King alone.

As it is not one of the two Bibles described as "inlaid", which would imply inlays of coloured leathers set into the covers, this must be the "one bible Royall paper richly bound Turkey leather ^ruled^ extra ordinary ... [with] garter ribbon for strings and for fringing" that was supplied in 1692 to the Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle.

£206/17/- was a huge amount to spend on books in 1692; it represented about 0.85% of the expenditure (approx. £24,000) of the Great Wardrobe in that financial year. The relative importance of this commission for the Chapel Royal at Dublin can be demonstrated by comparing it to the £258/6/- ordered to paid on 29/1/1691 to the former Royal Stationer and Bookseller Robert Scott "for Bibles etc. delivered for the Chapel and Guard Chamber [*recte* Garderobe] in Whitehall in Oct. 1688, which books are now in service of their Majesties, as is certified by Henry, Bishop of London." [*Calendar of Treasury Books IX* (1689-92), *Money Book X*, p. 556]. In contrast, cheaper sets of Bibles and Prayer Books, in the £20-30 range, were supplied by Samuel Carr for the Chapels of the Governors of Jamaica, the Leeward Islands and New York.

Samuel Carr was a stationer and bookseller with a shop at the King's Head at the west end of St Paul's Churchyard from c. 1675-1705. Immediately after the Glorious Revolution he replaced Robert Scott, who had been appointed bookseller and stationer to James II, as the main supplier to the Great Wardrobe of everything from writing paper, ink and sealing wax to the elaborately bound Bibles and Prayer Books described in his invoice above. For the Coronation of William & Mary he supplied "a large Bible quarto double ruled gilt and bound in vellum" with "four yards of scarlett garter ribbon" at a cost of £4/11/- that was carried in the procession with the Regalia. He supplied a similar Bible bound in purple velvet for the Coronation of Queen Anne in 1702. Howard Nixon noted that there was a "change of the books" in the Closet at Whitehall in 1691 (the first in William & Mary's reign): "Samuel Carr then provided the Closet for the last time in the seventeenth-century with its customary books, including '2 Bibles Imperiall paper painted Turkey extraordinary inlaid' (LC 5/43, f.30b)" (p. 18). Nixon concluded that these were the former Duke of Newcastle Bible mentioned above and another formerly in the library of Robert Hoe and now at the Huntington Library: "Both have painted fore-edges with the royal arms between a cherub and a crowned sunburst". As far

as is known Samuel Carr did not operate a bookbindery and it seems certain that all the bindings supplied by him to the Great Wardrobe were made by Robert Steel.

The new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1692 was Henry Sidney (1641-1704), the 4th and youngest son of the 2nd Earl of Leicester. A distinguished career as a soldier, courtier and diplomat during the reign of Charles II led to a close friendship with William of Orange and culminated in a commission as a major-general in William's invasion force in 1688. He then played a leading role at the Battle of The Boyne and Siege of Limerick in Ireland where he remained, after William's return to London, as joint Lord Justice, having been created Baron Milton and Viscount Sydney on 9 April 1689. He was then recalled to England as Secretary of State for the Northern Department (26 Dec. 1690 - 3 March 1692).

"In two sets of instructions William gave Sydney extensive powers over both the civil administration and all military forces, as well as a particular mandate to summon parliament to ratify the provisions of the articles of Limerick signed the year before. The king also provided him with an annual salary in excess of £6500, a substantial supply of plate, and an additional allowance of £3000 for equipage. Various factors conspired to delay Sydney's departure, but he finally arrived in Dublin at the end of August, and immediately issued writs summoning parliament to meet on 5 October. ... Sydney's recall from Dublin came in late spring 1693, and on 28 July it was followed by appointment to the office of master-general of the ordnance." - *ODNB*. He was created Earl of Romney on 14 May 1694.

Later Provenance: Tiny ink inscription at the head of the title "E W Barlow Bath 1846 / From his dear uncle William [Thomas Barlow]". Inscriptions on the front flyleaf: "William Hovenden Barlow son of Edward William Barlow D.D. Bath. Somerset. and Henrietta Albertine Nicholson, youngest Daughter of the Revd. Henry Hare Nicholson, M.A. Vicar of Great Hunts, were married in Christ Church, Doncaster, June 5th 1869 by Revd. G. M. Argles assisted by Revd. J. Y. Little." and "Edward Burleigh Hovenden son of William Hovenden and Henrietta Albertine Barlow, No 6. Hilldrop Crescent, Camden Road, London, was born March 15th. 1870."

William Thomas Barlow (d. 9/2/1852, aged 65), of 13 Grenville Street, Dublin, was Proctor of the Courts of Prerogative and all other Ecclesiastical Courts in Dublin. The Rev. Edward William Barlow (d. 13/2/1869, aged 57), of Cleveland Villa, Bathwick, Bath, formerly of New Sydney-place, Bath, formerly of Exeter College, Oxford (B.A. 1834, M.A. 1836, D.D. 1865) and formerly curate of Rochford, Essex. He was the only son of Edward Barlow, M.D. (1779-1844), born at Mullingar, Co. Meath, senior physician

to Bath United Hospital and son of Dr. Barlow (d. 1825, aged 81), surgeon to the Meath County Infirmary. Edward William Barlow came to Bath in 1807 “which soon led to celebrity and distinction”; in 1852 he inherited from his uncle William Thomas Barlow, “the lands of Lackane in the Barony of Castlerahan, Co. Cavan, which I purchased from his late father, also the Quit Rent of the Ballyburly Estate in King’s County, to which I am entitled as residuary legatee of the will of the late John Wakely Esq. ... My interest in my dwelling in Grenville Street and my houses in Eccles Street and the Lease of Ballybough assigned to me by my late uncle John Wakely, Esq. ...”. The Wakely family had had

extensive lands in Navan and Ballyburly dating back to the mid-16th Century. William Hovenden Barlow sold 245 acres in Co. Wicklow for £2437 to the Irish Land Commission under the 1885 Act. Edward Burleigh Hovenden Barlow (1870-1951) was admitted to Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge in 1888 and resided two terms. He was a Lieutenant in the Border Regiment 1891-93. He lived at Cleveland Villa, Bathwick, Bath and died in 1951. Bath Public Reference Library, with mid-20th-Century bookplates noting the gift of Miss E. M. Barlow and a few discreet oval blind-stamps in the text; withdrawn and consigned to sale at Bonham’s, 16/3/2016, lot 156 [its Irish associations unnoticed].

ANTI-COMMONWEALTH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SPOOF

9 [BIRKENHEAD (Sir John)]. **Paul’s Church-yard. Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, Nundinis Paulinis (una cum Templo) prostant venales.** Iuxta seriam Alphabeti Democratici. Done into English for the Assembly of Divines. [- Centuria Secunda - Centuria Tertia.]

[London: 1651 - 52]

£1,200

3 Parts. First & Only Editions. *Small 4to.* [8]; [8]; 17-24 pp. Continuous signatures A-C4. Drophead/caption titles (title of Part 2 in red-and-black). Wormed throughout in the lower fore-corner slightly affecting the lower lines on A1-2, marginal browning. Part 2 defective with the lower fore-corner of B1 missing (apparently

from a paper flaw) with loss of most of the bottom 6 lines on recto and verso; sidenote on B1 cropped. Part 3 shaved at the head with loss of some of the page numbers and just touching the top line of text on p. 22 and with a minor printing flaw on the final page slightly affecting two lines. Modern limp vellum.

Wing B2790 (3 parts together). The 3 parts are listed separately on ESTC (which dates part 3 1659 despite Thomason’s acquisition date of 20 Sept. 1652 on one of his two copies in the BL). Part 1 has a large number of copies in the UK & USA but ESTC lists all 3 Parts only at: British Library, St John’s College Cambridge, Cardiff University, Longleat House, Corpus Christi College Oxford, St Paul’s Cathedral; Free Library of Philadelphia only in USA.

Attributed to Sir John Birkenhead (1617-79), the royalist journalist and poet.

Parts 1-2 were reprinted in 1653 as *Two Centuries of Pauls Churchyard* (Wing B2973) with a completely different third part the majority of which comes from Part 1 of *Bibliotheca Parliamenti* (with which these are bound) though only the first 12 entries appear in the same order.

A satirical royalist spoof purporting to be a list of new books advertised for sale (e.g. “*Dooms-day-Book*. A clear Manifestation that more *Roundheads* go to heaven than *Cavalier*, because *Roundheads* on their death-beds do repent of their former *Cause* and *Opinions*, but not *Cavaliers*”); lists of new Acts of Parliament (e.g. “An Act concerning the Thames, that whereas at Westminster it ebbs six hours and flows but four; it shal henceforth ebbe four hours, and

flow six”) and questions of conscience (e.g. “Whether since no man must *print* or *write* Bookes, we may print *Names* of *Books* that were never written?”).

Amongst those targeted are John Lilburn (“*Severall readings* on the Statute of Magna Charta, by John Lilburn, with a Treatise on the best way of boyling Soap”); William Lilly (“*Merlinus Anglicus*. The Art of Discovering all that never was, and all that never shall be”); John Milton (“*Pro populo Anglicano*. Proving that Kings had many Evills, because the *Kings Evill* was so often cured”); James Howell and John Taylor (“An Answer to all that *James Howell* hath or shall write, especially to his last Book written for the *States* against himself. By *John Taylor the Water Poet*”); George Wither (“*Aristotles* works in *English Meeter*, by *George Wither*”); Pierre Du Moulin (“*The Wandering Jew*. By Dr. *Du Moulin* Iunior, Medico-Theologo-Historico-Bello Gallicus-Gallo Belgicus”); William Prynne (“*The Archbishop of Canterburie’s Triall*, writ by *William Prinn*, declaring all the Arch-bishop spake or did before he was born, and since his Buriall; being the 9th Tome of Master *Prynne’s* Works”); George Monck (“The Art of turning three wayes in two years. By Colonel *George Monke*”); Hugh Peters (“Whether Master *Peters* did justly preach against Christmas Pyes the same day hee eate two Mince-pies to his dinner?”); Vavasor Powell (“Whether

Vavasor Powell did not expound the Text rightly, when he interpreted Locusts in the Wildernesse, to be Lobsters?”); and the regicide John Bradshaw (“*A corroding Antidote*, or a way to cauterize the conscience, that it be never sensible of any guilt. By *John Bradshaw*”).

Birkenhead even includes himself, referring twice to the loss of his library: “Whether he that scribbled this Catalogue of *Books* was not robb’d of all his *own*?” and “Whether the Saint that plundered my *Books* did well to mention the *Iron Age*, when he himself had a wooden Leg?” and finally, “A double act, that these my Pamphlets for the States honor, and my profit may be licensed to perpetuity or ages”.

[bound with] [ANON.]. **Bibliotheca Parliamenti, Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, qui prostant voenales in Vico vulgo vocato Little-Britain.** Done into English for the Assembly of Divines. [Part 1 (of 2)]. [2], 6pp. Printed at London, 1653.

Wing B2845A. A different (line-for-line) printing (undistinguished by ESTC or Wing) to the British Library copy reproduced on EEBO. This copy has a row of seven type ornaments above the imprint instead of a woodcut vignette of Mercury in a chariot pulled by two cockerels and the “A” of signature A2 is beneath the “M” of “Member” instead of the “w” of “knowing”

This last item was “Erroneously attributed to John Birkenhead. The work is, however, an imitation of Birkenhead’s ‘Paul’s church-yard’ & ‘Two centuries of Pauls church-yard’, with some items taken directly from those works.” (ESTC).

Provenance: Once part of a volume with old ink numbering 12 to 16 (cropped) at the head of the titles. Acquired at an auction in Brussels in 2014.

“PETTISH, SPINELESS COMMENTATOR” – BATTLE OF THE ANNOTATORS

10 BOSWELL (James). **The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.** Comprehending an account of his studies and numerous works, in chronological order; [...] The whole exhibiting a view of literature and literary men in Great-Britain, for near half a century, during which he flourished. In Two Volumes. By James Boswell, Esq.

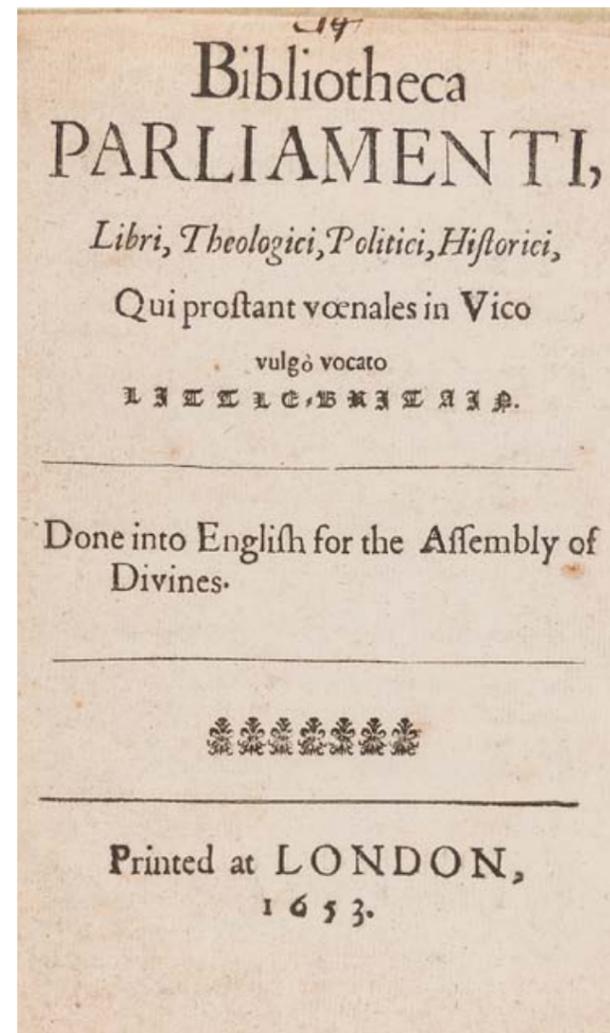
London: by Henry Baldwin. for Charles Dilly, 1791

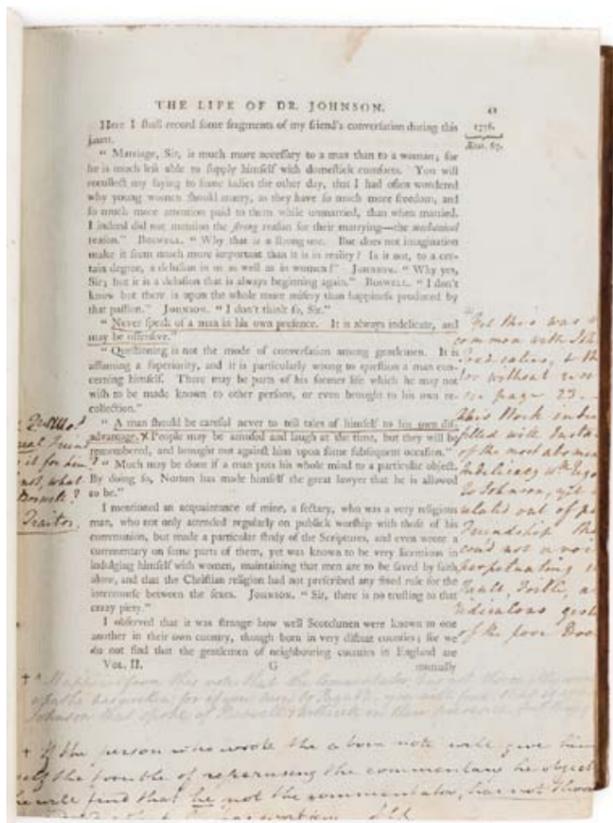
£8,000

First Edition. 2 vols. 4to. [Text: 276 x 210 mm.]. xii, [xvi], 516; [2 (of 4; without the first blank leaf)], 588 [sic for 586] pp. [The “Advertisement” and “Alphabetical Table of Contents” / errata duplicated in Vol. 2 as well as in Vol. 1]. Stipple-engraved portrait (with modern hand-colour; possibly supplied from another copy), engraved facsimile of the “Round Robin” letter to Johnson, engraved facsimile of Johnson’s handwriting. With the seven usual cancels as listed by Rothschild. Portrait and title of Vol. 1 grubby, light

foxing/spotting in places, occasional stains; long closed diagonal tears across Kk1 and Kk4 in Vol. 2 repaired; circular closed tear in Mm3 repaired; nasty stain on Aaa2 in Vol. 2 where a pencil note has been blotted out; large stain from a splashed liquid on Lll1 in Vol. 2; small hole in Fff1 and Lll3 in Vol. 2 with loss to one word on recto and verso.

Early 19th-century calf (covers a little scuffed, rebacked, corners repaired, new endleaves).





Rothschild 463. Vol. 1, leaf S4 in the second state with the correct spelling "give" on p. 135, line 10. 1750 copies were printed.

Provenance: At least three (possibly four or even five) readers have used the margins of Vol. 2 of this copy to battle out their opinions for posterity - the two principal annotators are here designated A & C while Annotator B apparently only added five pencil notes.

Annotator A has a distinctly anti-Boswellian, anti-Scottish stance and some of his notes are very scathing, even insulting to Boswell (e.g. "what is Boswell? A Traitor", p. 41; "What an Ass you are Sir!", p. 161; "despicable adulator", p. 199; "poor pitiful Boswell", p. 217; "Scotch Vulgarity", p. 372).

Annotator C has signed a number of notes with his initials but these are hard to identify (? H.R.). He is more pro-Boswell (but not always) and often takes an opposite view to and in turn is often scathing about Annotator A (e.g. "rank nonsense", p. 45; "worse than idiotism", p. 473; "pettish, spineless commentator", p. 515). He has also deleted, scratched-out or rubbed-out a number of Annotator A's notes - some of these can be wholly or partly reconstructed, others are lost (to this cataloguer as least) - and may even have deleted some of his own notes, e.g. p. 217.

All the notes may have been written within a dozen or fifteen years of publication. One of Annotator A's notes refers to

King George III in 1796 (p. 472), while one of Annotator C's notes refers to an event that occurred in April 1803 (p. 51). It is most unusual to find one annotator so actively engaging with another in this way. It is also, in our experience, unusual to find any annotations at all in copies of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* let alone ones of such vitriol. The notes begin when Boswell reaches the year 1776 and continue to the end. There is only one note (not in the hand of the main annotators) in Vol. 1 and there is no apparent reason for this. The two volumes were uniformly bound in the early 19th Century and there is no indication that they were not always together.

It cannot be said that the notes elucidate the text in any detail, most often they are comments on matters of taste than anything else. It could even be said, as Macaulay wrote of John Wilson Croker's notes in his edition of Boswell's *Life* (1831) in *The Edinburgh Review*, that they "remind us of nothing so much as of those profound and interesting annotations which are pencilled by sempstresses and apothecaries' boys on the dog-eared margins of novels borrowed from circulating libraries; 'How beautiful! 'Cursed prosy!' 'I don't like Sir Reginald Malcolm at all.' 'I think Pelham is a sad dandy.' Mr. Croker is perpetually stopping us in our progress through the most delightful narrative in the language to observe that really Dr. Johnson was very rude, that he talked more for victory than for truth, that his taste for port wine with capillaire in it was very odd, that Boswell was impertinent, that it was foolish in Mrs Thrale to marry the music-master, and so on."

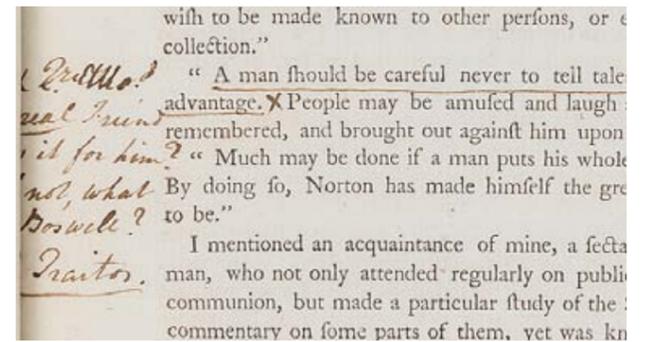
But, of course, Macaulay's sarcasm has dated and the written opinions of sempstresses and apothecaries' boys are genuinely considered valuable by scholars today. Our anonymous annotators, however, were clearly of a higher station than that, if not always of a higher profundity.

Many of the marginal annotations have been cropped by about 1 cm. but the missing words or part-words are usually recoverable and have been supplied in square brackets; others have had the margins carefully turned-in before the volumes were rebound to preserve them.

A selection of the annotations in Vol. 2:

p. 41 - SJ's statement "A Man should be careful never to tell tales of himself to his own disadvantage." underlined - note (Annotator A): "This Work indeed filled with Insta[nces] of the most abomin[able] Indelicacy wth Rega[rd] to Johnson, yet [are] related out of p[ur]e Friendship. tho [he] could not avoid perpetuating a[n]y Fault, Foible, as ridiculous gests of the poor Doc[tor]". Cropped.

p. 41 - In inner margin (Annotator A): "Wod. a real Friend do it for him? if not, what is Boswell? A Traitor." - In pencil in



lower margin (Annotator B): "It appears from this note that the Commentator has not thoroughly consi[dered] what he has written, for if you turn to Page 23 - you will find that it is no[t] Johnson that spoke of Boswell & Wetherell in their presence, but they of [him.]"

p. 41 - In ink in lower margin (Annotator C): "+ If the person who wrote the above note will give himself the trouble of reperusing the commentary he object[ed to] he will find that he, not the commentator, has not thoro[ughly] considered what he has written. [initials]". Cropped.

p. 43 - beside Boswell's comment, "I apologised by saying, I had mentioned him as an instance of one who wanted as little as any man in the world, and yet, perhaps, might receive some additional lustre from dress." - note (Annotator C): "If Boswell h[ad] attended to Dr. [J]'s instructions in page 41 we sho[uld] not see such [an] abundance of gr[oss] flattery. [initials]". Cropped.

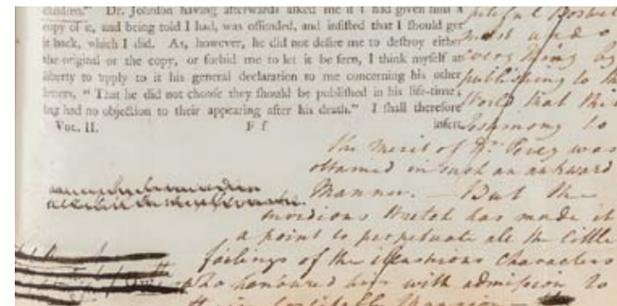
p. 45 - beside the passage beginning with SJ's statement, "it is commonly a weak man who marries for love." - note (Annotator C): "Rank nouse[nse] If this be the D[r]'s opinion, I be[g] leave to say t[hat] he knew nothing of the matter". Written over an earlier pencil note "shallow". Cropped.

p. 61 - beside the passage concerning Boswell dining with General Paoli every "I" is underlined with the marginal note (Annotator A): "An elegant spec[imen] of scotch Egoti[sm]". Cropped.

p. 158 - beside a passage concerning Kippis's *Biographia Britannica* - note (Annotator A): "Poor Bozzy woud [ha]ve made it a [re]gister of Bigots and Tories". Cropped.

p. 161 - beside Boswell's remark concerning his satisfaction at being supported by "the general concurrence and munificence of mankind" in Ashbourne Church - pencil note (Annotator A) "what an Ass you are Sir!" erased.

p. 199 - beside the passage where Boswell says he has had more pleasure from conversation than wine - note (Annotator A): "fulsome blockhea[d] despicable adulator[r]". Cropped.



p. 217 - Dr Thomas Percy's comment about Johnson's letter of praise "It will be for me, and my children and grandchildren" underlined - note (Annotator A) partly crossed-through with a single line: "And now poor pitiful Boswell must undo everything by publishing to the World that this Testimony to the Merit of Dr. Percy was obtained in such an awkward Manner. - But the invidious Wretch has made it a point to perpetuate all the little failings of the illustrious characters who honoured him with admission to their hospitable Mansion". Two other notes deleted (?Annotator C), the first ending "[...] than this pitiful remark"; the second "Pitiful [...] wrote to free the [...]". Folded-in at lower and fore-margins.

p. 229 ["289"] - beside the passage in which Johnson asks Mrs Knowles to flatter Boswell a little - note (Annotator A): "Scotch Modesty And Scotch Egotism", added below (?in another hand) "English pedantr[y]" (both crossed-out).

p. 472 - the words in SJ's letter to Boswell concerning treatment of horses, "what we can do with them afterwards I cannot so easily determine." underlined - marginal note (Annotator A) "George the third answered this point in the year 1796. ..." [crossed-out; rest illegible]. Beneath this is another note (Annotator C): "Here ye description of ye ^bitter^ republican is discernible". Folded-in.

p. 473 - Mickle's words "I am not ashamed to own to a friend" underlined - note (Annotator A): "Mickle did not imagine this Idiot wod. Betray him to the world." Note beneath (Annotator C): "It were to be wish'd yt fewer marks of what is worse than idiotism appear'd in this margin." Folded-in.

p. 475 - in the footnote SJ's description of Boswell as "a very clubbable man" is partly underlined - note (Annotator A): "characteristic beyond Parallel"; note beneath (Annotator C): "Not a little so of ye Annotator!". Folded-in.

p. 490 - beside SJ's words, "Sir, there is one passion I would advise you to command. When you have drunk out of that glass, don't drink another." - note (Annotator A): "[A F]ool cod. Say this." Note beneath [Annotator C]: "[Dr] Johnson as well as his [biograp]her must have his share of abuse!". Cropped.

p. 516 – the passage concerning Johnson being drawn for the City militia and Boswell’s claim that he had seen his musket, sword and belt hanging in his cupboard underlined – note (Annotator A): “Contradictory and unintelligible”. Note beneath (Annotator C): “This seems ye only warrantable remark yt has been made!”. Folded-in.

p. 582 – beside Boswell’s description of SJ’s physical characteristics – note (Annotator C): “An admirable summary of a Character, truly great notwithstanding the innumerable instances of Weakness & Inconstancy which these volumes exhibit. And, tho the Writer is,

by the Generality of Readers, affected to be held in Contempt for the Frivolity, Vanity, & Servility which he too often displays – yet the Liberal & Judicious will always be ready to acknowledge their Obligation to him for a Biographical Work exceeded, perhaps, by none for the salutary Lessons of Wisdom & Morality which it affords.” Folded-in.

There are no other marks of ownership other than a modern bookseller’s pencil note on the pastedown of Vol. 1. Anonymous sale, Dominic Winter, 8/4/2015, lot 293 [unsold; acquired privately after the auction].

THE (PROBABLY AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL) LIFE OF A WASTREL

11 [BRISCOE (W. B.)]. **Clerimont, or Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Mr. B*****.** (Written by Himself). Interspersed with Original Anecdotes of living Characters.

Liverpool: by Charles Wosencroft, 1786

£2,500

First & Only Edition. 8vo. [vi], [i], 8–351, [1 (blank)] pp. A few corners creased. Contemporary plain sheep, red morocco spine

label (upper joint cracking but firm, lower joint slightly cracked at head and tail, corners worn).

Rare. ESTC records copies at the British Library (x 2), Bodley (lacks 2 preliminary leaves), Liverpool Central Libraries; Yale). Charles Wosencroft is recorded as a printer, bookbinder, bookseller, auctioneer, pharmacist and lottery agent at various addresses in Liverpool between ?1763 and 1796

The dedication to “The Lord Oblivion” is signed “C. W. B.” and one of the British Library copies has a contemporary manuscript attribution to C. W. Briscoe. His identity remains otherwise unknown.

When it is mentioned at all, which is seldom, Clerimont is classified as a work of fiction. However the story it tells of the life of a feckless but charming and romantic wastrel set in Manchester, London and Dublin is so hopeless and so lacking in anything resembling a plot that it may well be, to a large extent, a genuine memoir.

Our hero is a young man (at p. 83 he is still under 20), known as Billy but adopting Clerimont as his *nom-de-plume* and his story includes references to historical events and people that can be dated to around 1779 to 1784.

As he explains “To the Public” (pp. v–vi) he is a novice writer, and the “whole may be depended on as facts, literally as they happened”. Moreover, “Since the Proposals for publishing these Memoirs, went forth into the world, I have received evident proofs of the alarm having sounded *grateing* to some whose consciences were awakened at the thoughts of certain circumstances being made public, which they would wish consign’d to the worthy gentleman,

whom I have dedicated this work to [*i.e.* Lord Oblivion]. I can only say to those ladies and gentleman, whose names I shall have occasion to mention in the prosecution of this work, that the respectable part of them, will, I hope, excuse the liberty I have taken, and for the rest, ‘Let the gall’d jade wince.’”

Most names, however, he part-disguised with initials – and as a few of these can be identified without too much trouble so no doubts others may be as well.

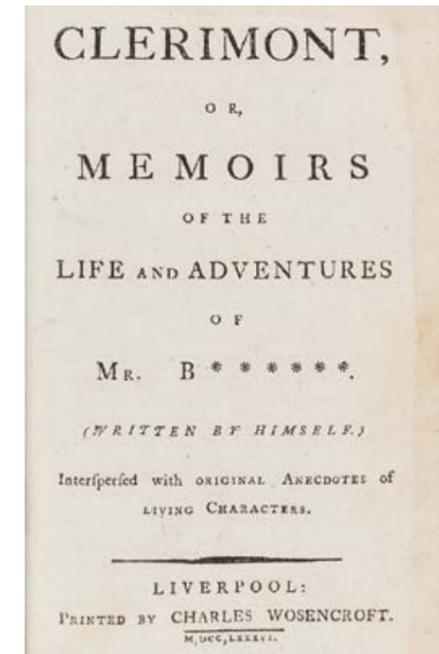
Briscoe’s story divides neatly into five stages and locations:

Manchester: He is a descendant of the Colonel Francis Hacker “who commanded the horse guards the day the *King* was beheaded” (p. 7) and was executed in 1660 and of the “Rev. Mr. B.”, a dissenting minister who “bore the character of ‘the best beggar in Bolton.’” This was the Presbyterian minister Samuel Bourn the elder (1648–1720) who was related to “Madam Hacker of Duffield, Derbyshire, wife of Mr Hacker” (see *ODNB*). His father was a Classics teacher at a school in Manchester, then ran his own school, but died young. He was educated at Hyam’s School, Manchester and with the “Rev. M.T.” at Didsbury. He was apprenticed to Mr. Walker, a check manufacturer and farmer [?George Walker, check manufacturer, of Salford, *Bailey’s Northern Directory*, 1780, p. 262] but was soon sent home for ill health. He was then sent to Mr. Hobson, at Newton-Heath, a trader in cotton yarn for the Africa trade [John Hobson, of Newton-Heath, was a subscriber to Hezekiah Kirkpatrick’s *Sermons on various occasions* (Warrington, 1785)]. One Sunday, wearing a new suit, he went

“to hear the Rev. Mr. P--es--y, an ex-ter-a-ordinary orator, in Cannon-street.” This was the Rev. Timothy Priestley (d. 1814), a brother of Joseph, and minister of the independent Cannon Street Chapel in Manchester.

London: Next he went to London to live with his uncle, an upholsterer (p. 43). After two weeks he met at his uncle’s house “Miss Eliza B---”, daughter of a deceased Dean of Windsor who was living with her uncle the “Rev. Mr. L---l, of London”. He was attracted to her and adopted the name Clerimont for his love letters. He witnessed the murder of the well-known singer Martha Ray in Covent Garden [this happened on 7th April 1779]. His uncle put him in charge of a new shop, though he is not yet twenty; he had an affair with Betty, their servant girl, which caused an argument with his uncle and he left him: “This was the master stroke of folly! The height of madness!” (p. 90). He went to York where he saw the actor John Philip Kemble recite Dryden’s “Ode for St Cecilia’s Day” [22 November] at the theatre [Kemble was there from 1778 to 1781].

Dublin: Then he went to Dublin where he saw *The School for Scandal* with Richard Daly as Charles, Thomas Ryder as Sir Peter Teazle and Mrs Daly as Lady Teazle (p. 155). [The Dalys were married in September 1779 and spent the 1779/80 season at the Crow Street Theatre – there was a performance of the play on Thursday 10 Feb. 1780]. He returned to Manchester with plans to set up a manufactory of Checks in Ireland. However, while awaiting passage he was imprisoned for debt in Liverpool (p. 134) where he met Mr. Moreton, a half-pay officer, whose story of thwarted love and capture in Europe he tells (pp. 138–43). His family pay for his release and he returns to Ireland. After an evening at the Theatre with several gentlemen of Trinity College he was involved in a fracas with some watchmen in which one of the students, Mr L-----d was mortally wounded by a blow to the head (pp. 156–7). Late one night he visited Daly’s with a friend to play Hazard where a losing Count is exposed by “Buck England” (“a gentleman well known in the polite, tonish, and sable-legged circles”) as a servant (pp. 166–7) [= Thomas “Buck” Whaley (1766–1800), an Irish gambler and M.P.]. He accompanied a friend to an Irish funeral of which a lengthy account is given of the overnight wake with music and drink and then the next day, the “Conclamatio” where the crowd call to the deceased (pp. 168–73). On the way to Co. Wicklow he encountered a parson, not far from Dublin, the Rev. Mr. G. B. who preached at “L---n” [? Leopardstown or Loughlinstown], driving a carriage pulled by men (“Upright Quadrupeds”) who were happy to have the employment. The parson was a poet and five examples are given including: “A Pastoral”, “written on the melancholy catastrophe, of the sudden death of Miss Winterton, an amiable young lady, who did not survive the loss of her lover, who was killed, in the battle of Bunker’s Hill: Written, 1776. G. B.”



Liverpool: He left Ireland and arrived at Liverpool where, being short of money, he assisted his landlord who was holding an auction of books in Chester but while crossing on the ferry was almost press-ganged (p. 232). Luckily one of the naval officers on the *Stag* was a friend and, as “Captain C.”, was on shore the matter was dropped [H.M.S. *Stag*, a 32-gun frigate, under Captain Cooper, was patrolling the Irish Sea for French privateers and smugglers in 1780 and arrived at Liverpool at the end August 1780]. This reminded him “of a story, I heard when in Liverpool of a certain new-made justice” which he turns into verse as “The Modern Justice. A Tale” (pp. 235–8). He went to Neston, near Chester, to organise a book auction for his landlord and met “a namesake – Captain of a Dublin Trader” [? Captain William Briscoe, of *The Empress of Russia*, privateer] (p. 241). He spent some time cataloguing books in his landlord’s bookshop (p. 258) but, in debt again, he forged a letter from his landlord to his relations in Manchester saying that “Mr. B- not coming down to breakfast, as usual, the maid called him, but he not answering, my Wife went up stairs and found him quite cold. Should be glad of your orders on the above occasion, and remain, your, &c. P. R-----”. [? = P. Richardson, published one book in Liverpool, in 1779, and advertised as a bookseller, printseller, circulating librarian and auctioneer at various addresses in Liverpool, 1778–80] (p. 260). They replied to the bookseller giving orders for the funeral and asking him to send them a bill of expenses. Briscoe replied, as Richardson, that he had already been buried and enclosed a bill for £15/14/-. The bookseller was consequently surprised to receive a letter containing a bill for £16 and saying a friend would call for

the change. When Mr. P-r-r arrived they attempted to fool him but Briscoe soon confessed (pp. 206-7). He witnessed the launch of the *Ceres* [HMS *Ceres*, a 32-gun Fifth-Rate was launched at Liverpool on 19 September 1781] (p. 286). An attempt to restart his business career in Liverpool failed and he returned to London.

London: There he heard that Eliza had recently married. In a tavern he met Mr Dowviere, an American loyalist driven into exile and deprived of his property. One afternoon the man's son, a Colonel in the American army, came to take him back to Philadelphia where his property had been restored (pp. 291-2). He met Mrs. Marg. Ed-gt-n, widow of a wealthy Cheesemonger. He contemplated life with her as he was without a guinea, but realised he could not be happy with her as she was illiterate (p. 297). Then he was arrested for a debt of £30 to his landlord and taken to the Poultry Compter where he stayed in the relative comfort of the Master's side. A fellow prisoner was "Jacob Ringrose A-, Esq; a nephew of Lord -" [Jacob Ringrose Atkins, sentenced to death on 2 Aug. 1783 for highway robbery, commuted to transportation for life on 28 Aug.] (p. 313). Then, with one Richardson, he wrote to Sir Robert Taylor (Sheriff of London 1782/3) complaining of the costs imposed on them ("two shillings and sixpence per week for our beds, and four-pence per pot, for our porter"). With other prisoners he appeared before Taylor in court where they successfully argued their case and the charges were halved. Inspired by this success he had himself transferred to the Common side of the Compter to investigate the abuses there (p. 318). As a result he became one of the three elected Stewards who drew up a new code of rules (pp. 321-5) [see

"ADORNED WITH GREAT VARIETY OF MATTER, AND MULTIPLICITY OF READING" – SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S MOST CONSIDERABLE BOOK

12 BROWNE (Sir Thomas). Pseudodoxia Epidemica: Or, Enquiries into very many received Tenets, and commonly presumed Truths.

London: T[homas]. H[arper], for Edward Dod, 1646

£950

First Edition. *Small Folio*. [Text: 265 x 170 mm]. [20], 386, [2 (blank)] pp., with the imprimatur leaf and the final blank leaf. First and last few leaves browned at the margins by the turn-ins; text lightly browned, some spotting in places; a little marginal worming to the

blank lower fore-corner last few leaves. Contemporary calf, covers ruled in blind, no pastedowns (front joint renewed; lower joint and bands rubbed, front inside joint strengthened with a strip of old paper; corners bumped, pastedowns unstuck browned by the turn-ins).

Wing B5159. Keynes, *Browne*, 73. The more common state of the title-page with Harper's initials only in the imprint.

matter, and multiplicity of reading; I approve them as very worthy to be Printed and Published. Iohn Downame." (*Imprimatur*, 14 March 1645).

"I have perused these Learned Animadversions upon the Common Tenets and Opinions of men in former and these present times, Entitled Pseudodoxia Epidemica; and finding them much transcending vulgar conceit, and adorned with great variety of

Arranged in Seven Books - "the Generall part"; "the particular part concerning Minerall and Vegetable bodies; "concerning Animals"; "concerning Man"; "things questionable as they are described in

the *Public Advertiser*, 16/12/1783 for an account]. One of his fellow debtors was a butcher who "had imbibed from the beasts he had killed, the brutishness of their nature; he by force been confined in the Black Hole, twenty-four hours, but that made no impression on him, as he struck one or two after his enlargement: I wrote an account of the whole to Sir Barnard Turner, who came the same day, and committed him to Newgate; this was the most severe punishment that could be inflicted on him." [This was John Bewley, a porter at Billingsgate Market - *St James's Chronicle*, 23/8/1783]. Then he repeated Sir Barnard Turner's address to the debtors in the prison chapel and his own reply on the behalf of the debtors (pp. 328-31). He recorded Sir Barnard's death in a riding accident on Blackfriars Bridge [this happened on 15/6/1784]. He met the prison reformer John Howard and reported that he "is now at Constantinople, endeavouring to find out preventative means, of checking the progress of the plague" and mentioned the statue that is planned to be put up of him (p. 346) [Howard re-inspected the London prisons in 1784 - both the proposed statue and the fact that he was in Constantinople was reported in *The London Chronicle*, 3-5 August 1786].

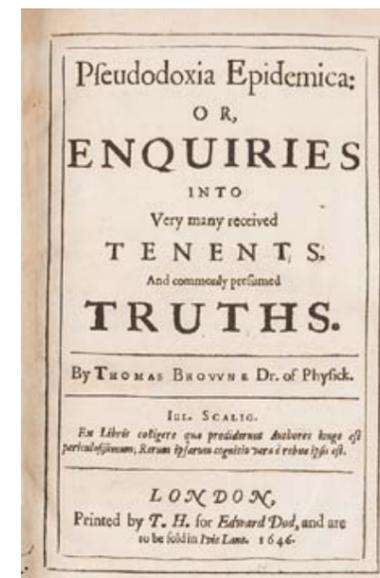
Finally, the death of a female relative allowed him to secure his release after 18 months and he left London, hopefully for a happier and obscure life in Liverpool. There the story ends.

Provenance: No marks of ownership. Anonymous sale, Bloomsbury Auctions, 18/6/2015, lot 89 [with another].

Pictures"; "Tenents Geographical and Historical"; "Tenents generally received, and some deduced from the history of holy Scripture" and "of divers others".

This is Sir Thomas Browne's most considerable work, commonly referred to as "Browne's Vulgar Errors". It was probably compiled from the common-place books he kept over a number of years, and may have been inspired by Bacon's dictum that to a "calendar of doubts or problems, I advise be annexed another calendar, as much or more material, which is a calendar of popular errors: I mean chiefly in natural history such as pass in speech and conceit, and are nevertheless detected and convicted of untruth".

Provenance: 1: Old ink price "3/6" on the front pasteboard. 2: Old Maggs pencil cost code "loseo" [£4/15/-]. 3: Ink signature on the flyleaf of "George N. Conklin London, 1944", perhaps the Professor of Classics and Comparative Literature at Wesleyan University and expert on 17th-century witchcraft (d. 1963, aged 49). 4: Private collection, U.S.A.



CAREFULLY READ & WITH A MS PRAYER FOR A NONCONFORMIST WEDDING

13 BROWNE (Sir Thomas). Religio, Medici.

£3,500

[London:] for Andrew Crooke, 1642

Second (unauthorised) Edition. *12mo*. [Text: 144 x 90 mm]. [2 (engraved title)], 159, [1 (blank)] pp. Emblematic frontispiece by William Marshall showing the Hand of God saving a woman falling into the sea from a high cliff. Text lightly browned, small chip from the lower fore-corner of the engraved title, crease at

the top corner throughout. Contemporary sheepskin, covers and spine ruled in blind, old paper label on the spine, no pastedowns, two front flyleaves, no rear flyleaf (joints rubbed, covers a little scuffed repair to the head of the spine and to one corner). Old folding box (worn).

Wing B5166. Keynes, *Browne*, 2. Pforzheimer III. A particularly fine copy.

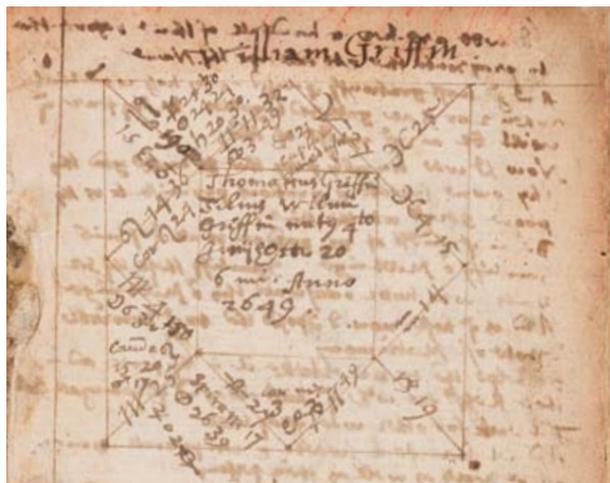
Thomas Browne composed the first version of *Religio Medici* on his return from his medical studies at Padua, circa 1635-6. It seems that copies circulated in manuscript and in 1642 two unauthorised editions were printed of which this is the second (the other has [2], 190, [2] pp.): "The text of this edition has some minor changes from that of the first edition, and these later readings are generally preferable. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the author had any hand in a revision of the text." (Keynes).

Browne, in the corrected and authorised edition, published in 1643 denounced them as "most imperfectly and surreptitiously printed." It is rather surprising, though, that he chose to use the same printer, Andrew Crooke, and the same engraved frontispiece for the authorised edition.

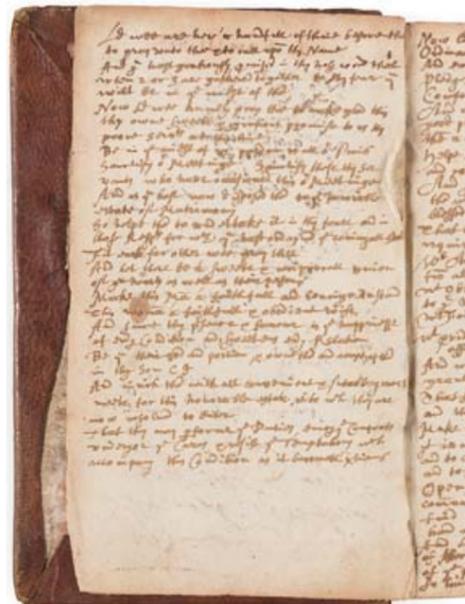
"*Religio Medici* was Browne's attempt, in the spirit of Montaigne, to capture something of his own mind's movements, to register

his shifts of attention and affect, to display the tangled intellectual and religious materials from which his characteristic attitudes were fashioned, to make and remake his stance toward the world. The work is divided into parts and sections, but it is extremely difficult to extract from these divisions any organized scheme of inquiry. An idea is raised for consideration and pursued toward an eloquent conclusion, but the train of thought is interrupted by a digression, the digression leads to another topic, and this new topic introduces a different set of ruminations that are themselves the occasion for further digressions. After a series of zigzagging motions, Browne may return to the initial idea with renewed eloquence but with conclusions that often seem distinctly at variance with the ones toward which he seemed at first confidently to be heading." - Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici and Hydriotaphia, or Urne Buriall*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt & Ramie Targoff (2012), pp. xvii-xviii.

Early Provenance: 1: William Griffin, signature at the head of the front flyleaf with a diagrammatic horoscope for "Thomasius



Griffin filius Wilmus Griffin natus 4to Junii 20th 20 6mi Anno 1649". 2: Short note in another 17th-century hand at the foot of the flyleaf "Caesar Dando sublevendo ignoscendo gloriam adaptus est" [Sallust: Caesar gained glory by giving, assisting, pardoning]. This is followed on the verso by **2pp of prayers in a small mid-17th-century hand for a Nonconformist (probably Quaker) wedding ceremony** beginning "Ld wee are here a handfull of [?thine] before thee to pray unto thee & to call upon thy Name. And you hast graciously promised in thy holy word that when 2 or 3 are gathered together in thy feare you will be in the midst of them. Now Ld wee humbly pray thee to make good thy owne sweete & gracious promise to us thy poore servants at this time. Be in the midst of us, pardon us all our sins, sanctifye our Meeting, sanctify these thy servants who have occasioned this our Meeting. And as you have now disposed them to the honourable state of matrimony so helpe them to undertake it in thy feare in those reasons for which you have ordained ye conjugall state Fit each for other wee pray thee ... And lastly so unite & knit them



together in all fidelity of Assertion that they may ever devote themselves to ye preserving of the present and eternall good one of another so living here piously they may raigne with you eternally in thy K[ing]d[om]."**The text has been read carefully and there is much pencil underlining and occasional marginal notes in a tiny neat hand** which correspond to a detailed reference list in the same hand which fill the final blank page.

Later Provenance: 1: Harold Greenhill (1893-1968), of Chicago, with his bookplate dated 1941; collection sold *en bloc* to: **2: H. Bradley Martin** (1906-88), of New York, with his posthumous bookplate inside the box and a label for an unidentified exhibition loosely inserted; sale, Sotheby, New York, 30/4/1990, lot 2665, \$1700 + premium. **3: Bernard Quaritch** collation note at the end. **4: Private collection, U.S.A.**

LORD BURGHLEY KEEPS TRACK OF DEBTS FOR RECUSANCY

14 BURGHLEY (William Cecil, 1st Baron, 1520/21-98). **Document signed "W Burghley", dated 16 February 1592/3, ordering payment of £20 to Nowell Sotherton, Clerk of the Estreats [Extracts] for taking charge of the Records of Recusants.**

[London:] 16 February, 1592/3

£1,500

Second signature "Jfortescue" beneath Burghley's of Sir John Fortescue (1533-1607), Privy Counsellor and Under-secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Endorsed in ink by Robert Petre (d. 1593), an Auditor of the Exchequer, at the foot of the first page "2 Julii 1593 Mr Taillor I pray you make payment of this some Robert Petre". Two contemporary ink docketts

on the verso of the second leaf.

Manuscript in ink on paper on the first page of a folio bifolium with a Pot watermark. [298 x 202 mm]. Lightly browned; a closed vertical (?deliberate) tear right through the first leaf (bisecting Burghley's signature) has been neatly repaired at an early date with a long strip of paper pasted to the verso. Three horizontal folds.

"These are to require you to pay unto Nowell Sotherton the clarke of Thestreates, for taking charge of all the Recordes for Recusantes from the Chester Remem[brance] office, and for his contynuall travayle in the office of the pype, to see all the debtes in the said recordes for Recusantes drawen downe into the greate Roll of the pipe, that speedy execucon maye be made of them for hir Maties service according to the Statute for the space of [ffyyve (deleted) ^ffoure^ [inserted in Burghley's hand] yeres past, sithens wth tyme he hath hade no allowance for the same, the some of twenty poundes [the amount inserted in Burghley's hand] and these shalbe yor sufficient warrant for the same, This xxvjth of ffebruary, 1592".

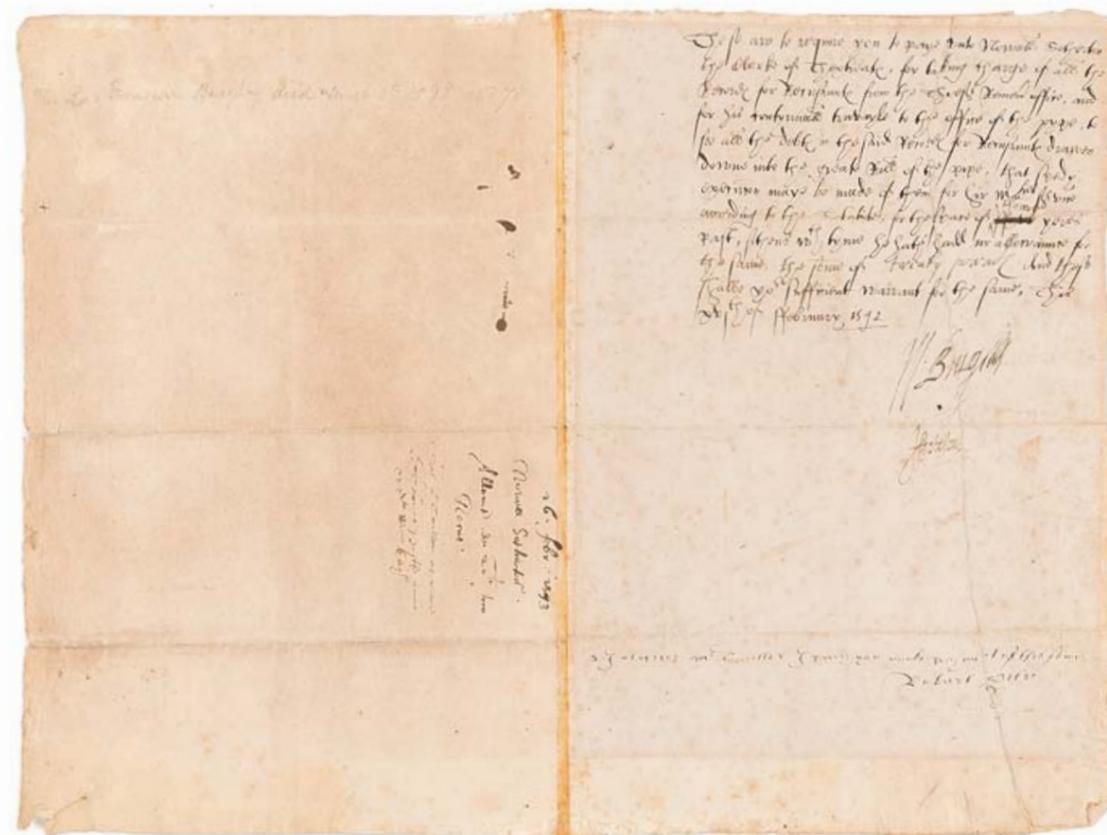
On 18 October 1591, beset by fears of a second Spanish invasion attempt and convinced that the country was full of secretly plotting Catholics and disguised seminary priests, Queen Elizabeth I issued a *Declaration of great trouble pretended against the Realme by a number of Seminarie Priests and Iesuists, sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to work great Treasons under a false pretence of Religion*. The North-West and, in particular, Cheshire, was considered to be particularly troublesome and was subject to considerable investigation.

As explained by K. R. Wark, the Recusant Rolls, "were lists of convicted recusants owing fines for church absence [levied since

1581 at £20 per lunar month], so that their primary purpose was financial; the records of these debts were kept by the Exchequer in the general Pipe Rolls until they were extracted in the separate Recusant Rolls from 1592. From the early years of Elizabeth I's reign lists of religious dissenters, some scrappy, some more thorough, had been drawn up for government use; their 'object was to "count heads", if secondarily to ascertain incomes', but the Recusant Rolls, whose main intention was financial, reversed this order of precedence. Nevertheless, the national revenue appears to have gained little from the recusants of Cheshire. Seventy-five Cheshire recusants were listed as owing fines for Church absence in the 1592-3 Roll, but in no case is there any indication that the fine was ever paid." (*Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, 1971, p. 86).

It was for drawing up these records that Nowell Sotherton had been responsible. Four years earlier, on 16 December 1587, he had also received £20 for the same duties. Sotherton was M.P. for Dorchester (1589) and St Ives in Huntingdonsire (1593 & 1597), Warden of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1586 and Master in 1597, and was appointed Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer in July 1606 in succession to his brother John. He died in 1610.

Provenance: Anonymous sale, Sotheby, 27/10/1970, lot 272, £18 to Frey. Anonymous sale, Spink, 13/7/2016, lot 4 [very basically described and with Sotherton's name misread as "Norwell Sothelm (?)].



ROYALIST POETRY BOUND IN PARIS FOR JOHN EVELYN

15 CAREW (Thomas). **Poems, with a Maske, by Thomas Carew Esq;** one of the Gent. of the Privy-Chamber, and Sewer in Ordinary to his late Majestie. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gent. of the Kings Chappell, and one of his late Majesties Private Musick. The third Edition revised and enlarged.

London: for H[umphrey]. M[oseley]. and are to be sold by J: Martin, 1651. £5,000

Third Edition. Small 8vo. [2 (title), 221, [1 (note re Henry Lawes)] pp.

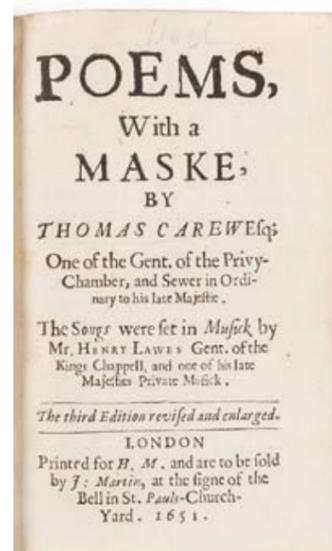
bound with:

DAVENANT (Sir William). **Gondibert: an heroick poem; written by Sir William D'Avenant.**

London: for John Holden, 1651. Second (first 8vo) Edition. Small 8vo. [4 (title / errata)], 243, [7 (postscript)] pp.

[Binding: 153 x 99 mm]. Bound together in a mid-17th-century Parisian binding for John Evelyn of polished mottled calf, the covers tooled in gilt with an outer border and panel of a three-line fillet, in the centre the small oval gilt arms block of John Evelyn: a griffin passant below a chief or, a martlet for difference (as a younger son), Evelyn's "IE" initials flanked by a laurel frond and palm frond

at the outer corners of the panel; spine divided into six panels, the second lettered on a red morocco label "CAREVV / & DAVENAN", the others alternately with Evelyn's "IE" initials and griffin passant crest; nonpareil comb-marbled pastedowns; gilt edges (surface of the leather slightly damaged by the mottling acid slightly affecting the gilt tooling; joints slightly rubbed, short cracks in the upper joint).



Carew: Wing C565. The title-page is a cancel with Moseley's name replaced with initials. State of E5v, line 1 ending "roome". Preceded by editions published in 1640 and 1642. Includes his masque *Coelum Britannicum* performed at the Banqueting House on 18 Feb. 1633 (with a separate title-page).

ODNB notes of the first edition, "This posthumous and un-authorized volume, which was printed later in 1640, has been the basis of every subsequent edition. It can be considered as composed of several

distinct sections. The first is a collection of poems by Carew derived from a reliable manuscript source together with those commendatory poems that had appeared in print during his lifetime. The second section is the most problematic since it essentially comprises a miscellany of twenty-two poems: ten of these can be definitely rejected from Carew's canon and there is little evidence to support his authorship of any of the remaining twelve. The third and final section is a reprint of the masque. A few other poems, some of uncertain authorship, were added to the collection by the subsequent editions of 1642 and 1651."

Davenant: Wing D326. The text for V7v was printed in error on V8r. The sheet was then passed through the press a second time with the text correctly imposed. V8 would normally be cancelled

but both leaves are present here. Includes Davenant's preface sent to Thomas Hobbes (50pp.), Hobbes's reply (13pp.), and liminary verses by Sir Edmund Waller and Abraham Cowley.

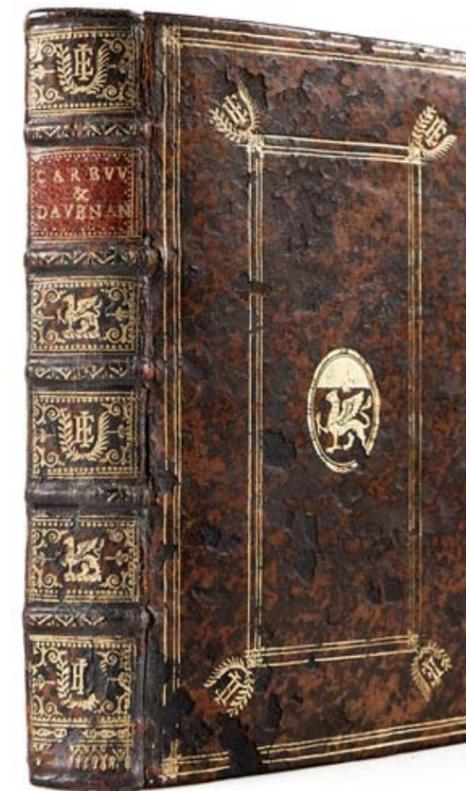
Sir William Davenant (1606-68) was a prisoner in the Tower of London when the first edition of *Gondibert* was published (in quarto). It had been written in Paris, where the poet and playwright was in exile with the Stuart Court but he had been captured on Jersey in May 1650 while *en route* to America.

"*Gondibert* was an attempt, as the preface boldly announces, to combine the highest forms of literature in one poem: lofty style, an interwoven stanza of four lines, and the five-act form of the drama translated into five books, each divided by cantos as the acts of a play are by scenes. Davenant did not want for ambition. He invokes, as his models, the names of Homer, Virgil and Lucan, of Statius, Tasso and Spenser. He draws upon the work of men of science and philosophers: there are echoes and reflections in his poem of Pliny, Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Browne, Francis Bacon and Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes read and criticized the entire text as a co-exile with Davenant in Paris. The end product of these ambitious aims and learned influences all but defies description. ... The poem expresses an ethical, political and aesthetic philosophy through a love story involving the conflict of love and honour in the life of Gondibert, King of the Lombards. Like Davenant's plays, from which the names of the characters are here borrowed, *Gondibert* offers didactic counsel in a seemingly conventional story of duty and honour, love and passion. Like his earlier plays and poems it reflects immediate political circumstances as well as, or perhaps more accurately in the context of, the universal questions of morality in private and public life. It has been suggested that

the entire poem may be a political allegory, a plea to Charles II to rescue England from the horrors and anarchy of the commonwealth." - Sharpe (Kevin), *Criticism and Compliment, The politics of literature in the England of Charles I*, 1987, pp.101-102.

As a unit, in its texts, binding, and provenance, this volume forms a physical act of resistance to the Commonwealth government in England.

Provenance: 1: Bound in Paris c. 1650 for the diarist, miscellaneous writer and virtuoso John Evelyn (1620-1706) during his second period of self-imposed exile in Paris after the Civil War (June 1649-Feb.1652) using armorial blocks and monograms designed by Abraham Bosse, the foremost French engraver of the day. With Evelyn's manuscript pressmarks "Euterpe 17" and "L. 51" (both crossed-through) opposite the title; pencil classification "Poet" at the head of the title and Carew's name underlined in pencil; later Wotton House shelf-mark "L 2:28" on the first flyleaf and the modern Evelyn "JE" label on the pastedown; Evelyn sale, Christie, 23/6/1977, lot 300, £900 + premium to Bernard Quaritch for 2: Robert S Pirie (1935-2015), of New York, with his bookplate and pencil purchase notes on the front flyleaf, sale, Sotheby, New York, 2/12/2015, lot 364.



WITH AN AUTOGRAPH POSTSCRIPT FROM THE KING TO HIS NEPHEW

16 CHARLES I. Letter signed "Charles R" two days before the capture of Bath to his nephew Rupert, Prince and Count Palatine of the Rhine (1619-82). With an autograph 4-line postscript signed "CR" urging Rupert to "hasten your business" and reminding him to "restraine plundering".

Oxford: 24 July 1643

£8,000

Single Folio leaf. [295 x 182 mm]. Watermark: anchor with initials "IG". Originally folded twice vertically and four times horizontally

[68 x 90 mm when folded]; four short slits at the foot for sealing. No address. In fine condition.

The main part of the letter is written in a neat secretarial hand over 13 lines.

"Most deere Nephew Wee greete you well. Since Our last to you Wee have received certain advertisement that the Earle of Essex is come to Aylesbury, That he hath five hundred fresh horde come to him from London, that the Lord Grey is ioyned with him, and that Sr William Waller being gotten to London, is to come thence presently with a very good strength alsoe to encrease the Rebels Forces. Besides this Wee have lately sent the Lord Percys Regiment into Hampshire, Wee makes Us second Our former Letters to desire you to hasten hither as many of the Horse with you as may be possibly spared. And soe Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at Our Court at Oxford the 24th day of July 1643."

With the autograph signature of the King "Charles R" at the head and he has added a four-line autograph postscript at the foot: "You shall doe well to hasten your business as much as may bee & remember to restraine plundering that all may goe for the Army & not to particular benefit. CR."

Written from the King's Court at Oxford on the day that Prince Rupert, with his younger brother Prince Maurice, invested the City of Bristol and called on it to surrender sending news of fresh troops being prepared in London to reinforce the Earl of Essex's army in the west, the only Parliamentary army left in the field.

Two days later the Royalist forces, led by the two Princes, successfully stormed the city's defences, though with the loss of 1000 men, and after a hard day's fighting the Parliamentary

commander Col. Nathaniel Fiennes asked for and accepted easy surrender terms. Not only was the city packed with much-needed guns and ammunition but the capture of several ships would enable the Royalists to rebuild a navy. It was a heavy loss for Parliament.

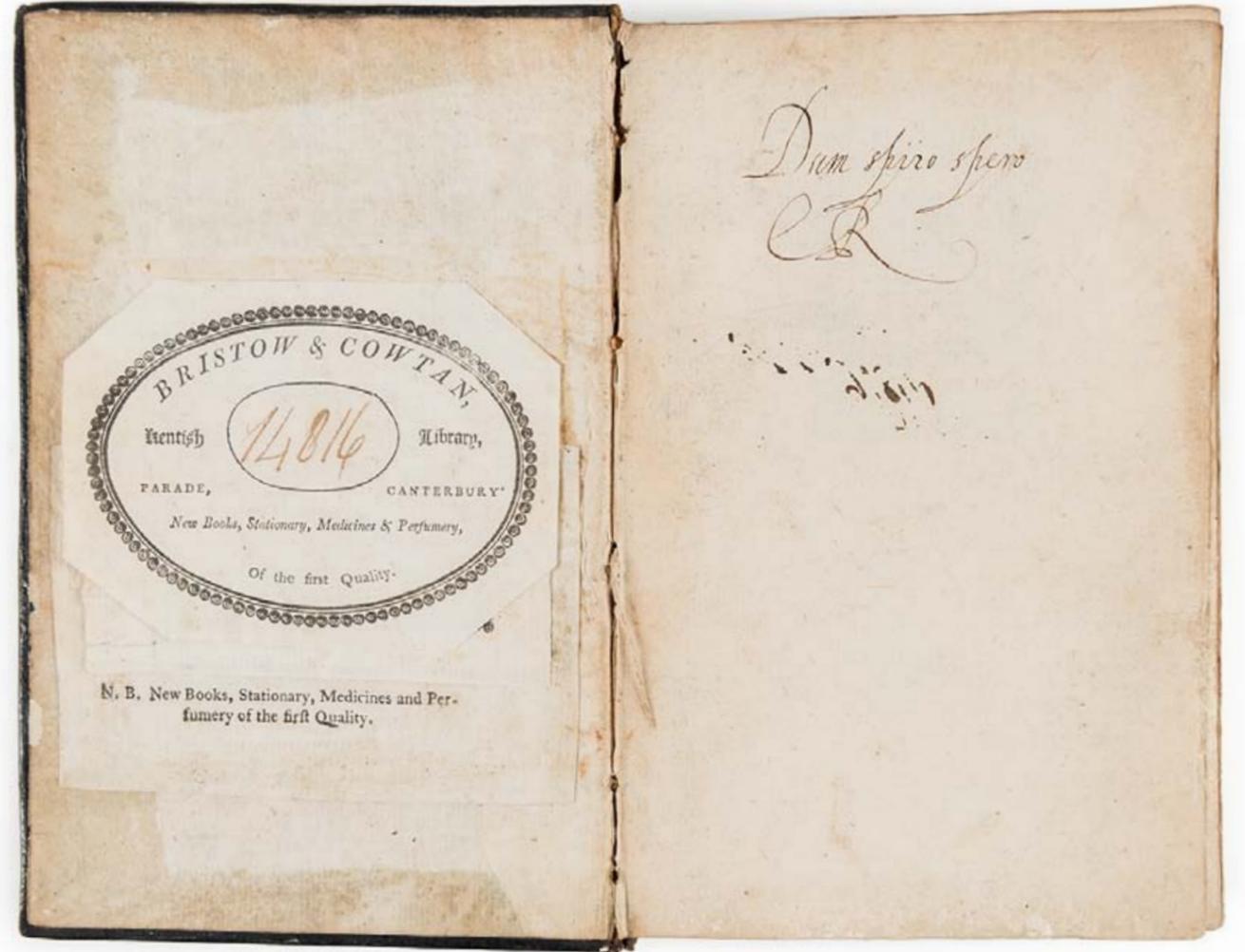
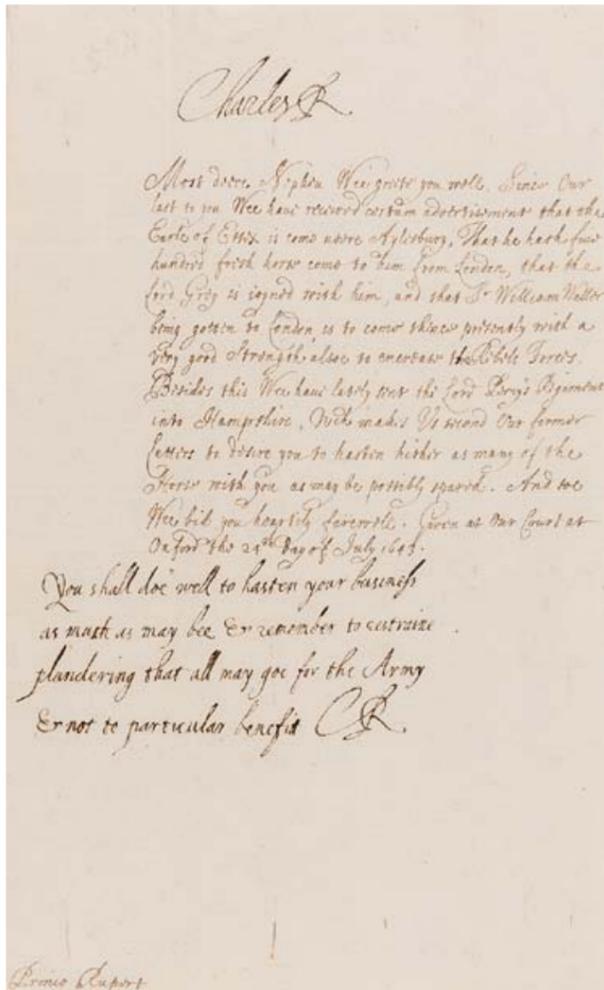
Although Article 6 of the surrender terms agreed on 26 July stipulated that all the inhabitants “shall be secured in their Persons, Families and Estates, free from plundering, and all other violence or wrong whatsoever” it was claimed that Prince Rupert made only token attempts to restrain his troops. As the anonymous pamphlet, *The Tragedy of the Kings Armies Fidelity since their entry into Bristol* (1643), reported: “... when they came in, they ran into the mens houses like a company of savage wolves, and fell a plundering of all sorts without distinction, as well Malignants as others: But at last through the instigation of base beggerly people, and some other desperately ill affected persons, they were directed in speciall, to fall upon such in every streete as were well affected to the Parliament, specially the high-streete & the Bridge, the only and chiefe places of tradesmen, for Mercers, Silkemen and

Linnin-Drapers; in which places they plundered whole shops of wares, whereby many that lived well and had good estates are now undone, entring houses with their swords drawne, and setting them to men’s breasts, taking women by the throats, thereby forcing them to open their closetts and to bring forth their money and plate, after which they rob them of the best of their goods, and then sold them before their faces in great quantities to Welch and others for trifles. And when they sold divers commodities to the cuntry people, the souldiers would meete with them coming home, and plunder them of the same commodities again. ...” (p. 3).

“The taking of Bristol brought to a crisis the discontent between the King’s principal commanders. The slow, elderly and dignified [Lord] Hertford [the nominal commander] felt himself slighted by the two Princes. The brothers, both professional soldiers, had neither the time nor the temperament to consider his feelings, and had conducted operations in their own manner without, he complained, any reference to him. On the capture of Bristol he re-asserted his jeopardised authority by immediately and without consultation appointing Sir Ralph Hopton as Governor. But Prince Rupert had already written to the King requesting that honour for himself. Charles, aware of the tension between his commanders, for once achieved a tactful solution. Assuring Hertford that he could no longer spare so wise a councillor from his side he recalled him to Oxford. Hopton remained the effective Governor of Bristol as Rupert’s deputy, and Maurice succeeded to the command of the Western forces. The King, aglow with family pride in his nephew’s prowess, now came to Bristol where the citizens, who had cheered Waller not a month before, welcomed him with bonfires and acclamation. Theirs was a divided city but, on the whole, more favourable to the King than Parliament.” - C. V. Wedgwood, *The King’s War 1641-1647* (1974), pp. 234-5.

Secretarial letters signed by King Charles I are common. Those with autograph postscripts are very rare. Only one other Charles I letter to Prince Rupert with an autograph postscript is listed in Auction Records since 1975 - dated 22 April 1646 it was in poor condition, laid-down and with loss to the postscript (Christie, South Kensington, 27/11/2012, lot 10, £3500 + premium).

Provenance: Contemporary ink note “Prince Rupert” in the lower left corner on the recto and date “July 24: 1643” in another contemporary hand in the centre panel on the verso. Sotheby, 18/12/1986, lot 207, £2100 + premium. Donald J. Morgan (d. 2015), manager of a laundry in Hillingdon, Middelsex, and a portrait-painter; he amassed an important collection of Charles I documents; collection sold anonymously, Bonhams 16/3/2016, lot 211 to Maggs.



A RARE SURVIVAL FROM THE “MARTYR” KING’S PERSONAL LIBRARY AS A PRISONER OF PARLIAMENT

17 [CHARLES I.] BALZAC (Jean Louis Guez, Sieur de), 1594-1654. **Les Oeuvres de Mr De Balzac.** Derniere Edition. Premiere Partie. [- Lettres de Mr De Balzac. Derniere Edition. Seconde Partie.]

Rouen: Chez Iean Berthelin, 1645

£35,000

2 Vols. 8vo. [Binding: 161 x 109 mm]. [32], 622, [6 (Table)]; [4], 470, [4] (Table) pp. Contemporary English plain black morocco, the covers ruled in gilt with a single gilt fillet with a gilt dot at

the corners; smooth spines framed with a double gilt fillet with a dot at the corners like the covers; plain endleaves; gilt edges (joints rubbed, a few small scuffs on the spines).

King Charles I’s copy, with his autograph ink motto and cypher “Dum spiro spero / CR” on the flyleaves. One of only 8 known books with the same inscriptions owned by the King while a prisoner in the Isle of Wight and in London in the months before his execution in January 1649.

Of this edition COPAC records only the Trinity College, Cambridge copy of all 3 vols, a set of vols. 1-2 at Jesus College Oxford, and an odd vol. 3 at Glasgow University Library in the UK.

A third volume (“Troiseme partie”), 549, [6]pp. was also published at Rouen by Berthelin in 1645.

Jean Louis Guez, Sieur de Balzac (1594-1654) was acclaimed throughout Europe for his elegance as a prose writer and his letters, considered models of their kind, to a wide circle of distinguished correspondents and other prose works were widely reprinted in his

lifetime in their original French and translated into Latin, Italian and English. In England he was read in court and wider circles both in French and English translation.

The publisher Thomas Dring wrote in his address, “The Stationer to the reader”, in *Balzac’s Remaines, or, his last Letters* (London, 1658): “He is much a stranger to the world, that does not know the style of Monsieur Balzac was consider’d in *France* as the Treasure and Taste of Elegance: And he was esteem’d the best proficient, in that which they call *flos linguae*, the Delicacy, fineness, and Idiom of language, who had attain’d the nearest Resemblance of this Author; Observe the vigour and flame of his fancy, the Cleanesse and Roundnesse of his expression, the spirit and brisknesse and his Nations, the prudence and Insinuation of all his Addresses, and you will judge him a fit Parallel for any of his Predecessors, that Rome or Athens has most celebrated.” (Arv).

However, Balzac was not universally admired in England. The present edition (Vol. 2, p. 241) contains a letter dated 25 June 1634, to William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Exeter, who had taken exception to a passage criticizing Queen Elizabeth in Balzac’s political treatise *Le Prince*: “If you had wholly disliked my book, I had wholly defaced it: but seeing some parts of it, seemed to you not unsound, I have thought it sufficient to cut out the corrupt part, that you might be drawn to endure the rest. I send you now an Edition of it reformed, done expressly for you and which I have taken care to cleanse from the stains, that the former time were so distastefull to you. ...” (Book II, Letter 1, p. 61 in Sir Richard Baker’s translation, 1654).

Others found Balzac’s style rather overblown. Thomas Carew, for example, had the character Momus in his masque *Coeulm Britannicum* (134) say: “... but your modern French Hospitall of Oratory, is meere counterfeit, an arrant Mountebank, for though fearing no other tortures than his Sciatica, he discoursed of Kings and Queenes with as little reverence as of Groomes and Chambermaids, yet hee wants their fangteeth, and Scorpions tailes; I meane that fellow, who to added to his stature thinkes it a greater grace to dance on tiptoes like a Dogge in a doublet, than to walke like other men on the sole of his feet.” (1634 edition, p. 6). E. E. Duncan-Jones identified Carew’s anonymous Mountebank as Balzac in “Carew and Guez de Balzac”, *The Modern Language Review* (1 July 1951, pp. 439-40).

Provenance: 1: King Charles I (1600-49), with his autograph motto and cypher in ink “Dum spiro spero / CR” [While I breathe I hope] on the flyleaf of each volume. Most likely owned during his imprisonment on the Isle of Wight from November 1647 to December 1648 [see below]. The same “Dum spiro spero” (“While I breathe I hope”) motto is also found with crowned “CR” initials on some Civil War siege or obsidional coins made from melted silver

plate during the siege of Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire in 1648. **2: Bristow’s Kentish Library**, Parade, St. Andrew’s, Canterbury, later Bristow & Cowtan, *fl.* 1788-1808. Founded by William Bristow (?1761-1808), printer, bookseller, stationer, newspaper proprietor, pharmacy, and circulating library; with three letterpress labels neatly pasted or tipped to the front flyleaves so that the two earlier ones are visible below the latest. The Kentish Library was, “Pleasantly situated in the most central part of this populous City, where the London Morning Papers are received the same day on which they are published, and where the Association of Subscribers is numerous and truly respectable. The Library comprises a large and well chosen selection of Modern Literature, French, Italian, &c. and the Magazines and Reviews are also available for the use of the Subscribers.” (*The Canterbury Guide*, 3rd edn, 1807). **3: Mortimer L. Schiff** (1877-1931), banker, of New York. In his possession in 1921 (reference in an Anderson Galleries of New York auction catalogue 30/11/1921); his sale, Sotheby, 23/11/1938, lot 20, £28 to Davis. **4: Robert S Pirie** (1934-2015), of New York, with his bookplate and a pencil note “This appears to be one of the few books Charles I had with him in prison which have survived. RSP” and his purchase code “V-XOHKO / 8 May ’91” (purchased from H. D. Lyon, London bookseller).

Hundreds of volumes survive in bindings with the Royal Arms of Charles I, many of which remain in the old Royal Library and are now at the British Library while others have been widely dispersed. The vast majority are on Bibles or Prayer Books that may have been in one or other of the Chapels Royal or used by members of the Royal Household. Others may simply have borne the Royal Arms as a mark of authority. The King’s various armorial blocks have been discussed by Mirjam Foot in “Some Bindings for Charles I” in G. Janssens & F. G. Aarts, eds, *Studies in Seventeenth-century English Literature, History and Bibliography: Festschrift for Professor T.A. Birrell* (1994), pp. 95-106.

However, those that can be said with certainty (for example from presentation inscriptions) to have been in the King’s personal possession are few and those that bear his autograph markings are very few indeed.

In the third of his 1986 Panizzi Lectures on *English monarchs and their books: from Henry VII to Charles II*, T. A. Birrell discussed a few books either inscribed to or annotated by Charles I. They include a copy of Francis Bacon’s *Of the Advancement and Proficiencie of Learning* (1640) which had been sold as a duplicate by the British Museum in 1769 and repurchased in 1861. Birrell noted that, “in his manuscript additions Charles tries every time to cap Bacon’s Apopthegms with one of his own. To try to beat Bacon in sententiousness is to show that you do not know your own limitations. Charles was in the wrong league.” (p. 43).

Only one of the books described by Birrell contains the same autograph “Dum spiro spero. CR” motto and cypher written by Charles as are found in the present volumes of Balzac. This is the famous copy of the Second Folio edition of Shakespeare’s *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1632) that was purchased by King George III at the George Steevens sale in 1800 and is now in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle where it was exhibited in 2016 to commemorate the 300th Anniversary of Shakespeare’s death. As has been much reported, as well as writing his motto on the title-page, Charles provided alternative titles for several of the plays in the Contents List, *e.g.* “Benedick and Beatrice” for *Much Ado about Nothing* and “Malvolio” for *Twelfth Night*.

Apart from the Shakespeare Folio at Windsor Castle and the present two volumes of Balzac, we have been able to trace only six other books (three of which we are unable to locate) with the same autograph “Dum spiro spero. CR” motto and cypher:

Mazzocchi (Jacopo). *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* (Rome, 1521). Sale, Puttick & Simpson, “The Musical Library of Mr. Charles Letts, and other properties”, 25-26/1/1912, lot 271 (“half binding, broken”), £3/3/- to Maggs. Anon. sale, Sotheby, 23/7/1934, lot 300 (“green morocco by Riviere”), £13/10/- to Gabriel Wells. Present location unknown.

Jonson (Ben). *Workes* (London, 1616). From the library of G. B. Windus, blue morocco by Bedford, having on page 677 his motto and initials “Dum spiro spero Car. R”, Joseph Lilly, *Catalogue of rare, curious, and choice books, splendid books of prints, etc. from the valuable library of G.B. Windus, Esq.* (1868). Lt.-Col. Edward George Hibbert, Sotheby, 9/4/1902, lot 434, £61 to Quaritch. **N.B.** An editorial note was added to the entry for this in *Book Prices Current* - “Autograph not guaranteed”. It is the only one to be signed “Car. R.” rather than “CR”. Present location unknown.

Tasso (Torquato), *Godfrey of Boulogne or The Recoverie of Jerusalem. Done into English heroically verse by Edward Fairfax. And now the second time imprinted, and dedicated to his Highnesse* (London, 1624). Contemporary plain speckled calf. Front blank inscribed by Sir Thomas Herbert (1606-1682): “given by his Matie. to his servant Tho. Herbert”. From the library of Sir Henry Hope Edwardes, 10th Bart; by descent to Sir Jasper & Lady More, Linley Hall, Shropshire, sale, Christie, 9/3/2016, lot 322 [estimate £50-80,000 + premium; unsold and retained by the owner].

Prynne (William), *A Breviate of the Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1644), bound with Prynne, *Hidden Workes of Darkenes brought to publike light* (1645) and Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (1646). Binding with the arms of Gilbert Sheldon (1598-1677), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1663. Now

in Lambeth Palace Library (See: Richard Palmer & Michelle P. Brown, eds, *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, 2010, no. 42 [by Jennifer Higham] where Charles’s inscription, identical to the present, is reproduced).

Guarini (Giovanni Battista), *Il Pastor Fido, the Faithfull Shepherd* (1647), translated by Sir Richard Fanshawe. Contemporary black morocco, royal arms on covers. Subsequently in the libraries of James Bindley (sale 1819), George Watson-Taylor (sale 1823), Robert Hoe (sale 1912) and Mortimer L. Schiff (sale 1936). Now in the Wormsley Library, England.

Davila (Arrigo Caterino), *History of the Civill Warres of France* (London, 1647/8), translated Sir Charles Cotterell and William Aylesbury. By descent to George Douglas, 18th Earl of Morton, sale, Wheatley & Adlard, 18/5/1829, lot 992. This appeared in Thomas Thorpe Catalogue (1829), item 8355 “Old morocco, gilt leaves”, £8/8/- and Catalogue (1830), item 5142, £7/7/- and was described as “probably presented by [Charles] to his Treasurer Lord Morton, from whose library it was obtained”; *i.e.* William Douglas, 7th Earl of Morton, High Treasurer of Scotland 1630-36. But this is unlikely as, although he had waited on the King at Newcastle in 1646, he appears to have remained in Scotland thereafter and died on Orkney on 7 August 1648. Present location unknown.

As four of the eight known surviving books were printed 1644-48 it is, therefore, most likely that all these volumes were owned and signed by King Charles I at some time between his surrender to the Scottish army at Newark on 5 May 1646 and his execution at Whitehall on 30 January 1649. During these 33 months he was held under house or closer arrest, as noted in the *ODNB*, “at first of the Scots at Newcastle (13 May 1646-3 February 1647); then of the English parliament at Holdenby House in Northamptonshire (7 February - 4 June 1647); then of the New Model Army and its civilian allies at a series of great houses in East Anglia and Hertfordshire (4 June-24 August 1647); then at Hampton Court (24 August-11 November 1647); then on the Isle of Wight at Carisbrooke Castle and then Hurst Castle (16 November 1647-12 December 1648); and finally under strict guard in his palaces in and around London (15 December 1648-30 January 1649).” The Shakespeare, Jonson, Tasso and Mazzocchi could have been in the King’s possession throughout the Civil War but the Prynne, Guarini and Davila (and possibly the Balzac) can only have been acquired after his capture by the Scots. That the Guarini and Davila are dated 1647/8 indicates that the whole group was only together in his possession on the Isle of Wight and thereafter.

It is, therefore, most likely that Charles had these books with him during the 13 months he spent on the Isle of Wight, having escaped from Hampton Court, from November 1647 to December



1648, first at Carisbrooke Castle and then at Hurst Castle. This is confirmed in the account by Sir Thomas Herbert, who identified himself as the subsequent “owner” of the Shakespeare and Tasso volumes. It is from Herbert’s account, discussed below, that all subsequent discussions of the “Dum spiro, spero” books derive.

As Tim Birrell wrote, early in 1647 Herbert “was appointed by the Parliamentary commissioners to attend on [Charles]. In name, Sir [then just Mr.] Thomas was a groom of the bedchamber but, in reality, he was a gaoler and a spy. He accompanied Charles for the last two years, and on the day of the king’s execution, brought him to the fatal room at Whitehall but prudently stayed out of sight when the king walked on to the scaffold.” (p. 46).

Some thirty years later, in a self-serving memoir written in the third person and sent to Sir William Dugdale in 1678/9, Herbert claimed that Charles had given him some books including the manuscript of the *Eikon Basilike* (1649), the famous volume of prayers and meditations published soon after the King’s execution as well as the copy of Tasso mentioned above. Herbert claimed he “found [the *Eikon Basilike*] amongst the Books his Majesty was pleased to give him (those excepted which he bequeathed to his Children” (p. 62; the specific books bequeathed by Charles to his children Princess Elizabeth and Henry, Duke of Gloucester

as well as one to the Earl of Lindsey) are listed on pp. 187-9; by implication Herbert had the rest).

In that account, published in 1702 in *Memoirs of the last two years of the reign of that unparallel’d prince, of ever blessed memory, King Charles I* and reprinted in 1813, Herbert wrote of the King’s reading while imprisoned on the Isle of Wight: “Mr *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* continued waiting on his Majesty in the Bed-chamber: he gave Mr. *Herbert* the charge of his Books, of which the King had a Catalogue, and from time to time had brought unto him, such as he was pleased to call for. The sacred Scripture was the Book he most delighted in, read often in Bp. *Andrews* Sermons, *Hooker’s* Ecclesiastical Policy, Mr. *Hammond’s* Works, *Villalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*, &c. *Sands* Paraphrase, upon King *David’s* Psalms, *Herbert’s* Divine Poems, and also *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, writ in *Italian* by Torquato Tasso, and done into *English* Heroick Verse by Mr. *Fairfax*, a Poem his Majesty much commended, as he did also *Ariosto* by Sir *John Harrington*, a facetious Poet, much esteemed of by Prince *Henry* his Master; *Spencer’s* Fairy Queen and the like, for alleviating his Spirits after serious Studies. ... In many of his Books, he delighted himself with the Motto *Dum Spiro Spero*; which he wrote frequently as the Emblem of his Hopes as well as Endeavours for a happy Agreement with Parliament. ...” (1813, pp. 61-64).

What, then, was the “after-life” of this small group of extraordinary volumes?

As Birrell wrote: “What is the history of Charles I’s copy of Shakespeare’s Second Folio? In a sense, every book belonging to Charles I is not just a book, it is a relic of a martyr, and so there are many books around with bogus claims to Charles’s ownership. But this volume [like the Balzac, Guarini, Davila, Tasso and Prynne volumes and presumably the Ben Jonson volume] is quite authentic, the handwriting is perfectly genuine, there is no problem on that score.”

It is clear that none of them remained as part of the Royal Library but none of them have a totally secure link from the King to their next owners. The nearest to one is Herbert’s claim, written in two of the books themselves, that the Shakespeare and Tasso were given directly to him. But he was an established liar whose post-Restoration re-fashionings were designed to save both his reputation and his skin. Birrell quoted from a letter written by Herbert, who had been clerk to the Parliamentary Council in Ireland, to Charles II in 1662 “explaining that he had handed over all the documents in Ireland in a hurry to come to England to greet Charles II – and in the rush he had of course lost the receipt. He then goes on to swear that he had no other ‘papers, books or writings of *public use*’ (italics added). He says nothing of any *private* papers or books. Evidently the King’s commissioners

did not believe him: they must have heard that he had books belonging to Charles I. So what did Herbert do? He kept Charles I’s Second Folio Shakespeare [and his Tasso] and he just took some books off his shelves that he did not particularly want, and said that these were the books that Charles I had given him. He had the superb effrontery to take an English edition of Calvin’s *Institution of Christian Religion*, 4to, London 1587, and write ‘T. Herbert – his Majesties book’, and give it to the Royal Library – where it remains to this day.” (p. 47).

The next nearest to a secure link from the King is the Prynne volume at Lambeth which certainly belonged to Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1677), who was one of the royal chaplains during the Civil War years and had been appointed a Clerk of the Closet in 1646. Charles had requested his attendance at the Isle of Wight but he was unable to get there as he had been detained in Oxford by Parliament. The Davila was

sold by an Earl of Morton in 1829 and came from his ancestral library at Dalmahoy near Edinburgh but it is very unlikely to have belonged to Charles’s contemporary the 7th Earl and the bulk of the library, sold in over 3000 lots, appears to have been bought by James, 14th Earl (1702-68), a natural philosopher and President of the Royal Society; its current location is unknown. The Balzac has no provenance between Charles I and Bristow’s Kentish Library in the late 18th Century and none of the others have any known later provenance before the 19th or 20th centuries.



The full story of this extraordinary little group of books in the personal possession of the “Martyr” King in the last months of his life may never be known – the books themselves are the only surviving witnesses.

THE “KING’S BOOK” CAREFULLY ANNOTATED BY A CONTEMPORARY READER

18 CHRISTIAN MAN. A necessary doctrine and erudition for any christen man, set furthe by the kynges maiestie of Englande &c.

[Colophon] Imprinted at London in Fletestrete by Thomas Berthelet printer to the kynges hyghnes, the .XXIX. day of May, 1543

£5,000

Title within a woodcut architectural frame with the printer’s initials “TB.” at the foot.

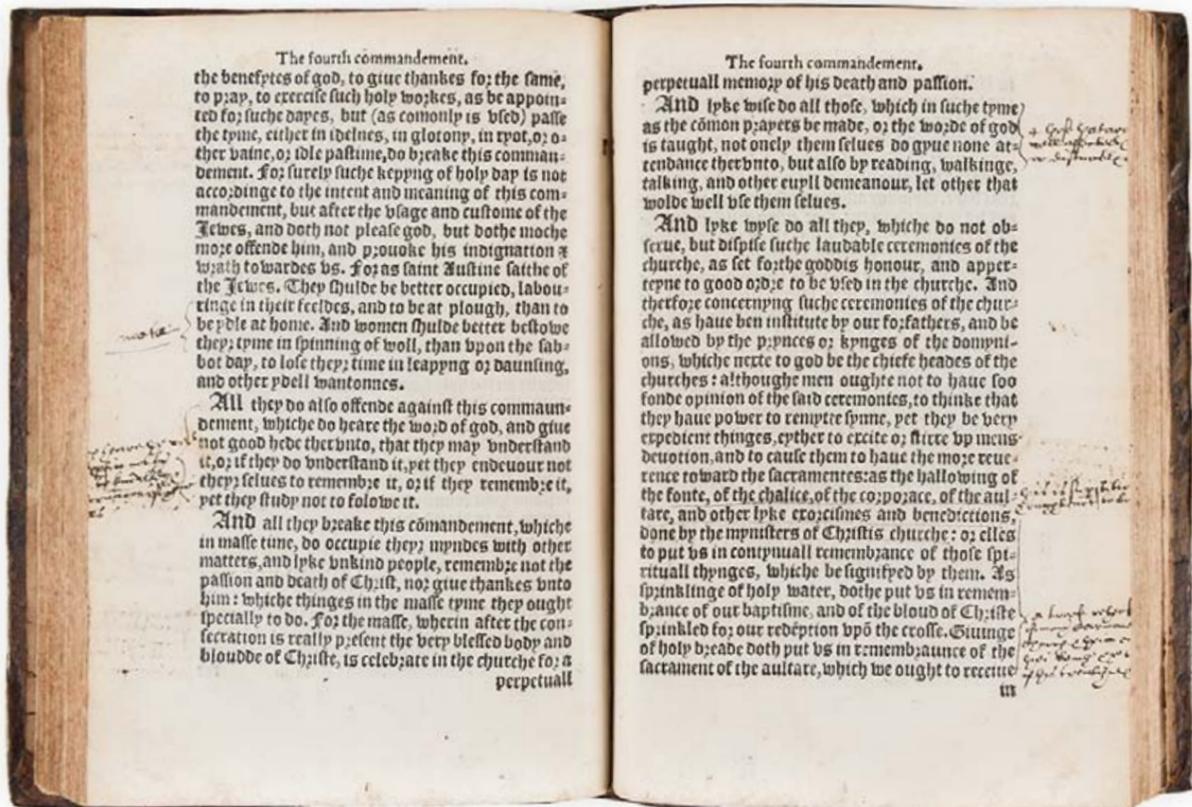
Small 4to. [228] pp. Collation: A-Z4, a-d4, e6. Price at the end of the text “This boke bounde in paper bourdes or in claspes, not to be solde above. xvi. d.” Margins dusty, small stain on the title, ink smears on A3; a couple of marginal wormholes up to L2, last 9 leaves with a widening worm-trail in the outer margin increasing from 7mm to 27mm and touching a few letters and two small wormholes;

defect in leaf e3 causing a rubbed area and hole [30mm long] with loss to the end of lines 12 (“Peter unto Si-”) and 13 (“Do penance for this”) on recto and line 13 on verso with loss of one word (“recovered”) on verso (the missing words on the recto supplied in the margin by the early annotator (“Peter Symon / Repent therefore”). Late 17th-Century sprinkled calf, gilt viscount’s coronet and initials “HL” for Henry Yelverton, Viscount Longueville on covers (rebacked, corners repaired).

STC 5170.7 (Bodley, Christ Church Oxford, Longleat House (Marquess of Bath), Pembroke College Cambridge; General Theological Seminary, University of Illinois). Following ESTC this edition has the following characteristics: Arv line 2 has “boke”; A2r line 2 of heading has “KYNGE”; N4v line 1 ends “wisdom” and catchword is “welthe”; Z2r line 2 ends “theru-” and line 3 has “certainly ... will is”.

The *Necessary Doctrine* was doubtless known as *The King’s Book* from the very day that it was first published, 29 May 1543, issuing from the press of King Henry’s own printer, Thomas Berthelet. It was an instant success, with eleven more printings in the same year, because it fulfilled a crucial need. The Church’s break with Rome, the making of Henry VIII as its supreme head, the dissolution

of the monasteries and a myriad of changes to people’s religious practices had not yet been accompanied by a satisfactory, full statement of what it was that the priesthood as well as ordinary men and women should now believe. The Bishops’ Book of 1537 was not felt to have supplied this need, and in any case had not met with Henry VIII’s wholehearted approval. Henry’s extremely close interest in theological doctrine did not translate into the composition of such a book by himself alone, and he accordingly set up a committee of bishops and other theologians to draft it. Complication lay in the fact that a course had to be steered between two theological outlooks: the conservative, even quasi-Catholic beliefs of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the near-Lutheran (if in part also conservative) beliefs of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.



The King himself had the last word in the book's composition. He too retained an innate conservatism about some matters of doctrine and of practice, and so the book presents what at times seems like tortuous logic to justify its own statements of doctrine. The break with Rome was as irreversible as Henry's declaration of himself as supreme in the English Church's governance, and yet Henry also wished it to be clear that his Church was part of the wider Catholic Church: it was thus potentially subject to a Council of the whole Church, and yet such a Council would itself be subject to the authority of lay princes.

The text of *The King's Book* is at first sight clear and straightforward. Even though Cranmer had been overruled by his opponents or the King on so many points, it seems clear that he had polished up the final text. Below the surface, however, the text is sufficiently hedged with qualifications and - if one looks for them - inconsistencies that historians have characterised its overall tone in a variety of contradictory ways: for Eamon Duffy it is "in almost every respect more traditionalist than its predecessor" (*The Stripping of the Altars*, 2005 edn, p. 442); for George W. Bernard, however, to present it "as a conservative revision is excessive" (*The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the remaking of the English Church*, 2005, p. 583); perhaps the explanation is that there has been a striking lack of detailed modern research into its making. It was reprinted by Charles Lloyd in his *Formularies*

(1825, revised 1856) and again by T. A. Lacey, *The King's Book* (1931); but there is no modern scholarly edition.

The book is well structured, its contents clearly set out on the verso of the title-page (in a way that is rare for this date). The Preface is an open letter from Henry VIII to his subjects. This concludes with the assurance that by following what is set out in the book, "we shall be so replenished with manifold graces and gyftes of god, that after this lyfe we shall reigne in joy everlasting with the onely heade of the universall catholike church our saviour and redeemer Jesus Christe." Substantial expositions then follow of the Declaration of Faith, the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation and articles on free will, justification, good works and prayer for the dead.

The importance of *The King's Book* is universally admitted. It was the bedrock for the English Church's Catechism and Prayer Book of 1549. It transmuted the Reformation's destructive anti-papalism and the associated attacks on purgatory, "superstitions" and the salvational role of good works into a moderated set of beliefs which gave a reasoned and reasonable place to many of the devotional practices and religious principles which the priesthood and laity had in fact been following for all their lives. Its role was to do this in a way which managed to reconcile that continuity with the establishment of a protestant English Church.

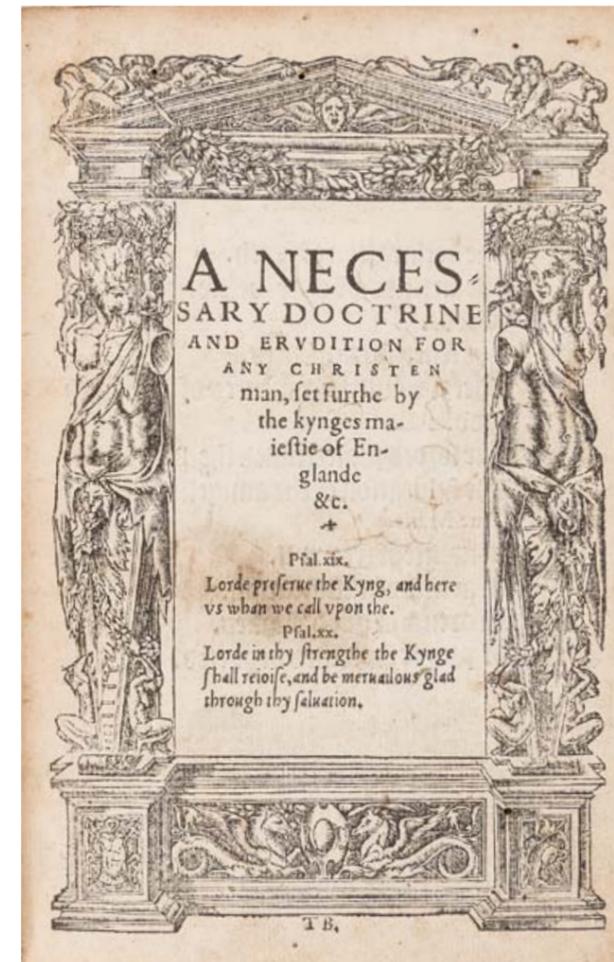
Early Provenance: The present copy has been annotated by a contemporary owner (more than one script has been deployed, but it is hard to say if these represent more than one hand; most of the annotation is certainly by the same hand). Immediately after the Preface, an excerpt has been copied from Thomas Cranmer's "An Homelie of the miserie of al mankynd", as printed in his *Certain Sermons* (1547, C1r-v; reprinted in early editions of the *Homilies*): "Jerem[iah]. vi / xxv. Hierenemie with other holy men and women in the old Testament did use sacke cloth & cast dust & ashes upon their heades when they bewailed theyr sinfull lyvinge. They called & cryed to god for help & mercy, with such a ceremonye of sack cloth dust & ashes that thereby they might declare to the worlde, what a humble & lowly estimation they had of them selves & how well they remembered their name & title aforesaid, their vile corrupt fraile nature, dust & hearth & ashes."

The general annotation comes later in the book, and is in the margins of many of the most contentious sections: the sacrament of the Altar (i.e., what would once have been called the Mass), the sacrament of Matrimony, and - especially - the third to fifth Commandments. These are not mere indications that pinpoint the topic of the text: they have been written with care (and are mostly fully legible save where the binder's plough has trimmed away some line-endings) and represent a very serious engagement with the crucial points that are being made.

The annotations are in Latin as well as in English, and include biblical citations (Acts and 1 Timothy 1 and 4 [Miv], at the sacrament of Orders. At the sacrament of Matrimony they focus on its spiritual importance (beside where the text refers to the need for a man to love his wife and for the wife to love and obey her husband) [LIV, L3r].

Taken together, they suggest that the writer was a parish priest, concerned with how he is to fulfil his duties to his parochial flock. He must have been a distinctly well-educated priest, however, since he also cites such authors as Eusebius (for a priest's visibility at the making substance of the body and blood, as he "in verbo suo secreta pietate commutavit" [I3r] as well as Isidore: "Isadore sa[ith] that no ma[n] can please [god] without fait[h]" [*ibid.*]). There are hints that he is strongly Protestant, perhaps even Lutheran. He refers to Sabbath(-day) exercises [R4r] and he regards the holy-day hearing of Mass and the word of God as being "holy exercises" [R3r]; he also notes - evidently with approval - at the hallowing of the font, chalice, "corporace" [corporal-cloth] and altar, etc., that "this is superstitio[n] and ought not to be" [R4r].

At the same time, we see an emphasis on those areas of priestly instruction that the Tudor world was always ready to remind its members of: the duty of children to honour their father and mother, as in the fifth Commandment (albeit rewarded by "The



promise to th[em that] obey his lawe" and balanced by the "dutie of parents [to] their Childern"). The extension or politicisation of the fifth Commandment to cover the subject's duty to obey the king [S4r] is consistent with this (and adds confirmation of the early date of the annotator), as are the notes that "[m]inisters of the Church [ar]e to be obaied" and "[m]inisters must be [main]tained by the people" [T4r]. *The King's Book* in its interpretation of the sixth Commandment, "Thou shalt do no murther", is extended in the text to the duty of all rulers and governors to use the law to punish wrongdoers, and the annotator has picked up on this, to write longer notes, one beginning "[This] law was given [to] all men, & ye end of [it] is, peace and love ..." about about how magistrates may act.

Later Provenance: (17th-century) inscription below the excerpt from Cranmer "Beati Pacifici Blessed are ye Peace makers for they shall inherit ye Kingdom of Heven". **Henry Yelverton, 1st Viscount Longueville** (cr. 1690) and 15th Baron Grey of Ruthin (1664-1704), with gilt initials "HL" and coronet on the covers. Unidentified bookplate [95 x 75mm] roughly removed from the

front pastedown revealing an old ink shelfmark “The[ologia]/Y.2.” with “Theologia” in another old hand in the top corner. Anonymous sale, Sotheby, 1/8/1983, lot 154, £170 to Quaritch, with their pencil collation note at the end “wormed, heavy annotations, some stains” [annotations then still being classed as a defect]. Private collection.

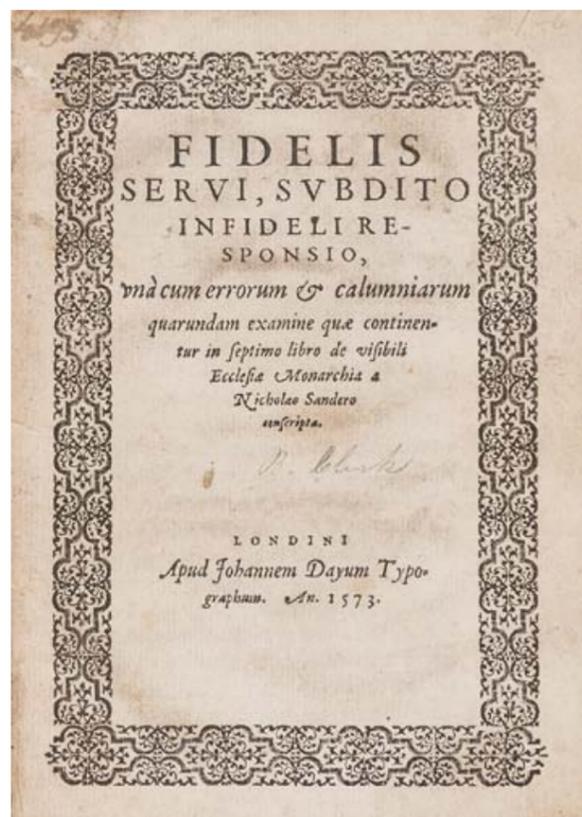
“THE WRITER IS A PITHY MAN, AND APT TO DEAL IN SUCH A CAUSE”

19 CLERKE (Bartholomew). *Fidelis servi, subdito infideli responsio*, una cum errorum & calumniarum quarundam examine quae continentur in septimo libro de visibili Ecclesiae Monarchia a Nicholao Sanderò conscripta. London: Apud Johannem Dayum [John Day] Typographum. 1573 **£950**

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [Text: 189 x 137 mm]. [152 (of 154, lacking the errata leaf)] pp. *Late 18th-century Flemish calf, covers with a gilt-ruled border with a black-stained frame, spine with six*

Literature: Dickens (Arthur G.), *The English Reformation*, (1964); Kreider (Alan), *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution*, (1979); Lloyd (Bishop Charles), ed., *Formularies of Faith*, (1825, 1856); MacCulloch (Diarmaid), *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*, (1996); Lacey (T. A.), ed., *The King's Book*, (1932).

panels, the second with a red leather label, the others with a gilt floral tool (joints repaired).



STC 5407 (where specified in ESTC the errata leaf is missing from roughly half of the copies, e.g. 3 of 4 at the British Library, 1 of 2 at York Minster, 2 of 2 at Folger, at Jesus & Merton Colleges Oxford & Louisiana State University).

When the Catholic exile Nicolas Sander's *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae, libri octo* was published at Louvain in 1571 it caused, despite its great length, Latin text and, no doubt, limited circulation in

England, consternation at the highest level in England both at court and in the church.

Writing in the wake of the failed Rising of the North of 1569 and Pope Pius V's 1570 Bull excommunicating Elizabeth – “in *De visibili monarchia* (dedicated to Hosius, Morone, and Commendone) Sander printed the papal bull in full and praised as a martyr John Felton, the man who nailed it up in London. Sander argued that the rising had failed only because its leaders had not known of the bull. He was unique among English Catholics in holding a resistance theory that saw the world as one church under a single head, the pope, whom other rulers were bound to obey. His view was singled out for particular attention by the English government in the ‘bloody questions’ of 1581 put to suspected priests. ... The book's central argument was the divine establishment of papal monarchy.” (ODNB).

As Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely wrote to Rodolph Gualter [Rudolf Gwalther] on 4 Feb. 1573, Sander “appears to have been a mercenary employed by certain cardinals, aided by the assistance of others, and decked out like Aesop's jack-daw. The tempest is violent, and would seem to demolish all our pretensions at one blast. It takes away from christian magistrates the right of deciding in matters of religion, and claims it entirely for the pope and his officers as the supreme governor of the church.” – *The Zurich Letters*, ed. Rev. H. Robinson (Parker Society, 1842), p. 281.

It was Sander's seventh and longest book of the eight in the volume (occupying pp. 221–738 of 844) that was of most concern to Lord Burghley and Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury as it attacked the the divorce of Henry VIII & Catherine of Aragon and hence the legitimacy of the queen herself and, thus, the very state itself.

As Parker wrote to Burghley on 13 December 1572: “...I have appointed the confutation of so much as concerneth the honour

and state of the realm, the dignity and legitimation of our prince, with just defence of King Henry's honour, queen Anne's, and partly your own, as by name you be touched, viz. a pag. 686 unto pag. 739. I have committed it to Mr Dr Clerk, who is of late doctor of law at Cambridge, and for his more estimation I have honested him with a room in the [Court of] Arches, who shall I doubt not but sufficiently deal in the matter, and he shall not want my advice and diligence. ... Furthermore, to the better accomplishment of this work and other that shall follow, I have spoken to Day the printer, to cast a new Italian letter, which he is doing, and it will cost him forty mark, and loth he and other printers be to print any Latin book, because they will not here be uttered, and for that books printed in England be in suspicion abroad.” – *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J. Bruce & Rev. T. T. Perowne (Parker Society, 1853), p. 411.

“Mr Dr Clerk” was Bartholomew Clerke (c. 1537–90), a civil lawyer who had recently proceeded LL.D and “one of England's most elegant and accomplished Latinists” (J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writing of the Age*, 1990, p. 258). Clerke's work progressed quickly and Parker sent draft sheets to Burghley for approval, leading him to suspect that Parker himself was the prime author. Parker, however, wrote to Burghley on 25 December 1572: “Your lordship writeth that you guess the writer's pen was holden by my hand. The truth is, that neither he nor any other in such an argument shall want either my head or heart, or yet any of my collections; but surely the writer is a pithy man, and apt to deal in such a cause. Though he be young, yet I doubt little of him, whom I send to your lordship to hear of your advice. My lord of Leicester feareth his judgment, but I doubt not this labour shall both betray him and stay him for hereafter. He hath written one quire more, which at leisure ye may read and peruse; peradventure in reading some words thereof, as in the 17th page, ye may think he hath mine information, but before God that trait was only of himself; ...”. Parker even sent Clerke to meet Burghley to discuss the details.

Despite John Day's complaint to Parker about having to print unsaleable Latin books he prioritised Clerke's book, delaying the printing of a volume of Neo-Latin verse, *Ludicra*, written by John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich before his Marian exile in Zurich. Day knew he had to protect his patents on more profitable books. Nonetheless, he also took the opportunity to ask Parker to intervene with Burghley in his attempt to obtain a site for a new shop in St Paul's Churchyard (Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage*, pp. 140–1).

Parker was quick to reward Clerke for his efforts and in May 1573 he was appointed Dean of the Court of Arches, the ecclesiastical court for the province of Canterbury. The Queen, however, “ordered Parker to rescind the appointment, on the pretence

that he was too young to hold the post, but Clerke refused to be intimidated, pointing out that others had been preferred as young as he was and that to dismiss him would be to discredit him in his profession; he challenged a trial of his competence, and repeated that ‘he would rather render his life than the office’ (*ibid.*, 417–32). Parker respectfully held his ground, the appointment stood, and other offices followed. In November 1573 Clerke was member of a commission to visit the church, city, and diocese of Canterbury; in 1577 he was appointed a master in chancery and in 1578 became a judge of the court of audience.” (ODNB).

Parker also sponsored the publication by Day of another response to Sander written by a member of his household. Dr. George Acworth's *De visibili Rom'anarchia* (1573) attacked Sander's prolegomenon or preface. It was printed by Day in the same format as Clerke's book and both books have matching type-ornament frames to the title-pages and are often found bound together. Parker gave copies of Acworth's book “to certain noble individuals and councillors in the hall” at the banquet he held for the Queen in the Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury on her 40th birthday on 7 September 1573 during her progress to Kent (John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. E. Goldring *et al.*, (2014), II, p. 79).

Provenance: 1: Old ink auction lot number “4195” in the top corner of the title. **2: Willem Gomaar Frans Verhoeven** (1738–1809), merchant, of Malines/Mechelen in Flanders, honorary secretary of the Société des Beaux-Arts of Malines, with ink inscription on the front flyleaf “Ex Libris G. F. Verhoeven” sale, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de feu Monsieur Guillaume Francois Verhoeven*, Malines, 1+/10/1810, lot 622, sold for “0-9” francs [as in Richard Heber's priced copy reproduced online]. **3: Jan Frans Van de Velde** (1743–1823), bibliographer, librarian of the University of Leuven / Louvain, with his signature “J F VandeVelde VJDv Lovanii”, sale, *Catalogue des livres, rares et precieux, au nombre de 14435 lots, de la Bibliotheque de feu Monsieur Jean-Francois Van de Velde*, Ghendt / Gand, 1831–32, lot 5683 [sold with the following lot for 30 francs]. **4: Rev. Joseph Mendham** (1769–1856), of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, religious controversialist and book collector; by descent to his nephew, Rev. John Mendham (d. 1869), of Clophill, Bedfordshire; a large portion of the library, as selected by Charles Hastings Collette, was presented by John Mendham's widow Sophia to the Law Society; *Catalogue of the Mendham Collection* (Law Society, 1871), p. 77; the Mendham Library was on deposit at Canterbury Cathedral Library (University of Kent) from 1984; with recent pencil shelfmarks on the pastedown; modern Law Society bookplate on the front pastedown; Mendham sale, Bloomsbury, 20/3/2014, lot 90.

“THE MOST VALUABLE TREASURE OF THE ANCIENT THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY EXTANT IN ANY LANGUAGE”

20 CUDWORTH (Ralph, D.D.). The True Intellectual System of the Universe: the first part; wherein, all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is Confuted; and its Impossibility Demonstrated.

London: for Richard Royston, 1678

£1,800

First Edition. Folio. [Text: 313 x 200 mm]. [20], 84, 97-156, 155-899, [1 (blank)], [84 (synopsis of the contents)] pp. Engraved frontispiece by Robert White after Jan Baptist Caspars depicting the Theists (Pythagoras, Aristotle & Socrates) debating with the Atheists (Anaximander, Strato & Epicurus) before the altar of Religion.

Small hole in the upper margin of the final leaf (no loss). Fine, crisp copy in contemporary plain light-brown sprinkled calf, manuscript paper label on the spine, red sprinkled edges (slightly rubbed, short cracks at the top and bottom of the front joint).



typical of Renaissance humanism rather than of later scholarship) to attack the views of Democritus, Strato, and Lucretius, its primary targets are the atheistic materialism of Thomas Hobbes and what Cudworth dubs ‘Hylozoick’ atheism. Cudworth expects that Baruch Spinoza will soon publish an exposition of this latter position (see 1678 edn, p. A7r) and considers that it needs to be treated seriously, even though he dismisses Spinoza’s *Tractatus theologico-politicus* as being in ‘every way so Weak, Groundless and Inconsiderable’ that it is not worth confuting (*ibid.*, 707). At exhausting length and with enormous erudition Cudworth seeks to counter atheistic arguments, which he gives in some detail. ... The work had a mixed reception. Shaftesbury, for instance, comments in his *Characteristics* (5, pt 2, 3) that while people did not dispute Cudworth’s learning and his ‘sincerity in the cause of Deity’, some accused him of ‘giving the upper hand to the atheists’ for having presented their reasons ‘fairly’. Others criticized as Arian his Trinitarian interpretation of classical Platonic ideas about the divine (see, for example, Robert Nelson, *Life of Bull*, 1714, 339). William Warburton (*Divine Legation of Moses*, preface to books 4, 5, and 6) reports that Cudworth was so disgusted by the charge that his ostensive attack on atheism had in fact a crypto-atheistic intent that ‘his ardour slackened’ and he never completed the work that he had originally proposed.” (*ODNB*).

In the preface to the second edition (1743), the editor Thomas Birch described it as “the most valuable Treasure of the ancient Theology and Philosophy extant in any Language.”

Provenance: Armorial bookplate of the Marquess of Tweedale, presumably that of **John Hay, 2nd. Marquess of Tweedale** (1645-1713), of Yester House, Gifford, East Lothian, High Treasurer (Scotland) 1695, High Commissioner to the Parliament (Scotland) 1704, Lord High Commissioner (Scotland) 1704-5; ink purchase note on the flyleaf “payd for this 18sc-06-0” and shelfmark “L / yyy” on the pastedown; apparently not in the Tweedale sale, Christie, 18/3/1970. In Maggs reserve stock since 1981.

Wing C7471. Part 1 only, all published.

In 1678 the great Cambridge Platonist Dr. Ralph Cudworth, Master of Christ’s College, published *The true intellectual system of the universe*.

“Although the work appears to a large extent to be defending and using the views of Plato and Aristotle (treated in a manner

“I HAVE NEVER SEEN, OR HEARD OF ANY OTHER COPY, OF THIS BOOK”

21 CURSON (Henry). A Compendium of the Laws and Government Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, of Great Britain and Ireland and Dominions, Plantations and Territories thereunto belonging. With the Maritime Power thereof, and Jurisdiction of Courts therein. Methodically digested under their Proper Heads. The Second Edition. By H. Curson, of the Inner Temple, Esq.

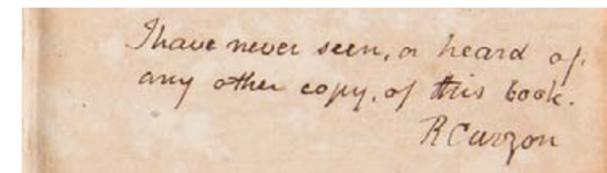
London: for John Walthoe Junr, 1716

£450

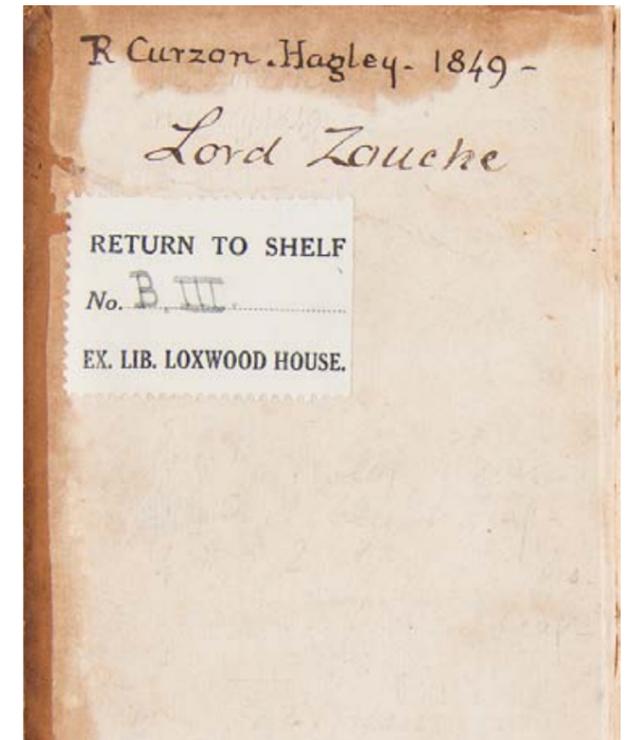
Second Edition. 12mo. [xvi], 642, [14 (index)] pp. Contemporary plain calf (joints cracked but firm, headcap broken, minor scuffing).

First published in 1699. This second and last edition is, as noted below, very rare: ESTC lists no copies in the UK; Folger Shakespeare Library, Harvard Law Library, Library of Congress in USA and the Supreme Court Library, Brisbane in Australia.

As well as two other law books Curson wrote *The Theory of Sciences Illustrated* (1702) and a pocket *New Description of the World* (1706 & 1716). A 606-page manuscript compendium of law, mathematics and heraldry by him was sold at Christie, 16/7/2014, lot 32.



Provenance: **Hon. Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche of Harringworth** (1810-73), traveller and collector of ancient manuscripts and author of *Visit to the Monasteries in the Levant* (1849) and a distant relative of the author; with his signature on the front pastedown “R Curzon. Hagley. 1859” with “Lord Zouche” (he succeeded his mother in the barony of Zouche or de la Zouche of Harringworth on 15 May 1870) added below and a note on the flyleaf: “I have never seen, or heard of any other copy, of this book. R Curzon”; Hagley Hall was his father’s house in Staffordshire.



Later label on the pastedown of Loxwood House, Billingshurst, West Sussex, home of the 17th Baroness Zouche.

For Robert Curzon’s book collecting see: Ian Fraser, *The Heir of Parham: Robert Curzon, 14th Baron Zouche* (1986).

“GUIDED BY A SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHY WHICH ALLOWS NO INDULGENCE TO FASHIONABLE FOLLIES”

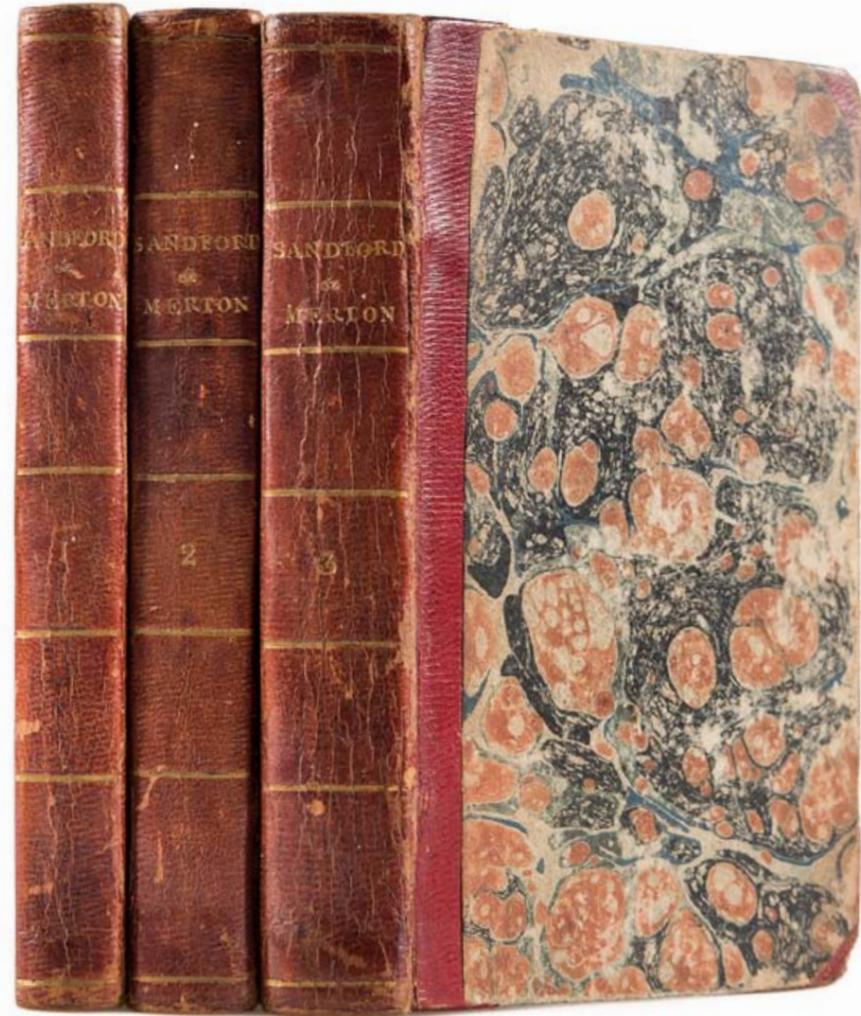
22 [DAY (Thomas)]. The History of Sandford and Merton, a work intended for the Use of Children.

London: for J. Stockdale, 1783 [2: for John Stockdale, 1786; 3: for John Stockdale, 1789]

£3,500

First Edition of all 3 vols. Vol. 1 small 8vo, vols. 2-3 12mo. [169 x 100 mm]. vii, [i blank], 215, [1 (blank)]; [2], 306, [4 (advertisements)] [lacks a final blank leaf]; [2], stipple-engraved oval frontispiece by W. Skelton after M. Browne in vol. 2 and by Medland after Stothard in vol. 3; frontispiece and title of vol. 3 browned and dampstained; blank upper fore-corners of Vol. 2, L5-6 and a blank

piece from the fore-margin of L7-8 torn during cutting; tiny hole in the lower fore-margin of the first few leaves of vol. 3; some very light foxing towards the end of vol. 3. Bound circa 1800 in red half morocco, spot-marbled boards and endpapers (joints and headcaps rubbed, corners worn).



A famous rarity of children's literature. As it was published in three volumes over six years with four London editions of Vol. 1 and two of Vol. 2 as well as reprints in Belfast, Dublin and Philadelphia during those years (and many editions subsequently). The ESTC record is confused with two separate entries (T231006 & T70591) for the first edition.

The first ESTC entry records only two copies - Bodley (Opie A289) & University of Victoria in British Columbia, however the Opie Bodley copy is Vol. 2 only; another set of all 3 vols at Bodley (Arch. H e.86) which was owned by Maria Edgeworth lacks the title-page of Vol. 1 and is reported on SOLO as having 281, [5]pp (the pagination of the 4th and 5th editions of 1787 and 1790); that may explain why ESTC reports it as having horizontal chain-lines which the present copy does not. The copy reported at the University of Victoria in fact has the 5th edition of Vol. 1 and the 2nd edition of Vol. 2. The second ESTC entry records numerous copies; however examination reveals that almost all are mixed sets with later editions of vol. 1.

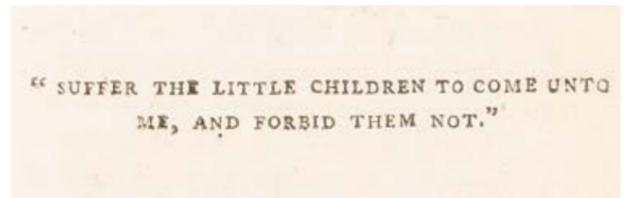
The only sets we can certainly locate with first editions of all three volumes are:

Birmingham University Library; Cambridge University Library; Science Museum, London [ex James Watt]; Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Providence Public Library, Rhode Island; Lilly Library, Indiana University (ex A. E. Newton, morocco by Riviere, with a presentation inscription from a later edition or volume dated 1789 bound-in); Harvard University Library. ESTC lists a set at the Rosenbach Museum, Philadelphia but it is not on their online catalogue.

Only four sets (beside the present, for which see below) are recorded as having been sold at auction in the last seventy years: The A. Edward Newton copy (now at Lilly) originally sold at his auction in 1941 for \$400 was resold at Parke-Bernet, 7/2/1944, lot 198, \$210; the copy now at Birmingham University was sold at Sotheby, 21/10/1974, lot 647 (sheep, not uniform), £280 to Maggs; a copy was sold at Sotheby (Hodgson's), 29/7/1982, lot 184 (calf, worn), £200 to Quaritch; a copy was sold at Bloomsbury, 23/7/1992, lot 188 (calf, gilt spines), £520 to Hannas.

Thomas Day's "most famous production, destined to be a best-seller for eighty years, was *Sandford and Merton*. Published in three volumes (1783, 1786, and 1789), it tells how rebellious Tommy Merton, the spoilt son of a wealthy plantation owner from Jamaica, and his friend Harry Sandford, the poor but worthy son of a local farmer, are patiently educated by the Revd Mr Barlow - and how Master Tommy is brought, by precept and self-discovery, to see the error of his ways. A host of interpolated stories, providing introductions to ancient history, astronomy, biology, science, exploration, and geography, enable facts and figures to be absorbed relatively painlessly but the main narrative easily holds the attention. Rousseau's deductive techniques are deployed to good effect. What comes through is the basic Christian (and early socialist) message that the members of society should be kind not only to each other but also to the poor and the sick, to those of a different race, and to animals, birds, and insects. They should labour to the best of their ability and contribute to a common pool of goods and happiness. But for the idle rich, particularly those who wear fine clothes, play cards, and treat lesser mortals with contempt, the author has no mercy. The book, however sententious, would play a crucial role in moulding the ethos of nineteenth-century England." (ODNB).

The anonymous reviewer [Rev. William Enfield, a Unitarian Minister in Warrington] of the first volume wrote in *The Monthly Review* (Vol. LXX, Feb. 1784) that: "The history of Sandford and Merton bears evident marks of being the production of a writer who thinks & judges for himself, and whose pen is guided by a system of philosophy which allows no indulgence to fashionable follies. His great object seems to be to inspire youth with a hardy spirit, both of passive and active virtue, and to lead them to form such habits of industry and fortitude, as shall produce a manly independence of character, and a mind superior to the enticement of luxurious indulgence. For this purpose, he relates a variety of tales, chiefly drawn from former sources, but arranged and expressed in his own manner. These narratives he has interwoven with a story, in which two children and their tutor are the principal characters; rightly judging that in early education, great attention ought to be paid to the natural order of association. With respect to the language, the author has given it more elegance and ornament, then is usually met with in such compositions; preserving, at the same time, a sufficient degree of simplicity, to make it intelligible to children." (pp. 126/7) ... "It appears to us, on the whole, exceedingly well adapted to answer the ends of solid instruction, and will probably obtain for the Author (what he earnestly wishes) the applause of children, as well as (what, though he seems to despise, we are not disposed to withhold) the praise of Reviewers. What is here published, as we learn from the Preface, is only a part of a much larger work. The remainder will we hope, in due time, be presented to the Public." (pp. 129/30).



On reviewing the second volume (*Monthly Review*, Vol. LXXV, Nov. 1786), Enfield was able to identify Day as the author: "Sandford and Merton are already well known by many a fire-side, and have afforded many an hour's instructive entertainment to young people. It is with pleasure we announce to them the continuation of this agreeable tale, and, at the same time, assure them, that, if it not be their own fault, they will receive more improvement from this volume than they have done from the former. The sensible and ingenious Author (Mr. Day) possesses in great perfection the happy art of conveying useful information, just and manly sentiments, and important precepts, in the form of dialogue and story. Excellent lessons of hardy temperance, activity, humanity, generosity, and piety; rational views of society; and withal, many articles of instruction in science, are, in this little volume, agreeably wrought up in the form of narration." (p. 366). ... "Perhaps the Author insists too much upon his favourite idea of training up children to do, and to bear, every thing, and requires a degree of passive hardiness scarcely to be expected in the present state of society; if it be an error, it lies, however, on the right side, in an age in which there is so general a bias toward luxurious effeminacy. He has also, we think, expressed himself too strongly concerning the difficulties and hardships of the military life. But these trifles weigh nothing against the uncommon merit of this work; which we trust the Author will continue, till he has conducted his young friend, Harry, up to manhood." (p. 363/4).

Provenance: Pencil note "quite so" beside the description of the gouty gentlemen (II, p. 24). Philip & Georgianna Gell, of Hopton, with their ink names (his crossed-out) on the front flyleaves. Philip Gell (1775-1842), of Hopton Hall, Wirksworth, Derbyshire, married in 1797 Georgianna Anne, daughter of Nicholas Nicholas, of Boys Court, Kent; they had one daughter Isabella who married in 1828 William Pole Thornhill. He was M.P. for Malmesbury 1807-12 and Penrhyn 1812-18 but made little mark. The Hopton estate eventually passed to the Chandos-Pole family who briefly added the name of Gell before selling the estate in 1933. A section of library, at least, remained intact until it was sold in 1984 when this copy was acquired by Pickering & Chatto (with their collation note at the end of vol.1) and sold in October 1988 for \$3500 to: Hans Fellner, antiquarian bookseller and Christie's book expert; his collection was recently dispersed at Christie's South Kensington and Chiswick Auctions - this was Christie's 15/11/2013, lot 160.



MANUSCRIPT TREATISE ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE TWO COVENANTS AND ORIGINAL SIN BY A WOMAN WHO MAY BE IDENTIFIED AS THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE

23 [DEVONSHIRE (Christian[a] (Bruce) Cavendish, Dowager Countess of), attributed to]. “A Key to Concord in the long debated point of original sin, and other controverted points. Written by a true lover of unitie.” The Preface “To the Cleargie of the Church of England” is signed “An Obedient Daughter, and true Member of ye Church of England.”

[England, circa 1660]

£45,000

Manuscript on paper in a single neat hand. Watermark: Arms of the City of Amsterdam. Ruled in red. Folio. [Text: 315 x 210 mm]. [3 (blank)], [1 (title)], 7 [“(To the Cleargie of the Church of England”)], [1 (blank)], [4 (“The Preface to the Reader”)] + a loose bifolium of different paper (watermark: a posthorn on a crowned shield, with initials “AM” below) with a half-page correction sheet

with 2 replacement paragraphs)], [2 (blank)], 1-115 [+ a loosely stitched-in bifolium of different paper at p. 32 with a 1-page insertion “To be added to Page 32. before the Marginall Notes”], [1 (blank)], [3 (“A Table of the Contents of this Booke”)], [3 (blank)] pp. Contemporary sprinkled calf, covers panelled in blind; plain spine with five single raised bands (front joint repaired). Cloth box.

An unpublished treatise on the Doctrine of the Two Covenants (Election & Reprobation) and Original Sin prefaced by a remarkable spiritual autobiography describing her 15-year battle with her conscience over the fundamental tenets of her faith

and written for publication after consultation with Dr Jeremy Taylor and two other eminent divines. The anonymous woman writer may be identified as Christian[a] (Bruce) Cavendish, Dowager Countess of Devonshire (1595-1675).

Written in a single neat hand, most probably autograph, with occasional corrections + one altered passage and one insertion on separate sheets of different paper; carefully laid out with running headlines and sidenotes (many of the sidenotes added slightly later in the same hand) - everything necessary to be ready for the press.

The author had a marked aversion to ending sentences except at the end of paragraphs. For the sake of the sense the following transcripts have converted commas to full-stops where appropriate and changed lower-case letters to capitals at the beginning of sentences. Consequently many sentences now begin with prepositions.

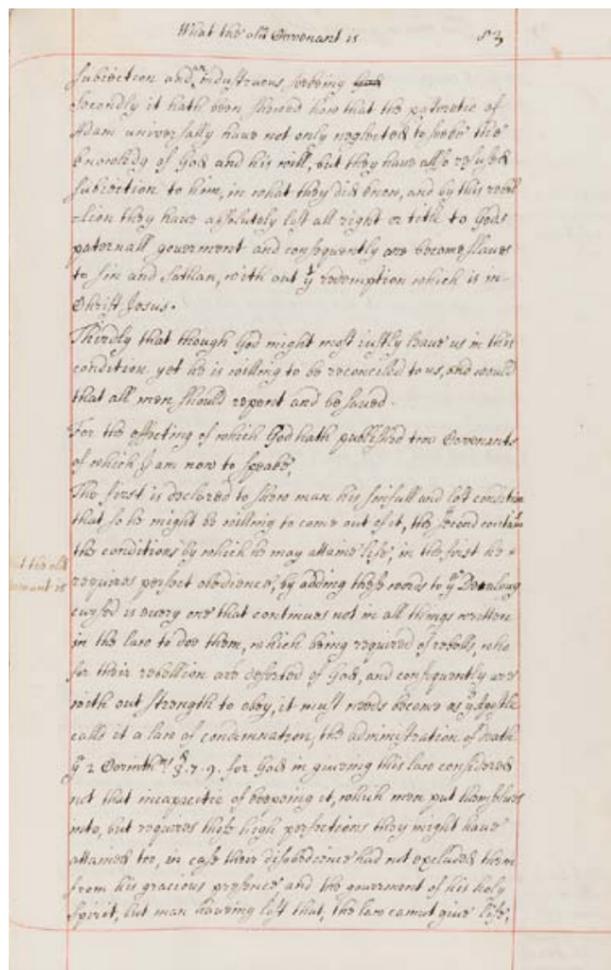
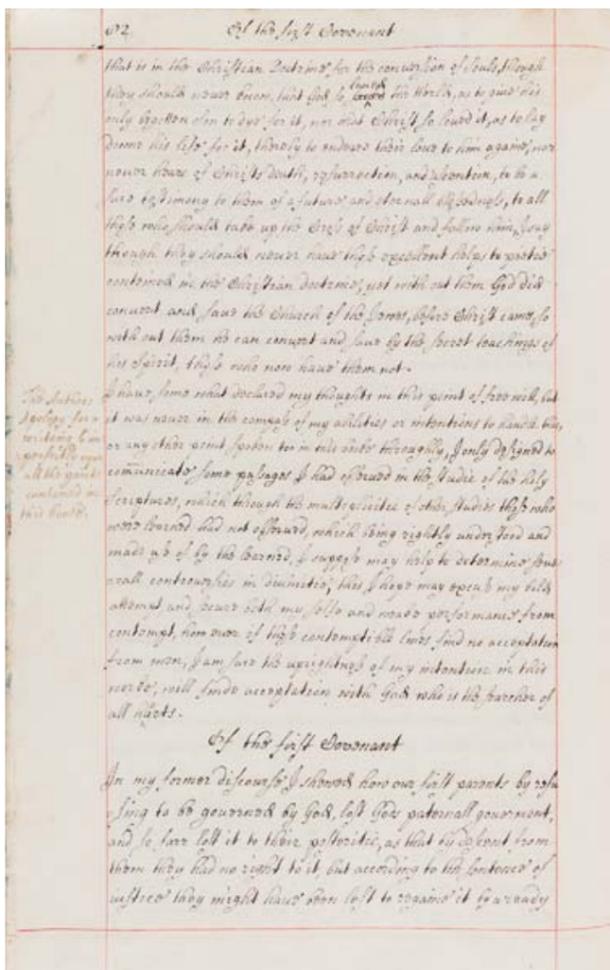
[Pp.2-7 (“To the Cleargie of the Church of England”)] -

“... Some time before I had occasion too, or thoughts of writing, it pleased God to bring me to the gates of death, at which time examining my fitness to dye, my Conscience did not accuse me of any customary willfull sin, yet remembring that in hearing the Doctrine of the Trinitie I often found my faith to stagger I was so much affrighted as that I could make no application of comfort to my Soule, though I resolved to beleve it could it be proved to me by Scripture. Wherefore I craved the assistance of that Worthie good man Doctor Somes* who was my Spirituall Pastor [sidenote: he was at yt time the long Parliaments Prisoner in the Kings cause and so could not be present with me to give yt assistance I needed] but those texts alledged by him not appearing to me at that time to prove it, I persuaded my selfe to receive it upon the authoritie of the Church, but the enemy of my Soule suggested that if I could rely upon the iudgement of the Church I must rely upon the iudgement of the Church of Rome for she only had been the constant visible Church to have been relyed on, and she only pretended to infallibilitie, as for our Church it was rent asunder by divisions and amongst so many opinions I should never know which to chuse, and that therefore I must either resolve to be a Papist or else resolve to examine the Articles of my Creede my selfe. In this streight I chose the latter, and thus the Devill attained his designe of putting me upon the examining the main Articles of my Creede as whether there were a God or no? what he is? and whether the bad consequences of my questioning them, should have been beleevd by me and such as I am upon the authoritie of the Church, and not questioned soe far by us, as to looke for any other prooffe but her affirmation, who in these points doth constantly agree. But I being ignorant of what I should have done in that case and wanting my spirituall Guide, the Devill tooke advantage of my ignorance and sugdgested to me that if I would prove my religion, it was fitt in the first place that I should prove the truth of the Scriptures. ...

“... And this it was that first necessitated me soe earnestly to endeavour to understand the Scriptures, and all such points of

religion as I thought most necessary for me to knowe, that so I might settle my Soule, and performe my devotions quietly. But not being ignorant how unable I was to do this, without the assistance of those Spirituall guides God had sett over me, I resolved to make use of their assistance, and therefore I endeavoured chiefly to acquaint my selfe with those texts of Scripture which was commonly made use of by them for ye prooveing the most improveable points of divinitie as to a holy life, and farther I applied my selfe frequently to read their expressions of Scripture. But considering it was not the planting of Paul nor the watering of Apollo that could settle my unsettled Soule but ye blessing of God upon both I sett my selfe by a constant course of fasting and prayer to seek the guidance of God, still building my hope upon that promise of Christ that they who will doe his will should know of his Doctrine. My first studie therefore was to understand the Decalogue, of which I got a breviate to examine my life by, ... but after a while I understood it to be impossible for the witt of man to understand, how those infirmities of nature should be sinfull and damnable if we consider them to be in us only by our first parents sin, and Gods iudgment upon their sin, as it is commonly taught. For how can it bee conceived that we should be guiltie of a sin committed long before we were borne. ...

“... And this was it which first put me upon the studie of this great point of originall sin, but after my thoughts had been a good while perplexed in this studie to no purpose, comes a poor servant Maid to me desiring me to tell her the meaning of some texts in the 7 chap: of Ecclesiasticus which gave me occasion to consider the sense of the whole chapter. And findeing my selfe to receive satisfaction from it, in the point I had so long considered of, I asked her how she came to move yt question to me who was never want to move a question of that nature. She told me, she did not knowe, only she had a desire to understand that part of Scripture, upon which I could not but looke upon her as a messenger sent by God to be a meanes to satisfie my enquire. ... But though I have thus boldly adventured to present these notions of mine to your considerations, yet I have not done it rashly, and upon my owne esteeme of them onlie, for before I adventured to doe it I discoursed them privately to two eminent Divines, [long sidenote: Doctr. Jerem. Taylor,** and Doctr Robert Mossom.*** These worthy Prelates did not give this advice rashly they both writt their iudgments in this point after their perusall of my papers without any concurrence with them but rather with an intention of convincing me of error in that in which I dissented from them. But this giveing me occasion to explaine my selfe more fully and more clearly to them; their great humility and zeale for truth to their immortall glory prevailed with them to yeild to the argument of an illiterate woman, and to advise the publishing of that which



in some particulars opposeth what they had printed] who though they had differed somewhat from each other in this, and most of the points I have treated of, yet they gave such a concurring iudgment to this booke I now present to you as that they both said that it might be of good use to the Church. And therefore they encouraged me to make it publicke, without whose approbation, or some others as able to iudge I should not have ventured it to a publicke viewe, though my Conscience gave great testimony to the truth and usefullness of it. ...

“... But in this I hope I shall not be an evill president to other illiterate persons to doe the like. For though I may reckon my selfe of that ranke in respect of my little studying of humane Writers, yet I cannot reasonable be thought to be so ignorant in ye Scriptures considering I have spent very much of my time for this fiftene or sixteene yeares togather in studying the Bible only and Expositors upon it. ... What may be said in prejudice to the authorising what is delivered in this booke I guess not, except it be these two things. The one is, that ye manner of the coming in of original sin, as I

represent it, hath not been acknowledged formerly by the Church. The other is, that this new manner of framing it is proposed but by an ignorant woman. But to the 1st. I answer that a Doctrine built upon Scripture as this is ought not to be reiected, because it hath not been formerly understood to be contained there, and therefore not formerly received by the Church for upon such grounds, wee may reiect ye Doctrine of the death of the Messias, the resurrection of the body, and other Articles of our Creede, which though built upon the Scriptures, was for divers ages hid from the antient Church of the Jewes and not received by her. To the 2d. I answer, that God hath usually made choice of meane contemptible persons in the eye of ye world, nay sometimes of wicked persons, as of Balam to publish to the world his secrets, and truly as it seemes to me it may be strongly inferred, that the mightie hand of God hath gone along with me in this worke, in that it is accomplished by a person soo infinitely too weake for such a business. ... An Obedient Daughter, and true Member of ye Church of England.”

* **Dr Thomas Soame** (d. 1649), “matriculated pensioner from Peterhouse, Cambridge, Easter 1604. Born in Yarmouth (son of a fisherman, but descended from an ancient family). Scholar, 1604-8, B.A., 1607-8, M.A. 1611, D.D. 1627. Fellow, 1609. Incorporated at Oxford, 1645. Rector of Stawley, Somerset, 1609-16. V. of Staines, 1616-43. Canon of St Paul’s, 1616-49; of Windsor, 1622-49. V. of Twickenham, 1640-3, sequestered. Died May, 1649, at Staines.” (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*). He was one of at least five members of the Chapter of St Paul’s Cathedral who “were imprisoned, mainly early in the war. ... Soame, whose parishioners in Staines fought vainly to keep him as their minister, retired to a life of poverty in Oxford.” - Stanford E. Lehmborg, *Cathedrals under Siege* (1996), p. 53.

** **Dr Jeremy Taylor** (1613-67), Bishop of Down & Connor (1660-7) and religious writer. At the outbreak of the Civil War Jeremy Taylor was rector of Uppingham in Rutland but he soon joined King Charles in Oxford. In January or February 1645 he was captured at Cardigan Castle and spent the rest of the Civil War as a schoolteacher at Golden Grove, near Carmarthen in Wales, the seat of the Earl of Carbery. “In the winter of 1655-6 Taylor was busy defending his position on original sin both in private letters and in works intended for the press. *A Further Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin* was published in November 1655 and was subsequently incorporated in later editions of *Unum necessarium* as chapter 7.” (ODNB). In 1657 he returned to London but in the Summer of 1658 he moved to Ireland at the invitation of Viscount Conway. On 6 August 1660 he was nominated Bishop of Down & Connor in the Church of Ireland.

*** **Dr Robert Mossom** (1617-79), Dean of Christ Church, Dublin (1660-6), Bishop of Derry (1666-79). Robert Mossom’s living at Teddington, Middlesex, was sequestered in 1650 and he spent the Commonwealth years as a schoolmaster. Like Taylor he was rewarded for his loyalty at the Restoration and found himself in the Church of Ireland, first as Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, and then as Bishop of Derry.

The near-mortal illness that caused the writer to question her fitness for death and crave “the assistance of that Worthie good man Doctor Somes who was my Spirituall Pastor”, who was “at yt time the long Parliaments Prisoner in the Kings cause” must have occurred in 1643 when his livings were sequestered and he was imprisoned. Then, though she considered herself among the ranks of the illiterate due to her “little studying of humane Writers, yet I cannot reasonable be thought to be so ignorant in ye Scriptures considering I have spent very much of my time for this fiftene or sixteene yeares togather in studying the Bible only and Expositors upon it”. Presuming she started her scripture studies in 1643 this would take her to 1658-9, during which time she showed her draft papers “privately to two

eminent Devines”, Doctors Jeremy Taylor and Robert Mossom, who both answered her in writing with “an intention of convincing me of error in that in which I dissented from them”. Then, having explained herself more fully and clearly, “their great humility and zeale for truth to their immortall glory prevailed with them to yeild to the argument of an illiterate woman, and to advise the publishing of that which in some particulars opposeth what they had printed.”

Who, then, was this “illiterate woman” whose musings on Original Sin could command the personal written attention of three leading Anglican Doctors of Divinity during the Civil War or soon after, all ardent Royalists, and all deprived of their livings and even their liberty, and two of whom could be persuaded to advise the publication of her arguments despite certain differences of opinion?

There was one woman who received just such private written attention, at least from Dr Jeremy Taylor. In 1656 the bookseller Richard Royston published, ostensibly without his authority, Taylor’s *Deus Justificatus, or a Vindication of the Glory of the Divine Attributes in the Question of Original Sin. Against the Presbyterian way of Understanding it*. It was addressed “to the Right Honorable and religious Lady, the Lady Christian, Countesse Dowager of Devonshire”.

Christian[a] Cavendish (née Bruce), Dowager Countess of Devonshire (1595-1675), was the widow of William Cavendish, 2nd Earl of Devonshire (1590-1628), daughter of Edward Bruce, 1st Baron Bruce of Kinloss, sister of Thomas Bruce, 1st Earl of Elgin, and mother of William Cavendish, 3rd Earl of Devonshire (1617-84), Col. Charles Cavendish (1620-43) and Henry and Anne Cavendish. Her husband died young and she endured a long widowhood which was much occupied by her concerns for her sons’ education (Thomas Hobbes was their tutor) and the preservation of the Cavendish estates for her elder son from the lawsuits of creditors. From 1638 she lived at Cavendish House, Leicester (the former Leicester Abbey) which was looted and burned in 1645, her 2nd son having been killed by Cromwell’s men at Gainsborough in 1643 and her only daughter, Anne, Lady Rich, having died in 1638, aged 27. From 1647 she lived with her brother the Earl of Elgin at Ampthill in Bedfordshire before buying an estate at Roehampton in Surrey around 1650 which “became a centre of surreptitious activity on behalf of the exiled Charles II” (ODNB). Following the Restoration, “Lady Devonshire presided over an elaborate establishment at Roehampton, welcoming wits, authors, and politicians to her home. ... The Italian visitor Lorenzo Magalotti described her in 1667 as living “in a magnificent house in the style of something more than a great princess.” (ODNB). See, Thomas Pomfret, *The Life of the Right Honourable and Religious Lady Christian Countesse Dowager of Devonshire* (1675).

In the Preface to *Deus Justificatus*, Taylor wrote that “I have found, that some men, to whom I gave and designed my labour, and for whose sake I was willing to suffer the persecution of a suspected truth, have been so unjust to me, and so unserviceable to your Honour (Madam,) and to some other excellent and rare personages, as to tell stories, and give names to my proposition, and by secret murmurs hinder you from receiving that good which your wisdom and your piety would have discerned there, if they had not affrighted you with telling, that a snake lay under the Plantane, and that this Doctrine which is as wholesome as the fruits of Paradise, was inwrapped with the infoldings of a Serpent, subtle and fallacious. Madam, I know the arts of these men; and they often put me in mind of what was told me by Mr Sackvill the late Earl of Dorsets Uncle; that the cunning Sects of the World (he named the Jesuits and the Presbyterians) did more prevail by whispering to Ladies, then all the Church of England and the more sober Protestants could do by prejudice or fears, terrible things, and zealous nothings, confident sayings and little stories, governing the Ladies consciences, who can perswade their Lords, their Lords will convert their Tenants, and so the World is all their own. ... and therefore (Madam) I have taken the boldnesse to write this tedious letter to your Honour, that I may give you a right understanding and an easy explication of this great Question; as conceiving my self the more bound to do it to your Honour, not onely because you are Zealous for the Religion of this Church, and are a person as well of reason as of Honour, but also because you have passed divers obligations upon me, for which, all my services are too little a return.” (pp. 6–11).

Taylor’s reference to the “whispering to Ladies” of the “cunning Sects of the World” mirrors our anonymous writer’s confession that the temptations of the Devil caused her to doubt not only about the authority of the Church of England as opposed to the Church of Rome but also caused her to question the fundamental tenets of her faith, even as to the existence of God himself and the truth of the Scriptures.

On pp. 83–4 of *Deus Justificatus* Taylor wrote: “I have now Madam given to your honour such accounts as I hope, being added to my other papers, may satisfie not onely your Ladiship, but those to whom this account may be communicated. I shall onely now beg your patience, since your Honour hath been troubled with Questions, and inquiries, and objections, and little murmurs to hear my answers to such of them as have been brought to me.” On p. 136 Taylor answered the sixth and last of these objections: “Object. 6. But it is objected that my doctrine is against the ninth Article in the Church of England [of Original or Birth-Sin]; and that I hear, Madam, does most of all stick with your Honour.”

In the present manuscript the passage on the loosely sewn-in bifolium added at p. 32 answers the same objection: “But the

great Obiection that hinders the reception of the truth and indeed the reception of the whole Booke is that in denying sin and a liableness to eternall damnation, to be derived from Adam to all his Posteritie in their Conception, wee oppose the ninth Article of the Church of England.” Her view is that, “The Article is concerning Originall sin, which hath in it these two parts, sin imputed, and sin inherent, both which I acknowledge. I say our first Parents sin is imputed in their Posteritie to Condemnation, but it is soe when they in their own persons, not in the loins of Adam, have contemned Gods paternall gover[n]ment, as Adam did, then by ioyning in that sin which deprives the World of the visibilitie of Gods government. In yt perspicuous manner intended, they are iustly charged, for all the ill consequences of yt universall rebellion, the privation of mans nature being one of those evill consequences. They are iustly charged for that privation, which privation is commonly called, the corruption of nature or sin inherent, and that is the second part of Originall sin, the which I heartely ackowledg to be sin deserving eternall torments in hell. But this not in innocent Infants in their conception, but by insolent sinners in their rebellion, and this is confirmed by the Apostle who sayth the Law without which there is no sin Rom:s 4th.15.v. and by which concupiscence, and the infirmities of nature is sin, Roms.7.8.v. is good if men use it lawfully. Knowing or taking notice of this that the Law was not made for the Righteous, but for the lawles & disobedient, for murderers of Fathers, and murderers of Mothers, and therefore sure not for innocent Infants to condemne them to eternall torments, for their naturall imperfections which they brought not upon themselves. Concerning ye time of Infancy the Apos: sayth of himselfe, that he was alive without the Law, concupiscence and the infirmities of nature did not kill him, but when the Commandement came that sayth, thou shalt not lust then concupiscence gott strength enough to kill him. Roms:7.v.9. But that comes not as the Apostle sayth but to wicked and lawles persons.”

Concupiscence (eager or vehement desire - *OED*) and Original Sin were linked subjects which Taylor dealt with at length in Chapter VI (“Of Concupiscence, and Original sin, and whether or no, or howe far we are bound to repent of it” in *Unum Necessarium. Or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance* (1655). A 7th Chapter (“Of sins of Infirmity”) intended to be bound with it was also issued separately as *A further Explication of the Doctrine of Originall Sin* (1656). He subsequently defended this 7th Chapter in *An Answer to a Letter written by the R.R. the Ld. Bop. of Rochester* (1656) which was also issued with some copies of *Deus Justificatus*.

Andrew Harvey, in the Abstract of his DPhil Thesis, *Original Sin, Free Will and Grace in the Works of Jeremy Taylor* (University of Birmingham, 2010) set out Taylor’s position: “Taylor is an early example of a divine who wanted to find a way of remaining an

orthodox Christian while rejecting the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. Taylor could not see how the term ‘sin’ could be correctly applied to anything but an individual’s freely-chosen acts. However, he recognised that the reduction of the Christian concept of sin to particular sins constituted the Pelagian heresy. He attempted to avoid it by placing the insight behind the traditional doctrine in the challenge posed to the will by a naturalised version of the Augustinian fallen state, which was nevertheless morally indifferent in itself. The insights and confusions in Taylor’s treatment of original sin and his anthropology, notably regarding the human will and its freedom, provide a fruitful basis for a more general consideration of the question of ‘orthodoxy’ concerning original sin and the classical Christian doctrine of man.”

Our anonymous female writer, who we would suggest was probably Christian[a] Cavendish, Countess of Devonshire, faced the same theological crisis as Taylor did. Her particular crisis, however, stemmed from her simple inability, as a mother, to believe that “innocent infants” could suffer by the sin of Adam or that their innate or natural concupiscence could be a sin. As she says on p. 38: “The pointe I propose to prove is this that each man of Adams posteritie by his owne personall guilt, and not any derived from Adam makes concupiscence and the infirmities of nature sinfull and damnable to himself.” Eve, incidentally is never mentioned by name and is only present as one of our “first parents”.

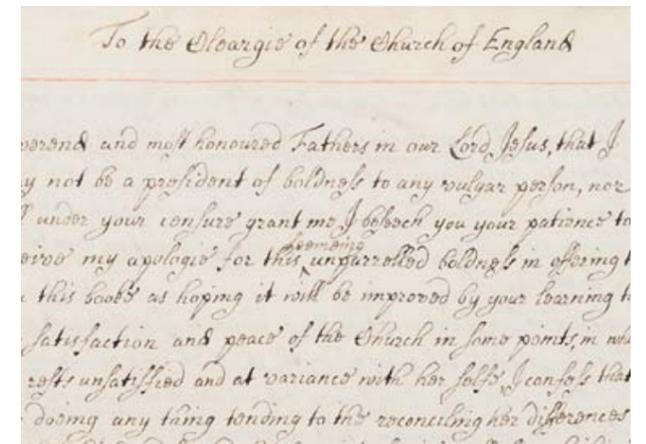
On p. 82 she includes, “The Authors Apology for writeing so imperfectly upon all the points contained in this booke” (sidenote): “I have some what declared my thoughts in this point of free will, but it was never in the compass of my abilities or intentions to handle this or any other point spoken too in this booke. Thoroughly, I only designed to communicate some passages I had observed in the studie of the holy scriptures, which through the multiplicite of other studies those who were learned had not observed, which being rightly understood and made use of by the learned, I suppose may help to determine severall controversies in divinitie. This I hope may excuse my bold attempt, and secure both my selfe and weake performance from contempt. However if these contemptible lines find no acceptation from men, I am sure the uprightness of my intention in this worke, will finde acceptation with God who is the searcher of all hearts.”

In her conclusion she notes that, “I have given the sense of these chapters and other parts of Scripture in this booke, hoping they will be made use of by the learned for the deciding of controversies in the Doctrines of the two covenants, election [&] reprobation and originall sin acknowledging my selfe altogether unable for such controversies and therefore never had purposes of undertaken them. I have only cast in my mite towards it, in imparting some observations not common, which I had made through the blessing of God upon my diligent reading of Scripture

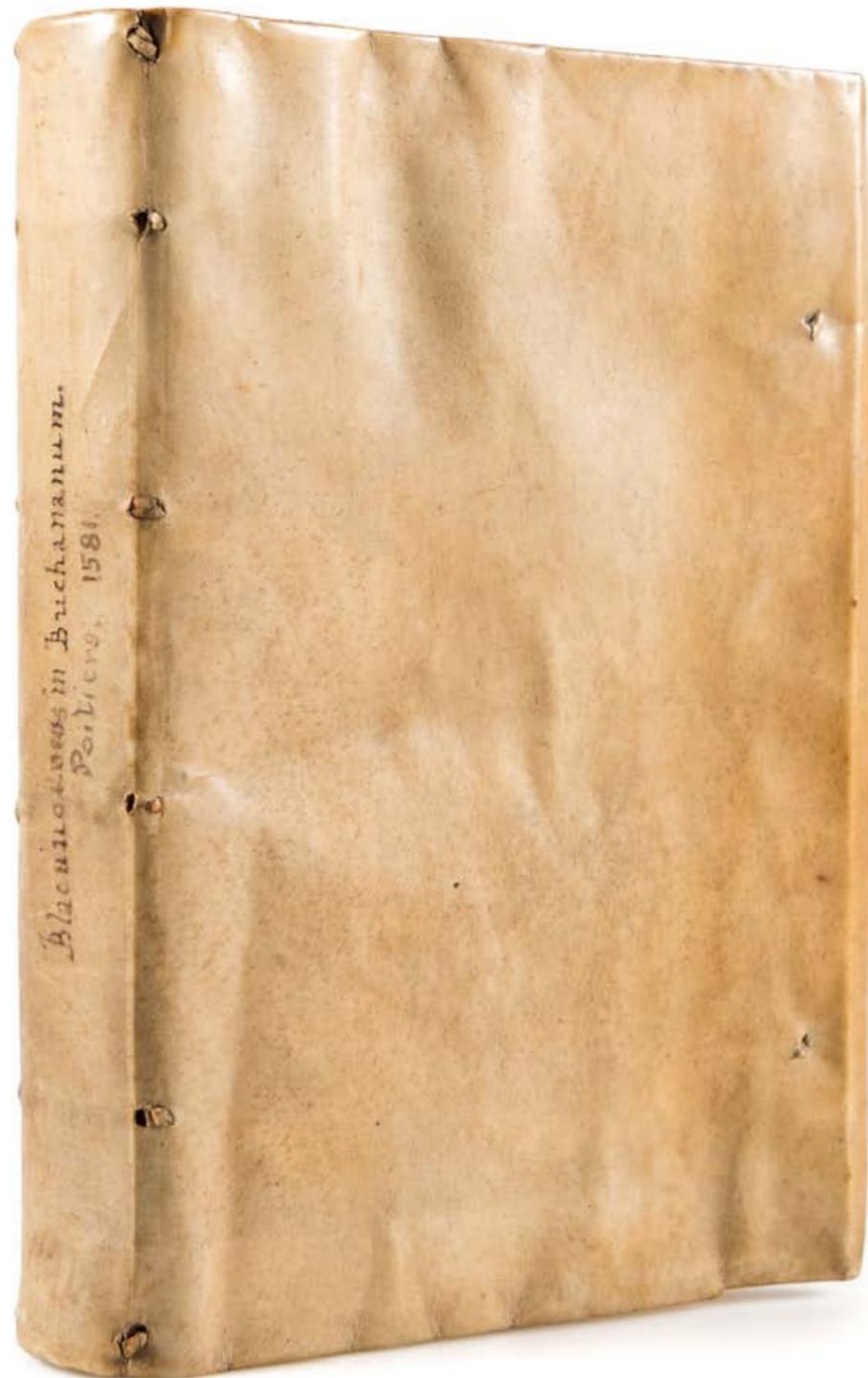
which being made use of by the learned, may through the same blessing of God upon their labors determine those points and begett unity in the Church, which God of his goodness grant. O Pray for the peace of Jerusalem they shall prosper that love thee.”

The late 1640s and 1650s saw a sudden explosion of published religious writings by women. These writing were, however, almost exclusively Nonconformist and predominantly Quaker and this phenomenon has been widely discussed in the literature (e.g. Marcus Nevitt, *Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640–1660* (2006)); he noted that over one-third of women writers in the period 1500–1800 were Quakers). There was a much smaller group of royalist women literary writers, headed by Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, who wrote for publication, as noted by Hero Chalmers, *Royalist Women Writers, 1650–1689* (2004). Anglican women, however, seldom ventured into writing beyond the “Mother’s Legacy” genre, prayers and meditations, or journals/diaries. These were usually intended for private devotion or family use and they were rarely published in their lifetimes and often not until long after, e.g. Elizabeth Isham’s “Book of Remembraunce” written in 1638, Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke’s “Great Books of Record”, or Elizabeth (Cavendish) Egerton, Countess of Bridgewater’s “Loose Papers”.

What women writers did not do was, using Biblical exposition, challenge one of the key Articles of the Church of England from within.



Provenance: No early marks of ownership. **John Dunn Gardner, formerly Townshend** (1811–1903), illegitimate son of John Margetts and Sarah (Dunn Gardner), estranged Marchioness Townshend, of Chatteris House, Cambridgeshire, with his armorial bookplate; not in the Sotheby’s sales of 6/7/1854 or 18/11/1875, but by descent to his granddaughter Miriam Leader (née Dunn-Gardner, 1905–after 1977), no marks of ownership, her sale, Sotheby, 26/11/1956, lot 134, £8 to Maggs [uncatalogued and in reserve stock since then].



Two Books from John Donne's Library that were Central to his Reading for *Pseudo-Martyr* (1605)

ON THE ORIGIN, NATURE AND POWER OF KINGSHIP

24 [DONNE (John)]. BLACKWOOD (Adam). *Adversus Georgii Buchananii dialogum, de iure regni apud scotos, pro regibus apologia*. Per Adamum Blacuodum Senatorem apud Pictavos.

Pictavis [Poitiers] apud Franciscum Pagaeum Typographum Regium, 1581

£30,000

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [Binding: 193 x 139 mm]. 341, [1 ("Auctor Lectori")], [2 (errata)] pp. Contemporary limp vellum, narrow yapp fore-edges, two pairs of fabric ties missing; spine with old vertical ink lettering "Blacuodaeus in Buchananum. / Poitiers. 1581" (front inside joint split). Text lightly browned throughout,

occasional spotting; paper flaw in the lower fore-margin of Q3 affecting two letters on recto and verso; paper flaw in X3 causing a short tear from the inner margin; 20x20mm hole in L13 from a paper flaw affecting the bottom two lines.

John Donne's copy, with his pencil reading marks, of a book on the nature of kingship, a subject central to his first published work *Pseudo-Martyr* (1605). In fine original condition, exactly as it was on Donne's shelves.

A reply by Adam Blackwood (1539-1613), Scottish civil lawyer, Roman Catholic polemicist, and counsellor to the Parlement of Poitiers (an office in the gift of Mary, Queen of Scots to whom this work is dedicated), to the influential/controversial *De jure regni apud scotos* (Edinburgh, 1579) by the great Scottish poet and historian George Buchanan (1506-82) - "a dialogue between the author and Thomas Maitland which defended a kind of constitutional monarchy in which bad kings could be legitimately deposed" (ODNB). COPAC records 15 copies in UK libraries, including Archbishop Bancroft's copy at Lambeth Palace and Archbishop Tobie Matthew's copy at York Minster. Reprinted at Paris in 1588 and Poitiers in 1612.

"Blackwood argued in juristic terms to prove that a true king had such *imperium merum ac solutum* as no elective magistrate, not even the Roman *princeps*, enjoyed or could claim. Such a king was, for one thing, *anointed*: he had been consecrated by a rite Blackwood describes as 'a symbol of divinity and, as it were, a sacrament'. Secondly, royal power was strictly and indefeasibly hereditary: the heir to the crown becomes king immediately upon the death of his predecessor. Blackwood, also insists, however, that 'kings inherit, not from [previous] kings, but from the realm [itself]'. This, by implying that the realm subsists in some sense independently of the king, may recall [Ninian] Winzet's concept of a *regnum* to which both king and people are 'bound'; and it may appear, similarly, to limit the full power over the laws which is the essence of *regia potestas*. Blackwood, however, argues from the postulate that kings succeed to the realm rather than to their predecessors to the conclusion that, just as the king may abrogate or repeal any law he has himself made, so he is not bound by

any agreement entered into by kings who have preceded him on the throne. And to this point we may add, finally, the point that Blackwood's theory of kingship is based upon a view of human society in which force is the inevitable origin and basis of authority." - James H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early-Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 226-7.

Blackwood's view of the rights of kings would have suited King James VI of Scotland, as he then was, much better than that of his old tutor Buchanan, whose book was condemned and ordered to be purged by the Scottish Parliament in 1584, two years after his death.



John Donne's copy with his ink signature "J:Donne" in the lower fore-corner and Italian motto at the head of the title "Per Rachel ho servito, & no[n] per Lea" ["It is for Rachel I serve and not for Leah"; a line taken from Petrarch, itself based on *Genesis* 29.25] and numerous ink and pencil markings in the margins throughout (see below).

Number L27 ("in the possession of John Sparrow") in Sir Geoffrey Keynes's census of books from Donne's library in his *Bibliography of Dr. John Donne*, 4th edn, 1973).

Keynes's census included a number of titles without Donne's markings but which survive bound together with ones that do, as well as three detached title-pages and a couple of forgeries and a few books "given to friends, but not proved to be part of his library". The most recent estimate is that around 280 titles have now been identified from Donne's library, of which some 80 are in the Middle Temple Library in London (Hugh Adlington, "Close reader: John Donne's Horace", *Times Literary Supplement*, 16/1/2015,

pp. 14-15); of these 280 titles approximately three-quarters have his signature and/or motto, both of which have often been cropped during rebinding as he wrote them close to the edge of the page. **Only a very few books from Donne's library now remain in private hands.**

As Keynes wrote, "Donne's erudition and virtuosity in ecclesiastical polemics can only have been founded on hard reading and familiarity with contemporary writings. He is likely, therefore, to have possessed a considerable library, ... It is noticeable that the great majority [of the 280 or so titles now known] were published before the appearance of *Pseudo-Martyr* in 1610, the work for which Donne first applied himself seriously to controversial theology. It is still more remarkable that very few of the books were published after 1615, the year in which he took orders. It seems, therefore, that he collected a good part of his library while at work on *Pseudo-Martyr* and that he bought fewer books after entering the Church." - Keynes, *Bibliography*, p. 259.

Marked throughout in the margins by Donne with his characteristic short pencil dashes (usually vertical but also horizontal or diagonal), occasional pencil brackets and some vertical ink lines.

Donne's reading marks are on 50 pages: [ii], [v], [vii], 13, 23, 25, 27, 28, 42, 46, 121, 122, 123, 184, 199, 200, 201, 206, 207, 208, 216, 218, 221, 222, 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 234, 235, 236, 237, 240, 244, 251, 252, 254, 265, 266, 268, 272, 276, 277, 301, 306, 328, 336, 337, 340.

They show a particular interest in the deposition of kings (e.g. Childeric by Pepin [who are mentioned several times in *Pseudo-Martyr*] and Seleucus), the power of popes versus kings, the overthrow of tyrants and the abrogation of laws. On p.28 there is a short pencil bracket beside line 3 from bottom which includes the words "barbarismos & solaeicmos" cf. *Pseudo-Martyr* where "Barbarismes and Solaeicmes" appears in the first paragraph of the preface.

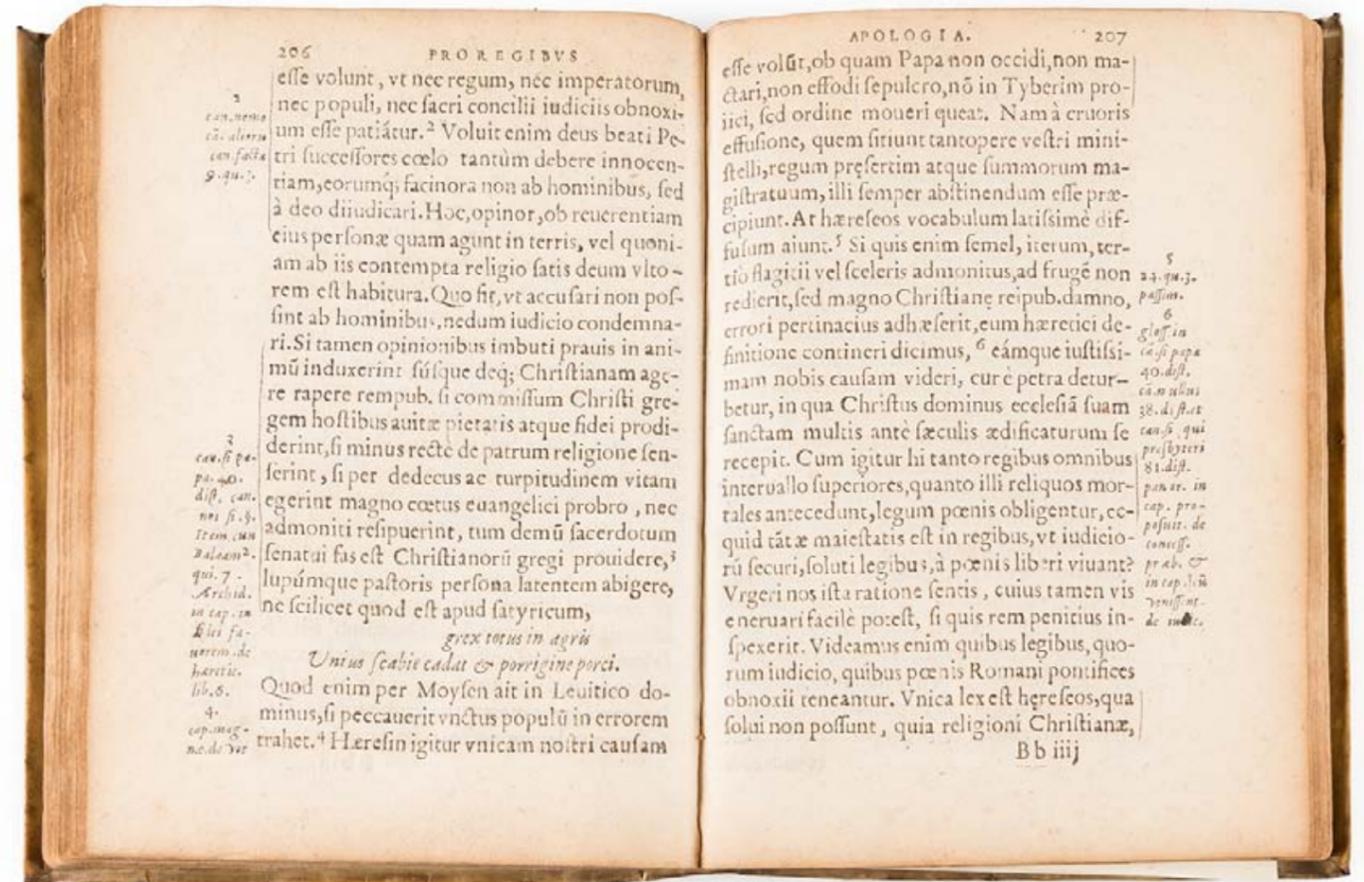
The debate over the origin, nature and power of kingship was central to the fine line between royal and papal authority that John Donne was trying to draw in *Pseudo-Martyr*; a line that would appeal alike to Catholic subject and Protestant king. See, in particular, Chapter VI "A comparison of the Obedience due to Princes, with the severall obediences requir'd and exhibited in the Romane Church" where Donne wrote: "If then this give us light, what and whence the Kings Jurisdiction is; we may also discern by this, what our obedience must be: for *power* and *subjection* are so *Relative*, as since the King commaunds in all things conducing to our *Peaceable* and *Religious* being, wee must obey in all those. This therefore is our first Orginary, naturall, and Congenite obedience, *to obey the Prince*: This belongs to us as we are *men*; and is no more changed in us, by being *Christians*, then our *Humanity* is changed: yet hath the *Romane Church* extolled and magnified three sorts of *Obedience*, to the prejudice of this." - John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. Anthony Raspa (1993), Chapter 6, paragraph 12 (p. 34).

Pseudo-Martyr (1605), though written after the posthumously-published *Biathanatos*, was both Donne's first published and longest prose work. Dedicated to King James, it was written to persuade Catholics that they could, with both theological and moral justification, equivocate and take the new Oath of Loyalty that the King was demanding of all his subjects in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot. This was no dry, scholastic exercise - it was a matter of life or death, as to refuse the Oath was treason and Donne argued that to choose death would be a false or pseudo-martyrdom. However, this topical urgency soon faded and *Pseudo-Martyr* was long ignored or dismissed by scholars. It was simply too difficult and was not reprinted until a facsimile of the British Library copy was published in 1974, with Anthony Raspa's edition following in 1993.

Today, however, its significance as a window into Donne's mind is being reassessed - see, Graham Roebuck, "The Controversial Treatise" in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (2010), pp. 249-63, where it is described as revealing "his most fundamental thoughts on religion" and embodying "a timeless truth, a penetrating view of the impulse to self-destruction" (p. 262).

With Anthony Raspa's 1993 edition, though praised for its critical introduction, "marred by a problematical textual theory, text, and commentary" for failing to account for the many stop-press corrections in the original (Ernest W. Sullivan II, "Modern scholarly editions of the prose of John Donne", in *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (2010), pp. 65-80), a full modern edition is still awaited.

While Donne did not directly refer to either Buchanan's original work (understandably) or Blackwood's reply in *Pseudo-Martyr*, he did also own, and extensively marked-up, another response to Buchanan: William Barclay's defence of the divine right of kings, *De regno et regali potestate adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium, et reliquos Monarchomachos* (Paris, 1600) [Keynes L16 - last recorded in the H. Bradley Martin sale, Sotheby, New York, 30/4/1990, lot 2795]. A copy of the Antwerp 1583 edition of Buchanan's *De rerum Scotticarum historia* (which includes *De iure regni apud scotos* as an appendix) at Chichester Cathedral in the bequest of Bishop Henry King is described as being "with quotations from William Barclay copied in by King" (online *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700: Henry King, Bishop of Chichester*; see also Daniel Starza Smith "This strange conglomeration of books' or 'Hobbs's Leviathan': Bishop Henry King's Library at Chichester" in Dimmock (Matthew) et al., eds, *Art, Literature and Religion in Early Modern Sussex: Culture and Conflict*, 2014). King was co-executor of Donne's will and owned several of Donne's books, some of which are still in Chichester. Others have been sold, including a copy of Andrea Vittorelli's *De angelorum custodia* (Padua, 1605) in the present Catalogue. While King, a determined monarchist, quoted Buchanan's *De iure regni* disapprovingly in



three of his published sermons he did not mention William Barclay's work. It would be interesting to see whether these may actually be Donne's notes rather than King's in the Chichester copy of Buchanan.

In 1609 the Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere published the 4-hour speech "touching the *Post-nati*" that he had delivered in the Exchequer Chamber in 1608. On pp. 43-45 he quoted approvingly a long passage from Blackwood (on pp. 64-5 in the present edition) with the following introduction: "This I make not of my selfe; for, besides common practise and experience, I have an honest and substantiall witness, Master Adam Blackwood a Scottishman, a man of singular learning in the Civile Lawe, who defendeth in like manner the Lawes of Scotland, as appeareth in his learned Booke intituled, *Pro Regibus Apologia*, written by him against a seditious Dialogue or Libell made by George Buchanan, *De iure regni apud Scotos*, ...".

From some time in the first half of 1598 until the discovery of his secret marriage to Ann More (the niece of Egerton's late wife) in February 1601 Donne had been secretary to Egerton, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and Master of the Rolls. Donne's enraged father-in-law Sir George More forced his dismissal as Egerton's secretary and his temporary imprisonment in the Fleet.

However, Donne's relationship with Egerton recovered and, when *Pseudo-Martyr* was published in 1605, Egerton was the recipient of one of the two surviving presentation copies (Robert S Pirie sale, lot 258). Donne's copy of Egerton's speech, bound with ten other tracts, is in Cambridge University Library [Keynes L70; it "contains margin notes, some trimmed by the binder, probably in Donne's hand. Many pencil markings in the margins"].

Izaak Walton, in his *Life of Dr. John Donne*, described how he would rise at four and study until ten in the morning - "And if that seems strange, it may gain a beliefe in the visible fruits of his labours; some of which remain as testimonies of what is here written: for he left the resultance of 1400 Authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand." (Walton, *Lives*, 1857 edn., pp. 67-8). This practice of taking of taking extensive reading notes explains why so many of Donne's books, such as the present, contain marginal pencil reading markings and relatively few contain actual annotations - one exception is the edition of Horace (Venice, 1562) recently discovered at Wadham College, Oxford which Hugh Adlington described as containing "marginal reading marks and annotations in Donne's hand, in ink and pencil, with a density rarely found in other books from his library. (This assertion is based on my examination of over 270 of the books

known to have belonged to Donne.” - Adlington, “Close reader: John Donne’s Horace”, *Times Literary Supplement* (16 Jan. 2015), p. 14-15. Dr Adlington is currently working on a new survey of Donne’s library and reading.

John Donne read deeply and voraciously; not, perhaps, so much for understanding but rather to furnish support for his arguments. It might be said that he devoured his books.

Blackwood’s text formed part of an extensive reading programme for his first published prose work, *Pseudo-Martyr*. Although it is not directly quoted from by Donne, Blackwood’s theories on royalty were central to Donne’s arguments. This volume, in its characteristically plain vellum binding, is exactly as it would have been on Donne’s shelves. It demonstrates how Donne’s library and his writings were inextricably linked and warrants closer study.

Later Provenance: John Donne directed in his will (proved on 5 April 1631) that his books, except for a few specific bequests listed

in a schedule that has not survived, should be sold for the benefit of his heirs (Keynes, *Bibliography*, 4th edition, p. 262).

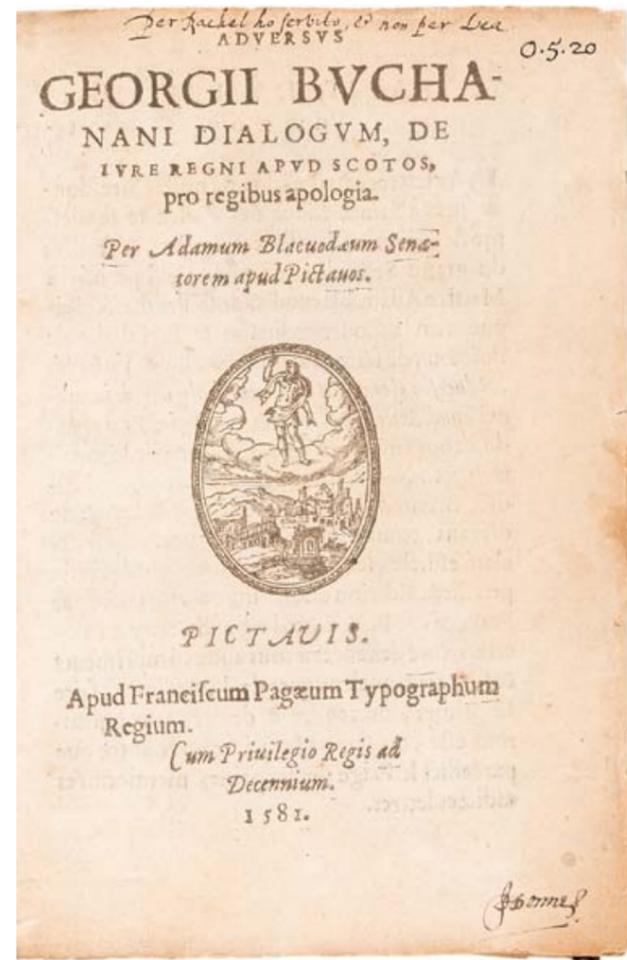
1: Unidentified institutional library with neat ink shelfmark “O.5.20” in the top fore-corner of the title and on the front pastedown.

2: Old pencil bibliographical note in French “iere Edition de l’ouvrage le plus importante de BLACKWOOD No 547 Bibliothecque Laing”; other notes “Scott 117”, “[David] Laing’s copy sold for £4-19” [in 1879].

3: **Arthur Kay** (1861-1939), of Glasgow, collector and textile manufacturer, sale Sotheby, 26/5/1930, lot 96, £11/10/- to Murray. Kay had a good Donne collection, including a presentation copy from John Donne junior of *Biathanatos* to the Earl of Oxford now at Folger. Pencil price and note on the front pastedown “8/8/ See Mr Kay’s Catalogue Donne”.

4: **Mr Grant**, probably John or Douglas Grant of John Grant Booksellers, Edinburgh, with a letter to him from Geoffrey Keynes dated 17 March 1939 loosely inserted: “I do not see any reason whatever to doubt the authenticity of this signature & motto, ...”.
5: **John Angus Hanbury Sparrow** (1906-92), Warden of All Souls’ College, Oxford, bibliophile, and schoolboy-editor of Donne’s *Devotions* (1923), with his book-label and with a letter addressed to him by Christopher Lawson, of New College, Oxford dated “13 Tuesday March” discussing Donne’s motto; sold before 1972 through Bernard Quaritch to: **6: Robert S Pirie** (1934-2015), of New York, with his pencil purchase code “Q-XCZ” at the head of the front pastedown; sale, Sotheby, New York, 3/12/2015, lot 306 to Maggs.

Exhibited: Grolier Club, New York, 1972: Pirie (Robert S), *John Donne 1572-1631. A Catalogue of the Anniversary Exhibition of First and Early Editions of his Works held at The Grolier Club February 15 to April 12, 1972* (New York, 1972), item 113. The exhibition included two other books from Donne’s library then still owned by Sparrow.



ON THE GUARDIANSHIP OF ANGELS – QUOTED IN PSEUDO-MARTYR

25 [DONNE (John)]. VITTORELLI or VICTORELLUS (Andrea). De Angelorum custodia lib. II. In quorum altero Angelorum ministeria, ex Sacris Litteris recensentur. In altero universum custodiae argumentum explicatur.

Padua: ex officina Petri Pauli Tozzi (typis Laurentii Pasquati), 1605

£40,000

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [Text: 199 x 143 mm]. [4 (first leaf with engraved title on a cartouche held by two caryatids)], 155, [13 (errata, liminary verses, imprimatur, index)] ff. Short tear from a flaw in the inner margin of A2-4, X2v-X3r browned. Contemporary limp

vellum (old vellum rebacking and later, but old, endleaves; a sheet of light-blue printed paper used as liners has been removed from inside the covers at front and back; 70mm split in the front joint; two pairs of ties missing). Modern drop-back box.

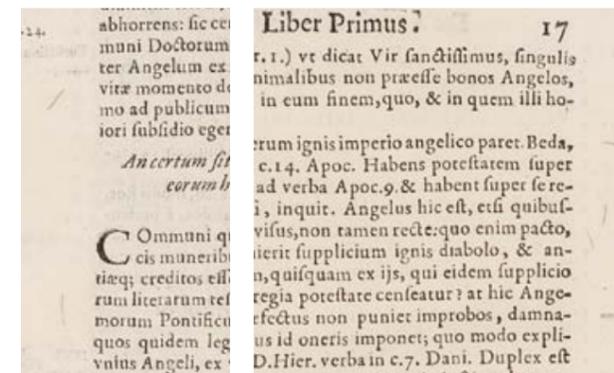
John Donne’s copy with his pencil reading marks throughout of a work on the Guardianship of Angels from which he quoted in his first published work, *Pseudo-Martyr* (1605), and probably referred to in his poem “Air and Angels”.

First and only early edition of this deeply-researched work on the history and nature of the guardianship of angels dedicated to Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese) by Andrea Vittorelli (d. 1653), of Bassano, Doctor of Theology, and a Penitentiary Canon of Padua Cathedral. COPAC records 9 copies in England and, where it is known, their contemporary ownership demonstrates how important it was for Protestant theologians to have access to contemporary Catholic texts: British Library, Bodley [2 copies, 1 ex John Selden], Cambridge UL, Durham UL [ex Bishop Cosin], Lambeth Palace [ex Archbishop Abbot], Trinity College Cambridge, Wadham College Oxford, York Minster [ex Archbishop Tobie Matthew]. WORLDCAT lists no copies in the USA.

John Donne’s copy with his ink signature “J:Donne” in the lower fore-corner and Italian motto at the head of the title “Per Rachel ho servito, & no[n] per Lea” [“It is for Rachel I serve and not for Leah”; a line from Petrarch, itself based on *Genesis* 29.25] and numerous (hundreds) of pencil markings in the margins throughout (see below). Number L228 (“to be sold at Sotheby’s in 1977”) in Sir Geoffrey Keynes’s census, “More Books from John Donne’s Library”, in *The Book Collector* (Spring, 1977), pp. 29-35 (supplementary to the list in his *Bibliography of Dr. John Donne*, 4th edition, 1973).

Marked throughout in pencil by Donne with his characteristic short dashes (usually vertical but also horizontal or diagonal) and occasionally with short brackets (one erratum has been corrected by deleting a “non” on f. 135v). Up to f.50 these dashes are on almost every page then roughly every other leaf from f. 64 to the end of Book I (f. 74v). Book II has marks on f. 75v and then on almost every leaf from f. 88 to the end (f. 154r).

This volume is of particular significance as Donne refers to it specifically in Chapter IX, paragraph 3 of *Pseudo-Martyr* (1605), with references to ff. 16, 17, 104, 105, 106, 121 & 133 in Vittorelli’s text. All these leaves (except 106) have Donne’s markings: “But



for this *spirituall Monarchie* which they fansied, I thinke, that as some men have imagined, and produced into writing, divers *Idaeas*, and so what a *King*, a *Generall*, an *Oratour*, a *Courtier* should be. So these men have only *Idaeated* what a *Pope* would be. For if he could come to a true and reall exercise of all that power which they attribute to him, I doubt not, but that Angell, which hath so long served in the place of being the particular *Assistant* in the *Conclave*, [sidenote: Vittorellus. de Custodia Angelorum] (for, since they afford a particular Tutelar Angell to everie *Colledge* or *Corporation*, And [sidenote: Fol. 16] to the race of *Flyes* and of *Fleas*, and of *Ants*, since they allow such an *Angell* [sidenote: Fol. 133] to every *Infidell Kingdome*, yea [sidenote: Fol. 121] to *Antichrist*, [sidenote: fol. 17] yea to *Hell it selfe*, it were verie unequall to denie one to this place,) This *Angell*, I say, would be glad of the roome, and become a *Suiter* to the *holy Ghost*, to name him in the next *Conclave*. For he should not onely enlarge his *Diocese*, and have also all the lower world [sidenote Fo. 104] under him, but hee shall have those two principall *Seraphins* which ever attend the *Pope*, *Michael*, and *Gabriel*, (for, that *Gabriel* is the second, [sidenote Fo. 105] *Vittorellus* produces two very equal witnesses, *The Romane Litanie*, and *Tasso’s Hierusalem*.) And all the particular *Angels* of all spirituall [sidenote Fo. 106] *Societies*; And (because also (he sayes) he is *Temporall Lord*) all the *Archangels*, and *Principalities*, which governe particular estates, shall concur to his Guard and assistance.” - John Donne, *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. Anthony Raspa (1993), Chapter IX, paragraph 3, lines 10-30 (p. 180).

, Quis inde Episcopus, mox Cardinalis, tandem Papa. Nec est,
 , quod putes primum Angelum ideo ipsum relinquere, quia
 , quamdiu dignitatem seruat, etiam Angelum retinet eius
 , custodia deputatum. Vnde sequitur hominem vnum posse
 , triginta, aut plures habere Angelos sui custodes. Sic catho-
 , lica Cæsarea Maiestas multos habet Angelos pro imperio,
 , pro omnibus suæ Cæsareæ Maiestatis regnis, pro ducatibus
 , cunctis.

In the introduction to his 1993 edition of *Pseudo-Martyr* Raspa discussed at length Donne's use of a huge range of sources, particularly in canon law, in researching and composing the work: "The vast net of Donne's references to secular and spiritual authorities in *Pseudo-Martyr*, has therefore much more design than a cursory, discouraging modern look at his marginalia reveals. (p. xxiv) ... The extent of Donne's knowledge of canon law and history is also attested to by his handling of related works of moral theology and philosophy. A considerable number of moral theologians and philosophers, many of them Spanish, whom Donne cites, fall likewise into the web of his canonical references. (p. xxxiv). ... Donne cites these works over and over with considerable familiarity, for he knew not only the laws of the canons, but also the methods of their practical application in everyday life in the contemporary Catholic world. Many of these moralists like Navarre, Comitoli, Carnin and Victoria, Donne cites in behalf of his own case that he is presenting to English Catholics. Though the moralists appear countless [times] in his marginalia, the great majority were his contemporaries, they quoted one another liberally and their world was actually a small one, and the influence of their works on *Pseudo-Martyr* as a treatise of moral philosophy and theology was great. Donne's extraordinarily high number of annotations was usual practice with the moralists, and his tone of arguing theology into the reaches of everyday life was theirs as well." (p. xxxv).

But the influence of Vittorelli's book on the Guardianship of Angels did not end with *Pseudo-Martyr*. As Robin Robbins (*The Complete Poems of John Donne*, revised edn, 2010, p. 123) has pointed out it is also probable that Donne was thinking of it when writing lines 23-25 of his poem "Air and Angels" c. 1607/8 - "Then, as an angel face and wings / Of air, not pure as it, yet pure, doth wear, / So thy love may be my love's sphere". Robbins (p. 125) refers to Vittorelli, f. 9, where there is a short dash on the verso in this copy beside the lines "at in corpoream substantiam non transibat, neque naturae vi transire poterat; sed in preiacentem materiam vertebatur, vel, ut Scoto placet, in humores, vel elementa." [But it passed not into a corporeal substance, nor was it able to pass through by force of nature but it was changed into a preexisting base material, or as [Duns] Scotus holds, into humours or elements.]

Robbins (pp. 891-2) also suggested that the lines in *The Second Anniversary* (written Nov. 1611-Jan. 1612): "She whom had they known did first betroth / The tutelar angels, and assigned one both / To nations, cities, and to companies, / To functions, offices,

and dignities, / And to each several man, to him and him, / They would have giv'n her one for every limb;" derives from Vittorelli (ff. 99r-104r) and echo the passage in *Pseudo-Martyr* quoted above. Robbins (p. 242) also mentions Vittorelli, while pointing out it was Orthodox doctrine, in reference to lines 25-6 of "The Relic", c. 1608-13? - "Diff'rence of sex no more we knew; / than our guardian angels do; / ...".

The reference to "everie Colledge or Corporation" in the passage in *Pseudo-Martyr* above also links to the "two Adversary Angels which are Protectors of the Papal Consistory and of the Colledge of Sorbon" to whom Donne's *Ignatius his Conclave* (1611) is addressed. Donne's sermons also contain references to Guardian or Tutelar Angels in particular, for example in the conclusion of his *Sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn on Trinity-Sunday, 1620* where he expresses an open view on the subject, at least for the public: "Remember that nothing appeared to *Abrahams* apprehension but men, yet Angels were in his presence; Though we binde you not to a necessity of beleeving that every man hath a particular Angel to assist him, (enjoy your Christian liberty in that, and think in that point so as you shall find your devotion most exalted, by thinking that it is, or is not so) yet know, that you do all that you doe, in the presence of Angels; ..." (*LXXX Sermons*, 1640, p. 422). The reference to Abraham is matched by a passage in Vittorelli which is marked with a short dash: "Hebraei, ut est Lyranum in c.18 Gen. tres Angelos sub virili forma Abraham visos Michaellem, Gabrielem, Raphaellem appellat." (f. 44r).

Vittorelli's text formed part of Donne's extensive reading programme for his first published prose work, *Pseudo-Martyr*. It demonstrates how Donne's library and his writings were inextricably linked and warrants closer study.

Later Provenance: John Donne directed in his will (proved on 5 April 1631) that his books, except for a few specific bequests listed in a schedule that has not survived, should be sold for the benefit of his heirs (Keynes, *Bibliography*, p. 262). Although this volume has no signs of his ownership it was probably next owned by:

1: Henry King (1592-1669), poet and Bishop of Chichester (from 1642, though deprived of it almost as soon as he got it during the Civil War and Commonwealth). King was co-executor of Donne's will and was bequeathed "that medal of gold of the synod of Dort which the estate presented me withal at the Hague as also the two pictures of Padre [Paolo] Sarpi and Fulgentio which hang in the parlour at my house at Paul's". King was also bequeathed a 3-volume set of Cardinal Bellarmine's *Disputationes* (1603; Vol. 1 is now at Chichester Cathedral) and, presumably, also had a pick of his books. Keynes identified 7 titles in four volumes with Donne's signature and/or motto still at Chichester Cathedral while Mary Hobbs suggested that another 7 volumes there contain Donne's

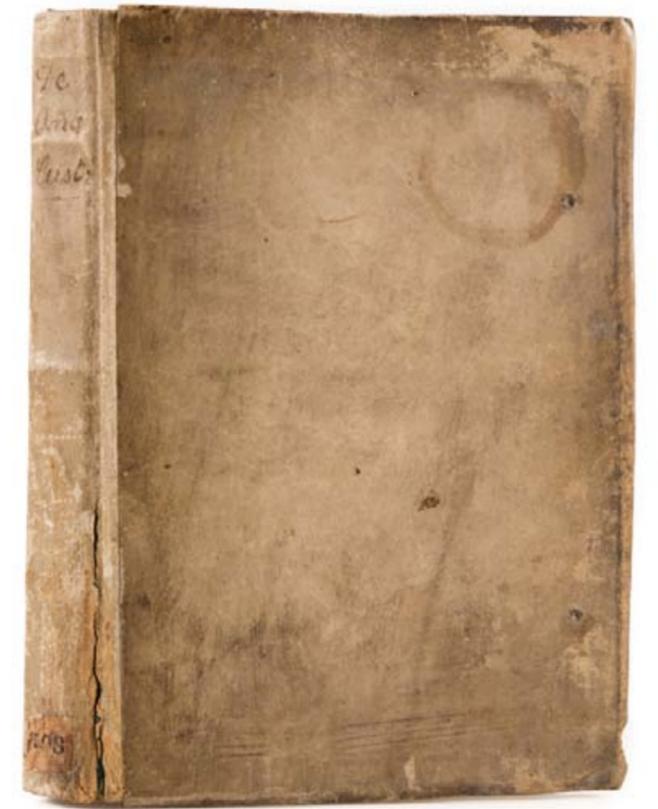
markings (*The Book Collector*, Winter 1980, Note 419, pp. 390-2)]. After the capture of Chichester on 28 December 1642 after an 8-day siege Bishop King's library was pillaged or sold off. Those volumes which he had been able to save or retrieve or acquired after the Restoration were bequeathed to Chichester Cathedral Library by his son John in 1671.

2: Late 19th-Century **Chichester Cathedral** bookplate ("No. 793. Shelf S.C.3") on the front pastedown and printed shelf-label "793" on the spine; two pencil shelf-marks above the bookplate have been erased; possibly in one of the two Sotheby sales of Chichester books on 24/11/1947 (lots 1-55) and on 25 October 1949 (lots 314-345); four lots of 16th/17th-Century books in the first sale contained "others" - 19, 36, 39 & 54. However, Sotheby's did spot Donne's copy of Vilagut [Keynes L188] which was bought back for the Cathedral by Canon Lowther Clarke for £68 (lot 14). Several private sales to universities were also made by the Cathedral at the time: small groups of 16th and 17th-Century books from Chichester are now at the Senate House Library, Reading University and Bristol University, though they include none from Donne's library. The sales caused a scandal in Chichester at the time as the Dean had not told the Bishop and 10 lots were withdrawn by the Cathedral authorities and two more, like the Vilagut, were bought back at the sale. J. H. P. Pafford, Goldsmith's Librarian, University of London, also reported his purchase of a volume from Donne's library containing two works by Creccelius & Paré [Keynes L55 & L136] in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 2/9/1949; Pafford did not say where his volume came from but it is now known to have come from Chichester Cathedral Library and was sold after his death at Bloomsbury Auctions, 19/6/1997, lot 179. It was Pafford who acquired the volumes for the University of London in 1948 that are now in Senate House Library, so perhaps he bought his Donne volume directly from the Cathedral.

For a detailed account of the fate of Bishop King's library, see Daniel Starza Smith "'This strange conglomeration of books' or 'Hobbs's Leviathan': Bishop Henry King's Library at Chichester" in Dimmock (Matthew) *et al.*, eds, *Art, Literature and Religion in Early Modern Sussex: Culture and Conflict* (2014), pp. 17-18; also see Mary Hobbs, "Henry King, John Donne and the refounding of Chichester Cathedral Library" in *The Book Collector* (Summer 1984), pp. 189-205. Dr Smith concluded that, "King's original collection probably held about 3000 books, but only about 1000 are recorded in the 1735 *Old Catalogue* [of Chichester Cathedral Library]. The fact that only 300 remain today suggests that the majority of the King Library, as reconstituted and bequeathed shortly after his death and the death of his son John, was removed from the cathedral in the intervening years. Two-thirds of the original collection was lost after the 1642 siege; perhaps another 70-100 books were sold in the 1940s. The remaining 600-or-so missing books must have

been taken by private individuals, or so damaged by their negligent storage conditions that they were deemed unsalvageable", literally so in the case of some 2000 volumes which it seems were sold for pulp. For a detailed account of the controversy surrounding the late-1940s disposals and the terrible condition of the library at the time, see Mary Hobbs, "Books in Crisis at Bassetshire" in *The Book Collector* (Spring 1995), pp. 37-50. While we cannot say how this volume left Chichester it was most probably at this time; that it retains its original binding with its Chichester bookplate suggests that it was sold or lost through carelessness rather than, as Hobbs speculated, perhaps "lost in more criminal fashion" ("Books in Crisis", p. 48).

3: First recorded on the market in an anonymous sale, Sotheby, 16/5/1977, lot 75, £850 to: **4: John F. Fleming** (1910-87), bookseller of New York; from his private collection; sale, Christie, New York, 18/11/1988, lot 113, \$4,400 to Bernard Quaritch, with their pencil cost code at the end, for: **5: Robert S Pirie** (1934-2015), with his pencil cost code "QW-Q1OK 18. Nov. 88. lot 113" and with his bookplate; Pirie sale, Sotheby, New York, 3/12/2015, lot 305 to Maggs.





THE LAND OF FAERY REVEALED & MAPPED

26 DRAYTON (Michael). [Poly-Olbion.] **A Chorographicall description of all the tracts, rivers, mountains, forests, and other Parts of this Renowned Isle of Great Britaine.** With intermixture of the most Remarkable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the same. Digested into a Poem by Michael Drayton, Esq. With a Table added, for direction to those Occurrences of Story and Antiquitie, whereunto the Course of the Volume easily leads not. [- The Second Part, or a continuance of Poly-Olbion from the eighteenth song. Containing all the Tracts, Rivers, Mountains, and Forests: Intermixed with the most remarkable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders, Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of the East, and Northerne parts of this Isle, lying betwixt the two famous Rivers of Thames, and Tweed.

London: for Iohn Marriott, Iohn Grismand, and Thomas Dewe [Part 2: by Augustine Mathewes for Iohn Marriott, Iohn Grismand, and Thomas Dewe], 1622 **£24,000**

First Complete Edition (third issue of the First Edition of Part 1 [1612]), First Edition of Part 2. Small Folio. [Text: 286 x 185 mm]. [22 (including the leaf of verse "Upon the Frontispiece" and the 8pp Table sometimes bound at the end; + duplicates of the 4 introductory leaves)], 302, [1 (blank); [10], 168 pp. Fine engraved

emblematic / architectural title by William Hole (a little dusty and slightly frayed at the edge of the fore-margin), engraved portrait of Prince Henry (2nd state with his name "HENRICVS PRINCEPS" added) and 18 double-page engraved maps by Hole (2nd states with page-numbers added at the top). Vertical crease in the leaf of verses,

engraved title and letterpress title; narrow diagonal dribble of glue from the inner margin of leaf A2; small rust-hole in the face of one musician in the Map to Song 4; crease across the lower fore-corner of pp. 261-4; two semi-circular stains in the fore-margin of the first few leaves in the second part; small stain in the upper margin of pp. 219-21; two short creases in the final map; otherwise just a few occasional small ink marks or rust-marks. Fine copy in mid-1640s sprinkled calf, the covers and spine-bands outlined with blind rules (modern gilt lettering "POLY-/OLBION"

in the second panel and date added at the foot; pastedowns unstuck revealing the pasteboards, vellum guards cut from a document printed in civilité type circa 1636 [*See below]; red sprinkled edges; two strips of paper pasted to the fore-margin of leaf A3 where a manuscript fore-edge title-label would have been attached (joints rubbed with a small hole exposing the fourth band on the front joint; small hole [10mm. diameter] from insect damage on the front cover; flyleaves browned by the turn-ins; vertical crease in the front flyleaves).

STC 7228 (third issue) & 7230 (variant omitting Drayton's name from the title). The first issue appeared in 1612, without a letterpress title. The second issue has an added letterpress title (with "Esq." below Drayton's name) and a four-leaf Table. The portrait is in the second state, titled "Henricus Princeps", and the maps have page numbers. The final leaf of Part 1 finishes without the word "Finis" between the two ornaments. Although many copies have been broken-up so that the maps can be sold separately *Poly-Olbion*, in its various issues, remains one of the most common of English 17th-century illustrated books though the vast majority of surviving copies have been washed and pressed and rebound for collectors and booksellers over the last 150 years. Fine copies in contemporary bindings such as the present are, however, remarkably uncommon.

Poly-Olbion is one of the most beautiful of English seventeenth century books, and the first topographical epic poem. The first part is composed of eighteen 400-line "Songs" covering Wales and England from the south coast and west half of the Midlands as far as Cheshire. The twelve "Songs" in the 1622 continuation cover East Anglia, the eastern Midlands, north-eastern counties and Westmorland and Cumbria. Together they total some 15,000 lines of verse. Drayton planned a third part covering Scotland and the Orkneys (as mentioned in the dedication to Prince Charles). We know from Francis Meres that Drayton was working on the poem in 1598, and in 1612 it brought the author an annuity of £10 from Prince Henry, the dedicatee of the first part.

It received the highest praise from Ben Jonson in his liminary poem, "The Vision of Ben. Iohnson, on the Muses of his friend M. Draiton" (1631):

*Though has made thy way
And flight about the Ile, well neare, by this
In thy admired Periegesis,
Or universall circumduction
Of all that reade thy Poly-Olbion
But reade? That are ravish'd! such was I
With every song, I sweare, and so would dye.*

Ben Jonson was "ravish'd" but today, like most lengthy poems, *Poly-Olbion* is largely unread and has been long ignored as a



text. However, it is now the subject of a research project led by Exeter University which will result in the first modern scholarly edition to be published by Oxford University Press: poly-olbion.exeter.ac.uk

John Selden wrote the "Illustrations" or notes to the first eighteen "Songs"; the others have no notes. For a brief analysis of Selden's notes, which were provided at great speed and even while the book was in the press, see: G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: a life in scholarship* (2 vols., 2009), pp. 108-25. Selden dipped into material that he was compiling for *Titles of Honor* (1614) and quoted from unpublished manuscript sources. While some of his notes are



extraneous to Drayton's text, they were certainly of tangential interest both to himself and to later readers. He also contributed a 5-page address "From the Author of the Illustrations" which is unsigned but dated from the Inner Temple 9 May 1612. As the Exeter *Poly-Olbion* Project comments: "These quirky, digressive and deeply learned notes have never been accorded anything beyond the most basic editorial attention, yet are recognized as an important early work of a key figure in seventeenth-century intellectual history."

Poly-Olbion has long been collected (and dismembered) for its uniquely beautiful engraved maps - though they are generally called maps they are really illustrations as they have no practical application and cannot count as such in a country which had produced Christopher Saxton a generation earlier and, at exactly the same time, saw the publication of John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611-12).

Rather than maps they are illustrations of a choro-mythographical landscape in which England and Wales are populated by personified cities and towns, islands, forests and rivers.

As suits a country personified by the figure of Britannia at the centre of the engraved title-page it is a largely female land. It is also, primarily, a watery land, criss-crossed by a network of rivers and surrounded by seas. All the rivers (except Tame, Thames, Humber) and their sources, the meres, marshes, caves, vales, moors and forests are represented by women. The hills and mountains with lone shepherds standing or sitting on their peaks or summits and the dykes in Cambridgeshire and occasionally elsewhere are represented by semi-recumbent men (their heads resting on their arms as if in monumental sculpture). They are the only male presence beside the Sea-Tritons which inhabit the coastal waters, a group of men dancing around a May-pole in the Cotswolds and another group picnicking in the plain below (Song 14) and a man lying in the ruins of Old Verulam (Song 16). The female towns and cities are clothed and crowned with houses, the rivers are naked and the islands semi-naked while the forests are dressed and armed huntresses. Together, they form not a map of England and Wales but a map of the Land of Faery.

"William Camden's *Britannia* provided the primary source for the geography of *Poly-Olbion*, just as it had done for the masques of [Ben] Jonson and [Inigo] Jones. In the *Poly-Olbion* Britain is described as if it were a living body with organs and limbs, 'brancht with rivery veins.' In an amazing conceit, a modern British archaeologist comments, 'Drayton turned the whole land into one vast court-masque, or a series of them, personifying the rivers and other natural features as one sees in the maps ...' – Kenneth Robert Olwy, *From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World* (2002), p. 127.

Scenes such as the combined female orchestras of Cornwall and Glamorgan competing for the ownership of the Isle of Lundy (Song 4) and the marriage of the rivers Tame and Isis at Oxford (Song 15) could be illustrating a court masque and female figures such as the New Forest and the Isle of Wight (Song 2), the Isle of Lundy standing between Neptune and Nereus (Song 4), the Isle of Anglesey (Song 9), the three huntresses representing the Forests of the Weald (Song 17), and the Isle of Oxney (Song 18) could have come straight from the Masque designs of Inigo Jones. Sir Roy Strong has speculated that William Hole's engraved title-page may have been designed by Jones: it is "adorned with figures that seem to to have stepped straight out of the *Barriers*", i.e. *Prince Henry's Barriers* performed at Whitehall on Twelfth Night 1610 with sets and costumes designed by Jones and including Ben Jonson's masque *The Lady of the Lake*. (*Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance*, 1986, p. 131).

Moreover, the figure of Britannia herself, the centre-piece of the engraved title-page where she is depicted seated beneath an arch supporting figures of Brutus, Julius Caesar, Hengest and William the Conqueror, is wrapped in a cloak covered with a landscape of Britain which could be the very scarf given by Tethys, the Titan sister-wife of Oceanus and mother of the river gods and Oceanids, to the newly-invested Prince of Wales in Samuel Daniel's masque *Tethys Festivall: or the Queenes Wake* performed on 4 June 1610:

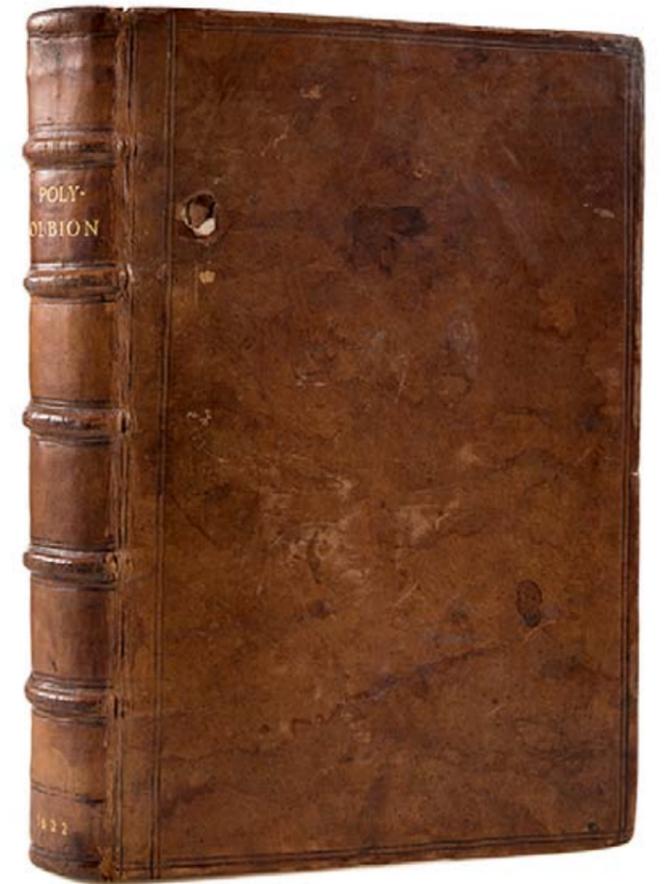
*This skarfe, the zone of love and Amitie,
Tingird the same; wherein he may surway,
Infigur'd all the spacious Emperie
That he is borne unto another day.*

In *Tethys Festivall* Queen Anne, in the form of Tethys herself, leads out 13 ladies, each dressed as a river nymph, with the Princess Elizabeth (Thames), Lady Arabella Stuart (Trent), the Countesses of Arundel (Arun), Derby (Derwent), Essex (Lee), Dorset (Aire), and Montgomery (Severn), Vicountess Haddington (Rother), Ladies Elizabeth Gray (Medway), Elizabeth Guilford (Dulais), and Katherine Petre (Elwy), Lady Winter (Wye), and Lady Windsor (Usk).

The twelve plates in the second part, though the figures are just as imaginative, lack something of the same quality in the

engraving and something of the charm in the design. They may well be by another engraver than William Hole and by another designer.

As Roy Strong observed, both *Poly-Olbion* and *Tethys Festival* are "conceived in identical mythological terms" (*Henry Prince of Wales*, p. 158). It is very tempting to see the hand of Inigo Jones in both and to go further than Strong and suggest that Jones may be seen as the designer of the mythical figures in the "maps" in at least the first part of *Poly-Olbion*.



Binding: The printed vellum binding guards are cut from a sheet printed with "three or more settings" (STC 16786.18) of the same three-line document with gaps to be completed in manuscript of admission into the Liberty of the Corporation of Tradesmen and Artificers inhabiting within three miles of the City of London. It has spaces for the name of the tradesman, the day and month, and is dated "163[-]" with a space for the final year to be inserted. The text reads: "[blank] admissus fuit in libertatem communitatis officinatore / et artificium infra tria millia civitatis London [blank] die [blank] 163 [blank] Et intrat / libro A [blank] In cuius rei testimonium, commune sigillum dicte Communitatis presentibus est affixum." The new Corporation was established by Patent on 6

April 1636 against opposition from the City of London who felt that it compromised their own rights. Being dated for use in 1630s it would have been useless by 1640 and events in the Civil War may have rendered it even more obsolete. STC lists only one example, like the present cut-up and used as binder's guards, in a copy of Theophanes Cerameus, *Homiliae in Evangelia dominicalia & festa totius anni, Graece & Latine* (Paris, 1644) in Cambridge University Library (E.7.20) - it is reproduced on EEBO. This would give a mid-1640s date for the present binding. Our examples preserve lines 1-2 at the front and lines 2-3 at the back. For documents printed in civilté type, see: Hilary Jenkinson, "English Current Writing and Early Printing" in *The Library* (1913), pp. 273-95; on p. 292 he refers to fragments from wine licences and marriage licences as well as the present fragments at Cambridge.

RESISTING THE WHIG INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

27 DUGDALE (Sir William). Autograph Letter Signed to Dr. Robert Brady, Master of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, from "Blythe Hall neere Coleshillin Warwickshire 6. Octobris, 1684".

£7,500

1 page. Folio, previously folded. written in ink, address panel on the verso "For my much honoured freind / Dr. Bradye / Master of Caius Colledge / Cambridge.", with two circular postal ink stamps; docketed in an 18th-century hand on the verso "Sr Wm Dugdale to Dr Brady about his English History &c".

Bound in a set of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*. 3 vols. Folio. Second edition of vol. 1, second edition (1682), lacks the half-title

A still handsome set, described in 1777 as a most beautiful copy ("exemplar pulcherimum"). The "seven Drawings of different Orders, by Hollar himself" it was described as containing in 1777 are, in fact, worn, cut-round and onlaid impressions of his etched plates of the costumes of the monastic orders. The set is included *gratis* as it is essential for the provenance of the letter and is not returnable for any defects or imperfections.

Dugdale's letter was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1793, p. 31, by the then owner Thomas Ruggles. It was reprinted from this by William Hamper in *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (London, 1837): a modern transcript would make about 70 minor alterations, mostly of spelling and punctuation, but there is one major misreading "bodies" for "besides".

Sir William Dugdale (1605-86), antiquary and herald, writes to Brady to thank him for a copy of *An Introduction to the Old English History*, (1684) "an assemblage of tracts rebutting rival historical theories" (*ODNB*) which he had received six weeks before but had not heard "till wthin these ten days, that it was sent from

Provenance: Contemporary signature on the front flyleaf "Chr Wymes" and an ink note at the head, probably in the same hand, "IRI There is noe Joy like yt of an Innocent / & guiltlesse Conscience / Transit Voluptas manet Reatus Peccat[um]" and "Loy reatus inncent". At the head of the engraved title are three page references in the same hand "Pag: 151 / 215 271." On p. 151 the words "ancient Christians" are underlined; there are no marks on p. 215 but on p. 217 the line "What fooles, abused Kings, and humorous Ladies raise." is part-underlined with a crude pointing hand beside it; on p. 271 the words "Priests Concubine" are underliend and there is a crude pointing hand in the margin. On p. 40 the place-name "Garterley" has been corrected [?on local knowledge] in the margin to "Gaterley" [*recte* Gatherley Moor in North Yorkshire where horseraces were held at the time]. No other marks of ownership.

and letterpress title, 62 etched and engraved plates (several of the plates of the costumes of the monastic orders have been cut-round and laid-down); vol. 2, first edition (1673), 14 [?of 18] etched and engraved plates (2 cut-round and laid-down). Vol. 3, first edition (1673), 25 [?of 31] etched and engraved plates. Bound circa 1770 in russia, gilt spines, marbled endleaves (worn; joints of vol. 1 cracked but firm, three labels missing, one damaged).

you." He thanks Brady, says he has "diligently read it over, and do finde it to be done wth much judgment as well as great paines; you having therein clearly and amply manifested, what the words populus, plebs, com[m]unitas, libere-tenentes, and divers other do truly meane; all wch our malevolent Antimonarchists would make the world believe, that they beare another interpretation. I assure you, that I do esteeme it an high peice of service to his Ma:tie and the Government; and I doubt not but it will be so valued by all learned men that are loyall."

He then corrects Brady for the misattribution of a book he had referred to, *Sacro-sancta Regum Majestas* (Oxford, 1644), to James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh instead of to John Maxwell, Bishop of Killala [later Archbishop of Tuam, d. 1647, "a trenchant call for the restoration of royal authority indebted to Jean Bodin" (*ODNB*)], whom he remembers from his days at Oxford during the Civil War: "The Booke, I assure you, was written in Oxford, and there first printed in the time of the late Usurpation; I was there at that time, and knew it full well; and that a most learned

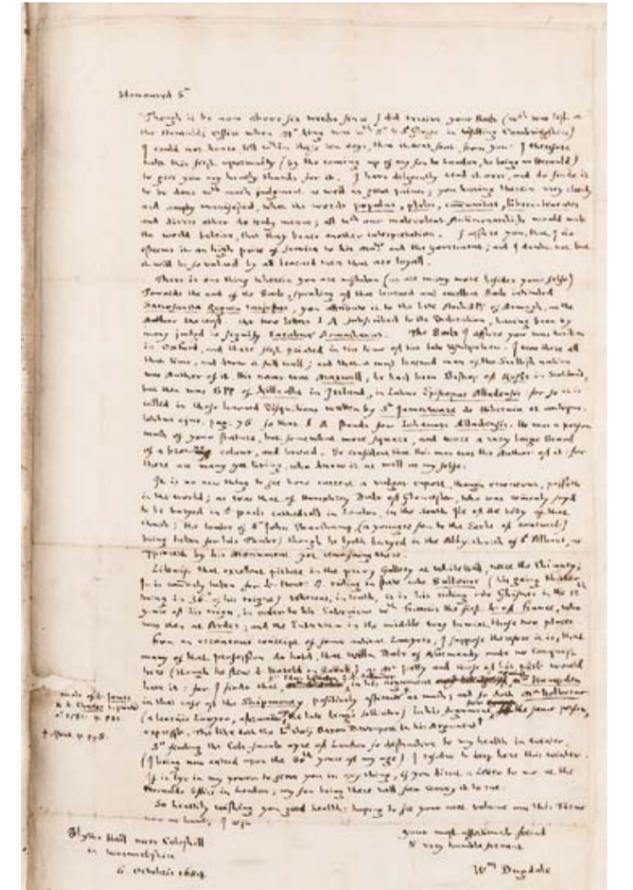
man of the Scottish nation was Author of it. ... He was a person much of your stature, but somewhat more square, and wore a very large Beard, of a browne colour and broad. be confident that this man was the Author of it: for there are many yet living, who know it as well as myselfe."

Then, perhaps to absolve his criticism, he comments on how "It is no new thing to see how current a vulgar report, though erroneous, passeth in the world" - using as an example the supposed burial of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester in St. Paul's cathedral rather than at St. Alban's and the famous picture of King Henry 8th at the Field of the Cloth of Gold which "is com[m]only taken for K. Henr. 8. riding in state into Bulloine (his going thither being in 36th. of his reign) whereas, in truth, it is his riding into Ghisnes [Guisnes] in the 12th year of his reign in order to Enterview wth Francis the first k. of France, who was then at Ardes; and the Entreview in the middle way betwixt those two places." [The painting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold is still in the Royal Collection].

Continuing the theme of "errors", Dugdale then returns to the core of Brady's book and the argument about the origins of the Feudal System and the Norman Conquest: "From an erroneous concept of some antient Lawyers, I suppose therefore it is, that many of that profession do hold, that Willm Duke of Normandy made no conquest here (though he slew K. Harold in Battel) as Mr Petty [*i.e.* William Petyt], and those of his pack, would have it: for I finde that ^Sr Edw. Littleton ye K; Sollicitor^ in his argument ^against^ Mr. Hampden in that case of the Shipmoney, positively affirms as much."

Brady's definition of the words "populus, plebs, com[m]unitas, libere-tenentes," are central to the anti-Whig argument and Dugdale is pleased to see them being used with the correct definitions.

During the last years of Charles II's reign, with the "Popish Plot" and the "Exclusion Crisis" of 1679-81 and fears over the Catholic succession of the Duke of York (James II) the use of historiography as a political weapon again reared its head as it had done in the early decades of the century in the lead-up to the Civil War. Historians, as politicians, again divided into two camps, the Tories, who supported Monarchical rule and sought to prove that its powers and the Law derived from the Normans by right of Conquest and the Whigs, who sought to curb the power of the Monarchy and to prove that its powers and the Law derived from the people from time immemorial and "was older than Normans, Saxons or Romans, was indeed of no known origin and had suffered no change in the course of history. In this way had been built up the doctrine of the 'ancient' or 'fundamental' constitution which owed its being to no man, which it was treason to subvert, and in whose name Strafford had been executed ..." (Pocock, p. 189).



In the Whig camp were historians such as William Atwood, William Petyt, James Tyrrell, and Sir Robert Filmer. Opposed to them were Brady and Dugdale.

"In the last years of his life, Dugdale - naturally for a king's servant - increasingly identified himself with the Tories against the Whigs. He was bolstered by correspondents who marked him as a 'lover of order and exact conformity' in the Church, 'a true churchman', and he himself exalted 'loyal principles', all codes for Toryism. For Dugdale, the Whigs of the late 1670s and 1680s were the Presbyterians of the 1640s and 1650s resurgent, and *A Short View [of the late troubles in England]* (1681); his last substantial work] was intended as an *exposé* of their crimes. ... Dugdale feared another civil war, and *A Short View* asserted uncritical loyalty to the king, in the face of the sophisticated campaign against James by the Whigs, which involved the use of the press and a controlled manipulation of the crowd. *A Short View* is in part a contribution to the propaganda machine of the Tories." - Stephen K. Roberts, "Ordering and Methodizing: William Dugdale in Restoration England", in Christopher Dyer & Catherine Richardson, eds, *William Dugdale, Historian, 1605-1686: His Life, his Writings and his Country* (2009), pp. 85-6.



“On the whole, the language of political dissent as much as that of political conservatism continued to look to the past for its arguments. Whether 1066 had been a conquest or not, and whether England as a result was an absolute monarchy, was as much a question in 1679 and 1689 as it had been in the 1620s – perhaps more so, since few men of the Restoration whatever their dissatisfaction with the later Stuarts, wished to repeat the unsettling experiments of the 1650s. In the famous ‘Brady controversy’ near the end of the century both the royalist historian Robert Brady and his Whig opponents turned alike to the past for the answers to pressing political questions. Where they differed was on what exactly the past had to say. For Brady, it provided unanswerable proof that the English constitution, and parliament with it, derived from the will of the Norman conqueror and his heirs. His Whig arch-rival and critic William Petyt believed just as sincerely that William I had confirmed and abided by the laws of Edward the Confessor, thereby maintaining the monarchy to a legal system which dated back time out of mind.” - Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (2003), p. 60.

“Brady’s works are notable for their development of a new critical historical awareness and method. Royalist historians had generally been unsuccessful in challenging the dominant interpretation of English history established by Sir Edward Coke. This centred on the ahistorical idea of an ancient constitution and immemorial law unchanged by history, and which therefore predated and existed independently of the monarchy. It was a tradition which even denied the existence of the Norman conquest in its preoccupation with marginalizing the crown. If the law had depended on a conqueror’s will it would forever depend on his and his successor’s permission. In the hands of Restoration whig historians, such as William Petyt, William Atwood, and James Tyrell, this had become a powerful weapon against any extension of the royal prerogative. Brady’s desire to overturn this politically limiting consensus led him to reject Coke and, following Sir Henry Spelman’s lead, to recognize the importance of feudalism, imposed by the Normans, as the source of English law and the central reality of Norman and Angevin society. In its treatment of past society as understandable only in its own terms, this was an achievement which should, according to Pocock, be ‘reckoned as one of the most important occurrences in the history of our historiography’ (Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*, p. 198).” - ODNB.

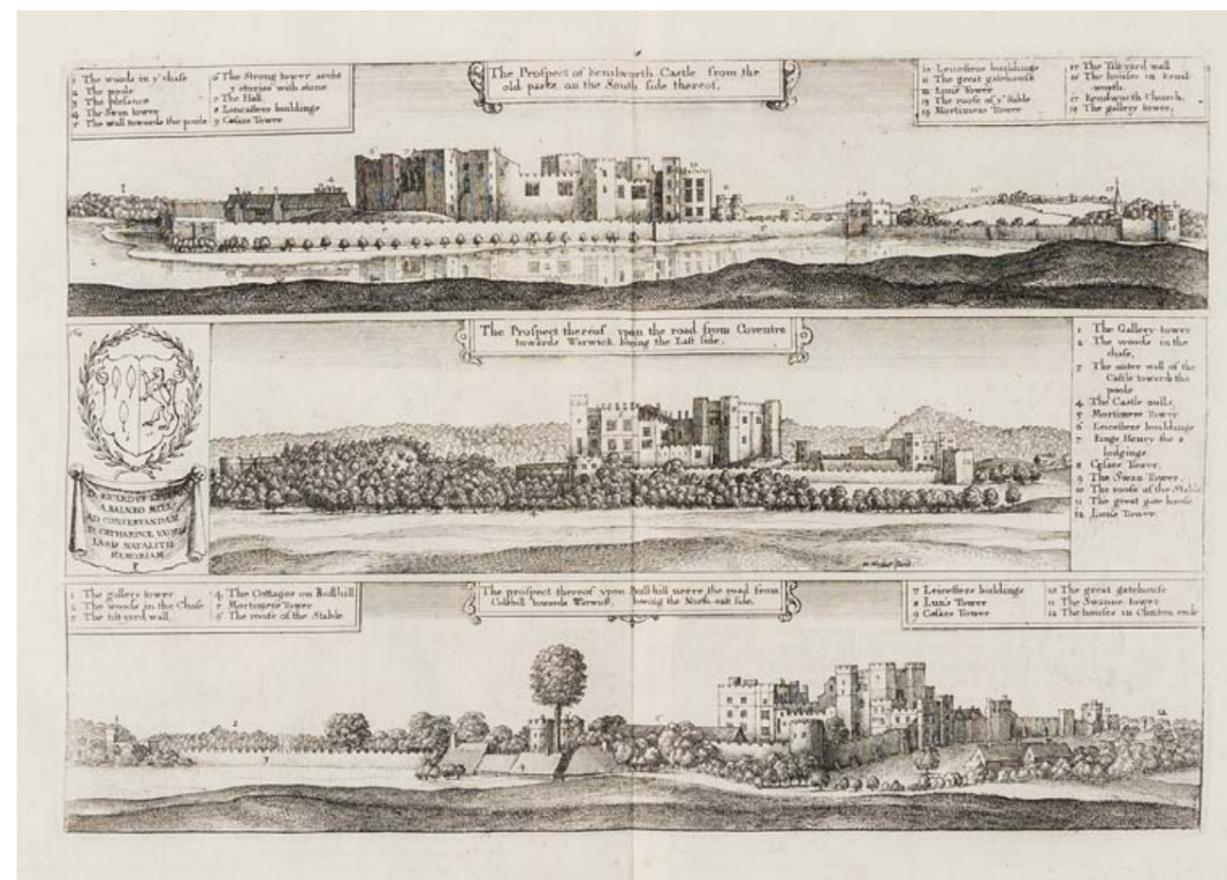
Provenance: 1: Dr Robert Brady (c. 1627-1700), Master of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge. Brady’s papers were said to have been “lost through the mischance of an executor’s senility” [probably burned by his executor Mr. Lightwine, “he used to entertain his vacant hours in burning Papers” (Thomas Hearne, quoted by Pocock, p. 186)]. The only other known letter from Dugdale to Brady is lost and was published by Hamper from Dugdale’s retained draft which presumably is with the family papers at Merevale Hall, Warwickshire.

2: ? Thomas (“Honest Tom”) Martin (1697-1771), of Palgrave, antiquary; he owned a manuscript by Brady of “Notes from the Journals of Parliament, temp. Eliz.-Jas. I, with a few of an earlier date at the end” [British Library MS Stowe 360] and a series of letters to Brady from Lawrence Halsted, Chief Clerk of the Records at the Tower of London between 1680 and 1684, now at Gonville & Caius College (MSS. 580).

3: John Ives (1751-1776), antiquary and herald, who acquired a substantial part of Thomas Martin’s manuscript collections [see ODNB], and this would fit with Ives’s inscription “Bibliotheca Ivesiana 1772” on the title-pages of the *Monasticon*; sale, Baker & Leigh, *A Catalogue of the entire and valuable library of John Ives jun. Esq;*, 3-9/3/1777, lot 378, “Dugdale’s *Monasticon Anglicanum*, compactis in corio russo, et exemplar pulcherimum [a most beautiful copy bound in russia leather], 3 vol. Lond. 1663. N.B. In the above article are seven Drawings of different Orders, by

Hollar himself.” £18/10/- to Thomas, i.e. **4: Rev. Edward Thomas**, A.M., F.R.A.S. [Master of Arts, Fellow of the Royal (elected 21/6/1770-1779) & Antiquarian Societies], of Feversham, Kent, Rector of Porthkerry, Co. Glamorgan, with armorial bookplates [overlaid with the Ruggles-Brise bookplate which has been partly lifted in vol.3] sale, Paterson, 1-3/7/1787, *Catalogue of the Genuine Library, Manuscripts, and Prints, of the Rev. Edward Thomas, ... Late of Feversham, deceased*, lot 513 “With an Original Letter from Sir Will Dugdale to Dr. Bradye, Mr. of Caius Coll. Cambr. relative to his Hist. of England, &c.” Edward Thomas was a subscriber to Thomas Martin of Palgrave’s *History of the Town of Thetford* (1779). ?5: Benjamin White, bookseller, of Fkleet Street, London, with pencil price “3 vol. 21.0.0.” on the front flyleaf of vol. 1.

6: Thomas Ruggles (d. 1813), of Clare, inherited Spains Hall, Finchingfield, Essex in 1776, he published this letter in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* for January 1793, p. 31 from which it was published by William Hamper in *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale* (1827), Letter CLXXVII, pp. 436-8; 19th-century armorial ink stamp with name “T RUGGLES” on the flyleaves and on the Edward Thomas bookplate and his ink note “from White Bookseller Fleetstreet £20. 3 vol. at the Roxburg[he] sale 1812 £67.4. see overleaf”; 19th-century “Spains Hall” armorial bookplate [pasted over Edward Thomas’s bookplate; partly lifted in vol. 3] by descent to **Sir Timothy Ruggles-Brise, 3rd. Bart.** (b. 1945, succ. 2007), of Spains Hall, sale, Bloomsbury Auctions, 24/2/2011, lot 15, £4270 [estimate £5-700] to Maggs.



“A. WOOD’S TENDER AFFECTIONS, AND INSATIABLE DESIRE OF KNOWLEDGE, WERE RAVISHED AND MELTED DOWN BY THE READING OF THAT BOOK”

28 DUGDALE (Sir William). **The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated**; from Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombes, and Armes: beautified with Maps; Prospects and Portraitsures. London: by Thomas Warren, 1656 **£4,500**

First Edition. Folio. [Text: 348 x 230mm], [14], 826, [14 (final leaf with errata)] pp., etched portrait of Dugdale by Wenceslaus Hollar (vertical crease), numerous etched illustrations in the text by Hollar recording tombs, monuments, brasses, stained glass windows ranging from small vignettes to full-page, double-page map of Warwickshire engraved by Robert Vaughan, folding map of Knightlow Hundred etched by Hollar (top border shaved), engraved plate of "Filding" [i.e. Feilding] armorials at p. 58, three etched plates by Hollar on 2 leaves of Boughton family tombs and monuments at Newbold-super-Avon at p. 64, double-page etched plate by Hollar of combats in Paris in 1438 and in Smithfield in 1441 won by Sir John de Astley surrounded by eight vignettes from his life at p.72, double-page etched plate by Hollar with panoramic views of Coventry and Leicester and a map of Coventry at p. 87, double-page etched plate by Hollar with three panoramic views of Kenilworth Castle at p. 160, double-page map of Kineton Hundred engraved by Vaughan at p. 297, double-page etched plate by Hollar with two panoramic views and a map of Warwick at

Wing D2479. A very handsome copy. 183 of the illustrations were etched by Wenceslaus Hollar.

Writing of the year 1656 in his autobiography, the young Oxford antiquary Antony Wood (1632-95) noted that, "This Summer came to Oxon. *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* &c. written by Will. Dugdale, and adorn'd with many Cuts. This being accounted the best book of it's [sic] kind that hitherto was made extant, my Pen cannot describe, how A. Wood's tender affections, and insatiable desire of knowledg, were ravished and melted downe by the reading of that book." - *The Lives of those eminent Antiquaries* (1772), II, p. 91.

"*The Antiquities of Warwickshire* has always had a large following. Anthony Wood's rapture at his first sight of it is well known, and it immediately kindled in him an ambition to make a similar collection of the antiquities of Oxfordshire. ... The intensity of his response may have been exceptional, but it was a fair indication of the book's reception. *Warwickshire* is the finest of the seventeenth-century county descriptions, the fullest, the most methodical and detailed, reproducing great numbers of accurate and reliable documents relating to county families. It was also the most attractively presented. ... As in his other books of the 1650s, a sense of impending ruin fills the pages. He remarks in his Preface that because there was so much war and destruction in Saxon times, it is virtually impossible to construct a picture of Saxon Warwickshire. The Civil War and its effects have given a modern urgency to his work, and he writes that he has caused the engravings of so many tombs to be made 'for preserving those Monuments from that Fate which Time, if not contingent Mischief, might expose them to'. Time

p. 299, engraved plate by John Stone with lettering by Hollar of the monument to Edward & Elizabeth Peto of Chesterton at p. 383, monument of Sir Thomas Lucy at Charlecote engraved by Peter Lombart on p. 403, double-page map of Barichway Hundred engraved by Robert Vaughan at p. 487, double-page etched plate by Hollar with George Carew, Earl of Totnes's monument on recto and monuments of William Clopton and William Shakespeare on the verso on pp. 519-20, two double-page engraved plates with 23 scenes of the creation of a Knight of the Bath at p. 533, double-page engraved map of Hemlingford Hundred by Robert Vaughan at p. 637, full-page engraving by Robert Vaughan of Edward Marshall's 1652 monument to Lady Nethersole on p. 805. Text with some light edge-browning, two small stains on pp. 470-1 and p. 731 with a small area of ink smudging in the press (no loss).

Fine copy in contemporary plain calf, the covers ruled in blind with a double fillet (joints rubbed and repaired at head and tail, spine-bands and edges rubbed; pastedowns unstuck, flyleaves lightly browned by the turn-ins).

and again he reverts to the catastrophe of the Dissolution, which swept away so large a part of the medieval record. This event 'gave the greatest blow to Antiquities that ever England had, by the destruction and spoil of so many rare Manuscripts, and no small number of famous Monuments'." - Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (1995), pp. 241-2.

Dugdale's *Warwickshire* is much more than a history of one county not least, as he wrote in the Preface, as many of the families discussed had much wider connections. In addition, he noted: "divers discourses therein are of generall importance, as to matter of knowledge, pointing out the originall or antiquitie of severall things, whereof most men perhaps are not as yet so far informed; scil. of Parishes, Consecration, and Dedication of Churches, Feasts of such their Dedication (called Wakes) Mercates and Faires; solemnities antiently used at the Baptizing of Children; the sacred and Courtly Ceremonies in conferring the honour of Knighthood; as also of Sepulture, Grants by Charter, Seales, Mortuaries, and others, whereunto the Index briefly directeth. In all which, and throughout the whole work, I have to my utmost, endeavoured the plainest stile, as most meet (in my Judgment) for such a business; well remembering that of Cicero, how an Historian should be qualified, scil. not of necessitie to be an Orator, *satis est non esse mendacem*, saith he [it is enough not to be a liar]." (Preface, b4r).

Provenance: Contemporary name written vertically on the guard of the front pastedown: "Rich Br[-----]nows Boke" (perhaps a bookbinder's note). No other marks of ownership.



BOUND BY ROGER BARTLETT OF OXFORD WITH A FORE-EDGE PAINTING

29 DUGDALE (Sir William). **The Baronage of England**, or an Historical Account of the Lives and most memorable Actions of our English Nobility in the Saxons time, to the Norman Conquest; and from thence, of those who had their rise before the end of King Henry the Third's Reign. Deduced from Publick Records, Antient Historians, and other Authorities, by William Dugdale Norroy King of Arms. Tome the First. [- Tome the Second - Third.]

London by Tho. Newcomb, for Abel Roper, John Martin, and Henry Herringman, 1675 [- 1676]

£8,000

First Edition. 2 vols. in 1. Folio. [Text: 412 x 230 mm]. 790, [2 (index); [8], 312 [Ss-Zz4 are omitted], 361-488, [4 (index)]] pp. Light browning, occasional minor stains.

Contemporary binding by Roger Bartlett of Oxford of black morocco, the covers tooled in gilt with a tall roll-tooled "cottage-roof" panel, the roof formed by strawberry volutes with clusters of strawberry volutes and a fleuron hanging from the eaves, leafy sprays and flowers in the corners and centre of the long sides. Spine with six bands, the second panel lettered in gilt on a red goatskin

label with a pair of gilt stepped corner tools below, the third and sixth panels filled with repeated gilt impressions of a strawberry roll, the others with a central lozenge formed by a pair of fleurons with the stepped triangular corner tools in the corners. Comb-marbled endleaves. All edges gilt, with an original, although rather simple, fore-edge painting under the gilt of flowers and leaves drawn in ink and coloured in pink and light blue (joints rubbed, particularly at the bands and cracked in the top and bottom panels, corners slightly bumped).

Wing D2480. Vol. 2: 2nd state of the errata (b2v) with two paragraphs; 2nd state of leaf Rr2 (column 2, line 1 ends "Earl of").

"Dugdale's scholarly industry from the 1650s to the 1670s was prodigious. ... After thirty years of accumulating material towards a history of the nobility, Dugdale energetically applied himself to its completion in the later 1660s and the early seventies. Long delayed in the press, the first volume of *The Baronage of England* eventually appeared in 1676; the second and third were printed together in 1677 [recte 1676]. It is a history of the aristocracy and its deeds since Saxon times, an immense work of genealogical scholarship derived from sound sources that retains its value to the present day." (ODNB).

"This volume has been described by a present-day member of the College of Heralds [Michael Maclagan] as 'a landmark in the history of English genealogical scholarship. ... Here for the first time is a vast and solid work of scholarship, almost every statement in which is directly referred to an original source. Modern scholarship may have revised some of Dugdale's judgements [but] our apparatus criticus stems back to the massive marginalia of this great work.'" - Parry (Graham), *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (1995), p. 224.

A handsome and typical large Roger Bartlett binding with a number of the tools listed by H. M. Nixon in "Roger Bartlett's Book-bindings", in *The Library* (March 1962), pp. 56-65: Tools 2, 4, 14, 20,



?22, 33a & 51 and Rolls ?1 but also with some fifteen other tools not listed by Nixon. Other folio Bartlett bindings with very similar cottage-roof designs and with similar fore-edge paintings are on a copy of Ogilby's *Vergil* (1668) in Maggs Catalogue 1075/74 [also owned Theophila Dyve]; a copy of Henrico Caterino Davila's *The Historie of the Civill Warres of France* (1647) in Maggs Catalogue 1212/44 [also owned by Theophila Dyve]; a copy of Sir Thomas North's *Plutarch* (1657) from the Clements collection sold at Sotheby's on 6/7/1966, lot 645 [there was no mention of earlier provenance but it is nice to think that it may also have been a Dyve book as it was exceptional for non-theological works or works of non-royal authorship to have fore-edge paintings at this time]. Also with fore-edge paintings, but in 8vo, is a now broken-up set of Thomas Comber's theological works, two volumes and a fore-edge painting of which are illustrated in G. D. Hobson, *English Bindings in the collection of J. R. Abbey*, nos. 41 & 42. See also Nixon, *English Restoration Bookbindings*, nos. 117-121, Nixon, *Oldaker Collection*, no. 6 and I. G. Philip - "Roger Bartlett, Bookbinder" in *The Library* (December 1955), pp. 233-243.

Born about 1633 in Watlington, Oxfordshire, the son of a shoemaker, Roger Bartlett was apprenticed in 1647 to Samuel Satterthwaite in London. He was made free in 1654 and worked

in London until 1666 when his shop was destroyed in the Great Fire. He then moved to Oxford and although his name last appears in the University accounts in 1689 he seems to have continued binding until at least 1695 (see Maggs Catalogue 1014/5) and he paid window tax in 1696. He died in 1712 leaving an estate of sixty acres to his two grandsons. Most of Bartlett's Oxford bindings must have been in plain calf and hence remain unidentified. Nixon's catalogue of his tools was based on 25 decorated bindings (and only a few more have been identified since) so it is rather surprising that some two-thirds of the tools on this binding were unknown to him.

Provenance: 1: Signature on the dedication leaf of **Theophila Dyve** and erased signature on the title, probably "ff Dyve" [**Francis Dyve**]. Theophila Dyve (1632-c.1695), for whom this book may have been bound [she also owned the above mentioned Ogilby's *Vergil* and Davila (where her signature is dated 1669) which were bound by Bartlett to almost the same pattern as the present binding and have similar fore-edge paintings]. She was the daughter of John Hacket, D.D., Bishop of Lichfield. On 14 December 1665 she married, as his 2nd wife, Francis Dyve (1632-85), eldest son of Sir Lewis Dyve, Kt. (1599-1669), of Bromham, Bedfordshire, a prominent royalist courtier and soldier (see *ODNB*).

Francis Dyve was appointed a Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber in 1669. He inherited the Bromham estate (the manor house was assessed for 15 hearths in 1671) and was also patron of the living and advowson of Stevington in Bedfordshire. In 1672 the living and advowson were conveyed to trustees and in 1695 they were owned by Henry Fleetwood who had married Francis and Theophila's daughter Mary Dyve (b. 1657). Henry Fleetwood also came into possession of Theophila Dyve's copy of *Vergil* as it is inscribed "Given by Mr Fleetwood to Mrs Chetwynd". Francis Dyve died in 1685 without male heir and the estate passed to his younger brother Capt. Lewis Dyve who died soon after on 1 Jan. 1686[?/7] and whose son, also Lewis, sold it in 1708 to Sir Thomas Trevor, later 1st Baron Trevor. Theophila Dyve's signature also appears in a copy of Edward Grimestone's translation of Jean Francois Le Petit's *A Generall Historie of the Netherlands* (1609) bound in contemporary calf with the arms of James I in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

2: Anon. sale, Sotheby, 20/4/1931, lot 850, £6/3/- to Sutton. **3:** Anon. sale, Sotheby, 12/3/1934, lot 532, £5/3/- to Marks & Co. **4:** Philip J. Pirages, bookseller of Portland, Oregon (2011). **5:** Maggs Catalogue 1471/28 (2013); sold to: **6: Robert S Pirie** (1934-2015), sale, Sotheby, New York, 2/12/2015, lot 336 to Maggs.

NARCISSUS LUTTRELL'S COPY ON LARGE PAPER

30 DUGDALE (Sir William). **The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London.** From its Foundation untill these Times. Extracted out of Originall Charters, Records, Leiger Books, and other Manuscripts. Beautified with sundry Prospects of the Church, Figures of Tombes, and Monuments. By William Dugdale.

London: by Tho. Warren, 1658

£3,600

First Edition. *Large Paper Copy* (Various watermarks: Bunch-of-grapes with countermark of initials "PH" on a cartouche [used for the separate plates as well as some text sheets] / Dove on a crowned shield with initials "ILP" beneath / Crowned Eagle displayed). Folio. [Text: 339 x 223 mm]. [8 (including the portrait)], 136, 157-178, 181-299, [7 (last page blank)] pp. Etched portrait of Dugdale by Wenceslaus Hollar, large folding plate of the Nave of St Paul's, 11 separate double-page and 2 separate single-page plates (one with the ends folded-in), 29 full-page and one half-page etchings in the text, all by Hollar. Fine impressions of the separate plates with large margins (closed tear from the lower margin, just into the image, of the plate at p. 65; small hole from a paper flaw in the plate at p. 99;

2 short tears in the centre fold of the large folding plate of the Nave). Short tear from a paper flaw in pp.199/200, small burn-hole in pp. 241/2 affecting two words on recto and verso. Horizontal creases in the text throughout. Contemporary publisher's binding of sprinkled calf (rebacked, preserving the original spine-panels with added late 18th-century gilt tooling and a red morocco label; spine and edges somewhat darkened; corners repaired). A proof page of the Index (Zrv) has been used as a liner beneath the rear pastedown and top half of the text on the verso can be clearly seen (the recto is blank) as well as the bunch-of-grapes watermark found in the text. The front pastedown and flyleaf have a watermark of a posthorn on a shield with initials "IDG" beneath.

London: by Tho. Warren, 1658. Wing D2482. There are three neat ink corrections in the text (p. 25 "In 10 H.3. P. did de" corrected to "In 10 H.3. did P de"; p. 39 "Thomas Kemyne" corrected to "Thomas Kempe"; p. 172 "the sum of 8965l. 13s. iid." corrected to "the sum of 35551l-02s-04d"). These are certainly in Dugdale's hand. The errata listed on the final page remain uncorrected in the text.

"Dugdale found occasion to vent his anger at what the followers of plain religion had done to the Church, both during the Civil War and in the Commonwealth years, in his *History of St Paul's Cathedral*, published in 1658. He used this book as an opportunity to proclaim the ideals of churchmanship that had prevailed before the Civil War and to express his horror at the sacrilegious vandalism of the Puritans. In his preliminary discourse, he surveys the history of worship (his review is much indebted to Hooker, Book V), and observes that all nations have created sacred places where their devotions have an especial potency. Jehovah approved of the Temple that was built by Solomon, a building of the utmost magnificence, in which the worship of God was performed with decorous rituals. The Temple was the type of all succeeding churches, and as the Temple was to Jerusalem, so is St Paul's to London - and St Paul's at its height had a comparable magnificence. That zenith was in the later Middle Ages, in Dugdale's view, when the benefactions of pious generations of Londoners had accumulated to make the cathedral richly furnished and ceaselessly active in prayer. He evokes the splendour of the ancient church, and pointedly reminds the reader of the many generous benefactions that were made to St Paul's though the



centuries. He comments approvingly on the chantry chapels and on the bequests made for memorial masses. He even describes in favourable tones the images of the Virgin Mary and the shrine of St Erkenwald that aroused such devotion in former ages. ...

"The intention behind this detailed revival of the medieval cathedral and its services and ceremonies - indeed, the aim of the

whole book with its many engravings of the monuments and the architecture of St Paul's - appears to be a desire to put before his readers in Cromwellian England a picture of a community united in its devotion to God, and expressing that devotion in a setting of great beauty, magnificence even, with visual aids to intensify devotion on every side. Against this scene, he sets the present desolation of the cathedral, semi-ruined, its monuments defaced, its sacred spaces turned to base uses as saw-pits or stables: all that is left for worship is a walled-off preaching place at the east end. The sense of sacrilege by contemporary hands is overwhelming in *The History of St Paul's*. Although the book is in part an act of archaeological rescue, before the whole edifice collapses, it is also an eloquent indictment of the depraved religious values that now hold sway in London, a protest against puritan barbarism by a man who remembers a mode of worship before the Civil War that revered the past and preserved in a judiciously reformed way many of the best devotional practices of the ancient faith." - Graham Parry, *Glory, Laud and Honour: the Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation* (2006), pp. 176-7.

Wenceslaus Hollar's etched plates have "a special value because of the complete destruction of the Cathedral in the Great Fire of 1666. Hollar's etchings are the only records we have of the interior of St Paul's: the solid Norman nave, the screen at the crossing, and the lofty Gothic choir are clearly depicted, though we get no sense of the disorderly public life that filled the western half of the church. Equally valuable are the views from every angle of Inigo Jones's refacing of the Cathedral, which he carried out in the 1630s. This had resulted in a neo-classical casing on three sides, which went rather incongruously with the rest of the Gothic fabric. The monumental portico that Jones erected at the west end was considered one of his most noble designs, yet without Hollar's views of it, it would scarcely be known. ... [Dugdale's] account is

greatly enhanced by Hollar's etchings of the celebrated monuments that filled the choir, which preserve much that would otherwise have been lost to posterity. John of Gaunt's slender-pinnacled tomb, John Colet's memorial, the festive monuments of the great Elizabethans such as William, Earl of Pembroke, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir William Cockayne, all stuck about with pillars and obelisks, are carefully and understandingly delineated. After the Fire, the only monument to survive of all those illustrated was the marble conceit of John Donne rising from his urn." - Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (1993), p. 240.



Provenance: There are a few early pencil dashes in the margins. 1: **Narcissus Luttrell** (1657-1732), annalist and book collector, with his stamped ink cypher and manuscript date "1707" on the verso of the title; by descent through the Rev. Luttrell Wynne (1739-1814), of Polsew, St Erme, Cornwall, grandson of Narcissus Luttrell's sister Dorothy to: **Edward William Wynne Pendarves, formerly Stackhouse** (1775-1853), M.P., of Pendarves, Camborne, Cornwall, with his armorial bookplate; thence by descent to his great-nephew William Cole Wood, afterwards Pendarves (1841-1929) and his son John Stackhouse Pendarves (1894-1938); Pendarves sale, Sotheby, 4-6/5/1936. 2: Kansas City (Missouri) Public Library, with modern ink stamp at the foot of the second leaf and red ink stamp "Ref. MAIN M.W" at the head of the pastedown and their bookplate removed from the front pastedown (leaving yellow fragments over a pencil reference to Wing [after 1945]); books from the Kansas library were sold at Swann Galleries, New York, 7/12/2000 (including an 1818 edition of this book). 3: Private collection, U.S.A.

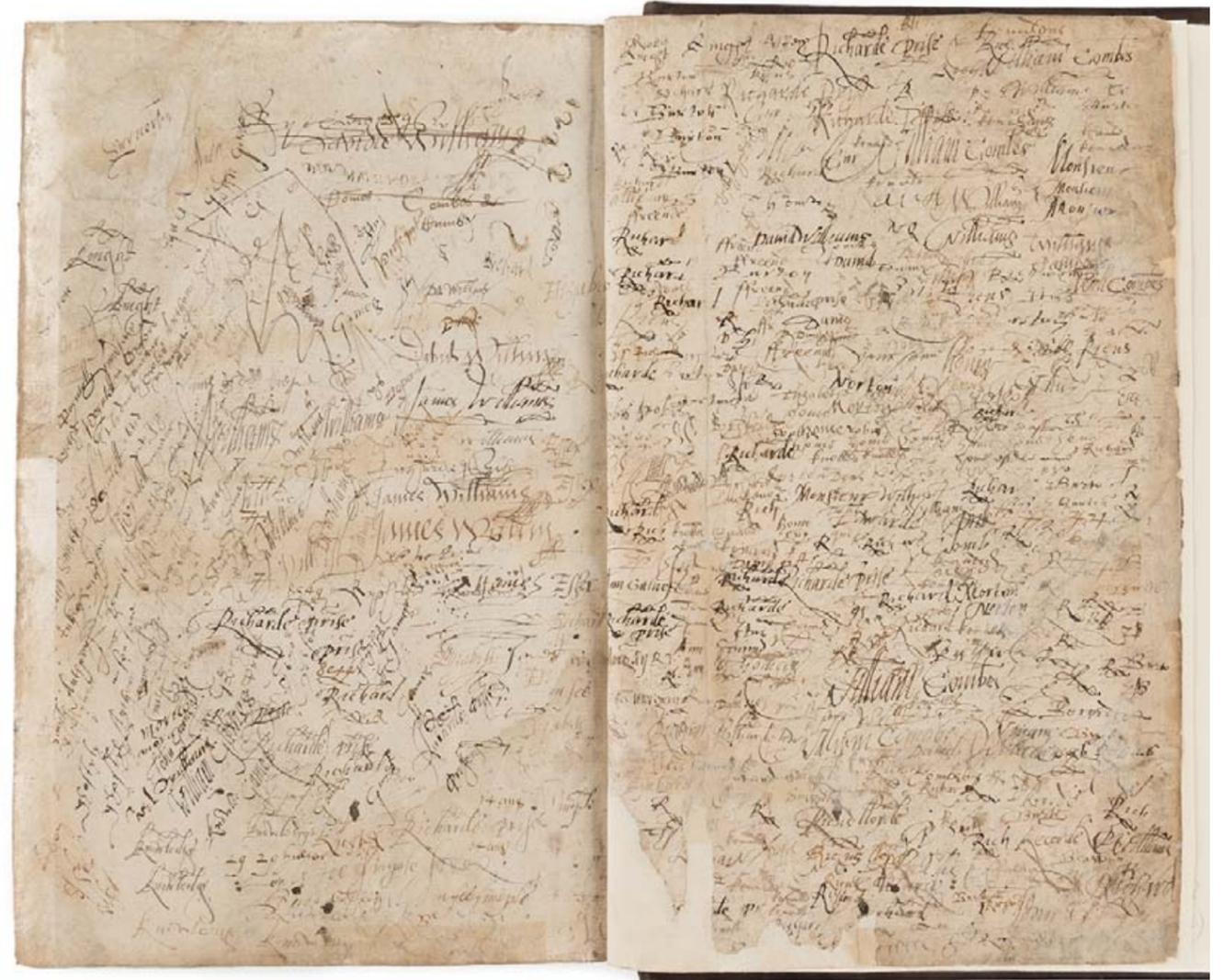
TWO EDITIONS HEAVILY ANNOTATED BY WELSH LAW STUDENTS

31 EDWARD III. [Yearbook for Edward III, Years 40-50 (1367-1377)]. Regis pie memorie Edwardi tertii a quadragesimo ad quinquagesimum, Anni omnes a mendis quibus miserrime scatebant repurgati et suo nitore Restituti. Anno domini, 1565.

London: in aedibus Richardi Tottelli. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. [Colophon: Imprinted at Lopndon in fletestrete within Temple Barre at the signe of the hande and starre by Rycharde Tottel, the xv. daye of August. An. 1565.] £2,850

Second Edition. *Folio. xlix, ii-xxxi, xxvi, xxxvi, ii-xlvi, ii-xxviii, ii-xxxiiii, ii-xxvi, xxxiiii, xxvii, xxvii, [i (blank) leaves. Title within a woodcut architectural frame. Modern calf, two original flyleaves at front and three at the end preserved (with the same hand-and-star watermark as the text). A few old marginal paper*

repairs and to a longer tear in Zz4, [3]G2-3 browned, spotting at the foot of sheet Hbh small hole from a flaw in [3]N2 affecting a few words, closed tear from the lower margin of [3]Q3 into the bottom three lines of text; dampstain in the lower part of the first 80+ and last 40+ leaves.



STC 9583 (British Library, Cambridge UL + 4 Cambridge Colleges, Queen's College Oxford, York Minster; Columbia, Folger, Harvard, Library of Congress, Minnesota).

The Year Books for the last ten years (40-50) of the reign of Edward III, covering the years 1367-1377, and known as the *Quadragesms* were first published separately by Pynson between 1511 and 1520. Richard Tottell published the first collected edition in 1555/6 and this is a page-for-page reprint of the 1555/6 edition. Further editions were published in 1576 [See the next item] and 1600. They are written in the original Law French in which the legal cases were conducted.

The importance of the Year Books has never been better expressed than by F. W. Maitland, in the introduction to his edition of the Year Books of 1-2 Edward II (1903), where he drew attention to their "unique position in the history of jurisprudence" as the earliest systematic records of oral debate. "What has the

whole world to put by their side? In 1500, in 1400, in 1300, English lawyers were systematically reporting what of interest was said in court. Who else in Europe was trying to do the like - to get down on paper or parchment the shifting argument, the retort, the quip, the expletive?"

The Selden Society (which Maitland founded) has published modern editions of the Year Books for the years 1307-21 (1-14 Edward II), but the reign of Edward III remains virtually untouched. The *Centenary Guide to the Publications of the Selden Society*, 1987, declared glumly; "The dearth of editors and the absence of any funds to attract or assist them make the prospect of substantial progress with any phase of the year books more remote in 1987 than it was in 1887, 1903 or even 1935". Where no modern editions exist, as in the present case, students of legal history still have to rely on the same black-letter editions that their 16th. century predecessors used.



W. C. Bolland in his *Sandars Lectures at Cambridge A Manual of Year Book Studies* (1925), described the Yearbooks as a “treasure house of learning” and says, “You never know what you are going to find in them, but you are quite certain that you are going to find many a thing outside ‘the legal technicalities which they were designed to preserve’, technicalities which are interesting enough indeed to a lawyer and the student of legal history, but are not, perhaps very attractive to the general student of social history, of the manners and customs and ways of thinking of mediaeval England. There is no end to the variety, to the unexpectedness of the contents of the Year Books. You will come across quaint stories about all sorts and conditions of people and all sorts of things; ... you get valuable scraps of historical fact, of literary history, which the formal chroniclers have failed to record, which industrious editors, seeking elsewhere, have failed to discover. You hear of trades and occupations which have long been obsolete, the very names of some of which are meaningless to us now; details, in short, of every phase and aspect of mediaeval life in England which survive nowhere else.”

“These Year Books are a precious heritage. They come to us from life. Some day they will return to life once more at the touch of some great historian ... Indeed, it will some day seem a wonderful thing that men once thought that they could write the history of medieval England without the Year Books.” (Maitland).

For a general discussion of Law printing in 16th and 17th Century England see Sir John H. Baker’s two essays “The books of the common law” and “English law books and legal publishing” in Vols. III & IV of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (1999 & 2002).

Provenance: Annotated throughout in the margins a series of late 16th / early 17th-Century hands, many being series of numbers cross-referring to other cases in this (Vide supra, Vide postea, Vide infra) or other Yearbooks (e.g. “7e413” referring to Year 7 of Edward IV), to other books such as Littleton, Plowden and Brooke highlighting or amplifying words in the text, occasional longer notes in Law French.

Pen-trial of a memorandum dated 1572 on the recto of the penultimate leaf. The recto of the penultimate and verso of the last flyleaf completely filled with repeated names written in ink in early 17th Century hands forming a sort of autograph collection. On the penultimate leaf the names include: Richard Prise, James Williams, Davidde Williams, Combes, Swynerton, Anthony Smythe, Poyntell, Wynter, Morris, Essex, Elizabeth James, William Games, John Games, Elizabeth Gamage / Gamadge. On the last leaf they include: Ric[ard]us lloyde, William Combes, Rich Recorde, Joh[ann]es Morgan, Rich[ard] knolles, Morgan R, Richard Morton, Ann Games, Monsieur Williams, E Burton, Richard Burton, David Williams, Edward Price.

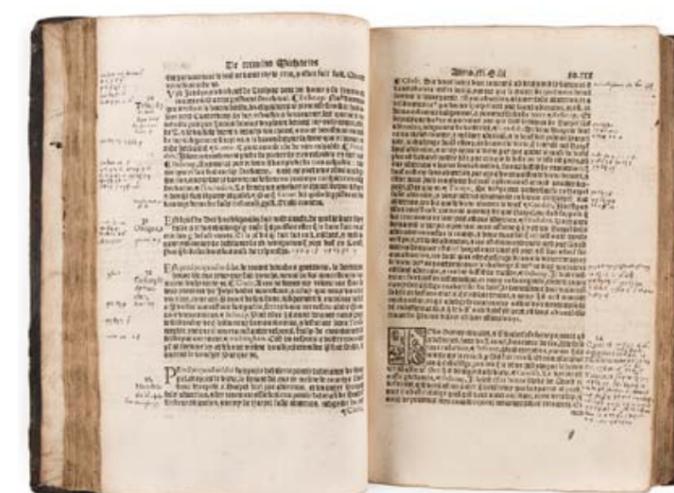
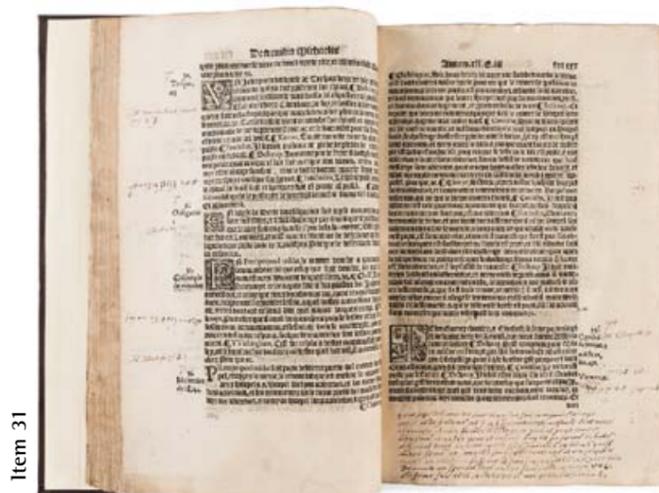
Several of these names have a certain Welsh origin and many young Welshmen studied Law at the Inns of Court in London at the time. One name, in particular, is distinctive: John Games as a student of that name, of Newton, Breconshire, was admitted to the Middle Temple at the request of Sir David Williams, Justice of the King’s Bench, on 7 November 1616. Swynerton is a relatively unusual name and a John Swynerton was admitted to the Middle Temple on 3 Aug. 1606 while two students named William Combes were admitted to the Middle Temple on 19 Oct. 1571 and 17 Oct. 1602. See: *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, Vol. 1 (1949).

For a study of Welsh Law students at the time see the chapter IV, “Life and Scholarship at the Inns of Court”, in William Philip Griffith, *Welsh Students at Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court during the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries* (DPhil Thesis at the University of Wales, 1981 [available online]).

Annotations in early English Law books, either by students (as probably here) or by practising lawyers have yet to receive

much scholarly attention. The Huntington copy of this edition is reproduced on EEBO. It, too, is extensively annotated but a cursory comparison shows that the notes have almost nothing

in common. They also have very little in common with the notes in a copy of the 1576 edition described below and with which it would make an interesting pair.



32 EDWARD III. [Yearbook for Edward III, Years 40-50 (1367-1377)]. Regis pie memorie Edwardi tertij a quadragesimo ad quinquagesimum. Anni omnes a mendis quibus miserime scatebant repurgati & suo nitore restituti.

Anno Domini. 1576. Londini in aedibus Richardi Tottelli. [Colophon] Imprinted at London in Fletestrete within Temple barre at the signe of the Hand and starre, by Rycharde Tottel the seconde day of Marche. Anno, 1576 £2,500

Third Edition. Folio. [Text: 287 x 190mm]. xlix, ii-xxxix, xxxvi, xxxvii, ii-xlvi, ii-xxxiii, ii-xxxiiii, ii-xxxvi, xxxiii, xxxvii, xxxvii ff. Title within a woodcut architectural frame. A little grubby and browned in places, edges of some leaves a slightly stained and chipped, small rust hole in the blank upper fore-corner of the second third leaves,

creasing in the blank lower margin of 3R1-3S2, upper fore-corner of [4]G4 creased, small rust hole in the lower blank margin of [4]L-4. Contemporary reversed calf, covers ruled in blind (rebacked with a new reversed calf spine, corners and edges worn and rubbed, pair of green ties missing, small patch of insect damage to the upper board).

STC 9584 (BL, Cambridge [ex Peterborough Cathedral], Trinity College Cambridge, Middle Temple Library [marginalia by Robert Ashley], National Library of Scotland, National Trust [Townend House, Cumbria], Westminster Abbey; Columbia University Law Library, Harvard Law Library [x 2], Huntington [manuscript notes by Jacobus Halliwell of Gray’s Inn], Library of Congress, University of Minnesota.

The first edition was printed by Tottell in 1555/6 and reprinted in 1565. This is a page-for-page reprint of the 1555/6 and 1565 editions but there are many alterations to the spelling. A final edition (with an added index) was published in 1600.

See the previous item for a description of the text.

Provenance: Annotated throughout in the margins in three or four late 16th-century hands (the first very small and neat), many being series of numbers cross-referring to other cases in this (Vide supra, Vide postea, Vide infra) or other Yearbooks, to other books

such as Littleton, Plowden and Brooke highlighting or amplifying words in the text. Neat early signature “Henry Wynne” on the front flyleaf and “Harry Wynne” with “Harry boduell” on the rear flyleaf. A Henry Wynne was admitted to the Inner Temple on 9/12/1618, called to the Bar on 21/6/1629 and made a Bencher on 3/11/1647. He was the 2nd son of Sir John Wynne, Bart., of Gwydir, Carnarvonshire, Wales. The Bodvel / Bodvell family, of Bodvel Hall, was also prominent in Carnarvonshire in the late 16th / early 17th Centures. John Bodvel (1617-63), M.P. for Anglesey (1640) and a Colonel in the royalist army, entered the Middle Temple in 1633 and there were several Henry’s in the family.

The Huntington copy of this edition is reproduced on EEBO. It, too, is extensively annotated but a cursory comparison shows that the notes have almost nothing in common. They also have very little in common with the notes in a copy of the 1565 edition described above and with which it would make an interesting pair.

33 ELSYNGE (Sir Henry). Modus tenendi Parliamentum apud Anglos in two Bookes Composed by Henry Elsynge Esquire Clerke of the Parliament.

[London: c. 1625-35]

£2,800

Manuscript on paper in a neat scribal hand. Folio. [Text: 300 x 192 mm]. [105] leaves + 2 blank leaves at front and back. Text damp-stained at the head getting worse towards the end with a little worming in the top margin, also some minor worming in

the text from ff. 30-44. Contemporary limp vellum, two pairs of original green fabric ties [220mm long] intact but fragile, one hanging on by a few threads (front cover slightly damp-stained but in good bright condition). Cloth box.



1954, edited by Catherine S. Sims. A tract entitled *The Manner of Passing Bills in Parliament*, published in 1685, may have formed part of the same work." (ODNB).

Elsynge's *Modus tenendi Parliamentum* circulated widely in manuscript before its first appearance in print soon after the Restoration and it is probably the most common of early 17th-century English scribal manuscripts. It is interesting, that in a time of no parliaments, it should have such a widespread readership but as Geoffrey Bing explained in the preface to a 1971 edition (the first since Thomas Tyrwhitt's revised edition of 1768), "the importance of Elsynge is two-fold. In the first place he was a scholarly and assiduous recorder of the parliamentary practice and law of his time. Some of what he wrote has, of course, become out of date. Nevertheless, Elsynge remains to this day an authority relied upon to establish this or that point of procedure. ... It is probable, however, that the popularity of Elsynge's work throughout the seventeenth century was primarily due to factors other than those which have led to his still being cited as an authority. In the period down to the Revolution of 1688, members of both Houses of Parliament were engaged in a struggle to establish freedom of speech in their two chambers and to make illegal any attempt to punish them for what they said in Parliament. Elsynge's *Manner of Holding Parliaments in England* was particularly valuable in this regard ... While his work can perhaps be said to deal more with the House of Lords than with the Commons, it nevertheless contains long passages explaining privileges which the Commons collectively, and its members individually, possessed. It is true that, like all other works of the time, these matters are discussed within a framework of medieval precedents. He assumes its readers to be familiar, not only with Latin, but also with Norman French. Behind this medieval and legalistic facade the revolutionary theories are only thinly concealed." (Henry Elsynge, *The Manner of Holding Parliaments in England*, 1971, pp. xvi-xvii).

This is a handsome example of the type, albeit without any marks of ownership or usage, except that a few of the occasional marginal glosses are in a different hand to the scribe. Recently in a private collection in Australia.

Henry Elsynge (1577-1635/6) was Clerk of the Parliaments from 1621, having been assistant to his predecessor Robert Bowyer since 1609/10 and held the reversion of the office since 1613. Before that Elsynge and Bowyer had been, from 1604, joint Keepers of the Records in the Tower of London. Although Elsynge held the office of Clerk of the Parliaments until September 1635 shortly before his death he had ceased to have any active role in March 1629 when Charles I dissolved the session of Parliament which had been called after the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham and began his so-called "personal rule" which lasted until the so-called "Short Parliament" of 13 April to 5 May 1640.

"Elsynge played an important part in the codification of the procedure of the House of Lords and in the development and preservation of its records. His principal claim to recognition is as a scholar and historian of parliament, using the original documents to which his official positions at the Tower and at Westminster gave him access. His studies formed the basis of his treatise on parliament entitled *The Manner of Holding Parliaments in England, or, Modus tenendi parliamentum apud Anglos*, which remained unfinished at his death. Subsequently various parts have been published. Book 1 first appeared in 1660. A chapter on judicature, formerly attributed in error to John Selden, appeared in an imperfect form in 1681 and in a corrected version in 1990. A further chapter, *Expedicio billarum antiquitus*, was published in

34 ERASMUS (Desiderius). De contemptu mundi.

Londini: in aedibus Thomae Bertheleti [Thomas Berthelet], 1533

£4,200

Second Edition in English. Small 8vo. [Text: 137 x 91 mm]. 88 leaves (of 90, lacks the single-leaf Table and the final blank leaf at the end). Printer's crease across 8 lines at the upper fore-corner

of G3; probably lightly washed but fresh and unpressed. Late 19th-Century brown morocco by Francis Bedford, covers panelled in gilt, gilt spine, plain endleaves, gilt edges (joints rubbed).

STC 10471. State with the heading on A5v in four lines (otherwise found in 3 lines).

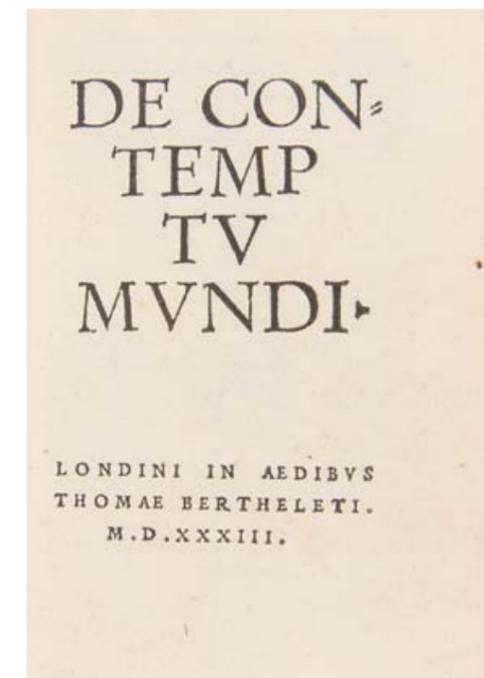
ESTC lists copies at the British Library [ex Ames - Herbert - Farmer], Bodley [ex Heber - Cunliffe - Goyder; lacks the Table & final blank leaf], Folger [ex Britwell], Harvard, Huntington [x 2; 1 ex Sir Thomas Brooke], Princeton [not on their online catalogue] & Yale [lacks the Table & final blank leaf]. STC includes the present copy (Bute) and the Goyder copy (sold in 1993 and now at Bodley).

Apart from the present, the only other copy listed on *ABPC* was the Goyder copy sold at Sotheby, 19/7/1993, lot 63, £2000 + premium (now at Bodley) and there is no other record before that copy's former appearance at the Cunliffe sale in 1946 where it fetched £50 to Maggs for Goyder.

The first English edition, also printed by Berthelet, is undated but STC 10470.8 suggests 1532? Only two copies are known: Corpus Christi College Cambridge & Huntington [ex Rawlinson - Chalmers - Britwell]. It is in a larger format and neither of the surviving copies has a Table.

De contemptu mundi dates from the late 1480s, and is a work "which", as states the title-page to the first Latin edition, printed in Louvain in 1521 by Thierry Martens, "was written by Erasmus as a young man to please, and under the name of, Theodoric of Haarlem", a monk, who addresses the text to his nephew, Jodocus, or Joost. Both may well have been real people and not inventions, although the girl Margareta who is mentioned would definitely seem to be a fiction.

The initial epistle to the reader and that written in the name of Theodoric may be roughly contemporary with the date of publication. The final chapter XII, which in many ways seems at variance with what has been written in the main text, again seems to reflect a mature Erasmus, who whilst he may condemn the falseness of monastic life, nevertheless still has a precise view of the isolated life, of being "a monk in the world": "Nor thou shuldest nat desyre the habyte of the white frere or of the blacke [Dominican or Carmelite], if thou observe and kepe clene undefiled, the fayre whyte garment, that was delyvered to the[e] in baptisme. Nor be nat dyspleased with thy selfe, thoughe thou be nat of the flocke of blacke friers or white, so that thou be of the flocke of true



Christen people. Thus farewell myn owne good Joyce." [Present translation, Chap. XII, *ad fin.*]

The work is quite short (pp. 39-86, (including notes, in *Opera Omnia ... Ordinis quintini tomus primus* (1977) ed. S. Dresden) and by 1523 had gone through five editions, printed in Louvain, Antwerp (2), Cologne, and Basel (with *De pueris instituendis*, 1529). It is concerned with the rejection of worldly things, a well-known medieval trope (one thinks of Bernard of Morlaix), and shows an acquaintance with the monastic life which may point to the time Erasmus spent at the monastery at Steyn early in his life. It is divided into short chapters shewing that "periculosum est morari mundo" ["Of the dangerous dwellynge in the worlde"], "vanos et instabiles esse honores" ["That the honours of the world be vayne or foolyshe and unstable"] and the like all contrasted by the various pleasures of a solitary life which are subsequently detailed. But then in Chapter XII we are rapidly informed that in monasteries there is a collapse of religious discipline ("non viget disciplina religionis") and that these institutions are nothing but schools of impiety where anything you want may be allowed, and

where the monastic cowl and name may allow people to sin with more licence without the control of bishop or civil authorities. It is presumed that this final chapter was written by Erasmus much later than the rest.

It is easy to see why it appealed, was so often printed (some 18 editions between 1521 and 1540) and was translated into English.

The work is replete with classical learning and dense allusion ranging from quotations from Ovid and Virgil of some lines to short reminiscences of Horace, Juvenal, ancient proverbs, Cicero, Seneca, St Jerome, a much loved Erasmian author, and St Augustine. These are translated as verse where appropriate, the longest (A mixture of Ovid and Juvenal) covering two and a half pages (ff. 38v-39v), beginning, “Of sturdy indurate iron the beste age framed was, / Than preased in al mischiefe the worlde rounde aboute, / ...”. There is one proverb, “*Concoloribus plumis aues una volitant*” (line 516), which was once a Dutch proverb in the area of Kampen near Deventer, well-known in English as «Birds of a feather flock together», a proverb probably originating in Paynell’s translation.

The translator Thomas Paynell (d. 1564?) was a Canon regular of the Augustinian Priory at Merton in Surrey, an order of which Erasmus himself was the most distinguished contemporary member, and a position Paynell still held when this translation was published. Later he became a Chaplain to Henry VIII and Orator to Queens Mary and Elizabeth. “He was an Erasmian who was able to accommodate himself to the successive Tudor regimes.” (ODNB). He dedicated this translation to Mary Tudor (1496-1533), daughter of King Henry VII, widow of King Louis XII (she was briefly and

aged only eighteen, Queen of France for less than two months at the end of 1515) and wife of the royal favourite Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, though she retained her title as Queen Dowager of France. She died on 25 June 1533, giving a *terminus ad quem* for the date of this edition. It was through her that her granddaughter, Lady Jane Grey, had a fateful claim to the throne.

Paynell opens his dedication by bemoaning that, “In tyme paste princesse most excellent, relygyon was nat onely a thyng highlye estemed, but also hadde in right great honour and reverence, and nat dispised and little sette by, as it is now a dayes: but they that so do, eyther be suche as can nat be content to lyve straytely and hardely them selfe, for so they repute a religious & a good lyfe, or els they be suche as be slyden and fallen asyde from the ryght beleve.” (A2r-v). He concludes it by noting that, “For all though ye be a quene, and have alway kept a state of a princes most hygh, shynynge in glory and ryche, and therto furnyshed with all moste honorable pleasures and delytes belongynge to nobilitie, yet have you be[en] alway most vertuous, devout, and charitable.” (A3v).

Provenance: 1: No early marks of ownership; faint “FINIS” with a flourish added in ink at the bottom of the final page. 2: Catalogue cutting from an unidentified late 19th-Century Sotheby’s auction catalogue “fine copy in brown morocco extra” with a pencil note below “splendid copy”. 3: **John Patrick Crichton Stuart, 3rd Marquess of Bute** (1847-1900), with Cardiff Castle bookplate, latterly at Mountstuart, Isle of Bute; Bute sale, Christie, 29/11/1995, lot 50, £1100 + premium. 4: Unidentified American bookseller, with catalogue cutting loosely inserted (price \$3500 deleted). 5: Private collection, U.S.A.

AN ARS MORIENDI FOR THE COURT OF KING HENRY VIII

35 ERASMUS (Desiderius). **Liber cum primis pius, de praeparatione ad mortem**, nunc primum & conscriptus & aeditus. Accedunt aliquot epistolae serijs de rebus, in quibus item nihil est no[n] novum ac recens.

[Colophon:] Basel: In officina Frobeniana per Hieronymum Frobenium, et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1534 £7,500

First Edition. 4to. [Text: 190 x 140mm]. 167, [1] pp. Froben printer’s device on the title and final page in 2 states (the latter larger),

woodcut initials by Urs Graf. 19th-century patterned boards, label on spine, red edges (rubbed).

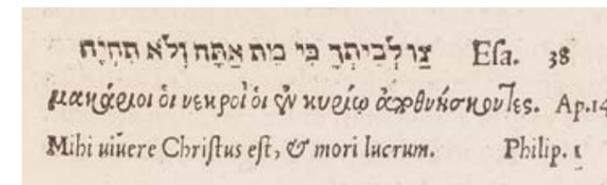
VD16 E3405. Erasmus’s *De praeparatione ad mortem* was written in response to a request in June 1533 from Anne Boleyn’s father, Thomas Boleyn, for whom Erasmus had already written two works. Boleyn, to whom as Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde (“Vultisheriae & Ormaniae”) the work is dedicated, had asked for “libellus aliquis de praeparatione ad moriendum”, in other words an up-to-date version of the medieval *Ars moriendi*. The autograph manuscript survives in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, and is entitled *Liber quomodo se quisque debeat praeparare ad mortem*. It was written

at speed and printing was almost completed at Christmas 1533, although the preliminaries were still not ready. The book was not distributed until mid-February 1534 and it was not until 11 March that two copies (“libelli aurati”) were sent to England but not, it seems, to Thomas Boleyn, who had to wait for a handsomely bound copy. The book was well received in London and, strange to relate, Queen Catherine of Aragon who died on 7 January 1536 and who had, as every schoolboy knows, been ousted to make room for Anne Boleyn, read her copy, literally unto death (see letter 3090 from

the Imperial Ambassador Chapuys, also mentioning the death of More). Whoever received the second copy sent to England, Anne, Catherine or even More, would not, one hopes, have realised quite how of evil augury such a gift was!

It was an immediate success and between its first appearance and 1540 some twenty editions were published in Latin, in Cologne, Paris, Cracow, Antwerp, and Lyon, and the work was translated into French (1537-39, 4 editions), Spanish (1535), German (1534), Dutch (1534) and English (1538 & 1543). See Erasmus, *Opera omnia ... ordinis quinti tomus primus* (Amsterdam & Oxford, 1977).

The work consists of 10 quires (A-K inclusive of the title and the dedication to Thomas Boleyn (“Thomae comiti Vultisheriae & Ormaniae” on Arv) or 80 pages. To make the work more substantial Froben added a number of letters from and to Erasmus, all recent in date. The letters by Erasmus are mostly connected with some aspect of death, and the mottoes on the title in Hebrew, Greek



and Latin are also connected with death, and are taken from Isaiah (xxxviii), the Revelation of St. John (xiv. 21 “Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord”) and St. Paul (Phil. i. 21 “For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain”). The presence of the three languages is possibly meant to remind one of the trilingual inscription placed above Christ on the cross by order of Pilate, with the sub-text “quod scripsi, scripsi”.

The first letter is to the Spanish humanist scholar Juan de Vergara (1492-1557) about the deaths of Archbishop Wareham and of Christopher a Schidlowitz (Krzysztof Szydlowiecki, 1467-1532, Chancellor of Poland) to whom Erasmus dedicated his *Lingua* (Basel, 1525). He tells us that Wareham’s successor at Canterbury is Thomas Cranmer “by profession a theologian, a most upright man and of unimpeachable morals” who will, like Wareham, help Erasmus.

The next letter to Johann Fabri or Faber (1478-1541), Bishop of Vienna, is particularly interesting for the information it affords us about Sir Thomas More, his origins and family. Probably to be dated to the end of 1532 (see Allen, *Opus ep.*, letter 2750) or more likely early 1533 as it mentions that More has been deprived of the chancellorship and his place taken by a “nobilis” [Thomas Audley, later Baron Audley of Walden was appointed Lord Keeper on 20 May 1532 four days after More’s resignation but was only named as Lord Chancellor on 26 Jan. 1533] who has released those “free men” that More had sent to prison because

of their contentious teachings. He cannot confirm this as he has not heard from England for some time, “and the letter from More which I now send has been stuck in Saxony for some months”. He speaks of King Henry VIII’s love for More and his favourable treatment of him, calling the king (in Greek) *philomoros*, and of the importance of the standing of the chancellor whose dignity is nearest to that of the king. Who has succeeded More he does not know. He describes More’s London origin – to be a Londoner in England gives one some pretensions of nobility – his father’s standing and his own position as a distinguished lawyer; both kings and kingdoms have need of such men both in times of war and peace; war is to be avoided but peace is not an everyday thing, and it brings about corruption in men’s morals, unless society is governed by the counsels of wise men [*i.e.* lawyers]. He speaks of men deserving nobility rather than simply inheriting it, and cites various examples, some referring to relatively lowly grades of society, including the Codex of Roman Law (Book XII, *Titulus de professoribus*), and of how More, and his father, deserved their nobility. He also writes of how More hates seditious beliefs.

The most fascinating part of the letter is that describing More’s house and family, which is almost the prose equivalent of the famous Holbein painting of More and his family (lost in a fire in Poland in the 18th century but known by copies): “He has built by the Thames not far from the city of London, a country house which is neither lowly nor so magnificent as to excite envy, but sufficiently roomy. There he lives with his intimate family circle, his wife, son and daughter-in-law, his three daughters and their husbands, together with his grandchildren who already number eleven. By the favour of Christ, he sees the children of his children, and will see those who will be born from those grandchildren; as there is no one amongst them who is not in the bloom of his age, it is likely that the progeny will be numerous.” Erasmus tells of how More’s children by his first marriage have been looked after by his second wife: his first wife died young, but “he loves and cares for his second wife, sterile though she be and advanced in age, as if she were a girl of fifteen. Hardly anyone else alive is a greater lover of children, and he knows no difference between an old woman and a girl. ... You would say that his house was another Plato’s Academy, but to be frank I am rudely dismissive of his house if I compare it with Plato’s Academy, where numbers and geometrical figures, and from time to time moral virtues were the subject of discussion. More’s house you would more justly describe as a school and gymnasium of the christian religion. ... There is no squabbling there, no ill-tempered word is heard, no one is idle. And More exercises control over his family not by means of curses or sharpness but only by benevolence and companionableness. ... In the neighbouring church [Chelsea Old Church] he has erected for himself and his family a communal

tomb, to which he has transferred the bones of his first wife, from whom he will suffer no divorce. On the wall is an inscription ... which my servant has faithfully transcribed. I send a copy with this letter. I see that I have been more than usually loquacious, but it is a delight for me to speak of one friend to another friend. ...”

This is followed by two letters from More to Erasmus, printed here for the first time (pp. 103-115), the first dated 14 June 1532, and the second undated but is circa June 1533.

The first letter falls into two parts, one dealing with More's attitude to old age and his declining health, which obliges him to think of giving up his public life but hopes that God will not allow him to pass his time in “iners atque ignavum ocium,” but rather give him the health and spirit to spend his time well (“bonas horas collacare”) and the other to Erasmus himself, his books, his tireless writing, even although himself in poor health, his brilliance and genius – “we are not all Erasmus. Who apart from you would dare to promise what you provide?” – before discussing the attacks made on Erasmus and his theological views, which, says More, are all founded in the Fathers and the Scriptures. More also mentions the importation of heretical books printed in English from Belgium.

The second letter, which is much shorter, mentions Henry VIII's fierceness against heretics (“acrior quam episcopi ipsi”), mentions Tyndale, Melancthon and the Wyclifites, before passing on to discuss the rumour-mongers who have criticised his epitaph

and, as it were, “credo”, and who have put it about that he (More) unwillingly gave up his office. More tells us of how the King himself had twice publicly caused reference to be made to how unwillingly he had accepted More's resignation, that he has been very specific and deliberate in what he has put in the epitaph and of how much he hates heretics and what damage he believes they will inflict on society. The text of the “Table affixed to the tomb of Thomas More” with the 12-line verse epitaph (the former first published here and latter first published in More's *Epigrammata*, 1518) is printed before this letter on pp. 109-111. This is, as we learn from the letter just quoted, a deliberate statement by More of his background, and of his literary interests, who his father was, how he was educated, what his public life had been, those people, like Tunstall who had been his benefactors, of his two wives (his first wife died 1511) and his children and grandchildren, of how he had erected this tomb and how he hopes when God calls him to be there buried. The verse epitaph commemorates his wives, the care and love that his second wife shewed for her step-children and his own equal love for both wives, ending with the wish that they may all three live together in heaven, the only place where such a “threesome” can properly exist. Taken together these two statements from his own pen commemorate both him and his works, and he clearly intended them to be, as it were, an *Apologia pro vita sua* shewing both his public record and his private persona. It is a very conscious testimony mapping-out, as indeed Erasmus also shews in the letter devoted to describing More, of what More wanted posterity to see of him. It is a literary topos, the writer setting the record straight: “So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see / So long lives this, and this gives life to thee”.

The remaining letters are to Erasmus, all printed here for the first time and are all reprinted by Allen. They are to the Alsatian Justus Decius, secretary to the King of Poland and friend of Copernicus; Dr. Julius von Pflug (1499-1564), councillor to Duke George of Saxony and later Bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz (at the request of Pflug and Melancthon Erasmus wrote *De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia*, 1533); Pierre du Chastel (d. 1552), later *grand aumonier de France* and a bishop, a great friend of humanists and much involved with Robert Estienne, who in 1527 lodged with Erasmus in Basel when he was working for Froben and who visited Erasmus at Freiburg in summer 1532 (this letter dated from 24th September [1532]; Gerardus [Gerrit] ab Assendelft (1488-1558), member of the Council of Holland (1515) and a patron of Erasmus, who arranged a monetary present from the States in 1533; Guillaume de Horion, a patron of scholars to whom Erasmus presented a copy of *Explanatio Symboli*, now at Trinity College, Cambridge; Eustache Chapuys (d. 1556), Imperial Ambassador to England who visited Catherine of Aragon at Kimbolton a few days before her death in January 1536; Abel van Colster of

Dordrecht (1477-1548), a graduate of Cologne and Orleans, and a member of the Council of Florence; Johann Georg Paumgartner (1513-1541), scion of an important Nuremberg family (his father was dedicatee of Erasmus's selection of Chrysostom's homilies and had given Erasmus a gold cup as a present (as is here mentioned); his mother was a Fugger), who in 1533 was with the court of Queen Mary of Hungary in the Low Countries; Damiano de Gois (1502-1574), to whom a lengthy lettered is addressed (pp. 144-152) a distinguished Portuguese scholar and (for a time at least) public servant, who spent much time in Louvain; he was, like Erasmus (the publication of whose complete works he was, at the time of Erasmus's death, prepared to finance), a believer in religious toleration and much interested in the protection of subject or oppressed peoples like the Ethiopians and the Lapps; he ended his life in Portugal imprisoned for his tolerant attitudes; Franciscus Rupilius (fl. 1514-41), a client of the Paumgartner

family, with whom Erasmus briefly corresponded; Paulo Sadoleto (1508-1572), Bishop of Carpentras, a nephew of Cardinal Sadoletto, who is here (p. 155) described as holding pride of place “inter syncerissimos amicos meos”; and, lastly, the long letter to the brothers Pero (1499-1551) & Christobal Mexia, both from Seville, the former of whom is well-known as the author of the *Silva de varia lecion*, one of the most popular books of the 16th century. These letters are all written from Freiburg-im-Breisgau mostly in 1533/34.

Provenance: Small ink stamp at foot of title of Bibliothek zu Heidelberg. Sotheby, 23/5/2017, lot 80.

Literature: R. W. Gibson, *Thomas More: a preliminary bibliography* (1961), no. 141; Gerard B. Wegemer & Stephn W. Smith, eds, *Thomas More Source Book* (2004); Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (1980).



**THE FIRST ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF THE PRAISE OF FOLLY
IN A HANDSOME BINDING BY ROBERT STEEL**

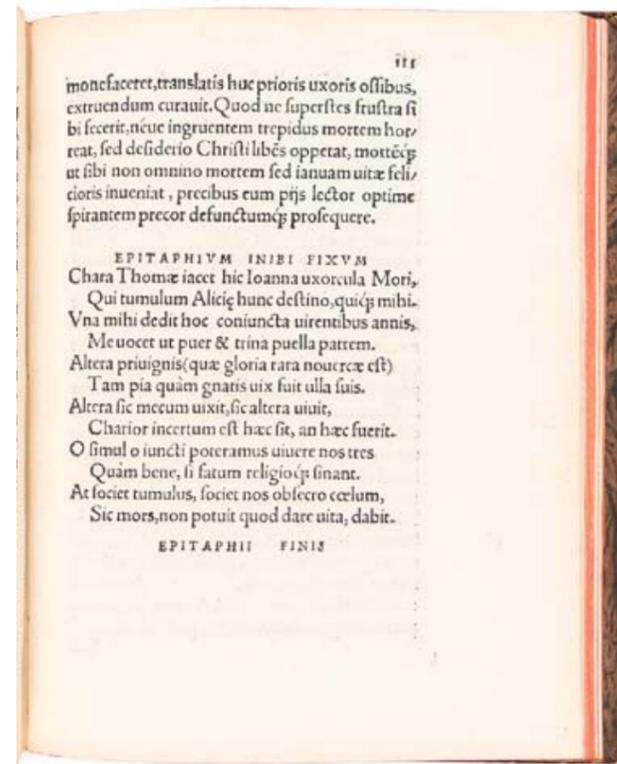
36 ERASMUS (Desiderius). Morias Enkomion. Stultitiae Laus. Des. Erasmi Rot. declamatio, cum commentariis Ger. Listrii, & figuris Jo. Holbenii. E codice Academiae Basiliensis.

Basel: Typis Genathianis, 1676

£6,000

8vo. [Binding: 188 x 118 mm]. [80], 336, [12 (index)] pp. Engraved additional title by Kaspar Merian after Hans Holbein, engraved device on the letterpress title of the sun, earth and moon in alignment, engraved portrait of Erasmus after Holbein, engraving of Erasmus's monument, 2 engraved self-portraits of Holbein (as a youth and aged 45), and 81 small engraved illustrations in the text (of which 5 are separately printed and pasted-in with folded-in extensions and another has a folded-in marginal extension) by Merian after Holbein's drawings. Occasional browning, some of it due to the adhesive of the mounted plates, occasional offsetting.

Very handsome slightly later 17th-Century English binding by Robert Steel of red morocco, the covers with a gilt strapwork cottage-roof design with a central lozenge filled with floral sprays, etc., spine gilt in compartments with black morocco label, gilt edges, red glazed paper endpapers printed with a pattern of gold dots and quatrefoils. Faint blind rules on the covers show where the design was squared up. The binding is fine and bright although there are a couple of small scuffs on the lower cover and an area of gilt tooling on the outer border of the front cover is rubbed.





The first illustrated edition with carefully reproduced engravings of Hans Holebin's pen-and-ink drawings made in the margins of a copy of the second edition now at the Kupferstichkabinett at Basel.

Dedicated to Jean-Baptiste Colbert (with his coat-of-arms at the head) by Charles Patin a French physician living in Basel who has also supplied a life of Holbein and a catalogue of 59 of his works, two of which (nos. 57 & 58) he owned. *In Praise of Folly* is followed by Erasmus's letter to Martin Dorpius in reply to his attack on the book dated from Antwerp 1515, Erasmus's letter to Sir Thomas More dated from Louvain 1520, and a letter from More to Dorpius dated from Bruges, 21 October [1515].

Towards the end of 1515 Hans Holbein the younger and his older brother Ambrosius, having completed their apprenticeships and embarked on life as journeymen painters, arrived in Basel. Their, "first known commission of significance that survives was a private affair for a scholar and his learned circle of friends. Hans illustrated a copy of the second edition of Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly*, published by Johann Froben in the spring of 1515. His drawings of subjects or incidents in the text, together with a few illustrations by Ambrosius, are found in the margins of the book. An inscription states it belonged to the humanist schoolmaster, Oswald Geisshüsler, whose scholarly name was Myconius or Molitor. The charming, often very amusing drawings, according

to an inscription on the first page, were done in ten days at the end of 1515 and the beginning of 1516 and gave much pleasure to Erasmus ('Hanc moriam pictam decem diebus ut oblectaretur in ea Erasmus habuit'). This short burst of excited activity could well have coincided with the festivities of the twelve days of Christmas, when the book was seen by Erasmus and no doubt would have been passed around among Myconius's other learned friends for amused comment as drawing after drawing was added. Holbein himself added Erasmus's name to his drawing of a philosopher seated in his study, whose portrayal is too general in character to have been initially intended as a portrait of Erasmus. Myconius added a marginal note to the effect that Erasmus was so amused at the youthful appearance of the scholar who had been given his name that he exclaimed, 'Aha, aha! If Erasmus still looked like this, he would certainly take a wife'. Someone much later poked fun at Holbein in return by adding the artist's name to an illustration of a fat drunken carouser finishing a bottle of wine and at the same time fondling a young woman. This inscription could well be the origin of various, probably apocryphal, stories about Holbein's drunkenness and loose living." - John Rowlands, *Holbein: The Paintings of Hans Holbein the younger. Complete Edition* (1985), p. 18.

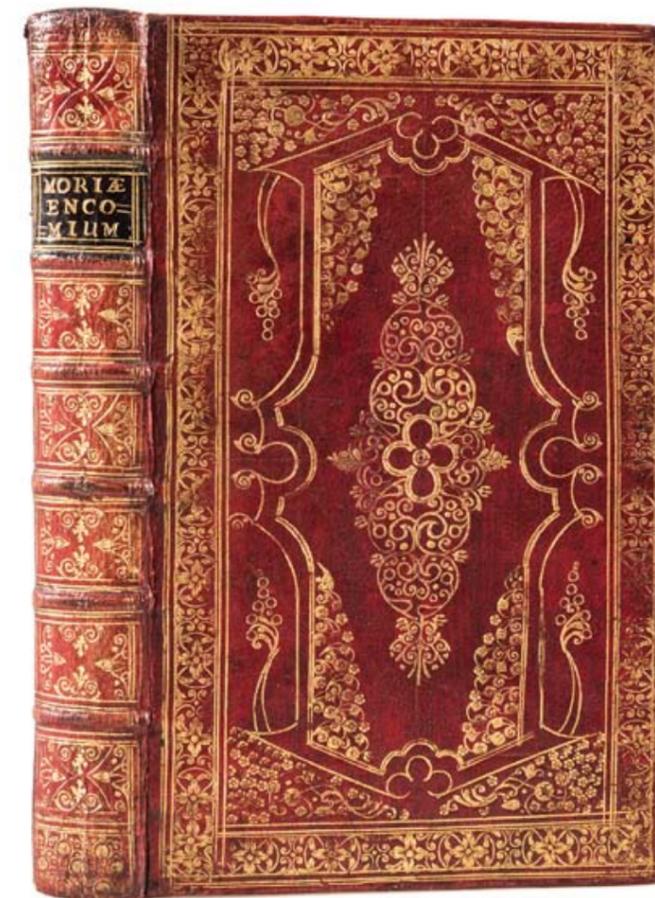
Writing of the original drawings Derek Wilson commented that it, "is impossible to look at this book, now one of the Basel Kunstmuseum's most treasured possessions, without recognizing the gleeful delight with which Hans and Ambrosius undertook

their task. There are few art forms in which the executant more immediately and clearly displays his own feelings and opinions than in the lampoon. In their whimsical or cruel or outraged caricatures Breughel, Cruickshank, Goya, Daumier, Thurber appear before us heart-on-sleeve. Hans Holbein's *Moria* illustrations (he did most of the eighty-two drawings) are not in the same league, but they are the first pictures that can, without controversy, be attributed to him and they immediately tell us much about his outlook on life. They show us a young man who is a keen observer of the human scene. The sketches were completed within a few days, yet Holbein crammed his tiny drawings with numerous details. All manner of men and women have their place in Folly's cavalcade. Holbein shows us a woman at her loom - her movements very clear. He depicts scholars engrossed in their studies, nuns at their devotions, kings and prelates richly attired, ragged peasants, gluttons, women accoutred in the height of fashion and gullible church congregations. His figures are placed in varied architectural or outdoor settings, delineated or suggested with complete assurance. Here is the disciplined artist, fascinated by but detached from his world and therefore able to display it in a series of tiny drawings which enable us to recognize the denizens of that world half a millenium later." - Derek Wilson, *Hans Holbein: Portrait of an Unknown Man* (1996), pp. 44-45.

Given the limitations of the technology available in 1676 this is a very ingenious and charming attempt at reproducing such a unique volume. An edition with woodcut illustrations was published at Basel in 1780 and the first modern photographic facsimile edition of the original drawings was published by H. A. Schmid, *Stultitiae Laus* (Basel, 1931).



Binding: A characteristic "extra" cottage-roof binding by Robert Steel. Steel was apprenticed to Samuel Mearne, the King's bookbinder, from 1668 to 1675. He seems to have taken over the tools of the Mearne bindery soon after the death of Charles Mearne in 1686 and may have operated from the same address in Little Britain. He was regarded as one of the best binders of his day, the bookseller John Dunton writing in 1705: "I may call him my Occasional Binder: for,



when I meet with a nice customer, no binding would serve him but Mr. Steels; which for the Fineness and Goodness of it might vye with the Cambridge binding; but (as Celebrated a binder a Steel is) he is a Man very humble and lowly in his own Eyes ... yet he has a sudden way of Repartee, very agreeable and surprising, but every way inoffensive, within the Rules of Vertue and Religion". He died about 1710 when the business was run until 1718 by his widow Jane at which time the tools passed to one of his former apprentices (he is reported as having had eight) Thomas Elliott, who became one of the principal binders for the Harleian Library.

Provenance: Early inscription or shelfmark removed from the upper fore-corner of the letterpress title at an early date (?with bleach) leaving a stain. Deleted 18th-century ink shelf-mark "B11:27" at the head of the front flyleaf and an ink (?) bookseller's code "n*" on the verso of the engraved title. **Rev. Samuel Ashton Thompson Yates** (1843-1903), of Lytham, Lancashire, with his armorial bookplate and a long pencil note on the flyleaf ending, "What seems so strange is that Erasmus kept on familiar terms with the princes and Cardinals at whom he laughed"; Yates Thompson / Bright family sale, Christie's, 16/7/2014, lot 221 to Maggs [the binder unidentified].



“THE HED, THE PROVOST, THE DIRECTOR AND JUDGE”:

INIGO JONES’S COPY OF THE 1570 ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF EUCLID’S ELEMENTS

37 EUCLID. BILLINGSLEY (Henry), translator. **DEE** (John), preface by. **The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara.** Faithfully (now first) translated into the Englishe toung, by H. Billingsley, Citizen of London. Whereunto are annexed certaine Scholies, Annotations, and Inventions, of the best Mathematiciens, both of time past, and in this our age. With a very fruitfull Preface made by M.I Dee, specifying the chiefe Mathematicall Sciences, what they are, and wherunto commodious: where also, are disclosed certaine new Secrets Mathematicall and Mechanicall, untill these our daies, greatly missed.

London: Printed by John Daye, 1570

£175,000

First Edition of the First Complete English Translation. *Folio. [Text: 320 x 210mm]. [28], 203, 205-464ff., without the final blank leaf. Title within a woodcut border signed I.B. (Mckerrow and Ferguson 99); folding letterpress “Groundplat”; woodcut initials, tailpieces and diagrams throughout; with 57 (of 60) moveable overslips accompanying the diagrams in Book 11; woodcut portrait device of John Daye (Mckerrow 145) on the final leaf. Title-page a little dusty, lower fore-corner frayed, small paper repair to the blank inner margin; some water staining to the upper fore-corner of the first few leaves, “Groundplat” leaf strengthened near the inner margin and a little creased in places but otherwise fine, some neat pencil crosses and dashes and a number of very neat ink annotations throughout [see below], a few ink spots and marks in*

places throughout, some water staining to the lower margin near the end of the volume causing some browning to the rest of the leaves and some rudimentary repair work (not touching the text), final leaf neatly cut round and re-margined (not touching the text). Contemporary English calf over wooden boards, covers panelled in blind with a double roll incorporating figures of the virtues [Oldham, English Blind-stamped Bindings, GE.(5) fig 1081], remains of catches and clasps but missing the straps, spine divided by five bands and ruled in blind, later gilt lettering in the second and sixth panels (rebacked preserving the majority of the old spine but repaired with new leather at the head and tail, piece missing from the upper cover and neatly repaired with new leather, some scratching a little scuffing but largely well preserved; new endpapers).

STC 10560. E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart Britain* (1970), 41; Thomas-Stanford, *Early Editions of Euclid’s Elements*, 41.

Moveable Slips: With 57 of 60 slips - lacks 2 slips on f. 313r (2 horizontal lines with a short vertical line rising from the centre and with 6 capital letters that should be cut into rectangles) and 1 slip on f. 323r (a simple short ruled line with 2 capital letters - B & C). There is no trace that they were ever pasted into this copy. The slip on f. 329 is in the wrong position (pasted to the top diagram) whereas it should be (and clearly once was) pasted to the middle diagram where the text has the demonstration of the proposition). Copies are seldom found with a full complement of the slips and the number called-for varies widely depending on the cataloguer. However, the slips were originally printed on the rectos of 12 leaves with letterpress instructions for cutting them out and pasting them in the correct positions. A few copies survive with these leaves still intact, e.g. the Grenville copy in the British Library and a copy at the University of California, Berkeley (Bancroft Library). The correct total, as in the Grenville copy, is 60.

so ever, by motion of weight, and cuppling and framing together of bodies, may most aptly be Commodious for the worthiest Use of Man. And that he may be able to perform the thinges, he hath need of atteinynge and knowledge of the best and most worthy thynges &c. ...” (John Dee’s “Mathematical Preface” to Euclid’s *Elements*, London 1570).

Inigo Jones’s (1573-1652) - hitherto undiscovered - copy of the famous first complete English edition of Euclid’s *Elements*. A book long-thought to have been owned by Jones and a book which would have formed the basis of his understanding of geometry and have been influential in every aspect of his distinguished professional career as an architect, stage designer and surveyor. The only book in English from Jones’s library to have survived and apparently only the third of his books to be offered for sale since the 18th-century.

Euclid’s *Elements* forms the basis of all modern mathematical understanding and has been the core text on the subject for over two thousand years. It is thought to be the most popular (so-called) *text book* ever produced and has been translated into countless languages and presented in various new and innovative ways from Ratdolt’s *editio princeps* (Venice, 1482) through to Byrne’s revolutionary and striking colour-printed edition (London, Pickering, 1847).

“But I will appoint the Architect to be that man, who hath the skill, (by a certain and mervailous meanes and way), both in mind and imagination to determine: and also in work to finish: what workes



Sir Henry Billingsley's (d. 1606) translation of Euclid, offered here, is derived largely from the Greek edition by Theon (rather than the Latin as was more common in this period) and is notable for having some of the first moveable printed overslips to illustrate and amplify the text (many of which are still present in this copy). Billingsley's heavily-annotated copy of Theon's Euclid (Basel 1558) - the copy which was almost certainly referred to in the compiling of the present edition - is now at Princeton University (and fully digitised online).

Billingsley's edition is best known today for the contributions by the great Elizabethan mathematician, astrologer and antiquary, John Dee (1527-1609). Dee provided a long preface ("the most influential of all Dee's published works" (ODNB), a large folding letterpress "Groundplat" illustrating the importance and usage of geometry in various disciplines as well as adding a considerable number of notes and the introduction to each of the books which make up the complete *Elements*.

It has long been suspected that Inigo Jones owned a copy of the 1570 English Euclid. Almost every recent scholarly work on Jones notes that he owned a copy of the Commandino translation (this copy is at Worcester College, Oxford; Jones's signature has been almost entirely obliterated from the title-page

and there are no manuscript annotations in the text) but goes on to state that he most likely had a copy of the English translation too (see Christy Anderson, *Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition*, p.84; Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd*, p.148; Vaughan Hart, *Inigo Jones the Architect of Kings*, p.114 (quoting Parry); Vaughan Hart, *Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, p.129: "Dee's edition of Euclid was in the library of Jones's first patron, Prince Henry, and it may have been this copy which the architect used"; Joseph Rykwert, *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture*, p.146).

Jones quoted from Dee's important preface to Euclid in his own work on the origins of Stonehenge (*The most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, Vulgarly called Stone-Heng on Salisbury Plain*, London, 1655; published (and edited) after his death by his assistant, John Webb), in relation to the moving of heavy objects (what Dee calls "mandrie").

It is clear, moreover, from Dee's Preface why this book would have been so important to Jones: Dee singled out the role of the architect in his preface and traced the roots of the discipline back to classical authors (such as Vitruvius), he then raised the role of the architect from where he saw it currently, hovering somewhere just above the mason or the builder, and elevates the architect to the role of "the master", writing, "he is neither Smith, nor builder: nor separately, any artificer: but the Hed, the Provost, the Director, and Judge of all the Artificiall workes, and all Artificers". Dee states emphatically: "Architecture, to many may seme not worthy, or not mete, to be reckoned among the Artes Mathematicall. To whom, I think good, to give some account of my so doyng. Not worthy (will they say) bycause it is but for building, of a house, Pallace, Church, Forte, or such like, grosse works. ... And though the Architect procureth, enformeth & directeth the Mechanicien, to handworkes & the building actual, of house, Castell, or Pallace, and is chief Judge of the same: yet, with him selfe (as chief Master and Architect) remaineth the Demonstrative reason and cause of the Mechaniciens worke: in lyne, plaine, and solid..." (Preface, d3r).

This would have been intoxicating to Jones, who was largely self-made and self-taught (his father was a London clothworker and Jones was apprenticed to a joiner), and had risen relatively quickly to become the Surveyor of the King's Works and had accompanied Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, to Italy as a recognised connoisseur of paintings and sculpture. Despite his achievements, Jones still had to contend with the vicious lampooning by Ben Jonson as "Medlay the joiner, In and In [a play on Jones's name] of Islington". Jonson considered Jones to be receiving too much praise for the stage designs he produced for their joint masques.

Jones would have read Dee's Preface and found an image of the architect that he himself was working hard to project.

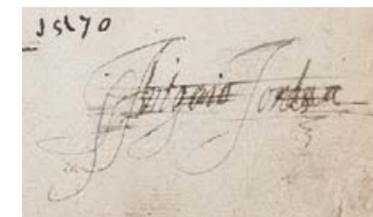
Peter J. French described Dee's preface as a "revolutionary manifesto calling for the recognition of mathematics as a key to all knowledge and advocating broad application of all mathematical principles. ... In the Preface, which he claims was hurriedly written under constant pressure from the publisher, Dee manages to outline the entire state of science as it was known in the sixteenth century" (p.166). He went on to say: "The most striking of the scientific suggestions offered in the preface is that architecture henceforth be based on classical rules of harmony and proportion, in other words that **the architects in England follow the lead of their Continental counterparts and institute a neoclassical revival**" (Peter J. French, *John Dee: The Works of an Elizabethan Magus*, 1972, p.167).

Jones was at the very centre - indeed the acknowledged leader and pioneer - of this neoclassical revival in England and more than that, he came to embody what we would now understand as the modern architect. As Vaughan Hart stated, the 1570 English Euclid was aimed "primarily (as a work in English and not Latin) at the mechanical workman and his supervisor, no longer the master mason but the **emerging Vitruvian architect**" (*Art and Magic in the Court of the Stuarts*, p.6).

Dee's Euclid was not only important to Jones as an architect. Dee demonstrated that geometry is important in a whole range of disciplines including fortification (Jones advised on fortification during the Civil War and was present (and captured) at the siege of Basing House in 1645 (see ODNB), surveying (Jones was appointed surveyor of the King's works in 1615), stage design (Jones was responsible, along with Ben Jonson, for a number of increasingly sophisticated court masques which featured revolutionary mechanical "special effects" which utilised engineering skills derived from Euclid) and in the study of perspective and proportion in art (Jones - in his role as the Court connoisseur - advised on the purchase of paintings for the Earl of Arundel and Charles I and amassed a collection of prints and drawings of his own).

Jones's library was left in his will to his pupil and assistant, John Webb. Webb carefully kept the library together before leaving it in his own will to his son William with a note "to keep them intire together without selling or imbezzling any of them" (quoted in Chaney, *Inigo Jones's 'Roman Sketchbook'*, Roxburghe Club, 2006). William did not live much longer than his father and his widow (who in turn inherited the books) did not respect her father-in-law's wishes and began to disperse the books, but not before deleting many of the marks of ownership. Many of the books from Jones's library were purchased by George Clarke (1661-1736) who bequeathed them to Worcester College, Oxford, where they remain today.

Fifty books now survive from Jones's library. There is no extant contemporary catalogue of his library so we do not know what proportion of the total this represents. The majority of the surviving books from Jones's library (forty-five volumes) are held at Worcester College, Oxford. Two volumes are in the library at Chatsworth House [Cherubini, *Le cose meravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* (Rome, 1609) and the famous Vitruvius, *I dieci libri dell' architettura* (Venice, 1567)], and there are single volumes at the National Art Library [Lomazzo, *Tratto dell'arte, della pittura, scoltura, et architettura* (Milan, 1585), ex Sidney Sabin and Ben Weinreb, purchased in October 1994], Queen's College, Oxford [Serlio, *Libro primo d'architettura* (Venice, 1559-62)], and the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal [Serlio, *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura* (Venice, 1600), ex Ben Weinreb, purchased in 1984]. The Huntington Library has a presentation copy of George Chapman's *Epicede* (1613) inscribed to Jones [but this "is almost certainly a forgery" by John Payne Collier (Arthur & Janet Ing Freeman, *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century* (2004), II, p. 1009] and a copy of Bordinus, *De rebus praeclare gestis a Sixto V Pon. Max* (Rome, 1588) was stolen after the exhibition *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Start Court* at the Banqueting House, Whitehall in 1973.



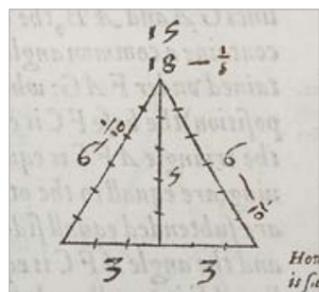
The vast majority of Jones's books have his signature (usually found in the lower fore-corner, as here, or fore-margin) in some way obscured or crossed-out. Jones's signature in this volume is in the lower fore-corner of the title-page and has been crossed through a number of times and partially written over in a much broader pen to alter it, possibly to read "Antonio [or Antonie] Jordan". The original signature is still very clear and is certainly Jones's. Dr. Gordon Higgott notes (private correspondence) that: "The signature is probably from the 1620s or 1630s, since dated examples in 1616-18 all have a more elaborate looped flourish beneath the final 's' than appears in the Euclid (for example, one dated 1 March 1618/19 on the flyleaf of Book II of his *Quattro libri* at Worcester College). In the 1630s, the final flourish is a short squiggle (for example, on a design for Temple Bar Arch of 1638, Harris & Higgott, 1989, cat. no. 83)".

There are approximately eighty-seven pencil markings near the beginning of the volume which Dr Higgott believes could be by Jones: "Jones may have marked the margins with

AB, but either more or lesse. And this kynde of part they commonly call *pars constituens*, or *componens*: Because that it with some other part or partes, maketh the whole. As the lyne C B together with the lyne A C maketh the whole lyne A B. Of the barbarous it is called *pars aliquanta*. In this signification it is taken in Barlaam in the beginnyng of his booke, in the definition of a part, when he saith: Every

And in triagle 1 F, let the DE be 2 the side be 5. wh added to

The 2. Theoreme. The 2. Proposition.
Circles are in that proportion the one to the other, that the squares of their diameters are.



The 5. Theoreme. The 5. Proposition.
If a right line be divided by an extreame and meane proportion, and vnto it be added a right line, equall to the greater segment, the whole right line

of Euclides Elementes. Fol. 399.
Suppose that A B C D E be an equilateral and equiangle Pentagon. And let two right lines A C, and B E, subtend the two angles A, and B, which follow in order.

Demonstration leading to an impossibility. upon the same side two right lines equal shoul' sigyne in any one point the one.

A mediall line.	278a.	1.
A binomiall line.	258b.	2.
A first bimediall line.	259a.	3.
A second bimediall line.	ibid b.	4.
A greater line.	260a.	5.
A line containing in power a ratiounall superficies and a mediall superficies.	ibid b.	6.
A line containing in power two mediall superficieses.	261a.	7.
A residuall line.	282b.	8.
A first mediall residuall line.	ibid b.	9.
A second mediall residuall line.	284b.	10.
A lesse line.	285a.	11.
A line making with a ratiounall superficies the whole superficies mediall.	ibid b.	12.
A line making with a mediall superficies the whole superficies mediall.	286a.	13.

Of all which kindes the diffinitions together with there declarations shalbe set here after in their due places.

Demonstration leading to an absurditie. lesse angle shoul' be equalle w' greater

graphite lines in the earlier sections, since this was a method he occasionally used in his reading in the later period (1620s-40s), when he sometimes used pencil for annotations (one pencil note in his Vitruvius at Chatsworth refers to his work at Covent Garden of 1631-33, and all such pencil notes are late in character). There is also some ink underlining in the text and four pointing hands which can also be found in other books from Jones's library (see RRiiv, introduction to the important 11th book, for example). Dr Higgott believes that the pointing hands are by Jones and therefore - along with the pencil marking - demonstrate that Jones actively read and used the present volume.

The pencil markings, ink underlining and pointing hands require more study and may well cast more light on Jones's use of the book. It is slightly surprising that this volume does not contain any textual annotations by Jones. It has been suggested that as his other copy of the Commandino Euclid is also free of annotations he may have studied and made notes on both books in a separate (and now lost) notebook. Many of Jones's annotations, in his other books, translate and amplify the foreign language text so, as this is the only known book in English from his library, it may be the case that Jones did not feel that he needed to make textual

notes in it. It is also possible that Jones felt that Euclid was not the type of book which required textual annotation; rather it was intended to be used in conjunction with other texts. Vaughan Hart notes that Jones's "annotations to Palladio and Serlio show his close study of Euclid" and so perhaps his notes were made in his other volumes whilst studying his Euclid alongside them. Again, the relationship between this book and the other volumes in his library requires further study.

The occasional early ink annotations that are in the text (not thought to be by Jones) are as follows: Erv, small neat note in the blank fore-margin relating to the two woodcut diagrams in the centre of the leaf "The square of E F is 29. the lyne is about 5 2/5". Eiiir, some small figures added to one of the woodcut diagrams (the same diagram in the Worcester College copy of this book has a manuscript note next to it referring to Thomas Digges). Eiiiv, short note in a minuscule hand next to the printed sidenote. Evi, longer note in the same minuscule hand also next to the printed side note. DDir, list of fourteen page references (presumably to the present edition of Euclid). There are a couple of ink markings in places which appear to have been done in the printing house and which correct the printed text such as the headline on Aaiiv being corrected to "Ninth" rather than "eighth" and line 23 of Ciii (in the Preface) where the text has been corrected (this has been re-set in the EEBO copy).

Christy Anderson has stated that: "The books in Jones's library served many roles: resources, reference, diary, signs of status. That they survived, and in such numbers, for so long after his death attests to the value Jones, and those after him, placed on their presence. Equal in importance to the buildings themselves, they offer an insight into the serious work Jones undertook to understand the nuances of classical architecture, and ultimately to make it his own" (p.87).

That a new book from Jones's library has been discovered is extraordinary. That the book is of central importance to Jones, his thinking, and his evolution as an architect and the wider genesis of English classical architecture, is almost miraculous.



PROVENANCE

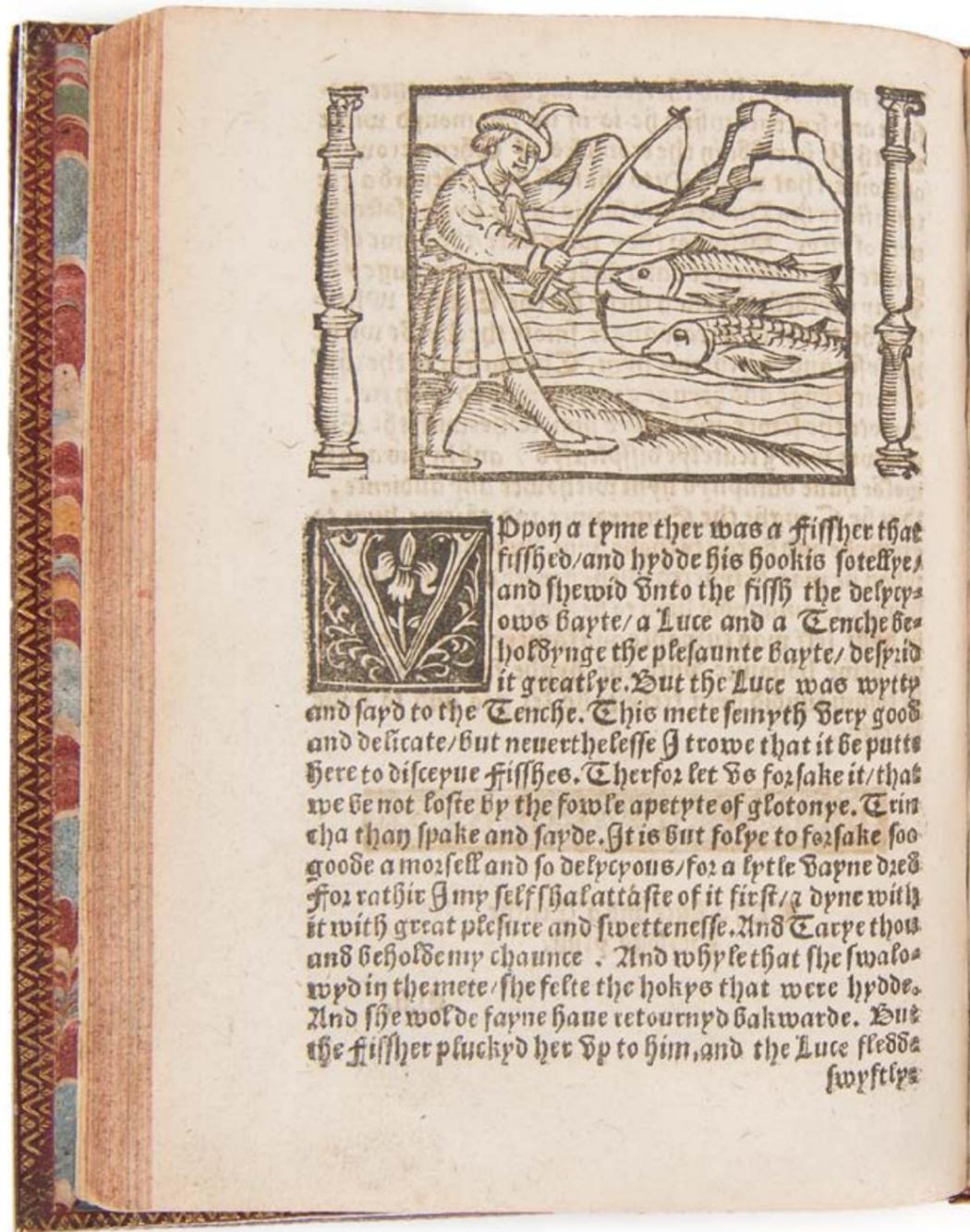
1: Inigo Jones (1573-1652), architect, surveyor, art connoisseur and stage designer. With his signature in the lower fore-corner of the title-page, roughly dated to post-1620 (deleted as usual, see above, and apparently over-written with another name (possibly "Antonio [or Antonie] Jordan"; bequeathed to: 2: John Webb (1611-1672), architect; Jones's assistant and executor of his will. Presumably by descent and retained along with the rest of Jones's

library before being inherited on Webb's death by: 3. William Webb (and his widow) at which point many of the books began to be sold off with Jones's signature deleted from the title-page. 4: John Partridge, later 17th-century signature in black ink in the centre of the lower blank margin of the title-page, possibly John Partridge (1644-1715), astrologer and almanac writer. This would have been an apt book for Partridge to own, following, as he did, in the astrological footsteps of John Dee. Partridge's library ("all my Books, Papers and Manuscripts, and also my Two Guns") was bequeathed to one of his executors, Francis Bennett (d.1728) of Merefield House, Catstock, Dorsetshire (see his will, The last wills and testaments of J. Partridge, Student in Physick and Astrology (London, 1716). This book does not though appear in Bibliotheca Partridgeana: a catalogue of the books contain'd in the library of the famous Dr. John Partridge. The sale of Partridge's books was held in February 1716.

LATER PROVENANCE

5: Edward Neville da Costa Andrade (1887-1971), physicist, Fellow of the Royal Society and collector of early books, particularly science books, with his red and black bookplate on the front pastedown. Andrade appears to have owned at least four copies of this book: the present copy, another copy in 17th-century calf and with the signature of Thomas Foxe on the title-page was sold at the Streeter sale in 2007 (lot 187, \$54,000). Another copy was sold in the 1965 sale of Andrade's books (along with the present copy) which was described as in "old calf, rebacked in morocco". The present copy was sold at Sotheby, 12/7/1965, lot 186, from the "Fine Collection of Scientific Books, the Property of Professor E. N. da C. Andrade, F.R.S" ("signature of John Partridge on title"), to Maggs for £350 for "G", possibly: 6: George Armin Goyder (1908-1997), businessman and book collector.

Recently sold at Christie, New York, 14/12/2016, lot 133. Consigned from a private collection. The signature of John Partridge on the title-page is mentioned in the catalogue description but there is no reference whatsoever to the crossed-out Inigo Jones signature. Sold to Maggs at the low estimate and with apparently nobody else noticing the signature.



FINE COPY WITH A DISTINGUIHSED PROVENANCE OF ONE OF THE MOST LAVISHLY ILLUSTRATED EARLY BOOKS IN ENGLISH

38 FABLES. The Dialoges of creatures moralysed. Applyably and edifycattyfly, to every mery and iocunde mater, of late tra[n]slated out of latyn into our Englysshe tonge right profitable to the goueraunce of man. And they be to sell, upo[n] Powlys churchyard.

[Antwerp: by Jan van Doesburch or Merten de Keyser], "And they be to sell, upo[n] Powlys churchyard" [London, ?1530] £140,000

First Edition in English. *Small 4to.* [Text: 178 x 130 mm]. 164 leaves (see below for full collation / condition). Woodcut illustrations throughout. Bound circa 1760 in red morocco, covers with a gilt border of a dog-tooth roll and an insect-scroll roll with a small fleuron at the inner corners; spine with five single raised bands outlined in gilt with the dog-tooth roll, the second panel lettered in gilt on a green leather label: "DIALOGUE / OF / CREATURE", the other panels with a central lozenge-shaped ornament of small tools; comb-marbled endleaves; flyleaves with watermark of a seated Britannia in a stockade with "PRO PATRIA"; red sprinkled endleaves (spine-bands rubbed; joints repaired; inside joints strengthened with red morocco). Red morocco-backed slipcase and cloth folder.

A very fine copy with a distinguished provenance of the first and only complete early edition of the only English translation of the *Dialogus Creaturarum Moralatus* (DCM), a charming collection of moral fables originally composed in northern Italy in the second half of the 14th Century and ascribed to Nicolaus Pergamenus / Bergamensis or Mayno de Mayneriis. It was one of the most popular late-medieval literary works and was used both for teaching and as a source for preachers when writing their sermons.

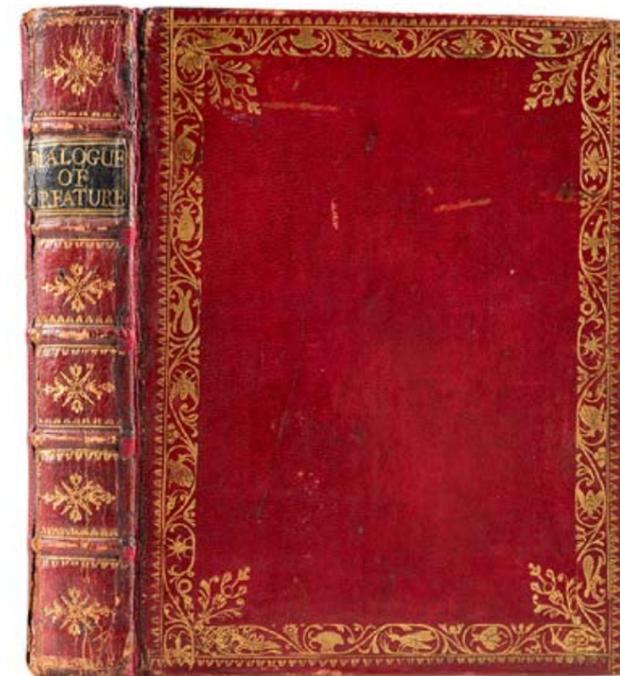
Preceded by some 16 earlier printed editions from the first printed by Gheraert Leeu at Gouda in 1481, including translations into Dutch and French, this English edition was the very last of all to be printed.

It is one of the most lavishly illustrated printed books in English of the age with a woodcut derived from those in the first edition to each of the 122 Dialogues (though with some repeats).

Collation: [flower]4, A-X4, 2A-2T4. 164 leaves. Complete, with the rare final leaf with woodcuts only.

Condition: Diagonal closed tear crossing 3 lines [65mm. long] from the fore-margin of H3, neatly repaired (no loss); small light dampstain in the extreme upper fore-corner of the title and following leaf; light-brown stain on 2G3r across 4 lines near the inner margin; old ink smudge on an ox in the woodcut of 2K1r; semi-circular piece torn from the fore-margin of 2R2 (repaired with an old patch; no loss); final leaf with the woodcuts pulling away from the book-block where the inside joint had split; a few minor stains or spots, otherwise a remarkably clean, fresh, unwashed and unpressed copy.

Census of copies: STC 6815. **Seven complete copies (including the present) can be located**, plus several imperfect copies and a few fragments: British Library x 2 [1 complete, ex King George III; 1 imperfect: title mutilated, lacks E2 & last 4 leaves; + a fragment of 2 single leaves]; Bodley x 3 [ex Tanner (lacks 2T1); ex



Wood (very imperfect), ex Douce (very imperfect)]; King's College Cambridge [complete]; Cambridge University Library [lacks 1 leaf + a fragment of 6 leaves]; John Rylands Library [complete]; Trinity College Dublin [lacks title]; Magdalene College Cambridge [ex Samuel Pepys; lacks title & last leaf]; University of Queensland at Brisbane [missing the title page, index pages and a number of pages throughout the book. Some pages are only half complete with significant text missing; ex Gabriel Harvey with annotations]; Folger [ex R. W. Wilbraham, lot 2416 - Harmsworth; made-up from 2 copies, lacks 2T3-4]; Huntington [complete, in brown morocco by Bedford; ex Sir Henry Hope Edwardes, 10th Bt., Christie, 20/5/1901, £325 to Quartich - Robert Hoe, NY, 24/4/1911, lot 276, \$635 ("title mended, front margin of signature A4 supplied, with a few letters in pen and ink")]; Library of Congress [complete; ex Narcissus Luttrell - John Stackhouse Pendarves, Sotheby, 4/5/1936, lot 64 ("russia, gilt"), £60 - Quaritch Cat. 582/315 - Rosenbach - Rosenwald]; Morgan Library [completed; ex Earl of Ashburnham [lacked 5 leaves] - Charles Butler, Sotheby, 5/4/1911, lot 366 "title defective, several leaves mended (Ashburnham copy made perfect)", £14/10/- to Barnard]; University of Wisconsin-Madison (imperfect).

Somewhere, either unlocated or included amongst the above, are the following complete or almost complete copies (in order of their last public appearance):

1: John Ratcliffe, sale, Christie, *Bibliotheca Ratcliffiana*, 27+/3/1776, lot 440 "m[orocco]. g[ilt]. l[eaves.] NB. See the Manuscript before the title", £2/12/6. Possibly = 4.

2: Rev. Dr. Michael Lort, sale, Sotheby, 5+/4/1791, lot 1660 [no



- 1: Alfred Denison (lacks the last 2 leaves, most of the 3rd leaf, and the title and following leaves inlaid), Sotheby, 12/11/1956, lot 136, £130 to Kienbusch.
- 2: Anonymous sale, Sotheby, 8/4/1957, lot 285, £19 to J. Stevens-Cox; thence by descent.
- 3: Sion College copy (lacks A2-3, 2D3, 2N3, 2S3 and 2T4), Sotheby, 13/6/1977, lot 9, £2200 - Kraus Catalogue 149, *England: the first three Centuries of Printing* (1977), item 28, \$7800 - Anon. sale, F. Doerling, Hamburg, 1/6/1983, lot 71, DM24000 (\$9421).
- 4: Earls of Macclesfield, Shirburn Castle (lacks A1-3, B1-3, F1-4, 2T4), Sotheby, 2/10/2008, lot 4432, £10000 (inc premium) - Christopher Sokol, Catalogue LXV/43, £25000.

TEXT OF THE DCM

The 122 dialogues are “organized into groups corresponding to the different orders of being: the planets; the four elements; minerals; plants; fish and reptiles; birds; animals; and (in the last two chapters) humans. Each chapter begins with a rudimentary narrative, which may take the form of a brief verbal attack by one being on another; the attack is repudiated either by physical violence or by an assertion of the rightness of the order of nature, which is a recurring theme of the work. After a verse couplet summarizing the moral of the first part, there follows a more extended moralization [the Epimythium], which includes quotations from the Bible or learned authorities and instructive *exempla*. A number of these are Aesopic fables: for example, the lion’s share (XX), the frog trying to emulate the size of the ox (XLII), the wolf and the lamb (LI).” (Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard*, pp. 15-6).

Dialogues I-XXIV are natural objects, opening with *Of the sonne and the mone* and *Of Saturn and the clowde*, including precious stones and metals, and ending with *Of the locke and the kaye* and *Of the cawdron and the chayne*.

Dialogues XXV-XXXVI are plants, beginning with *Of rosmary and the felde* and *Of rewe and venymows bestis*, including *Of the mandrake and the desyrows woman*, and ending with *Of the high cedre tree* and *Of two dyuerse treys*.

Dialogues XXXVII-XLVIII are fish and fishy things, beginning with *Of the dolphyn and the ele* and *Of the marmayde and the lechowre* and ending with *Of a frogge and a crabbe* and *Of a fisser and a lytell fissh*, including 3 woodcuts with fishermen, one float-fishing with a rod and 2 with nets (+ one repeat) leading to its inclusion in fishing bibliographies.

Dialogues XLIX-LXXXIV are birds and flying things beginning with *Of the egle and other byrdes*, and *of the lyon and othir beastis* and *Of the eagle thay cyted all maner of byrdes to chapitle* [assembly]



and ending with *Of the the byrdes of the londe and waterfowllys* and *Of a chorle and his beys*.

Dialogues LXXXV-CXX are animals real and mythical (or occasionally with men) beginning with *Of a lyon and bestis that faught with an egle and byrdes* and *Of a lyon that wedded twayn of his whelpys* and ending with *Offyue lambys and the wolf* and *Of many dyuerse wormys and beastis*.

The final two dialogues, CXXI-CXXII, are *Of man and woman* and *Of lyfe and deth*.

As Gregory Kratzmann & Elizabeth Gee (K&G) noted in the only modern edition of the English translation, *The Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed: A Critical Edition* (1988), in the first part or Prothymion of each Dialogue: “The two creatures are introduced, described in greater or lesser detail, and a debate ensues, frequently issuing in violent action leading to the death or disgrace of one of the participants. A moral is drawn by one of them, often the vanquished. In the second part of the chapter, this moral is given a more general application and is ‘glossed’ (see Dialogue 1 where the term is used specifically) by copious reference to auctores, by brief anecdotes, and in some cases by fully-developed narratives.” (p. 11) ...

“In the first (‘text’ or ‘apologue’, or, as we prefer, ‘encounter’) part of each chapter, the author proceeds in a relatively original and inventive way. The encounter section of the dialogue introduces (almost without exception) two protagonists, describes them (sometimes at length, sometimes quite briefly) and brings them into a more or less dramatic confrontation. From this flows the ‘morality’ expressed in a pithy rhyme (in some of the printed texts, set out as prose, in others, such as the English *DCM*, set out as a couplet and so given visual emphasis on the printed page) usually voiced by one of the characters. In introducing and describing his protagonists, the author relies fairly heavily

- especially in those chapters where the creatures are exotic - on traditional material drawn from the encyclopaedic and bestiary collections of the period. More than half the chapters contain information on the properties, behaviour and appearance of the protagonists (although sometimes only one is described at length) and/or discussion of the etymological significance of their names.” (K&G, p. 14).

As well as being derived from earlier sources such as the corpus of ancient and medieval fables that came to be associated with the name of Aesop, a large number of the Fables in the Latin *DCM* are original compositions or so changed as to be new. Moreover, many of the objects and creatures make their first appearance in Fable literature here. These have been analysed by F. R. Andrados in the *History of the Graeco-Latin Fable*, Vol. III *Inventory and documentation* (Leiden, 2003). For example: Dialogue LXXIII *Of a byrde called Ison* - a “young yson (a variety of the vulture) caused much damage to men and birds alike. When he was old he wanted to make good all crimes he had committed. However, the raptor soon found out that it was too late for penance now” (S.353, p. 1002); Dialogue XXVII *Of Isope and a man Callyd Marcurye* - “Mercury asked the hyssop to cure him of his pulmonic and rheumatic diseases, but the medicinal herb refused since he owed his power to God and would not help a thief” (S. 354, p. 1002); Dialogue LXXXIV *Of a chorle and his beys* - “A man was able to support himself well by keeping bees but disliked getting stung every now and then. The bees explained to him that pleasure is only gained at the cost of hardship. However, when the bee-keeper got stung again he destroyed the hive. Thereupon the bees left him and the man was reduced to poverty” (S. 270, p. 959). This last is a reverse of earlier fables in which the bees begrudge the taking of their honey; as a bee-keeper this is my favourite.



description of binding; possibly = the copy in the British Library which is in a late 18th-Century binding for King George III].

3: James Bindley, sale I, Evans, 7+/11/1818, lot 556, £21 to Sturt

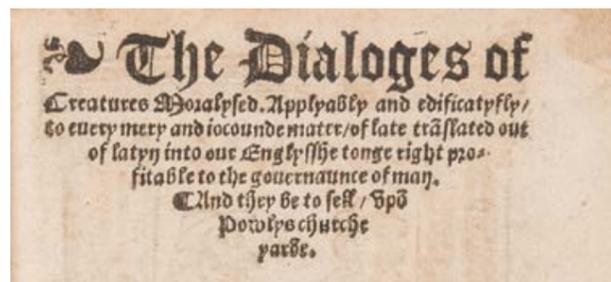
4: “T. Smyth 1550” - ? John Ratcliffe - Dr Charles Chauncey - George Steevens, sale, King, *Bibliotheca Steevensiana*, 13+/5/1800, lot 835 “morocco, gilt leaves”. £4/14/6 - Duke of Roxburgh, sale, Evans, 18+/5/1812, lot 6728 “morocco”, £15/15/- to Triphook - Marquess of Blandford, White Knights, sale, Evans, 7/6/1819, lot 1351 “red morocco”, £15 - Richard Heber, VII, 25+/5/1835, lot 718 (“damaged by worms”) - Rev. John Fuller Russell - Quaritch Cat. 159, item 455, £72 in “old red morocco circa 1770” and *A Catalogue of Medieval Literature* (1890), item 170, “a few leaves at the end very slightly wormed, otherwise a fine large copy, old English red morocco extra”, £63. Possibly = 1

5: Sir Francis Freeling - Rev. Thomas Corser - Henry Huth, Sotheby, 13/6/1912, lot 2355 (“modern russia gilt” [pencil note in Maggs’s copy “two leaves doubtful”), £80 to Quaritch - Anon. sale, Sotheby, 27/2/1922, lot 60 (“part of title and next leaf in fac[simile]”), £62 to Sabin

6: (? Herbert’s 2nd copy) - Heber’s 2nd copy, VI, 23+/3/1835, lot 1048 (“the greater part of the second leaf of the table is wanting and the whole of the volume is inlaid in writing paper, russia”) - W. H. Robinson Cat. *Early English Books from the Huth, the Hoe, the Britwell and other famous libraries* (1928), item 211 (all leaves inlaid and bound in russia), £30.

The copy owned by the bibliophile Narcissus Luttrell (1657-1732) sold at Sotheby’s in 1936 and now in the Rosenwald Collection in the Library of Congress was the last complete copy to have sold at auction until the present copy appeared at Christie, New York in December 2016.

Additionally, four imperfect copies have been sold at auction in the last 60+ years:



FABLES OF AESOP

The Moral or Epithymion that follows each of the Dialogues was also applied to the collection of Fables that have been associated since Classical times with Aesop, a legendary slave in Greece supposed to have lived around 600 B.C. The medieval “moralised” version, *Aesopus moralisatus*, was one of the most reprinted texts of the 15th Century and even today the most recent Puffin Classics edition of *Aesop’s Fables* has a one-sentence “moralisation” at the end of each Fable. Indeed, the moral or epithymion in at least 15 of of the Dialogues here includes a parallel fable taken from Aesop either with or without acknowledgement. For example, the Moral of Dialogue XLIV *Of a Luce and a Tenche* relates (“as Isole rehersith in his Fables”) Aesop’s *Fable of the Fox and the sick Lion* who, visited by many concerned animals in his cave, took the opportunity to eat them. Eventually a fox came along but, when he was invited into the cave, he said, “Certaynly I espye well the fotyng of dyvers bestis goynge inwarde. But I see noon Comynge owtewarde, and therefore pardone me. For I wil come no nere.” The Moral of Dialogue CVII *Of the Wolf and the Asse* relates (“as Isole inducith”) Aesop’s *Fable of the Frog and the Mouse*, in which a frog offered to swim with a mouse across a river, tied him to his leg but then drowned him, whereupon a kite flying past seized and ate them both, with the conclusion “and therefore saith Iope. So mote they perissh, yt wil speke fayre and deceyve, for it is worthy that punysshment retourne to him that causith it.” The Moral of Dialogue XLII *Of the Sturgyon that went to the see* includes Aesop’s *Fable of the Frog and the Ox* with the bare introduction “Ther is a fable ...”. From this it can be seen that the Morals, which quote from a wide range of sources apart from Aesop, including the Bible, SS Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, John Chrysostom, Gregory, Jerome’s *Vitas patrum*, Boethius, Cato, Isidore, Quintus Curtius, Seneca, Valerius Maximus and Vegetius, the *Gesta romanorum*, etc., are as charming to read as the Dialogues themselves.

Apart from an unillustrated reprint of the first seven dialogues only, *Here be .vij. Dialogues* (?1550, STC 6816), the text remained unprinted until the bibliographer Joseph Haslewood’s edition of 1816 printed in 98 copies all but 42 of which were said to have been destroyed in a fire. A limited edition printed by

the Allen Press in California in 1967 used a newly modernised version of the text. The modern edition of the English translation edited by Gregory Kratzmann & Elizabeth Gee (K&G) reproduces only a few of the woodcuts. In the preface they noted that the original, “is unlikely to be known by more than a few students of late medieval and early Tudor prose, just as the early fourteenth-century Latin work from which it has been translated, the *Dialogus creaturarum moralizatus*, is unlikely to be known by anyone who has not undertaken a specialized study of the sermon exemplum. ... More interesting than the similarities between the *DCM* and other exemplum books, however, are the differences, in terms of structure and the extent of naturalistic detail in the handling of narrative and dialogue. **Like so much other early sixteenth-century prose which can be broadly categorised as fictional, the *DCM* deserves to be more widely known.**” (p. vii).



WOODCUTS

Title-page with a woodcut of a pair of centaurs (repeated from Dialogue XC *Of a beaste callyd Satirus, which weddyd a wyfe*) and on the verso two woodcuts with half-length figures of two men (a young man with an old man & a young king with an old man) within an architectural frame. Woodcut of Christ in Majesty with a Lamb on [flower]4v. Each of the 122 Dialogues is headed by a woodcut framed by a pair of pillars. With an extra woodcut of

Death and the three Kings (two are identified by the arms on their shields as the King of France and the Holy Roman Emperor) at the end of the final Dialogue CXXII *Of Lyfe and Deth*. The final leaf (2T4) has woodcuts only: a repeat of the full-page woodcut of the Wolf and the Ass sawing a plank (from Dialogue CVII) on the recto and two woodcuts within an architectural frame on the verso: the ape writing at a desk (from Dialogue XCVII) and the Bubalus (Water Buffalo) that made shoes (from Dialogue CII).

While directly based on the woodcuts in Gheraert Leeu’s incunable editions the artist has added considerably to the backgrounds and the creatures are now set in elaborate landscapes with hills, trees and buildings. They have a “considerably more naturalistic emphasis than their models.” (K&G, p. 62).

PRINTER

The title and colophon name no place or printer or date, with only the general imprint “they be to sell, upo[n] Powlys churche yarde”. But, while it was once thought to have been printed (and probably translated) in London by John Rastell, most of the early bibliographers realised from the type that it had been printed abroad. For most the 20th Century Merten de Keyser of Antwerp was the favoured printer with a suggested date of ?1535. The New *STC* and *ESTC*, following Nijhoff & Kronenberg, *De Nederlandsche Bibliografie* (NK 2774), on the basis of its woodcut ornaments and initials, now attribute it to Jan van Doesborch of Antwerp with a date of ?1530. However, P. J. A. Franssen, in his survey of Doesborch’s career, noted that this particular attribution has been made “on much shakier grounds” (p. 264) than most others. Doersbach took over the press of Roland van der Dorpe, to whom he had probably been apprenticed, in 1501-2, entered the Antwerp Guild of St Luke as an illuminator in 1508, the year of his first dated imprint, was in London for long enough in 1523 to be entered in the Subsidy Roll as a taxpayer in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, and moved to Utrecht c. 1530-1 where he died in 1536. He specialised in popular vernacular texts, many with woodcut illustrations, mostly in Dutch but also in English which comprised about 40% of his output as listed by Nijhoff & Kronenberg. Franssen has observed [private communication] that given the circa 1530 date it does not fit with other books published by Doesborch at this late stage of his career and is in a typeface otherwise not used by him. He prefers the attribution to Merten de Keyser who was still actively printing books for the English market c. 1530-35 and suggests that Keyser may have acquired some of Doesborch’s woodcut ornaments when he left Antwerp for Utrecht c. 1530-1. Merten de Keyser (d. 1536), originally Martin Lempereur, moved his printing business from Paris to Antwerp in 1525 adapting his name to Keyser (or Caesar

for Latin books). Like Doesborch a large part of his output was in English but he concentrated more on theological texts (particularly by William Tyndale and George Joye) and Bibles that could not be printed in England.

READERSHIP

As Lotte Hellinga noted in her description of the first edition printed by Gerard Leeu at Gouda on 3 June 1480 now at Cambridge University Library, the manuscript circulation of the *Dialogus* seems not to have extended beyond Italy and “it was hardly known in northern Europe.” Leeu’s ambition, she wrote, “was to sell his books far beyond Gouda, and indeed, their early owners are recorded in the Low Countries, in France, in the German lands and in England”. The Cambridge copy, itself, was in England and had two attentive annotators before the Reformation: Robert Compson and Nicolas Alexander, Sub-Prior of the Dominican friary in Warwick, who used it to record his denial of the Pope’s authority and his affirmation of King Henry VIII as supreme head of the Anglican Church (“A bestseller and a faded oath” in Ed Potten & Emily Dourish, eds, *Emprynted in thys manere: early printed treasures from Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge, 2014, p. 80). The copy of the Antwerp 1491 edition in the British Library has the bold early signature of a priest, “Fr Ricardi Danby”. A Latin edition is recorded in the 20 June 1496 Will of William Warde, priest, of the chapel of St Mary & the Holy Apostles in York who bequeathed “unum librum vocatum Manipulum Curatorum, et alium librum vocatum Dialogus Creaturarum” to the Vicar of St Lawrence’s Church in York (*Testamenta Eboracensia. A selection from Wills from the Registry at York*, Surtees Society, IV, 1869, p. 115). Two other Latin editions are included in the posthumous inventories of the books of John Chekyn, B.D., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge (1535/6) and of John Perman, a surgeon in Cambridge (1545) as listed in E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories* (Cambridge, 1986, I, p. 2 & 54).

Interestingly, while the 159 incunable editions of Aesop listed on the *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (*ISTC*) were printed all over Europe (including 3 in England, 1 by William Caxton and 2 by Richard Pynson) all 15 incunable editions of the *Dialogus creaturarum* were printed in Northern Europe (6 in Gouda, 3 in Antwerp, 2 in Cologne and 1 each in Delft, Geneva and Zwolle) - of these all the Gouda editions and 2 of the Antwerp editions were printed by Gheraert Leeu as were the four post-1500 editions (2 in in Lyon and 1 each in Cologne and Paris) which precede the present edition, the last of all. This is despite the text’s northern Italian origin; as noted by Hellinga all 13 surviving manuscript copies are probably Italian in origin as well. This relatively restricted northern European circulation of the printed text may explain



why the currency of *Dialogus creaturarum* did not survive the Northern European Reformation, whereas the Fables of Aesop have retained a worldwide popularity to this day.

There is, however, little evidence for the contemporary readership of this English translation - beyond the fact that almost all copies, including many of the surviving copies, have been read to pieces. William Bateman (d. 1558), a Charter Fellow of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, owned a copy ("the dialoges of creatures in englishe") that was valued at 12 pence and is no. 261 in the list of 425+ books (95% at least of which were in Latin) in the posthumous inventory of his books (Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, I, p. 240). A "T. Smyth", possibly Sir Thomas Smith (1513-77), scholar, diplomat and political theorist, paid 14 pence in 1550 for the ?Ratcliffe - Chauncey - Steevens - Blandford / White Knights copy [present location unknown to us]. Gabriel Harvey (c. 1552/3-1631), the Cambridge scholar and writer, owned and annotated a copy now at the University of Queensland - see Gregory Kratzmann, "An Addition to the Catalogue of Gabriel Harvey's Library: *The Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed*", in *Notes &*

Queries, Vol. 227 (October 1982), pp. 413-15. But that seems to be it for identifiable early readers, while Harvey's copy contains an earlier signature "per me william godyson".

A century or so after Gabriel Harvey annotated his copy two early collectors of English Black Letter books, Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) and Narcissus Luttrell (1657-1732) acquired copies. Interest then faded again until it was revived in the third quarter of the 18th Century by bibliographers and collectors such as James West and William Herbert (who both owned this copy) and John Ratcliffe. William Herbert described it in his revision of Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* (Vol. III, 1790, pp. 1751-2) noting copies belonging to the Rev. Dr. Michael Lort and himself. Since then the few surviving copies, either complete or defective, have passed through some of the most distinguished private collections into the world's most distinguished public libraries.

K&G noted that the book's primary purpose, certainly in its Latin original, was as an *exemplum* book for the compilation of sermons, in particular for priests preaching to the unlearned. They asked, "for what kind of audience, then, was the English translation of the *Dialogus*, the last known edition of this popular medieval book made? The question cannot be answered with any certainty. Although, ... the early editions of the printed Latin book were intended for an audience which included preachers (on the evidence of the prologue and the double index), it seems very likely that the book was widely read by lay people as well. Had it been directed solely at clerics in search of suitable sermon material, it is difficult to imagine why Leeu and subsequent printers should have illustrated the text with such an ambitious series of woodcuts, indisputably an addition to the book's value as entertainment. ... Some copies contain scribbblings, drawings, and signatures, which are not likely to be the work of clerics. ... Although the shortened preface of the English translation refers to the 'myndes of the herers', the absence of any reference to preachers and preaching carries clear implications about the nature of the intended audience. So, too, does the absence of the detailed alphabetical index of moral topics [found in the Latin editions]. The presence in several copies of crude annotations and embellishments of the woodcuts suggests that some of the readers were not very sophisticated. In view of the increase in literacy which had occurred since the mid-fifteenth century, one could hardly expect that a book of this kind would be restricted to the use of preaching clergy, although Rastell's claim, made in 1527, that 'the unyversall people of this realm had great plesure and gave themself greatly to the redyng of the vulgare Englyssh tonge', must be treated with some caution." (K&G, pp. 48-9).

Gregory Kratzmann noted that Gabriel Harvey was reading and annotating his copy in 1577, some 40 years after it was printed though he frequently revisited his books and may have owned it

for some years already: "It is worth remembering that fables as a genre were still respectable in Harvey's time, and that school and university students were taught to paraphrase and amplify them as part of their rhetorical studies." (p. 415).

But let us leave the last word on its purpose to the original preface which concludes: "therfore the autor & compositor of this boke for our holsome erudicyon & lernynge, to auoyde slouth and sluggysshnesse and to induce the myndes of the herers to quyknesse & deuocyon, hath complyd this tretys, that the more eslyly, we mowe vnderstonde the morall sense includyd in the same."

PROVENANCE

1: Three very simple small pointing hands in the margins of the first few pages. Several short marginal ink notes (repeating words in the text) and underlining to Dialogue LVI *Of a byrde callyd an Astur whiche sent for an othir byrde callyd Caridrius* (S1r-v) and three single ink words in the margin of Dialogue LIV *Of the lapwynge and the Popiniaye* (S4r-v) (some of the notes shaved by the binder). **2:** Probably bound for **James West**, P.R.S. (1702-73), politician and antiquary, M.P. for St Albans (1741-68) and Boroughbridge (1768-72), Joint Secretary to the Treasury (1746-56 & 1757-62), President of the Royal Society (1768-72); but with no marks of ownership; his sale, Langford, *Bibliotheca Westiana*, 29+/3/1773, lot 1660, 17s to "Herbert" = **3:** Probably, **William Herbert** (1718-95), bibliographer and printseller; he recorded himself as owning a copy in his revision of Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities* (1790), III, pp. 1751-2 and may have owned a 2nd (slightly imperfect and inlaid copy subsequently owned by Heber [see the Census of Copies, above]; but with no marks of ownership; not in Isaac Herbert's 1795 fixed price catalogue but most of his books were dispersed in the trade. **4:** **Richard Heber** (1773-1833); with his small rectangular "BIBLIOTHECA / HEBERIANA" ink stamp removed from the upper corner front flyleaf; his sale, R. H. Evans, I, 10+/4/1834, lot 2214 "beautiful copy ... red morocco" to Thorpe. **5:** Possibly the copy offered by William Pickering, *Catalogue of biblical, classical and historical manuscripts and of rare and curious books* (1834), no. 4267 ("beautiful copy, old morocco, gilt", £12/12/-). **6:** **John Dunn Gardner**, formerly Townshend (1811-1903), illegitimate son of John Margetts and Sarah (Dunn Gardner), estranged Marchioness Townshend, of Chatteris House, Cambridgeshire, sale, Sotheby, 6/7/1854, lot 638, £30 to the bookseller Joseph Lilly. **7:** **Samuel Christy**, afterwards **Christie-Miller** (d. 1889) with his pencil purchase note "Dunn Gardner 1854" and below "Lilly Col" and "cplt" at the head of the front free endleaf and his neat pencil note "31 Aug. 1872 This copy agrees with Mr Corsers now coming up to sale at Sothebys but this is a more desirable book" on the front flyleaf; by descent to Wakefield Christie-Miller (1835-1898),

of Britwell Court, Burnham, Bucks., with ?his pencil note in another hand beneath the last, "The first English edition of this famous book. The finest copy known, and of such rarity that there are only 3 or 4 perfect copies known including the present."; by descent to Sydney Richardson Christie-Miller (1874-1931), with ?his neat pencil note on the flyleaf opposite in another hand attributing the translation and printing to John Rastell and adding "The Edwardes copy 1901 sold for £325"; neat pencil note below the last, "An exceedingly entertaining volume. It contains many exceedingly well known stories that have survived the centuries, ..."; very faint traces of the Britwell Court shelfmark erased from the front endleaf; Britwell Court sale, Sotheby, 15/12/1919, lot 112, £300 to Sabin for: **8: Dr A. S. W. Rosenbach** (1876-1952), of The Rosenbach Company, of New York and Philadelphia; with a long typed description (once tipped to the flyleaf but now loose) drawing attention to the woodcuts of trees and plants; a pencil price and perhaps some other pencil notes erased from the front endleaf; probably in stock until sold in 1946 to: **9: Cornelius J. Hauck** (1893-1967), with his bookplate with purchase date stamp "MAR 1- 1946"; from his Botanical Library, retained by his family, sale, Christie, New York, 14/12/2016, lot 23 [the binding "possibly by Alexander Thompson, of Oxford": he was active before 1743 to after 1763 as a bookbinder in Oxford but we have no reason to support the attribution] to Maggs.

LITERATURE

Gregory Kratzmann & Elizabeth Gee, *The Dialogues of Creatures Moralysed: A Critical Edition* (Leiden, Brill, 1988); P. J. A. Franssen, "Jan van Doesborch (?-1536), printer of English texts", in *Quaerendo*, XVI (1986), pp. 259-80 (see also his website: janvandoesborch.com); Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain* (Oxford, 2009). There is a very good bibliography online at Archives du Littérature du Moyen Age (ARLIMA): www.arlima.net/ad/dialogus_creaturarum.





"ITALIE IS THE FACE OF EUROPE; VENICE IS THE EIE OF ITALIE"

39 FOUGASSES (Thomas de). **SHUTE** (William), translator. **The Generall Historie of the Magnificent State of Venice.** From the first foundation thereof until this present. Collected by Thomas de Fougasses, Gentleman of Avignon, out of all Authors, both Ancient and Moderne, that have written of that subject. Englished by W. Shute. Gent.

London: by G[eorge]. Eld, and W[illiam]. Stansby, 1612

£2,800

First Edition in English. 2 vols. in 1. Folio. [Text: 334 x 222 mm]. [8 (first leaf blank)], 454, 465-579, [3 (blank)], 500, [42 (indices)], [2 (blank)] pp. Woodcut bird's-eye view of Venice on the title, woodcut portraits of the Doges in the text (some within woodcut ornamental frames) and elaborate woodcut head-pieces and initials. Rust-hole in leaf B2, closed tear at head of 4M5, without loss of text. A little

very light damp-staining, but a very good copy. Contemporary calf, the covers with a gilt block royal arms of King James I within the Garter dated "1601" in the centre; spine with six raised bands, gilt rectangular ornament in each (leather split at head of the spine, joints a little rubbed; pastedowns unstuck).

STC 11207. This version royal arms block of King James on the binding is unique in being dated and is seldom found. It does not indicate personal royal ownership.

Dedicated by William Shute to William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, then struggling for royal favouritism with Robert Carr,

Viscount Rochester (later Earl of Somerset), and his younger brother Philip Herbert, 1st Earl of Montgomery, the "most noble and incomparable paire of brethren" to whom the First Folio of William Shakespeare's plays would be dedicated by the publishers in 1623.

"Several of the literary dedications made to Pembroke between 1612 and 1614 acknowledge his developing status at court, and suggest that he was now envisaged by some writers as a worthy successor to the Leicester-Sidney-Essex-Prince Henry chain of Protestant political descent. This is the impression conveyed by the ex-soldier and translator, William Shute, in two works addressed jointly to Pembroke and Montgomery. The first, a translation of Thomas de Fougasses's *The General History of Venice* (1612), had been dedicated in the original to Prince Henry's great hero, Henri IV, whom he once described as 'my second father'. In August 1611 the Prince had also expressed an interest in Venice itself, discussing its fortifications with the Venetian ambassador. In addition to its military importance in the Adriatic, Venice played a significant role in the imperial ambitions of radical English Protestants. Diplomatic relations, broken off during Elizabeth's reign, were resumed after James's accession, Henry Wotton, previously the Earl of Essex's secretary, was sent out as Ambassador. He favoured an alliance between the Protestant powers and the more 'liberal' Catholic states of Venice and Savoy, as a means of securing powerful support in Italy for their opposition to Spain and the Habsburgs. A rift which developed between Venice and the papacy accentuated English interest in these proposals. It is therefore, possible that Prince Henry had been intended as the original dedicatee of Shute's translation." - Michael G. Brennan, *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: The Pembroke Family* (1988), pp. 132-3. The second book dedicated by Shute to the brothers was his translation of Jan Janszoon Orlers' *The Triumphs of Nassau* (1613).

With Rome effectively closed Venice was not only the focus of English diplomatic hopes in Italy, it was also the target of the earliest English Grand Tourists; see Edward Chaney & Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (2014).

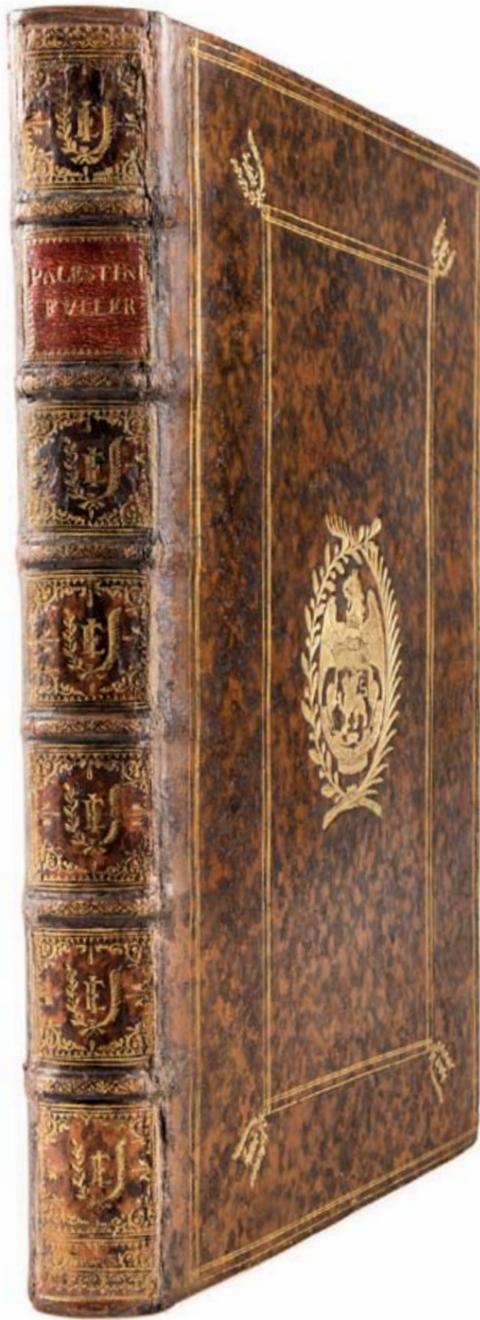
In his address to the Reader, Shute notes that "Italie is the face of Europe; Venice is the Eie of Italie. It is not only the Fairest, but the Strongest, and Activest part of that Beautifull and Powerfull Nation. In dismembing of any sensitive Bodie we may observe some one limbe to out-live all the rest, as if all had bequeathed their Motion to that one, and left it sole Executor of Life. It seemes in the dissolution of the last Monarchie, the Genius of it made transmigration to Venice. In her the Wisedome, Fortitude, Iustice, and Magnanimitie of old Rome does yet move and stirre. That which now Usurps that name is not Rome, but her Carkasse, or rather Sepulcher. All but her Ruines, and the Cause of them, (her Vice) is removed to Venice; of whome I may truly affirme their Warres have ingendred the peace, and their peace the plentie of all Christendome. ..."

Thomas de Fougasses' *Histoire generale de Venise* was published in 1608. It took the story of Venice from its supposed foundation

on 25 March AD 421 to the lifting of the Pope Paul V's Papal Interdict, which had excommunicated the entire population, in 1607. The end of this two-year dispute over Papal authority in the City State, largely in Venice's favour, has been seen as marking the high-point of her power before the long decline set in that ended with the fall of the Republic in 1797.

Provenance: Sir Edward Tyrwhitt, 2nd Baronet (1577-1628; succ. 1624), of Stainfield, Lincolnshire, M.P. for Lincoln (1604) with his inscription at the head of the title "Lent unto mr Doctor Bond this bouke the ninth october 1614 Edward Tyrwhit". He was knighted together with his father by King James on his journey south at Belvoir Castle in 1603 before succeeding to his father's baronetcy in 1624. The *History of Parliament* notes that Sir Edward and his son Philip "obtained permission to travel abroad in May 1612". Sir Edward seems to have been in England in 1613 so his desire to travel may have been due more to debt avoidance than cultural interest. Litigation over various estates "proved a disastrous drain on Tyrwhitt's finances. His father, who died in 1624, left his estate entirely to Philip, presumably in order to protect it from the depredations of numerous creditors. Tyrwhitt's mounting financial difficulties caused the outlawry for debt of his brother-in-law, Sir Francis Baidon, who had stood as his surety. In 1627 Tyrwhitt was obliged to petition the king for a year's protection from his creditors. However, before it expired, he died intestate on 4 Mar. 1628." Signature "PTyrwhitt" at the head of the title of **Sir Philip Tyrwhitt**, 3rd Baronet (1598-1667; succ. 1628), "a great sufferer in the royal cause during the Civil Wars" (Cockayne, *Complete Baronetage*); the *British Armorial Bindings* database records 2 volumes with his armorial stamp or seal of a savage man holding a club [not present here]. The Tyrwhitt baronetcy became extinct on the death of the 6th Baronet in 1760 and the estates passed to the Tyrwhitt-Drake family, of Shardeloes, Hertfordshire. Old (pre-1935) Maggs pencil cost code "soo" [£10] at the end. Old pencil American bookseller's price "\$120-00" at the front.





*“MY BOOK HATH MET WITH GENERALL RECEPTION, LIKELY TO LIVE WHEN I AM DEAD”
– FULLER’S ACCOUNT OF THE HOLY LAND BOUND IN PARIS FOR JOHN EVELYN*

40 FULLER (Thomas). Pisgah-Sight of Palestine and the confines thereof. With the History of the Old and New Testament acted thereon.

[London]: by J.F. for John Williams, 1650

£16,500

First Edition. Folio. [Binding: 363 x 240 mm]. Pagination erratic with gaps left for the maps and plates but roughly: [8], “434”, [1]; 202, [18] pp. Etched title-page designed Francis Cleyn, folding

engraved map of Galilee, Samaria and Palestine, engraved plate of the coats-of-arms of the sponsors of the plates [early state with 21 of the 26 banner staffs with names of which 20 have arms on

the banners, and with arms on 3 of the 8 extra shields on the central mantle – some copies have up to 33 armorials in total], 17 engraved double-page maps of the Near East including individual maps of the lands of the twelve tribes, a plan of Jerusalem, three plans of the Temple of Solomon, and three plates of characters and costumes and weights and measures (old repair to a tear in the folding map; the map of Old Canaan misbound at p. 186/9 in Lib. 4; vertical crease in the map of Menasseh). Small hole in leaves Aa2-3 from a flaw touching a couple of letters and the rule border and a closed tear at the foot of Mmmx; two small wormholes in the lower margin of Books IV & V, otherwise a fine, clean copy.

Mid-17th-century Parisian binding for John Evelyn of polished mottled calf, the covers tooled in gilt with an outer border

Wing F2455. The first two books of Fuller’s great work consist of an historical/geographical description of the lands of the Tribes of Israel. The third book opens with a description of Jerusalem which is followed by a long discourse on Solomon’s Temple and its successor Zeruabbabel’s Temple. The fourth opens with a description of Mount Libanus and the lands of Moab, Ammon, Edom and the wilderness of Paran and continues with descriptions of the Tabernacle, Egypt, and the clothes, ornaments and idols of the Jews. The fifth book consists of objections answered and additions and ends with Ezekiel’s visionary description of Canaan, including his detailed description of the Temple.

Like many displaced royalist clergymen Fuller turned to writing during the Commonwealth years. In 1648 the Earl of Carlisle appointed him perpetual curate or incumbent of Waltham Abbey, Essex. In *The Appeale of Injured Innocence* (1659), Fuller wrote that, “So soon as Gods goodness gave me a fixed habitation, I composed my Land of Canaan or Pisgah-Sight. This, though I confess it to be no part of Church-building, yet it is the clearing of the floore or Foundation thereof, by presenting the performances of Christ and his Apostles in Palestine. I perceive the *Animadvertor* hath a months mind to give me a Jeere, for my sallying into the Holy-Land, which I can bear the better, seeing (by Gods goodness) that my Book hath met with generall reception, likely to live when I am dead; so that friends of quality sollicite me, to teach it the *Latine-language*.” (p. 25). The “Animadvertor” was Dr Peter Heylyn whose *Examen Historicum* (1659) had criticised Fuller for his “recreation in the Holy Land” instead of working on his long-promised *Church-History of Britain* (1655).

The Prussian emigré polymath and “intelligencer” Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600–62) noted in his *Ephemerides* or diary for 1650 (Part 2 - February to May) that “Dr Fuller is writing a Geography of Canaan with curious cuts which cost him 2. hundred lb. The worke may bee called Speed’s Canaan. Hee and [John] Lightfoot

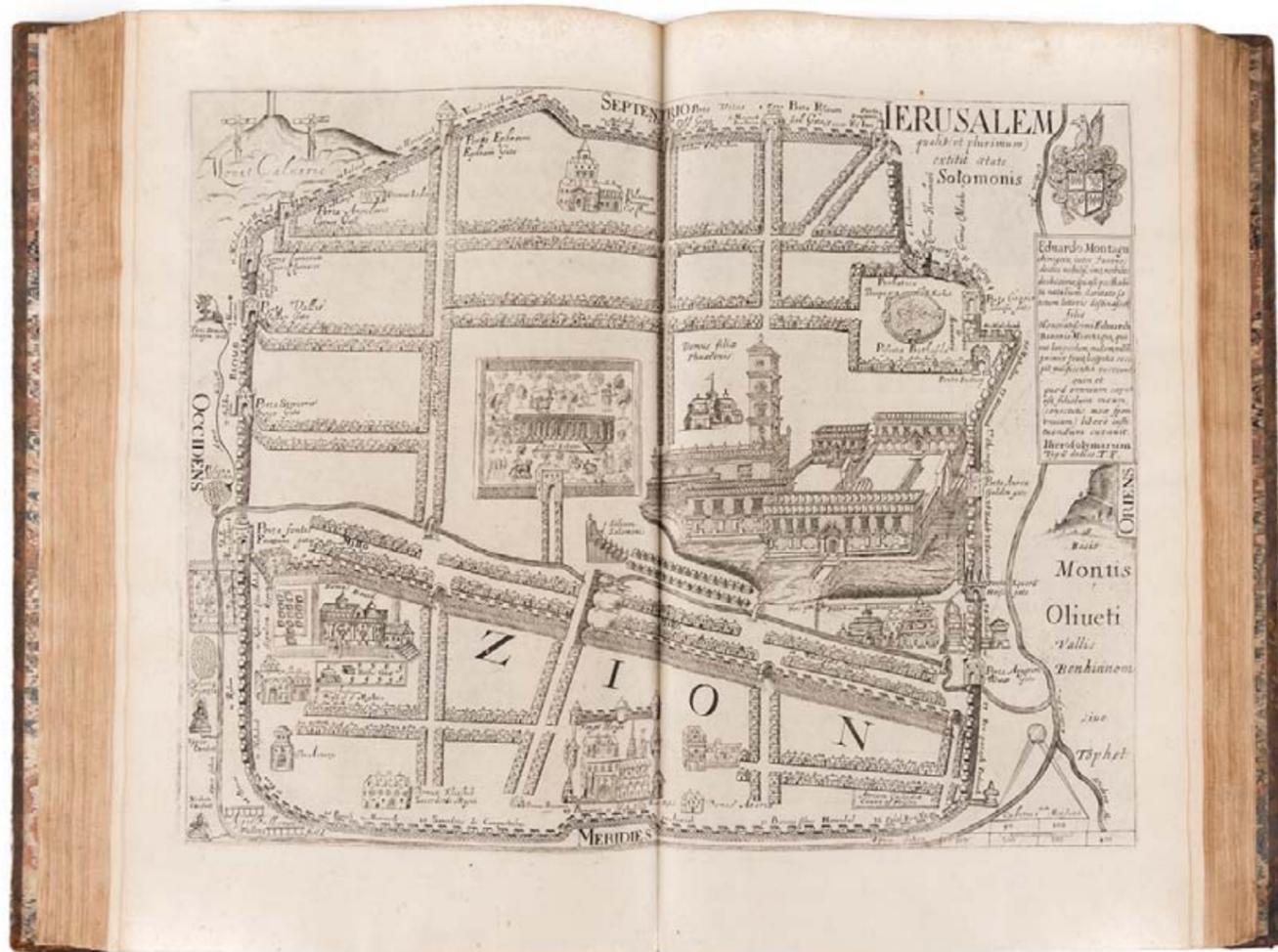
and panel of a three-line fillet, in the centre the large gilt arms block of John Evelyn: within a wreath formed by a laurel branch and a palm frond: a griffin passant below a chief or, a martlet for difference (as a younger son); supported by a griffin, ducally gorged (sitting on its haunches with a shield between its knees – a characteristic French device), with the motto below: OMNIA EXPLORATA MELIORA RETINETE; spine divided into seven panels, the second lettered on a red morocco label “PALESTINE / FVLLER”, the others with Evelyn’s “IE” initials flanked by a laurel frond and a palm frond and scroll corners tools; nonpareil comb-marbled pastedowns; gilt edges (joints rubbed and partially repaired; some scuffs and areas of wear on the surface of the covers and at the edges). Modern cloth drop-back box.

would make an excellent compound. The latter was purposing to write also upon it as hee hath done of Temple-service [*The Temple as it Stood in the Dayes of Our Saviour*, 1650], but then left it to Fuller who is no Antiquary but of stupendous witt and memory.” (The Hartlib Papers, 28/1/52A, available online).

The Hebraist and biblical scholar John Lightfoot (1602–75) had long been collecting notes on the geography of the Holy Land from his reading of the Talmudical writers. As John Strype explained in the biographical introduction to his posthumous edition of Lightfoot’s *Works* (1684), he “intended to describe the Land of Israel in a way somewhat new indeed and untrodden, and, as he believed, *unattempted*: he means, out of the Writings of the Jews. ... The unhappy chance that finished the publishing of this elaborate piece of his, which he had brought to pretty good perfection, was the Edition of Doctor Fullers *Pisgah Sight*; Geat pity it was, that so good a Book should have done so much harm. For that Book handling the same matters, and preventing his, stopped his Resolution of letting his labours in that subject see the light. Though he went a way altogether different from Doctor Fuller, and so both might have shewn their faces together in the World, ...” (Vol. I, p. XII).

In order to defray the £200 cost of the engraved maps and plates Fuller solicited contributions from a wide range of aristocrats, gentlemen, and London merchants to each of whom a plate was dedicated with their engraved armorial (they were also added to the separate plate of combined armorials as contributions came in) – this is an early example of a form of subscription publication also followed with success by the dancing-master turned publisher John Ogilby and the herald and antiquary Sir William Dugdale – the going rate for a sponsor of a plate by Wenceslaus Hollar in one of Dugdale’s works was in the region of £5.

At the beginning of the fifth book, in a section titled “Objections answered concerning this Description”, Fuller answers,



in the form of a dialogue between *Philologus* and *Alathaeus*, likely questions about the accuracy of his maps: “it seems not only an ungentile harshness, but an unconscionable injustice, strictly to exact a reason for every *Puntillo* in a Map. Gally-slaves would be in a more freer condition than Geographers, if thus dealt with. As the Poets feign *Atlas* was wearied by bearing the weight of heaven, *Mercator* would be more tired by bearing the burden of his own *Atlas*, if questioned for the crookedness or straightness of every line in so vast a volume. A lawfull latitude herein hath been ever allowed. ...”

Entirely based on printed sources rather than actual travel, Fuller’s work is part of a pan-European interest in the structure of the Holy Land and in particular of the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle, and the Temple of Solomon that reached a physical climax in Philip II’s El Escorial: “This interest was variously devotional, historical or millenarian: the rebuilding of the Temple was a condition of the Millenium, the thousand-year reign of Christ on earth. Other questions it raised were architectural, since here was a divine design for a place of worship, as well as

mathematical. ... Like the Ark, the fascination with the design of the Temple in this context stemmed from its divine origin. God was the designer and architect. He had spoken to Moses alone on Mount Sinai and instructed him in the building of the Tabernacle. Solomon had received the design of the Temple from his father David, whom God had told to name Solomon as the builder of his house. Ezekiel was in exile in Babylon when ‘the hand of the Lord was upon me, and brought me thither. In the visions God brought he me into the land of Israel’ (Ezekiel 40:1-2).” - Jim Bennett & Scott Mandelbrote, *The Garden, the Ark, the Tower, the Temple* (1998), p. 136.

Fuller ends his text on a millenarian note with two short chapters “Of the present obstructions of the calling of the Jews” (“Many are the obstacles both externall, and internall, which for the present obstruct the conversion of the Jews. First, our want of civil society with their nation. There must be first conversing with them, before there can be converting of them. ...”) and “How Christians ought to behave themselves, in order to the Jews conversion” (“Meantime it is the bounden duty of Christians,

to their utmost to endeavour, both by their pious examples, and faithfull prayers, the conversion of the Jews, having many motives to invite them thereunto.”). The conversion of the Jews and the rebuilding of the Temple were preconditions for the second coming of Christ, hence Oliver Cromwell’s interest in readmitting Jews to England, the belief that the native Americans were the descendants of Noah’s son Shem and therefore of Jewish origins and crucial candidates for conversion and the search for remains of the original language of man spoken before Babel as far away as China and India.

Provenance: 1: Bound in Paris c. 1650 for the diarist, miscellaneous writer and virtuoso John Evelyn (1620-1706) during his second period of self-imposed exile in Paris (June 1649-Feb.1652) using armorial blocks and monograms designed by Abraham Bosse, the foremost French engraver of the day. With Evelyn’s manuscript pressmarks “B 4” and “H.191.” on the engraved title and “A.22.” (deleted) and “H.191” on the letterpress title, and “F.137” on the half-title and title. Later Wotton House shelf-marks on the endleaves “D 4:5” (deleted), “C P.23” (deleted) and “H 7.9” and the modern Evelyn label, sold Christie, 30/11/1977, lot 596, £1200 + premium to Meijer Elte, bookseller, of The Hague, Netherlands. 2: Paola & Bertrand Lazard, with bookplate and a few neat pencil notes and corrections to the numbering in the text, sale, Paris, 28/4/2008, lot 206. 3: Private collection U.S.A.



A PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN MINUTE BOOK

41 GAMBIA ADVENTURERS. Minute Book of Committee Meetings of the General Court of the Gambia Adventurers and the Committee for the Inspection of the Books from 22 Jan. 1683/4 to 23 Dec. 1686 and from 31 Jan. 1695/6 to 25 June 1700.

£2,400

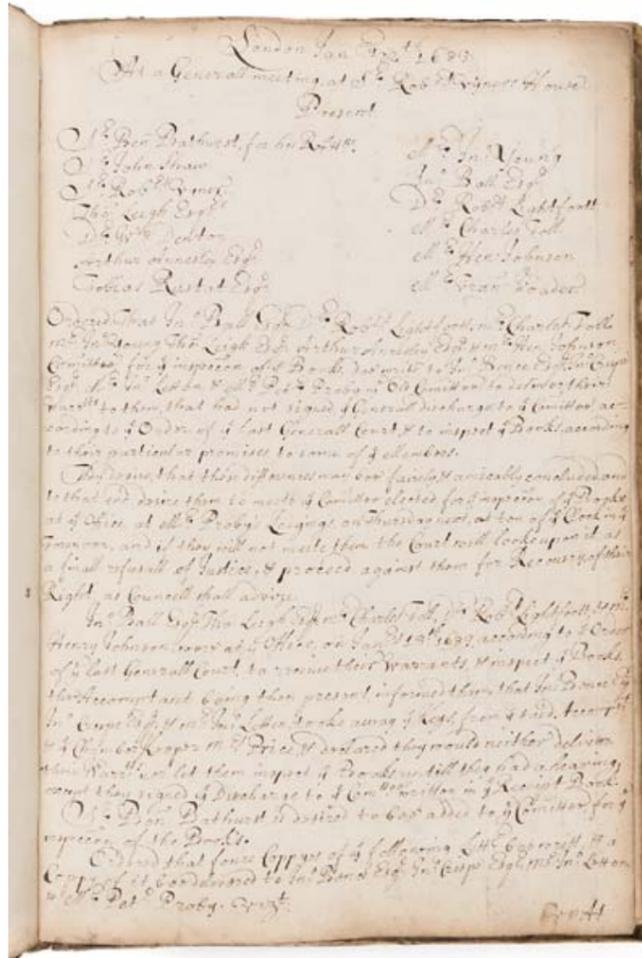
Folio. 23 leaves. Mostly written in one hand. Occasionally the signatures appended to the minutes are autograph. Bound in vellum boards, covers ruled in blind (spine repaired).

“The Restoration of 1660 enabled a group of courtiers, led by Prince Rupert and James, Duke of York, to form a new company of Royal Adventurers into Africa, which was given monopoly trading rights in western Africa for 1,000 years. Initially, because of the need to negotiate over the pre-existing rights of the Guinea and East Indian Companies, the new Company’s activities were restricted to the Gambia. Its first decisive act was to despatch a naval expedition to Africa, under Sir Robert Holmes, which established a fort on James Island in the Gambia (1661). The new Company was definitively re-chartered (as the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa, but commonly

called the Royal African Company) in 1663, when it took over the English factories on the Gold Coast. James, Duke of York was elected Governor of the Company.

“The losses sustained at de Ruyter’s hands [in the Second Anglo-Dutch War] ruined the Company, which did little trade after 1665. The Company licensed private traders from 1667, leased the Gambia trade to a separate company of Gambia Adventurers in 1669, and was liquidated and replaced by a new Royal African Company in 1672. Initially the Gambia Adventurers maintained their rights, but in 1678 they were bought out by the Royal African Company.” – P. E. H. Hair & Robin Law, “The English in West Africa to 1700” in *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Vol. 1: The Origins of Empire*, pp. 255-7.

“In 1672 England’s concern in the lands of the whole of the ‘Northern parts of Guinea’ was in the hands of the Gambia



Adventurers, a lessee of the now defunct Royal Adventurers. The lease still had some years to run and the Royal African Company did not obtain possession of the trade until 1678. Apart from the commercial monopoly which was then handed over by the Gambia Adventurers, the new company inherited one fairly substantial fort on the James Island in the mouth of the River Gambia and two smaller settlements on Bence Island in Sierra Leone and York Island in the Sherbro river. ... The principal products of the region were ivory, wax, gum, hides, dyewood and slaves. Of these, two at least, ivory and slaves, originated chiefly from the lands lying well back from the coast rather than from the coastal lands themselves.”— K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (1957), pp. 214-5.

The present volume of Minutes shows that the Gambia Adventurers continued in existence at least until 1700 and while their concerns were mostly devoted to the collection and payment of old debts and salaries they continued to trade in Jamaican sugar on a reasonably considerable scale. For example, on 3 August 1685, the sub-committee:

“Ordered Jno. Ackworth ye Husband to take up ye 100 hh:dd [hogsheads] of sug[a]r lately arrived from Jama[ai]ca vizt.

50 hh:dd p[er] ye Alexand[e]r & 50 hh:dd by ye Port Royall M[er]ch[an]t. & to put them in the warehouse in Whistlers yard.”

The extensive records of the Royal African Company, whose successors were finally abolished in 1821, are in the National Archives. We have been unable to trace any records of the Gambia Adventurers apart from the present volume.

The first meeting was held at Sir Robert Vyner’s house and present were Sir Benjamin Bathurst (for the Duke of York), Sir John Shaw, Sir Robert Vyner, Thomas Leigh, Dr. William Denton, Arthur Annesley, Tobias Rustat, John Young, John Ball, Dr Robert Lightfoot, Charles Toll, Henry Johnson and Francis Woadler. The meeting appointed a sub-committee “for ye inspection of ye Books” to write to “ye Old Committee to deliver their Warr[an]ts, to them that had not signed, ye Generall discharge to ye Committee according to ye Order of ye last Generall Court, & to inspect ye Books, ...”.

There is then a long gap from 23 Dec. 1686 to 31 Jan. 1695/5 (although it is not obvious that anything is missing) when a sub-committee with just one of the previous members (Thomas Leigh) met at Garraway’s Coffee House to discuss with John Bernard the debt owed by Samuel Bernard of Jamaica, deceased, the company’s Factor, and of the late Sir Charles Modiford, Bart. This is followed by two lengthy warrants authorising collection of the debt at a rate of £80 per £100 owed. Both are signed as witness by “Edw. Stracey” and “Edw:d Stracey ser[vant].” (See Provenance).

On 29 May 1700 a General Court at the White Swan Tavern in Cornhill signed a warrant for a dividend of 30% totalling £253/19/6 to the 17 stakeholders “that did not receive p[ar]t of the money wch the Old Committee divided among ymselves”. On 25 June 1700 the last meeting of the sub-committee was held at the White Swan Tavern in Cornhill and authorised a payment of £30 to John Acworth, the Husband (manager) the Company.

Provenance: Contemporary ink note at the head of the front pastedown “Mr Stracey in Wallbrooke”. Probably Edward Stracey (1668-1713) of the parish of St Stephen’s Wallbrooke who married Mary Capel Loft, of St Alban’s, on 27 Jan. 1691. Their son Sir John Stracey (1698-1748) was Recorder of the City of London. Old pencil note on the pastedown “MS No-17/ Gambia Adventurers”. Possibly from the papers of Captain John Hill (d. 1706). From the Romney of the Mote MSS formerly in Kent Archives at the Kent History and Library Centre (MS U1515/O19); withdrawn by the family in 2008 and sold privately in 2014.



“THE SUMMIT OF EUROPEAN ENLIGHTENMENT HISTORIGORAPHY”

42 GIBBON (Edward). The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776-1788

£30,000

First Editions and First States. Six Volumes. Large 4to (274 x 244mm). Vol. I., with the half-title and errata leaves. Half-title and title-page with a little browning around the edges caused by the turn-ins, a few marks and spots in places, some pencil markings and a couple of annotations. Vol. II., with the half-title, errata leaf, portrait of Gibbon engraved by Hall after Reynolds and both folding maps (the larger map, bound facing Brr, with a short tear near the folding just touching the plate). Edges of half-title a little browned, some light off-setting from the portrait plate onto the title-page, some marking, some ink blotting to the fore-edges (not bleeding onto the actual leaves). Vol. III., bound without the half-title but with the errata leaf; contents leaf of Vol. I. (*a and *b) for some reason bound at the end of this volume; large folding map facing Brr, some ink blotting to the fore-edge, some spotting

in a few places. Vol. IV., with the half-title. Vol. V., with the half-title. Some light even browning in a few places, a few small ink blots to the fore-edge of the book block but these do not bleed onto the page. Vol. VI., with the half-title. Some occasional very light foxing (mainly in the blank inner margin) in a few of the volumes but overall a very clean and crisp set.

Contemporary mottled calf, spines tooled in gilt, red and green morocco labels (very slightly rubbed at the corners and joints, some wear near the spine bands and with the joints a little brittle in places but otherwise a very fine and handsome copy, expertly and sparingly repaired in a few places. The binding of the first volume is very slightly different from the other five volumes suggesting that it was bound on publication and then the remainder bound to match.

Norton, *Bibliography of the Works of Edward Gibbon*, 20. Rothschild 942. *Printing and the Mind of Man*, 222.

One of 500 hundred copies of their first printing of Vol. 1 (the later volumes had larger editions), with all the cancels listed by Rothschild and the errata uncorrected up to Vol. 1. p.183.

A fantastic copy of the earliest possible state of Gibbon's monumental work: the fulfillment of years of research and a work as renowned for its literary style as much for its impeccable historical rigour. An immediate classic and still a totemic monument to the Enlightenment.

"It was at Rome on the 15th October 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started in my mind."

Gibbon began his research for the book four years later but it was not until February 1773 that he began writing the *Decline and Fall* at his house in Bentinck Street, London. The printer, Strahan, had intended to print only five hundred copies of the first volume but it was later decided, while the work was already in the press, that this number should be increased to a thousand, a decision that was fully vindicated when the first volume was sold out in a few days. The initial run of five hundred "had proceeded

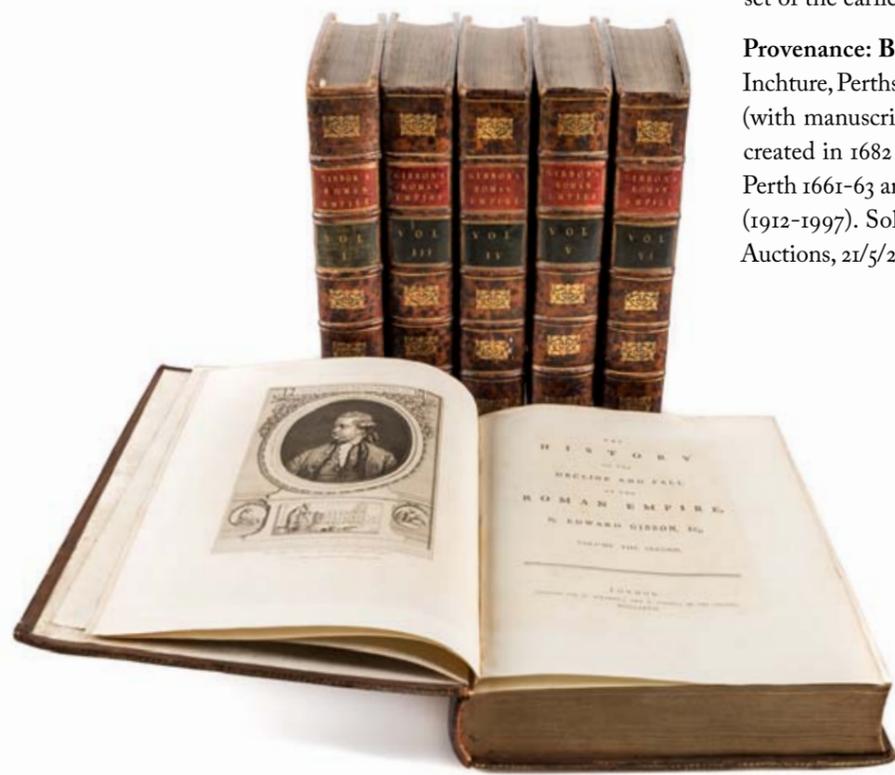
perhaps as far as the twenty-fifth sheet [Gibbon wrote to the Swiss scholar Jacques Georges Deyverdun] when my printer and publisher, men of sense and taste, began to perceive that the said 500 copies were not at all suffice for the appetite of British readers. They stated to me their reasons and very humbly but very earnestly requested me to permit the printing of 500 copies more. I acceded to their request, fearing, however, that the youngest offspring of my numerous family would be condemned to an inglorious old age in the depths of a warehouse" (quoted in Norton).

Gibbon wrote to Deyverdun after the publication of the first volume, that on the day of publication, "I gave myself to the universe, and the universe - that is to say a small number of English readers - welcomed me with open arms. In a fortnight the entire edition was so completely sold that not a single copy remained. ...The volume (a handsome quarto) costs one guinea unbound; it sold, according to the expression of the publisher, like a three penny pamphlet on the affairs of the day".

Aside from the general reading public, Gibbon received letters of praise from Horace Walpole (whose annotated copy of the first edition, first state is in the Rothschild library), Adam Ferguson, David Garrick and David Hume.

Sets of even mixed editions of the *Decline and Fall* are increasingly difficult to find in contemporary bindings making this handsome set of the earliest states particularly impressive.

Provenance: Barons Kinnaid of Inchtute, of Rossie Priory, Inchtute, Perthshire, with mid-19th-century armorial bookplates (with manuscript shelf marks in pencil and ink). The title was created in 1682 for Sir George Kinnaid (d. 1689), M.P. for Co. Perth 1661-63 and became extinct on the death of the 13th Baron (1912-1997). Sold, with other Kinnaid books, at Bloomsbury Auctions, 21/5/2015, lot 40.



THE FIRST TREATISE IN ENGLISH ON THE ART OF MAKING IMPRESE

43 GIOVIO (Paolo). DANIEL (Samuel), translator. The Worthy tract of Paulus Iovius, contayning a Discourse of rare inventions, both Militarie and Amorous called Imprese. Whereunto is added a Preface contayning the Arte of composing them, with many other notable devises. By Samuel Daniell late Student in Oxenforde.

London: [by G. Robinson] for Simon Waterson, 1585

£4,500

First Edition in English. *Small 8vo. [Text: 153 x 98 mm]. [72] ff. Title slightly dusty, cut close to a few of the headlines, but a good, fresh copy; small blank corner missing from A4 from from a paper*

flaw. Early 19th-century calf, covers blocked in blind with an arabesque centre-piece.

STC 11900 (+ in UK; Harvard, Huntington [ex Robert Hoe], Newberry, New York Public Library, Texas [ex Pforzheimer], Yale. A variant state (STC 11900.5 - Bodley, Longleat House [Marquess of Bath]; Folger [ex Thomas Jolley]) is undated and the second line of the imprint is slightly differently spaced, otherwise they are identical. Pforzheimer 247.

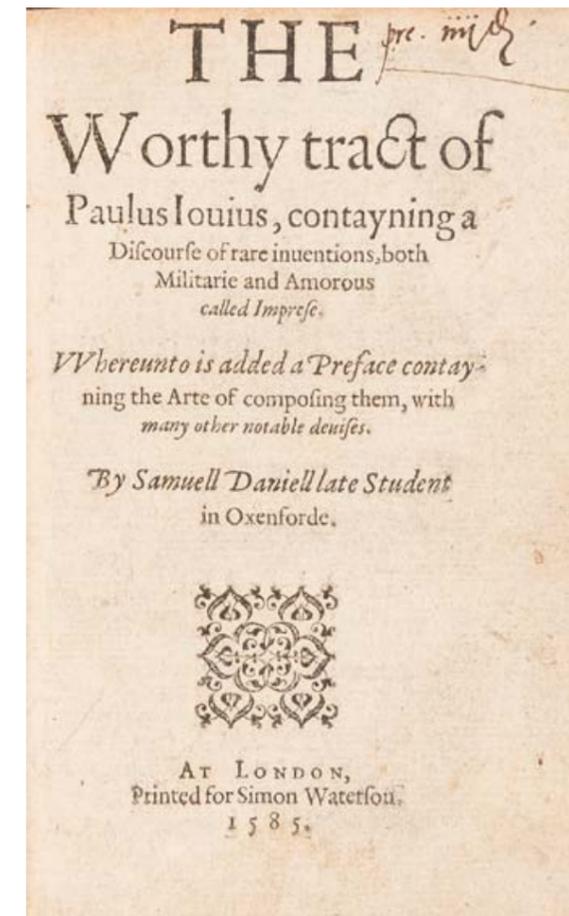
First Edition of the future poet and historian Samuel Daniel's first published work, the first English translation of Giovio's *Dialogo dell'impresie militari et amorse* (1555), with a dedication and a long preface by Daniel, a letter to Daniel from his good friend "N.W." (11pp) on the origins of *impresie*, and, at the end, a supplementary collection of "certaine notable devises both militarie and amorous, collected by Samuel Daniell" from various sources.

Giovio's *Dialogo* was the first work on *impresie*, the emblematic devices and mottoes that adorned knights' shields in tournaments and was influential throughout Europe, albeit describing the devises in prose without illustrations.

By most counts Daniel's translation of Giovio is only the second English emblem book of any type even though they are "blind", i.e. unillustrated, emblems (following Van der Noot's *Theatre [for] Worldlings*, 1569 and preceding Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* by a year. By any count, as Joseph Kau noted it "holds an important place in the history of English iconological literature because it was the first treatise in English on the art of making *impresie*." Kau also notes Giovio's direct influence on Daniel's sonnet-sequence *Delia* - see "Daniel's *Delia* and the *Impresie* of Paolo Giovio: some iconological influences", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 33 (1970), pp. 325-8.

Like Paradin, it is one of the possible sources for the tournament scene in Shakespeare's *Pericles* (see Joseph Kau, "Daniel's Influence on an Image in *Pericles* and Sonnet 73", in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Winter 1975).

In his long (14pp) address "To the Friendly reader", Daniel provides us with the first original English work on "the way of framing and composing all such kindes of devises ... used at this day of the noble gentlemen of Europe", describing the use of "livrees" [liveries], banners, mottoes - "A ridiculous mot or posie is not to be



used but in some occasion of masks, or to quip an enemy" - and *impresie*, "the most notable, ingenious and perfect king of all other", for which he outlines five strict precepts.

In his original collection of "notable devises" at the end, Daniel describes twenty-six examples taken from Italian sources. The volume is dedicated to Sir Edward Dymoke, of Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire, hereditary King's [& Queen Elizabeth's] Champion, five years Daniel's senior, to whom Daniel became an above-stairs servant and companion for five years, accompanying him to Italy in 1590.

John Payne Collier, in his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, referred to the volume as "extremely rare". The last complete copy to have

appeared at auction was the Robert S Pirie copy (Sotheby, New York, 3/12/2015, lot 391, \$5250). That copy had been sold at Sotheby's in 1958, only being preceded by this copy in 1945. The only other copy sold in the last 70 years was a poor one sold at an auction in Northampton, MA, on 29/1/2008 (\$1430).

Provenance: 1: Contemporary ink price on the title “pre.iiiijd” (a pencil note on the flyleaf suggests, incorrectly, that it is Narcissus Luttrell's purchase note). **2: George Richard Savage Nassau** (1756-1823), book collector (“Nassau's fine library was rich in emblem books, early English poetry, drama, history, and topography” - ODNB), sale, R. H. Evans, 16??, lot 2511 [“in russia”], £1/18/- to Thomas Thorpe. **3: Henry Cunliffe**, with his bookplate, and his notes on the first

“THROW ASIDE YOUR BOOKS OF CHEMISTRY AND READ GODWIN ON NECESSITY” - WORDSWORTH

44 GODWIN (William). **An Enquiry concerning Political Justice, and its influence on general virtue and happiness.** By William Godwin.

London: for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1793

£3,000

First Edition. 2 vols. 4to. [Text: xiii, [21], 378; [xxvi], 895, 1], [2 (errata/directions to the binder)]. With the half-titles. First few leaves of vol. 1 lightly foxed/spotted, printer's crease across (Vol. 1, L1); old repair to a closed tear across Vol. 2, leaf c2 (probably made in the printing house); upper margins lightly browned and dampstained

in places, particularly at the end of Vol. 1 and middle and end of Vol. 2 (extending into the text in a few places); occasional spotting in places; last leaf of Vol. 1 foxed. Early 19th-century plain sprinkled calf (rebacked, corners repaired, some minor wear to the edges).

Rothschild 1016. *Printing and the Mind of Man*, 243.

Annotated by a contemporary sceptical reader: “one shudders at the consequence of such an idea”.

“Every political philosophy has its prophet and its sacred text. For liberalism it is Locke and *The Second Treatise on Civil Government*; for democracy it is Rousseau and his *Social Contract*; for conservatism Burke and the *Reflections on the Revolution in France*; for socialism Marx and the *Communist Manifesto*. Anarchism is no exception. Its prophet is William Godwin and its first sacred text, his *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*.” - Isaac Kramnick, introduction to the Penguin Classics edition of Godwin's *Enquiry*.

“Whether the author's opinions prove to be truths, which time and severe scrutiny shall establish, or the visions of an overzealous mind, which strict examination shall dissipate, it is certain that his intentions are friendly to man. The tone of virtue is uniform, and predominates throughout the work; so that the reader, who may take offence at the writer's doctrines, cannot but applaud his motives. Convinced that he should rouse and offend many of the most deeply-rooted prejudices of mankind, he has rather chosen to encounter all the effects of those prejudices, than to conceal truths

fly-leaf in ink “Dedicated to Sir Edward Dimmock, champion to Her Majesty” and in pencil “Daniels first publication. Nassau Copy £1:18/ Mr Collier says this work is very scarce & curious. See Notice of ‘Tarltons Toys’ in the Address to his Good friend Samuel Daniel” [a reference on *5r to the famous actor and clown Richard Tarlton (d. 1588); Cunliffe was a Lancashire dialect lexicographer, who collected Shakespearean sources and early books on the English language; by descent to Rolf, 2nd Baron Cunliffe, sale, Sotheby, 13/5/1946, lot 132, £65 to: **4: Thomas Thorp**, Catalogue 301/179 of January 1955, £85 (with catalogue cutting loosely inserted), sold to: **5: Dr. Bent E. Juel-Jensen** (1922-2006), physician and bibliophile, of Oxford, with his label and pencil acquisition note at the end.

in which the happiness of the whole may be involved.” - *The Monthly Review*, Vol. XI (1793), p. 196.

“No work in our time gave such a blow to the philosophical mind of the country as the celebrated *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*. Tom Paine was considered for the time as a Tom Fool to him; Paley an old woman; Edmund Burke a flashy sophist. Truth, moral truth, it was supposed, had here taken up its abode; and these were the oracles of thought. ‘Throw aside your books of chemistry’, said Wordsworth to a young man, a student in the Temple, ‘and read Godwin on Necessity’.” - William Hazlitt, “William Godwin”, in *The Spirit of the Age*.

Provenance: 1: A number of vertical lengthy pencil exclamation marks and dashes in the margins of both volumes have been made by a **sceptical contemporary reader** who must have read in the book in its original boards as some are slightly shaved; there are also a few pencil notes in Vol. 1: “Mr G includes Ministers of every description in this very unqualified application. If he do, his assertions are false - if he do not his statement is uncandid” (I, p. 61- “Character of the Priesthood”); “one shudders at the consequence of such an idea” (I, p. 93 - “Of Suicide”); “fallacious” (I, p. 102 - “Of Duty”); “if Society have no right to condemn a writer, who deviates from the rule which

duty prescribes, we might argue that Society has no authority to condemn an individual for a duty which he omits” (I, p. 117 - “Rights of private judgment and of the press”); “Suppose a given promise is of support or assistance, had induced the inferior purpose to stop into existence, how wd you act. If you neglect the superior to fulfill your engagement your reasoning is false, if you regard the superior to the neglect of the inferior, your conduct wd be unjust & subversive of all reliance & constancy” (I, p. 151 - “The validity of promises examined”); “De Witt in Holland should have been noticed in a Political dissertation & not Calvin or Digby who were only [-] religionists & very strongly with bigotry” (I, p. 236 - “A Calvin will burn Servetus, and a Digby generate the gunpowder treason”); “This is what I invariably advised our modern British Democrats to - Go to No[rth] America” (I, p. 272 - “my immediate duty is to seek for myself a different residence”). **2: Charles MacKinnon Douglas** (1865-1924), Lecturer in Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University and, later, M.P. for North-west Lanarkshire (Liberal) 1899-1906, with his pencil signature and Auchloch House bookplate. Auchloch House, Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire, was built for the Brown family circa 1814. It was purchased by Douglas in 1900 and was demolished in 2014. **3:** In Maggs reserve stock since 1957.

WITH THE ARMS OF WALTER CHETWYND

45 GUICCIARDINI (Francesco). **The Historie of Guicciardin: Containing the Warres of Italie and other parts, continued for manie yeares under sundrie Kings and Princes, together with the variations and accidents of the same.** And also the Arguments, with a Table at large expressing the principall matters through the whole Historie. Reduced into English by Geffray Fenton. The third Edition, diligently revised, with restitution of a Digression towards the end of the fourth Booke, which had bene formerly effaced out of the Italian and Latine copies in all the late Editions.

London: by Richard Field, 1618

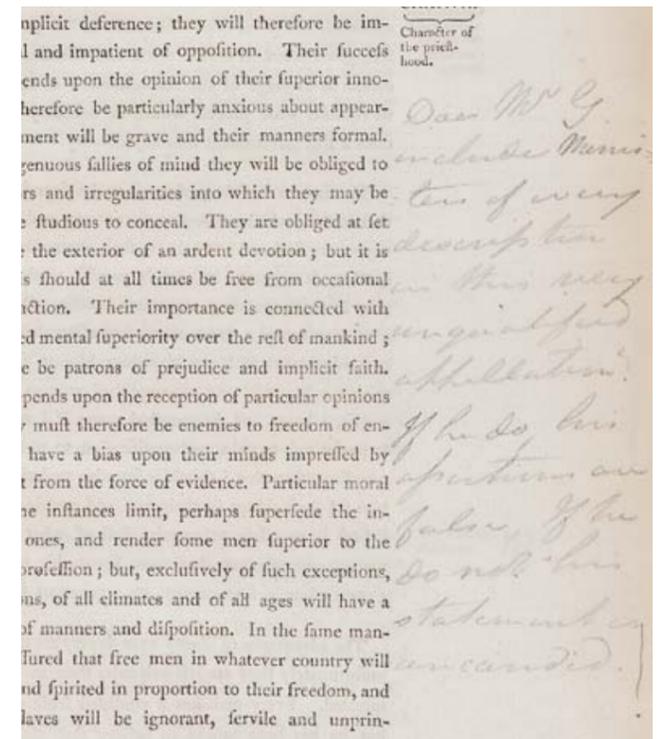
£1,500

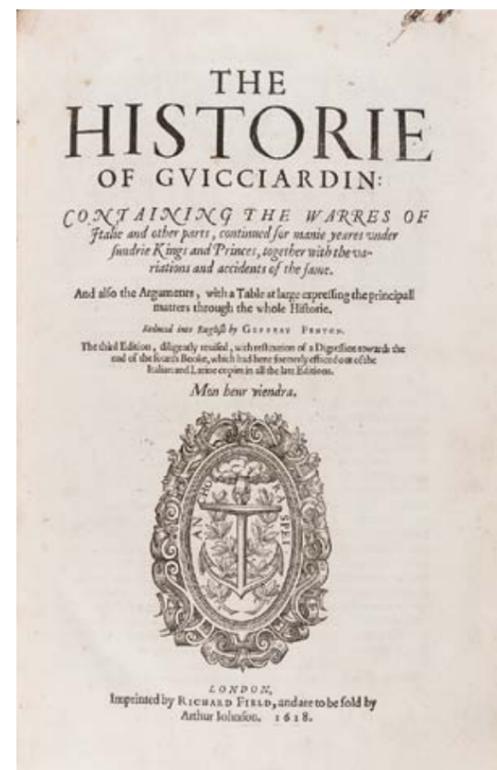
Third Edition. Folio. [Text: 333 x 215 mm]. [8 (of 10, without the first blank leaf)], 821, [9 (index)] pp. Some damp-staining in the lower margin. Contemporary sprinkled calf, the covers with a blind triple fillet border, and at the centre the large gilt

arms block with twelve quarterings of **Walter Chetwynd** [85 x 70 mm] has been added. Spine divided into seven panels, second panel with a red morocco label, plain endleaves (upper joint and headcaps repaired, two pairs of fabric ties missing).

STC 12460. Previously published in England in 1579 and 1599; this third edition is considerably revised in style, though it is not clear by whom as Fenton had died in 1608.

In his later life Sir Geoffrey Fenton (c. 1539-1608) had a successful career “as a major civil servant in Ireland: his name appeared frequently in the state papers as a policy maker, adviser to the lord deputy, and channel of information and an informer to the queen” (ODNB) rising to principal Secretary of State in the 1580s, with an equally successful literary career as a translator. In his younger

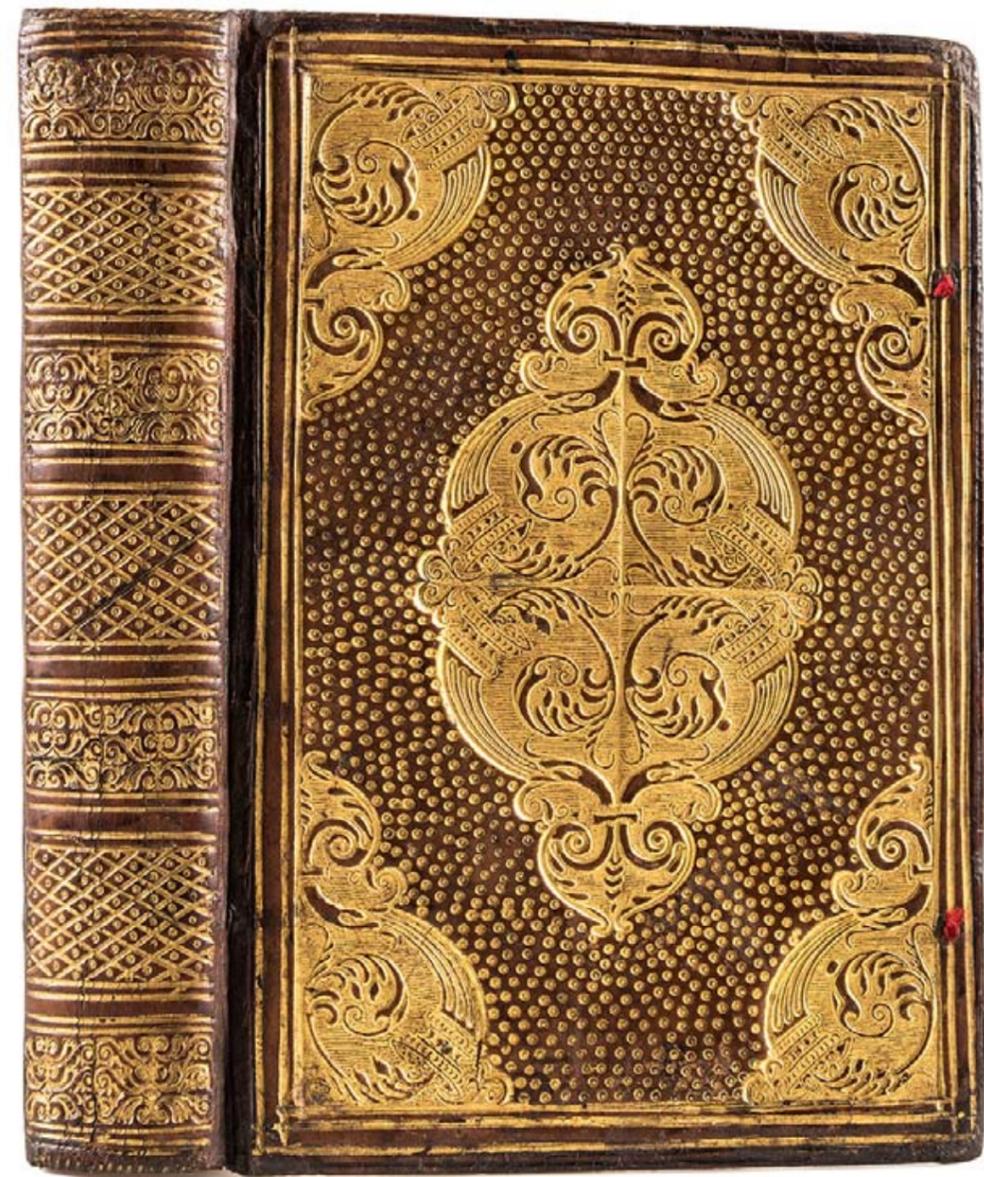




had a significant influence on English historiography, especially the 'Tacitean' history produced in the late 1590s, which tried to provide a detached view of political offices and processes. As in his earlier work, Fenton suggested that Guicciardini's history was best read as a series of good and bad examples." (ODNB).

The "Digression which was formerly omitted", on pp. 173-9, concerns "what right the Church hath over the Cities of *Romagnia* [in northern Italy] and many other places, which either she hath held heretofore, or possesseth at this present: and by what means the said Church, which at the first had meerly the charge and administration of spirituall things, is come to these worldly states and principalities: and likewise that it be set downe as a matter of necessarie dependance, what amities and enmities have bene at divers times, upon these other occasions, betweene the Popes and the Emperours." For that diigression the Italian original had been placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (1704 edn., p. 130).

Provenance: 1: Early ink price on the front flyleaf "pr- o:6:o". **Walter Chetwynd**, M.P., F.R.S. (1633-93), county historian, of Ingestre, Staffordshire, was M.P. for Stafford and for Staffordshire, a staunch anti-Catholic but cautious in his reaction to the Glorious Revolution. "The herald Gregory King described Chetwynd as 'that great ornament of his country for all sorts of curious learning' (King's autobiography, 30). His interests included numismatics, literature, theology, mathematics, and above all antiquities and natural history. In 1678 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society but took little part in the society's activities." (ODNB). He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1678, collected genealogical and heraldic material for a history of Staffordshire that he was never going to complete and encouraged Robert Plot to write *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686). There is an early pencil calculation of Guicciardini's dates and a reference to p. 90 "Origin of ye P[ox]" on the front pastedown. Chetwynd's only daughter died in infancy and his estates passed to his kinsman William Chetwynd of Rugeley, ancestor of the Viscounts Chetwynd; his library was sold for the 5th Viscount by R. H. Evans 18+/5/1821. The *British Armorial Bookbindings* database records five armorial blocks for Walter Chetwynd - this is Stamp 2 (distinguished from Stamp 1 only in that the lion rampant in the 7th corner is not goutty (*i.e.* sprinkled with drops) of which this is one of three examples listed there. 2: H. D. Lyon, bookseller, with his pencil cost code on the front pastedown. 3: Maggs Bros., acquired in 1992; Bookbinding Catalogue 1212/39 (1996), £1750; sold to: 4: **(John) David Drummond, 17th Earl of Perth** (1907-2002); by descent to his grandson Viscount Strathallan, sale, Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh, 29/8/2012, lot 160.



"WE DISPUTE AS DEVINES IN MATTERS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE"
IN A HANDSOME ELIZABETHAN GILT CORNER- & CENTRE-PIECE BINDING

46 HADDON (Walter) & FOXE (John). **Contra Hieron. Osorium, eiusq; odiosas infectationes pro Evangelicae veritatis necessaria Defensione, Responsio Apologetica.** Per clariss. virum, Gualt. Haddonum inchoata: Deinde suscepta & continuata per Ioan. Foxum.

London: [John Day] Iohannis Daij Typographi, 1577

£14,000

First Edition. 4to. [7], 414, [1]ff. Contemporary London binding of calf, the covers elaborately tooled with a border of a single and a double gilt fillet, in the corners a pair of arabesque cornucopia corner blocks, the same tools used four times in the centre to form a large oval centrepiece; smooth spine divided into seven panels by gilt rules, and tooled with four bands with three impressions

of a foliate roll and three wider panels tooled with a fretwork of diagonal lines and dots, edges with an elaborate parcel-gilt gauffered arabesque strapwork design (joints, head of the spine and corner extremities neatly repaired, small holes where two pairs of fabric ties are missing; plain pastedowns but no flyleaves).

STC 12593 (+ in U.K.; Folger, Huntington, Library of Congress & Yale only in North America).

The Portuguese bishop of Sylva, Jeronymo Osorio da Fonseca (1506–80) had a European-wide reputation as a Latin writer of the neo-ciceronian style that became popular in the mid-16th century. “Of the continental Ciceronians Osorius enjoyed a particular esteem in England.” (J. W. Binns). Ascham sent copies of Osorio’s books to Lord Paget, Sir William Petre and Cardinal Pole accompanied by letters praising his style and occasionally corresponded with him, as did Walter Haddon, the author of the first part of this book.

In 1563, however, Osorio severely blotted his reputation in England by publishing a “widely admired book urging Elizabeth to embrace Catholicism. Walter Haddon, a celebrated Latinist, responded in 1563, and Osorio replied in 1567. Haddon’s second response was interrupted by his death in 1572. At Burghley’s behest Foxe took up Haddon’s pen and completed the work, in the end writing five-sixths of it. In doing so, Foxe followed his own agenda. In contrast to Haddon’s point-by-point rebuttal of Osorio, Foxe dealt only with selected issues, but discussed them at enormous length. Thus a six-folio declaration by Osorio that Luther’s teachings had led people to despair of their salvation was answered by a forty-one-folio discourse by Foxe on justification. Foxe’s book was consequently less a rebuttal of Osorio than a treatise on theological issues in which he was particularly interested.” (ODNB).

Haddon & Foxe’s lengthy treatise was dedicated (by Foxe) to King Sebastian I of Portugal who was to be lost with most of his army on a crusade in Morocco in the following year (1578).

Haddon, himself, had a considerable reputation as a Latin prose stylist. In his dedication Foxe took the first steps in what was to become a more general reaction of writers such as Gabriel Harvey and Francis Bacon to Osorio’s flowery neo-ciceronian style: “we have framed accordyng to our slender capacitie this Apology, how conveniently to the purpose I have not to say, to what successe it will come, is in the handes of the Lord, surely for the garnishment

of phrase and Stile thereof I have no great regard. For this our contention tendeth not toe blazyng of excellency in eloquence, neither treate we here of the delicacy and finesse of speach, neither descant we lyke Minstrelles of warbling of stringes, ne yet tosse we our questions to and fro in vaunt of bravery of witte, or Sophisters use to argue of moates in the Sunne in their triflyng and Dunsticall Schoole: But we dispute as Devines in matters of greatest importaunce of true righteousness, of the way to eternall salvation, and everlastyng damnation, and of the true worshippyng of allmighty God.” (as translated by James Bell, *Against Ierome Osorius*, 1581, A2v).

Binding: The pair of cornucopia corner-blocks used on the covers are very close, but distinct, to a pair used by the so-called “MacDurnan Gospels Binder” who worked for Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. The copy bound for Queen Elizabeth (formerly at Chatsworth and now at the British Library, *British Museum Quarterly*, Sept. 1962, pl. VIIb; H. M. Nixon, “Elizabethan Gold-tooled Bindings”, p. 257, no. 32) is bound by the MacDurnan Gospels Binder with a central velvet sunken panel. This binding was also almost certainly commissioned for presentation.

The Folger copy is in a handsome vellum binding with a central gilt block with the name of Sir John Savile (1546–1607), a judge, tooled in the centre (see Frederick A. Bearman, *et al.*, *Fine and Historic Bookbindings from the Folger Shakespeare Library*, 1992, p. 117).

Provenance: An early signature on the title has been heavily crossed-out - the word “york” has been written next to it in a later hand. At the top of the title is “prise 12s” (probably in the same hand as “York”).

Literature: J.W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabeth and Jacobean England: the Latin Writings of the Age* (1990), chapter 15 “Ciceronianism in sixteenth-century England: the Latin Debate”, pp. 270–90. H. M. Nixon, “Elizabethan Gold-tooled Bindings”, in D. E. Rhodes, ed., *Essays in Honour of Victor Scholderer* (1970), pp. 219–70.

THE MOST ORIGINAL OF ENGLISH CATHOLIC EMBLEM BOOKS AND ADDRESSED TO A FEMALE AUDIENCE

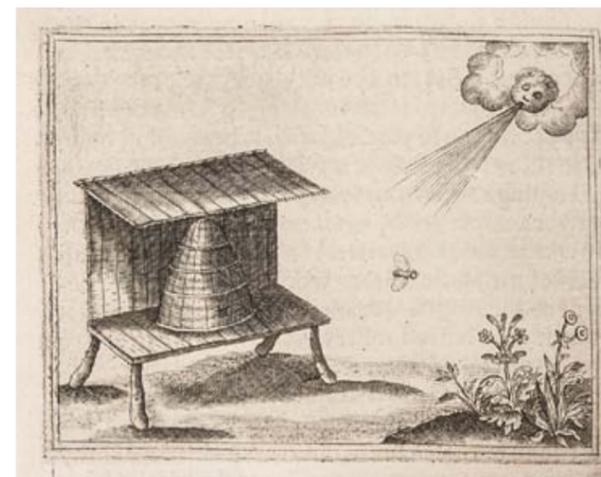
47 [HAWKINS (Henry)]. Partheneia sacra. Or the mysterious and delicious Garden of the sacred Parthenes; symbolically set forth and enriched with pious devises and emblemes for the entertainment of devout soules; contrived al to the honour of the Incomparable Virgin Marie Mother of God; for the pleasure and devotion especially of the Parthenian Sodalitie of her Immaculate Conception. By H. A.

[Rouen:] by Iohn Cousturier, 1633

£9,500

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [178 x 120 mm]. [16], 271, 1 (blank)] pp. Additional engraved title “H ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ” [*The Virgin*] by P. van Langeren depicting the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven

within an architectural frame, full-page engraving of the Garden, a circular walled Hortus Inclusus with a ship on an island-filled ocean behind and the Heavens and a rainbow above, 48 half-page



engraved emblems and devises. Small hole in the inner margin of the title slightly affecting the type-ornament border at the head on the verso. Contemporary limp vellum.

STC 12958 (+ in UK; Folger, Harvard, Huntington, University of Illinois, Newberry Library, Union Theological Library in USA).

This is one of the most original of early English emblem books and certainly the most original by an English Catholic.

Rosemary Freeman devotes most of her chapter “Catholic Emblem Books in Prose” in *English Emblem Books* (1948) to it: “Hawkins had a mind which found in the emblem method a particularly satisfactory form of expression. He looked upon his world with an almost Elizabethan freshness of insight, finding in it always a beauty that was *tam antiqua et tam nova*. Ideas to him were fascinating in and for themselves; yet it is a fascination which never loses sight of the phenomena of the visible world. The whole book is rooted in a desire ‘to learn of each creature how to serve the common Creator of us all’, and the objects which are to him the means of teaching this lesson are described with all the powers of sensuous evocation that he had at his disposal.” (p. 174).

The text and the engraved devises and emblemes each represent a feature of the walled garden and its setting depicted at the beginning - a rose, lily, violet, heliotrope (or sunflower), the dew, a bee, the Heavens, an Iris (or rainbow) a star, olive tree, nightingale, palm tree, the house, the mount, the ship, and outside the walls a phoenix and a swan. Each feature of the garden is headed by a “Device” or emblem followed by seven sections of text, the Character, the Morals, the Essay, the Discourse, the Poesie (headed by another emblem), the Theorie and the Apostrophe.

As Freeman continues, the garden “symbolizes the Mother of God, and in it are placed flowers, birds, trees emblematic of her. It was a ‘Garden shut up indeed from the beginning’, unlike that in which man was first placed, ‘for that the Garden of Eden, or

Terrrestrial Paradise was not so exempt from Sinne, but the place where Sinne began; and was not so free from the Serpent, but that he could get-in and work the mischief’. Its flowers included the four named in [Hawkins’s 1634 translation of Stephanus Luzvic’s] *The Devout Hart*, the Rose, Lily, Violet and Sunflower, and many others: there were also formally trimmed borders, trees, a fountain, a mount, pools and walks; and from all these are chosen twenty-four to be elaborated as emblems in the sections which follow and made the basis of twenty-four acts of devotion. (p. 179) ... The twenty-four symbols which are chosen to represent the Virign provide its framework and its main themes. Each section opens with an engraving of the one which is to form the centre of this particular act of devotion, so that a picture of it may be constantly before the worshipper’s eye; and the whole of the text which follows is then built up round this symbol. The various passages of prose which make up the section are all different ways of using and interpreting the central image, ... The structure of Hawkins’s book, in fact, is in itself an extension of the emblem method; and *Parthenia Sacra* is emblematic both in general outline and in detail.” (p. 185).





Partheneia sacra is dedicated by Hawkins (here disguised by the initials "H. A.") to a Parthenian Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, an unidentified group within the Jesuit Order which Hawkins had entered in 1615. In *Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and Court entertainments* (1989) Erica Veevers noted that it "stands out from other emblem books of the period both in form and style: it is more elegantly produced than its contemporaries, the writing is more urbane, and it seems to appeal to knowledge of the court" (p. 97) and placed it in a wider context and showed that Hawkins's book was part of an upsurge of Marian spirituality associated with Queen Henrietta Maria's chapel at Somerset House. She suggested that it, along with Anthony Stafford's *The Femall Glory* (1635) and the anonymous *Maria Triumphans* (Saint Omer, 1635) may have been intended to make devotion to Mary more acceptable to moderate Anglicans at court and Stafford's book, unlike the other two which were printed abroad and imported secretly into England, was printed and sold openly in England, with a licence from the Bishop of London.

As Veevers wrote of Hawkins, "He addresses a feminine audience, and says that his book consecrates the ideals of Beauty

and Love, directed by poets to the objects of human love, by raising them to a heavenly object, the Virgin. In 'The Pröeme to his Genius' he writes in Neoplatonic terms, basing his praise of Mary on her beauty and purity, and connecting the beauty of her soul with the beauty of her form. He imagines God as the supreme artist or sculptor, who, 'with his most exquisit fingars', has bestowed 'much art and industrie in her delineation'; he describes her physical features, 'black and archie browes' with 'bright lamps' of eyes, 'a countenance, graceful without softnes or leuitie, graue without statelines', through which 'a certain Diuinitie of beautie dazed the aspects of men'. Mary is the ideal object of praise because she not only brings to human beauty a spiritual perfection, but to spiritual perfection a human reality, in which there is no danger to the soul." (pp. 98-9).

The Queen's masque *Luminalia, or the Festival of Light* (1638), attributed to Sir William Davenant and designed by the crypto-Catholic Inigo Jones, contains allusions to *The Femall Glory* and has been interpreted as a celebration of the triumph of the Virgin Mary over her puritan detractors. In the masque, as night ends, dawn appears to reveal a scene that could be Hawkins's *Hortus inclusus*, the "Garden of the *Britanides*, wherein were rowes of Trees, Fountains, Statues, Arbors, Grota's, walkes, and all such things of delight" (p. 13). soon after, the Queen herself and her ladies are revealed, the Queen seated on a throne that "was halfe an Ovall, about which were Termes, the upper part like *Cupids*, and the under part enrich't with leaves. At the two ends of this seat were figures of women like Syrens converted into Foliage and Scrowles, all which seemed to be enclosed in Gold-smiths worke; behinde all was a bright skie, and in the midst about the Queenes Majesties seat was a Glory with Rayes, expressing her to be the Queene of Brightnesse."

It cannot have been lost on the audience at the Masque that this was a depiction of the Virgin Mary as Queen of Heaven, with the half-oval throne representing the crescent moon (a symbol of chastity) on which she traditionally stands (as in Hawkins's engraved title) or sits and the "Glory with Rayes" being the mandorla or aureola with which she is surrounded.

Provenance: 1: Old ink note at the head of the front pastedown "3d copy" and remains of a 19th-century case-label at the foot of the spine. 2: Bookseller's pencil notes (some erased) on the end-leaves. 3: **Arthur & Charlotte Vershbow**, with label (acquired from Ximenes in 1976), sale, Christie's, New York, 20/6/2013, lot 539 to Maggs. 4: Maggs Catalogue 1471/39 (2013). 5: Private collection, U.S.A.

BOUND FOR PRINCE HENRY, THE BOOK THAT ENCOMPASSES IN ONE VOLUME THE READING RECOMMENDED BY KING JAMES FOR THE YOUNG PRINCE

48 [HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES]. POSSEVINO (Antonio). Bibliotheca Selecta de ratione studiorum. Ad Disciplinas, & ad Salutem omniu[m] gentium procurandam. Recognita novissime ab eodem, et aucta, & in duos Tomos distributa. Triplex additus index. Alter Librorum, Alter Caputum, Tertius Verborum, et Rerum.

Cologne: Apud Ioannem Gymnicum, 1607

£24,000

Third Edition. 2 vols. In 1. Folio. [Binding: 303 x 195 mm]. [26], 476; 519, [1 (blank)], 29 (index), [1 (blank)] pp. Engraved title with figures of the seven Liberal Arts (Dialectica, Grammatica, Rhetorica, Musica, Arithmetica, Geometria and Astronomia) on an architectural frame with a view of Cologne at the foot. Lightly browned. Contemporary calf over pasteboards, the covers with a border of a single gilt fillet between blind fillets, in each corner placed diagonally towards the centre is a large gilt crowned lion rampant [82 mm high], in the centre the gilt royal arms block of Prince Henry, the arms of England and France quartered with Scotland and Ireland, with a label argent with three points for difference [115 x 92 mm]; the spine with five bands over tawed leather double-bands, the second panel lettered in gilt on a label

added in the second half of the 18th century, the others with a single alternate gilt crown or rose tool and the gilt initials "[Jacobus] R[ex]" at the foot also added in the second half of the 18th century; edges painted with an unusual pattern of yellowish abstract blotches with red outlines (covers with some surface scratches and rubbing but the gilt tooling is bright, headcaps and headbands missing, old repairs to the joints made in the second half of the 18th century while in the British Museum have cracked again and worn worn through exposing the band-ends but the bands are holding firm; two pairs of fabric ties missing leaving small holes near the fore-edge, a small triangular patch of leather has been torn from the front cover/fore-edge [25 x 25mm], corners worn and with area of loss to the from lower fore-edge [40 mm long]; rear flyleaf loose).

Provenance: 1: Bound for Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594-1612); thence in descent in the old Royal Library to 1757 when it became part of the foundation gift from King George II to the British Museum. 18th-century British Museum octagonal library stamp in blue (used for the Royal Library) on the verso of the title, ink shelfmark "7Kh" in the top-right corner of the title (the 2nd Montagu House shelfmark circa 1793-1800 after the books were rearranged by subject - Room 7 [Education, history of], Press K, shelf H) over an earlier pencil shelfmark (now illegible). With the 1818 British Museum duplicate stamp on the verso of the title; British Museum duplicate sale, Sotheby, 18+/5/1818, lot 1800. 2: **Joseph William Moss**, F.R.S. (1803-62), bibliographer, with his signature "Jos. W. Moss" and his ink note "This copy belonged to King James I." on the front pastedown.

3: **Rev. Joseph Mendham** (1769-1856), of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, religious controversialist and book collector; a few pencil markings in the text are probably by him; by descent to his nephew, Rev. John Mendham (d. 1869), of Clophill, Bedfordshire; a large portion of the library, as selected by Charles Hastings Collette, was presented by John Mendham's widow Sophia to the Law Society; Catalogue of the Mendham Collection (Law Society, 1871), p. 248; the Mendham Library was on deposit at Canterbury Cathedral Library (University of Kent) from 1984; with recent pencil shelfmarks on the pastedown; modern Law Society bookplate on the front pastedown; Mendham sale, Sotheby, 15/7/2014, lot 495 to Maggs.



In 1603 a separate royal household, that eventually comprised some 500 people, was established for the young Prince Henry Frederick in St James's Palace. Its aim was to provide the education, training, and the suitable companions that would prepare him for rule.



PRINCE HENRY'S LIBRARY

Sometime after the death of John, Baron Lumley on 11 April 1609 his library, kept at Nonesuch Palace in Surrey, passed into the Prince's ownership. Comprising some 3000 titles, the Lumley Library had its origins in the libraries of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (1489-1556) and Henry FitzAlan, 12th Earl of Arundel (1512-80), the previous owner of Nonesuch and Lumley's father-in-law. It was wide-ranging and arranged in seven classes: Theology, History, Arts and Philosophy, Medicine, Cosmography and Geography, Law (Canon and Civil) and Music – largely matching the engraved title and the arrangement of Possevino's book (for which see below). In October 1609 a catalogue was compiled and the books were removed to St James's Palace. There they were joined, by the time of the Prince's death on 6 November 1612, probably from typhoid fever, by some 1000 other titles collected by his tutor and librarian, the mathematician and cartographer Edward Wright (1561-1615). From 1608 to 1611 some £339 had been paid to John Norton, the King's printer for Latin, Greek and Hebrew books, and £310 to Robert Barker, the King's printer for English books. In addition, £456 was owed after his death to the executors of John Norton who had died soon after the Prince.

There was a copy of the first edition of Possevino (1593) in the Lumley Library (no. 47 in the 1609 catalogue where it is noted that it was "possibly replaced by Elizabeth's copy (819.m.1)"; it is more likely that it was replaced by this newest edition.

T. A. Birrell, in *The Panizzi Lectures 1986: English monarchs and their books: from Henry VII to Charles II* (1987) analysed the contents of what he described as the Prince's "private library" as it now survives in the British Library, of which the present volume was part, as contrasted with the Lumley Library. The 1000 titles, many of which must have been sourced by John Norton or his agents at the annual Frankfurt Book Fairs, comprise a wide range of contemporary European publications designed to bring the library up to date as Lumley had largely stopped adding to his own library by 1600: "To begin with the humanities, Prince Henry's books include not only the schoolboy classics, Latin and Greek, but also post-classical Latin and Greek authors. His lawbooks include the standard texts, but also modern political thinkers like Jean Bodin and the *légistes*. Henry has plenty of modern, as well as classical, history, and books of modern travel and exploration, ... Even a cursory survey of the humanistic side of Henry's library

reveals it to be not just a schoolboy's library chosen by pedagogues, however well-intentioned, but a library carefully selected to widen the interests of an intelligent young man in whatever direction he wanted to follow. What is remarkable is the combination of an enlightened humanistic with an enlightened scientific library, so that the two cultures really shade into one. ... To Edward Wright must be due Prince Henry's remarkable collection of scientific books, built up, it should not be forgotten, in the space of not more than three or four years. It could only have been done by someone who had at his fingertips the bibliography of modern science as it was then known - and a very generous budget." (pp. 30-32).

At the end of his section on Prince Henry's library, Birrell contrasted it with what we know of the French royal library at the same time and its librarian David Rivault, Sieur de Fleurance: "The contrast with the English situation could not be more instructive. In the French court science still had to be justified by the Ancients and was reduced to the status of an elegant social accomplishment. The academy was more concerned with organisational structure than with performance, and Rivault himself was at best little more than a careerist. Edward Wright, however, was an expert called in from outside to do an expert job; the emphasis was modern and practical; a well-balanced library, a real working tool, was built up in a very short space of time. But alas, on 6 November 1612 Prince Henry died and by December his entire court was paid off - the whole princely gravy-train folded its tents and crept silently away. The library remains as a fossil - a remarkable example of the art of collection development in the early 17th century." (p. 40).

Binding: In what must have been a major five-year exercise many of the Lumley volumes and, perhaps, all the others were bound or rebound in calf with the Prince's arms and his bold insignia, either ostrich feathers, Tudors roses, or, as here, rampant lions. The online Toronto British Armorial Bindings database lists five Prince Henry bindings with the rampant lion tool, including the present [as still at Canterbury Cathedral]. The others are J. Dubravius, *Historia Boiémica* (1602) at Aberdeen University; Josephus, *Opera* (1544) at Newcastle University; Ptolemy, *Opera* (1542) at Harvard (*The History of Bookbinding* exhibition, Baltimore, 1957, no. 406); E. Reusner, *Basilikon* (1592) at the British Library. There are no examples on the British Library's online Bookbindings catalogue though the curator Philippa Marks reports they have "quite a few" and T. A. Birrell illustrated an unidentified example in *English monarchs and their books*, fig. 4. Nonetheless, we have only been able to trace a few others: S. Munster, *Rudimenta mathematica* (1551) at The Royal Library, Windsor Castle [1769 BM duplicate sale; formerly in the Hely-Hutchinson collection, Sotheby, 13/3/1956, lot 438; H. M. Nixon, *Twelve Books in fine bindings from the library of J. W. Hely-Hutchinson*, 1953, p. 3, plate 2]. J. Tritheim, *Opera* (1601) at



Burghley House. All the above are on folio volumes and have the same arrangement of the royal arms in the centre and the rampant lions in the corners. A copy of P. Teixeira, *Relaciones d'el origen ... de los reyes de Persia* (1610), an octavo, has the rampant lion tool alone in the centre of the covers (Tregaskis Catalogue 900, 1925, no. 670; present location unknown).

Text: The Jesuit Giovanni Battista Possevino (1533-1611) was an author of whom one particular one book, his *Bibliotheca selecta*, is to be found in many English collegiate and ecclesiastical libraries in such quantities as probably to exceed even the various controversial works of Cardinal Bellarmine. The reasons for the plenitude of editions and copies is however different. Bellarmine is there because his Counter-Reformation works were to be refuted even by King James himself, Possevino because this particular work was a hugely useful bibliographical compilation and rationale of study for anyone whatever his confessional allegiance. In addition to editions of the complete text there were many editions of particular sections which are listed in Sommervogel's great Jesuit bibliography.

The *Bibliotheca selecta* was first published in 1593 in Rome at the Vatican press, then at Venice in 1603, and then at Cologne in 1607,

a great centre of catholic printing and one which at this date was especially favoured because of the Venetian Interdict against the Jesuits which had forced Possevino to leave Venice. Born roughly a decade before the foundation of the Society of Jesus, and being exactly coeval with its extraordinary rise to power and influence on the world stage, Possevino played many rôles. He was hugely instrumental in the establishment of the Jesuits in Italy, in various centres in France, and as a diplomat he was of major importance in the relations of the Holy See with Poland and Russia. He went in 1581-2 to Russia to the court of Ivan the Terrible on a mission and published in 1584 his *Moscovia*, an important account of Russia and its customs, and a source for later writers. He was the author of a number of books, the earliest of which was published in Lyons in 1563, and the last of which his *Apparatus sacer ad scriptores veteris et novi testament* was published in Venice in 1603. *Bibliotheca selecta* (which was slightly restructured for the second edition) is a work on education and the study of various subjects, philosophy, theology, humane letters, logic, and so on. Book I deals with general outlines of education, and covers the production and censorship of books, books II-V deal with theology, books VI-XI cover dealing with other non-catholic Christian bodies, and in particular books XI-XI discuss Japan and Japanese beliefs. In book XII we turn to Philosophy and thence in XIII to Jurisprudence and Law, Book XIV discusses medicine and XV mathematics and kindred subjects (geography *etc.*), Book XVI is devoted to Universal History, book XVII to poetry (where Possevino advocates the reading of certain Christian poets as opposed to the ancients) and painting. The last section is devoted to Cicero. All sections are copiously provided with bibliographies of proper and useful books, and the work was therefore, for Possevino's contemporaries of whatever religious complexion, a useful compilation and guide to stocking a library.

In its comprehensiveness the *Bibliotheca selecta* encompasses in one volume the reading recommended by King James for the young Prince Henry in *Baslikon Doron*: "Therefore besides your education, it is necessary yee delight in reading, and seeking the knowledge of all lawfull things; but with these two restrictions: first, that ye choose Idle houres for it, not interrupting therewith the discharge of your office: and next, that ye studie not for knowledge nakedly; but that your principall ende be, to make you able thereby to use your office; practising according to your knowledge in all the points of your calling: not like these vaine Astrologians, that studie night and on the course of the starres, only that they may, for satisfying their curiositie, knowe their course. But since all arte and sciences are linked everie one with other, their greatest principles agreeing in one (which mooved the Poets to faine the nine Muses to be all sisters) studie them, that out of their harmonie, ye may suck the knowledge of all faculties; and consequently, be on the counsell of all craftes, that



Literature: Balsamo (Luigi), *Antonio Possevino S.I. Bibliografo della Controriforma e diffusione della sua opera in area anglicana* (Florence, 2007). Part 2, Chapter 3 contains a census of copies of the first three editions of the *Bibliotheca Selecta* (1593, 1603, 1607) now in British Libraries. As a research tool for the study of the “diffusion” of the work in the “area Anglicana” it is, naturally, unable to account for those copies that have formerly been in British Libraries but it gives useful information on the provenance (when known) of the 24 copies he located in UK libraries (plus 1 at Huntingdon). 17th Century owners included William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury (Emmanuel College, Cambridge), Thomas Morton, Bishop of Coventry & Lichfield (St John’s College, Cambridge), Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury (Lambeth Palace Library) and John Selden (Bodley). Other copies have been, since the 17th Century, at Peterhouse Cambridge, Carlisle Cathedral, Eton College, Glasgow University Library, Nottingham University (Oakham Parish Library, gift of Anne, Baroness Harington, 1554-1620), Ripon Cathedral, St Paul’s Cathedral, All Souls’ College Oxford, Brasenose College Oxford, Queen’s College Oxford, St John’s College Oxford, University College Oxford, Winchester Cathedral and Worcester Cathedral. The present copy is also included (at Canterbury Cathedral Library, with the arms incorrectly identified as James I’s). Another British Library duplicate copy (sold in 1831) is the one now at Worcester College, Oxford. Taken together they do give a good impression of the book’s contemporary reception in England. Jayne (Sears) & Johnson (Francis, R.), eds, *The Lumley Library: the catalogue of 1609* (1956). O’Neill (Charles E.) & Dominguez (J. M.), *Diccionario historico de la Compania de Jesus* (Rome & Madrid, 2000), IV, pp. 3201-3203.

ye may be able to containe them all in order, as I have alreadye saide. For knowledge and learning is a light burthen, the waight whereof will never presse your shoulders.” (1603 edn., pp. 88-89).

WITH TWO ELIZABETHAN SKETCHES OF THE DEFENCES OF HULL

49 HERALDRY. English Heraldic Manuscript, of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, with Medieval and Later Texts.

[Yorkshire circa 1570 & London, 2nd half of the 17th Century]

£14,000

Folio. [Binding: 325 x 210 mm; text various sizes]. Bound circa 1770 in half calf, spot-marbled boards, spine with three red morocco labels “ARMS PAINTED & TRICKT / OLD BOOK

OF ARMORY / ARMS CRESTS & PEDIGREES” (Joints split but cords holding, headcaps broken, spine rubbed, corners worn, flyleaves loose).

This is a composite volume, comprising three complete but distinct books that have been bound together: they have in common that they are all concerned with English heraldry. Two of the texts belonged to the Herald Peter Le Neve. From the library at Burton Constable, near Hull.

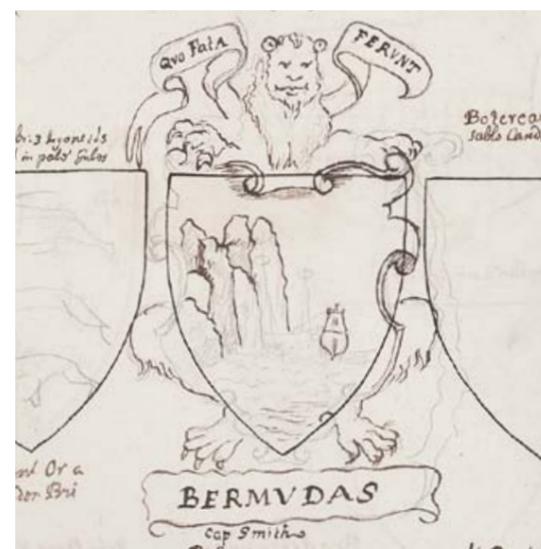
Colepeper (‘Md this book is of the hand writing of Collenell Colepeper a great Ingeneer’), and this detail enables us to identify the MS as having been lot 807 in the sale of Le Neve’s library, 1731 - where it was bought by Cuthbert Constable.

Colonel Thomas Colepeper (1637-1708) is a colourful character: he had a fertile imagination and turned to scientific invention after other sources of income had dried up. As a member

1: The first book has an inscription by Peter Le Neve (1661-1729), Norroy King of Arms, in which he identifies its writer as Colonel

of the royalist underground in the 1650s, he stood to gain from the Restoration, but though he did indeed get a post in the Ordnance Office (for which he invented e.g. a grenade launcher), a few years later he made the mistake of brawling with the Duke of Devonshire in the presence of the King, as a result of which he lost the post and was ordered to have his right hand cut off. He was fortunate that the sentence was commuted (See the account of him by Victor Stater in the *ODNB*). His papers doubtless came on the market soon after his death, and nearly 30 were secured for the Harleian Collection and are now in the British Library.

The book itself contains an alphabetically arranged collection of over 300 coats of arms generally arranged nine to a page, almost all of medieval date (and including a few religious houses but also royal oddities such as Hercules, King of Libya and Jupiter, King of Egypt). One of the most attractive is the arms of the colonial adventurer Captain John Smith (d. 1616): a ship sailing before a

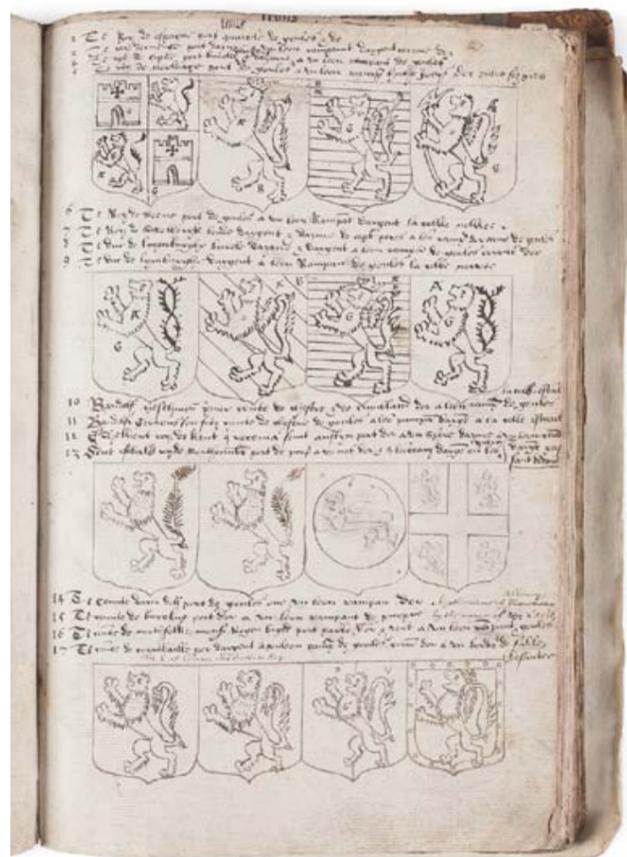


rocky coast (sketched partly in pencil and partly in ink), the shield supported by a lion squatting on its haunches in the Continental style, with mottos “Qo Fata Ferunt” and “Bermudas”. In some instances a source is given, most frequently (sometimes entire pages) in the form “d: w:” followed by a number; one reference to “dug: w: 154” (for Durvassall) reveals this to be Sir William Dugdale’s *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), while the source for the arms of Queen Katharine Parr and several others is given as “guill: 391” - standing for John Guillim’s *A Display of Heraldry* (1610; and much reprinted) and that for Lisley is “Morgan: L:2:p:53”, i.e. Sylvanus Morgan’s *The Sphere of Gentry* (1661). It is not clear, apart from the strong emphasis on Warwickshire, on what basis the coats were selected. The coats have mostly been drawn in trick, although a few have been coloured in wash. The latest to bear a date is that of Ca[ve]ndish, Duke of Newcastle, 1688. The coat

next to this, of “Condor a Britton Earle of Cornwall” is stated to be derived from “Mr Groves ms. p: 3”. 66 leaves, including several blank leaves, a few leaves with empty shields, plus 7 (mostly) blank leaves at the end. Fool’s-cap watermark. There is an old price “o:3:o” of three shillings at the head of the first page in the same hand as 3. This is probably Cuthbert Constable’s cost price.

2: The second book or section is a copy (c. 1570) of the medieval Roll of Arms known as **Thomas Jenyns’ Book of Arms**, which was first set down c. 1410 [see Sir Anthony Wagner’s *Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms* (Harleian Society & Society of Antiquaries, 1950), pp. 73-8 (not aware of the present MS)] though it has no name or title here. It begins as usual “Le Roy de espayne port quartele”; it finishes with shield 1588 (left blank). Numerous manuscript copies are known but there is no satisfactory modern edition of this Roll. Almost all the shields are blank, a few have been sketched in ink or pencil. 53 leaves (last 2 leaves with index), plus 2.5 blank leaves. At the end of the index (inverted) is an ink sketch of a man in Elizabethan dress with a dog and a pen-trial “Leonard Prestonne in the counte of Yorke yeoman do acknowledge my selfe to be”. On the following leaf (half-cut away) are a few lines of draft accounts for building and decorating works in the “little chamber” and the “great chamber” signed “this is thomas simes reckninge”. The following three blank leaves contain three medical recipes in an Elizabethan hand, the first “Water ffor the eyes”, the second untitled, the third “A frontarye for the [?fore]head”. Watermark: Pot with initials “RA”. Fore-corners dampstained, some blank lower fore-corners torn or chewed away.

3: Section three is the second book that belonged to Peter Le Neve and has his title “Arms crests & few pedigres trickt & writt by Howell Heralds Paynter. Most at the beginning of the Captains of Horse & foot in the Parliament Army & most Citizens of London to fol 12 Inclusive”. It is identifiable as lot 754 in Le Neve’s sale. It is also unquestionably the most important of the three books, in historical and armorial terms. As Le Neve has noted, most of the coats in its first twelve leaves are of Captains of Horse and Foot in the Parliamentary army, most being citizens of London. These are very capably drawn, tricked (i.e., having their colours indicated by letters of the alphabet, such as ‘g’ for gules, red); many are surmounted by a crest and a few have a motto as well. Le Neve identifies the writer as “Howell, Heralds Paynter”, and a 20th-century note on a card at the front of the volume suggests that this was “Griffith Howell, a great herald”, who is mentioned by Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies of England* as a nephew of James Howell (d. 1666), the royalist and political writer. It would seem more likely, however, that the writer was Henry Howell, an established arms painter who was active from 1674 onwards and was described as elderly and in failing health in 1715; he was Master of the Painter-Stainers



Company in 1699 [cf. *Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, ed. C. E. & R. C. Wright (1966), II, p. 453.]. Many of the 96 coats of arms on these leaves are of men described as “captain” and many are dated 1643 - e.g. “Captaine Norwode of ye Checker in Bredstreet Captaine of a Troop of Horse 1643”. Just a few are dated 1642 - e.g. “Sir William Waller Colonell of Horse 1642”.

From f. 15 to the end (f. 61r) ensues a mixture of pedigrees and coats of arms, the first pedigree being of Thomas Jordan of London, “3 Years old 1646”. That of Smithson of Newsom (Yorks.) includes a (copy-) attestation and certificate by “William Ryley, Lancaster [Herald]” (f. 16r). That of Paul Nicoll of Hendon Place (Middx.) is accompanied by a coat and crest “graunted to Paul Nicoll Esq. ye 7 of January 1650, by Edward Byssh Garter” [Sir Edward Bysshe (c. 1610-79), Garter King of Arms 1646-60] (f. 18r).

On ff. 19 to 36r the genealogies give way to another collection of coats-of-arms, including (from f. 25 onwards) a good many more captains and other men of military rank; one is dated 1644 and another 1645. A pedigree of Hamley of Treblithick (Cornw.) on ff. 36v-37 ends with a (copy) certification by (Sir) John Borough, Garter, ‘8 March 1638’. The original writer includes obit dates for the 1670s, 80s and, occasionally into the early 90s, e.g. “Gwyn, used thus at ye funerall of Mad: [Nell (erased)] Eleanor Gwynn ob: Nov:

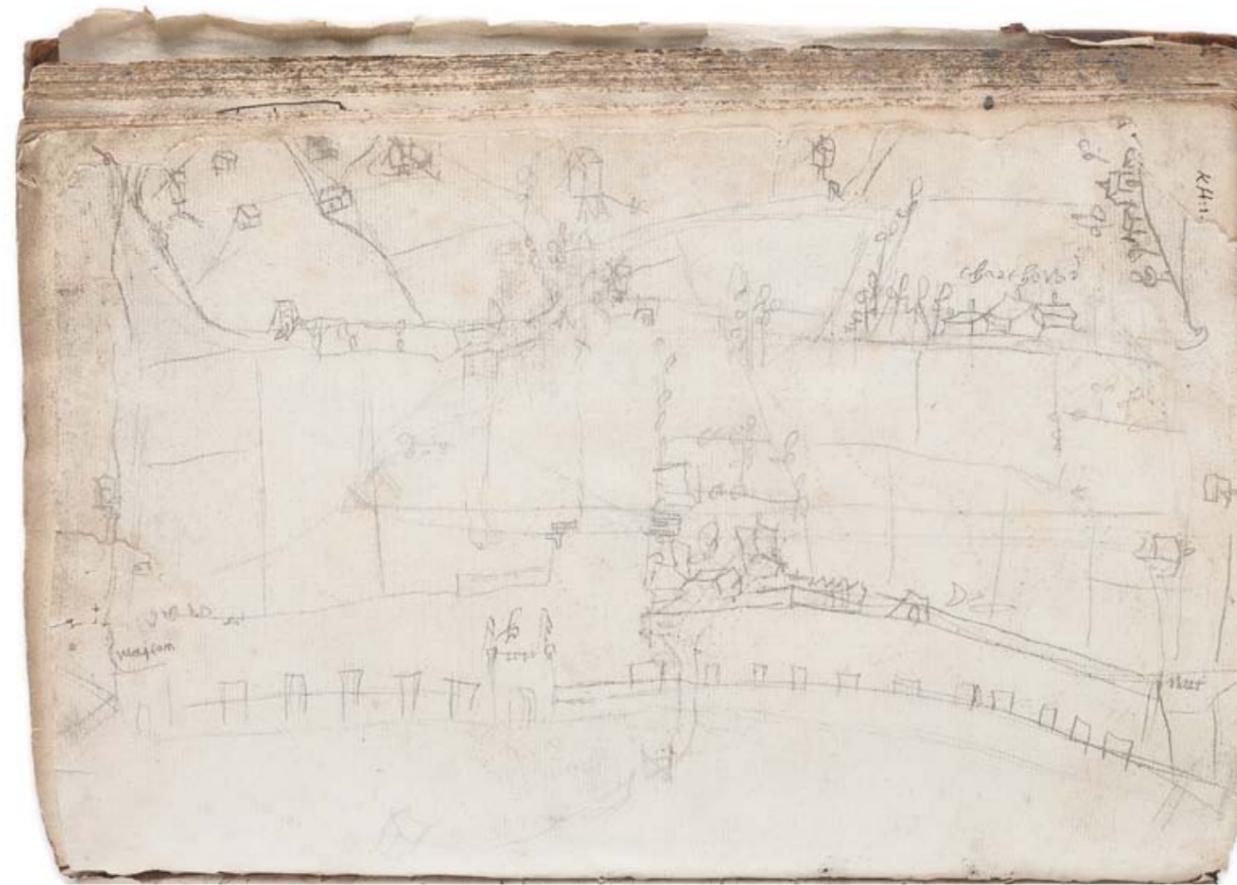
1687” (f. 56v). 61 leaves. Watermark: Leaves 1-30: Fleur-de-lis on a crowned shield. Leaves 31-61: Posthorn on a shield. The armorial is preceded by 9 leaves, the first page with Le Neve’s notes and the rest with an index; watermark: Posthorn on a shield. There is an ink price “o:6:o” of six shillings at the head of the first page in the same hand as 1 (probably Cuthbert Constable).

The years of the run-up to, and then duration of, the Civil War were a time when the record-keeping activities of the College of Arms were stretched beyond its abilities and many grants and pedigrees were, in effect, left unrecorded in its own books, making MSS such as the present one, with its evident strength on the Parliamentary side, of exceptional historical and armorial value.

Many of the coats and pedigrees have Le Neve’s ink note “posted” or “posted to books” by them (indicating that they were new to him and so he had copied or made a note of them), which confirms the significance of this collection. The heralds Ryley and Borough (of whom Ryley was once the junior, as an archivist at the Tower of London) were royalists while Bysshe was a parliamentarian, but all the heralds had great difficulty maintaining a proper set of records of their activities at this time. Le Neve has also occasionally added other short notes, usually *obit* dates, the one noting the arms of Newham “of Sussx by Sr Edward Bysshe confirmed by Sr Jo: Vanbrugg Clarenceux Peter Le Neve Norroy” (58v) and another noting that the widow of Dr. Thomas Daffy (d. 1680), of the eponymous Daffy’s Elixir, “is still alive 1725” (f. 50r).

The volume has however a second claim on our interest: its material associable with Yorkshire. Just before the start of the main text of the second book, and evidently forming part of it (they have the same watermark of a Pot with initials “RA”, are seven leaves relating in whole or at least in part to Kingston-upon-Hull.

On the first page is a very rough ink sketch of the Royal Arms of Elizabeth I flanked by Solomonic columns (not unlike those found on contemporary engraved maps by Christopher Saxton). On the verso of this page is a bird’s-eye view of the town of Hull (Kingston-upon-Hull, as it was then generally called) looking from the south. This is a very rough pencil sketch and is undated (and indeed is without inscription or title beyond three words: “Chart[er]hows” at the top-right (north-west) corner (with the medieval buildings of the Charterhouse Priory just outside the city walls to the north), “Maiton” at the bottom-left (south-west) corner (probably for Myton, a parish bordering Hull to the west and the name of one of the Gates in the City Walls) and the word “Nort” at the bottom right (south-east) corner (perhaps for “North” but its location here cannot be directional or refer to the North Gate in the City Walls on the River Hull side). The emphasis on the town walls and on landmarks such as windmills with almost no



internal detail raises the possibility that it was drawn by someone with a particular interest in its military significance. The phonetic spellings suggest that the draughtsman may not have been English. On the page opposite is another rough pencil sketch of some fortifications with no identification but also presumably of Hull (some offsetting between the images makes them hard to read). The two pages are frayed at the edges.

Comparison with the two other early bird’s-eye views of Hull - the 16th-century drawing in British Library, Cotton MS Augustus I (1), f. 80 and that etched by Wenceslaus Hollar in 1640 - show few obvious changes; Hollar’s view unfortunately was taken from such an angle as to cause him to omit the Charterhouse which was destroyed in the Civil War.

The drawings alone provide no evidence for a date, however their context is entirely of the early-1570s. The verso of the second drawing has short notes of financial reckonings, dated 1570 and 1571. One of these begins “that masters whalaye owe me for paynteinge of ij chamers [*sic* for chambers] in the towre” and the next begins “Layde this month for master whalaye. Item for bearinge the wheat frome the chambar to the watere” [*etc.*], continuing on the page opposite, “... Item for suffyttyng and gyldyng your harness ... This recknyng doth master whalay owe unto me Mathew

Appllyne”. The next leaf (following the stub of a missing leaf) is a memorandum of a loan, in a hand of the late 16th century, and then a memorandum of the sale of a “diall” (which is roughly sketched) by Matthew Appllyne to John Wetherell of “Sutcotes” to be paid at the next “lameing [lambing] time” in 1570. Sutcotes, now Southcoates, is a manor in Holderness near Hull granted to Sir Marmaduke Constable (c. 1480-1545) by King Henry VIII in 1535. The building accounts may relate to the extensive rebuilding of the medieval house at nearby Burton Constable Hall started by Sir John Constable (1526-79) in the 1560/70s which included a new south range, a great hall and a tower.

Following this is a contemporary copy of a letter addressed “To the right worshipfull Mr Macwilliams and M[-]”. This is dated from Kingston-upon-[Hull], 18 June 1570, and is evidently from two (or possibly more) men who were the Crown’s “searchers” in the port of Hull - a valuable office to hold, since it entitled its holders to impose dues upon all shipping going through both the port of Hull itself - and Hull was the principal port of North-East England, serving as the gateway to York and other mercantile centres - and the river-heads in the vicinity. The letter’s writers are expressing their concern that a third party, one Wadson, “has a grant of deputation to be joined a doer in our circuit, but he is reported to be a crafty



on commission-based local officials to bring in the much-needed customs revenue and at the same time to keep a watchful eye on the trade and even the legal malpractices of the area.

Other pages have recipes (general and medical), e.g. for preserving gloves and for dressing wounds and for the stone, the last beneath a date “1586”.

Provenance: 1: The second part may always have been in the archive at **Burton Constable Hall**, East Yorkshire. 2: The first and third parts belonged to **Peter Le Neve, Norroy King of Arms** (1661-1729). Like his near-contemporary John Anstis, Le Neve tended to enrich his MSS with notes about their contents and the hands of the scribes who had written them, and these two books have been annotated in just such a way and the third part is identifiable as lot 754 in Le Neve’s sale by John Wilcox, 22/2/1731, bought by “Constable”. 3: This is **Cuthbert Constable, formerly Tunstall** (c. 1680-1746), antiquary, of Burton Constable Hall. At the front of the volume is the armorial bookplate of his son **William Constable, F.R.S. and F.A.S.** (1721-91), also of Burton Constable Hall. Cuthbert & William Constable formed one of the greatest 18th-century collections of heraldic manuscripts (mostly dispersed at auction at Sotheby’s, 24 June 1889) and it would seem it was the son who had the volume bound up; it has been in its present form ever since. 4: Messrs. Ellis, with a cutting pasted inside the front cover from their Catalogue 208 (1922), item 241, £4/4/-. 5: **Allan Heywood Bright, F.S.A.** (1862-1941), M.P. for Oswestry (1904-06), of Barton Court, Colwall, Herefordshire, with his bookplate and a card pasted to the front flyleaf dated 23/11/22, “I think I have found a trace of your Howell. ...”, signed with initials and addressed from 51 Blenheim Terrace, the home of a bibliographical researcher named Boyson; thence by descent in the Bright / Yates Thompson family [not included in the main portion of the library sold at Christie’s in 2014].

dealer, and we hope that will not lessen our allowance”. The writers also complain about their difficulty in performing their role, since the port’s “costemers” (i.e., customers, other Crown officials) “will not suffer us to have full recourse to their books, but we must name first what we would seke for”; they also lack authority to deal with forestallers and ingrators (i.e., regrators?). This letter is a rare window into the world of the Elizabethan maritime system, with its reliance

FROM THE LIBRARY OF THE MASTER OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

50 HILARY OF POITIERS (Hilarius Pictavensis), Saint, Bishop, c. 310-67. Io. Frobenius pio lectori s. d. Divi Hilarii Pictavorum episcopi lucubrationes per Eras[m] Roterodamum no[n] mediocribus sudoribus emendata, formulis nostris, operaque nostra, quantum licuit ornavimus. Priore[m] aeditionem no[n] damnamus, sed quid intersit, ipse cognosces ex collatione, lector optime, simulque valebis. Catalogum repeties in proxima pagella.

Basel: in officina Frobeniana, 1523. Mense Febr.

£5,000

First Erasmus Edition. Folio in 6s. 2 vols in 1 (continuous register). [Text 310 x 200]. [24], 435, [1 (blank)]; 418, [2 (publisher’s device)], [30 (index)], [2 (errata / publisher’s device)] pp. Title within a woodcut architectural border by Hans Lützelburger after Hans Holbein the Younger with putti and dolphins at the head, figures of the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse robbing statues of the gods at

the sides, and Cleopatra committing suicide at the foot; dedication and title to Vol. II within frames of woodcut renaissance ornament blocks, woodcut initials throughout, woodcut publisher’s devices at the end of the text (by Urs Graf) and on the final page (by Ambrosius Holbein). Title-page with some minor stains and slightly frayed at the fore-edge and with a vertical crease from the foot; dampstain

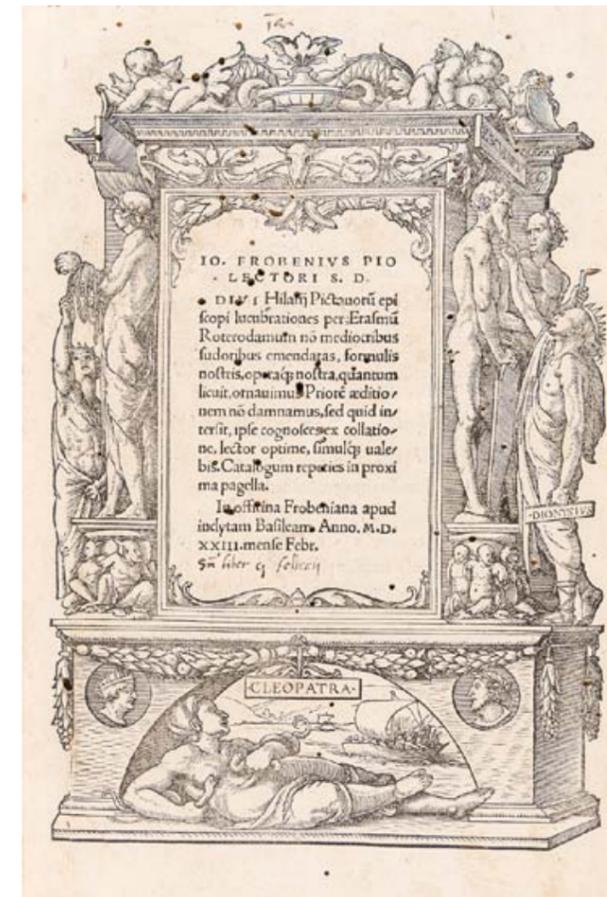
in the upper margin, gradually increasing from p. 340 to the end; dampstain in lower fore-part from Ii-Kk (Vol. II, pp. 97-116). Shot through with small wormholes reducing from 40+ at the front to 20+ in the middle. Contemporary London binding of calf over oak boards, covers tooled in blind with a frame of a roll of

Tudor ornaments with a central lattice of blind fillets with foliate ornaments; in the centre of the front cover the later blind-stamped arms block of the Duke of Sutherland; manuscript title up the fore-edge “Opera hilarii” (19th-century rebacking replaced with label preserved, fore-edges renewed and endpapers replaced at the time).

From the library of and annotated by George Folbury / Fowlbery (d. 1540), Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

COPAC records copies in the UK at BL, Aberdeen, Cambridge UL & Corpus Christi & St John’s Colleges Cambridge, All Souls, Corpus Christi, Harris Manchester & New Colleges Oxford, Exeter Cathedral, Salisbury Cathedral & St Paul’s Cathedral. In the USA Worldcat records copies at the Newberry Library, University of Illinois, Stanford University & St Vincent College PA. No copy at Harvard or Yale.

“This is one of Holbein’s most original designs for a title-page and its high quality indicates that Lützelburger was responsible for cutting the block. ... The title-page first appeared in ‘Paraphrasis in Evangelium secundum Ioannem’, written by Erasmus and dedicated to the brother of the Emperor Charles V, Ferdinand of



Austria (J. Froben, Basel, February 1523). It was probably Holbein’s most popular title-page and was frequently copied, often with an additional border round the edge, which effectively destroys the illusion of space in the design.” (British Museum website).

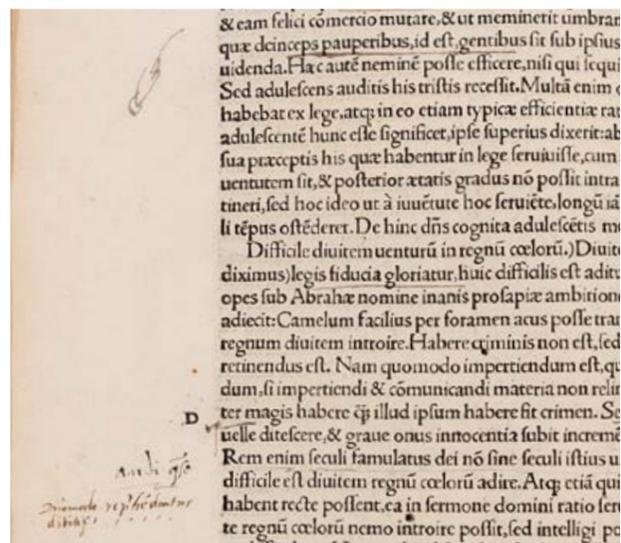
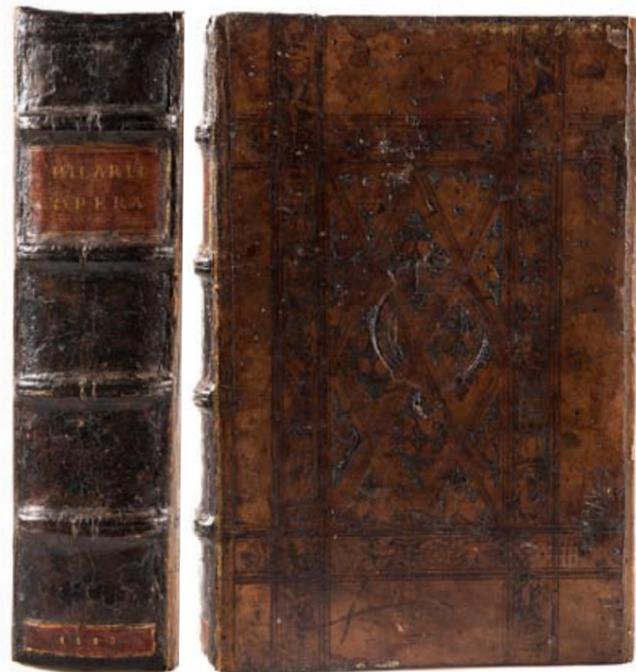
“Erasmus’ edition of Hilary was the fourth large patristic edition that he published following the monumental edition of Saint Jerome in 1516, an edition of Saint Cyprian in 1520, and an edition of Arnobius the Younger’s commentaries on the Psalms in 1522. ... His purpose in all this editorial work was the reform of theology through a return to its scriptural and patristic sources, and he viewed the fathers, whom he termed the ancient theologians, as the surest guide to Holy Scripture and the Christian life. They combined learning and piety in the most meaningful expression of the faith and stood in sharp contrast to the barren and disputatious theologians of his own day. His goal in brief was to replace the prevailing theology of the schools with the genuine theology of the early Church - the *vetus ac vera theologia*. Therein he believed lay the key to renewal and reform in every other sphere. ...

“Erasmus has emended the text, especially of Hilary’s major work, *De trinitate*, and has indicated numerous variant readings in the margins. He collated the Paris edition with certain manuscripts available to him, of only one of which do we have a record - a manuscript sent by a friend, Maternus Hatten of Speyer, in early 1522. It is a more handsome volume than the earlier edition, and it contains a long and extremely interesting preface by Erasmus in the form of a dedicatory letter to Jean de Carondelet [titular Archbishop of Palermo, chief counsellor to Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Hapsburg Netherlands] (pp. 28-9). ...

“Erasmus’ comments and themes are his own, but it is remarkable - one might say ingenious - how he employs this occasion to present them anew and how he draws on Hilary and used his example to underscore and support them. However, Erasmus’ prescriptions and advice had little effect, and the preface unfortunately became one of his most controversial writings. Propositions from it were censured by the Sorbonne in 1526 and bitterly attacked at the Valladolid conference in Spain in 1527. The letter is nevertheless a striking instance of the way Erasmus understood and made use of the patristic heritage, and the edition remains one of the many achievements of his humanist scholarship and his reform purpose (p. 34).” - John C. Olin, *Erasmus, Utopia, and the Jesuits* (1994), Chapter 2 “Erasmus and his Edition of Saint Hilary”.

Provenance: George Folbury / Fowlbery (d. 1540), B.A. 1514-5, M.A. 1517 & B.D. 1524 (Cambridge), fellow of Clare College 1515, University Preacher 1519, D.D. (Montpelier, date unknown), Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1537-40, canon and prebend of North Newbald, Yorkshire (by royal grant dated 16 March 1531), rector of Maidwell St Mary, Northamptonshire 1534-7. He died c. October 1540 (his will was dated 10 July 1540 and an inventory of his goods was made on 22 October) and was buried in St Mary-the-less, Cambridge. He was sometime tutor to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond & Somerset (1519-36), natural son of King Henry VIII. "He was celebrated as a preacher, a poet, and a rhetorician, and was author of epigrams, poems of various kinds, and sermons. These works are probably lost." (Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*).

With Folbury's ink inscription on the title "Su[m] liber G. folberij" and signature "G. folberij" below the publisher's device on the final page. Annotated throughout in ink (occasional pencil marks) by Folbury (compare the form of "filij" on bb4r with "folberij" on the title), two types of pointing hands or manicules: with a long index finger (on bb4v, pp. 34, 58, 276, 322, 400) or more compact with no



defined index finger (on p. 134, II 19), an 'n' below a trefoil (for 'nota') (on p. 9, 39, 134), occasional florets, e.g. p. 357). Folbury's notes are generally a few words (one to six, occasionally longer), highlighting key points of interest to him in the text, e.g. "Maria semper Virgo" (p. 330 - Mary always a virgin), "Joannes filius Joseph ex priore uxore" (p. 331 - John the son of Joseph by his first wife), "Quare ieiunavit Christus diebus Quadraginta" (p. 334 - how did Jesus fast for 40 days), "Petrus est primus et princeps Apostolorum" (p. 352 - Peter is the first and head of Apostles), "Et Fides sola" (p. 355 - and Faith alone - a Lutheran view), "Natura serpentis depicte" (p. 363 - nature of the serpent depicted), "Moyses secundum hunc authorem perveniet

domini adventum" (p. 404 - Moses according to this writer predicted the coming of the Lord), "resurrectio Christi primum per angelum 'Ut famulum' celi. deinde per mulierem quia per mulierem peccatum primum intraverat" (p. 435 - The resurrection of Christ is signalled first by the angel 'as a servant' of heaven, and then through a woman [Mary Magdalen] because it is through a woman's sin that sin had first entered [the world]), "indulgentiarum venditiones et emptores" (p. 435 - sellers and buyers of indulgences), five little florets beside the underlined passage "Alienati sunt peccatores ab utero, erraverunt a ventre, locuti sunt falsa" (II, p. 79 - sinners are alienated from the womb, they have erred from their birth and spoken falsely) and "evangelio inobedientes sunt filii viperarum" (II, p. 79 - those who disobey the gospel are the sons of vipers) or occasional comments on style, e.g. " Applicatio similitudinis" (p. 363), "homo Arundini comparatus" (Man compared to Reeds, p. 369), "simile" (II, p. 12). Notes in a smaller (e.g. pp. 134, 343) and a looser hand (e.g. pp. 232-3) and the more compact manicules seem to be by other annotators.

The notes are not extensive but they appear regularly in the texts *De trinitate* (Books I-IV of XII), *In Evangelium Matthaei commentarius*, *Contra Arianos vel Auxentium Mediolanensem Liber*, and in Vol. II, the commentary on the Psalms (concentrated in Psalms I, II, LI, LII & LVIII), elsewhere they are very occasional.

The inventory of George Fowlbery's goods made on 22 October 1540 totalled £51/12/4d including books valued at £17/0d. 23 titles in 27 volumes in his study were listed separately (the present volume was not included). The list was published by E. S.

Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories* (1986), I, no. 7: His will "contains numerous individual legacies of plate, clothing, etc. ... 'to sir Fowlbery one of my best gownes with as many bookes as comme to the summe of ii£ vjs viijd ...' The residue of his goods were left to his brother-in-law, John Smith. Relatively affluent, as master, Fowlbery seems to have had the use of only a great and a little chamber, with a study, perhaps tucked into one of them. They were comfortably furnished and his apparel was in good order. He owned two horses (worth £5), but of his £17 4s 8d worth of plate, £13 6s 8d worth was in gauge to the College at his death. Fowlbery seems to have brought no learning from Montpelier but, besides the Fathers, he had one work by Luther and four by Erasmus, including the paraphrases, and, a rarity, a German, or perhaps Dutch, testament."

Later Provenance: Sir John Leveson-Gower (1675-1709), 5th Baronet, and (from 1706), 1st Baron Gower, of Trentham, Staffordshire, with his armorial bookplate on the verso of the title; by descent to George Granville Leveson-Gower (1758-1833), 3rd Earl Gower, 2nd Marquess of Stafford & (from Jan. 1833) 1st Duke of Sutherland; by descent to the 3rd Duke (d. 1892), sale, Sotheby 10+/3/1892. **Allan Heywood Bright, F.S.A.** (1862-1941), M.P. for Oswestry (1904-06), of Barton Court, Colwall, Herefordshire; thence by descent in the Bright / Yates Thompson family [not included in the main portion of the library sold at Christie's in 2014]. With a letter loosely inserted from the binding historian and collector Edward Gordon Duff (1863-1924) to Allan Bright, dated March 22, 1912, enclosing a number of rubbings of similar Tudor binding rolls.

A UNIQUE COPY WITH SPECIAL HAND-COLOURING

51 HILL (John). The British Herbal: an History of Plants and Trees, Natives of Britain, cultivated for beauty. By John Hill, M.D.

London: for T. Osborne and J. Shipton; J. Hodges; J. Newbery; B. Collins; and H. Crowder and H. Woodgate, 1756
£7,500

First Edition. *Large Folio. Text and plates with watermark of a fleur-de-lis with countermark "IV". [Text: 409 x 252 mm]. [4], 533, [3 (index)] pp. Engraved frontispiece and seventy-five engraved plates by various engravers, all with careful contemporary hand-colour. One or two small wormholes in the lower inner corner of the first 50pp (almost imperceptibly going through some of the*

images) and in the fore-margin of the last few leaves. Otherwise a lovely, fresh copy. Bound in 1765 (see below) in mottled calf, comb-marbled endleaves (rebacked, original spine label preserved, the other panels tooled in gilt to style; inside joints strengthened with cloth; corners worn; the surface of the leather affected by the mottling acid and a little scuffed).

A unique copy with special hand-colouring – the frontispiece signed by the colourist "H. St George Molesworth".

The frontispiece designed by Samuel Wale and engraved by H. Roberts depicting "The Genius of Health receiving the tributes of Europe Asia Africa and America and delivering them to the British Reader" has been carefully hand-coloured (though with some oxidisation on the faces) and the name of artist ("S. Wale delin.") carefully scratched-out and that of the colourist "St George Molesworth pinxit" added by hand.

The Rev. St George Molesworth (1731-1796), grandson of the 1st Viscount Molesworth, was the absentee vicar of Northfleet, Kent (presented Feb. 1763) and d. at Hamburg.

The vignette on the title designed by Wale and engraved by Charles Grignion depicting "Aesculapius and Flora gathering from the Lap of Nature, Health and Pleasure" has also been carefully hand-coloured and there is a tiny ink cypher "[?E]B pinxt." of the colourist added beneath. Neat manuscript ink note on the title beneath the imprint "Finished and bound in ye year MDCCLXV" [the date cut from the imprint of a book]. The

engraved coat-of-arms of the dedicatee, the Earl of Northumberland, has also been hand-coloured.

On 27 December 1755 the *Public Advertiser* announced that: "This work will consist of one Volume in Folio, and no more; and will be published in Fifty Numbers, on a fine Paper, and with a new Letter. Each number will consist of three sheets of Letter Press, and one Plate of Figures, or of two sheets of Letter Press and two Plates, (each Plate being considered as equivalent to one Sheet,) and will be delivered Weekly at the Price of Sixpence. Number 1. will be published on Saturday the 24th of January."

In the end *The British Herbal* was completed in 52 weekly numbers with 75 engraved plates. In November 1757 complete copies were advertised for £1/16/- or £1/11/6 "bound" and "There is also a Royal Impression of this Work with the Cuts coloured, from Nature, after Originals, done by the Author, Price ten Guineas." The present copy is not one of those on Royal paper coloured by the author. It is on ordinary paper but it has been magnificently coloured within a few years of publication by either the Rev. St.



George Molesworth who signed the frontispiece or the unidentified “[?E]B” who signed the title-page vignette, perhaps connected with the T. Beale whose bookplate is on the pastedown.

Hill produced a monumental and beautiful volume and the anecdotal elements of his text are very readable with his experience as an apothecary and plant-collector providing insights into where plants could be found and into their medical uses, e.g. and at random, of Common Brooklime (Veronica Beccabunga): “It is an excellent antiscorbutick. Its juice, taken in spring, is one of the first of that class we usually call sweeteners of the blood. It may be given either alone or mixed with the juice of watercress and of Seville orange. ... A pultice of it, boiled tender, is excellent in the piles.” (p. 95).

The reviews, however were scathing, not least due to Hill’s (not entirely unreasonable) objections to the strictures of Carl Linnaeus’s binomial taxonomic system which was then beginning

to find universal acceptance and which he was the first to attempt to introduce in England - “Such is the system of Linnaeus. Novelty made it please, and its obscurity rendered it admired; but it cannot be lasting.” (p. 31) - but also due to his own inconsistency in applying his own methods as well as other inaccuracies (see Chapter 14, “Hill and Linnaeus” in George Rousseau’s biography of Hill).

“We observe this author continually exclaiming against Linnaeus’s system, in almost every page of the book, and at the same time declaring the method himself follows in this work to be conformable to nature in every part: but it appears to us, that his method is no other than that of Morison and Ray conjoined, with a few innovations of his own. ... Upon the whole, we must say, that this boasted performance comes far short of some Herbals, which were extant long before this appeared, with regard to the number of plants, as well as to the execution of the work.” - *The Critical Review*, Vol. VI (1758), p. 311.

THE
BRITISH HERBAL:
 AN
 HISTORY
 OF
PLANTS and TREES,
 NATIVES of BRITAIN,
 CULTIVATED FOR USE,
 OR
 RAISED FOR BEAUTY.

By JOHN HILL, M.D.



LONDON.

Printed for T. OSBORN and J. SMITH, in GUY'S-BURIAL;
 J. HODGKIN, near Ludlow-Bridge; J. NEWBERRY, at St. Paul's Church-Yard; B. COLLIER,
 And S. CROWDER and H. WOODGATE, in FLEET-STREET.

MDCCLVI

Printed and bound by J. SMITH,
 in GUY'S-BURIAL.

“The Doctor has thought fit to treat with much freedom, the several systems of all antecedent botanical Writers; he announces his opinions, with respect to method, *quasi e cathedra*, and authoritatively determines the virtues of a great variety of plants *upon his own experience*, in such a manner, as may, perhaps, induce strangers to suppose him, one of the most universal practitioners in Europe. However, as he is not always wrong, it seems to have been a standing maxim with him, to put it out of any person’s power to accuse him of bashfulness. - This work has also one advantage over any other of the kind, in that the figure of every plant is delineated on copper-plates, which, if not elegantly engraved, are accurately descriptive of their several subjects.” - *The Monthly Review*, Vol. XVIII (1758), p. 328.

The botanist and physician Dr. Richard Pulteney, however was more positive. Writing anonymously in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* he commented, “it is the best and most perfect history of the *English* plants in the language ... and is by far better accommodated to botanick intelligence, than either *Gerard’s* or *Parkinson’s* herbals.” - Vol. XXVIII (1758), p. 362.

Hill failed to obtain the awards and scientific recognition that he hoped for in his lifetime, apart from the award of a knighthood of the Swedish Order of Vasa in 1774 (hence he is generally known as “Sir” John Hill), and he was widely reviled and satirised by his contemporaries, but the wide range and vast energy of his writings has allowed his first biographer, George Rousseau, to reassess his legacy.

Provenance: 1: Neat ink inscription on the flyleaf dated “Nuremberg April ye 18. 1765. - Dr Hill of England, was at ye last Assembly admitted a Member of ye Imperial Academy, by ye Title of Theophrastus Secundus:” with added note in the same hand “Wedn. Nov. 22. 1775. Died at his House in Golden Square London Sir John Hill Knight of ye Swedish Order of Vasa, & Botanist to ye Royal Garden at Kew.”; a one-line ink inscription on the verso of the front flyleaf has been carefully erased. 2: **T. Beale**, with neatly cut-out armorial bookplate with crest of a unicorn’s head erased within a floral wreath; probably the Rev. Thomas Beale, M.A. (d. 14/6/1805), perpetual curate of Bengeworth, Warwickshire (installed 1771, incumbent until 1793), of the Mansion House, Bengeworth, “a gentleman of genuine philanthropy and universal benevolence, which induced him to contribute towards all the principal charities in the kingdom” (*Universal Magazine*, Vol. IV, July to December 1805, p. 87); son of Thomas Beale, of Newent, Glos., succeeded by his nephew Thomas Beale Cooper; he subscribed to 2 fine paper copies of William Tindal’s *History and Antiquities of the Abbey and Borough of Evesham* (Evesham, 1791); books with the same bookplate include copies of Thomas Pennant’s *History of Quadrupeds* (1781) and Peter / Pehr Kalm’s *Travels in North America* (2nd edn, 1772). The library at Bengeworth

was apparently sold to the Birmingham bookseller James Wilson (see BL MS Egerton 3047). 3: **Crosby Gaige** (1882-1949), of New York, Broadway theatre producer and writer and food and drink; with his letterpress label “From the Books of Crosby Gaige”. 4: Philip C. Duschnes, bookseller of New York, with their small gilt trade label inside the back cover. 5: **Sir Giles Rolls Loder**, 3rd Baronet (1914-99), horticulturalist, of Leonardslee, near Horsham, West Sussex, with his armorial bookplate; his ornithological books were sold at Christie, 9/2/1999. 6: Wheldon & Wesley, bookseller’s of Codicote, Hitchin, Herts., active 1921-2004, with their trade label inside the front cover.

Literature: Rousseau (George), *The Notorious Sir John Hill: The Man Destroyed by Ambition in the Era of Celebrity* (2012).





A THEATRICALY ANNOTATED ACCOUNT OF THE ST BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY MASSACRE

52 [HOTMAN (Francois)]. De furoribus Gallicis, horrenda et indigna Amirallij Castillionei, Nobilium atque illustrium virorum caede, scelerata ac inaudita piorum strage passim edita per complures Galliae civitates, sine ullo discrimine generis, sexus, aetatis & conditionis hominum: Vera & simplex Narratio. Ernesto Varamundo Frisio Auctore.

“Edimburgi. [i.e. Basel: T. Guarin] Anno salutis humanae M. D. LXXIII.” 1573 **£4,200**

First Edition. *Small 4to. [Text: 190 x 145 mm]. 135 leaves. Text lightly browned throughout, minor marginal damp-staining, small marginal paper flaw at the foot of f2. Mid-17th-Century*

STC 13844 (+ in UK & Europe; Bowdoin College, Folger [ex Heber - Britwell], Harvard, Michigan, Newberry Library, Princeton, Union Theological Seminary & Yale in USA).

First Edition of the key source for Christopher Marlowe’s play *The Massacre at Paris*. This copy has been annotated by two contemporary readers with an eye for the theatricality of the story.

Reprinted by Henry Bynneman in London in the same year (also issued with a false Edinburgh imprint). Bynneman also printed an English translation in 1573, *A true and plaine report of the Furious outrages of Fraunce*, with a false imprint “At Striveling in Scotland”. Translations into French (printed at La Rochelle with a false Basel imprint) and German were also published in 1573.

François Hotman (1524-90) was a French Huguenot jurist and writer with an international reputation. At the time of the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacres he was professor of jurisprudence at Bourges in France. He was able to escape with his family to Geneva, where he had previously lived from 1548 as secretary to Jean Calvin and gained citizenship in 1553. There he was appointed professor of Roman Law. Subsequently he moved to Basel where he died.

Hotman wrote this account of the events leading up to and immediately following the Massacres, as he put it in the opening paragraphs (here taken from the 1573 English translation), “... forasmuche as there flee every where abroad Pamphlets written by

sheep (probably English), covers ruled in blind (rebaked, rear endleaves replaced).

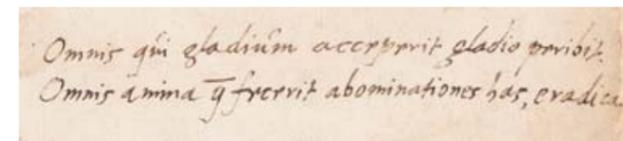
flatterers of the Courte, and men corruptly hired for reward, which do most shamefully set out things fayned and falsely imagined, instead of truth, I thoughte my selfe bound to do this service to posteritie, to put the matter in writing as it was timely don in dede, being wel enabled to have knowledge thereof, both by mine owne calamitie, and by those that with ther owne eyes beheld a great part of the same slaughter. ...” (*A true and plaine report*, pp. v-vi).

While undoubtedly polemical, *De furoribus Gallicis* largely avoids speculation and allows the appalling events to speak for themselves as they unfold in a series of scenes of high conspiracy and bloody action that can only be described as dramatic. It is, therefore, not surprising that it has long been acknowledged as the primary source for Christopher Marlowe’s tragedy, *The Massacre at Paris* (1594?), though it is not certain whether he used a Latin copy (he would have been fluent) or the English translation.

Paul H. Kocher, in his essay “Francois Hotman and Marlowe’s *The Massacre at Paris*”, in *Papers of the Modern Language Association*, 56/2 (June 1941), pp. 349-68, compared passages in the English translation of Hotman with passages in the first six scenes and part of the eighth of Marlowe’s play:

“To summarize: research fails to disclose any other contemporary description of the St Batholomew massacre which even approaches Hotman in fidelity of resemblance to Marlowe.... [Hotman] parallels Marlowe along almost the whole extent of the first six scenes. There

is virtually no incident in them which is not related somewhere in Hotman. In at least two episodes, notably the killing of Masson de Rivers (who Marlowe calls Serounee) by Mountsorrell and Guise’s actions at the death of the Admiral, the translation of Hotman into drama is direct, and the very language of the original is to a large extent preserved. If there is no comparable preservation of Hotman’s words in others of Marlowe’s scenes, the sufficient reason is that Hotman often writes the story bare and does not provide much dialogue. We may conclude, therefore, that, as certainty goes in source investigations, Marlowe’s use of Hotman as his primary source for the first six scenes of the play is certain.” (pp. 363-4).



Provenance: The narrative text (pp. III-LXV; excluding, with a few exceptions, the letters and memorials printed on pp. LXV-CXXXV) has been **heavily underlined throughout and annotated in two contemporary hands**; not on every page but often two or three notes per page. Hand A (the looser hand) is first and Hand B (the neater hand) is second. Many of the notes by Hand A (and a few of those by Hand B) have been cropped by the binder but in almost all cases the sense is recoverable.

On the title are two Latin quotes by Hand A “Omnis qui gladium acceperit gladio peribit” (Matthew 26.52 - all who take up the sword shall die by the sword) and “Omnis anima quae fecerit abominaciones has, eradica[bitur]” (*cf.* Leviticus 18.29 - every soul who commits such crimes shall be destroyed); they are found together in the account of Nero in Book III of the *Chronicon Carionis* edited by Philip Melanchthon *et al.* (Wittenberg 1580 edn, pp. 158-9). On p. CXIII at the head of the Form of Abjuration of Heresy and Confession of Faith is the note by hand A “Frigidus o pueri fugite hinc latet anguis in herba” (Vergil, *Eclogue* 3.93 - Flee from here, lads, a cold snake is lurking in the grass).

Most of the notes highlight and repeat key names and passages in the text; a few are more in the way of illumination or commentary, *e.g.* The murder of the Queen of Navarre by means of a pair of poisoned gloves (pp. XXIII-XXV), a key event at the opening of Scene 3 of Marlowe’s play, is marked by Hand A “Joanna Navarrorum regina [-] extincta” [Joanna of Navarre murdered] and “NB Initia furoru[m]” [Start of the Furies] and by Hand B “Navarroum re[gin]a odoribus venen[at]is necata” [The Queen of Navarre killed by perfumed gloves]. On p. XXVII next to an underlined passage describing the masques, dances and stage-plays performed at night and in which the French king delighted is the note by Hand A “Aula Sardanapali” [Court of Sardanapalus]; on

p. XXXIII next to an underlined passage reporting the French king’s words to Admiral Coligny after he was severely wounded in an assassination attempt is the note by Hand A “Lachrymae Crocodyli” [Crocodile tears]; on p. LI beside a heavily underlined passage saying that whoredom and lewdness are free and usual in France is the note by Hand A “Gallia Gomorrha” [France is Gomorrah]; on p. LVI beside the passage describing how Captain Monsorel, coming to murder Masson de Rivers at Angers first kissed his wife in greeting, as is the custom in France especially at court, is the note by Hand A “Osculum Iudae” [The kiss of Judas]. In Hand B, on p. XXXV beside an underlined passage describing how the Queen Mother had a final private conference with the king, the Duke of Anjou and others in her garden is the note “Epithasis” [Epitasis is the central act in a three-act Greek play, where the plot thickens]. A passage on p. XLVI describing how it has been the recent habit in France that all public offices are openly sold is heavily underlined and marked in the margin with a pointing hand or manicule and the note by Hand B “Quid ergo de nostris miremur?” [Why then do we wonder at our own affairs?].

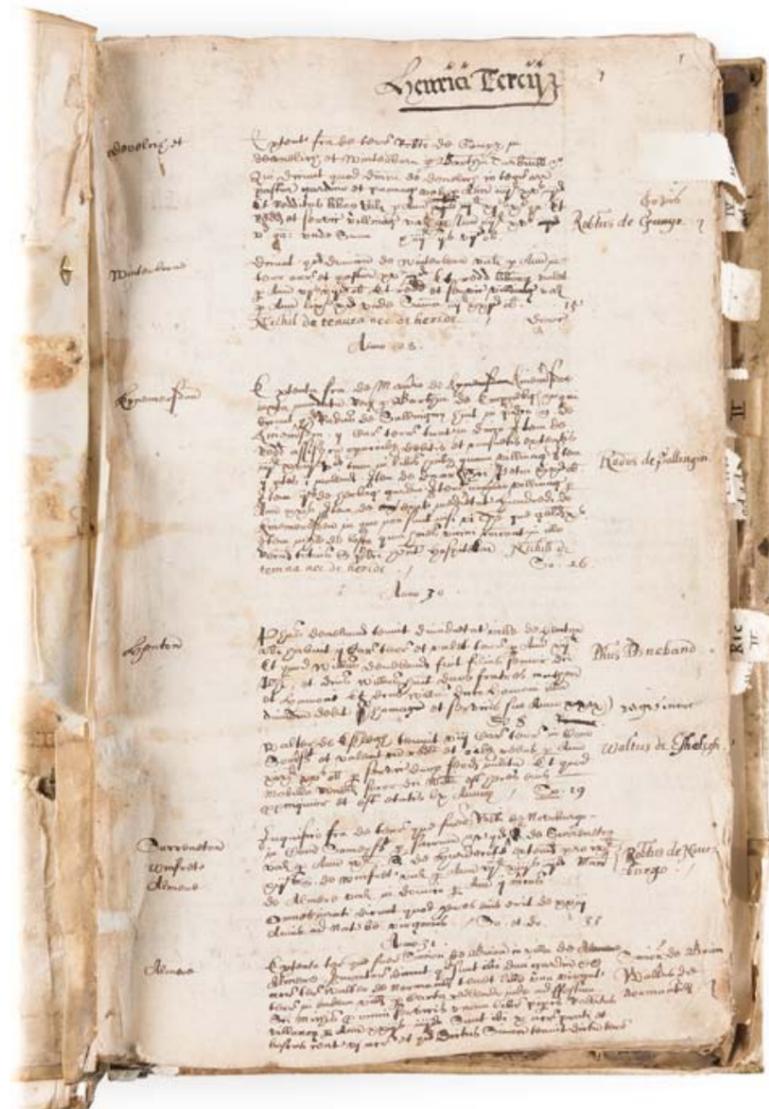
In addition to the “Epithasis” note by Hand B on p. XXXV, which suggests that it was being read with an emphasis on the theatricality of the story, it is noticeable that some of the passages of dialogue have been marked with quotation marks in the margin by both hands (*e.g.* by Hand B on p. XXIX with the note “Verba Amiraliij” [Words of the Admiral] and Hand A on p. XLVIII with the note “Pillesij fortissimi viri exitus” [the death of the most valiant man De Pilles]).

Finally, it is noticeable that all the passages selected by Kocher for particular comparison with Marlowe’s play have been marked or annotated by one or (usually) both of our annotators.

We can conclude that the two annotators were firmly Protestant but they were not French Huguenots. There is otherwise nothing to distinguish their nationality and although the mid-17th-Century binding is probably English the few references in the text to England and Queen Elizabeth are unmarked.

What one can say is that they have annotated the book much as Marlowe would surely have done himself.

Later Provenance: Early ink initial “A” in the outer top corner of the title-page and “A 130331a” in the top outer corner of the front flyleaf (possibly once bound with other items). 19th-Century pencil inventory or lot number “20097” at the head of the title and a neat pencil note referring to Brunet on the final blank page. Anonymous sale, Sotheby (Hodgson’s), 25/7/1974, lot 223, £65 to Francis Edwards (with their pencil collation note signed “A.S.G.” on the front pastedown). **William Stirling Maxwell** (1922-?), of Chicago, with his unsigned pencil provenance note on the rear flyleaf; sale, Doyle, New York, 23/4/2012, lot 261.



AN UNREDEEMED LOAN FROM THE RICHARD RAWLINSON COLLECTION

53 INQUISITIONS POST MORTEM FOR SOMERSET & DORSET. Abstracts of Inquisitions *post mortem* for the Counties of Somerset and Dorset from 20 Henry III to the end of Richard III (1235-1485)

“Inquisitiones post mortem &ca in Com: Somerset. Et Dorset. In Turri London.” (18th-century manuscript title on the front flyleaf)

[London: c. 1620-30]

£9,500

Manuscript on paper, written in a secretary hand. Folio. [Binding size: 336 x 212mm]. 224 leaves. The main text in a central column with the names of parishes, desmesnes and manors in the inner margin and of the deceased landholders in the outer margin. Bunch of grapes watermark. Early ink foliation 1, 3, 5, 6-224 (no gaps in the text) and slightly later pagination 1-447, [1]; 2 blank leaves after f. 90 are included in the pagination but not the foliation. Complete, except that the scribe has accidentally omitted at f. 224v/

p. 438 two inquests at the end of 18 Edward IV and the whole of 19 Edward IV comprising nine inquests. Contemporary limp vellum covers, bound into a mid-18th century binding of vellum over pasteboards (the covers stained), the spine lettered in manuscript as above (the joints and spine neatly repaired by Stuart Brockman). A later owner (John Batten) has added paper tabs to the fore-margins marking the start of each reign. Preserved in a new cloth box.

Apart from the eleven accidentally omitted inquests (see *NOTES 1*) there are a very few duplicated entries which have been struck-through (e.g. ff. 5r & 39v) which suggest that the manuscript has been copied from another abstract rather than the original documents themselves as had been suggested by John A. C. Vincent (see below). There are also a few corrections / insertions that may be the result of eye-skip by the original scribe, but these have not been checked.

“Inquisitions *post mortem* (IPMs) were the product of sworn inquiries by local jurors into the landholdings after death of feudal tenants. Initiated by the crown, they survived from 1235-6 until 1660, when feudal tenures were abolished. ... When inquisitions were first devised, knight service was still a military reality, but it had become obsolete long before 1400. Nevertheless landholding remained feudal. Feudal tenure was still an important medium of authority for the crown over the landed aristocracy and of revenue both to the king and, less certainly, to the mesne lords. Inquisitions therefore continued to be held and many thousands of IPMs were composed by local jurors and were returned to chancery. These are now filed in the National Archives, ... and many of them have been calendared in twenty-nine massive volumes covering the years from 1236 to 1447 and from 1485 to 1509. The volumes for 1422-47 most recently published are the most complete and to the highest academic standards. ...

“Inquisitions *post mortem* were first valued by antiquarians for the information that they provided on landholding, the aristocracy and their genealogies, and the inheritance of manors. Those interests determined the form of the four summary volumes published by the Record Commission in 1828 and the sequence of calendars that commenced in 1899. Had IPMs confined themselves to tenants-in-chief they would have been valuable, but actually they covered much other landholding held of lesser lords both by tenants-in-chief and also by many others. Such information is the essential foundation for the manorial descents that are the core of every parish history published by the *Victoria County Histories*. It has underpinned the postwar studies, inspired by K. B. McFarlane, of late medieval politics, the nobility and gentry, and county communities. Yet the information supplied by the juries to the crown extended further, into the nature of the tenure and the services due, into the value of the property and any incumbrances, and into details of its extent, composition, structures and other assets that were itemised in the extents that accompany (very approximately) a third of the inquisitions. The extents are the largest collection of medieval land surveys. Such details did not interest Victorians – economic history had scarcely been invented – and were therefore not calendared, but they are now much more highly appreciated. Inquisitions are ‘the single best source for reconstructing both the institutional and

economic geography of the country’, wrote Professor Campbell. ...” – Michael Hicks, “What were Inquisitions *Post Mortem*?”, in Michael Hicks, ed., *The Fifteenth-Century Inquisitions Post Mortem a Companion* (Boydell, 2012), pp. 1-2.

There is still no Calendar for 1447-85 (only the name, title and county index in the National Archives) and only the most recent Calendars for 1422-47 have been compiled to the satisfaction of modern historians, while the extents and valuations of demesnes are now calendared from 1399-1447 and 1485-1509.

Inquisitions *post mortem* were held in all the English counties and the Welsh Marches of Gloucester, Hereford and Shropshire. Those for the Palatine Counties of Cheshire, Durham and Lancaster and the Duchy of Lancaster were maintained in their own archives while the remainder were held from the Middle Ages in the Tower of London until the mid-19th century, following the establishment of the Public Record Office in 1838. They are all now in the National Archives at Kew.

The abstracts in the present manuscript are generally more extensive than those printed in all but the most recent Calendars covering the years 1422-47. For example, the first abstract, for the estate of Robert de Gouyz *alias* de Guuyz in Dorset, dated 28 June 20 Henry III, is abstracted in two paragraphs of seven and five lines here but it is reduced to four lines in the 1904 Calendar (p. 2, no. 7). The last abstract for Henry III, for the estate of Ralph de Stopham in Dorset dated 16 October 55 Henry III, is abstracted in two paragraphs of five and seven lines here but it is also reduced to four lines in the 1904 Calendar (p. 258, no. 780). The abstracts in the present manuscript do not include the writs of *diem clausum extremum* (“he has closed his last day”) which ordered the escheator for the county to hold an inquisition into the estate of the deceased nor do they include the names of the escheators and jurors themselves.

The present manuscript is very closely related to British Library MS Harley 4120. That manuscript, “formerly belonged to Christopher Rawlinson and was purchased by Lord Oxford at his sale in 1734. It comprehended abstracts of nearly all the Inq. p. m. for Somerset and Dorset from the reign of Hen. III. to that of Ric. III. both inclusive, in a hand of the 17th century.” Frederic Madden (1801-73), then assistant keeper in the department of manuscripts at the British Museum, transcribed the entries for the reign of Henry III, “as a specimen of the manner in which the Calendar of Inqq. p. m. published by the Record Commission ought to have been executed”, in *Collectanea Topographica & Genealogica*, Vol. II (1835), pp. 48-56 & 168-174. Madden’s transcript of Henry III, to which only a very few minor additions from the original manuscripts were added in square brackets, show how close the two manuscripts are and this was confirmed by John A. C. Vincent who examined the present manuscript in 1895 (see below). Madden also clearly

felt that the early 17th-century abstracts in Harley 4120 and, hence, also in Phillipps 10535, were a model of their kind.

At the time of the Sir Thomas Phillipps auction at Sotheby's on 22/3/1895, where the present manuscript was lot 1047, it was examined for the prospective purchaser John Batten by the antiquary and genealogist John A. C. Vincent (d. 1905) who compared the contents with MS Harley 4120. Five letters from Vincent to Batten, written from 61 Lincoln's Inn Fields, are loosely enclosed:

19 March 1895. "This being the first day to view the Phillipps collection, I went to Sotheby's in the forenoon, and carefully examined the MS. 1047. It consists of 229 leaves folio, is written in a good hand of James the First or early Charles the First. The writing very much resembles that of Augustin Vincent; but, on comparing some notes made of certain capital letters, with a MS. in the Record Office, known to be part of 'Vincent's Collections', I am in doubt. ... Having prepared myself with the actual words of certain original inquisitions and the version of Harl. 4120 (from *Coll. Lop. et Gen.*), I find the agreement between the Phillipps MS & the Harl. very remarkable. [some examples follow] Both Phillipps & Harl. abridge in the same words. The only conclusion to come to, is that one MS. must be a copy of the other. Yet – with my present information – Phillipps seems to be copied from the originals. ... All these coincidences point to the fact that one Ms. must be copied from the other. At present I believe that the Phillipps MS. to have been written from the documents themselves. I shall examine Harl. 4120 tomorrow (Wed):".

20 March 1895. "I have today (Wed.) carefully examined Harl. 4120, and I am still of opinion that the Phillipps MS. was copied by the writer of the former. The hand of the two MSS. is not the same, although most evidently of the same period – I shd say, before 1625. The Harl. MS. is very neat and clean, and from that fact alone wd seem to be a fair copy, if not of another MS., of notes made. I shd put a higher valuation on the Phillipps MS. for it is – where I had the opportunity to examine – closer to the original inquisition. Here is an illustration: [an example follows] The Harl. MS. 4120 has 224 leaves, and the Phillipps 229 leaves. The difference may be accounted for by a more neat & careful copy being possible, the writer being able to improve upon the exemplar before him."

21 March: "In answer to your letter, I may say that I have no doubt that 1047 contains the Inq. Ad q.d. [Inquisitions *ad quod dampnum*], for I particularly noticed them. ..."

23 March: "It is of course impossible to do more than conjecture the value of MS. 1047. A thing is worth what it will fetch under the hammer. I shd put the value at Twenty pounds, and, if bought at that price, the MS. wd sell again for the same money. ... coming

on the last day buyers will have already expended as much as they care to layout; and the Trade will buy only in the hope of recouping themselves at a profit. A man like Quaritch, for instance, may give £20, and put the MS. in his Catalogue at £30, finding a customer somehow. ..."

8 January 1896: "Your letter touching the missing Inquisitions reached me during the Christmas holidays. I have taken the earliest opportunity I could find of copying what you indicated in your letter from Harl. 4120, and I now enclose the transcript. Five leaves of Foolscap. The charge is twelve shillings to which if you will add ten shillings for the Abstract from the Memoranda Roll concerning Isabella Walshe, the whole amount is twenty-two shillings. ..."

There are also two letters from Emanuel Green, F.S.A., who acted for Batten at the auction, written from the Devonshire Club:

23 March 1895: "... I cannot put a price on this MS as even the auctioneer is puzzled – and works so slowly that the day is not over until six o'clock. It may go for £5 or perhaps £15. Some things – good ones – seem being bought for Paris – and others go to the Museum, but who forces the often almost valueless I cannot trace."

26 March 1895: "I attended today and succeeded. The bidding as in nearly every case was slow at first and I thought I shd come in low – but after others had done just under £10 – Quaritch jumped in and so we fought until he gave way and I secured you the book at £13. – Fortunately Quaritch had sent only a clerk and so he probably had a limit – had the old man been present he wd have gone on. Also the Brit. Mus. was of course out of it. ..."

Provenance: 1: The limp vellum covers of the original binding have an early list of the reigns included on the front cover and a number of neat index references in ink on the back. **2:** Carefully rebound, preserving the original covers, for **Dr. Richard Rawlinson** (1690–1755), topographer and bishop of the Nonjuring Church of England (see *ODNB*), with his "bookplate" of an engraving of the Oxford University seal attached to his doctoral diploma on the front pastedown and ink note "Dr Rawlinsons: Book" on the front cover; Rawlinson's extensive manuscript collection was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. However this volume was not included as, on 9 February 1753, he had lent it (having taken as collateral a Receipt Book for payments made by William Jephson out of secret-service money of William III that is now Bodley MS Rawlinson A.306); [see *NOTES 2*] to: **3: Thomas Carew** (1702–66), of Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire, Camerton, Crowcombe Court, Clotworthy and Stoadley, Somerset, M.P. for Minehead 1739–47 ("a crazy zealot, who believed himself possessed by the devil, till he was cured by his apothecary's assuring him he had met the devil upon the

stairs coming from him" – Horace Walpole). Carew shared strong Jacobite principles with Rawlinson and it is said he was collecting books and manuscripts for a projected history of Bath. By descent to **George-Henry Warrington Carew, formerly Warrington** (d. 1842), of Pentre Pant, Oswestry, Shropshire. He married, in 1794, Mary Carew, eldest daughter of John Carew, of East Antony, Cornwall, and heiress to Carew Castle and Crowcombe Court which she inherited in 1811 when he took the additional name of Carew. Thomas Carew's collection of c. 200 manuscripts was discovered at Crowcombe in the mid-19th-century and was the subject of a Historic Manuscripts Commission Report in 1874. The National Archives website notes that "several were connected with Robert Cotton or Henry Elsynge. Many related to parliaments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Most were sold at Sotheby's in 1903. The present volume, and one other, however, was given by George-Henry Warrington Carew in 1835 to **4: Sir Thomas Phillipps**, 1st Baronet (1792–1872), of Middle Hill, with his pencil note on the flyleaf "Liber Thomae Phillipps de Middle Hill, Bart. Ex dono Georgii Carewe, Arm. de Crowcombe, Co.



Somers. 1835" and later inventory number "Phillipps MS 10535" on the front pastedown and printed number on a paper slip "10535" at the foot of the spine, and tiny ink initials on the rear flyleaf of Thomas Fitzroy Fenwick dated 1894 on the rear flyleaf; Phillipps sale Sotheby, 22/3/1895, lot 1047 (ink lot number on a circular paper slip on the spine), £13 to Emanuel Green for: **5: John Batten**, F.S.A. (1815–1900), of Aldon House, Yeovil, solicitor and Town Clerk of Yeovil, with his pencil purchase note on the front flyleaf. As well

as stitching-in the 5-leaf transcript of the missing inquests after f. 224, Batten has inserted at the front a 15-leaf transcript by Vincent of "Abstracts of Records and other Evidences. The manner or parish in Alphabet, the mens names in A table" also copied from Harley MS 4120; these are attached to the limp vellum front cover of the original binding with two rivets. By descent in the Batten family, of Church Farm, Ryme Intrinseca, Dorset; sale, Duke's, Dorchester, 30/9/2015, lot 197.

As a unit this volume makes a fascinating example of the enduring importance of these early antiquarian manuscripts right until the end of the Victorian age – and, indeed, as manifestly explained by the most recent editors of the *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, they remain of renewed importance to scholars today.



NOTES: 1: The omitted inquisitions are Year 18: Inquests 49 Isabella wife of William Paulet and & 50 John Anketill. Year 19: Inquests 6 John Higgons, 16 John Turney, 17 Walter Turney, 28 Alicia wife of Michael Seyntlowe, 34 John Cole, 35 William Carant, 40 John Berkeley, 47 Katerina Arundell wife of Roger Leukenore, 76 John Mone *alias* Mohun). These have been copied from British Library MS Harley 4120 by John A. C. Vincent on five sheets of ruled paper and have been stitched-in at the correct place.

2: In the *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (1862), Vol. 5, fasc. 1, p. co. 336, Rawlinson MS A.306 is described as: Receipt Book for payments made by William Jephson, esq., out of the secret-service money of William III., ... Attached to a flyleaf at the beginning is the following memorandum: "9 Feb. 1753. Received and borrowed of Dr. Richard Rawlinson an M.S. in folio entitled, Inquisitions post mortem in com. Somerset. in Turri ab. Hen. III. et Dorset ad Ric. III. which I promise to return to the said Dr. Rawlinson on demand. Witness my hand the day and year abovementioned. Tho: C. Gorew [*sic* for Carew]. Witness, Tho. Carte." With this endorsement by Dr. Rawlinson: "This book of receipts to be returned on the return of the mention'd book of Inquisitions, &c." In the printed 1862 Catalogue this was cross-referenced to Rawlinson B.413 but in the 'official annotated copy' (available online) this has been corrected by hand to B.298: "Inquisitions *post mortem* and *ad quod dampnum* within counties of Somerset and Dorset, from about the 27th year of Hen. III. to the end of the reign of Rich. III." The provenance of that manuscript is given as Thomas Jett, (sale 1732, lot 31) and it is noted "This MS. appears to be the one to which reference is made in a memorandum of a loan inserted in MS. A.306." It is now clear, however, that is incorrect and the present manuscript is the one that was lent by Rawlinson to Thomas Carew.



BOUND FOR KING JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND

54 [JAMES VI, KING OF SCOTLAND]. LUCRETIVS CARUS (Titus). De rerum natura, libri VI, a Dio. Lambino Monstroliensis, Litterarum Graecarum in urbe Lutetia doctore Regio, olim locis innumerabilibus ex auctoritate quinque codicum manuscriptorum emendati, ... Accesserunt haec praeterea, Vita Lucretij, eodem Lambino auctore.

Lutetiae [i.e. Paris]: Apud Ioannem Bene-natum [Jean Bienné], 1570

£16,000

Third Lambin edition. 4to. [Binding: 244 x 160 mm]. [44], 627, [130 (last 3pp errata)], [1 (blank)] pp. Title-page foxed and dusty at the outer margins, marginal browning (particularly at the top) and occasional spotting. Bound circa 1580, probably in Edinburgh by John Gibson, in stiff vellum with yapp edges, sewn on six vellum slips, the covers embossed in gilt with the **large arms block of King James VI of Scotland** (a lion rampant within an oval double tressure flory-counter-flory and an outer collar of thistles with an Imperial Crown above [118 x 85 mm], flanked by the gilt initials "I" and "R"

with a gilt "6" above (the gilt on some of the initials rubbed-away); spine with four narrow bands, originally tooled with a single gilt small fleur-de-lis, an early 18th-century dark-red morocco label added in the second panel and the others with added (probably English) gilt tooling in the centre and corners at the same time (the gilt now mostly rubbed off); plain edges; plain wove paper endleaves (early 19th-century) with the inner third of one original preliminary flyleaf only (the vellum a little yellowed and with three short splits in the upper edges of the boards, two pairs of fabric ties missing; top edge of the text-block soiled).

One of a very few surviving armorial bindings for King James VI & I as King of Scotland.

Text: Denys Lambin (1519-1572) was one of the most distinguished French Latinists of the sixteenth century, and indeed of any period, with a fine feeling for language and poetry. Born at Montreuil-sur-Mer of poor parents, he came to Paris to study and there came under the useful protection of Cardinal Francois de Tournon (1489-1562) whom Lambin accompanied to Italy in 1550-1552, and who made it financially possible to lead the life of a scholar. He was part of the circle of Ronsard and the other members of the Pléiade; indeed, he printed in the second (1567) edition of his important edition of Horace, a Latin translation by Dorat of part of Ronsard's *La Franciade*.

Lambin's edition of Lucretius first appeared at Paris in 1563, and it was this edition that famously Montaigne owned and annotated (now at Cambridge University Library). Of this, Cyril Bailey wrote in the preface to his edition of Lucretius: "a far more important contribution to the text was made by Lambinus, who published an edition in Paris in 1563; not only had he ... the advantage of having the readings of the St Bertin manuscript from St Omer (Q, now Cod. Voss. Lat 94 in Leiden), but his fine Latin scholarship enabled him to make many corrections which still hold their own or have been only reluctantly superseded". In fact, Lambin did not collate that manuscript, which dates from the middle of the IXth century, himself, but used a collation by Turnebus who, with Pierre Galland, had obtained the manuscript from the monks in 1544 (see: D. Butterfield, *The early textual history of Lucretius' De rerum natura*, Cambridge, 2013, particularly appendix V).

"In terms of the history of the text the most significant event was the Lambinus edition of Lucretius, ... Here, in addition to the careful establishment of the text, Lambin adds a detailed commentary and a compendious index, which would have considerably facilitated the use of the *De Rerum Natura*. Unlike Josse Bade, he also faces up directly to the problems posed by the text to sixteenth-century readers. He highlights four unacceptable aspects of Lucretius' philosophy: Lucretius 'attacks the immortality of the soul, he denies divine providence, he does away with all forms of religion, and he assigns the highest good to pleasure'. However, argues Lambin, the poem itself is 'beautiful', 'magnificent', 'adorned, distinguished and embellished with all the merits of genius', and he feels that the reader is perfectly capable of rejecting the more extreme and absurd ideas of Epicurus, while accepting those which conform with Christian views." - Philip Ford, "Lucretius in early modern France", in Stuart Gillespie & Philip Hardie, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius* (2007), pp. 228-9.

There was a second revised edition of 1565, and this third edition is further revised, with a new six-page address to the reader and incorporating the odd item from the Plantin edition of 1566 edited by Obertus Giphanius (Hubert van Giffen), a person who (in the words of the great 19th-century editor of Lucretius, Hugo Munro) "had no business whatever to edit a poet" (Lucretius, ed. Munro, II, p. 12).

Giphanius had, in Munro's phrase "pillaged" Lambin's readings into his edition "with systematical and unprincipled cunning". Lambin used the 1570 edition to attack Giphanius: "his wrath was as signal as the provocation. ... In a long preface of great power and beauty of style he states his wrongs. There and throughout his

commentary the whole Latin language, rich in that department, is ransacked for terms of scorn and contumely.” (Munro, II, pp. 11–12). The 1570 edition was Lambin’s last word on the subject and “the criticism of Lucretius remained for centuries where it had been left by Lambinus, nay even retrograded.” (Munro, II, p. 14).

This edition circulated widely, and is found in many libraries, although Lucretius’s ideas were hardly accepted by many, and indeed were rejected by persons of a religious cast of mind, the poetry of “that Philosophicall Poet” (Stephen Jerome) or “most notorious Atheist” (La Primaudaye) was admired and widely referenced by English writers in the late 16th / early 17th centuries.

See: *De rerum natura*, edited and translated by H. A. J. Munro (Cambridge, 1864), Vol. II (introduction to the Notes).

Provenance: Bound for King James VI & I as King of Scotland.

An early faint ink initial “R.” at the head of the title could be read as “JR”. No other early marks of ownership or, indeed, of reading.

It is not known what happened to James VI’s library in Scotland when he succeeded to the throne of England in 1603. He was very interested in books throughout his life and already owned some 600 volumes at the age of twelve. As King of England his library reflected not only his State interests but also his private theological interests and he took particular care to acquire all books written against him. As T. A. Birrell wrote in *English Monarchs and their Books* (1987), p. 29: “of all the libraries of the English monarchs, that of James I is perhaps most clearly an essential adjunct to the study of the monarch himself. The wisest fool in Christendom had an indomitable faith in the significance of the printed word: it was part of his wisdom and part of his folly.”

Only a small group of armorial bindings for James as King of Scotland survive and only one passed to the British Museum with the Old Royal Library in the 18th century. Howard Nixon, in *Sixteenth-Century Gold-Tooled Book-Bindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (1971), no. 53, listed the surviving examples to which a few additions have been made.

Eight other bindings with the same arms block and with (or without) the “I6R” initials and all datable to circa 1580 can now be traced:

Pietro Bizari, *Senatus populi Genevensis rerum* (Antwerp, 1579). Vellum with the gilt arms and a pair of small stepped cornerpieces; British Library (Old Royal Library).

G. P. Valieriana Bolzani, *Commentaires hieroglyphiques* (Lyon, 1576). Calf with the gilt arms and cypher and a panel with two different pairs of small cornerpieces; Pierpont Morgan Library.

Cicero, *Opera*, ed. Denys Lambin (1577). Calf with the arms block (no cypher) and an added badge of St Andrew. Parham House, Sussex (ex E. W. Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt).

Albert Krantz, *Rerum Germanicarum historici clariss. Saxonia* (Frankfurt, 1575). Limp vellum, with the gilt arms and cypher; known only from a rubbing in the F. S. Ferguson collection at Bodley.

Guillaume Rondelet, *Libri de piscibus marinis* (Lyon, 1554). Calf with the gilt arms; Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

Simon Schard, *Germanicarum rerum ... chronographi* (Frankfurt, 1566). Limp vellum, with the gilt arms but without the cypher; National Library of Scotland.

Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos* (Antwerp, 1569). Limp vellum, with the gilt arms and cypher; from the libraries of the Earls of Macclesfield, Sotheby, 25/10/2005, lot 1871 and Robert S Pirie, Sotheby, New York, 4/12/2015, lot 970, \$14000 + premium to Quaritch. The covers are much yellowed; now in a private collection.

Xenophon, *Opera* (Basel, 1569). Calf with the arms and an added badge of St Andrew; National Library of Scotland (ex Berthold Wolpe).

More elaborate than the above group of otherwise mostly plain armorial bindings are the three surviving parts (of four) of Servin’s musical setting of George Buchanan’s *Psalms* (Lyon, 1579), dedicated to the King and bound in Geneva (the Bassus and Superior parts are in the British Library and the Tenor part is in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la republique* (Paris, 1577) tooled in gilt with an oval strapwork centrepiece incorporating grotesque masks at top and bottom and a pair of strapwork cornerpieces with a semis of rampant lion tools in the field and the initials “I 6 R S” in the centre and given to the King by his doctor Gilbert Skene is at Harvard. Justus Velsius, *In Tabulam Thebani Cebetis commentariorum libri sex* (Lyon, 1551) bound in vellum with the same blocks as the Bodin with a semis of trefoils and the inscription “REX IACOBVS. 6. SCOTORVM” with a crown in the centre is at the Toldeo Museum of Art. Girolamo Osorio, *De regis institutione et disciplina* (Cologne, 1572) bound in calf with a central oval strapwork ornament and cornerpieces and the inscription “IACOBVS 6 SCOTIAE REX” is at Edinburgh University Library. Another Xenophon, *Opera* (Paris, 1581) in a Parisian “fanfare” binding with a manuscript dedication from the printer (but no arms block) is in the Dutuit Collection in the Petit Palais, Paris. Three (of four) volumes of a folio edition of Cardinal Bellarmine’s *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei* (Ingolstadt, 1601) in elaborate Parisian red morocco “fanfare” bindings with specially-cut arms blocks are divided between the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, the National Library of Scotland and a private collection [ex Maggs Catalogue 1272/12 (1999)]. The autograph manuscript of King James’s *Basilikon Doron* in the British Library (Royal MS 18 B XV) is bound in purple velvet with the royal arms, “IR” initials

and clasps in solid gold (the arms survive on the rear cover only). A Scots translation of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, known as the Stewart of Balynneis Manuscript (National Library of Scotland MS 19.2.6) has James’s initials and an imperial crown on the covers and an early note “King James ye first Brought this Booke with him out of Scotland”.

The simple vellum binding of our Lucretius, with its finely-cut arms block and plain spine except for the small fleur-de-lis tool in each panel (also found on the former Macclesfield – Pirie Sextus Empiricus), was probably by the royal binder John Gibson, of Edinburgh.

The late John Morris, Assistant Keeper at the National Library of Scotland wrote on 1 May 1996 to the present cataloguer, in connection with the volume of Bellarmine listed above, that:

“I have no doubt that the bindings with the large arms [such as the present] were the work of the Edinburgh binder John Gibson. He was appointed bookbinder to the King on 29 July 1581 and continued in post until his death on 26 December 1600. An account of his of 1580 for binding books for the King survives and is printed in ‘The Library of Mary Queen of Scots, and of King James the Sixth’ [in *The Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, I, (1840), pp. 17–20]. It is accompanied by a list of the books, none of which has so far been found. There are several other records of payments to Gibson for binding for the King, but as these are entries in the accounts they do not give lists of the books. ...”

Later Provenance: The above list of identifiable surviving volumes from the Scottish library of King James does not add up to much. It is clear that it did not long survive intact and only one volume (the Bizari) passed with the Old Royal Library to the British Museum.

In the same letter by the late John Morris quoted above he added that: “In view of the English provenances of two of this group of books that I have seen, and the annotation in the Stewart of Baldynneis manuscript, I have no doubt that James took his library to England, and was careless as to its fate. He may even have given a part of it away. Several books in his library catalogue are annotated as having been given away. He offered his library to the Bodleian on his visit there, but like so many of his projects it came to nothing. ...”

It can now be said that not only do some of the other volumes (Cicero & Sextus Empiricus) have an English or in the case of this Lucretius (Irish-Welsh) provenance but none has any identifiable Scottish provenance later than King James himself. 1: The Lucretius was probably in England in the early 18th century when the morocco label and gilt tooling was added to the spine. An ink note on the remaining front flyleaf (of which the outer two-thirds has been torn-away) suggests that it was sold at auction at this time. The surviving part reads: “Memd. / James the second’s



[–] / the Roman Priests d[–] / up by the Curiosity [–] / Auctioneer, and be[–] / bought at the Pr[–]”. The Macclesfield – Pirie Sextus Empiricus has a collation note 31 Aug. 1720 (the date of a fixed-price sale held at Daniel Browne’s warehouse in London 2: **John Rogers**, late 18th-century ink signature in the upper fore-corner of the title.

3: **William Gore, later Ormsby-Gore** (1779–1860), M.P., of Woodford, Co. Leitrim, with his armorial bookplate as “William Gore” and Porkington Library case-label. Brogyntyn [or Porkington], Oswestry, Shropshire, was the seat of the Ormsby-Gore family, Barons Harlech. The Brogyntyn estate descended through the heirs of John Owen, Secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, who married by 15 September 1599 Elin Morris, granddaughter through her mother of John Wyn Lacon of Brogyntyn to Mary Jane Ormsby who married William Gore in 1815. Their son, John Ralph Ormsby-Gore, was created Baron Harlech in 1876; by descent to (**William**) **David Ormsby-Gore, 5th Baron Harlech** (1918–85) with his pencil note concerning the binding on the flyleaf signed “H” and an ink note on a sheet of Brogynton notepaper loosely inserted; removed to Glyn Cywarch, Talsarnau, Gwynedd, Wales; by descent to the 7th Baron Harlech, sale, Bonham’s 29/3/2017, part of Lot 214 (the arms mentioned briefly: “with old pencil note suggesting these are of James VI of Scotland”; with 2 editions of Cicero and an edition of Pliny the Younger).

55 JAMES I. ESTABLISHMENT BOOK. A Catalogue of the Nobilitie of England, and a Collection of his Maties Courtes of Record as of his highnes most honourable houshold. The Counsellors of the North of Wales & the Marches, The Islands, His Maties Townes of warre Castles Bulwarkes & fortresses, wth his highnes howses parkes forrestes & chaces composed in Anno. 1619.

[London:] 1619

£2,500

Manuscript on paper, watermark of the Arms of Austria and Burgundy with countermark "WR". Folio. [Text: 315 x 203 mm]. 95pp. (modern pencil pagination). Title-page soiled, marginal dampstaining, bottom part of the last two leaves torn-away with loss to the final line of one column on the recto of the penultimate

leaf. Contemporary limp vellum, covers ruled with a single gilt filet and with a central ornament of four gilt stylised fleur-de-lis tools, plain spine, sewn on four tawed leather slips, ties missing (remains of of pink fabric ties).

The list of the nobility (pp. 3-6) is headed by the Marquess of Winchester and the Marquess of Buckingham (cr. 1618); the lists of Earls, Viscounts and Barons are divided into ancient titles and new titles created by King James. The remainder is an Establishment List divided into the various divisions from the Exchequer to the Kitchens and Stables with the numbers of posts and their fees; only the most senior officers are named.

Widely circulated in manuscript in versions dated 1610 (BL MS Add. 31825), 1616 (BL MS Stowe 575, Society of Antiquaries MS 40, John Rylands Library Eng MS 112 [ex Phillipps MS 150]), 1617 (BL MS Egerton 3371 [ex Leeds Papers]), 1618 (Durham University Library), 1619 (Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre [Pembroke MSS, ex Phillipps MS 12362]), 1626 (BL MSS Add. 14285), 1629 (University of Kassel MS 20. Hist. 39) and 1632 (BL MS Add. 12512).



Provenance: 1: Sir Clement Cottrell, Kt. (1585-1631), courtier, with his signature and motto "fat qui sapit" on the rear pastedown. He was "appointed muster-master of Buckinghamshire in 1616 and groom-porter to James I in 1619 [he is listed on p. 54 of the MS], and was knighted in 1620, all through the Villiers interest: he was 'A creature of the Lord of Buckingham's' (*Letters of John Chamberlain*, 2.275)." (*ODNB*). **2:** Early 19th-century auction lot number "622" on a circular paper label on the front cover. **3: Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bt.** (1792-1872), of Middle Hill, Gloucestershire; Phillipps MS 16641 (remains of printed paper label on the spine). **4: Edward Almack** (1852-1917), bibliographer and collector, with his label. **5: Grenadier Guards**, Regimental Headquarters, with their large bookplate; sold privately in 2015.

56 [JEWISH KALENDAR]. [ABENDANA (Isaac)]. An Almanack for the Year of Christ, 1693. Being the First after Bissextile or Leap-year. To which is Added the Ancient Roman Kalendar. / **The Jewish Kalendar:** containing an Account of their Fasts and Festivals, whether observ'd at present or out of use; with their Sabbaths and Proper Lessons: Beginning at the 4th of the Moon Sebat in the Year 5453 of the Creation, and continuing to the 13th of Tebet 5454 inclusive. To which are Added a Brief Equation of the Jewish Coins, Weights and Measures. As also, An Account of the Schools among the Hebrews, from their Original, to this present time. With a Chronological Summary of several remarkable things relating to the People of the Jews.

Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, [1693]

£4,000

12mo. [Text: 125 x 70 mm]. [86] (double title-page; the calendar leaves interleaved with blank paper), 36 pp. Contemporary calf, covers with a small gilt ornament in the corners; spine with three raised bands, a small gilt flower-head in each panel (covers and

joints very rubbed, head and tail of spine defective and upper joint split at the top and bottom panels; gilt rubbed from the tools on the spine).

Wing A1233 (ESTC lists copies at Cambridge UL, Bodley, Christ Church, Corpus Christi, Queen's & Worcester Colleges Oxford; **Hebrew Union College & Yale** ["Ex dono Authoris"] **only in USA**). OCLC adds Newcastle University [ex Appleby Grammar School, Cumbria] in UK, Frankesche Stiftungen Hauptbibliothek at Halle in Germany and National Library of Israel, Jerusalem [? = the Hebrew Union College copy which is not on their online catalogue].

The brothers Isaac (d. 1699) and Jacob (c. 1630-85) Abendana were born in Spain, taken while young to Hamburg and educated at Leiden. Both came to England in the early 1660s, where Jacob became leader of the Sephardi community in London. From 1663 to 1679 Isaac was in Cambridge, first at Trinity College, then as an employee of the University, and from 1681 he was at Oxford. "From 1689 Isaac served as lecturer in Hebrew at Magdalen College, Oxford, a position he held until his death ten years later. During his Oxford years [he] became known as a resident authority on all matters Jewish and as the chief purveyor of Hebrew books, a situation he consolidated by inventing the Oxford diary, which in his original form included not only information relevant to university men but also a yearly essay on some aspect of Jewish religion and culture. These essays made the almanacs widely sought after even when their immediate practical use had passed, and they were later published in book form." (*ODNB*).

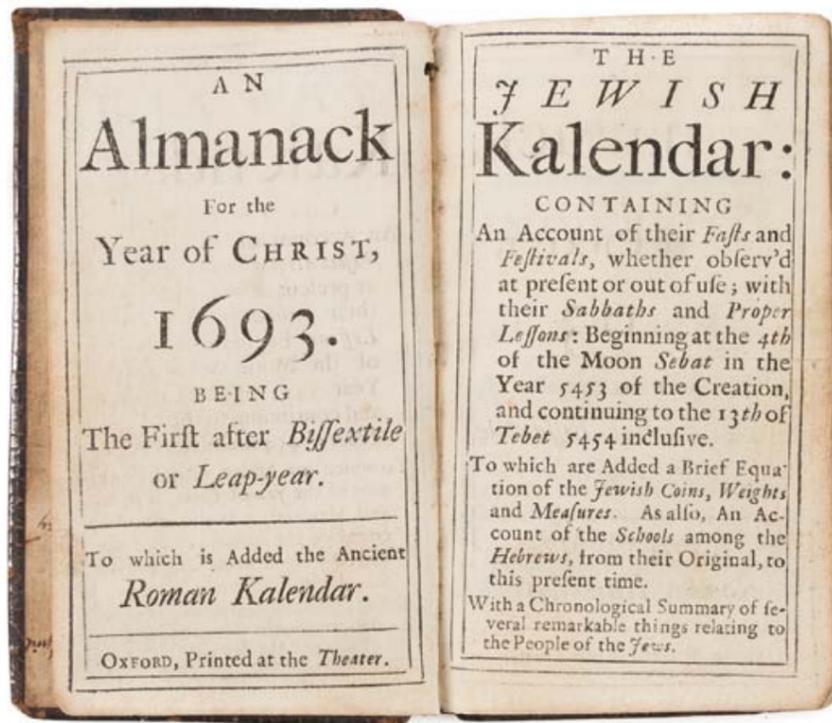
Abendana's *Oxford Almanack*, usually known by its secondary title *The Jewish Kalendar*, was published annually between 1692 and his death in 1699. It was, as his prefatory address "To the Two Most Famous and Celebrated Universities of England" shows, intended primarily for an academic Christian audience - as confirmed by the annotations of an Oxford student in this copy. It probably also circulated amongst the Sephardi community in London (of which his brother Jacob had been leader) and where

the calendar would have been of practical use, but those copies have not survived.

The contents of *The Jewish Kalendar* evolved over its eight-year existence, but each year contained the standard English and Hebrew calendars (and in this edition the Ancient Roman), followed by useful bits of information (here a list of Oxford & Cambridge colleges; Jewish & English coins, weights, and measures; chronological summary of Jewish history from the Creation), and ending with an essay on an aspect of Jewish life or customs. In this issue a 36pp. essay on Jewish schools (a "Discourse of the Origin, Usefulness and Necessity of Schools, together with their first Establishment amongst that Nation, where you have also a Relation given of the Figure they made under their Government, and how they flourished or decayed throughout the successive Periods of their Commonwealth: And, Lastly, how they are managed under their Modern Constitution"). Other years contained an explanation of the Jewish calendar (1692), Jewish Feasts and Fasts (1694), Jewish public liturgy (1695), antiquity and nature of Tithes as established by the Law of Moses (1696), institution of the Jewish priesthood (1697), Jewish Courts of Judicature (1698), and Jewish Fasts (1699).

These essays were reprinted after Abendana's death as *Discourses of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity of the Jews. ... Being more particularly very Useful for Divines of all Perswasions* (London: 1706).

Early Provenance: Owned by an Oxford Student, probably Rev. John Cowper (1672-1718), son of Thomas, of Overlegh, Chester, gentleman; matriculated from Brasenose College on 13 Jan 1688/9, aged 16; B.A. 19 Jan. 1691/2, Fellow 1693/4, M.A. 1694, chaplain to William, Earl of Derby, vicar of Middlewich, Cheshire 1702-18, father of the physician and antiquary William Cowper (1701-67) [for whom see *ODNB*]; brother of Thomas Cowper (?1670-1718),



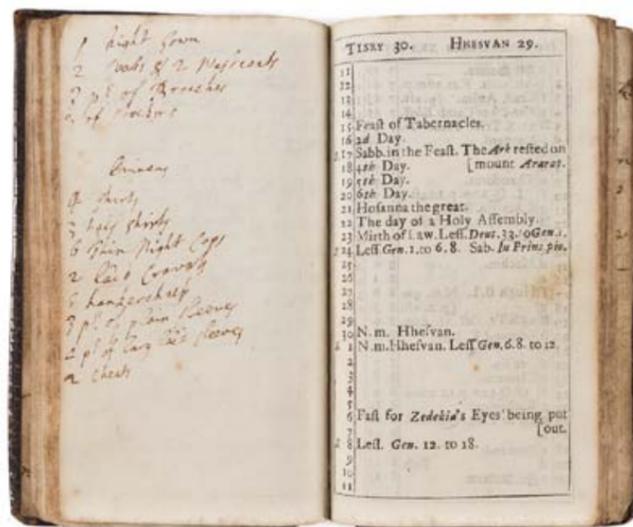
M.P. for Chester Jan. to July 1698 who married Martha, daughter and sole heir of Robert Callis or Callys, of Co. Lincoln.

With a number of annotations on the endleaves and inter-leaves, including lists of fellow students at Brasenose (some are readily identifiable, accounts for drinking with friends and the purchase of clothes, etc; the opening five lines of a ballad “still I’m wishing / still desireing / still shes giving / I requiring / Yet each gift I [think (deleted) (too small)]”; printed as Pepys Ballad 5.232 (Wing C5952D) *The Contented Lovers; or Dioclesions Wish Obtain'd Who for the Love of Fair Drusilla forsook his Royalty. To an Excellent New Play-House Tune. Sung at the Opera* [the prologue to Betterton’s operatic adaption of Beaumont & Fletcher’s *The Prophetess: or the History of Dioclesian* (1690)]; a short poem beginning, “If as Logicians doe believe / Two Negatives make an Affirmative, / Why in ye name of ye Predicaments / & all your Analytick sence, / Should you deny two Affirmations / In their turn to make Negations. [another 14 lines; “A Rationale on Swearing”, Crum 687]. Memoranda include, “remember yor sister for a prayerbook & testament bound with a sealskin & black leaves with epistles & gospels in & without the singing psalms thin & little as can possibly be gott thy sister Martha Cowper” [John Cowper’s sister-in-law Martha Callis who had married his brother on 18 August 1693] and “Memorandum To send Br Mother: Georgs Picture”.

Later Provenance: Later signatures of “Abraham Cottnam 1767”, “Mary R[?ich] her Book” [the only Abraham Cottnam we have discovered was a Trenton, New Jersey attorney and counsellor-at-law

(d. 1775); he had a daughter Martha (d. 1797), wife of Major Robert Hoops, of Belvidere, New Jersey (there is a signature “Martha Cottnam” opposite Err].

Modern Provenance: Rev. Canon Charles Winfred-Douglas (b. Oswego, N.Y. 1867- d. Peekskill, N.Y. 1944), part of his collection of hymnology and church music; held at or bequeathed to Washington National Cathedral, Washington, D.C., with his bookplate; collection dispersed 2011.



57 JONSON (Ben). **The Workes of Benjamin Jonson.**

London: by Richard Bishop, and are to be sold by Andrew Crooke, 1640

SOLD

Second Edition of Vol. 1. Folio. [Text: 284 x 187 mm]. [12 (including portrait & engraved title), 668, 228 pp. Engraved portrait by Robert Vaughan (*Hind, Engraving in England, II, p. 57, state 3 with William Peake’s address removed from the foot; originally published circa 1620*), architectural engraved title by William Hole (*Hind, II, p. 333, state 2 with William Stansby’s address replaced with that of Bishop and Crooke and the date altered from 1616 to 1640 (lower fore-corner of the engraved title torn-away [50mm from the corner] with some loss, closed tear from the lower margin [30 mm long]; closed tear in the inner margin of the portrait. Portrait, engraved title and first leaves of text grubby and with*

some old staining, closed tear repaired at the head of A6 & B1 but not repaired at the head of B2 [40mm long]; closed tear at the foot of B5 50mm long]; burn-hole from a blob of red sealing-wax on C4 (with loss to 2 lines on the recto); small rust-hole in D5; lower fore-corners of Dd5-6 torn-away (no loss); brown stain in the fore-margin of Ll3-Mm1 and in the middle of Mm3-6 (crossing 20 lines); small burn-hole in Eee1 (affecting 1 word on the verso); *The Silent Woman* and the last few pages a little dustier than the rest; a few other short marginal closed tears.

Plain sprinkled calf, c. 1900, ruled in gilt, green endleaves, red edges (joints rubbed).

STC 14753. Second edition of Jonson’s folio *Workes* (1616), comprising nine plays, plus masques, entertainments, and poems.

Offered jointly with Arthur Freeman Rare Books, London.

Provenance: Ink note (17th-century) on the verso of the title describing a coat-of-arms: “Hee useth sable 2 Lyoncells passant or armed Langued gules on a chevron of the second three [...]resses”. MS verses on recto of portrait (see below), suggesting a Continental sojourn during the Interregnum. Engraved title signed at the head ‘W. Powell’, in an eighteenth-century hand (slightly shaved by the binder), probably the Rev. William Powell, D.C.L (d. 1780),

of Nanteos, Aberystwyth; by descent to Col. William Thomas Rowland Powell, M.P. (1815-78), with his armorial bookplate and red letterpress label ‘It is requested that whoever borrows this book will return it to the owner, as soon as finished. W. T. R. Powell’. The Nanteos estate came into the Powell family on the marriage in 1699 of Avenina Le Brun, daughter of the mining engineer Cornelius Le Brun and granddaughter of Col. John Jones, of Nanteos, a Royalist officer in the Civil War, to William Powell, of Llechwedd Dyrys. The last Powell of Nanteos died in 1951 and the Grade I mansion is now a hotel. Anonymous sale, Forum Auctions, 30/3/2017, lot 366.

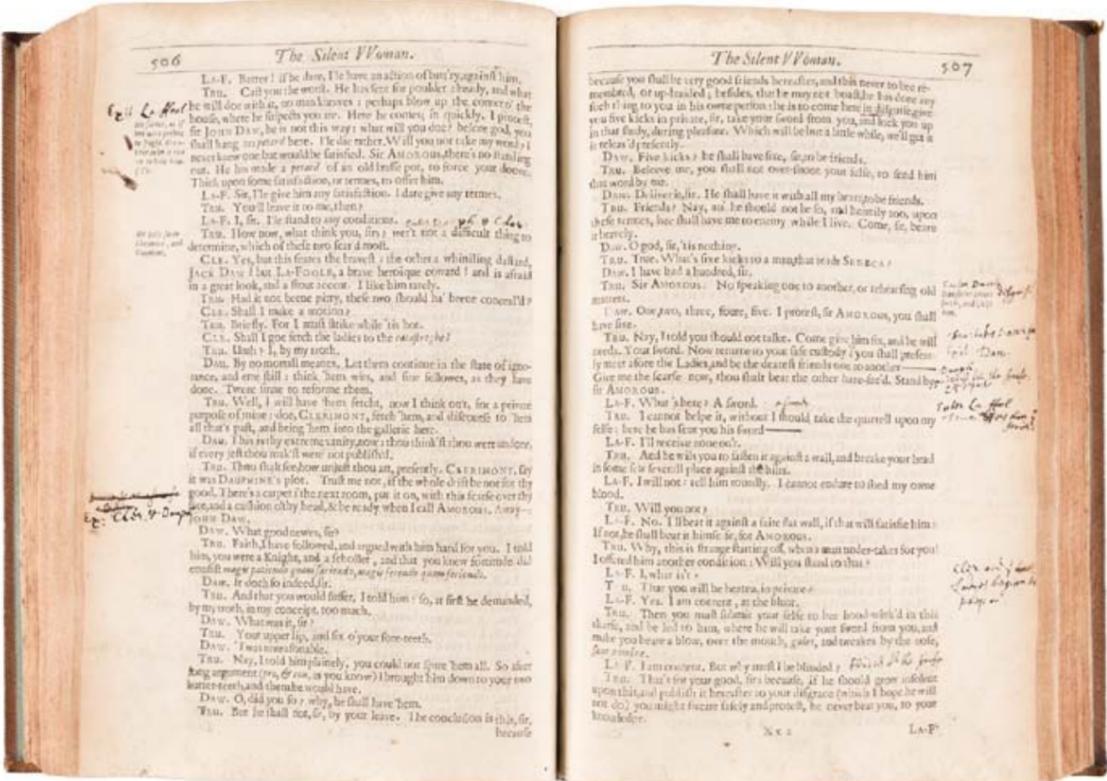


The importance of this newly-discovered copy lies in its extensive near-contemporary annotation to one play, *Epicoene* or *The Silent Woman*, printed with separate title at pp. 457-522, comprising theatrical corrections and additions to the text, as discussed below.

Two seventeenth-century hands in at least two inks are at work, whom we designate ‘A’ and ‘B’, the former responsible for most of the early notes, the later taking over near the end and occasionally correcting early entries by ‘A’. Both hands are distinctly 17th Century semi-secretary - it is just possible that ‘B’ is a later and slightly freer version of ‘A’, but on balance we doubt it - and both rather resemble that of Sir Thomas Killigrew, but after close comparison with examples of the latter in Greg’s *English Literary Autographs* and elsewhere, we (again) cannot firmly urge that identification.

Why *Epicoene*? It may seem odd to us today that the annotator(s) toward a stage revival, at least thirty years after its initial playhouse performance, would choose Jonson’s *Epicoene*,

rather than one of his now more familiar comedies, such as *Volpone*, *The Alchemist*, or *Bartholomew Fair*, or his tragedies *Sejanus* or *Catiline*, but the popularity of the choice in its own day, and throughout the later 17th Century and most of the C18, cannot be overestimated. The play was first performed by the Children of Her Majesty’s Revels in the Winter of 1609/10, but a perceived insulting reference to the amours of Lady Arabella Stuart may have caused its temporary suppression, although it probably was revived during the next quarter-century by the Children of the Queen’s Revels, or the King’s Men. It was performed twice at court in 1636, after Lady Arabella’s own disgrace - its last recorded appearance before the closure of the theatres - and was first printed in Jonson’s *Workes* (1616), followed by a single quarto in 1620, and the present second edition of the *Workes* (1640). Despite its success on the stage after the Restoration *Epicoene* was not printed again until 1709 (two copies of an undated 12mo edition of 102 pages listed on ESTC as ?1680 must be misreported copies of Henry Hills’s ca. 1710 piracy).

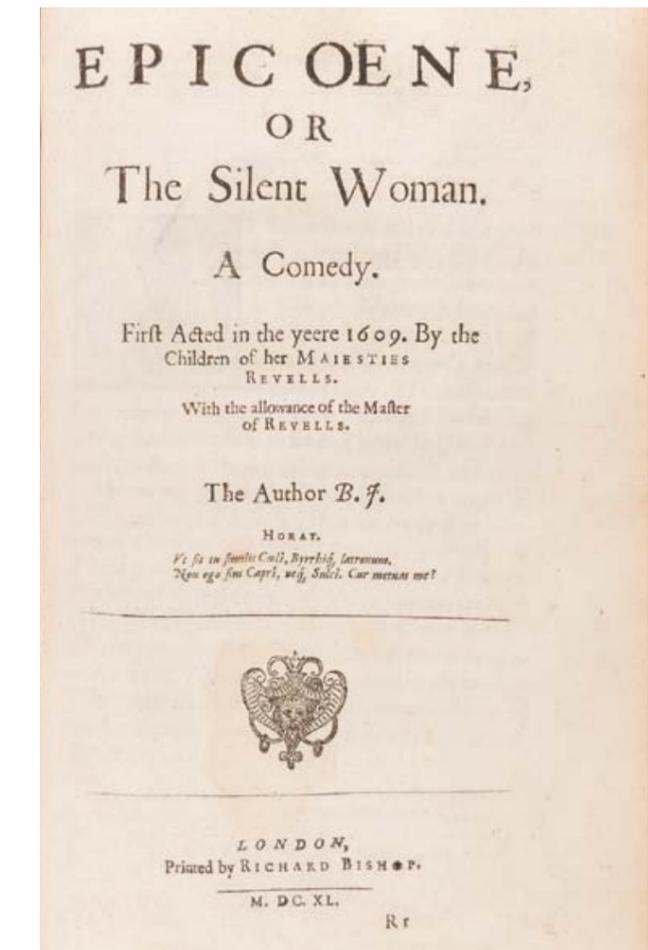


As to its enduring popularity in the Restoration, with the reopening of the public theatres, David Bevington, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson* (Cambridge, 2012), iii:376-77, reminds us that “it was the first play to be acted when the theatres were allowed to reopen in 1660, first by the Red Bull actors in St John’s Street, Clerkenwell, and then, in November and December, by Thomas Killigrew’s new company with whom the Red Bull Actors merged. *Epicene* appeared at court, at the Cockpit at Whitehall, in November that same year. Pepys hailed it as ‘an excellent play’ when he saw it on 7 January 1661 with Edward Kynaston, the boy actor, in the role of Epicoene. Pepys saw the play several times, venturing the opinion on 16 April 1667 that ‘There is more wit in it than goes to ten new plays’ and again on 19 September 1668 that it was ‘the best comedy, I think, that ever was wrote’. Shadwell the poet, with whom Pepys sat on this latter occasion, was ‘big with admiration of it’. By this time, the part of Epicoene was being played by Mrs Knepp (establishing a tradition of actresses in the role that continued on into the eighteenth century and occasionally into modern times), spoiling the point of the play’s surprising denouement but charming the susceptible Pepys nonetheless.”

Furthermore, Bevington notes, “John Dryden, though conceding that some of *Epicene’s* action appeared crude when judged by the standards of contemporary taste (Epilogue to *The Conquest of Granada*), insisted nonetheless that the play’s ‘intrigue’ or plot was ‘the greatest and most noble of any pure unmixed comedy in any language’ and hence worthy to be imitated as a model for correct dramatic writing according to the French rules (*An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, 1668).”

NOTES on “Theatrical Working Copies” and Playhouse “Prompt-Books” for pre-Restoration English Plays (by Arthur Freeman).

Scholarly attention to the details of contemporary theatrical production and performance of English plays in the age of Shakespeare, and immediately beyond, had a rather late start, historically, partly because of the rarity and widely scattered survival of the physical evidence - although literary echoes of such evidence were and are abundant, owing to traces of annotation from lost playhouse scripts, preserved accidentally in early printed versions of many plays. Our earliest ‘theatrical historians’, concerned with the practical details of such productions, included a few 17th- and 18th-century collectors and literary antiquaries, like the collector James Wright, in his reminiscent *Historia Histriónica* (1699), the prompter John Downes, the mendacious prompter/stage-manager and novelist William Chetwood, and the scholar-critics and editors of (mainly) Shakespeare, Edward Capell, George Steevens, Edmond Malone (who first investigated the placarded summary “plots” and a few heavily-annotated playhouse manuscripts), and the industrious if



unscrupulous John Payne Collier. But they all worked with what they knew, and their interpretations of the selectively-obtained evidence, involving Elizabethan, Jacobean, Caroline, and Restoration theatres, stage-management, and directorial and acting practices, differed widely.

In particular the nature and use of “prompt copies” of early plays, or playbooks and manuscripts associated directly with 16th- and 17th-century staging, attracted scant attention before Collier, Halliwell, and a few specialist editors like Alexander Dyce and William Gifford, and (later) the Shakespeare biographer Sir Sidney Lee, while full modern examination of these texts as a class, and a source for stage history, may be said to begin only with E. K. Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923, scattered entries); with W.J. Lawrence in his essay “Early Prompt-Books and What they Reveal” (*Pre-Restoration Stage Studies* (1927), pp. 373-413), remarking that, “the important subject of prompting and prompt-book making has

been almost wholly neglected”; and with W. W. Greg’s *Dramatic Documents from Elizabethan Playhouses* (1933), with its large-folio supplement of reproductions.

We now appreciate, if only through extrapolation, that virtually every production, professional or amateur, of a stage-play in the “golden age” of English drama, had to have had behind it, at some point, a “control” text, in the hands of a “bookholder” (or “bookkeeper”), responsible for preserving the entire repertory of an acting company, or a residential “prompter”, responsible for summoning the off-stage players (who often doubled or trebled and re-costumed their parts), reminding them of lines forgotten and of other cues to action, and calling on other personnel to supply props, music, or special effects, in every individual performance.

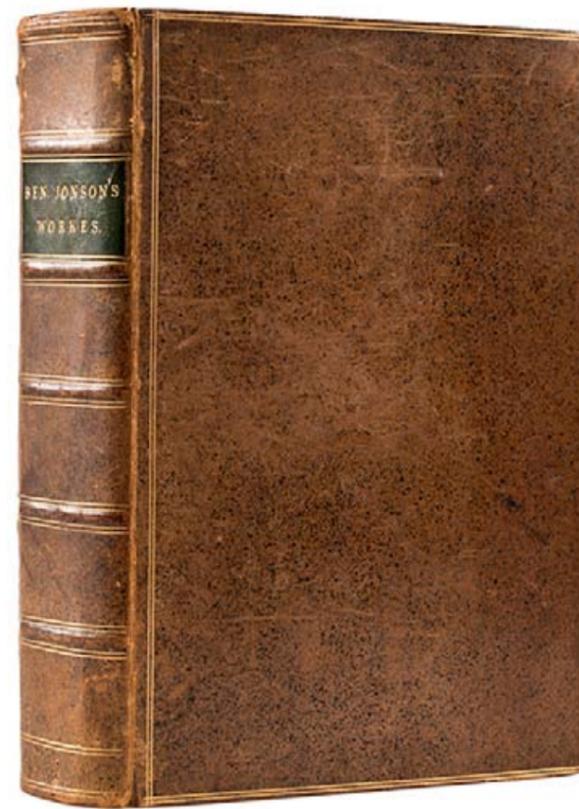
The survival of such “control” texts, clearly superfluous when the play was no longer current or potentially useful - as during the eighteen-year suppression of public theatres during the Interregnum, 1642-60 - was clearly fortuitous, and it is not surprising that examples remain rare. Most if not all texts for an original production would have been in manuscript, either furnished by the author directly, or fair-copied by a scribe like Ralph Crane, who might also have supplied the principal actors with parts or “catchword” scripts of their own. And, as Greg has pointed out, early dramatic MSS often leave one wide margin for the playhouse director/prompter to add just the sort of production details (“anticipatory stage-directions”, etc., as Lawrence calls them, including entrances and exits, fair warning for actors to prepare themselves, onstage business, and instructions for laying out props that will presently be required). More often than not, such annotations would be supplied in more than one hand, as the “book” was re-employed in the playhouse over months or years, and could become so messy that later possessors thought nothing of scribbling further, and inconsequentially, in what blank space remained. And the multiplication of such scrappy, often mindless annotation might eventually deter any discriminating play-collector from cherishing such an exemplar, which may further explain the scarcity of theatrically-employed playbooks extant today.

For only about eighteen “theatrical” or “promptorial” manuscripts of pre-Restoration plays are presently known to survive, all now institutionalized. Sixteen of them were listed by William B. Long in his account of the earliest, Anthony Munday’s comedy of 1590 (“John a Kent and John a Cumber: an Elizabethan Playbook and its Implications”, in *Shakespeare and Dramatic Tradition: Essays in Honour of S. F. Johnson*, ed. W. R. Elton and William B. Long (1989)), and by 1996 he and others had added two more, of ?1590-1600 and ?1630: see Leslie Thomson’s article on *Two Merry Milkmaids*, as cited below, pp. 203-04. These range in date from an estimated ca. 1590 to 1635, and few can claim to be well-known today, though Munday, Fletcher, Dekker, Thomas Heywood and Massinger are among their attributed authors.

Some were more obviously employed during production than others, which merely exhibit details of performance intent. But printed texts of the same period, similarly annotated for theatrical use - and once again varying in their signs of use, from preliminary plans for staging to full promptorial status - are somewhat scarcer, although here Shakespeare makes his appearance for the first time. We may remind ourselves, however, of what is so rarely stressed by theatrical students: virtually all printed playbooks with MS annotations must be associated with *revivals*, not “original” productions of new plays, which invariably were represented by MS texts not yet released to the printing-house and bookshop, but still the players’ own valuable property, probably commissioned by them or their manager/leader, and retained as long as possible, or still desirable, for their exclusive use.

As early as 1862, in a sale-catalogue of the “Reserved and Most Valuable Portion” of Guglielmo Libri’s enormous book and manuscript collections, often of dubious provenance (Sotheby, 25-28/7/1862, lot 702), appeared a copy of the 1630 second quarto of *Othello*, with “an immense number of changed and suppressed passages, run through with a pen ... whole scenes and dramatic personae being cut out”. But these “inconceivable mutilations, &c.” (as the cataloguer reckoned the annotation) were of no real value, historically or aesthetically, having merely been “made in the XVIIth Century, probably for the stage, by ignorant players, who have not even hesitated to substitute their own verses for those of Shakespeare”. It was purchased for only £2 10s. by the Shakespeare Memorial Library of Birmingham, and subsequently described, rather less condescendingly, by J. O. Halliwell, in his *Catalogue of the Shakespeare Memorial Library* (1873), but the book itself perished in a disastrous fire of 1879.

In 1895, however, at the University of Padua, there surfaced an imperfect but hitherto unrecorded First Folio (1623) with the texts of *Macbeth*, *Measure for Measure*, and *A Winter’s Tale* heavily marked-up for apparently early performances. Rediscovered in the 1950s by the late G. Blakemore Evans, these annotations were reproduced by him, in facsimile, in Part 1 of his *Shakespearean Prompt-Books of the Seventeenth Century* (1960-64), and Evans persuasively conjectured their origin to be the private theatricals staged by Sir Edward Dering - who certainly did own a copy of the book - at his great hall at Surrenden, Kent, in the early 1630s, where he also probably staged a “telescoped” version of *I and II Henry IV*, which survives in his hand. Eric Rasmussen and Anthony James West (*The Shakespeare First Folios*, 2012, p. 794) note that this “initial” attribution has been superseded, and that “scholars now believe that the notes actually refer to performance after 1640”, but provide no citation, and Emma Smith’s more recent *Shakespeare’s First Folio: Four Centuries of an Iconic Book* (Oxford, 2016) leaves Evans’s suggestion essentially unchallenged, as do I.



Evans also edited two further texts (*Comedy of Errors*, *Midsummer Night’s Dream*) of another First Folio, now at Edinburgh University. They appear to be associated with intended productions at the Hatton Garden Nursery in 1672; the latter exhibits only cuts, but *Comedy of Errors* is a fully-accomplished prompt-book, with cuts, stage directions, and a reconstructable cast-list. (I leave out here the eleven famous prompt-copies for productions at Dublin’s Smock Alley Theatre by or before 1676, as these were formed from a copy of the post-Commonwealth third Folio (1664); two more, donated to the Birmingham Shakespeare Memorial Library by J. O. Halliwell, were destroyed in the same 1879 fire mentioned above: as Evans remarks, echoing Ben Jonson, “Execrations upon Vulcan!”.) Evans further considered and published a prompt-book of *Twelfth Night*, extracted from a Second Folio (1632), “of unknown provenience [but] almost certainly seventeenth-century”, an incomplete cutting of *Merchant of Venice* from the same edition, “probably seventeenth-century in origin”, and details of three quartos (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1599; *Much Ado*, 1600; and *Merry Wives of Windsor*) “of which the theatrical provenience is doubtful”, and even the deletions marked into the notorious “Perkins” Second Folio, now at Huntington, although these are without doubt 19th-Century forgeries by John Payne Collier.

Most recently, in the early 1980s a single leaf of the First Folio (O05, pp. 255-56), turned up in the odd imperfect stock of

Bernard Quaritch, bearing a few theatrical annotations, and significant cuts, for *Hamlet*, III.i.4 to III.ii.63. including “To be, or not to be” and “Speake the Speech trippingly”. Nothing in it suggested any link with the 1676 “acting” quartos in which the publishers themselves indicated the conventional stage-cuts, by heading the passages usually left out (like the second above) with double inverted commas, and it seemed to relate only to an unspecified production at an uncertain date, but most likely mid-to-late 17th Century. This fragment was offered at Sothebys on 21/7/1985, lot 28, making £3200 [= \$4891], but I have lost track of it since: it has not, I think, been reported or described - beyond my own unpublished catalogue note - in scholarly print.

(1) Lodge (Thomas) & Greene Robert, *A Looking Glasse for London and England* (c. 1605?, STC 16681.5, lacking title-leaf). The unique fourth quarto (of five, 1594-1617), well-known to collectors since the late 18th Century and now at the University of Chicago (ex George Smyth - Heber- Locker - Britwell), and described by Grosart and John Churton Collins (in his *Greene* (1905), i:142), but lost from sight, briefly, and omitted from 1926 STC. the standard account is by C. R. Baskerville, in *Modern Philology*, 1932 (but see also Greg’s further notes in his Malone Society Reprint of *A Looking Glass* (1932), xxviii-xxxii). Baskerville’s assignation of the alterations and prompts to a pre-1606 revival, and to subsequent use by Prince Charles’s Men, remains persuasive. As such, this marked-up quarto might be the earliest known theatrical prompt copy of a pre-Restoration printed play-text, although it must be noted that Greg (p. xxix) estimates only “first half of the seventeenth century”.

(2) Sharpham (Edward), *The Fleire*, (1607, STC 22384, British Library copy at 11773.c.8). The first of four quartos (1607-31), lightly but drastically revised for performance (perhaps abortive), with about one third of the text marked for cutting, several characters eliminated, and speech-headings reassigned; the annotations were dated by John Kerrigan in 1983 as relating to a “later Jacobean or early Caroline” staging, but the evidence is slender indeed, and they could easily be much later. The best account of the quarto is still that by Clifford Leech, in “The Plays of Edward Sharpham”, *Review of English Studies*, 11 (1935), esp. pp. 770-74: Leech expressed doubts as to whether “the cut version [ever] actually achieved performance”, but felt that “it was undoubtedly executed with that object in view”, and that the adapter “exercised his craft without either respect or excessive care, but with every thought for the exigencies of an immediate performance”. Lucy Munro, the most recent student of the text (“Reading Printed Comedy: Edward Sharpham’s *The Fleire*”, in Marta Straznicki, ed., *The Book of the Play* (2006), esp. pp. 39, 50-51, and n. 3), considered the revisions “not ... completely worked out” (“the adapter seems to have had

problems with the play's conclusion"), and thought it "unlikely *The Fleer* was ever acted in this form", but a private or amateur production, warts and all, would not be out of the question.

(3)-(4) Cartwright (William). *The Lady Errant* (1628-43) and *The Ordinary* (1634-35), two pre-closure plays included in Cartwright's 8vo collection of 1651, *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with Other Poems* (1651, Wing C709, Greg III:1027-31). T. W. Baldwin owned a copy before 1940 (now apparently at the University of Illinois) in which these two (A1-F7, ar-f3) are marked up for promptorial use, with cuts and alteration, and (at the end of each text) copies of the performance licenses to the Duke's company, signed by Sir Henry Herbert, that for *The Lady Errant* dated 9 March 1671, and (entirely in Herbert's hand) that for *The Ordinary* dated 15 January 1671. Four scenes of the former are eliminated by the principal annotator, some of the longer speeches truncated, and the more flowery figures of speech "ironed out" (Evans) or modernized; and several dances, including a "solo jig" and a "grand dance" at the end, are introduced. Less alteration was called for in *The Ordinary*, but Herbert himself seems to have blue-pencilled some of the slightly indelicate passages. See G. B. Evans, ed., *The Plays and Poems of William Cartwright* (1961), pp. 85-86 and 260-62, with facsimiles of four pages; and G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, iii:131-32 and 134.

(5) Marmion (Shakerley), *A Fine Companion* (1633, STC 17442, Greg 481). A copy of this first and only quarto in the British Library (82.c.25) is cited by Bentley, iv:744, from Greg's note of 1951 (ii:628), that it "has been elaborately marked and altered for performance in a hand of the seventeenth or eighteenth century". I am unaware of any fuller discussion since then, but a cursory examination of the volume.

(6) Ford (John), *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (1633, STC 11160, Greg 486). Recorded by Bentley (iii:464) from its listing in Rosenbach's catalogue of *English Plays to 1700* (1940, item 204), where "the notes of scenic changes and off-stage noises" are signalled, as suggesting (Bentley) "a Restoration rather than a Caroline performance - perhaps the one Pepys saw" [as "acted the first time" on 9 September 1661 - "a simple play, and ill acted"]. The volume is now in the Robert H. Taylor collection at Princeton (RHT 261), and is briefly discussed by Bentley in his chapter on "Early Plays in English", in R. J. Wickenheiser, ed., *Essays on the Robert H. Taylor Collection* (1977), pp. 158-59. Bentley signals in particular its "anticipatory directions", characteristic - as W. J. Lawrence pointed out fifty years earlier - of many prompt books clearly employed in the theatre, *i.e.* "advance warnings to leading actors to be ready to come on", usually written in a dozen or so lines before entry. Bentley is in some doubt about the date of the performance ("possibly for a Restoration or perhaps

an eighteenth-century revival"), but Taylor himself, I recall, was of no doubt that it fell before 1700.

(7) Shirley (James), *The Sisters* (written before 24 April 1642; first printed in Shirley's *Six New Playes* (1653), Wing S3486, Greg III, 1123-24). The heavily-annotated prompter's text for use by Killigrew's King's Company at the Theatre Royal (where Nell Gwynn played Pulcheria) between 1668 and 1671, which until 1977 belonged to Sion College, London. It was known to Shirley's first editor William Gifford, who transcribed all the MS notes into his own working copy of the book (now at the University of Chicago Library); a selection of them appeared in his posthumous standard edition of Shirley (1833, completed by Alexander Dyce). The text was dated, and the cast and annotator identified from the prompter's notes by Montague Summers, in the *TLS* (24 January 1920, p. 400; but see below), an article reprinted in Summers's *Essays in Petto* (1928), pp. 3-10; see Bentley, v:1149. The volume itself was sold by Sion College at Sotheby's on 13 June 1977 (lot 61, £1800) and is now at Folger (copy 4).

(8) Shirley (James), *The Maid's Revenge* (1639, STC 22450, Greg 562). A battered and somewhat defective prompt-copy of the first quarto, again for use by Killigrew's Company (now united with the Duke's Company, *ca.* 1675), with anticipatory calls for character entries (the entries indicated by hatched oblique lines), names of actors, music cues, and changes of scenery signalled by circles with dots. Sold by Sotheby's in the third portion of STC books in *Bibliotheca Phillipica, New Series, Thirteenth Part* (25-26 November 1974, lot 3172), with a facsimile of two pages, and a long note (virtually duplicated in the 1977 description of the Sion College *Six New Playes*, above), asserting *inter alia* that the annotating hand is the same as in *The Sisters* prompt text, *i.e.* that of the Company prompter Charles Booth - a conjectural identification by Summers, in his account of *The Sisters*, which the subsequent Harvard cataloguer of the present quarto thought "dubious". Purchased in 1974 by Hofmann & Freeman (£2600) for the Houghton Library, Harvard, where it remains, although as far as I can see, it has been overlooked by all recent studies of "theatrical copies".

(9) C. (J.) [= John Cumber?] *The Two Merry Milkmaids* (1620; large fragment (38 of 58 leaves of STC 4281, Greg 365a). Acquired by Bernard Quaritch from the stock of Pickering & Chatto on its closure in 1981. *The Two Merry Milkmaids*, an effectively anonymous but lively comedy, was good enough to be performed at court (1619) and reprinted in 1661, when it was revived at Oxford, and acted in London in 1662 onward: see Bentley, iii:101-04. This fragment passed to the Folger Library in 1982, where it was accessioned (as an anniversary gift from Prof. Toshiyuki Takamiya, who must have funded its purchase) and catalogued

briefly as a prompt-copy "probably for a pre-Restoration staging, but possibly for the 1662-3 revival". It slumbered on the Folger shelves for a decade before being once again "discovered", this time by Leslie Thomson, who described and discussed it fully in "A Quarto 'Marked for Performance': Evidence of What?", in *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 8 (1996), pp. 176-210. Thomson quoted my own (anonymous) opinion that "this is one of the earliest printed quartos of any English play with extensive prompt-annotation, if indeed it is not the very earliest", which I now realize was overambitious through ignorance (see above). She regarded the auspices and date of the intended revival as open ("once printed, the play could have been performed by any company, especially outside London"), although I preferred and prefer the early years of the Restoration, perhaps by Killigrew's company at the revived Red Bull Theatre.



How does our newly-discovered Ben Johnson folio, with its theatrically-annotated *Epicoene*, fit in with the above? The MS markings (about 160, nearly all verbal) are, by comparison with most others, copious, and they cover many of the usual functions we have observed:

(1) Characters, scene-headings, speech-assignment, entries and exits. The 1640 folio printers left out (accidentally?) the name of one non-speaking but visible character from the "Persons of the Play" (p. 460) - that of Mistress Trusty, lady-in-waiting to Lady Haughty - although she is present in the "Persons" of the 1616 folio, the proofs of which Jonson read carefully. Hand A re-supplies it ("Trustie") near the foot of the list. In the main text, he repeatedly sorts out the confusion between Captain Thomas Otter and his shrewish wife, both of whom are identified in speech-headings as "M. Otter", correcting the misassignment of at least one (IV. ii.96), and that between Morose's nephew Dau[phine] Eugenie (DAU) and Epicoene's servant John Daw (DAW), with one similar correction of a mistake at III.iii.95. The speaker of lines I.iv.54-56 is changed, rightly, from Clerimont to LaFoole.

The "on stage" character-headings of many scenes are also altered, Morose's servant Mute being added to the entrants at I.i and II.ii, and Epicoene to III.vi (he/she actually *manet* from III.v). LaFoole is subtracted from the heading of III.vii; Clerimont, Dauphine, Morose, and True-Wit from IV.ii; Epicoene, Haughty, Centaure, and Mavis from IV.iv; Daw and LaFoole from IV.v; True-Wit, Clerimont, and Dauphine from IV.vii; Mavis from V.ii; and Clerimont and Dauphine from V.iii. Many of these deletions are followed up by the entry of the removed character - an astute grasp of dramatic sequence on the part of the annotator - notably visible in the comings and goings of the busy IV.ii. And several

of the scenes are obviously run closely together, so that some of the scene-head participants merely "enter" to those already there. Entries, exits, and the occasional "mane[n]t" are of course very numerous, and constitute highly necessary theatrical directions for a text comparatively naked of such detail.

(2) Although virtually no hint of the acting premises or stage-space employed is implicit in the MS notes, beyond the occasional reference to "the entrance", "a closet", or "door", some blocking or movement of characters is duly specified: a character "runs in", another "withdraws aside", "offers to depart" or "goe out", or "backs toward entrance", and the ladies "look toward the dressing room" or "peep in" from a distance. Other characters point, wait, salute, kiss, don disguises, conceal themselves, take away and give back swords, money, and "a jewel", and seal a document; one "puts off [his] hat", one "raps his fingers", and another "pick[s] his tooth". More specifically, in IV.v-vi True-Wit "takes Dauphin to ye side & speakes this by themselves", "steps to the closett & seems to speak this softly", "feigns this speech as if Sir Am not present", "feigns ye like to Dauph", "seems to unlock ye door", and then "thrusts at ye door", while Dauphine Eugenie "all the while seems whispering to Clerimont". In an earlier lively scene (IV.ii), after a round of drinking Captain Otter (with his "back toward Entrance") traduces his wife, and fails to see that she has joined the company and "strives to fly out at him"; she initially restrains herself, but when she does cannot, "Otter falls down", and she repeatedly "beats him". Some of these MS directions approach what is actually rather rare in such texts, specific acting instructions to individual players, who are told to speak certain lines "softly" (as above), "low", and then "high"; and in the long speech on courtship at IV.i. 67-94, True-wit "must speak [this] leisurly & observe every stop". A very few words are simply altered from Jonson's, or the 1640 text: a superfluous doubled "not" is deleted at IV.ii.96, the injunction "You will dispatch, Knights" is altered to he question "Will you dispatch, Knights?" at V.iv.84, and most significantly, in Morose's misogynistic address to Epicoene (II.v.53), with its unflattering reference to "her, whom I shall choose for my heifer", the offensive term has been emphatically blacked out, and replaced with the neutral "wife" - a reminder of the Restoration attention - like Sir Henry Herbert's - to 'delicacy', in handling the earthier language of earlier playwrights.

(3) Of course, there are stage-managerial notes on small properties, such as the "money" and "jewel" mentioned above, "a fiddle" readied for True-wit in I.i. (who later enters "with a horse"), and "Trunk stuffe" laid out to begin II.i. The swords of would-be combatants are impounded and heaped up aside in IV.v, "a riddle in writeing" is handed about in V.ii, and "wine cupps" are "set on a stoole or table" before the drinking and brawling scene IV.ii. But nothing

is said of larger scenery or scenery changes, which might have been appropriate at times on a Restoration proscenium stage. Music is well indicated, with off-stage “trumpets sounding”, and three characters “enter with musick” in III.vii, while in IV.ii again tipsy Captain Otter summons “trumpett or drum” to awaken the irritated Morose.

But we must also take note of what the annotators do not seem to address, at least at this stage of their work: there are no names of actors or other personnel, no mention of scenery or shifts of it, and above all no cuts (virtually inevitable in any acting text adapting print) indicated, unless the unannotated scenes were meant to be under consideration. And no “anticipatory” or warning summonses of actors, characteristic of working prompters’ playbooks, are to be seen. Hence our text is almost certainly not, by any of the standards above, a “finished” prompt-copy of a play awaiting performance, but rather a preparation-copy, although certainly one anticipating a specific production (or as Leech says of the *Fleire* prompt-book, “undoubtedly executed with that object in view”), and one whose fine points were not already familiar to the intended performers.

Can we hope to assign a firm date, venue, or acting auspices to our version of *Epicoene*? The handwriting of annotators ‘A’ and ‘B’ are both clearly mid-to-later 17th-century, as we have noted, and the matter far too carefully chosen to be a casual projection of a revival; the annotated text must represent the genesis of a real production, which was to incorporate corrective, interpretative, and formally instructive notes throughout. Just where, when, and by whom is not immediately clear, but perhaps further research can pin down the range more precisely: the known stage history of *Epicoene*, as summarized by Herford and Simpson at v:208-23, gives us hints of what to look for. After the (possible, and temporary) suppression of ca. 1610, the play was presented at least twice at the Caroline court, by the King’s Men, on 18 February and 21 April 1636 - still just within the author’s lifetime, probably with John Lowin as Morose and Joseph Taylor as True-Wit (Wright, *Historia Histrionica* (1699), “in my time, before the wars”). It is just possible that another production was designed between the publication of the 1640 folio and the closing of the public theatres in September 1642, or that our text reflects a clandestine, provincial, or private performance during the Interregnum, or one by an English troupe abroad - but clearly with a full cast and no sign of “amateurishness”.

Most likely, however, it looks toward a production in the early Restoration, at London, where some old theatres reopened and others were built in 1660, heralding the return of Charles II from France. It was on stage at the Red Bull Theatre in Clerkenwell before 6 June 1660, when Pepys records the Dukes of York and Gloucester viewing a performance of *Madam Epicoene* “the other day” - the first reference to a named play on the post-Restoration public stage (see above).

Pepys’s wife and their guest Sir Thomas Crew attended another (?) production on 4 December, presumably under the direction of Thomas Killigrew, at the earliest incarnation of “the Theatre Royal” in Vere Street, where it remained a staple for at least seven years. Pepys himself saw it “for the first time” on 7 January 1661, and again on 25 May. He and his wife returned on 1 June 1664 to view a new production on the same stage, “but methought not so well done or so good [a] play as I formerly thought it to be”), but he saw it yet again on 16 April 1667 and 19 September 1668, when it was back in his favour as “the best comedy, I think, that was ever wrote.”

The old Red Bull players, survivors from the Caroline era, merged with Thomas Killigrew’s newly-patented company in mid-1660, and played *Epicoene* at what was once Gibbon’s tennis court in Vere Street, near Clare Market, on 10 November and 4 December of that year, and also at the Cockpit, in Whitehall, on 19 November, before King Charles and General Monck. Killigrew moved his company to Drury Lane in April 1663, and they played *Epicoene* there on May 7 and subsequently, and at the Inner Temple in 1664. Meanwhile, a cast of students performed the play at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1661-62 (Alan Nelson, *Early Cambridge Theatres* (1994), p. 143), and a dozen years later (1673) Killigrew’s Men, in money trouble, took it to Oxford, performing again in a tennis court, because the Sheldonian was never let out to professional actors; John Dryden provided a new Prologue and Epilogue. Killigrew’s company merged with the Kings Men from May 1682 to December 1694, and gave *Epicoene* at court on 15 January 1685. Its 18th Century revivals, up to 1784, were many and well-received, but lie beyond our scope, though we may note that Garrick in 1776 replaced Mrs Siddons in her usual role of Epicoene with a male actor, thus restoring the aberration of casting that Pepys had witnessed (and approved) more than a century before.

Any of these pre-1700 productions may have been anticipated by our annotated version, which must, of course, have been prepared for a fresh revival, with new performers, instead of the bookkeeper’s playhouse copy of one Company’s standard text: further study may suggest which.

Does the volume itself provide any further hints? *Epicoene* is the only play fully marked up, but there is a provocative, if abortive, start - possibly in hand A - on a similar treatment of *The Alchemist*, where in IV.i (p. 566) there are three, and only three, one-word directions: “aside”, “aside”, and “exit”. Unsurprisingly, *The Alchemist* was also a popular revival of the early Restoration (Pepys saw it twice in 1662, performed by the King’s Company), but this is too slight a beginning to make much of. A more intriguing addition, however, is the MS verse (six plus two lines), in a fairly sloppy 17th-Century hand, but nothing like ‘A’ and ‘B’, on the blank recto of the engraved portrait of Jonson at the opening of the volume. Six lines at the head of the page read (approximately):

*Come ffreind for En[gl]and]- Come away my deare [deleted]
lest we beg Gould wth body staying heare
heres nothing to be had, yt we tearme good
Noe Sacke att all, though wee would spend our blood
ffor Mony we have non; yett by hand
We must have Sacke, although we have noe land.*

This is apparently signed with the initials “O / M”, but unclearly. Running along the inner gutter are two further lines on the same privation:

*[?To purtious (?purchase)] but a bowle of yt same nectar
Non can you gett were you as stout as Hector*

These lines may not seem very striking, as poetry, but might they suggest the complaint of a dispossessed royalist self-exile--even a member of a fugitive acting company, shedding ‘blood’ soldiering for a foreign nation--thinking wistfully of a return to England, and something to drink?

To sum up: Pending further research, we can only say:

- (1) **that this is the only known “theatrical” text of Ben Jonson in the entire seventeenth century, and the only copy of any pre-Restoration printed edition of any of his plays, masques, or entertainments marked-up, in contemporary manuscript, toward use in any sort of production, playhouse or otherwise.**
- and
- (2) **that it is entirely “new” to us, that is, hitherto unidentified, or even listed as extant, and hence entirely unstudied or described.**

Its surfacing might easily justify a new edition of *Epicoene*, refocused in part on its post-closure status as one of Jonson’s most popular comedies, undeservedly suppressed (?) in its own day and neglected in ours.

UNRECORDED ISSUE FILLING A GAP IN A COMPLEX PUBLICATION HISTORY

58 JONSON (Ben). Vols. 2-3 of the *Workes* with an unrecorded title-page to Vol. 3.

[Vol. 2:] **The Workes of Benjamin Jonson. The second Volume.** Containing these playes, Viz. 1 Bartholomew Fayre. 2 The Staple of Newes. 3 The Divell is an Asse.

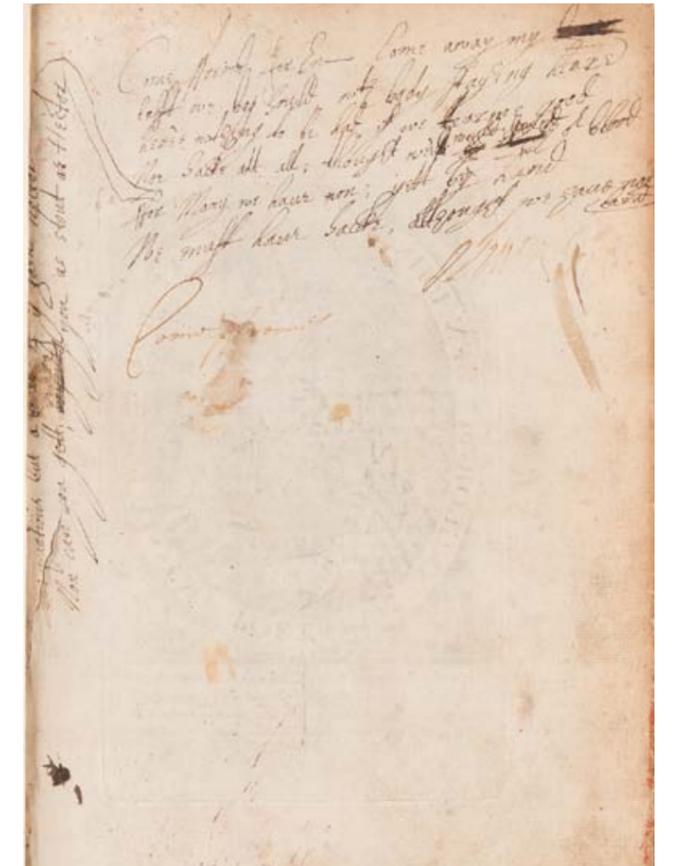
London: for Richard Meighen, 1640. [Part-titles with imprints: London: by I[ohn]. B[eale]. for Robert Allot, 1631.]

[Vol. 3:] **The Mirror of Eloquence and Wealth of Wit. With several Excellent Masques and Poems:** Wherein are also contained these Playes, viz. Mortimers Fall, The Sad Shepheard, The Magnetick Lady, And Tale of a Tub. By Benjamin Jonson.

[by John Dawson for Thomas Walkley] London, Printed in the Year, Mdcxl.

£8,000

First Edition, second issue of Vol. 2; First Edition, unrecorded issue of Vol. 3. Folio. [Text: 278 x 183 mm]. Vol. 2: [12 (general title, title to Bartholomew Fayre, prologue / induction)], 88, [2 (title to The



It may go without saying that any such discovery concerning Ben Jonson, as arguably the second-greatest dramatist of his own Golden Age, will seem more rewarding to modern readers and students than (say) similar treatments of those plays by Lodge and Greene, Sharpham, Cartwright, Marmion, Shirley, and John Cumber listed above. I leave out Ford, for the nonce.

his Fall, dramatis personae / Arguments, the 2 leaves misbound after the text], 132, [2 (title to *The Magnetick Lady*), 3-II, [1 (blank)] pp.

STC 14754 (this issue unrecorded). Pforzheimer 560 (Vols.2-3: Vol. 3, Part III (*Magnetick Lady, Tale of a Tub, Sad Shepherd*) bound after Part IV as often). Walter W. Greg, *English Printed Drama*, III, pp. 1075-82. Vol. 2: State of the title to *Bartholomew Fayre* with horizontal rules; catchword on L_{3v} "PVP"; 2F₂ with the signature corrected. Vol. 3: State of *Mortimer his Fall* with "Left unfinished." at the end; state of *Tale of a Tub* with "The end." at the end. William P. Williams, "Chetwin, Crooke, and the Jonson folios", in *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 30 (1977), pp. 75-95.

As often / usual the first page of *Christmas His Masque* in vol.3 is soiled "as though the folded sheets had lain for some period unprotected in a warehouse" (Pforzheimer - and see the Folger copy on EEBO which is filthy) and there is a glue-stain all along the inner margin where a contemporary strip of paper has been pasted to the recto inner margin as a strengthener. The verso of leaf Z₄ (p. 168 in *Under-Woods*) is also lightly and evenly dust-soiled as though it too had been lying around before binding (this has not been noted before in other copies as far as we know). Vol. 2: Section torn from the fore-margin of B₄ [85 mm. long] with loss to the ruled border; Vol. 23: Closed tear at the head of leaf Q_I; dampstain at the end from p. 88 in *Tale of a Tub*.

Vols. II-III of this collected edition, comprising "The second Volume" edited by Jonson containing *Bartholomew Fayre, The Staple of Newes* and *The Divell is an Asse* (the latter here is the first edition before the reprint dated 1641), all that was completed in his lifetime, and published by Robert Allot in 1631. Here reissued with a new general title-page printed on the original A₁ blank by Richard Meighen in 1640 (but retaining the three 1631 part-titles). It would seem that very few copies were sold between 1631 and the 1640 reissue and that at some point the sheets had been seized by the Stationers' Company during the protracted lawsuits described below. Together with the third volume, in three parts, containing various masques, *Under-Woods, Timber: or Discoveries, The English Grammar, Mortimer his Fall, Horace, his Art of Poetry* and *The Magnetick Lady, Tale of a Tub* and *The Sad Shepherd*, printed by John Dawson for Thomas Walkley though without their names. The eight subtitles are dated 1640 (*Under-Woods, Mortimer his Fall, Horace, English Grammar, Magnetick Lady, Tale of a Tub*) and 1641 (*Timber, The Sad Shepherd*). They were intended to accompany a second edition of Vol. I (first published in 1616) printed for Andrew Crooke in 1640 [not present here].

All bibliographical sources are united in stating that Vol. III was issued without a title-page and always opens with the often / usually-soiled leaf B₁ (caption title for *Christmas*

Contemporary sprinkled calf (functionally rebaked, corners repaired, new endleaves; single original flyleaves preserved at front and back).

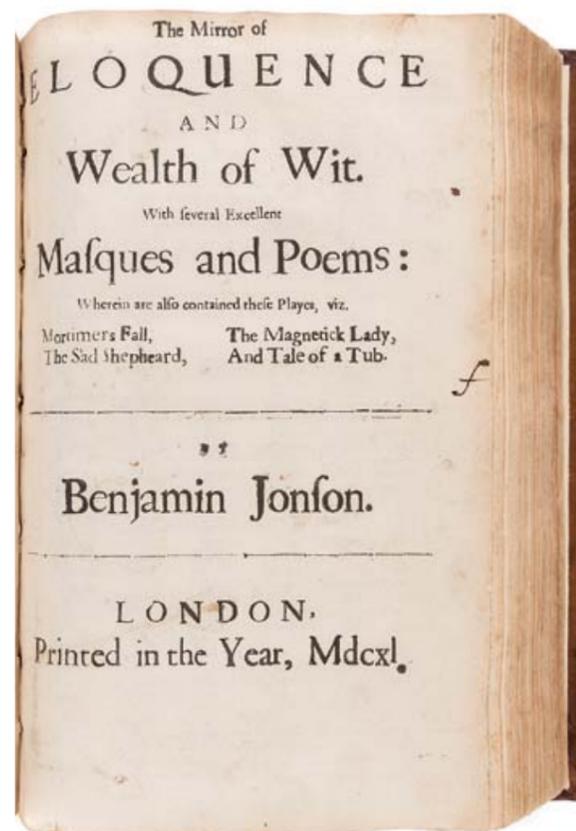
His Masque). However, this copy has a previously unrecorded letterpress title-page dated 1640 printed on a single folio leaf (no watermark):

The Mirror of | ELOQUENCE | AND | Wealth of Wit. | With several Excellent | Masques and Poems: | Wherein are also contained these Playes, viz. | Mortimers Fall, The Sad Shepheard, | The Magnetick Lady, And Tale of a Tub. | ----- | BY Benjamin Jonson. | ----- | LONDON, | Printed in the Year, Mdcxli.

The typesetting is crude and uneven and the word "BY" has punched-through the paper. The paper itself has signs on the verso that it was folded twice horizontally and twice vertically before printing, so it may be a proof or trial. But it is clearly contemporary and, while the leaf is trimmed slightly short [3 mm.] at the fore-edge compared to the preceding and following leaves, the original sewing is still intact and the contiguous stab-holes are visible; it is clearly integral to the volume. There is a single manuscript letter "f" in middle of the fore-margin which may be a bookseller's mark or perhaps even predates the printing. With some assiduous bibliographical work it should be possible to identify the printer by the type which is quite distinctive.

Lengthy lawsuits in the Court of Chancery between Thomas Walkley, who had paid Jonson's literary executor Sir Kenelm Digby £40 for the manuscripts and £200 for printing them, and his rival booksellers Andrew Crooke and John Benson and the Clothworker Philip Chetwin, who had married Robert Allot's widow, over the ownership of the rights to Jonson's various works (described at length by Greg and Williams) explain the complications of these second and third volumes.

As Sir Walter Greg explained: "It appears that before his death in 1637 Jonson entrusted a number of his unprinted works to Sir Kenelm Digby with a view to publication. These papers Digby sold for £40 to Walkley, who caused them to be printed at a cost of two or three hundred: he had no press of his own. He claims that he had had the works duly 'licensed', by which he means that he had obtained an official imprimatur, for he did not register them with the Stationers' Company. Meanwhile John Benson and Andrew Crooke had obtained copies of some of the same works and had duly entered them in the Register. (The implications that they had acted out of malice, having notice of Walkley's intentions, and that they obtained their copies in some underhand fashion, cannot, of course, be substantiated: that the latter were 'false & imperfect' we know to be at least in part untrue.) Crooke does not appear to have made any use of his entrance, but Benson printed Jonson's



'Execration against Vulcan' and 'divers epigrams' in quarto in 1640 and reprinted them together with Horace's 'Art of Poetry' and *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* in duodecimo the same year. Thus, faced with what he regarded as an infringement of his rights, Walkley (his omission to register his copies precluding him from redress in the Court of the Stationers' Company) sought and obtained from 'one of his Mates Secretaries of State' a warrant restraining

AN UNPUBLISHED HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT

59 [KYNASTON / KINNASTON (Sir Francis), 1586/7-1642]. A True Presentation of forepast Parlyaments to the view of Present tyme and Posteritie.

[London: circa 1630]

£3,500

Manuscript on paper (Fleur-de-lis watermark) written in three or four hands. [Text: 310 x 200 mm]. Title & list of contents written

on a blank flyleaf; text written on 109 leaves. Contemporary limp vellum (fore-edge and outer part of the lower edge chewed away).

The first three pages are written in a rather scrappy secretary hand, Chapters 1-2 and the first half of Chapter 3 in an untidy italic hand with numerous errors and corrections, the second half of Chapter 3 is written in a neat italic hand, and Chapters 4-7 are written in a neat secretary hand. The text has been carefully read by a later 17th-century reader (probably Fabian Philipps) who has made a number of corrections in a neat law-hand.

Francis Kynaston or Kinnaston was knighted in 1618, was M.P. for Shropshire in the Parliament of 1621 and was appointed an esquire of the body to Charles I in 1625. In 1635 he established an academy for educating sons of the nobility and gentry at his house in Covent Garden. In the same year he published a Latin translation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* dedicated to the

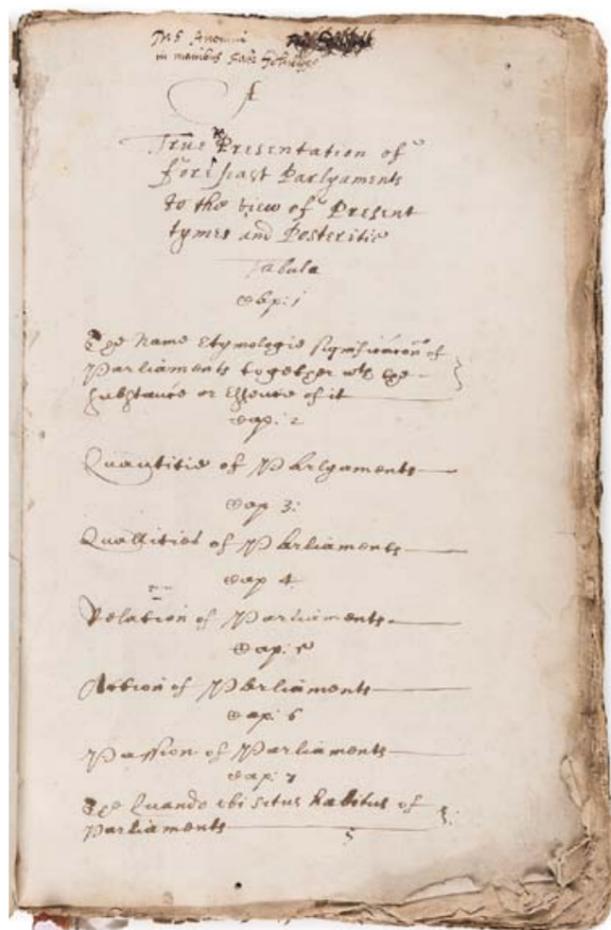
Benson and Crooke from proceeding with their designs. It may have been this 'warrant' that prevented Benson and Crooke from taking action in the Company's Court, which would have been the natural course, and induced them instead to carry their complaint before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall. They were joined by John Parker, a prominent stationer and a friend of Crooke's, who may have been brought in, as Walkley suggests, by a sort of legal fiction. They obtained judgement, without, Walkley alleges, his having any notice of the action, and his stock of the works in question was attached. It was against this award that Walkley appealed to the Court of Chancery. As usual the issue of the suit is not recorded, but no answer has been found, and it is possible that the defendants, rather than face the costs of a doubtful case, consented to release Walkley's stock." (Greg, III, p. 1081).

As Greg noted, Walkley clearly did recover his stock (he suggests it may have been impounded in the Autumn of 1640 and released in the Spring of 1641) as he was a party in a petition to the House of Lords on 28 December 1648 concerning it.

The existence of this unique and newly-discovered copy suggests that at some point during these extended disputes and presumably only briefly, a sufficient number of copies to justify the printing of a special title-page were in the hands of a bookseller who did not wish to be identified.

The 1640 date is likely to be accurate (unlike the deliberately retrospective "1600" and "1608" Shakespeare quartos printed for Thomas Pavier in 1619) as *The Divell is an Asse* is in Vol. 2 is the original 1631 printing rather than the 1641 reprint which was occasioned by a shortage of stock.

Provenance: "Mary Boughton her Book 1701 July ye 16" inscription on the original front flyleaf. Anonymous sale, "Property of a Gentleman", Forum Auctions, 16/11/2016, lot 76.



royal librarian Patrick Young (printed with the original on facing pages). A verse romance, *Leoline and Sydanis* with a sonnet-cycle, *Cynthiades*, “addressed to the honour of his Mistress, under the name of Cynthia” was published in 1642, the year of his death.

“Kynaston was almost certainly responsible for a substantial tract entitled ‘True presentation of forepast parliaments’, probably written in 1629. It survives in at least five manuscript copies and was the subject of extensive notes by Secretary Francis Windebanke, which identify the author as ‘Sir Fr: Ken.’ (TNA: PRO, SP 16/233/51–2). Kynaston was provoked into writing by an anonymous book exalting the antiquity and authority of parliament [*The Priviledges and Practice of Parliament in England*, 1628], and more generally by what he perceived as the exaggerated reverence for the House of Commons and disrespect for kingship by many MPs in the 1620s. True parliaments, he argued, did not exist under the ancient Britons or Saxons, but instead originated in an assembly convoked by Henry I for the purpose of taking oaths of fealty from his subjects after he had usurped the crown. An elected House of Commons emerged still later through an edict of Henry III, proving that medieval kings had the authority to alter parliamentary

procedures and privileges. Parliament’s proper function was to offer the king advice and assistance solely with respect to those issues he and his council laid before it. Although parliaments often helped to draft laws, ultimate legislative authority remained in the king alone. Kynaston strenuously objected to the idea that MPs were mainly responsible to their ‘countries’ rather than the king, which he thought had spread dangerously in recent years. He also criticized counties and boroughs for electing inappropriate representatives in order to please powerful local patrons.” (ODNB).

The text is divided into seven chapters: 1: “The name etymologic signification of Parliaments together with the substance or essence of it”; 2: “Quantitie of Parliaments”; 3: “Qualities of Parliaments”; 4: “Relation of Parliaments”; 5: “Action of Parliaments”; 6: “Passion of Parliaments”; 7: “The Quando ubi situs habitus of Parliaments”.

The work was long attributed to the Welsh judge and legal historian Sir John Doddridge (1555–1628) but the authorship of Kynaston, who describes himself in the opening paragraphs as “not onely the Kings Servant in Court but all so a sarvant to the Comon Welth in my Cuntry in beeing an unworthie Member of of the Honorable house of Commons”, is now established (see Esther Cope, *Politics without Parliaments*, 1987, pp. 27–8).

Kynaston’s style is discursive and chatty – on f. 18 the translator of Chaucer’s *Troilus and Criseyde* into Latin even quotes from *The Merchant’s Tale*: “A full Gret ffoole is Anny Counsaylor / that sarveth any lord of high honour / that dares presume or once thinketh / that his Counsell should pass his lords witt”.

It is surprising to find that it remains unpublished.

We have traced other manuscript copies at the British Library (Lansdowne MS 231/18 & Stowe MS 331), the House of Lords Library, Trinity College Dublin, Folger Shakespeare Library and Harvard Law Library. The Appendix to the *Second Report of the Historic Manuscripts Commission* (1871, p. 3) recorded two copies in the library of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey.

Provenance: 1: Old ink inventory number “No 24” and faint pencil number “(816)” on the front cover and an old ink number “(67)” on the front flyleaf; remains of three paper labels on the spine. 2: **Fabian Philipps** (1601–90), legal / constitutional historian, with his heavily deleted signature “Fab: Philipps” at the head of the title and note in another hand “MS Anonimi in manibus Fabi: Philipps” [the manuscript is not in his hand but a number of neat corrections in a late 17th-century law-hand probably are]. Philipps, with John Moyle received a grant in 1661, with survivorship, of the office of Remembrancer of the Court of the Council in the Marches of Wales. 3: **Thomas Carew** (1702–66), of Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire, Camerton, Crowcombe Court, Clotworthy and Stoadley, Somerset, M.P. for Minchhead 1739–47 (“a crazy zealot,

who believed himself possessed by the devil, till he was cured by his apothecary’s assuring him he had met the devil upon the stairs coming from him” – Horace Walpole). Carew shared strong Jacobite principles with Rawlinson and it is said he was collecting books and manuscripts for a projected history of Bath. By descent to George-Henry Warrington Carew, formerly Warrington (d. 1842), of Pentre Pant, Oswestry, Shropshire. He married, in 1794, Mary Carew, eldest daughter of John Carew, of East Antony, Cornwall, and heiress to Carew Castle and Crowcombe Court which she inherited in 1811 when he took the additional name of Carew. Thomas Carew’s collection of c. 200 manuscripts was discovered at Crowcombe in the mid-19th-century and was the subject of a Historic Manuscripts Commission Report in 1874 (this manuscript is described in *The Fourth Report*, Vol. I (Appendix),

1874, p. 369. The National Archives website notes that “several were connected with Robert Cotton or Henry Elysnge. Many related to parliaments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.” Most were sold at Sotheby’s in 1903. Considering that Thomas Carew was buying manuscripts from the 1740s to his death in 1766 this may have been the manuscript offered between 1757 and 1764 (attributed to Sir John Doddridge, judge, 1555–1628) in various fixed-price catalogues by the bookseller Thomas Osborne for 5 shillings between 1757 and 1764. 4: Messrs. Colbeck, Radford & Co. [i.e. Percy Dobell], manuscript dealers, Catalogue 39 (1934), p. 14. 5: Possibly the manuscript sold anonymously at Sotheby’s 7/12/1959, part of lot 437 [though it had a variant spelling “Presentacion” in the title], £38 to M. Travers. 6: Maggs Bros., with cost code dated December 1965; in reserve stock since then and never catalogued.

UNPUBLISHED FUNERAL ELEGY ON A REGICIDE’S BROTHER

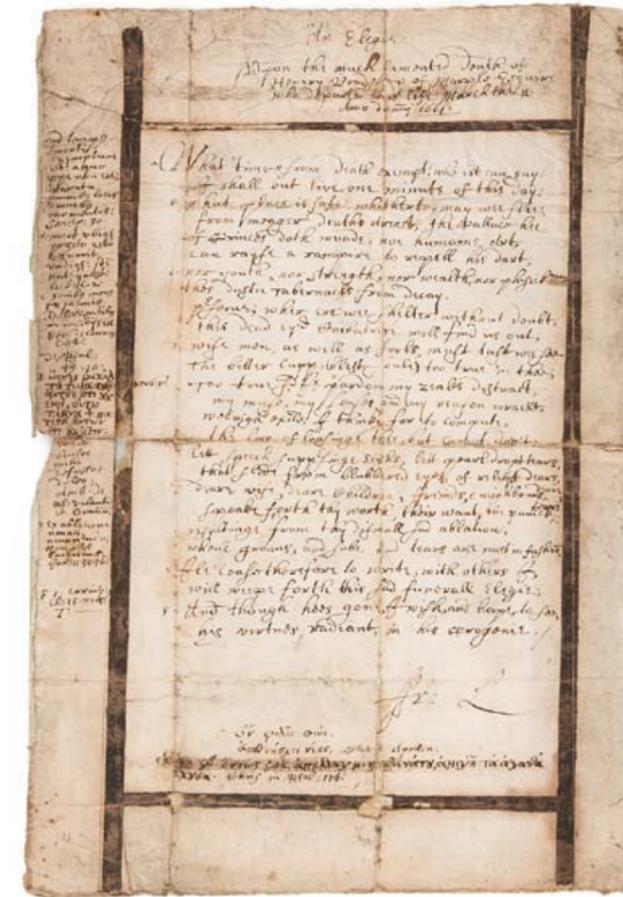
60 L. (Fr.). An Elegie upon the much lamented death of Henry Bradshaw of Marple Esquire who departed this life March the .xx. Anno dom[in]i 1661 [/ 1662].

[?Cheshire] 1662

£1,200

*Manuscript in ink on paper within a black ink frame. Single folio sheet with a large indistinct watermark. [393 x 272 mm]. 26 lines, beginning: “What times from death exempt? who ist can say? | I shall not out live one minute of this day: | ...”; ending: “And though hees gone, I wish, and hope, to see; | his virtues, radiant, in his progenie. ffr. L.” At the foot is the Greek motto “On Philei Theos apothoneskei neos” (He whom God loves dies young – here taken from Plutarch’s *Consolatio ad Apollonium*) and a Greek quote from St Chrysostom on Psalm 114. Rather soiled and tatty, with old folds with numerous short tears and holes along the folds and old repairs including backing to three of the margins.*

Henry Bradshaw (bap. 1601, d. 1662) was the brother of John Bradshaw (1602–59), the lawyer, politician and regicide who was the chief judge at the trial of Charles I and served as Lord President of the Council 1649–51. Henry, “a parliamentary army officer, was baptized on 23 January 1601 in St Mary’s, Stockport. In 1630 he married Mary Wells (bap. 1606, d. 1643), and in 1644 he married his second wife, Anne Bowdon (fl. 1644–1660). On 6 July 1646 he signed a Cheshire petition for the establishment of the presbyterian church. He performed military service for parliament during the civil wars and Commonwealth, commanding in September 1651 the Macclesfield militia at Worcester, where he was wounded. He sat on the court martial which tried and condemned the earl of Derby and other loyalists at Chester in 1652; was charged with this offence at the Restoration; was



imprisoned by order of parliament from 17 July to 14 August 1660; was pardoned on 23 February 1661; and, dying at Marple, was buried at Stockport on 15 March [1662].” (ODNB).

“Fr. L.” remains unidentified for now - the court poet Francis Lenton would have been a good guess but he is presumed to have died c. 1653 (see ODNB) and he had no known Cheshire connections. Whoever he was, he produced a decent poem which does

“THE FIRST WOMAN WRITER ABLE TO TAKE THE WOMAN’S NOVEL AS A GIVEN,
AN ALREADY CONSTITUTED LITERARY ENTITY”

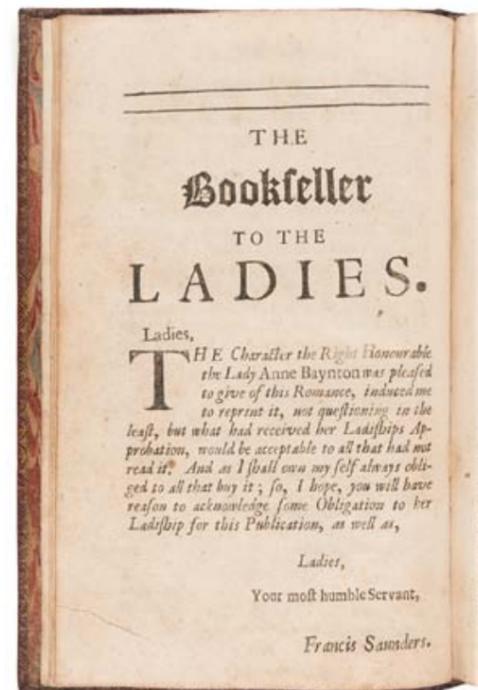
61 LA FAYETTE (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, Madame de). **Zayde. A Spanish History, or, Romance.** Originally Written in French. By Monsieur Segray. Done into English by P. Porter, Esq;. The First Part. [- The Second Part.]

London: for Francis Saunders, 1690

£6,000

“Second Edition Corrected”. 8vo. [8], 136, 129-271, [1 (advertisement)] pp. Text lightly browned. Contemporary red morocco by “Queens’ Binder A” (probably William Nott), the covers elaborately tooled in gilt with a design of four irregular compartments of open strapwork emanating from a central quadrilobe, formed by two-line gouges, the compartments filled with massed gilt volutes,

scrolls, small flower-heads, dots and sequins; spine with six panels, the second and fifth panels with a central strapwork knot and small scroll tools in the corners, the others with strapwork “V” (alternately inverted) with small tools in the spaces; comb-marbled endleaves; gilt edges (binding slightly rubbed at the spine-bands, headcaps and corners).



The *Oxford Companion to French Literature* describes *Zayde, histoire Espagnole*, first published at Paris in 1670-71 and originally, as in the present translation, attributed to Jean-Regnaud de Segrais (1624-1701), as “a collection of loosely connected tales

not appear in the online *Union First-line Index of English Verse*. In the left margin are seven sidenotes keyed to the letters A-F in the text including references to Seneca, St Bernard of Clairvaux, Psalm 49 and St Ambrose.

Provenance: Old Maggs stock; not previously catalogued.

on the model of the *Grand Cyrus* but in a Spanish setting, it is in the main a study of love in its less happy aspects, for instance in the ruin of the happiness of Ximinès and Bélisaire by his morbid incurable jealousy of her former lover, now dead.” More detailed plot-summaries are widely available on the internet in French and English. While the extent of Segrais’ collaboration with Madame de La Fayette (1634-93) is uncertain *Zayde* has now long been credited to her as the principal, if not sole, author.

This second edition of P. Porter’s (his christian name is unknown) translation reprints the dedication of the first edition (1678) to the then-fifteen-year-old Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Grafton (1663-90), the 2nd of 3 illegitimate sons of Charles II and Barbara (Villiers) Palmer, Countess of Castlemaine and *suo jure* Duchess of Cleveland. This is followed by a new address, “The Bookseller to the Ladies” by Francis Saunders: “Ladies, The Character the Right Honourable the Lady Anne Baynton was pleased to give of this Romance, induced m to reprint, not questioning in the least, but what had received her Ladships Approbation, would be acceptable to all that had not read it. And as I shall own my self always obliged to all that buy it; so, I hope, you will have reason to acknowledge some Obligation to her Ladship for this this Publication”.

Lady Anne Baynton (1668-1703) was the the elder of the two daughters of John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester. In 1685 she married Henry Baynton (1664-91), the 15th and last direct male Baynton owner of Bromham, Wiltshire. She was the poet Robert

Gould’s “Adorissa”. She married, 2ndly, the Hon. Francis Greville and was mother of Fulke, 6th Baron Greville of Beauchamp.

Another translation of *Zayde*, by Samuel Croxall the younger ensured its popularity of in English well into the 18th Century when it was included in his *Select Collection of Novels* (6 vols., London, 1722 & 1729 and Dublin 1769-72). Croxall’s translation was also included in *A Collection of Novels, selected and revised by Mrs. Griffith* (3 vols., London, 1777).

For a hundred years, at least, the reputation of *Zayde* amongst English readers held high:

“*Plutarch* assures us, that one of the greatest charms of mans soul is the tissue of a Fable well invented and well related; what success then may not you presume upon from *Zayde*, where the Adventures are so new and touching, and the Narration so juste and so polite.” - Pierre-Daniel Huet, *The History of Romances* (1715), p. III.

“I will not, indeed, presume to say with Voltaire, that among the greatest admirers of antiquity, there is scarce one to be found, who could ever read the *Iliad* with that eagerness and rapture, which a woman feels when she peruses the novel of *Zayde*.” - John Hawkesworth, *The Adventurer*, No. 80 (11 August 1753).

“Madame de la Fayette led the way to novels in the present mode. She was the first who introduced sentiments instead of wonderful adventures, and amiable men instead of bloody heroes. In substituting distresses for prodigies, she made a discovery that persons of taste and feeling are more attached by compassion than wonder.” - Henry Home Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1774), I, p. 107.

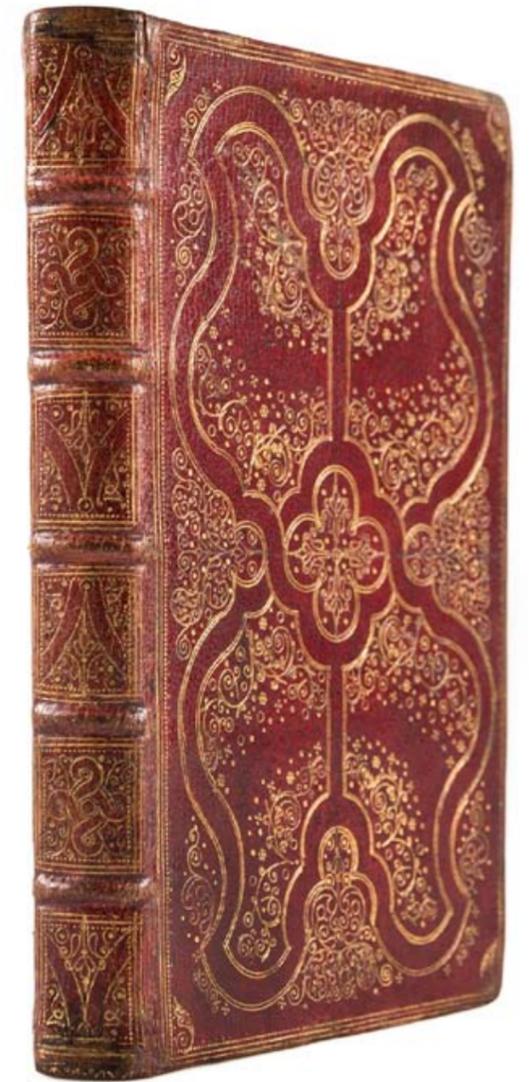
However, after 1780, its English readership moved on to the Gothic and the Romantic and the only modern edition is the new translation by Nicholas D. Paige (Chicago, 2006).

Today, *Zayde* is once more firmly in the canon of feminine literature and its significance as a pioneering work within that canon has been widely recognised in recent years, e.g.

“Yet *Zayde* is not a new old novel. It is rather an extended narrative echo-chamber, a patchwork of devices and plot twists familiar from the fictions of more heroic days. In its very excessiveness, *Zayde* is intentionally implausible, although not in the manner of a parody. *Zayde* is an exploration of the future for women’s fiction at a time when women had lost, first, their official power, and then their independent domains and all but their most private spaces. In the writings that mark the last stages of Scudéry’s career, the collections of conversations published in the 1680s, she explained the redefinition of representation under the absolute monarchy. In *Zayde*, Lafayette prefigures her demonstration by exploring alternative inscriptions of women’s writing. Lafayette’s homage to her precursors is an extended meditation on the interpretation of women’s plots and the value of women’s stories. In *Zayde*, Lafayette transforms the standard devices of *précieuse* fiction - the

conversation, the recital of a life story, the portrait - when she takes them out of the feminocentric setting in which Scudéry showcases them in *Clélie* and illustrates their translation into an androcentric literary universe more closely related to the political context taking shape in Lafayette’s day.

“The lesson of *Zayde*, the crucial shift of focus, reveals Lafayette as the first woman writer able to take the woman’s novel as a given, an already constituted literary entity.” - Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York, 1991), pp. 65-6.



Binding: “The Queens’ Binder” is a pseudonym invented by G.D. Hobson for a workshop that produced bindings for both Catherine of Braganza and for Mary of Modena. Howard Nixon’s research demonstrated that the Queens’ Binder was in fact four separate shops, and that the largest, designated “A” by Nixon, would seem

from an entry in Pepys's diary linked through a binding in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, to be the bindery operated by William Nott.

Nott was, like the royal binder Samuel Mearne, an important figure in the book trade, trading as bookseller, stationer, and publisher, as well as owning a bindery. The quality of the finishing of the bindings by the Queens' Binder A varies considerably, suggesting a large shop employing several finishers. This shop was also by far the most prolific of the Restoration binders. Prior to the Fire of London Nott's shop was in Ivy Lane, at the sign of the White Horse, by St. Paul's Churchyard. The shop would have been destroyed in the Fire of 1665 and the original tools may have been lost. Within a few months the business had reopened in Pall Mall, Westminster. What has not apparently been noted was that from 1666 to 1693 his shop in Pall Mall was at the "sign of the Queens Arms" (except for one imprint of 1688 which gives it "at the King and Queens-Arms"). This might further suggest that his identification as "Queens' Binder A" is correct. One imprint of 1666 further described his location as "in the middle of the Old Pell-Mell near St. James's" and the 1688 imprint mentioned above specified it was at "the turning into St. James's-Square".

Many examples of bindings by the Queens' Binder A have been published, but see particularly H. M. Nixon, *Five Centuries of English Bookbinding*, nos. 40 & 44; Nixon, *English Restoration Bookbindings*, nos. 56-64; and Nixon, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, plates 40-44. The present binding dates from the last few years of his career. The distinctive design of four irregular compartments of open strapwork emanating from a central quadrilobe is closest to that found (on a larger scale) in the central panels of a two folio volumes of Ralph Cudworth's works (*The True Intellectual System*, 1678 & *A Discourse concerning the True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, 1676) in the Henry Davis Gift in the British Library (Mirjam M. Foot, *Henry Davis Gift*, II, no. 119).

Provenance: It is exceptional to find a work of fiction from the 17th Century (or even 18th Century) in such an elaborate binding. It must have been bound (presumably as a present) for someone of significance. An old inscription has been heavily (and with some damage) erased from the front flyleaf (which has been pasted to the verso of the marbled free-endleaf leaving); a second front flyleaf has been removed leaving the remains of a stub; otherwise there are only a few pencil booksellers' notes.

WITH SCHOLARLY ANNOTATIONS QUOTING FROM THE LIBER HORN

62 LAMBARDE (William). *Archaionomia, sive de priscis anglorum legibus libri*, sermone Anglico, vetustate antiquissimo, aliquot abhinc seculis conscripti, atq; nunc demum, magno iurisperitorum, & amantium antiquitatis omnium commodo, e tenebris in lucem vocati. Gulielmo Lambardo interprete. Regum qui has Leges scripserunt nomenclationem, & quid praeterea accesserit, altera monstrabit pagina.

Londini: ex officina Joannis Daij [John Day], 1568

£6,000

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [Text: 192 x 145 mm]. [19], 140, [3] ff. Title within a type-ornament border; 9-line woodcut historiated initial "P" depicting Hercules and a dragon at the head of the dedication; woodcut map of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchies (the names of the kingdoms underlined in red pencil). Title-page slightly dusty and with some fraying in the lower margin where a signature has been erased (see Provenance), following two leaves cut a little short and off-square at the lower margin (but not supplied); margins a little

dusty; closed tear from a paper flaw at the foot of Dd4 just touching the text, dampstaining and a worm-trail in the lower margin from f. 114 to the end. Contemporary calf over pasteboards, the covers tooled in blind with a thick-and-thin line border and panel with a small fleur-de-lis at the outer corners of the panel and a trefoil ornament in the centre and holes near the fore-edge for two pairs of fabric ties, now missing (old reback with headcaps worn; edges of the covers rubbed and the corners worn).

STC 15142.

Annotations and inscriptions indicate that this copy had at least four scholarly early owners, though only one has been identified: the neo-Latin poet and playwright George Buchanan (1506-82). Another owner used it to transcribe passages from the *Liber Horn*, a manuscript then owned by the lawyer, M.P., and legal antiquary Francis Tate (d. 1616) and which is today divided between the Guildhall Archives, BL MS Cotton Claudius D. ii. and Oriel College, Oxford.

Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (1568) is of primary importance in the history of English law. It is also hardly less important in the history of philology and of the English Church as well as for the study of late Tudor and early Stuart political discourse. For the legal historian its significance is self-evident: it was the first publication of the laws of the Anglo-Saxon Kings of England (down to Edward the Confessor), as well as those believed to have been made by William I. Moreover, it presented these laws in Latin translation as well as in Old English (this being, incidentally,



only the second appearance of Old English in print). Any Tudor lawyer who acquired a copy of *Archaionomia* as well as one of the many editions that were available of the statutes made since *Magna Carta* might reasonably feel that he now had copies of all the laws of England that there had ever been.

In various ways *Archaionomia* also fused Church and Crown together, and it thus entered the mainstream of political discourse. Although it was dedicated to the lawyer Sir William Cordell (Master of the Rolls and one-time Speaker of the House of Commons), the research that underlay it had been promoted by Archbishop Matthew Parker, since he saw the pre-Conquest history of England as part of the foundation upon which the new Church of England might be securely based. But, inasmuch as all the laws that set out what the Church and Crown could do might also be seen as setting limits to what they were entitled to do, it also came to be viewed as providing essential ammunition for those who opposed any extension of either body's authority. *Archaionomia* was thus an essential book for a wide range of reader - and it should not be surprising that it was sometimes annotated by those interested in such parts of its texts as were seen as of crucial contemporary relevance.

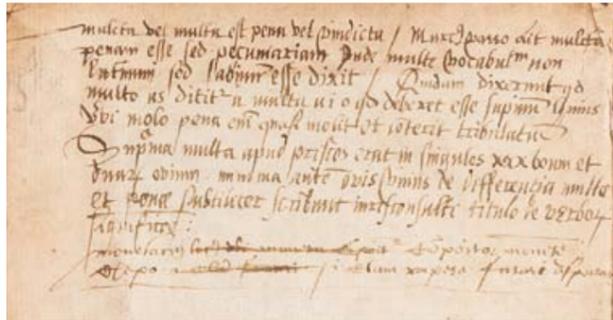
The woodcut map of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchies is of importance as, together with the accompanying two-page description, it introduces the concept of the seven kingdoms into

English historiography; see Simon D. Keynes, "Mapping the Anglo-Saxon Past", in *Towns and Topography. Essays in Memory of David Hill*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Susan D. Thompson (2014), pp. 147-70; at 150-1.





Provenance: Annotations and inscriptions indicate that this particular copy had at least four scholarly early owners, although only one of these has yet been identified by name. This, however, was a scholar with a European reputation that was matched by few others in his lifetime: the neo-Latin poet and playwright **George Buchanan** (1506–82). Faintly but clearly inscribed in ink on the title-page is his (scratched-out) note of ownership: “George Buchanan 16 September 15[8]0.” Buchanan the Scotsman’s ownership should not surprise us: he enjoyed good relations with various leading Englishmen, including Archbishop Parker (who, apparently, gave a copy of Buchanan’s *Poetae eximiii* (Basle, [1570]) to Lambarde in the year of its publication) as well as the Queen herself. About fifty other books have been identified as once owned by him, these being almost all held by a handful of Scottish institutional libraries (McFarlane (I. D.), *George Buchanan*, 1981, pp. 527–31, Appx. C.).



The order of ownership is hard to establish but probably the earliest owner (judging from his handwriting) left his mark only by some eight lines of text on the front pastedown, a three-line note on the recto of the rear flyleaf and a one-line reference on the verso of the same. The first quotes Marcus Terentius Varro on financial punishments (pecuniary mulcts) and almost certainly derives from the entry for “Mulcta” [mulcts] in Ambrosius Calepinus’s great *Dictionarium*: “Mulcta vel multa est pena vel vindicta / Marcus Varro ait multa penam esse sed pecuniariam. [...] Suprema multa apud priscos erat in singulos XXX bovom et duarum ovium. Minima ante ovis bovis de differencia multae et pena subtiliter scribunt iurisconsulti titulo de verborum significorum.” The second note begins, “Maioris est momenti et ponderis insinuatio quam affermatio” [presumably a sort of legal/oratorical maxim; “insinuatio” is a speech in which the favour of the judges is obtained by indirect means, and is a word used by Cicero and Quintilian and later in Roman law]. It ends with a point in the law of possession (the possessor of a deed is presumed to be legitimate and can only be deprived of it through

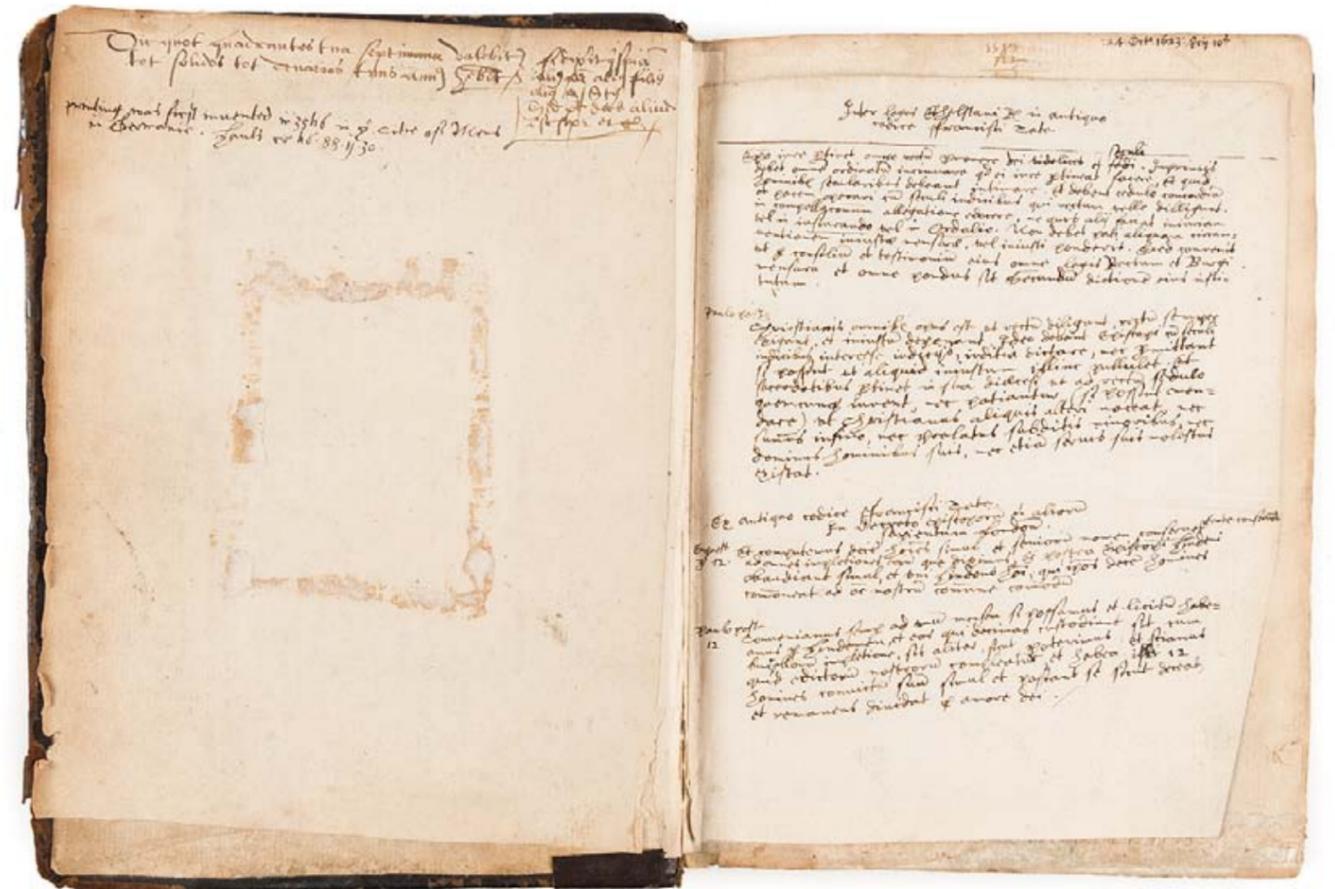
the courts, “Ipsa possidenti rei proprietatis quam petenti proprior esse intelligitur”). This is a direct quote of the last sentence of the Laws of Ethelred (f. 89r) which is also annotated by the main annotator (for whom see below): “In equali Jure melior est conditio possidentis. Com. 297” [a reference to Plowden, *Les Comentaries*, 1571, f. 296v]. The third note is a cross-reference to f. 120, Canute’s law that a widowed woman should lose her dower if she remarried within twelve months (twice times six months) of her husband’s death but she is then free to remarry: “Mulieres viduae bis senos menses viduos exigunto. fol. 120”.

In another early hand on the verso of the front flyleaf is a two-line inscription: “Die quot quadrantes tua septimana valebit / tot solidos tot denarios tuus annus habebit.” [the same lines, an aphorism of medieval origin, are prefixed to a page of money calculations in an autograph notebook of William Cecil, Lord Burghley dating to the mid-1550s [BL MS Lansdowne 118, no. 71; in a manuscript annotation by Gabriel Harvey; in BL MS Cotton Vespasian B. X. (*Voyage of St Brendan* and other texts), f. 21v].

The second owner was perhaps the hand which made various alterations on the unfoliated pages, almost as if he were handling proofs – for instance in the dedication to Sir William Cordell, neatly crossing-out the names of ‘Laurentius Noelus’ [Lawrence Nowell, d. c. 1570] and of the christian name of Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1575), deleting “erroris”, correcting “renouatae” to “nouatae” and “sex” to “sæx” [the last a correction also made in the second edition of 1644] and carefully crossing-out nine words on leaf C3r in the “Explicatio”.

The third owner was presumably Buchanan, from 1580 until his death two years later; he left no annotations. Soon after another owner would have been responsible for the ink calculation at the head of the title deducting 712 (the supposed year of King Ine’s accession) from the year 1585 = 873.

Subsequently the book was acquired by another well-placed reader in London who entered a great many notes, even inserting a bifolium at the front of the volume to receive some particularly long passages of his writing: this was a scholarly lawyer with an overtly political as well as historical interest, who was in touch with the prominent lawyer, M.P., and legal antiquary Francis Tate (d. 1616). In or after 1594, Tate managed to obtain some of the few legal texts that clearly added to what was in the printed collections of English law, these being in two manuscripts that belonged to London’s Guildhall to which they had been bequeathed in 1328 by Andrew Horn, a Fishmonger, along with the better-known *Liber Horn*. Tate dismembered the books, only ever returning elements of them to the Guildhall. Portions of what he had abstracted passed, perhaps by 1611, into the vast collection of Sir Robert Cotton, as part of what became the British Library’s Cotton MS Claudius D. ii as well as to Oriel College, Oxford. See: H. T. Riley’s



introduction to his edition of the *Liber Custumarum* in *Monumentae Gildballae Londoniensis*, 1860, Vol. II, Part 1) and Neil R. Ker, “Liber Custumarum, and other manuscripts formerly at the Guildhall”, *Guildhall Miscellany*, No. 1 (1952), pp. 3–8; reprinted in N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (1985), pp. 136–42. The manuscript referred to by our annotator is Ker’s MS. D now divided into three parts. Originally comprising “upwards of 372 leaves”, 117 leaves are in the Guildhall Archives, 133 leaves in BL MS Cotton Claudius D. ii. and 103 leaves at Oriel College, Oxford.

While Tate still had at least one whole and intact book (i.e. a “codex”) in his possession, the annotator of our copy of *Archaionomia* made notes of a series of passages in it quoting some 420 words – six passages are headed as being “Ex antiquo codice Francisci Tate” or some similar phrase [See the inserted bifolium and ff. 2, 9v, 68 and 131]. All the extracts and references are from those sections of the Guildhall MS now in BL MS Claudius D. ii.

The excerpts from Tate’s manuscript are no mere idle jottings; in several cases they are what later generations would regard as some of the most significant passages.

For instance, one whole paragraph is about the rights and duties of bishops (“Episcopo iure pertinent omne rectitudinem

promovere, Dei videlicet et seculi ...”): this was taken from the laws of King Athelstan, as given in Tate’s codex. [Printed in e.g. Henry Spelman’s *Concilia*, I, 401, whence David Wilkins, *Concilia* (1737), IV, p. 767; also given by Thorpe, *Laws and Institutes of England* (1840), II, pp. 304ff., “Institutes of Polity”, at pp. 312 (Old English), 313 (translation, as “To a bishop belongs every direction, both in divine and worldly things”); cf. Felix Liebermann, *Quadripartitus* (Halle, 1892), p. 123]. John Foxe also picked up the paragraph and quoted it in full in his *Acts and Monuments* (ed. S.R. Cattley, 8 vols (1837–41), II, p. 44 n. 1).

No less obviously pregnant in its implications for late Tudor and early Stuart political debate is a paragraph setting out the rights and duties of the groups of ten men (later known as tithing men). Again, our annotator has given his source as Francis Tate’s ancient codex. [Cotton Claudius D. ii. Printed by e.g. Thorpe, *Laws and Institutes of England* (1840), I, pp. 228 f., as “Judicia Civitatis Lundoniae”, at pp. 230, 232 (in Old English), with translation at pp. 231, 233 (“That we count always ten men together; and the chief should direct the nine in each of those duties which we have all ordained ...”); cf. H. Riley, *Munimenta Gildballae*, II, pt. 2 (1860), p. 507: “Decretum Episcoporum”, as being in Claudius D. ii, f. 14]. Here, for instance, was a possible origin not just for the tithing man and the local keeping of the peace but for the

twelve-man jury - a supposed element of Anglo-Saxon legal organization, which in the early 17th century and later was often to be contrasted with the Norman-derived trial by ordeal.

The annotator seems to have regarded his copy of *Archaionomia* as a both a source for knowledge of early English law and as something to be worked upon, read and re-read, and glossed with cross-references that would help explicate or enlarge upon the texts. He was sufficiently historically aware to know that Romescot was 'Peter pence' [f. 128]. He was interested in the early history of contemporary legal rules and definitions, for instance, comparing one passage in the Laws of Æthelred with the contemporary legal maxim "In equali jure, melior est conditio possidentis" [fol. 89, citing Plowden's *Commentaries*]. His other cross-references include *Magna Charta*, Littleton, Staunford, Selden's *Duello* (1610), Sir Thomas Smith's *The Common-wealth of England* (1591 and later edns) and the Bible (Book of Exodus).

Examples of his simpler notes glossing the text are: "in English *folke*" (B4r); "vid Sr Tho: Smiths co[m]on welth 142ab" [*re Wythernam*] (D1r); "worke on ye sabbath forbidden", "first fruites", "sanctuarie" (f. 2r); "thefte" (f. 3r); "ffaux witness", "Jurors post 47", "vi Stanf[ord] 13.e." (f. 4r); "escape" (f. 9r); "common et Inclosure" (f. 10r); "fere covert" (f. 14r); "husbandrye et tillage" (f. 15r); "verba ab Aluredo adiecta quae in textu non leguntur: sic notantur ea verba Per loca sequent sic notata XXX" (f. 20r - referring to the text "Qui volens hominem occiderit, morte mulctator" which is underlined with Xs); "enfranchisemt" (f. 21r); "manslaughter in defense" (f. 22r); "ley gager" (f. 48r); "thefte wth ye manor", "vagabond" (f. 59r); "utlage" (f. 73r, 86r & 105r; outlawry); "Seldens Duellum 17 [-]" [Selden, *Duello*, p. 17 refers to Canute 5] (f. 105r); "in hundredo" (f. 111r); "periury" (f. 113r); "Murder", "Treson" (f. 117r); "repayr Bridges", "repaying of churches", "utlary et excom[m]enagement" (f. 118r); "purveyance", "felony" (f. 119r); "Dower et heritage" (f. 120r); "hereot" (f. 121r); "petit treson" "fforest" (f. 122r); "vet. Mag. Chart 144a" (f. 126v); "vid. Stanf[ord]. i. rd." (f. 127v); "Peter pence" (f. 78r & 128r); "Comitatus tempore Bryt. vid ante 358", "vid. ye case of Mynes. [Plowden] Com 315" (f. 129v); "Wapentage" (f. 134).

Our annotator was competent in Latin and Law French but not Old English and his notes are almost exclusively restricted to the right-hand pages with the Latin translation opposite the original Old English texts - he writes only one word in Old English, on f. 98r "gerefa [=] Shiref". It is frustrating that the annotator has not been identified so far as there can only be a relatively small number of possible candidates. It is clear enough, however, from these notes - as well as several other ones that have not been quoted - that by the early 17th century the book had passed from Edinburgh (where Buchanan had doubtless had it) to one of the various legally-conscious scholars and politicians, many of whom formed a circle that is today linked with the book-collector and

politician, Sir Robert Cotton and the so-called Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries (fl. c. 1586-1607). Our annotator was evidently writing in the years around 1610-11, given that Tate seems to have had to surrender possession of the Guildhall manuscript in about 1611, while Selden's tract on duels [cited at f. 105] was only published in 1610.

An indication of the sort of man he was can be seen by some of those whom we know used Claudius D. ii in the 17th Century: it was probably lent by Cotton to Henry Spelman c. 1615 and again in 1617 (this or MS Titus A. xxvii) and to John Selden in 1622 (when researching his edition of Eadmer). It was subsequently used by Bodley's librarian Richard James, Sir Simonds D'Ewes (extracts are in BL MS Harley 311) and Thomas Gale - see Colin Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (2002), p. 126.



The fifth early owner acquired the book for 10 shillings on 24 Oct. 1623 (neat ink note at the head of the title). He too awaits identification. And he too was a very careful reader of singular erudition: his only notes are two critical comments in the dedication ("optimensum" and "proverbium") but two short insertions on f. 26 are particularly intriguing. With a carefully accented 'ò' in 'adeò' he has amended the text, bringing it into line with what was also to be regarded as the correct reading in the 1644 edition (p. 21) edited by Abraham Wheelocke, Professor of Anglo-Saxon and University Librarian at Cambridge and as noted by Sir Roger Twysden, in his *Certaine Considerations upon the Government of England* (written in the 1640s but first published in print in 1849, ed. J. M. Kemble, Camden Society, p. 134). Wheelocke thanked Twysden, along with Henry Spelman, in his introduction. A final annotator added four notes in a less neat hand (C2v with references to Bracton, Glanvil and Fabyan and ff. 1r, 39r, ?42r).

To a former generation of modern scholars the many positive aspects of Lambarde's great work seemed to be in some measure offset by the strange fact that his book also introduced Old English where none had existed before. Some of the texts in *Archaionomia* had been put into Old English from Latin originals, principally, *Quadripartitus* - by either Lambarde himself or his mentor Laurence Nowell (as evidenced in British Library, MS Add. 43703). Today, however, it is recognized that this "false trail" of back-translations has its own importance: having once been printed by Lambarde, these versions have entered the mainstream

and cannot simply be ignored. Moreover, as one scholar has recently written: "some of Nowell's notes and readings suggest that he did see now-lost manuscripts, so a few of the *Archaionomia* texts might be 'authentic' by modern standards". [Rebecca Brackmann, "Laurence Nowell's Old English Legal Glossary and his Study of *Quadripartitus*", in *English Law Before Magna Carta. Felix Liebermann and Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Stefan Jurasinski et al. (Leiden & Boston, 2010), pp. 251-72, at 252. See also, more generally, Patrick Wormald, "The Lambarde Problem: Eighty

Years On", in *Alfred the Wise. Studies in Honour of Janet Bately*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson (1997), pp. 237-75, thoroughly reviewing what Kenneth Sisam had first raised as a problem in "The Authenticity of Certain Texts in Lambarde's *Archaionomia*, 1568", in the *Modern Language Review* (1925)].

Later Provenance: An old erased pencil note on the front pastedown reads "Rare. Lowndes - Willett sale £2 12 6"; a bookplate [75 x 57 mm] has been removed from the front flyleaf. Private collection, Australia (from the 1970s).

"THE MOST GRATUITOUS ATTACK ON MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS FOUND IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH"

63 [LA PLANCHE (Louis Régnier de), pseudonym Francois de L'Isle]. A Legendarie conteining an ample discourse of the life and behaviour of Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, and of his brethren, of the house of Guise. Written in French by Francis de L'isle.

[No place or printer, ?London or Geneva:] Imprinted. 1577

£6,000

First Edition in English. *Small 8vo.* [Binding: 167 x 106 mm]. [196] pp. Text browned, more heavily at the front, a few minor stains, minute area of worming in the lower inner margin; last leaf slightly chipped at the edges. Contemporary calf, covers with

a blind two-line fillet border, in the centre the circular gilt arms block in nine quarterings within a wreath of **Thomas Wotton I** [55 x 50 mm] (rebacked, repairs to the corners and edges).

STC 20855 (+ in UK; Folger [ex Britwell - Harmsworth], Harvard, Huntington, Morgan Library & Yale in USA).

A translation of *La Legende de Charles, cardinal de Lorraine et de ses frères, de la maison de Guise* ("Reims" [?Geneva], 1576). Book I only, all published of a projected three, taking the story to the Third Civil War which ended in October 1570 and with the Cardinal having another four years to live.

Aside from a passage referring to Mary, Queen of Scots both the French original and this English translation have attracted little modern attention since the comment that "This is a good Invective against the Designs of that House" (Nicolas Languet Dufresnoy, *A New Method of Studying History, Geography and Chronology*, tr. Richard Rawlinson, 1728, II, p. 293 [originally from J. B. Mencke's *Catalogue des principaux historiens*]).

However that passage is extraordinary considering that the Queen of Scots, though imprisoned at Sheffield since 1570, still had another ten years to live: "Also through their earnest desire that their Niece might have issue, and yet knowing King Frauncis but simply disposed thereunto, in that his generative partes were altogether dulled and hindred; they permitted many courtiers to have her companie, who did their endeavours to make her very fruitfull: yet am I ashamed to know that in a certayne table [painting] which an Italian of Laques found meanes to get

conveyed unto the Cardinall of Lorraines chamber, with certeyne letters from the Pope in steade of our Ladie of Grace, wherein were the sayde Cardinall of Lorraine, the Queene his Niece, the Queene mother, and the Duchesse of Guise most lively set out, their bodyes naked, their armes one about an others necke, and all their legges enterlaced together." (F8v-G1r).

John D. Staines quoted this passage in *The Tragic Histories of Mary Queen of Scots, 1550-1690: Rhetoric, Passions, and Political Literature* (2009): "Published outside the reach of English authorities, this is the most gratuitous attack upon Mary Queen of Scots found in Sixteenth century English, as well as the one with the least basis in fact."

"De la Planche portrays Mary's image as a parody of 'our Ladie of Grace', a skillful turn on the usual Calvinist attack upon Catholic Mariolatry. This charge that Catholicism replaces true devotion with a lust for power and a lust for sex is a powerful undercurrent in anti-Marian, anti-Guisian polemic: Mary and her family embody a lust that perverts all religion and even becomes its own religion, with its own pornographic tableau for an icon. The nobleman's desire to defend the family honour has collapsed into an orgy of incest." p. 81. Staines considered that, "given the awkwardness and inaccuracy of much of the translation, it was probably done by a non-native speaker of English" (p. 80, n. 80) and proposes Geneva as the place of publication.



Provenance: 1: Bound for Thomas Wotton I (1521-1587), of Boughton Malherbe, Kent, known as the “English Grolier” from his taste for fine bindings, with his elaborate gilt armorial stamp on covers. The online British Armorial Bindings database records 12 examples of his Stamp 1, including the present, then still at Canterbury Cathedral.

Thomas Wotton I is best known for the series of elaborate bindings he commissioned in Paris in the early 1550s many of which are distinguished by his ownership formula “THOMAE WOTTONI ET AMICORVM” tooled on the covers, a number with the date “1552” and some with a small arms block with four quarterings. In addition a small number of later English bindings are known with two versions of his gilt arms block but otherwise plain (all except one on books printed between 1562 and 1585, and mostly on English texts. Wotton had three arms blocks: the small one with four quarterings used in Paris in the early 1550s (Stamp 3) of which 12 examples are recorded and two versions with nine quarterings, the present one within a circular wreath (Stamp 1) is usually found and the other (slightly smaller) within an oval scalloped cartouche (Stamp 3) of which only three examples have been recorded.

Most of Wotton’s books passed by descent to Katherine Wotton, Countess of Chesterfield (d. 1667), daughter of Thomas, 2nd Baron Wotton of Marley, via the Earls of Chesterfield to George Herbert, 5th Earl of Carnarvon (1866-1923), the Egyptologist, and were sold at the Bretby sale, Sotheby, 8/4/1919. Another, smaller group including a first edition of Sir Thomas More’s *Utopia*, passed to a younger branch of the Stanhope family, the Earls Stanhope, of Chevening, Kent, and were sold privately in 1995 to Sir Paul Getty and are now in the Wormsley Library. This volume left the Wotton family by some other means.

2: Rev. Joseph Mendham (1769-1856), religious controversialist and book collector; bequeathed to the Law Society; the Mendham Library was latterly on deposit at Canterbury Cathedral Library (University of Kent); with recent pencil shelfmarks on the pastedowns; Mendham sale, Bloomsbury Auctions, 20/3/2014, part of Lot 182 [the Wotton arms block unidentified].

THE ONLY ACCOUNT OF THE MASQUE OF DESIRE AND LADY BEAUTY (1562)

64 LEGH (Gerard). *The Accedence of Armorie. Newly corrected and augmented.* 1612.

£1,500

[Colophon:] London: for Iohn Iaggard, 1612

Sixth Edition. Small 4to. [Text: 185 x 144 mm]. [16], 241, [3] pp. + folding woodcut; with the first leaf (blank except for “A” on the recto), woodcut architectural / emblematic title-page, folding woodcut of Atlas and Hercules supporting a coat-of-arms at the end, and numerous illustrations of arms throughout including large woodcuts of the arms of the Duke of Norfolk (p. 79), of Sir Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby (p. 93), Sir Nicholas Bacon (p. 106), Richard Goodricke (p. 164), full-page woodcut of a Herald (said to be a portrait of Legh; p. 237), full-page woodcut of Aesop standing before a (?his) tomb which is surmounted by

an obelisk bearing a helm with a crest of a bear collared and chained (similar to the Dudley crest). Foxing and heavy damp staining to the flyleaves and the first few pages, small paper flaw to the blank foot of B5, paper flaw and some minor creasing to the blank fore-edge of G4 and M8, small repair to the fore-edge of L4, and with a long crease across the corner of L6-7. Contemporary limp vellum, front cover with manuscript title “[Ar]mory = 1612”, spine with “Acced. of Armory” (vellum soiled and warped but firm, ties missing, 19th-century wove paper endleaves, original flyleaves preserved).

STC 15393. ESTC lists 13 copies in UK and 8 in USA (the folding woodcut plate is often missing).

The last edition of a popular Elizabethan book on heraldry, with the rare folding plate showing the coat-of-arms borne by Lord Robert Dudley as Pallaphilos, Knight of the Order of Pegasus, in the *Masque of Desire and Lady Beauty at the Inner Temple in January 1562*.

First published in 1562 (the year before Legh’s death from the Plague) and reprinted in 1568, 1576, 1591, 1597; this edition is advertised on the woodcut title as “newly corrected and augmented”, though this was apparently “ineptly done” (ODNB). Certainly, the number of reprints is visible in the worn condition of some of the original woodcut blocks.

Legh’s book has been disparaged by later writers, although J. F. R. Day in the ODNB rather grudgingly admitted that its popularity, “suggests that Leigh’s discussions of heraldic symbolism, as well as his linking of chivalry to virtue and heraldry to fable, was admirably suited to Tudor England. Certainly it seems to have been particularly well adapted to the class-conscious claims of the gentry, whose obsession with pedigrees and coats of arms were almost as much a reaction to social mobility as an anachronistic longing for chivalry. It may also have appealed to readers among those same ‘upstarts’ who, despite the discouragement of their social superiors, found armoury a useful adjunct to their claims to gentle status”.

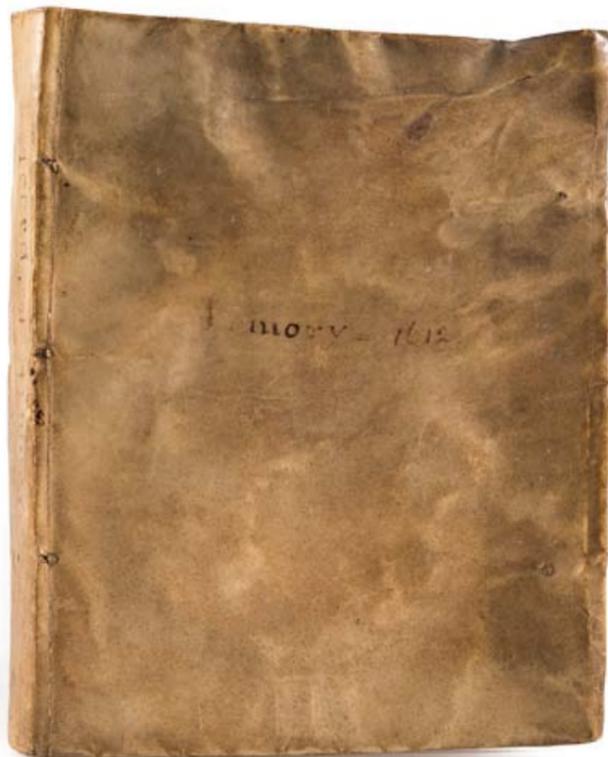
Cast in the form of a dialogue between Gerard, a Herehaught [Herald] and Legh, a Caligate Knight [literally booted, i.e. a knight by virtue of his office rather than nobility], Legh’s *Accedence* [Accedens in the earlier editions] of *Armorie* seeks to explain the first principles of the subject and in particular the symbolism of its language and imagery.

It is, however, much more interesting than at first appears. Not least for its role as a major source for Shakespeare, who famously commissioned his own coat-of-arms and whose works are filled with heraldic imagery.

As Beatrice Groves demonstrated in her essay, “Heraldic Language and identity in Shakespeare’s Plays”: “In the late sixteenth century, the martial function of heraldry was decreasing in importance and the ornate, precise and highly prestigious language of armorial bearings gained a wider, and more metaphorical, function. Heraldry was fashionable in the sixteenth century, but more crucially it was the language of power. As such it was both highly visible and widely comprehensible. ... The prime authority of Shakespeare’s era was Legh’s *Accedens of Armory* and there are a striking number of parallels to this text in Shakespeare’s works. Much of Shakespeare’s animal lore, finds a parallel in Legh, for whom the characteristics of animals are crucial for their suitability as charges. Hamlet’s air-eating Chameleon and backwards-walking crab are both in Legh ... Shakespeare’s heraldic punning indicates the currency of armorial language, as a pun relies on being widely and immediately recognised to work. But the capability of heraldic language to carry double meanings was also used by Shakespeare in more creative ways. The double meanings common to many heraldic terms allow an unobtrusive layer of meaning to be present throughout Shakespeare’s plays. ... Shakespeare’s drama, like heraldry, was part of the visual culture of early modern England, and his thoughtful engagement with the moral potential of heraldic language is part of his dramaturgy’s championing of the visual as a medium of truth.”

On pp. 178-9, Legh relates in some detail the story of King Lear and Cordelia (“a usually overlooked version” - ODNB) in a discussion of the bearing of arms by gentlewomen: “I am





constrained not to passe her worthy doings in silence, but so farre forth to utter the same, as may be to the praise of her, who left behinde such a noble patterne of princely stomacke [a pre-echo of Elizabeth I's Armada speech at Tilbury?], as by her dooings may right wel appeare". On pp. 204-5 he tells the story of the fashionable gowns full of cuts and slashes made for Sir Philip Caulthrop and the cobbler John Drakes by a Norwich tailor which seems to be the source of the story of the scolding of the tailor in Act IV, Scene 3 of *The Taming of the Shrew* – "There seems to be no extant story closer to the details in *The Shrew* than Legh's, and it may be that this is Shakespeare's source" (*The Taming of the Shrew*, Arden Shakespeare Edition, ed. Brian Morris (1981), p. 84).

Much more important, however, is the lengthy allegorical account of the *Masque of Desire and Lady Beauty* performed at the Christmas Revels held at the Inner Temple on 18 January 1562 before the Queen and designed to present the royal favourite Lord Robert Dudley, later Earl of Leicester, as a hero worthy of marriage to the Queen herself. The Masque, which was preceded by the first performance of Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton's tragedy *Gorboduc*, has been attributed to Arthur Brooke (d. 1563), translator of *The tragicall historie of Romeus and Juliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in Englishe by Ar. Br.* (1562). Legh's account of the plot is the only version that survives.

As Catherine Bates summarised it in *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (1992), "a group of young initiate knights were sworn in as servants to the goddess Pallas

by her emissary Pallaphilos (this was the part played by Dudley). An account of the latter Revels survives in Gerard Legh's popular heraldry manual *The Accedens of Armory*, and, although it is somewhat confusingly related there, the entertainment seems to have fallen into two distinct halves. The first part takes the form of a narrative allegory of Beauty and Desire – the plot largely based upon Stephen Hawes's late-medieval dream-poem, *The Passetyme of Pleasure* – and it dramatizes a traditional tale of courtship and chivalry. In Legh's text, this allegory of desire is, in turn, embedded in the dramatic action which forms the second of the two plots in the Christmas Revels. The scene for this second part of the show is set in the temple of Pallas – the goddess of learning and warfare, and a symbol (as Bacon was later to show) of 'how kings are to make use of their counsel of state'. Pallaphilos (Dudley) here appears as the chief officiator at the temple, and his task is to initiate a group of twenty-five [*recte* twenty-four, himself being the twenty-fifth] knights into the order of Pegasus, in what is clearly a romantic rendering of the Garter ceremony. In Legh's account, Pallaphilos delivers a long speech to the initiate knights on 'thonour of thorder', on their loyalty to each other, and on their obedience to the sovereign, Pallas." (pp. 49-50).

As part of this, Legh describes in detail and in trick (*i.e.* the colours described by words) the armorial bearings of the Order of Pegasus: "The high and mighty Constable beareth *Mars*, a chiefe indented two bars *Sol*, on a Scocheon of pretence, *Iove*, and two Flasques, *Sol*, a Dragon *Mars*, an Eagle *Saturne*, under one imperiall Crowne, all within a collar accideled, devided with double PP. endorsed with a Tablet of the order of *Pegasu*. The Targe of the highest Goddess *Pallas*, of Christaline colour, sit on a Torce, *Luna* and *Iove*, mantelled *Saphier*, doubled *pearle*. All which assisted are by strong *Hercules* and skilfull *Atlas*." (pp. 127-8). This is followed by a detailed analysis of the imagery (pp. 128-30).

What Legh has described must have been displayed as part of the Masque itself: "The supper ended and Tables taken up the high Constable rose, and a while stood under the place of honour, where his atchievement was beautifully imbrodered and devised" (p. 224).

The armorial achievement is the subject of the remarkable folding woodcut plate at the end which is of a quality of workmanship, both in design and execution far above that found in most mid-16th English books. It is a very rare visual record of an early Elizabethan masque and seems to have been little, if at all, discussed as such. The full-page woodcut of the Herehaught (Herald) pointing with his staff to a banner on a lance held by a griffin (p. 237) and the woodcut of Aesop are also by the same hand.

The imagery of the emblematic title-page which includes figures of Moses handing a sword to a king, the Law to a judge, a priest and a labouring man is detailed in "The description of

the Viniat [vignette] with the circumstances thereof" (pp. 13-15).

The woodcut of the arms of Sir Peregrine Bertie, 13th Baron Willoughby de Eresby (1590-1601) replaces one for Sir Thomas West, Lord De La Warr found in previous editions.

Provenance: 1: John Nutt, early signature, pen-trials and an attempted coat-of-arms on the front flyleaf; John ?Pluxton, early signature on Arqv; inscription "Sir D Willirbie Wollaton hall 1664" on the flyleaf, an unidentified member of the Willoughby family of Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, ancestors of the Barons Middleton and cousins of the Willoughby de Eresby family.

**"NEVER WAS BOOK SO ABOMINABLY MISUSED BY PRINTER"
JOHN EVELYN'S TRANSLATION OF BOOK I**

65 LUCRETIUS CARUS (Titus). EVELYN (John), translator and editor. An Essay on the first book of T. Lucretius Carus de rerum natura. Interpreted and Made English Verse by J. Evelyn Esq.

London: for Gabriel Bedle, and Thomas Collins, 1656

£1,800

First Edition in English. 8vo. [Text: 172 x 110 mm]. [16 (including the frontispiece), 185, [3 (Epitaph), [4 (errata / advertisements; last page blank)]. Title in red & black. Text in Latin & English on opposite pages. Etched frontispiece / title by Wenceslaus Hollar after a design by Mary Evelyn (slightly shaved at the fore-edge

and lower-edge (affecting the imprint) and with a small chip from the lower fore-corner). Text with light marginal browning and an occasional spot. Contemporary mottled calf, covers with a gilt-ruled border and small gilt scroll corner tools (rebacked; plain spine ruled in gilt; corners worn).

Wing L3446. Keynes, *John Evelyn*, 4. Pennington, *Wenceslaus Hollar*, 2677. *The Letterbooks of John Evelyn*, ed. Douglas D. C. Chambers & David Galbraith, 2 vols. (2014).

The *De rerum natura* of Lucretius had not been translated into English before John Evelyn ventured on his annotated verse translation of all six Books. It was considered dangerously un-Christian (not least for his views on the mortality of the soul expressed in Book IV) and Dr Jeremy Taylor cautioned Evelyn that "I hope you will either have by notes, or will by preface, prepare a sufficient antidote" (Letter of 16 April 1656).

Evelyn, who was translating the whole of Books I-VI had great hopes for the publication of Book I which was to be followed by the rest. On 27 April 1656 he wrote to Taylor from his house at Deptford that, "My Essay upon *Lucretius* (which I told you was engaged) is now printing, and (as I understand) neere finished; My Animadversions upon it will I hope provide against all the ill consequences, and totally acquit me either of glory or Impiety: The Captive Woman was in the old Law to have her head shaven, and her excrescencies pared off before she was brought as a bride to the bed of her Lord: I hope I have so don with this Author, as far as I have penetrated; and for the rest I shall proceede with caution, and take your counsell." (*The Letterbooks of John Evelyn*, I, pp. 170-1).

However, in writing to Taylor that he understood it was "neere finished" lay the clue to the disaster that ensued as he had not overseen it in the press himself but had delegated responsibility to Thomas Triplet, then a schoolmaster at Hayes in Middlesex. In his *Diary* entry for 12 June 1656, Evelyn noted that Book I had appeared "with innumerable *errata* &c; (by) the negligence of Mr *Triplet* who undertook the correction of the press in my absence" (Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer, Vol. III, p. 173). In his own copy of the book he later wrote: "Never was book so abominably misused by printer, never Copy so negligently surveid by one who undertooke to looke over the proofes with all exactnesse & care, namely Dr *Triplet*, well knowne for his abilitie, & who pretended to oblige me in my absence, & so readily offer'd himselfe. This good yet I receiv'd by it, that publishing it vainely its ill successe at the printers discourag'd me from troubling the world with the rest." (Evelyn sale, Christie, 13/7/1798, lot 1732 (withdrawn; now in the British Library).

In a letter of 12 February 1657 to his father-in-law Sir Richard Browne sending a heavily-corrected copy of the book he wrote that there were "no lesse then 80 *Errata's* in the Latine Copie, which yet he printed from a most correct Plantine edition; I do not speake of the interpunctuations and more tollerable oversights of which sort there be οσα κόνις [as common as dust]



"I DO PREFER THIS BOOK OF MR. LUTHER UPON THE GALATIANS, (EXCEPTING THE HOLY BIBLE), BEFORE ALL BOOKS THAT I HAVE EVER SEEN, AS MOST FIT FOR A WOUNDED CONSCIENCE" – JOHN BUNYAN

66 LUTHER (Martin). **A Commentarie of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Galathians**, first collected and gathered word by word out of his preaching, and now out of Latine faithfully translated into English for the unlearned. [...] to the ioyfull comfort and confirmation of all true Christian beleevvers, especially such as inwardly being afflicted and greeved in conscience, doe hungre and thirst for iustification in Christ Iesu. For whose cause most chiefly this booke is translated and printed, and dedicated to the same.

London: by Thomas Vautrollier, 1575

£2,000

First Edition in English. *Small 4to in 8s. [Text: 197 x 140 mm]. [7 (of 8; without the blank leaf**2; errata on **r^v), 208, 211–282 leaves. Title-page creased; vertical crease in the margin off.251, a little minor marginal staining, wormhole in the final leaf crossing two lines. Contemporary calf, covers with a gilt fillet border, in the centre a gilt oval arabesque block [54 x 40 mm]; spine with*

four raised bands, a gilt flower-head tool in the centre of the second, third and fourth panels (top and bottom panels of the spine renewed, lower joint heavily rubbed, lower edge of the front cover and lower fore-corner of the rear cover repaired; area of insect damage to the fore-edge of the lower cover exposing the pastreboard; endleaves replaced).

innumerable but some grosse and very material. ... The truth is, but for the importunity of some, and my praeingagement (as you know) I had not permitted this to see the light; as being Conscious to my selfe of its many defects: But so it is, that partly out of indignation, and partly to redeeme my selfe, I find now some inclynations of printing the rest; that by a second and more Carefull Edition, (wherein I shall for the future trust my owne Eyes) I may have opportunity to reforme the mistakes of the first." (*Letterbooks*, I, p. 195).

Evelyn's plan to print the rest of the text with a revised version of Book I was abandoned. The manuscript of Books III–VI survived (and is now in the British Library) and it was finally published, without the missing Book II, in 2000 as *John Evelyn's Translation of Titus Lucretius Carus: 'De rerum natura': An Old-Spelling Critical Edition* edited by Michael M. Repetzski.

The emblematic frontispiece / title designed by Mary Evelyn and etched by Wenceslaus Hollar depicts: "an oval portrait of Lucretius (or of Evelyn?) is supported by two figures: a man with uplifted hair on left and a winged woman on right. Below are seated Ceres on right and Neptune on left, while in the air above, Cybele leans over the portrait and presses her breasts to irrigate the scene below." (Pennington). It is slightly too large for the book and is often slightly shaved as here and as noted by Keynes.

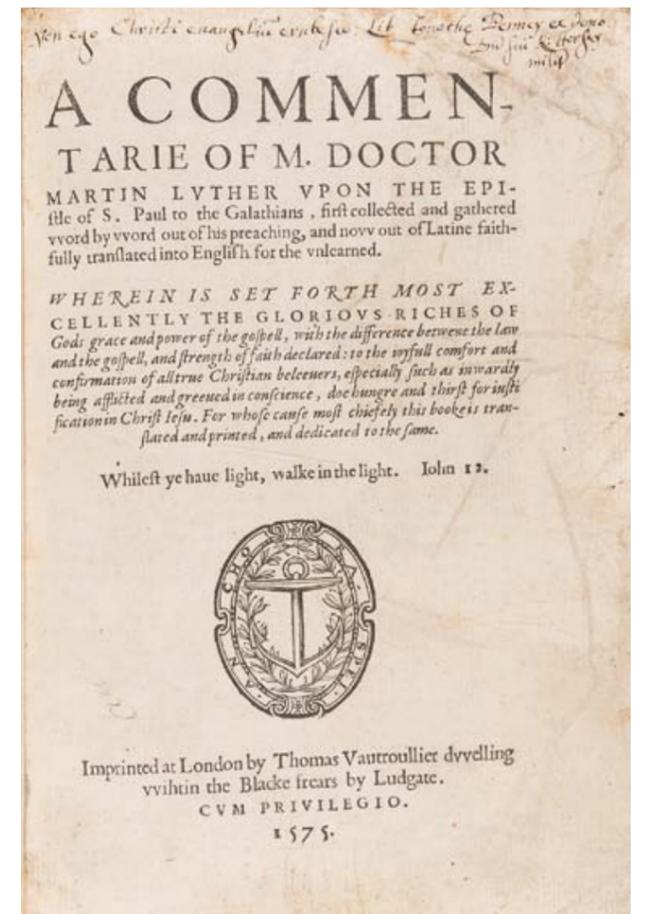
Provenance: Earls of Macclesfield, of Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, with their small armorial stamp on the frontispiece and title and North Library bookplate; not in the Sotheby's sales; acquired privately.

STC 16965 (+ in UK; Columbia, Folger [x 3], Harvard, Huntington, Illinois, Union Theological Seminary & Yale in USA). Eight further early editions were printed, the last in 1644.

The translation was the work of an anonymous team. As Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London (later Archbishop of York), noted in his address to the Reader (*2r): "This booke being brought unto me to peruse and to consider of, I thought it my part, not onely to allowe of it to the print, but also to commend it to the Reader, as a treatise most comfortable to all afflicted consciences exercised in the Schole of Christ. ... Which being written in the Latin tounge, certaine godly learned men have most sincerely translated into our language, to the great benefite of all such as with humbled hartes wil diligently reade the same. Some beganne it according to such skill as they had. Others godly affected, not suffering so good a matter in handling to be marred, put to their helping hands for the better framing and furthering of so worthy a worke. They refuse to be named, seeking neither their owne gaine nor glory, but thinking it their happines, if by any meanes they may releve afflicted mindes, & do good to the church of Christ, ...".

In their own address "To all afflicted consciences which grone for salvation and wrastle under the crosse for the kingdome of Christ", the translators, "thought good to certifie to thee, godly reader: that amongst many other godly english bookes in these our daies printed and translated, thou shalt finde but fewe, wherein either thy time shall seeme better bestowed, or thy labour better recompensed to the profite of thy soule, or wherein thou mayest see the spirite and veine of S. Paule more lively represented to thee, then in the diligent reading of this present commentary upon the epistle of S. Paule to the Galathians. ..." (*3r).

Bishop Sandys's approbation was echoed by John Bunyan who wrote in his great spiritual autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*: "Well, after many such longings in my mind, the God, in whose hands are all our days, and ways, did cast into my hand (one day) a book of *Martin Luther*: it was his Comment on the *Galathians*; it also was so old, that it was ready to fall from piece to piece if I did but turn it over. Now I was pleased that such an old book had fallen into my hand, the which when I had but a little way perused, I found my condition in his experience, so largely and profoundly handled, as if his book had been written out of my heart; this made me marvel: for thus thought I, this man could not know anything of the state of christians now, but must needs write and speak the Experience of former days. Besides, he doth most gravely also in that Book, debate of the rise of these temptations, namely, Blasphemy, Desperation, and the like; shewing that the law of *Moses*, as well as the Devil, Death, and Hell, hath a very great hand therein; the which at first, was very strange to



me, but by considering and watching, I found it so indeed. But of Particulars here I intend nothing; only this methinks I must let fall before all men, **I do prefer this book of Mr. Luther upon the Galathians, (excepting the Holy Bible), before all books that I have ever seen, as most fit for a wounded Conscience.**" (1680 edn, pp. 50–51, paras. 130–1; the passage does not appear in the first edition of 1666). See, Vera J. Camden, "Most fit for a Wounded Conscience" *The Place of Luther's 'Commentary on Galathians' in Grace Abounding*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 50/3 (1997), pp. 819–49: "In many ways Bunyan's whole culture had prepared him to recognize Luther as a kind of ur-text to his autobiography and to his life" (p. 821).

The French Protestant emigré bookbinder and printer Thomas Vautrollier had a speciality in translations of Luther: "More singular still was Vautrollier's initiative in publishing a series of the work of Martin Luther, in most cases the first editions of Luther's biblical commentaries for many years. To Vautrollier falls much of the credit for keeping Luther in the public eye during an era when Calvinist theology ruled the roost." (*ODNB*). As John Foxe noted of Luther's works in his preface to Henry Bull's

translation of Luther's *A Commentarie upon the fiftene Psalmes, called Psalmi Graduum* published by Vautrollier in 1577, "many hitherto either hath not bene redde, and so not throughly knowne, or of a great number hated and maligned, or of some lightly regarded, or peradventure misjudged."

Provenance: Given to Joanthan Penney by Sir Ralph Horsey, with inscription at the head of the title "Non ego Christi evangelium erubescio: Lib. Jonathe Penney ex dono Dni R: Horsey militis". The motto, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ", is derived from Romans 1.16. **Jonathan Penney** was probably the father or even grandfather of Jonathan Penney, Clothier, of Bradford Abbas, near Yeovil, Dorset, whose will, dated 14/8/1645 and proved 4/10/1645 is in the the National Archives (PROB 11/194/108). He was buried at St Mary's Church, Bradford Abbas (where he had been a churchwarden 1633-4) on 3/9/1645, just over four months after his son Jonathan Penney junior; his daughter Abigail was baptised at Bradford Abbas Church on 28/8/1638 and his wife Alice was buried there on 31/8/1643. His daughter and mother were still alive when he wrote his will.

Sir Ralph Horsey, Kt. (d. 1612), of Clifton Maybank, Dorset, was M.P. for Dorset 1589 & 1597; he was knighted in 1591. "In 1593 Horsey was among the guests at the famous supper party in George Trenchard's house that led to the accusations of atheism against [Sir Walter] Raleigh. He was an active county official for many years and was at one time suggested as lord lieutenant of Dorset. During the Armada scare he served as a captain of lancers in the force which was sent to London, and attended at court for a week or more; he helped to suppress recusancy; and during the last few years of

Elizabeth's reign he was employed in recruiting troops for Ireland." - *History of Parliament*.

The same inscription appears on a copy of Alexander Nowell's *Catechisme* (1574) offered in Samuel Gedge Catalogue XXI/54. That had, additionally, the ownership inscription and gilt initials on the cover of Sir John Horsey, Kt. (c. 1546-89), M.P. for Dorset 1571, knighted in 1574 and it is likely that this volume also belonged to him. He "was active in local government, searching out recusants with his friend and relative George Trenchard I, complaining about the gaols, inspecting the coast, and training the musters against the expected Spanish invasion. With Trenchard, he was one of the five 'great captains' 'sound in religion' who commanded one of the five Dorset defence divisions. His men were to muster at Cerne Abbas when the beacons were fired. Presumably recognizing that he might die childless, Horsey handed over Clifton Maybank to trustees before his death, and acknowledged his cousin Ralph as his heir. He made his will 9 Apr. 1589. Nearly £1,000 was to go in specific bequests, including £100 to the Sherborne almshouses. The overseers, who included Trenchard, each received an inscribed ring." - *History of Parliament*.

The Ralph Horsey who presented the two volumes to Jonathan Penney was that cousin and heir. The two volumes remained together in the very near neighbourhood for 400 years, passing into the library of **John Batten**, F.S.A. (1815-1900), of Aldon House, Yeovil, solicitor and Town Clerk of Yeovil; By descent in the Batten family, of Church Farm, Ryme Intrinseca, Dorset; sale, Duke's, Dorchester, 30/9/2015; this was Lot 11.

HANDSOME COPY IN RED MOROCCO

67 MAIMONIDES (Moses), 1135-1204. **De sacrificiis liber.** Accesserunt Abarbanelis exordium, seu prooemium commentariorum in Leviticum: et Majmonidae tractatus de consecratione calendarium, et de ratione intercalandi. Quae ex Hebraeo convertit... Ludovicus Compiegne de Veil, A.M.

London: Typis Milonis Flesher, sumptibus Auctoris: prostant apud Mosem Pitt, ... & apud Brabazonum Aylmer, 1683
£1,200

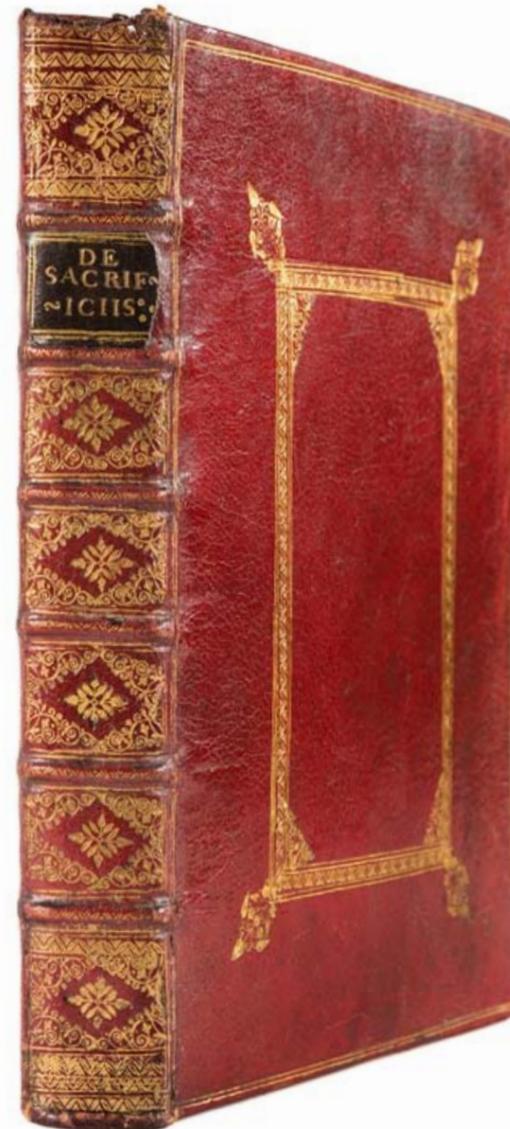
4to. [Text: 233 x 178 mm]. [16 (first leaf blank)], 450, [2 (blank)] pp; pp. 226-337 printed in facing Hebrew (Square letter) and Latin. Light marginal browning. Handsome copy in contemporary red morocco, covers panelled in gilt panel with wild-strawberry

fleuron corner-pieces; spine gilt in six compartments, the second panel lettered on a black morocco label; comb-marbled endleaves, gilt edges (extremities very slightly rubbed).

Wing M2854. A most handsome copy of this fine piece of English printing which from the imprint seems to have been paid for by the editor/translator himself.

where he was born in 1637. He converted to Catholicism during the period of Bossuet's activities there in the 1650s and, again like his brother, came to England where he settled. His proud statement on the title-page of this book A.M ('Artium Magister') is a proof of his anglicisation. He was part of the household of John

Like his brother Charles Marie de Veil, Louis Compiegne de Veil (originally Daniel Veil or Weil) was, by birth, a Jew from Metz,



Tillotson, then Dean, and later Archbishop of Canterbury, and is mentioned in his correspondence.

He was a good Hebraist translating and editing various works from the *Yad haHazaka* of Maimonides, mostly published in Paris, and in 1679 translating and publishing in London, Abraham Y[.]agels' *Leqah Tov* with a Latin translation, a book which at the time attracted some notice. This work, a Jewish catechism, had been first published in Venice in about 1595 (copy in Bodley), and then in Amsterdam in 1658, was subsequently reprinted in Franeker in 1690 (Fuks & Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography ... 1585-1815* (1984), I, 89). An English translation, *The Jews Catechism*, based on the Latin appeared in 1680, and this survives in a unique copy.

The seven tractates from Maimonides *Yad haHazaka* are given in Latin the translation, he tells us, based on the Venetian editions of 1524 and 1574. Only the preface to the commentaries

on Leviticus (which is relevant to *De sacrificiis*) of Isaac Abravanel is given in Hebrew. The reason he gives is that Abravanel's book in Hebrew is difficult to find (it forms part of the *Commentary (Peirush) on the Torah* printed in Venice in 1579), and being printed in Rabbinic letter, difficult to read. He therefore prints the Hebrew text clearly in Square Hebrew Letter.

The volume is dedicated to Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, second son of the great Earl of Clarendon who is praised as his Maecenas, Charles II being his Augustus. In this preface, too, he mentions Detlev Cluver (1645-1708) a correspondent of Leibniz, who has helped him much in the explanation of the final tractate, on the calendar, and who had originally intended also to present his findings in tabular form, but this was rejected as it did not fit the format of the book. This tractate had been published originally in Paris in 1669 in (Veil tells us) a small edition which had become very scarce. Hence his decision to republish it.

Both John Locke and Isaac Newton had copies of the book, which is relatively common - though such fine copies as this are not.



Provenance: 1: Heneage Finch, 4th Earl of Aylesford (1751-1812), of Packington, Warwickshire, with his large etched bookplate. It may be that this copy belonged originally to Heneage Finch, 1st Earl of Aylesford (1648/9-1719), Solicitor-General 1679-86 and M.P. He was the second son of another Heneage Finch, 1st Earl of Nottingham (1621-82), Lord Chancellor, and dedicatee (as Baron Finch of Daventry) of his friend Humphrey Prideaux's edition of Maimonides' *De jure pauperis et peregrini apud Judaeos* (Oxford, 1679) as he also was of Veil's brother Charles-Marie de Veil's exposition on the books of the twelve Minor Prophets, *Explicatio literalis duodecim prophetarum minorum ex ipsis scripturam fontibus* (London, 1680) [see under Veil in this catalogue]. So there was a certain family connection with Hebrew texts. **2: William A. Foyle**, bookseller, of Beeleigh Abbey, Essex, with his gilt morocco label of the Foyle library at Beeleigh Abbey, sale, Christie, 13/7/2000, part of an unidentified lot to Maggs.



A FAMILY COPY WITH UNIQUE ADDITIONAL VERSES BY EDWARD BENLOWES AND A BEAUTIFUL BINDING WITH SILVER FURNITURE

68 MANCHESTER (Henry Montagu, 1st Earl of). **Manchester al mondo. Contemplatio Mortis, & Immortalitatis.** The former Papers not intended to the Presse, Have pressed the publishing of these.

London: by Robert Barker, and by the Assignes of Iohn Bill, 1633

£18,000

Third Edition (usually called the First Authorised Edition). 12mo. [Binding: 148 x 80 mm]. [12], 198, [2] pp. (first leaf blank except for signature "A", last leaf with errata on recto). Text increasingly dampstained at the end.

Bound in red velvet with elaborate silver "furniture" consisting of a border bead-and-reel frame of linked floral ovals, an oval Biblical scene at the centre of the inside frame (Adam and Eve on the front, the Sacrifice of Isaac on the back) and a set of eight cornerpieces with circular images of the Cardinal Virtues "FORTITUDO", "PRVDENTIA", "CHARITAS" and "SPES" on the front cover, and "IVSTITIA", "TEMPERANT", "PATIENCIA", and

"FIDES" on the back, in the centre of the covers an oval scene from the Life of Christ: the Adoration of the Magi on the front and the Ascension on the back, both within a pierced frame; an elaborate set of clasps and catches, the four catches with small oval portrait of the four Evengelists ("S. Mattheus" and "S. Ioannes" on the front and "S. Lucas" and "S. Marcus" on the back) with pierced scrollwork frames (the clasps are modern replacements by James & Stuart Brockman); the cornerpieces and clasps and catches secured to the boards with floral deocrated silver extensions pinned to the pastedowns; comb-marbled pastedowns only; spine faded; joints repaired); red cloth box.

STC 18026 (+ in UK; Folger, Harvard, Huntington, Universty of Michigan, New York Public Library & Yale in USA). The Huntington and Yale have copies with extensive manuscript notes - Cambridge has another copy from the Dukes of Manchester's estate at Kimbolton Castle (ex Dr Richard Hunter).

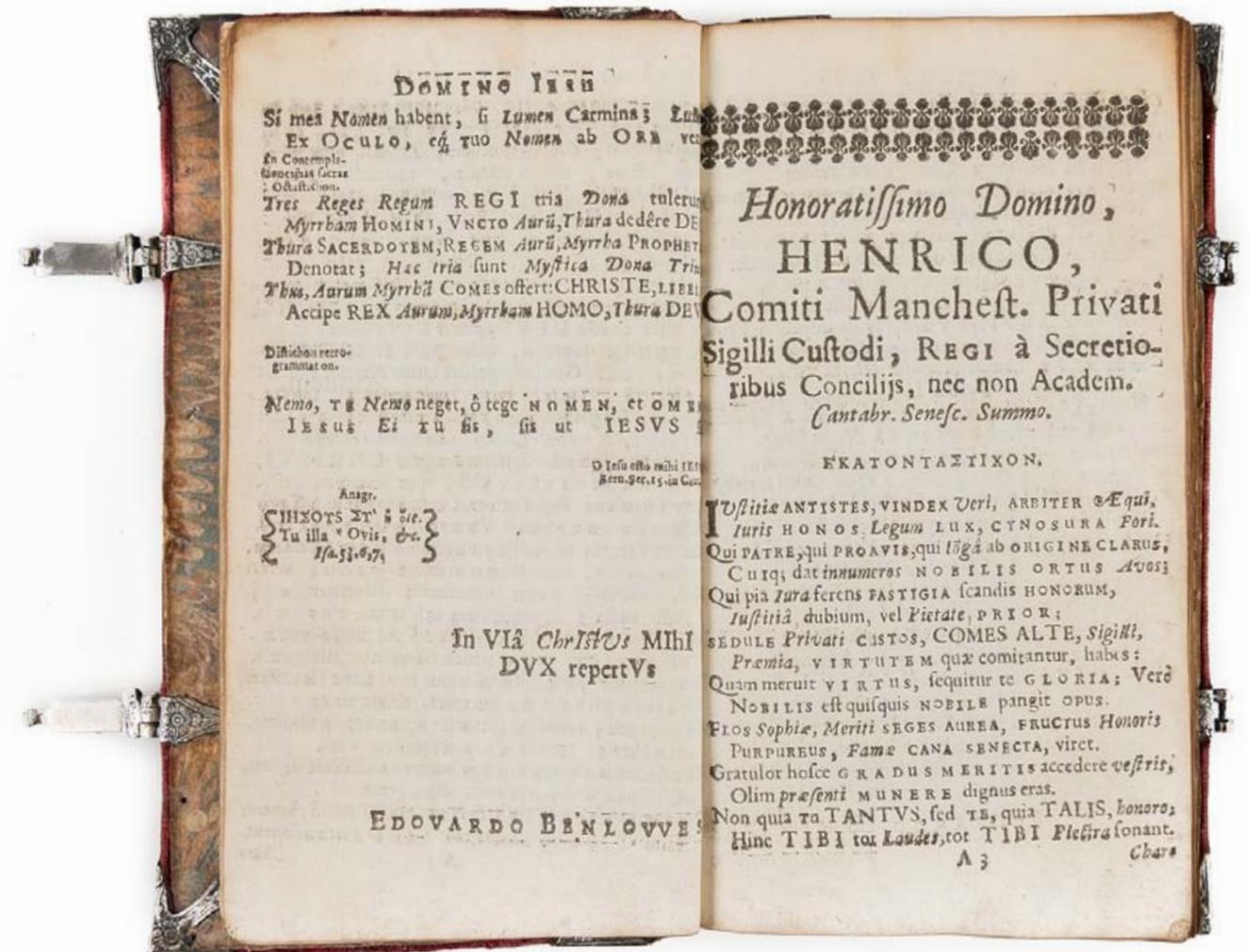
First edition with this title and usually, following the statement on the title, described as the first authorised edition. It was originally published anonymously with the title *Contemplatio mortis, & immortalitatis* in 1631 when there were two editions. However, A. F. Allison has pointed out that "both bear internal evidence of having been seen through the press by Manchester himself. The second contains a number of authorial alterations and additions" (p. 3). The work was hugely popular and ESTC records a further 21 editions up to 1688.

That all three were produced by the same printer, the royal printer Robert Barker and the assignes of John Bill, would also suggest the same involvement. This third edition also "contains further authorial alterations and additions" (Allison, p.3).

Uniquely, this copy also contains an extra 4-leaf gathering signed "A" after the title containing on the first 2pp. 100 two-line Latin sentences ("Hecatombe Christiana") by Edward Benlowes addressed to "Domino Iesu servatori nostro VnVs DeVs Mea LVX, & saLVS" (the capital letters forming a chronogram dating 1635) and signed "In VIa ChrIstVs MIhI DVX reptVvs EDOVARDO BENLOWES" (the chronogram again adated 1635) and on the 3rd and 4th pages a 100-line Latin poem ("Ekatonastichon") addressed to the author Henry, Earl of Manchester and signed "EDOVARDUS BENLOWES" and dated "Cressingae-Templariorum, Essexiae. Cal. April. 1635", i.e. Cressing-Temple, Essex, 1 April 1635, the home of Benlowes's paternal grandmother.

This unique printed insert by Edward Benlowes with Latin poems addressed to the author is found in no other copy and no other edition.

It begs, however, several questions. Benlowes has not previously been identified as having any connection with the book



so what is this doing here in what is clearly a special family copy? Indeed, were it not that Benlowes's contribution is dated two years later than the title-page, there would be no hesitation in describing this as "the dedication copy" and Benlowes as its newly-identified editor.

Edward Benlowes (1602-76), poet, was from a staunchly Catholic family from Essex but after St John's College, Cambridge (matriculated 1620) and Lincoln's Inn (1662) he "abandoned the Catholic faith, against which he railed for the rest of his life" (ODNB). After a Grand Tour from 1627-30 he returned to the family home of Brent Hall, near Finchingfield in Essex, where he "lived in the style that his wealth easily afforded him. Never married, he was able to devote himself to lavish patronage of the arts, especially of poetry." He was a friend (and patron) of the poets Phineas Fletcher and Francis Quarles to whose works he contributed liminary verses and received the dedications, and he "delighted in emblem books, rich engravings, fine bindings, metaphysical conceits, and witty expressions of all kinds, including obscure puzzles and anagrams" (ODNB) as evidenced in the chronograms here. He is best-known for his own lengthy and lavishly-illustrated poem *Theophila, or, Loves Sacrifice* (1652). To this his friend Walter Montagu contributed a liminary poem, "A Verdict for the Pious Sacrificer", which, interestingly, ends with an echo ("So in the Temple these Religious Hosts / From Hecatombs may rise to Holocausts") of the hecatomb theme used by Benlowes in the present volume.

Benlowes's friend the Hon. Walter ("Wat") Montagu (1604/5-77), was the second of four sons of Henry Montagu, 1st Earl of Manchester. After an early diplomatic career he took the opposite theological path to Benlowes and became one of the most notorious converts to Catholicism of the reign of Charles I. He became Chamberlain to Queen Henrietta Maria but was exiled to France in 1649 and some years later became Abbot of St Martin, near Pointoise.

That Benlowes and Walter Montagu were friends is clear but what role Benlowes may have had in the publication of his father's book *Manchester al mondo* or what he was doing addressing this special copy to the author, is not. It might explain why this book, by the staunchly conventional judge, Lord President of the Council (1621-28) and Lord Privy seal (from 1628 to his death), and "a firm upholder of the established church" (Allison, p. 2), contains two passages which Allison notes "are lifted almost word-for-word from the sixth and seventh books of the *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* of S. François de Sales." (p. 7).

"*Manchester al mondo* is a Christian meditation on the last things. Its form is conventional. It has four main divisions. The first contains general reflections on the meaning and inevitability of death and on the nature of man and the freedom God has given him to decide

his own destiny. The second treats of man's natural fear of dying and argues that this will fade away if he will only reflect on the joy, the 'regeneration of the soul', that death will bring. The third deals with preparation for death: the best preparation is settlement in religion, repentance for sin, detachment from the things of this world and a determination to live always with one's end in mind. The fourth is on what a man's last thoughts should be before he dies and on the soul's entry into paradise. What distinguishes *Al mondo* from most other contemporary works of its kind is the author's serene and detached handling of his subject. The great mysteries of sin and redemption are here seen through the eyes of a philosopher rather than a preacher. There is no fanaticism of any kind, no rabid insistence on orthodoxy, no dwelling on the torments of the damned, that theme so beloved of religious writers of the time. Manchester keeps his eyes fixed on the end for which man was created, the enjoyment of the beatific vision in paradise which can be attained by all who genuinely seek to do God's will in this life." (Allison, p. 4).

It has been suggested by Philippa Phillippy that Manchester wrote this collection of contemplations following the death by drowning of his three-year old nephew Henry, whose monument is in All Saints Church, Barnwell, "perhaps as a gesture of consolation for his grieving brother" Sidney Montagu and his wife Paulina (Phillippy, pp. 32-33).

Binding: An extraordinary binding. Silver furniture of this type, modelled after engraved prints, is not hallmarked and is usually considered to be Dutch. The separate pieces were probably imported into England in quantity for use by binders and other craftsmen. The designs are usually described as being engraved. This binding, however, demonstrates that this cannot be the case. The matching clasps and catches are apparently identical and must therefore have been cast from moulds.

The same set of eight silver cornerpieces of the Cardinal Virtues are found on the binding of a manuscript Bible written in shorthand by Joseph Alstone of Chelsea which had his name and the date 31 October 1632 engraved on the clasps (Maggs Catalogue 1272, item 14; resold Bloomsbury Auctions, 8/7/2010, lot 65) and on a 1643 New Testament bound in red velvet with centre-piece portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria and catches depicting the four elements. The latter is in the British Library and was illustrated in W. Y. Fletcher, *English Bookbindings in the British Museum* (1895), plate L; Cyril Davenport, *Royal English Bookbindings* (1896), plate at p.66; and W. Y. Fletcher, *Bookbinding in England and France* (1897), p.32. Two similar examples of this style of decoration, on English books (a Book of Common Prayer in green velvet, Edinburgh 1633 and a Bible in green velvet, London 1638) were in the J. R. Abbey collection, and

illustrated in John Hayward, *Silver Bindings from the J. R. Abbey Collection* (1952), no. 4; and in an anonymous Sotheby sale of Silver and Enamel Bindings from the collection of Bernard Breslauer, 10/5/1985, lot 28.

Provenance: 1: Dedication/presentation copy from Edward Benlowes to the author, Henry Montagu, 1st Earl of Manchester (c. 1564-1642). Ink signature "CManchester" on leaf A1, probably of Charles Montagu, 4th Earl and 1st Duke of Manchester (c. 1662-1722); late 19th-century pencil Kimbolton Castle, Cambridgeshire, shelfmark "K.W. Gallery West see Catalogue p. 4". **2: Anonymous**

WITH AN APPARENTLY UNRECORDED "ANIMADVERSION TO ALL THE HAPPY CHILDREN"

69 [MASON (Richard, O.F.M.). A Manuell of the Arch-Confraternitie of the Cord of the Passion, instituted in the seraphicall order of S. Francis. Wherein is contained an ample Declaration of most things concerning this Confraternitie. . . . By Br. Angelus Francis, the least of the Frier Minors Recollects. Second Edition. [- The Second Part of the Manuel of the Cord of S. Francis. Wherein is contained many spirituall exercises, and devotions, for those of the said Confraternity. . . .]

At Doway: by Baltazar Bellere, 1654

Second Edition. Two Parts. 12mo. [Text: 120 x 68 mm]. [24], 395, [1 (blank)]; 238, [2 (errata)] pp. + an extra 12pp signed "B" [see below]. Modern plain calf.

Wing M939. Clancy, *English Catholic Books, 1641-1700*, no. 651. ESTC/Clancy list copies at Ampleforth Abbey, Bar Convent York, Bodley, British Library, Downside Abbey [where this was a duplicate], Farm Street, Lambeth Palace, National Library of Scotland, Ware, Wells Cathedral; W. A. Clark Library, Folger, NYPL, Newberry Library, Union Theological Seminary, Yale.

The first edition was printed at Douai in 1636 (STC 17618.5; A&R 526: Mount St Bernard Priory & Capuchin Friary at Olton only) with a dedication to Mrs Packington, widow of Humphrey Packington.

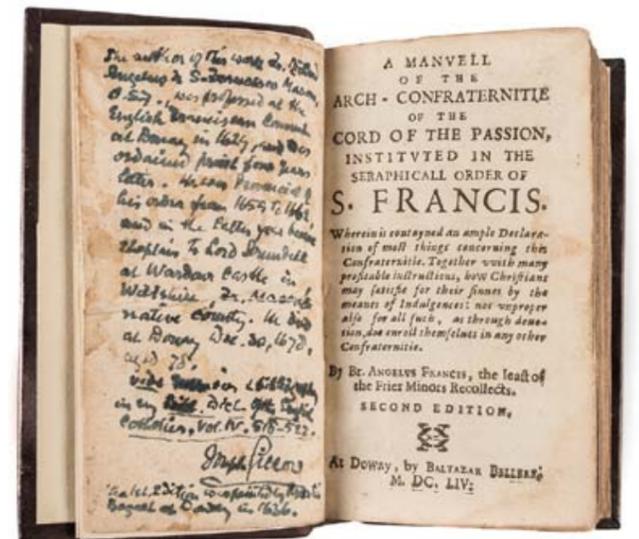
In the dedication to "The Lady Anne Ho:" [Holborne] (d. 1664) wife of Sir Robert Holborne (1598-1648), barrister and politician and daughter of Sir Robert Dudley (1574-1649), illegitimate son of Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and self-styled Duke of Northumberland and Catholic exile in Italy, Mason notes that this new edition "sith it hath received a new recruit, by many additions iudged necessarie for its better adornement, it could not well shew it selfe in publicke, without the protection of some noble Patron." For Lady Anne Howard, see also Christopher Davenport's *Religio Philosophi* (1662).

Richard Mason (1599/1600-1677) was from 1637 to circa 1650 superior or guardian of the Franciscan friary-seminary of St

sale, Bonham's, 13/11/2012, lot 118 to Maggs. Maggs Catalogue 1471/48 (2013). Private collection, U.S.A.

Literature: A. F. Allison, "The 'Mysticism' of *Manchester al Mondo*. Some Catholic borrowings in a seventeenth-century anglican work of devotion", in G. Janssens & F. Aarts, eds, *Studies in seventeenth-century english literature, history and biography: Festschrift for Professor T. A. Birrell* (1984); Philippa Phillippy, "A Comfortable Farewell: Child-loss and Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England", in Naomi J. Miller & Naomi Yavneh, eds, *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood* (2011).

£750



Bonaventure at Douai. In later years he was chaplain to Henry, 3rd Lord Arundell of Wardour.

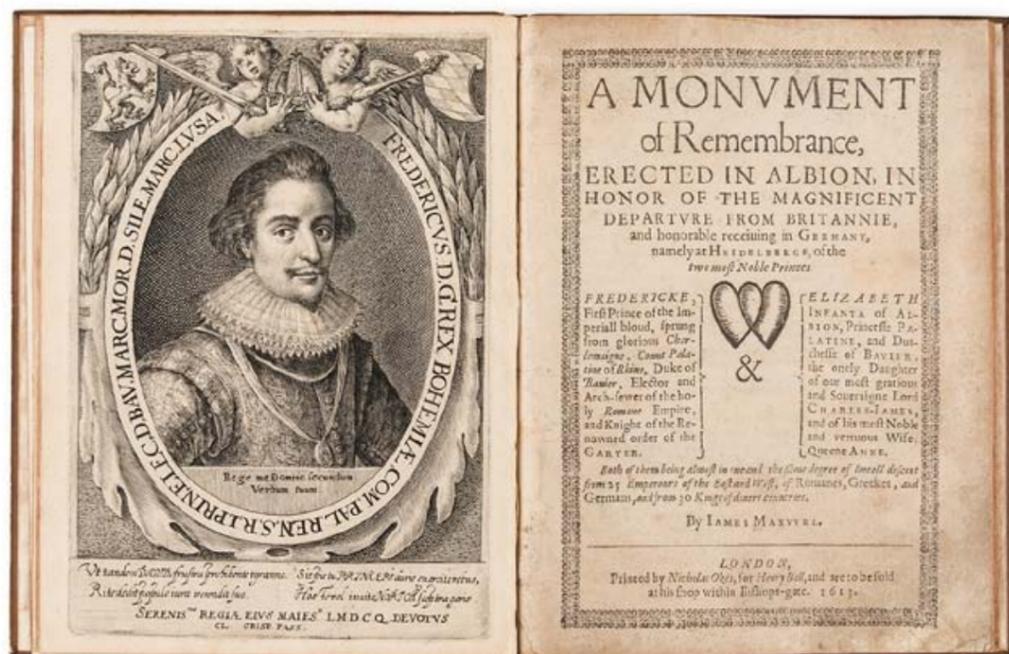
The Arch-confraternity of the Holy Cord of St Francis was founded by Pope Sixtus V at Assisi on 19 November 1585 in honour of the cord of St Francis given to and worn by St Dominic. Members of both sexes wear the cord as a symbol of penance and humility. It was particularly aimed at schoolchildren too young to join the Franciscan Order.

The ESTC collation does not call for the final unpaginated section of 6 leaves signed "B" (last leaf blank) with the drop-head

title “An Animadversion to all the happy Children, and others, whom judicious Piety devotes them to their Saviours sacred Wounds, in their inflaming imitation, and under the advantageous conduct of the Seraphick Father, Saint Francis Order, and its spirituall Exercises” (4pp) signed “H.N.” followed by “A Catalogue of the Feasts Celebrated in the Order of S. FRANCIS” (6pp). Of this we can trace no record.

Provenance: Joseph Gillow (1850–1921), Catholic biographer and genealogist, with his armorial bookplate and ip. of ink notes on

Mason (slightly blurred) with his signature on the front flyleaf. His “large collection of books was presented to the Catholic Record Society [of which he was honorary recorder] and set up as a reference library in Duke’s Lane, Kensington, during the 1930s. After many moves and depletions the remainder was housed at Downside Abbey.” (ODNB). In recent years many of the Gillow books have been sold as duplicates, largely following the deposit of the library of D. M. Rogers at Downside.



A RARE PROPHETIC POEM CELEBRATING THE MARRIAGE OF THE FUTURE “WINTER QUEEN” OF BOHEMIA

70 MAXWELL (James). **A Monument of Remembrance, erected in Albion,** in honor of the magnificent departure from Britannie, and honourable receiving in Germany, namely at Heidelberge, of the two most Nobles Princes Fredericke, First Prince of the Imperiall bloud, sprung from glorious Charlemaigne, Count Palatine of Rhine, Duke of Bavier, Elector and Arch-sewer of the holy Romane Empire, and Knight of the Renowned order of the Garter. & Elizabeth Infanta of Albion, Princesse Palatine, and Dutchesse of Bavier, the onely Daughter of our most gracious Sovereigne Lord Charles-James, and of his most Noble and vertuous Wife, Queene Anne. Both of them being almost in one and the same degree of lineall descent from 25 Emperours of the East and West, of Romanes, Greekes, and Germans, and from 30 Kings of divers countries. By James Maxwell.

London: by Nicholas Okes, for Henry Bell, 1613

£2,800

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [Text: 190 x 145 mm]. [56] pp. Text lightly browned and with a light dampstain near the end; closed tear [40mm long] from the inner margin of E1-4 neatly repaired. Engraved portrait of Frederick V as King of Bohemia by Crispin

vander Passe inserted as a frontispiece. Early 19th-Century plain calf; spine lettered in gilt (joints slightly rubbed). Early 20th-Century dark-blue morocco pull-off box by Riviere.

The Britwell Court copy of a rare prophetic poems celebrating the marriage of Princess Elizabeth Stuart to the Eelector Frederick V, Pfalzgraf / Count Palatine of The Rhine, the furutre “Winter King & Queen” of Bohemia.

STC 17703 (British Library, Bodley [x 2; 1 ex Malone], Cambridge, Leeds (Brotherton Collection), National Library of Scotland [x 2; 1 lacks last 4 leaves], Sion College [= Lambeth Palace], Westminster Abbey; Gottingen University; Folger [ex Harmsworth], Huntington [ex Huth], Newberry Library, Union Theological Seminary).

Aside from the Robert S Pirie copy sold at Sotheby’s on 3/12/2015, part of lot 426 (subject to a saleroom announcement that it had “tears to leaves F1 and F4 with loss of text”) we have traced no other copy on the market since 1956.

The avalanche of funeral elegies by the nation’s established and aspiring poets that followed the death of Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, on 6 November 1612 was almost immediately followed by another avalanche of *epithalamia* celebrating the marriage on 14 February 1613 of his sister Princess Elizabeth Stuart to the Pfalzgraf Frederick / Friedrich V, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. From November 1619 to November 1620 they reigned as the King and Queen of Bohemia before spending the rest of their lives in exile in The Hague.

“Elizabeth and Friedrich’s wedding was an occasion of unique cultural importance. The celebrations in London were magnificent, featuring a *naumachia*, fireworks, plays, masques, dancing, and musical performances. Clustered around the wedding itself were other notable events, such as the creation of Knights of the Order of the Garter, the wedding of prominent courtiers, hunts, banquets, journeys to the environs of London, and other state visits. The 1613 wedding was the single most significant occasion in the whole of James’s reign, surpassing even the two-week-long visit of King Christian IV of Denmark (1577–1648) in 1606 and the tournaments and other splendid spectacles attending the creation of Henry (1594–1612) as Prince of Wales in 1610. The festivities did not end in London, and after the couple set sail from Margate the spectacles continued in the Dutch Republic and all the way up the Rhine to Heidelberg. Along the route there were entries, greetings and leave takings of a ceremonial nature, picnics, banquets, and all manner of entertainments as the bride passed through many territories to her new home. Splendid spectacles in Heidelberg matched those in London.” (Smart & Wade, p. 13).

One of those who produced both a funeral elegy and an *epithalamion* was the widely-travelled Scottish scholar and “visionary Protestant ideologue” (MacClure, p. 274) James Maxwell (?1581–c. 1635). *The Laudable Life, and Deplorable Death of our late peerelesse Prince Henry* (1612), padded out with five other laudatory poems on the royal family that appear to have been written much earlier,

was quickly followed by *A Monument of Remembrance* (1613). Its 100 six-line stanzas are supported by an apparatus of (sometimes lengthy) side-notes explaining the numerous allegories and historical references in the poem. Maxwell’s aim is to demonstrate that the illustrious pedigree of the newly-married couple must inevitably result in the fulfilment of historical prophecies of a new Protestant world order that will follow the overthrow of the Turkish Ottoman Empire.

Entered in the Stationers’ Register on 30 March 1613, some four weeks before the newly-married couple departed for Heidelberg on 26 April, Maxwell was able to draw on some of the celebratory events he had witnessed, in particular the extravagant *naumachia* on the Thames in which two English ships fought off an attack by 17 Turkish galleys and then captured a Turkish Castle built in the river.

“The heightened, prophetic mode of this poem is maintained, as Maxwell imagines the young Prince Charles to be a second ‘Scanderbeg’ who will defy the Ottomans with a vigor comparable to that shown by ‘Castrite once chiefe of chivalrie’. He makes this comparison on the slender grounds that Charles Stuart, like Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg (1405–1468), is also ‘nam’d the Duke of Albany’. On this insubstantial premise, the young Prince of Wales is envisioned as a crusading hero who will, in league with the ‘states of Germany’, become the ‘horror of the Turkes’ and ‘the Hercules of this Isle’. Thus, for Maxwell, the theatrical conflict enacted on the Thames is merely an overture to the real warfare that awaits the destiny of the now conjoined houses of Stuart and Wittelsbach.” (McClure, p. 275).

Maxwell’s poem is preceded by “A Summary view of the Historicall Points, and Poeticall Conceits occurring in this present Monument” (33 points on 5pp.), a dedication “To the Right Illustrious House of Howards” (1p., set within a type-ornament border) and “The Author to the courteous reader, touching the reason of this present Dedication to the Illustrious House of Howards” (5pp.). It is succeeded by “The summe of divers Pedigrees common to the two most Noble Princes Fredericke and Elizabeth, collected by the Authour, in Honour of their Highnesses” (8pp).

“Maxwell is Scotland’s closest counterpart to such contemporary or near contemporary figures as Italy’s Tommaso Campanella, France’s Guillaume de Postel, England’s John Dee, Sweden’s Johannes Bureus, and Germany’s authors of the Rosicrucian manifestos. Like them he was deeply concerned to reconnect a world now religiously, politically, and intellectually fragmented, he anticipated eschatological spiritual and social renewal, and he looked to prophetic world empire. Like them he rejected Aristotelian scholasticism for a putatively more profound wisdom in Neoplatonism, astrology, and a range of magical traditions. Like Campanella – and also Francis Bacon – he sought to

elevate the status of the mechanical arts in relation to the liberal arts. At once archaic and forward-looking, medieval and yet also anticipating the British imperial experience, Maxwell, like so much in Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century, is profoundly Janus-faced, exotic but curiously familiar. ... Maxwell never found a place within the British order that he so wished to serve. ... Prophecy had come to play poorly within the late Jacobean and Caroline church. In that environment Maxwell's extraordinary claims (which extended even to determining the season of the year and the day of the week when the world would likely end, which found eschatological significance in the putatively Scottish place names he located in the Middle East, and which saw Merlin's prophecies indicating James's Irish policies) found themselves drastically out of place. Yet, for all its extravagance, much within Maxwell's thinking - his apocalyptic expectations, his sense of imperial mission, his philosemitism, even his concern to reclaim 'British' Constantinople - developed and articulated attitudes which were surprisingly widespread in both England and Scotland, and which extended to powerful members of the court, like Sir William Alexander, if not to the Laudian elite. Many of these perceptions would fire the mid-century revolution and thereafter more generally underwrite British achievement." (ODNB).

Maxwell's long-expected hopes of royal patronage, however, were undone in 1620 when, "his religious conservatism led to disaster when he produced a tract rejecting Frederick V's claim to the Bohemian crown. The argument in the now untraceable work, probably entitled *Turba-Austriaca*, is discernible from a summary appearing in yet another pamphlet published several months earlier: the Turkish threat and eschatological moment required 'that the imperial dignity be continued yet a while in the most glorious and august house of Austria, and not transferred unto another, especially of smaller power than it' (Maxwell, *Carolanna*, 1619, sig. F3r). Maxwell had always claimed that the house of Stuart was genealogically close to the house of Habsburg, and this circumstance, too, necessarily figured in his thinking. Not surprisingly a protest was lodged, and the 'scribbler' found himself gaoled in the Tower on 27 June 1620. During the autumn and winter he made a series

of increasingly abject recantations to the privy council, and was eventually released on 9 February 1621." (ODNB). He spent his last years in obscurity in France and died in or after 1635.

Provenance: Early 19th-century pencil notes on the endleaves, "very large Copy", "fine portrait by Pass added", "WNassau's Copy produced [£3/5/-]". **1: Edward Skegg** (1773-1842), confidential clerk at Coutts Bank and bibliophile, sale, 4/4/1842, lot 1195 ("the present copy has the portrait of Prince Frederick added"), £2/5/-. **2: William Henry Miller** (1789-1849), with his pencil note "Skegg 1195 £2 15/-" (erased); by descent to Samuel Christy, afterwards Christie-Miller (d. 1889), with his ink initials "C.S.M." on the front pastedown; pencil **Britwell Court** shelfmark at the foot of the front pastedown erased; Britwell Court sale, Sotheby, 31/3/1925, lot 536, £10 to: **3: Pickering & Chatto**, Catalogue 216 "Book Lovers' Leaflet", c. 1925, item 3988 ("inserted is a very fine portrait of Prince Frederick"), £18/18/-. **4: Abraham Goldsmith** (d. ?1934), of New York, with his armorial bookplate by E. D. French, sale New York, Anderson Galleries, 7/2/1935, lot 426, \$25. **5: Frederick Spiegelberg** (d. 1937), judge, of New York, with his small gilt leather label, sale, New York, Anderson Galleries, 3/11/1937, lot 466, \$22. **6: Alec B. Sanford**, of Jackson, Missouri, with small blue label, circa 1970.

Literature: Sara Smart & Maria R. Wade, "The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival. An Introduction" (pp. 13-60) and Iain MacClure, "The Sea-Fight on the Thames: Performing the Ideology of a Pan-Protestant Crusade on the Eve of the Palatine Marriage" (pp. 268-288), in Smart & Wade, eds, *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival* (Wiesbaden, 2013). Maxwell's Masonic interests in *A Monument of Remembrance* are mentioned by Marsha Keith Schuchard in *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (2002, pp. 291-2). Georgianna Ziegler refers to his positioning of Princess Elizabeth as the heir to Queen Elizabeth I in "A Second Phoenix: The Rebirth of Elizabeth I as Elizabeth Stuart" in Elizabeth H. Hageman & Katherine Conway, eds, *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth-century England* (2007, p. 121).

**UPDATED BY THE TRANSLATOR WITH ACCOUNTS OF THE ARMADA
& OTHER ENGLISH SUCCESSES AGAINST THE SPANISH**

71 MAYERNE TURQUET (Louis de). **GRIMSTONE** (Edward), translator. **The Generall Historie of Spaine**, containing all the memorable things that have past in the Realmes of Castille, Leon, Navarre, Arragon, Portugall, Granado, &c. and by what means they were united, and so continue under Philip the third, King of Spaine, now reigning; Written in French by Lewis de Mayerne Turquet, unto the yeare 1583; Translated into English, and continued unto these times by Edward Grimeston, Esquire.

London: by A. Islip and G. Eld, 1612

£2,800

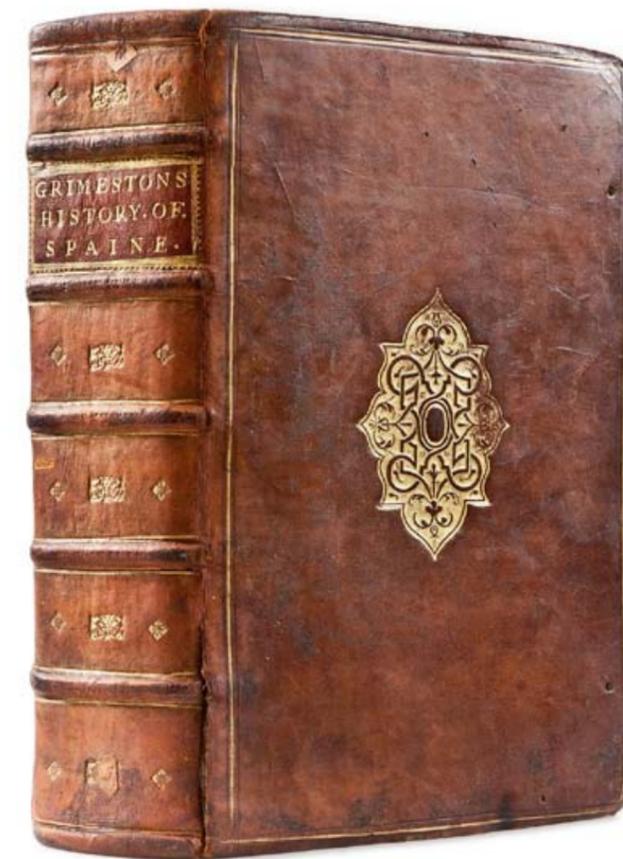
First Edition in English. *Folio*. [Text: 333 x 215 mm]. [8 (first leaf blank)], 1380, [28 (Table) pp. Title within a handsome woodcut architectural border. Ink spot in the centre of the title-page, second leaf heavily ink-smearred on the recto, a few spots and some damp staining near the edges in places (particularly pp. 1245-60). Contemporary calf covers with a single gilt filet border and a central gilt arabesque ornament; spine with seven panels, the second with a later red morocco label, the others with three small gilt tools (split in the leather along the lower edge of the front board, edges and corners rubbed and bumped, covers a little rubbed with some loss of gilt to the ornament on the back cover; pair of green silk ties missing).

STC 17747. **A handsome copy from the Macclesfield library of an important history of Spain continued by the translator to include accounts of the Armada and other events.**

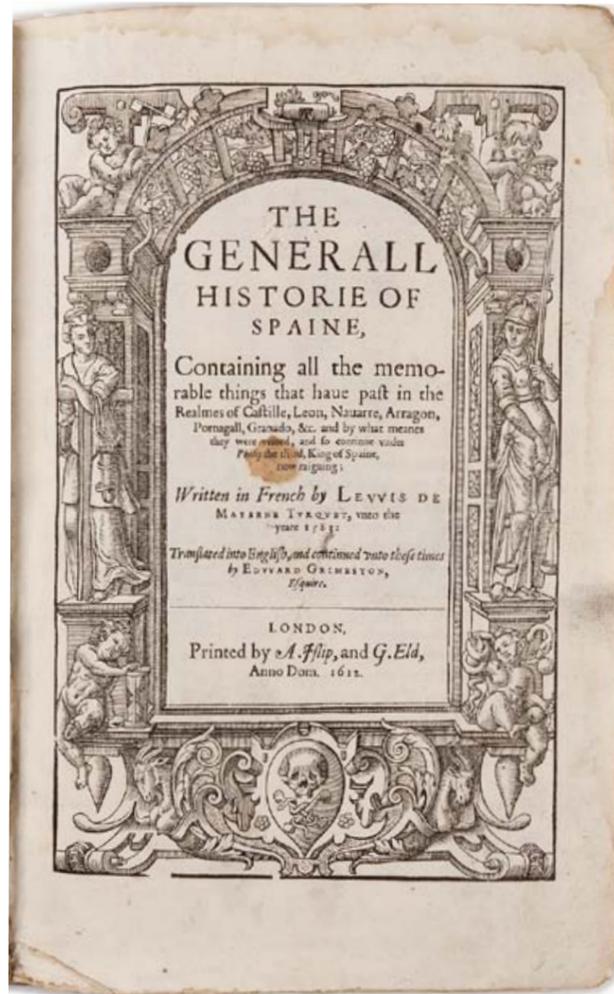
Louis Turquet de Mayerne, a French Protestant, was Treasurer at War in the reigns of Francois I & Henri II and father of Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, physician to James I, Charles I and Henrietta Maria. The translator, Edward Grimstone, updated the original text of this history of Spain to include an assessment of the Spanish Armada which made the work both an important recourse for a contemporary reader and played on the ongoing popular fear of further attacks from Spain.

Edward Grimstone / Grimeston was more than a mere translator as the original text does not cover the years of the Spanish Armada and the activities of the English privateers against the Spanish: as he says in the address to the reader: "This Historie comes but to the winning of the Terceres, which was in the yeare 1583:" and, although "he [the author] has finished the rest unto these times, I my selfe have seen it in his studie in Paris, but he hath not yet put it to the Presse, so as I have beene constrained, in the continuance thereof, to helpe my selfe out of the best that have written of these later times, wherein I have been assisted by some worthie gentlemen in the relation of some great actions, and have continued the Historie, unto my Lord Admirals returne out of Spaine [*i.e.* 1605]. You must not hold it strange, if you find a great part of Philip the seconds raigne barren of any great actions done in Spaine: his chiefe designs were against foreine States, imploying his bravest men abroad, either against France, England, or the United Provinces, at the Indies, or at Sea; all which actions are either related here, or in their distinct Histories. I must advertise the reader, that, from the yeare 1530, I have not directly followed my Author, for I have both inserted divers things out of other Authors, whereof he makes no mention, and have related some more at large then he hath done, for your better satisfaction, as I have found them written in other approved Authors."

Book 31 (pp. 1229-1337) is the result of Grimstone's own work. The accounts of Sir Francis Drake's voyage to the West



Indies (p. 1233) and his attack on the Spanish Fleet off Cadiz (p. 1238) are derived from accounts reprinted in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* (London, 1599). Also probably derived from Hakluyt rather than the original pamphlets are Sir Anthony Wingfield's account of the abortive invasion of Portugal in 1589 by Sir John Norris and Drake (pp. 1249-54) first published as *A True Coppie of a Discourse* (1589; STC 6790) and Sir Walter Raleigh's account of the last fight of *The Revenge* and the death of Sir Richard Grenville off the Azores in 1591 (pp. 1255-57) is first published as *A Report of the truth about the fight about the Ulles of Acores, this last summer* (1591; STC 220651). The account by Sir Robert Mansell, Admiral of the Narrow Seas, of the destruction of six Spanish galleys which he had intercepted and driven towards a Dutch fleet in September 1602 is given, Grimstone claims, "in the same words and phrase as he himselfe hath set it down, speaking in his own person as followeth" (pp. 1320-3) and as printed in *A True Report of the service done upon certaine gallies passing through the narrow seas: written to the Lord high Admirall of England, by Sir Robert Mansel Knight* (London, 1602; STC 17259). Grimstone's "continuation" to his translation of Jean-Francois Le Petit's *A Generall Historie of the Netherlands* (1608) gives an account of this account from another source. The account of the 1605 Embassy of the Earl of Nottingham to Spain (pp. 1331-7)



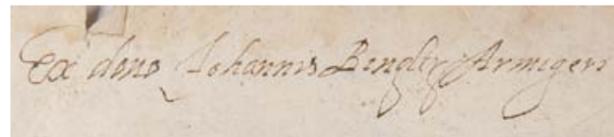
is taken, virtually verbatim, from Robert Treswell's *A Relation of such things as were observed to happen on the Journey of the right Honourable Charles earle of Nottingham, L. High Admirall of England, His Highnesse Ambassador to the King of Spaine* (London, 1605; STC 24268). The detailed list of the Articles of the 1604 Treaty of London which ended the Anglo-Spanish War (pp. 1326-31) are either heavily edited or taken from another source than the *Articles of Peace, Entercourse and Commerce* (London, 1605; STC 9211). Other passages, such as the account of the preparations for and defeat of the Spanish Armada (pp. 1245-8) and the adventures of the impostor who claimed to be Don Sebastian, the lost King of Portugal, are from sources that we have not identified. **Taken together they provide a gripping and flowing narrative of events still in living memory.**

Accounts of Grimstone's life are confused by the fact that both his father and elder brother were also named Edward. The only biography of him was by F. S. Boas, "Edward Grimston, Translator and Sergeant-at-Arms" in *Modern Philology*, Vol. 3/4

(April 1906), pp. 395-409. He was the younger surviving son of Edward Grimston (1507/8-1600), Comptroller of Calais 1553-8, who was captured at its fall and made a daring escape from the Bastille only to be tried for treason and acquitted on his return. In later years he was an active M.P. and local administrator in Suffolk.

It is presumably our Edward "who travelled to France in 1582 and 1591 and served as secretary to Sir Edward Stafford in 1587, giving information against English Catholics and Catholic plots" (*History of Parliament*) and who "appears voluminously in the state papers as diplomatic agent and spy in France in 1582-92." (*ODNB*). After his service in France he turned his hand to translating contemporary historical works from the French (or occasionally Spanish). He was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms in the House of Commons in 1610 and died in 1640. As Boas noted, "it is remarkable that he is not thought worthy of being mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, even among his father's descendants, for he was one of the most active and versatile of translators, when translating was in its golden age, and he was sergeant-at-arms during one of the most stirring periods of English parliamentary history." He does now get a passing mention in the new *ODNB* in his father's entry but only as a sergeant-at-arms and still not as a translator.

Provenance: Early inscription at the head of the front flyleaf "Ex dono Johannis Bingley Armiger" [the gift of John Bingley, Esquire]; perhaps **John Bingley** (c. 1572-1638), M.P. for Chester in 1610 & 1614, Writer of the Tallies in the Exchequer 1609-20. He was fined £2000 for corruption and briefly imprisoned following the dismissal of the Earl of Suffolk as Lord High Treasurer in 1618. He was subsequently Comptroller of Musters and Cheques in Ireland. From the library of the **Earls of Macclesfield**, of Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, with their blind armorial stamp on the title and following leaves and shelfmarks "121.K.10" (19th-Century) at the front "N.IV.5" (18th-Century) at the end.



"THE SUPREME POETIC ACHIEVEMENT IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE"

72 MILTON (John). **Paradise Lost. A poem in ten books.**

London: printed by S. Simmons, and are to be sold by T. Helder, 1669

£5,200

First Edition, third issue. *Small 4to.* [Text: 180 x 120mm]. [356] pp. Title-leaf browned and mounted on 19th-century paper and with a small hole in the blank space between the second and third lines; text lightly browned throughout and with occasional spots; small burn-hole in Dd3 affecting single words on recto and verso. Mid-

19th-century green hard-grained morocco by Hatton of Manchester with label, gilt arms block of the Earl of Macclesfield arms on the front cover, spine lettered in gilt; marbled endleaves (an original front flyleaf preserved); gilt edges (spine faded to brown; front joint heavily rubbed and with three wormholes at the bottom band).

Wing M2142. Pforzheimer 718. *Paradise Lost* was purchased from Milton by the stationer Samuel Simons on 26th April 1667 for an initial payment of £5 with further payments dependent on sales (in the end he received another £5 for the second edition in 1674 and his widow sold the rights for a further £8). 1500 copies of the first edition were to be printed. Simons appears to have begun typesetting soon after, and the setting for the first issue begins with leaf B1, with the poem set in full. It did not contain the preliminaries found in later issues, and the title was printed on leaf Vv3, with a conjugate blank as leaf Vv2. Three variant states of the title were printed for the first issue.

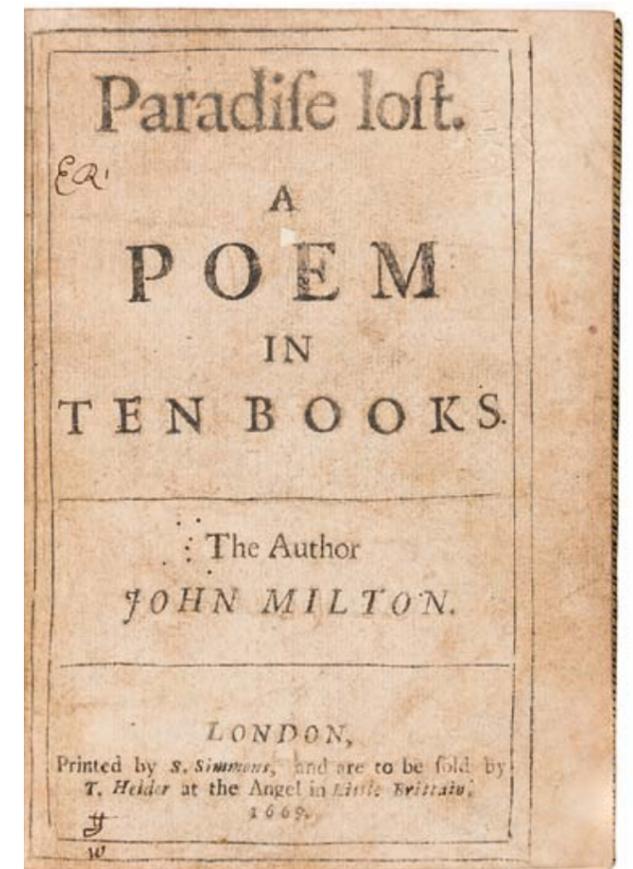
versification, with occasional harshness and affectation, superior in harmony and variety to all other blank verse." - Charles Lamb, *Select British Poets*, 1824.

"In the early twenty-first century Milton continues to be widely read. Schoolchildren in many countries still study Milton's poems (especially the sonnet on his blindness), *Paradise Lost* is studied in universities, and there is a substantial scholarly industry devoted to the study of Milton's works. There are large Milton societies in America and in Japan, and the learned presses continue to issue huge numbers of books and articles on Milton; there are even two journals wholly given over to Milton, *Milton Quarterly* and

In about May 1668 Simons printed two sheets of preliminaries, containing a new title-page, "The Argument", a defence of blank verse ("The Verse") and the errata. The preliminary leaves appear in various states in the second, third and fourth issues.

This is Hugh Amory's third issue of the first edition (Nov. 1668 / before 26 Apr. 1669); it is the same as the second issue except for a cancel title-page (the first to be dated 1669 in place of 1667 or 1668) with Thomas Helder's name first appearing as the bookseller and "Angel" in the imprint in roman type; the preliminaries are in the state with "The printer to the reader" in 4 (rather than 6) lines, followed by the *Argument* to Books I-X, the important defence of blank verse ("The Verse"), and 13 errata. Otherwise the text remains the same as in the earlier issues, before sheet Z was reset (it has the reading "illustrious" on line 109) and before the final half-sheet Vv was reset (it has the reading "farr" on Vvii, line 2).

"Milton was one of the four great English poets, who must certainly take precedence over all others. I mean himself, Spenser, Chaucer, and Shakespear. His subject is not common or *natural* indeed, but it is of preternatural grandeur and unavoidable interest. He is altogether a serious poet; and in this differs from Chaucer and Shakespear, and resembles Spenser. He has sublimity in the highest degree; beauty in an equal degree; pathos in a degree next to the highest; perfect character in the conception of Satan, of Adam and Eve; fancy, learning, vividness of description, stateliness, decorum. He seems on a par with his subject in *Paradise Lost*; to raise it, and to be raised with it. His style is elaborate and powerful, and his



Milton Studies. For literary scholars and educated general readers alike, the poetry of Milton retains a central place in the canon of English literature. *Paradise Lost* is widely and rightly regarded as the supreme poetic achievement in the English language, fit to sit alongside the poems of Homer, Virgil, and Dante. In America, where Christianity is still a vital force, *Paradise Lost* is valued as the supreme epic of Christendom. In post-Christian Europe and in secular American circles, *Paradise Lost* has become a cultural battlefield for feminists and Freudians, cultural materialists and new historicists. These ephemeral ideologies have replaced earlier concerns with humanistic values and Christian ideas, and will in turn be supplanted by new critical fashions, but *Paradise Lost* will retain its importance as one of the greatest works of the human imagination.” (ODNB).

Provenance: William Emmerton, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, with his inscription on the preserved front flyleaf “Liber Guilii

Em[m]erton Eman. Col. Cantab. Anno Dom. 1675” and a contemporary price “5s.” (though it seems to have been published at 3 shillings); there is no record in Venn’s *Alumni Cantabrigienses* of a William Emmerton / Emerton /Emmerson/ Emerson at Emmanuel College around this time. The second edition had been published (1674) when Emmerton bought his copy so it may already have been secondhand although it is possible that copies were still available (Amory, p. 53). A bookseller’s cost code is at the foot of the title “y | w” and another early owner’s initials “ER” are at the top left. **Earls of Macclesfield**, of Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, with their gilt arms block on the front cover, North Library bookplate (77.F.4.) and small armorial blindstamp on the title and second leaf.

Literature: Hugh Amory, “Things Unattempted Yet: A bibliography of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*” in *The Book Collector* (Spring 1983), pp. 41-66.

MANUSCRIPT LAW CASES

73 MOORE (Sir Francis), 1559-1621. **“Ex libro Francisci Moore Militis servientis ad Legem scripto propria Manu ipsius” [Manuscript collection of Law Cases dating from 1533 to 1603].**

[London: circa 1625-30]

£2,400

Manuscript on paper (Fool’s-cap watermark), neatly written in a clear secretary hand with almost no errors. Folio. [Text: 334 x

215 mm]. 306 leaves (main text ends on f. 275). Contemporary limp vellum (edges of the covers chewed in places; spine stained).

Sir Francis Moore (1559-1621) was a lawyer and M.P., practising at the Chancery Bar, promoted to Serjeant in 1614 and knighted in 1617. His collection of interesting / useful “Cases”, all in Law French and with the usual contractions and with occasional quotes from legal documents or verbal depositions in English, circulated widely in manuscript and there are five copies in the British Library Add. MSS 25191-2 & 35937, Harley MS 4585 (starting like this one at 24 Henry VI) and Lansdowne MS 1059 and another at Yale Law Library [ex Sir Matthew Hale]. Except for the Harley MS all are described as covering the same period 24 Henry VIII to 44/5 Elizabeth I (1533-1603) and all seem to begin with the same formula stating that they were copied from his own autograph manuscript (“Ex Libro ... scripto propria Manu ipsius”).

They were published as *Cases collect & report per Sir Francis Moore chivalier, serjeant del ley ... per l’original remainent en les maines de Sir Gefrey Palmer Attorney-General* (1663; reprinted 1675 & reissued 1688) with an *Exact Abridgement in English* by William Hughes (1675).

The manuscript differs considerably from the printed text both in the spelling of names (the manuscript appears to be more accurate) but also in the length of entries and the use of contractions and (as can be seen below) a large number of cases (mostly but not

exclusively from the reign of James I) included in the printed text are not present in any of the manuscript copies that we have traced. There are more sidenotes in the printed text which is approximately 40-50% longer and extends to 917 pages and comprises 1308 cases reaching into the reign of James I (Year 18 = 1620/1). Moore died in September 1621 aged 62/3 and may still have been collecting reports of interesting cases to the end. In addition, the cases in the printed text are numbered and there are indices of names of plaintiffs and subjects rendering the work much more useful - indeed it is hard to see how the manuscript was usable at all and, in this case at least, there is no sign that it has been used.

The manuscript starts with:

F.1r a short extract from Trinity Term, 24 Henry VI (June to July 1446), Roll 314 [not in the printed text].

F.1r William Chappel v Edward Church [Capell v Church on a judgment in the court at Castle Rising, Norfolk], Michaelmas Term, 1 Henry VII = printed text, p. 1 (Case 1).

F.1r-v William Capel v Prise [Capel v Aprice &c concerning Stortford castle, Hertfordshire]. Michaelmas Term, 3 Henry VIII = p. 1 (Case 2).

F.2r Opinion of Sir Robert Norwich & other judges of the Common Bench on “Challenge”, Michaelmas Term, 26 Henry VIII = p. 3 (Case 6).

F.2r Michaelmas Term, 28 Henry VIII concerning “Arbitrement” = p. 3 (Case 8).

F.2r Trinity Term, 28 Henry VIII concerning a “Challenge” = p. 3 (Case 10).

F.2r Michaelmas Term, 34 Henry VIII concerning “Arbitrement” = p. 3 (Case 11).

F.2v Hillary Term, 28 Henry VIII concerning William Francis “Lunatique et Idiot” = p. 4 (Case 12 “Frances Case”).

F.2v Trinity Term, 31 Henry VIII = p. 14 (Case 14 “Sir Godfrey Fuliambe’s Case”).

And ends with:

F.269r-v Michaelmas Term, 45 Elizabeth I, in Chancery, Gerard [William Gerrard of Dorney, Bucks] v the Dean & Chapter of Rochester & Sir Michael Sandes regarding divers manors including Southfleet in Kent = p. 676 (Case 920 “Garrard vers le Dean & Chapter de Rochester & Sir Miles Sandes”).

F.270r Hillary Term, 44 Elizabeth I, Pym v Allington concerning “Supersedes” = p. 677 (Case 921 “Prine vers Allington”).

F.270v Michaelmas Term, 44 & 45 Elizabeth I, in the Star Chamber “en le cas de forgery” of Saleway & Wayle = p. 655 (Case 897 “Salway vers Wales”).

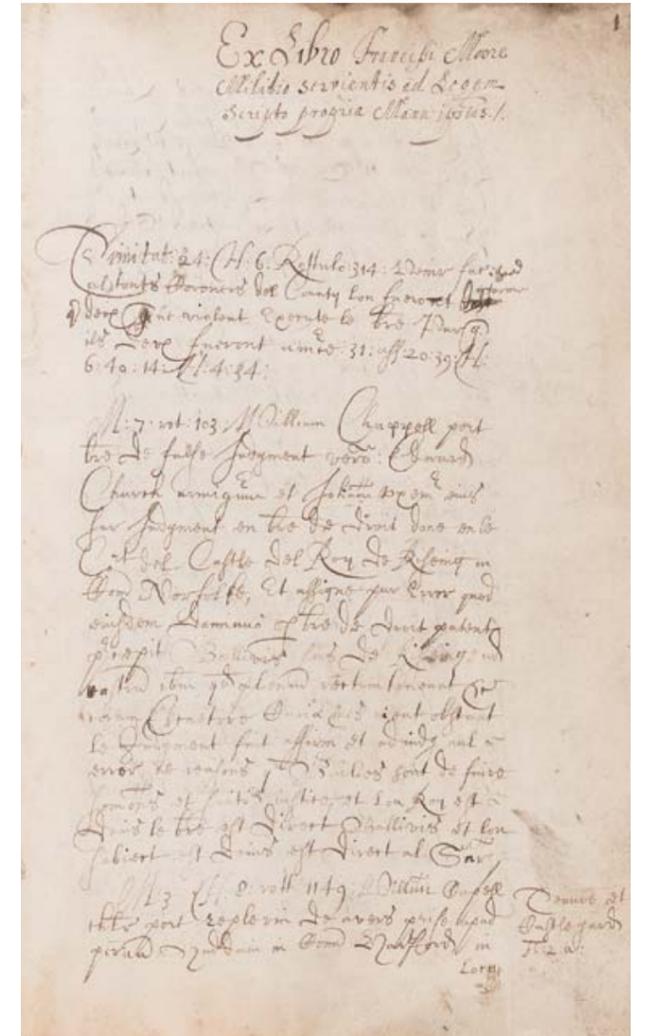
F.270v Undated, “Inter Pollard et Moreton” in the Star Chamber, concerning “fforcible entry” = p. 656 (Case 899 “Pollard vers Moreton”).

F.270v-273 Michaelmas Term, 44 & 45 Elizabeth I, in Chancery, concerning a writ of “audita querela”, “per Heydon et Vavator chevaliers et leur femmes ves Smyth et sa femme executors de Rigg” = p. 661 (Case 906 “Heydon & Vavator vers Smith & auters”).

F.273v-274r Michaelmas Term, 44 & 45 Elizabeth I, in Chancery, Robert Bullamy junior v Robert Bullamy senior & Francis Clerke, concerning perjury = p. 656 (Case 900 “Bullen vers Bullen & Clerke”).

F.274r-275r: February, 34 Elizabeth I - concerning the Act of Attainder for Treason against Sir Charles Danvers for his role in the Earl of Essex’s rebellion = p. 628 (Case 865 “Sir Charles Danvers Case”).

Following the main text are 4 blank leaves and then on the final 27 leaves a number of later cases from 1624 and after added in another two hands. These include “Sutor vers Emerton” [“Shoeter against Emet and his wife”, King’s Bench, Trinity Term, 21 James I] for libel when the plaintiff, a man-midwife was told “thou art a Witch, thou wert the death of a child, at wch thou wert Midwife” (f. 281r), “Messing et Hickford” [Hickford v Machin, King’s Bench, Trinity



Term, 22 James I] over a lease of lands taken as collateral for a loan of £500 from a debtor who died intestate (ff. 286v-287v) and, at length, Thomas Borton [Boreton] v Richard Nicholls & John Smyth, for “electione firmae” a very complicated property dispute concerning the heirs Henry Becke in Gloucestershire heard at the Court of Common Bench in Michaelmas Term 4 Charles I [1630] (ff. 288r-304r).

Provenance: No marks of ownership or even of readership though a loose slip of paper has a few notes towards an index and a fragment of a contemporary letter from “your loving mother” was used as a marker. Old Maggs cost code (pre-1935) “seoo” (£15) and a catalogue description (item 106, £25) loosely inserted; in stock since then but never re-catalogued.

"A FULLY ROUNDED PORTRAIT OF HIS ANCESTOR"

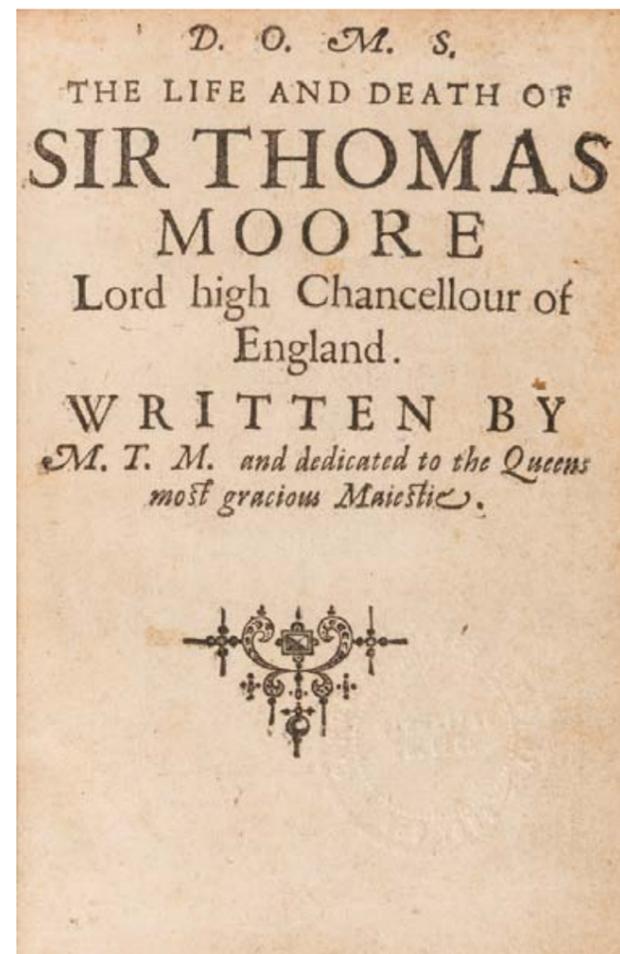
74 [MORE (Cresacre)]. **D. O. M. S. The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore Lord high Chancellour of England. Written by M. T. M. and dedicated to the Queens most gracious Maiestie.**

[Douai: by B. Bellière, 1631?]

£1,800

First Edition. *Small 4to. [Text: 194 x 142 mm]. [8], 432pp. Lightly browned throughout. Early 19th-Century russia, covers ruled in gilt, curl-marbled endleaves, gilt edges (unsympathetically rebacked,*

preserving the original spine, edges and corners worn, a small square rough patch on each cover near the spine where a piece of sticky tape has been removed).



STC 18066. Gibson, *More*, 106. Reissued in ?1642 (Wing M2640).

Cresacre (Christopher) More (1572-1649) was a great-grandson of Sir Thomas More.

"The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore was written between about 1616 and 1620 and published undated at Douai between about 1626 and 1631. Formerly it was attributed to Cresacre's older brother Thomas, a secular priest, who died in Rome in 1625, making Cresacre his heir. The issue of authorship arises from discrepancies between the 'Epistle Dedicatory' and the 'Preface

to the reader' in the first edition. The 'Epistle' clearly ascribes the authorship to Thomas, referring to him in the third person and as deceased. The 'Preface' just as clearly refers to the author as the youngest of thirteen children, as baptized on the anniversary of Sir Thomas More's death, as a parent, and as the only one of his brothers not to be in a religious estate. Conceivably Cresacre revised a biography first written by his brother but there is no acknowledgement of this possibility in the 'Preface'. It is likely that the 'Epistle' was added at a late stage, quite probably, in view of More's vulnerable position as a recusant, in an attempt to obscure his responsibility for the work. The dedication of the Life to Queen Henrietta Maria, whose marriage negotiations Thomas furthered, could also have rendered the illusion of double authorship desirable.

"More's biography of his great-grandfather is largely derivative, drawn mainly from the lives of William Roper and of Thomas Stapleton, but also using materials from Nicholas Harpsfield's life and from Edward Hall and John Stow's historical accounts. His chief accomplishment is to present a fully rounded portrait of his ancestor, in which he deftly combines the personal emphasis of Roper's biography, with its cameos of wit and family life, and the internationalist emphasis of Stapleton's, which depicts Sir Thomas the European humanist, man of letters, statesman, and martyr for the universal Catholic church. From a literary point of view his achievement is considerable." (ODNB).

Provenance: 1: A few old vertical pencil strokes in the margins. **2: Sir Mark Masterman Sykes**, 3rd Baronet (1771-1823), of Sledmere, Yorkshire, with his gilt white leather label, sale, Evans, II, 28+/5/1824, lot 523, £1/15/-. **3: Sir Thomas Brooke**, 1st Baronet (1830-1908), of Armitage Bridge House, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, with his bookplate; his substantial library was dispersed in several sales at Sotheby's. **4: James P. R. Lyell** (1871-1948), of Oxford, with his bookplate. **5:** Cardinal Hayes Library, **Manhattan College**, New York, with circular blindstamp on title. **6:** Unidentified English bookseller's catalogue cutting loosely inserted (£450). **7:** Private collection, U.S.A.

SECOND EDITION, "MUCH MORE PLAINE AND EASIE TO BE UNDERSTOOD"

75 MORE (Sir Thomas). **A Dialogue of Cumfort against Tribulation**, made by the right Vertuous, Wise and Learned man, Sir Thomas More, sometime L. Chancellor of England, which he wrote in the Tower of London, An. 1534. and entituled thus: A Dialogue of Cumfort against Tribulation, made by an Hungarian in Latin, and translated out of Latin into French, & out of French into English. Now newly set fourth, with many places restored and corrected by conference of sundrie Copies.

Antuerpiae [Antwerp]: apud Iohannem Foulherum, Anglum, 1573

£2,800

Second Edition. *Small 8vo. [Text 144 x 90 mm]. [11], 216 ff. Woodcut frontispiece oval portrait of More after Holbein, woodcut printer's device on the verso of the title. Small and light damp-stain at the head of the inner margin, and a larger but light damp-stain at the foot. Late 19th-century blind-tooled calf, gilt edges (rebacked preserving the original spine which has darkened).*



STC 18083. Gibson, *More*, 52. Allison & Rogers, *Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation*, II, 553.

First published by Tottel in 1553, More's book was written in the Tower as a comfort for his family. This second edition was edited and published by John Fowler (1537-1579), a native of Bristol and a catholic. He left England soon after Elizabeth I's accession, and set up a printing press first in Louvain, then in Antwerp, and he finally moved to Douai. He married Alice, the daughter of John Harris, who had been secretary to Sir Thomas More.

Fowler dedicated this edition which, "by conferring of sundry Copies together, have restored and corrected many places, and thereby made it much more plaine and easie to be understood", to the Duchess of Feria.

Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria (1538-1612), was the daughter of Sir William Dormer, by his first wife, Mary, eldest daughter of Sir William Sidney. Her uncle, Sebastian Newdigate, a senior monk at the London Charterhouse, had been hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn on 19 June 1535. She was brought up at court as a playmate of Edward VI and companion of Princess Mary. In 1558 she married Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, Count of Feria,

who had come to England in the suite of Philip II on his marriage to Queen Mary. The Count was raised to a Dukedom in 1568 but died in 1571, immediately after his appointment as Governor of the Netherlands.

The Duchess of Feria, a devout Catholic, spent her long widowhood in good works and became the chief supporter of the English exiles in Spain.

The woodcut portrait of More is derived from Hans Holbein's famous portrait now in the Frick Collection, New York. Its oval format suggests that it may have been copied from a miniature in Fowler's possession.

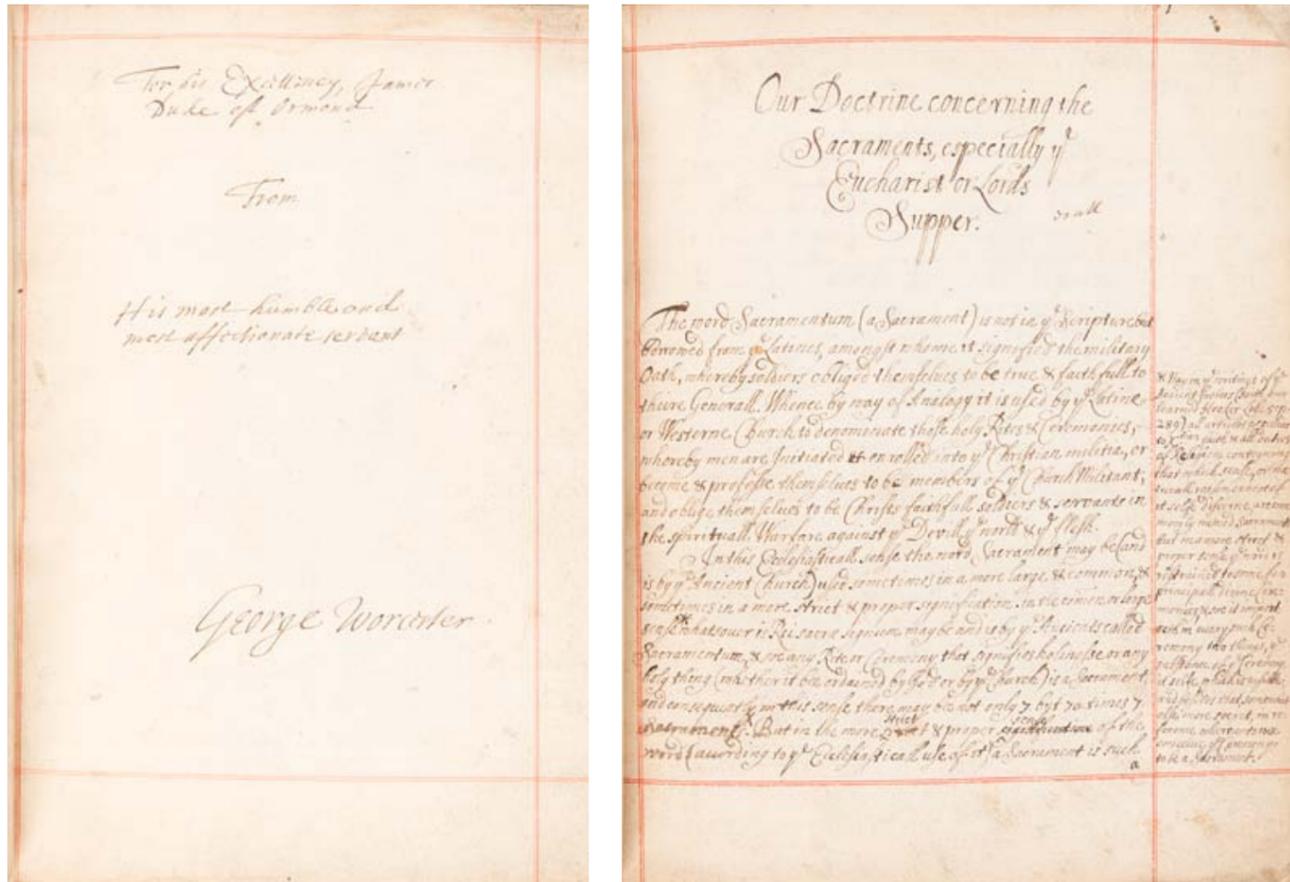
Provenance: No early marks of ownership. Late 19th. century bookplate of **Sidney Graves Hamilton** (1855-1916), of Kiftsgate Court, Campden, Gloucestershire, Fellow and historian of Hertford College, Oxford. Maggs Bros. (1997). Private collection, U.S.A.

PARTLY-UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT PRESENTED TO THE DUKE OF ORMONDE

76 MORLEY (George, Bishop of Worcester). **Manuscript of three tracts (the first apparently unpublished, the others published in 1683) on Holy Communion and Transubstantiation presented by the author to the Duke of Ormond.**

1: Our Doctrine concerning the Sacraments, especially ye Eucharist or Lords Supper. 62 pp.

2: An Argument drawne from the Evidence & certainty of Sense against ye doctrine of Transubstantiation, or ye Church of Romes interpretation of these words (Hoc est corpus meum) affirming that in ye Sacrament of ye Altar the whole substance of ye Bread is turned into the Substance of Christs Body: & ye whole substance of ye Wine into ye Substance



of Christs Blood; soe that after Consecration there remains neither ye substance of Bread, nor ye substance of Wine, but only ye Body & Blood of Christ under ye Species or Accidents of Bread & Wine. 21 pp.

3: A Vindication of this Argument (drawne from Sense against Transubstantiation) from a pretended answer to it by ye Author of a Pamphlet called (a Treatise of ye nature of Catholike faity & Haeresy) Cap: 11. pag: 54. 55. 56. 26. 26 pp.

[England: March 1661 - April 1662]

£7,000

Manuscript fair copy on paper in a neat italic hand, ruled in red. Watermark: ?posthorn on a crowned shield, initials "WR" at the base. 4to. [Text: 220 x 180 mm]. [6 (blank)], 62, [2 (blank)]; 21, [3 (blank)]; 26, [14 (blank)] pp. Neat repairs to the preserved

front flyleaf and the blank lower fore-corners of the first four leaves. Mid-19th-century vellum, covers with a 17th-century style gilt arabesque block, smooth spine tooled and lettered in gilt, gilt edges (edges of the covers and a small patch on the spine nibbled).

As an ardent royalist and a chaplain to Charles I George Morley (1598?-1684) followed the Stuart Court into exile, residing for some years with Sir Edward Hyde in Antwerp and serving as Chaplain to the exiled Queen of Bohemia in The Hague and, for a while in 1650, to Lady Ormonde at Caen, before joining the court of Charles II where he acted as an intermediary with remaining royalists and Anglican clergy in England.

Following the Restoration he was restored to his canonry of Christ Church, Oxford and appointed Dean. On 28 October 1660

he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester and, as Dean of the Chapel Royal, preached the sermon at Charles II's coronation. In May 1662 he was translated to the Bishopric of Winchester where he remained until his death in 1684. His "contribution to the Church of England cannot be denied. He was a tireless figure and offered the church leadership for several decades, perhaps most significantly at the Restoration and again in the mid-1670s when Sheldon's energy seemed to flag. He was a staunch Calvinist and yet an unwavering defender of the episcopacy and liturgy of the Church of England." ODNB).

The first and most substantial essay, concerning the Eucharist, here is apparently unpublished. The second and third essays here were written by Morley in Bruges circa 1657 and were subsequently published by him in 1683 in *Several Treatises, written upon Several Occasions; ... Both before and since the King's Restauration.*

In the Preface to that work he gave an account of his life during the Interregnum and after the Restoration and explained the circumstances in which the various essays and letters included in the volume were composed. With regard to the second and third essays here he wrote:

"From Breda I went to Bruxells in Brabant, where our King then was, and afterwards to Bruges in Flanders, when the King removed from Bruxells thither, Preaching before him at both places; but once indeed at the former, but several times at the latter, where he stayed longer, and there being none of his Chaplains but Doctor Earls (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) there then with Him. At Bruges I writ the Argument drawn from the Evidence of sense against Transubstantiation, for the satisfaction of Mr. James Hamilton, Nephew to the Duke of Ormond; who thereupon left the Church of Rome, and lived and died a Protestant of the Church of England. And a little while after upon the coming out of a Pamphlet, taking notice of that Argument and slighting of it, I writ that other Paper in Vindication of it." (Preface, p. ix).

The first, longest and (apparently) unpublished essay opens, "The word Sacramentum (a Sacrament) is not in ye Scripture but borrowed from ye Latines, amongst whome it signified the military Oath, whereby soldiers obliged themselves to be true & faithfull to their Generall. Whence by way of Analogy it is used by ye Latine or Western Church to denominate those holy Rites & Ceremonies, whereby men are Initiated & enrolled into ye Christian militia, or become & professe themselves to be members of ye Church Militant, and oblige themselves to be Christs faithfull soldiers & servants in the sprituall Warfare against ye Devill ye world & ye flesh. ..."

The second essay was written for James Hamilton, the eldest son of the Duke of Ormonde's sister Lady Mary Butler and Sir George Hamilton, 1st Bart., of Donalong, and a grandson of the 1st Earl of Abercorn. His father was a Catholic convert and staunch royalist officer in Ireland. James Hamilton was appointed Ranger of Hyde Park in 1660 in succession to Charles II's younger brother Henry, Duke of Gloucester. In 1664 he was appointed a Groom of the Bedchamber. He was Colonel of a Regiment of Foot and died a few days after having a leg shot off by a cannon-ball on 29 May 1673 while serving on the *The Royal Charles* under the command of Prince Rupert during the 1st Battle of Schoonveld

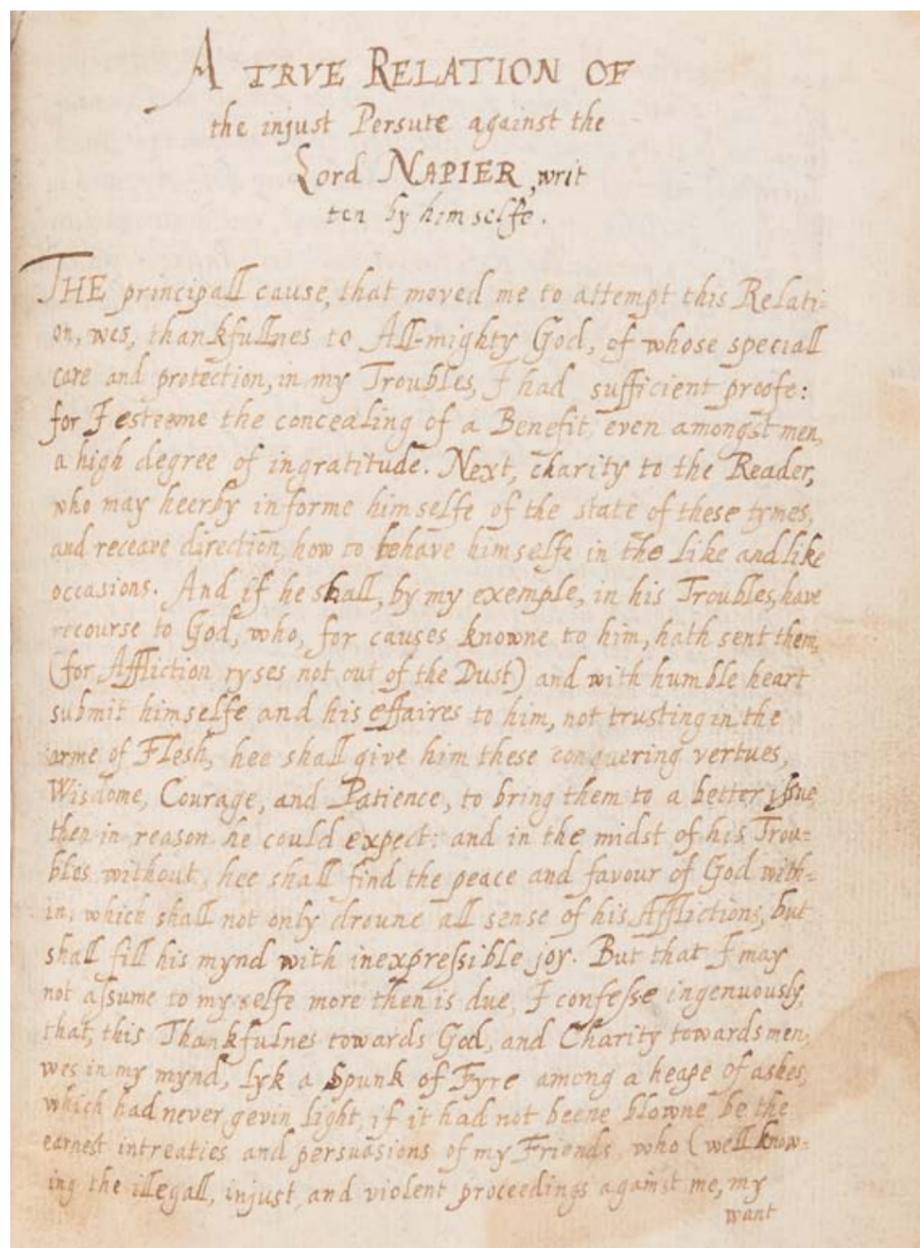
against the Dutch. He was buried in the Ormonde family vault at Westminster Abbey. His eldest son James, became 6th Earl of Abercorn.

The third essay was written in response to *A Treatise of the Nature of Catholic Faith, and heresie, with reflexion upon the nullitie of the English Protestant church, and clergy.* By N. N. (Rouen, 1657). It was, in fact, written by Peter Talbot (1618/20-80), a Cathoic priest, then Professor of Theology at Antwerp and a close adviser to the exiled Stuart Court and later (from 1669) Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

Morley specifically attacks Chapter XI of Talbot's anonymous and "worthlesse Pamphlet" - "Whether Transubstantiation, and the lawfulness of the worship of Images, be sufficiently proposed by the testimony of the Roman Catholick Church, as Divine Revelation? and whether Protestants have lawfull exceptions against them?" Morley concludes, "There is therefore noe such Miracle as Transubstantiation, it being not only a useless thing if it were soe, but an impossible thing that it should be soe."

Provenance: 1: Presented by the author to James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormonde, with his autograph inscription on the first blank page "For his Excellency, James / Duke of Ormond / From / His most humble and / most affectionate servant / George Worcester."

The inscription can be dated to some time between the creation of the Dukedom of Ormonde (30 March 1661) and Morley's translation from the see of Worcester to Winchester (nominated 11 April, consecrated 14 May 1662) following the death of Brian Duppa. James Butler (1610-88), 12th Earl of Ormonde (from 1633, 1st Marquess of Ormonde (cr. 1642) and 1st Duke of Ormonde (Ireland cr. 1661 & England cr. 1682) was Commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland (1641), Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1643-47, 1649-50, 1662-69 and 1677-85). He spent the Interregnum years, having been deprived of his immense wealth, with the exiled Stuart court and was fully restored to his possessions after the Restoration. A number of letters from Morley to Ormonde are recorded. Old ink note on an early front flyleaf that has been preserved "Worcester of Yorkshire" [Morley had no obvious Yorkshire conention] with a series of capitals below "GHKLCDEFG". 2: Bound circa 1860 for the bookseller Basil Montague Pickering with his ink name stamp at the head of the front pastedown and a pencil cost code including the binding and repairs on the rear pastedown. Cutting from a mid-19th-century bookseller's catalogue (price £1 5s) loosely inserted. 3: **Evelyn Philip Shirley** (1812-82), of Ettington Park, Warwickshire and Lough Fea, Ireland, with his armorial bookplate and Ettington Manuscript Library "No. 26" label. The Ettington Library was sold at Sotheby's on 16/7/1924, 28/4/1947 and 12/5/1947. Thence in Maggs Bros. old stock; previously uncatalogued.



THE ONLY KNOWN CONTEMPORARY MANUSCRIPT COPY
 & THE COPY-TEXT FOR THE PRINTED EDITION OF 1793

77 NAPIER (Archibald, 1st Lord Napier of Merchistoun). A True Relation of the unjust Persute against the Lord Napier, written by himselfe.

[Edinburgh: circa 1635-40]

£12,000

Manuscript written in ink in a neat italic on paper. Bunch of grapes watermark. Small 4to. [Text: 196 x 136 mm]. [63pp]. Text lightly browned and slightly soiled with a little dampstaining at the foot. Contemporary Scottish calf, the covers tooled in gilt with a

border and panel of a narrow pearl-chain roll between blind fillets, a small carnation or daisy tool at the outer corners of the panel, in the centre a thistle tool; smooth spine divided into panels by blind fillets (joints and spine rubbed).



The only known contemporary manuscript of Lord Napier's memoir / apologia, with a family provenance, said by the historian Mark Napier in 1838 to be autograph. The copy-text for the first edition of 1793 privately printed in 100 copies for the 8th Lord Napier, *Memoirs of Archibald, first Lord Napier: written by himself*. Published from the original manuscript in the possession of the present Lord Napier (Edinburgh: 1793).

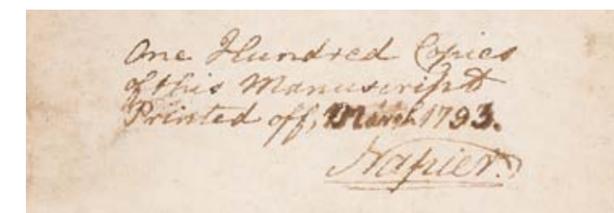
Archibald Napier (c.1575-1645) was the eldest son of John Napier (1550-1617), the inventor of logarithms. He was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King James VI of Scotland and accompanied him to England in 1603. He was knighted in 1616, appointed a Privy Councillor Treasurer (Scotland) in 1617, was Treasurer Depute of Scotland 1622-31, a Lord of Session 1623-6 and Extraordinary Lord of Session (Scotland) 1626-8. He was created a baronet in 1627 and Lord Napier of Merchistoun in 1627. He took the King's side during the Civil War and was imprisoned by the Covenanters from June to November 1641, confined with his eldest son to within a mile of his apartments in Holyroodhouse and, after his son's escape in April 1645, in close confinement at Edinburgh Castle and Linlithgow before being released at the end of July 1645. He died three months later (information from Cockayne's *Complete Peerage* and *ODNB*).

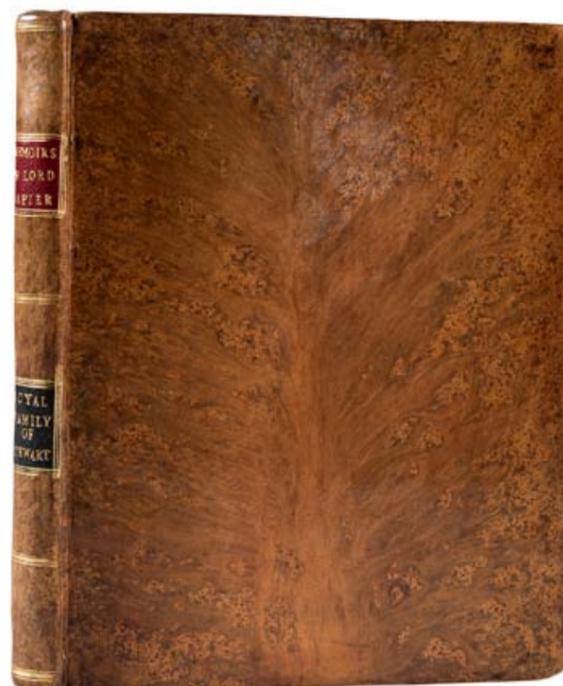
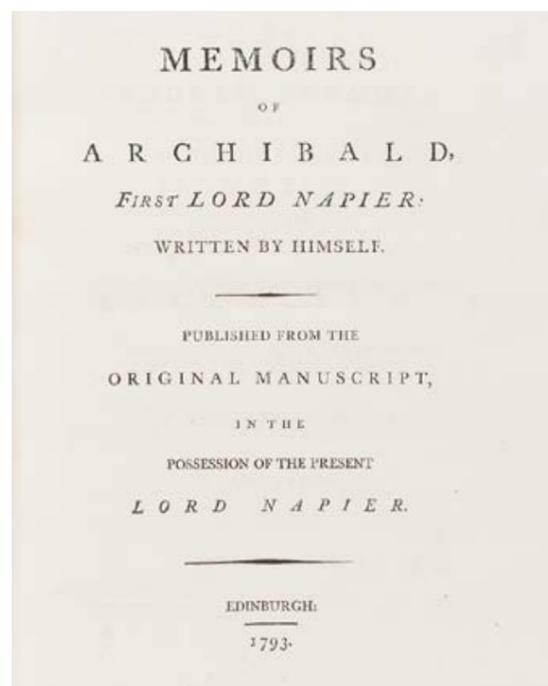
The Scottish advocate and historian Mark Napier (1798-1879), in his discussion of the surviving autograph papers of the 1st Lord Napier at Merchistoun in *Montrose and the Covenanters, their characters and conduct* (1838), mentioned that "among the Merchistoun papers, however, there are various remnants, which appear to have suffered from fire as well as time, all in the handwriting of this Lord Napier, and relating to his connexion with the events of the reign of Charles I. (Vol. I, p. 9) ... The only historical composition left complete by this nobleman is a manuscript in his handwriting,

entitled, 'A true Relation of the unjust persute against the Lord Napier, written by himselfe.' This does not refer to 'the Plot', nor to any of the transactions which fall under the denomination of 'the Troubles' in Scotland. It relates to a private cabal at court to deprive Napier of royal favour and countenance, a storm through which his unflinching integrity bore him with safety and honour. The period embraced by this Relation is from the beginning of the reign [of Charles I] in 1624, to the date of the King's coronation visit to Scotland in 1633. It was written soon after that event, and before the period of Montrose's return from his youthful travels [in 1636]. But the narrative is interspersed with curious anecdotes of the growth of factions and sketches of public characters, furnishing withal so apt and instructive a preliminary to the factious scenes which ushered in the great Rebellion, that we need offer no apology for presenting our readers with extracts from it that will be found in the introductory chapters." (Vol. I, pp. 10-11).

Binding: We have not been able to find the small flower tool and the thistle tool found on the covers on the very few other published Edinburgh bindings of the second quarter of the 17th Century. However, the binding can be compared to those on certain copies of Archbishop Laud's first Scottish *Book of Common Prayer* printed by Robert Young at Edinburgh 1636-7, e.g. the copy with Scottish arms of Charles I in Maggs's *Bookbinding Catalogue* 1075/35 [now in the Wormsley Library].

Provenance: The Napier Charter-Chest, at Merchiston Castle, now the centre of the Merchiston Campus of Edinburgh Napier University. Removed to Thirlestane Castle, in the Ettrick Valley near Selkirk, by the 6th Lord Napier, 3rd Baronet of Thirlestane (c. 1702-73) who sold Merchiston in 1772. By descent to Francis, 8th Lord Napier of Merchistoun (1758-1823), who commissioned the 1793 edition; with his armorial bookplate on the front pastedown and his manuscript note on the flyleaf, "One Hundred Copies of this Manuscript Printed off, March 1793. Napier." See Mark Napier, *Montrose and the Covenanters* (1838), *passim*, for other manuscripts from the same source. Thence by descent with the Lords Napier & Ettrick. The early 19th-century Thirlestane Castle was dynamited some time after the succession in 1954 of the 14th Lord Napier & 5th Baron Ettrick (1930-2012). Anonymous sale, Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh, 6/5/2015, lot 156 [catalogued incorrectly as a "copy, c. 1700-1720?"].





78 NAPIER (Archibald, 1st Lord Napier of Merchistoun). **Memoirs of Archibald, First Lord Napier: written by himself.** Published from the original manuscript, in the possession of the present Lord Napier.

Edinburgh: [privately published] 1793

£2,800

First Edition. *Small 4to in 2s.* [Text: 201 x 185 mm]. viii, 100 pp. *Fine copy in contemporary Scottish tree-calf, smooth spine divided into*

seven panels by gilt rules, red and black morocco labels in the second and fifth compartments; plain wove paper endleaves; yellow edges.

One hundred copies were privately printed for the 8th Lord Napier (1758-1823) from the unique manuscript copy described in the previous item. ESTC lists 11 copies in the UK (including 3 in the National Library of Scotland) and 9 in North America. ABPC records no copies at auction since 1975 and Rare Book Hub records only one copy in poor condition (ex Marquess of Lothian, Newbattle Abbey) sold in America in 2004.

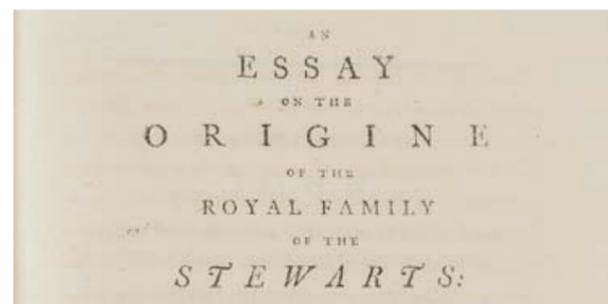
Family of the Stewarts. With an Appendix, containing several ancient curious Charters. Second Edition. [iv], 41, [3 (blank) pp. Edinburgh: by William Adams in Carrubber's Close, 1722. Reprinted by Stewart, Ruthven, & Co. 1793.

Bound with: HAY (Richard, of Drumboote). *An Essay on the Origine of the Royal Family of the Stewarts: in answer to Dr Kennedy's Chronological, Genealogical and Historical Dissertation of the Royal*

Scarce: ESTC lists copies at British Library, Bodley, Edinburgh University Library, Glasgow University Library, National Library of Scotland [x 3], Folger & Huntington.

Hay rejects the Irish Judge, Dr Matthew Kennedy's assertion that the Stewarts originated in Ireland.

Provenance: Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, 2nd Bart. (1741-1805), with his armorial bookplate (offset onto the flyleaf opposite). The magnificent Colquhoun library at Rossdhu, near Luss, Dumbarton, on the banks of Loch Lomond (visited by James Boswell and Dr Samuel Johnson in 1773 and now a Golf Club), was dispersed at Christie's in London and at Christie's & Edmiston's, Glasgow, in 1983/4. The books, mostly bound in plain polished calf, were in the most brilliant condition and are now much prized - "Colquhoun condition" became a bookselling trope though the books have largely disappeared from the market now.



ONE OF 24 COPIES BOUND FOR THOMAS HOLLIS

79 NEVILLE (Henry). **Plato Redivivus or a dialogue concerning government** wherein, by observations drawn from other Kingdoms and States, both ancient and modern, an endeavour is used to discover the present politic distemper of our own; with the causes and remedies. By Henry Neville.

London: Printed for A. Millar, 1763 [i.e. 1765]

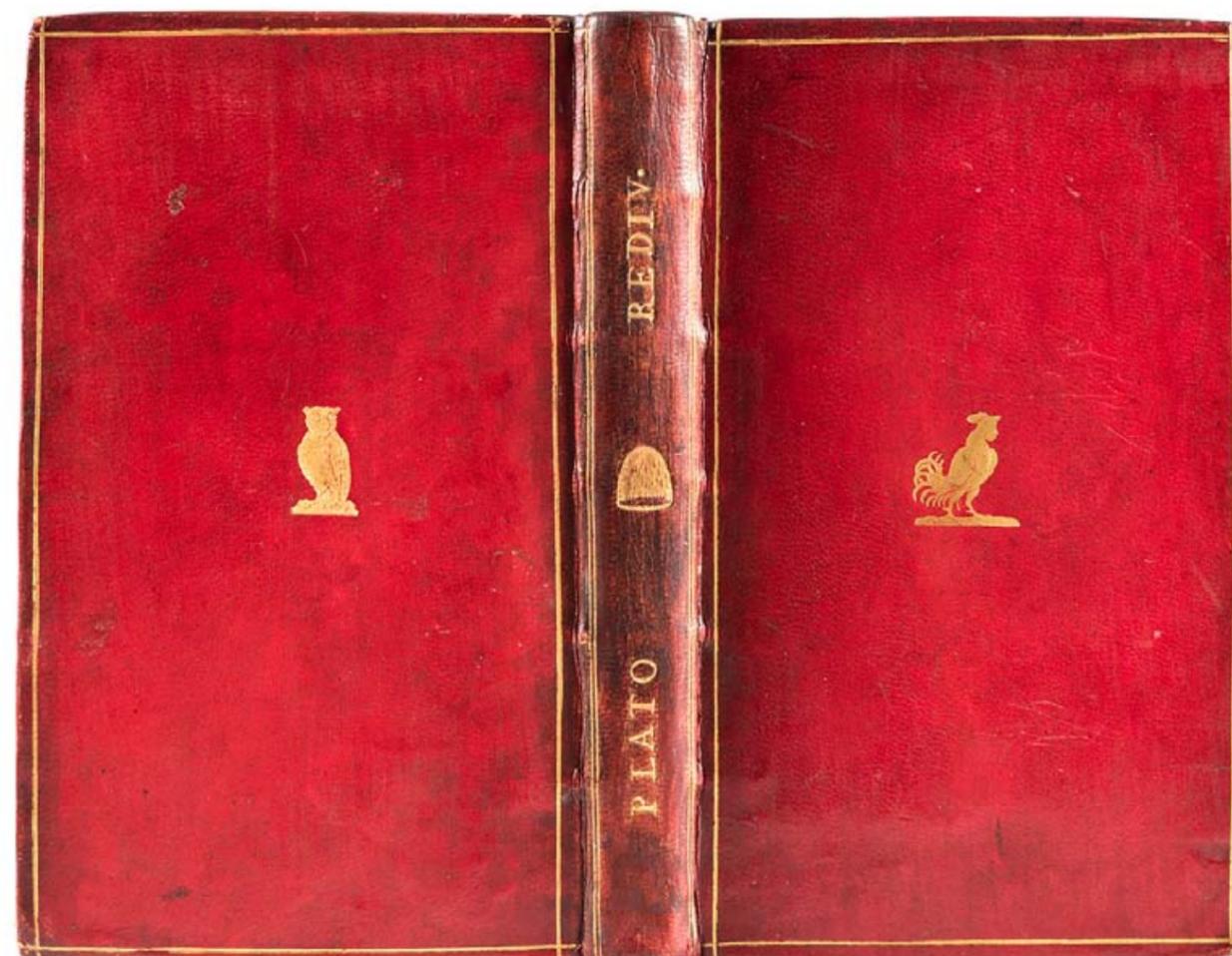
£4,500

"Fourth Edition" (i.e. a reissue of the "third edition" of 1745). 12mo. [Binding: 174 x 107 mm]. [iv (first leaf blank), 284 pp. Bound in contemporary polished red sheepskin by John Matthewman for Thomas Hollis, the covers tooled with a border of a single gilt fillet and in the centre of the front cover a gilt cockerell and in the centre of the back cover a seated owl; smooth spine tooled up

the spine with the title "PLATO REDIV." divided by a gilt Cap of Liberty or Phrygian Cap; on the first blank leaf a smoked or inked impression of the figure of Liberty and on the rear flyleaf a seated Britannia; curl-marbled endleaves, red sprinkled edges (the slightest rubbing on the joints, otherwise fine and bright). Red cloth folding box.

Three editions were printed dated 1681 (though the first appeared in October 1680); reprinted as *Discourses concerning Government: in way of Dialogue* (1698) and, again as *Plato Redivivus*, by Dodsley in 1745 ("third edition"; 300 copies reissued as this "fourth edition" in 1764); the text was also printed with James Harington's *Oceana* in Dublin, 1737 (reissued in 1758).

One of 24 copies specially bound by John Matthewman for Thomas Hollis (1720-74), the republican political propagandist, "for his own use and to scatter among his friends (as he expressed it) at home and abroad" (Thomas Brand Hollis, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, Esq., 1780, I, p. 265).





“This Book, which was first published in the month of October 1680, against the resitting of Parliament, was very much bought up by the members thereof and admired. It came out soon after, in the same year 1681, ‘with additions.’ - *Plato Redivivus* and the *Oceana* [of James Harrington, 1656] are both founded on one and the same political maxim, that of Empire’s always following the Ballance of Property. But there is this considerable difference in those works, viz. that the *Oceana* is only an imaginary scheme for a Commonwealth; whereas *Plato Redivivus* contains in it, the method of rendering a Monarchy, and particularly the monarchy of Great Britain, both happy at home and powerful abroad: the means for which are proposed distinctly and fully in the concluding Dialogue of that work. The Characters of the Persons engaged in those Dialogues are real. The Stranger, was a Nobleman of Venice, who had gone through several offices in that State; the English Gentleman is Harry Neville himself; and the Physician his great friend the celebrated Doctor Lower.” (anonymous preface by Thomas Hollis, pp. 6-7).

The late Professor W. H. Bond, of Harvard University, supplied us with the following note for another copy described in our *Bookbinding in the British Isles Catalogue 1075* (1987): “Despite the date 1763 on the title-page, it was not until November 1764 that Hollis engaged Millar to publish an edition of the text. Within a week Strahan (who was to print it for Millar) reported that Dodsley still had 700 copies of *Plato redivivus* and objected to the publication of another edition at that time. It was decided to purchase the remainder and issue it with new front matter; Dodsley was a hard bargainer, evidently, for Hollis complained he acted ‘sordidly and perversely’. And the remainder turned out to be only 300 copies, which Millar bought for £15. Hollis gave Millar £20 more for his trouble and to pay for the new title-page and preface, which Hollis himself wrote; he also designed the title-page. All was ready by the end of February 1765, when Hollis bought 24 copies from Millar. Why the title was dated 1763 remains a mystery, at

least to me. All the foregoing publication information has been dug out of Hollis’s unpublished diary.”

Thomas Hollis’s symbolic republican bindings were the cause of some derision in their day, both Boswell and Walpole wrote disparagingly. However, they generally achieved just the sort of interest and comment that Hollis planned in order to draw “notice, with preservation, on many excellent books” thereby promoting civil and religious liberty. He distributed them widely to libraries all over Europe and also North America, the main beneficiary being Harvard. After fire destroyed most of the College library in 1764 Hollis made extensive gifts of books, some from his personal collection, and today they make an impressive display in two alcoves of the library. Hollis’s first binder was Richard Montagu but by 1758 he was using John Matthewman and had equipped him with a set of emblematic tools designed by Cipriani. Nineteen designs were made for Hollis by Francesco Cipriani in the mid-1750s, all but two were cut by an unknown hand for bookbinding tools, while Britannia was made in three sizes. In June 1764 Matthewman’s shop was destroyed by fire and the tools lost. A new set, finer and closer to Cipriani’s designs, was cut by Thomas Pingo, engraver to the Royal Mint. Examples of these are used on the present binding and they were used until 1769 when Matthewman, in financial difficulties, absconded. The tools passed to John Shove, the binder used by Hollis for his lesser bindings, and a few further symbolic bindings were produced until Thomas Brand Hollis, who had inherited Hollis’s personal library, had seven tools cut for the third time. For further information see W. H. Bond, *Thomas Hollis of Lincoln’s Inn: a Whig and his Books* (Cambridge, 1990); H. M. Nixon, *Five Centuries of English Bookbinding*, nos. 67 and 74; *The Rothschild Library*, pp. 751-8.

With only 24 copies taken by Hollis this is probably the rarest of his presentation bindings; a more usual number was 40 to 100 or more - no copy is listed on ABPC-online and Rare Book Hub lists only a copy (not the present one as it had a Wand of Aesculapius or Caduceus on the spine) sold at Sotheby’s in 1958 that subsequently reappeared in three Charles J. Sawyer Catalogues between 1958 and 1971. An identical copy to that was the one in our *Bookbinding Catalogue 1075/174* (1987) with the bookplates of Consul Joseph Smith, the Earl of Gosford, H. J. B. Clements and Georges Marchal.

Thomas Hollis’s own copy of the 1698 third edition bound by Matthewman with the owl tool on the covers, from the libraries of Thomas Brand Hollis and Rev. John Mitford, is in the British Library and is reproduced online.

Provenance: 1: Sempill, later Forbes-Sempill, family, Barons Sempill and Baronets Forbes, of Fintray House, Aberdeenshire (demolished 1952; it was their second estate after Craigievar), with

large 19th-Century **Fintray House Library** armorial bookplate on the front pastedown. 2: Old pencil price on the flyleaf “21/-”. 3: **Professor Douglas Grant** (1921-1969), of Leeds University, author of the first biography of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Margaret the First* (Toronto, 1957); he had an interest in Utopian writings; with his book-label on the front pastedown; thence by descent, sale, Tennant’s, Leyburn (Yorkshire), 3/3/2009 to Maggs. Private collection, U.S.A.



“A MORE ELABORATE CONCORDANCE OF THE BIBLE THAN HAD EVER YET BEEN SEEN IN EUROPE” - BOUND IN PARIS FOR JOHN EVELYN

80 NEWMAN (Samuel). **A Large and complete Concordance to the Bible in English, according to the last Translation.** First collected by Clement Cotton, and now much enlarged and amended for the good both of Schollers and others: far exceeding the most perfect that ever was extant in our Language, both in ground-work and building. By Samuel Newman, a poor labourer in the Lords vineyard. The manifold use and benefit of this work is sufficiently declared in the Prefaces to the Reader.

London: for Thomas Downes and James Young, 1643

£7,000

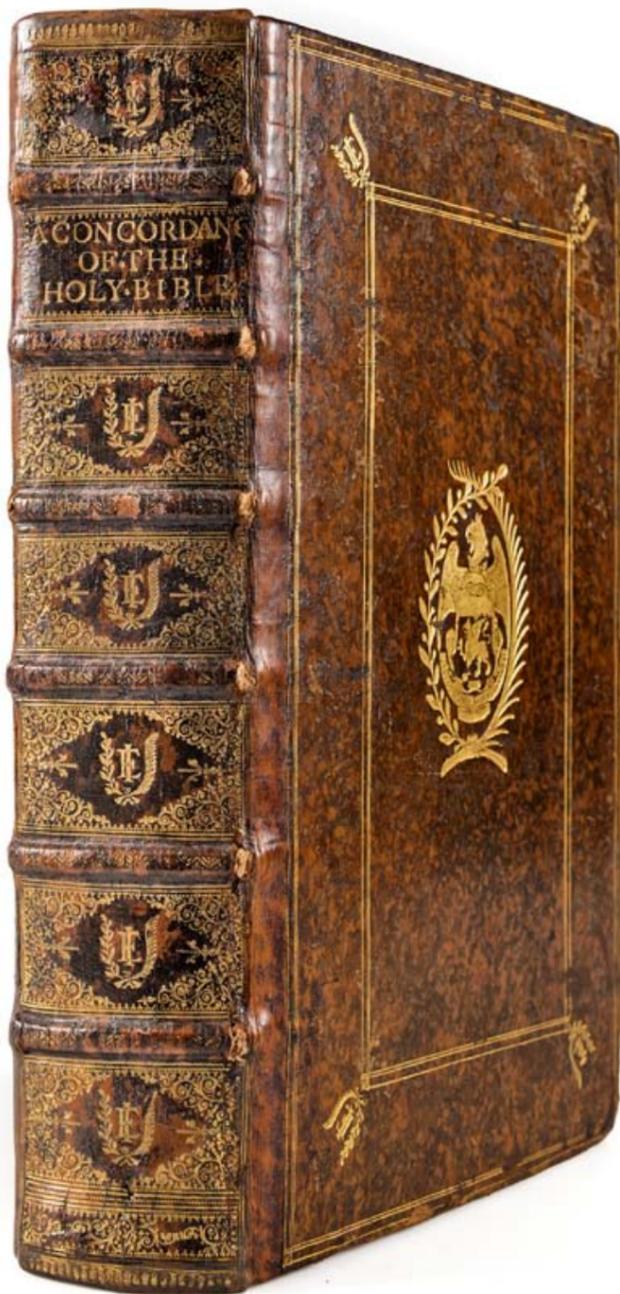
First Edition. *Large Folio.* [Binding: 360 x 250 mm]. [1376 pp]. *A4, B-5M6, 5N8, 50-5y6, 5Z4.* **Mid-17th-century Parisian binding for John Evelyn** of polished mottled calf, the covers tooled in gilt with an outer border and panel of a three-line fillet, in the centre the large gilt arms block of John Evelyn: within a wreath formed by a laurel branch and a palm frond: a griffin passant below a chief or, a martlet for difference (as a younger son); supported by a griffin, ducally gorged (sitting on its haunches with a shield between its knees - a characteristic French device), with the motto below: *OMNIA EXPLORATA MELIORA RETINETE*; spine divided into seven panels, the second lettered on a red morocco label “A CONCORDANC / OF THE / HOLY BIBLE.”, the others with Evelyn’s “IE” initials flanked by a laurel frond and a palm frond and scroll corners tools; nonpareil comb-marbled pastedowns; gilt edges (joints repaired, upper joint worn at the bands exposing the cords, lower corner of the front cover repaired; surface of the leather slightly affected by the mottling acid, particularly at the upper fore-corner of the back cover where the gilt tooling has been damaged).



Wing N929. The Concordance to the Apocrypha is separate to that of the main Bible. There were six further editions (+ one reissue) up to 1720. All editions from 1662 were printed at Cambridge, with Newman’s initials only on the titles, and it came to be known as the “Cambridge Concordance” under which title the final edition was printed in 1720. The size of the volume alone has ensured that numerous copies have survived (ESTC lists 46 copies of this edition), many still in the College and Cathedral libraries for which they were first purchased or as the result of bequests by their first owners.

Building on Clement Cotton’s *A Complete Concordance to the Bible* (1631) this is a work, not only of monumental scholarship but also of monumental assiduity. Though Samuel Newman (1602-63), a Minister in Massachusetts, commenced this project in England it is, without doubt, the largest compilation to be completed in New England in the first half of the 17th Century.

With a (4pp.) “Advertisement to the Christian Reader” by Daniel Featley discussing the imperfections of earlier Biblical Concordances and a (2pp.) address “to the reader concerning the



benefit of this Concordance above all others” by William Gouge. These prefaces first appeared in Clement Cotton’s *Concordance* (1631) and they are here revised to incorporate reference to Newman’s improvements.

A Biblical Concordance (like a concordance to Homer, Plato, Shakespeare, or Milton) brings together in an alphabetical sequence all verbs or nouns, adjectives or adverbs, themselves arranged according to meaning and according to the sequence of the various books of Scripture (Genesis–Apocalypse). It serves a dual purpose, one scholarly and lexical, and the other having a much more practical

application, that of preaching. Like the marginal references to parallel passages in scripture found in English (and other) Bibles, it serves to bring together all the relevant texts, and the English concordances published from the mid-16th Century on must surely have been made with the pulpit in view. It is no accident that it was the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) which was behind the first Latin concordance. The probable use of a concordance in preaching in the early 17th century may be seen in the sermons of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, where much of his play with words (in Latin, Greek, and English) could have been based on the use of a concordance (or a phenomenal memory).

Biblical concordances trace their history back to the middle of the 13th Century when Hugo de Sancto Caro (Hugues de St. Cher) compiled one based on the Vulgate. In roughly 1474 the first printer at Strassburg Johann Mentelin printed the *Concordantiae Bibliorum* attributed to Conrad von Halberstadt, but now believed to have been compiled by the Dominicans of St. Jacques. This was reprinted and later (1496) enlarged, edited by Sebastian Brant, the Alsatian humanist, and author of *The Ship of Fools*, who addressed a prefatory letter to the great preacher Geiler von Kaisersberg. The book circulated widely. Copies of this were certainly in England early in the 16th Century. The *Concordantiae maiores* in the Froben edition of Basel 1516 bound in Cambridge by Garret Godfrey not long after publication, later belonged to Archbishop Cranmer (D. G. Selwyn, *The Library of Thomas Cranmer*, 46) and Cranmer also owned the Paris 1527 edition (Selwyn 47).

A concordance to the Hebrew Bible was composed in the mid-14th Century by Isaac Nathan ben Kalonymus from Arles, and this was published in 1523 by Bomberg in Venice. Cranmer again owned this (Selwyn 48), and a copy was in the first Bodleian catalogue of 1605. The Greek New Testament received a concordance in 1546, and in 1607 Conrad Kircher published one to the Septuagint.

Concordances were widely used by individuals and held in libraries. Calvin’s academy in Geneva had a copy of the 1555 Estienne concordance printed there, as also that published in Basel by Herwagen in 1553. There were a number of editions of the Estienne work, many of which were to be found in Cambridge libraries, and Elizabeth Leedham-Green (*Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 1986) lists many owners of *Concordantiae Bibliorum* from 1535 onwards (II, 125–126). These books were, one must assume, acquired for learned purposes rather than the humble parish church.

The first English concordance was that to the New Testament published by Thomas Gybson in 1535 and attributed to Miles Coverdale, followed in 1550 by one to the whole Bible by John Merbecke, and this was followed in 1631 by that of Clement Cotton, revised by Samuel Newman, as in the present volume.

Samuel Baker (1656–1720), the *socius ejectus* of St. John’s College, Cambridge owned three editions of Newman’s *Concordance*. His copy of the 1682 edition printed at Cambridge is interleaved and extensively annotated. In it Baker has written: “Mr Samuel Newman – was the Author of the most excellent Concordance that was ever printed, now commonly known by the Title of The Cambridge Concordance, his name being ingratefully [*sic*] left out in the late Impression ...” (see, F. Korsten, *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker*, 1990, no. 2472).

The New England minister and writer Cotton Mather (1663–1728) wrote favourably of Newman’s *Concordance*: “Now, in the catalogue of concordances, even from that of R. Isaac Nathans, in Hebrew, to all that have in many other derived languages imitated it, there is none to be compared with that of Mr. Samuel Newman, in English. ... It hath been a just remark, sometimes, made by them, who are so wise as to observe these things, that the Lord Jesus Christ, in his holy providence, hath chose especially to make the names of those persons honourable, who have laboured in their works, especially to put honour upon the sacred scriptures. And in conformity to that observation, there are dues to be now paid unto the memory of Mr. Samuel Newman, who that the scriptures might be preserved for the memory, as well as the understanding of the christian world, first compiled in England, a more elaborate concordance of the Bible than had ever yet been seen in Europe; and after he came to New England, made that concordance yet more elaborate, by the addition of not only many texts, that were not in the former, but also the marginal readings of all the texts that had them, and by several other contrivances so made the whole more expedite, for the use of them that consulted it.” – Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), III, p. 113.

“Biographical information on Newman is extremely scarce; even his acquaintance* Cotton Mather, writing a brief life of Newman in 1702, complained that ‘our *History* of him is necessarily Creepled with much Imperfection’ (C. Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 1702, III, p. 114). He matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, on 3 March 1620, aged seventeen, and graduated BA from St Edmund Hall on 17 October in the same year. After Oxford, Newman entered the clergy, but his clerical career was interrupted by repeated official prosecution on account of his puritanism. He was compelled to move no fewer than seven times over the following eighteen years, leading Mather to remark that ‘although we might otherwise have termed him a *Presbyter* of One Town by *Ordination*, we must now call him an *Evangelist* of many, through *Persecution*’ (*ibid.*, 114). In 1638 he moved to New England, initially settling in Dorchester, Massachusetts, for about a year and a half, before moving on to Weymouth, where he remained for five years. In 1644 he moved for the last time and established a congregation in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, which he named after

the biblical city of Genesis 26: 22, where ‘the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land’ (Mather, *ibid.*, p. 114). ... He died in Rehoboth on 5 July 1663; whether he married or had children does not appear to have been recorded.” (*ODNB*).

It comes as something of a surprise, perhaps, from our perspective, to find that a Biblical Concordance should appeal to gentlemen of the laity as an essential reference work as much as to scholars and clerics. Indeed, in his prefatory address Daniel Featley preempts the very question that might spring to our minds: “I foresee what ignorance or malevolence may object against this work; that our presses are overprest with English books already, what need we then to put them to more torture, and make them groan under so heavie a bulk as this is in English? ... For whom is this work? Schollers can have recourse to *Concordances* in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. And the illiterate as little need this work, as they can make use of it. To this objection, the diligent composer hereof might answer as *Lucilius* in *Tully*, that he *wrote not his books for the most learned, or for the most unlearned, but for the middle sort.* ... But I dare undertake, if they will indifferently, and with ingenuitie consider of this work, the Authour may deservedly expect thanks of all sorts, and they reap benefit by him. To begin at the lower end there is none that can read English but may help himself by this *Concordance*, to perfect his sacred collections or divine notes, and readily thereby find any place of Scripture whereof he remembreth any word, having forgot the quotation. ... Now let me ascend higher, and crave leave to informe or remember the learned, that they have also their share, at least in some part, of the *crop* of this *harvest*. For though they be well acquainted with the *Concordances* and translations in the learned languages; yet their mother tongue, in which they heare the Scriptures perpetually read both publickly and privately, cannot but be more ready to them, and fresh in their memory.”

A good command of Biblical references was an essential tool for all kinds of writing. In John Evelyn’s case, his *Apologie for the Royal Party* (1660) contains some twenty Biblical quotes or references as identified by Guy de la Bédoyère in his edition of *The Writings of John Evelyn* (1995).

Evelyn’s friend Samuel Pepys also owned a copy of this edition of Newman’s *Concordance* (Magdalene College, Cambridge, PL 2535). On 5 June 1663 Pepys recorded in his *Diary*, “Thence to Pauls Churchyard, where I find several books ready bound for me; among others, the new *Concordance* of the Bible [Cambridge, 1662, edition], which pleases me much and is a book I hope to make good use of.” (*Diary*, ed. R. Latham & W. Matthews, IV, p. 174). Three days later, on 8 June, following an argument with his wife after dinner, “I went up vexed to my chamber and there fell examining my new *Concordance* that I have bought with Newmans, the best that ever was out before, and I find mine altogether as copious as

*Impossible unless he was dandled on his knee as an infant of under six months but Newman would certainly have known his grandfather Richard Mather (1596–1669), a fellow Puritan minister.

that and something larger, though the order in some respects not so good, that a man may think a place is missing, when it is only put in another place.”

Pepys, who liked to upgrade his books when new and better editions appeared, returned the new *Concordance* to the bookseller and kept his first edition. Later, he recorded in his *Diary* on 20 January 1669 that Lord Crew, at dinner, told “a good story of Mr. Newman, the minister in New England who wrote the *Concordance*, of his foretelling his death and preaching his funeral sermon, and did at last bid the Angells do their office, and died.” (*Diary*, Vol. IX, p. 31).

A further indication of this private interest is that the National Trust for England owns eight copies of the various editions, seven of which have been *in situ* for hundreds of years: 1643 Dyrham Park; 1650 Ickworth; 1672 Castle Ward & Charlecote Park; 1682 Blickling Hall; 1698 Dunham Massey & Farnborough Hall. A copy of the 1650 edition at Canons Ashby is on deposit from Bromhead Parochial Library.

In that Cambridge 1662 edition of the *Concordance* the two prefaces by Daniel Featley and William Gouge that had been retained in the 1650 and 1658 editions were dropped and replaced with a shorter anonymous one attempting to explain what Pepys clearly found disappointing in it: “As this Book containeth more, so is the volume less then formerly, it being 1. printed in a more small and close letter, and 2. of a method as *Newmans*, the Scriptures transcribed in full sentences; yet also in part as *Wickens* and *Bennets*, the figures onely of chapter and verse set down, which hath abbreviated the work by thousands of lines, yet fully as compleat and usefull. This account I have given of the volume, least beholding it so much less then the former we should thereby suspect it not to contain so much, whereas it will be found to contain much more then any.”

Provenance: 1: Bought in London in 1650 and bound in Paris soon after for the diarist, miscellaneous writer and virtuoso John Evelyn (1620-1706) during his second period of self-imposed exile in Paris after the Civil War (June 1649–Feb.1652) using armorial blocks and monograms designed by Abraham Bosse, the foremost French engraver of the day. With an ownership leaf with a wide engraved border by N. de Mathonière with a design

TWO BOOKS BOUND FOR SIR EDWARD DERING

81 NOWELL (Alexander). **A Reproufe, written by Alexander Nowell,** of a booke entituled, a proufe of certayne articels in religion denied by M. Iuell, set furth by Thomas Dorman, Batchiler of Divinitie. Set fourth and allowed, according to the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions.

London: by Henry Wykes, 30.die Maij. 1565

£5,500



of flowers, birds and butterflies with a blank armorial shield at the head and a blank oval cartouche supported by two putti at the foot bound before the title with a calligraphic ink inscription by Evelyn's secretary Richard Hoare, “A Concordance / of the / Holy Bible / E Libris JEvelynis / Emptus Lond. / 1650. / Meliora retinete.” [reproduced as Plate 34 in Part I of the Evelyn auction catalogue]. With Evelyn's manuscript pressmark “A.19” (altered from 18) at the foot of the title and at the foot of the inserted manuscript title; later Wotton House shelf-mark “K.7.16” on the first flyleaf and the modern Evelyn “JE” label on the pastedown; Evelyn sale, Christie, 23/6/1977, lot 418 (under Cotton), £450 plus premium to Kenwood. 2: Private collection, UK; anonymous sale, Bloomsbury Auctions, 29/5/2009, lot 542, £1500 + premium to: George Bayntun, bookseller, of Bath. 3: Private collection, U.S.A.

First Edition. *Small 4to.* [Text: 180 x 124 mm]. [8], 124 leaves. Damp-stained at the head, single wormhole throughout about 7–8 lines from the bottom, worm-trail in the lower margin of the last 15 leaves or so, scorch mark in the top fore-corner of S2 and Bb2. Mid-17th-century reversed calf, covers ruled in blind and with the **arms block in blind of Sir Edward Dering** [57 mm. diameter] (neatly rebacked to style, new label).

STC 18740. ESTC lists + in UK; Folger [x 2], Huntington, Pierpont Morgan Library, Union Theological Seminary in USA.

Milward (Peter), *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, no. 25. Reprints and replies to Thomas Dorman, *A proufe of certayne articles in religion, denied by M. Juell*, Antwerp: 1564 (STC 7062). Henry Wykes published a reprint dated 13 July 1565 and an enlarged edition in 1566.

Nowell's work marks the opening of the last phase of the so-called “Jewel – Harding Controversy” that commenced at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign with John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury's “Challenge Sermon” delivered at Paul's Cross on 26 November 1559. It challenged the Catholics “to justify certain of their beliefs and practices, listed in twenty-seven articles, from the writings of Scripture and the Church Fathers of the first six centuries after Christ.” (Milward).

[bound after:] **VALERA (Cipriano de).** **Two Treatises: The first, of the Lives of the Popes, and their doctrine. The second, of the masse:** the one and the other collected of that, which the Doctors, and ancient Councils, and the sacred Scripture do teach. Also, a Swarme of false Miracles, wherewith Marie de la Visitacion, Prioress de la Annuntiada of Lisbon, deceived very many: and how she was discovered, and condemned. The second edition in Spanish augmented by the Author himselfe, M. Cyprian Valera, and translated into English by Iohn Golburne. 1600. London: by Iohn Harison, 1600. **First Edition in English.** [xii], 445, [1 (table) pp. Title-page dusty; closely shaved at the head, cutting into the headlines of the preliminary leaves; short tear from a flaw in the lower corner of L3.

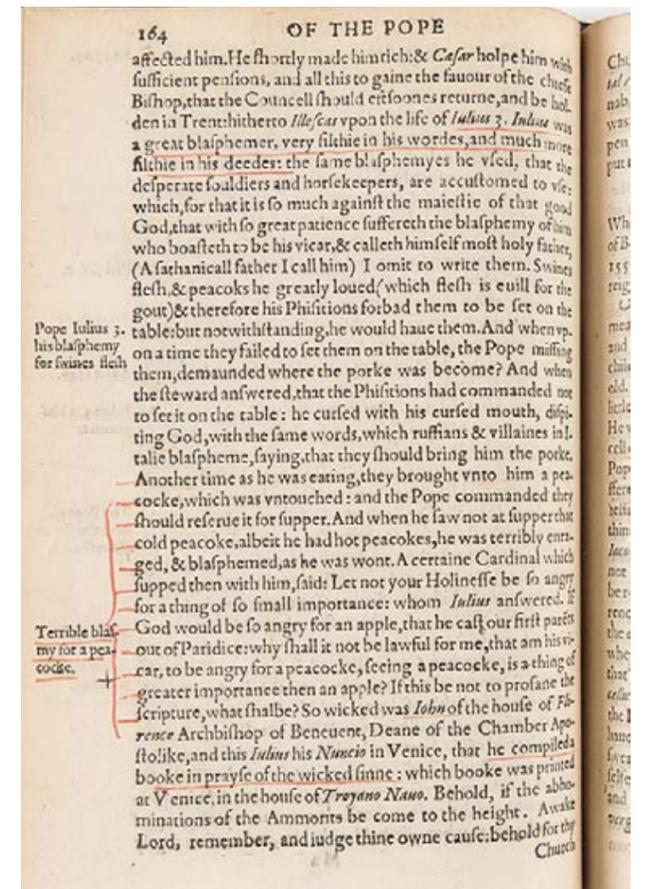
STC 24581. ESTC records + in UK; Folger, Hispanic Society of America, University of Illinois, Union Theological Seminary in USA.

John Golburne's translation of *Dos tratados: el primo es del papa, ... el segundo es de la missa* (London: 1588) by the apostate Spanish monk Cipriano de Valera (c. 1532 – c. 1606) who fled the Inquisition in 1557 to Geneva and then to London is dedicated to the Lord Keeper Sir Thomas Egerton (later Earl of Ellesmere).

Provenance: 1: 16th-century ink signature vertically in the fore-margin of the Nowell “Susan Owen” (slightly shaved). 2: Bound



together for **Sir Edward Dering**, 1st Baronet (1598-1644), with his coat-of-arms (a saltire) in blind on the covers [apparently *British Amorior Bindings* database Dering Block 7 (but that is measured as 2mm smaller)], shelfmark “30 13” in red at the head of the first title and with his characteristic neat red underlining, mostly in the Valera, noting passages on Papal and Episcopal authority (one passage on p. 93 is marked “nota.”), but also on several pages in the



preface and on leaf 1r of the Nowell, and a few pencil markings. “Sir Edward Dering, 1st Baronet (1598–1644), antiquary and religious controversialist, of Surrenden Dering in Kent, M.P. and Lieutenant of Dover Castle, was the eldest son of Sir Anthony Dering, of Surrenden, and his second wife, Frances, daughter of Chief Baron Robert Bell. Admitted to the Middle Temple 23 October 1617, Edward Dering was knighted in 1619, and created a baronet 1 February 1627. He was Member of Parliament for Hythe in Kent during the Long Parliament. From a yeoman family, he had the vanity to devise himself a pedigree, with the assistance of Philipot the herald, to enable him to trace his ancestry to Saxon times. He added the ‘Dering’ saltire to two ancient rolls in his own library, and forged charters to show his alliance with all the great families of the county. Part I of his library was sold by King and Lochée 3 December 1811, books from his library by Puttick & Simpson 8 June 1858, and charters and deeds from his collection, with some books, by Puttick & Simpson in a series of sales 10 July 1861, 4 February 1863, and 13 July 1865.” – *British Armorial Bindings database*.

Dering’s antiquarian interests, as for most at the time, were essentially genealogical, however, according to his son: “Dering ‘wholly addicted himself’ to ‘the study of Divinity’ from the late 1630s onward (CKS, U.1107, Z.3). He became involved in 1639–40 in controversy with the Carmelite Thomas Doughty (Father Simon Stock), at least in part as a result of attempts to convert Roman Catholic acquaintances, one of them a recent convert. Two of Dering’s polemical works were later published (*The Foure Cardinall-Virtues of*

a Carmelite-Fryar, 1641; *A Discourse of Proper Sacrifice*, 1644). Dering made some use of his knowledge of English history to expose the novelty of papist doctrines, although this was far from being the principal source for his arguments, in which the church fathers figured largely. He appears to have come to believe, in the course of his theological researches, that Church of England divines such as Peter Heylyn and John Pocklington were expounding views that were indistinguishable from popery, especially on the sacrament of the eucharist; the publication with official sanction of ‘Libelling Pamphlets against true Religion’ would become a major plank of Dering’s argument against the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Long Parliament (Dering, *Speeches*, 13).” (ODNB).

3: William Blair (1766–1822), surgeon; he was “a very earnest Methodist and worked enthusiastically in the cause of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on whose committee he served and to which he presented his valuable collection of rare editions of the Bible” (ODNB); with an ink note on the front flyleaf, “The writings of Cipprian Valera are prohibited in Spain &c and put into the Roman Index. His Bible, in particular, was obnoxious to the Church of Rome. See p. 229 Indicis Libr. prohib. Madrid Ed. 1668”; this is annotated in pencil “W. Blairs autograph” by:

4: Rev. Joseph Mendham (1769–1856), religious controversialist and book collector; bequeathed to the Law Society; the Mendham Library was latterly on deposit at Canterbury Cathedral Library (University of Kent); with recent pencil shelfmarks on the pastedown; Mendham sale, Bloomsbury Auctions, 20/3/2014, lot 233 [the Dering arms and provenance unnoticed].

**MOURNING POEMS ON THE DEATH OF HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES
BY MEMBERS OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY INCLUDING ROBERT BURTON**

82 OXFORD UNIVERSITY. Iusta Oxoniensium.

London: [Eliot’s Court Press] Impensis Iohannis Bill, 1612

£850

First Edition. *Small 4to. [134 pp (with the final blank leaf)]. Title within a woodcut architectural frame. Diagonal crease across the top fore-corner of the title and following leaf, repair to the top corner of the fourth leaf (touching the headline rule on recto); short*

diagonal tear from a flaw in the inner corner of F2; worming in the top fore-corner from B1 to M4 (not affecting the text) and light dampstaining/spotting in the fore-margin throughout. Late 19th-century red half morocco.

STC 19021. Madan, *Oxford Books*, II, no. 345. In this first state, the biblical quote on the title ends with a question mark, the third leaf is signed [par.]3, E3r last line reads: “Colleg. Nov. Socius.” and there is a marginal note beside Thomas Grent’s poem on F1r that was subsequently removed. In the second state at least quires C–E, I–L, and N have been reset.

Consists of 207 poems by 164 Oxford masters and students commemorating the death of the 18-year old Henry Fredrick, Prince

of Wales at 2a.m. on 6th November 1612 from typhoid fever. All the poems are in Latin except one in Hebrew, three in Ancient Greek and one in French. Madan reports that the editor seems to have been Samuel Fell and the Vice-Chancellor’s Accounts for 1612–13 that the cost for printing it in London was £9/4/-.

The contributors include the scholar Robert Burton, the scholar Isaac Casaubon, the poet and clergyman Richard Corbett (4), the clergyman and writer Brian Duppa, William Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury (2), Samuel Fell (3), Accepted Frewen,

later Archbishop of York, the playwright Thomas Goffe, the mathematician Edmund Gunter, the poet and clergyman Henry King (2), the civil lawyer Richard Zouch, and Abraham Scultetus, court preacher to the Pfalzgraf Frederick V of the Rhine, fiancé of the Princess Elizabeth Stuart.

In 2012/13 the National Portrait Gallery held the first exhibition to be devoted to Prince Henry, *The Lost Prince: The Life & Death of Henry Stuart*. In the final section, “Our Rising Sun is set’: The Death of Prince Henry”, Catharine MacLeod described how the prince’s death, “led to an unprecedented outpouring of mourning literature, Elegiac poetry was published in single- and multiple-authored volumes; funeral sermons, ballads and madrigals were also printed. Altogether approximately fifty volumes were published within the first year or so after his death, far outnumbering the quantity of comparable literature produced, for example, following the death of Elizabeth I. ... Among those who wrote poems were some of the most accomplished writers of the age, including John Donne, George Herbert, George Chapman and Thomas Campion. ... Henry’s death represented a shock to the nation and the symbolic loss of hope for the future. Poets could use elegies to explore wider ideas of loss and grief, both in public and private spheres, and also to draw attention to themselves. By dedicating a poem to the King, another member of the royal family or a prominent courtier, the author both paid respect to a grieving friend or relative of the Prince, and made a veiled plea for patronage.” (pp. 170–2).

For us today, the most interesting of the 207 contributions to this Oxford volume may be Robert Burton’s poem, his third published work, following two other commemorative verses of 1603 and 1605. It is titled “Infestus syderum aspectus, qui fuit Octava hora pomeridiana, Anno. 1612. sexto Novembris, quo tempore obiit Henricus Princeps” [the unhappy appearance of the stars which occurred at 8 o’clock in the afternoon in the year 1612, at which time Prince Henry died] (D3r–v).

It opens with the lines “Qua Princeps mundo illustris valedixerat hora, / Cur quinque septem sydera mersa latent?” [At the hour when the illustrious prince bade farewell to the world / why were five out of seven stars sunken and hidden?] and continues with an astrological theme, ending “Sertum de varijs contextum Cynthia gemmis, / Et lachrymis plenum vas, feretrumque; dedit.” [Cynthia (the moon) had given a garland woven with jewels of many sorts, and an urn full of tears, and a bier.] The poem was reprinted with his other minor verses with the first printing of his Latin play *Philosophaster comoedia* (Hertford, 1862) for the Roxburghe Club and reprinted in 1931. It has never been translated into English (a rough translation can be provided).

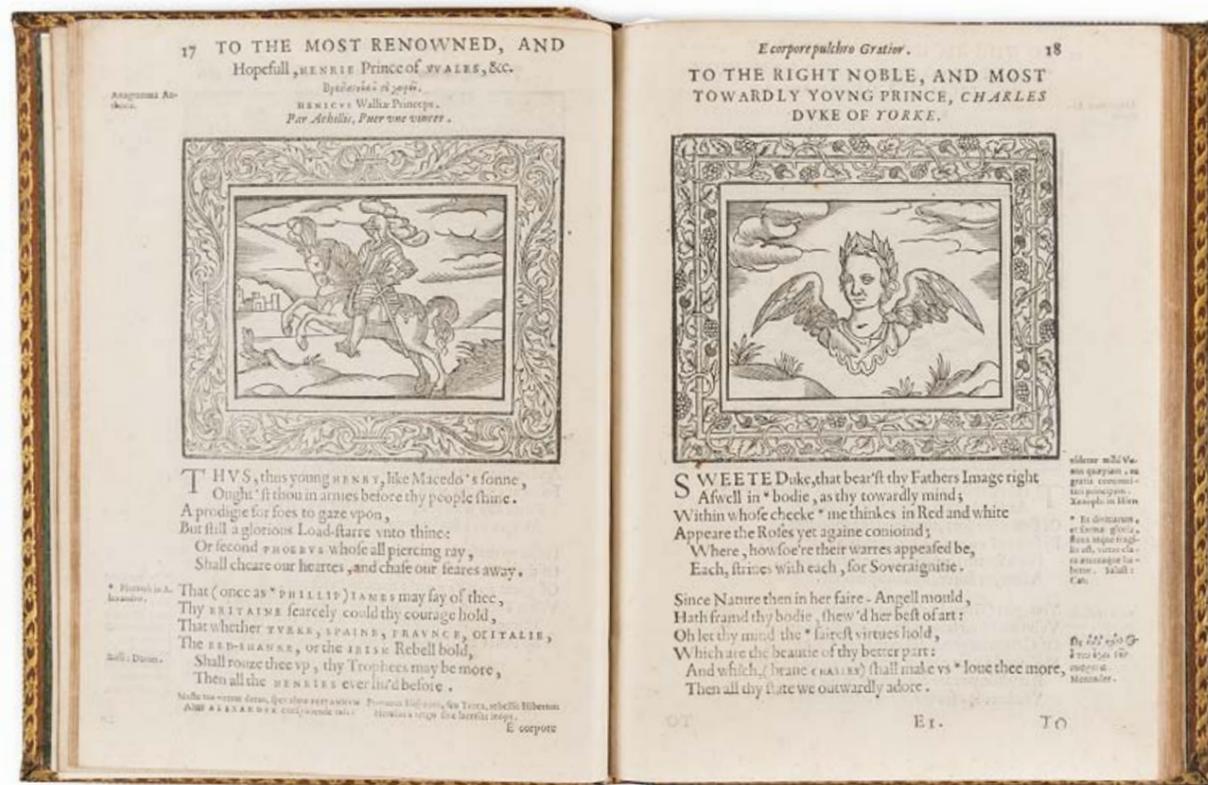
It is, perhaps, surprising that someone as apparently rational as Robert Burton (1577–1640) should have chosen an astrological



theme for this poem as he had for his previous one celebrating the 1605 visit of King James, Queen Anne and Prince Henry to Oxford. However, despite his enquiring and scientific mind and humanistic views, Burton was steeped in the traditions and philosophies of the Middle Ages as well as those of the Renaissance. Astrology for him was very much part of what Eustace Tillyard christened, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1942).

As J. B. Bamborough wrote: “It is not surprising to find evidence of Burton’s competence in astrology; Wood says of him, that he was ‘an exact mathematician’ and ‘a curious calculator of nativities’. In the *Anatomy*, it is true, he is somewhat dismissive of the art. In ‘Exercise Rectified’ he allows it as a suitable diversion: ... Earlier, in ‘Stars a cause [of Melancholy]’ he had looked at the whole question of stellar influence: ‘I will not here stand to discuss obiter, whether stars be causes, or signs; or to apologize for judicial Astrology ... If thou shalt ask me what I think, I must answer, *nam & doctis hisce erroribus versatus sum*, they do incline, but not compel; no necessity at all, *agunt non cogunt*: and so gently incline, that a wise man may resist them; *sapiens dominabitur astris*; they rule us, but God rules them.’” – “Robert Burton’s Astrological Notebook” in *The Review of English Studies*, NS, 32/127 (Aug. 1981), pp. 267–285.

Provenance: Dr Bent Einer Juel-Jensen (1922–2011), Oxford physician and bibliophile, with his book-label (Prince Henry was a particular interest).



THE MOST ORIGINAL IN CONCEPT OF EARLY ENGLISH EMBLEM BOOKS

83 PEACHAM (Henry). *Minerva Britanna or a garden of heroical Devises*, furnished, and adorned with Emblemes and Impresa's of sundry natures, Newly devised, moralized, and published, By Henry Peacham, Mr. of Artes.

London: by Wa: Dight, [1612]

£18,000

First Edition. Small 4to. [Text: 200 x 150 mm]. [xv], 100, [4 (blank, title to Part 2, blank, "The Author to his Muse"), 101-212, [1 (blank)] pp. Title within an elaborate woodcut architectural frame with a vignette in the centre of a hand emerging from behind a curtain and writing on a scroll, large woodcut of the crest of Henry, Prince of Wales within a wreath of roses and thistles on the verso, 100 woodcut emblems in Part 1, royal arms of Henry, Prince of Wales between palm and laurel branches on the title to Part 2,

104 woodcut emblems in Part 2, all within decorative frames, woodcut ornaments in spaces throughout. Title-page a little dusty, small holes through E4 and G4 (just touching a letter of text on each leaf), small stain in the blank fore-margin of XI-2. Early 19th-century morocco, covers panelled in gilt, the central panel with a blind tooled design, gilt spine, green endpapers, gilt edges, green ribbon marker (spine and headcaps a little rubbed).

Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* is the most original in concept of the early English Emblem Books, a genre - with its origin in the elaborate impresas borne by jousters on their shields - that is classically defined by the juxtaposition of a picture or emblem with its written signification or explanation.

Peacham's explanations are written in verse (almost all are two six or seven-line verses) with sidenotes in English and Latin referring to relevant texts or sources (occasionally with a short Latin verse extract and an anagram or two). His poetry is more than competent and has been largely unconsidered by scholars who have been more interested in his images.

STC 19511 (British Library [x 2], Bodley, Birmingham Central Libraries, Magdalene College Cambridge [Pepys Library], Glasgow University Library [Stirling-Maxwell emblem books collection], Senate House Library [ex Durning-Lawrence]; Duke University, Folger [x 3; 1 ex Smedley (imperfect); 2 ex Bridgewater (duplicate) - Brooke - Harmsworth; 3 (ends on 2Fr)], Getty Center [ex W. A. White - Borowitz]; Harvard, Huntington [x 2: ex Bridgewater; ex Francis Bacon Foundation (imperfect)], University of Illinois, Newberry Library, Morgan Library, University of Texas [x 2: ex Wrenn; ex Roxburghe], University of Wisconsin-Madison.



As a "classic" English emblem book *Minerva Britanna* was preceded by Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes and other devises* (Leiden: Plantin, 1586) and Claude Paradin's *Herociall Devises* (London: 1591). Whitney, however, was constrained by having to re-use existing woodblocks belonging to the Plantin Press in Antwerp for all except 15 of his emblems and the Paradin is a pure translation from the French (via Latin). Although many of Peacham's emblems were also inspired by a number of earlier works - in particular some 30 of the "personifications" are taken from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* - he designed most of the 204 emblems himself.

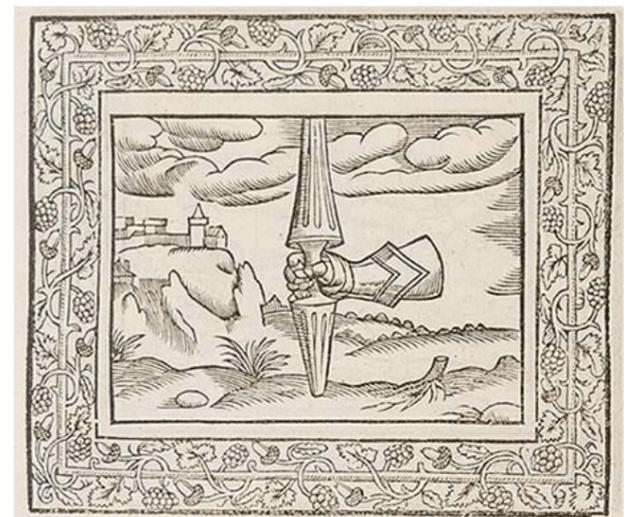
Rosemary Freeman wrote of Peacham in her pioneering work on *English Emblem Books*, (1948): "Though his [artistic] abilities were hardly equal to his enthusiasm, this gift enabled him to produce his own illustrations for his emblem books and may perhaps have directed his attention to the convention in the first place. His designs, if not in themselves particularly distinguished, at least form a much more adequate complement to his verses than second-hand plates could ever have provided, and allowed him also full freedom of invention. Moreover, Peacham was a man of considerable versatility of mind and his wide range of accomplishments were of a kind peculiarly well suited to the writing of emblems.

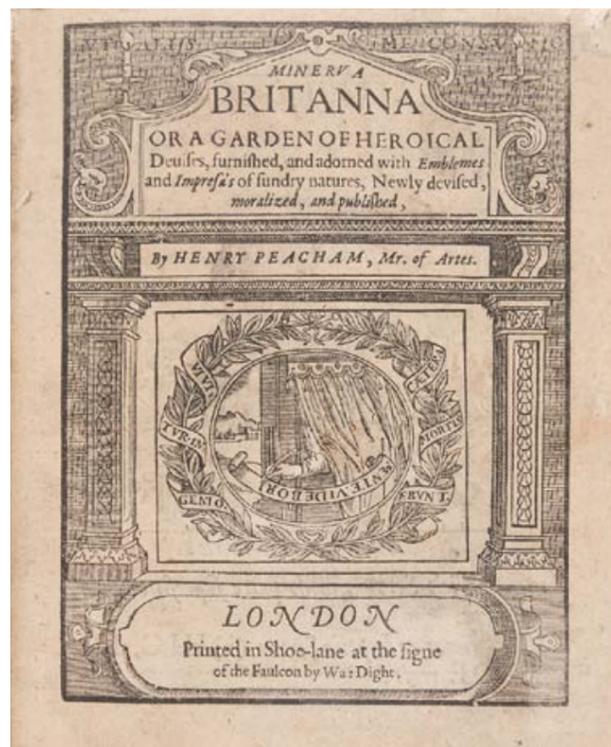
Consequently his emblem books are much more fully an expression of his personality than are those of any other emblem writer: for most, the fashion provided a casual occupation, for Peacham it was almost a profession" (pp. 68-69).

There is, therefore, about Peacham's book a particular sense of Englishness that is lacking in its predecessors and it was greatly influential - for example the fabulous plasterwork ceiling in the Long Gallery at Blickling Hall, Norfolk (not far from Wymondham where Peacham was a teacher from circa 1615-20) contains twenty images copied from *Minerva Britanna* by Edward Stanyon under the direction of the architect Robert Lyminge for Sir Henry Hobart and completed in 1621. Anne, Lady Drury's painted closet or oratory at Hawstead in Suffolk [now at Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich] also included emblems from *Minerva Britanna* as well as other sources.

Nor was *Minerva Britanna* Peacham's first attempt at producing an emblem book, although it was the most elaborate and the first to be published. Three manuscripts survive with texts based on King James I's book of princely precepts, *Basilikon Doron*, written for Henry, Prince of Wales; Bodley, Rawlinson MS Poetry 146 has 56 pen-and-ink emblems and was dedicated to James I; British Library MS Harley 6855 art.13 has 67 pen-and-ink emblems and was dedicated to James I; British Library MS Royal 12 A. lxvi has 78 pen-and-watercolour emblems and was dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales.

Peacham followed this last manuscript by also dedicating *Minerva Britanna* to Prince Henry and many of the emblems are addressed to the other members of the royal family and the court, e.g. the Earls of Salisbury, Northampton, Pembroke, Southampton, Lords St. John of Bletso, Harrington, Wotton, and Dingwall (the much-reproduced emblem of an arm holding a lance [shake-spear] is of great significance to the Bacon wrote Shakespeare camp), Sir





Francis Bacon, Sir Edward Coke, Adam Newton (the prince's secretary), and other friends and relations as well as a Milanese lady in her 50s who married a youth of fifteen.

Minerva Britannia marks the apogee of the militantly Protestant circle with which the young Prince Henry surrounded

himself with the tilt-yard as its social and cultural heart. The projected marriage of his sister Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine Frederick V (the future Winter King and Queen of Bohemia) in 1613 was intended to place Britain in line with the anti-Hapsburg and anti-Catholic union of German states and would have thrown the country into the maelstrom of the Thirty Years War. But all came to nought with the sudden death of the eighteen-year old Prince Henry from typhoid fever on 6 November 1612.

Peacham's next published work, *The Period of Mourning. Disposed into six visions* (1613) comprised memorial poems for the dead prince and nuptial poems for the princess. With the weakly Prince Charles replacing his brother as Prince of Wales the culture of the tilt-yard was to be replaced with that of the court masque.

Provenance: 1: John Bellingham Inglis (1780-1870); "a very eccentric collector", as De Ricci described him, "who loved to cut out tiny engravings, coats-of-arms, monograms, etc., and paste them on the first or last leaves of his books, regardless of their being in any way suitable for such a singular use". Inglis has clipped and pasted his own engraved coat of arms to the front pastedown of this book along with a number of booksellers' catalogue clippings and a 19th-century engraving of Henry, Prince of Wales. **2: William Curtis**, with mid-19th-century armorial bookplate; perhaps the 3rd Baronet (1804-70; succ. 1847), of Culland's Grove, Southgate, Middlesex. **3: Rev. Samuel Ashton Thompson Yates** (1843-1903), of Lytham, Lancashire, a considerable emblem book collector, with his armorial bookplate; Yates Thompson / Bright family sale, Christie, 16/7/2014, lot 190 to Maggs.

"I JUDGE NO MAN ON EARTH SO FIT TO RESTORE THE NAVY AGAINE" – JOHN EVELYN

84 PEPYS (Samuel). Memoires relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England, for Ten Years, Determin'd December 1688.

London: Anno MDCXC. [1690]

£2,800

First Edition. *Fine Paper issue.* 8vo. [Text: 183 x 116 mm]. [2], 214, [18 (last page blank)] pp; folding letterpress table at p. 152. Engraved portrait by Robert White after Godfrey Kneller (fine impression). Vertical crease from a flaw in the paper on pp. 111-112, rust-mark on 16. Contemporary mottled calf, spine with five

bands, the second panel lettered in gilt "NAV./MEM.", the others tooled in gilt; red sprinkled edges (top panel of the spine renewed with most of the original leather preserved; upper joint rubbed and cracked, lower joint and edges rubbed).



Wing P1449. Pforzheimer 793. Leaves B7, C2, C4, C6, D6, E8, L6 & L7 are cancels. K2 & K3 may also be cancels but there are no apparent stubs (the text matches that of the two issues on EEBO).

From the library of Kirkleatham School & Hospital established by Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London 1668-9 and a relative of Pepys by marriage.

A good copy of the first issue of the first edition on fine paper with the imprint "Printed Anno MDCXC". Such copies are presumed to have been for presentation, but they are never inscribed, except by the recipient. In the second issue the title has the full imprint and reads "London: Printed for Ben. Griffin, and are to be sold by Sam. Keble [...], 1690".

Pepys's relationship with the booksellers named in the imprint of the ordinary issue, Benjamin Griffin and Samuel Keble, must have been strained. As well as the cancelled leaves in this copy, as usual there are neat corrections in ink, ranging from a missing comma or bracket to missing words, on pp. 11, 33, 38, 39, 40, 42, 57, 70, 77, 89, 90, 92, 103, 120, 138, 142 and 145. Other copies may also have a single inverted letter corrected on 143.

This is Pepys's only acknowledged publication. It appeared at a time when his long-standing relationship with the former King James II had left him politically compromised under the new King William III and was intended to justify his role as Secretary to the Navy Board.

John Evelyn wrote to Pepys on 17 June 1690: "I have seene and perus'd certaine *Memoires relating to the Royal Navy of England for Ten yeares*, etc. And am so thoroughly Convinc'd of the Truth of every period, both as to what has been don towards the extricating of it out of the Ruinous Circumstances under which it then labourd, and the greate Improvements it has since received, by the Integrity, Prudence, Courage, and Industrie of the Person who has Written it etc, That, as I judge no Man on Earth so fit to Restore the Navy againe (now, in all appearance, hastning to as deplorable, if not to a Worse state and Condition), so should he, and his Colleagues Decline to set their hands to its Restauration and Recovery againe (the Fate and Preservation of their Countrie, (than which nothing ought to be more deare) so depending) being thereto Required: He the Writer, and They, whom he may think fit to call to his Assistance, ought to be Animadverted on as Enemies and Betrayers of it." – Guy de La Bedoyere, ed., *Particular Friends: the correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn* (1997), p. 219.

RARE FIRST EDITION OF A POPULAR COURTESY BOOK FOR SCHOOLBOYS

85 [PÉRIN (Léonard), S.J; translator]. Bien-seance de la conversation entre les hommes. Communis vitae inter homines scita urbanitas.

Pont-à-Mousson: Charles Marchant Imprimeur de son Altesse 1617

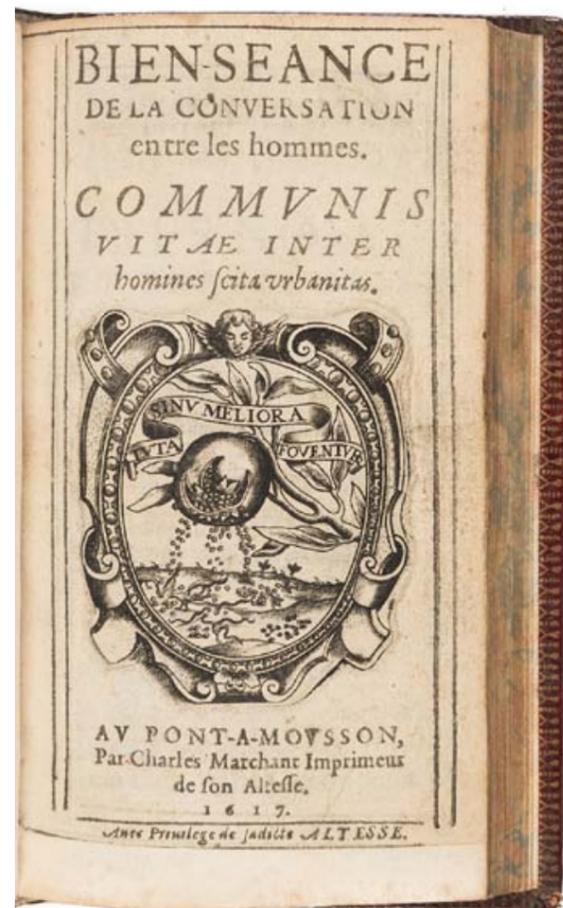
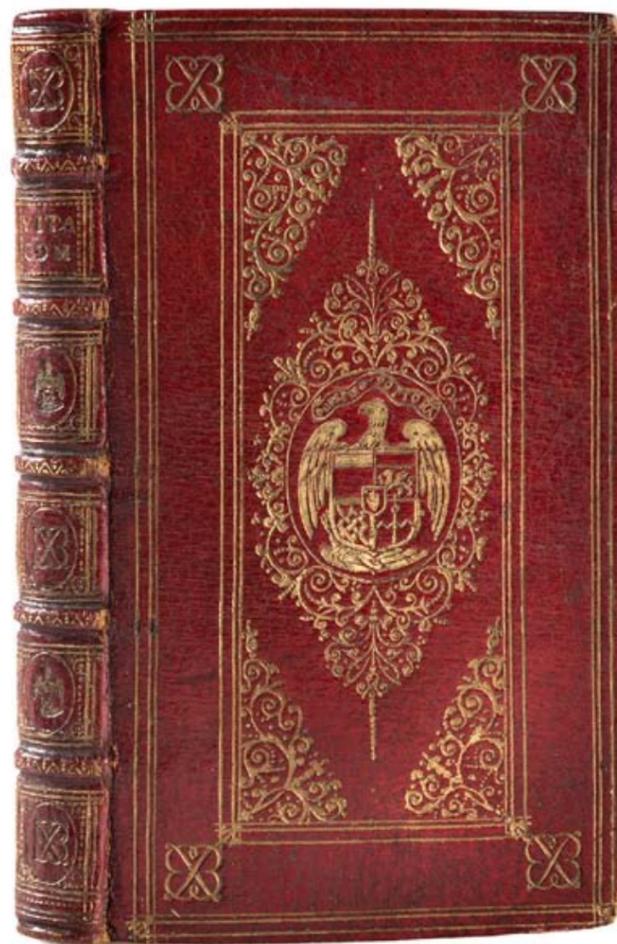
£7,250

First Edition. 12mo in 8s and 4s, with quire V in 2s, with an inserted leaf *ch1* between T4 and V2. [Text: 128 x 77mm]. [24], 224, 223bis, [5]pp. French (verso) and Latin (recto) text opposite each other in Roman and italic type, and with spaces left to ensure correspondence, the text of p. 223 repeated with minor changes on p.

223bis (an inserted leaf *ch1*); engraved emblem of a pomegranate scattering seed on the title with motto "Tuta sinu meliora foventur" (with explanatory verses on verso). Lower margin of the title cut-away and neatly replaced with a strip of paper by the binder in 1650 (presumably to remove an earlier shelfmark or inscription);



Provenance: 1: From the library of Kirkleatham School and Hospital, near Redcar, Cleveland, founded by Sir William Turner, Kt. (1615-93), woollen draper, Sheriff of London 1662-3, Lord Mayor 1668-9, with 18th-century Kirkleatham Library label; the library was sold at Christie's, 29/11/1948. Turner, who was a brother-in-law to Mrs. John Turner, a cousin of Pepys, features a few times in the *Diary*, e.g. on 19 Dec. 1663: "and then to Mrs. Turners, whom I find busy with Sir W. Turner about advising upon going down to Norfolk with the Corps. And I find him in talk a sober, considering man." Turner served on the Brooke House Committee established in December 1667 to investigate the finances of the Anglo-Dutch War, the Navy Office being the main subject of their enquiry. **2:** Maggs Bros., in stock since June 1962; with pencil notes on the flyleaf.



slight damage to fol. *1 of prelims from a weakness in the paper; old repairs to short tears in the lower inner margin of Or-4.

Bound in Paris circa 1650 for Sir Richard Browne in red morocco, the covers tooled in gilt with a three-line fillet border, intersecting at the corners with a small bud tool, a three-line fillet panel also intersecting at the corners with a small bud tool, at the outer corners Browne's addorsed "BB" monogram, at the inner corners a triangular scroll corner tool, in the centre, in an oval panel, Browne's gilt arms displayed on the breast of an eagle: 1st quarter, or, a chief sable (the varied augmentation officially granted in 1663);

Rare First Edition of this popular and influential courtesy book for schoolboys and a beautiful copy.

Although the work is placed under the name of Périn, he was in fact the translator into Latin of the French text (itself from a lost Italian original as the preliminary poem from the Book to the pupils of La Flèche and the 'privilege' to the publishers explain) sent by the pupils of the Jesuit college at La Flèche (where René Descartes was a pupil from 1607 to 1615) to their confrères at Pont-à-Mousson, in the Duchy of Lorraine (the dedication, dated 25

second quarter, Browne; third quarter, Trussell; fourth quarter Fitzwarren; in the centre the Ulster hand badge of the Baronetage; motto above: "DOMINO POTIORA", surrounded by a lozenge of scroll and bud tools; tight spine divided into six by single raised bands, the second panel lettered in gilt: "VITA / COM", the others tooled alternately with a small addorsed "BB" monogram and the smallest version of Browne's arms, the first quarter only, or, a chief sable, supported on the breast of an eagle, with a small scroll tool in each corner, comb-marbled endleaves, edges marbled under gilt (joints slightly rubbed at the bands, otherwise fine and bright).

August 1617, from the "pensionnaires" of Pont-à-Mousson to those of La Flèche, specifically states this). Périn (1567-1638, Professor of Rhetoric at Pont-à-Mousson) also added the delightful final chapter on table etiquette, types of food and styles of service, "Addition touchant les Services & honneurs de table (Appendix convivialis)", found from p. 180 onwards. This last section appears to be omitted from many later editions.

The existence of this edition is attested by Sommervogel in his great bibliography of Jesuit writings (vi, 537) though with

the imprint of Melchior Bernard, printer to the University, who shared the 'privilege' from the Duke of Lorraine with Marchant, and there are copies in the Bibliotheque nationale Paris (R. 29080) and the Bibliotheque municipale Nancy (3.732) but COPAC, KVK, OCLC list none. The work was immediately reprinted in 1617 at Bordeaux and in 1618 at Rouen, Douai, St. Omer and Trier, and there were many editions printed in France, Germany and England throughout the 17th-century. It was translated into English, Portuguese (1667) and Czech (1629). The English translation was by Francis Hawkins, S.J. and is titled *Youth's behaviour or decency in conversation amongst men*, of which Wing (Y204-211aA) lists nine editions from 1646 ("fourth edition") to 1700 ("eleventh" edn.). It was later, and most famously, adapted by the young George Washington as *Fifty-Seven Rules of Behaviour* - the second part of *Youth's behaviour* by Robert Codrington, first published in 1664 and addressed to young women, had been dedicated Elizabeth Washington.

The main text is divided into ten chapters (the English here from Francis Hawkins's translation). 1: Du Service divin. 2: Enseignements generaux & mesleez touchant la civilité entre les hommes (General and mixed precepts as touching civility amongst men). 3: Des premiers devoirs & ceremonies en conversation (Of the first duties and ceremonies in conversation). 4: De la façon de qualifier les personnes à qui on parle, les adviser, dire le mot (Of the fashion of qualifying, or tit'ling of persons to whom one speaketh; to advise them, to break a jest). 5: Des habits & parures du corps (Of Cloathes, and arraying the body). 6: Du marcher soit à part soy, soit en compagnie (Of walking, bee it alone, or in company). 7: Des devis & propos (Of discourse). 8: Des comportements en table (Of Carriage at the Table). 9: Du Service de table. 10: Du Coucher.

Writing of the book in 1854 in "Nouvelles Recherches de Bibliographie Lorraine", Jean-Nicolas Beaupré, noted that 200 years after its publication, its rules for good behaviour had barely dated and, if followed strictly, one would pass for a very polished man: "Plus de deux cent ans se sont ecoutés depuis la publication de ce petit livre, et cependant les enseignement d'urbanité qu'il contient n'ont guère de suranné que le langage. En les observant strictement aujourd'hui, on pourrait passer pour un homme

très-poli" (in *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanislaus*. 1854 (Nancy, 1855), pp. 239-40).

Indeed, so timeless are the rules of civilised behaviour laid down in this little manual that almost all could be serviceably applied today, four hundred years after its publication. For example and at random (in Hawkins's translation, from p. 18 here): "When thou blowest thy nose, make not thy nose sound like a trumpet, and after, looke not within thine handkercher. Take heed thou blow not thy nose as children doe with their fingers, or with their sleeves: but serve thy selfe of thy handkercher." Or (from p. 166 here): "Being set at the Table, scratch not thy selfe, and take thou heed as much as thou canst, to spet, cough, and blow thy nose, but if it bee needful, do it dextrously without much noise, turning thy face sideling."

The symbolism of the pomegranate emblem on the title-page is explained in a pair of elegiac couplets which says that pomegranates have a feast within them which remains safe and better to taste when closed up in the maternal bosom, but when the shell and membrane are broken and the seeds are dispersed, they are free for the birds to eat and they perish.

Provenance: 1: Bound for **Sir Richard Browne**, 1st Baronet, of Sayes Court, Deptford, Kent (1605?-1683). Browne was the Resident at the Court in Paris for Charles I during the Civil War & Charles II during the Commonwealth. he was created a Baronet on 1 Sept. 1649 at St Germain in France, the first to be created by the new King Charles II in exile, and returned with the King in 1660. In Paris he maintained the English liturgy in his private chapel and was believed to have presbyterian sympathies. This is a surprising text to find in one of his special armorial bindings. **2:** By descent to his son-in-law **John Evelyn** (1620-1706), with his ink shelfmark "3: 40" on the flyleaf on which is sketched in faint pencil the outline figure of a monk with his hands clasped and a small pencil sketch of a coat-of-arms at the end. There are a number of tiny pencil underlinings almost certainly revealing Evelyn's interests in French vocabulary, particularly the names of foods. **3:** By descent to Sir Frederick Evelyn, 3rd Baronet (1734-1812), with armorial bookplate. Not in the Evelyn sales at Christie's, 1977-78. **4:** Anonymous sale, Bloomsbury Auctions, 28/5/2009, lot 507.

WALTER CHETWYND'S LARGE PAPER SUBSCRIBER'S COPY

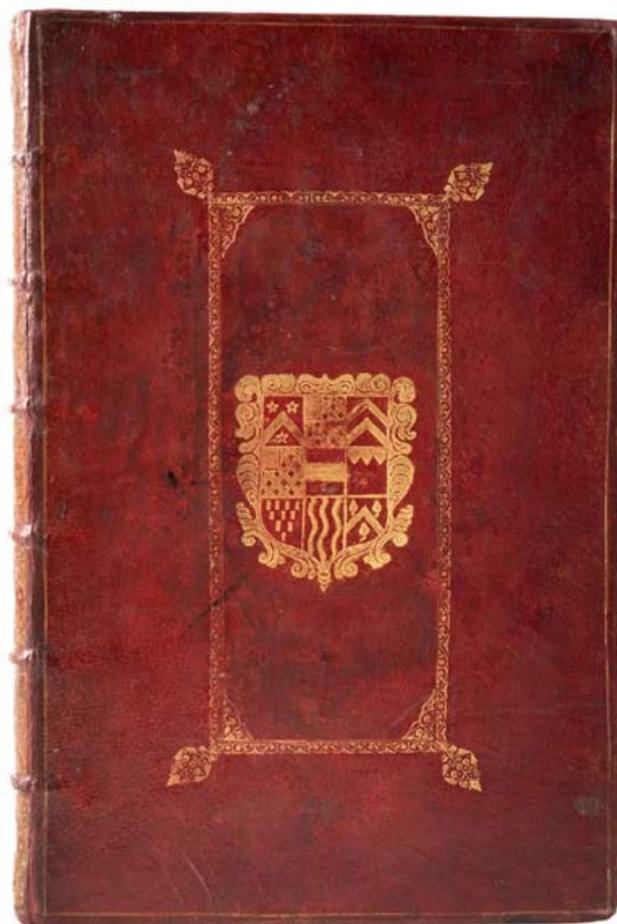
86 PLOT (Robert). **The Natural History of Stafford-shire.** By Robert Plot. LLD. Keeper of the Ashmolean Musaeum and Professor of Chymistry in the University of Oxford.

Oxford: at the Theatre, 1686

£2,800

First Edition. Fine Paper copy. Folio. [Binding: 362 x 245 mm]. [16], 450, [14] pp. Without the List of Subscribers (4pp), often

missing. Title with a large engraved vignette showing Mercury seated with the Radcliffe Camera and other Oxford University



buildings in the background, large folding map of Staffordshire engraved by Joseph Browne with a full border of coat-of-arms (a number of tears neatly repaired), the rare extra plate of "Armes omitted, to be placed next the map" (evenly browned, pressed, and supplied from another copy - it has signs of red edge-sprinkling not otherwise present), and 37 engraved plates (26 double-page) by Michael Burghers, E. Stanley and Joseph Browne. First Edition. Folio. [8] ff. 450, [14] pp. Dampstain to the fore-margin of the first few leaves, lower margin of the first leaf of text strengthened at an early date, marginal browning to the text, occasional minor

stains, a few creases in the plates, plate 25 browned, closed tear repaired at the foot of the last plate. Handsome copy in contemporary red morocco, covers panelled in gilt with a wild-strawberry roll and corner fleurons, in the centre the gilt arms block with nine quarterings of **Walter Chetwynd**; spine with seven panels, the second lettered in gilt, the others tooled one of two designs of gilt fleurons, flowers, corner tools, etc; comb-marbled endleaves; gilt edges (joints repaired at the head and tail; spine bands rubbed; front endpapers reattached; otherwise fine).

Wing P2588. Dr Robert Plot (1640-96) was sufficiently inspired by Sir Francis Bacon's *Parasceve ad Historiam Naturalem* (Preparative towards a Natural History), which stressed the importance of scientifically rigorous Natural History, to propose to John Fell at the Sheldonian Press a complete series of surveys of the natural characteristics and antiquities of England and Wales. Only two volumes were published (material for a further two, Kent and Middlesex, was assembled). The first volume, his *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677), was well-received and Plot was invited by

Walter Chetwynd of Ingestre Hall to visit Staffordshire with a view to describing the "natural, topical, political, and mechanical history" of that county.

Although Plot is sometimes credulous, his "success is to be measured less in his own career than in the influence that his two county histories had on succeeding writers. By eschewing universalism, except in the range of literary reference that he brought to bear on his subjects which were treated in a relentlessly rational manner, Plot created a form of history writing which, by delimiting its subject either to a defined geographical region or to a particular

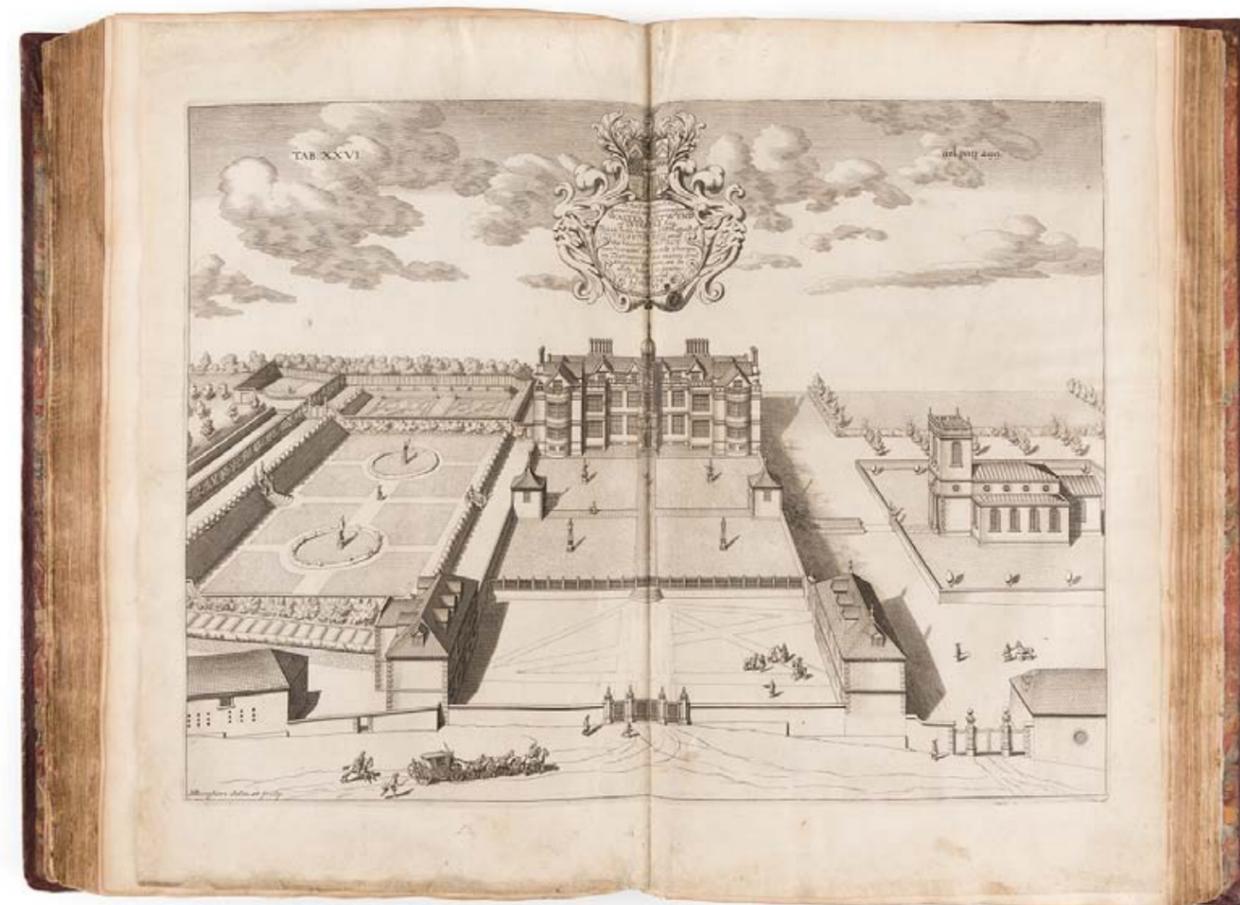
topic, enabled practitioners of the genre to tackle manageable subjects. At the same time, by combining civil and ecclesiastical history with natural history, he introduced an element of novelty and enabled himself to describe a region as a unified whole in which nature and human activity were but two parts of a single environment. Authors of local histories, whether civil, natural, or both, were to acknowledge Plot's influence throughout the eighteenth century. If the model is no longer followed, the quality of his descriptions none the less continues to give value to his works." (ODNB).

Provenance: 1: Bound for Walter Chetwynd, M.P., F.R.S. (1633-93), county historian, of Ingestre Hall, Staffordshire, who subscribed for a Fine Paper copy; the handsome Jacobean Ingestre Hall is depicted, with its gardens and new church in a double-page plate by Burghers dedicated to Chetwynd "in testimony of his many and singular favours" (the building and consecration of the new church, the design of which has often been attributed to Sir Christopher Wren, is described on pp. 297-300). "The herald Gregory King described Chetwynd as 'that great ornament of his country for all sorts of curious learning' (King's autobiography, 30). His interests included numismatics, literature, theology,

mathematics, and above all antiquities and natural history. In 1678 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society but took little part in the society's activities. He evidently already knew Christopher Wren, almost certainly the architect of the new church that Walter built at Ingestre in the mid-1670s. He may have considered rebuilding his house at Ingestre as well, since in 1688 Wren's assistant Nicholas Hawksmoor submitted a sketch for a 'Villa Chetwiniana'. Chetwynd was also a friend of another fellow of the Royal Society, Robert Plot, who started work on *The Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686) in 1679 and received extensive help as well as hospitality from Walter." (ODNB).

The *British Armorial Bindings* database records five armorial stamps for Walter Chetwynd - this is Stamp 3, of which 8 examples are listed. Chetwynd's only daughter died in infancy and his estates passed to his kinsman William Chetwynd of Rugeley, ancestor of the Viscounts Chetwynd; his library was sold for the 5th Viscount by R. H. Evans, 18+5/1821.

2: A few old booksellers' pencil marks on the front flyleaves, including a price £18-18-0. Anonymous sale, Sotheby, 7/2/1938, lot 737, £5/5/- to Bernard Quaritch. Anonymous sale, Bonham's (Oxford), 16/9/2014, lot 192 to Maggs.





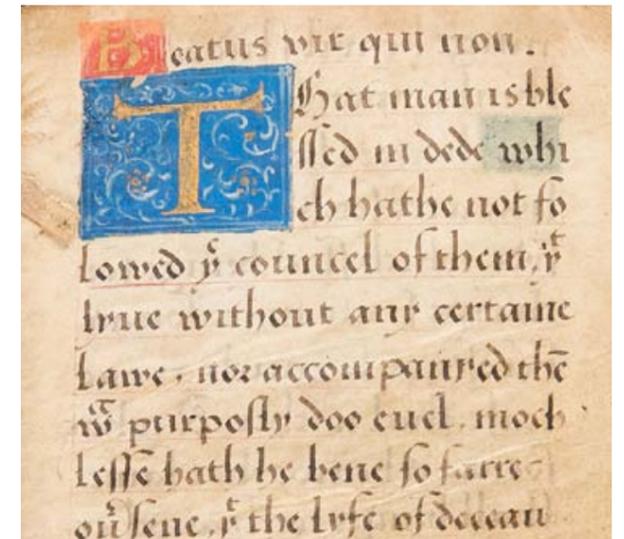
**A UNIQUE TUDOR MINIATURE MANUSCRIPT COPY OF
MILES COVERDALE'S FIRST ENGLISH PSALTER**

87 PSALTER. A Tudor Miniature Manuscript containing selected Psalms from Miles Coverdale's translation *A Paraphrasis, upon all the psalms of David, made by Johannes Campe[n]sis (1535 & 1539) & Bible Verses from *The Fountayne or well of lyfe out of whiche doth springe most swete consolations right necessary for troubled consciences (1534?; reprinted 1548?).**

[London: circa 1535-40]

SOLD

Manuscript on vellum. [Text block approx: 67 x 50 x 30 mm]. Psalms written in black ink a small neat gothica rotunda hand, 14 lines to a page, headlines in red, lines lightly ruled in red; 3-line initial "T" on the first leaf in liquid gold with white scrollwork on a blue background, similar 1- & 2-line initials on red and blue throughout; red and blue line-fillers heightened with liquid gold scrollwork throughout. The Prayers and Bible Verses written in a similar but more rounded hand, 17 lines to a page, without headlines; 3-line initial "O" on the first leaf in liquid gold with white scrollwork on a blue background and similar 1- & 2-line initials and line-fillers in red and blue by the same illuminator as the Psalms. Old binding of fabric over early (if not original) thin wooden boards; almost certainly originally a "girdle-book" [see below for details].



Some headlines to the Psalms shaved or cropped; numerous side references in the Bible Verses shaved or cropped. A few leaves are misbound and one is missing near the end and a number (probably 7 or 8) are missing at the end of the Bible Verses.

CONTENTS

Selected Psalms from the translation of Jan van Campen's *A Paraphrasis, upon all the psalmes of David [and Ecclesiastes], made by Johannes Campe[n]sis (1535 & 1539; STC 2372.4 & 2372.6)* attributed to Myles Coverdale. The 1535 edition (16mo) was printed at Antwerp by the widow of C. Ruremond. The unique copy at Lincoln Cathedral lacks quires n-08. The text block is 88 x 55mm. It has 31 lines to a page. It is not reproduced on EEBO.

The 1539 edition (8vo) omits *Ecclesiastes* and was printed at London by Thomas Gybson; the unique copy at the British Library lacks quire p8 (Psalms 104.18-106.40). The text-block is 115 x 95 mm. It has 28 lines to a page. The reproduction on EEBO omits several leaves. It has never been reprinted.

Jan van Campen was professor of Hebrew at the University of Louvain. His original Latin text, *Psalmoru[m] omnium iuxta Hebraicum veritate[m] paraphrastica*, was first printed at Nuremberg in 1532. An edition was printed at Paris in 1534 by Francois Regnault for sale in London by Thomas Berthelet (STC 2354); the British Library copy of that edition is from the library of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. It is a large 8vo [205 x 130mm].

Campen, a Catholic, deliberately chose to produce a paraphrastic version of the Psalms rather than a direct translation in order to circumvent the Church's general prohibition of vernacular translations [See below for a longer note on the text].

While this first version of the Psalms by Miles Coverdale is a paraphrase rather than a direct translation it remains only the second version to be printed in English, being preceded by George Joye's translation from Martin Bucer's Latin version printed in Antwerp in 1530 (reprinted in London in 1534).

At the end of the manuscript the Lord's Prayer and the Bible Verses are all copied from *The Fountayne or well of lyfe out of whiche doth springe most swete consolations right necessary for troubled consciences to thenenten that they shall nat despeyre in adversitie and trouble. Translated out of latyn into Englysshe* (London: T. Godfray, [1534?]) STC 11211 (Cambridge UL only – STC 11211.2 is another editon of 1548? - National Library of Scotland only). They are printed on sigs. C2r-D5v. They are all (in the same order) under the sub-section heading on C2r "The Pater noster with other lytell prayers of the Byble beyng gathered togyther into a compendyopus ordre ...".

This part of the work is a translation of *Fons vitae ex quo scaturiunt suavissimae co[n]solationes afflictis me[n]tibus in primis necessariae, ne in adversiae & dolore protinus animun despondeant.*

The Latin text was printed in multiple editions in 16mo in France, the Low Countries and Germany and it was translated into Dutch, German and Italian. The earliest edition appears to be Antwerp, Martin Caesar [de Keyser], 1533. The text, which has been attributed to Willem van Zuylen van Nijvelt (d. 1543), was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* “ubicunque & quacunq[ue] lingua impressum” [wherever & in whatever language it is printed].

Miniature manuscripts and printed books from 16th-century England are, by the very nature of their size, extremely rare. The present example seems to be a unique manuscript survival of a version of a text which itself is known in only two other contemporary printed copies. Both its miniature (and thereby feminine) size and also the fact that it is in the vernacular strongly suggests that it was created for a female audience [see further below].

BINDING

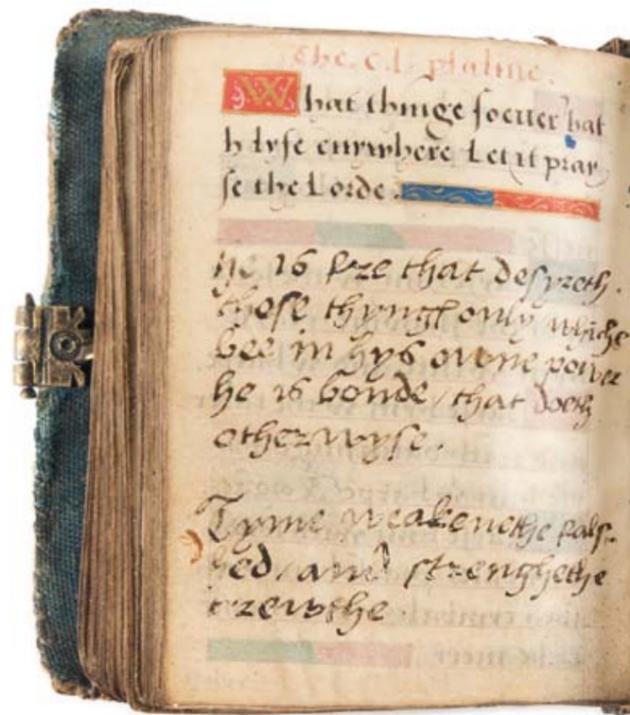
73 x 55 x 35 mm. As many sidenotes and early marginal notes have been cropped the binding, as it is today, cannot be described as original. However, it probably retains original elements. It has suffered from early amateur interventions but consists of early (if not the original) thin wood boards covered with a pink woven cloth which in turn has been covered with a piece of fabric (probably early or mid-17th-century) composed of silver wire and coloured threads wound around thin cords and stitched together in a pattern of zig-zags or chevrons (now much faded and worn); the doublures are of later sky-blue fabric stitched-in at the edges; the spine is sewn on four bands now broken at the inside joints; there is a single brass catch and twisted clasp (the fabric covers are worn away at the edges exposing the wood boards beneath). Originally it would almost certainly have been fashioned with some sort of attachment from the top of the spine or covers allowing it to be hung by a chain or cord from a woman’s waist as a “girdle-book”.

PROVENANCE

The original owner of this little manuscript is unknown but it may well have been an expensive gift to a woman either at or close to Henry VIII’s Court in a brief period when the possessors/creators of Biblical texts in the vernacular were not considered to be “abusers of Scripture” such as those against whom Henry VIII pronounced at the prorogation of Parliament on Christmas Eve 1545.

There are a few early annotations (see below). There is a Maggs Bros. pencil cost code at the end (c. 1950) in the hand of H. Clifford Maggs of “esoo”; sold in 1963 for presentation by the Medical and Surgical Officers and Teachers in the Medical School at St Thomas’s Hospital to the Hon. Sir Arthur Jared Palmer Howard (1896-1971) to mark his retirement after 20 years as Treasurer of

the Hospital. Sir Arthur Howard, a former M.P. for Westminster (1945-50) was a considerable book collector, in particular of early English printing and Bibles, and a long-time customer of Maggs; by descent in the family. Private collection, U.S.A.



ANNOTATIONS

Written in a 16th-century hand at the end of Psalm 150 are two aphorisms: “he is fre that desyreth those thynges only whiche bee in hys owne power he is bonde / that doeth otherwise” and “Tyme weakenethe fals- / hed and strengthenethe trewth” Not in the same hand is a cropped and illegible marginal note beside Psalm 39, 4 (f. liir) [“Lorde let me knowe my[n]e ende and the nombre of my dayes that rest behynde, yt I maye be certayne howe longe I have yet to lyve in these miseries.”] There is a cropped note “vi[i]” beside Psalm 142: [“I will crye wt my voice unto the lorde, wt my voyce will I praye unto the lorde.”]. Another illegible two-word note is at the end of the LAMED part of Psalm 119. On the front vellum flyleaf (which is partly cut-away at the top) is the end of an early illegible ink note.

THE PSALMS TRANSLATION

Miles Coverdale (1488-1569), a former Augustinian friar turned Protestant reformer fled abroad “very straitly pursued by the bishops” (John Hooker reported in *ODNB*) in 1528. It was during his “first exile” of seven years to 1535 that his translation (it is not absolutely proven to be his but is universally accepted as such) of Campen’s

paraphrase of the Psalms was printed in Antwerp in 1534. More importantly, however, it was also in Antwerp in 1535 that he produced the first complete printed English Bible (which included a new translation of the Psalms) and established his claim to fame. He returned to England in 1535 where he revised the so-called “Thomas Matthew’s” version of the Bible “which welds together the best work of Tyndale and Coverdale, [and] is generally considered to be the real primary version of our English Bible” (A. S. Herbert revising T. H. Darlow & H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of printed editions of the English Bible*, 1968) and had been printed in 1537 to produce the “Great Bible” version published under the aegis of Thomas Cromwell in 1539. That, however, marked a high-point as conservative theologians led by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, “were rapidly beginning to recover their power and oppose Cromwell. On 28 June 1539 the Act of Six Articles, which ended official tolerance of religious reform, became law. Coverdale, like many others, soon fled overseas again.” (*ODNB*). Coverdale’s second exile lasted from 1540-47, was broken by a brief return to England during the reign of Edward VI from 1551-53 as Bishop of Exeter, before his third and final exile from 1553-59.

In his anonymous preface to the printed version of the *Paraphrasis* Coverdale admits that he is not a good enough linguist to make an original translation: “Wherfore though I durst not be so folyshe hardynes to put forth any text, because I have not soche understandynge in the three tongues, as is nedefull for hym that shulde wel and truly translate any texte of scripture, yet because I my selfe have founde such frute, and co[m]forte in this lytle boke, I coulde not be so uncharytable unto my naturall cou[n]trye, as to w[ith]holde them the frute of it.”

While both the printed editions of Coverdale’s translation of Campen include all 150 Psalms the present manuscript contains just under half (73) and some of these are either reduced or consist of one or two verses attached at the end of the preceding one. We have not been able to suggest, apart from the obvious reason of avoiding making a volume that was too fat and unwieldy, why some have been selected and others either omitted or truncated. Further research may well provide an interesting answer or find other comparables.

James Harmon Ferguson discussed Coverdale’s translation of Campen’s *Paraphrasis* in his chapter on “Miles Coverdale and the Claim of Paraphrase” in *Faith in the Language: Reformation Biblical Translation and Vernacular Poetics*:

“The English Psalter incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer, and so into the mainstream of English liturgy, has assumed a special status among Coverdale’s biblical translations. This version of the Psalter, however, is one of four that Coverdale produced, three of which are translated from quite distinct sources. In 1534 or 1535 Coverdale published, anonymously, a version of Jan

Campensis’ Latin paraphrase of the Psalter; in 1535 he translated, from ‘Douche and Latyn’ versions, a Psalter in English prose for his complete Bible; in 1539 he revised, for the Great Bible, the Psalter of the Matthew Bible (and thus of his own 1535 Bible); in 1540, he published a close translation of the Vulgate Psalter. ... (p. 92).

“In the aggregate, this series of Psalters manifests a pluralistic conception of biblical truth; taken severally, Coverdale’s Psalters suggest various notions of scriptural authority. For his first English Psalter, Coverdale choses [sic] what might seem an odd intermediary: a paraphrase – namely the *Psalmorum omnium iuxta Hebraicam veritatem paraphrastifa interpretatio* (1532) of Jan Campensis, Jan van Campen, professor of Hebrew at the University of Louvain. ... (p. 93).

“While Campensis published his version as a supplement to available Latin versions, Coverdale’s paraphrase was one of the very first Psalters made available in English. Coverdale is ambiguous in his prologue [not included in the present manuscript] about whether it is the original or a translation that is to be authorized as the biblical ‘texte’; although Coverdale assigns his paraphrase a secondary role in relation to this ‘texte’. The fact is that, in 1534, hardly any other English text of the Psalms was available to most of what he calls his ‘naturall countrie’.” (p. 114)

But a printing distributed from abroad in what must have been a small edition, probably no more than a few hundred copies (of which only one imperfect example has survived), does not make a text generally available in any wide sense or even suggest that it was particularly read or even by whom – its small format alone is enough to ensure its rarity today.

The existence of this relatively elaborate and expensive and completely unrecorded manuscript version certainly implies that Coverdale’s, albeit anonymous, translation made a certain impact at the highest levels at the time.

Four of the Psalms in Coverdale’s translation (86, 13, 18 [verses 1-6] & 54) also appear together with 172 of the same Bible Verses from *The Fountayne of Lyfe* in another miniature manuscript on vellum known as “Lady Jane Grey’s Prayerbook” (British Library, MS Harley 2342, ff. 97v-105r & 109v-136v) which was given by Lady Jane Grey to Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, moments before her execution on 22 February 1554.

Janel Mueller, in *Katherine Parr: complete works and correspondence* (Chicago & London, 2011) argued that the British Library manuscript and another (incomplete) miniature manuscript of part of Queen Katherine Parr’s *Prayers or Meditations* (1545) in Kendal Town Hall, Cumbria, were both written and illuminated by Katherine Parr herself.

James Carley in a coruscating review of Mueller’s book in the *Times Literary Supplement* (3 June 2011) demolished this theory. Both manuscripts, like the present, were written and illuminated by



of material culture which served a variety of purposes other than reading. As shown here, they might still be regarded residually as devotional devices and jewels.”

The present manuscript forms part of a tradition of very small or even miniature printed and manuscript Continental European Catholic devotional books of the late Fifteenth and early Sixteenth centuries all of which are, by their very nature, rare. It's adoption here for an early English Protestant text is most exceptional.

It stands not only as testament to the impact of the earliest Protestant reforms amongst women in Henrician England but also, with its adapted and repaired binding, to that continuity of purpose which Walsham described.

The illuminator has made a few errors – we have noticed: Psalm 51.17 Initial letter “B” is missed out; 123.1 has initial “A” for “I”, Bible verse “Because thou arte swete & good, lorde, . . .” has initial “S” for “B”; Bible verse “For there is non other god” has initial “N” for “F”.

There are also a number of minor variants between the two printed editions of the Psalms and this manuscript. Most of them can be attributed to simple transcription errors, or contractions to fit the small format, to so-called eye-skip, or the personal style of the scribe. Generally the scribe uses y for i [*i.e.* they for thei, Syon for Sion] as found in the 1539 edition and sometimes o for a [*i.e.* hondes for handes]; the archaic Middle English “oostes” (found in Wycliffite Bibles – *OED*) for “hostes” appears regularly and “eye lyddes” for “eye brees” [eyebrows] (Psalm 74.4) is unique to the MS. Of the other variants noted below one matches the 1539 edition (25.11) and one the 1534 edition (42.2) while the others vary slightly from both. It is possible that this manuscript was copied from a lost intermediate edition but it would need much more research to determine this.



professional scribes and it is most likely that they were originally girdle-books in special fabric or even jewelled bindings adapted to be hung from a woman's waist. Often seen in mid-16th-century paintings, surviving English examples are very rare. As Carley comments in his review: “Books were used by Tudor women as a visible affirmation of their religious affiliations, and on occasion printed books were copied out by hand to be attached to the belt and worn as a girdle-books. (Using printed books as the basis for elegant manuscript productions was a much more common practice than Mueller seems to realize.)”

Alexandra Walsham, in her essay “Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in late Medieval and early Modern England” in R. N. Swanson, ed., *The Church and the Book* (2004), pp. 123–42 discussed how “elaborately bound books could function as fashion accessories and insignia of social status” (p. 126). She noted that “there are some grounds for thinking that there was a particular market for this genre of diminutive literature among women” (p. 128) and quoted John Lyly's advice in *Euphues and his England* (1580) to “imitate the Englysh Damoselles, who have theyr bookes tyed to theyr gyrdles, not fethers, who are as cunning in ye scriptures, as you are in *Ariosto* or *Petrack*” (p. 131). She continued, that “re-attached to impeccably Protestant collections of prayers, such bindings seem to have weathered the storm of the Reformation very successfully, becoming exquisite emblems of continuity, absorbing, embracing, and mediating change” (p. 131) and that “girdle books disappeared when changes in female dress made them something of an inconvenient appendage.” (p. 131). She concluded that in “everyday use religious books were items

**FROM THE LIBRARY OF SIR WALTER RALEGH IN THE BLOODY TOWER
& ONE OF ONLY FOUR BINDINGS WITH HIS PERSONAL GILT ARMORIAL CREST**

88 [RALEGH (Sir Walter)]. VIGNIER (Nicolas, the younger). *Theatre de l'Antechrist*. Auquel est respond au cardinal Bellarmin, au sieur de Remond, à Pererius, Ribera, Viegas, Sanderus et autres qui par leurs escrits condamnent la doctrine des eglises reformees sur ce subiet: par Nicolas Vignier.

[Saumur] 1610 [Colophon: Achevé d'imprimer le 26. Jour d'Avril 1610]

£48,000

First Edition. *Small Folio*. [30, inc. engraved title within an architectural frame with a vignette at the foot illustrating Revelation 10.1 (*The Angel and the little scroll*); see below], 692, [14 (*index / errata*)] pp. *Diagonal closed tear* (100mm long) from a paper flaw in EE2. **Contemporary limp vellum, sewn on four tawed leather slips, the covers tooled in the centre with the armorial crest of Sir Walter Raleigh** (*out of a ducal coronet a conical hat surmounted by a plume of three ostrich feathers; originally blocked in gilt but that is now almost totally rubbed away*); flat spine with manuscript title in ink at the head “*Thèatre / d'Antechrist*”, remains of two pairs of blue fabric ties; laid paper pastedowns, no flyleaves; edges stained blue-green (*front joint slips broken, upper headband pulled-away from the book-block*).



A French Protestant text suppressed by the King of France from the library of the courtier, explorer and author Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618). One of only ten known printed books certainly from the library in the Tower of London and one of only four known volumes stamped with his armorial crest on the covers.

ARMORIAL BINDING

The online British Armorial Bindings Database records four armorial stamps for Sir Walter Raleigh. Three of these, however, were made for the Bodleian Library and were applied to 72 books purchased with a £50 donation given in 1603. They display Raleigh's arms of five lozenges in bend with a crescent for difference. **The fourth armorial stamp, as found on the present volume, is the only one which Raleigh personally used to mark his own books.** It shows his crest - out of a ducal coronet a conical hat surmounted with a plume of three feathers. The *British Armorial Bindings Database* records only four examples, including the present volume. The others are:

Bibliander (Theodorus), *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eius successorum vitae* (Basel, 1540). Calf. Derry & Raphoe Diocesan Library, on deposit at the University of Ulster.

Commelin (Hieronymus), *Rerum Britannicarum* (Heidelberg, 1587). Calf. Signature “Walter Raleigh” and motto “Ad spes hortamur”. A few annotations in a later hand. Cambridge University Library.

Ricci (Matteo) & Trigault (Nicolas), eds, *Histoire de l'expedition Chrestienne au Royaume de la Chine* (Lyon, 1616). Calf. Signature of “H. Saues 1618”; Sotheby, 25/11/1947, lot 443 [the arms unidentified], £10 to Maggs. No annotations, a few corners turned-in. Parham House, Suffolk.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Bloody Tower Library: Around 1608 an inventory was taken of the 500+ books that Raleigh had with him in the Bloody Tower of the Tower of London where he had been imprisoned for Treason since 1603 (Phillipps MS 6339, now British Library MS Add. 57555). It was published by Sir Walter Oakeshott (“Sir Walter Raleigh's Library”) in *The Library* (Fifth Series, XXIII/4, Dec. 1968, pp. 285–327). By 1614, when *The History of the World* was published, he would have had more, including the present volume and the history of China listed above, and he refers to a book published in 1611 (Torniellus, *Annales*) in the *History*. Only six other printed volumes, listed on the online *Catalogue of English Literary manuscripts 1450-1700 (CELM)*, can be said with certainty to have belonged to Raleigh as they all have his signature:

Colombo (Fernando). *Historia del S. A. Fernando Colombo* (Venice, 1571). Signature “WRaleigh” on title. University of Glasgow (Hunterian Collection).



Horae. 15th-Century French MS Book of Hours. Signature “WRaleigh”. Bodleian Library.

Patrizi (Francesco). *La Militia Romana* (Ferrara, 1583). Signature “WRaleigh” heavily deleted and motto “Amore et virtute”. Subsequently owned by Inigo Jones. Worcester College, Oxford.

Rocca (Bernardino). *De’ discorsi di Guerra libri Quattro* (Venice, 1582). Signature “WRaleigh” and motto “Medium Mediis”. Subsequently owned by George Carew, Earl of Totnes (1555-1629) and has his painted arms on the covers). No annotations. London, Royal College of Physicians (Dorchester Library).

Tasso (Torquato). *Rime, e prose. Parte prima* (Ferrara, 1583). Signature “WRaleigh”. Beinecke Library, Yale University.

Tasso (Torquato). *Rime, e prose. Parte seconda* (Ferrara, 1583). Signature “WRaleigh”. Phillips, 13/12/1997, lot 351, £15,000 + premium [present location unknown].

Otherwise *CELM* lists four manuscript maps and a manuscript Rutter or Sea Atlas (British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius D. IX) that were probably owned by Raleigh. A few other volumes (including two then in his own collection and one in the British Library) identified by Sir Walter Oakeshott as containing Raleigh’s annotations but no other marks of ownership have now been dismissed by *CELM*.

Vignier’s Text: “A grievous tormenting Boyl unto the Papists”: Nicolas Vignier the Younger (1575-1645) was Minister of the French Protestant Reformed Church at Blois. His father, also Nicolas (1530-96) was a lawyer and historiographer who converted to Catholicism. A copy of his *Bibliothèque historique* (1587) was probably the volume described as “Vignier ab orbe condito french” (no. 287 in Raleigh’s Tower inventory). Raleigh quoted from it in *The History of the World*. The nonconformist Minister John Quick (1636-1706), in *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: or, the Acts, Decisions, Decrees, and Canons of those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Church in France* (2 vols., London, 1692), described Vignier as “the very Learned Son of a most Learned Father” and his *Theatre de l’Antichrist* as a “a grievous tormenting Boyl unto the Papists” (I, p. 258, n. 3).

Quick related how, at the Synod of the French Reformed Church at St Maixant (25+ May 1609) it was resolved that, “Monsieur Vignier presenting his *Theater of Antichrist*, composed by him in obedience to the command of the National Synod, received the thanks of this Assembly for his great and worthy pains, and the University of *Saumur* is ordered to peruse it, and having given their opinion of it, we order that it be printed with the Authors name.” (I, p. 316).

Three years later, at the Synod of Privas (14+ May 1612), it was resolved that, “Out of the Arrearages due unto the Churches

from the remaining Moneys of the yeare six hundred and four, five and six, amounting to the sum of two and twenty thousand five hundred threescore and fifteen Livres, the Assembly ordaineth that the tenth portion of the said Moneys be given unto the Sieur Vignier as a Gratuity and acknowledgment of his Charges and great Pains taken in the Writing and Printing of his Book intituled, *Le Theatre de l’Antechrist*.” (Quick, I, p. 381).

Vignier was a friend and correspondent of the Glasgow theologian and poet Robert Boyd of Trochrig (1578-1627) who had been Professor of Philosophy from 1605 and then of Theology from 1608 at the Protestant University of Saumur before returning to Scotland, at the request of King James, as principal of the University of Glasgow in 1614.

George Sibbald, who would later marry Boyd’s widow, subsequently wrote to Boyd from Paris, 28 Jan. 1611, that “The Pope has written to the Queen [of France] to cause Burn the *Theatre of Antichrist* and its author.” (*ibid.*, II, p. 96).

The Huguenot minister and historian Elie Benoist (1640-1728) recorded that, “The said Book appear’d soon after Entitul’d *The Theatre of Antichrist*: Among the other effects it produc’d, it induc’d Gontier [Jean Gontery], a Jesuit, to Preach against the



Thirty first Article of the Confession of Faith of the Reform'd; which he did before the King [Henri IV] in so seditious and so insolent a manner, that the King reprimanded him severely for it: but lest the Catholicks should accuse him upon that account of favouring the Reform'd, and of suffering their writings to pass unregarded, he also suppress'd *Vignier's Book*." – *The History of the famous Edict of Nantes (1694)*, pp. 442–3.

Subsequently, as Anthony Wood reported, Vignier studied at Oxford for some years: "[He] retired to Oxon to improve his studies by the hearing and doctrine of Dr. John Prideaux, an. 1623, was incorporated master of arts in Oct. the same year, as he had stood at Saumur, being about that time entered a sojourner of Exeter coll. (of which house Prideaux was then rector) and numbered among the academians. Soon after he was admitted to the reading of the sentences, as a member of the said college, being at that time reputed to be a person of great erudition, singular piety, and of a most polite ingenie. After he had tarried there for some few years, he returned to the place of his nativity, where he became a zealous minister of, an d preacher to, the Protestant church." – *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss, 1815, II, col. 521–2).

ENGRAVED TITLE-PAGE

The anonymously designed and engraved title-page is intriguing. A pair of columns entwined with laurel branches support a classical pediment on which are seated naked figures of Time/Chronos and Truth/Aletheia, a banner between them reads "ΑΓΕΙ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΦΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ Menand[er]" [Time brings Truth to Light]. At the foot is an oval vignette depicting the Angel with the little Scroll from *Revelation 10.1*.

It has two features in common with Renold Elstrack's elaborate engraved title-page for the first edition of *Raleigh's History of the World*. Elstrack's well-known engraving depicts "Magistra Vita" (History), supporting a globe and standing on the bodies of Death and Oblivion. She is flanked by two standing figures between pairs of columns: on her left is an old woman, "Experientia" or Experience and on her right is "Veritas" or Truth while the right-hand column is entwined with laurel branches. The Raleigh frontispiece was analysed by Margery Corbett & Ronald Lightbown in *The Comely Frontispiece: the emblematic title-page in England 1550–1660* (London, 1979), pp. 129–35. Both title-pages and both books illustrate Raleigh's theme, as expressed in the *History*, that it is "the end and scope of al Historie, to teach by example of times past, such wisdom as may guide our desires and actions." (Book II, chapter 21).

Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World (1614): "The captive explorer had been condemned to death. Aging and scorned, Sir Walter Raleigh spent his declining years in the Tower of London,

a convicted traitor. ... Deprived of his corporal strength and his mobility, with little audience for the wit and poetry that had endeared him to Elizabeth, Raleigh set himself to new tasks. In the Tower, he received visitors, set up a still, and aided by the collection of over five hundred books in his chambers, began working on a universal world history. As was customary, he began with the Creation, intending to proceed to his present in three lengthy volumes. In seven years of work, he produced only one volume, a massive fifteen-hundred-folio tome that examined nearly four millennia from Creation to 168 BC. In 1614, sensing that volatility within James's regime offered the hope of restoration to the king's favour, he rushed the *History of the World* into print. Though only a portion of the original project, this book enjoyed immense popularity for a century after its publication, boasting over a dozen editions, reprints, and abridgments." – Nicholas Popper, *Walter Raleigh's History of the World and the historical culture of the late renaissance* (2012), pp. 1–2.

Raleigh was working on the medieval parts of the continuation in 1610 as we know from an undated letter of around that date to Sir Robert Cotton with a list of ten books on English history that he was hoping to borrow: "If yow have any of the old books or any manuscripts wherein I can reade any of our Britton antiquities, if you pleas to lend them mee for a little while I will safly restore them ..." – Agnes Latham & Joyce Youings, eds, *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, (1999), Letter 203, p. 319.

With the death of his chief protector Prince Henry in November 1612 and with his health weakened after eight years in the Tower, Raleigh lost heart in his great project. John Aubrey reported that, "He had an Apparatus for the second part, which he in discontent, burn't and sayd, if I am not worthy of the World, the World is not worthy of my Workes." (John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Kate Bennett (2015, I, p. 237). Raleigh admitted this himself in the conclusion to the published volume, "Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calles itself, The First Part of the *Generall History of the World*, implying a *Second* and *Third* volume; which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other discouragements, persuading my silence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious prince [Henry] out of the world, to whom they were directed, ..." – *Works* (1829), VII, p. 901.

Raleigh, however, was not only occupied in writing his *magnum opus* during his years in the Tower. As John Aubrey noted, "He was no slug, without doubt". From his pen poured a series of what would now be described as "position papers" – essays on political and economic, military and naval and philosophical questions, inspired by current affairs but always written from an historical perspective, the standard methodology of the late renaissance "learned counsellor". Many of these were intended for Prince Henry and his court and some circulated widely in manuscript. A number were published

posthumously, e.g. in *Judicious & Select Essayes* (1650), *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1651) and *Three Discourses* (1702).

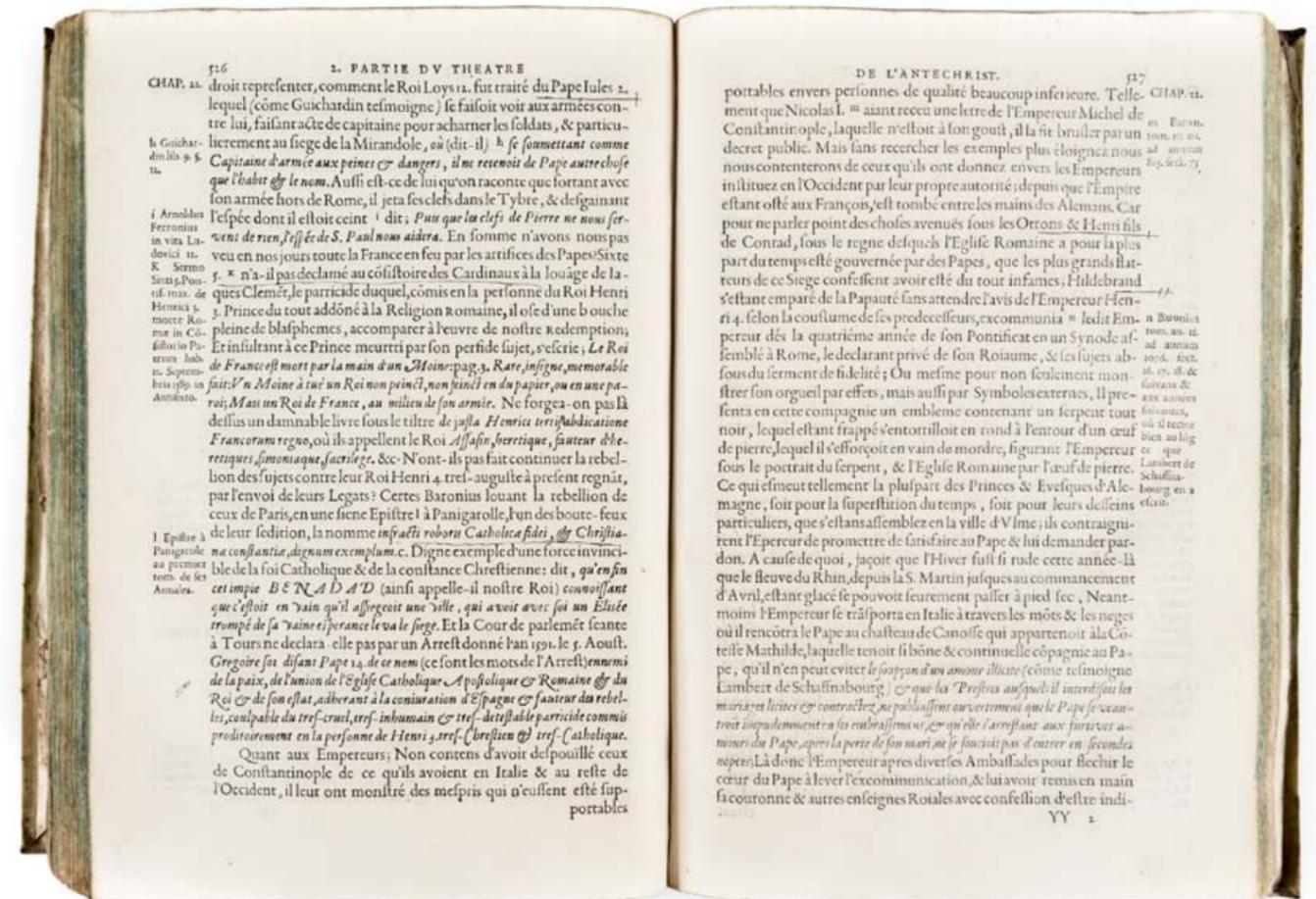
Raleigh's reading for The History of the World and his working methods: The few surviving books that have been certainly identified as being from the hundreds in Raleigh's Tower of London library have not been studied as a group for his marks of readership and whatever insights they might give into his reading and working methods. However, as Nicholas Popper has discussed in *Walter Raleigh's History of the World*, the manuscript which contains the library inventory also contains a section of 140 leaves described in the British Library catalogue as an "historical gazeteer" of the Middle East, being geographical notes based on his reading. As Popper noted, it "lays bare his method of note taking", which "was the same as was used to compile encyclopedic works he owned such as the Lutheran theologian David Chytraeus's anonymous 1564 *Onomasticon Theologicum*, the Antwerpian antiquarian and geographer Abraham Ortelius's 1587 *Thesaurus Geographicus*, and the French Catholic printer Charles Estienne's 1596 *Dictionarium historicum, geographicum, poeticum*." (Popper, pp. 124–5). As Popper continued, "the notebook stored a catalog of citations directly

relevant to the immediate task of writing the *History*. It was not, however, a perfect or infallible record. Many troubles arose from using the notebook to compress his sources, not the least of which was that he might forget the contexts or misinterpret the meanings of his own notes. ... [The] *History* was certainly produced through the mode of reading that structured the notebook itself. Indeed, it seems likely that, in the process of composition, Raleigh often turned to his notebooks rather than to the original sources and that he preferred a thin, clearly organized volume to the dense, magisterial tomes that filled the walls of his cell. The notebook served as a material surrogate for his library." (Popper, p. 130).

MARKS OF READERSHIP

At a first glance this copy of Vignier's *Theatre de L'Antechrist* appears to be unread. There are no annotations but a number of neat ink underlings and a single pointing finger or manicule show that the second part at least, from p. 311, has been carefully read.

Most of these underlined passages are concerned with the turbulent power relationships between Emperors, Kings and Popes from the early Middle Ages until the Sixteenth Century.



A number of them may relate to Raleigh's little-known essay "Of Ecclesiastical Power", first published in *Three Discourses* (1702), pp. 148-204. They may also connect to the passage in the preface to *The History of the World* which caused King James to call in the first edition at the end of 1614 "for divers exceptions, but specially for being too sawcie in censuring princes" as John Chamberlain reported to Sir Dudley Carleton in a letter of 12 January 1615 (*The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman McClure (2 vols., 1939), I, p. 568). In particular, one might consider the passage in the *History* where Raleigh discusses the fate of the Holy Roman Empire after the death of Charlemagne, a subject mentioned several times by Vignier: "there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poisoning, imprisonments, and civill warre; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished" (1614 edn, B3r). We have not been able to ascertain for certain whether or not these are Raleigh's markings but it seems there is a reasonable likelihood that they are and there is nothing to suggest that it has been read since his time. It certainly justifies further research.

The fate of Raleigh's Library: As a man who was legally dead from the time of his conviction for treason in 1603 Raleigh could own no property. It would seem, however, that when he was released from the Tower on 19 March 1616 in order to prepare for his second and last fateful voyage to Guyana, he was able to take his library with him.

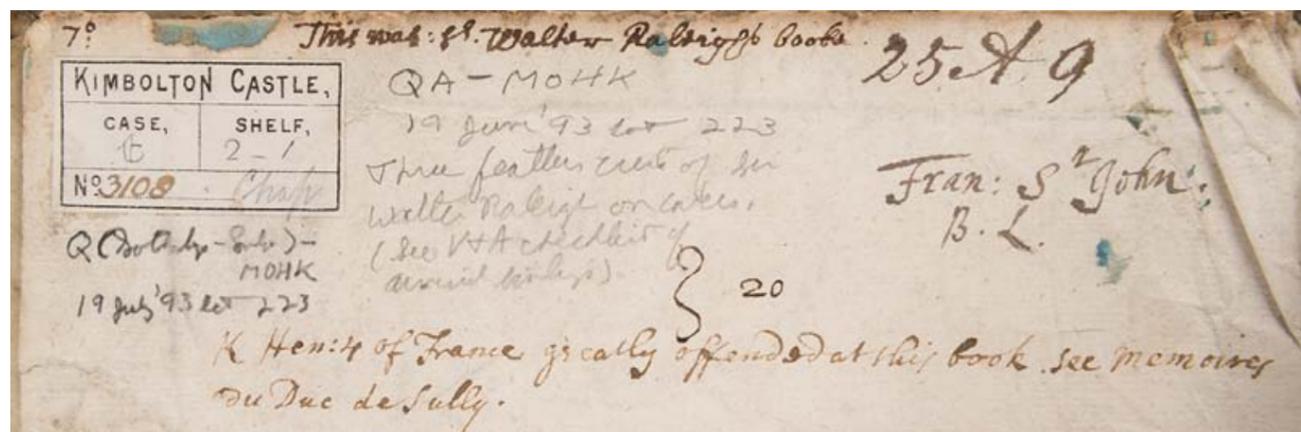
Sir Thomas Wilson, Keeper of the Records at Whitehall, who had also had the role of residing with and reporting on Raleigh in his last months in the Tower, wrote to King James on 2 November 1618, four days after Raleigh's execution on 29 October, suggesting that several sea-charts and a manuscript on the art of war that had been taken from his house by Sir George Calvert or Sir William Cockayne should be sent to the State Paper office and that his library should be transferred to the King's own library (abstract in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, Vol. 103 (November 1618, pp. 588-9, no. 67).

That all his books, or at least those not already represented in the Royal Library, should be seized was of such to concern to Raleigh's widow that she wrote to Lady Carew, the wife of Raleigh's cousin Sir George Carew, later Earl of Totnes (1555-1629), asking her to intercede with Wilson and pointing out there was nothing there which could not also be bought from John Bill, the royal bookbinder and stationer: "I beseech your ladyship that you will do me the favour to entreat [Sir Thomas Wilson] to surcease the pursuit of my husband's books or library; they being all the land and living which he left his poor child, hoping that he would inherit him in these only, and that he would apply himself to learning to be fit for them. ... If there were any of these books, God forbid but Sir Thomas should have them for His Majesty - if they were rare and not to be had elsewhere. But they tell me that Byll, the bookbinder and stationer, hath the very same. Thus entreating your Ladyship's favour that you will be a mean unto Sir Thomas that I may be troubled no more in this matter concerning the books. ..."

Lady Raleigh's fears were allayed as none of his printed books appear to have entered the Royal Library but it would seem that they were dispersed soon after his death. One of the volumes with his crest (the Ricci at Parham) has a signature "H. Saues 1618" and one volume at least passed to Sir George Carew and has his signature together with Raleigh's on the title and Carew's coat-of-arms painted on the vellum cover (the Rocca at the Royal College of Physicians).

LATER PROVENANCE

There is a 17th-Century ink note at the head of the front pastedown: "This was: Sr. Walter Raleighs booke". **Francis St John** (1634-1705), of Longthorpe, Northamptonshire, barrister, M.P. for Tewkesbury 1654 and Peterborough 1656-59, 1660, 1679-81, 1698-1700; with his ink signature "Fran: St John. / B.L." at the head of the front pastedown and an ink note below, apparently in St John's hand (and different to the first note): "K Hen: 4 of France greatly offended at



this book see memoires du Duc de Sully." A half-length portrait of Francis St John, attributed to Cornelius Johnson/Janssens and once at Kimbolton Castle is now at Peterborough Museum. He was the first son of Oliver St John (c. 1598-1673), lawyer and republican politician, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1648-60 and builder of Thorpe Hall, near Peterborough. It may be that he was the second owner of this volume after Raleigh. By descent to Francis St John's son Sir Francis St John, 1st (& last) Baronet (c. 1680-1756), of Longthorpe, Northamptonshire, with an old ink shelfmark "25 A 9" [? From Thorpe Hall] on the front pastedown. His daughter Mary married Sir John Bernard, 4th Baronet and the St John estate eventually passed to Millicent Sparrow (d. 1848), wife of **George Montagu, 6th Duke of Manchester** (1799-1855), of Kimbolton Castle, Cambridgeshire; with a 19th-century Kimbolton case-label; sold circa 1960 by the 10th Duke of Manchester to: W. H. Robinson, booksellers, of Pall Mall, London. With a letter from Walter Oakeshott to Philip Robinson, dated 24 July 1962, loosely inserted ("My dear Robinson, ... I have very little doubt that your book belonged to Raleigh"). As it is not mentioned

it would seem that neither Robinson nor Oakeshott were aware of the identity of the crest on the covers). **Lionel Robinson** (1897-1983), sale, Sotheby, 26/6/1986, lot 126 [the "gilt crest" unidentified], £600 + premium to "Ryzwick" [perhaps unsold]. Anonymous sale, Sotheby, 19/7/1993, lot 223 [the "gilt crest" still unidentified], £2800 + premium to Quaritch for: **Robert S Pirie** (1934-2015), of New York, with his bookplate and pencil purchase note "QA-MOHK / 17 Jun '93 lot 223"; Pirie sale, Sotheby, New York, 4/12/2015, lot 679 [the crest now correctly identified] to Maggs.

Literature: Coote (Stephen), *A Play of Passion: the life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1993); Latham (Agnes) & Youings (Joyce), *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1999); Oakeshott (Walter), "Imago Mundi: Collector's Piece I", in *The Book Collector* (Spring 1966), pp.12-18; Oakeshott (Walter), "Sir Walter Raleigh's Library", in *The Library*, Fifth Series, Vol. XXIII/4 (December 1968), pp. 285-327; Popper (Nicholas), *Walter Raleigh's History of the World and the historical culture of the late renaissance* (2012); Rowse (A. L.), *Raleigh and the Throckmortons* (1962).

DIARY OF A SCOTTISH SURVEYOR & GARDENER WITH 10 YEARS OF WEATHER RECORDS NEAR PAISLEY 1795-1805

89 ROSS (Charles, of Greenlaw, 1722-1806). **Manuscript Pocket-Diary of a Scottish surveyor, architect, farmer, nurseryman and gardener, near Paisley, with daily weather readings and notes of his activities and health from 1 January 1795 to 27 June 1805.**

[Greenlaw, Paisley: 1795 - 1805]

£6,500

Manuscript pocket-book on paper. Circa 126 leaves + blanks. Written vertically with a double-page for each month page headed by the month and year and with a calculation of the number of Fair days, the majority of the latter until mid-1800 within decorative penwork cartouches. Bound in original plain buff stiff paper wrappers. Each opening of a landscape double-page (recto of one leaf / verso of the next) is formed of four columns - three

narrow ones for the date, the barometer pressure and the wind direction and a long column for general weather notes and other memoranda. From December 1799 he added three or four columns at the end with a daily record of an initial letter for Rain, Frost, Dark, Sun. Rather browned throughout, some stains and damp, the last few leaves slightly frayed at the margins. Some pasted-in correction slips have come loose and a very few are now missing.

The compiler nowhere reveals his identity. We have noted some of the more interesting entries and from this we can draw a number of conclusions which lead to a certain identification:

He was a farmer, nurseryman, land-agent / factor and surveyor / architect. On 13 May 1799 he retired after 28 years as Factor at Garscadden, an estate situated to the north of the River Clyde and now incorporated into north-west Glasgow (Drumchapel). Garscadden was an ancient estate of the Colquhoun family and was then owned by James Colquhoun (d. 1801) who had inherited it from his brother William in 1784. His own estate, we can surmise from internal evidence, was near Paisley (close enough to see the

smoke from the furnaces on 24/7/1801 and smell the sulphur on 10-11/8/1801) with views to the Campsie Fells ["Campsay"] and the Luss Hills to the north. He was in sight of a Mr Orr's house (except when it was obscured by dust on 15/1/1801). His own land contained east and north parks, east and west nurseries, a kitchen garden and a heated greenhouse. He grew corn [in September 1795 he cut 43 thraves of Corn [1 thrave = 24 or 28 sheaves], hay, Syrian grass [sorghum], and kept sheep, cows, hens and horses. He grew vegetables and soft fruits: gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries, grapes, oranges, potatoes, peas, onions, haws are mentioned. He grew flowers and shrubs: tulips, ranunculus, geraniums, daffodils,



fraxinella, double snowdrops, pelargoniums, gentianella, Chinese rose, sweet briar, hydrangeas, myrtle, dogwood are mentioned. As a nurseryman he propagated and supplied trees and bushes: larch, thorn, elm, beech, oak, elder, balsam poplar, Nova Scotia poplar, Scots pine, horse chestnuts and box are mentioned.

As a surveyor / architect he noted that on 11/11/1796 he was “measuring at J. Caldwell”; 16/6/1797 “Mr Walkingshaws park house measuring” [i.e. Robert Walkinshaw, of Parkhouse, Sheriff-Clerk of Renfrewshire]; 23/6/1798 “finished the measuring of Greenlaw 4 men 4 days at 1/6 = £1-4-0”; 11/1/1799 “measuring Towing path”; 12/7/1799 “Mr Orrs house Founded by me. A Prayer” [William Orr (d. 1812), of Ingliston and (later) Ralston, near Paisley, printed linen manufacturer, m. 1779 Margaret, d. of James Kibble of Whiteford; in 1797 he acquired lands at Ingliston from the Earl of Glasgow where he built “one of the most elegant villas in the county” (George Crawford, *General Description of the Shire of Renfrew*, 1818, p. 330) and a few years later built a mansion at Ralston nearby; on the following day our man was at “Inglistown” and it is likely that he was Orr’s architect or builder]; 23/9/1799 “D[avi]d Owen & Mr Dalston measuring Greenlaw” and on 8/10/1799 “Examined Greenlaw”, 9/10 “Examined” and 12/10 “Examined continued”; 4/11/1799 “Theodolite sent to Adam”; 19/5/1800 “Overseeing Road Begun”; 19/1/1801 “Meas[ur]ed Tow-Bar”; 20/2/1801 “Valuing Haukhead Garden” [Haukhead was an estate belonging to the Earl of Glasgow near

Paisley]; 6/10/1802 “Surve[y]e d ye Auchentorly [Auchentorlie] Road”; 16/10/1803 “measure Whitehaugh”.

He was growing and supplying trees to such an extent he must have been involved in establishing plantations and in the enclosure of land - new field boundaries were created by building stone or earth dykes surmounted with thorn trees. In November 1797 he received 38500 thorns from William Reid, the nurseryman in Aberdeen and in October 1797 he wrote for 40000 more. Compare the description of the enclosure of land by Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, at Rhu [then known as Row], on the east side of Gare Loch and on the north side of the Clyde above Greenock:

In December 1798 he received 8000 oaks “from Fulton” [Hugh Fulton, nursery and seedsman, of Paisley, d. 31/8/1810, aged 92] and was sowing “oakhorns” [acorns] at Garscadden and on his own land. In October 1799 he wrote to Reid in Aberdeen, for 200,000 Larex [Larch] and in September 1801 for 80,000 more. He was also planting his own Larex seed. On 7 August 1801 he took “boxwood to Thorny Bank” [Thornliebank, south-west of Glasgow] and the next day had “2 Cart [loads of] peals [stakes] from Middleton”. After Garscadden, where he was the Factor, he was most frequently at Gartmore, the seat of Robert Graham (from 1796 Cunninghame Graham, d. 11/12/1797), further north, near Aberfoyle in Perthshire. On 17/6/1800 he was visited by Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Ulbster (“Sr In. St. Clear”), editor of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

He travelled extensively around Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Dumbartonshire and as far as Edinburgh (June 1795, end of October 1797, March 1798, May 1799, September 1801)

All in all he could be described much as the Edinburgh nurseryman Wallis Nicol described himself in *The Practical Planter, or, a Treatise on Forest Planting* (Edinburgh, 1799): “The Author Surveys, and gives Designs for Gardens, Hot-Houses, Shrubberies, Parks, Approaches, &c. in the most approved taste. Also, gives Advice and Examples for Thinning & Pruning of Neglected Plantations, in every stage of their Growth, according to Locality of Situation; with proper Memorandums, relative to their future Culture. Terms, One Guinea per Day, with Travelling Charges on Horseback, or by Stage Coach.”

He was married for the 2nd time in March 1784 (he noted his Anniversary on 1/3/1800 and his 20th Anniversary on 1/3/1804 - “My 2d Marrigd 20 Years Ago”) but the name of his wife is not given. The two women most mentioned are Mrs Corse and Mrs Ross.

He dined regularly with Mr & Mrs Robert Corse, of Wester Greenlaw (where Corse built a “splendid mansion” around 1780), until Mr Corse, a Paisley textile merchant (Christie, Corse & Co.) and partner in the Paisley Banking Co., died on 21/5/1797 aged 56 (monument in Paisley Abbey). He continued to dine regularly with Mrs Corse or “Mrs C”, showing a great concern for her health

(mostly lumbago); on 10/5/1798 he noted “Mrs C bad of a liver complaint” and on 20/5 “Mrs C much about it”; on 12/6/1798 “Mrs Corse bad with Lumbago” and a week later “Mrs C. a little better, she blistered” and on 21/6 “Mrs C. slept well, no Laudanum”; on 12/8/1799 she went to Largs on the coast for 6 weeks (“Mrs Corse to Largs in health may it continue usque ad eternum”); on 11/8/1801 he was “at Glasgow with Mrs Corse” and on the following day “sent flowers to Mrs Corse”. Easter Greenlaw, near Paisley, belonged to Charles Ross, surveyor, who built a house there in 1760 with a nursery for fruit-trees and shrubs - his heir was his only daughter Elizabeth Ross & her husband Robert Corse.

Mrs Ross is mentioned at least 32 times from 18/1/1795, usually with regard to her health. He noted that she (and noone else apart from himself) was “blooded” 8 times between 18/1/1795 and 28/10/1804 and presumably was referring to her on 21/1/1801 when he and another were “Both Blooded”. On 2/6/1799 she was “bad wt a throwing up” and four days later she “weak, much about it” and on the 15th she was “easier. Turn for better. Praise Iehovah”. On 1 July following she was “in the Cellar”. On 10/7/1801 she was “well thanks wt gratitude to God”. On 10/6/1800 she was at Port Glasgow with Mrs Corse. In the second half of August 1800 he was with her for a fortnight at Gourock, a seaside resort on the Firth of Clyde, and she stayed on for a further week. A “Mr Ross” is mentioned six times: on 19/1/1796 he went to Edinburgh, on 4/3/1796 to London,

on 4/5/1797 he sat up with Mr Corse when he was ill; on 29/4/1799 he went to Gartmore [the seat of Robert Graham in Perthshire, due north of Glasgow, near Aberfoyle]; on 2/2/1799 he sent his “letters to N[ew]. York”; on 15/11/1799 he went to Edinburgh again. A James Ross came on 5/11/1795 (“came” is a term he seems to have used for new employees); Walter Ross who “came here” on 20/11/1798 and was “away to Mr Walkingshaws” on 11/11/1800 and may have been the Wally who was “at Mr Glasford” on 21/9/1800 and was perhaps the “Ross junior” whose birthday was noted on 6/6/1801. Unlike Mrs Corse he never mentions dining with her. Such is their intimacy, including the odd note that she was “in the Cellar”, that, despite the six-times mentioned “Mr Ross”, one would suspect that he was in fact referring to his wife in the third person.

Otherwise his closest friends were members of the Kibble and Orr families, local to Paisley - William Orr (d. 1812), of Ingliston and (later) Ralston, near Paisley, printed linen manufacturer, m. 1779 Margaret, d. of James Kibble of Whiteford; James Kibble was the nephew of Robert Corse.

Health: he suffered from gout (regularly) in his feet, toes and hands (chiragra), occasional sciatica and rheumatic pains in his arms and shoulders and once in his thigh and leg. On 9/4/1796 he noted “hand not better, feet better, some drops at noon”; On 20/5/1798 he noted “Gout & weakness 36 days”. In January 1798 he noted “Shortness of Breath begun”. In January 1801 he had influenza for 2 weeks. He had trouble with his hearing: 22/5/1801 “Deafness begun”; 15/10/1801 “Singing in my Ear begun”; 7/4/1803 “Deafnes Ended thanks to God”. He also had trouble with his eyes: he noted that an eye was bad or sore on 28/1/1795, 23/2/1798, 6/6/1799, 18-30/6/1799 which he treated with salts and after which it gradually improved until on 14/7/1799 “The first day read w[ith]tout Spectacles”, but they were bad again from 28/2-2/3/1802, and on 26/5/1802 he had a “Leetch at my Eye”. On 28/10/1799 he was “spiting blood”. On 27/2/1800 he had a “Rush [rash] on arm”. On 22/9/1802 he noted “Yestday I got a fall hurt my leg”. He had a number of treatments: he underwent blood-letting 10 times between January 1795 and May 1802 (on 21/1/1801 he noted “Both Blooded”). On 1 February 1803 he noted “Electricity begun” - electric shock treatment was inflicted on sufferers of palsy or paralysis, and was often given to stroke victims. It is clear from the state of his handwriting at times in the later months and the fact that the details in the entries decline and many at the end are in another hand that his health rapidly declined and was particularly bad from February 1804 until the final entry on 27 June 1805 after which we might assume that he was either incapacitated or died.

Learning: He lent books on several occasions: 28/1/1798 “Dr Millar, Gerard [*Herbal*] lent to him”; 1/4/1799 “lent Mr Simpson Minister in Paisley the Chinese history & Eusebius”; 14/12/1800



14 "lent Mr Glen Huyg[h]ens"; 10/10/1801 "Lent Miss Brown, Johnstons Dictionary". On 21/11/1801 he was "at Loides Lecturs at night at Renfrew" - this was Robert Evans Lloyd who travelled the country giving lectures with his Dioastrodoxon, a giant orrery. In *The Caledonian Mercury* for 5/9/1801 Lloyd advertised a series of three Astronomical lectures to be held at Theatre Royal, Edinburgh on 10-15 October to be "Illustrated by the New Dioastrodoxon, or Grand Transparent Orrery, twenty-one feet diameter, assisted by upwards of Forty Changes in Appropriate Classic Scenery" and which had cost 500 guineas. On 24/11/1796 he ruefully noted "No more offering learning to Miss Anderson". She was a servant who had entered his service in February 1796 and died on 9/12/1798. On 14/11/1797 he noted "Jamie, Peter, Jake to night school". They were presumably young employees or apprentices. Jamie may be "James Ross came" on 5/11/1795; Peter was probably "Peter came here viz Mcfarlan" on 17/8/1797.

Weather: This is, perhaps, the most significant aspect of the diary. As well as recording the temperature and wind direction most days get some sort of record: "fair thaw a Wreath [drift] of Snow in ye Nursery 7 feet deep now 3 feet" (10/3/1795); "32 SW Drisling, wonderful wn ye mercury is so high, dark" (9/5/1795); "fair, very wet at night wt thunder a great deal & lightning all night" (14/8/1795); "Rain all night and till 11 am. A stormie month indeed" (31/12/1795);



"a watergal [secondary rainbow] at Milehilloc" (3/7/1796); "dust-high columns at E. Munkland" (25/8/1796); "snow on Campsay, N Stormy last night & this day. All the Roads Ice about Mr Cross [Corse] & my house" (5/12/1796); "Rain, a wonder the mercury so high [30]" (23/7/1797); "Rain, great rain, last night, Great rain all day" (18/1/1798); "The Changes in the Barometer have been greater these two weeks than ever Remembered" (1-13/2/1798); "a hurricane yesterday wt great rain" (28/11/1798); "fair snow, hard frost, the strongest cold Wind I remember, cold, cold" (31/1/1799); "snow 9 feet deep, at Moffat" (7/2/1799); "Very uncertain weather great storm in the night all past month" (28/2/1799); "snow deep on Campsay, Stonly Comon &c. Cold indeed. Coldest wind for 50 Years past that I remember" (30/3/1799).

He was not alone in Scotland in keeping detailed weather notes. John Naismith, in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Clydesdale* (Brentford, 1794, expanded edition Glasgow, 1798) refers to the "journal of a learned and ingenious gentleman, who has regularly kept it, in the centre of this district for 27 years; during which he accurately noted the state of the weather, the rains, snow, &c. which happened every day, the rise and fall of the mercury in the barometer and thermometer, with other meteorological remarks". Clydesdale, however, is the area to the south-east of Glasgow whereas as our man was clearly near Paisley in Renfrewshire. In the first decade of the 19th Century, *The Scots Magazine* published a monthly register of the weather in the vicinity of Edinburgh with barometer and thermometer readings, rainfall and a one-word description of the weather. Also see for example: *A Companion to the Weather-glass, or, the nature, construction and use, of the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer* (Edinburgh, 1796).

All this leads to only one possible certain identity: Charles Ross (1722-1806), an architect, surveyor and nurseryman, of Easter Greenlaw, Paisley.

The online *Dictionary of Scottish Architects* records him as making a survey of the Douglas Castle estate, Lanarkshire (1767), a survey of the Marchmont House estate, near Duns, Berwickshire (c. 1767), architect of a wing added to Garscadden House, Dumbarntonshire, for William Colquhoun (1779), probable architect of a coach-house at Garscadden (1780s?), architect of the gothic gate at Garscadden (1790s) and architect of a gothic farmhouse on the Ardoch estate, Dumbarntonshire (before 1792?).

Ross mentioned the last himself in *The Traveller's Guide to Lochlomond, and its environs* (Paisley, 1792): "As you approach Dunbarton, remark a Farm-house on the Ardoch Estate; built in the Gothic style, with some singular decorations, by the architect of the Garscadden Gate" (p. 120). The extraordinary gothic south gate at Garscadden (popularly known as the *Gurnin Gates*) were

demolished in the 1960s. Ross also mentioned it in *The Traveller's Guide to Lochlomond* (1792): "A connoisseur in architecture, will, perhaps, reckon himself recompensed for half an hour's excursion, by visiting Mr. Colquhoun's gateway, a singular edifice in the Gothick style, designed and executed by the the author of this work." - p. 28 and there is a woodcut illustration of it as the frontispiece.

As well as *The Traveller's Guide to Lochlomond* he produced engraved maps of the *County of Renfrew* (1754), *Shire of Lanark* on four sheets (1773), *Shire of Dumbarnton* (1777), *Stirling-Shire* (1780). He was surveyor of the Luss estates for Sir James Colquhoun, Bart., and a manuscript *Book of Maps of the Estate of Luss belonging to Sir James Colquhoun Baronet surveyed & plan[n]ed by Charles Ross. 1776* is in Glasgow University Library (MS Gen. 1006). One of these maps is illustrated on the GUL exhibition website "Maps for a small Country": "Ross's style gives the impression that he was largely self-taught and certainly his work tends towards plainness in design. This plan comes from one of a series of books of estate maps of lands on the western shores of Loch Lomond prepared for the Colquhoun family. As can be seen in the occasional note, Ross does not merely record the land but gives some indication of its quality and, elsewhere, his reports include recommendations as to the way improvements should be made."

His two favourite women, always referred to in the third person, were thus his wife Elizabeth (Mrs Ross), and his only daughter and neighbour Elizabeth (Mrs Corse / Mrs C), wife and (from 1797) widow of Robert Corse, of Wester Greenlaw. For a discussion of formality within marriage see the chapter "What Do the Characters Call each Other?" in John Mullan, *What Matters in Jane Austen? Twenty Crucial Puzzles Solved* (2012).

George Crawford, in *The History of the Shire of Renfrew* (Paisley, 1784) described Charles Ross's property at Greenlaw: "Adjacent to to the west side side of the lands of Ralston, and a little east from the town of Paisley, lie the lands of Easter Greenlaw, the dwelling of Mr. Charles Ross, surveyor of land. In the year 1760 he built a good house, with a portico of the Ionic order: Which lands were acquired, by him, from the earl of Dundonald: There he keeps a complete nursery of all kinds of fruit-trees, forest-trees, flowering-shrubs, and ever-greens; and also a neat little green house. He published maps of many counties, together with a map of Loch Lomond: About thirty years ago he published a map of the said shire of Renfrew: And has been in the practice of surveying near forty years: He likewise dug many Roman urns in the Knock-hill: He found a piece of queen Mary's coin, at Greenlaw, which he gave to William lord Blantyre. His lands are now well inclosed and subdivided, adjoining to the north side of the great road between Glasgow and Paisley. The sixth mile stone from Glasgow, stands thirty-eight yards west of the entry



which leads north into his house; and 1023 yards east from the cross of Paisley. At Easter Greenlaw, is one family." (pp. 248-9).

Easter and Wester Greenlaw are now incorporated into the eastern side of the town of Paisley. Robert Corse's mansion at Wester Greenlaw, presumably designed by Charles Ross, was described by Ross himself as "A shewy house, which first catches the eye at about the distance of half a mile before you, to the north of the road" - *The Traveller's Guide to Lochlomond* (1792), p. 18.

In 1783/4 Charles Ross's Greenlaw was assessed at £42/4/0 and Robert Corse's Greenlaw at £37/16/- for Land Tax. A manuscript *Plan of the Lands of Greenlaw, near Paisley which belonged to the deceased Robert Corse* made in 1798 by C[harles]. Ross is in the National Records of Scotland (RHP243). The entry for 23/6/1798, "this day finished the measuring of Greenlaw 4 men 4 days at 1/6 = £1-4-0" must be related to the preparation of this plan and provides the final proof that Charles Ross was responsible for this manuscript.

Charles Ross died on 11 September 1806, fourteen months and a half after the last entry in this journal, "at his house at Greenlaw, aged 84" (*The Scots Magazine*, Vol. 68, 1806, p. 728). In March 1789 his daughter Elizabeth (Ross) Corse had been given a liferent-infertment over some of the lands at Easter Greenlaw by her husband Robert Corse as confirmed in the judgement to a lawsuit (*Kibble against Ross*) brought by James Kibble, of Whiteford, a nephew of Robert Corse, in 1803-4. The united estate was bisected by the Glasgow to Paisley railway in 1837 (Marianne Kibble, widow of James Kibble, received £3420 in compensation against a claim of £7000). Greenlaw House, Mansionhouse Road, Paisley, is now divided into flats.

Charles Ross was at the forefront of the Agricultural Revolution in south-west Scotland in the second half of the 18th Century. His journal reveals that even in his late 70s and early 80s he remained physically and socially active and fully employed despite chronic health problems. It forms a remarkable testimony to life in and around Paisley at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th Century.

90 SANDERSON (Robert, D.D.). **Fourteen Sermons Heretofore Preached. IIII. Ad Clerum. III. Ad Magistratum. VII. Ad Ppoulum.** By Robert Sanderson, D.D. Sometimes Fellow of Lincolne Colledge in Oxford and Rector of Botheby Paynel Linc. The Fourth Impression.

London: by R. N. for Henry Seile, 1657

£950



Fourth Edition. *Folio. Fine Paper. [Binding: 305 x 200 mm]. [56], 144, 149-322pp, 323-324 ff., 325-401 pp., [2 blank], [6 (table/errata)] pp. Contemporary mottled calf, the covers with a gilt two-line fillet border, in the centre the gilt crest (out of a ducal coronet a griffin's head collared and winged) of Robert Spencer, Viscount Teviot [90 x 115 mm]; spine with six raised bands, the second panel lettered in gilt, the others panelled in gilt and with a central small lozenge tool (joints repaired, two knocks at the foot of the front cover, corners worn; the arms crisp and bright).*

Lincs on 11 June 1623, at the Assises at Lincoln on 7 March 1624, ditto on 4 August 1624.

Ad Populum: Delivered at Grantham, Lincs on 3 October 1620, ditto on 27 February 1620, ditto on 19 June 1621, in St Paul's Cathedral, London on 4 November 1621, at St Paul's Cross, London on 21 November 1624, ditto on 15 April 1627, ditto on 6 May 1632.

They had all been printed in quarto as *Ten Sermons* (1627), *Twelve Sermons* (1632 & 1637) and *Two Sermons* (1635 & 1636). The present edition matches the folio format of *Twenty Sermons* (1656), adds a 40-page preface by Sanderson reflecting on the state of religion in such troubled times, an 11-page "Summary, or Contents" of each sermon, showing how each is constructed into sections containing as appropriate, points, applications, observations, interpretations, duties considerations or inferences and a 5-page index of scripture references.

Sanderson had been happy with his quiet country living where, having attended Charles I on the Isle of Wight and after a brief sequestration and imprisonment, he was allowed to remain during the Commonwealth. He was plucked from this obscurity soon after the Restoration when he was consecrated as Bishop of Lincoln on 28 October 1660 though he only lived for another three years.

Provenance: 1: Bound for Robert Spencer (1629-1694), created Viscount Teviot in 1685.

"Robert Spencer was the second son of William Spencer, 2nd Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, and Penelope, daughter of Henry Wriothesley 3rd Earl of Southampton. Educated at King's College, Cambridge 1646, and the University of Padua 1648, he travelled abroad until 1651. He was Member of Parliament for Great Bedwin in 1660, and for Brackley 1661-79, a Commissioner

Wing S605 (+;+). When these sermons were preached Robert Sanderson (1587-1663) was rector of Boothby Pagnell in the Diocese of Lincoln and, from November 1631, a chaplain to King Charles I.

Izaak Walton described Sanderson's life and preaching at this time: "Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, do-ing good daily both by word and deed, as often as any occasion offer'd it self; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety were much noted and valued by the Bishop of his Diocese, and by most of the Nobility and Gentry of that County. By the first of which he was often summon'd to preach many Visitation Sermons, and by the latter at many Assizes. Which Sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procur'd and were fit to judge them; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forc'd to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory (even the Art of it) yet he had such an innate, invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his Sermons as he writ them, which gave occasion to say, when they were first printed and expos'd to censure (which was in the year 1632.) That *the best Sermons that were ever read were never preach'd.*" - Izaak Walton, *The Life of Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln* (1678; d5r-v).

The fourteen sermons are divided into three groups:

Ad Clerum: Delivered at a visitation at Boston, Lincs on 17 April 1619, ditto on 24 April 1621, ditto on 13 March 1620, at a Metropolitan Visitation at Grantham, Lincs on 22 August 1634.

Ad Magistratum: Delivered at a publick Sessions at Grantham,

of Appeals for regulating the Excise 1662-89, and Commissioner for the execution of the Office of Lord Privy Seal 1685-87. He was created Viscount Teviot in the peerage of Scotland 30 October 1685. On 15 July 1669 he was admitted D.C.L. at Oxford, and though he seems never to have matriculated at Oxford, he had rooms in Christ Church in 1675. He married his cousin, Jane, eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Spencer, 4th Baronet of Yarnton in Oxfordshire, but died without issue, when the vis-county became extinct. A devout Anglican like his friend John Evelyn, he was nicknamed 'Godly Robin' by Charles II. His books perhaps passed to his elder brother the 1st Earl of Sunderland and became part of the Althorp Library." - *British Armorial Bindings Database*; stamp 2 (listing ten examples; all have this crest on one cover and a coat-of-arms block in four quarters on the other that is not present here).

2: While this copy eventually went to Althorp it was not by a direct route as after Teviot it belonged to **Benedict Ithell** (1670-1737), of Temple Dinsley, Hertfordshire, Deputy Paymaster of Chelsea

Hospital, Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1727, and has his signature "Ex Libris Benedicti Ithell" at the foot of the title-page.

3: It subsequently entered the famous **Sunderland Library**, having presumably been acquired by Charles Spencer, 3rd Earl of Sunderland and 3rd Duke of Marlborough (1706-58) and remained at Blenheim Palace until the great series of sales at Sotheby, *Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana*, Part IV, 10+/3/1883, lot 11020 [with Sanderson, *Twenty Sermons*, 1656, in matching bindings of "old calf with Sunderland arms on sides"], 5 shillings to Thompson.

4: **Edward Gordon Duff** (1863-1924), bibliographer, with his neat signature on the front pastedown. 5: Sale, Sotheby, 26/3/1941, lot 26, £1/5/- to 6: Lord Spencer = **Albert Edward John, 7th Earl Spencer** (1892-1975), of Althorp, Northamptonshire, with his 6-line pencil purchase note on the front pastedown and an Althorp bookplate; by descent to Edward John, 8th Earl Spencer (1924-92); sold through Bernard Quaritch to: **Robert S Pirie** (1934-2015), of New York, with his bookplate and pencil purchase note dated May 1987, sale, Sotheby, New York, 2-3/12/2015, part of lot 720.

ONE OF TWO 18TH-CENTURY TRANSCRIPTS OF THE LOST ORIGINALS

91 SAVILE (Henry), 1642-87, courtier and diplomat. **Manuscript Letter Book containing copies of 178 letters, mostly between Henry Savile and his brother George, Marquess of Halifax, written between 9 April 1661 and 29 August 1689.**

[No place, circa 1760]

£2,500

Manuscript on paper (watermark of a fleur-de-lis on a crowned shield, countermark "IV"). Folio. [Text: 368 x 248 mm]. 245 pp.

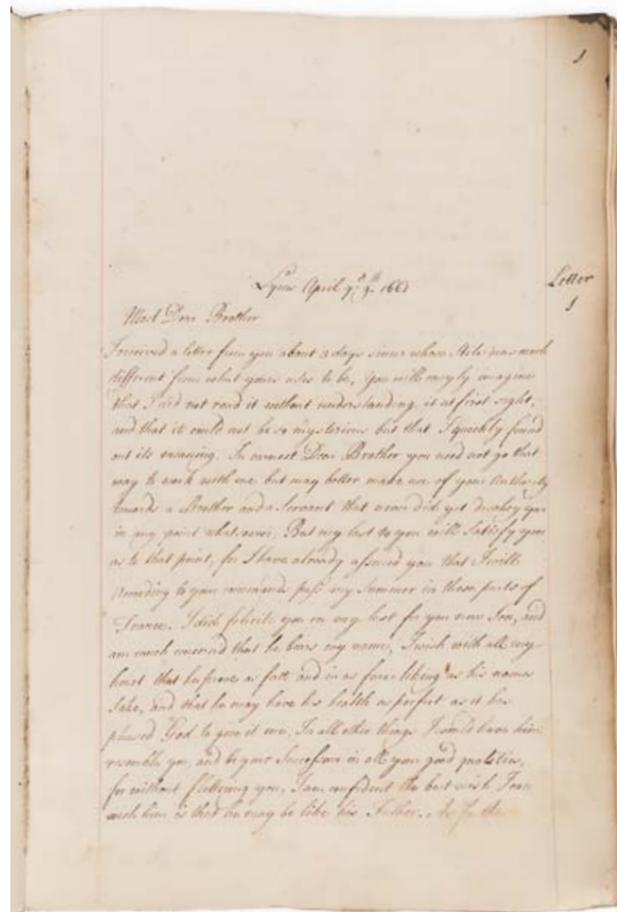
Contemporary plain vellum over pasteboards (lightly soiled, brown stain at the foot of the front cover).

The original letters are lost but this is one of two known mid-18th-Century fair copies (with slightly improved orthography) - the other is in the archive of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth and is presumed to have passed by descent from Dorothy, one of the co-heiresses of the 2nd Marquess of Halifax by his 2nd wife, Lady Mary Finch, daughter of the Earl of Nottingham. **They were published from the Chatsworth manuscript in 1858** (with the addition of a further 63 letters then in the State Paper Office [now National Archives] by William Durrant Cooper as *Savile Correspondence. Letters to and from Henry Savile, Esq., envoy at Paris, and vice-chamberlain to Charles II. and James II. Including letters from his brother George Marquess of Halifax* (Camden Society, 1858). Many were also included (with deletions) in Helen Charlotte Foxcroft, ed., *The Life and Letters of Sir George Savile, Bart., First Marquis of Halifax* (2 vols., 1898).

Henry Savile was the younger son of Sir William Savile, 1st Bart. In 1662 he was appointed a Groom of the Bedchamber to James, Duke of York and in 1672 was appointed in the same post to Charles II, leading a debauched life at court. In 1672 he was

Envoy-extraordinary to France. In 1673 he was elected M.P. for Newark. From 1678-82 he was again Envoy-extraordinary to France. In July 1680 he was appointed Vice-Chamberlain to the King and in Jan. 1682 a Commissioner of the Admiralty.

"Savile's life illustrates many of the vicissitudes of the civil war and post-Restoration periods, although he himself was not given to lengthy introspection on the subject. He approached life with an attitude of amused and detached acceptance, and formed friendships on the basis of affection rather than political calculation (one of his closest friends of later years was the republican Algernon Sidney, hardly a name to flaunt before the Stuarts). His correspondence is largely silent on his cultural tastes; it is hard to assess what literature, theatre (apart from the bawdy variety), or music meant to him. His religious observances were minimally conventional, although his encounters with Huguenots gave him a respect for people willing to make material sacrifices in defence of their principles. The most constant threads running through his life were his devotion towards his brother and nephews, and his love of Paris. Many of his happiest years were



**“FROM MINOR DETAILS OF HISTORICAL PRECEDENT TO WIDER POINTS OF PRINCIPLE”
– THE ARGUMENTS THAT LED THE WAY TO CIVIL WAR**

92 SHIP-MONEY. Arguments of the Counsel in the case of the writ of ‘scire facias’ issued by the Crown on 11 August 1637 against John Hampden for his refusal to pay Ship Money tax of 31/6d and heard in the Exchequer Chamber by the 12 Judges of England.

1: ST JOHN (Oliver), c. 1598-1673. The Case of Shippmoney Mich 130: Car: in the Exchequer Chamber argued by Mr. St. Johns of Lincolns Inne utter Barrester on the behalfe of Mr. Hambden.

2: LITTLETON (Sir Edward, later Baron, Solicitor-General), 1589-1645. L’arguem[en]t: del Mr. Solliciter Gen Littleton interiori Templo fait per Celay in Camera Sccio [Scaccario] dev[an]t: touts les Judges.

3: HOLBORNE (Robert, later Sir, Barrister), 1598-1648. The Replie of Mr. Holborne of Lincolns Inn to the Arguments of Mr Sollicitor 2d december 13 Car in Camera scacc[a]rio.

4: BANKES (Sir John, Attorney-General), 1589-1644. The Replie of Sir John Bankes knight his Maiesties Attorney Generall to the former argum[en]tes in the Exchequer.
[London: circa 1638] £1,200

Manuscript on paper (Pot watermark) written in three or four neat italic or secretary hands; ruled in red. Folio. [Text: 285 x 185 mm]. Margins browned, dampstain in the lower margin, worsening at the end and causing minor damage to the foot of the final leaf of text and the terminal blanks). Bound in contemporary limp vellum (slightly soiled, stain on the front cover, top half of the front yapp fore-edge chewed-away, front inside joint broken, front flyleaves soiled and loose, ties missing).

spent there, and there is a certain congruity in the fact that it was in that city that he died.” (ODNB).

His older brother and main correspondent George (1633-95) was a greater success. He inherited his father’s baronetcy in 1644, was created Viscount Halifax in 1678, and Earl of Halifax in 1679 and Marquess of Halifax in 1682. He was Lord Privy Seal 1682-5 and 1689-90, President of the Council 1685, Chancellor to the Queen Consort 1684-5 and Queen Dowager from 1689, and Speaker of the House of Lords 1689. He is also known now (but not in his lifetime) as an author (e. g. *The Character of a Timmer, The Ladies New Year’s Gift*).

Besides three letters from Henry to his sister-in-law Lady Dorothy Savile and two to her sister-in-law the Countess of Sunderland all the letters are between the two brothers (about two-thirds are from Henry to George).

Provenance: With a manuscript note pasted to the flyleaf (on paper watermarked 1818): **“This Volume was given to Lady Holland by Sackville Earl of Thanet the descendant of the Marquis of Halifax by his Grand daughter Lady Mary Saville Countess of Thanet. February 1820.”**. Sackville Tufton, 9th Earl of Thanet (1769-1825) was the grandson of Lady Mary Savile (1700-51). Elizabeth Vassall (1771?-1845), married (2ndly) in 1797 Henry Richard Fox (afterwards Vassall), 3rd Baron Holland (1773-1840); with Holland House armorial bookplate. Thence by descent to the Earls of Ilchester, sale, Sotheby, 10/2/1964, lot 285, £50 to Maggs and in stock (but never catalogued) since.

The four lengthy speeches delivered in the Exchequer Chamber in November to December 1637 by the Counsel for the Crown (Littleton & Bankes) and for John Hampden (St John & Holborne). The arguments for and against the imposition of a tax introduced by Charles I in 1634 during his ‘personal rule’ without a parliament to raise money for the Navy and known as Ship Money ranged from minor details of historical precedent to wider points of principle regarding the royal prerogative or the supremacy of parliament in the levying of taxes. The crux being whether the king’s right to levy taxes for the defence of the realm in an imminent state of danger overcame the absolute right of a subject in his property and, if so, what defined such an imminent danger. The “proceedings aroused vast national interest, and Sir Thomas Knyvett complained that though he was up by ‘peepe of the day’ he was unable to crowd into the courtroom to hear the argument” (ODNB). The speeches, each of which occupied three or four days, circulated widely in manuscript (the contents of this are the same as British Library MS 1569). Other manuscripts include the conclusions of the 12 judges which were delivered between April and June 1638 and who decided for the Crown by a majority of seven to five (e.g. BL Sloane MS 3933).

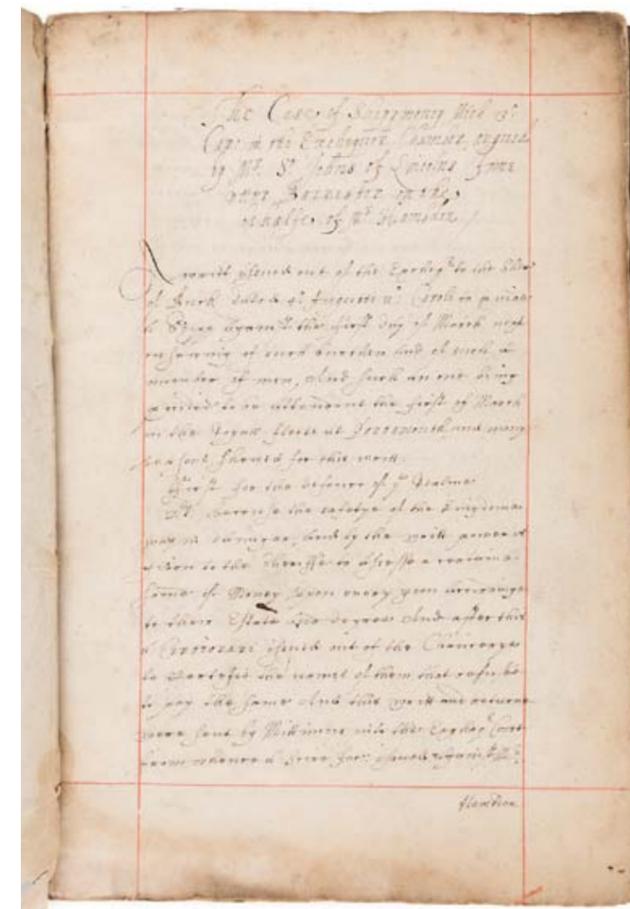
Oliver St John’s “arguments in the ship money case boiled down to one essential plea, namely that if the king was entitled to lay whatever charge he desired on his subjects, it would come to pass that their property was held entirely at ‘the goodness and mercy of the king’ (Rushworth, 2.508). Therefore, according to St John, by allowing the king to compel payments towards national defence, ship money threatened the foundation of property itself.” (ODNB).

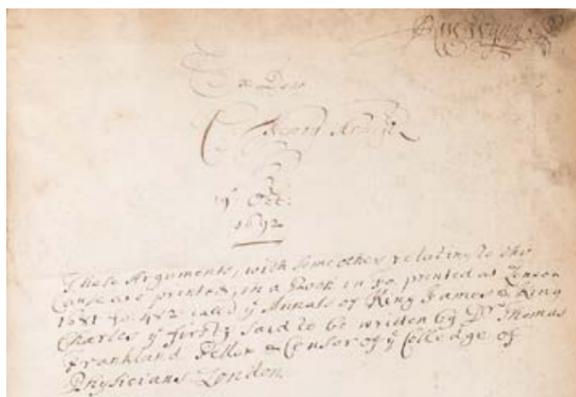
Sir Edward Littleton “spoke for three days in response to the case made for John Hampden against the king. Invoking the words of Sir Edward Coke, who had said that court records were a much better guide to legal history than chronicles, Littleton elaborated his case with a ‘beadroll of examples and precedents’ (*State trials*, 3.926) from before the conquest to the time of the forced loan, but since Hampden’s lawyers had not yet questioned the claim that the levy was made in response to an emergency his principal point was also based on the law of nature and reason. The defence of the realm was more important than the law of property; indeed, individual property could not be safe if the commonwealth was in danger.” (ODNB).

Robert Holborne, in a four-day speech delivered from 2 to 5 December, “countered that the writ of 1635 on which his client had defaulted had made no mention of imminent danger. Then, sensing that the case might be proved on technicalities and desirous of engaging wider principles, he asserted: ‘by the fundamental laws of England, the King cannot, out of parliament, charge the subject - no not for the common good unless in special cases’, even

though he might judge the danger imminent. The absolute right of the subject in his property excluded the monarch’s discretion to define imminent danger.” (Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 1992, p. 722).

Sir John Bankes’s three-day speech “was largely historical in thrust. Citing an array of precedents, it illustrated the way in which early charters contained exceptions that allowed the king to raise money for the defence of the realm, and Bankes claimed that levies such as ship money had been collected in time of danger since before the Norman conquest. The writs themselves were based on many records, and were issued according to the laws and customs of England. He made it plain that he thought one of the reasons why kings could act in time of danger was that they had existed before parliaments. Royal power was inherent in the king’s person, and in no way derived from the people, ‘but [was] reserved unto the king when positive laws first began’ (*State trials*, 3, col. 1017). The king was the sole judge of imminent danger and how the danger was to be prevented and avoided. Furthermore, having sat in parliament himself in 1628, he argued that the petition of right never intended that any prerogative power of the king should be diminished.” (ODNB).





“As the speeches of counsel ended, it was evident that both narrow and broad questions had been raised: the lofty principles of prerogative, law and parliament, and the technical matters of the form of exercise of agreed authority. The Court was thus presented with two arguments couched in moderate, and two in extreme forms. It was how they responded to the four positions that divided the bench in their judgments. ... The judges (who gave their opinions over the course of the next six months) concurred on a number of basic points. Their general view was that for ordinary defence the king must expend his own revenues or go to parliament; in the case of emergency most agreed he was sole judge of the danger

and bound to take measures to avert it - Croke alone venturing a different view, in part to draw back from it. All too accepted that the common law prohibited taxation without consent - though some were to claim it did not apply to the defence of the realm. Agreement on the basic points of law, however, still left room for judgments quite different in tone and implication. ... So a bench unanimous on some points, and divided perhaps nine to three on the larger questions, gave a final verdict by the narrowest majority.” - Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 1992, pp. 723-4.

Provenance: Flourished signature “R[?ise] Wynne”, a common Welsh christian name found as Rhys, Rhees, Rees, Rice or Rise, at the head of the front flyleaf and inscription below: “Ex Dono C. Newby Armiger 190: Oct: 1692”, perhaps the Charles Newby, son and heir of Richard Newby, of Wellow, Notts., esquire, deceased, who was admitted to the Middle Temple on 28 April 1683 (*Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, Vol. I, p. 210). Note in another hand below “These arguments, with some others relating to the Case are printed, in a Book in Fo. printed at London 1681 fo: 482 called ye Annals or King James & King Charles ye first; said to be written by Dr Thomas Frankland Fellow & Censor of ye Colledge of Physicians London”. Maggs cost code “10/43” and “roso” at the end dated October 1943; in reserve stock since and never catalogued.

93 [SMOLLETT (Tobias George)]. The Adventures of Roderick Random. In Two Volumes.

London: for J. Osborn, 1748

£3,000

First Edition. 2 vols. 12mo. xxiii, 324; xii, 366 pp. (vol. II lacks the final blank). Good copy in contemporary mottled calf, spines ruled in gilt, red morocco labels in the second panels (joints rubbed,

upper headcap of Vol. 1 missing, surface of the leather pitted by the mottling acid).

Rothschild 1905.

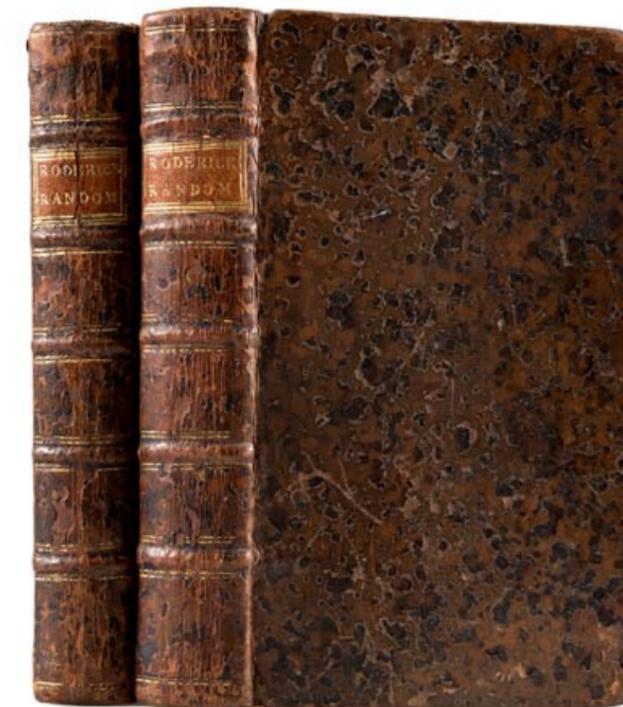
“I have attempted to represent modest merit struggling with every difficulty to which a friendless orphan is exposed, from his own want of experience, as well as from the selfishness, envy, malice, and base indifference of mankind. - To secure a favourable prepossession, I have allowed him the advantages of birth and education, which in the series of his misfortunes will, I hope, engage the ingenuous more warmly in his behalf; and, though I foresee, that some people will be offended at the mean scenes in which he is involved, I persuade myself the judicious will not only perceive the necessity of describing those situations to which he must of course be confined, in his low estate, but also find entertainment in viewing those parts of his life, where the humours and passions are undisguised by affectation, ceremony, or education; and the whimsical peculiarities of disposition appear as nature has implanted them.” - The Preface.

“[Tobias Smollett’s] reputation rests principally on his achievement as a novelist, an achievement assured by the publication of *Roderick Random* in 1748. Published anonymously by J. Osborn in Paternoster Row, it excited considerable comment in polite society. There was no published criticism, however, because *Roderick Random* predates the practice of reviewing contemporary literature, ... Although *Roderick Random* was not reviewed immediately upon publication the response to it was enthusiastic, and it went into several editions in the next few years. ... *Roderick Random* maintained its popularity on a number of counts. Though its structure is loosely episodic, it has a satisfying completeness of form. The plot charts several revolutions in Roderick’s career: a prolonged series of adventures culminating in the restitution of family fortunes and his finding his rightful social place. Smollett gives the feel of actuality supported by particular reference to contemporary history in the shape of incident, scene and event, as in the chapter on the voyage to Carthage. Roderick himself

is an engaging hero, tough, resourceful, passionate, gallant even, yet a man capable of refinement of feeling and expression. No less boyish than Tom Jones, he is sometimes coarser than his famous contemporary. ... Smollett’s great strength is in making characters. The figures in *Roderick Random* comprise a gallery of portraits often distinguished by national or professional characteristics. This is a dominant feature of his work, whether the tone is scornful, neutral, or lovingly enthusiastic and is particularly remarkable in Smollett’s portrayal of doctors and naval men.” Kelly (Lionel), ed., *Tobias Smollett: the Critical Heritage* (2005 edn), pp. 4-5.



Provenance: Lady Mary (Douglas) Gordon, Countess of Aboyne (1736-1816), daughter of James Douglas, 14th Earl of Morton (President of the Royal Society) and 2nd wife (m. 14 May 1774) of Charles Gordon, 4th Earl of Aboyne (c. 1726-1794), of Aboyne Castle, Aberdeenshire. With her signatures on the title “M Douglas” (pre-marriage) and “M Aboyne” (post-marriage). She had one son, Hon. Douglas Gordon, later Lord Douglas Gordon-Hallyburton



(1777-1841), M.P. for Forfarshire. Her step-son George, 5th Earl of Aboyne, succeeded his cousin George, 5th Duke of Gordon as 9th Marquess of Huntly in 1836. Aboyne Castle remains in the Huntly family today. Acquired by Maggs in 1984 and in reserve stock since.

FORTIETH EDITION OF ONE OF THE MOST POPULAR OF ALL DEVOTIONAL AIDS

94 SOROCOLD (Thomas). Supplications of Saints: A Book of Prayers and Praises in Four Parts. [...] Wherein are three most Excellent Prayers made by the late Famous Queen Elizabeth. The 40 Edition Corrected and Enlarged. By Tho. Sorocold.

London: for Peter Parker, 1678

£1,500

12mo. [Binding: 137 x 77 mm]. [22 (including a crude woodcut frontispiece portrait of Queen Elizabeth I)], 260, [5 (Table), [1 (blank) pp. Some light browning / spotting. Fine copy in contemporary black morocco, the covers with an elaborate all-over gilt

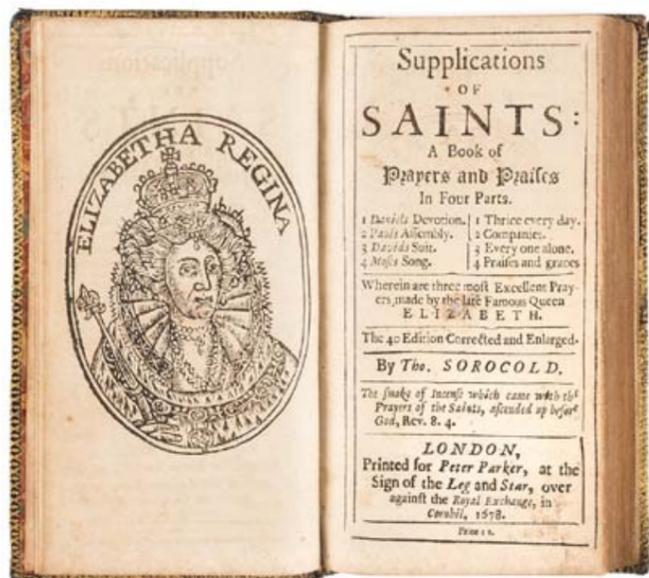
design with three quadrilobes formed by drawer-handles, each containing four pointillé flower and leaf tools with the rest filled with flowers, sequins and dots; spine with five panels tooled with alternating gilt designs; comb-marbled endleaves; gilt edges.

Wing S4706 (**Harvard only**). One of the most popular of all devotional aids with nearly 50 editions between 1612 and 1723, many of which are known in only one or two copies. Although it was entered into the Stationers’ Register on 24 Sept. 1608 the earliest surviving edition is “The third Edition, enlarged” (1612) while the next is the “Sixth edition enlarged” (1616).

The Book as History: New Intersections of the Material Text: Essays in Honour of David Scott Kastan (Yale, 2016, pp. 87-125 (Sorocold is included in the table on p. 101 as only 14 of 26 known editions to 1640 survive).

See Alan B. Farmer’s essay, “Playbooks and the Question of Ephemerality” on the survival rates of multiple editions different genres of books in H. Brayman, et al., eds, *The Book in History*,

The earliest surviving edition was dedicated to Princess Elizabeth Stuart. The present edition includes Sorocold’s revised dedication to Charles, Prince of Wales, dated February 1617. An earlier version, dated 12 March 1616 had appeared in the “sixth Edition enlarged” (1616), the Princess having left England on her



to “a very curious and nondescript large flower” [not used here] used in conjunction with a pansy tool used here on the flowery fronds. See the copy of Richard Allestree’s *The Lively Oracles given to us* (Oxford, 1678) in Maggs Bookbinding Catalogue 1075 (1987), no. 95 and the copy of Edward Wetenhall’s *Enter into thy Closet* (1676) in the present Catalogue.

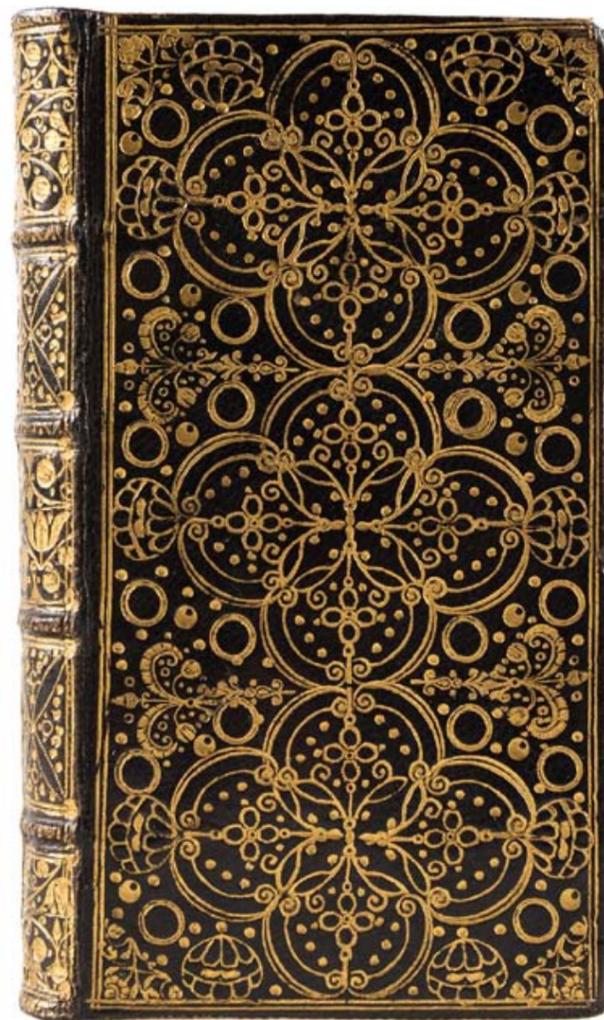
There are no marks of ownership.

marriage to the Prince Palatine of The Rhine. Sorocold was buried at St Mildred Poultry, where he was rector, on 12 December 1617.

The main text is preceded by a series of prayers of first letters of which spell ELIZABETH. Part 1, “Daniel’s Devotion”, contains “private Prayers, for Morning, Noon, and evening, every day in the week. Also four other Prayers, for Morning and Evening onely. Also two Prayers, or Meditations upon the Passion of our blessed Saviour”. Part 2, “Paul and his Company”, contains “Prayers for divers Purposes, to be uttered with Company”. Part 3, “David’s Suit”, contains “Prayers in the names of divers parties of several Estates” and opens with two prayers by Queen Elizabeth, her “Prayer of thanksgiving for the overthrow of the Spanish Navy sent to invade England, Anno Domini 1588” and her “Prayer for the success of her Navy, Anno Dom. 1588”. It also contains prayers by and for women: “The Wives Prayer for her husband in absence or otherwise”, “The Widow’s Prayer”, “The Prayer of women with Child”, “The Midwives Prayer”, “A Prayer in time of Womens Travel [Labour]”, and “A Prayer after the Deliverance of Women”. These are followed by prayers for children, a scholar, a soldier, servants, “The Maids Prayer”. Part 4, “Moses Song”, contains “divers Thanksgiving and Graces” ending with “A Supplication of the Author for all”.

It is not clear how many of the prayers are of Sorocold’s own composition or how many, as so often (see Nicholas Themylthorpe’s *Posie of Godly Prayers* in the present catalogue), were taken from earlier published collections. In the preface he describes them as “this handful of flowers, picked, sorted, and tied up in a bundle, according to my slender ability, both of iudgment and invention”.

The pretty binding is by an unnamed workshop whose work was mentioned by G. D. Hobson in *English Bindings 1490–1940 in the collection of J. R. Abbey* (1940), no. 46 and note 2, drawing attention



Three Spensers from the Shirburn Castle Library

A BITTER ATTACK ON THE ENVIES, INTRIGUES, AND GENERAL STATE OF COURTLY TASTE

95 SPENSER (Edmund). **Colin Clouts Come home againe.** By Ed. Spenser.

London: (T[homas]. C[reede].) for William Ponsonbie, 1595

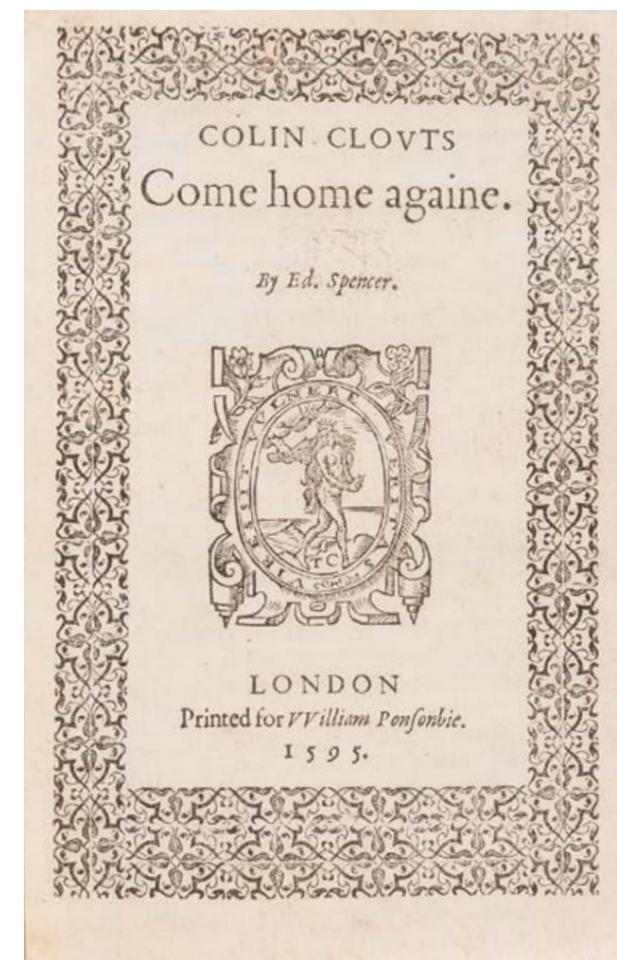
£16,000

First Edition. *Small 4to. [Text: 180 x 120mm] [40 leaves]. Title within a type-ornament border and with a woodcut printer’s device. Title-page slightly off-square; a fresh, clean copy. Mid-19th-century green hard-grained morocco by Hatton of Manchester (with ticket), gilt arms block of the Earl of Macclesfield on the front cover, spines lettered in gilt, gilt edges (spine faded, joints and spine slightly rubbed).*

STC 23077. Pforzheimer 967. Uncorrected state of the outer forme of sheet C with the spelling “worthilie” on C1r, line 24.

Colin Clouts Come home againe is dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh “in part of payment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge my selfe bounden unto you, for your singular favours and sundrie good turnes shewed to me at my late being in England, and with your good countenance protect against the malice of evil mouthes, which are alwaies wide open to carpe at and misconstrue my simple meaning”. *Colin Clouts* was written in 1591 on Spenser’s return to Kilcolman Castle, near Cork, after a year spent with the English court. He had come to England at Raleigh’s suggestion, and the poem tells of the glories of the queen and compliments those courtiers who appreciated the beauties of the *The Faerie Queen*. However, there follows a bitter attack on the envies, intrigues, and general state of courtly taste. “Colin Clout” is the name adopted for Spenser himself, “Cynthia” is Queen Elizabeth, “Hobbinol” Gabriel Harvey, “Amyntas” Thomas Watson, the “Shepherd of the Sea” Sir Walter Raleigh, “Alycon” Ferdinando Gorges, “Palemon” Thomas Churchyard, “Thestylis” Lodowick Bryskett, and “Urania” Lady Pembroke. William Alabaster and Samuel Daniel are mentioned by name, but the identity of the other characters is still open to speculation.

Colin Clouts, “fits neatly into a tradition of advice literature that exempts the monarch from the general failings of his or her courtiers, and includes strong criticisms of the court, as well as attacks on the vanity, ignorance, and greed of courtiers in general. It is possible that *Colin Clout* was intended as a criticism of Elizabeth’s regime in the 1590s, especially if we bear in mind Spenser’s own lack of preferment in England and his posthumous criticisms of the queen in ‘Two cantos of Mutabilitie’ (A. Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser’s Irish Experience*, 1997, chap. 6). *Astrophel: a pastorall elegie upon the death of the most noble and valourous knight, Sir Phillip Sidney*



was published in the same volume and dedicated to the countess of Essex, Sidney’s widow, Frances Walsingham, with six other elegies, by Lodowick Bryskett and others; again Spenser’s poem was undoubtedly written earlier.” (*ODNB*).

“*Colin Clouts* is the only one besides *Astrophel* of the five pieces included in this volume which was written by Spenser. The others were written by his friends Ludovick [*sic*] Bryskett, Matthew Royden, and Sir Walter Raleigh. *The mourning Muse of Thestylis* was separately licensed to John Wolfe in 1587, and may very probably have been printed by him though no copy is known. When entered in the Stationers’ Register it was attributed to Bryskett. The *Pastoral Aeglogue upon the death of Sir Phillip Sidney*

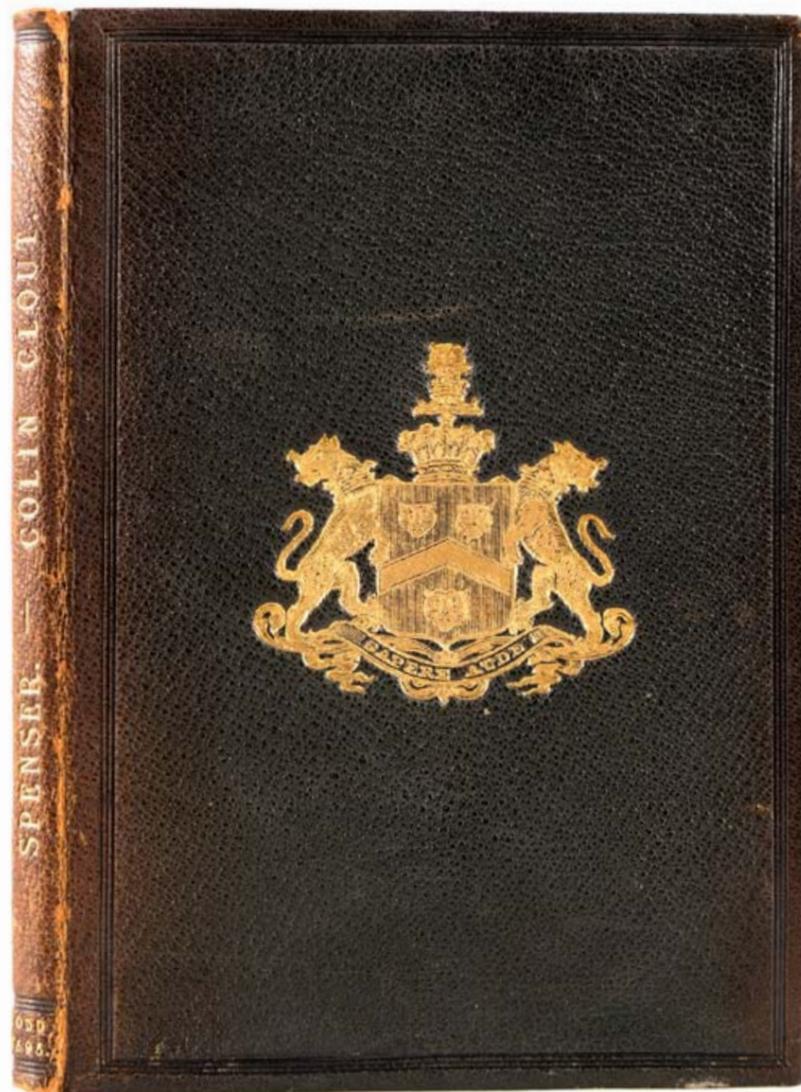
Knight is signed 'L.B.', which letters are believed to be the initials of Bryskett. ... The poem entitled *An Elegie, or Friends passion for his Astrophill* is usually attributed to Matthew Roydon. ... The two epitaphs which follow the *Elegie* are attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, on the evidence of notes by Harington and Drummond which appear to refer to them." - Pforzheimer.

Provenance: **William Barloy**, with his contemporary signature "Willm Barloy" with a flourish at the head of the last blank leaf (shaved). His signature, dated June 1615, is on the title of a copy of William Camden's *Remaines, concerning Britaine* (1614) in "The Shakespeare Library, formed by an English Collector", sale, Part II, Anderson Galleries, New York, 28/10/1918, lot 73. His ownership inscription "Gulielmus Barloy me tenet" appears at the head of the first page of text of Vol. 2 of the Macclesfield copy of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596). The two volumes are exactly the same size so

it is practically certain that they were originally bound together. In that case *Colin Clouts* also belonged to **William Angell**, whose 17th-Century inscription "Ex Libris Gulielmi Angell" and signature "Wm Angell" appears on the title and the first page of text of Vol. II of the Macclesfield copy of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596). There was a William Angell (d. 1629), yeoman fishmonger to Queen Elizabeth by 1594, Prime Warden of the Fishmongers' Company in 1616, of Old Fish Street, City of London, and Crowhurst in Surrey. A copy of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1581) at Folger has the signature "William Angell". Childish pencil inscription filling the blank C2v: "**Thomas Cotton / 1653 / 165 / John / Cotton**" (offset onto the page opposite).

The survival of so many copies of the first editions of *Colin Clouts* and of *Complaints* (1591) as well as later editions of *The Shepheardes Calender*, all in the same quarto format, suggests that many copies were originally bound with copies of the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene* as still occasionally found, e.g. the John Evelyn - Hoe copy at Folger or the extraordinary volume with *The Faerie Queene* (1590-96), *The Shepheardes Calendar* (1597) and *Complaints* that belonged to Patience Curzon (1590-1643) and sold in the Francis Kettaneh sale, Paris, 20/5/1980, lot 83.

Earls of Macclesfield, Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, with gilt arms on the covers, small armorial blindstamp on the title and following two leaves and North Library bookplates with shelfmark "77.F.3"; thence by descent. Not in the Sotheby's Macclesfield sales; acquired privately.



"REPLETE WITH DISTURBING IMAGES OF VIOLENT DISRUPTION"

96 SPENSER (Edmund). The Faerie Queene. Disposed into twelve books, fashioning XII. Morall vertues. [- The Second part of the Faerie Queene. Containing the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Bookes. By Ed. Spenser.]

London: [Vol. 1: by John Wolfe; Vol. 2: by Richard Field] for William Ponsonbie, 1590 [- 1596]

£24,000

First Edition of both parts. 2 vols. Small 4to. [Text: 190 x 125 mm & 180 x 120 mm]. [1-2], [1], 2-606 [last page with errata], [8 (15 Sonnets); [1-3], "2", 5-518 pp. Woodcut printer's device on each title-page; woodcut of St. George on M5v in Vol. 1. Condition: Vol. 1: Title-page a little dusty, very occasional small spots, a small rust-hole in R5 (just touching 2 or 3 letters), light damp-stain in the lower outer margin from pp. 520-50. Vol. 2: Title-page and first few leaves lightly browned, closely-cut at head and tail with many headlines and/or signatures and catchwords shaved or cropped; occasional tiny rust or other spots. Mid-19th-century green hard-grained morocco by Hatton of Manchester (with tickets), gilt arms block of the Earl of Macclesfield on the front covers, spines lettered in gilt, gilt edges (spines faded, joints rubbed, front joint of Vol. 1 repaired).

Vol. 1: STC 23081a. Pforzheimer 969. One of three variants of this edition, this being listed third by STC. This one has the dedication to Queen Elizabeth on title page verso signed "Ed. Spenser" and the first digit of imprint date is under the first "i" of "William". As usual quire Qq4 is present as well as leaves Pp6-7 which were intended to be cancelled and replaced by them. Variant with the Welsh words in lines 4-5 on p. 332 printed instead of blank spaces.

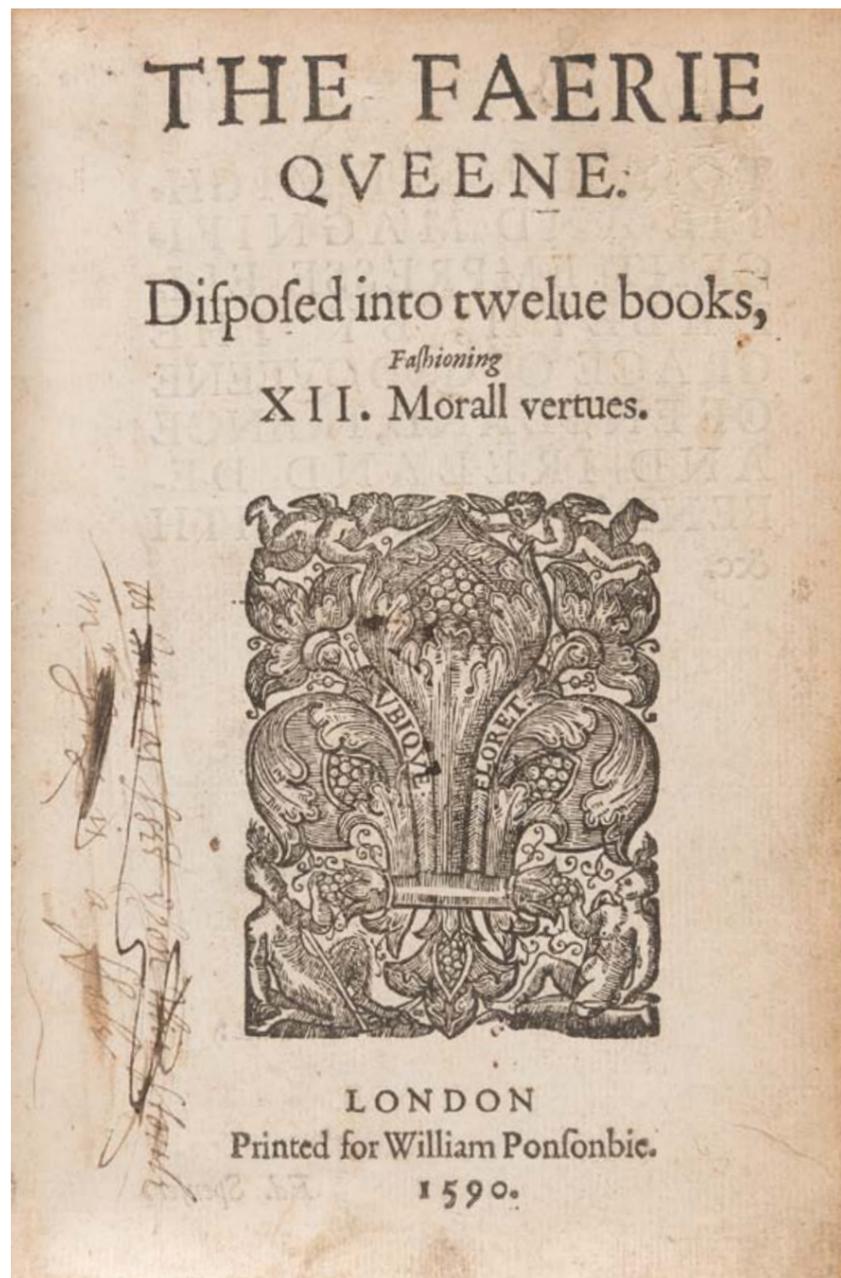
Vol. 2: STC 239082 (Vol. 2 only). Pforzheimer 970.

The Faerie Queene tells a series of discrete but interrelated stories based around the quests of six knights who each represent a particular virtue. Its allegory is flexible and moves easily from the historically specific to deal with theological, philosophical, and ethical questions, many based on readings of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, a stated source of the poem. Book 1 tells the story of the redcross knight, eventually revealed to be the patron saint of England, St George, who has to destroy the dragon who holds captive the parents of his lady, Una. As with all romances the narrative moves sideways as much as forwards (a process known as dilation), and a whole series of episodes represent events and problems precipitated by the Reformation. The lovers are united but, significantly, the knight is recalled to his service to Gloriana, the faerie queen, before they can get married. Book 2 charts the progress of the knight of temperance, Sir Guyon, culminating in the famous description of his destruction of the Bower of Bliss, an episode which has inspired commentators, artists, and writers ever since. Guyon's undoubted virtue is shown to be limited when he is defeated by the knight of



chastity, Britomart, the heroine of book 3. While Guyon can only refuse and oppose bodily temptation Britomart is able to experience corporeal ecstasies and agonies, and so point to a way beyond the limits of temperance for those who have to live in the ordinary world. Britomart, in pointed contrast to the real queen of England, the virginal Elizabeth, sees her husband-to-be, Artegall, in Merlin's magic mirror, and the dynasty that she will found stretching into the future. The first edition of *The Faerie Queene* concluded with the striking image of the hermaphrodite created through the passionate embrace of the rescued lovers, Amoret and Scudamore, a sign that human experience could be equal and satisfying through the institution of marriage.

"The second edition [recte volume] of the poem (1596) is generally agreed to be a darker and more diffuse work. Book 4, the legend of Friendship, has two central figures, Cambel and Telamond, who occupy only a small section of the narrative. Many commentators argue that the original version of the poem that circulated in manuscript in the early 1580s consisted of portions of



books 3 and 4, later worked into the printed version with varying success. The book contains the famous description of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway - again probably adapted from an earlier work or version of the poem. Book 5, the legend of Justice, follows the adventures of Artegall, Britomart's future spouse. This has generally been the least popular section of the poem because of its disturbing defence of English policy in Ireland and, more overtly, its historical allegory, but it has recently received far more attention for the very reason that it was previously ignored. Artegall, abandoned by his tutor, Astrea, has to resolve a number of difficult

disputes, foolishly falls prey to the Amazon Radigund, and has to be rescued by Britomart before his violent suppression of rebellion in Ireland is prematurely truncated by Gloriana. Book 6, the legend of Courtesy, depicts the adventures of Sir Calidore, a confused and misdirected knight who tries to give up his elusive quest for the Blatant Beast when he stumbles across a pastoral world at odds with the courtly world he is less than keen to defend. The book, like its predecessor, is replete with disturbing images of violent disruption, principally of disguised rebels ambushing small peasant communities (undoubtedly an echo of Spenser's experience



in Ireland). It ends when Calidore finally manages to capture the Blatant Beast, but it escapes to terrorize the world with its awful slanders, which include attacks on the poet himself." (ODNB).

Provenance: Vol. 1: 17th-Century inscription written vertically in the inner of margin of the title "as true as Jest upon His stole / Mr. Gray is a ffole" (crossed-through, the name more heavily). The recto of the old preserved flyleaf filled with 17th-Century inscriptions: "Sum Liber AGraye / et amicorum", "Christian Newport", "Bronkord is a very pretty man / and is much in love deniget who cane", and a list of names (written sideways one under the other): "Anshatill gray his Booke / Elizabeth Wiseman / Mary Littleton / Catheren Newport [the christian name crossed-through] / Beatris Brumly / Christon Penelope [the second name crossed-through] / Jane". On the verso "God and ye good knowes how to save / the Ignarent and noe Pity have / thay that here one doe loke / pray for him that oeth this / Boke / [?] Jane [...]man".

"Anshatill Gray" is probably the **Hon. Anchitell Grey** (c. 1624-1702), of Risley Hall, Derbyshire, M.P. for Derby 1665-85

& 1689-95, High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire 1657-8, 2nd son of Henry, 2nd Baron Grey of Groby & 1st Earl of Stamford (c. 1599-1673); see ODNB. The name descends from Anchetil De Grey, a vassal of William the Conqueror, the presumed common ancestor of the various noble branches of the De Grey / Grey family. His name was spelt "Anshatill Gray" in a Militia Act of 12 March 1660.

Vol. 2: William Barloy, with his contemporary inscription at the head of the first page of text (shaved): "Gulielmus Barloy me tenet". His signature, dated June 1615, is on the title of a copy of William Camden's *Remaines, concerning Britiaine* (1614) in "The Shakespeare Library, formed by an English Collector", sale, Part II, Anderson Galleries, New York, 28/10/1918, lot 73. His signature "Willm Barloy" with a flourish appears at the head of the last page of the Macclesfield copy of Spenser's *Colin Clouts Come home againe* (1596). The two volumes are exactly the same size so it is practically certain that they were originally bound together. If so the childish pencil inscription "**Thomas Cotton / 1653 / 165 / John Cotton**" on E3v of *Colin Clouts* is applicable to this volume as well.



William Angell, with his 17th-Century inscription on the title "Ex Libris Gulielmi Angell" and signature "Wm Angell" on the first page of text. There was a William Angell (d. 1629), yeoman fishmonger to Queen Elizabeth by 1594, Prime Warden of the Fishmongers' Company in 1616, of Old Fish Street, City of London, and Crowhurst in Surrey. Two neat ink corrections on p. 384: Line 3 the first word "For" crossed-through; line 5 the word "from" inserted after "Of what degree and". Sir Calidore's name on p. 428 corrected in ink to Calepine and the correct name added in the margin. Small pencil sketch of a head in profile on p. 291 (offset onto the page opposite - compare the pencil inscription by Thomas and John Cotton dated 1653 in *Colin Clouts*).

Vols. 1-2: Earls of Macclesfield, Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, with gilt arms on the covers, small armorial blindstamp on the titles and following leaves and North Library bookplates with shelfmark "77.F.1 [- 2]"; thence by descent. Not in the Sotheby's Macclesfield sales; acquired privately. Although the two volumes are not an original "set" they have been together since the mid-18th Century at least.

“THE POEMS AND COMMENTARY SERVE TO ANNOUNCE THE ARRIVAL OF A MAJOR NEW ENGLISH POET”

97 [SPENSER (Edmund)]. **The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning twelve aeglogues proportionable to the twelve Monethes.** Entitled to the noble and vertuous Gentleman most worthy of all titles, both of learning and chevalrie M. Philip Sidney.

London: (by Thomas East) for Iohn Harison (Harrison) the younger, [1581]

SOLD

Second Edition. Small 4to. [Text: 185 x 130mm]. [4], 52 leaves. Title within a type-ornament border, text printed in Black Letter with the notes in roman letter. 12 woodcut illustrations [approx. 60 x 100 mm]. Title-page dusty and with a stain in the upper fore-corner (more visible on the verso) that gradually diminishes and disappears by f. 8; lower fore-corner of the first three leaves once creased and dusty with the extreme outer of the 2nd leaf missing (no loss); small hole from a paper weakness in f. 3 causing a small hole in the woodcut on recto and damaging two words on the

recto; small surface abrasion on f. 17r affecting two words in lines 2-3; minor stain in the lower inner margin of sheets M-N; upper fore-corners of sheets M-N creased or chipped with the extreme outer corners of M2-4 missing (no loss); last leaf strengthened on the blank verso with a strip of old paper (35mm wide) at the outer margin. Mid-19th-century brown calf by Hatton of Manchester, with ticket, gilt arms of the Earl of Macclesfield on the covers, spine lettered in gilt, spot-marbled endleaves, gilt edges.

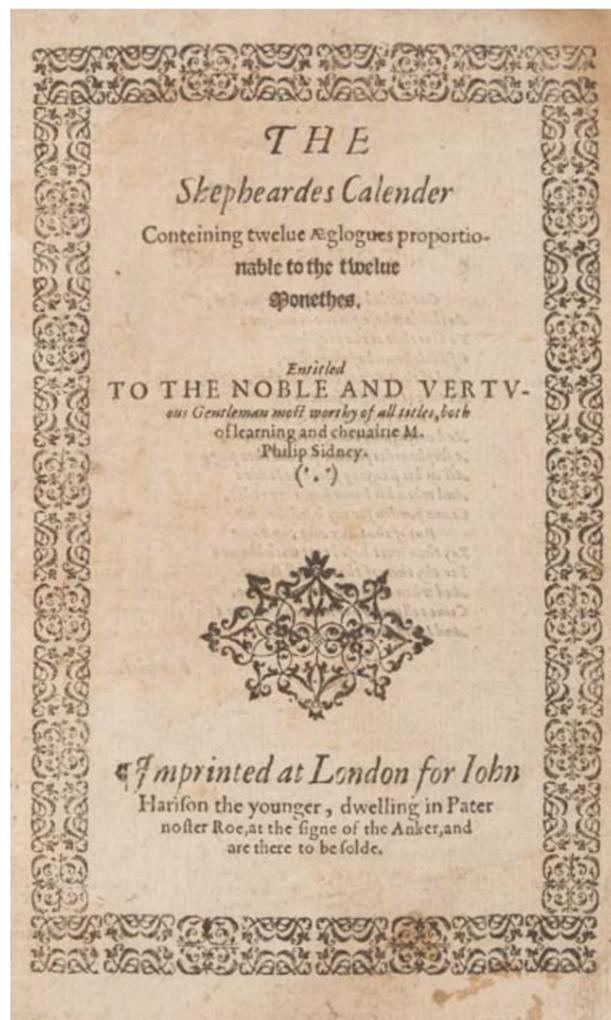
STC 23090 (British Library, Trinity College Cambridge [ex Edward Capell], Duke University [ex Corser - Huth - Bemis - Houghton - Bradley Martin], Huntington [ex E. D. Church], Newberry Library [ex Silver; ff. 18-25 mutilated with loss of text], Texas [ex Wrenn; last leaf in facsimile], Williams College (Chapin Library).

Very rare: ABPC records only the Houghton copy (now at Duke), Christie, 12/6/1980, lot 443, £12000 + premium, and a very poor copy (“Tp & prelims mended with part of tp & some text restored in facsimile; marginal defs”) sold at Swann, New York, 26/4/1984, lot 85, \$9500 + premium.

This seems to be the only copy of any of the first four editions remaining in private hands.

The most popular of Spenser’s works in the 16th Century with five 4to editions published between 1579 and 1597. From 1611 it was issued with folio editions of *The Faerie Queene*.

Text: “*The Shepheardes Calender* was entered into the Stationers’ register on 5 December 1579 and was published by the protestant publisher Hugh Singleton soon after that date, as the poem bears the imprint 1579 (indicating that it must have appeared before the end of February). The *Calender* was a popular work and was reprinted in 1581, 1586, 1591, and 1597, demonstrating that Spenser did make an impact as ‘our new poet’. It contains twelve poems, complete with prefatory comments and notes by E. K., which may or may not have been written by Spenser himself and Gabriel Harvey, and a series of emblematic woodcuts of allegorical significance. The poems describe events in the lives of a series of fictional shepherds and vary from apparently personal laments on the nature of loss and unrequited love to stringent ecclesiastical satire and attacks



on corruption and court patronage. They comment on the nature of love and devotion, the pains of exile, praise for the queen, forms of worship, the duties of church ministers, forms of poetry, the merits of protestantism and Catholicism, and impending death. Equally important is the showy technical proficiency of the works and the ways in which the poems and commentary serve to announce the arrival of a major new English poet.” (ODNB).

Woodcuts: “Edmund Spenser’s first original poem appeared with twelve new cuts printed at the beginning of each of the twelve monthly eclogues. Designed for the text, the images evoke a calendrical setting by including the sign of the zodiac in a wreath of clouds, by incorporating elements from images of the Labors of the Months (June, July, and August) and by visual punning on the name of the month (February, March, and April). The illustrations emphasize a central concern of the poem itself - the subject of poetry - by suggesting the conditions under which poetry can flourish (April, August, and November) or perish (January, June, December). Quotations from other illustrated books include one

from Aesop in May. ... The correspondence between image and text is inconsistent betraying a faulty production. Although instructions must have been given the designers, their execution was divided among at least three artisans resulting in cuts of disparate quality with that of ‘Januarye,’ the finest. Some of the designs reflect the Flemish tradition of drawing.” Ruth S. Luborsky & Elizabeth M. Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536-1603* (1998), p. 689.

Of the first edition (1579) only two copies are listed on ABPC: The Houghton copy (now at Folger), Christie, 12/6/1980, lot 442, £45000 + premium and the Bradley Martin copy (now at the Morgan Library), Sotheby, New York, 1/5/1990, lot 3218, \$65000 + premium. The latter had been bought by Martin at Christie, 20/11/1980, lot 276, £38000 + premium. Otherwise ABPC / Rare Book Hub records only the sale in the last 50 years of 1 copy of the 3rd edition (1586), 4 copies of the 4th edition (1591) and 3 copies of the 5th edition (1597).

Provenance: No early marks of ownership. **Earls of Macclesfield**, Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, with gilt arms on the covers, and North Library bookplate with shelfmark “77.F.23”; thence by descent. Not in the Sotheby’s Macclesfield sales; acquired privately.

LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE WITH EARLY ANNOTATIONS
THE SYKES – BECKFORD – HAMILTON COPY

98 STAPLETON (Thomas). **Tres Thomae**, seu De S. Thomae Apostoli rebus gestis De S. Thoma Archiepiscopo Cantuarensi & Martyre. D. Thomae Mori Angliae quondam Cancellarij Vita. His adiecta est Oratio Funeris in laudem R. P. Arnoldis de Ganthois Abbatis Marchennensis.

Douai: Ex officina Ioannis Bogardi, 1588

£1,800

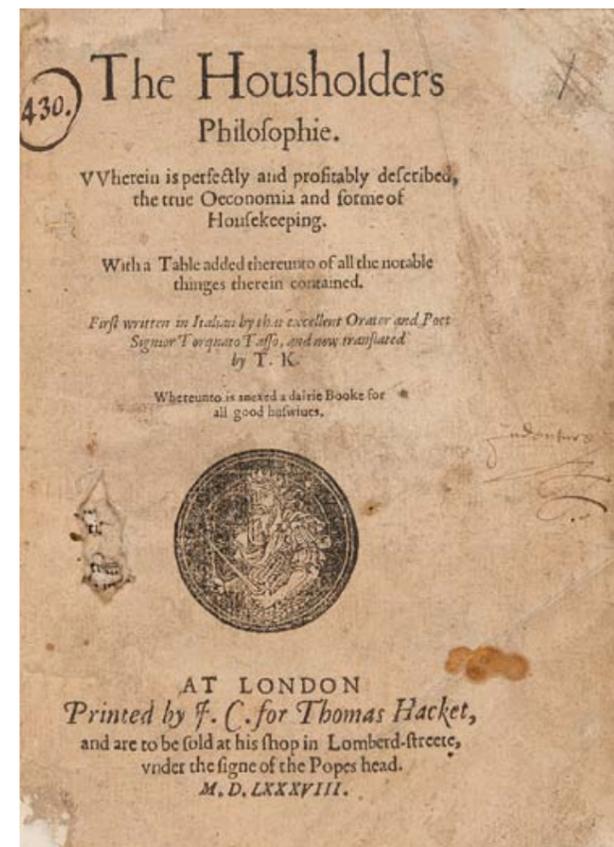
First Edition. 8vo. [Text: 154 x 100 mm]. [xvi], 168, 375, [21] pp. Without the final two blank leaves. Engraved portrait of Sir Thomas More in the text. Upper margin of the title and leaf A8, upper corner of the title and lower corners of the first five leaves

renewed at the time of binding, without loss. Early 19th-century maroon straight-grained morocco, gilt Sykes crest of a demi-triton on the covers, plain spine, yellow endpapers, gilt edges (joints rubbed, lower joint starting to wear).

Gibson, *Sir Thomas More*, no. 121. First edition of this important first biography of Sir Thomas More combined with lives of the Apostle St Thomas and St Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598) was a leading exiled Catholic controversialist and teacher, being Public Professor of Divinity at Douai 1571-85 and Professor of Sacred Scripture at Louvain from 1590. In the preface to his life of Sir Thomas More, Stapleton “gives his reasons for undertaking the work and the sources of his information. Almost certainly he had [William] Roper’s MS. notes

before him, and he makes abundant use of More’s own works - not so much the Latin Works, which, as he avers, were in everyone’s hands, but chiefly the English Works, which could not be expected to be so familiar to foreign Catholics. But his Life has great and independent value in that it enshrines the personal recollections of those of More’s household who were fellow-exiles for the Faith with Stapleton in the Low Countries. Still more important was the collection of letters he received from the widow of John Harris, More’s secretary. They were in a decayed condition when Stapleton used them, and doubtless have long since perished, so all that we now of their content is what he preserved. ...” - *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More*, tr. Philip E. Hallett (1928), p. x.

Provenance: 1: Neat early ink annotations in Latin (though with one quote in Greek from Aristotle’s *Politics*) in the life of More (some slightly cropped), including, for example on p. 15 More’s own epigram 38 “Fleres, si scires unum tua tempora mensem / Rides, si non sit fortisan una diem” [You would be weeping if you knew you had one month to live; you laugh, although you may not have one day]. The writer had knowledge of life in Cambridge adding the comment “et iam apud Cantabrigienses” to the passage describing how a passage from Scripture would be read aloud at table “ut apud religiosos sit”. 2: Bound for **Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, 3rd. Bart.** (1771-1823), of Sledmere, Yorkshire, with his crest on the covers, inventory number “Cat. V2.P679.MMS.Sledmere” on the front pastedown, sale, Evans, III, 28/5/1824, lot 459, £4/10/- . 3: **William Beckford** (1759-1854), with collation note “CP GC” by his bookseller George Clarke, inventory number “No 4968” and note “rariss”; by descent to the **Duke of Hamilton & Brandon**, Hamilton Palace sale, III, Sotheby, 12/7/1883, lot 2198, £1/17/- to Nattali & Bond. 4: Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., with bookplate noted “Received October 17, 1921”, small blind stamp on the title and following leaf and shelfmarks on the verso of the title; disposed of in 2003. 5: Maggs Bros., sold in 2006 to: 6: Private collection, U.S.A.



THOMAS KYD'S FIRST PUBLISHED WORK

99 TASSO (Torquato). KYD (Thomas), translator. **The Housholders Philosophie. Wherein is perfectly and profitably described, the true Oeconomia and forme of Housekeeping.** With a table added thereunto of all the notable things therein contained. Fyrst written in Italian by that excellent Orator and Poet Signior Torquato Tasso, and now translated by T. K. Whereunto is annexed a dairie booke for all good huswives [by Bartholomew Dowe].

London: by J[ohn]. C[harlewood]. for Thomas Hacket, 1588

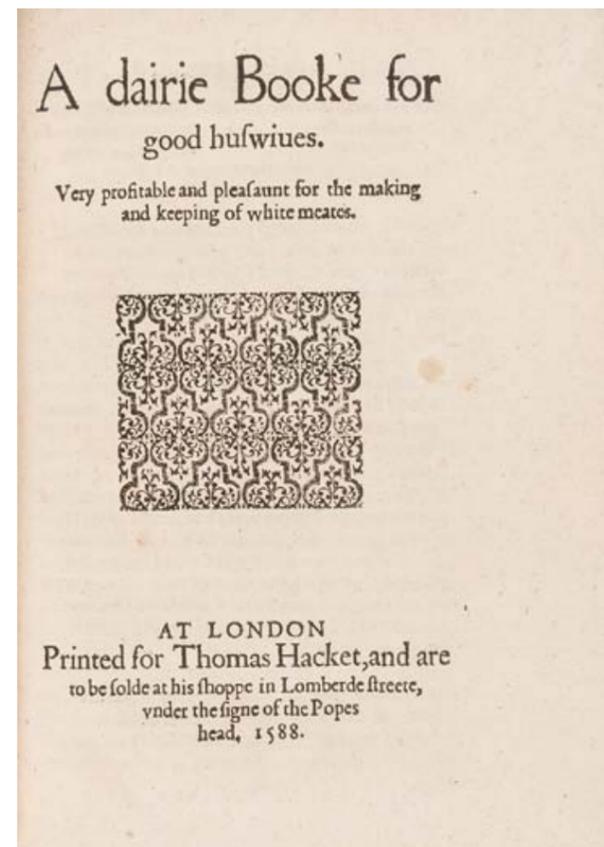
£12,000

First Edition of Thomas Kyd’s translation of Tasso, Second Expanded Issue with the First Edition of Dowe’s Dairie Booke. Small 4to. [Text: 184 x 138 mm]. [6], 27, [11] ff., with the blank leaf G4; small circular white-on-black woodcut of a Roman emperor on the title. Title-page dust-soiled and stained

and with a hole to the left of the woodcut progressively diminishing in the next 3 leaves and slightly affecting a couple of letters on *1r; paper label removed from the lower inner corner of the title; second leaf and final leaf dusty; a few minor spots, otherwise a good, wide-margined copy. Modern calf.

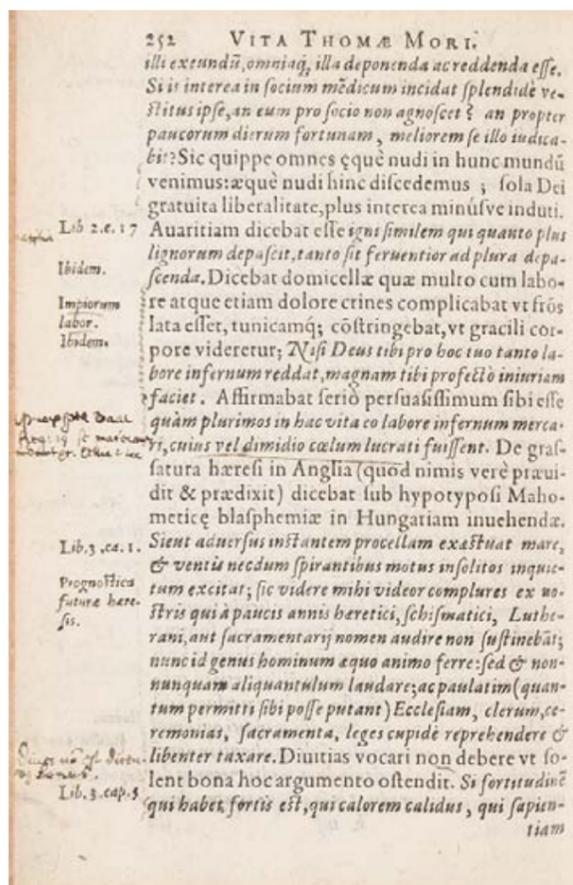
STC 23703 (British Library [lacks part 2, title-page mutilated], Bodley [complete]; Huntington [ex Rawlinson - Heber - Britwell; complete], Massachusetts Historical Society [Winthrop family copy; complete] & Yale [also ex Earls of Macclesfield, complete but some sidenotes cropped]).

This is a re-issue, with a cancel title-page and additional second part of *The Householders Philosophie* (STC 23702.5 Bodley & Shakespeare Birthplace Trust [lacks title and all preliminaries - so the issue



is uncertain] only) which was published in the same year. This re-issue has Bartholomew Dowe’s *A dairie Booke for good huswives. Very profitable and pleasant for the making and keeping of white meates* added at the end with a separate title-page and register.

The Housholders Philosophie is a translation by the playwright Thomas Kyd (the attribution remains firm, with J. R. Mulryne highlighting the “vigorous prose” - ODNB). from the Italian of *Il Padre di Famiglia*, first published in Venice in 1583. In the

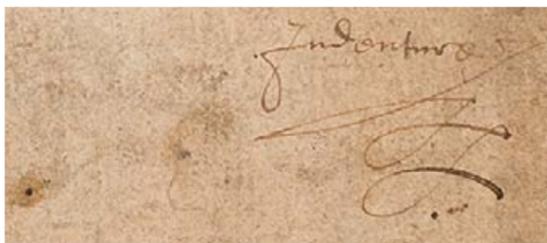


dialogue Tasso describes how, caught in a storm, he is taken in by a young man and his father who offer to give him shelter for the night. During the comfortable evening they talk of various aspects of household and agricultural management. A table has been provided at the start to allow the reader to use the dialogue as a practical guide running from “Achilles is not to be imitated of a noble man” and “Ayde amongst Servants for the helpe and ease of one another necessarie” to “Women how to be chosen in wedlock” and “Women married rather yong then olde”.

With a six-line dedicatory poem by “T. K.,” Thomas Kyd, to the unidentified “Maister Thomas Reade” and a few other short verse translations in the text, mostly from Vergil, but also Petrarch, Catullus, Homer, and Dante - the longest being 11 lines from Dante).

Christopher Crosbie considered that, “Kyd’s translation reveals a distinct concern with the concrete realities of social stratification, particularly the economic disparities that both impinge on and yet define one’s household. While Kyd’s subtitle may promise that he will ‘perfectly and profitably’ put forward ‘the true *oeconomia* and forme of housekeeping,’ it does not promise an exact rendering of Tasso’s original. Kyd’s deviations from the original text signal an authorial bias towards a more equitable system where merit, not privilege, governs. The railings against usury, for example, stem entirely from Kyd’s own additions and seem to reflect his distaste for oppressive economies. The translation may be stylistically uneven, but Kyd consistently makes the case that lack of ‘clothing, purse, or birth need not preclude true nobility, which should be measured by richness of action, comeliness, utterance, judgment, and argument - as if such capacities might arise like Horatio’s virtues independently of social and material conditions.’ [James R. Siemon, “Sporting Kyd”] ... The society Kyd inhabits, the one he reflects in his translation of *The Householders Philosophie* and the one he creates in *The Spanish Tragedy* are all ordered by the dialectic implied in this contrast between privilege and merit, between entrenched power and laboring aspirants.” - Christopher James Crosbie, *Philosophies of Retribution: Kyd, Shakespeare, Webster and the Revenge Tragedy Genre* (PhD Thesis, Rutgers University, 2007, available online), p. 22.

The second part of this work, *A dairie Booke for good huswives* (not included with the first issue), is a discourse between “an honest



Matron a South-hamshyre Woman” and a 47-year old “Suffolke man”, “concerning making of whitmeate [cheese]”. The dialogue is composed in a pseudo-argumentative tone with the woman correcting the man on his knowledge of cheese-making and the man relating how his mother would make cheese on their estate in Suffolk. The man argues that “cheese fats that be made in Suffolke, be farre stronger, and much better” (A4r). The Suffolk man’s mother is believed to be Katherine Dowe (who is mentioned at the end of the dialogue) of Sibton Abbey in east Suffolk - a dairy farm of sixty-three cows.

Wendy Wall has compared the two texts, Tasso-Kyd and Dowe, which are very different in style: “Dowe’s manual was appended to a translation of Torquato Tasso’s *The Householders Philosophie*, a humanist work outlining the universal principles of cosmic ordering underlying metaphysical and material worlds rather than detailing pragmatic tasks. Tasso suggests that good housekeeping is governed by the codes of stewardship and hospitality documented in the most authoritative texts of Western tradition - the Bible, Petrarch, Virgil. More specifically, he imagines stewardship as transmitted through the father’s catechism of his son, a process that his book supplements and imitates. Committing instruction to memory, the good son not only learns wisdom but demonstrates the grand memory-system evidenced in the housewife’s ordering of goods or the poet’s proportioning of art. Appearing as an appendix to Tasso’s work, Dowe’s text turns to mother rather than classical maxims and thus lodges domesticity squarely in her purview. Concluding with jingles that his mother sang as she worked, Dowe offers a vernacular counterpart to the classical guide to which his work is bound; his reader thus encounters competing fantasies about domesticity, familiarity, and memory. Refusing to credit humanist charges that cross-gendered domesticity damaged the young boy’s character (a theory supported by Erasmus and Elyot), Dowe imagines an instructive domestic experience in which children fruitfully absorb the rhythms and habits of home. Dowe’s homey pamphlet appears definitively English when paired with Tasso’s text. Women’s work emerges as the most basic source of a native knowledge lodged deep in the recesses of memory, and identity.” - Wall (Wendy), *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama* (2002).

Provenance: contemporary ink word “Indentures” with a flourish on the title and a short illegible note on f. 13r (carefully preserved with the margin turned-in). **Earls of Macclesfield**, Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire; formerly part of a tract volume, with ink number “430.” in a circle on the title. That this library contained two copies of such a rare Elizabethan tract is testimony to its extraordinary strengths.

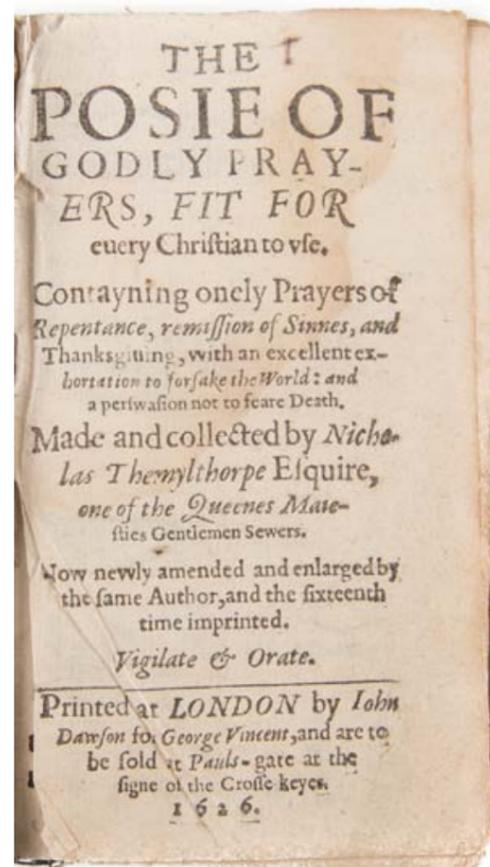
UNRECORDED EDITION IN AN EMBROIDERED BINDING

100 THEMYLTHORPE (Nicholas). **The Posie of Godly Prayers, fit for every Christian to use.** Contayning onely Prayers of Repentance, remission of Sinnes, and Thanksgiving, with an excellent exhortation to forsake the World: and a perswasion not to feare Death. Made and collected by Nicholas Themylthorpe Esquire, one of the Queenes Majesties Gentlemen Sewers. Now newly amended and enlarged by the same Author, and the sixteenth time imprinted.

London: by Iohn Dawson for George Vincent, 1626

£1,800

“Sixteenth” Edition. 12mo. [Binding: 120 x 75 mm]. [12 (of 14, without the 1st blank leaf)], [1], 2-4, [lacks 5-6], 7-196, [4 (colophon and final blank leaf)] pp. Rather tatty and dampstained at the front: without the first blank leaf, title-page damaged along the inner margin and almost loose, small hole at the foot of A3 touching a couple of letters, A8-9 (first 2 leaves of text) torn along the inner margin and creased (A9 creased and almost loose), A10 (pp. 5-6) lacking, printer’s crease across H9. Contemporary embroidered binding, the covers with a symmetrical design of flowers with a bird at the centre fore-edge and a rabbit at the foot and the spine with five flowers in panels, worked in coloured silks and silver thread on a canvas base (the colours rather faded, edges worn and frayed; front inside joint split and pulling-away).



This edition is not recorded in STC / ESTC. Entered in the Stationers’ Register to T. Dawson on 18 January 1608 and to G. Vincent on 18 April 1609. The earliest recorded edition is the “third” printed in 1611, followed by the “ninth” (1618), “tenth” (1619), “thirteenth” (1623), “fourteenth” (1624/3) and the latest is dated 1745. ESTC lists 18 editions but Ian Green (*Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, 2000) counted 50 editions, other way making it one of the most popular texts of the period. Most are known in only one or two copies and many, like the present, are imperfect.

See Alan B. Farmer’s essay, “Playbooks and the Question of Ephemerality” on the survival rates of multiple editions different genres of books in H. Brayman, et al., eds, *The Book in History, The Book as History: New Intersections of the Material Text: Essays in Honour of David Scott Kastan* (Yale, 2016, pp. 87-125 (Themylthorpe is included in the table on p. 101 as only 9 of 29 known editions to 1640 survive).

In his dedication to Queen Anne, to whom he been a Gentleman Sewer [i.e. Server], Themylthorpe notes that, “because I finde no Prayer Booke composed onely of prayer and thanksgiving, there-

fore to avoyde the trouble of reading many, and most of all the burthen of bearing many, I have collected the best prayers for Repentance, Remission of sinnes, and thanksgiving and added new of my owne”.

As far as we know no consideration has been given to identifying Themylthorpe’s sources or which prayers may be of his own composition, however: on pp. 196–9 he includes as “An effectual Prayer, for grace, mercy, and forgiveness of sinnes” a poem beginning “O heavenly God O Father deare / Cast downe thy tender eye;”. It was first printed in Richard Edwards’s famous anthology *A Paradise of Daynty Devises* (1576 and later edns) where it was titled “The complaint of a Synner” and attributed to “F. K.” = Francis Kinwelmarsh. In later editions of the *Paradise* it was described as “sung by the Earle of Essex upon his death bed in Ireland”, i.e. Walter Devereux, 1st Earl of Essex, who died in Dublin in 1576 aged 37. It was much-anthologised in manuscript poetical miscellanies (it has 27 entries

in the online *Union First Line Index of English Verse*) and was set for lute music circa 1630 in British Library Add. MS 15117.

“An Exhortation to forsake the world” (pp. 243–80) is a lengthy extract (with slight adjustments) from the Jesuit priest and martyr Saint Robert Southwell’s *An Epistle of a religious priest unto his Father, exhorting him to the Perfect forsaking of the World*, printed secretly by Father Henry Garnet in 1597? [STC 22968.5; it is part 2 of his *A short rule of good life*]. This Catholic recusant text has been flipped over to Protestant orthodoxy with the bulk of it (from p. 14) being appropriated into Themylthorpe’s text (pp. 246–74) and (from pp. 14–34 in Southwell / p. 243–56 in Themylthorpe) in editions of the anonymous “advice book”, *The Dutifull advice of a loving sonne to his aged father* (1632 and other edns, STC 1566ff).

Provenance: Late 17th/early 18th-Century ink inscription on the front flyleaf “Eliza Moore Her Book Given her by her Aunt Katharine Bourchier C16”.

ANGLO – EUROPEAN RELATIONS

KING HENRY VIII & THE HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR CHARLES V

101 TREATIES OF PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE, THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, SPAIN & ENGLAND.

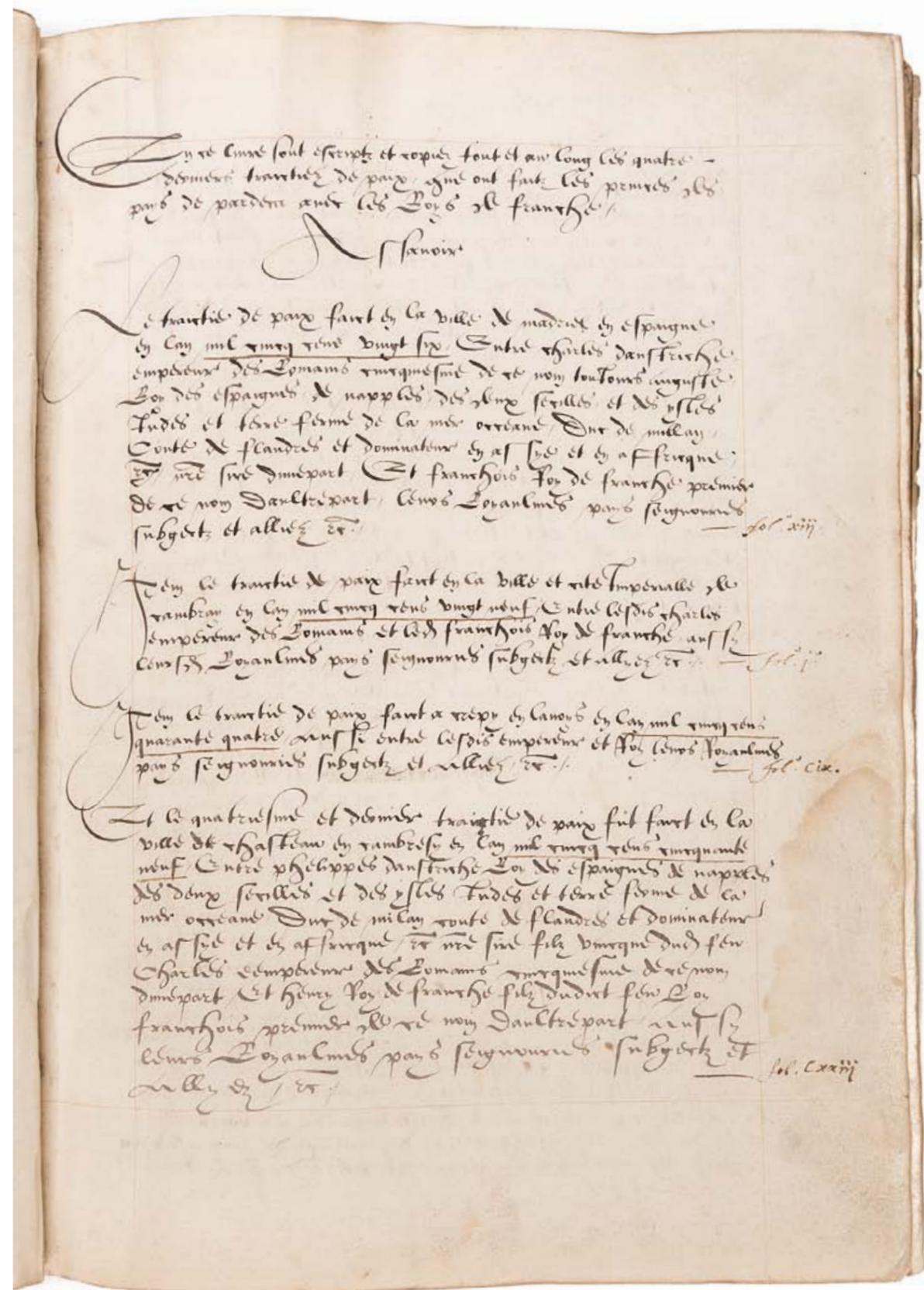
Mid-16th-Century manuscript copies of the terms of four International Peace Treaties, together with many *Extraits des Registres de Parlement*, relating, in particular, to the 1529 Treaty of Cambrai, written “pour memoire” for Jehan or Jean Barrat (1496–1576), Councillor and Master of Finance in the Chambre des Comptes [Exchequer] at Lille, with his manuscript attestations on f. 1.

[Lille or Brussels], 1562

£8,500



Manuscript on paper. Folio. [395 x 280 mm.; text area 297 x 195mm]. ff. [3], first 2 blank except for ruling, fol. [iii] followed by list of contents, 137 numbered i–cxxxvii, [9 (blank)], written in a single scribal cursive secretary (Batarde) hand, with a few additions and corrections made by the scribe, watermark: Gothic “P”, the whole ruled in red (first few leaves slightly affected by damp near the lower fore-corner). Contemporary Flemish binding, probably made at Lille or Brussels, of calf over pasteboards, the covers tooled in blind with a double panel, the outer panel formed by a medallion-heads and renaissance-ornament roll extending to the edges, the inner panel formed by a renaissance-ornament roll incorporating a bird (?eagle) which links to the outer panels with diagonals at the corners; the spine with six double raised bands, vellum pastedowns (the front pastedown covered by a glued-down blank leaf (top and bottom spine panels missing, lower joint partly split and both joints with holes worn at the band-endings, lower fore-corners damaged).



The first leaf contains (recto & verso) a list of the contents in the hand of Jean Barrat, headed: "En ce livre sont escripts et copies tout et au long les quatre derniers traictez e paix, que ont faits [par] les princes des pays de pardeca aux [avec?] les Roys de franche." The four Treaties are then specified on the recto with folio numbers added in the margin in a different ink. The first paragraph on the verso opens: "Et tout lesdis quattre traicties de paix este toutes escriptz et coppies hors dun Registre esquels Ils sont enregistres le quel est Reposant en la chambre des comptes dudit Roy Phelippes de espaigne et nostre sire au lille andict pays de flandres en lan mil cinq cens soixante deux [1562]. Ce que a faict faire pour memoire Jehan Barrat qui estant conseiller et maistre extraordinaire en icelle chambre des comptes aux Lille, En laquelle lesdit Jehan barrat y fuest son premier servent de second greffier en mois de Juillet en lan mil cinq cens dixneuf." The third paragraph is written in a different ink and gives further information about Barrat and a date, 1574 (*see below*).

The main text with the full transcripts of the terms of the four treatises and the ensuing decrees and ratifications opens on the next page and is written in a neat secretary hand.

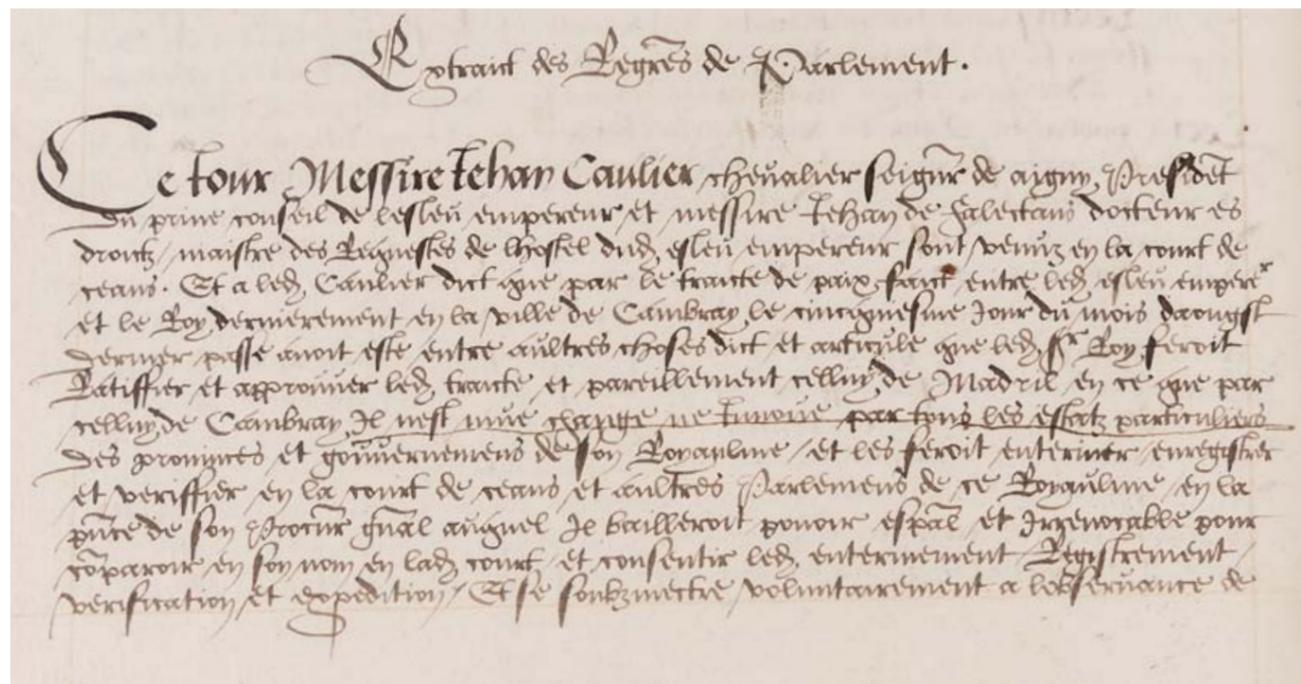
The Treaties comprise in chronological order:

1: The Treaty of Madrid (f. xiiii) concluded in 1526 between the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Francis I, King of France. Following the French defeat at Pavia in 1525 and the capture of Francis, the Treaty of Madrid was agreed on 14 January 1526. Francis renounced all territorial claims in Italy, Flanders and Artois and

surrendered Burgundy to Charles. However, Francis revoked the bulk of the treaty soon after his release in March 1526 and formed the League of Cognac against Charles.

2: The Treaty of Cambrai (f. i) concluded in 1529 between the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Francis I, King of France. This treaty, also known as the *Paix des Dames* ended the War of the League of Cognac between the Holy Roman Empire and an alliance of France, England, Pope Clement VII and various Italian states. **The English delegates were Cuthbert Tunstall, then Bishop of London, Sir Thomas More and John Hackett, Resident in the Netherlands and their names are mentioned several times in the text.** They took a relatively small part in the proceedings which were subsequently confirmed in a separate Treaty between King Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles V. These events coincided with the start of the Divorce Crisis, the fall of Cardinal Wolsey and his replacement by Sir Thomas More as Lord Chancellor.

On ff. 102r-106v is a copy of the full Terms of the Treaty of Peace between King Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles V which followed the Treaty of Cambrai. This is written in Latin and dated at London, 27 November 1529. This is followed (f. 106v) by an account in Latin of the oath sworn by Henry VIII on the Canon Missal and the Gospels in the presence of the Imperial Ambassador confirming the articles of the Treaty. On ff. 107r-108v is a copy of the Public Instrument of Ratification, again in Latin, of the terms of the Treaty of Peace between Henry VIII and Charles V. This is followed (ff. 108v (last 2 lines) -109r) by a copy

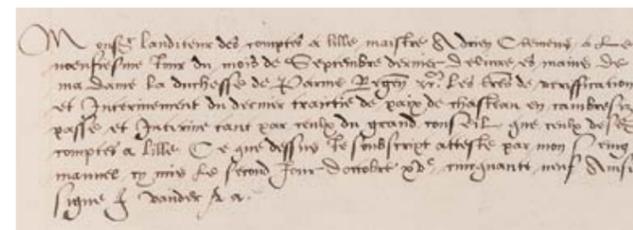


of a short letter in French from Henry VIII to Margaret, Duchess of Parma, confirming that a copy of the Letters of Ratification had been delivered to her Ambassadors, dated from "our Manor at Westminster, 6 December 1529".

These documents were published from copies in the German State Archives in Johann Christian Lunig, ed., *Codex Germaniae Diplomaticus* (Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1732), Article XCIII (cols. 594-610). Copies of the documents are in the British Library (Cotton MS Galba B. IX) and other documents relating to the Treaty of Cambrai are in the National Archives.

3: The Treaty of Crépy (f.cix) concluded in 1544 at Crépy-en-Laonnois in Picardy between the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Francis I, King of France during the so-called "Italian War of 1542-46" in which Charles, in alliance with Henry VIII, had invaded France.

4: The Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis ('Chateau en Cambressy' f. cxxiii) concluded on 3 April 1559 between Philip II, King of Spain and Henry II, King of France, ending the so-called 'Italian War' of 1551-59.



At the end of the final document (ff. cxxxviii-cxxxviii) are two paragraphs validating the documents and an attestation of authority: "Monsr lauditeur des comptes a lille maistre Adrien Clemens de la neufiesme jour du mois de Septembre dernier delivre es mains de madame la duchesse de Parme Regen. etc. ... Les lettres de verification et Interinement du dernier traictie de paix de chasteau en cambresis passe et interime tant par ceux du grand conseil que ceulx de se comptes a Lille. Ce que dessus je souscript atteste par mon seing manuel cy mis le second jour octobre xvc. cinquante neuf ainsi signe J. Vander Aa."

J[an?] Vander Aa was Secretary to Margaret, Duchess of Parma, Governor of the Netherlands 1559-67. A document signed by "I. vander Aa" attested that Maximilian Vilain, Baron of Rassenghien had taken the oath of office as Governor of Lille, Douai & Orchies at the hands of the Duchess of Parma on 17 April 1566 (Andre Du Chesne, *Histoire genealogique des maisons de Guines, d'Ardes, de Gand, et de Coucy*, Paris, 1631, p. 679). Other documents signed by J. Vander Aa are recorded in the Archives of Ghent and Brussels.

See: *Histoire de Lille* [sous la direction de Louis Trenard] (Lille, 1970-81).

Provenance: 1: Written "pour memoire" for Jehan or Jean Barrat (1496-1576), Councillor and Master of Finance in the Chambre des Comptes [Exchequer] at Lille, with his manuscript attestations on f. 1. At the end of f. iv is a biographical note added by Barrat in 1574: "Et en lan xv.c.lxxiiij [1574] ledit Jehan barrat estoit encores desernant ledit estat de consellier et de maistre extraordinaire en ladicte chambre des comptes au dit Lille que lors Je estois en la soixante dixhuitiesme annee [78th year] de son age et en la cinquantsixiesme annee [56th year] des services par luy faicts en icelle chambre en divers estats et offices. Je estois fils de feu honnorable homme Rasse Barrat en son vivant bourgeois de tournay et seigneur de Beaugarde en tournesis et de demoiselle marguerite de steellandt qui est ung noble et ancien lignaige au pays de flandres."

Internet searches reveal records of a few other manuscripts with similar attestations by Jehan or Jean Barrat (1496-1576), son of Rasche or Rasse Barrat, of Tournai, Seigneur de Beaugard, and Marguerite Steeelandt of Ghent, and Councillor and Master of Finances in the Chambre des Comptes in Lille. In 1529 Barrat married Jeanne de Cambry and they had four daughters. It is probable that they all originate from the State Archives at Lille which was then under the rule of the Holy Roman Empire.

2: Alexander Hume-Campbell, styled Lord Polwarth, later 2nd Earl of Marchmont (1675-1740). He was the 1st surviving son and heir Patrick Hume (1641-1724), 1st. Earl of Marchmont, Viscount of Blasonbery, Lord Polwarth of Polwarth, Redbraes and Greenlaw, &c, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. He was styled Lord Polwarth from 1709-24 when he succeeded his father. He took the name Campbell on his marriage in 1697 and as Sir



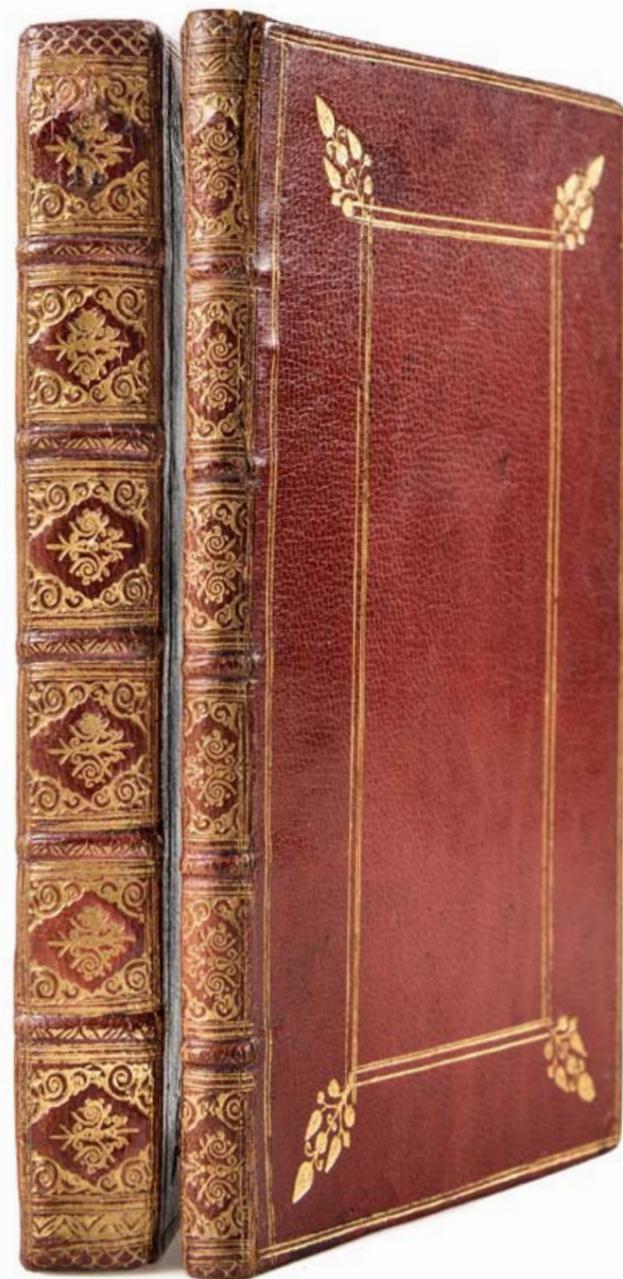
Alexander Campbell supported the Union of Scotland with England. From 1716-21 he was envoy-extraordinary and then ambassador the King of Denmark and from 1722-25 he was one of the British ambassadors to the Congress of Cambrai convened to end the War of the Spanish Succession (hence his interest in acquiring the present manuscript concerning the earlier Treaty of Cambrai). With his armorial bookplate in two states: as ambassador to Denmark dated 1721 and as ambassador to the Congress of Cambrai dated 1722. With Marchmont House, Greenlaw, Berwickshire, ink shelfmarks.

3: Anonymous sale, Thomson Roddick, Edinburgh, 29/1/2015, lot 433 "Large leather bound volume, manuscript, French language".

102 VEIL (Charles-Marie de). *Explicatio literalis Cantici Canticorum ex ipsis scripturarum fontibus, Hebraeorum ritibus & idiomatis, veterum & recentiorum monumentis eruta.*

London: Typis T.H. Impensis S. Carr, 1679

£1,500



8vo. [Text: 180 x 105 mm]. [8 (first leaf with imprimatur)], 102, [2 (last leaf with "dedication" to Christ Jesus and by extension the Anglican church)].

with:

VEIL (Charles-Marie de). *Explicatio literalis duodecim prophetarum minorum ex ipsis scripturam fontibus, Hebraeorum ritibus & idiomatis, veterum & recentiorum monumentis eruta.*

London: Typis Tho. James, Typographi Mathematici Regii, Impensis Abelis Swalle, 1680.

8vo. [text: 178 x 103 mm]. [8], 368 pp. (p. [vii-viii] with errata & imprimatur).

2 vols. Bound in matching contemporary red morocco, covers panelled in gilt and with a wild-strawberry fleuron at the corners; spine with seven panels, each tooled in gilt; comb-marbled endleaves, gilt edges. In fine condition.

precise date of his death is not known. It seems to have been in the late 1680s or 1690s. Brought up a practising Jew in Metz, he heard there the sermons of Bossuet (1627-1704), the great French preacher and tutor to the Dauphin, who in the 1640s as a young priest was sent to Metz, and through them was converted to Christianity, *i.e.* Catholicism. His baptismal names were those of his godfather and godmother, Charles and Marie Schomberg and he was baptised in September 1654 in his native city. Initially he became a monk of the Augustinian order and was ordained priest at Angers in the West of France. In 1672 he was nominated professor in the order, and in 1674 defended for his doctorate theses, which were strongly Jansenist in tone. In that year also he published a commentary on the gospels of Mark and John at Angers (reprinted London in 1678), but soon afterwards the seminary there was shut down. Veil was later to become closely identified with Jansenism, but in the mid-1670s Charles-Marie, with his brother Louis Compiègne de Veil, who had also converted at Compiègne, and had as his Christian name that of the French King, Louis XIV [see the Maimonides, *De sacrificiis liber*, 1683, in this Catalogue], moved in the circle of Bossuet at the French court of St. Germain en Laye. In 1676 he published in Paris a commentary on the prophet Joel (included and revised, in the 1680 London volume).

Wing V173 & 175. Charles Marie de Veil, "Elder (presbyter) of the Church of England" as he proclaims himself was born a Jew in Metz the son of David Levy or Weil (d. 1650) and his wife Magdelein de Weil. He seems to have been born in 1630, but the

However in 1677 he fled to the Low Countries where he became a Protestant, an act which occasioned protest from Bossuet. In 1676 André Pralard published in Paris this *Commentarius* on the *Song of Songs*, which is here reprinted in an edited form with a dedication to Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), an important political and cultural figure and a considerable benefactor of the library of Queen's College, Oxford. Williamson had been instrumental in getting Veil to England and arranging asylum for him.

Once in England Veil was quick to establish himself in proper religious and political circles, as may be seen from these two books. In April 1678 he had become a member of the Church of England and was allowed by the Bishop of London, Henry Compton, to resume his priesthood, and was given the run of the bishop's library. At this point he engaged in controversy with the celebrated French Oratorian biblical scholar Richard Simon, and became a correspondent of Robert Boyle, possibly also knowing his sister Lady Ranelagh. The book is replete with learning and with citations from the Fathers, from the writers of the medieval period, and even from the writers of antiquity, Catullus amongst them.

In 1680 he published the *Commentarius* on the XII Minor Prophets, a similar digest of wide-ranging material (with discussion of individual Hebrew words) and commentary on all the twelve Minor prophets (Hosea, Joel [previously published in Paris], Amos, Jonah, Abdias, Micah, Nahum, Habakuk, Sophonias, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachy).

The dedication of this second work is interesting and clearly demonstrates the way in which Veil connected himself to the English establishment. It has a quasi-inscriptional dedication to Heneage Finch (1621-82) who had been created Baron Finch of Daventry (the title given here) in January 1674. One of Veil's contacts in London amongst the Anglican clergy was the rector of St. Giles in the Fields, and a prebendary of Norwich, John Sharp (1645?-1714), later to become Dean of Canterbury and Archbishop of York (1691). In the late 1670s Sharp was chaplain (at the suggestion of the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More of Christ's College) to Heneage Finch, the Lord Chancellor, and it is possible that Veil may have succeeded him, although one might wonder if his English was sufficiently good. In the short preface to the reader Veil refers to his leaving more than two years ago the Church of Rome, and of the other works he has published. It was this book which caused Veil to be deprived of his Angers doctorate which was on 9 January 1680 cancelled. The imprimatur is signed by William Sill, chaplain to Compton, the Bishop of London.

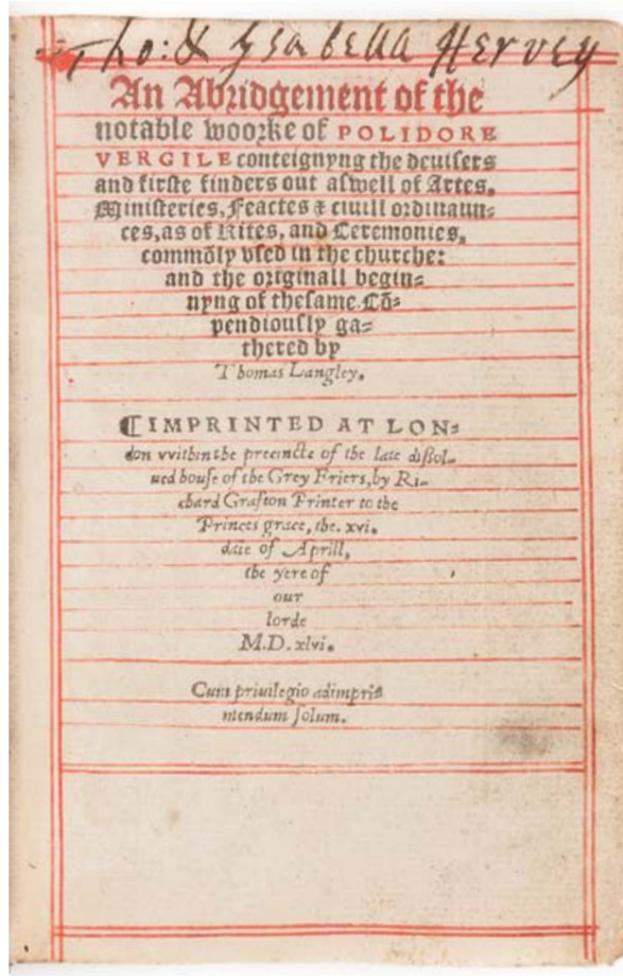
Both these works in their Anglican dress and, in particular, this commentary on the Minor Prophets led to the revocation of his DD by the University of Angers in 1680.

Veil's later career led him away from Anglicanism to the Baptists. He had met and married a servant, one Mercy Gardiner

(by whom he had a daughter), in 1681 at Fulham Palace who was a Baptist and through her was drawn into the circle of Hanserd Knollys, and others, who were all respected as scholars and had all rejected the idea of paedobaptism. By 1684 he had become a Baptist himself and the network of support he had created in England melted away. He did receive a parish in the City of London and was, most unusually, paid for his care of souls. He also seems to have created a new role for himself, that of advising on the purchase of books, and in 1685-6 cultivated and corresponded with one who was to become one of the greatest of book collectors, Robert Harley (1661-1724) and was involved in the commerce of "learned and curious" books. In the correspondence with Harley, Veil describes himself as being "low in the world" and his last letter to Harley is dated 13 February 1686. These letters are in the British Library.



Provenance: Algernon Capell, 2nd Earl of Essex (1654-1710), with his bookplate dated 1701. Capell had a house at Cassiobury in Hertfordshire designed by John Evelyn's friend Hugh May, which was very handsome and is described at length by Evelyn in a diary entry for 17 April 1680. He mentions that "the library is large, & very nobly furnish'd, and all the books richly bound & gilded". Evelyn spent the "afternoones in the library among the Books" (Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E.S. de Beer, (1955), IV, pp. 199-201). Acquired by Maggs in 1984.



WITH AN ILLUMINATED BORDER & INITIAL



103 VERGIL (Polydore), c. 1470-1555. *An Abridgement of the notable worke of Polidore Vergile conteignyng the devisers and firste finders out aswell of Artes, Ministeries, Feactes & civill ordinaunces, as of Rites, and Ceremonies, commo[n]ly used in the church: and the originall beginnyng of the same. Co[m]pendiously gathered by Thomas Langley.*

London: by Richard Grafton Printer to the Princes grace, the .xvi. daie of Aprill, 1546 £4,000

Second Edition in English, second issue (with sheet A largely reimposed and sheet a reprinted). Small 8vo. [Text: 142 x 94 mm]. Black Letter. Imperfect: lacks 3 leaves: A8 (with the final 9 lines of the dedication on recto and a woodcut of the crest and motto of Edward, Prince of Wales imposed on a flaming sun on verso), x1 (5th leaf of the index) and x8 (final leaf with Grafton's woodcut device on recto, verso blank). Ruled in red throughout. The dedication with the opening 5-line woodcut initial "L" with a picture of St Luke carefully illuminated on a burnished gold background and with the capital letters and the names "Polidore" and "Mecenas" picked-out in red. The first page of text (arr) ruled and rubricated in

red with the opening 9-line criblé woodcut initial "W" illuminated in gold and with the background design of dolphin-heads and leafy tendrils hand-coloured and with an illuminated border to the lower and fore-margins of leafy tendrils in red and blue with two flowers in the lower border on a burnished gold background. The heading and opening of Chapter 2 picked-out in red and the 5-line woodcut initial "A" hand-coloured in red, green and yellow. Title-page and last page dusty, occasional minor stains in the text; a few sidenotes very slightly shaved. Late 17th-century sprinkled calf (rebacked recently, new endleaves preserving the old flyleaves.

The first edition (STC 24564) is dated 25 January 1546 on the title-page. The first issue of the second edition (STC 24565) has the same date on title-page but 16 April 1546 in the colophon. This second issue of the second edition has the date on the title-page altered to 16 April 1546 to match the colophon. All three editions / issues are fairly scarce. The last copy sold at auction was the Barnet Kottler copy (the present issue, grubby and lacking f. 38 and the final leaf with device, Swann Galleries, New York, 15/3/2001, lot 266, \$1300 + premium].

STC 24656 (6 copies in the UK; Harvard, Harrison Horblit [collection dispersed], Barnet Kottler [collection dispersed], Newberry Library, Yale [x 2] in USA. Sheet A has been largely reimposed with the author's name on the title altered from "VIRGILE" to "VERGILE" (to follow the first edition) and the date altered from the ".xxv. daye of Ianuarie", the first line of the dedication is in capitals "TO THE RIGHT") as are the headlines ("PREFACE") and line 12 on A5r reads "Vergile hath copiously" (for "Virgile hath copiously"). Sheet a has been reset with the sidenote "Faunus" on a2r instead of arv, catchword "lyfe" (for "life") on a2r, no signature on a4r and "Hippasus" spelt correctly on a4r (for "Hypposus") and catchword "lucion" (for "of") on a5r. The remainder (sheets b-x are from the same setting of type with leaf b2 unsigned and leaves 81-88, 133-34, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 154 and 156 misnumbered 65-72, 123-24, 137, 139, 141, 143, 144, 155 and 153. The only other variants to the Bridgwater - Huntington copy of the first issue reproduced on EEBO are that leaf 11 is correctly numbered and on leaf k2r the type has slipped out of place at the beginning of the penultimate line (both also found in the Thomas Tanner - Bodley copy of the second issue reproduced on EEBO).

The handsome illuminated border to the first page of text and the illuminated initial at the start of the dedication are most unusual in English printed books of the Tudor period. One would expect to find such illumination only in manuscripts prepared for the royal family or those closely connected with them and only occasionally in printed books, e.g. the two known copies on vellum of the first edition of the Great Bible printed in 1539 for the King and for Thomas Cromwell and the three known copies on vellum of Queen Katherine Parr's translation of Bishop John Fisher's *Psalmes or Prayers taken out of holy scripture* printed by Thomas Berthelet in 1544. See: James P. Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives* (2004) and Susan Doran, ed., *Henry VIII: man and Monarch* (2009).

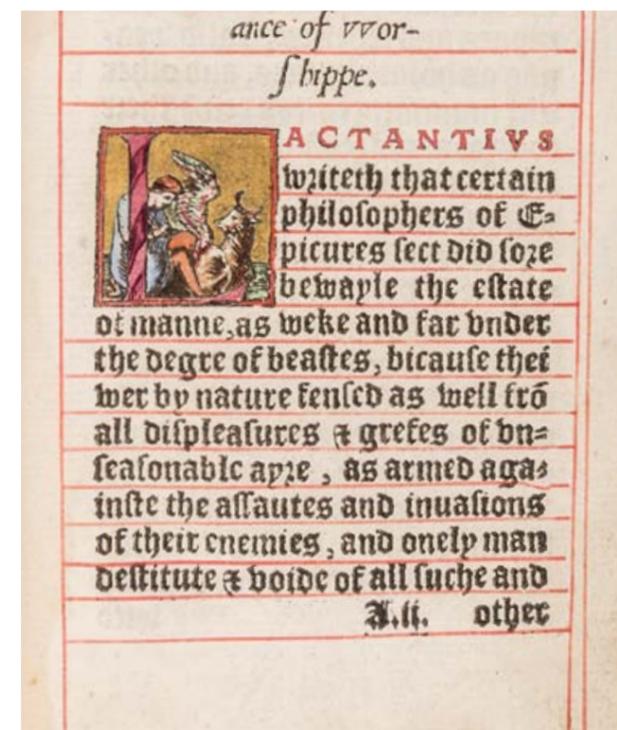
Thomas Langley (d. 1581) graduated B.A. from St John's College, Cambridge in 1538. Of his life during Henry VIII's reign nothing is known though he describes himself in the dedication here as Sir Antony Denny's "daily oratour". By 1548 he was a chaplain to Thomas Cranmer and he was vicar of Headcorn (1552-4) and

Boughton Malherbe (1554-64), both in Kent, though he probably spent the reign of Queen Mary in exile. He ended his career as a prebendary of Winchester Cathedral (from 1559) and vicar of Wanborough, Wiltshire (from 1563).

"In April 1546 he published an English abridgement of the eight books of Polydore Vergil's encyclopaedic reference book *De inventoribus rerum*. Dedicated to Sir Anthony Denny, a courtier sympathetic to the cause of religious reform, the abridgement is no masterpiece, not least because it is some 90 per cent shorter than its original. Langley added a number of comments of his own, which are principally of interest in showing his antipathy towards both Catholics and Anabaptists. In spite of its shortcomings the work proved popular and was reprinted several times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the last edition appearing in 1686." (ODNB).

Short it may be but, as a glance through the index reveals, Langley has distilled an enjoyable and readable book from the great encyclopedic work, *De inventoribus rerum* (Of "the inventours of thynges"), by the Italian historian Polydore Vergil (c.1470-1555), first published in three books in 1499 and expanded to eight in 1521, which "attempted to bring together the new learning made available by the efforts of Renaissance humanists" (ODNB).

Langley noted, as he wrote in the dedication to Sir Anthony Denny, that: "... seeyng that the artes and craftes, with other like feates, whose inventours be contained in this booke, are in this realme of England occupied & put in daily exercise to the profit



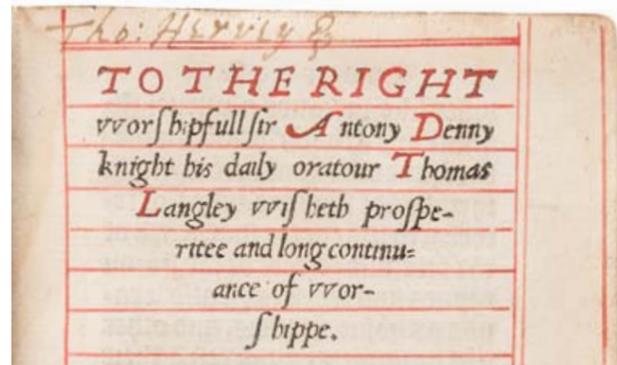
of many and ease of all menne, it were in myne opinion bothe a poynt of detestable unkyndnes, and a parte of extreme inhumanite too defraude them of their praise and perpetuall memoire, that wer autours of so great benefites to the universall worlde. ... In consideration whereof I was moved to take in hande too compile out so well as my learning would serve me, in a brefe some such thynges, as Polidore Vergile hath copiously gathred together by muche readyng, by lo[n]g study, & hath written with greate lernyng, conseryng the inventours of thynges, to thentent the autours of such necessary artes might not be forgotte[n]. ... And although the booke translated might have been for the diversitee of matter profitable: and for the greatnes, it should have been to the berers grevouse, & for length to the reders tedious, I thought it best to omit some parte, not bycause any thyng was superfluous, or otherwise written the[n] wel. But for as muche as many thynges might be taken diversly, and other wise then thei wer me[n]t. Therefore I have not admitted any thyng in too this abridgemente, whereby the reader maie be iustely offended, nor have on the other syde omitted any suche sentence that either co[n]cerned the title, or that might please or profit the reader."

Langley also made his Protestant credentials clear: "And here playnely maie bee perceived what the scripture of GOD commaundeth, what thynges mennes pollycye have divided for the setting furth of good order, and what hath crepte in to the congregacion to the perverting of our faithe and seducyng simple people with supersticion: as these manyfolde swarmes of popish religio[n]s, that here emo[n]g us were not long ago used, with other papisticall baggage."

The account of the origin of printing in Chapter VI is both charming and accurate: "Truely the co[m]moditie of lyberaries is right profitable and necessary but in co[m]parison of the craft of Printyng, it is nothyng, both because one manne may Prynte more in one day, then many men in many yeres could write: And also it preserveth both Greke & Latine auctours fro[m] the danger of corruption. It was found in Germany at Magunce by one I. Cuthenbergus a knight: he found moreover ye Inke by his devise that Printers use .xvi. yere after Printyng was fou[n]d, which was ye yere of our lord, M.CCCC.lvi. one Co[n]radus an Almayne brought it into Rome: & Nicolas Johnson a Frenchemann dyd greatly polishe and garnishe it: And now it is dispersed through ye whole world almost." (f. 46v).

In contrast is the account in Chapter XII of the origin of "stewes" or brothels which refers to the performance of Masques in England: "Venus, which was begotten of the froth of the sea (as Poetes fame) was a common harlot, and brothel of her body, and had many children by sundry men, as by Mars she had Harmonia, by Mercury, Hermaphrodits, by Iupiter, Cupido, by Anchises, Aeneas: And bycause she alone wold not seme to be an hore, she

ordeyned in Cypres that women did prostitute the[m]selves for mony to al that came. And Iustine telleth, that the maner of the maides of Cypres was to get their mariage good, by suche filthy boudy. And to helpe furth the matter, one Mela[m]pus brought out of Egypt into Grece the rites of Bacchus sacrifices, wherein men use to company dissolutely with women in the nyght, in suche wyse that it is shame for christen menne to speake of, muche like oure shewes or daunces called maskes in Englande & bonefyres, as they be used in some partes of the realme."



Provenance: It is likely that such a specially illuminated copy would only have been prepared for the dedicatee Sir Anthony Denny (1501-49) or a close member of his family. Denny was a member of the royal household from the 1520s, a client of Thomas Cromwell and, in the final years of Henry VIII's reign, he rose to eminence as Keeper of the Privy Purse (from April 1542), first chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber and Groom of the Stool (from October 1546). Although he was relieved of these offices a few months into the reign of Edward VI this "may, paradoxically, have represented promotion, the desire of Seymour, now protector and duke of Somerset, to utilize the services of a veteran for more important affairs. During the Scottish campaign of 1547 Denny was appointed by Somerset to remain with the king in London, thus acting as a surrogate for the protector." (ODNB). In the dedication Langley wrote that: "Although this booke be but simple & unfitte to be presented to your good mastership, yet it semed of verye right due to bee offered to you bicause you have bene alwaies, as the moost parte of men reporte, and many by experience can testifie, not onely enflamed with desire of knowledge of antiquites, but also a favorable supporter of al good lernyng and a verie Mecenas of all towarde wittes." It is notable that the name "Mecenas" here has been picked-out in red.

"In the context of the last months of Henry's reign it was of considerable importance that Denny was a patron of humanist letters and a firm friend to religious reformation, praised as such by men like Nicholas Wentworth and Roger Ascham. ... Most of his associates were humanists, committed to Erasmian pietism

and the cause of learning, and Denny himself was moderate in the expression of his religious views, which never conflicted with his loyalty to and friendship with the king. His sympathy with the reformed faith did not prevent his taking notice of heretical books as a loyal government servant. Both the protestant humanist Sir John Cheke and the Catholic Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, wrote in his praise. But of Denny's own protestant allegiance there can be no doubt. ... A friend of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and a supporter of the evangelically inclined Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, in 1546 Denny supported the archbishop's recommendations against the 'vain ceremonies' of traditional religion, and after his death was hailed as 'an enemy to the Pope and his superstition.' (M. Dowling, *Humanism in the age of Henry VIII*, 1986, p. 63)." (ODNB).

There is an early pen-trial (inverted) on the last leaf: "To all trew Cristen people to whom this present writtinge shall com

"HER LADYSHIPS PIOUS AND EXCELLENT PAPERS"

104 WALKER (Anthony). Eureka, Eureka. The Virtuous Woman found. Her Loss Bewailed, and Character Exemplified in a Sermon Preached at Felsted in Essex, April, 30, 1678. At the Funeral of that most Excellent Lady the Right Honourable, and Eminently Religious and Charitable Mary, Countess Dowager of Warwick, the most Illustrious Pattern of Sincere Piety, and Solid Goodness this Age hath produced. With so large additions as may be stiled the Life of that Noble Lady. To which are annexed some of her Ladyships Pious and Useful Meditations.

London: for Nathanael Ranew, 1678

£2,500

First Edition. 8vo. [14], 213, [11] pp. Engraved portrait by Robert White (very slightly trimmed at the outer edge). Title within a mourning border. Handsome contemporary black morocco, covers paneled in gilt, spine gilt, marbled endleaves, gilt edges (very slightly rubbed at the edges, spine a little faded).

Wing W301. Sweeney, *Ireland and the Printed Word*, no. 4510. The title-page is leaf A3. With the first blank leaf and the 10pp. of advertisements at the end. With a separate title to "Occasional Meditations upon Sundry Subjects" (40pp.) and a subtitle to "Pious Reflections upon several Scriptures" (27pp.).

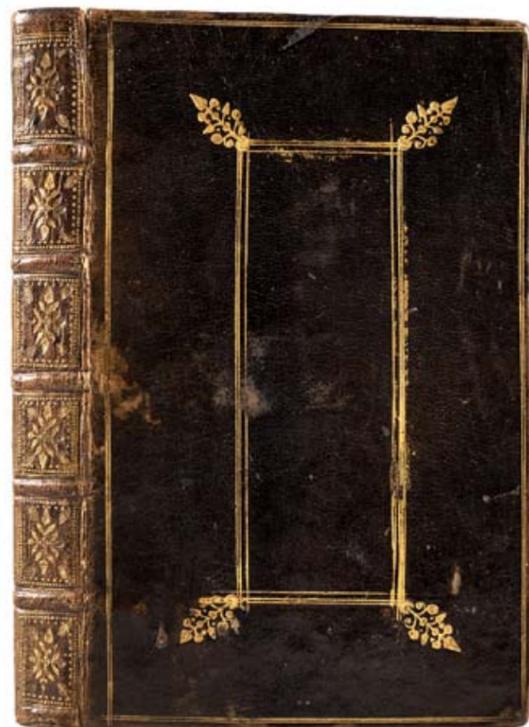
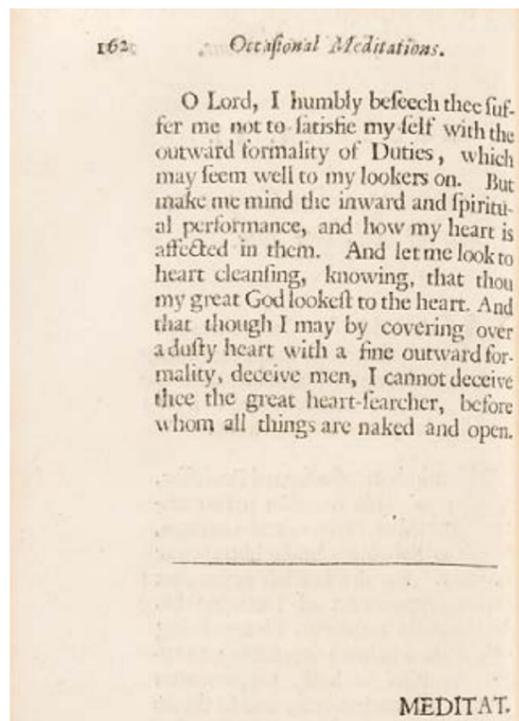
Lady Mary Boyle (1625-1678), 7th daughter of the Earl of Cork married in 1641 Charles Rich, 4th. Earl of Warwick. Dedicated jointly to her sister Catherine, Countess of Ranelagh and her brother the Hon. Robert Boyle, the famous scientist.

Walker's biography is based on the Puritan Mary Rich's manuscript autobiography and her spiritual diaries from 1666-1677 (British Library, MSS. 27351-58) extracts from which are interwoven into his text: "Those few of her Ladyships pious and excellent Papers, which are inserted in the discourse, or subjoined to it; (as they justly may, so I hope they) will give Ornament and

greething in our lord god ever lastinge" (a formulaic opening to legal documents or official letters).

Later ownership: Late 17th-century inscription at the head of the title "Tho: & Isabella Hervey" at the head of the title and "Tho: Hervey" at the head of the dedication (both slightly shaved), these being Sir Thomas Hervey (1625-94), of Ickworth, Suffolk, and his wife Isabella May (1625-86). Armorial bookplate on the verso of the title of their son John, 1st Baron Hervey of Ickworth (1665-1751) dated March the 23d 1702[1/3] (the date of the title's creation), later 1st Earl of Bristol (cr. 1714). See: M. Purcell & J. Fishwick, "The Library at Ickworth", in *The Book Collector*, Vol. 61 (2012), pp. 366-90). Thomas & Isabella Hervey had an interesting library, including a number of 16th-century books and a Shakespeare First Folio [now in Japan]; a number of their books still remain at Ickworth (now National Trust) but the bulk was widely dispersed in the 20th century.





Lustre to it, in the Judgment of all serious Christians: As richer Trimmings of Gold and Silk use to do to Garments made of courser [sic] Material." (Dedication).

"Rich's diaries are important for a variety of reasons, not least for being so extensive - few diarists carried on so extensive a record of their spiritual lives for so long - and they are interesting sexually." - Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England 1580-1720* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 48, n. 35. They include detailed records of her reading. Extracts from her meditations, edited by Barham, were published by the Religious Tract Society in 1847 and her autobiography, *Some Specialties in the life of M. Warwick*, edited by T. C. Croker, was published by the Percy Society in 1848. Much of the published material was used

by Charlotte Fell Smith in her biography *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick*, 1901. There has been no modern edition of her writings.

This volume is particularly important as it contains all her writings that were published before 1847. Katherine Philips wrote an elegy on the death of her only son Charles, "On the death of my Lord Rich, only Son to the Earl of Warwick, who dyed of the small Pox, 1664", a disease which was to kill Philips herself only a month later.

Provenance: Ink initials "LC" at the head of the title. Various booksellers pencil marks (Quaritch, Ximenes & John Lawson). Dr Tony Sweeney (1931-2012), Irish collector and bibliographer (no marks of ownership).

PRIVATE DEVOTIONS FOR THE IDEAL CLOSET

105 [WETENHALL (Edward, later Bishop of Kilmore & Ardagh)]. *Enter into thy Closet: or, a Method and Order for private Devotion.* With an Appendix concerning the frequent and holy Use of the Lords Supper. The Fifth Edition.

London: for John Martyn, 1676

£1,500

12mo. [26], 408, 431-447, [1 (blank), [2 (Table)] pp.; engraved frontispiece/title depicting a woman praying in her closet with an angel behind her and a shelf of books above. Fine copy in contemporary red morocco, the covers with an elaborate all-over gilt design with a central quadrilobe between vertical pairs of floral

stems with a band of wild-strawberry tools, flower and parrot's-head tools above and below and pairs of horizontal flowery stems at top and bottom; spine with six bands tooled in gilt with alternating designs; comb-marbled endleaves; gilt edges; three narrow silk markers. Fine and bright condition.

Wing W1499 (7 copies in UK; **University of Chicago only in USA**); ESTC spells his name Wetenhall while *ODNB* has Wetenhall. The second part, "Perswasives with Directions to the frequent and Holy Use of the Lord's Supper" has a separate title on P7 (not included in the pagination).

The anonymous author of this popular work (ESTC lists 12 editions between 1666 and 1684) was Edward Wetenhall, D.D (1636-1713). In 1668, when the first edition was published, he was Master of the Blue-coat School at Exeter but in 1670 he moved to Dublin where he became Master of the Blue-coat School there. In 1679 he was consecrated Bishop of Cork & Ross in the Church of Ireland and in 1699 he was translated to the diocese of Kilmore & Ardagh.

In the "Admonition to the Reader", written in the third person, it is suggested that "thou wilt first read over the Tables, which are annexed to it, and mark the substance of what he there promiseth to treat of; that then if thou resolve to make use of this method for thy devotion (and, the Author thinks thou wilt, if thou

have the patience to consider it, and canst obtain leisure of thy self to practise it) that thou wilt read the Book once or twice over, and endeavour by attent consideration to understand it; and when thou hast once got the Book thus into thine hand, the practise will soon grow easie (he is sure, at least, most sweet and blessedly delightful.) Be but perswaded to try it one month or two, and see if thou canst find in thy heart to be so injurious to thine own felicity, as to lay it aside again."

While his text is strictly gender neutral the charming frontispiece depicting a woman praying in her closet suggests Wetenhall's target readership. Nor was that readership going to be from the lower classes of society. In Chapter II (Of the Situation and furniture of their Closet, who have choice) he describes the ideal closet:

"I would have no unpleasant place, as sweetly situated as any place of my house, that I might delight to be therein; and by no means a low or darksom room, but as high as I well could: for that so it will be most remote from the noise, company, and disturbance of the people who are busied usually below; ... And if it might be my passage thereunto should be through two other outer rooms, at least through one, the door or doors of which I might ever have shut when I thither retired, to the end that my voice, which many times I shall have occasion, for my own quickening, to use, might not be heard without. The furniture of my *Closet* I would have a little more, than that of *Elisha's* chamber, *A Table, a Stool and a Candlestick*; and instead of his bed an hard *Couch* or great chair on which I might sometimes lean my weary or aching head; But a *Couch* the rather, for that sometimes I haply might find it necessary to spend the whole night there, and might thereon take some repose. To these I would a *Bible, a Common-prayer book, two Paper books* (which when filled must be supplied by two others) and a *Pen and Ink*. Another book or two (of which hereafter I may also see occasion) to add to these. A *Chimney*, against *Winter's* cold, to make the place endurable, if need be, a whole night, would be no contemptible convenience. If besides these, I there keep any thing, as *Students do Books, Gentlemen writings, and Ladies Medicines, &c.* all these I would have placed on one side, or at least, one side I would have free from them, against which should either stand a table, or a *Praying desk* (that when occasion should be, might lay a book or paper before me) and the wall over such desk or table should be hung (if I were able to do it) with some stuff, of one colour, (*Green* the best) to the end that, when there kneeling at my prayers, I might have in mine eye nothing to call away or direct my thoughts." (pp. 7-8).

Ian Green has noted that, "It is also interesting to note the response of some conformists to the shift to extempore prayer in the 1640s and 1650s. In *Enter thy closet* (first extant edition 1663, [recte 1666]), a moderate episcopalian, Edward Wetenhall,





weighed the advantages and disadvantages of both preconceived and spontaneous prayer; and restated the old position that what mattered was 'honest hearts and suitable affections' rather than whether one was using one's words or another's. But he went on to express his own personal preference for set forms, even at home, and to offer an 'acomodation' with those who preferred spontaneity. This took the form of two prayers which were clearly divided into actions of invocation, adoration, confession, petition, and thanksgiving, but also had marginal directions such as (under confession) 'Here confess any of the miscarriages of the day', and (under petition) 'Here put in anything for which thou findest occasion.' - Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (2000), p. 276.

The pretty binding is by an unnamed workshop whose work was mentioned by G. D. Hobson in *English Bindings 1490-1940 in the collection of J. R. Abbey* (1940), no. 46 and note 2, drawing attention to "a very curious and nondescript large flower" [not used here] used in conjunction with a pansy tool used here on the flowery fronds. See the copy of Richard Allestree's *The Lively Oracles given to us* (Oxford, 1678) in Maggs Bookbinding Catalogue 1075 (1987), no. 95 and the copy of Thomas Sorocold's *Supplications of Saints* (1678) in the present Catalogue.

Provenance: Early ink initials "P.E.C." at the head of the front fly-leaf, otherwise no marks of ownership.



