

Shakespeare, Sidney and Spenser in an Early Continental Library*

The purpose of this essay is to draw attention to the presence of works by Shakespeare, Sidney and Spenser (along with a handful of other English books) in a hitherto unnoticed continental library list of the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century. It represents very early – perhaps the earliest – concrete evidence for continental ownership of Shakespeare’s printed poems.

Now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the manuscript is catalogued as an anonymous ‘Catalogue d’une bibliothèque, précédé d’un inventaire d’instruments mathématiques’.¹ Written in a very neat italic hand, it describes a small collection of mathematical instruments followed by a library list of a little under 1,000 books.² The books listed range in date from 1474 to 1621 (although the majority were published between the 1550s and 1610s) and are on diverse subject matter. Dominated by poetry (roughly one third of the books), the library includes also theology, philosophy, history, antiquarianism, mathematics and the trivial arts. The bulk of the books are in Latin (around 90%), the remainder in French and English (73 and 14 titles respectively), with a smattering of Greek texts.

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¹ Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 4188. The present author has provided for the manuscript to be digitised. It is now available on Gallica at the secure URL <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525038241.r=NAF+4188.langEN>. Bound in vellum and measuring 170cm x 122cm, the manuscript comprises 124 folios, numbered by the list’s compiler 1-234 (fols. 4-120). In this article I refer to the manuscript using the original compiler’s pagination.

² The library was thus (for France at least) one of the larger collections of the period. See e.g. Pierre Aquilon, ‘Petites et moyennes bibliothèques 1530-1660’, in Claude Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. 2. *Les bibliothèques sous l’Ancien Régime, 1530-1789* (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 181-205. By way of comparison, the library of Bernardino Baldi – one of the finest scholarly libraries in Europe of the period – comprised 2,159 titles. See Alfredo Serrai, *Bernardino Baldi: Le vite, le opere, la biblioteca* (Milan: Edizioni Sylvestre Bonnard, 2002). Our French library, which was around the same size as Montaigne’s, was only a little smaller than the famous library of Guy de la Brosse, who converted an entire gallery in his Parisian hôtel to house his books. See Rio Howard, *La bibliothèque et le laboratoire de Guy de La Brosse au Jardin des Plantes à Paris* (Geneva: Droz, 1983).

Nothing is known about the manuscript's provenance prior to its accession into the Bibliothèque nationale some time before 1830.³ Moreover, the manuscript offers few clues as to the identity of the books' owner, beyond the fact that he was learned, active until at least 1621, and almost certainly French. This much may be gleaned by virtue of the quantity of French titles in the list, by the use of French for the inventory of mathematical instruments, and by the description of the catalogue in several places as 'Inventaire de mes livres...'.⁴ While it is possible the manuscript was prepared by a professional scribe or secretary, the repeated use of the personal pronoun in the catalogue indicates that it was at least drafted by the owner of the books described. As such, I take the cataloguer and owner of the books to be the same person. That this man was a bibliophile is clear not only from the precision with which he catalogued his books (full details of the author, title, imprint, and format are provided), but also by the unusual inclusion of careful descriptions of the books' bindings.⁵ These range from simple paper covers to prestige bindings in tooled and gilt morocco.⁶

While the function of the catalogue is not yet known, it appears to be a fair copy, with only a handful of crossings out of errors.⁷ If the handwriting is anything to go by, it was written largely at one time, although a few additions (all of which are in the same hand, but slightly different from the script used throughout the rest of the list) are discernible. It seems

³ Information provided in correspondence by Olivier Wagner, conservator in the Department of Manuscripts, Bibliothèque nationale de France. On fol. 3v [unpaginated] there is what may be an early shelfmark: 'Q716 + 167.' On the spine, part of a single capital 'E' is visible. On the rear paste-down there is a short calculation in pen and ink.

⁴ See e.g. p. 5 and subsequent subtitles. The description of the mathematical instruments ('Inventaire de mes instruments mathématiques') is pp. 1-3. These objects may well have been kept in the same room as the library, which was not uncommon for the period. Gabriel Naudé suggested in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1627) that a decent library should be furnished with 'mathematical instruments, globes, world maps, spheres.' See Alexander Marr, *Between Raphael and Galileo: Mutio Oddi and the Mathematical Culture of Late Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 133.

⁵ Octavos make up roughly 40% of the library, folios and quartos roughly 20% each. The remainder of the books are in smaller formats, along with a few less common paper sizes, such as 'carta regia'. While the books were published in many different places, the printing hubs of Paris, Lyon, Basel, Antwerp, Frankfurt and Venice are especially well represented. The Estienne, Wechel, Episcopius, Aldus, Petri, Oporin and Plantin houses are all prominent in the library.

⁶ See e.g. the binding of his copy of Estienne's 1569 Greek edition of the New Testament: 'Relié en Maroquin de Levant bleu, D'oré sur la tranche avec double filets dor sur la couverture. tout neuf' (p. 44). Other bindings described include parchment, vellum, red and black calf, coloured paper, Flemish-style bindings in various materials, German bindings in pigskin and English bindings. The cataloguer sometimes indicates whether a binding is good or bad, new or old, or damaged. While the inclusion of such information is rare for this period, the cataloguer of the second Earl of Bedford's library penned detailed descriptions of bindings in his list of 1584. See Muriel St Clare Byrne and Gladys Scott Thomson, "'My Lord's Books': The Library of Francis, Second Earl of Bedford, in 1584", *The Review of English Studies*, vol. 7, no. 28 (1931), pp. 385-405.

⁷ The cataloguer was clearly concerned that the manuscript should be presented elegantly, even adding a decorative flourish to correct the alignment of a subtitle (p. 57). Its finesse compares favourably with, for example, Baldi's library catalogue (see above, n. 2).

unlikely that the manuscript was used as a shelf list, since locations and shelf marks are not indicated. It might have been a document preparatory to the sale of the collection, but certain of its features suggest instead that it was a ‘working’ catalogue, for the collector’s own reference in some fashion. Along with the additional entries of books, a few marginal notes were made indicating books that were missing or had been removed (denoted by the phrase ‘il n’est pl[u]s’), and in a couple of instances we find marginalia noting the rebinding of books or the replacement of a book with a more recent edition.⁸ We should be alert to the possibility that the list is incomplete. There are a number of blank pages throughout the manuscript, particularly towards the end, where we find (p. 218) a solitary book on law – Marsilius’ *Legis XII. Tabularum* – suggesting possibly that the legal books in the collection were never catalogued.⁹ With the exception of this odd one out, the books are listed according to a classification system that is straightforward but not foolproof: they are organised inconsistently by language, format and subject (see Appendix I).

We may perhaps place the catalogue’s author in Paris in 1621, since he describes one of his copies of the 1621 edition of George Buchanan’s *Poëmata* (in fact the latest dated book in the list) as bound ‘in Paris’.¹⁰ This, presumably, is roughly when the list was written; indeed the English binding of a 1594 copy of Barker’s Bible is described as ‘old’ (*vieux*) (see Appendix II, no. 11). Given the presence in the catalogue of English books not – so far as we know – available for purchase outside London, it seems very likely that the cataloguer spent some time in England. This is supported also by the fact that several of the books are described as having ‘English’ bindings, suggesting a familiarity with local binding types that it would have been hard to acquire on the Continent.¹¹ The presence in the library of a

⁸ For books added in a slightly different script see pp. 34, 36, 46, 66(?), 79, 91(?), 125, 207, 208, 218. For missing or removed books see pp. 17, 40, 62, 71, 92, 106, 119, 189, 191. The only book replaced with a better, more recent edition was Calvin’s *Opuscula omnia* (p. 165). For a reason that is not yet clear, occasionally an asterisk was inscribed in the margin next to a given book (pp. 63, 67, 69, 74, 76, 90, 91, 101, 108, 126, 211). The notion that the catalogue was a ‘working’ list is further indicated by the numerous blank pages in between the list’s sections, presumably so that new books could be added or notes made. See e.g. the blank pages pp. 47-56 in between books by Greek and Latin authors.

⁹ Theodorus Marsilius, *Legis XII. Tabularum collecta editionis novae...* (Paris: Etienne Prévosteau, 1600), in octavo.

¹⁰ ‘Relié a Paris en 2 volu[m]es en veau rouge doré sur la tranche et couverture’ (p. 79). The cataloguer seems to have owned two copies of this book, the first (also p. 79) bound in a single volume, the second bound in two volumes. The cataloguer’s use of the above wording to describe a binding is unique in the list. No other city is referred to and where places are named they take forms such as ‘façon de Flandres’ (p. 44) or ‘relieur d’Al[le]magne’ (p. 93). It is of course possible that the Buchanan was sent by the owner to be bound in Paris.

¹¹ See Appendix II, nos. 11, 25 and 26a and b. It is notable that three of the titles described as having English bindings were published by the Plantin-Raphelengius firm in 1604 and 1605, the other was published by Christopher Barker in 1594. The English stationer John Norton (a regular collaborator

significant number of Scottish imprints suggests that he may also have spent time in Scotland, as does his spelling of the word ‘an’ as ‘aine’ when describing an English New Testament in the catalogue (pp. 186-187).¹² A highly literate and erudite scholar, he was evidently a gifted linguist with a pronounced interest in classical languages and in translation. Alongside a superb collection of Greek and Latin editions of classical authors (including many Aldines) he owned numerous translations, commentaries and dictionaries, including some fourteen Greek lexica. An adept philologist and philosopher, he collected humanist books by the likes of Erasmus (e.g. pp. 194-195), Lipsius (pp.88-91) and Isaac Casaubon, and owned Latin editions of modern political classics such as Castiglione’s *Book of the Courtier* (p. 124) and Machiavelli’s *The Prince* (p. 203). He was fascinated by recent as well as ancient history. Scattered amongst his editions of Livy, Pliny and Tacitus are historical works by Guicciardini and De Thou; accounts of the New World (p. 122); and tracts on the modern French state and the wars of religion (p. 123). He was an advanced student of the mathematical arts, which, on the basis of his collection of mathematical instruments, he also practiced. In addition to the most up-to-date editions of the works of ancient mathematicians such as Euclid, Ptolemy and Archimedes, he owned major modern works such as Copernicus’s *De revolutionibus* (in the second, 1566 edition, p. 143) and Welser’s letters on sunspots (p. 152), as well as practical treatises on the manufacture and use of instruments.¹³ He owned an extensive collection of books by Oronce Fine, the most popular sixteenth-century French writer on mathematics (pp. 148-149).¹⁴

The library’s owner was extremely well read in theology across the confessional spectrum, but he owned predominately protestant books. The list contains numerous works by Calvin (pp. 164-165) and Melancthon (pp. 171-172), and by French reformers such as

with the Barker firm) dealt with the Antwerp branch of the Plantin firm. It is likely that the Platin-Raphelengius books were purchased from the same London shop, quite possibly Norton’s. See Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560-1630* (Cambridge, MA and London: 2012), p. 182 and, for the complex relationships between these stationers, Maria Wakely, ‘Printing and Double Dealing in Jacobean England: Robert Barker, John Bill and Bonham Norton’, *The Library*, 7th series, vol. 8, no. 2 (2007), pp. 119-153.

¹² Scottish authors and/or Scottish imprints are at pp. 71, 73, 74, 77, 79, 80, 81, 103, 144, 181, 182, 185, 194.

¹³ This book is described as bound with Andreas Schöner’s *Gnomonice* (1562). Gingerich’s census contains only one example of the same combination, but with an additional book: Delfino’s *De fluxu et refluxu aquae maris* (1559), and which has an early modern German provenance. See Owen Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus’ De revolutionibus (Nuremberg, 1543 and Basel, 1566)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), no. II.62.

¹⁴ On Fine, see Alexander Marr (ed.), *The Worlds of Oronce Fine: Mathematics, Instruments and Print in Renaissance France* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008). The mathematical section of the library is comparable to, and not very much smaller than, that of the French protestant lawyer Jean I du Temps. See Alexander Marr, ‘A Renaissance Library Rediscovered: The ‘Repertorium librorum Mathematica’ of Jean I du Temps’, *The Library*, 7th series, vol. 9, no. 4 (2008), pp. 428-470.

Du Plessis-Mornay (pp. 166-168) and Ramus (pp. 133-136).¹⁵ It contains also a number of anti-Jesuit tracts by the likes of Malescot and Fischart (pp. 198-199). Yet it also contains the complete *Disputations* of Bellarmine (p. 174) and books on the occult sciences by the likes of Agrippa and Lull (p. 138). Strikingly, the cataloguer collected Scripture and liturgical works in English: a 1594 Barker edition of the Geneva bible and three English New Testaments, two of which incorporated the *Book of Common Prayer* (Appendix II, nos. 12-13).¹⁶ Yet in addition to these reformed English books, he owned also the Rheims New Testament, produced by recusants at the English College in 1582 (Appendix II, no. 6). When we note also that he owned a number of works by Scottish writers – some (such as Buchanan and Napier) protestant, others (such as Boyd and Dempster) Catholics exiled in France – it becomes clear that he kept a keen eye on the religious and political life of the British Isles (maps of which he owned; Appendix II, no. 4). It is tempting to think that he was a Huguenot who had sought refuge in Elizabethan England before returning to France after the Edict of Nantes, then visited England again during the reign of James I. The presence in the library of numerous Saumur imprints – works by Scottish protestants among them – suggests that he might have been connected to the Huguenot academy of that town, founded by Du Plessis-Mornay in 1593. Whatever his religious sympathies, the tumultuous religious-political climate of later sixteenth-century France is a fitting context for a library list that ranges so extensively across the confessional and intellectual terrain of early modern Europe.

The library owner's main intellectual interest was clearly poetry, both ancient and modern. Of the ancients, Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Terence and Oppian are all amply represented. For the moderns, he owned such neo-Latin poets as Buchanan, Scaliger and Heinsius. Somewhat surprisingly, he owned no poetry in Italian (indeed, the list does not contain a single work in that language). His only book by Petrarch is the *Remedies* (p. 139), although he did own Boccaccio's *Decameron* in le Maçon's French translation. This brings us to his fondness for vernacular literature. In addition to French translations of Plutarch and Seneca, he owned prose works by Rabelais, Marguerite de Navarre, Honoré d'Urfé and Grascieux (Bruscambille) (pp. 204-207). Somewhat surprisingly, he owned very little

¹⁵ The library does not contain a single work by Luther. For comparable libraries of French protestants see Louis Desgraves, 'Note sur les bibliothèques protestantes', in Claude Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. 2. *Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530-1789* (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 188-191.

¹⁶ He also owned Honoratus's three-volume French bible of 1570 (p. 186), as well as numerous Latin bibles.

modern French poetry – only the *Oeuvres* of Du Bartas (p. 204) and a couple of minor works are listed.¹⁷

At the very end of the catalogue is a section called ‘English Books’, listing nine English titles bound in eight volumes (Appendix II, nos. 16-23). The ‘English Books’ are a mixture of the practical (Rider’s English dictionary), the antiquarian (Camden’s description of the tombs in Westminster Abbey), the theological (Simson’s *Persecutions* and Perkins’ *Divers Treatises*) and the literary.¹⁸ Of the latter, the compiler owned the 1596 quarto edition of *The Faerie Queene* (the first six-book edition, reprinting books one to three and adding books four to six); the 1613 folio edition of *The Countesse of Pembroke’s Arcadia*; the first, quarto edition of *The Rape of Lucrece*, and one of the ‘1602’ editions of *Venus and Adonis*, bound in vellum with *The Scourge of Venus* by ‘H. A.’.¹⁹ Before turning to why our cataloguer might have owned these books, let us begin with the issues of English as a foreign language and the availability of English books on the Continent around the turn of the century.

As is well known, English was barely understood or spoken on mainland Europe ca. 1600, except at mercantile ports with a direct trade link to England.²⁰ This fact, combined with economic forces that rendered the marketing of English books abroad a less-than-profitable enterprise, severely limited the impact of English literature on the Continent up to at least the middle of the seventeenth century.²¹ As Osborn and Woudhuysen have shown,

¹⁷ In addition to Du Bartas, he owned the *Tombeau du Marguerite de Valois Royne de Navarre* (1551), Pierre Davity’s *Les travaux sans travail* (1602) and the *Satyre ménippée* (1612) (the latter a prose work that includes some poetry) (pp. 204-207). It is worth noting that he also owned Adrian Damman’s Latin translation of Du Bartas (p. 73) and Thomas Bicarton’s *Miscellanea* (1588) (p. 194), which included some French verse.

¹⁸ Perkins, a Puritan divine, was one of the most popular English writers on the continent. See P. G. Hoftijzer, ‘British Books Abroad: The Continent’, in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Vol. IV, 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 735-743, p. 737.

¹⁹ The identity of ‘H. A.’ – sometimes identified as Henry Austin – is not secure. See Matthew Steggle, ‘H. A. (fl. 1613)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/907>, accessed 3 Aug 2014]. On the problematic identification of the edition of *Venus and Adonis* and of the format of this and *The Scourge of Venus*, see Appendix II, nos. 20a and 20b.

²⁰ Hoftijzer, ‘British Books Abroad’, p. 735. See also Peter Burke, *Language and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), *passim*; Georges Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l’opinion française, depuis la guerre de cent ans jusqu’à la fin du XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Gamber, 1927-30), vol. 1, pp. 176-182.

²¹ Hoftijzer, ‘British Books Abroad’, esp. pp. 736-737. Ian Maclean, ‘English Books on the Continent, 1570-1630’, in Ian Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 339-370, p. 341. One of the earliest references to Shakespeare in France is Charles de Saint’Évremond’s comments on *The Merchant of Venice* in his *Essai su la comédie* (1677). See Jules J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France under the Ancien régime* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1899).

Sidney was reasonably well known in France through both print and manuscript versions of his poetry. Indeed, translations of *Arcadia* began to appear in 1624, just a few years after the latest-dated book in the library list.²² Shakespeare's First Folio was offered for sale by John Bill at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1622, and knowledge of his plays was disseminated to some extent by the English players who toured in central Europe from the 1590s.²³ Part of *Venus and Adonis* was translated into Dutch as early as 1621, but to date the early reception of Shakespeare's poetry in France is a blank slate.²⁴ I have found no evidence that Spenser was read on the Continent before the very end of the seventeenth century.²⁵

It seems highly likely that the cataloguer purchased his English-language books in London. While some of the library's Latin books from English and Scottish presses could have been acquired at the continental book fairs, not one of the English-language titles seems to have been marketed abroad. Certainly, none are listed in Draut's compendium of non-German vernacular books, the *Bibliotheca exotica* (1625).²⁶ We should, therefore, situate the list's small collection of English poetry within the market for printed literature in England, rather than on the Continent. In this context, ownership of works by Shakespeare, Sidney and Spenser is easier to comprehend, since the poetry of all three was highly popular in England by 1621.²⁷ Nevertheless, concrete evidence for the ownership of specific editions of their poems – and the company they kept in any given library – remains scarce, and is thus significantly augmented by the French library list.²⁸

²² See Albert W. Osborn, *Sir Philip Sidney en France* (Paris: H. Champion, 1932); H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

²³ For the First Folio see Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 46; For English players abroad see e.g. Jerzy Limon, *Gentlemen of a Company: English Players in Eastern and Central Europe, 1590-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1985).

²⁴ See J. C. Arens, 'Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1-810): A Dutch translation printed in 1621', *Neophilologus*, vol. 52 (1968), pp. 421-430.

²⁵ Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française*, vol. 2, p. 121.

²⁶ See Maclean's transcription of English-language titles from Draut in 'English Books on the Continent', pp. 352-370.

²⁷ For the reception of Sidney see e.g. Gavin Alexander, *Writing after Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); for Spenser see e.g. Michelle O'Callaghan 'Spenser's Literary Influence', in Richard A. McCabe (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 664-683. For the popularity of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* see e.g. Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier, 'Reading and Authorship: The Circulation of Shakespeare 1590-1619', in Andrew Murphy (ed.), *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 35-56; Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 12-13; Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, pp. 18-19; Lukas Erne and Tamsin Badcoe, 'Shakespeare and the Popularity of Poetry Books in Print, 1583-1622', *Review of English Studies*, vol. 65, no. 268 (2014), pp. 33-57.

²⁸ Lukas Erne has enriched substantially our knowledge of the early ownership of Shakespeare's quarto playbooks and the poems. See Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, chapter 5. For a somewhat later example of continental ownership of English literature, including Shakespeare, see

What, then, is the context in which our bibliophile came to acquire these works and why did he do so? The presence of English poetry in the library presumably has two broad explanations. The first relates to the cataloguer's general interest in poetry. His ownership of *Venus and Adonis/The Scourge of Venus* is surely part and parcel of his keen interest in Ovid (the best-represented Latin poet in the library), not least because *The Scourge of Venus* is a reworking of the tale of Cinyras from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²⁹ Indeed, we may note that in an early Sammelband of verse in English, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Scourge of Venus* are bound together with Thomas Heywood's translation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* and other amatory poems.³⁰ Yet while the Ovidian context is doubtless an important one, the presence of *Lucrece*, *Arcadia* and the epic *Faerie Queene* suggest a broader, deeper involvement in English poetry and prose of the Elizabethan era, not to mention a formidable fluency in the language necessary to understand them.³¹ We might relate the cataloguer's interest in these works to his taste for pastoral, allegorical, moralising, courtly and erotic poetry evident in the rest of the library, and we should note that these texts conform to his preference for narrative poetry above shorter forms, the latter of which are almost entirely absent from the library as a whole.

The second explanation relates to the author's presumed presence in England some time around the turn of the century, or later. Given the presence of other English-language works on local religious practice, history and customs, he was clearly interested in the social and cultural life of Elizabethan and Jacobean England.³² While this may have been idiosyncratic, it is quite plausible that this interest was professional in nature, and that the

Antonin van Elslander and Willem Schrikk, 'Der Engelse werken in den catalogus van C. Huygens', *Tijdschrift voor levende talen*, vol. 18 (1952), pp. 136-143, 180-201. Ascoli, who surveyed French library catalogues of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, found works by Shakespeare only 'exceptionally' – for example in the collections of Fouquet and Cardinal Dubois – noting that in general most French libraries of the period contained only 'two or three' English-language books and that Shakespeare is very scarce. Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française*, vol. 2, pp. 19-20, 150.

²⁹ On Ovid in English Renaissance literature see e.g. Raphael Lyne, *Ovid's Changing Worlds: English Metamorphoses 1567-1632* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). A number of other modern works in the list are responses to or imitations of Ovid, e.g. Mark Alexander Boyd's *Heroides* (1592) (p. 74).

³⁰ British Library C.39.a.37. The front fly-leaf is a fragment of a legal document signed by the 5th Earl of Bedford, and the 4th Earl of Monteagle, "coram Jo: Croke". It bears several ownership inscriptions. See Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 80-81.

³¹ While this is unusual for the period, it is not entirely unprecedented. See e.g. Anne Lake Prescott, *French Poets and the English Renaissance: Studies in Fame and Transformation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978).

³² As noted above, he was interested also in Scottish (neo-Latin) literature, suggesting that he may have visited Scotland, perhaps the court of James VI (whose *Daemonologie* he owned, p. 140).

cataloguer was in some way involved in London's political, scholarly and religious worlds. Who, then, was he? One name appears to fit the bill: Jean L'Oiseau de Tourval. L'Oiseau (d. 1631) was a French protestant who lived and worked for some time in London, was learned in ancient and modern languages, translated English texts (including Sidney's *Arcadia*) and was employed in diplomatic missions between London and Paris. A Royal Chaplain by 1623, he was presented by his friend John Donne to the church of St Martin Orgar in the City of London in 1623. Yet while L'Oiseau fits the profile of our cataloguer, his library contained only about 100 books: a far cry from the nearly 1,000 volumes of the French library.³³ A closer contemporary comparison is the library of the French protestant minister Jean de Brunes, sold after his death in 1604. It comprised 549 works in 662 volumes. Like the books of our library, they reveal the concerns of a theologian, with twelve editions of The Bible, works by major Catholic controversialists such as Bellarmine, dictionaries and grammars. The other half of de Brunes' library offers books on a variety of subjects: the sciences, history and literature, both ancient as well as contemporary Italian, Spanish and French.³⁴ Yet the size of our cataloguer's library in comparison to those of both L'Oiseau and de Brunes suggests that we are dealing with someone of significantly more substantial means than a run-of-the-mill clergyman: an ambassador, perhaps, or at the very least an ambassador's secretary. By way of comparison we may note that Count Gondomar, twice Spanish ambassador to England, had in his large library some sixty English printed books (as well as several manuscripts) including the *Arcadia*.³⁵

With luck, further research may identify the owner and cataloguer of what surely ranks among the more remarkable libraries of late Renaissance Europe. To this end, a full account of the library list is in preparation. The present author welcomes correspondence about the catalogue and may be contacted at ajm300@cam.ac.uk or Trinity Hall, Cambridge, CB2 1TJ, United Kingdom.

Appendix I: The Classification System of the Catalogue

³³ See 'Tourval, Jean Loiseau de' in PLRE (PLRE no. 259): <http://plre.folger.edu>.

³⁴ See Desgraves, 'Note sur les bibliothèques protestantes', p. 190.

³⁵ 'Ex Bibliotheca Gondomariesi. Libros in inglés', in *Avisos. Noticias de la Real Biblioteca*, no. 38 (2004): <http://avisos.realbiblioteca.es/?p=newspaper&aviso=46>. On Gondomar's purchases of books in England see Ian Michael, 'King James VI and I and the Count of Gondomar: Two London Bibliophiles, 1613-18 and 1620-22', in Edward H. Frieman and Harlan Sturm (eds.), *"Never-Ending Adventure": Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Spanish Literature in Honor of Peter N. Dunn* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2002), pp. 421-436.

Section I: 'Greek' books.³⁶

i. In-fol.

- ia. Lexica (pp. 5-7)
- ib. Poetry (pp. 8-10)
- ic. History (pp. 12-17)
- id. Miscellaneous (untitled; includes language, philosophy, mathematics, geography and Scripture) (pp. 17-21)

ii. In-4^o.

- iiia. Lexica and language (untitled) (pp. 22-23)
- iiib. Poetry (23-26)
- iiic. Miscellaneous (includes history and philosophy) (pp. 27-28)³⁷

iii. In-8^o.

- iiia. Poetry (pp. 29-34)
- iiib. Miscellaneous (includes language, history, geography, philosophy, medicine and Scripture) (pp. 34-41)

iv. In-12^o.

Undivided: includes poetry, history, philosophy, medicine and scripture (pp. 42-44)

v. In-24^o.

Undivided: a miscellaneous group of titles (pp. 44-46)

Section 2: 'Latin' books.

i. Poetry.

- ia. In-fol. (pp. 57-61)
- ib. In-4^o. (pp. 62-66)
- ic. In-8^o. (pp. 67-75)

³⁶ Described as 'Livres Grecs', these are mainly Greek authors in Latin but with a few Greek-language texts.

³⁷ The title for this section is indicative of miscellaneity: 'Authores Graeci in 4 qui scripserunt soluta oratione' (p. 27).

id. In-12^o. (pp. 75-78)

ie. In-16^o. (pp. 78-80)

ii. Grammar, Philology, Criticism and Antiquarianism.³⁸

iiia. In-fol. (pp. 81-84)

iiib. In-4^o. (with a subheading for the works of Lipsius in octavo, p. 90)
(pp. 85-91)

iiic. In-8^o. (pp. 92-103)

iid. In-12^o. (p. 103)

iii. Dictionaries.

iiia. In-fol. (pp. 104-105)

iiib. In-4^o. (pp. 105-107)

iv. History.

iva. In-fol. (pp. 108-113)

ivb. In-4^o. (pp. 114-116)

ivc. In-8^o. (pp. 117-126)

ivd. In-12^o and -16^o. (pp. 126-127)

v. Philosophy.

va. In-fol. (p. 128)

vb. In-4^o. (pp. 128-130)

vc. In-8^o. (with a subheading for the works of Keckermann (p. 132)
and Ramus in octavo (p. 133) and quarto (p. 136)) (pp. 131-139)

vd. In-16^o. (pp. 139-141)

vi. Mathematics

via. In-fol. (pp. 142-147)

vib. In-4^o. (pp. 148-154)

vic. In-8^o. (pp. 155-163)

vii. Theology

³⁸ 'Grammar' appears only in the subheadings for books in quarto and octavo.

viia. In-fol. (with a subheading for the works of Melanchthon, p. 170)
(pp. 164-174)
viib. In-4°. (pp. 178-179)
viic. In-8°. (pp. 180-185)
viid. In-16° and -24°. (pp. 186-187)

viii. Oratory, Rhetoric and Letters.

viia. In-fol. (p. 188)
viib. In-4°. (pp. 188-190)
viic. In-8°. (pp. 191-196)
viid. In-12° and -16°. (pp. 196-197)

ix. Various.

Undivided, miscellaneous subjects (including natural history,
medicine and statecraft) in various formats (pp. 198-203)

Section III. 'French' books.³⁹

Undivided, but including literary works in poetry and prose, statecraft, history,
theology and philosophy (pp. 204-208)

Section IV. 'English' books.

Undivided, but including literary works in poetry and prose, dictionaries,
theology and antiquarianism (pp. 210-211)

Appendix II: English Books in the library list.

Appendix II is in two parts: (I) books published in English and/or in England; (II) English bindings. The division and numbering are my own, but in each section I have listed titles in the order they appear in the manuscript.⁴⁰ For each entry, a transcription of the manuscript is followed by an identification. I have retained the original orthography of the manuscript,

³⁹ There are a number of French-language books scattered throughout the preceding sections.

⁴⁰ I have included in this section a thus-far unidentified map of the British Isles.

including changes in font, although I have silently transposed ‘u’ and ‘v’ where appropriate. Contractions have been expanded in square brackets.

The Appendix does not include English authors published in Latin and on the Continent, nor Scottish authors published in Latin or French and published in Scotland or on the Continent. Bibliographical information for books published in England has been taken from the ESTC. For books not in the ESTC, copies have been identified in the Houghton Library, Harvard (H), the library of Merton College, Oxford (M), and Cambridge University Library (C).

Part I: English-language books and books published in England.

1. Thomae Thomasii *Dictionarium Accuratissime emendatum, magna[ue] rerum ac verboru[m] acceßione longe auctius redditum. Huic Octavae editioni superioribus multo auctiori (praeter dictionarium Historicum et poëticum) acceßit utilissimus de ponderum, Mensurarum et Monetarum veterum reductione ad ea quae sunt Anglis tam in usu tractatus. Cantabrigiae Apud Ioannem Legatum Anno 1610. in Octav[o] Relié en Veau. N[oire]*

Thomas, Thomas. *Dictionarium...accessit utilissimus de Ponderum, Mensurarum & Monetarum reductione ad ea, quae sunt Anglis jam in usu, Tractatus.* Cambridge: John Legat, 1610. In-8°. Binding: Black calf. ESTC no. S95541.⁴¹ (pp. 106-7)

2. Isaaci Casauboni *De Rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI. Ad Cardinalis Baronii Prolegomena in Annales, et prima[m] eorum partem De D[omi]ni. nostri I[esu]. Christi Nativitate, Vita, Paßione et Assumptione. Impr[essum] Londini In Officina Nortoniana Anno 1614. Bien Relié en parch[emin] cart petit*

Casaubon, Isaac. *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI.* London: John Bill for John Norton, 1614. In-fol. Binding: Well-bound in parchment [and] small card. ESTC no. S107197. (p. 112)

3. Balthasar Castilionis Comitis de Curiali Sive Aulico Libri III. *Ex Italico sermone in Latinum conversi: Bartholomaeo Clerke Anglo Cantabrigiensi Interprete. Londini Anno 1603 Bien Relié en veau noir et orne dor.*

Castiglione, Baldessare (trans. Bartholomew Clarke). *De curiale sive Aulico.* London: George Bishop, 1603. In-8°. Binding: Well-bound in black calf and decorated with gold. ESTC no. S107616.⁴² (p. 124)

4. *Tabulae Geographicae Magnae Britanniae. Id est totius Angliae et Scotiae et omnium pene in iis provinciarum: non constat quo loco et anno excusae Relié en parche[min] forme longue*

Tabulae Geographicae Magnae Britanniae. Binding: Parchment, long format (‘forme longue’).⁴³ (p. 163)

⁴¹ Thomas’s dictionary is in Latin and English.

⁴² A Latin translation of *Il libro del cortegiano*.

5. Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini *Praestantissimi nostrae aetatis Theologi Loci Communes Ex variis ipsius Authoris libris in unum volumen collecti, et in quatuor Classes distributi*. Londini Excud[ebat] Ioannes Kinstonus Anno 1576. Relié en parchem[in] cart. For[t]

Peter Martyr. *Loci communes*. London: John Kyngston, 1576. In-fol. Binding: Parchment, strong card. ESTC no. S117860. (p. 172)

6. The New Testament. *Translated out of Latin into English with annotations, in the English College of Rhemes. Printed at Rhemes By Iohn Fogny Anno 1582. Bien Relie en Veau noire*

The New Testament. Translated...in the English College of Rhemes. Rheims: John Fogny, 1582. In-4°. Binding: Well-bound in black calf. ESTC no. S102491. (p. 178)

7. *A Plaine discovery of the whole Revelation of S[t] Iean, Set downe in two treatises: the one searching and proving the true interpretation thereof: the other applying the same paraphrasticallie and historicallie to the text. Set foorth by Iohn Napier L[ord] of Marchiston. Revised, corrected, and enlarged by him in this edition. with a rosolutio[n] of certaine doubts*. Printed at Edinburgh by Andrew Hart Anno 1616 Relié en parch[emin]

Napier, John. *A plaine discovery, of the whole Revelation of St John*. Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1611. In-4°. Binding: Parchment. ESTC no. S113096. (p. 179)

8. *Tortura Torti Sive Responsio ad Matthaei Torti Lib[rum] responsio]. qui editus contra Apologiam Sereniss[imi] Potentissimiq[ue] Principis Iacobi D[ei] G[ratia] Britanniarum et. c[etera] Regis pro Iuramento fidelitatis*. Londini excudebat – Robertus Barkerus. Anno 1609 Rel[ié en] Parch[emin]

Andrewes, Lancelot. *Tortura Torti*. London: Robert Barker, 1609. In-4°. Binding: Parchment. ESTC no. S122435 or S122436. (p. 179)

9. Guil[elmus (sic.)] Whitakeri De peccato Originali Tractatus in III Lib[ros] Distribut[us] adversus III. primos libros Thomae Stapletoni De Universa Iustificationis doctrina hodie controversa. Cantabrigiae Excudebat Ioan[nes] Legat. Anno 1600 Rel[ié en] parch[emin]

Whitaker, William. *Tractatus de peccato originali*. Cambridge(?): John Legat, 1600. In-8°. Binding: Parchment. ESTC no. S103646. (p. 183)

10. Guil[elmus (sic.)] Whitakeri Responsio Ad Nicolai Sanderi Demonstrationes XL. In VIII Libro Visibilis Monarchiae positae, quibus Romanum Pontificem non esse Antichristum docere instituit. Londini Excud[ebat] Thomas Vautrollerius Anno 1583 Relié en parchemin

Whitaker, William. *Ad Nicolai Sanderi demonstrationes quadraginta...responsio*. London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1583. In-8°. Binding: Parchment. ESTC no. S119889. (p. 183)

⁴³ I have not been able to identify this item. The maps may have been taken from one of the popular atlases by Mercator or Ortelius.

11. The Bible *that is to say the Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Hebrewe and Greeke. &c. Imprinted at London by the deputies of Christopher Barker Anno 1594 Relieure D'Angleterre en Veau Rou[ge] d'oré, mais vieux*

The Bible...translated according to the Hebrewe and Greeke. London: Christopher Barker, 1594. In-8°. Binding: English binding in red calf, gilt, but old. ESTC no. S2510. (p. 185)

12. The Booke of common prayer and ministration of the Sacraments and other ceremonies of the church of England. With the New Testament Translated into English by L[aurence] Tomson out of the translation Latin of Th[eodore de] Beze And the Psalmes in English meeter. Imprinted At London by Rob[ert] Barker. Anno 1613. Bien Relié en Veau Rouge et tout dore sur la tranche et sur la couverture

The Booke of Common Prayer...with the New Testament translated into English by L. Tomson...and the Psalmes. London: Robert Barker, 1613. In-12° or -16°. Binding: Well-bound in red calf and all gilt on the spine and on the cover. Not in ESTC.⁴⁴ (p. 186)

13. * Aine Other N[ew] Testament English with the Booke of Com[mon] Prayer and Psalmes of the same Edition Relié en Veau Rouge, doré sur la Tranche

As no. 12. Binding: Red calf, gilt on the spine. (pp. 186-187)⁴⁵

14. The Newe Testament of Ies[us] Chr[ist] Faithfully translated out of Greeke into English. Imprinted at London by the deutez of Christopher Barker.* Bien Relié en Veau rouge, dore sur la tranche et sur la couverture [in right-hand margin] * Anno 1598

The New Testament. London: Christopher Barker, 1598. Binding: Well-bound in red calf, gilt on the spine and on the cover. Not in ESTC.⁴⁶ (p.187)

15. Isaaci Casauboni ad Frontonem Ducaeum S. I. Theologum Epistola, In qua de Apologia disseritur communi Iesuitarum nomine edita. Londini. Excudebat Ioannes Norton Anno 1611.

Casaubon, Isaac. *Ad Frontonem Ducaeum S. J. theologum epistola.* London: John Norton, 1611. In-8°. Binding: Not described. ESTC no. S107573. (p. 196)

[The following are catalogued in the library list under the heading 'English Books', pp. 210-211.]

16. Riders Dictionaire corrected and enriched with the Addition of above 500. words. Hereunto is annexed a Dictionarie etymologicall deriving every word from his native fontaine, with raisons of the derivations, and many Romaine antiquities by Francis Holyoke. III Edition. At Oxford Printed by Ioseph Barnes. 1612 Relié en veau tane in. 4.

Rider, John. *Riders dictionarie...[with] a dictionarie etymologicall....By Francis Holyoke.* Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1612. In-4°. Binding: Tanned calf. ESTC no. S115976. (p. 210)

⁴⁴ This title is listed in the manuscript under 'Libri theologici in 16 et 24'. The ESTC lists seven versions of *The Book of Common Prayer* published by Barker in 1613, but none in 16mo or 24mo.

⁴⁵ The spelling 'Aine' suggests Scottish pronunciation or spelling.

⁴⁶ The ETSC records octavo (S90968) and 32mo (S124403) editions of this title printed for Barker in 1598.

17. A Compend of the Historie of the first. X. Persecutions of Christiēns. Divided into III Centuries. whereunto ar added in the end of every centurie treatises arysing upon occasion offered in the historie clearely declaring the noveltie of popish Religion: &c. Printed at Edinburgh Anno 1613. Relie en veau Rouge, et dore sur la tranche et sur la couverture in. 4.

Simson, Patrick. *A short compend of the historie of the first ten persecutions moved against Christians*. Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1613. In-4°. Binding: Red calf, gilt on the spine and the cover. ESTC no. S118088.⁴⁷ (p. 210)

18. The Faerie Queene Disposed into XII Books, Fashioning. XII. Morall Vertues. Printed at London for William Ponsonby 1596 bien relié en veau rouge in. 4.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. London: Richard Field for William Ponsonby, 1596. In-4°. Binding: Well-bound in red calf. ESTC no. S115976. (p. 210)

19. The Rape of Lucrce by W[illiam] Shakespeare Printed at London by Richard Field. 1594. in 4.

Shakespeare, William. *The Rape of Lucrece*. London: Richard Field for John Harrison, 1594. In-4°. Binding: Not described. ESTC no. S106341. (p. 210)⁴⁸

20a and b. Venus and Adonis by Shakespeare. Londo[n] by W[illiam] Leake 1602. With the Scourge of venus written by H. A. printed at London by N[icholas] Okes 1613 Relié en parchemin in 12.

(20a) Shakespeare, William. *Venus and Adonis*. London: William Leake, 1602. In-12°. Not in ESTC.⁴⁹ (p. 211)

– bound with –

(20b) ‘H. A.’ *The Scourge of Venus*. London: Nicholas Okes, 1613. In-12°. Binding: Parchment. Not in ESTC.⁵⁰ (p. 211)

⁴⁷ The ESTC lists two additional volumes, published in 1615 and 1616 respectively. MS 4188 does not list these additional volumes.

⁴⁸ It should be noted that the 1594 edition has ‘LVCRECE’ on its title-page and, for the poem itself, ‘THE RAPE OF | LVCRECE’ as its head title and ‘THE RAPE OF LVCRECE’ as its running head. That is to say, the title as given in the library list was either taken from memory or from looking beyond the title-page and into the book itself.

⁴⁹ The ESTC lists only octavo editions of *Venus and Adonis* published by Leake in ‘1602’: S114108 (1602?); S114110 (1602, i.e. 1607?); S114112 (1602, i.e. 1608?); S114114 (1602, i.e. 1610?). For an explanation of these 1602 editions see Harry Farr, ‘Notes on Shakespeare’s Printers and Publishers, with Special Reference to the Poems and *Hamlet*’, *The Library*, 4th series, vol. 3, no. 4 (1923), pp. 225-260, pp. 227-247; Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen (eds.), *Shakespeare’s Poems. Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece and the Shorter Poems* (London: Thomson Learning, 2007), pp. 515-516.

⁵⁰ The ESTC lists only an octavo edition of *The Scourge of Venus* published by Okes in 1613: S118594. Since this title and *Venus and Adonis* are bound together and both are recorded in the ESTC only as octavos, it seems most likely that our cataloguer recorded the format incorrectly as duodecimo.

21. * *Divers Treatises Theologicals written by M.^r Perkins. Printed for Iohn Porter, and Iohn Legat 1600 Relie en parchemin* in 12

Perkins, William. *Divers Treatises Theologicals*. Cambridge(?): John Porter and John Legat, 1600. In-12°. Binding: Parchment. ESTC no. S94694(?).⁵¹ (p. 211)

22. *Reges, Reginae, Nobiles et Alii in Ecclesia Collegiata B[eat]i Petri Westmonasterii Sepulti usque ad Annum 1600. Londini Excudebat. E[dmundus] Bollifantus Anno 1600 Relié en parch[emin]* in 4

Camden, William. *Reges, reginae, nobiles, & alii in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti*. London: Edmund Bollifant, 1600. In-4°. Binding: Parchment. ESTC no. S107392. (p. 211)

23. *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia ~ Written by S.^r Philip Sidney Knight Edition 4. Imprinted At London by H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes Anno 1613. bie[n] Relie en Veau rouge* in Folio

Sidney, Philip. *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia*. London: Humphrey Lownes for Matthew Lownes, 1613. In-fol. Binding: Well-bound in red calf. ESTC no. S102208. (p. 211)

Part II: English bindings.

24. See 11, above.

25. P[ublii] Virgilii Maronis *Opera ex officina Plantiniana Anno 1604 Relieu[r] d'Angleterre en velin avec double filet dor et dore sur la tranche*

Virgil. *Opera*. Leiden: Plantin-Raphelengius, 1604. In-32°?⁵² Binding: English binding in vellum with a double thin line of gold [on the covers?] and gilt on the spine. Not in ESTC.⁵³ (p. 78)

26a and b. Q[uinti] Horatii Flacci *opera omnia cum novis argumentis ex officina Plantiniana Anno 1604. Item Iunii Iuvenalis Satyrarum libri V, et Aul[i] Persii Flacci Satyrarum lib[er] I. Ex Officina Plantiniana Anno 1605 Relieur d'Angletter en Velin avec double filet d'or et doré sur la tranche*

(26a) Horace. *Opera omnia*. Leiden: Plantin-Raphelengius, 1604. In-16°. Not in ESTC.⁵⁴ (p. 78)

– bound with –

(26b) Juvenal. *Satyrarum libri V*. Leiden: Plantin-Raphelengius, 1605. In-16°. Binding: English binding in vellum with a double thin line of gold [on the covers?] and gilt on the spine. Not in ESTC.⁵⁵ (p. 78)

⁵¹ Not listed in the ESTC under this title. A likely identification (given the imprint) is S94694. Alternative identifications are S96152, S94674, S94695.

⁵² Listed under 'Latin poets in-16°' in the manuscript.

⁵³ (H): *OLC V587 592.

⁵⁴ (M): 67.G.16.

⁵⁵ (C): Bassingbourn.386. Interestingly, this copy is bound bound with the 1608 edition of no. 26a.