#### The 1588 Donations to New College Library of Thomas Martin, Lawyer and Recusant

{Daniel Carey's note in the current issue prompts me to a response on the donor of one of the library's copies of Richard Hakluyt's 'Principal Navigations'; Arabella Milbank has been working on exactly the same donor, from a slightly different angle, and the reader will find many new discoveries on Thomas Martin in her piece, also in this issue; I am very grateful to both Carey and Milbank.}

New College Library holds both the major editions of Richard Hakluyt's famous compendium of travel narratives:

- 1. *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 1589), BT 1.131.24.
- 2. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599[-1600]), BT 1.132.1-2.

The second edition may well have come to the college as part of the massive set of books donated by Warden Lake in 1617, as the Benefactors Book contains in the list of his gifts (p. 61): 'The English voyages by Hacklyet.' We can be sure of the immediate provenance of the first edition, for it bears the stamped and gilded inscription 'EX DONO THOME MARTINI LLD. ET A.C.W.' on the front board. The donor of this, the 1589 edition was Thomas Martin (1520/21-1592/93), an important figure not only in the history of the college but also in public life, as a civil lawyer, M.P., prosecutor, and diplomat. After attending Winchester he became a fellow of the college in 1540, and later studied law in Bourges. In Mary's reign he served the Lord Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, and his most notorious moment came when he acted as a royal proctor in the trial of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. As Diarmaid MacCulloch's account of the trial in his biography of Cranmer vividly shows, Martin provided the legal teeth of the trial; and Martin's shrewd, deadly cross-examination of Cranmer may still be read in the martyrologist John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (the 'Book of Martyrs'). Martin got Cranmer burnt. Martin's legal career was stellar: having graduated DCL at Oxford in 1555, he became master of requests by 1556, then master and protonotary in chancery the following year. Inevitably he lost his office at the accession of Elizabeth, but somehow Martin survived the Protestant ascendancy, practising as a civil lawyer in London until his death, and amassing considerable wealth.

Martin is associated with two major publications. The first is *A traictise declaryng* and plainly prouyng, that the pretensed marriage of priestes, and professed persones, is no mariage, but altogether vnlawful, and in all ages, and al countreies of Christendome, bothe forbidden, and also punyshed (London: Robert Caly, 1554 = STC 17517). The second is his posthumously-printed Latin biography of William of Wykeham, *Historica descriptio* complectens vitam, ac res gestas beatissimi viri Guilielmi Wicami quondam Vintoniensis Episcopi et Angliae Cancellarii, et fundatoris duorum collegiorum, Oxoniae et Vintoniae (London, 1597 = STC 17516). This was the first published biography of the Founder. Now the former work, although said on its title-page to be by 'Thomas Martin, Doctour of the Ciuile Lavves', is usually held to be 'probably in fact written, or at least the materials gathered, by Stephen Gardiner', as the Short Title Catalogue says, that is to say by Stephen

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Martin's biography, see S. T. Bindoff, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, 3 vols. (London, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 578-80; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 573-81; and the article by Steve Hindle in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Gardiner (1495x8-1555), Bishop of Winchester and one of the leading statesmen of the Tudor age, dubbed by the martyrologist John Foxe as 'wily Winchester'. Gardiner's control over the publication is all but confirmed by the rejoinder to the book, published by John Ponet in his An apologie fully aunsweringe... a blasphemose book gathered by D. Steph. Gardiner ... and other papists ... under the name of Thomas Martin ... against the godly mariadge of priests ([Strasburg: Heirs of W. Köpfel?], 1556). A very interesting copy of this Martin or rather pseudo-Martin book has recently appeared on the market – albeit in deeply regrettable circumstances, following a philistine decision of the Law Society to sell off a historic collection placed under their care – being Ponet's own copy of the treatise on 'the pretensed marriage of priestes', interleaved with more than 500 pages of contemporary notes in Ponet's own hand. Evidently, this was his working copy as he drafted his own response to Martin/Gardiner on the interleaves. Now John Ponet (1514-1556), a leading reformer under Edward VI, had in 1551 been made the Bishop of Winchester after Gardiner himself had been ejected from that bishopric in the throes of the Edwardian reformation, having occupied the see for two decades. After the accession of Mary in 1553, Ponet fled abroad and settled in Strasburg, where he compiled these notes and eventually published his riposte; meanwhile Gardiner was reinstated as Bishop of Winchester. He died in 1555, the year before his adversary Ponet. This very copy, therefore, truly adversarial, with script facing and attacking print, in three different languages (English, Latin, Greek), two hands (italic and secretary), and two inks (black and red), is itself the battlefield between two bishops of Winchester, one deposed, the other deposed and restored, both presumably considering themselves the true bishop – and hence the true Visitor of New College. It is wonderful copy but I fear we will not be able to afford it.<sup>3</sup>

As for Martin's biography of Wykeham, this was published unsigned but Martin's authorship has never been doubted. The Bodleian copy for instance, bears on the title-page an inscription in a contemporary hand, 'Op*era* et studio Thomae Martini Coll: Noui oxon quondam socii' – a claim repeated on the paste-down too (Bodleian, 4° W 3(1) Art). This first edition is very rare: apart from the college copy, one in Winchester, and the Bodleian copy just noted, the only other recorded copies are in the British Library and in Selwyn College, Cambridge. The college copy contains a beautiful ink drawing of the founder, possibly executed by 'the sleeping preacher' Richard Haydocke, the donor to the college of our striking painting on the Gunpowder Plot. The Winchester copy performs another service for us. It bears the following inscription in a contemporary hand: 'This is y<sup>e</sup> First Edition of William of Wiccams Life writt by Thomas Martyn D.LL., presented to D<sup>r</sup> Bilson warden of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ponet had earlier published *A defence for mariage of priestes, by Scripture and aunciente wryters. Made by John Ponet, Doctoure of Diuinitee* (London: Reynold Wolff, 1549).

It is being offered by Sotheby's for auction on 5 June 2013 – I write in May 2013 – under the guide price of £15,000-£20,000, an item from 'Highlights from the Mendham Collection: The Property of the Law Society of England and Wales.' The decision of the Law Society to break up a historic collection for cash has been widely condemned, and reading the Mendham auction catalogue has been a deeply depressing experience. The Mendham collection was under the custodianship of Canterbury Cathedral Library and the University of Kent, but the Law Society recently announced its intention to withdraw and sell the collection, and despite a massive academic and public outcry, the legists have evidently prevailed. Ironically, a catalogue of the Mendham Collection was published by the Law Society in 1994, funded by a grant from the British Library – on the condition the collection would not be dispersed. See Sheila Hingley and David Shaw, *Catalogue of the Law Society's Mendham Collection lent to the University of Kent and housed in Canterbury Cathedral Library* (London: The Law Society, 1994). This sumptuous book is now a funeral dirge. But its entries can be telegraphic to the point of underdescription – there is no indication, for instance, that the copy under discussion here bears any manuscript markings at all. Addendum 16 June 2013: I thought that the estimate was a bit low for the Gardiner volume, but I see now that it went for £116,500. We are trying to track down who got it.

this Colledge, to be transmitted to his successors'. But Bilson had been appointed to the bishopric of Worcester in mid-1596, at which point he resigned his wardenship of Winchester. It seems unlikely that this was not known to whoever presented this copy to Bilson, specifically for his and his successors' use, and we must therefore conclude that the printed date of 1597 is proleptic, and that the work was in fact printed in the first half of the previous year, opening rather a long gap between the actual and stated time of publication. <sup>5</sup>

The *Historica descriptio* was republished at Warden Beeston's expense on the Sheldonian Theatre press in 1690, and this imprint is considerably more common. It was rather carelessly proof-read. But to my knowledge it has never been translated, although it was consulted by subsequent biographers of Wykeham. (This is also true of a very little-known life of Wykeham by the college fellow William Axon, which survives in MS Burney 362, among the papers of the scholar Meric Casaubon. This life dates probably from the late 1620s or early 1630s, when Axon was a fellow; and to this we might add the earlier verse life of Wykeham by the Winchester schoolmaster Christopher Johnson, first published as a single sheet in 1564.)

Martin was a major benefactor to the college library, and he appears to have given his books to the college before he died, as Martin is said in the Benefactors Book under the year 1588 to have 'donavit' (not 'moriens legavit') an extensive set of books and manuscripts. (As Martin died in 1592/3 this may seem obvious, but the stated dating of the Benefactors Book can be unreliable.) This is an interesting action for a recusant in a particularly difficult year for the English Roman Catholics; the Armada set sail in late May. New College in the 1590s under the wardenship of Martin Culpepper was now a convincingly Protestant college, and had been since the third visitation of Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, in 1577 (see the article of Mark Byford on John Heath in the previous issue). It is then remarkable that a recusant old member would consider donating some of his most prized possessions to his college, and a reminder to us all that there are other forms of loyalty than the confessional, in the past as in the present.

Martin's donations are known to bibliographers because Martin went to the trouble of printing a donation label to be pasted into many of the books he presented to the college, and this is a very early instance of this practice. These were noted somewhat confusedly by Brian North Lee in his study of early printed book labels, and accordingly they even have a Short Title Catalogue number. <sup>7</sup> Lee also noted several other contemporary book labels in the

<sup>4</sup> I am extremely grateful to Geoffrey Day at Winchester for photographing this inscription for me and for pointing out that Bilson left the college in 1596.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> It was common for publishers to date books proleptically to prolong the appeal of novelty. But this was most commonly a ruse played towards the end of a given year; and this book, for a rather niche readership, cannot have been widely offered for sale judging from the very small number of surviving copies. It is plausible that only a small number of copies was printed. But it surely provided the prompt for Arthur Duck's slightly later parallel attempt for Chichele, *Vita Henrici Chichele, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis* (Oxford, 1617), translated as *The Life of Henry Chichele, Archieshop of Canterbury, made English* (London, 1699).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The college owns two copies of the 1690 edition, BT1.135.43(3) and BT1.135.32. The latter copy is notable: it was presented by Warden Nicholas himself to one Philip Weake ('ex dono John Nicholas. Philippus Wheake'). It was later owned by a N. Townsend, and eventually Philip Williams in 1890, who subsequently corresponded with Warden Sewell in 1893 about the copy; Sewell's reply is pasted into the volume. Williams' granddaughter subsequently presented the copy back to the college. The carelessness of the printing/proof-reading is evident in the number of MS corrections to the text in this copy. Five other colleges own copies too (All Souls, Christ Church, Corpus, Jesus, Magdalen, Merton, University), so this edition apparently circulated widely in Oxford, and ESTC recognises copies in 22 other libraries (ESTC; SOLO is not yet aware of as many Oxford copies as ESTC). The Bodleian holds three copies, two in Gough Hants, one amongst the Wood books (Wood 528(1)).

<sup>7</sup> Brian North Lee, *Early Printed Book Labels: A catalogue of dated personal labels and gift labels printed in Britain to the year 1760* (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 1976), pp. xvi, 6-7 (under no. 8); STC 3368.5. Lee claimed that Martin died in 1584 (an error found in Macauley below and repeated by Rhodes, Ogilvie-Thompson and others), which leads him into some confusion.

college, notably those marking the gifts of John Garbrand, who donated four books in 1590, as listed in the Benefactors Book shortly after Martin's own gift. The interest of the Hakluyt donation is that given its publication date it must have come from Martin after the books he presented in 1588, and so Martin continued to give books (or at least a book) to his college after his major (and only recorded) donation. As Martin's declared gifts form an exceptionally interesting set of books, I transcribe below his gift from pp. 39-40 of the Benefactors Book, with details of the editions and copies. For clarity, I print the actual entries in bold.

# THOMAS MARTIN LEGUM DOCTOR. Et huius Collegij socius Donauit libros qui sequuntur.

[Thomas Martin, doctor of laws and fellow of this college gave the following books:]

#### Thucydides historia Gall:

Thucydides, *Lhistoire de Thucydide Athenien*, *de la guerre*, *qui fut entre les Peloponnesiens et Atheniens* (Paris: Iosse Badius, 1527), BT 1.38.4. The title-page is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', <sup>9</sup> with his label 'Ex Dono Thomae Martini. ACVV'. <sup>10</sup> There is an erased inscription in Latin on the title-page too. The binding is reversed calf.

# Le liure de Politiques d'Aristotle.

Aristotle, *Le livre de politiques d'Aristote* (Paris: Antoine Verard, 1489), BT 1.20.15. The title-page is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', with his label 'Ex Dono Thomae Martini. LLD.' This fine early book has all headings, paraphs and so forth hand-coloured in alternating red and blue ink, with capitals picked out in yellow; and the text in two columns lies within red rules throughout. Rhodes no. 166.<sup>11</sup>

#### Le Diche di Tito Livio Padovano Delle histoire Romane.

Livy, *Le Deche di T. Liuio Padouano delle historie romane* (Venice: Heirs of Luc'Antonio Giunti, 1547), BT 1.23.1. The title-page is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', and his printed label 'Ex Dono Thomae Martini. ACVV'. Interestingly, there is a monogram at the top of the page, between the two parts of Martin's signature, which approximates to '/IS D SI/' with the larger central 'D' decorated to contain majuscule 'R' as well. Martin has then overwritten an earlier signature, which by comparison

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Lee, no. 8; Benefactors Book, p. 40. Lee notes the presence of the Garbrand label in a copy of J. Rivius, *Opera theologica* (Basel, 1562), which is however not one of the books listed as presented by Garbrand. Garbrand, as Lee comments, was the son of a Dutch bookseller living in Oxford, John Garbrand alias Herks. Lee also lists book labels in the college for Francis Betts (no. 16), Alexander Temple, Richard Meredith, and Thame School. The Thame school label is probably the earliest one in an Oxford or Cambridge library (c. 1575) (Lee, p. xv). According to Lee, the Betts label occurs in a copy of Justinianus, *Lexicon* (Basel, 1549); Betts's gifts are listed under 1593 in the Benefactors Book (p. 41), consisting rather of 'Justiniani Pand: libri 50. Enucleati opera L: Charondae.' and 'Lexicon Juris Ciuilis per Jacobum Spigelium.' These are now BT 1.51.1 and BT 1.41.5 (which has two Betts labels, one pasted directly onto the front cover). Many colleges appear to have marked gifts with personalised labels from the late 1570s; one wonders whether the many retrospective benefactors registers of the seventeenth century worked from such labels where they were found, and not solely from earlier lists.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Martin habitually used the e-cedilla abbreviation, somewhat like a reversed '3' descending below the line, for 'ae'; I have expanded it throughout. He also always uses the abbreviation 'Lib<sup>r'</sup> for 'Liber', which is not confusing and so I have left it as it is.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> I am uncertain what A.C.W. stands for, but one conjecture, given Martin's evident devotion to Wykeham's foundations, is 'Alumnus Collegiorum Wintoniensium/Wiccamensium'. Or it might be a form for 'Advocate of the Court of Arches'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For incunabula I provide references to Dennis E. Rhodes, *A Catalogue of Incunabula in all the Libraries of Oxford University outside the Bodleian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

with the Alunno volume below, is that of 'E Courtenay', who has signed that volume too and added the same monogram, both in the same place. The binding is reversed calf, but this time with printer's waste from a theological quarto in English, with the running heading 'Signed' and 'Sealed', on which see below.

## Titi Livij Decades Gall:

Livy, Les Grans Decades de Tytus Liuius translatees de latin en francoys nouuellement corrigees & amendees, 3 vols. (Paris: Jehan Petit, 1530), BT 1.38.5. Martin has signed the first page of the text 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', but there is no label. The binding is reversed calf with the same printer's waste as the previous book, running headings now 'Delivered'/'to our use' and 'Witnesses'.

### Joannes Trithemius Abbas de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis

Joannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Cologne: Petrus Quentel, 1546), BT 3.3.6. Title-page signed by Martin, 'Thomae Martini lib<sup>r</sup>'. The printer's waste used as end-papers is in Italian, from Foresti's chronology (see below), and there is what looks like a continental price-code.

#### Thomas Chalonerus de repub. Anglorum instauranda.

Thomas Chaloner, *De rep[ublica] Anglorum instauranda libri decem* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1579), BT 1.131.14. This was probably a presentation copy to Martin; a cropped inscription at the top of the title-page has been rescribed probably by Martin just below: 'Ornatiss, et doctissimo viro Domino Thomae Martino'. But there was at least another owner, William Malim, whose motto was 'Mori malim', so he presumably presented it to Martin. The binding is fine calf with rolls, over wooden boards, with the remains of little bosses and clasps. (The college owns another copy, BT 1.131.13, with contemporary signature of 'A. Johnson'.)

## La fabrica del Mondo de M. Francesco Almanno [sic] di Ferrara.

Francesco Alunno, *La fabrica del mondo di M. Francesco Alunno da Ferrara* (Venice: Nicolo de Bascarini Bresciano, 1548), BT 1.61.1. The title-page is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', with his printed label 'Ex Dono Thomae Martini. ACVV'. It bears an earlier signature of 'E Courtenay' in neat italic, with the monogram described above under the Italian Livy. The binding is reversed calf. (The second title in the volume is a Strasburg 1540 *Chronicum abbatis Urspergensis*, but there is no strong reason to think it a Martin book too.)

# Pomponius mela de situ Orbis.

Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis* **either** (Venice: Cristophorus de Pensis, de Mandello, c. 1493), BT1.127.2(4). This quarto set of geographical texts is bound in the usual reversed calf with triple outer frames, and the Mela is annotated throughout in a hand very similar to that found in the endpapers of the Nauclerus. But the hand also appears in the first title in the volume, an edition of Pliny's *Epistolae*. Rhodes, no. 1192, without indication of provenance. **Or** the edition of Paris: Thomas Richard, 1548, BT 3.197.20(2), but imperfect, containing only the title-page and index, for which see under **Florus** below.

#### Vellei Paterculi Hist: Romana.

Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae duo volumina* (Basel: Joannes Froben, 1520), BT 1.36.4(1). Signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>' on the title-page, and with the printed label 'Ex Dono Thomae Martini. ACVV'. This folio is in the usual reversed calf, with waste from the Aristotelian commentary used on similar volumes (see below). It has been annotated in what is almost certainly Martin's hand; the second item in this volume bears no such markings.

#### Hadriani Junij Batavia.

Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia* (Leiden: Officina Plantiniana/Franciscus Raphelengius, 1588), BT 3.204.19. This now rather damaged book was once a handsome beast: the covers are gold-tooled with a central panel stamp and small metal bosses, and Martin's own presentation inscription has been stamped onto the cover and gilded (and 'XE' is indeed a 'typo' in the stamping):<sup>12</sup>

# ¶XE¶DONO¶THOME¶MARTINI¶ ¶¶LEGVUM¶DOCTORIS¶¶¶

#### L. Fenestella de Magistratibus et sacerdotijs Romanorum.

Lucius Fenestella, *De Romanorum magistralibus* either (Venice: Maximus de Butricis, c. 1491), BT 1.127.2(2). This is in the same volume as the Mela text above. The third item in the volume, Pomponius Laetus, is annotated in the same hand as the first and fourth (Mela), but the Fenestella itself is unannotated. The waste is from Foresti again, for whom see below. The Laetus (Leto) text is however treated as printed with the Fenestella, as in Rhodes, no. 764, without indication of provenance. **Or** the edition of Paris: Widow of Mauricius à Porta, 1550, BT 3.197.20(1), for which see under **Florus** below.

# Polidor. Virgil: de la invention &c traduzido du lengua Castellana.

Polydoro Vergilio [Polydore Vergil], *De la invencion y principio de todas las cosas, nueuamente traduzido en en lengua Castellana* (Medina del Campo: Guillermo de Millis, 1551), BT 1.134.10, imperfect after sg. MM6, but virtually complete, as all that has been lost is the index after 'Y'. The book was completely rebound in 1940, but 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>' is still visible on the title-page.

#### **Ammianus Marcellinus.**

Ammianus Marcellinus, edition and copy unidentified. There is no copy of this author of a suitable date currently held by the college. An annotation in the Benefactors Book proposes BT1.7.10(1), a very elegant Ammonius [sic] entirely in Greek, as the book meant, and it indeed displays the right kind of binding (reversed calf) and printer's waste (more leaves from Foresti (see below)). The two titles in this volume (Ammonius, *Hypomnena* (Venice: Zacharias Kallierges for Nicolaus Blastos, 1500); Simplicius, *Hypomnema* (Venice: Zacharias Kallierges, for Nicolaus Blastus, 1499), however, surely have always belonged together, and it is suspicious that the Simplicius was not listed in the Benefactors Book if 'Ammianus' really is a mistake for Ammonius, and this copy.

# Anselmi Ryd Catalogus annorum et principum ab orbe condita.

Valerius Anselmus Ryd, *Catalogus annorum et principum geminus ab homine condito, usque in praesentem* (Bern: Matthias Apiarius, 1540), BT 1.61.2(1). The title-page is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>. Although rebacked, the binding is fine calf with rolls, with the remains of a paper title-label on the front board; the fore-edge is also marked with the abbreviated title of the first volume. It is bound with the *Paraleipomena rerum memorabilium, a Friderico II usque ad Carolum quintum Augustum* (Strasburg: Crato Mylius, 1537), which must have been present when Martin gave the volume.

#### Conradi Gesneri Bibliotheca.

Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca vniuersalis, siue Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus* (Zurich: Christophorus Froschouerus, 1545), BT 1.85.9. The titlepage is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>, also with his label 'Ex Dono Thomae Martini. ACVV'. The waste is from a Latin commentary on Aristotle, and the binding is reversed calf, rebacked.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The paraphs are really small acorn-shaped stamps.

#### Naucleri Chronica.

Joannes Nauclerus, *Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium gentium chronici commentarii*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Cunradi Breuning, Kiliani Veszler, & Ioannis Zuyfel, 1516), BT 1.14.7. This bears Martin's inscription 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup> emptus Lutetiae 1556.' It also bears his printed label 'Ex Dono Thomae Martini. ACVV'. The printer's waste is from a Latin commentary on Aristotle, the same as in previous items, and the binding is reversed calf, rebacked. There are some annotations throughout and a neat page of running notes in the final endpapers, probably in Martin's hand.

# Ambrosij Expositio super Apocalypsin.

Ambrose, *Expositio Beati Ambrosii episcopi super Apocalypsin* (Paris: Michael Vascosan, 1554), BT 1.135.52. The book bears no signature or label of Martin, and is bound in unreversed calf, unlike most of Martin's other books in the collection. The front endpapers have been replaced, but an old inscription 'To my lord byshope of baith and welles frome [...] of duresme' has been mounted. The Bishops of Bath and Wells from 1554 to 1590 were Gilbert Bourne, Gilbert Berkeley, and Thomas Godwin, but were not connected with Durham. The text is quite heavily annotated in pencil and pen, and there are notes in the back endpapers too.

## Ecclesiastica Historia Eusebij Item Venerabilis Bedae historia gentis Anglorum.

Eusebius and Bede, *Ecclesiastica historia diui Eusebii*. *Et Ecclesiastica historia gentis Angloru[m] venerabilis Bede* (Hagenau: Heinrich Gran, 1506), probably BT 1.27.5. This has been rebound and bears no significant provenance marks.

#### Ortelij Theatrum Mundi.

Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1584), BT 1.24.1. The volume, a massive book, bears no sign of Martin's ownership, but it is a fine, vellum-bound copy, and is hand-coloured throughout; it can scarcely be otherwise than the copy presented by Martin.

# Lucidij Emendatio temporum.

Johannes Lucidus, *Opusculum de eme[n]dationibus temporum ab orbe condito ad hanc vsq[ue] nostram aetatem* (Venice: Luca Antonio Giunta, 1546), BT 1.66.21. The title-page is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', but there is no label. The binding is reversed calf.

#### Sphaera mundi authore Abrahamo filio Chaij.

Abraham bar Hiyya Savasorda, *Sphaera mundi autore Rabbi Abrahamo Hispano filio R. Haijæ*, parallel Hebrew and Latin title, but Latin text, ed. and tr. Sebastianus Munsterus and Oswaldus Schreckenfuchsius (Basel: Henrichus Petrus, 1546), BT 3.180.3(1). The title-page is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', and the printer's waste is from Foresti. There are the remains of Martin's printed *ex dono* label, 'Ex Dono ... Martini.'

### Staeffleri Ephemerides.

Johannes Stoeffler, *Ephemeridum reliquiæ* (Tübingen: Ulricus Morhardus, 1548), BT 3.179.12. This has again been signed as 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', but he acquired it second-hand, as it bears an earlier signature, possibly 'E. Courte', dated 1551, and the price of '4<sup>b</sup>'. Martin's printed label of 'Ex Dono Thomae Martini. ACW' is present, although the final 'W' appears on a hand-written over-paste to the label's original 'VV'

## Joannis Cantuariensis Perspectiua Item Joannis de Royas Comment. in Astrolabium.

John Peckham, *Perspectivae communis libri tres* (Cologne: Heirs of Arnoldus Birckmannus, 1580), BT 3.180.2(1); Joannes de Roias, *Commentariorum in astrolabium, quod planisphærium uocant* (Paris: Michael Vascosan, 1550), BT

3.180.2(2). Martin has signed the Peckham title-page with his usual 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', but there is no surviving donation label. The de Roias text is unmarked by Martin. There are two further texts in the volume, being Helisaeus Roeslin, *Theoria Nova coelestium meteoron* (Strasburg: Bernhardus Jobinus, 1578), and Abdias Wicknerus, *Tabula ascensionum obliquarum* (Tübingen, 1561), and there is no contextual evidence these books came from Martin.

## Paulus AEmilius de rebus gestis Francorum.

Paulus Aemilius, *De rebus gestis Francorum* (Paris: Michael Vascosan, 1544), BT 1.85.3. Martin has signed the title-page 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup> emptus Lutetiæ 1550.' This volume has lovely strap-work binding and medieval MS pastedowns (not in Ker and presumably not an Oxford binding). Someone has drawn in pencil profile portraits of 'Aemilius' and 'Vascosanius' on the title-page.<sup>13</sup>

## Pij Pontificis Decadum Blondi Epitome.

Pius II, *Pii Pont. Max. Decadum Blondi epitome* (Basel: Joannes Bebelius, 1533), BT 1.42.3(1). Martin has signed the title-page 'Thomas Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', and the binding sports fine strap-work.

# Petrus Martyr ab Angleria de rebus Oceanicis et orbe novo, cum eiusdem legatione Babylonica.

Peter Martyr, *De rebus oceanicis & Orbe nouo decades tres* (Basel: Joannes Bebelius, 1533), BT 1.42.3(3). <sup>14</sup> This is in the same volume as the immediately former text; the middle item is seemingly not from Martin.

#### Rerum Belgicarum Annales siue historiae a diuersis conscriptae Franc: 1580.

Sigmund Feyerabend, et al., Annales, sive Historiae rerum Belgicarum à diversis auctoribus ... conscriptae deductaeque & in duos tomos distinctae, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Sigismundus Feyerabendius, 1580), BT 1.105.7. The binding is vellum, and there is an old signature, but not Martin's, with the motto 'non mihi sed Christo'. This is the motto of the Oxonian and then Cantabrigian scholar John Field, many of whose books passed to Samuel Harsnett and are now in the University of Essex, for which see Francesca Galligan's 'The Library of Archbishop Samuel Harsnett: A Report', University of Essex, at:

 $http://www.essex.ac.uk/history/research/research\_pdfs/RT3\_Galligan\_2012.pdf \\ \textbf{The New Testament English M}^{ss}.$ 

= New College MS 67, a fourteenth-century English manuscript, described by Coxe as 'The books of the New Testament according to the early version of John Wycliffe; with corrections by the Rubricator and a third hand. This MS. has the prefatory verses to St. Luke's gospel written as a second prologue, which are only found in one other MS., beg. "Forsothe for many men enforsiden." It is also peculiar in having very large marginal glosses from Lyra on the Epistles, and more particularly on the Acts and Catholic epistles; which more properly belong to the later version.' It is in a modern binding with no remaining traces of Martin's ownership.

Apocalypsis Gallice cum picturis Mss.

<sup>13</sup> This someone or somebodies, probably of the eighteenth century, can be seen drawing pencil portraits of authors on several books: for instance the college copy of Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligences in Antiquities* (Antwerp: Robert Bruney, 1605), BT3.197.12; and Warden Woodward's Register (NCA 3968) discussed in the previous issue.

The Pius II and Peter Martyr titles are the first and third in a volume of three items. The second is Robert of Rheims, *Bellum Christianorum Principum, praecipue Gallorum, contra Saracenos, Anno Salutis M.LXXXVIII, pro terra sancta gestum* (Basel: Henricus Petrus, 1533). That Martin presented another book printed by Petrus in Basel is suggestive, and this book may therefore have come from Martin too.

= New College MS 65, a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman illuminated Apocalypse of very great beauty. On its provenance, see Arabella Milbank's note in this issue.

#### Joannis Gower de confessione amantis.

= New College MS 266, a fifteenth-century illustrated manuscript, owned before Martin, who has as usual signed it 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', by 'Johannes Cutt, filius Johannis Cutt, millitis, nuper de Schenley in com. Hertford'. These Cutts lived there in the mid-sixteenth century. The binding, including rolls, some bosses, and the remains of clasps, has been stamped on both sides with the initials W D, and surmounted by a double-headed eagle crowned. 'The feature of this book is the series of miniatures, illustrating it throughout. In this respect it is unique, so far as I know, though other copies similarly illustrated must once have existed.' Alas several of the illuminations have been cut out.

## Galfridi Monumetensis Historia Bruti primi Regis Britanniae M<sup>ss</sup>.

= New College MS 276, a fifteenth-century MS now in the usual reversed calf with Martin's inscription 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>' and the earlier marking 'lib' monstij bellepertice' on fol. 1r, i.e. the Abbey of Belleperche, the Cistercian foundation in Cordes-Tolosannes, Tarn-et-Garonne.

And in addition to the Hakluyt volume noted above, we can add to this list several further Martin books still in the library, detected by chance, all bearing his usual 'Thomae Martini Libr' signature:

**Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis**, *Novissime historiarum omnium repercussiones* (Venice: Georgius de Rusconibus [Giorgio Ruscone], 1506), BT 1.11.6. This is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>' and bound in reversed calf.

**Gregory of Tours**, *Historiarum praecipue Gallicarum libri X* (Paris: Jodocus Badius & Joannes Parvus, 1522), BT 3.34.9. This is signed 'Thomae Martini Lib<sup>r</sup>', rebacked, but with the original boards with fine strap-work with dragon-motifs. There is the remains of a paper title-label on the front board. The text bears some annotations in Martin's hand and some probably slightly later annotations in pencil.

**Dio Cassius et al.,** *Dion Cassius Nicaeus. Aelius Spartianus. Iulius Capitolinus. Aelius Lampridius. Vulcatius Gallicanus* [i.e. the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*] (Paris: Robert Stephanus, 1544), BT 1.43.1(1). It is signed, somewhat damaged to the end, 'Thomae Martini liber emptus lutetie 155[.]' A copy of the second item in this volume was donated by George Husey in 1610 (Benefactors Book, p. 48), being the second part of the 1544 Parisian Stephanus *Scriptores historiae Augustae*, of which Martin's is the first half; but both the imprints in this volume look as if they have been together since publication, so I suspect Husey's book was at some point sold as a duplicate, and that both the parts in this volume came from Martin.

**Florus**, *De gestis Romanorum libri IIII* (Paris: Thomas Richard, 1551), BT 3.197.20(3). This is signed 'Thome Martini liber' by Martin and is the third in a volume of four texts, of which the first two are named in the Benefactors book, being Fenestella and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This provenance is mentioned in S. J. Ogilvie-Thompson, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist VIII: Manuscripts Containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), as the manuscript contains jottings on distances in the park at Shenley, Herts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 21 Part 2: September 1546-January 1547 (1910), pp. 313-348, Sir John Cutt of Shenley mentioned in a grant (no. 46) of December 1546 (consulted through British History Online).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> For this MS, see G. C. Macauley, *The Complete Works of John Gower: The English Works*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. clx-clxi. It is one of the MSS of Macauley's Third Recension, and he considers it to derive, perhaps indirectly, from MS Fairfax 3 in the Bodleian.

Mela, as noted above. (The fourth text is the *Chronica sive Historiae Polonicae compendiosa* (Basel: Officina Oporiniana, 1571) and is probably not connected in provenance.) Neither the Fenestella or the Mela are marked, but the co-incidence of three Parisian imprints – Thomas Richard, 1548; Mauricius à Porta, 1550; Thomas Richard, 1551 – surely suggests that Martin owned all three, and purchased them in Paris, where he bought books in 1550 and 1556 (see below).

Now because the Benefactors Book was itself commenced well after Martin's donations, it is possible that the entry (or the list on which it depended) was compiled from the inscriptions on the books themselves, and that these final books were in fact part of the 1588 gift. If this is so, then a few more Martin books may turn up in time. But the only Martin book traced so far that must have come to the library later than his 1588 shipment was the one on which we opened – the 1589 Hakluyt.

This is an exceptional booklist in many ways, for it points both backwards to its donor's intellectual and bibliophile achievements and forwards to the implied intellectual purposes of such a gift. For this seems very much a select collection designed to expand the intellectual horizons of the college and its library. The chronological range of printed books stretches from the incunabular period (Aristotle in French, the geographer Pomponius Mela, and the historian Fenestella) to the decade and even the year of Martin's donation (Hadrianus Junius's 1588 Batavia). Librarianship itself is supported by the inclusion of the two standard universal bibliographies, those of Trithemius and Gesner. There are a number of perhaps unsurprising texts in theology and church history (Ambrose, Eusebius, Bede). But everywhere else, the list sparkles with rarities, specialist texts, and modernist slants. The entry in the Benefactors Book is headed by translations into modern languages, a rather early entrance into a college library of these kinds of books, and Martin is therefore a significant figure in the early history of the reading of modern languages in the college – here French, Italian, and Spanish (Castilian). It is significant therefore that Martin chose translations of well-known works (Aristotle, Livy, Thucydides) likely to be held in their original languages too, as it is of course easier to learn to read a language when one is already familiar with the work being translated, or has easy access to it in another language. New College had a significant interest in Hebrew scholarship in the period, and Martin perhaps responds to this with his presentation of the cosmographical text of Abraham bar Hiyya Savasorda, although the only actual Hebrew in the book is on the title-page. 18 But it is in the progressive and technical subjects of modern history and geography (Paulus Aemilius, Pius II, Peter Martyr, Ortelius, Junius), chronology (Ryd, Nauclerus, Lucidus, Stoeffler), and optics/mathematics (Peckham, de Roias) that the list of printed books excels. Some of these works are bibliographical treasures, for instance the volume of Ortelius maps, which are all handcoloured. Martin presumably thought that the study of modern languages and modern geography went hand-in-hand; and in this connection we might recall the New College poet and geographer Richard Willes, who wrote too of 'good skill both in Cosmographie and in forreine languages'. 19 Finally, Martin's Chaloner is worth a mention. This long didactic Neo-Latin poem of some eight thousand hexameters in ten books, followed by Chaloner's miscellaneous verse in Neo-Latin, was presented to Martin by William Malim, who was in fact the editor of the work. This is perhaps another indication of Martin's cultural ecumenism, as the work was sponsored by and dedicated to Lord Burlegh, and was therefore hardly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For the history of Hebrew learning in the college in the period see William Poole, 'Early Oxford Hebraism and the King James Translators (1586-1617): The View from New College', *The King James Bible: Scholarly Contexts*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Richard Willes, *History of Trayayle in the West and East Indies* (London: Richard Jugge, 1577), fp. 236v.

recusant literature.<sup>20</sup> Malim or Malym (1533-94) had been the headmaster of Eton College and St Paul's in turn, also finding time to travel extensively in Europe and the Levant. It is possible that he himself had slight Roman Catholic leanings, but this did not prevent a successful career in education; Chaloner had been one of his pupils at St Paul's.<sup>21</sup>

Then there are Martin's manuscripts. These four items give off quite different signals from Martin's printed books. <sup>22</sup> A Wycliffite Bible in the hands of a recusant lawyer who had secured the conviction and then combustion of Archbishop Cranmer is in itself something to give us pause. Alongside Geoffrey of Monmouth and John Gower, however, it starts to look as if Martin may also have had a specific interest in the English medieval past, one that spoke through manuscripts; and his thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, executed for Johanna de Bohun (d. 1283), wife of Sir Humphrey de Bohun, completes this picture. These manuscripts witness to the post-conquest literary languages of medieval England – Latin, English, and Anglo-Norman. The Gower manuscript is also notable as the only surviving manuscript of this text with such extensive miniatures. These have recently been the subject of a study arguing that the miniatures encourage a particular reading of the text, one emphasising moments of conversion in the narrative.<sup>23</sup> Martin must have prized it as an artifact as well as a text; and of course there had been Caxton and Berthelette printed editions of Gower by Martin's time. If Martin's printed books point to modern languages, modern history, modern geography, modern chronology, his manuscripts point to an interest in medievalism which is more than merely incidental.<sup>24</sup> That Martin presented these manuscripts to the college also bespeaks an early awareness that college libraries served not just the curricular demands of a teaching college, but also acted as repositories, places where manuscripts valued as artifacts might be lodged safely, and preserved for the future with more security than was available from personal collections. This is again a relatively early instance of a college library being treated in this way – the Benefactors Books for the other older Oxford foundations tend to display this antiquarian turn only in the following century.<sup>25</sup>

In an interesting twist of history-that-never-was, Martin was in fact anticipated in his unusual donation, at least on the manuscript side, by the antiquary, pioneer Anglo-Saxonist, runologist, and sometime fellow of the college Robert Talbot (1505/6-1558). Talbot bequeathed to New College his own fine set of manuscripts acquired in the aftermath of the Dissolution – but they never arrived at the college, and there is no mention of Talbot in the Benefactors Book. James Carley explains what happened:

In his will Talbot left his choice manuscripts to New College, Oxford, but requested that they be delivered first to Henry Cole, dean of St Paul's Cathedral, London, and John Harpsfield, dean of Norwich Cathedral, both of whom had been fellows at New

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Another presentation copy from Malim, to William Leveson, was offered for sale in Oxford by Blackwell Rare Books in their Ninety Books: Catalogue B164, no. 19, for £950. For Chaloner see the article by Stephen Wright in *ODNB*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The poem is discussed by J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin writings of the age* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), pp. 26-30, who considers it one of the neglected classics of Elizabethan literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> R. W. Hunt, 'The Medieval Library', p. 337, in Buxton and Williams, *New College*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Peter C. Braeger, 'The Illustrations in New College MS. 266 for Gower's Conversion Tales', in *John Gower: Recent Readings* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), pp. 275-310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For the Tudor study of the medieval past, see the survey of May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1971), and most recently, *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: OUP, 2013). <sup>25</sup> Another early donor of such MSS to a college, this time in Cambridge, was William Smart, portreeve of Ipswich, who in 1599 donated to Pembroke College, Cambridge, more than one hundred volumes that had been carried off from the East Anglian abbey of Bury St Edmunds at the Dissolution; many are still in Pembroke. See Savage, *Old English Libraries*, p. 40; Richard Sharpe *et al.*, *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London: The British Library in association with The British Academy, 1996), p. 48.

College. It seems highly unlikely that any of the books got to New College, however, probably because Cole and Harpsfield, both Catholics, were arrested early in Elizabeth's reign. Writing to Matthew Parker on 30 July 1560, Bale observed that Talbot's executors – his nephew Robert Quince and Dr John Barret, prebendary of Norwich – had 'many noble antiquytees', and books owned or annotated by Talbot ended up in a variety of other locations.<sup>26</sup>

Talbot's religious affiliations seem complex. On the one hand in 1547 he was made a prebendary and canon of Norwich Cathedral, but he retained the position until his death in August or September 1558, so he must have conformed to the Edwardian and then again to the Marian regime. He died just before Elizabeth I was proclaimed monarch (November 1558), and was buried in the cathedral. It is a great shame his wishes concerning his manuscripts were not realised.

We do not know what proportion of Martin's library his 1588 gift represented. Was this a carefully selected subsection of a library or simply what Martin owned? Luckily Martin's will survives, and is of considerable assistance. Martin first drew up his will on 18 July 1590, and it was eventually proved on 7 August 1593.<sup>27</sup> It is a very full document, showing that Martin was a man of great prosperity, with shares in the Muscovy and Russia company, leases of land in Fenny Stanton (modern Fenstanton) in Huntingdonshire, Steeple Morden and Shingay in Cambridgeshire, as well as a town house in London, large sums of hard cash, and various luxury goods and musical instruments spread across his residences. Martin held his leases from the Crown, from Jesus College, Cambridge, and from New College, Oxford. That Martin leased 'the rectory of Steeple Morden ... and the Lease of the mannor and demeanes, with perquisites of Courte and rents therevnto belonging, whiche I haue of the Warden and schollers of St Marye Colledge of winchester in Oxforde' and also a 'Mansion Howse scituate in Knighteriders streete in London whiche I holde of Martyn [sic; possibly Merton] Colledge in Oxford' is sure evidence that the old recusant<sup>28</sup> was still on good terms with his sometime college, as presumably he was with Jesus College in Cambridge too. (Knightrider Street was very close to the location of Doctors' Commons on Paternoster Row.) This makes sense of Martin's instructions concerning his books:

Also I giue vnto my sonne Henry all my Bookes of Divinity Lawe Philosophye and Humanitye saving those that I shall in my lyfe time bestowe vppon the newe Colledge in Oxforde, or my Colledge in Cambridge [i.e. Jesus College] or otherwise And saving all my Spannishe Italian Frenche and Englishe Bookes whiche I doe giue and bequeathe vnto my son Thomas Martyn.

This is helpful in several ways, because it implies that Martin had a sizeable library with extensive holdings in the learned subjects and in modern languages, and that he fully intended to cherry-pick his collection for presentation copies for New College, and perhaps for Jesus College too, although no evidence has been found there.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> James Carley, in *ODNB*, s.n. The bequest, but not its non-arrival, is also noted by Savage, *Old English Libraries*, p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The National Archives, PROB 11/82/229, fols. 102r-3v. His executors were his son Thomas, his natural brother John, and Laurence Hussey, D.C.L. Hussey was also connected to Queen Mary, having been employed by her on a commission to Mary, Queen of Scots.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Hence some fascinating details of his possessions in his will, including a portrait of Queen Mary, and an ivory chest 'with locke and key and Inges of siluer sometimes Queen Maryes'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Frances Willmoth, Archivist of Jesus College, kindly answered my queries in an email of 17 May 2013, saying 'There is nothing in our library records to indicate receipt of any books from Martin, and nothing in archival records to show that he was ever a member of Jesus College. The college land in Steeple Morden

Finally, some remarks on the copies themselves. It might be hoped that the binding of Martin's books could point to common origins. But we would alas be barking into the wrong bibliographical bush here. As the notes above show, the majority of Martin's books are bound in reversed calf, and in isolation this might suggest a common provenance. Instead it reflects a college habit probably no earlier than the seventeenth century, and one ruining a great deal of information the older bindings would surely have supplied. The printed waste identified as Italian above is all from Jacobus Philippus Foresti, Supplemento delle Chroniche del Reverendo Padre Fratre Jacopo Philippo da Bergamo (Venice, many editions). I have not confirmed which edition the waste derives from, but it is seemingly identical to the Venice 1540 edition imaged by Google Books. All are bound in the same reversed calf and are specific to that binding moment. Then there is a good deal of printer's waste from some Latin Aristotelian commentary, again noted above several times. This is present in many college books bound in reversed calf, but clearly not from the Martin donation (e.g. BT 1.38.6, 8, 9, walking down just one shelf: there are many more examples). Not only might we suspect therefore that the reversed-calf binding is not specific to the Martin books – a conclusion quite obvious to anyone used to the college manuscripts, very frequently bound in this unattractive manner – but several volumes containing Martin books contain other titles sufficiently distinguished that if they had come from Martin, this surely would have been recorded. In fact, we can date the rough period of the mass rebinding of college books in reversed calf to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, or perhaps later, on the evidence of the waste in the binding of the Italian and French Livys above. The running headings contain 'Signed' and 'Sealed', 'Delivered'/'to our use' and 'Witnesses', all from some theological quarto in English of the seventeenth century. This proves to be from John Thornborough's Last Will and Testament of Jesus Christ, published at Oxford in 1630. Similar waste was used in the binding of BT 1.48.1 and BT 1.85.13, 14, and probably several other books. This sequence of reversed-calf bindings therefore should be localised to Oxford and must date from after 1630, and cannot shed any light on Martin's own patterns of acquisition.

All is not lost. Three books show clearly that Martin bought them while in Paris, as he has marked them as purchased there, and dated the purchase. These are his Paulus Aemilius, (Paris, 1544), bought in Paris in 1550, his Nauclerus (Tübingen, 1516), bought in Paris in 1556, and his Dio Cassius, bought there in 155x, last digit frayed. Now we know Martin was at the university of Bourges, studying law in around 1550, and that is presumably when he picked up the first book. He must have returned to Paris in 1556, the year in which he 'narrowly fail[ed] to become ambassador to France' (ODNB). In this connection it is instructive to note his other Parisian imprints. Martin undoubtedly presented seven Parisian books, being the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Aemilius, his French versions of Thucydides, Livy, and Aristotle, and his Ambrose and Roias. It is surely significant that the Aemilius, Ambrose, and Roias books were all from the Vascosan press, and I so conjecture that Martin's Ambrose and Roias copies were also purchased in Paris too, albeit they are not signed by Martin as such. Again, the Florus noted above, although undeclared in the Benefactors Book, occurs in a volume after two other Parisian editions, forming a string of

consisted of an estate called Northbrook including a messuage called Rewyke; it was held by the college from 1549, as part of a bequest by one John Andrews supporting two fellowships, one in divinity and one in law. Presumably Martyn held this land, or part of it; he may, of course, have been a sublessee. His name does not appear in the relevant archives handlist, but the deeds described there are of later date.' Martin does not appear in the library Donor's Book, but Willmoth comments: 'The first part of the library's Donor's Book, covering the late 16C, was compiled retrospectively in the 1630s, presumably from lists previously kept on separate scraps of paper and has a patchy look about it.' As I complete this note, Arabella Milbank informs me she has found some of Martin's books in Caius College, Cambridge - see her essay in this issue.

imprints – Thomas Richard, 1548; Mauricius à Porta, 1550; Thomas Richard again, 1551 – which suggests to me that Martin purchased all three in Paris too.

The final point of note is the provenance marks on the Italian Livy and Alunno. As noted above, both were printed in Venice (1547, 1548), but both also bear the English signature of 'E Courtenay' and an identical monogram presumably therefore to be associated with Courtenay too. Courtenay may have signed the Stoeffler too, published in Tübingen in 1548, but signed by this first owner in 1551. Now I wonder whether this Courtenay might be Edward Courtenay, First Earl of Devon (1526-56). He was in Brussels by May 1555, licensed to travel to Italy in October, where he enrolled in the University of Padua, but died there in October 1556. This politically unfortunate aristocrat, sometime the hopeful match of Queen Mary, fled England to Italy ostensibly to study, and must have bought books there; he had also inevitably tangled with Martin's boss, Stephen Gardiner (*ODNB*). It seems plausible that Martin somehow acquired these books from Courtenay; at any rate, unlike the Parisian books, Martin probably did not purchase his Venetian books abroad.<sup>30</sup>

Martin is a fascinating figure and there is no doubt a great deal more to be gleaned from his books in New College and possibly elsewhere. For now we may conclude by asserting once again the character and quality of his book donations to his old college. It is to Martin that we owe four manuscripts and several printed books of great individual significance. But as a set they stand for two progressive educational trajectories: Martin clearly believed in the importance of contemporary history and geography, and the continental vernaculars; but he also prized medievalism, specifically insular medievalism. It is fortunate that he considered New College the proper repository for what must have been, at least to Martin, among his most valuable books: his four manuscripts.

William Poole Fellow Librarian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> For this entire conjecture, see now Arabella Milbank's piece in this issue, where the biographical links between Martin and Courtenay are uncovered.