**Early Modern Print Technologies**

**A European Library in Seventeenth-Century Norfolk**

In 1632, the Mayor and officials of the town of King's Lynn in Norfolk, not far from Cambridge, decided to invest in establishing a library for the town's principal church, St Margaret's. They had £73 to spend on buying books which would form the core of the church's -- and the town's -- new library. A splendid vellum Donors' Book for the library, prepared by the cleric and scholar, John Arrowsmith (1602-1659), itemises each of the books they bought, providing a fascinating witness as to the books which were considered of fundamental importance for an educated church community in this period, but one that was situated outside both England's universities and the metropolitan centre of London.[[1]](#endnote-2) Much could be said about the collection of books they bought, but for our purposes one simple point stands out: these were very largely books published not in England, but on the Continent. This library, as we shall see, provides a striking - although far from unusual - instance of James Raven's claim that 'the nation is a misleading geographical unit for the history of print'.[[2]](#endnote-3) The printed book in early modern England was very often, quite simply, a European book, either in the sense that it had been printed in Europe and come to England, or in the sense that it emerged from England's book-trade's own rich relationships to the Continent. The library established in St Margaret's church in 1632 helps us to begin thinking about the extent to which England was integrated within the European book-trade and book culture more broadly.

Predominant among the books that were chosen to form the foundation of this library, understandably enough given its ecclesiastical setting, were Continental editions of theologians and documents of ecclesiastical history. The first book on the list is an edition of the Councils of Church prepared by a German Catholic scholar, Severin Binius (1573-1641), and first published in Cologne. The church likely acquired the first Cologne edition, published in 1606, which is still preserved today among the books of the library of St Margaret's church in King's Lynn Public Library.[[3]](#endnote-4) That the first book on the church's list of acquisitions was published by a Catholic should not be misinterpreted as an eirenic gesture of cross-confessional understanding: it was commonplace for Protestant readers to have to rely on the work of Catholic scholars. This was for sure a Protestant library, which gathered together key Protestant theologians, including an edition of the works of Martin Luther, probably that published in Wittenberg which survives in the library today.[[4]](#endnote-5) A library such as that of King's Lynn was a product of the European Reformation and it brought together an array of weapons with which its readers could intervene in religious controversies on behalf of the English Protestant church. As such, fairly recent patristic editions published in Paris, such as the works of St Basil, for instance, in parallel Latin and Greek text in three volumes, published in 1618, was among the library's first purchases.[[5]](#endnote-6) When books published in England are to be found among King's Lynn's purchases, they are those which participate in the world of European ecclesiastical scholarship and dispute, such as the French Huguenot scholar, Isaac Casaubon's (1559-1614) *Exercitationes* *in Baronium* (1614) against the work of the Catholic ecclesiastical historian, Cesare Baronio (1538-1607), which was published in London but soon for sale on the Continent.[[6]](#endnote-7)

King's Lynn was a lively trading port in the seventeenth century, but there is nothing whatsoever to say that the European scope of its library was a unique product of that trading context. The end of the sixteenth century and the start of the seventeenth had seen huge growth of libraries in England, which meant collections of Continental European books were springing up in cities and towns across England.[[7]](#endnote-8) Even in King’s Lynn itself, another church, St Nicholas’s, had already been developing a substantial library, which featured among its first and foundational books the work of the Magdeburg Centuriators, the leading work of Protestant ecclesiastical history of the late sixteenth century, published in Basel between 1559 and 1569.[[8]](#endnote-9) This internationalism was facilitated, of course, by the pan-European language of Latin, which enabled a book published in Basel or Paris or Frankfurt to be read in London or in Norfolk. Latin was the international language of learning — and it would be useful to think of the books we’ve been describing as ‘learned books’. The learned book encompassed not only works of theology and editions of patristic and ancient writers, but also works of science and history. Another of the first books purchased for King’s Lynn library was a work of anatomy, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani*, which, unusually, the catalogue specifically notes was published by Christophe Plantin (1520-1589), one of Northern Europe’s greatest publishers in the late sixteenth century.[[9]](#endnote-10) Another work still was Martin Crusius’s (1524-1607) *Turcograecia*, a work which operates somewhere between news, history and ethnography to describe the lives of Greeks under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.[[10]](#endnote-11) The world visible from European Latin learned books extended far beyond the borders of Europe.

But one category of writing noticeably absent from the list of early King’s Lynn purchases is literature. This must partly be down to this library’s particular ecclesiastical remit, but it is also a far more general feature of libraries and book collections in this period. It would be wrong, though, to imagine a stark division between European learned books, on the one hand, and more parochial ‘literary’ reading on the other. Literature in this period was envisioned, in the light of Renaissance humanism, as the loosely interconnected fields of history, poetry, and rhetoric, rather than limited to imaginative writing as such. Book collectors were able to range across multiple vernacular languages, as the example of another collector also in Norfolk, Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe (c.1539-1618) shows. Although as David McKitterick notes, ‘imaginative literature in English or in modern foreign languages [features] hardly at all’ in his collections, Knyvett did own editions of Ariosto and Dante in Italian to set beside his edition of Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene*. His collections show that he was steeped in Italian culture, and he eventually chose an Italian motto to inscribe on the books he collected — ‘Piu fa tempo che forza’.[[11]](#endnote-12) More broadly, the evidence of libraries suggests that it was not until well into the eighteenth century that modern English literature displaced the authority and appeal of European vernacular literature, French and Italian especially. In a substantial book collection such as that of Belton House, built up by the same family between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, English classics such as Chaucer were certainly valued in the late seventeenth century, but the literary centre of gravity still seems to have lain with Italian poetry, an interest energised by the eighteenth-century Grand Tour.[[12]](#endnote-13)

Moreover, as St Margaret's Library in King's Lynn gathered more English publications during the seventeenth century the collection did not necessarily become significantly more insular. One of the most interesting later donations came from a woman, Alice Wasselby (d.1644), who was the widow of a mariner in the town.[[13]](#endnote-14) All the books she donated were in English and several might have been encompassed under the period's broad sense of literature. One of the books she donated was Thomas North's English translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, a book which had emerged from a rich international context. North's translation was based on a French translation produced by Jacques Amyot (1513-1593) and had initially been published by Thomas Vautrollier (d.1587), a Huguenot refugee who had established himself in the English book-trade.[[14]](#endnote-15) She donated another translation too, that of Francesco Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* (1561) produced by the prolific translator, Geoffrey Fenton (c.1539-1608), who had himself travelled in Europe in his youth before establishing his career as a colonial administrator in Ireland.[[15]](#endnote-16) Translation into English from vernacular languages was a hugely important part of the English book trade, and it was also an area that several noble women cultivated as patrons, including Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford (1580-1627) and her mother, Lady Anne Harington (d.1620), patrons of John Florio's translation of the *Essays* of Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592), first published in 1603.[[16]](#endnote-17) In donating translations of vernacular European literature (or translations of classical literature via European vernacular intermediaries), Wasselby's gift may have seemed appropriate to her gender.

I wanted to begin with this example of a 'European' library in Norfolk because, in a modern context, there is something surprising or even provocative about it. In early modern England, however, a 'parochial' setting simply did not imply a localism of outlook. Intellectually, as we have seen, this library was a product of the European Reformation, but it was also a product of the English book trade's embeddedness within European commercial networks. There was no need for anyone involved in buying books for this library to travel to the Continent. Instead, a library like St Margaret's would have been built from what we might call second-hand purchases -- in this case, probably made in the nearby university town of Cambridge -- and books bought in London, which was the centre of England's 'Latin Trade' in this period.[[17]](#endnote-18) By the late sixteenth-century, London's booksellers were participants in the networks that centred on the twice-yearly Frankfurt Book Fair; some books printed in London were even being advertised in the Frankfurt catalogues.[[18]](#endnote-19) Learned books were also being imported into Britain from the publishing house of Christophe Plantin and his heirs in Antwerp.[[19]](#endnote-20) By the end of the seventeenth century, Dutch booksellers dominated the trade on importing books into England: they imported not only the vast numbers of books that were being printed in the Dutch Republic, but also books that were acquired across Europe and as far as Russia.[[20]](#endnote-21) International networks of this kind transported not only learned books, but also news in a variety of forms, from printed ephemera to word-of-mouth.[[21]](#endnote-22) The importation of books from the Continent into Scotland was able to bypass London altogether, as Jane Stevenson has recently shown, with books being bought directly from France, in particular.[[22]](#endnote-23) When King's Lynn's corporation came to build a library in 1632, then, they would be confident they could draw upon the resources of trading networks that stretched across northern Europe.

**Barriers between England and the European Book-Trade**

It would be far from accurate, however, to describe the relationship between England and the European book-trade in the early modern period as seamless. There were barriers of many kinds: religious, political, commercial, linguistic, geographic. One of the most obvious kinds of barrier is already suggested by the library in King's Lynn we have been examining. While it would certainly be reductive to say that its books emanate entirely from Protestant centres of publishing, there is certainly an emphasis on those centres, such as Basel, or books from Northern Europe which could be traded easily through the Frankfurt Book Fair (which sold both Protestant and Catholic books, with catalogues sometimes classifying Protestant and Catholic works separately). That challenges presented themselves when attempting to amass sizeable collections of books are suggested in the correspondence of Thomas Bodley (1545-1613), the man who founded perhaps the most important library in this era of library building, Oxford's Bodleian Library. Bodley was collecting on a massive and systematic scale, as his letters to his first librarian, Thomas James (c.1573-1629), demonstrate. He wanted to ensure that his collections of key authors' works were comprehensive, such as those of the Dutch Hebraist and theologian, Johannes Drusius (1550-1616). 'I haue heereweith sent yow a note of all Drusius workes,' Bodley explained, 'of which I should willingly know which are wanting, to the end they may be bought'.[[23]](#endnote-24) He sought comprehensiveness, too, in the library's coverage of key Patristic editions. 'I haue all the fathers, as I take it, in Paris print', he wrote to James, 'but fewe of Basil, for which I desire to haue those marked that you want'.[[24]](#endnote-25) In due course, the library of Continental books he collected would become a magnet for visiting scholars from Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, and elsewhere in Europe, many of whose signatures were recorded in the Bodleian's Visitors' Book.[[25]](#endnote-26)

Bodley did not travel himself to acquire books. Instead, as Graham Rees and Maria Wakely have shown, he relied particularly on the efforts of two London booksellers, John Norton (1556/7-1612) and John Bill (c.1578-1630).[[26]](#endnote-27) Norton was one of London's leading stationers, responsible for building international networks through which Continental books were bought and sold in England, and John Bill was his energetic protege, who travelled relentlessly, 'alwaies buieng, and inquiring after bookes', as Bodley wrote.[[27]](#endnote-28) In March 1603, Bodley writes tellingly to James to ask him 'what protestants bookes are wanting in the libr[ary]', which he needed to know urgently in order for the list to 'com in time to Io[hn] Billes handes, who is gone to the Mart', i.e. the Frankfurt Book Fair.[[28]](#endnote-29) But when it came to extending the collection's reach beyond those books available from 'the Mart', successes were more mixed. More adventurous locations for book acquisition brought challenges, however. 'I haue bin disappointed of my hopes of bookes from out of Turkie', Bodley wrote, and it would be half a century after Bodley's death until England's embeddedness in trading networks beyond Europe, with the Ottoman Empire, created the context for Oxford to become a centre for the collecting and study of Hebrew and Arabic manuscripts.[[29]](#endnote-30) Even Europe itself presented difficulties. 'I am likewise determined to send an other [to] Spaine', Bodley told James in June 1603, but when Bill did go to Spain in late 1604, his journey was far from successful. 'Io[hn] Bille was returned', Bodley announced in November of that year, 'who hath bin onely at Seuil [Seville] but hath brought good stoare of bookes from thens. His purpose was at first to haue visited all other like places, and Vniuersities, where any bookes were to be gotten: but the peoples vsage towardes all of our nation is so cruel and malicious, as he was vtterly discouraged for this time'.[[30]](#endnote-31) Rees and Wakely commented, rightly, that Bill was no doubt faced by memories of 'the Armada, the Cadiz raid, and the Azores expedition', and those from whom he might have bought books 'did not want their hospitality tried by English book hounds of an heretical stripe'.[[31]](#endnote-32) In other words, the legacies of England's wars in Europe and present-day confessional divisions presented barriers to even the best resourced English book collectors.

England also imposed its own limitations on the book-trade with the Continent. The ramifications of the Act of 1534, 'Concerning printers and binders of books' could be felt well into the eighteenth century. It forbade the buying of books which had been bound abroad: this was explicitly a move to protect the craftsman involved in the binding trade in England.[[32]](#endnote-33) Even once bound books were permitted to be imported, duties on them remained higher than on unbound. At the end of the seventeenth century, the bookseller Thomas Bennett (1664/5-1706) wrote to the Dutch publisher, Peter van der Aa (1659-1733), to ask that 'the covers may be pulled off any of ye b[oun]d books sent over' because 'our duty is very high on bound books'.[[33]](#endnote-34) Nevertheless, English bookbinding remained deeply influence by Continental models. In the mid-sixteenth century, for instance, a Kentish gentleman and administrator, Thomas Wotton (c.1521-1587), had a series of extremely fashionable bindings made for him in France with his name stamped on the cover, 'Thomae Wottoni et amicorum', after the manner of the celebrated French politician and bibliophile, Jean Grolier (c.1489/90-1565).[[34]](#endnote-35) Indeed, this is just one instance of the ways in which book collecting in England could be shaped and influenced by Continental practices: it was not just the books that were collected, but the activity of collecting them that has a strongly European character. In England itself, many of the most refined achievements of book decoration -- the Elizabethan fashion for Arabesque gold centrepiece decorations, for instance -- have their roots in continental bookbinding (and are indeed ultimately influenced by Islamic bookbinding practices).[[35]](#endnote-36) Some of the leading craftsmen at work in England in the sixteenth century were, like many involved in the book-trade, French Protestants, most notably the Dijon binder, Jean de Planche (1567-1593), who produced memorable work for leading figures in the Elizabethan court and church.[[36]](#endnote-37) Protectionism in the English book-trade, therefore, did not prohibit rich Continental influences, but it did create barriers. It also meant that individual Continental books in England - the kinds bought for King's Lynn Library or the Bodleian Library - were hybrid at the level of their physical form: Continental printing was finally turned into the finished form of the book by members of the binding trade in England.

**(Not) Printing on the Continent: How was Continental Publishing Perceived in England?**

It would be possible to trace forever this hybridity, this push and pull between, on the one hand, seamless integration of European books into the English market, and, on the other, a separateness and division between England's books and those on the Continent. Having just noted the way most European books were given finished form by the binding trade in England, we might also note that most books published in England were physically hybrid creations too, because they were printed on imported paper. England made little of its own paper in the early modern period that was high enough quality to be used for writing or printing, and when it did so it seems to have been used in special circumstances which subtly evoked English nationalism: as John-Mark Philo has shown, Elizabeth I's court was making use of English paper for high quality manuscript productions, a flourish perhaps analogous to serving English sparkling wine at a royal reception today.[[37]](#endnote-38) Most books printed in England, however, were printed on French paper, and the costs of relying on imported paper may have been a significant factor in England's inability to compete internationally in key areas of the Latin book market.[[38]](#endnote-39) One of the simplest and most obvious barriers between England and the European book-trade, too, was language: English was not at all a well-known language on the Continent. There was some market for translations of English books into vernacular languages, especially of works of Puritan-leaning theology into Dutch, but the options for publishing a book in English on the Continent would have been extremely limited.[[39]](#endnote-40) But what about scholars in England who wrote learned books in Latin, the kind of books which might have appeared on the shelves of a library in England or on the Continent? There were certainly circumstances in which this did happen, perhaps the most common of which was book piracy, as P.G. Hoftijzer has noted: one of the most widely read English authors on the Continent, Francis Bacon, was reprinted in Paris, Strasburg, Leiden, and Amsterdam.[[40]](#endnote-41) Sometimes, however, English authors seem to have chosen initially to have their works published on the Continent, perhaps most notably William Harvey, whose pioneering work on the circulation of the blood, *De motu cordis* (1628), first appeared in Frankfurt.[[41]](#endnote-42) What was at stake in a decision such as this? How was publication on the Continent perceived in England? What might encourage or discourage it? These are often very difficult questions to answer, but I would like now to introduce an exchange of letters which helps to shed some light on them.

In the 1580s, the antiquarian and teacher at Westminster School, William Camden (1551-1623), was completing work on the first edition of his masterpiece, *Britannia* (pub. 1586-1607).This book offered a chorographic, antiquarian historian of all the regions of Britain, with a special focus (in the first edition, in particular) on Roman remains.[[42]](#endnote-43) *Britannia* became the touchstone for all historical scholarship on Britain's antiquities which followed it: as such, it laid the parameters for the study of British history for centuries.[[43]](#endnote-44) Camden's work, though, was composed in Latin, and from its inception Camden had in mind an international reach and audience for his book. Camden's work had been encouraged by the Antwerp-based geographer, Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598), who was best known for his pioneering work, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, an atlas of the world first published by Christophe Plantin in his Antwerp publishing house in 1570.[[44]](#endnote-45) Much could be said about the inception and development of Camden's work, but the most important question for our purposes was this one: where should *Britannia* be published? In about 1584, Camden seems to have asked Ortelius's advice on publishing *Britannia*. 'You ask me to give counsel about printing', Ortelius wrote to Camden. 'I'd ask you to explain more fully what you would like. Whether perhaps you want the book to be printed by us in the Low Countries? Or in another place? Not in Britain itself [non in ipsâ Britanniâ]?'.[[45]](#endnote-46) It is striking that Ortelius seems to associate the book's place of publication with its subject matter, as though *Britannia* ought to be published in Britain, an appropriate location which would imbue the work with a sense of national pride in history. Camden's response, however, bypasses such questions to focus on printing quality. In his reply, Camden seems to have included another book recently published in England, for which he feels the need to apologise: this book 'is not so good when it comes to the matter of typography, with letters missing occasionally due to the carelessness or ignorance of the printers, who, as it seems to me, make use of watery ink'. But, Camden hopes, Ortelius may 'excuse it, on account of our friendship, for you may not hope for Belgian elegance in this art from England'. This brings him to the matter of the publishing of his own book: 'I truly thus admire the elegant accuracy in this regard of your people, that I would like nothing more than that my *Britannia* may be published from the Printing House of Plantin'.[[46]](#endnote-47) Camden wants to prioritise accuracy and quality above all else, and to him this is synonymous with publishing with Christophe Plantin (who, depending on exactly when Camden's letter was written, may himself have been based in Leiden), rather than in England. Perhaps it is significant, too, that he is writing to Ortelius, an author whose works were synonymous with the Plantin publishing house. To publish with Plantin implies something about the quality of *Camden's* work, too: its high scholarly standards, that can be set beside Ortelius and other European scholars. Rather than making a nationalistic gesture to publish his work in Britain, Camden is inclined to make the opposite move: to publish his work in a context that would have set it beside the works of Continental scholarship that Camden admired and sought to emulate.

For English scholars, however, Continental printing was not necessarily synonymous with scholarly and typographic excellence. Camden's acquaintance, Henry Savile (1549-1622), the Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and leading figure in English scholarly circles, felt exactly the opposite about publishing in Frankfurt. In a letter of 1602 to the diplomat, Ralph Winwood (c.1563-1617), Savile discussed the printing of his planned edition of the complete works of St John Chrysostom in Greek. 'Franckfort', he explains, 'I had reason to refuse, theyr paper being ill, theyr correctours perchance unlearned, and no man out of the mart tyme within a hundreth miles, that coold resolve them in any emergent doubt, nor no old copy to have recourse unto, upon any point of difficulty'.[[47]](#endnote-48) Savile's feelings about Frankfurt printing are more or less the opposite to those of Camden about Plantin's: whereas Camden celebrates the 'accuracy', for Savile, the quality of workmanship in Frankfurt, and especially of press correcting, would be very poor, as Frankfurt (outside the time of the Fairs) did not have scholars on hand to help at the press. At this point, Savile felt himself 'driven to Paris' to publish his book, although he eventually brought the publishing of his massive Chrysostom edition in house to Eton College, where he was Provost.[[48]](#endnote-49) The ability to control every aspect of the printing process -- at vast personal expense -- trumped even the resources available in Paris, which more than anywhere else in Europe had the experience to complete a project on this scale.[[49]](#endnote-50)

Camden eventually decided not to publish his book on the Continent either, but to risk the watery ink and missing letters of London's publishers. The most decisive factor, interestingly enough, seems to have been not dissimilar to that which would concern Savile: lack of geographic proximity would make it hard to oversee printing work. In the draft of a slightly later letter to Ortelius, Camden noted that he now had in mind to send his book to a printer at London, 'so that I may be present myself sometimes for the proof corrections'.[[50]](#endnote-51) Printing a book in Latin would have required careful authorial oversight, and in the case of learned books printed in England, responsibility for proof correction frequently fell to authors themselves, who therefore needed to be able to reach the printing house easily.[[51]](#endnote-52) Camden's *Britannia* did, however, achieve a significant continental reception. The work grew through several editions, and the last and most prestigious Latin edition of which was listed for sale in a catalogue of the Frankfurt Book Fair.[[52]](#endnote-53) For Camden, it was clearly an aspiration to produce a work that could be read and received in Continental Europe. However, when it came to his book's printing, geographical realities and practical exigencies seem to have been the decisive factors. Again, we see the push and pull between integration and separation at work in England's relationship to the European book market.

**Conclusions: Did ‘Europe’ Matter?**

When Camden and Savile were thinking about where to publish their books, we have seen that they were not thinking in general terms about publishing 'in Europe' or 'on the Continent'. They were thinking about very specific places and publishing houses. One conclusion we might draw, therefore, is that, in early modern England, places in Europe had very specific and rich meanings to them. The Low Countries were particularly geographically proximate to England and therefore convenient for epistolary, literary, and bibliographical exchanges, although war could still cause disruptions: a letter of Camden's to Ortelius in 1586 begins by acknowledging that his lack of thanks for Ortelius's gift of his *Theatrum Orbis* was caused by 'the war in your country' (*bellum vestrum*), the Dutch Revolt.[[53]](#endnote-54) In some respects, then, *localities* within Europe could be said to be more important than the abstract idea of Europe as a whole. But did early modern readers, book-buyers, and authors have any use for 'Europe' as an abstract concept which united the book cultures of disparate places and countries from Spain to the borders of the Ottoman Empire? If so, the term they would have used is not Europe, but *respublica literaria* or 'Republic of Letters' ('letters' in the sense of 'writing' or 'good writing', although actual postal letters were often the means by which this cross-border community was sustained). The implicit ideal of the Republic of Letters was that scholars from differing national, religious, or political contexts could correspond with one another about higher matters of learning.[[54]](#endnote-55) Although neither Ortelius nor Camden use the term in their surviving correspondence with one another, everything about their exchanges show that they would have conceived their correspondence as an act of participation in the *respublica literaria*, in which they could share their endeavours in the relatively disinterested matters of antiquities and geography (while studiously steering clear of any mention of potential differences in religion). Perhaps the ideal embodiment of this would have been for Plantin's publishing house, which had published the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, one of the masterpieces of Catholic scholarship, to publish an edition of Camden's *Britannia*, the work of a Protestant Englishman. The reality though was different. In 1590, in fact, an edition of Camden's *Britannia* was published on the Continent, in Frankfurt. This edition must greatly have enhanced the book's European circulation, but it also caught the eye of the Spanish censors, who insisted that copies of the book were expurgated and Camden was described as 'author damnatus' on the title-page of copies circulated in the Spanish territories.[[55]](#endnote-56) Camden himself watched the reception of his book with keen attention, having copies made of these directions to the censors and keeping them with his own copy of his book.[[56]](#endnote-57) The reception of his *Britannia* would have made Camden acutely aware, therefore, that even the common imaginative European-wide endeavour of the *respublica literaria* shared many of the same religious, political and geographic limitations that this chapter has traced.

1. The Donors' Book of St Margaret's Library is preserved in King's Lynn Public Library [KLPL]. The catalogue of the initial purchases is found on pp. 2-11. For partial digitisation of the volume with contextual discussion see Thomas Roebuck and Sophie Butler, *Discover Historic Books*, 1 July 2021, <https://discoverhistoricbooks.unlockingthearchive.co.uk> [accessed 14 Jan 2022]. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
2. James Raven, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Book* (Oxford: OUP, 2020), p. 12. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
3. Severin Binius, *Concilia Generalia, et Provincialia* (Cologne, 1606). Shelfmark: KLPL DL-H7-2-3. The catalogue in the Donors' Book, however, does not give precise publication details. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
4. Martin Luther, *Tomus Primus Omnium Operum Reverendi Domini Martini Lutheri Doctoris Theologiae* (Wittenberg, 1582): KLPL DL-2-1-6. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
5. St Basil, *Sancti Patris Nostri Basilii Magni Caesareae, Cappadociae Archiepiscopi, Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1618). [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
6. Isaac Casaubon, *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI* (London, 1614). For its sale at Frankfurt see *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus autumnalibus, de anno MDCXIII* (Frankfurt, 1613),sig.B1r. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
7. For an important recent account of the relationship between the regional and international booktrade, see Rosamund Oates, '"Far Off from the Well-Head': The Production and Circulation of Books in Early Modern Yorkshire', in *Communities of Print: Books and their Readers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Rosamund Oates and Jessica G. Purdy (Leiden: Brill, 2022). [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
8. Mathias Flacius, and others, *Ecclesiastica Historia* (Basel, 1559-74). Shelfmark: KLPL DL-D3-1-7. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
9. Although it is not clear at the time of writing which edition the library bought, the first Plantin edition of this book was Andreas Vesalius, *Vivae imagines partium corporis humani aereis formis expressae* (Antwerp, 1566). [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
10. Martin Crusius, *Turcograeciae Libri Octo* (Basle, 1584). Shelfmark: KLPL DL-H5-12. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
11. D.J. McKitterick, *The Library of Sir Thomas Knyvett of Ashwellthorpe, c.1539-1618* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Library, 1978), p. 30, p. 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
12. Abigail Brundin and Dunstan Roberts, 'Book-Buying and the Grand Tour: the Italian Books at Belton House in Lincolnshire', *The Library*, 7th series, 16 (2015), 51-79. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
13. KLPL, St Margaret's Library Donors' Book, p. 23. Benjamin Mackerell, *The History and Antiquiuties of the Flourishing Corporation of King's Lynn in the County of Norfolk* (London, 1738), pp. 34-35. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
14. Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romaines*, trans. Thomas North (London, 1603). Shelfmark: KLPL DL-W3-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
15. Francesco Guicciardini, *The historie of Guicciardin*, trans. Geoffrey Fenton (London, 1618). [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
16. On the English Montaigne translation see Warren Boutcher, 'Intertraffic: Transnational Literatures and Languages in Late Renaissance England and Europe', in *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World*, ed. by Matthew McLean and Sara K. Barker (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 343-373 (pp. 343-345). [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
17. Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 4*, ed. by John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), pp. 141-73. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
18. Ian Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), ch.11. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
19. Colin Clair, ‘Christopher Plantin’s Trade-Connexions with England and Scotland’, *The Library*, 3rd series, 14 (1959), 28-45 and Zanna van Loon, 'Crossing the North Sea for Books. An Overview of the Scottish Book Trade with the *Officina Plantiniana* between 1555 and 1589', *The Library*, 7th series, 20 (2019), 172-204. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
20. Norma Hodgson and Cyprian Blagden, *The Notebook of Thomas Bennet and Henry Clements* (Oxford: OUP, 1956), p. 12. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
21. On the transmission of news in the early modern period see Joad Raymond and Noah Moxon, *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, Brill, 2016). [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
22. Jane Stevenson, 'Centres and Peripheries: Early-Modern British Writers in a European Context', *The Library*, 7th series, 21 (2020), 157-191 (p. 162). [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
23. G.W. Wheeler, ed. *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James, first Keeper of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 27. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
24. *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley*, p. 38, although it seems that James persuaded him this was not the best way to acquire these Basel Patristic editions. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
25. Bodleian Library, Bodl. Library Records MS e. 533. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
26. Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, & Culture: The King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp. 216-218. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
27. *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley*, p. 65. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
28. *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley*, p. 78. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
29. Simon Mills, *A Commerce of Knowledge: Trade, Religion, and Scholarship between England and the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1760* (Oxford: OUP, 2020). [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
30. *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley*, p. 118. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
31. Rees and Wakely, p. 218. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
32. Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1960), p. 26. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
33. Hodgson and Blagden, p. 24. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
34. David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 2019), p. 126. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
35. David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles, 1450-1800: A Handbook* (London: British Library, 2005), p. 50. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
36. Howard M. Nixon and Mirjam Foot, ‘Gold-Tooled Sixteenth-Century Bindings’, in *History of Decorated Bookbinding in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), ch.2. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
37. Edward Heawood, 'Papers used in England after 1600. 1. The Seventeenth Century to c.1680', *The Library*, 4th series, 11 (1930), 263-299; John-Mark Philo, 'Elizabeth I's Translation of Tacitus: Lambeth Palace Library, MS 683', *Review of English Studies*, 71 (2020), 44-73 (pp. 51-52). I am grateful to Dr Philo for discussion of this point. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
38. Roberts, pp. 141-142. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
39. Stevenson, pp. 187-188. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
40. P.G. Hoftijzer, 'British Books Abroad: The Continent', in *Cambridge History of the Book*,ed. by Barnard and McKenzie, pp. 735-743 (p. 736). [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
41. Stevenson, pp. 169-170. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
42. F.J. Levy, 'The Making of Camden's *Britannia*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 26 (1964), 70-97. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
43. See Thomas Roebuck, 'Edmund Gibson's 1695 *Britannia* and Late-Seventeenth-Century British Antiquarian Scholarship', *Erudition and the Republic of Letters*, 5 (2020), 427-481. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
44. On Ortelius see Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017). [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
45. Thomas Smith, ed. *V. Cl. Gulielmi Camdeni [...] Epistolae* (London, 1691), p. 27: 'Cupis à me in eâ per Typographiam edendâ consilio juvari. Significa quaeso latius quid velis. An fortasse à nostris eam velles editam? aut alibi locorum? non in ipsâ Britanniâ?' [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
46. British Library, Add. MS 36294, fol.12r: 'illam tamen, quod rem typographicam pertinet, minus bonam, fugientibus alicubi literis typographorum incuria vel imperitia, qui dilutiori, ut mihi videtur, utuntur atramento: sed tu, spero, quod ab amico profectum, boni consules, nec Belgicam in illa arte elegantiam ex Anglia expectes. Ego vero ita admiror accuratam illam vestratium in hac elegantiam, ut nihil mihi potius sit, quam ut Britannia mea e Plantini officina prodeat'. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
47. This letter is printed and discussed in Jean-Louis Quantin, 'A European Geography of Patristic Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 27 (2020), 300-331 (pp. 319-320). [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
48. Jean-Louis Quantin, ‘Du Chrysostome latin au Chrysostome grec. Une histoire européenne (1588-1613)’, in *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren*, ed. by Martin Wallraff and Rudolf Brändle (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), pp. 267–346 (pp. 311-337). [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
49. Quantin, 'European Geography', p. 322. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
50. British Library, Add. MS 36294, fol. 17r: 'iam in animo Typographo Londinensi tradere, vt ipse aliquando correctionibus intersim'. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
51. Percy Simpson, *Proof-reading by English Authors of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: OUP, 1928). [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
52. Rees and Wakely, p. 193. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
53. *Abrahami Ortelii* [...] *et virorum eruditorum ad eundem* [...] *epistulae*, ed. J.H. Hessels (Cambridge, 1887), p. 334. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
54. Anthony Grafton, 'A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters', in his *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Harvard: Harvard UP, 2011), pp. 9-34. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
55. *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Madrid, 1612), pp. 346-351. See also T.A. Birrell, 'William Camden (1552-1623) and his European Reading Public', *English Studies*, 92 (2011), 400-404 (p. 403). [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
56. See Camden's own copy of 1607 *Britannia*:Bodleian Library, MS Smith 1. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)