

Books Fit for a King: The Presentation Copies of Martin Bucer's *De regno Christi* (London, British Library, Royal MS. 8 B. VII) and Johannes Sturm's *De periodis* (Cambridge, Trinity College, II.12.21 and London, British Library, C.24.e.5)

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On 21 October 1550, the German reformer Martin Bucer sent a copy of his final theological treatise and magnum opus, *De regno Christi*, to his good friend and colleague at the University of Cambridge, John Cheke. Having been forced to flee the Continent in 1549, Bucer wrote *De regno Christi* as a manual for installing a reformed Christian state in Edwardian England, aiming the work directly at the Protestant King Edward VI and setting out principles and guidelines for the monarch to follow. Whilst much of the book's content concerns Bucer's idealized vision of a state led by spiritual doctrine, which was partially informed by Thomas More's *Utopia*, and which Bucer summarizes under fourteen laws of reform,¹ *De regno Christi* also addresses practical matters related to, for example, marriage and divorce. Not least, it was designed to reflect the specific economic, political and social situation in England at the time. However rich and promising Bucer's work was, though, the early death of Edward VI in 1553 followed by the succession of the Catholic Queen Mary I ensured that *De regno Christi* 'did not become the charter of the Reformation in England, as Bucer had wished and hoped'.² Of course, when Bucer sent *De regno Christi* to Cheke in 1550, he could have predicted neither its eventual fate, nor that of the other contents of the package, which included a cover letter addressed to Cheke, some copies of a book by Johannes Sturm and a letter for Edward VI himself. The letter for the king is in fact a dedicatory letter which makes it clear that the enclosed copy of *De regno Christi* was intended as a presentation copy. It was to be given to Edward VI as a New Year's gift in thanks for Bucer's appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge in 1549 following his flight from persecution on the Continent. Cheke was secretary and tutor to the king, and Bucer was evidently entrusting him with delivering both this gift and the accompanying dedicatory letter directly to Edward VI.³

¹ See M. Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, trans. S. E. Buchwalter (London, 2004), pp. 242-4 [translated from M. Greschat, *Martin Bucer: Ein Reformator und seine Zeit* (München, 1990)].

² Ibid, p. 245.

³ The dedicatory letter for the king is now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 119 (hereafter CCCC 119), pp. 3-5. Cf. the transcription provided by A. E. Harvey in *Martin Bucer in England* (Marburg, 1906), pp. 159-62. A copy of the dedicatory letter dated to 29 December 1550, which was presumably the copy that actually accompanied the volume when it was eventually sent to King Edward VI (given its purpose as a New Year's gift), is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Smith MS. 67 (hereafter Smith 67), p. 63; cf. François Wendel's introduction to the standard edition of the text: Martin Bucer, *De regno Christi: Libri Duo 1550*, ed. F. Wendel, *Martini Bucer Opera Latina*, 15 (Paris, 1955), p. xxxvi, n. 145. Bucer's cover letter to Cheke is now CCCC 119, pp. 45-50, transcribed in J. A. Giles, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, 3 vols (London, 1864-65), vol. i.2, pp. 214-16).

Whilst the reason for the inclusion of copies of Sturm's book in the package (as well as the whereabouts of these today) have so far been unexplored, Bucer's presentation copy of *De regno Christi* to Cheke is now commonly recognized to be London, British Library, Royal MS. 8 B. VII (hereafter Royal 8 B. VII). It is in two volumes in the original bindings. These are particularly fine, and have some rather unusual characteristics. Little, however, is known about their provenance and production. This article will therefore delve further into Bucer's correspondence in order to shed light not only on the production of Royal 8 B. VII, including a potential identification of its binder, but also on a link to the story and eventual fate of Sturm's books, as well as the possibility that they, too, might have been presentation copies. Before we consider the contents of Bucer's letter to Cheke in greater detail, it is important to contextualize the analysis by providing a sense of the historical backdrop. We will therefore commence with an exploration of presentation copies more generally, and the nature of books as gifts, in the mid-sixteenth century, as this will provide clues as to the motivations and circumstances of gift-givers such as Bucer. At that point, it will then be possible to return to Bucer's letter to Cheke, which will form the keystone for identifying the physical items mentioned by Bucer, as well as other related artefacts, and for exploring the context of their production. The resulting findings will help to enrich our understanding of the production and exchange of presentation copies in the period in question, as well as offer new knowledge concerning several extant artefacts which have never before been subject to close inspection under this light.

Presentation copies in sixteenth-century England

Bestowing gifts in the form of precious books, both printed volumes and manuscripts, was common practice amongst the early Tudor rulers and their peers. The channels through which such 'gift books' were exchanged are manifold. On the one hand, we can witness more exclusive and intimate scenarios, with members of the royal family presenting books to one another on special occasions. Princess Elizabeth, for example, bestowed gift books upon her father, Henry VIII, her half-brother Edward (the future King Edward VI) and other family members.⁴ On the other hand, and of equal significance, there is evidence for large numbers of books entering the royal household in the form of gifts sent by external relations to the reigning monarchs and their relatives, especially the young princes or princesses. In this latter context, books became intrinsically linked to notions of sponsorship and patronage – an important topic which will be discussed in greater detail below. Meanwhile, what these two scenarios of Tudor book exchange have in common is their general preference for special dates or occasions. In mid-sixteenth-century England, the single most prominent and prestigious occasion for bestowing gift books was the celebration of the New Year.⁵ Both generally and with regard to books in particular, it has been observed that 'New Year's Day was the most important occasion for gift giving at the Tudor court'.⁶

In 1962, Edwin Miller counted a minimum of thirty-seven printed books and twelve manuscripts that were given as New Year's gifts during the sixteenth century, not without adding, however, that '[u]nquestionably the practice was more widespread than these numbers

⁴ H. Wolfe, 'Manuscripts in Early Modern England', in D. B. Hamilton (ed.), *A Concise Companion to English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 114-35 (pp. 122-3).

⁵ F. Schurink, 'Print, Patronage, and Occasion: Translations of Plutarch's *Moralia* in Tudor England', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, xxxviii (2008), pp. 86-101 (p. 87).

⁶ M. Hayward, 'Gift Giving at the Court of Henry VIII: The 1539 New Year's Gift Roll in Context', *The Antiquaries Journal*, lxxxv (2005), pp. 126-75 (p. 127).

indicate'.⁷ Indeed, scholars since have added considerably to Miller's cautious numbers, showing that New Year's gift books represented an increasingly popular custom in England from the reign of Henry VII onwards.⁸ These books were recorded in what is known as New Year's gift rolls, listing both the donor and the nature of individual gifts separately for each year. In her study on the books of Elizabeth I, Janet Lawson has identified a total of forty-nine individuals who presented the queen with New Year's gift books at various points throughout her forty-four year reign.⁹ Lawson's numbers initially derived from a corpus of fourteen extant gift rolls, thus indicating a survival rate of approximately one in three for the regnal years 1557-1603. Lawson has, however, more recently produced an edition of all of the surviving Elizabethan gift rolls, in which she presents a corpus of twenty-four rolls.¹⁰ Felicity Heal has since discussed and nuanced these numbers further.¹¹ With slightly less than half of Elizabeth I's gift rolls being lost, however, the actual number of books and their donors can probably be assumed as having been even higher.¹² Unfortunately, only a small percentage of the former corpus of earlier Tudor gift rolls is known to have survived to this day. The evidence gathered from those few rolls which have come down to us suggests a growing popularity of gift books during the period under consideration. It remains a frustrating fact that in the time between 1509 (the beginning of Henry VIII's reign) and 1603 (the death of Elizabeth I), the short reign of Edward VI (28 January 1547 – 6 July 1553) is one of the least documented periods with regard to the reception of New Year's gifts.¹³ What little evidence survives mostly pertains to Edward's years as prince, such as, for example, a list of New Year's gifts given to him in 1538-9 (headed *Certejn nwe yeres gyftes gevon unto the Prynce grace the first day of January A^o. R. R. viii. xxx^o* and edited from London, British Library, Cotton MS. Appendix xxviii, f. 39), a similar list for 1539-40 (London, British Library, Add. MS. 11301, f. 11) and a list of rewards given by Edward in return for the gifts he had received on New Year's Day 1537-8 and 1538-9

⁷ E. H. Miller, 'New Year's Day Gift Books in the Sixteenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, xv (1962), pp. 233-41 (p. 235).

⁸ J. A. Lawson, 'This Remembrance of the New Year: Books Given to Queen Elizabeth as New Year's Gifts', in P. Beal and G. Ioppolo (eds.), *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing* (London, 2007), pp. 133-71; J. P. Carley (ed.), *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 7 (London, 2000), pp. xlii-li.

⁹ Lawson, 'Remembrance', pp. 142-3. Also cf. the table of books on p. 160.

¹⁰ *The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603*, ed. J. A. Lawson, Records of Social and Economic History, 51 (Oxford, 2013).

¹¹ Heal identifies a total of twenty-five surviving gift rolls from the reign of Elizabeth I, see F. Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2014), p. 93; also cf. Heal's review: 'The Elizabethan New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603', ed. J. A. Lawson', *English Historical Review*, cxxix (2014), pp. 1197-8.

¹² On Elizabeth I's role as both patron and author/copyist of books, see especially *ibid.*, pp. 138-9. For a gendered perspective on gift-giving during the period in general, see J. Donawerth, 'Women's Poetry and the Tudor-Stuart System of Gift Exchange', in M. E. Burke, J. Donawerth, L. L. Dove and K. Nelson (eds.), *Women, Writing and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Syracuse, 2000), pp. 3-18; on the book as gift, see J. Scott Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford, 2001).

¹³ Lawson, 'Remembrance', p. 133. Also cf. A. J. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: The Inventory of 1574, edited from Harley Ms. 1650 and Stowe Ms. 555 in the British Museum* (London, 1955), p. 102.

¹⁴ See J. G. Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth: Edited from his Autograph Manuscripts*, 2 vols (London, 1857), vol. i, pp. cclxiii-iv. Also cf. <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/cotton/mss/app1.htm>, accessed 29 Oct. 2014.

¹⁵ Nichols, *Literary Remains*, vol. i, p. cclv.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. cccxi-viii.

respectively. The evidence dating from Edward VI's reign as king, by contrast, is extremely sparse and does not provide us with anything more than a fragmentary picture at best.¹⁷

Nevertheless, and despite this scarcity of extant archival materials for the years 1547-53, Edward VI appears to have shown great interest in, and appreciation for, books, as was observed on several occasions by some of his contemporaries. On 4 April 1550, Roger Ascham wrote a letter to Johannes Sturm from St John's College, Cambridge, in which he reports:

The nobility of England was never more devoted to literature than at present. Our most illustrious King Edward, alike in ability, in industry, perseverance, and acquirements, far exceeds what is usually expected from his years. It is from no fond reports, but from my own frequent observation, which I regard as the sweetest incident of my good fortune, that I have contemplated the whole band of virtues taking up their residence in his breast.¹⁸

Similar praise concerning Edward VI's erudition and his enthusiastic reading of books was voiced by other contemporaries, too, including Martin Micronius, Peter Martyr and Bucer himself,¹⁹ the last calling Edward 'godly and learned to a miracle' whilst marvelling at the fact that the king was studying philosophy 'from Cicero and Aristotle' and reading about ten

¹⁷ There is a small collection of relevant materials for both Henry VIII and Edward VI kept in The National Archives (hereafter TNA; Queen Elizabeth I's accounts begin in E 101/429). These include: gift rolls from 1528 (E 101/420/4), 1532 (E 101/420/15), 1534 (E 101/421/13) and 1551/2 (C 47/3/54); the latter was deposited in TNA during the 1960s (see their catalogue entry for PRO 57/965). Further: documents from the King's Remembrancer, including two account books of Sir Anthony Wingfield, controller of Edward VI's household, for the periods 28 January 1550 – 27 January 1552 (E 101/426/11) and 28 January 1551 – 27 January 1553 (E 101/426/13); an account book of the executors of John Rither, cofferer of Edward VI's household, for the period 28 January 1551 – 27 January 1553 (E 101/426/12); an account book of Thomas Weldon, also cofferer of Edward VI, for the period 28 January 1552 – 5 July 1554 (E 101/426/15); the accounts of Sir Ralph Sadler, keeper of Edward VI's great wardrobe from 28 January 1552 – 27 January 1553 (E 101/426/14). There is also a 1539 New Year's gift roll in the shape of London, British Library, Cotton MS. Appendix 28, f. 39r, see Hayward, 'Gift Giving', pp. 127-8. On the tradition of two 1552/3 gift rolls, which were still accounted for in the possession of private individuals (Dr Osmund Beauvoir and George Holmes) in 1789 and 1736, respectively, but must now be assumed as lost, see Collins, *Jewels and Plate*, p. 249. The practice of giving rewards in exchange for New Year's gifts is documented as early as the reign of Henry VIII; see, for example, the King's Book of Payments (TNA, E 36/214-216). We would like to express many thanks to Adrian Ailes and David Mole at TNA who kindly assisted us in collating and accessing these materials. On gift rolls for 1552-3, see Lawson, 'Remembrance', p. 139. Also cf. S. Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 138-9.

¹⁸ Nichols, *Literary Remains*, vol. i, p. cxxxvii; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.1, 190: *Nobilitas in Anglia nunquam magis erat literata. Illustrissimus Rex Noster EDVARDUS, ingenio, industria, constantia, eruditione, et suam aetatem, et aliorum fidem longe superat. Non enim aliorum sermone persuasus, sed ipse saepenumero praesens, quod in suavissimam meae felicitatis partem deputo, omnium virtutum chorum in ejus animum immigrasse perspexi*. A full-text edition of Ascham's letters based on Giles's publication is available online: http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/cera/autoren/ascham_cera.html, accessed 3 Dec. 2014. An English translation of Ascham's letters as collected by Giles is provided, along with a commentary, by M. A. Hatch, 'The Ascham letters: An Annotated Translation of the Latin Correspondence Contained in the Giles Edition of Ascham's Works' (Ph. D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1948). A condensed version of Maurice Hatch's dissertation has been published in book form, *Letters of Roger Ascham*, trans. M. A. Hatch and A. Vos (New York, 1989). Also cf. Edward VI, *On the Supremacy: With His Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses and a Few Brief Notices of His Life, Education, and Death*, ed. R. Potts (Cambridge, 1874), p. xxix.

¹⁹ See the collection of quotes in Nichols, *Literary Remains*, vol. i, pp. cxliii-cxlv.

chapters of Scripture each day 'with the greatest attention'.²⁰ Of course, the portrayal of Edward VI's love for books in the letters of Ascham, Bucer and others is informed, to a certain degree, by literary topoi derived from contemporary discourses on good kingship, casting the monarch in the image of Solomon or Josiah and promoting the image of a ruler who, despite his young years, makes wise decisions informed by classical learning and moral philosophy.²¹

This does not mean, however, that we should discard these and similar accounts as mere flattery on the part of the king's loyal subjects, many of whom (including Bucer) were heavily indebted to him for their grants of sanctuary in England in the face of religious persecution on the Continent. In fact, their statements are in essence corroborated by the first-hand testimony of members of the royal household, including Elizabeth herself. On the first New Year of Edward's reign as king, Elizabeth presented him with a copy of Bernardino Ochino's *De Christo Sermo* which she had herself translated and decorated with an elaborate hand-embroidered cover. Indeed, Edward appears to have appreciated this little gift book so much that he remunerated the servant who had handed it over with a generous reward of 43s 4d.²² Just how strong a tradition this exchange of books between the young king and his half-sister on New Year's Day became during subsequent years is evidenced by a letter written by Elizabeth from Hatfield on 2 January 1548 or, more likely, 1551.²³ In this letter, the princess apologizes to Edward for not having sent him her usual 'little work' (*opusculum*) as a New Year's gift, 'because of the shortness of time'.²⁴ The date of this letter, though contested amongst scholars, is of potential relevance, as will be shown below.

On 14 December 1550, Ascham wrote another letter to Sturm, this time from his new residence in Augsburg. In this letter, he emphasizes the importance of certain kinds of books, particularly the works of Aristotle, for the young king's education in the principles of good government (another vivid reflection of the ideal of Solomon- or Josiah-like kingship):

²⁰ Ibid., vol. i, p. cxliv; *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation Written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary*, ed. H. Robinson, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1846), vol. ii, p. 543.

²¹ On Edward VI's reputation as another Solomon or Josiah, see J. N. King, 'James I and King David: Jacobean Iconography and Its Legacy', in D. Fischlin and M. Fortier (eds.), *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Detroit, MI, 2002), pp. 421-53 (p. 424); D. MacCulloch, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (Berkeley, CA, 2002), pp. 15-17; C. Davies, *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 147-8.

²² Lawson, 'Remembrance', p. 139.

²³ Lawson appears to date the events mentioned in this letter to 1548, see *ibid.* However, Elizabeth did not move to Hatfield before March 1550, as is noted by Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 276, who therefore dates the letter to 1551 (as does Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', p. 439).

²⁴ Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', p. 439: 'I want now to thank you at least in words, though I cannot in kind. And I should have done so the sooner either in a letter or by messenger, except that a certain small work which I also desired to send to your Majesty meanwhile turned my intentions about. But since I could not at all bring it to conclusion as I supposed I would, because of the shortness of time, which seems to have flowed by me even more rapidly than water, I now hope that this letter, crude though it be, will plead my case before your Majesty in my absence'; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 277: *Volui nunc saltem, cum re non possem; verbis tuae Majestati gratias agere. Quod quidem ipsum citius a me, vel literis, vel nuncio misso factum fuisset: nisi opusculum quoddam, quod etiam ad tuam Majestatem mittere cupiebam, propositum meum intervertisset. Id quod, cum propter angustiam temporis, quod mihi vel aqua citius effluxisse video, ad calcem, uti me facturum opinabar, a me ipsa perducere minime potuerit: spero nunc hasce literas quantumvis rudes, meam absentis caussam apud tuam Majestatem acturas esse, simulque, animum erga te meum quomodocunque saltem declaraturas.*

He [Edward VI] shall hear from you how honourable it is for a ruler to study wisdom, and how a commonwealth is to be governed by good counsel, not by good luck; whilst the best counsels are to be derived from the best books, and, next to Holy Writ, there are none more suited to frame wise counsel than those of Aristotle.²⁵

What is more, Sturm himself is expected by Ascham to play an important part in supplying both Edward VI and other members of the royal court, not least Princess Elizabeth, with these much-needed works of literature. The two letters quoted above form part of a larger corpus of written correspondence that was exchanged between Ascham and Sturm during the first half of the 1550s.²⁶ As early as April 1550, Ascham first explicitly encouraged Sturm to send writings not only to Edward, but also to Elizabeth:

I have enjoyed writing to you of my most dear remembrance of my most illustrious Princess. If you should write anything to this noble Princess, most learned Sturm, it would be most gratefully received and read through with good judgment.²⁷

Half a year later, Sturm confirmed in a letter written to Ascham from Strasbourg on 18 November 1550 that he had recently dispatched a copy of his latest work, *De periodis*, to Elizabeth. In addition, he was already busy preparing a similar presentation copy of his next work, an edition of what he calls his *Dialogi Aristotelici*,²⁸ designed specifically for the king:

I have sent my little book *De periodis* to the Lady Elizabeth, but it lacks its advocate and recommender, for which I had had you in mind. Nevertheless, I understand that the lady Elizabeth was grateful for that gift, perhaps because you once mentioned good things about me in one of your conversations. I didn't commemorate the king in the preface [of *De periodis*] as it reads now, but [instead] I reserved a place for his majesty in my *Dialogi Aristotelici*, in which I sharpen my quill daily.²⁹

²⁵ *On the Supremacy*, ed. Potts, pp. xxix-xxx; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 225: *Nam cum audiet abs te, quam praeclarum sit τὸν ἄρχοντα φιλοσοφεῖν et rempublicam consilio, non fortuna gubernari, consilia autem optima ex optimis hauriri libris, nec meliorem unquam, cum a sacris fontibus discesseris ad formandum consilium, ipso Aristotele exstitisse.*

²⁶ Twenty-eight letters exchanged between Ascham and Sturm during 1550-3 have been collected in Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.1, pp. 181-92; *ibid.*, vol. i.2, pp. 195-378. Also cf. Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', pp. 321-888.

²⁷ Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', p. 337. Hatch translates *judicio* as 'most discreetly'; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.1, p. 192: *Ad hanc nobilissimam principem si tu aliquid scripseris, doctissime Sturmi, illud et grato animo acceptura, et magno iudicio perlectura est.*

²⁸ The exact identity of this work is hard to ascertain. Sturm produced commentaries on Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Rhetoric* (*Dialogi in Aristotelis rhetoricam*) in 1539 and an edition and translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (*Aristotelis Rhetoricorum Libri III, latine versi et illustrati*) in 1570, but the dates of these mean it would be unlikely that Sturm was working on them when he wrote to Ascham in 1550. Cf. 'Sturm, Johann', in J. H. Zedler (ed.), *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 64 vols (Halle, 1731-51), vol. xl, pp. 720-1 (p. 721). Full text available online at <http://www.zedler-lexikon.de>, accessed 30 Dec. 2014.

²⁹ Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 223: *Libellum de Periodis misi dominae ELIZABETHAE, sed desiderat patronum et commendatorem suum, id quod ei de te persuaseram. Verumtamen gratum fuisse munus audio dominae ELIZABETHAE, fortassis quia tu mihi aliquando tribuisti aliquid in tuis ad eam sermonibus. Regis non memini in praefatione, ut nunc loquuntur: ejus majestati locum designavi in Aristotelicis meis dialogis: in quibus stylum meum quotidie acuo.*

Sturm's mentioning of an advocate (*patronus*) and recommender (*commendator*) for his book – or rather the lack thereof – is of importance. When presenting books to Tudor monarchs and their children, be it as New Year's gifts or on other occasions, it was in fact common usage not to send them directly, but to employ servants, trusted messengers or middlemen.³⁰ Sometimes, these intermediaries held positions at the king's court themselves, for example, as tutors or private instructors. Cultivating a routine of regular and often intimate interaction with members of the royal family could provide unique access to some of the most vital areas of courtly life, thus placing individuals in an ideal position to deliver personal messages or gifts on behalf of third parties. One such individual whose role will be explored in greater detail below was John Cheke, Edward VI's tutor and language teacher,³¹ whom Ascham praises repeatedly in his letters to Sturm.

As can be seen in Ascham's response to Sturm's letter, sent from Germany on 14 December 1550, he deemed it of the utmost importance that Sturm should send the promised presentation copy of his *Dialogi Aristotelici* to Edward VI as quickly as possible. In fact, he even goes so far as to advise Sturm as to the preferred format for the book:

I shall approve greatly if you could imprint your book [*Dialogi Aristotelici*] in quarto, as they say, and not in octavo, as is common for your [other] writings; as always, I applaud the skill and elegance of the French in that matter [...] In making this for the king, most noble Sturmius, you will render an everlasting service not only to the most illustrious prince himself, but also to the whole of his kingdom and learning in general.³²

Ascham's statement is relevant in several respects. First of all, it shows that presenting books to the court (especially copies of one's own works) was a prestigious task which could help improve and secure one's personal standing within both the ranks of courtly society and the kingdom's learned elites in general. Moreover, preparing books intended for presentation was deemed a delicate undertaking which required high levels of skill and expertise if the books were to live up to the high standards that were expected of them. Such expertise was not always readily available nearby, but at times had to be sought elsewhere, for example, by commissioning artisans and craftsmen abroad. Ascham's endorsement of French printers or bookbinders in his letter to Sturm already seems to be hinting in this direction – an observation to which we will return below.

Of course, gift books – and presentation copies in particular – had to conform to certain standards, not only with regard to their content but also, if not even more so, with respect to their appearance as physical objects. This holds true for the books' 'internal' (the text and its *mise en page*) as well as for their 'external' (or material) features, including, for example, the size and quality of the paper (or vellum), the finesse of the penmanship or print type and, not least, the binding.³³ Bindings could be made from precious materials such as silk, velvet or leather, and in addition were often lavishly decorated. As material features, the bindings and covers were key elements in creating a first and lasting expression. They naturally constituted the first point of direct interaction between a book (as a physical object) and its recipient, thereby

³⁰ See Lawson, 'Remembrance', p. 133.

³¹ Alford, *Kingship*, pp. 143-59.

³² Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 225: *Si liber tuus imprimatur in quarto, ut loquuntur, non in octavo, quod fere fit in tuis scriptis, ego magis approbarem: et Gallorum in ea re quum solertiam, tum elegantiam semper laudo [...] Quod regi facis, optime STURMI, non illi soli clarissimo principi, sed universo ejus regno, universis literis et aeternitati factururus es.*

³³ See M. M. Foot, 'Bookbinding 1400-1557', in L. Hellings and J. B. Trapp (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 3: 1400-1557* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 109-27.

prompting an immediate aesthetic, visual and haptic response even before engaging with the textual content. To borrow Anne Marie Lane's words, a book's binding claimed particular significance 'because it is the package in which a book resides and presents itself'.³⁴ Wolfe has shown that precious books played a crucial role in the 'gift economy' of early modern England, 'functioning as multi-layered forms of flattery critical for maintaining and advancing personal and professional relationships'.³⁵ One specific group of individuals for whom gift books appear to have presented a promising road to fortune – and who therefore came to play a crucial part in their production and exchange, albeit with varying levels of success – were Humanist authors, particularly theologians and reformers hailing from Protestant or Huguenot backgrounds.³⁶

Many of these religiously motivated writers had fled to England from their home countries on the European mainland as a result of oppression and religious persecution. For them, commissioning presentation copies of their treatises to be bestowed upon members of the English royal household must have seemed an attractive prospect whilst seeking to establish themselves in their new home. Prominent examples include Erasmus of Rotterdam (*Prosopoeia Britanniae*), Filippo Alberici (*Table of Cebes*), Pietro Carmeliano and Bernard André, all of whom presented copies of their works to the royal court after having migrated to England,³⁷ but also female writers such as Esther Inglis (1571-1624), who produced at least fifty-eight decorated manuscripts intended as gifts.³⁸ Another prominent candidate in this context is, of course, Bucer. As has been demonstrated by David Carlson, it was in their presentation copies that these authors 'invested most heavily – both of their learning and literary talents, and of their own material resources'.³⁹ In some extreme cases, individual authors went so far as to bring themselves to the verge of bankruptcy in order to produce lavish copies of their books for their intended royal patrons. In this regard, the amount of resources that went into the production of gift books was largely disproportionate to the size of their audience, which might seem unusual from a modern publishing perspective. From the point of view of the mid-sixteenth-century authors, by contrast, '[i]t was inconsequential [...] that the presentation copies on which they spent so much might reach audiences of only one; it was this audience of one, not the many, that mattered'.⁴⁰

With this in mind, it comes as no surprise to find that a large part of the production costs usually went into the making and decoration of the book binding, alongside gilding fore-edges, etc. Even without an elaborate cover design, merely adding gilded edges to a book was a costly enterprise. In 1542, Edward (at that stage still a prince) received a New Year's gift in the shape of a *boke lymmed with golde*, which was valued at no fewer than 29s.⁴¹ High costs, though, were no deterrent to authors seeking a monarch's favour or patronage. After all, these exclusive material features must have played a pivotal role in creating that crucial first impression upon which much of the books' (and, by extension, their authors') success ultimately depended.

³⁴ A. M. Lane, 'How can we Recognise "Contemporary" Bookbindings of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries?', in E. Cayley and S. Powell (eds.), *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe 1350-1550: Packaging, Presentation and Consumption* (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 3-13 (p. 3).

³⁵ Wolfe, 'Manuscripts', p. 123.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 125; Schurink, 'Print', p. 87.

³⁷ D. R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 34, 37-59. Also cf. H. W. Garrod, 'Erasmus and His English Patrons', *The Library*, 5th ser., iv (1949), 1-13.

³⁸ Wolfe, 'Manuscripts', pp. 124-5.

³⁹ Carlson, *Humanist Books*, p. 12.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ F. Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, afterwards Queen Mary* (London, 1831), p. 108.

The necessity for such lavish material display becomes all the more obvious once we consider the ritualistic – not to say ceremonial – sequence of gift-giving procedures at the Tudor court, which was geared fundamentally towards visual exhibition and self-fashioning. Once again, the most tangible evidence survives in the context of New Year's gifts. As is related in a letter written by London merchant John Husee to Viscount Lisle on 3 January 1538, Henry VIII preferred to receive his New Year's gifts whilst standing in front of his cupboard, where the gifts would remain afterwards so they could be out on display for present company to admire.⁴² A few years earlier, the king had even employed carpenters to build a special wooden shelf for the 'Kynge's newyere yefte to stande upon'.⁴³ The format of this ceremony appears to have changed little over subsequent generations of rulers, including the reign of Edward VI,⁴⁴ and the act of gift-giving occasionally became rather competitive amongst the donors. It is in this spirited context of exhibition and display that a gift book was usually granted its first and, perhaps, most important opportunity to shine.

Bucer's letter to Cheke, 21 October 1550

Now equipped with an understanding of the wider context of books as gifts in the sixteenth century, we return to the letter of 21 October 1550 from Bucer to Cheke with which we opened this enquiry in order to investigate the particular presentation copies Bucer enumerates as enclosed in the package. In general terms, Bucer's written style, particularly in the later years of his life and probably thanks to ill-health, is often considered somewhat repetitious, laborious and inexplicit.⁴⁵ The cover letter to Cheke that accompanied Bucer's package presents no exception. It is written in such a way as to allow for various possibilities regarding our understanding of the contents of the package. Bucer states:

I had hoped to show you [Cheke] these observations for the first time here [Cambridge], but as we have now long been disappointed in our expectation of your arrival, and as I have been obliged to send my servant to London for business of my own, I saw fit to take the opportunity to convey to you both these, my writings (*mea scripta*), and the little book of our friend Sturmius (*et libellum Sturmi nostri*), in two copies (*binis exemplaribus*).⁴⁶

From the context discussed at the beginning of this article, we can presume 'my writings' (*mea scripta*) to refer to the presentation copy of *De regno Christi* which Bucer wanted delivered to Edward VI by the hand of Cheke.⁴⁷ Sturm's 'little book' (*libellus*), meanwhile, must surely refer to his 1550 publication, *De periodis*, which has already been introduced above in relation to a

⁴² Hayward, 'Gift Giving', p. 127.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Heal, *Power of Gifts*, pp. 92-5.

⁴⁵ For example, Martin Greschat notes of *De regno Christi*: 'In terms of its linguistic style and compositional structure, the work was admittedly far from being a masterpiece. Bucer remained too true to his writing habits for things to be otherwise.' Greschat, *Martin Bucer*, p. 240.

⁴⁶ CCCC 119, p. 45; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 215. *Statueram autem haec commenta tibi primum hic exhibere, verum cum jam tandem expectatione adventus tui sumus frustrati, et cum ob negotia mea famulum meum deberem mittere Londinum, opportunum existimavi ad te perferenda et haec mea scripta et libellum Sturmi nostri, binis exemplaribus.*

⁴⁷ Hatch ('Ascham Letters', p. 384) translates *mea scripta* as 'this letter', but the context of the letter as an accompaniment to a package containing his *De regno Christi* (as well as that in the same breath he speaks of other books he is enclosing (Sturm's)) would suggest that our translation is the more likely.

presentation copy sent to Princess Elizabeth.⁴⁸ Further, Bucer says he is enclosing two copies (*binis exemplaribus*). There is a question, though, as to precisely what Bucer means by two copies: is it two copies of both *De regno Christi* and *De periodis*? Or just Sturm's book? The next passage helps to clarify this:

Since the vellum one (*membranaceum*) was smudged in the process of binding at Strasbourg owing to the ink being still being wet, he himself (*ille* [= Sturm]) also sent me a paper one (*chartaceum*) which I have had bound more cleanly. This, in so far as it could be well done by my printer Remigius given the lack of equipment here (*hic* [= in Cambridge and/or England]), I have undertaken to have done. For my pains in this, far be it that you should worry about any payment to me; it is enough, and more than enough, that you offer friendship, if you will give me leave.⁴⁹

It transpires, therefore, that Bucer is more likely to be describing *De periodis* as being present in two copies. The inclusion of the demonstrative pronoun *ille* allows for the identification of Sturm as the person who, in light of a binding error leading to the smudging of the vellum, also included a paper version of *De periodis* in his parcel to Bucer, apparently unbound. Bucer then says that he has undertaken to have this paper copy bound by his own printer, Remigius,⁵⁰ who has done the job to the best of his ability despite the lack of appropriate tools in Cambridge. There is, though, a further possibility: *bini* might equally translate as 'two by two' or 'two each',⁵¹ meaning that there might actually have been four copies of Sturm's book – two on paper and two on vellum. But for whom were these copies intended? We know that *De regno Christi* would eventually be sent to Edward VI by the hand of Cheke, so could Sturm's books also have been designed as presentation copies for delivery via Cheke? We will return to Sturm's books, as well as to why 'two by two' might represent the more likely translation of *binis exemplaribus*, later, but first we will consider Bucer's own offering in more detail: the presentation copy of *De regno Christi* now designated Royal 8 B. VII.

⁴⁸ Johannes Sturm, *Libri duo Ioannis Sturmii de periodis unus. Dionysii Halicarnassaei de collocatione verborum alter* (Strasbourg, 1550).

⁴⁹ CCCC 119, p. 45; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 215. *Cum enim membranaceum ex nondum siccato atramento fuerit Argentorati inter compingendum commaculatum, misit ad me ille [et] chartaceum, quod hic curarem compingi mundius. Id quantum praestari a Remigio meo Typographo in hac instrumentorum inopia potuit, confieri curavi pro mea opera, tam abest ut quicquam debeas mihi curare praemium, ut satis superque praestiteris amicitiae officium, si veniam mihi impetraveris.* Note that the word 'et' here given in square brackets is not transcribed by Giles, but rather is a direct transcription from the manuscript. Thanks to Elisabeth Leedham-Green for her assistance in translating this passage with greater precision.

⁵⁰ Remigius is in fact Remigius Guidon, Bucer's printer who worked in Strasbourg and travelled back and forth to England carrying writings, correspondence and other documentation most typically between Bucer and his Strasbourg-based secretary, Conrad Hubert. Remigius eventually followed Bucer to England permanently with plans of establishing a paper mill in Cambridge, though his actual arrival (in April 1551) was not until after Bucer's death. The paper mill was established soon after but seems to have been in business for only a few years, before apparently closing thanks to financial difficulties. A full account of Remigius Guidon, the Cambridge paper mill and Bucer's involvement can be found in B. Pohl and L. Tether, 'Remigius Guidon, Cambridge's Old Paper Mill and the Beginnings of the Cambridge University Press, c. 1550-59', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, xv (2015), pp. 177-227.

⁵¹ 'binus', -a, -um, v. *bini* = two by two, two to each, two each, two at a time; *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. C. T. Lewis and C. Short (Oxford, 1879), available online <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059>, accessed 10 Dec 2014. With thanks to Elisabeth Leedham-Green for her assistance in deciphering and identifying this possible dual meaning of *binis*.

Bucer's *De regno Christi*: London, British Library, Royal MS. 8 B. VII

Royal 8 B. VII retains its original leather binding (albeit restored and rebaked) in two volumes with dimensions of 20 x 15cm (see fig. 1).⁵² Having been derived directly from Bucer's original draft, which is now presumed lost, Royal 8 B. VII holds the distinction of being the earliest extant copy of the text. The ornate, beautiful binding of this presentation copy has been termed 'extraordinary' owing to the Biblical inscriptions in Hebrew, Greek and Latin printed (rather than hand-tooled) in gold on its central panels, a technique not in use in England at the time, and rarely elsewhere.⁵³ There are two hands present in the manuscript: one wrote the table of contents, and the other the rest of the work. The hand responsible for the table of contents has been persuasively identified as that of Martin Brem, one of Bucer's non-English secretaries based in Cambridge.⁵⁴ It is also Brem's hand which is responsible for the dedicatory letter to the king written to accompany *De regno Christi* upon its presentation.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, upon inspection, the hand of the main text appears to be the same as that responsible for a letter from Bucer to Cheke dated 29 August 1550.⁵⁶ François Wendel argues convincingly that this hand could be that of one Wilhelmus (probably Wilhelm or Guillaume), a Cambridge-based assistant to Brem to whom Bucer gives various detailed work directives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 418, pp. 627-34.⁵⁷ In support of this is the fact that, in his cover letter to Cheke, Bucer states that one of his personal attendants (*famulus*) copied the text not perfectly, but to the best of his ability (*non ut decuit, sed ut potuit*).⁵⁸

⁵² Cf. the corresponding entry for Royal 8 B. VII in the British Library Archives and Manuscripts Catalogue (http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?vid=IAMS_VU2&afterPDS=true&institution=BL&docId=IAMS040-002106319, accessed 1 Sept. 2014). See also Wendel's description of Royal 8 B. VII in the introduction to his edition of the text, *De regno Christi*, p. lvi, n. 220.

⁵³ R. J. D. Harding, 'Authorial and Editorial Influence on Luxury Bookbinding Styles in Sixteenth-Century England', in J. N. King (ed.), *Tudor Books and Readers* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 116-37 (pp. 130, 133).

⁵⁴ The identification is based on a comparison of hands between the table of contents and various correspondences between Brem and Conrad Hubert which are extant in the Archives de St-Thomas, Strasbourg; Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. liv, n. 221. Also cf. Brem's dedicatory letter to Matthew Parker (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 125, ff. 1r-2r), also dating from 1550 and signed by Brem, who refers to himself as 'servant' (*famulus*).

⁵⁵ CCCC 119, pp. 3-5.

⁵⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 113 (hereafter CCCC 113), pp. 303-6.

⁵⁷ Ibid. Wendel argues this in greater detail in his 'Un document inédit sur le séjour de Bucer en Angleterre', *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, xxiv (1954), pp. 223-33 by outlining the closeness in relationship enjoyed by Bucer and Wilhelmus, who seems to have undertaken tasks indicative of great care towards his master (which reflects Bucer's statement in his letter to Cheke about the copyist of Royal 8 B. vii, who he says has done a great deal for him, but who now has been sent back to his family in France at their request – see n. 58 below). Wendel also says that the principal occupation of the *famulus* was 'de copier les manuscrits de Bucer' (p. 228).

⁵⁸ CCCC 119, p. 45; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 215: *Attamen cum eum famulum qui mea descripsit non ut decuit, sed ut potuit, nunc dimittam in Galliam, ita ejus parente poscente, nec possim eum qua velim benignitate dimittere, quamque probe meruit suis fidelissimis per omne tempus morbi mei, et alias ministeriis.*

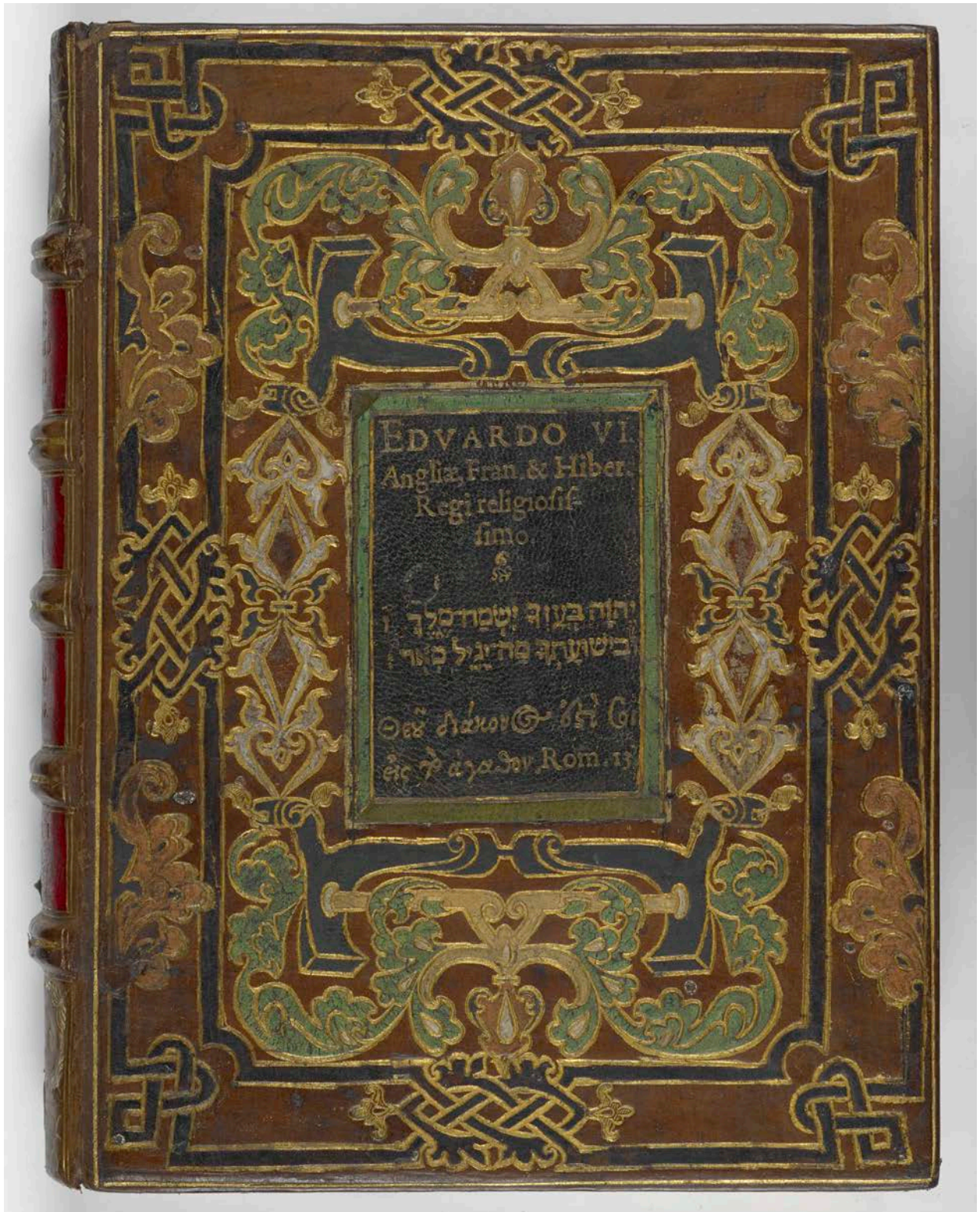
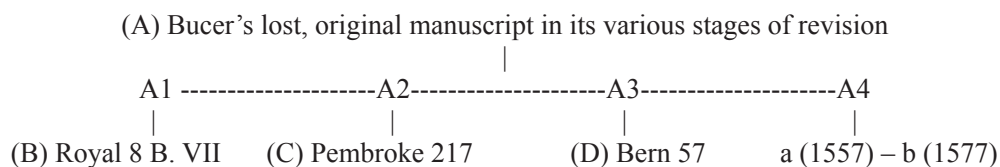


Fig. 1. The binding of London, British Library, Royal MS. 8 B. VII, volume 1.

Two other manuscripts of *De regno Christi* were produced around the same time. Most important for this article, and produced just a few months after Royal 8 B. VII, having also been based and revised on the basis of Bucer's original draft, is Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS. 217 (hereafter Pembroke 217). Pembroke 217 is, like Royal 8 B. VII, contained in its original (restored) binding which bears similar gold inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek as well as a date of 1551, though the binding as a whole is rather less ornate. A further, and slightly later,⁵⁹ manuscript copy is known to have been produced in close proximity to, and on the basis of, Bucer's original draft: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 57 (hereafter Bern 57) has unfortunately lost its original binding and is now between seventeenth-century parchment covers.⁶⁰ Royal 8 B. VII and Pembroke 217 are notable since they both bear evidence of Bucer's personal emendation, though it would appear that Bucer did not necessarily transfer all of the corrections he made to Royal 8 B. VII back into his original draft, since several corrections found in Royal 8 B. VII are not always to be found in the later version contained in Pembroke 217.⁶¹ Royal 8 B. VII, of course, had already been sent to John Cheke in October 1550, so it could no longer be used for reference in 1551 when producing Pembroke 217. Rather Bucer would have had to use whatever he had noted in the original draft, and then relied on memory for the rest. Bern 57, by contrast, does not contain evidence of Bucer's hand, but is also quite extensively revised, though this time rather more stylistically. It is thus held that this copy was most likely completed after Bucer's death in February 1551 but prior to the subsequent return to the Continent of his widow, Wibrandis Rosenblatt.⁶² According to a letter from Wibrandis's son-in-law, Jakob Meyer, to Conrad Hubert dated 21 July 1556, she took Bucer's original draft with her when she returned to her home country of Switzerland where it was believed, following further revision, to have been printed and published for the first time by Johannes Oporinus in Basel in 1557.⁶³ This version was then included into the volume of Bucer's works written in England and entitled *Scripta Anglicana fere omnia* (published by Petrus Perna in Basel in 1577). It is presumed that Bucer's original draft was then destroyed once the text was in print.⁶⁴ The text's editor, Wendel, thus provides the following stemma and sigla (here translated into English):⁶⁵



⁵⁹ Wendel argues convincingly for this chronology on the basis of a detailed comparison of various corrections and amendments between the copies. For example, the words *Additio auctoris* are written next to a marginal inscription at the beginning of the work's second book in the Bern manuscript. The same inscription (though not *Additio auctoris*) appears in the Cambridge copy, but is missing in the London presentation copy; Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. lv.

⁶⁰ Cf. H. Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)* (Hildesheim, 1974), p. 84; J. R. Sinner, *Catalogus codicum mss. bibliothecae Bernensis*, 3 vols (Bern, 1760-1772), vol. i, p. 31; see also Wendel's description of Bern 57 in the introduction to his edition of the text, *De regno Christi*, p. lv, n. 226. We are grateful to Florian Mittenhuber at the Burgerbibliothek in Bern for sending us a photograph of the codex in question, as well as details of the restructuring of the library in the 1690s which led to the subsequent rebinding in plain vellum of the majority of manuscripts on the basis of aesthetics.

⁶¹ Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. lv.

⁶² Wibrandis's letter to Matthew Parker and Walter Haddon (the appointed executors of Bucer's will) from 15 July 1553 indicates her return at this time to Basel (CCCC 119, pp. 93-4). Cf. Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. liv. See also Greschat, *A Reformer and His Times*, p. 240.

⁶³ See Greschat, *A Reformer and His Times*, p. 240. On the letter specifically, see Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. liv.

⁶⁴ Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. liv.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Whilst these later incarnations of Bucer's text have significance for this study, it is Royal 8 B. VII which remains the key focus of interest. The introduction alluded to the fact that Bucer sends this gift to Edward VI in thanks for his sanctuary in England and post at Cambridge; certainly, it is this point that most critics pick up on as Bucer's key motivation, especially since the preface to *De regno Christi* explicitly thanks Edward for these advantages. Bucer considers it fitting to offer the king a token of his gratitude

after he kindly received me together with Paulus Fagius, the chosen voice of Christ our saviour, as exiles in his kingdom, and even installed me in his famous university for the study of the sacred writings [= as Regius Professor of Divinity], equipped with such a fine salary, which he even allowed us to enjoy throughout all the months when, hampered by illness, we could not at all fulfil our office in return.⁶⁶

Harding questions why Bucer should have waited so long (more than a year) after his arrival in England in 1549 to demonstrate his thanks in this way, speculating that producing the binding abroad (see below) might have delayed delivery.⁶⁷ This is, of course, possible, but there are actually several even more probable explanations for this. The work itself, for instance, is substantial, and might simply not have been ready any sooner.⁶⁸ Bucer, after all, experienced spells of severe ill-health following his arrival, supposedly as a result of the cold and damp English winter, which are very likely to have slowed his progress with the work.⁶⁹

There is also another possible reason for the timing of Bucer's gift, which has to do precisely with the nature of the illness that troubled him so, and to which Bucer also refers in his preface. Having heard that Bucer was ailing, Edward VI apparently gave him the sum of 20*d* in order that Bucer could have manufactured a stove (*hypocaustum*) like those used in his homeland.⁷⁰ Perhaps this gift served as the final trigger for Bucer's sending the book at this moment, rather as if he had been in the process of working on it, but the long illness-induced interruption, coupled with the receipt of yet another kindness from the king, meant that he could delay no longer and had to send the text in its current state. He was evidently not yet completely happy with it, for he continued to revise the text and, as we saw in his letter to Cheke above, considered the copyist's work far from perfect. And despite the fact that New Year was the obvious moment at which to deliver such a gift, Bucer sent it to Cheke two months early (on 21 October 1550), perhaps indicating a pressing desire for the book to reach its dedicatee as soon as possible. As was mentioned at the outset of this article, though, the dedicatory letter for the king (CCCC 119, pp. 3-5), which is also dated 21 October 1550, actually has a twin copy; this

⁶⁶ Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. 1: *Ad haec, quid SMT, non debeam, si quid modo gratum ei facere uel pra(e)stare possem, cum me illa una cum selectissimo Christi seruatoris organo, Paulo Fagio, sanctae memoriae, exules tam benigne exceperit in regnum suum, munusque adeo sanctum explicandi diuinas literas in hac praeclara sua Academia iniunxerit, salario assignato tam lauto, quo etiam frui nos voluit per tot menses, quibus morbis impediti nihil prorsus ministerii nostri potuimus praestare.*

⁶⁷ Harding, 'Authorial and Editorial Influence', pp. 130, 133.

⁶⁸ Wendel concurs: 'la longueur et la complexité de l'ouvrage, le travail de rédaction ou, tout au moins, de copie n'a dû prendre fin qu'après les vacances', *De regno Christi*, p. xxxvi.

⁶⁹ Various correspondence from Bucer in 1550 outlines the state of his health following the winter. He complains, for example, of slow humours in his muscles and joints, colic, pain and weakness in his limbs and constipation in a letter to Johannes Brentius from May 1550; Robinson, *Original Letters*, vol. ii, p. 544.

⁷⁰ Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. 2: *[A]diecit enim praeclarum praeterea munus xx librarum, quibus pro corpusculi mei sic fatigati senio et morbo fracti, non tam consuetudine, quam necessitate, hypocaustum parerum.* Cf. *ibid.*, p. xxix; Hopf, *Martin Bucer*, p. 16.

⁷¹ Smith 67, p. 63; there are also various minor edits throughout the twin copy. Hopf provides a transcription of the Oxford copy with variants from the Cambridge copy in his *Martin Bucer*, pp. 127-30.

twin is dated 29 December 1550 and is headed *Martinus Bucerus Ex autographo*,⁷¹ showing clearly to any reader that this is a transcription of Bucer's original letter. This may well mean that it was actually Bucer's delivery man, Cheke, who understood the import of bestowing such gifts specifically at New Year, and thus he who opted, on Bucer's behalf, to defer delivery to an even later date, having the letter rewritten so as to fit with the new occasion of presentation.

It was noted earlier that Bucer's presentation copy is particularly remarkable for its binding, which is extremely fine and striking in appearance. Harding suggests that the printed central panels, which have been inserted into the binding, must have been produced on the Continent since the technology for printing in gold was not yet available in England. Further, he identifies the typefaces used as Robert Estienne's Hebrew type and *grecs du roi* Greek fount, which was also not in use in England at the time.⁷² Harding describes the binding itself as 'probably English' (with the panels imported and inserted), but also allows for the possibility that it was produced abroad in its entirety. We return to the provenance of the binding below, but wherever it was produced, the skill and technique required would undoubtedly have been highly expensive and, as such, Bucer's investment in this is completely in line with other contemporary book donors who, as we saw, often brought themselves to the verge of bankruptcy. As his cover letter to Cheke attests, Bucer even believed so much in the need to present books in appropriate bindings regardless of the expense that he arranged for his printer, Remigius, to bind the unbound paper version of Sturm's *De periodis* also enclosed in the package, and told Cheke that he was not to be reimbursed for this service. And yet, later in the very same cover letter, Bucer goes on to hint that he is in a financially difficult position:

For in bringing over the rest of my family for my wife's sake, and in furnishing another stove for them I have exhausted my funds. If you could without trouble or stinting yourself find a trifling sum for him [Bucer's *famulus* who copied *De regno Christi*], with which he could purchase a coat [...]⁷⁴

It is almost as if Bucer makes no connection between the considerable outlay required for the binding of presentation copies and his current economic situation, which he instead blames on domestic matters. Whilst these undoubtedly had contributed to his financial woes, one cannot help but remark on the apparent prioritization process at work here. Binding presentation copies is apparently perceived as so important a task that the funds required for it are not called into question at all. Indeed, in the same breath as telling Cheke not to reimburse him for the binding of Sturm's books, Bucer requests a loan from his friend to pay for something else.⁷⁵

Bucer was also apparently closely involved in overseeing the process of binding *De regno Christi*. The inscriptions on the central panels on the cover of volume one, which are typeset and printed in gold, are Biblical quotations in the languages of humanist scholarship: Latin, Greek

⁷² Harding, 'Authorial and Editorial Influence', pp. 130, 133. He tentatively suggests that Estienne himself could have printed the panels but is unable to provide more than circumstantial evidence, since Estienne's typefaces were also used by other printers and bookmakers, particularly in France.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', p. 385; CCCC 119, p. 45. Hatch translates *hypocaustum* as 'bathroom'; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, II.1, 215: *In adducendam enim reliquam familiam meam, per uxorem meam, et eidem alterum parandum hypocaustum permultum insumpsi. Si queas omnino commode, et citra ullam petacitatem, munusculum aliquod ei, quo vel vestem emat impetrare [...]*.

⁷⁵ It is worth noting here that donors often received expensive gifts in return for their books (which may have helped to offset their expenses), and Bucer does appear to have received a vermeil cup for Christmas in 1550 according to his will and testament, Harvey, *Martin Bucer*, p. 173; Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. xxxvi. Such cups were typical of the kinds of items received in these exchanges, Collins, *Jewels and Plate*, p. 101. It is, however, difficult to know if this cup was given in advance recognition of the gift shortly to reach the king for New Year.

and Hebrew. Harding demonstrates that the texts were carefully chosen, as they are 'clearly references to the young reforming King who was hailed by Archbishop Cranmer and others as a new Josiah'.⁷⁶ The Greek quotation from Ecclesiasticus 49:3 included on the cover (*En hemerais anomōn katischuse tēn eusebeian*; 'In the days of the lawless he strengthened piety'), as well as an explicit reference to Josiah contained in the dedicatory letter to Edward,⁷⁷ certainly supports the notion that fashioning the king in this image was central to the presentation of Bucer's book, though comparing kings to Josiah was not unusual. Although commonplace practice, Harding convincingly suggests that Bucer must have 'selected the texts himself' since he refers to Edward in the role of Josiah not only in *De regno Christi*, but also in a letter to one Catherine Zell, a friend based in Strasbourg, shortly after his presentation to the king in 1549.⁷⁸ Such close involvement in the binding's production not only underlines, once again, just how important presenting books was, but also may help us to suggest an identification for the hitherto unknown binder of these spectacular volumes; we return to this below. Meanwhile, Harding's discussion of the provenance of the binding discussed above suggested a Continental origin, certainly for the panels, if not also for the binding itself. Gold-tooling and fine binding were definitely practised in England (London and Cambridge were known hubs for this),⁷⁹ but the particular design of the binding seems to point more towards a French origin. Following our request, bookbinding experts David Pearson and Mirjam Foot were kind enough to view some images of this binding and confirmed that its style most likely suggests a French origin. Foot, in particular, undertook an extensive search of her archive of binding rubbings, as well as of several major binding catalogues,⁸⁰ but concluded that the binder could not at present be identified as working in any of the known French, Swiss or Flemish workshops of the period since the tools used did not match any of the examples. As a result, she attributes the work to an unknown, probably French binder, but one who was certainly a professional to judge by the quality of the workmanship.⁸¹

The combination of Bucer's close involvement, the superiority of the binder's skill (albeit not attributable to any known workshop or individual) and the likelihood of a Continental origin actually assist us in making a tentative suggestion as to the binder's identity. In his cover letter to Cheke, Bucer speaks of Remigius Guidon, whom he terms *meus typographus*, and who bound the paper copies of Sturm's books as best he could despite a lack of equipment in Cambridge. If Bucer would entrust such an important task to Remigius even without all of his tools to hand, it follows that he might also have relied on Remigius for the binding of his own work – of which Remigius would presumably have made an even finer job as he could have done it in the comfort of his own workshop in Strasbourg and then brought the finished book with him to Cambridge. Remigius worked closely with Bucer, after all, acting both as his printer and as a courier of

⁷⁶ Harding, 'Authorial and Editorial Influence', p. 130.

⁷⁷ CCCC 119, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Harding, 'Authorial and Editorial Influence', pp. 132-3.

⁷⁹ H. M. Nixon and M. M. Foot, *The History of Decorated Bookbinding in England* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 25-6, 41; D. Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450-1800* (London and New Castle, DE, 2005), p. 52; G. Barber, 'The Advent of Gold Tooling in English Bookbinding and the Intermediary Role of Thomas Linacre', in D. Pearson (ed.), *'For the Love of the Binding': Studies in Bookbinding History Presented to Mirjam Foot* (London and New Castle, DE, 2000), pp. 53-65.

⁸⁰ Among the most useful compilations are M. M. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift: A Collection of Bookbindings*, 3 vols (London, 1978-2010); H. M. Nixon, *Broxbourne Library: Styles and Designs of Bookbindings from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century* (London, 1956); H. M. Nixon, *Twelve Books in Fine Bindings from the Library of J. W. Hely-Hutchinson* (Oxford, 1953); Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles*; Nixon and Foot, *History of Decorated Bookbinding*.

⁸¹ Our thanks to David Pearson and, especially, to Mirjam Foot who went out of their way to help us with this enquiry via email correspondence. The latter was assisted in this endeavour by Philippa Marks at the British Library who took a rubbing of Royal 8 B. VII for Professor Foot's inspection.

books, letters and publication drafts between Bucer and his Strasbourg-based secretary, Conrad Hubert, from the moment of Bucer's arrival in England.⁸² Further, Remigius also had business interests (and possibly a workshop) in Paris,⁸³ while Remigius Guidon probably represents a Latinized version of the name Rémy Guédon, thus indicating either French or mixed parentage, which would additionally support his possible involvement given the likelihood of the binder having had Continental (French) training.⁸⁴ Bucer even thought Remigius important enough to assist with the process of installing him in Cambridge with a view to setting up a paper mill.⁸⁵

It was evidently on one of Remigius's visits to Cambridge that he bound Sturm's books, and we do know that not long before Bucer sent the books to Cheke, Remigius had brought some of his equipment to England for demonstration. An earlier letter from Bucer to Cheke, dated 29 August 1550, states that Remigius (*typographus noster*) had arrived in Cambridge a few days earlier (*advenit ante hos dies*), along with his equipment (*res allatae eius*). He also, in this same letter, says that Remigius is a man with plenty of skill and adequate equipment (*habet hic homo indubiae artis abundae, et instrumenti satis*), which indicates not only the high esteem in which Bucer held Remigius's work, but also the considerable level of professionalism associated with his craftsmanship. This is further supported by the travel diary entry of a Swiss student and future pastor, Josua Maaler, who meets Remigius on his eventual migratory voyage to England. In this entry, Maaler also describes Remigius as highly skilled (*kunstrich*),⁸⁷ and even names Remigius as having been appointed *Regius Typographus Cantabrigiae*.⁸⁸ Even if the exact implication of this title is rather opaque, since this is not a known job role,⁸⁹ its employment serves nonetheless to underline Remigius's status as a highly professional maker of books.

It also seems that Remigius was deemed important enough to be involved in Bucer's longer-term plans for *De regno Christi* since the earlier-mentioned Pembroke 217, which was revised by Bucer himself, may have been intended to form the printer's copy of the book for publication had Bucer lived.⁹⁰ In a letter of 15 March 1551 following Bucer's death, Cambridge

⁸² Harvey, *Martin Bucer*, pp. 109-10.

⁸³ See Remigius's letter to Bucer dated 5 April 1550 in which he discusses bringing his printing matrices from Paris to Strasbourg: *meorum maecenatum consilio visum est utile me demo Parisios conferre, ut libros aliquos Tralliani distraherem measque matrices adferre queam, quae in numero septem erant genera; easque omnes mecum ex Lutetia non parvo labore Argentoratum tuli, ut re ipsa apparet*; CCCC 119, p. 333.

⁸⁴ E. Picot, in his review of Paul Heitz's *Elsässische Büchermarken bis Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts*, suggests a French pedigree for Remigius, based primarily on the existence of a regional family by that name, which he traces as early as 1484; *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, xxxv (1893), pp. 143-7 (p. 144).

⁸⁵ See n. 50 above.

⁸⁶ CCCC 113, pp. 303-6. On this letter, see also J. Ames, *Typographical Antiquities: Being an Historical Account of Printing in England* (London, 1749), pp. 458-9.

⁸⁷ *Er was ein sunders kunstricher Mann, mit dem Papirwerk und Truckerey*, Josua Maaler, 'Josua Maler: Selbstbiographie eines Zürcherischen Pfarrers aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zürcher Taschenbuch*, NF, viii (1885), pp. 123-214 (p. 155) (continued in *Zürcher Taschenbuch*, NF, ix (1885), pp. 125-203).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Regius Typographers were usually appointed for the language in which they worked (Hebrew, Greek, Latin), rather than by the region in which they operated. We have discussed the possibility of miscomprehension of this title on Maaler's part in Pohl and Tether, 'Remigius Guidon', pp. 195-7; cf. M. Black, *Cambridge University Press, 1534-1984* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 27-8; note, however, that David McKitterick makes no mention of this job role, let alone of Remigius, in his authoritative *A History of Cambridge University Press*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1992-2004).

⁹⁰ Wendel, *De regno Christi*, pp. liv-lv. We have also argued for this in Pohl and Tether, 'Remigius Guidon', p. 191.

Regius Professor of Greek Nicholas Carr complains to Cheke that 'he [Bucer] would have produced a book of the most handsome kind, had his death not prevented him from doing so' (*Sed qui [liber] pulcherrima specie prodiisset, si eius migratio non impedivisset*).⁹¹ Further, in a fragmentary letter presumably written at around the same time (though without a date), the anonymous correspondent tells Matthew Parker that he has not yet met with Cheke to give Bucer's book to Remigius for printing (*Non egi adhuc cum Mro Checo de libro D. B[u]ceri cui de [regno] Christi inscribitur Remigio ad excudendum traden[do]*).⁹² Remigius never seems to have completed the task of taking *De regno Christi* to press (the first printed version was not produced until 1557 in Basel), but his profile does at least suggest that it is not impossible that it was he who was responsible for the fine binding in which it was presented to Edward VI. He certainly bound the paper copies of Sturm's *De periodis* also enclosed in Bucer's package, and it is to these that we now turn.

Sturm's *De periodis*: Cambridge, Trinity College, II.12.21 and London, British Library, C.24.e.5

As we saw earlier, it was during his correspondence with Ascham in 1550-1 that Sturm first seems to have developed the idea of sending presentation copies of *De periodis* to the royal court. Ascham's letter from 4 April 1550, in which he urges Sturm to send his writings to Elizabeth, represents the earliest echo of this plan. More concrete traces of its implementation can be found in a letter which Sturm wrote to Ascham from Strasbourg on 9 September of the same year:

In my little book written about oratorical periods, I addressed your Elizabeth, so that, since she can unravel the most artificial speech and the most involved patterns, she can judge also this little work, which has been composed in a light and compact style.⁹³

This letter has attracted little attention amongst scholars, though it can be shown to contain vital information concerning the transmission history of Sturm's presentation copies. The 'little book' (*libellus*) Sturm talks about can easily be identified with his *De periodis*, which includes a preface dedicated explicitly 'to the most illustrious Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Henry VIII of England' (*AD ILLUSTRISSIMAM D. D. ELIZABETHAM Henrici Octavi Angliae Regis Filiam Ioannes Sturmius de Periodis*). What is more, the letter actually contains the earliest and, to the best of our knowledge, only concrete indication for Sturm's intention to send a copy of *De periodis* to Edward VI, too:

Therefore I felt at liberty to send her [Elizabeth] this little book [*De periodis*]. Because it is not fitting, when publishing books, to address them to those who are ignorant of the matter which is treated, or who don't appreciate them fully. And because the book can't

⁹¹ This letter is transcribed in Conrad Hubert, *Historia vera: de vita, obitu, sepultura, accusatione haereseos, condemnatione, exhumatione, combustione, honorificaque tandem restitutione beatorum atque doctissimorum Theologorum, D. Martini Bucer et Pauli Fagii, quae intra annos XII in Angliae regno accidit* (Strasbourg, 1561), pp. 7-34 (p. 19); also cf. Wendel, *De regno Christi*, p. lv.

⁹² CCCC 101, p. 445b. J. Rott suggests that the book (Pembroke 217) had probably been found in Bucer's study after his death in his 'Le Sort des papiers et de la bibliothèque de Bucer en Angleterre', *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuse*, xlv (1966), pp. 346-67 (p. 361).

⁹³ Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', p. 348; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 195: *In libello meo, quem de oratorum conversionibus confeci, προσεφώνησα τῇ Ἐλισβετῇ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ, ut quoniam oratorum artificiosissimam et pretiosissimam telam potest retexere: iudicet etiam de hoc opusculo; quod levi et denso filo lucubratum est*. A more fitting translation of the humility *topos levi et denso filo lucubratum est* might be 'laboriously written in a careless and inelegant style'. Clearly, Sturm intended to establish a contrast between two different styles of writing, setting apart his own, and inferior, oratory from the more elaborate forms studied by Elizabeth under Ascham's tutelage.

speaking for itself, because it is not eloquent, you shall be its advocate where it is mistaken, and its recommender where it is not mistaken, and in both regards its patron, particularly to King Edward, for whom I also send a copy, so that it [the book] might be protected with a threefold patronage: first from you to the Lady Elizabeth, and then from her to King Edward, her brother, who, if he so wishes, shall be the foremost patron owing to his authority [as king]; what could be more fortunate for my book than this?⁹⁴

Thanks to Sturm's letter written on 18 November 1550, we know that Elizabeth must have received her copy of *De periodis* at some point between mid-September and mid-November (as is determined by the respective dates of the two letters). But how exactly did the book reach the princess, and what about Edward VI's copy?

The first clue has to do with the role of the book's advocate, who could recommend and, presumably, deliver it to the princess. As is made obvious in the April letter, Sturm originally envisaged Ascham as acting in this capacity. This was an informed decision, as Ascham had become Elizabeth's personal tutor following the premature demise of the princess's former teacher, William Grindal (†1548), who had been Ascham's pupil at St John's College, Cambridge.⁹⁵ In 1548, therefore, Ascham set out 'to complete, with all the diligence and assiduity I can summon, the foundations which my Grindal, although without my help, at least not without my advice, has begun for her [Elizabeth] so well'. Sturm knew of this appointment, and he commends Ascham on the fruits of his teaching in the letter from 9 September 1550:

But when I come to you, my Ascham, I know not whether to congratulate you the more to whom the Lord has given such a pupil, or Princess Elizabeth, to whom such a highly trained master; to make sure, I congratulate you both, and rejoice, concluding that the two years in which you taught and she learned were happy ones.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 204: *Ergo huic ego convenienter libellum misi. Ineptum enim est, in divulgandis libris, eos appellare, qui ignari sunt eorum quae traduntur: aut qui eadem non maximopere amant. Et quoniam pro se liber loqui non potest, est enim indisertus, tu ei deprecator sis, quoties peccabit, et ubi non peccat, commendator; et in utroque patronus, praesertim propter EDVARDUM REGEM; cui etiam exemplum mitto, ut tripartito defendatur patrocinio. primum tuo ad DOMINAM ELIZABETHAM, deinde hujus ad fratrem suum EDVARDUM REGEM: qui si sua auctoritate patronus summus esse velit; quis meo libello beatior?*

⁹⁵ Ascham relates the details of these events in a letter he wrote to Sturm from Augsburg on 24 January 1551, Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', pp. 433-5: '[H]e [Grindal] was my pupil at Cambridge over a period of almost seven years, and was established in Greek and Latin literature within the walls of my study from the time he was a little lad [...] [H]e was summoned from the University into the court by Mr Cheke, and in a short time was drawn as tutor in the education of the Princess; after some years, when the most noble Elizabeth both by her own genius and his work as her tutor had acquired her most excellent knowledge, and my Grindal, both by his own merit and by God's favour, had aspired to an extraordinary dignity, lo, seized by a sudden illness, he died'; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 272: *Fuit enim is Cantabrigiae discipulus meus, et a parvulo inter parietes cubiculi mei septem fere annos, literis Graecis Latinisque institutus [...] Nam ex Academia in Aulam vocatus est a Domino Checo, brevi doctor ad instituendam hanc PRINCIPEM adhibebatur. Post aliquot annos, cum clarissima ELIZABETHA, et suo ingenio, et talis praeceptoris opera, ad praeclaram pervenisset cognitionem, atque meus Grindallus, et suo merito, et D. favore ad eximiam dignitatem adspirasset, ecce tibi, subita peste correptus, diem suum obit.*

⁹⁶ Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', p. 435; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 272: *Huic ego quod felicissime Grindallo meo, quanquam sine mea opera, non tamen absque omni meo consilio inchoatum est, diligenter sane et assidue exaedicare conatus sum.*

⁹⁷ Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', p. 349; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 196: *Sed ut ad te, mi Aschame, veniam. nescio tibi ne magis gratulari debeam; cui Deus talem dederit discipulam; aut ELIZABETHAE Principi; cui talem magistrum atque artificem. certe utrique et gratulor et gaudeo, et felix illud biennium judico: quo tu docuisti, et illa didicit.*

What Sturm does not seem to have known when he wrote to Ascham between April and September 1550 and asked him to be the advocate for his *De periodis* was that Ascham's appointment as tutor had come to an unforeseen end at the beginning of that year. Following a series of intrigues and arguments at court, which Ascham referred to as his 'recent disastrous shipwreck' (*recens naufragium*) in late January 1550,⁹⁸ he resigned – or was made to resign – from both his position at court and his university post and, on 21 September that year, less than two weeks after Sturm wrote his letter, left his native England for the Continent (Augsburg). When writing to Ascham again on 18 November, Sturm seems to have been brought up to date, relating that he sent the copy of *De periodis* to Elizabeth even though it lacked Ascham as its intended advocate and recommender (*sed desiderat patronum et commendatorem suum, id quod ei de te persuaseram*).⁹⁹

What are we therefore to make of this statement? It seems highly unlikely that Sturm would have sent his book(s) to court himself without any middleman whatsoever. The answer, once again, is provided in Bucer's letter to John Cheke from 21 October 1550. As we saw earlier, Bucer here informs Cheke that Sturm had sent him 'two by two copies' (*binis exemplaribus*) of *De periodis*,¹⁰⁰ two of which were printed on vellum (but had been blotted in the process of their binding at Strasbourg), the other two, identical in content, on paper (but were sent to Bucer unbound in the shape of loose text blocks, as was common custom during the fifteenth

⁹⁸ Ascham laments these developments, for which he refuses to take blame, in a letter to John Cheke dated 28 January 1550, Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', pp. 311-14: '[T]he pleasanter it is to recall these things [university life and life at court], the more bitterly I endure the deprivation, caused by my recent disastrous shipwreck, resulting from the violence of the Court and the injuries of chance more than from any fault of mine; yet certain men are still trying, although my fortunes are at their lowest, to block your kindness toward me. However, in this parade of the most serious injuries, this one thing sustains me most surely, that by no means could it be so painful to me to be accused to you through open hatred and invented falsehoods as it would be agreeable to be defended by the silent testimony of your judgement in my behalf [...] This would appear to be a fit time and place for me to explain the whole affair of my life at Court and my reasons for leaving it'. Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.1, p. 196: *Tanto sane acerbior mihi jam solitudo injecta est, quod in hoc recenti naufragio, quod ego nuper Aulica vi et injuria jactatus, fortuna magis quam culpa calamitosum feci; tantopere, certi homines laborarent, ut in meo maxime alieno difficilique tempore, tuae etiam de me benevolentiae cursum impedirent. Sed in hoc concursu gravissimarum injuriarum, hoc me potissimum levat; quod nullo modo mihi tam molestum esse potuit, me apud te, aperto odio, et conquisito mendacio accusari; quam jucundum certe fuit, tacito tui de me iudicii testimonio defendi [...]* Et hoc in loco videtur mihi aptum tempus dari, exponendi de tota illa ratione Aulicae vitae meae, et ejus relinquendae consilio.

⁹⁹ Ibid., vol. i.2, p. 223.

¹⁰⁰ Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 215: *Opportunum existimavi ad te perferenda et haec mea scripta et libellum Sturmii nostri, binis exemplaribus. Cum enim membranaceum ex nondum siccato atramento fuerit Argentorati inter compingendum commaculatum, misit ad me ille chartaceum, quod hic curarem compingi mundius. Id quantum praestari a Remigio meo Typographo in hac instrumentorum inopia potuit, confieri curavi*. E. G. Duff collects numerous examples of English books printed on vellum up to 1600. *De periodis* is, of course, not amongst these, given that it was printed in Strasbourg, but Duff usefully draws our attention to the fact that vellum used for printing in England in the sixteenth century was often inferior in quality to that used on the Continent, which might go some way to explaining Bucer's apparent frustration with book production equipment available in Cambridge. See E. G. Duff, *English Printing on Vellum to the End of the Year 1600*, Publications of the Bibliographical Society of Lancashire, 1 (Aberdeen, 1902), p. 3; the list of books appears on pp. 17-19.

¹⁰¹ Lane, 'Bookbindings', p. 4: 'Text blocks were not usually sold in a publisher's binding like today – rather, they were distributed and warehoused unbound (with the exception of a small number of major printers who offered some bound books)'.

and sixteenth century).¹⁰¹ With all four books complete and in their bindings, Bucer sent them on to Cheke along with the presentation copy of *De regno Christi*. Sturm and Bucer knew each other well, as is attested by the corpus of surviving letters dating from the early 1550s,¹⁰² so it is not unfeasible that Sturm would have selected Bucer as Ascham's 'replacement' in order to have his book recommended to the princess by a person of influence. By mid-November, Sturm had probably been informed that Ascham had long since left the country and was unlikely to return from Augsburg anytime soon.

Bucer would have been an appropriate choice for this task, given his relationship with Elizabeth. For instance, Ascham wrote to Bucer twice following his dismissal from court, asking him to mediate between himself and the royal family. In a letter he sent to Bucer from Augsburg on 7 January 1551, Ascham says:

I must ask you, noble teacher, to undertake some trouble for me, your absent son, and in an important matter. You remember how I once long ago came to you when you had first come into England and dwelt at Lambeth. A stranger to you, I declared to you how badly treated I was, not by my Lady Elizabeth, but by one in her household. I asked you then if you would restore me in my Lady's favour by writing a letter for me, since she had been somewhat estranged from me not, as God is my witness, by my own misdeeds, but by the wicked deeds of others. Before my departure from England I went to my most illustrious Lady; she received me most gently, rebuked me because I wished to leave her and would not ask anyone's help in returning to her favour. I entreat you, noble Sir, by all our friendship, to signify by your letter written to our most illustrious Lady how much I have troubled to have you do this, which indeed you would have done if your health had not prevented you [...] I and mine will be most thankful for this service done for me in my absence. You know that I sought this favour from you once at Lambeth; I pray that I may know here at Augsburg now the same service, how luckily the same I now seek again from you. The office of peacemaker is most fitting to those who are fashioned after the likeness of Christ himself.¹⁰³

If Bucer could indeed be expected to act as 'peacemaker' (διαλλάττειν) between the royal family and their protégés, he almost certainly would also have been capable of endorsing a book for presentation. However, the rapidly progressing state of Bucer's terminal illness (he eventually died on 28 February 1551) in the end apparently prevented him from fulfilling either of the two tasks.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² See, for example, the letter from Sturm to Bucer concerning the religious persecutions in France (CCCC 113, pp. 307-8).

¹⁰³ Hatch, 'Ascham Letters', pp. 413-14; Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol i.2, p. 231: *Rogandus es, et maiorem in modum, optime Praeceptor, ut aliquam curam mei, filii tui absentis suscipias. Meministi, quomodo olim, cum primum in Angliam veneris, et Lambethi vixeris, ego ad te accessi, tum quidem ignotus tibi declaravi, quam male tractarer; non a Domina mea Elizabetha sed a nonnullis illarum aedium. Rogabam te tum, ut tuis literis me reponeres in gratiam Dominae meae, quae nulla mea culpa, teste deo loquar; sed iniqua aliorum opera, nonnihil a me abalienata fuit. Ante digressum meum ex Anglia, adivi illustrissimam Dominam, humanissime me accepit, et multo humanius me objurgavit, quod sic vellem eam relinquere, nec unquam laborarem per ullum hominem, ut redirem in illius gratiam. Rogo te optime vir, per omnem amicitiam nostram, ut literis tuis ad illustrissimam Dominam scriptis significes, quantum laboravi, ut hoc tu faceres, quod etiam opinor fecisses, nisi valetudo tum te impedivisset. Munitus sum mi Bucere, optima conscientia recte factorum et dictorum in illa Aula. et nisi pudor me revocaret, exponerem tibi, quam praeclaras res a me clarissima Domina acceperit. hoc beneficium tuum in me absentem collocatum, erit mihi et meis longe gratissimum. Tu nosti quod hoc beneficium olim Lambethi abs te petebam, quaeso intelligam et ipse Augustae, quam εὐ τοῦτος idem beneficium a te nunc repeto. Studium τοῦ διαλλάττειν, ipsius Christi, et ejus imagini conformium maxime proprium est.*

¹⁰⁴ Bucer's deteriorating state of health had already formed the subject of a letter written to him by Cheke on 11 May 1550, Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, pp. 194-5.

This is where Cheke's role comes into focus. As Ascham tells Sturm in his letter of 14 December 1550, he had visited Cheke in his house in London '[o]n the day before I left England', that is, on 20 September, and asked his host why he thought Edward VI should study the works of Aristotle.¹⁰⁵ The reason behind this enquiry was Cheke's employment as Edward's tutor, personally supervising the king's work on Cicero's *De finibus* as well as other Latin and Greek texts from Antiquity. This position made Cheke one of the people most closely associated with the young king during the early 1550s, someone whose 'professional life was impossible to disentangle from the court and royal authority'.¹⁰⁶ In addition, as the king's tutor, Cheke had direct access to the Privy Chamber and, more specifically, to the Privy Closet, which was the place in which the books received at court in the form of New Year's gifts were kept after the ceremony.¹⁰⁷ As Lawson has shown, it was custom from the reign of Henry VIII onwards that, once the New Year's festivities were over, '[t]he greater number of books was placed in the care of Grooms and Gentlewomen of the Privy Chamber'.¹⁰⁸ According to Stephen Alford, it was Cheke who acted in the capacity of Gentleman of the Privy Chamber before being assisted by Anthony Cooke in February 1551.¹⁰⁹ Even though scholars have argued convincingly that the royal book collections during the early sixteenth century were not kept in any one place, but dispersed between various locations – including the royal palaces of Westminster, Richmond, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Windsor, and Whitehall –, the Privy Chamber/Closet appears to have remained the first and foremost repository for gift books and presentation copies.¹¹¹

As both friend and colleague, Bucer undoubtedly knew of Cheke's privileged access to the king and his private book collection, which is probably why he chose him to deliver his customized New Year's copy of *De regno Christi* to Edward in the autumn of 1550. It is equally likely that Sturm, upon realizing that Ascham would not be able to deliver his *De periodis* to Elizabeth after all, approached Bucer instead – perhaps even following recommendation by Ascham, who, we have seen already, spoke highly of Bucer's diplomatic qualities. It seems then that Bucer, in feeble health, forwarded the task to the man he knew was most capable, Cheke, requesting that Sturm's *De periodis* be delivered to the king's court whilst asking the same for the presentation copy of his own book. Even though no New Year's gift roll is known to survive from 1550/51, we know from the extant roll of the following year (1551/52, London, National Archives, C 47/3/54) that Cheke once more presented Edward with books to support his education, including copies of the *Loci communes* and *Sermones ad Regem Angliae*. The hypothesis that he did the same in 1550/51 is supported further by the fact that Bucer, possibly driven by his solidarity with Sturm and commitment to their shared cause, arranged for two dedicatory letters to be drawn up and included in the package he sent to Cheke: the one attached

¹⁰⁵ Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 226: *Pridie illius diei, qua ex Anglia profectus sum, cum essem Londini apud D. JOANNEM CHECUM, et inter loquendum rogarem ab eo, quid esset, quod Rex Ethicen Aristotelis, potius quam Institutionem Cyri perlegeret?*

¹⁰⁶ Alford, *Kingship*, p. 143. Also cf. Nichols, *Literary Remains*, pp. cl-liii.

¹⁰⁷ Lawson, 'Remembrance', p. 159.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹⁰⁹ Alford, *Kingship*, p. 145.

¹¹⁰ T. A. Birrell, *English Monarchs and Their Books: From Henry VII to Charles II*, The Panizzi Lectures (London, 1987), pp. 1-3; J. Backhouse, 'Sir Robert Cotton's Record of a Royal Bookshelf', *The British Library Journal*, xviii (1991), pp. 44-51 (p. 44).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49. Birrell discusses an inventory of books kept in the private apartment of Whitehall (today London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian MS. B. IV), written partly by Robert Cotton. According to Cotton, the books listed were kept in the Privy Closet at Whitehall, and several of them can be identified with presentation copies given to Elizabeth as New Year's gifts. J. P. Carley also states 'a goodly number of the books received at New Year remained at the palace where they were presented' (*Libraries*, p. xlvi, n. 86).

to *De regno Christi* and addressed to Edward VI (discussed above), the other dedicated to Elizabeth and accompanying Sturm's *De periodis* (CCCC 113, pp. 4a-5a).¹¹² The hand that drafted Edward's dedicatory letter was earlier identified as that of Martin Brem, Bucer's assistant and secretary at Cambridge. The letter to Elizabeth is written in the same hand and has an almost identical layout. It likewise dates to 21 October 1550. It is not impossible that there may also have been a corresponding dedicatory letter for Edward VI's copy of *De periodis*, but no such letter is known to have survived. What follows from this is that Elizabeth must have received her copy of *De periodis* in the short period between 21 October (the date of Bucer's dedicatory letter to Elizabeth) and 18 November 1550 (the date of Sturm's letter to Ascham in which the princess is said to have enjoyed her gift), so the book cannot possibly have been presented as a New Year's gift. This strongly suggests that Cheke sent on this book separately from, and earlier than, those intended for Edward. In the absence of a dedicatory letter for the king's copy of *De periodis*, however, it is impossible to know for certain whether Cheke handed over this book to Edward at the nearest possible occasion after 21 October, or whether he kept it for another two months and gave it to the king as a New Year's gift together with Bucer's *De regno Christi*. On the one hand, combining several volumes into 'package gifts' was by no means uncommon practice amongst writers of the period, particularly in the context of New Year's gifts;¹¹³ on the other, and unlike the presentation copy of *De regno Christi*, there simply is no concrete evidence to suggest that the book was intended by Sturm specifically to reach the king on the occasion of the New Year.

However, what is possible now, and for the first time, is to identify both presentation copies of *De periodis* with books surviving today. In the dedicatory letter to Elizabeth drafted by Brem, we find the following passage:

Recently Johannes Sturm, a man who is without doubt of the highest erudition and gifted with eloquence, and entirely devoted to the reign of Christ with all abilities – [qualities] which are lacking in many of the learned and eloquent men of our time –, sent me two copies (*exemplaria duo*) of the book which he dedicated to your most serene Highness; and he asked me in [his] letters that, because the copy printed on vellum had somehow been blotted in the process of its binding owing to undried ink, I might see to it that the other copy on paper would be bound here [in Cambridge] and presented to your Highness together with the other [the vellum] one.¹¹⁴

The phraseology of this passage closely mirrors that of Bucer's letter to Cheke from 21 October 1550. One aspect in which it differs, and a vital one, is the terminology used to describe the books enclosed. Previously, Bucer referred to *De periodis* as provided 'in two by two (= four) copies' (*binis exemplaribus*), whereas now he clearly talks about 'two copies' (*exemplaria duo*). This emphatic change of terminology serves to support our previous argument that *bini* in the letter to Cheke should indeed be translated as referring to four copies. In turn, it also indicates that out of these four copies only two were intended for Elizabeth – one on vellum, one on paper –, whilst the other two were reserved for Edward. Meanwhile, the dedicatory letter to Elizabeth is almost

¹¹² Also cf. the discussion on the dedicatory letter of Erasmus's *Prosopoeia Britanniae* (previously identified as London, British Library, Egerton MS. 1651 but contested more recently) in Carlson, *Humanist Books*, pp. 87-9.

¹¹³ Lawson, 'Remembrance', p. 134.

¹¹⁴ CCCC 113, p. 4: *Misit ad me nuper Iohannes Sturmius, vir summa certe eruditione atque eloquentia praeditus, et utraque facultate Regno Christi devota, qua(e) in multis doctis et disertis viris desideratur hoc saeculo, exemplaria duo, libelli T. S. D. ab eo inscripti: petiitque ad me per literas, ut quoniam exemplum excusum membranis, fuit compingendo nonnihil commaculatum, ex nondum satis siccato atramento, curare alterum exemplum chartaceum, hic compingi, atque illustriis: D. T. cum altero exhiberi.*

perfectly identical in terms of layout to that addressed to Edward which accompanied Bucer's *De regno Christi*, bearing the same date and being written by the same hand. Taken together, this leaves little doubt as to the fact that Elizabeth's letter was also composed by Bucer on Sturm's behalf.¹¹⁵

Both the dedicatory letter to Elizabeth and Bucer's letter to Cheke additionally stress the fact that the two vellum copies of *De periodis*, despite being intended as presentation copies, had arrived in England in an unsuitable state, having been blotted with ink in the process of binding. This peculiar characteristic means that these two books can be identified as having survived in the shape of Cambridge, Trinity College, II.12.21 (hereafter TCC II.12.21; Edward's copy) and London, British Library, C.24.e.5 (hereafter BL C.24.e.5; Elizabeth's copy).¹¹⁶ Thanks to a handwritten dedicatory note on one of the opening flyleaves, it has long been suspected that TCC II.12.21 formerly belonged to the royal library of Edward VI. However, and despite having been referred to as a presentation copy on several occasions in the past,¹¹⁷ TCC II.12.21 has never been related to either of Bucer's letters. In 1878, Samuel Sanders in his *Annotated List of Books Printed on Vellum* deemed TCC II.12.21 to be entirely unique, stating that '[n]o similar copy appears to have been described by bibliographers'.¹¹⁸ Sander's statement seems to have been informed by two main observations: the first is that TCC II.12.21 is printed on vellum, rather than paper; the second, and equally noteworthy, is the fact that this book only contains the first part of *De periodis*, even though Sturm originally wrote the text in two parts, the first in Latin, the second in Greek. The title page of TCC II.12.21 makes this clear, explicitly referring to the work at hand as *IOANNIS STVRMII DE PERIODIS Liber Vnus* (fig. 2). Other surviving copies of the work, all of which are printed on paper, show a similar design for their title pages, but they all read *LIBRI DVO: IOANNIS STVRMII DE PERIODIS VNVS. DIONYSII HALICARNASSAEI DE COLLOCATIONE Verborum Alter* instead – see, for example, London, British Library 1030.d.2.(2.) (fig. 4).¹¹⁹ What Sanders and the majority of scholars after him have remained unaware of, therefore, is that there is in fact one other book – BL C.24.e.5 – which matches the distinctive features of TCC II.12.21 perfectly. Apart from TCC II.12.21, BL C.24.e.5 is the only surviving copy of *De periodis* to have been printed on vellum; moreover, it includes an identical title page which also identifies it as a copy of the text's first part only (fig. 3). It would appear, therefore, that the title page which survives in these two books, but nowhere else, was a unique custom job, made specifically for the purpose of presentation.

¹¹⁵ The attribution of the letter to Ascham on the website of the Parker Library on the Web is thus mistaken, http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=113, accessed 8 Dec. 2014. Also cf. the more tentative attributions in J. Nasmith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi et B. Mariae Virginis in Academia Cantabrigiensis legavit Reverendissimus in Christo Pater Matthaeus Parker, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis* (Cambridge, 1777), p. 133 and M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1909-12), vol. i, p. 249.

¹¹⁶ We would like to express our thanks to Elisabeth Leedham-Green for directing us to the Trinity College copy of *De periodis*, and to Sally Ann Russell and Jeff Kattenhorn at the British Library for assisting us in identifying their copy. The British Library copy is listed in R. C. Alston, *Books Printed on Vellum in the Collections of the British Library* (London, 1996), p. 165, and we thank this article's reviewer for pointing us towards this reference.

¹¹⁷ See, for example, the Trinity College Cambridge Library Catalogue, available online at <http://lib-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/>, accessed 13 Dec. 2014: 'This copy is on vellum, bound with blue silk and is a presentation copy to King Edward VI by Johannes Sturm. The inscription, in Greek, is on the flyleaf facing title page'. Also cf. S. Sanders, *An Annotated List of Books Printed on Vellum to be Found in the University and College Libraries at Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1878), p. 60: 'It is bound in old blue satin with gilt edges, is in fine condition and has every appearance of being intended for presentation'. H. M. Adams also lists the book as a presentation copy from Sturm to Edward VI, *Catalogue of Books in Cambridge Libraries Printed on the Continent of Europe 1501-1600* (Cambridge, 1967), S.1991.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Other paper copies with the same title page include Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, F.35.28 and Cambridge, Emmanuel College, 327.6.121.

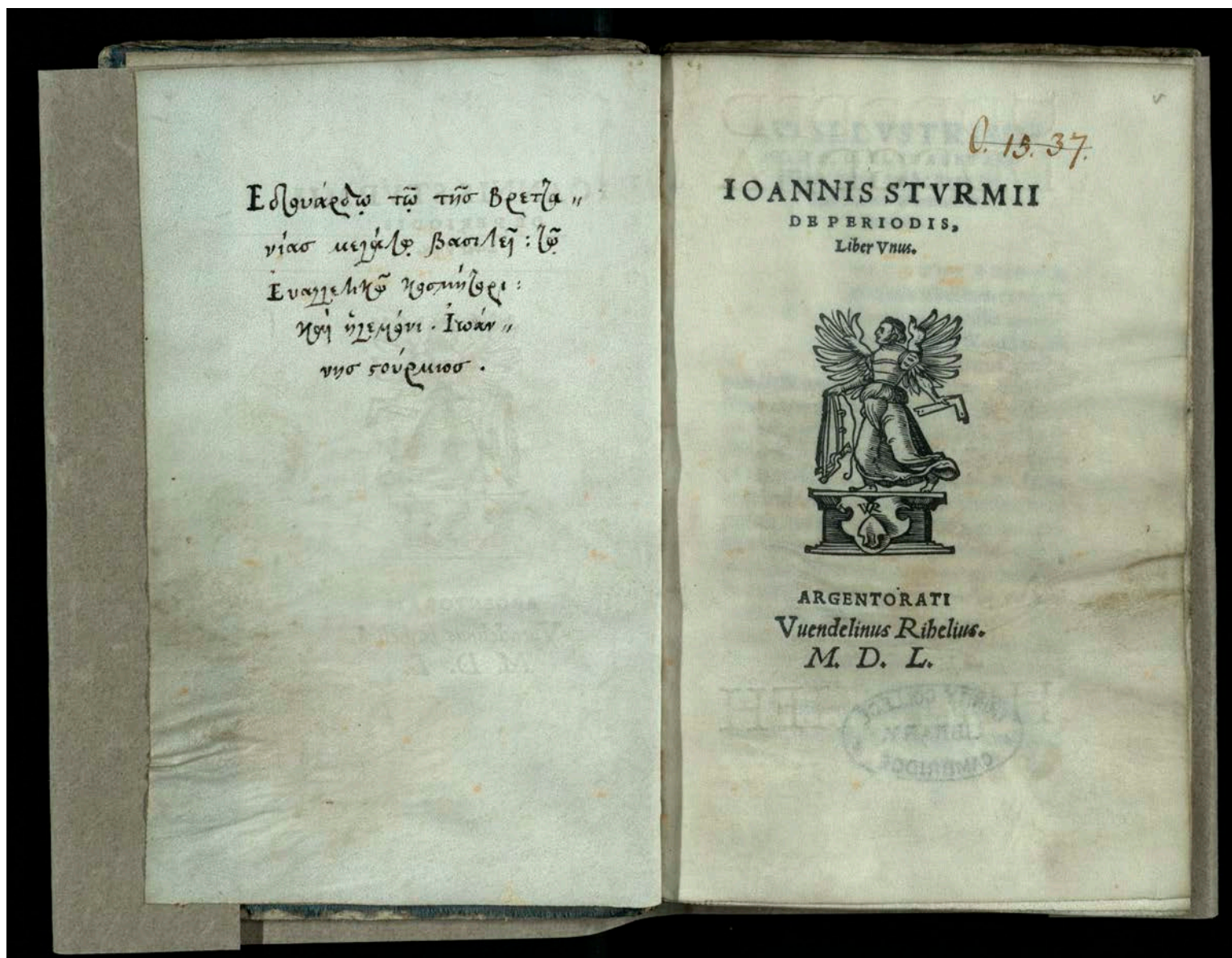


Fig. 2. The title page of Cambridge, Trinity College, II.12.21. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

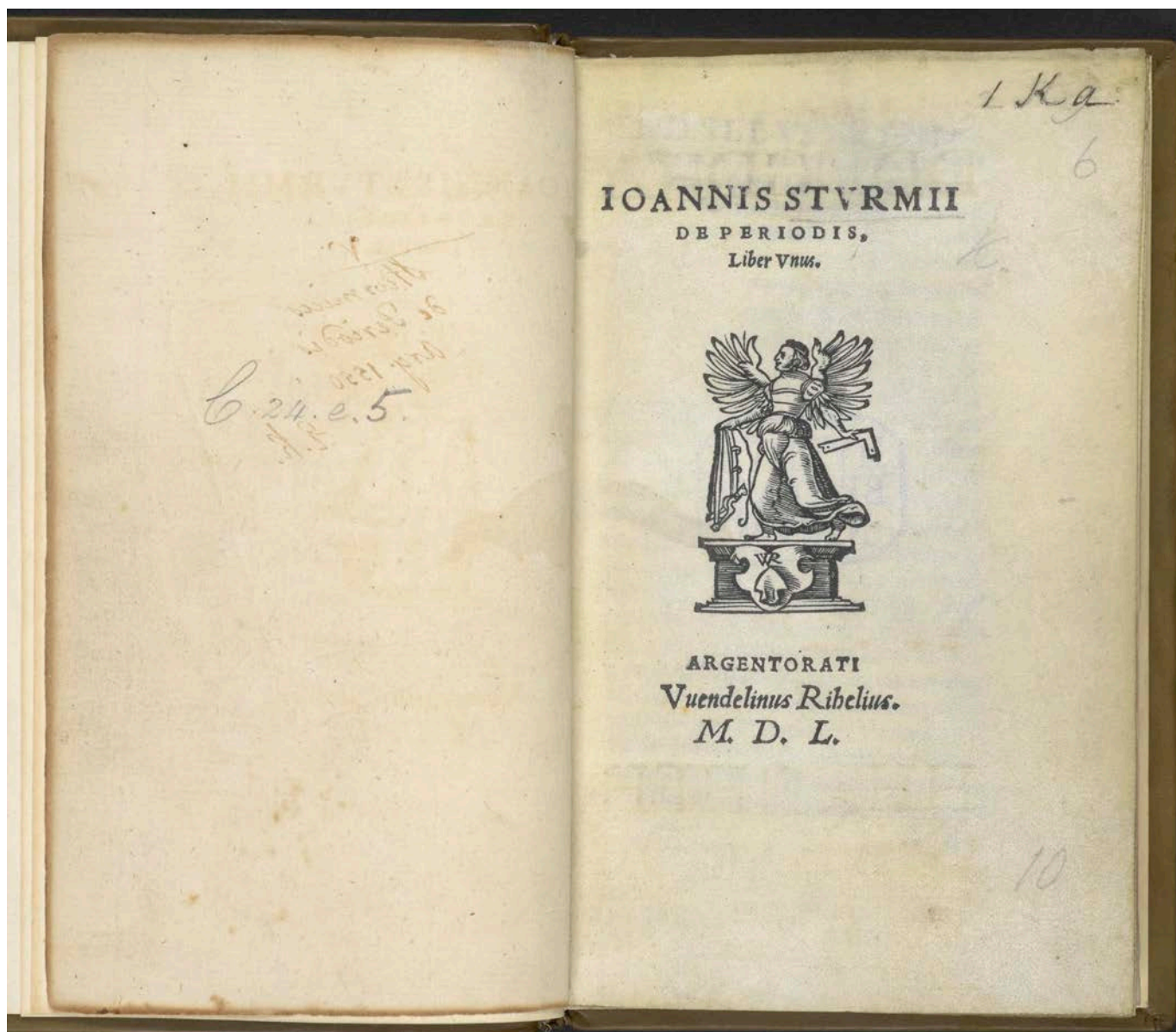


Fig. 3. The title page of London, British Library, C.24.e.5.

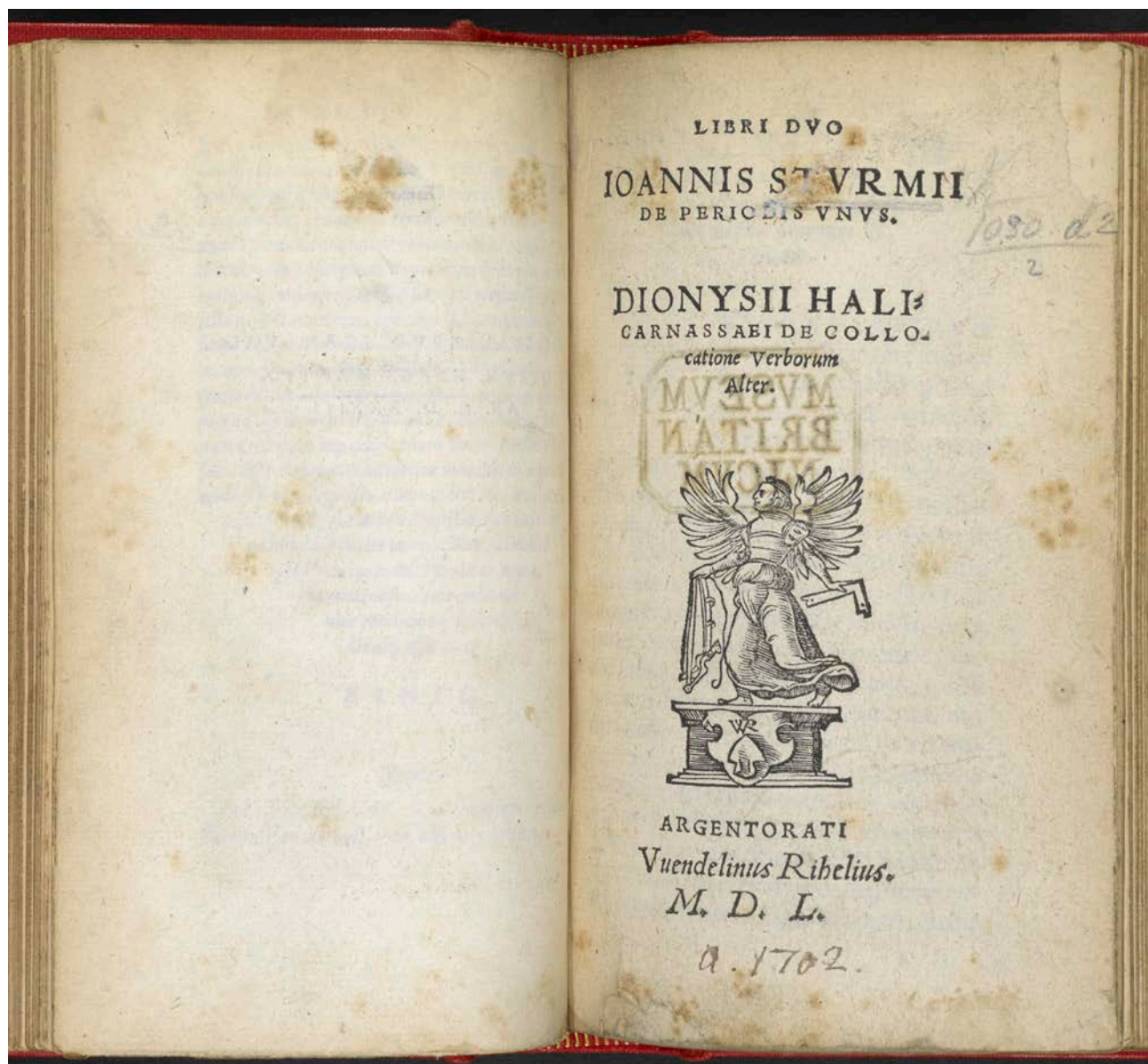


Fig. 4. The title page of London, British Library, 1030.d.2.(2.).

Unlike TCC II.12.21, BL C.24.e.5 has – to the best of our knowledge – neither been contextualized with the royal court nor had the circumstances of its production scrutinized. It has certainly never been identified with the book described by Bucer in either of his letters. This is all the more remarkable, given that both TCC II.12.21 and BL C.24.e.5 match Bucer's description perfectly. A closer look at their material composition leaves no doubt that they were produced together, as a set. Their title pages bear the mark of Wendelin Rihelius, Sturm's printer and publisher in Strasbourg (figs 2 and 3).¹²⁰ As mentioned above, a flyleaf in TCC II.12.21 has a carefully written note of address in Greek, explicitly dedicating the book to Edward. The hand that wrote this dedication can now be identified with certainty as that of Brem, Bucer's secretary, who also wrote and rubricated two Biblical quotations in Greek in the first volume of *De regno Christi* (Royal 8 B. VII, f. 3v), one bearing the rubric *Marci XI*, the other *I COR: XV*, as well as the table of contents and *Index locorum* in the same volume.¹²¹ In the absence of an accompanying dedicatory letter – such as those attached to the other books in Bucer's package to Cheke –, the dedication in TCC II.12.21 is proof positive that this book, Edward's copy of Sturm's *De periodis*, passed through Bucer's hands. It was surely Bucer who instructed Brem to insert the dedication *manu propria* before sending the book Cheke on 21 October 1550. Such handwritten dedications were a popular means of customizing printed presentation copies and giving them a more 'personal touch'.¹²² The use of Greek appears justified in at least two ways: on the one hand, Edward received frequent lessons in Greek from Cheke, which might have informed Bucer's/Brem's choice; on the other, using Greek had the added benefit of being 'comfortably old-fashioned',¹²³ serving to display both the author's and the recipient's learning and erudition. There is, it is true, no corresponding note of address to Elizabeth in BL C.24.e.5. This is not altogether surprising, however, given that the book, unlike its 'twin' TCC II.12.21, does not survive in its original binding, so any corresponding flyleaves may have been lost. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, there arguably was no real need to include a handwritten address. After all, the entire text of *De periodis* had been dedicated explicitly to Elizabeth within the printed text, with the book even featuring a preface to that effect placed prominently on its opening pages.

Further, about a quarter into the main text, both BL C.24.e.5 and TCC II.12.21 show severe signs of blotting. From there on, the ink becomes increasingly smudged, sometimes rendering the content of the pages virtually illegible. The nature of the smudging and the point at which it starts simultaneously in both books allows us to conclude that the two were printed at the same moment in time and both bound very shortly afterwards, before the ink was completely dry, thus leaving them with identical blotting (figs 5 and 6). This is made all the more probable by the fact that the two pages of vellum on which the respective title pages were printed both carry, usually, what might best be described as a watermark, consisting in both cases of an identical array of majuscule letters. Directly above Rihelius's printer's mark, we find 'D [rotated 90° to the right] DDDDBD [new line] DDDGDHA'; below we read 'HHHHHHFH [new line] G/CHHOC/OC' (figs 2 and 3).¹²⁴ There is further evidence to suggest that we are dealing with a 'twin set' of presentation copies in the form of the two books' material features, particularly

¹²⁰ On Rihelius, see A. Hope, 'The Printed Book Trade in Response to Luther: English Books Printed Abroad', in V. Gillespie and S. Powell (eds.), *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476-1558* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 272-89 (p. 287).

¹²¹ Compare, for example, the identical ductus and letter forms in the words *basilei* (TCC II.12.21, n.p.) and *basilaos* (Royal 8 B. VII, pt. 1, f. 3v). The letter forms used for the Latin rubrics and the *Index locorum* are perfectly identical to those found in the dedicatory letters to Edward VI (CCCC 119, pp. 3-5), Elizabeth (CCCC 113, pp. 3a-5a) and Matthew Parker (CCCC 125, ff. 1r-2r).

¹²² Schurink, 'Print', p. 87.

¹²³ Carlson, *Humanist Books*, p. 34. Also cf. Nichols, *Literary Remains*, p. cxxxvii.

¹²⁴ Of course, watermarking is usually a process associated with paper-making, but it is not unknown for vellum to occasionally contain similar markings.

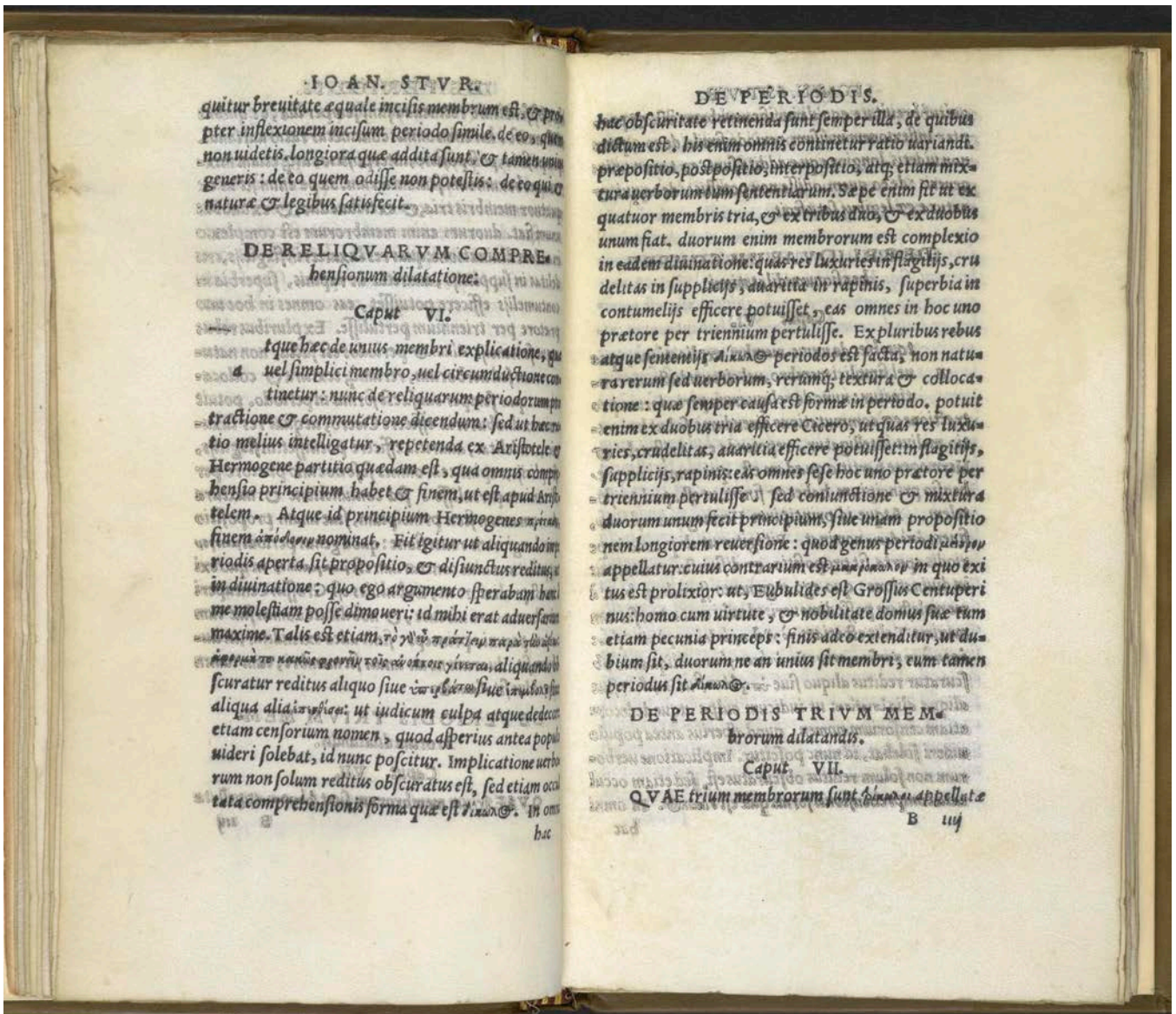


Fig. 5. Example of blotting in London, British Library, C.24.e.5, sigs Biiiv-Biiir.

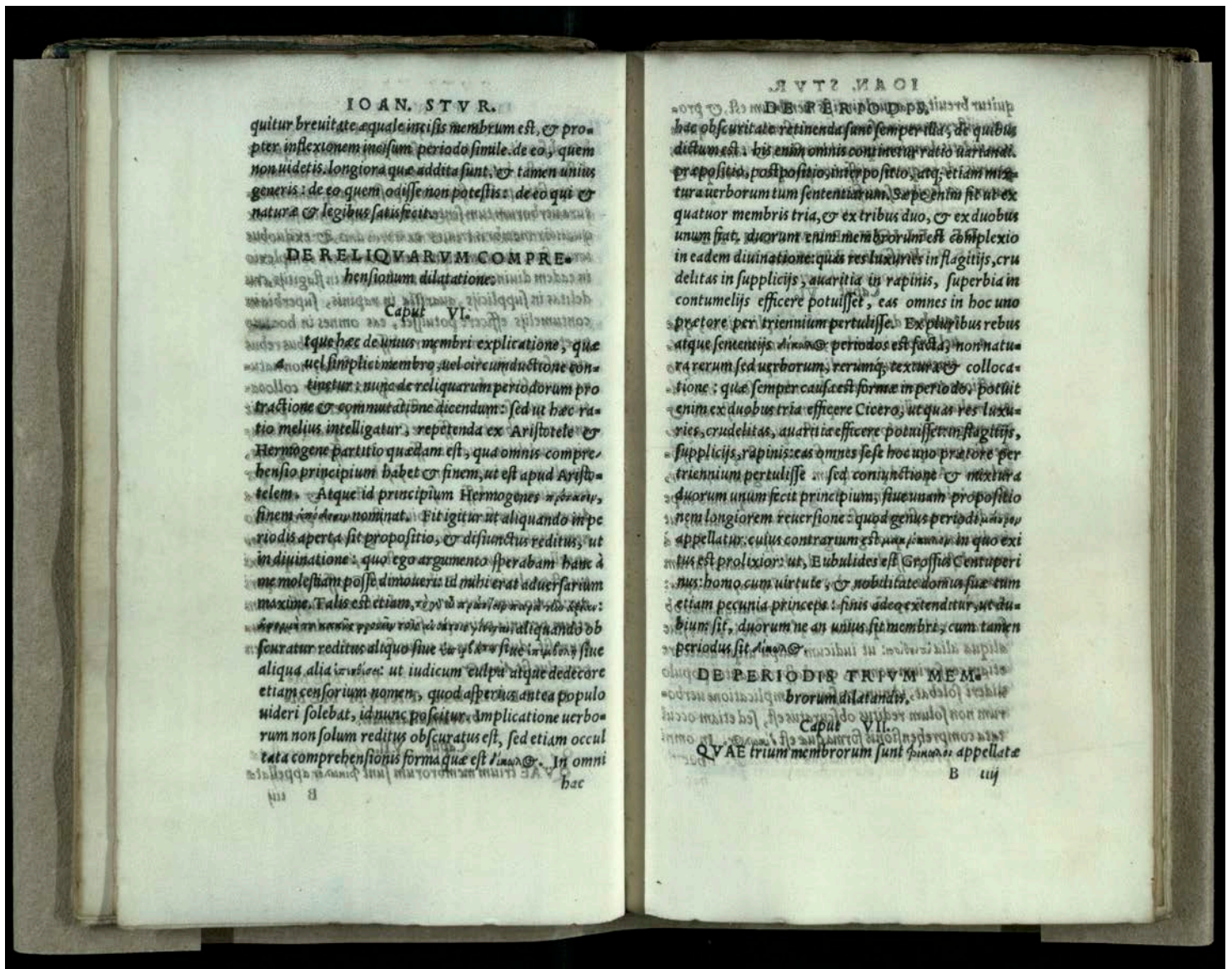


Fig. 6. Example of blotting in Cambridge, Trinity College, II.12.21, sigs Biiiv-Biiir. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

their binding and decoration. In the case of TCC II.12.21, we can see several tell-tale signs of a book that was produced in such a lavish and costly fashion that presentation to a patron must be assumed as the most likely *raison d'être*. It is of a convenient pocket-sized format, bound in precious blue silk and adorned with gilt fore-edges. During the sixteenth century, as we saw, such dyed silk (or velvet) bindings and gilded edges were common if expensive means of adorning presentation copies.¹²⁵ As mentioned above, BL C.24.e.5 has unfortunately had its original binding removed and replaced at a later point. However, the fact that this book, too, just like its counterpart in Cambridge, is gilt-edged makes it possible, and indeed likely, that its binding would once have mirrored that of TCC II.12.21. When examined alongside each other, the two books resemble one another perfectly, designed in a way fit for presentation to the English king and his half-sister.

Finally, the question remains as to why Cheke in the autumn of 1550 decided to send on the two vellum copies of *De periodis* despite their being blotted to the point of partial illegibility. We already know from the dedicatory letter which Bucer had drawn up to accompany Elizabeth's copy of *De periodis* (CCCC 113, pp. 4a-5a) that Cheke was instructed to hand over both the vellum and the paper copy to the princess. The same can probably be assumed with regard to Edward's copy, even though today we are missing both of the paper copies, as well as the accompanying dedicatory letter to the king. Scholars have sometimes argued that Tudor monarchs were interested in books first and foremost as 'objects of show, as part of a display of magnificence',¹²⁶ rather than engaging with their actual content. Could it be, therefore, that Sturm and his middlemen, Bucer and Cheke, thought they might get away with sending books unsuitable for proper reading as allegedly they would only end up collecting dust on the shelves of the Privy Closet? This seems highly unlikely. As mentioned earlier, there is no reason to doubt the overall credibility of contemporary statements regarding the literacy and learning of both Edward VI and Elizabeth, flattering and topical though they may sometimes be. Corroborating the letters of Ascham, Sturm and others, modern scholars largely agree that, unlike some other monarchs of the period, Elizabeth and Edward both had the linguistic skills to read, and even write, Latin and Greek, which makes it likely that they would have read the books given to them, rather than placing them on the shelves straight away.¹²⁷ We must remember, in this context, that Sturm explicitly dedicated *De periodis* to Elizabeth, and that in his letter to Ascham from 9 September 1550 he expressed his wish for the princess to read the book, which he had no doubt she would be capable of doing, given her ability to 'understand even the most complicated and convoluted forms of oratory' (*oratorum artificiosissimam et pretiosissimam telam potest retexere*).¹²⁸ As the king's tutor, who took an active interest in his learning, Cheke surely would have appreciated this wish?

It is probable, therefore, that the main reason for sending on the blotted vellum copies regardless was the lavishness of their material composition. Adorned with silk and gold and printed on vellum, rather than paper, they were books that created the illusion of being manuscripts. Think, for example, of cases such as Robert Whittinton's *Opusculum* (today Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS. 523), which was presented to Cardinal Wolsey in 1519 and is commonly regarded as the earliest example of an English bookbinding with gilt decoration.¹²⁹ As Carlson has argued, Whittinton chose 'to present a manuscript done up to look practically indistinguishable from the printed book, and so have the best of both worlds, both a manuscript presentation and an intimation of his use of print'.¹³⁰ In Sturm's case, we might well be dealing with the opposite: a printed book imitating the material splendour of a

¹²⁵ On silk and blue velvet, see Wolfe, 'Manuscripts', p. 124; Backhouse, 'Cotton's Record', pp. 44-6. On gilt edges, see Carlson, *Humanist Books*, pp. 117-18; Madden, *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 108.

¹²⁶ See the critical discussion in Birrell, *English Monarchs*, pp. 6-10.

¹²⁷ For example, Alford, *Kingship*, p. 143; Schurink, 'Print', pp. 88-9.

¹²⁸ Giles, *Works of Ascham*, vol. i.2, p. 195.

¹²⁹ Carlson, *Humanist Books*, pp. 117-18.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

manuscript. After all, even if printing on vellum was still rather unusual at this time (which might explain the printer's mistake in binding *De periodis* before the ink was dry), Sturm was not the only author who opted to have the presentation copy of his work printed on vellum.¹³¹ Heather Wolfe has argued that presentation manuscripts, arguably more so than prints, were perceived as 'extensions of their givers' own hands, holding greater resonance because of the extensive time, ability, and resources involved'.¹³² Similarly, Duff considers books printed on vellum to be 'the most sumptuous class of typographical productions, [...] greatly sought after and prized by collectors'.¹³³ It would seem, therefore, that the decision to send on both the paper copies and the vellum ones was a similar attempt to present the monarch and his half-sister with the best of two worlds: a lavish display book and a 'reference copy', the latter unadorned and intended for daily use (which, moreover, could act as a surrogate for the blotted passages in the vellum copies).

Conclusion

This study has revealed that, in addition to the presentation copy of *De regno Christi* now known as Royal 8 B. VII, at least two of the other books mentioned in Bucer's letter to Cheke from 21 October 1550 have also survived. These books are TCC II.12.21 and BL C.24.e.5, both of which are printed vellum copies of Sturm's *De periodis* intended for presentation to Edward VI and Princess Elizabeth respectively. TCC II.12.21 and BL C.24.e.5 are virtually identical, having been produced at the same time, in the same workshop and from the same formes. They presumably reached England in the autumn of 1550 and were handed over into Cheke's care by Bucer together with the presentation copy of *De regno Christi*. It was Cheke who, as the king's tutor and Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, made sure that all three books reached their addressees at court – whether separately or in bundles is difficult to know for certain. Based on the surviving correspondence combined with the documentary evidence, the most likely scenario is that Elizabeth received her copy of *De periodis* independently from, and probably earlier than, Edward, that is between 21 October and 11 November 1550. Edward, by contrast, received *De regno Christi* as a New Year's gift later that year, and it is likely that *De periodis* would have been presented to him on the same occasion (fig. 7).

One intriguing question that remains pertains to the fate of the two paper copies of *De periodis* which Sturm had sent as unbound duplicates given that the precious vellum copies had been smudged. We know that Bucer handed them over to Cheke, and the content of Elizabeth's dedicatory letter (CCCC 113, pp. 4a-5a) places at least one of them at the court by the end of 1550 (which makes it likely that Edward's copy of *De periodis* was likewise accompanied by its paper counterpart). To our knowledge, though, no paper copies have been catalogued as matching the distinctive features of TCC II.12.21 and BL C.24.e.5, that is, as containing only the first part of the work with a customized corresponding title page. This is not altogether surprising, of course, given that they were only ever effectively intended as back-up copies, which Bucer had bound in haste by Remigius (our probable binder of Royal 8 B. VII) to make up for the apparent flaws in the vellum copies. Once read, these paper versions might well have been discarded while their more lavish, if imperfect, twins remained on display on the royal bookshelves. A further possibility is that both the paper and the vellum copies remained at court, stowed away together in the Privy Closet along with other gift books, but that for some reason the paper copies were destroyed at a later date. Many books, after all, perished in library

¹³¹ In this context, see Harding, 'Authorial and Editorial Influence', pp. 121-4. Harding presents a list suggestive that presentation copies were often printed on vellum and elaborately bound, including, for example, Thomas Linacre's translation of Galen's *De sanitate tuenda* (printed in Paris, 1517) for Cardinal Wolsey; John Leland's *Genethliacon* for Henry VIII (New Year's gift, 1543); Ascham's *Toxophilus* for Henry VII (1545); John Bale's *Illustrium maioris britanniae* (Wesel, 1548) for Edward VI. See also Duff, *English Printing*, pp. 17-19.

¹³² Wolfe, 'Manuscripts', p. 123.

¹³³ Duff, *English Printing*, p. 3.

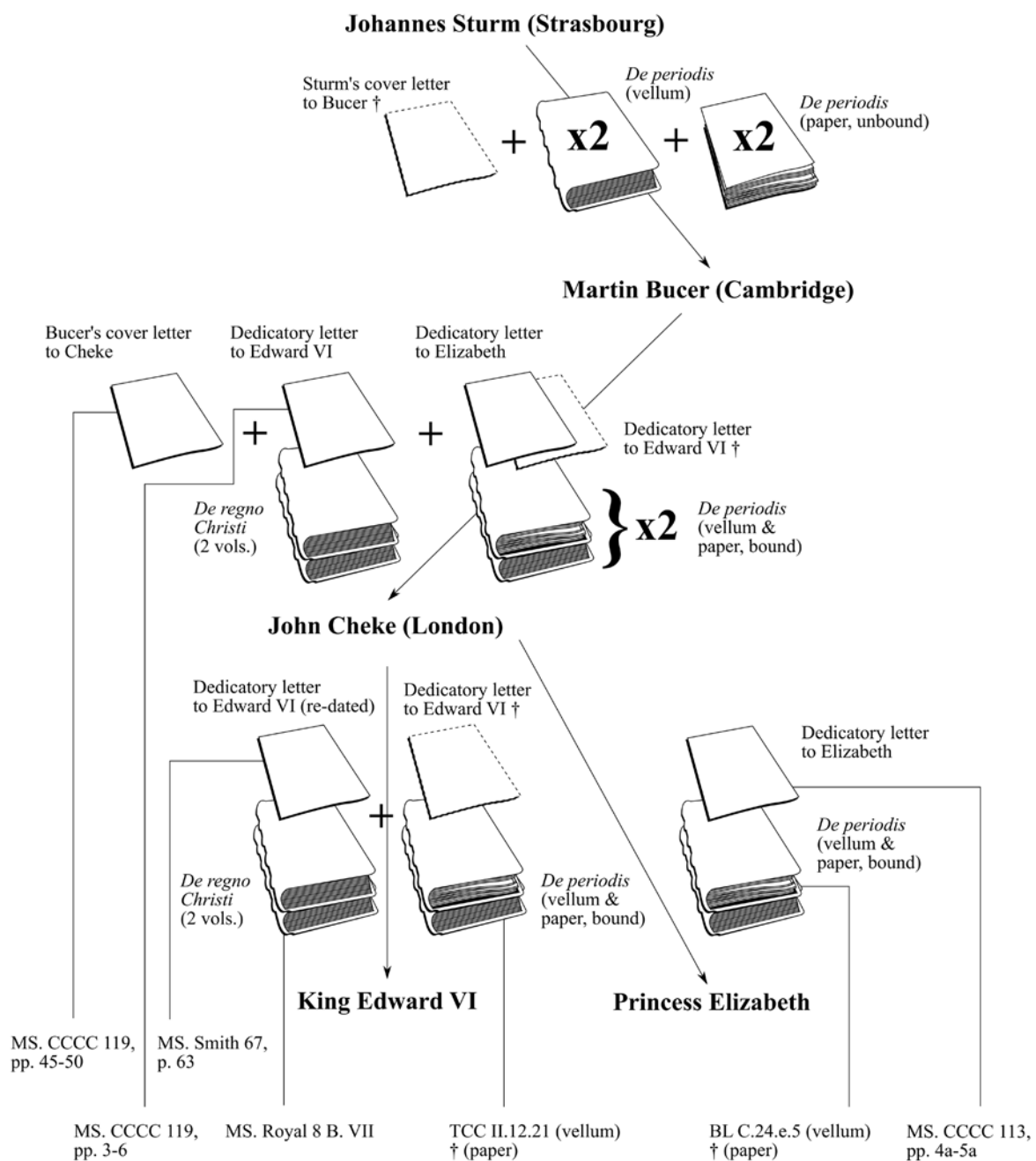


Fig. 7. The historical transmission of the presentation copies of *De regno Christi* and *De periodis*.

fires such as the Whitehall library fire of 1698,¹³⁴ while others – especially the works of Protestant reformers such as Bucer and Sturm – are rumoured to have been burned by Mary I following her succession to the throne in 1553.¹³⁵

According to a letter from Brem to Bucer's wife dated January 1555, Mary may even have specifically burned the library of Edward VI.¹³⁶ Brem was particularly perturbed by this since Bucer had actually bequeathed his manuscripts to Edward and his books to the Duchess of Suffolk and Thomas Cranmer, the latter of whom was also burned at the stake for heresy, along with his books, in 1556.¹³⁷ Unfortunately, though also unsurprisingly, no trace of the sections of Bucer's library which went to Edward and Cranmer has ever been found, and it is very likely that even less of it would survive today were it not for the intervention of Matthew Parker which meant that the section destined for the Duchess of Suffolk largely remained in Cambridge under his care. Perhaps then, it is less surprising that the paper copies should have been destroyed and rather more remarkable that the three presentation copies should somehow have escaped destruction against the odds. Jean Rott suggests that the extraordinarily fine binding of *De regno Christi* may have prompted someone to hide it and thus save it from destruction. This is an enticing theory which, if accurate, might also help to explain the survival of the two vellum copies of *De periodis*. Embracing Rott's suggestion, it is tempting to suspect that both Bucer's and Sturm's presentation copies were removed from the royal book collection on purpose, perhaps shortly after Edward's passing when Mary's accession had been ascertained. One man we know to have been in a position to gain such access and who, moreover, had a vested interest in the Protestant cause and its literature, is Cheke.

Having supported the accession of Lady Jane Grey over that of Mary, Cheke had shown his hand and was committed to the Tower for treason immediately following Mary's enthronement in July 1553.¹⁴⁰ It is just possible, therefore, that Cheke used his last days of access to rescue books that he deemed of importance, and for which he himself had acted as advocate in 1550, knowing that they risked destruction without his intervention. He would have witnessed, after all, Edward's own book burnings in 1551 and may have suspected that Mary would equally wish to destroy all writings contrary to her beliefs.¹⁴¹ Such a scenario is rendered all the more

¹³⁴ Rott, 'Le Sort des papiers', pp. 350-1.

¹³⁵ Mary even went so far as to have the remains of Bucer and Fagius exhumed and burned in the centre of Cambridge – along with various of their books and papers – in 1557; see J. Mere, 'Journal of Quene Mary's Visitation', in J. Lamb (ed.), *A Collection of Letters, Statutes, and Other Documents, from the manuscript library of Corpus Christi College illustrative of the history of the University of Cambridge, during the period of the Reformation from A.D. MD., to A.D. MDLXXII* (London, 1838), pp. 184-236 (p. 210); J. Foxe, *The Ecclesiastical History Contayning the Actes and Monumentes* (London, 1576), pp. 1877-86; cf. H. A. Bosmajian, *Burning Books* (Jefferson, NC, 2006), pp. 91-2.

¹³⁶ J. Ficker and G. Baum (eds.), *Thesaurus Baumianus*, 50 vols (Strasbourg, 1905-), vol. xxiii, p. 283. Cf. Rott, 'Le Sort des papiers', p. 350; Wendel, *De regno Christi*, pp. lvi-lvii.

¹³⁷ Evidence that Wibrandis received payment for Bucer's books from Edward VI, Thomas Cranmer and the Duchess of Suffolk can be found in a letter from her to Matthew Parker and Walter Haddon (CCCC 119, p. 79); cf. Rott, 'Le Sort des papiers', pp. 349-50.

¹³⁸ Rott, 'Le Sort des papiers', p. 351. See also N. Scott Amos, 'Bucer, Martin (1491–1551)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004); online edn, Sept 2007, available at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3822>, accessed 20 Oct. 2014.

¹³⁹ Rott, 'Le Sort des papiers', p. 350, n. 20.

¹⁴⁰ S. R. Johnson, 'Cheke, John (1514-57), of Cambridge and London', in S. T. Bindoff (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509-1558*, 3 vols (London, 1982), vol. i, pp. 626-30 (p. 629), available online at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/cheke-john-1514-57>, accessed 14 Dec. 2014.

¹⁴¹ Rott, 'Le Sort des papiers', p. 350.

plausible by the fact that Cheke had begun to establish a collection of manuscripts for the king's library in 1552, something of a 'cherished project' which, however, was quickly curtailed following Edward's death, with the books being dispersed.¹⁴² If the presentation copies of *De regno Christi* and *De periodis* did indeed escape by these means, it would explain why the exact circumstances of their arrival in the collections in which they currently reside are obscure. Even though this version of events will have to remain conjecture, it is appealing to think that the same man that recommended and personally delivered Royal 8 B. VII, TCC II.12.21 and BL C.24.e.5 to their dedicatees may also have helped to preserve them for posterity.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Johnson, 'Cheke', p. 628.

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