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TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

I Did Not Know This Was Here: Sixteenth-Century
English Books of Controversy at the Historical Library of
Santa Cruz (Valladolid) and their Provenance

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ABSTRACT

This BA Dissertation describes bibliographically ten books from the Historical Library of Santa Cruz (Valladolid) and examines the direct evidence of provenance present in them in order to find out more about the history of their circulation. These books have been selected for their analysis on the basis of having been written by English authors in the sixteenth century and touching the Catholic – Protestant polemists of the time, and consists of works by John Bridgewater, Robert Persons, Nicholas Sanders, and Thomas Stapleton. In addition, the analyzed books have been searched for in other libraries of Spain to determine their rarity.

RESUMEN

Este trabajo describe bibliográficamente diez libros pertenecientes a la Biblioteca Histórica de Santa Cruz (Valladolid) y examina las pruebas directas de procedencia de los mismos para averiguar cuál es la historia de su circulación. Estos libros fueron seleccionados en base a su autoría por parte de autores ingleses del siglo XVI y a los temas que tratan: la controversia católica y protestante de la época, con autores como John Bridgewater, Robert Persons, Nicholas Sanders y Thomas Stapleton. Además, también se ha buscado si las mismas ediciones de estos libros se encuentran en otras bibliotecas de España para determinar su rareza.

Keywords: Anglo-Spanish relations, sixteenth-century religious controversy, bibliographic description, book provenance

Palabras clave: relaciones anglo-españolas, controversia religiosa del siglo XVI, descripción bibliográfica, procedencia de libros.

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1. Introduction

Every book has two stories: the one that is written within it, and the one it has lived. In order to know more about the latter, provenance evidence and data are gathered by investigators in a detective-like endeavor that will hopefully tell where a book has been and who its previous owners were. This is the aim of this Dissertation, focusing on sixteenth-century Protestant-Catholic controversy books written by British authors and that belong to the collection of the Historical Library of Santa Cruz in Valladolid. This paper will describe these books bibliographically and will show the direct marks of provenance that they present. Finally, the paper will try to reconstruct the book's story, based always on provenance evidence.

Therefore, this paper deals with Anglo-Spanish relations in the sixteenth century from a bibliographic perspective with the intent of contributing to the study of the circulation of English books in Spain and Anglo-Spanish relations of the time. In order to achieve this goal, a bibliographic analysis was performed paying special attention to the collational formula and the copy-specific features of each book, like its binding, stamps, handwritten inscriptions, or library labels. The method of analysis is based on Fredson Bowers' and David Pearsons' handbooks on bibliographic analysis and book history respectively. Additionally, each book was researched to locate other existing copies of the same edition in Spain.

The titles that this study deals with were selected following these criteria: (1) that the book was published in the sixteenth century, (2) that the author of the book was British, (3) that the book was printed outside the British Isles, and (4) that the book was about the Catholic-Protestant controversy. Out of the Historical Library's entire collection, only six titles matched the established criteria:

- a) *Concertatio ecclesiae in Angliae*, by John Bridgewater (1588), printed in Trier by Heinrich Bock
- b) *Elizabethae Angliae Regina*, by Robert Persons. There are two editions of this title: one from 1592, printed in Habsburg by Johann Faber, and another from 1593, printed in Rome by Aloisio Zannetti.

- c) *De Visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, by Nicholas Sanders. There are three copies of this title in the Historical Library: two from 1571, printed in Louvain by John Fowler, and another from 1593 printed in Würzburg by Heinrich von Aich's widow.
- d) *Principiorum fidei doctrinalim demonstratio*, by Thomas Stapleton (1578), printed in Paris by Michel Sonnius.
- e) *Antidota apostolica*, by Thomas Stapleton (1595). There are two separate volumes of this title, both of them printed in Antwerp by Jan Keerberghen.
- f) *Antidota evangelica*, by Thomas Stapleton (1595), printed in Antwerp by Jan Keerberghen.

Most of these titles arrived, according to direct provenance evidence, to the Historical Library of Santa Cruz through the original library of the College of Santa Cruz, perhaps as early as the seventeenth century, with only a few coming from the first collection of the University of Valladolid in the eighteenth century, having previously belonged to Jesuit monasteries, or the English College of Seville. However, this essay must not be taken as a closure of this research but as the beginning. This project is still open and will be continued in the future, since it focuses only on direct provenance evidence that are in the books analyzed, and indirect evidence need to be collected from libraries' records and archives.

2. Theoretical Context

2.1. *Historical Context: The Protestant-Catholic Controversy*

The sixteenth century was a time of very turbulent yet abundant relations between England and Spain because of the war that was being waged between the two countries. The causes of this war were both political and religious: Philip II of Spain and most of the Catholic rulers viewed Elizabeth as a heretic that was usurping the throne of England (Elliott 318). And Anglicanism was seeing its consolidation as an institution in the figure of Elizabeth I, who passed numerous laws against Catholics and reinforcing the Protestant faith, like the Act of Uniformity, the obligation to address her as the Supreme Governor, or the renouncement of the English citizens to any other jurisdictions—meaning the Vatican—and with grave penalties for those who disobeyed or rebelled (Marotti 32-33).

Furthermore, those citizens who attended or heard Catholic Mass in England could face severe punishments (Marotti 34). All these laws resulted in an increasing mythology and bad propaganda against Catholics who refused to follow the Anglican faith—recusants—and many of them were persecuted, imprisoned, or even executed. In addition, if these recusants belonged to the Society of Jesus, their persecution and/or execution was both religious and politically charged because of this Catholic order's pressures for the deposal of Elizabeth and the fact that important Jesuit figures, like Robert Persons, were insisting on further and harsher political measures against the Queen, especially in allegiance with Spain and the Catholic League (Marotti 42-43). And Spain was more than willing to take part in these measures.

“Spain and England fought for the dominion of the seas in 1585” (Elliott 313), so even when Spain and England were not overtly at war, they still fought one another whether through sanctioned attacks against Spanish ships and territory (Elliott 313) or through propaganda meant to rise animosity against Elizabeth I amongst her subjects. Many Catholic authors wrote long essays on how Elizabeth had no right to rule over England and the hardships that Catholic recusants had to endure in her kingdom, and the presence of Catholic English Colleges in Spain allowed the entrance of these sort of accounts in the country (Sáez-Hidalgo 203). Although the importation of Protestant Polemic was banned, the Inquisition granted special permissions to Catholic English Colleges so the students could read all kinds of English controversies (Sáez-Hidalgo 219). In this aspect, Valladolid has a crucial importance. Nevertheless, and in spite of all the animosity against Elizabeth in particular and against England in General, Philip II was reluctant to openly declare war to England, because he did not have the moral high ground yet (Elliott 315). Similarly, Elizabeth did not want an open conflict with Spain either, but in her case, it was because she did not have enough money to afford it (Elliott 313). This is why she did not openly support the Protestant rebellion in the Netherlands against the Spanish rule, for instance (Elliott 291).

Therefore, both monarchs had to resort to more subtle operations in order to defeat the other politically and militarily. Philip was in favor of plotting Elizabeth's assassination instead of invading England, but he eventually chose open war once he received a letter from Mary Queen of Scots asking for his protection in exchange for the crown of England (Elliott 315). This letter gave him the moral superiority he so much needed and allowed him to declare war upon England. Elizabeth, in contrast, preferred

sanctioning and authorizing expeditions, raids, and attacks against Spanish territory, as aforementioned (Elliott 313). The harassment continued until Mary Queen of Scots' trial regarding an assassination plot against Elizabeth. Queen Mary was found guilty and sentenced to death. Philip II saw then the perfect opportunity to invade England and place whoever he wanted on the throne, since he saw himself as the rightful ruler of England due to having been appointed by Mary Queen of Scots as her heir (Elliott 317-318). Philip's declaration led to the Spanish Armada episode, which was decisive in the way that each country was viewed in Europe for the rest of History. After this crushing English victory, Anti-Catholic rhetoric and propaganda increased, especially against Spain and Robert Persons' Catholic Schools (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 50).

After being expelled from Oxford, Robert Persons travelled all over Europe working on English re-conversion, always unable to stay out of political affairs, much to his mentor in the Jesuit order's dismay (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 5). In fact, Persons' ambition is the reason why others called him "Nimrod" or "King-maker" (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 13). And, despite not achieving any actual change in the English political landscape, he was still very much involved in the elaboration of Catholic propaganda and sending agents to Protestant land, who were educated in the English Colleges that he founded across Europe, but especially in Spain. Additionally, Persons wrote numerous works on the Protestant Controversy dealing both with religious and political themes. His works dealing with Elizabeth I are especially remarkable because of the pastoral and almost patronizing tone that he used when it came to addressing Elizabeth, since "he seemed to treat her as a mere fallible woman than his sovereign" (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 12). Notwithstanding the fact that Persons was condescending to and underestimated his monarch, his works were very popular all over Europe: his *Elizabethae Angliae reginae* was published simultaneously in Antwerp, Prague, Rome, Cologne, and Lyon (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 55). In fact, this is one of the books that this dissertation will be dealing with. Consequently, in order to counteract the effect of Persons' works, the English created a legend around him that was based on three concepts: him being a sophist, a personal enemy of Queen Elizabeth, and a bastard (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 9). In short, Persons was a *persona non grata* in England and all Protestant lands. Still, he worked continuously throughout Europe in hopes of restoring the Old Catholic faith in his country (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 47).

Persons was assigned to Spain by the Society of Jesus to negotiate with Philip II the privileges of the Jesuits in this country, and it was in that moment, after the Armada defeat in 1588, when he convinced the Spanish king to found the English Catholic College in Valladolid a year later, which was followed by many other institutions (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 5). The fact that Valladolid was the headquarters of the English Catholic resistance outside England allowed many texts by English authors that touched the religious and political controversy to be in the city and to circulate within it. Moreover, knowing that Robert Persons himself was a Jesuit means that the Jesuit colleges are much likely to own his works, and Valladolid would be no exception. This makes Valladolid the perfect environment for 16th-century controversy texts to circulate, and it also marks the city and its libraries a very likely emplacement for these kinds of texts, especially in the University and its Historical Library of Santa Cruz thanks to the contributions to the collections done by Jesuit monasteries and colleges after 1767.

2.2. The Historical Library of Santa Cruz

The Library's collection comprises books coming from different libraries and book repositories, like the University itself, which at the same time owned books from Jesuit colleges that had been disentailed in 1767 and from monasteries disentailed in 1836 (Azkunaga 24-25). Nevertheless, this collection's journey has been long and not always stable, because the journey of the library itself has not been stable either: it has gone from belonging to the Santa Cruz College to belonging to the University of Valladolid because of the temporary dismantlement of Colleges that was done by the Spanish Government in 1807. When these colleges were finally dismantled for good, the library's collection passed unto the Monument Committee of the Province of Valladolid's Council. This committee made the University of Valladolid responsible for the collection for good, joining the Library of Santa Cruz and the Library of the University of Valladolid (Alcocer & Figueroa 270).

Much of this collection was given to the College by its founder, Don Pedro González de Mendoza also known as Cardinal Mendoza.

Mendoza compraba muchos libros en Zaragoza, Barcelona, Sevilla y todos los lugares que visitaba, donde buscaba libreros [...] para adquirir varios ejemplares que regalar a otros eclesiásticos y para su uso personal. (Azkunaga 21)

(Mendoza bought many books in Zaragoza, Barcelona, Seville, and all the places that he visited, where he sought booksellers [...] in order to acquire some copies to give to other clergymen and for his personal use.)

With Charles III's College Reformation of 1771, an inventory of the Library's books was done. This inventory revealed that manuscripts had always been mixed with printed books and that they were distributed amongst the University's schools (Azkunaga 23). In 1836, with Mendizábal's Expropriation, collections from the religious orders that had been stricken down were incorporated into Santa Cruz's collection—at the time, under the University's control. Over six hundred works remained under the University's wing—incorporated into Santa Cruz's collection in the early 20th century—and the rest of the books ended in the hands of the Diocese's Conciliar Seminary (Azkunaga 24). Most of these books belonged to Jesuit colleges. Hence, works by Jesuits are very much likely to be part of this new incorporation, and, along them, some of the works concerning this paper, which will examine the book circulation in Valladolid, focusing especially on the Catholic-Protestant Polemic books in the Historical Library of Santa Cruz and their provenance.

2.3. Method of Analysis

The method that has been used for the analysis and description of the selected books is based on the recommendations on bibliographical analysis that Bowers provides in *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (2012), mostly to resolve the upcoming doubts in regard to the collational formula or its signing statement. For instance, in Thomas Stapleton's *Principiolum Fidei doctrinalium demonstratio*, almost the entire book from page 157 onwards is mispaginated, and only Bowers provides the solution to encode this sort of mistake, which is quite uncommon.

All the books that have been analyzed are kept in the Historical Library of Santa Cruz (Valladolid) and none of them could be examined out of said location—they needed to be consulted always within the library's room. This, along with the restricted schedule of the library—open from Monday to Friday in the mornings and from Tuesday to Thursday in the afternoons—made the task of researching the books a rather long one. This process was divided in three stages: (1) external examination of the book taking into account if there are any damages and the type of binding it presents, (2) a general inspection of the book's text block, noticing the sort of paper that has been used,

examining closely the front page, and taking note of the titles of the book's sections and transcribing them faithfully, and (3) a thorough inspection of copy-specific details, like inscriptions, stains, flaws in the paper, unseparated leaves, number of leaves, and pagination mistakes. Once these three steps had been done, the collational formula was built from the gathered data. Finally, all the copy-specific features that the book presented were compiled under a "Curiosities" section in order to differentiate the analyzed book from other existing copies around the world. For instance, the first volume of Thomas Stapleton's *Antidota apostolica* contained an engraved portrait of the Pope Clement VIII, while the other volume did not. These unique characteristics can make the difference to mark these books as rare once further investigation about the remaining copies in different libraries. In addition all these marks and inscriptions can be defining when researching the books' provenance, since many book collectors or institution "branded" their books in order to mark them as their own, since owning books, especially in the 17th-18th centuries, was viewed in Spain as a mark of economic and intellectual prestige, something that was fashionable (Noble Wood 290). However, provenance will be further discussed in the next chapter.

All these data have been gathered in an OneNote notebook in order to be provided both in this paper and in the appendix all those data that are relevant (i.e. front page titles and printer's devices, collational formulas, or other copy-specific features that are not presented in the paper itself.) Firstly, in the paper, the presentation of the analysis will be divided in sections corresponding to a title, and within these sections—if needed—there will be a subsection dealing with the different copies of said title that are kept in the Historical Library of Santa Cruz. If there is only one copy of a title, a full analysis will be provided, including copy-specific features on binding or text; and if there are more than one copy in the Library, a thorough analysis of each copy will be provided, accentuating the differences between them. Now that the method of investigation and the presentation of data has been discussed, let us dive into the analysis itself.

2.4. The Controversial Works in Question

This study stems from a research scholarship granted by the Government of Spain. The investigative project of this scholarship deals with sixteenth-century books written by English authors that were published outside the British Isles. The aim of this project is to describe bibliographically these books, investigate their provenance, and digitalize

those that are the most relevant. Eight books that met these criteria were found in the Library of Santa Cruz's catalogue. Out of these eight, six titles touched the Catholic-Protestant Controversy, and these will be the ones that this paper will focus on.

2.4.1. *Nicholas Sander(s)' De Visibili monarchia ecclesiae (1571)*

In *De Visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, first published in 1571, Nicholas Sanders compiles accounts of the most controversial topics in Europe at the time (Pollen 37). This controversialist studied in Winchester College (Kirby 123, qtd. in Law 259) and, after the ascension of Elizabeth to the throne, he left England for the continent. He stayed in Rome at first, where he became friends with Cardinal Morone, a man so important that he was asked by the Pope to preside over the Council of Trent (Renaudet 132). Sanders spent much time throughout the continent working towards the dethronement of Elizabeth I and to ensure a Catholic rule in England. Sanders also spent some time in Spain, where he was highly esteemed in the Spanish Court. Despite the Spaniards' fondness of Sanders, he was not pleased with Philip II's reticence to invade England nor his care in not risking an international conflict too soon (Law 261). From 1565 to 1572, Sanders settled at Louvain, since his mother—Catholic as well—was living there in exile (Law 260). It was here where he fully embraced controversy writing with other important Polemists of the time, like Stapleton. (Law 261) Their main concern was replying to the challenge formulated by Bishop Jewel in a sermon on November 26, 1559 (Pasquarello 284).

If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if that be alive, be able to bring any on sufficient old catholic doctor or father; or out of any old general of the Holy Scriptures of God; or any one example church whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved any private Mass in the whole world at that time, hundred years after Christ, ...I will give over and subscribe to him. (Jewel, qtd. in Pasquarello 285)

In order to reply to Jewel's challenge, Sanders published several works. But his greatest work was *De visibili monarchia*, dealing, as aforementioned, with controversies that were popular throughout Europe. After it was published, it became a great success. So much so, that the Pope Pius V summoned Sanders to Rome, and many of his acquaintances believed that the Pope would promote Sanders to Cardinal (Pollen 37). Unfortunately, the Pope died shortly after Sanders's arrival, so whether His Holiness's intentions were actually to promote Sanders to Cardinal were true was never known.

2.4.2. *Robert Persons' Elizabeth Angliae Reginae (1592 and 1593)*

Robert Persons is one of the most known controversialists of all time. He has been discussed briefly above in this paper, so we will not be repeating information that has already been provided for the sake of repetition. It has been established in this paper that Persons was considered an enemy of England (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 9). In fact, in order to reduce his influence on Catholics living on English soil, Elizabeth issued *A Declaration of Great Troubles Pretended against the Realm by a Number of Seminary Priests and Jesuits*, in which she accuses Persons of being the person responsible for attacks on English soil against her person (Taunton 148). As a response, Persons wrote the work being analyzed in this paper, *Elizabeth Angliae Reginae*, to defend himself. In this book, he deals with Elizabeth's *Declaration* paragraph by paragraph with the intent of refuting it (Taunton 148). It is also in this work where he defends the innocence of the "priestly vocation" as well (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 49). That is, he argues that being a Catholic priest was not inherently connected with violence or spying or any treacherous act. In this aspect, he is also defending himself from the accusations of harboring traitors and manufacturing spies at the seminaries and colleges that he founded throughout Europe and in which he educated young men to return to England and preach Catholicism (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 50). *Elizabeth Angliae Reginae* was published simultaneously in Antwerp, Prague, Rome, Cologne, and Lyon (Houliston, *Catholic Resistance* 55) and it was a very well-known book in Catholic – Protestant controversy.

2.4.3. *Thomas Stapleton*

Stapleton has drawn little attention from scholars throughout History, considering how important he and his works were to his contemporaries (Sheils 74). He was very infamous amongst Protestant polemicists for being "willing to quarrel with the Truth if Calvin spake it" (King, qtd. in Marshall 74). Stapleton attended the free school at Canterbury, he was admitted in Winchester in 1550, and later selected to a fellowship in New College—Oxford (Cooper, "Stapleton, Thomas" 101). He is one of many who fled the country after Elizabeth I was proclaimed Queen of England, settling down first at Louvain and later in Paris (Cooper, "Stapleton, Thomas" 102). However, it was at Douai where he collaborated the most with other English Catholic exiles, especially with William Allen, with whom he founded the English College (Gerace 107). Stapleton was

a Jesuit novitiate from 1584 until he left two years later, before he pronounced his vows (Cooper, “Stapleton, Thomas” 104; Sheils 76). The reason for his departure was his ideological clash with Jesuit thinking, especially in regards to the *auxilii* controversy on Free Will (Gerace 106). However, Jesuit thought does influence him, especially in the writing of his *Antidotus*, as Gerace proves (120). In 1590, shortly after quitting the Order of Jesus, Phillip II of Spain offered Stapleton a position at the Holy Scripture of Louvain (Cooper, “Stapleton, Thomas” 103). At the same time, Pope Clement VIII was so fond of Stapleton’s writings that he wanted them to be publicly read at his table and, in 1596, he invited Stapleton to go to Rome three times with offers of highly-esteemed offices at the service of the Catholic Church (Cooper, “Stapleton, Thomas” 103). These are a few instances of how popular Stapleton was throughout Europe, viewed with contempt by Protestants and celebrated by Catholics.

2.4.3.1. *Principiorum fidei doctrinalium demonstratio* (1578)

In spite of Stapleton’s popularity during the Early Modern Period, scholars have paid little mind to him or his works, as aforementioned, so there is little information on what this particular work—*Principiorum fidei doctrinalium*—deals with. In general terms, in this book, Stapleton presents here “an argumentation about the truth and authority of the Roman Catholic Church” (De Landtsheer 432). This controversial treaty corresponds to his first phase of thinking and belief, back to when Catholic English believed that there was still hope of restoring Catholicism in England. Therefore, during this period, Stapleton proceeds to defend the Old Faith against Protestant arguments, wanting to re-claim the Church’s origins at Rome (Heal 111). After 1565, Catholic exiles started realizing that their expectations of a Catholic Restoration in England were hopeless—Stapleton amongst them (De Landtsheer 431). It was from this moment onwards that he started attacking all sorts of Protestant thinking from every corner of Europe instead of focusing only on the English Controversy, thus producing works like the *Antidota apostolica* and the *Antidota evangelica* (De Landtsheer 431; Gerace 108).

2.4.3.2. *Antidota apostolica* (1595) and *Antidota evangelica* (1595)

These are complementary works that Stapleton published in the same year. They were written and published four years after his *Promptorium morale* and eleven years

after Stapleton's departure from the Society of Jesus. Therefore, it could be expected Jesuit philosophy to be present in these two titles—and it is, as aforementioned. The *Antidotae* are especially “scholarly commentaries on large parts of the New Testaments – on the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Corinthians” (Gerace 109). In these commentaries, Stapleton targets polemicists and theologians that advocates for the Reformation, like Calvin and Theodore Beza (Gerace 108), basing his judgements mostly on St. Augustin's words and on Luis de Molina's works. In the *Antidotae*, Stapleton mostly explains a passage of the Bible from the Catholic faith's perspective and attacks Protestant interpretations, arguing that they distort the words of Jesus (Gerace 111).

2.4.4. *John Bridgewater's Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia adversus Calvinopapistas et Puritanos sub Elizabetha Regina (1588)*

John Bridgewater was from Yorkshire and attended Hart Hall. In 1559, he “was collated to the archdeaconry of Rochester, and he remained in England until he resigned from Lincoln College in 1574 in order to avoid being expelled for being a Catholic and teaching his students about the Catholic old ways (Cooper, “Bridgewater, John” 324). After this episode, he left the British Isles for Europe—more specifically Douai, — where he wrote about polemic themes and religion. He remained in the continent for the rest of his life, mostly in France and sometimes in Germany (Cooper, “Bridgewater, John” 324). The book that this paper analyzes—*Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia*—is the most popular record on martyrdoms of Catholics on English soil (Houlston, “St. Thomas Beckett” 63). It first appeared in 1583, having been compiled by John Gibbons—a Jesuit. But it was frequently updated and re-printed, and Bridgewater was the one in charge of this enlarging (Houlston, “St. Thomas Beckett” 63; Walsham 84). In spite of the fact the Gibbons was a Jesuit, there is no evidence that Bridgewater himself was a Jesuit as well (Cooper, “Bridgewater, John” 324). However, there are many rumors of this belonging, which are emphasized by Jesuits like Father Nathaniel Bacon—Southwell—claiming Bridgewater as a Jesuit (Cooper, “Bridgewater, John” 324; Cooper, “Southwell, Nathanael” 292). Despite the lack of actual evidence, the Jesuit connection is still feasible, and the fact that a copy of the *Concertatio* is in the Historical Library of Santa Cruz might give further hints on Bridgewater's Jesuit connection, for instance, because if it first belonged to the library of the Jesuit College of San Ignacio in Valladolid, there may be

more connections between the Order of Jesus and Bridgewater than we know. However, until an analysis of the book is done, this hypothesis is just a faint possibility.

3. Bibliographical Analysis and Marks of Provenance

In order to present the analysis of our selected copies, we will first deal with (1) the text block—format, pagination, collational formula—, (2) the copy's general state of conservation—binding, ink stains— and (3) inscriptions and other pieces of direct provenance evidence.

3.1. *John Bridgewater's Concertatio ecclesiae catholicae in Angliae (1588)* [U/Bc 12099]

This book was first printed in 1583, so this small folio is not a first edition. This copy of this title and another one in the Library of the University of Barcelona are the only copies of Bridgewater's *Concertatio* available in Spain, according to Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español. But the Copy in the Library of the University of Barcelona was printed in 1594. Therefore, the Valladolid exemplar is the earliest of the only two copies that appear to be extant in Spain. It was printed in the German city of Trier in the printing shop of Heinrich Bock, who was active between 1586-1616.

The consists of a variety of gatherings: most of them—seventy-one out of seventy-four—consisting of four leaves each, with the first three of them signed. The initial gathering is composed by six leaves, and the rest, by four, with the first half of the leaves signed. Its 440 leaves are foliated from 2 to 403, although there are several errors in the foliation system and from page 181, the entire foliation is wrong, since the misprint of this page as 191 (2Z) continues in the following leaves until page 213 (3F), which is misprinted as 211, and so the misprinting starts over again, until page 218 (3F4), in which this error takes place again until the end of the volume. This is the collational formula of the copy in the BHSC:

(1) 2^o:)⁶ A-3D⁴ 3E², ²A-E⁴ F², 3F-3X⁴ a-2f⁴ *-6*⁴ [\$3 signed (-3E & ²F); 440 leaves, ff. [6] 2 – 180 191-212 [22] 211-213 218-277 [1] 287-403 [3] 407-413 [13] (total = 401) [misprinting 212 as '216', 229 as '249', 268 as '168']

In regard to the text block, its state of conservation is generally good, with few torn paper edges and some oxide stains, but nothing out of the ordinary. The only characteristic that stands out is the blank leaf in between folios 277 and 287 (3X4), which presents a clean cut in the middle for which there may be no explanation. It is also

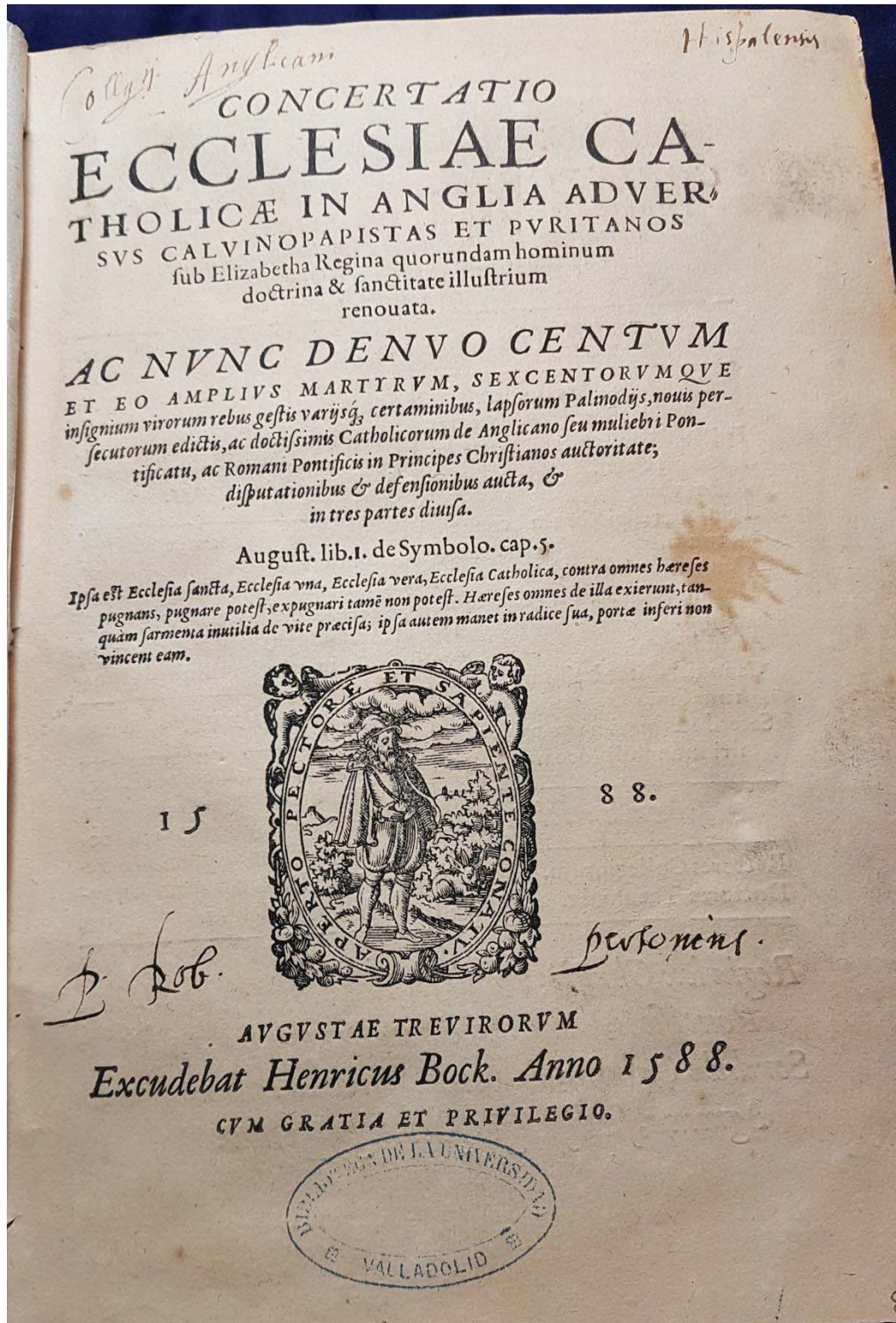


Figure 1: Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia by John Bridgewater. Title Page.

interesting that this blank leaf is also in between two leaves that are supposedly ten pages apart, which leads one to wonder whether the foliation of the following folio as 287 instead of 278, as it is supposed to, means any sort of censorship. But there are no signs of torn leaves, so that hypothesis is unlikely, leaving only room to suppose it is a printing error.

On the other hand, in terms of how the book was printed, we would like to point out the shifting quality of the paper used to print this book, which changes throughout the volume, starting with very thick paper, which changes in gatherings ²A through ²F. The paper used to print these gatherings is thinner and discolored. However, it is also folded as a folio and presents the same watermarks as the rest of the book's leaves: a Greek cross on top of what resembles a coat of arms that is divided in four sections. This change of paper, along with the fact that these gatherings do not follow the signing pattern of the rest, makes the investigator deduce that they were not originally printed with the rest and added after the printing of the book was done. The fact that it is additional material that was introduced in between the second and the third part and that the catchword in the verso of leaf 3E2 correctly anticipates the first word of leaf 3F1 reinforces this hypothesis that these unpaginated gatherings were printed later with the intention of inserting them at the end of part 2 in this other edition of the work.

The final aspect we will comment about the text block is the book's title page (Fig. 1), which includes Heinrich Bock's printing device with the following motto "APERTO PECTORE ET SAPIENTE CONATU", which is framing the picture of a man, dressed in the Renaissance fashion, holding a heart in his hands. On top of the vignette, there are two cherubs holding floral and fruit garlands.

Finally, as to evidence of provenance, there is a clear direct one: the handwritten inscription on the title page saying: "Coll[e]gii. Anglicani" at the top left of the leaf, and "Hispalensis" at the top right of the leaf. Although the most interesting inscription is the one flanking the printer's device, which says: "P. Rob. personius". Through a comparison of the hand of this inscriptions with Robert Persons', it is safe to assume that the inscription on this title page is in Robert Persons' hand and that the *Concertatio* that the Historical Library of Santa Cruz possesses belonged to the polemist Robert Persons himself, founder of both the English College of Seville and Valladolid. However, the confirmation of this provenance, along with the discovery of how it got to this library is

a subject for future investigation. The handwriting is, in any case, Elizabethan. Additionally, there is another handwritten inscription folio 287 (a1) saying “Author fuit Card[ena]lis Alanus”, who could be Cardinal William Allen, to whom Robert Persons is known to have ascribed a number of other works (Simons Assen 31). In addition, there are three handwritten numbers dating from the seventeenth century: a “602” on the verso of the cover, and three other numbers on the flyleaf, a “40”, a scratched “269”, and a “373”, but we do not know where they were written, if they are from the Historical Library of Santa Cruz or the English College of Seville. Lastly, the book presents the library marks expected from a book belonging to the University of Valladolid: two oval dark blue stamps on the title page and on folio 92 (Z4) saying “BIBLIOTECA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD · VALLADOLID” and a rectangular, red, printed label with a triple frame and a square design at the corners indicating stacks, shelf, and accession numbers. These stamps and label appear to date from the twentieth century.

All this evidence leads to the hypothesis of this book belonging to Robert Persons, as aforementioned, who gave it to the English College of Seville. From here, it could have reached the Historical Library of Santa Cruz after the College was dismantled or because a member of this College donated it to the Santa Cruz College’s Library.

3.2. *Robert Persons’ Elizabethae Angliae Regina Haeresim (1592) [U/Bc BU 06088]*

This copy of Robert Persons’ reply to Queen Elizabeth’s proclamation for her thirty-fifth year is a first edition from Augsburg, printed by Johann Faber—active from 1535 to 1592. Faber made a small octavo consisting of nineteen gatherings with eight leaves each, out of which the first four in each gathering are signed. The book presents 141 leaves paginated from 3 to 268 with only one pagination error with the misprinting of page 223 as 235 (O8) and the first leaf and the last nine leaves unpaginated. These data led to the composition of this collational formula:

(2) 8°: A - S⁸ [\$4 signed]: 141 leaves, pp. [2] 3 - 268 [18] [misprinting 223 as ‘235’]

As to the book’s typesetting, it is interesting that the book ends its sections or chapters aligning the words towards to center, which is a feature that the other copy of this title in the Historical Library does not present. Faber probably made this choice to

give the book some ornament and make it more aesthetic, especially taking into account that there are not many more ornaments to the book: the binding consists of parchment with straps to tie the book close and the title page does not present any engraved scene or patterns. This indicates that the purpose of this copy was to be used and read many times, not just to put on a bookshelf for display.

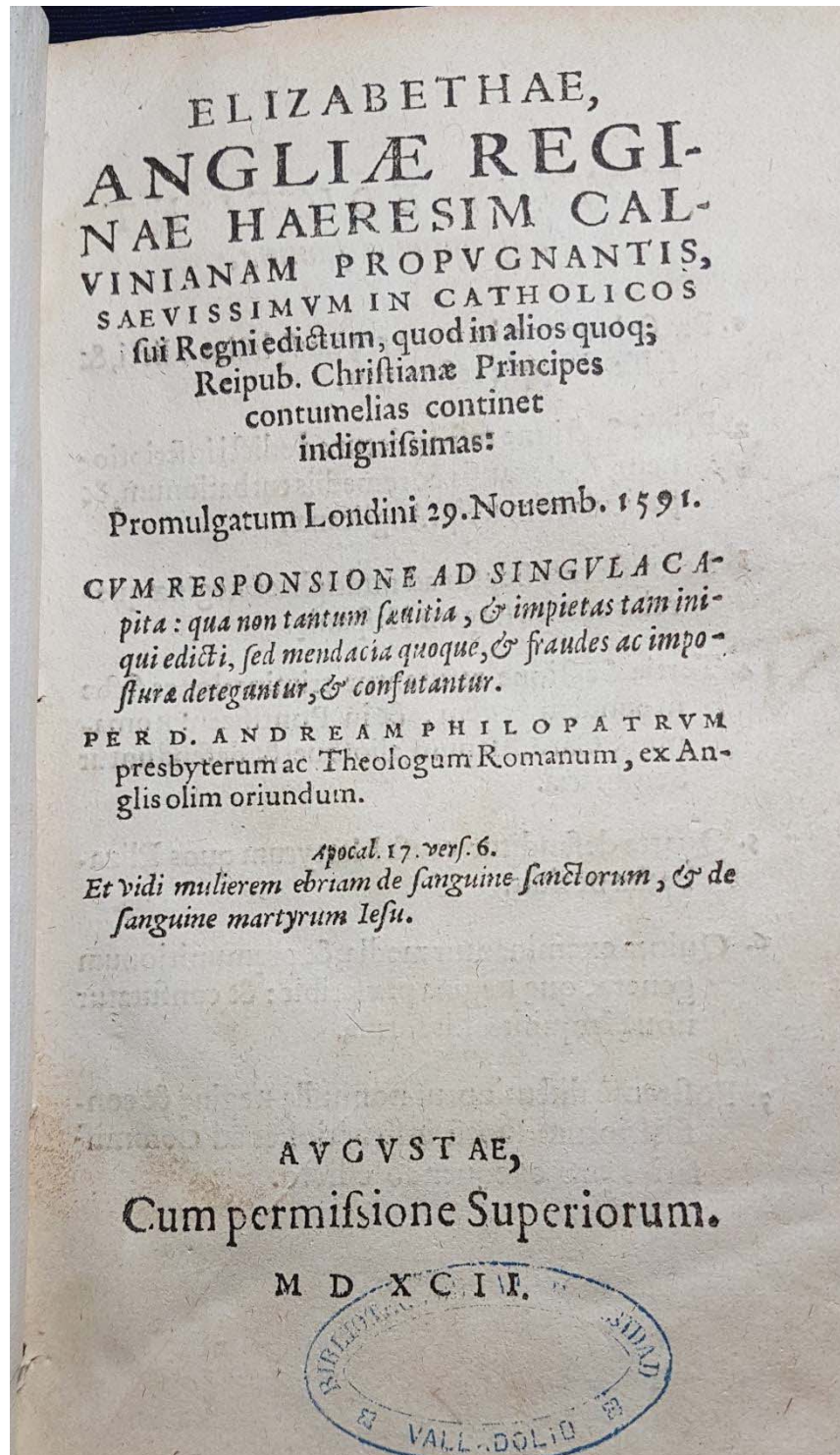


Figure 2: Elizabethae Anliae Regina Haeresim (1592). Title page

On the other hand, the state of the text block is quite good: no pages are torn, the binding is intact, and there are no ink stains on the paper, other than the occasional oxide dot on the paper coming from the ink. This indicates that the purpose of this copied was to be used and read many times, not just put on a bookshelf for display. In terms of rarity, this another edition of this copy can be found in Spain only in Barcelona's Episcopal Library.

Finally, there is no direct provenance evidence that tell us where this book has been before being part of the Historical Library. There are two stamps and one label: the stamps—one on the title page and another on page 92—explicitly say that the book belongs to the University of Valladolid's library, and the label—placed on the book's front pastedown—only presents two old signature numbers: “604”, which is crossed-out, and “602”, below the label written with ink that, which coincides with the number on the parchment binding's spine and the number on the *Concertatio*'s spine. This label is rectangular, white, with a scallop-patterned black frame. These marks lead only to two theories: that this copy circulated through Spanish libraries in the seventeenth century or that the copy was already at that time in the library. The confirmation of either of these hypotheses needs to be further investigated by the research of the Library's records.

3.3. Robert Persons' *Elizabethae Angliae Regina (1593)* [U/Bc BU 03951]

This copy is in quarto printed two years after the first edition of this title was published. It was printed by Aloisio Zannetti in Rome, active from 1563 to 1591. Consisting of sixty-nine complete gatherings—with four leaves each—and one final gathering of three leaves. In each gathering, the first two leaves are signed. This book presents 251 leaves paginated from page 1 to 485, with the first three and the last seven leaves unpaginated. The notable difference both in pages and leaves between the two copies of this title can be explained from the different size of the volumes and the fact that this copy presents its text framed and with a bigger type than the volume from 1592. Hence, once all these data had been gathered, the following collational formula was built:

(3) 4^o: \mathfrak{A}^2 A-3Q⁴ 3R² [\$2 signed (-3R2)]; 251 leaves, pp. [6] 1-485 [14]

As aforementioned, the pages of set type are framed throughout the book, margins included. Additionally, the initial of each chapter is decorated with

floral motifs and what resembles a human face or anthropomorphic figure, something that the 1592 copy does not possess. Another difference between these two copies is the presence of an index of contents on the leaf following the title page titled “*TOTIUS EDICTI ET RESPON- sionis summa.*” At the end of the book, there is a summary titled “*INDEX | RERUM PRÆCIPUARUM | quæ in hoc libro continentur.*” (3P4) and an errata leaf titled “*Errate sic corrigito*” on the verso of the last leaf.

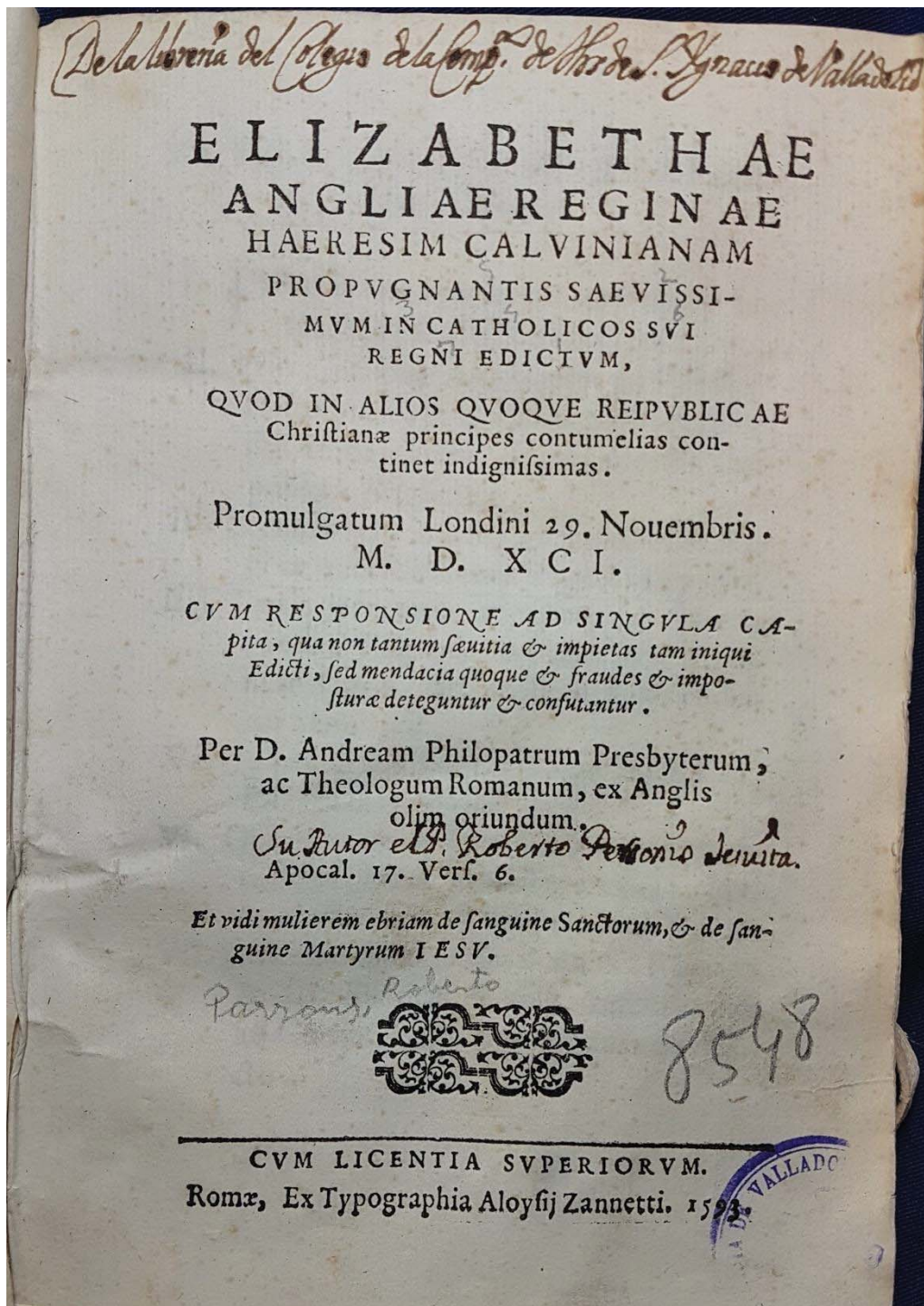


Figure 3: Elizabethae Angliae (1593). (Title page)

However, the general state of the book is not precisely excellent: there are small flaws throughout the book, like pages 80 and 81 seemingly glued together by the edges of the paper, a hole caused by the lack of pulp in the paper on page 497, or the torn parts of the paper on pages 399 or 460. Most of these, however, are caused by the use not by the printer. In fact, there are no pagination errors and errata are actually pointed out and corrected by the printer himself in a final errata leaf.

Finally, in this case, there are numerous marks of direct provenance in the form of handwritten inscriptions, all of which are gathered on the book's title page. At the top margin of the leaf, there is an inscription written on ink claiming the provenance of this book the Library of the Jesuit College of San Ignacio:

(4) “De la librería del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús S. Ignacio de Valladolid.”

This inscription was probably written in the eighteenth century. Additionally, amongst the letters of the title, there are numbers written on pencil (Fig. 4), which may have a meaning but we have not found it out, since there are no other inscriptions of numbers, other than those of the signatures that the copy has had throughout the years. Nevertheless, here they are:

(5) “9 2|3 4 8|7 1”

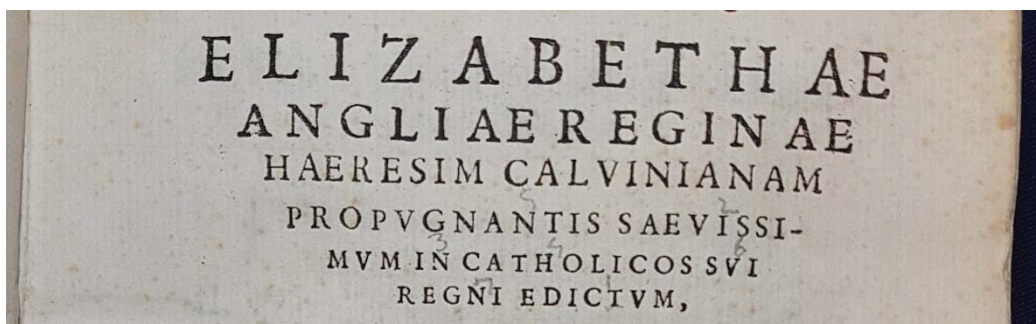


Figure 4: Detail of the numbers inscribed on the title

Furthermore, under the printed name of the book's “author” on the title page, “D. Andream Philopatrum Presbyterum.”, there is an inscription written on ink, probably from the early eighteenth century as well. This inscription says:

(6) “Su autor es Roberto Personio Jesuita”

And, finally, underneath an engraving of leaves, there is a pencil inscription from the twentieth century saying “Parsons, Roberto” along with the earlier signature number: “8548.”

However, out of all these marks, the only inscription that can be considered without any doubt a provenance evidence is that of the Jesuit College of San Ignacio (Fig. 3). We do not know what the numbers may be. And the presence of Robert Persons’ name next to his *nom de plume*—Andrea Philopater—is surely only mean a clarification for the reader. Of course, there are other pieces of evidence of the book belonging to the University of Valladolid, and with two kinds of stamps and labels, actually. The label is on the pastedown: it is rectangular, with a red double frame and printed to be filled in with the library’s information of the book. The stamps on the flyleaf and title page are circular, dark blue, and says “BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSIDAD DE VALLADOLID”. This stamp is both on the first leaf and on the title page.

Lastly, there are two other inscriptions that we cannot place nor decipher, for they are on a piece of wastepaper that is glued to the book’s binding verso and, therefore, are incomplete. However, these inscriptions are not related to the content not are they evidence of provenance, so they will be given no further importance. More copies of this same edition can be found in the National Library of Madrid and the Library of the University of Barcelona. They have not been found anywhere else, but there is always a margin for error.

All the provenance marks prove that this copy firstly belonged to the Jesuit College of San Ignacio. After the College’s dismantlement in 1767, part of the library’s collection was transferred to the University’s library. This would explain the eighteenth-century inscription on the title page, although it can also date from the seventeenth century to indicate the authorship of the book and give credit to Persons, which is not surprising given that Persons was a Jesuit and his order would want to credit its members’ work.

3.4. *Nicholas Sanders’ De visibili monarchia ecclesiae (1571)* [U/Bc 05971]

This large folio is a first edition printed by John Fowler at Louvain. This Catholic English printer was active from 1565 until his death in 1579 (Arblaster). There are two copies of this edition in the Historical Library of Santa Cruz, but this one presents a wooden binding covered with brown leather—probably sheep—, showing blind tooling:

a floral roll making two rectangles in the center. Lastly, the book presents the corners of its covers reinforced with metal and traces from clasps. This sort of binding dates from late sixteenth/early seventeenth century.

The book consists of 103 gatherings with four leaves per gathering, except for the first, which is composed by six leaves. This leads to a total of 430 leaves paginated from 1 to 844, with only a few printing errors. Here is the collational formula:

(7) 2^o: \mathfrak{A}^6 A-3Z⁴ a-2o⁴ [\$3 signed]; 430 leaves, pp. [12] 1-844 [16] [misprinting 359 as '361', 466 as '467', 658 as '650', 791 as '786']

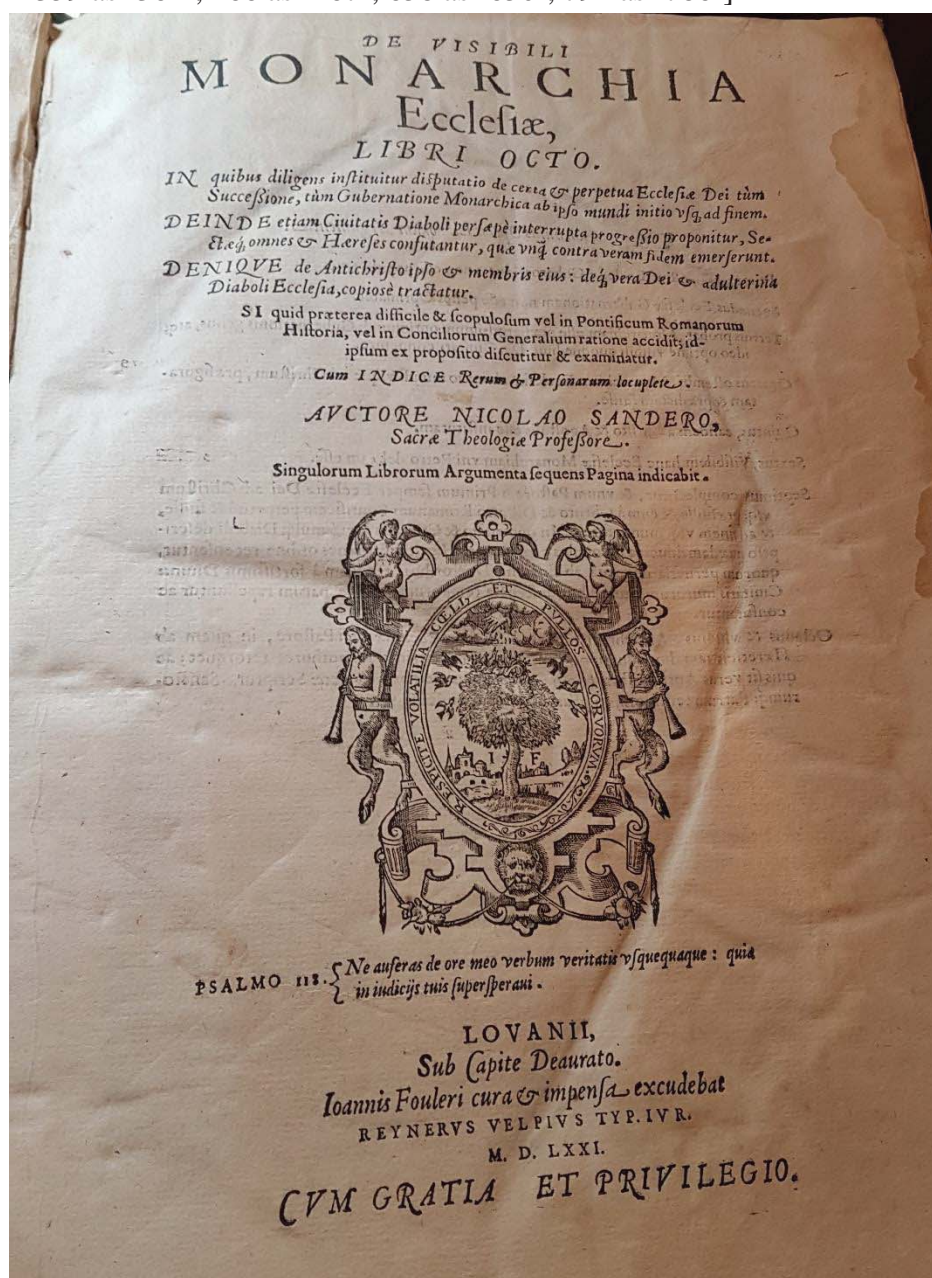


Figure 5: *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, by Nicholas Sanders (1571 wooden-bound edition)

Regarding the state of the text block, many pages of the book present dampness stains, which, along to the presence of the remains of a wheat ear, leads to the hypothesis of this book not being well preserved for a long time. Therefore, despite that one owner of this book spent money on having it bound with wooden boards, the owners that followed this first one did not put much effort into its proper conservation. On the other hand, the order of the gatherings is of special interest: all gatherings are correctly ordered. This should not be worth noticing, if it were not for the fact that the other copy of this edition at the Library presents four gatherings that are not correctly ordered.

The book's title page presents the title and a printed code-of-arms-like design. This code of arms represents a tree that is being watered by a hand from the Heavens. There is a village in the background and in the foreground, six crows flying about a tree. This scene is surrounded by the printed motto "RESPICITE VOLATILIA CÆLI , ET PULLOS CORVORUM". Moreover, von Aich's initials are present flanking the tree. This exact design and phrase also appear in the 1593 edition, which was printed by Heinrich von Aich's widow, who may have partnered with him or may have inherited tools and blocks from his printing shop.

Finally, regarding the book's provenance, the book presents two letters on the margins of two different pages that are not present in the other copy of this edition. These letters are a "P" (3C3 verso) and an "I" (3S3r). There is no explanation for these letters being there and they do not look like stamps but penned. They could be initials of the owner, but the fact that they are not on the same page or even the same gathering dissuades the investigator from this hypothesis, although no other explanation has been found. On the other hand, as aforementioned, the binding of this book consists of two wooden boards covered in leather joined by a leather spine. The title is not on the spine, as on the other books that this paper deals with but on the fore edge, which also presents its early signature: "54 | 2". It is also interesting that the first gathering presents a reinforcement of a manuscript with gothic lettering in red and black. It has been discussed that this sort of binding means that the owner wanted to spend and invest money on this book, as the aforementioned blind tooling represents. Additionally, there is no evidence of who this owner might be—other than those supposed initials. There are, however, labels from the Library of the University of Valladolid: rectangular, white with a double frame of ichthys. The book's current signature is also written on the flyleaf on pencil both and on the front pastedown. It is here that there is another handwritten number: "386", although it does

not correspond to the book's previous signature in this library, according to the label of the University's Library. Finally, on the spine of the book, there is another label corresponding to the Historical Library of Santa Cruz. This is a rectangular label, with a red double frame and squares on the corners. The current signature number is stamped on it. The fact that these are the only library provenance marks and that the binding is not precisely cheap leads to the theory that this book was probably donated to the Library of Santa Cruz, but research of the Library's records would be necessary to confirm this hypothesis.

3.5. *Nicholas Sanders' De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae (1571) [U/Bc BU 01674]*

Like the previously analyzed copy, this folio is a first edition printed at Louvain by Catholic English printer John Fowler. However, there are notable differences between these two copies: whereas the other presented a wooden binding, this copy presents a parchment one, with strings. Moreover, its flyleaves consist exclusively of printed wastepaper and there are no external decorations whatsoever. All these pieces of evidence indicate that this copy was intended to be used and studied, not for collection, which is reinforced by the handwritten inscriptions that the title page presents, although these will be discussed later.

Regarding the text block, another difference with the wooden-bound copy stands out: the gatherings are not properly arranged, as it stated above. There are four gatherings that are incorrectly organized: in this copy, gathering B is arranged before gathering A, and gathering 2S is arranged before gathering 2R, causing continuity errors both in content and seemingly in pagination as well. Furthermore, the error is repeated within the gatherings, since leaves R2 and R3 are not correctly arranged—R3 comes before R2. All these errors make this book stand out amongst the others, because none of the books analyzed for this paper have presented errors in the arrangement of gatherings. However, this has not been taken into account when elaborating the pagination statement, since

pagination was not wrong nor was there any misprinting in these cases, but it is reflected on the collational formula, which was built as follows:

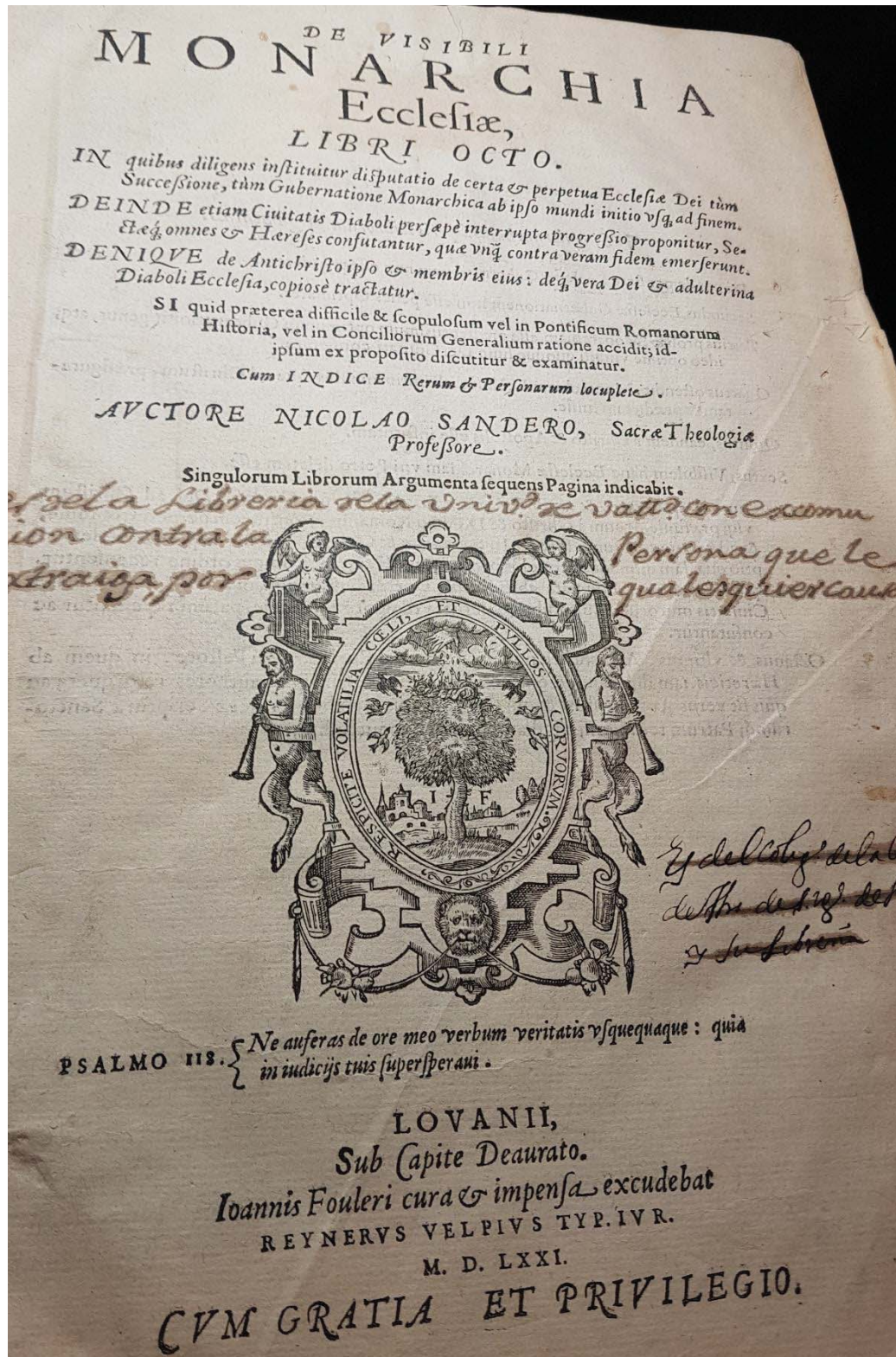


Figure 6: *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, by Nicholas Sanders (1571 parchment-bound edition)

(8) 2º: &⁶ B⁴ A⁴ C-2R⁴ 2S⁴ 2T-3Z⁴ a-2o⁴ [\$3 signed]; 430 leaves, pp. [12] 1-844 [16] [misprinting 359 as ‘361’, 466 as ‘467’, 658 as ‘650’, 791 as ‘786’]

Regarding the text block and its state, we need to take into account that this book was meant to be used frequently, and so, there are signs of usage, like the edge of the paper on leaf 3P1 being torn, or small holes on the paper of leaf 2V3 because the paper is worn out. Additionally, there are several damp stains that cover numerous leaves. This indicates that the conservation of this book has not always been ideal. Finally, the use by the printer of different kinds of paper for this book also stands out, since this was not so evident in the other copy of this edition, where the type of paper used was the same throughout the book. However, in this copy, from gathering 2g onwards, there are several leaves that present a darker thinner paper, almost entirely brown in some cases, making reading the printed text more difficult. Regarding the rest of the book, it is just like the other copy, with the same title page—what is printed, at least—and even the same printing errors in pagination. This is normal, since they belong to the same edition.

Lastly, in terms of provenance, this copy provides more explicit evidence than its counterpart, especially thanks to the handwritten inscriptions that its title page presents. There are two of them. The first one is above the printer’s device. It is done with brown ink and says: “es dela Librería de la Univ[ersidad] de Valla. con excomu | nión contra la Persona que le | extraiga por qualesquiera causa” (Fig. 6). This inscription threatens possible thieves with excommunication should they rob this book. This was no idle threat, since in 1649 Pope Innocent X actually forbid the removal of books from the Historical Library of Santa Cruz in a papal bull (Azkunaga 19). The other inscription is scratched out and is written on black ink. It says: “es del Coelg[i]o De la Comp[añ]a | de Ihs, de S. Ig[naci]o De Vallad[oli] | y su Librería”. This crossed out inscription marks the book as part of the collection of the San Ignacio College Library. This collection passed unto the University of Valladolid after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, when the colleges were dismantled, and their libraries were transferred to the University. Finally, the ownership of the University of Valladolid over this book is reinforced by two labels: one on the flyleaf marking the book as property of the University Library. This label is rectangular, white and with a triple red frame and white double-frame squares on its corners. On this label, the previous and new signature are handwritten. The other label is on the title page’s verso. It consists on a printed label glued on the paper and it says: “Es de la Bilioteca | de la Real Uni- | versidad de Va- | lladolid.” No other book presents this sort of label, but we

cannot date it yet. The Historical Library is making a catalogue dating the University's stamps and labels. Finally, the copy presents seven old signatures on the fore edge.

3.6. Nicholas Sanders' *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae* (1592) [U/Bc 01968]

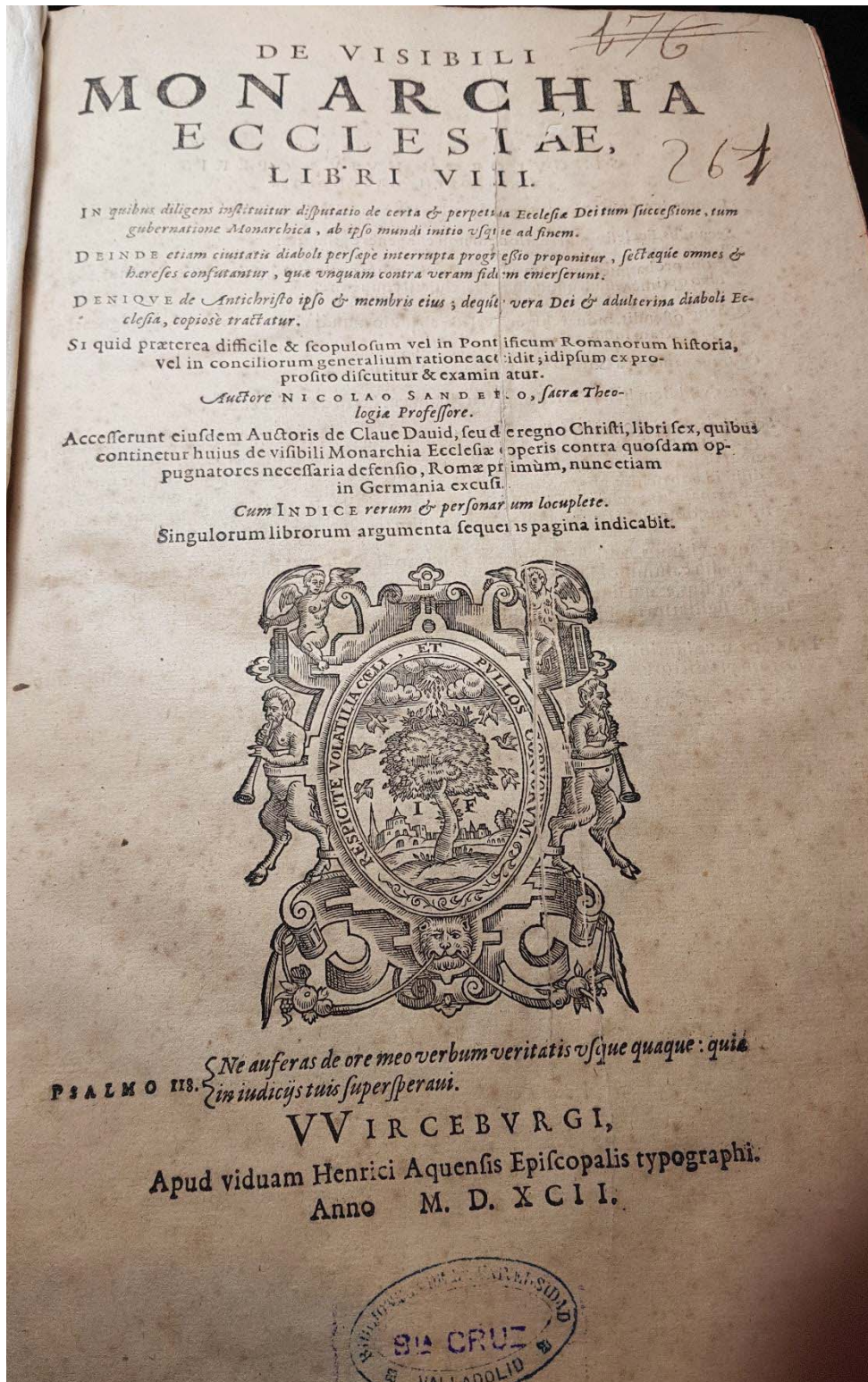


Figure 7: *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, by Nicholas Sanders (1592 leather-bound edition)

This folio was printed by Heinrich von Aich's widow in Würzburg, twenty-one years after the first edition of *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae* was published. It was not uncommon in the Early Modern Period for the widows of men of business to take up their husbands' roles once they died (Sáez-Hidalgo). The fact that this book was printed more than twenty years after the first edition was published hints how popular Sanders' work was in Europe. The copy consists of eighty gatherings of six leaves each, except for ²O, which is composed of four leaves, since it is the last gathering. The four first leaves of each gathering are signed. This edition can only be found at the University of Valencia, at the University of Seville, and at the National Library of Madrid.

As for the text block, other than some oxide stains, there are no great flaws present in this copy. However, the book contains several pagination errors, although this is not surprising given the amount of leaves to be paginated—496. Additionally, it is interesting that this volume contains two titles: *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae* and *De clave David*, also by Nicholas Sanders, in which he replies to the attacks that the former had received (Graves Law 261). The other two copies of *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae* obviously did not include the *De clave David*, for being first editions with no time for reprinting. However, this does not indicate that this copy. The organization of the gatherings in each book is independent: firstly, the gatherings of *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae* have their own signing and the gatherings of *De Clave David* do not continue the previous signing but begin again. This is reflected in the following collational formula:

(9) 2^o: *⁶ A-Z⁶ a-z⁶ 2A-2Y⁶ [\$4 signed]; 414 leaves, pp. [6] 1- 808 [12]
[misprinting 16 as '61', 58 as '85', 85 as '58', 408 as '480', 411 as '0', 455 as '45', 516 as '16', 523 as '52', 564 as '560', 587 as '7', 707 as '451']

Gatherings from ²A onwards correspond to *De clave David*, and they are paginated independently from *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae* as well. This book's collational formula is:

(10) 2^o: ²A-²N⁶²O⁴ [\$4 signed]; 82 leaves, pp. [2] 1–153 [6]

The title page of this additional book presents the same engraved design as the title page of *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, which was associated with the printer of the first edition: John Fowler.

On the other hand, regarding the book's provenance, this copy presents only the stamp of the University of Valladolid on the title page. This stamp is oval, of a dark blue color saying "BIBLIOTECA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD · VALLADOLID". Within this stamp, there is another of a different shade of blue saying "S^{TA} CRUZ". Additionally, there are two handwritten numbers on the right corner of the folio, both of them written on black ink: "176", which is crossed out, and "261" (Fig. 7). Both of them are placed at the top right corner of the folio. But this are not the only numbers on this copy. On the flyleaf's verso, there are two numbers written on pencil: "145" and "1968"—the book's current signature. But more interesting is the label on the front pastedown, like in the case of other volumes, it is rectangular, white, and with a black scallop-pattern frame, in which the number "218" is written with the last number crossed out and replaced with a "7". The fact that this copy is leather-bound and highly decorated, with the marbled leather, three fillets, at the borders and the edges of the cover tooled indicates that this book was not meant for a library, where bindings tend to be more practical-oriented than aesthetic. But in this case, both the leather from the boards and spine are highly decorated and the leather of the spine presents gilt tooling with floral designs between its six raised bands. This binding is accompanied by spiral-decorated flyleaves, a French style common in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and a green ribbon separating *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae* from *De clave David*. The presence and details of this binding indicate that this copy was meant for someone wealthy enough to afford all these details. However, this theory is not the only plausible one: this binding is very similar to the one that *Principiorum fidei doctrinalium* presents, which makes the investigator think that they were bound together by the same printer here in Valladolid, once they were part of the Historical Library of Santa Cruz's collection.

3.7. Thomas Stapleton's Principiorum fidei doctrinalium (1578) [U/Bc 01975]

This book is a first edition printed in Paris by Michel Sonnius. This printer was active from 1564 to 1588, according to the Library of Congress of the United States. The book is a large quarto consisting of nineteen gatherings of six leaves each, out of which the first four are signed, and one initial gathering of four leaves with the first two signed (á). Additionally, the whole text block is mispaginated from page 157, which is printed as 155 (n6), until page 193, which is paginated as 191 and from which the mispagination continues until the end of the book. Once all these data were gathered, the following collational formula was built:

(10) 4^o: ã⁴ a – z⁶ A - Y⁶ [\$4 signed (-á3, á4)]; 272 leaves, pp. [4] 1 – 156 155 – 192, 191 - 513 [23] (total = 517) [misprinting 48 as 46, 80 as 79, 84 as 83, 100 as 76, 183 as 163, 184 as 194, 190 as 172, 191 as 173, 192 as 170, 204 as 104, 264 as 244, 350 as 338, 417 as 407]

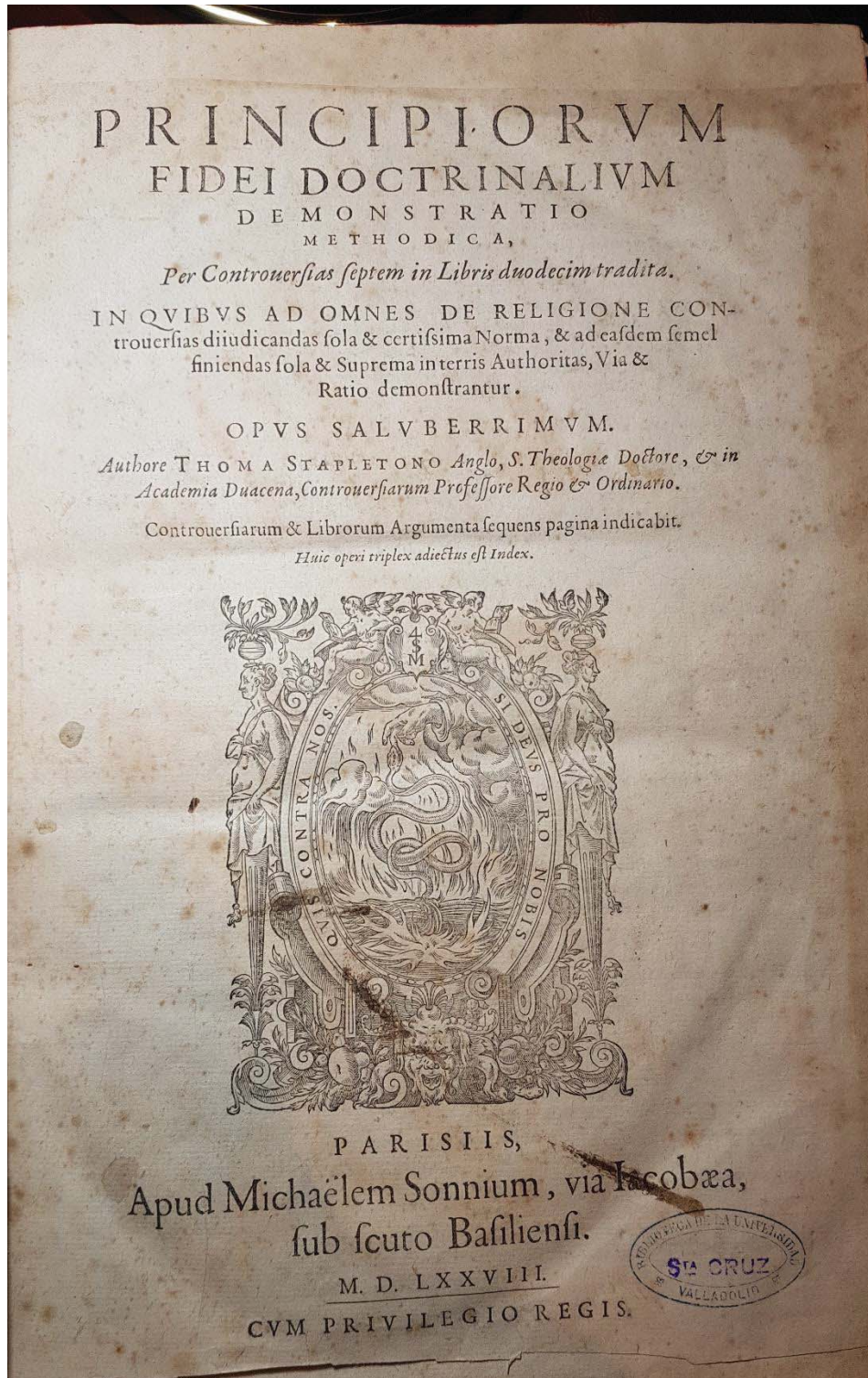


Figure 8: *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium*, by Thomas Stapleton (title page)

The state of the text block is good, except for several flaws that mar its leaves, like pages 77 and 78 (g3 – g4) unopened, as well as a deep brown stain on this page that continues until page 96 (verso h6). Additionally, on pages 83 and 84, there is a part of the paper that is half torn. As to the book's original state, its binding is harder, made of lamb leather, unlike the parchment and paper bindings that most of the rest of the books that this essay deals with present. Furthermore, there is a red satin ribbon that is used as a bookmark. All this evidence proves that the previous owner of the book, whoever it was, paid more money in order to have a better quality binding for this book. This lushness can also be appreciated in the decoration of the chapters' initials, which include demon-like designs, in the dyed marbled flyleaves, or in the dyed edges of the paper that make the book appear red when it is closed. However, we do not know if this is typical of the book's printer— Michel Sonnius. He appears as the printer of many books dealing with a varied number of topics, but no biographical information has been found. On the other hand, the title page is smaller than the rest of the book's leaves, with the edges hastily cut, so the original edges were cut out, probably to remove an inscription or other kind of provenance evidence. This title page (Fig. 8) includes a printed reredos flanked by two figures with a human face and torso. At the top, there are two cherubs facing opposite directions. In the center of the reredos appears what seems to be the hand of God casting the Snake out of Heaven to Hell. At the bottom part of the vignette, there is a demonic face. Lastly, the blank spaces are filled by floral designs. On this vignette, there are two printed inscriptions: "4SM" at the top, and framing the middle of the composition, "QUIS CONTRANOS. | SI DEUS PRO NOBIS". This entire composition is Sonnius's printer's device. Sonnius had three printer's devices, including this one, which was first used in 1573 according to *Les Bibliothèques Virtuelles Humanistes*.

Finally, regarding provenance, there is no direct evidence present on the book, other than the stamps that mark this book as property of the University of Valladolid's library, although, unlike in the other books, these dark blue, oval seals include in the middle the stamp of "S^{TA}. CRUZ", which indicates that the book has belonged to the Historical Library of Santa Cruz exclusively and that it does not come from any other institution, although the book's binding denotes that it was not bound thinking of practicality, so research of the records will indicate whether it was donated or if it came directly to the library because of its popularity in Spain. However, this is not very plausible, given that there are not many copies of this edition distributed in Spain, with

only one copy in Seville. Of course, there are more copies of this work, but not from the 1578 Paris edition.

3.8. Thomas Stapleton's *Antidota apostolica* (Vol. I) (1595) [U/Bc BU 09280]

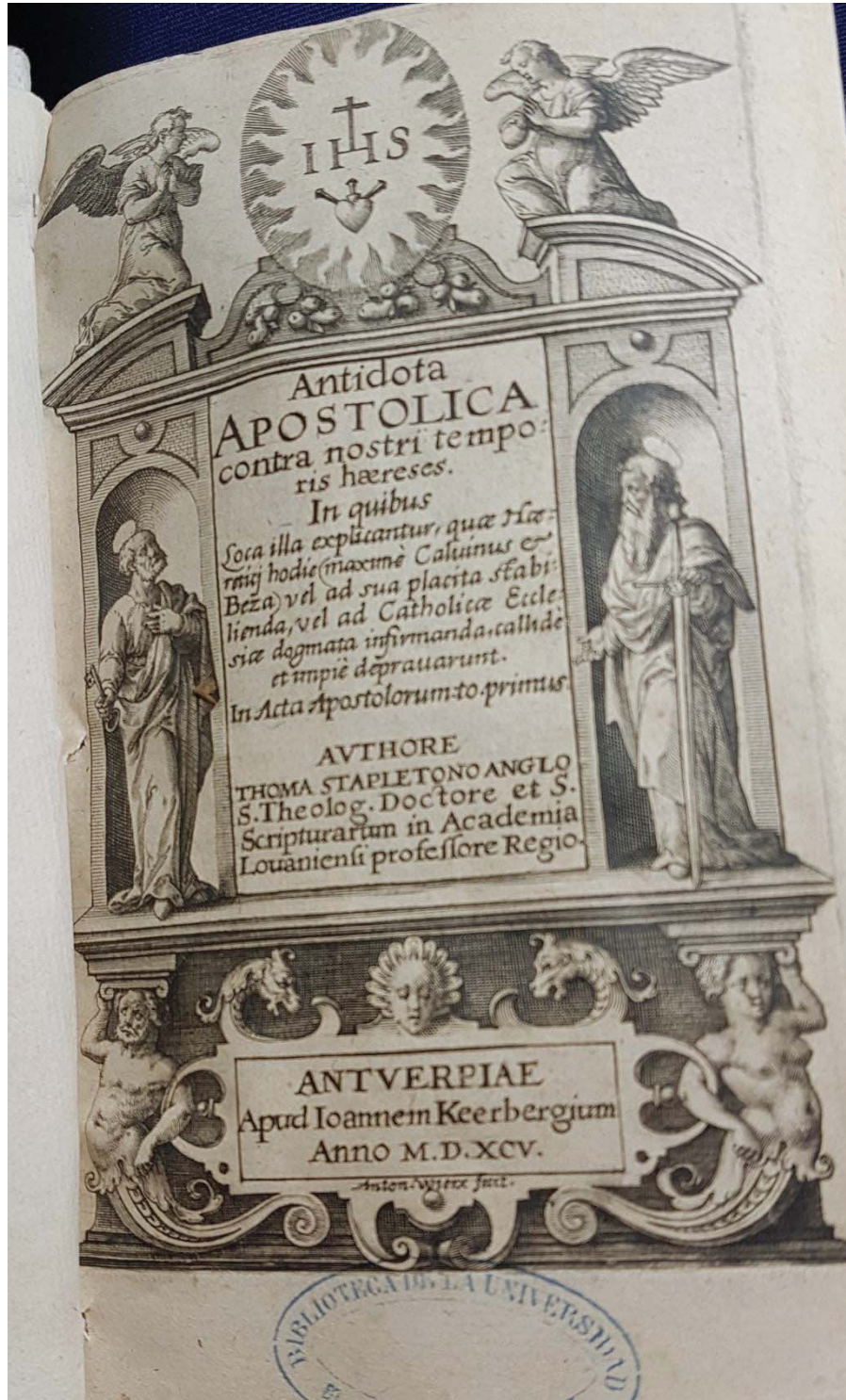


Figure 9: *Antidota apostolica* (vol. I), by Thomas Stapleton (title page)

This octavo book was printed by Jan Keerberghen in 1595, the same year that this title was published, so it is a first edition. This printer was active from 1590 to 1624, so this copy belongs to his first years. It is composed by forty-two gatherings, most of which present eight leaves each, although there are two that present four—the final gathering of the preface (3*) and the final gathering of the book itself (2X). Those gatherings with eight leaves have the first five leaves signed, and those gatherings composed by four leaves have the first two leaves signed. With regard to the pagination, there are only a few errors, like the lack of page number on A2 or the misprinting of page 658 as 58 (2Tv). Once all these data were gathered, the collational formula was built as follows:

(11) 8^o: * - 2*⁸ 3*⁴ A - 2V⁸ 2X⁴ [\$5 signed (–3*3, 3*4, 2X3, 2X4)]; 358 leaves, pp. [18] 1 - 658 [misprinting 3 as Ø, 195 as ‘199’, 658 as ‘58’] [38]

In regard to the book’s content, the engraved portrait of the Pope Clement VIII stands out (*3), underneath which the following printed inscription appears: “SS.D.N.CLEMENS.PP.VIII”. None of the other books analyzed for this essay present a portrait of these characteristics. This engraving and the title page—also engraved—present a different paper and the leaves are not signed (Fig. 9), although the following leaf is signed as usual. The engravings include the signature of the engraver: “Anton. Wierx. Fecit”. This is the signature of Antonius II Wierix, active in Antwerp from 1555/59 to 1604 (“The Wierix family book illustrations [part II]”). Going, back to the devotion for the Pope, Stapleton presents, he also includes an extensive dedication of His Holiness titled:

SANCTISSIMO | AC BEATISSIMO IN | CHRISTO PATRI, ROMA- | næ & Catholicæ Ecclesie
Pontifici Opti- | mo Maximo, Clementi VIII. Ad humil- | lima pedum oscula

(To the Holy and blessed in Christ, the Great Clemment VIII, Pope of the Roman Catholic Church.
Kiss his feet.)

Given Thomas Stapleton’s relationship with the Pope and the admiration that Clement VIII himself displayed for Stapleton, it is not surprising to find this sort of dedication and reverence to the figure of the Pope. Concerning the book’s title page, it contains both title and vignette. The latter consists of a Renaissance reredos containing the title in the middle with the representations of Saint Paul and Saint Peter flanking it. Both apostles are accompanied by their allegorical representations. At the top of this reredos appears the

printed anagram “IHS” and at the bottom, the name of the printer—Jan Keerberghen—flanked by two cherubs.

On the other hand, and looking into the state of the text block, there are almost no flaws: the bleached parchment binding is intact, and the paper is in general good conditions. Nevertheless, there are multiple ink stains on the paper throughout the book that are from an excess of ink on the frame or for pressing the frame too hard against the paper. In addition, some passages have been underlined with ink, on pages 350 (Y7v) and 351 (Y8r), although there is not any other indication or inscription that tells who underlined those passages or why.

Finally, regarding the book’s provenance, apart from the parchment binding, which is typical of Spanish binderies, there is no direct evidence, other than the stamps belonging to the Library of the University of Valladolid: two oval, dark blue ones saying “BIBLIOTECA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD · VALLADOLID” on the title page and page 92 (F6v). There is also a label on the verso of the front cover: black frame made of scallop designs. The number “524” is written on it, just like in the other *Antidotás*, which indicates that they were likely indicators of the shelf the book was placed in. The lack of other marks of provenance leads to the hypothesis that this book has always belonged to this library, like the first volume, although—again—further research needs to be done in the future to confirm this hypothesis.

3.9. *Thomas Stapleton’s Antidota apostolica (vol II) (1595) [U/Bc BU 09281]*

This octavo book, as the continuation of the book previously analyzed, was printed in 1595 as well and by the same printer—Jan Keerberghen—in Antwerp. It is, therefore, a first edition. Forty-eight gatherings of eight leaves and a final gathering of seven compose this book. In each gathering, the first five leaves of each gathering are signed. The volume’s pagination only present two spelling mistakes, which is notable taking into account that its 428 leaves are paginated from 1 to 811. After the format data were gathered, the following collational formula was constructed:

(12) 8^o: †-2†⁸ A-3G⁸ [\$5 signed -3F4]; 428 leaves, pp. [16] 1-811 [812] [34]
[misprinting 550 as 558, 654 as 652]

Regarding the text block's state, what attracts the most attention is the fact that so many leaves are unopened, as well as the piece of paper on page 341 that stands out because it includes an extra piece at the top corner (Y3). However, these are the most notable flaws that this copy presents: its bleached paper binding is intact and there is only one leaf presenting deckles on the paper and very few ink stains.

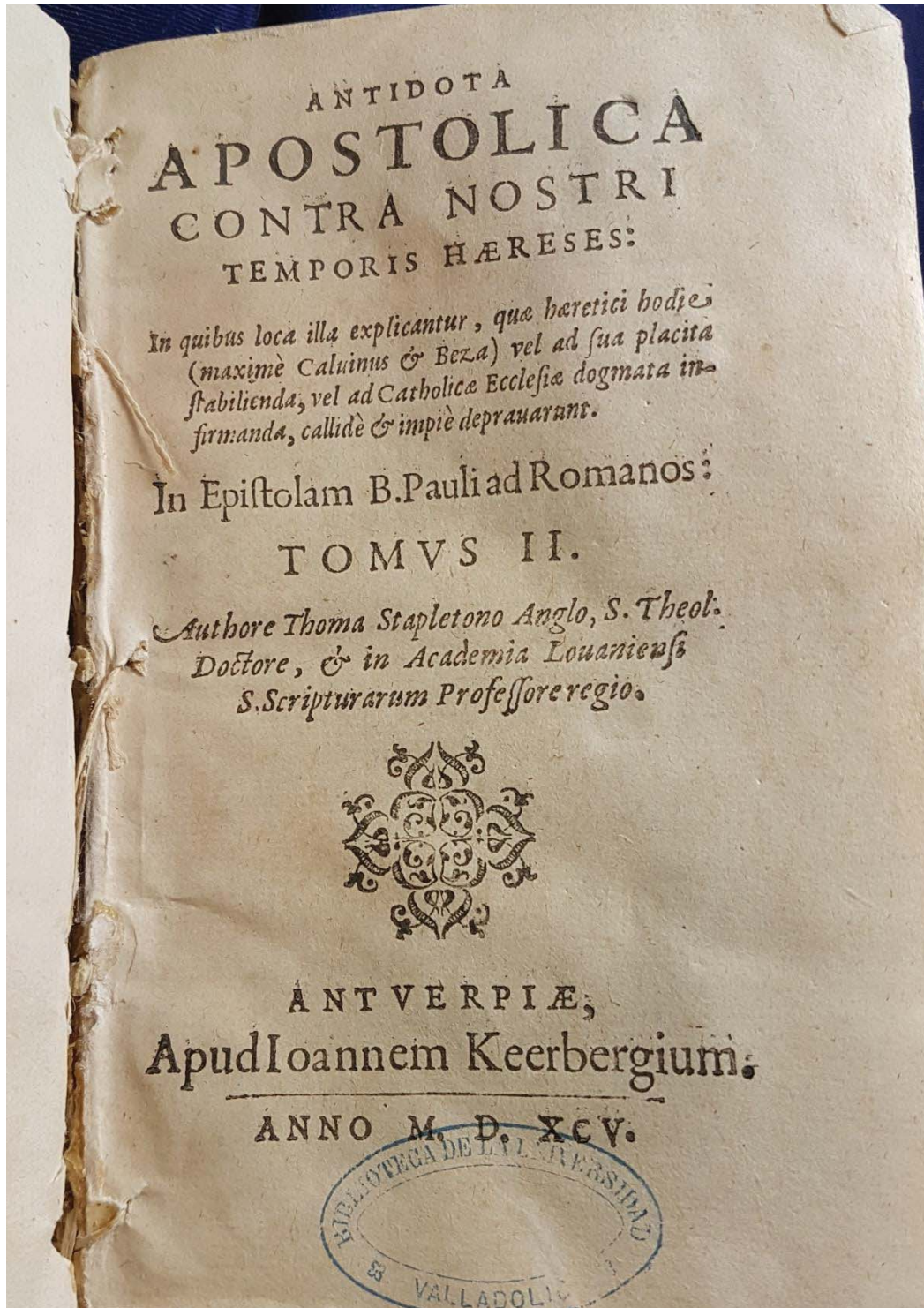


Figure 10: *Antidota apostolica* (vol. II), by Thomas Stapleton (title page)

In terms of content, it is remarkable that this is the only book analyzed containing an Approbatio on the reverse of the last leaf (3G8):

In his Antidotis, quibus domini | verbi ab hæreticis nostri temporis | factæ depravaciones egregiè
demon. | strantur & refelluntur ,nihil esse te. | stor quod fidei Catholicæ & Ortho. | doxæ repugnet.

Henricus Cuyckius, Pon- | tificius & Regius libro- | rum Censor.

“Henricus Cuyckius” is the Latinized form of the name Hendrik van Cuyk. He was the Second Bishop of Roermond and a Professor of Theology and Moral Philosophy at the University of Louvain (Thonissen 602), so it is understandable that he appears as censor and that he is the one to approve of the book’s content.

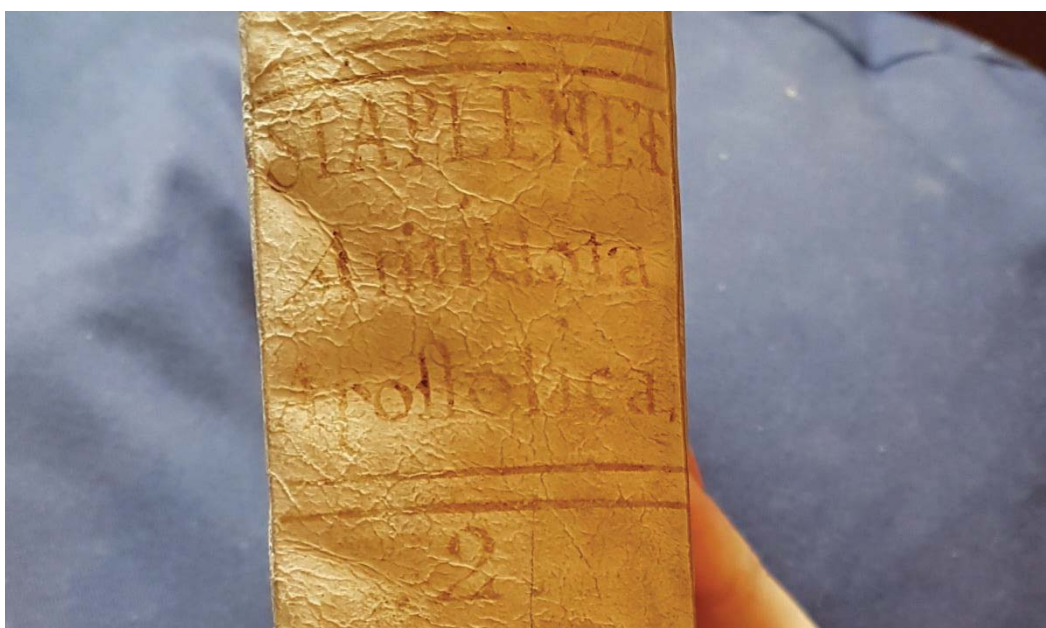


Figure 11: *Antidota apostolica* (vol II), by Thomas Stapleton (spine lettering detail)

Finally, the book, like its counterpart, does not present other provenance evidence other than its Spanish parchment binding and the University of Valladolid’s Library stamps and labels: oval and dark blue stamps, saying “BIBLIOTECA DE LA UNIVERSIDAD · VALLADOLID”, along with the black-and-white label that presents an ornamental frame made of scallop designs. As to the parchment binding, the heavy trimming of the book’s leaves indicates that this binding is not the book’s first one. In fact, it is an indicator that the book has been re-bound several times. Therefore, this book has had numerous owners. The dating of this binding is not confirmed, although the lettering that the spine presents seems from the seventeenth century (Fig 11). It seems that the book has not been anywhere else besides this library. However, this does not mean exclusivity at all, since there are many copies spread throughout Spain, which

confirms the sheer popularity that Stapleton enjoyed in his time, despite not being so known nowadays.

3.10. *Thomas Stapleton's Antidota evangelica (1595)* [U/Bc BU 02909]

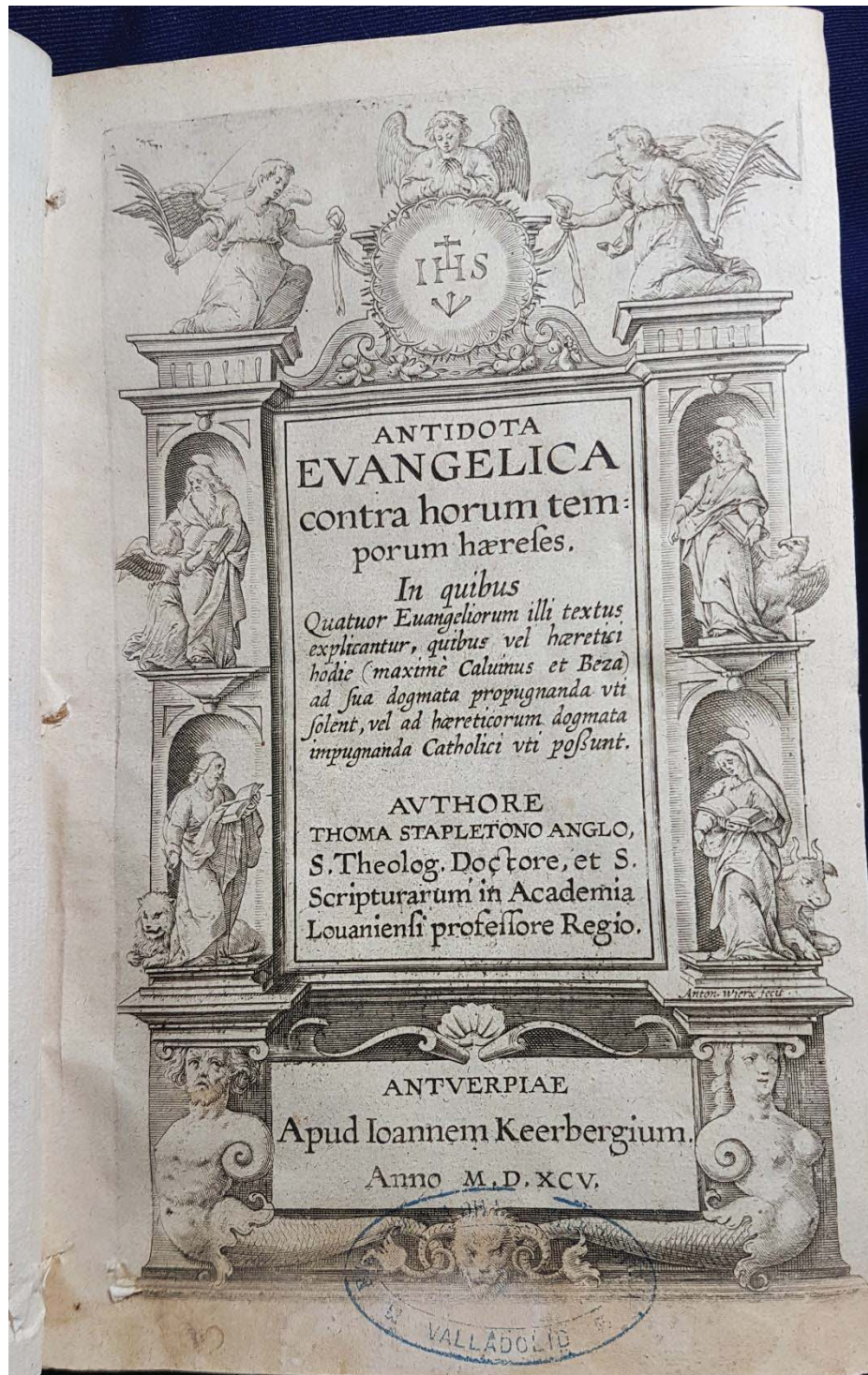


Figure 12: *Antidota evangelica*, by Thomas Stapleton (title page)

This octavo book is a first edition printed in Antwerp by Jan Keerberghen—like the two volumes of the *Antidota apostolica*. It consists of thirty-seven gatherings of eight

leaves each, out of which the first five were signed. In regard to the pagination of the book, there is only one error, with the misprint of page 497 as 49 (2I1). The rest of its 304 leaves are correctly paginated. After collecting these data, the collational formula was made as it follows:

(13) 8^o: †⁸ *⁸ A-2O⁸ [\$5 signed]; 304 leaves, pp. [32] 1- 591 [592] [misprinting 497 as '49']

Regarding the book's general state, it is striking the amount of leaves that are not fully opened. Additionally, there are several ink stains on page 34 (C1v) and page 65 presents an irregular uncut paper edge (E). As to the binding, it consists of bleached parchment with straps and presents no damage. Finally, concerning, the book's content and presentation, one aspect is to be mentioned: that the copy's title page (Fig. 12) is similar to that of the first volume of *Antidota apostolica* (Fig. 9), which is not surprising, taking into account that these are complementary works, published for the first time in the same year—1595—and dealing with similar controversies and polemics. This title page consists of an engraved Renaissance reredos, in the middle of which the book's title appears. This title is flanked by the representation of the four Evangelists accompanied by their allegorical representations. At the bottom of the reredos, two infants flank the Jan Keerberghen's Latinized name and the imprimatur.

Finally, in terms of provenance, the only evidence that this book presents is its library stamps and label, and its binding. The stamps and labels are the same as those present on the volumes I and II of the *Antidota apostolica*: the oval, dark blue stamp of the library of the University of Valladolid and the black-and-white shell-framed label at the front pastedown on which the book's signature is handwritten. Additionally, the book's spine also presents the label of the Historical Library of Santa Cruz: rectangular, red, and with a double frame. This label says "Biblioteca de Santa Cruz" and there is a library label on it containing the book's current signature—BU 2.909. This leads to the same hypothesis as in the previous two books: that this copy has belonged always to the Historical Library of Santa Cruz, just like the two volumes of the *Antidota apostolica*. However, unlike *Antidota apostolica*, this copy presents a heavily trimmed parchment binding, which indicates that it has been re-bound multiple times. Multiple re-bindings, especially with highly functional bindings like the one this copy presents, are indicators that the book in question has changed hands since very early in its history until it was

given its parchment final binding in the eighteenth century. On the other hand, in terms of rarity, this work is not as extended in Spain. Although there are several copies at the University of Barcelona and Valencia, there are not any in Seville or Madrid, which makes the *Antidota evangelica* rarer in Spain than the *Antidota apostolica*.

4. Conclusion

This dissertation has analyzed books of Catholic-Protestant controversy by sixteenth-century English polemicists. Most of these authors were popular in their time and discussed both in Catholic and Protestant circles—whether to praise them or refute them. Particularly relevant to the city of Valladolid is Robert Persons, the founder of the English College of Valladolid, who is discussed as an author of two of the volumes analyzed, and as the owner of another. Other authors, like Thomas Stapleton, have almost been forgotten by History, although his works were so relevant that they needed to be repeatedly rebound so that students were still able to use them. Lastly, other authors have remained relevant even nowadays in scholar circles, like Nicholas Sander, of whom there are three copies of the same title in the Historical Library of Santa Cruz, two of which present quite elaborate bindings indicating either an investment from the owner's part—like in the case of the wooden-bound copy—or a special interest from the library itself for the book's conservation, as it is likely the case of the leather-bound copy of this title.

The bibliographic analysis of these books has led to very interesting results, being Robert Person's ownership of the *Concertatio* one of the most relevant. We have found out that most of these books—the 1592 edition of the *Elizabethae Angliae Regina*, wooden and leather-bound copies of *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, and the *Antidotae*—have most likely always belonged to the Historical Library of Santa Cruz, with the clear exception of the 1593 edition of Persons' *Elizabethae Angliae Regina*, Bridgewater's *Concertatio Ecclesiae*, and the parchment-bound 1571 edition of Sanders' *De Visibili Monarchia*, which belonged first the Jesuits and later to the old library of the University of Valladolid. Others, like Stapleton's *Principiorum Fidei Doctrinalium*, have had their most clear provenance evidence removed, as the cut-out upper and lower margins of the title page reveal. On the other hand, the presence of similar labels, especially the one with the scallop frame, is a piece of evidence of great importance in terms of provenance. However, there are very no records on the University's labels and their dates yet, so once the Historical Library of Santa Cruz has elaborated the full catalogue of the University's

stamps and labels, it will be necessary to revisit our provisional conclusions to extend the results. Additionally, the books' bindings are also relevant for provenance research: all of them, with the exception of the *Principiorum fidei doctrinalium* and two copies of *De visibili monarchia ecclesiae*, are parchment-bound, which is typical of Spanish binderies. These bindings are also very similar physically and they present the same type of lettering on the books' spines, which indicates that they were likely bound around the same period and by the same binder. Particularly, it is remarkable the case of Stapleton's works, especially the *Antidotus*, due to their various re-bindings. These re-bindings indicate a long history of being frequently read and used. On the other hand, those books that present a more elaborate binding, especially the 1592 edition of *De visibili monarchia* and the *Principiorum fidei doctrinalium*, are also indicative of a history in Spanish libraries: the binding is typically Spanish, with sheep leather and tooling. Therefore, it is likely that they were bound in Spain because a library wanted them so.

Nonetheless, if most of these books have indeed always belonged to the library of the College of Santa Cruz and arrived there in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and despite the Inquisition's ban on British authors, it tells much about the library being a beacon for Catholic polemic works. And, indeed, the fact that all these authors were Catholic and sought a Catholic restoration in England means that the Inquisition's bans were not as tight on British authors if they were ideologically similar to the dominant mindset that was established in Spain.

However, as aforementioned, the results obtained from this investigation are incomplete and need further research in the immediate future. This essay is only the beginning and opening for this project that will continue with an investigation scholarship and a Master's dissertation. Future research passes through the search of the Historical Library's records in order to find out if the direct provenance evidence has pointed out in the right direction or if errors have incurred. Additionally, a study of the University of Valladolid's library stamps and labels—which is being conducted right now by the Historical Library itself—would help figure out when exactly a book came into the University's possession, or if it belonged exclusively to the Historical Library of Santa Cruz. The final results of this investigation can shed much light on the question of books of Controversy and their circulation in Valladolid and Spain.

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