

The Library of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley

by

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She also provided a great numbred of books, wherof she gave some to the universety of Cambridg, namely the Great bible in hebrew, and 4 other tongs. And to the Colledg of St Jhons very many books in Greke, of divinite and physick, and of other science. The lyk she did to christ chyrch, and St Jhons Colledg in oxford. The lyk she did to the Colledg of westminster.¹

THIS TANTALISINGLY BRIEF REFERENCE to Mildred Burghley's personal library, taken from her grieving husband's memorial written immediately after her death in April 1589, indicates the destination of an undefined number of significant scholarly books.² There is no trace of her will and few manuscripts remain: only a handful of letters, a translation, and a poem. These, however, are composed in either Latin or Greek (or in the case of the translation, translated from Greek), and serve to confirm her scholarly interests and provide at least a limited means of understanding the formation of her book collection. Placing Mildred Burghley in a wider context shows that she is both exceptional in her scholarship and at the same time one of a number of educated women who owned their own books and wished to be identified with them.

I

Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley (1526–89), was the eldest of five daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke (1504–76), the humanist teacher of Edward VI, who educated all of his daughters at home. In his will he bequeathed to

¹ London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 103, no. 51, fol. 118v, 'Meditation occasioned by the death of his lady', mistakenly dated on the manuscript 9 April 1588. Burghley himself gave Mildred's death in his chronology of events as 7 April 1589; see *A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth from the Year 1571 to 1596 Left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, transcribed by William Murdin (London, 1759), p. 746. In the present transcription underlining is as in the manuscript; contractions have been expanded. 'The Colledg of westminster' refers to the refoundation of the College of St Peter in 1560 by Elizabeth I, incorporating both Westminster Abbey and Westminster School. Two libraries existed within the foundation; one in the abbey buildings for the Dean and prebends, the second for the use of the school. Mildred Burghley gave books to both.

² Books known to have been owned by Mildred Burghley are listed in the Appendix. Sir William Cecil was raised to the peerage in February 1571; in consequence Mildred Cecil changed the style of her signature in her books to Mildred Burghley. In this paper she is referred to as Burghley when the period after 1571 is under discussion.

Mildred three books in addition to more conventional gifts: 'I will that of my bookes my daughter of Burghleigh shall have twoe volumes in latyne and one in greeke such as she will choose.'³ Mildred's sisters were to follow her in choosing similarly; the residue of the books was to go to Cooke's son Richard. In this donation Anthony Cooke recognized the intellectual qualities of his four surviving daughters, qualities that are confirmed by other biographical sources. For instance, the seventeenth-century biographer, David Lloyd, in his study of English statesmen focuses on the public life of his subjects. However, when writing about Anthony Cooke he found the main interest of his life (after his tuition of Edward VI) to have been the intellectual achievements of his daughters. Lloyd drew attention to the quality of the education Cooke gave them. He argued that Cooke's purpose was to create 'complete women' by developing understanding as well as acquiring knowledge, while not losing sight of traditional feminine virtues of submission, modesty, and obedience; Cooke was 'happy in his daughters, learned above their sex in greek and latine'.⁴

The depth of Mildred Cecil's skills in Greek are amply seen in surviving evidence: the letter she wrote to the Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge; the poem she contributed to the presentation copy of Bartholo Sylva's *Giardino cosmographico cultivato*; her translation of Basil the Great's sermon on a passage from Deuteronomy; book dedications, and comments from contemporaries.⁵ Mildred Cecil was equally at home in Latin: a letter written in 1573 to her cousin, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, gave him political advice based on a realistic assessment of the situation he faced.⁶ The

³ London, The National Archives, Public Record Office (PRO), PCC Wills, 10 Daughtry, Prob. 11/59. It has not been possible to link any of the books currently identified as belonging to Mildred Burghley with the terms of the will.

⁴ David Lloyd, *The Statesmen and Favourites of England from the Reformation to the Revolution* (London, 1665), pp. 199, 201–03. For accounts of the learning of Mildred Cecil and her sisters, see George Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain*, ed. by Ruth Perry (Detroit, 1985); Edward Nares, *Memoirs of Lord Burghley*, 3 vols (London, 1828–31), I, pp. 73–76, and III, p. 366; Sheridan Harvey, 'The Cooke Sisters: A Study of Tudor Gentlewomen' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, 1981); Mary Ellen Lamb, 'The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes toward Learned Women', in *Silent but for the Word*, ed. by Margaret Hannay (Ohio, 1985), pp. 107–25; Pearl Hogrefe, *Women of Action in Tudor Times* (Ames, IA, 1977); *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print 1550–1700*, ed. by Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer (London, 2004); and Jane Stevenson, 'Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh: Poetry, Politics and Protestantism', in *Early Modern Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, ed. by Victoria Burke and Jonathan Gibson (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 51–73.

⁵ The letter is British Library, MS Lansdowne 104, no. 60, fol. 158r; I am grateful to Jennifer Gibbon of the Godolphin and Latymer School, London, for her translation of the letter and to Jennifer Capper for other translations from Latin. For details of the poem, see Pauline Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley: The Matriarch', in *Patronage, Culture and Power: The Early Cecils 1558–1612*, ed. by Pauline Croft (New Haven, CT, 2002), p. 285, and Louise Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* (Bloomington, IN, 1994), pp. 34–41 and 256–57. The sermon translation is in British Library, MS Royal 17.B.xviii, c. 1550.

⁶ Mildred Burghley to Sir William Fitz-Williams, October 1573, printed in Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, pp. 190–91.

dedications to Mildred Cecil focus on her learning: Fulwell in 1576 refers modestly to his book as ‘so slender a present to so learned a lady’, and Ocland, in choosing to dedicate a Latin version of his poems to her in 1582, refers to her erudition in Greek and Latin.⁷ Hadrianus Junius, author of a series of ‘Emblemata’, seeking a favour from William Cecil in 1568, added a series of verses to his letter and chose to include poetry in praise of Mildred with that dedicated to her husband. Although flattery was at the heart of his purpose, his choice of language is interesting. He emphasized Mildred Cecil’s learning: women have been silent for a long while, he wrote, but she is ‘the kind of companion in this assembly worthy to be read’, and, he concluded, ‘let all of us poets prepare incense and altars for Cecil’s wife, who has been added to the number of the Muses’.⁸

William Cecil, Lord Burghley, refers to his wife’s learning in several places, for example in the inscription on his great memorial to her and their daughter Anne in Westminster Abbey. In translation:

She was conversant with sacred literature, and the writings of holy men, especially those Greeks such as Basil the Great, Chrysostom, and Gregory Nazianzus, and others of their ilk. Yet most comforting to me is to recollect how great were the benefits that she conferred in secret upon the learned. [...] She was no less famed and exceedingly praised by all the learned for her erudition, combined with her steadfast profession of the Christian faith, and her singular knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, which knowledge she received solely at the hands of her father who instructed her.⁹

Mildred Burghley’s scholarship was appreciated at Cambridge among the Fellows of St John’s, whom she visited on several occasions with her husband and with whom she corresponded in expert Greek.¹⁰ Sir John Harington in his translation of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* commented that, unlike in Italy

⁷ For book dedications to Mildred Cecil, see Franklin B. Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London, 1962). The books in question are STC 11471, Ulpian Fulwell, *The first part of the eighth liberall science: entituled, Ars adulandi* (London, 1576); STC 13805, Horatius Flaccus, *A medicinable morall, that is two books of Horace his satyres*, trans. by T. Drant (London, 1566), dedicated jointly to Lady Bacon and Lady Cecil; and STC 18775, Christopher Ocland, *Eirenarchia sive Elizabetha* (London, 1582).

⁸ PRO, SP 12/47/18, Hadrianus Junius to William Cecil, 9 July 1568. I am indebted to Jennifer Andersen for the translation of the verse.

⁹ From the translation by Margaret Stewardson of the Latin inscription on the memorial in the Chapel of St Nicholas, Westminster Abbey, in an unpublished work on Abbey monuments by Dr John Physick, held in Westminster Abbey Library. Jane Stevenson has identified personal correspondence between the Flemish humanist scholar Karl Utenhove and Mildred Cecil in which she displays considerable skill in Greek; see Stevenson, ‘Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh’, p. 58.

¹⁰ British Library, MS Lansdowne 104, no. 60, fol. 158^r, Mildred Burghley to the Fellows of St John’s, undated. In his correspondence with William Cecil, Sir Richard Moryson, English Ambassador to Charles V, makes frequent references to Mildred Cecil’s expertise in writing Greek; see for instance, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Edward VI, 1547–1553*, ed. by William B. Turnbull (London, 1861), pp. 97, 124, 217, 231, and 236.

where only one learned lady had been found, there were four in England in one family, whom he identified in the margin as 'the four daughters of Sir Anthonie Cooke'.¹¹ John Strype (quoting Roger Ascham) said that Mildred Cecil spoke and understood Greek as easily as she spoke English.¹²

When Mildred Cooke married William Cecil in 1545 he was a widower with one son, Thomas. Only three children of their marriage survived into adulthood and of these their two daughters predeceased her, leaving only Robert. Mildred Cecil played a significant role in the household and family, guiding her son even as a young adult and sharing many of her husband's interests. Her extensive education permitted her to converse as the intellectual equal of her Cambridge-educated husband, to act as an intermediary for those seeking to influence his decisions, and to manage a large and important household in his absence. She attended public occasions and made a personal impression on a number of public figures.¹³ As well as classical learning, the couple shared a commitment to the reformed Protestant religion: Pauline Croft makes a convincing case for Mildred Cecil's involvement in the translation of the Geneva Bible.¹⁴ According to his memorial and the epitaph on her monument in Westminster Abbey, where he wrote of his deep sense of loss at her passing, William Cecil appears to have experienced little difficulty in his marriage to an intellectual and learned wife, in contrast to the warnings of many of the conduct books. He wrote to the Dean of St Paul's (Alexander Nowell) on 21 April 1589, explaining the scale of his arrangements for her funeral, which took place on 25 April. It was, he wrote, 'a testimony of my hartly love which I did beare hir, with whom I lyved in the state of matrimony forty and [t]hree yers contynually

¹¹ Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, VA, 1993), p. 97.

¹² John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 3 vols (London, 1721), III, pp. 92–93. Arthur Collins, *The Life of William Cecil* (London, 1732), pp. 7, 10, comments that it was rare for anyone to have any perfection in the Greek tongue at that time. See also T. Baker, *History of St John's College, Cambridge*, ed. by John E. B. Mayor, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1869), I, p. 157, and Nares, *Memoirs of Lord Burghley*, III, pp. 365–66.

¹³ See PRO, SP 12/208/69, Robert Cecil to his father, Lord Burghley, 14 February 1588; British Library, MS Lansdowne 31, no. 14, fol. 28^r, Francis Bacon to Mildred Burghley (his aunt), 16 September 1580; and letters to Mildred Cecil from William Maitland, Robert Melville, and the Earl of Arran, April–September 1560, printed in *A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs ... from the Year 1542 to 1570 ... Left by William Cecill, Lord Burghley*, transcribed by Samuel Haynes (London, 1740), pp. 293, 301, 359, and 362–63. In the same year Mildred Cecil was exchanging letters with Sir Henry Percy, although none of these survive; see Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1962), p. 169. In 1583 Dominic Lampsonius wrote from Liège in Latin and Greek to Lady Burghley, asking her to intercede with her husband on behalf of Dr Dethick; see British Library, MS Lansdowne 38, no. 57, fol. 149. Sir William Cordell sent a book (no title given) to Lady Burghley together with a letter to her husband in September 1575; see *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 9, 24 vols (London, 1883–1976), II (1888), p. 103.

¹⁴ Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley', pp. 283–84 and 290.

without any unkyndnes'.¹⁵ Contemporaries commented on changes in his behaviour at this time, which they thought were brought about by his bereavement. He was said to have wished to retire from public life, becoming rather melancholic and despondent.¹⁶

II

The books owned by Mildred Cecil, many inscribed with her name, some with her own binding, formed only a small part of the book collections of the family. We still do not have a complete listing of all the books to which she would have had access.¹⁷ However, from the range of surviving sources there is sufficient evidence of her learning to argue that she was in a position to select books for her personal collection herself, and to read and annotate them, and that she was considered sufficiently learned to appreciate gifts of scholarly books. This context is important in reaching an understanding of how her collection may have been put together: very few accounts and book-sellers' bills for the family, illustrating the detail of the formation process, have survived. However, we know from surviving accounts that between 1555 and 1557 Mildred Cecil was given an annual personal allowance or 'stipend' of £40 by her husband, due quarterly. In addition she received at least one payment of £250 to act as an intermediary in a wardship case, and she may have received others. This was certainly enough to buy books and make her extensive charitable donations, but beyond this there is little information about her personal financial resources.¹⁸ The inscriptions in the Galen volumes donated to Christ Church (21–22)¹⁹ connect Mildred Cecil to the act of purchase: 'Mildredae Ceciliae liber emptus decimo septimo die Septembris AD 1567'. Other inscriptions, for example in the Euclid of 1570 (16), record the date of acquisition ('Mildred Burghley, anno domini 1579') without specifically mentioning purchase. Presentation copies added to the collection: Mildred Burghley's position as the wife of Queen Elizabeth's leading statesman placed her in a situation to receive significant gifts, part of the recognized network of exchange of tokens of friendship and influence. Her reputation as a scholar may have suggested books as appropriate offerings particularly from authors, editors, and translators; her copy of Vermigli's *Loci communes* (37) signed by the editor, Robert Massonius, can

¹⁵ See British Library, MS Lansdowne 103, no. 51, fol. 117, Burghley's 'Meditation', and *ibid.*, no. 57, fol. 167^r, his letter to the Dean of St Paul's. Cecil also comments on his marriage in his *Advice to a Son: Precepts of Lord Burghley*, ed. by Louis B. Wright (Ithaca, NY, 1962), p. 9. For a discussion of the role of women in marriage at this time, see Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (London, 1999), particularly pp. 27–56.

¹⁶ See Nares, *Memoirs of Lord Burghley*, III, p. 361.

¹⁷ A research project on Lord Burghley's libraries by David and Pamela Selwyn is nearing completion.

¹⁸ For the above see, for example, fols 61^r, 73^v, 75^r, and 76^r–78^r in British Library, MS Lansdowne 118, containing the household's miscellaneous expenses, accounts, and other financial records, and see also Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards* (London, 1958), pp. 265–66.

¹⁹ Numbers within parentheses refer to books listed in the Appendix.

be explained in this way. The copy of Callimachus (10) given to Westminster School in November 1586 bears the name of Roger Ascham, with whom Mildred Burghley practised Greek, on the title-page; this gift must have marked a recognition of this relationship.

It is worth considering how the education of Mildred Cooke Cecil and her sisters compared with that of their contemporaries. By the beginning of the sixteenth century more girls in England, particularly among the landed classes, were experiencing some form of teaching. Barbara Harris, in discussing the education of aristocratic women and girls, has indicated varying attitudes in the families concerned. She has argued that reading and writing in English, rather than in the classics, were likely to have been the experience of the majority of those women educated. Harris found no evidence of laywomen educated in Latin before the reign of Henry VIII, and has noted that it remained a minority interest afterwards.²⁰ She concluded that the main purpose of girls' education was to enable them to become companions to their husbands and to manage estate business if necessary. While evidence of the quality of girls' education in the early sixteenth century (in spite of the presence of a few classically educated women) does not support the claims of Dr William Wotton 'that the fair sex seemed to believe that Greek and Latin added to their charms', recent work on the history of the book and on women's education in this period has identified increasing numbers of women as readers and owners of books and manuscripts.²¹ Margaret Beaufort, described by Bishop John Fisher as being 'right studious in bokes which she had in grete nombre', has received particular attention.²² While the extent of her knowledge of Latin is debatable, there is no doubt about

²⁰ Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550* (Oxford, 2002), Chapter 2, particularly pp. 32–39. For the influence of humanism at the court of Henry VIII on the education of girls, see Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII* (London, 1986), pp. 219–47; and see also the discussion in Hilda Smith, 'Humanist Education and the Renaissance Concept of Women', in *Women and Literature in Britain 1500–1700*, ed. by Helen Wilcox (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 9–29; Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (Ithaca, NY, 2002); and Susan Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books', *The Library*, vi, 20 (1998), 197–239.

²¹ Quoted in Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, p. 188; see also pp. 148–49. Ballard named a number of young women who were brought up learning both Latin and Greek, among them Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cecily, daughters of Sir Thomas More, Mary Basset (his granddaughter), and Anne, Jane, and Margaret Seymour, the daughters of the Duke of Somerset and his wife, Anne; see pp. 85–101, 162–63, 156–59. For further discussion of girls' education in the period, see *Women and Literature in Britain 1150–1500*, ed. by Carol M. Meale (Cambridge, 1993), particularly her own chapter, '... alle the bokes that I have of latyn, english, and frensch': Laywomen and their Books in Late Medieval England', pp. 128–58; Mary Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2002); John B. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (New York, 1995), particularly pp. 11–22; and the chapters by Margaret Lane Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books' (pp. 205–28), Mary C. Erler, 'Devotional Literature' (pp. 495–525), and Carol M. Meale and Julia Boffey, 'Gentlewomen's Reading' (pp. 526–40), in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, iii: 1400–1557, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999).

²² See Jennifer Summit, 'William Caxton, Margaret Beaufort and the Romance of Female Patronage', in *Women, the Book and the Worldly*, ed. by Lesley Smith and Jane H. Taylor (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 151–65 (p. 151), and Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her Books'.

her commitment to education, given the extent of her donations to learned institutions and individual scholars. Over twenty books belonging to Catherine Parr were sent with her jewels and other valuables from Sudely to London after her death in 1549. They included Mr Newell's Testament, a Primer, and a book of Psalms; however in most cases it is the cover that receives greatest attention in the inventory. She also owned a copy of Estienne's French-Latin Dictionary of 1544 and a collection of devotional tracts.²³ As queen, Catherine could expect a number of presentation volumes, and her accounts show that she bought multiple copies of her own works, perhaps to present to others.

Visual evidence of an individual's interest in books and reading can be seen in the number of English portraits painted in the sixteenth century with books displayed prominently. These paintings, visible not only to the family but often to visitors to the house when entertaining took place, displayed carefully chosen images that would be read and understood by the viewers. Simon Goldhill has discussed the symbolism in Metsys's portrait of Erasmus, where the scholar is shown writing at his desk with key volumes of his works clearly labelled in the shelf behind him.²⁴ Similarly, portraits of women from this period, either holding books or with books prominently displayed on tables, can be interpreted as indicating an interest in reading and books. In some paintings the dimension and bindings of the books together with the religious objects in the background suggest that they are service books and represent the religious nature of the preferred reading of the subject. The portraits of Margaret Beaufort from the early sixteenth century, modestly attired in widow's dress with her book open before her on a *prie-dieu* or held in her hand, emphasize her interest in religious texts. This is borne out by her religious practices and her donations to the universities and to scholars.²⁵ In the portrait of the More family group, Cecily and Margaret More are placed in the foreground holding substantial volumes in their laps, while Elizabeth More in the centre of the group has two books under her arm. The arrangement of the figures with the women seated among the men of the family demonstrates the participation of More's daughters in the intellectual life of his household in Chelsea, a point that is amply supported by contextual written evidence including translations and

²³ See Susan James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen* (Aldershot, 1999), Appendix vii, pp. 435–42; British Library, Add. MS 46348, fol. 205^v, 'Parcell of the Quenes Juelles and other stuff'; and Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne: Royal Printer* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 29. The collection of devotional tracts, which included three works translated by Thomas Lupset, was signed and annotated by Catherine Parr on the title-page; see *The Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor*, ed. by H. A. Grueber (London, 1890), pp. 184–85.

²⁴ Simon Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 18–20.

²⁵ See, for instance, portraits of Lady Margaret Beaufort with a book in her hands in the National Portrait Gallery, London, and at Christ's College, Cambridge; and, with an open book on a *prie-dieu*, at St John's College, Cambridge.

correspondence with learned friends of their father such as Erasmus.²⁶ Mary Nevill, Baroness Dacre, holds a book in one hand with her thumb marking the place of her interrupted reading, and in her right hand her pen is poised to write in the open book before her on the table. Is it perhaps a commonplace book where she will record part of her reading?²⁷ Lady Grace Mildmay was painted standing next to a table with two large books prominently displayed on it; behind them is an inkwell with a pen. One of the books is a music book, the other has scientific diagrams on the open pages probably related to her extensive preparations of herbal remedies. She has placed her left hand firmly on the pages, clearly attaching herself to the contents; in her other hand she holds a small volume. Her inkpot with pen is ready for her use.²⁸

Taken overall it is a minority of portraits that include books; as with male portraits, the symbols included by the painter varied widely depending on the intention of the person commissioning the portrait. Portraits like other forms of evidence have suffered many losses, and few images exist even for the learned and well-connected Cooke sisters. Paintings of two of Mildred Burghley's sisters, Anne and Elizabeth, survive, in which both have a book in their hands. However, it is disappointing that only two portraits of Mildred Burghley remain, and neither of them shows her with a book.²⁹ Nevertheless, the number of portraits of English women with books from the latter part of the sixteenth century (more than thirty have been identified during the course of the author's research) contributes to a persuasive argument suggesting a climate of opinion that favoured or even encouraged women's reading in many families of the landed classes.³⁰ The evidence suggests that Mildred Cecil was unusual for her ability to read and write Latin and Greek rather than for her interest in books and learning.

The rapid increase in the numbers of printed books available annually from the beginning of the sixteenth century made possible the formation of private libraries by educated people with sufficient means to purchase books and the inclination to do so. Educated aristocratic women would have had

²⁶ These comments are based on the version of the painting (1593–94) by Rowland Lockey in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. For a discussion of the learning of the women of the More household, see *Early Tudor Translators: Margaret Beaufort, Margaret More Roper and Mary Basset*, ed. by Lee Cullen Khanna (Aldershot, 2001).

²⁷ Portrait of Mary Neville, Baroness Dacre, by Hans Eworth c.1555, at The Vyne, Hampshire (National Trust).

²⁸ This portrait is now known only from a photograph since the original was destroyed in a fire. See the reproduction in *The Ancestor*, 12 (1905), p. 5.

²⁹ Mildred Burghley (pregnant), c.1563, and another, c.1558–60, both probably by Hans Eworth, at Hatfield House. These paintings are reproduced and the symbolism further discussed in Croft, 'Mildred, Lady Burghley', Plates II and IV, and pp. 286–87. The painting of Anne Cooke, Lady Bacon (1580), attributed to George Gower, is now in a private collection; that of Elizabeth Cooke, Lady Russell, is at Bisham Abbey, Buckinghamshire.

³⁰ For further discussion of attitudes to women's education, see my 'Female Education in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries in England and Wales: A Study of Attitudes and Practice' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1996).

access to the book collections in their homes and many would have had little need to act on their own initiative, to buy and inscribe their own books. On the other hand women religious, who often had to rely on their own resources for access to books, had a strong incentive to build their own collections. Several convents with substantial libraries have been identified for the period, including Syon Abbey, the Benedictines at Dartford, and the Minoresses at London and Campsey.³¹ The interest in books of the Bridgettine nuns of Syon is a significant example of women's book collecting in the period. In spite of their wanderings after leaving England they managed to keep some of their books, and rebuilt the collection once they settled at Lisbon in 1594.³² As awareness of the existence of women book owners in the sixteenth century expands, more books inscribed with their owners' names are being identified among the laity also. At least two of Mildred Burghley's sisters, Lady Anne Bacon and her sister Lady Elizabeth Russell, owned scholarly books and marked them either with their names on the bindings or by inscriptions.³³ Three books from the Mildmay library at Apethorpe, inscribed by Grace and her mother-in-law Mary Mildmay, have recently been sold at auction. Two of these (in English) reflect the religious interests of the women, while the third (a presentation copy) is in Latin.³⁴ This last volume, Cicero's *De philosophia*, illustrates the importance of distinguishing between women owning and reading books. There is no evidence that Grace Mildmay learned how to read Latin; the reading revealed

³¹ See David N. Bell, 'Monastic Libraries 1400–1557', in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, III, pp. 229–54 (pp. 253–54); Erler, 'Devotional Literature', pp. 506–07; and Meale and Boffey, 'Gentlewomen's Reading', pp. 532–33. Mary Erler shows also how three members of the Fetyplace family and their books moved between the secular and conventual worlds at different stages of their lives in the first half of the sixteenth century; see her 'The Books and Lives of Three Tudor Women', in *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jean R. Brink, Sixteenth-Century Essays and Studies, 23 (Kirkville, MO, 1993), pp. 5–17. The portrait of Anne Bodenham, a former nun, painted c. 1545, is another example of the connection of religious women with books in the first half of the century; see Jane Ashelford, *A Visual History of Costume in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1983), p. 47.

³² See the discussion in J. T. Rhodes, 'Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), 11–25, and Christopher de Hamel, *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation* (privately printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1991). Forty-seven books from the period 1500–1600 are still in the Bridgettine collection now held at Exeter University Library: see <<http://www.ex.ac.uk/library/special/books/collections/syon.html>>.

³³ Anne Cooke, Lady Bacon, owned St Basil, *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1551, in Greek), inscribed in Greek, 'This book belongs to Anne Bacon the gift of her husband Nicholas Bacon 1553', with her initials on the cover (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), and Pietro Martire Vermigli, *Loci communes* (Bankes Library, Kingston Lacey). For the Basil, see Howard M. Nixon, *Sixteenth-Century Gold-Tooled Bindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1971), pp. 105–08; for the Vermigli, see idem, 'Elizabethan Gold-Tooled Bindings', in *Essays in Honour of Victor Scholderer*, ed. by Dennis E. Rhodes (Mainz, 1970), pp. 219–70 (p. 257). Two books owned by Elizabeth Cooke, Lady Russell, have been identified: Herodotus, *Historia* ([Geneva], 1570), and Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae invictissimi* (Cologne, 1576); see Nixon, 'Elizabethan Gold-Tooled Bindings', pp. 256 and 246.

³⁴ I am indebted to Robert Harding of Maggs Bros Ltd, London, for drawing my attention to these books. Grace Mildmay owned de Bèze, *A briefe and pi[th]the summe of the christian faith in forme of a confession* (London, 1565?), and was presented with Cicero, *De philosophia* (Paris, 1545), by Francis Walsingham. Mary Mildmay owned W. Travers, *A full and plaine declaration of ecclesiasticall discipline* (Heidelberg, 1574).

in her 'Meditations' is entirely in English. However, receiving the Cicero from her mother-in-law's brother, Sir Francis Walsingham, was sufficiently important for her to inscribe her initials inside.³⁵ Margaret Parker gave a copy of her husband's translation of the Psalter into English to the Countess of Shrewsbury.³⁶ The libraries of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Lady Joanna Lumley, which contained (like Mildred Burghley's) classical texts, have already been the subjects of research. Sufficient evidence is being accumulated from a variety of sources to suggest that other women's libraries existed in the late sixteenth century, albeit on a more modest scale than the collection of Lady Burghley.³⁷

III

Three main sources provided the means of locating surviving books from Mildred Burghley's library: (a) William Burghley's memorial to his wife, quoted at the head of this essay; (b) Burghley's list of his wife's books drawn up in 1585, now at Burghley House, Lincolnshire; and (c) the library at Hatfield House, the Cecil family's home in Hertfordshire. Additional titles were identified in a variety of ways, including from references in published sources and from information supplied to the author.³⁸

(a) The libraries mentioned by Lord Burghley in the memorial written shortly after the death of his wife were able to locate the volumes Mildred Burghley donated, with the exception of the 'very many books in Greke, of divinite and physick and other sciens' described as having been given to St John's College, Cambridge. However, the 'Great Bible' (6) was found not in the Cambridge University Library but at St John's; otherwise the donations are accurately represented.

(b) A list drawn up by Burghley in 1585 records nineteen titles given to the Westminster foundation libraries (the School and the Abbey) and the two Oxford colleges referred to in the memorial.³⁹ Of these, eleven titles can be

³⁵ Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552–1620* (London, 1993), p. 54. For further discussion of the question of ownership and the selection of books in a woman's library of this period, see R. T. Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford 1590–1676* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 189–95.

³⁶ Matthew Parker (trans.), *The whole Psalter translated into English metre which containeth an hundred and fifty Psalmes* (London, 1567?), now in Lambeth Palace Library, London.

³⁷ See, for example, Julian Sharman, *The Library of Mary, Queen of Scots* (London, 1889); *The Library of John, Lord Lumley: The Catalogue of 1609*, ed. by Sears Jayne and F. R. Johnson (London, 1956); and *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599–1605*, ed. by Joanna Moody (Stroud, 1998). Presentation books belonging to Elizabeth I are discussed by Heidi Brayman Hackel, 'Queen Elizabeth's Books', in *Elizabeth I: Then and Now*, ed. by Georgianna Ziegler (Washington, 2003), and see also the same author's 'The Countess of Bridgewater's London Library', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, 2002), particularly p. 27, n. 27, and p. 139.

³⁸ I am indebted to Pamela and David Selwyn for identifying item (12) in the Appendix, and to Deborah Harkness for item (16).

³⁹ Burghley House (Lincolnshire), Muniments Drawer 49/5/2. I am very grateful to Pamela and David Selwyn for introducing me to this list.

positively linked to his wife through contemporary librarians' inscriptions.⁴⁰ Eight books on the list cannot be certainly identified from inscriptions or signatures, and several of them do not appear to be still in the libraries to which they were originally given. For instance there is no record at Christ Church of the copy of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastica historia* (45), which was signed for by the dean, William James, according to a document now at Burghley House.⁴¹

(c) In addition to the donations made in her lifetime Mildred Burghley kept a number of books until her death, when her library seems to have been divided between her son, Robert, and her stepson, Thomas. Eighteen volumes are now at Hatfield House; of these more than half have been at Hatfield since they were taken there by Robert Cecil.

Altogether a total of thirty-eight titles can be positively identified as hers, many of them having inscriptions in her own hand; full titles and publishing details are given in the Appendix, below.⁴²

Mildred Burghley's selection of books can be categorized broadly under the subject headings Theology and Church Fathers, Medicine, Philosophy, History, Classical Literature, and Rhetoric. The collection reflects the learning of a serious classical scholar: in addition to books in English and French, fifteen of the works are in Greek, thirteen in Latin, and four in Latin and Greek.⁴³ The books were published at the major European centres of printing excellence, including Antwerp, Basel, Venice, Paris, Lyons, and London. Mildred Burghley's choice of religious texts indicates both her commitment to the reformist wing of Protestantism and the continuing importance of Catholic texts in the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Her choice of Protestant authors included the Danish theologian and professor of Greek Niel Hemmingsen (27) and the Italian reformer Pietro Martire Vermigli (37), who was known to her father. She also owned John Whitgift's *Defense of the Aunsuere* (38), part of the defence of the Elizabethan church settlement against the attacks led by Thomas Cartwright in the 1570s, and Roger

⁴⁰ See Appendix, items (1), (10), (13), (17)–(18), (21)–(22), (24), (29), (31), and (33). Item (28), also in Burghley's list, lacks an inscription, but its long-standing shelving at Westminster Abbey next to items (17)–(18) suggests that it arrived at the same time as these two volumes and had the same provenance. I am indebted to Dr Tony Trowles, librarian of the abbey, for this information. A further Mildred Burghley book at St John's, Oxford (25), was donated in 1589; it is not in Burghley's 1585 list.

⁴¹ Burghley House, Muniments Drawer 49/5/1. For one of the books lacking an inscription or signature, see the previous note.

⁴² The items on Burghley's list that are still to be located are listed in the Appendix in the form given by Burghley; it is intended that these volumes should be added to the total as they are identified.

⁴³ For a discussion on the learning of Greek in the sixteenth century, see Goldhill, *Who Needs Greek?*, and Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (London, 1986).

⁴⁴ On the importance of Catholic printing and the readership of Catholic books in sixteenth-century England, see Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), 72–123. For further discussion of Mildred Burghley's religious views, see Pauline Croft, 'The New English Church in One Family: William, Mildred and Robert Cecil', in *Anglicanism and the Western Christian Tradition*, ed. by Stephen Platten (Norwich, 2003), pp. 78–83.

Ascham's *Apologia ... pro caena Dominica* (3), a defence of the Lord's Supper against the Mass. On the other hand she chose to have a Latin version of Thomas à Kempis's *De imitando Christo* (30), a book that remained popular as a devotional work in England, albeit in revised and translated editions, throughout the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ Her book of devotions *Psalmi seu precatones* (20) by John Fisher was first published in London in 1543.⁴⁶

The revival of interest among scholars in sixteenth-century England in the church fathers published in Greek is represented in the collection by Eusebius, St Basil the Great, St John Chrysostom, and Justin Martyr. Burghley in his memorial commented that both Basil and Chrysostom were particular favourites with his wife. Indeed, as has been noted, she made a lengthy translation of Basil's sermon on Deuteronomy from Greek, in which she commented thoughtfully in her preface on the theory of translation.⁴⁷ Mildred Burghley's manuscript probably dates from the 1550s, a decade that saw the publication of her copies in Greek of Basil's *Orationes de moribus XXIII* (4) and Chrysostom's *De orando Deum* (11). A Latin version of the Chrysostom text, translated by Erasmus, was first published in 1525, and an English version, translated by John Bradford, was published in 1548. It would have been more difficult for Mildred to search out a copy of the Greek version published in Louvain.⁴⁸ Her interest in Chrysostom was supported by other purchases of his works for the household: a bookseller's list of 1553–55 for William Cecil lists four separate titles by the saint, including his *Missa graecolatina* (1537) and two copies of *Quod nemo laeditur nisi a seipso* (1530 and 1536).⁴⁹ Although none of the titles in the list coincides with Mildred's *De orando Deum*, they are suggestive of the extensive literature in patristic theology to which she had access at the time she was making her translation.

The edition of the Greek New Testament (34) owned by Mildred Burghley was a particularly important one, because, like her copies of Eusebius (17), it was printed in Paris by the scholar-printer Robert Estienne in the largest size of his recently commissioned 'Royal Greek' type, handsomely laid out on fine paper. Based on a combination of Erasmus's text, the work of the

⁴⁵ English versions of the work had been available since Atkynson's translation for Margaret Beaufort was first published in 1517; see Helen C. White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Madison, 1951), pp. 28–30.

⁴⁶ A copy of this work appears in a bookseller's list of 1553–55 of books supplied to the Cecil household (Hatfield House, Salisbury MS 143, fol. 91^v).

⁴⁷ British Library, Royal MS 17.B. xviii.

⁴⁸ For further discussion of the significance of translations from classical languages in sixteenth-century England, see John Mustain, 'A Brief History of Translations: The Development of Translations into the English Language, Especially the Works of Plato,' at <<http://prelectur.stanford.edu/lecturers/nehemas/phaedrus.html>> (accessed October 2004).

⁴⁹ Hatfield House, Salisbury MS 143, fol. 92^r.

Complutensian editors, and Estienne's own research in royal manuscripts in Paris, it influenced editions for the next four hundred years.⁵⁰

Mildred Burghley's collection of Greek literature included the most important tragedians: a new edition of Aeschylus' *Tragedies* (1), which included all seven plays for the first time, as well volumes of Euripides and Sophocles (42–43). Her Greek poetry included Callimachus's *Hymns and Epigrams* (10) and Pindar's *Epinician Odes* (33). The former was a copy of the first Greek book printed in Rome; previous ownership by Roger Ascham (marked by his name on the title-page) suggests that it may have been a text she used while reading Greek with him.

Several styles of classical historiography appear in the collection. The most important of the early historians, Herodotus and Thucydides, were listed by Burghley in 1585, but these volumes have yet to be positively identified. The reference to Thucydides appears to specify an edition that included the annotations, or *scholia*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus's historical work *Antiquitatum Romanarum lib. X* (13) was written to explain the Greek origins of the Roman Empire, though he was said to have been better qualified as a rhetorician than a historian. The edition owned by Mildred Burghley was the first printing of a hitherto unpublished manuscript. She also owned a Greek and Latin edition of the works of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (28).

One of Mildred Burghley's French books was a rare translation from Boccaccio, *Le Philocope* (7). This was an unusual choice of title; most English libraries of the period have the *Decameron*. It is a moralistic exemplary tale with a happy ending, which, according to the translator, was to help people to live with true honesty. A second volume in French was Bodin's *Les six livres de la République* (8). Drawing on the author's training as a lawyer and his extensive historical researches, this work developed a theory of absolute monarchy in France. The book won the author 'almost instantaneous acclaim' in France, but does not often appear in English libraries of the period.⁵¹

Mildred Burghley's library included several medical texts. Reflecting the predominant acceptance of classical Galenic principles in England in the sixteenth century, when Galen was the most frequently quoted medical author, she owned Greek and Latin sets of Galen's *Opera* (21–22), and gave both of them to Christ Church, Oxford.⁵² The publication in 1525 of a

⁵⁰ See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, pp. 52–54, and T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, 2 vols (London, 1903–11), no. 4621. The Fellows of St John's, Cambridge, presented a copy of this Greek New Testament to the Queen in a specially commissioned binding in July 1578; see Hatfield House, Salisbury MS 161, fol. 28.

⁵¹ Jean Bodin, *On Sovereignty*, ed. and trans. by Julian H. Franklin (Cambridge, 1992), Introduction, p. x.

⁵² For further details, see N. R. Ker, 'Books at Christ Church 1562–1602', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. by James McConica, 5 vols (Oxford, 1984–92), III (1986), pp. 498–519 (pp. 499, 508, 516).

revised Greek text with the medieval accretions removed brought Galen's work to prominence and coincided with the expansion of Greek learning in the sixteenth century. The translation into Latin ensured a wider readership of his works. Mildred Burghley owned one of the early Greek editions, published in Basel in 1538. By contrast Galen's *De sanitate tuenda* of 1559 (23) is a small book for the general reader explaining how to achieve a healthy body, loosely organized on the basis of birth to old age and giving advice on different types of exercise and bathing regimes. Health advice books were popular in England in the sixteenth century, and this scholarly translation by Linacre into Latin enhanced Galen's reputation. Fernelius's *Medicina* of 1554 (19) is a compilation of autopsies, perhaps an unusual choice for a layperson not intending to practise medicine professionally.

Pedagogical texts were also present in Mildred Burghley's collection, and included two of Erasmus's most widely owned works for the study of rhetoric, *De duplici copia verborum et rerum* and *De conscribendis epistolis* (14–15). In most grammar schools these texts formed the basis of training pupils in the art of learning how to write by imitating models derived from admired authors and absorbing their style. Instruction began in Latin before higher-level pupils advanced to Greek using other works that Mildred Burghley also owned. Aphthonius and Hermogenes, whose names are linked in one of the works listed by Lord Burghley (41), were authors more influential in the Renaissance than in their own time. The aim of the volume of Greek orations compiled by Aldo Manuzio (31) was to give practice in developing advanced rhetorical skills on different themes. Building on these basics, the desire to read whole texts such as the *Tragedies* of Aeschylus (1), the *Odes* of Pindar (33), and other complete works of literature was cultivated. These stages of learning would be supported by Suidas's substantial *Lexicon* (44), which was also in the collection.

Mildred Burghley's 1570 edition of Euclid (16), translated by Henry Billingsley, and with a 'mathematicall praeface' and substantial additions to the main body of the text by John Dee, was itself a significant work in English. She acquired it in 1579. Billingsley explains in his preface that his purpose was to make geometry more widely understood because it was the basis of a knowledge of 'naturall and morall Philosophie' as well as of mathematics. John Dee added that the aim of the translation was to bring higher mathematical skills to 'unlatined Studentes', and explained that having read the book, common artificers could improve their skills. He wanted English students to receive the benefits of translations from classical authors that were already available to Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanish speakers.⁵³

⁵³ Euclid, *The elements of geometrie of the most auncient philospher Euclide* (London, 1570), 'The Translator to the Reader', sigs ii^r-v and ij, and Aiiij^r.

IV

The decision to identify personal ownership of a book in a family with large collections is a significant act, positively linking a particular person with the chosen volume and its contents. Mildred Burghley marked her ownership of twenty-six books either by inscribing her name inside or by having her initials incorporated into the binding. When writing her name she often chose the language of the book. She used several variations of a Greek spelling, as, for example, in the copies of Apollinarius (2) and her Greek New Testament (34). Her name in Latin, too, appears in different forms: for instance in Ascham's *Apologia* (3) she wrote 'Mildrida Burghleya', whereas in Fernelius's *Medicina* (19) her name appears as 'Mildreda Burghleia'. According to the dates in the inscriptions, she formed her collection in stages, the earliest dated acquisition being her copy of Chrysostom's commentary on the Epistles of Paul (12) in 1553, and the latest, Bodin's *Les six livres de la République* (8), in 1581 (only a year after its publication). Both of the editions of Galen now at Christ Church (21–22) are inscribed inside with the date of purchase, 1567. The date of acquisition is noted in seven of the books at Hatfield: for example she acquired the French version of Boccaccio, *Le Philocope* (7), in 1564, nine years after publication; Galen's *De sanitate tuenda* (23) in 1568; and her copy of Thomas à Kempis's *De imitando Christo* (30) in 1574, eleven years after it was published.

Five books in the collection have her initials on the binding, while a sixth has the names of both husband and wife. Interpreting Mildred Burghley's policy regarding bindings is more problematic than the inscriptions: most of the dated bindings coincide with the date of arrival of donated books in the receiving institution rather than with the date of acquisition, which seems always to have occurred some years prior to the donation. The Galen *Opera* in Greek at Christ Church (21), bought in 1567, still has Mildred Burghley's binding: an elaborate blind-stamped cover with pictures and mottoes laid in squares and 'M B 1586' at the centre. The library's records show that it paid only for transport from London and chains for the books, suggesting that the three volumes were already bound when they were handed over.⁵⁴ The volume of Dionysius at St John's, Oxford (13), has her initials stamped in gold and the date of its arrival (1586) embossed on the cover. The book appears in Burghley's 1585 list, indicating an earlier acquisition date. The copy of Aeschylus at Westminster School (1) is stamped 'M B 1586' on the binding, which also suggests the date of donation. This is confirmed by the inscription inside the volume of Callimachus (10) given to the school in 1586, and the appearance of both books in Burghley's list of 1585. The situation regarding the eight-volume polyglot Bible (6) is, however, different. In this case a small gold plate with Mildred Burghley's initials and the date of

⁵⁴ Ker, 'Books at Christ Church 1562–1602', p. 499.

binding, 1576, is incorporated into the centre of the cover of each volume, but this date is five years before she signed the indenture with the receiving institution, St John's College, Cambridge (see below). The British Library copy of Basil's *Epistolae Graecae* (5) has a jointly personalized binding, with 'William Myldred Cecyll' stamped in gold; the use of the surname Cecil dates the acquisition before 1571. Cases of joint ownership acknowledged on bindings are unusual in England in this period; few others are known.⁵⁵

There are a number of interesting and important questions worth raising regarding Mildred Burghley's selection of titles for her collection. Her long-standing interest in classical literature, theology, and medicine explains the choice of most, but given the lack of supporting written evidence there remain a number of unanswered questions. How far did she make the selections herself? Were the books for her personal use, or for the household, including her wards and their tutors? Were they acquired with ultimate donation in mind? The Galen editions are a case in point: while it is possible to link her interest in the health of her family and household with his *De sanitate tuenda* (23), the multi-volume *Opera* (21–22) were academic texts with little immediate practical everyday use.⁵⁶ Similarly, did she buy the polyglot Bible (6) for her own use? As has been noted, it remained in her hands after binding for about five years before the indenture was made with the Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge. There were, however, alternative Greek and Latin texts available to her at the time — she would have had access to her husband's books, and it would appear that he had several copies in both Greek and Latin⁵⁷ — and there is no evidence that she learned Hebrew. The presentation copies she received may not reflect her personal choice of titles, although she clearly retained some in her collection. Evidence from the period suggests that gifts and dedications were carefully

⁵⁵ For another example of a joint binding for husband and wife — Henry and Margaret Norreys of Rycote, c. 1598 — see the copy of Robert Parsons, *The Second Part of the Booke of Christian Exercise* (London, 1598), sold as lot 197 at Sotheby's sale of 3 March 1958. Sir John Harington included a dedication and verses to his wife and her mother in his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (London, 1591), before a copy (now in Cambridge University Library) was covered with an embroidered binding incorporating both their names.

⁵⁶ See the discussion in Peter Murray Jones, 'Book Ownership and the Lay Culture of Medicine in Tudor Cambridge', in *The Task of Healing: Medicine, Religion and Gender in England and the Netherlands 1450–1800*, ed. by Hilary Marland and Margaret Pelling (Rotterdam, 1996), pp. 49–68. For an analysis of a laywoman's interest in medical knowledge at the end of the sixteenth century, see Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, pp. 92–97. Mildred Burghley's choice of medical texts is comparable with the books owned by Jerome Reynolds, a scholar-physician whose inventory from 1571 is listed in *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, ed. by R. J. Fehrenbach and E. S. Leedham-Green, vol. iv (Binghampton, NY, 1995), p. 85.

⁵⁷ Using, as the basis of reconstruction of his collection, the list of sixteenth-century books in the sale catalogue purporting to represent his library, it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions about Burghley's holdings, although the lack of evidence of provenance makes any comparisons suggestive rather than substantiated. See *Bibliotheca illustris: sive Catalogus variorum librorum bibliotheca viri cujusdam praenobilis ac honoratissimi olim defuncti* (London, 1687).

calculated. While it is impossible to answer questions about her selection of books directly, it is possible to arrive at some suggestive conclusions by further investigating the authors and translators concerned, and, as I have argued earlier, by considering her educational background together with her role in the household and family.

Personal connections with translator, author, or editor can be traced in the case of at least five of the titles, which may explain their presence in Mildred Burghley's collection. In the case of two of them the contact was through her husband: Walter Haddon, the author of *Contra Heiron* (26), was personally known to Lord Burghley, while Arthur Golding was resident in the Burghley household for a time and was uncle to the Earl of Oxford (Burghley's ward and later son-in-law); he dedicated his translation of Caesar's *Martiall exploytes* (9) to William Cecil. Pietro Martire Vermigli's *Loci communes* (37) came into the collection as a presentation copy, being inscribed to Mildred Burghley by the editor Robert Massonius. In addition, an indirect personal connection with the origins of the work can be made via Mildred Burghley's father, Sir Anthony Cooke, who knew the author Vermigli when he lived in Strasbourg, and it is significant that the title was also owned by Mildred Burghley's sister Anne, Lady Bacon.⁵⁸ In the case of a fourth book, Hemmingsen's *Commentarius* of 1576 (27), the connection is through her daughter, Anne, Countess of Oxford.⁵⁹ An English translation by Abraham Fleming published in 1580 was dedicated to Anne, the translator explaining that it was because he remembered her 'among divers favourers of learning' and because of her 'zealous love to religion, and to the sincere serving of GOD'.⁶⁰ He must have been aware of the importance of learning and religion to the women of the Cecil family. Finally, circumstantial evidence links Mildred Burghley's acquisition of Bodin's *Les six livres de la République* (8) in 1581 with the author's visit to England in the same year. Bodin accompanied Francis, Duke of Anjou, as part of the continuing diplomatic efforts to secure the latter's marriage to Queen Elizabeth. Lord Burghley was a supporter of the marriage project and at the centre of festivities held to honour the commissioners sent from France to negotiate. Two lengthy visits by the commissioners took place in 1581, the first beginning in April, with Anjou himself arriving with the second group at the end of October.⁶¹ Coincidentally, the opening meeting at which Burghley spoke to the commissioners took place on 24 April, the date marked in Mildred

⁵⁸ See n. 33 above.

⁵⁹ Helen Payne, 'The Cecil Women at Court', in *Patronage, Culture and Power*, ed. Croft, pp. 265–82 (p. 267). Mildred Burghley did not date her copy of Hemmingsen's *Commentarius*.

⁶⁰ Niel Hemmingsen, *The epistle of the blessed Apostle Saint Paule*, trans. by Abraham Fleming (London, 1580), 'Epistle dedicatorie', p. iii.

⁶¹ Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 171. I am indebted to Professor Mark Greengrass for this reference.

Burghley's copy of Bodin.⁶² It may be significant that none of the above titles with personal connections was among works donated by Mildred Burghley to other libraries.

Annotation and marginalia are increasingly recognized by historians as a means of better understanding the relationship between a book and its readers.⁶³ Marginalia indicate that a volume has been read, and they are indicative of the reader's interpretation of the text. The presence of annotation denotes the existence of a 'working' book rather than a presentation volume to be admired in a library. Robin Alston noted four books from Lord Burghley's library, now in the British Library, with annotations in his own hand, including a copy of Basil's *Epistolae*.⁶⁴ This, however, is the book (5) whose binding bears the joint names 'William Myldred Cicyll', and the inscription 'Mildredae Ceciliae' on the title-page suggests that it is more likely that the volume came from Mildred Cecil's library.⁶⁵ David Selwyn has identified as Mildred Burghley's the hand of the marginalia in Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis* (15),⁶⁶ but for the rest of Mildred Burghley's collection the interpretation of the marginalia is challenging. If the authenticity of the hand can be confirmed, she has left evidence of her readership in several of her books now at Hatfield and possibly in the copy of Callimachus at Westminster School (10), where there is substantial annotation. The Hatfield books are annotated using the language of the text of the passage, either Latin or Greek. The study of their meaning and importance awaits a reader with sufficient linguistic skills in classical languages; this paper is only able to point to their existence, and argue that Mildred Burghley did indeed have sufficient knowledge of Greek and Latin to make such annotations. Her copy

⁶² See Jean Bodin, *On Sovereignty: Four Chapters from The Six Books of the Commonwealth*, ed. by Julian H. Franklin (Cambridge, 1992), p. xi. For the April visit of the Commissioners, see *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, January 1581–April 1582*, ed. by Arthur John Butler (London, 1907), pp. 144–45, and for Bodin's visit in October see his letter to Walsingham, *ibid.*, p. 582.

⁶³ See, for example, the discussion in R. C. Alston, *Books with Manuscript: A Short Title Catalogue of Books with Manuscript Notes in the British Library* (London, 1994); William H. Sherman, 'The Place of Reading in the English Renaissance: John Dee Revisited', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 62–76 (p. 68); and *idem*, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Books?', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Andersen and Sauer, pp. 119–37. For a discussion of recent work on the history of reading, see the introduction to this volume.

⁶⁴ Alston, *Books with Manuscript*, Index.

⁶⁵ I am indebted to Dr Scot McKendrick of the Manuscripts Department at the British Library for his views on the hand of the marginalia in this book. He concluded, on the basis of comparing the marginalia with the hand in Lansdowne MS 104, no. 60, fol. 158^r (said to be Mildred Burghley's), that the hand was not the same. Further comparisons between the hand in the Hatfield books and that in Mildred Burghley's letters remain to be made.

⁶⁶ Personal communication to the author. The provenance of this work via the Salisbury estate at Cranborne raises some questions. Traditionally this copy has been kept with Mildred Burghley's books at Hatfield, but it has no inscription and its place in the present list is dependent on the identification of Mildred Burghley's hand in the marginalia. I am indebted to Robin Harcourt Williams for his comments on this volume.

of Hemmingsen's *Commentarius* (27) is annotated mainly in Latin with some Greek notes on relevant Greek passages. Unfortunately much of the annotation in this book was lost in the rebinding of the Hatfield library in the eighteenth century, when the pages were heavily cropped, rendering the notes largely indecipherable. The copy of Velcurio's *Commentariorum libri iii* (36) contains much underlining between pp. 41 and 122, together with some marginalia. Basil's *Orationes* (4) contains extensive marginalia in Greek throughout in an exceptionally neat hand. Chapter headings have been marked in Galen's *De sanitate tuenda* (23). There is little annotation in the donated books (apart from the copy of Callimachus), although there is some underscoring in Part I of the Greek set of Galen's *Opera* in Christ Church library (21). A single annotation in the same hand as the ownership signature has been noted in the copy of Euclid (16): 'The necessitie of Arithmeticke to the absolute knowledge of theologie'.⁶⁷

V

The records of Mildred Burghley's donations to libraries show the distribution of her books during her lifetime, an indication of a deliberate choice of destination being made for individual volumes according to the interests of the members of the institutions concerned. The selection of patristic literature for Westminster Abbey and classical Greek authors for Westminster School was particularly appropriate. She had personal connections with at least three of the receiving institutions, St John's College, Cambridge, and the two parts of the Westminster foundation. The signing of the indenture at St John's in June 1581, which marked the gift of the polyglot Bible, probably took place in connection with a visit made by the Burghleys to the college that year. It contains the specific requirement that the Bible 'shall be well and safelie kept cheyned in the library [...] unto the benefit of the students'.⁶⁸ Her surviving letter to the Fellows refers obliquely to her gift, indicating that it was made in memory of many good experiences at the college.⁶⁹ Mildred Burghley's links with St John's College were formed initially through her father and later through her husband's connections. William Cecil had been an undergraduate at St John's before attending the Inns of Court. As Chancellor of Cambridge University he visited the college, accompanied by his wife on several occasions. The college inscription inside Volumes VI and VII of the Bible praises Mildred as donor while emphasizing the significance of her family connections and generosity.

The donations to Westminster can be explained by Cecil family connections with the Westminster foundation. As early as 1550 William Cecil leased

⁶⁷ I am grateful to Carl Peterson, librarian at Colgate University Library, for supplying me with the details.

⁶⁸ Thomas Baker, *History of the College of St John the Evangelist, Cambridge*, ed. by John E. B. Mayor, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1869), I, p. 414.

⁶⁹ British Library, MS Lansdowne 104, no. 60, fol. 158, undated.

a house within the precincts, although he lived there only briefly; he became a tenant again in 1588. Lord Burghley supported the abbey's interests at court on a number of occasions, and he was considered a significant benefactor.⁷⁰ Two Cecil connections in the foundation remained important over a long period: Burghley was responsible for the appointment of Gabriel Goodman as Dean of Westminster in 1561, and he remained a family friend; and in 1575 William Camden was appointed usher at the school.⁷¹ Using Goodman's name as cover, Mildred Burghley secretly funded scholarships to send two boys from Westminster to St John's, Cambridge; one of the beneficiaries, Richard Neile, later Archbishop of York, acknowledged his debt to her for his scholarship, which was granted in 1580.⁷² The patristic volumes that she gave to the abbey library were major donations in the period. The refoundation in 1560 after the Marian revival of the monastery effectively created a new library, although not until 1587 was a schedule of rules drawn up and the construction of desks and shelves ordered. The choice of the three books in Greek (and others according to Burghley's list) for the library at Westminster School was made at a time when the re-founded school was developing the teaching of Greek after a period when it had been largely abandoned.⁷³ William Camden was appointed librarian as well as usher, responsible for disposing of any duplicates and buying other books with the proceeds. A register of benefactors was to be kept and three copies of an inventory were to be made, although neither of these now exists for the sixteenth century.⁷⁴

No direct personal links between Mildred Burghley and the Oxford colleges chosen to receive books have yet been established, although there were formal connections between Westminster School and Christ Church through the provision of scholarships for Westminster boys. A note in the disbursement book at Christ Church records her gift in 1586 of the Galen editions, when a total of 9s. 4d. was spent on carriage from London and chains for the books, but with no further explanation.⁷⁵ Her gifts to St John's College, Oxford, were given separately, the Dionysius (13) in 1586 and the Grynæus (25) in 1589; as with Christ Church there is no hint in the donors book of the reason for the donations. Her copy of Apollinarius (2) arrived at Balliol indirectly through an eighteenth-century donation.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ *Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster 1543–1609*, ed. by C. S. Knighton, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 1997–99), I, no. 112, 1550, p. 64, II, no. 407, 1588, p. 129, and II, no. 426, 1591, p. 144.

⁷¹ See J. D. Carleton, *Westminster* (London, 1938), p. 8, and Lawrence E. Tanner, *Westminster School: A History* (London, 1934), p. 8. William Camden, who became Headmaster of Westminster School in 1593, wrote an epitaph on Mildred Burghley: see British Library, Add. MS 36294, fols 39^v, 41^v, and 43.

⁷² Tanner, *Westminster School*, p. 8.

⁷³ For further analysis of the curriculum at Westminster in the sixteenth century, see John Sergeaunt, *The Annals of Westminster School* (London, 1898), pp. 39–43.

⁷⁴ *Acts of the Dean and Chapter*, ed. Knighton, II, no. 397, 1587, p. 122.

⁷⁵ Ker, 'Books at Christ Church 1562–1602', p. 516.

⁷⁶ I am indebted to Penelope Bulloch, Fellow Librarian at Balliol College, Oxford, for this information.

Mildred Burghley's donations to the libraries were important for several reasons. The titles she gave were significant scholarly books and thus desirable to academic institutions. Whereas a number of gifts from other benefactors have been disposed of as duplicates, most of hers remain in place. Secondly, the libraries at a number of Oxford and Cambridge colleges and at Westminster in the middle of the sixteenth century were looking to build or rebuild their collections. The older colleges had lost many printed books and manuscripts as a result of the Reformation, when Catholic books and manuscripts were removed, and the new foundations had not had time or sufficient resources to build their libraries. There was growing awareness of the need to reconstruct collections to meet the demands of the new learning, if not by purchase, then from donations.⁷⁷ Trinity College, Cambridge (the wealthiest foundation), was in the mid-sixteenth century probably spending no more than 20s. a year on books, which Gaskell estimated would have only purchased two folio volumes of about 480 pages each, but by 1600 the college library contained a total of 310 items.⁷⁸ The university libraries were in serious difficulties: that at Oxford had ceased to function, and when Cambridge University Library was taken in hand by Andrew Perne, the Vice-Chancellor, in 1574, it contained only 175 volumes, of which 120 were manuscripts.⁷⁹ A number of important donors including Sir Nicholas Bacon and Archbishop Matthew Parker contributed books at this time, and among the names of benefactors was that of Lord Burghley who promised books in Latin and Greek, although these were never received.⁸⁰ However, as a result of Perne's efforts the library contained around 451 books by 1580.⁸¹

In addition to the university and college collections, personal libraries were also essential to scholarship: undergraduates bought the cheaper text books needed for their studies, while the libraries, whose space and resources were limited, held the more expensive volumes. Jayne estimated that the average scholar at either university in the latter part of the sixteenth century owned about seventy books; for the early part the average is about twenty.⁸² The Cambridge inventories from the period analysed by Elisabeth Leedham-Green appear to confirm these initial findings.⁸³

⁷⁷ See the discussion in Elisabeth Leedham-Green, 'Booksellers and Libraries in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge', in *Libraries and the Book Trade: The Formation of Collections from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE, 1997), pp. 1–14.

⁷⁸ Philip G. Gaskell, *Trinity College Library: The First 150 Years* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 26–27, 49.

⁷⁹ J. C. T. Oates, 'The Libraries of Cambridge 1570–1700', in *The English Library before 1700*, ed. by F. C. Wormald and C. E. Wright (London, 1958), pp. 213–35 (p. 213).

⁸⁰ See S. R. Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA, 1956), pp. 117, 119; J. C. T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library: A History From the Beginnings to the Copyright Act of Queen Anne* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 95.

⁸¹ Oates, 'Libraries of Cambridge', p. 215.

⁸² Jayne, *Library Catalogues*, Introduction, p. 52.

⁸³ See Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1986).

The data about Bible ownership by scholars is especially interesting. Each library collection noted by Jayne contained a Bible, although the edition is often not specified. In the inventories listed by Leedham-Green most of the complete Bibles owned by scholars were in Latin: only eight polyglot editions were found from the period before 1614. Even in 1580 few institutional libraries owned the Complutensian polyglot Bible published in 1514–17.⁸⁴ By contrast Mildred Burghley's Bible was the substantial eight-volume polyglot edition known as 'King Philip's Bible' (6), published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp in 1569–72. It is an immensely important edition: only the second polyglot Bible, it incorporated a New Testament in Syriac for the first time. Volume VIII included a Syriac grammar, a Chaldaic/Syriac dictionary, and a thesaurus of the Hebrew language, to enable scholars to work comparatively. It is said that a total of 1,213 copies were printed, but very many of these were lost at sea on the way to Spain, making Mildred Burghley's copy especially valuable.⁸⁵

Comparing the titles of Mildred Burghley's books with published inventories shows that her library contained rare volumes as well as books found in many schools and colleges. She owned several popular texts such as Erasmus's *De duplici copia verborum et rerum* and *De conscribendis epistolis*, which were widely used in teaching, and other authors in her collection whose works also appear more than ten times in the Cambridge inventories listed by Elisabeth Leedham-Green are Euripides, Eusebius, and Velcurio.⁸⁶ However, several titles owned by Mildred Burghley do not appear at all in these inventories, among them Boccaccio's *Philocope*, Grynaeus's *Monumenta*, and Caesar's *Martiall employtes* in English, while other titles including Ascham's *Apologia*, Basil's *Orationes*, Callimachus's *Cyrenaei hymni*, and Bodin's *Les six livres* appear in fewer than five inventories before 1586. It is clear that Mildred Burghley's selection of books was a personal choice and that the proportion of Greek books in her library was unusually high. She may have been influenced in her selection of titles by what was being discussed in the intellectual circles in which she moved or by the needs of the young people being educated in her household. However, she also possessed some very rare items and in many cases chose Greek editions of interest only to the most learned scholars. Some of her books she purchased shortly after publication, when there had not been much time for discussion. In addition to the books she chose herself, literary and scholarly connections, as we have seen, undoubtedly brought a few titles into her collection.

⁸⁴ Dean Goodman gave a copy to Westminster Abbey Library in 1574; see *Acts of the Dean and Chapter*, ed. Knighton, II, no. 296, p. 71.

⁸⁵ See Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture*, II: 1, pp. 9–12.

⁸⁶ Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, and see also *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, ed. Fehrenbach and Leedham-Green.

Conclusion

Mildred Burghley's library stands as a remarkable collection of mainly scholarly works comparable with the libraries owned by male scholars of the sixteenth century. Apart from her sisters, few other English women of that century or the centuries following received an education that would have enabled them to study such works. Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley, had a long-term relationship with books that functioned on many levels: as buyer, recipient, reader, scholar, benefactor, and facilitator of the education of others. Her library contained books that she was able to read, translate, and discuss with other scholars; it was certainly not a trophy collection designed primarily to impress. Using the evidence of dating, annotation, binding, and disposal, together with the evidence of her own writing and the comments both of her contemporaries and her husband, we can see that Mildred Burghley does not fall into the category of collectors criticized in the seventeenth century by Sir William Waller: 'Some covet to have libraries in their houses as Ladies desire to have Cupboards of plate in their Chambers, only for shew; as if they were only to furnish their roomes and not their mindes.'⁸⁷

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⁸⁷ Quoted in J. T. Cliffe, *The World of the Country House in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT, 1999), p. 168. The original version of this paper was presented at St Hilda's College, Oxford, in the seminar series arranged by the Renaissance Women's Manuscripts project (University of Warwick and Nottingham Trent University), and has undergone several revisions since. I wish to record my gratitude to the librarians of the institutions concerned for permission to see the volumes donated by Mildred Burghley, and to those librarians in the United States for providing details of the books she previously owned. My particular thanks are also due to Robin Harcourt Williams, Librarian and Archivist to the Marquess of Salisbury, for showing me Mildred Burghley's books at Hatfield House, and to Pamela and David Selwyn, formerly of the University of Wales, Lampeter. They have generously shared the fruits of their research into the Cecil libraries, introducing me to several volumes once owned by Mildred Burghley, and giving me a copy of Burghley's 1585 list and of Pamela Selwyn's paper, 'An Armorial Binding of William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley', in *The Founders' Library, University of Wales, Lampeter: Bibliographical and Contextual Studies: Essays in Memory of Robin Rider*, ed. by William Marx, Trivium, 29–30 (Lampeter, 1997), pp. 65–78. John Mustain, Rare Books Librarian at Stanford University, California, has given invaluable advice on sixteenth-century books and the book trade; his conversations are always enlightening. My thanks are also due to Stanford University for their hospitality to me as a visiting scholar during the first revision of this paper, and to Carl Peterson and Erika Olbricht for their help in identifying items. I am grateful to John and Kate Mustain for their comments on the paper, and to the Editor of *The Library*, whose persistent questioning led to a number of improvements. Any errors remain mine.

APPENDIX

BOOKS KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN OWNED BY MILDRED COOKE CECIL,
LADY BURGHELEY

The present location of items is shown within square brackets. The arrangement is alphabetical by author or title, except that books listed by Lord Burghley in 1585 and not yet positively identified are grouped together at the end.

- 1 Aeschylus, *Tragoediae VII* (in Greek). Paris, 1557. 4°. Inscribed 'Liber Scholae Westmonasteriensis ex dono nobilissimae Heroinae Do: Burghleiae Februa 1'. [Westminster School]
- 2 Apollinarius, *Apollinariii interpretatio Psalmorum, versibus heroicis* (in Greek). Paris, 1552. 8°. Autograph 'Mildreda Kekilia' in Greek letters. [Balliol College, Oxford]
- 3 Ascham, Roger, *Apologia doctissimi viri Rogeri Aschami Angli pro caena Dominica, contra Missam ...* London, 1577. 2°. STC 825. Autograph 'Mildrida Burghleya', also 'Robert Cecil'. [Hatfield House]
- 4 Basil [St Basil the Great], *Orationes de moribus XXIII* (in Greek). Paris, 1556. 8°. Autograph 'Mildred' in Greek letters. [Hatfield House]
- 5 —, *Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazanzeni, Epistolae Graecae, nunquam antea edite* (in Greek). Hagenau, 1528. 8°. Autograph 'Mildredae Ceciliae'. [British Library]
- 6 *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece et Latine*. Antwerp, 1569–72. 8 vols, 2°. [St John's College, Cambridge]
- 7 Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Le Philocope. Traduit d'Italien en Francois par Adrien Sevin*. Paris, 1555. 8°. Autograph 'Mildreda Ce. 1564'. [Hatfield House]
- 8 Bodin, Jean, *Les six livres de la République ... Revue, corrigee et augmentee de nouveau*. Lyons, 1580. 4°. Autograph 'Mildred Burghley 1581 xxo quarto Aprilis'. [Hatfield House]
- 9 Caesar, Caius Julius, *The eyght bookes ... conteyning his martiall exploytes in the realme of Gallia and the countries bordering uppon the same translated oute of latin into English by Arthur Goldinge*. London, 1565. 8°. Dedicated to Sir William Cecil. STC 4335. Autograph 'Mildred Burghley'. [Hatfield House]
- 10 Callimachus, *Cyrenaei hymni, cum scholiis nunc primum aeditis sententiae ex diversis poetis oratoribus[ue] ac philosophis collectae, non ante excusae* (in Greek). Basel, 1532. 4°. Autograph 'R. Aschamus', 'Joh. Dolbenus'. Inscribed 'Liber Westmonasteriensis ex dono nobilissimae Heroinae D Burghleiae Novem 17 1586'. [Westminster School]
- 11 Chrysostom, St John, *De orando Deum libri duo* (in Greek). Louvain, 1551. 8°. Autograph 'Mildred Burghley' (in Greek). [Hatfield House]

- 12 —, *Divi Ioannis Chysostomi in omnes Pauli Apostoli Epistolas accuratissima vereq[ue] aurea et divina interpretatio* (in Greek). Verona, 1529. 2°. Inscribed in William Cecil's hand, 'Gulielmus Cecilius uxori suae Mildredae Ceciliae 1553'. [Cambridge University Library]
- 13 Dionysius (of Halicarnassus), *Antiquitatum Romanarum lib. X* (in Greek). Paris, 1546–47. 2°. Inscribed 'Liber Colegii S^{ti} Joannis Baptistae in Universitate Oxon ex dono Illustrissimae Dominae Mildredae Burleigh 1586'. [St John's College, Oxford]
- 14 Erasmus Desiderius, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo multa accessione novisque formulis locupletati. Una cum commentariis M. Veltkirchii* [i.e. Velcurio]. London, 1573. 8°. STC 10473. Autograph 'Mildred Burghley'. [Hatfield House]
- 15 —, *Opus de conscribendis epistolis, ex postrema auctoris recognitione emendatius editum*. Antwerp, 1564. 8°. [Hatfield House]
- 16 Euclid, *The elements of geometrie of the most auncient philosopher Euclide of Megara. Faithfully (now first) translated into the English toung by H. Billingsley ... with a very fruitfull praeface made by M I Dee*. London, 1570. 2°. STC 10560. Autograph 'Mildred Burghley, anno domini 1579'. [Colgate University Library]
- 17 Eusebius, *Ecclesiasticae historiae libri decem* (in Greek). Paris, 1544. 2°. Inscribed 'Liber Bibliothecae Collegii Westmonaster: ex Dono honoratiss: Dominae Mildredae Burghley uxoris Nobiliss: viri Domini Burghley summi Angliae Thesaurarii'. [Westminster Abbey Library]
- 18 —, *Pamphili evangelicae praeparationis lib. XV* (in Greek). Paris, 1544. 2°. Inscribed 'Liber Bibliothecae Collegii Westmonast: ex Dono honoratiss: dominae Mildredae Burghley uxoris Nobiliss: domini Burghley sum[mi] [An]gliae Thesaura[rrii]'. [Westminster Abbey Library]
- 19 Fernelius, Joannes, *Medicina*. Paris, 1554. 2°. Autograph 'D Mildreda Burghleia'. [Hatfield House]
- 20 Fisher, John, *Psalmi seu precesiones de Johannes episcopi Roffensis*. London, 1543? Autograph 'Mildreda Cicillia 1565' (George Ballard, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain*, ed. by Ruth Perry (Detroit, 1985), p. 189). [Present location unknown.]
- 21 Galen, *Opera omnia* (in Greek). Basel, 1538. 5 vols in 3, 2°. Inscribed (i) 'Mildredae Ceciliae liber emptus decimo septimo die Septembris AD 1567'; (ii) 'ex dono Da Mildredae Burleia filae D Antonio Coci equities aurati, et uxoris D Gulielmi Baronis de Burghley summi Angliae Thesaurarii'. [Christ Church, Oxford]
- 22 —, *Opera omnia* (in Latin). Venice, 1562–63. 7 vols in 5, 2°. Inscribed as in 21 above. [Christ Church, Oxford]
- 23 —, *De sanitate tuenda, libri sex, Thoma Linacro Anglo interprete: nuperrime ad exemplar Venetium recognitie et divulgati*. Lyons, 1559. 16°. Autograph 'Mildred Cecill 1568'. [Hatfield House]

28 *The Library of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley*

- 24 Gregory (of Nyssa), *Opus admirandum Gregorii Nysseni antistitis de hominis opificio* (in Latin and Greek). Basel, 1567. 8°. Inscribed 'Bibliothecae Collegii Westmonaster: ex Dono Hono: Dominae Mildredae Burghley uxoris Nobilis: viri Domini Burghley summi Angliae Thesaurarii'. [Westminster Abbey Library]
- 25 Grynaeus, Johann Jacob (ed.), *Monumenta S. Patrum orthodoxographa, hoc est, Theologiae sacrosanctae ac syncerioris fidei Doctores numero circiter LXXXV, ecclesiae columnina lumina[ue] clarissima, authores partim Graeci partim Latini*. Basel, 1569. 2°, bound in 2 vols. Inscribed 'Liber Colegii Sti Joannis Baptistae Oxon ex dono Da Mildredae Burleigh 1589'. [St John's College, Oxford]
- 26 Haddon, Walter, *Contra Heiron. Osorium, eiusq[ue] odiosas insectationes pro evangelicae veritatis necessaria defensione, responsio apologetica*. London, 1577. 4°. STC 12593. Autograph 'Mildreda Burghleia'. [Hatfield House]
- 27 Hemmingsen, Niel [Hemmingius, Nicolaus], *Commentarius in epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios*. London, 1576. 8°. STC 13057.5. Autograph 'Mildred Burghley'. [Hatfield House]
- 28 Josephus, Flavius, *Opera* (in Latin and Greek). Basel, 1544. 2°. Not inscribed, but in Burghley's 1585 list and shelved at Westminster Abbey next to the two volumes by Eusebius (17–18 above). [Westminster Abbey Library]
- 29 Justin (Martyr), *Tou hagiou Ioustinou Philosophou kai martyros. Zena kai Sereno. Logos parainetikos pros Hellenas. Pros Tryphona Iudaion dialogos* (in Greek). Paris, 1551. 2°. Inscribed 'Liber Bibliothecae Collegii Westmonaster: ex Dono honoratiss: Dominae Mildredae Burghley uxoris Nobiliss: viri Domini Burghley summi Angliae Thesaurarii'. [Westminster Abbey Library]
- 30 Kempis, Thomas à, *De imitando Christo, contemnendisq[ue] mundi vanitatibus libellus authore Thoma Kempisio, interprete Sebastiano Castellione*. Basel, 1563. 8°. Autograph 'Mildred Burghley 1574'. [Hatfield House]
- 31 Manuzio, Aldo (compiler), *Orationes horum rhetorum* (in Greek). Venice, 1513. 2°. Inscribed 'Liber Scholae Westmonasteriensis ex dono nobilissimae Heroinae Da. Burghleiae Februa 1'. [Westminster School]
- 32 Obsopoeus, Vincentius, *Castigationes ac diversae lectiones in orationes Demosthenis* (in Latin and Greek). Nuremburg, 1534. 4°. Autograph 'Mildreda Cecilia'. [Hatfield House]
- 33 Pindar, *Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia* (in Greek). Rome, 1515. 4°. Inscribed 'Liber Westmonasteriensis ex dono nobilissimae Heroinae D Burghleiae. Novem 17 1586'. [Westminster Abbey Library]
- 34 *Tes kaines diathekes hapanta* = *Novum Testamentum* (in Greek). Paris, 1550. 2°. Inscribed 'Mildreda Cecilia' in Greek letters. [Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin]

- 35 Valerius, Cornelius, *Tabulae totius dialectices, aliarum artium instrumenti praecepta utilissima breviter complectentes, ordine perspicuo digestae*. Cologne, 1573. 8°. Autograph 'Dominae Mildredae Burghleiae liber anno 1575'. [Hatfield House]
- 36 Velcurio, Joannes, *Commentariorum libri iiii. In universam Aristotelis Physicen: nunc recens summa fide exactaque diligentia castigati et excusi*. Lyons, 1573. 8°. Autograph 'Do. Mildredae Burghleiae liber anno 1575'. [Hatfield House]
- 37 Vermigli, Pietro Martire, *Loci communes . . . ex variis ipsius auctoris scriptis, in unum librum collecti, et in quatuor classes distributi*. London, 1583. 2°. STC 24668. Inscribed to Lady Burghley by Robert Massonius, the editor, 1583. [Hatfield House]
- 38 Whitgift, John, *The defense of the Aunsweare to the Admonition against the Replie of T[homas] C[artwright]*. London, 1574. 2°. STC 25430. Autograph 'Mildred Burghley'. [Hatfield House]

Books in Lord Burghley's 1585 list (Burghley House Muniments 49/5/2) that have not yet been positively identified as having belonged to Mildred Burghley or are not currently in the libraries given as destinations for her donations. (The wording is that of the manuscript.)

LISTED AS GIVEN TO WESTMINSTER SCHOOL

- 39 Herodotus graece cum Thucidide
- 40 Scholia graeca in Thucididem
- 41 Comentarrii in Aphthonii progymnasmata cum commentariis in Hermoginis Rethorica Graece
- 42 Euripidis Tragedioe Graece
- 43 Sophocles Tragedioe graece

LISTED AS GIVEN TO ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

- 44 Suidas graece

LISTED AS GIVEN TO CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

- 45 Ecclesiastica historia Eusebii graec [second copy]