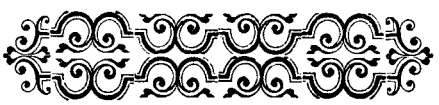
Huntington Library Quarterly

Studies in English & American History and Literature

EARLY MODERN MANUSCRIPT IDENTITIES: COMPOSITION, TRANSMISSION, AND USE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES



Edited by Alan Bryson and Cathy Shrank

Volume 80, Number 2 | Summer 2017

Huntington Library Quarterly (ISSN 0018-7895, E-ISSN 1544-399X) is published four times a year (March, June, September, December) by University of Pennsylvania Press, 3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104-4112, for the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Penn Press Journals, Attn: HLQ, 3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104-4112.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND BACK ORDERS

Prepayment is required. Please direct all subscription orders, inquiries, requests for single issues, address changes, and other business communications to: Penn Press Journals, 3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104. Phone: 215-573-1295. Fax: 215-746-3636. Email: journals@pobox.upenn.edu. Orders may be charged to MasterCard, Visa, Discover, and American Express credit cards. Checks and money orders should be made payable to the University of Pennsylvania Press and sent to the address printed above. For renewals and claims, please be sure to indicate your subscription account number, invoice number, and journal name.

Subscription orders received after October 31 in any given year become effective the following January 1. Subscriptions run from January 1 through December 31 of any given year. Orders received midyear receive all issues in print for that year and all remaining issues of that volume as each is published. FOR BACK ISSUES BEFORE VOLUME 62, please go to www.huntington.org. Out of print issues and volumes are available from Periodicals Service Company, 11 Main Street, Germantown, NY 12526-5635. Phone number: 518-537-4700. Fax number: 518-537-5899. Website: www.periodicals.com.

COPYING AND PERMISSIONS NOTICE

OTHER INQUIRIES

Business and subscription correspondence: journals@pobox.upenn.edu
Advertising: emilyste@upenn.edu

The Huntington Library has granted permission for the reproduction in this issue of images based on items in its collections.

Huntington Library Quarterly

SUBMISSIONS

Scholars working in the early modern period are encouraged to submit manuscripts of articles for consideration by the journal, *regardless of where they have been researched*. The journal invites submissions in history—including the history of science—literature, and art history. Notes and Documents are shorter pieces reporting on the contents of archival materials; these may include transcription of manuscripts. Both article submissions and Notes and Documents pieces must be accompanied by an abstract. Manuscripts may be submitted at https://mc04.manuscriptcentral.com/hlq. The *Quarterly's* mailing address is 1151 Oxford Road, San Marino, CA 91108. *If a manuscript is under review elsewhere as part of a book project, please give details.*

CELJ Member, Council of Editors of Learned Journals

Contents

Introduction

Cathy Shrank and Alan Bryson

These essays arose from a conference, organized as part of the "Early Modern Manuscript Poetry" project, which was funded by the U.K.'s Arts and Humanities Research Council and led by Steven W. May. From his 1968 PhD thesis—an edition of Henry Stanford's anthology, under the guidance of William A. Ringler Jr.—Steve has been in the forefront of early modern manuscript studies, as the author of numerous influential articles and books, including *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets* (1991), and as the editor of *The First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603* (2004), an indispensable reference guide for anyone researching Elizabethan poetry, in manuscript or print. This issue is dedicated to him, with thanks for his generosity as a scholar, colleague, and teacher.

A SCHOLAR WORKING WITH MANUSCRIPTS faces many challenges: archives that may be hard to access or geographically dispersed; catalogues that may be incomplete, inaccurate, or—again—difficult to access; texts that, even with the requisite specialist training, can be tough to read, because of damage or a particularly recalcitrant hand. Nevertheless, the last two decades have witnessed a remarkable surge in manuscript studies of the English and Scottish Renaissance (ca. 1500–1700).[1] Concerted efforts to recover women's writing have played a crucial role here, since this has demanded turning to manuscript, the medium in which women's writing tends to be found and preserved. The first of these large-scale endeavors, launched in 1986, was the Women Writers Project, initially based at Brown University, which provides online access to an expanding corpus of female-authored texts composed between the sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.[2] This was followed in 1997 by the Perdita Project,

1. In this essay collection, the terms *Renaissance* and *early modern* are used interchangeably to indicate the same broad period. For the history of the term *early modern* and its relation to *Renaissance*, see Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge, 2010), 17–70.

2. The project moved to Northeastern University, where it is currently hosted; www.wwp.northeastern.edu (subscription resource).

Pp. 193–200. ISSN 0018-7895 | E-ISSN 1544-399X.

which, as it catalogued and—through a series of publications—contextualized women's writing, necessarily drew predominantly on compositions in manuscript.[3] The driving force behind these initiatives might have been a desire to raise the profile of, and ability to study, women's writing, but in the process these projects helped to invigorate manuscript studies by uncovering a literary culture that extended beyond "canonical" names and by developing methodologies for interpreting the different modes of authorship, patronage, and literary consumption that were encountered.

The 1990s also saw the publication of a series of influential and groundbreaking monographs: Harold Love's *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), Arthur F. Marotti's *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), and Henry Woudhuysen's *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1996), as well as Peter Beal's Lyell Lectures (1995–96), printed in 1998 as *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England*. These works proved both foundational and inspirational (as testified to by their frequent citation in the pages that follow). As Beal writes elsewhere, before the 1990s, "manuscripts were for the most part considered of peripheral interest—exciting up to a point if it were a newly discovered literary manuscript in a major author's own hand [. . .], but otherwise of interest only to textual editors—and even then only if it helped to establish copy text for an edition of that author."[4] Scholars such as Beal, Love, Marotti, and Woudhuysen—and the work of the Women Writers and Perdita projects—did much to effect a sea change in attitudes: they showed how the study of manuscripts enriched knowledge not simply of canonical authors, but of the production, dissemination, and reception of literature and ideas more generally, and of the use of textual exchange to build and consolidate social networks.

The impact of this work is evident in both the striking increase in manuscript research since the 1990s, and the acceptance of manuscript studies as a mainstream part of both teaching and writing on early modern literature. The MLA Bibliography is by no means comprehensive, but a keyword search for items with either "scribal" or "manuscript" in their titles, written in English, about the period 1500–1699 is indicative, revealing a spike in the production of items for the decade 2000–2009, a decade that also saw chapters on manuscript studies appearing in major companions, literary histories, and teaching guides to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature.[5] Indeed, the flourishing of manuscript studies has reshaped the understanding of what

3. http://web.warwick.ac.uk/english/perdita/html/ (catalogue only); digitized images of the manuscripts are available via the subscription resource, http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m-collections/collection/perdita-manuscripts-1500-1700/. Publications arising from the project include *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Poetry*, ed. Jill Seal Millman and Gillian Wright (Manchester, 2005), and *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing*, ed. Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson (Aldershot, U.K., 2004).

4. Peter Beal, "Do Manuscript Studies in the Early Modern Period Have a Future?" *Shakespeare Studies* 32 (2004): 49–55 at 49. This introduction appears in a special issue, edited by Beal, about manuscript studies.

5. See, for example, Heather Wolfe, "Manuscripts in Early Modern England," in *A Concise Companion to English Renaissance Literature*, ed. Donna B. Hamilton (Oxford, 2006), 114–35; Harold Love and Arthur F. Marotti, "Manuscript Transmission and Circulation," in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge, 2002), 55–80; and

it meant to be published in the Renaissance in the first place: "publication" can no longer be held to be synonymous with print, as it was once assumed to be. And scholarship in the field has been further aided by the increasing availability of digital images and the production of indispensable reference tools and finding aids, including the first-line indexes of manuscript verse compiled by William A. Ringler Jr. and Steven W. May, or made accessible through the *Union First Line Index of English Verse*, hosted by the Folger Shakespeare Library.[6] The launch in 2013 of the *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, a revised and expanded online version of Beal's four-volume printed index, promises still more benefits in the decades ahead.[7]

In recent years, much of the scholarly work on manuscripts has focused on poetic miscellanies, revealing how these collections are shaped by the tastes of their (usually amateur) compilers, exploring the ways in which they offer evidence of networks of readers, and showing how copyists frequently adapted the texts they transcribed.[8] The type of poetry studied in those works tends to be dominated by the erotic, the libelous, or that written by women: the sort of material that exists in manuscript because it was simply too dangerous to print (the libelous), or not quite socially acceptable (the erotic; women's secular writing). In contrast, the present special issue adds to the growing understanding of Renaissance manuscript culture by exploring diverse genres in poetry and prose, including such nonliterary forms as Privy Council records (in the essay by Jeremy Smith), sermon-notes (Mary Morrissey), news, political gossip, and remedies (Angus Vine). It also considers various types of manuscript: texts created by professional as well as amateur scribes, including commercially produced scribal anthologies (Michelle O'Callaghan); presentation copies, which can combine professional and amateur hands (Guillaume Coatalen and Fred Schurink); and notes for both personal and communal use (Morrissey, Smith, Vine).

The essays that do focus on poetic miscellanies contribute to, or help complicate, prevailing debates in various ways. Arthur Marotti considers how—when the habitual parameters for engaging with literature tend to rely on concepts of oeuvre and authorship—scholars might use a socio-literary approach to incorporate rare or "unique" poems (that is, sole surviving examples) into the understanding of literary culture and tradition, particularly when so many of these items are anonymous. Jessica Edmondes challenges the dominant critical narrative, which associates manuscripts

Steven W. May, "Teaching Renaissance Manuscript Poetry," in *Approaches to Teaching Shorter Elizabethan Poetry*, ed. Patrick Cheney and Anne Lake Prescott (New York, 2000), 139–40.

6. William A. Ringler Jr., *Bibliography and Index of English Verse in Manuscript, 1501–1558* (London, 1992); Steven W. May and William A. Ringler Jr., *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559–1603*, 3 vols. (London, 2004); http://firstlines.folger.edu.

7. http://www.celm-ms.org.uk; *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, ed. Peter Beal, 4 vols. (London, 1980–93).

8. See, for example, Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford, 2009); Victoria E. Burke, "Manuscript Miscellanies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers (Cambridge, 2009), 54–67; and Elizabeth Clarke, "Women's Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England," in *Teaching Tudor and Stuart Women Writers*, ed. Susanne Woods and Margaret P. Hannay (New York, 2000), 52–60.

with anonymity and fluidity, print with a concern for authorship and fixity. Claire Bryony Williams's essay sees compiling as a form of reading, bringing together codicology and literary criticism with approaches drawn from the history of reading to uncover the reading habits and literary tastes of the volume's compiler, reconstructing evidence of what he chose not to copy, as well as what he did. O'Callaghan breaks down the binary division between amateur and professional by examining the skill displayed by both categories of scribe in the construction of two different anthologies.

The essays in this issue thus provide a useful reminder of the range and diversity of Renaissance manuscript culture. This diversity is inevitably reflected in the various terms used for written books throughout these essays, including *paper-book* to describe the physical book into which scribes wrote (etymologically, a manuscript can only come into being when it contains writing: "manuscript," written by hand). O'Callaghan's essay in particular contains a succinct and helpful explanation of the distinction that is sometimes drawn between a miscellany (a collection that grows randomly and through happenstance) and an anthology (a more systematically planned volume), and utilizes the term *copycopia* to define groupings of texts that grow up around a specific event or person, a feature of compilation that is found in many manuscript collections (be they miscellanies or anthologies).[9]

What all the essays share is a foregrounding of the methods used to analyze early modern manuscripts and the challenges faced in doing so, be it recovering the chronology of composition (whether different hands were writing coterminously; how long an individual hand might have left between copying stints); identifying an individual's handwriting as it changed over time; or how to deal with the attribution of anonymous items when it can be difficult to ascertain even the sex of the writer.[10] Collectively, the essays point to the rich analysis that can result from close, painstaking, and detailed examination of the manuscripts, taking account of their ink color, paper stock, blank pages, binding, the collation of their contents with other surviving examples (in manuscript and print), punctuation (often treated as an "accidental" as opposed to a "substantive" feature by textual editors), and so on.[11] The essays also reveal the value of multidisciplinary approaches to the study of manuscripts, and the benefits of employing a range of methodologies, combining historical pragmatics, the history of the book and of reading, codicology, biography, and literary criticism. The details that can be revealed using such methods highlight the ways in which compilers of manuscripts often signaled—explicitly or implicitly—that they were acutely attuned to the different

9. See, for example, the essay by Williams.

10. See, for example, the essays by O'Callaghan and Williams.

11. For the terms *substantive* and *accidental*, see W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950–51): 19–36. This is a foundational text for editorial theory and practice, and it is still cited in advice to scholarly editors provided by the MLA; see https://www.mla.org/Resources/Research/Surveys-Reports-and-Other-Documents/Publishing-and-Scholarship/Reports-from-the-MLA-Committee-on-Scholarly-Editions/Guidelines-for-Editors-of-Scholarly-Editions (accessed December 7, 2015).

statuses and potential uses of their manuscripts: whereas some were aide-mémoire for personal or very restricted use, others were intended to pass beyond their author's possession (for example, as a presentation copy of a work that might be warmly or coldly received).[12] The author's or compiler's awareness of an intended readership, moreover, inevitably shapes the work, be it liberating a certain form of expression, as in the case of Lady Hester Pulter (Alice Eardley), or inculcating a concern to disguise the bawdier aspects of a miscellany, as with MS Dyce 44, National Art Library (V&A), discussed by Williams.

As the essays in this collection foreground their methodological approaches, they also demonstrate the ways in which manuscript studies involve processes of reconstruction, be it reconstructing what a sermon said (Morrissey), the decisions a translator was making between various drafts (Coatalen and Schurink), how copyists perceived and understood the material they were collecting and transcribing (Edmondes, O'Callaghan, Vine, Williams), or how subsequent readers responded to it (O'Callaghan, Vine, Williams). The essays recurrently show how attention to the form and layout of the manuscript, and to paratextual features in particular, can be used to unpack the intended and actual uses of these documents. A manuscript, including a professionally produced one, is the product of a series of decisions about content, layout, punctuation—some more considered and conscious than others—made by one or more persons. As such, manuscripts reflect the identities of the often multiple individuals who contributed to them—for example, as compilers, commissioners, copyists, annotators, or authors—and of the cultures for which, and by which, they were produced, be those specific local communities or networks (the friends, relatives, and acquaintances who procured copy-texts, or for whom a manuscript was prepared), or the discursive culture conceived more broadly. Smith, for example, uncovers the role played by both manuscript and print at a crucial moment in the emergence and construction of a Scottish "public sphere": comparing the punctuation of printed and handwritten copies of the same proclamations, he shows how the text was prepared for public consumption by both listeners and readers. Other essays reveal how the exchange of manuscripts creates, consolidates, or utilizes different kinds of networks, from the socially intimate (Marotti, O'Callaghan) to the professional (Morrissey). There is also a sustained attention across the issue to the geographic or institutional locations that shaped these manuscripts: the Houses of Parliament (Coatalen and Schurink); the domestic household (Morrissey on the "Certaine Collections" of Elizabeth Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon); the universities and Inns of Court, as well as local county culture and interests (Williams).

This special issue is also sensitive to an archaeology of use, as manuscripts accrue and change meanings over time and with different generations of users. Glossing, for example, becomes a means by which a later reader (or even the same reader,

12. For manuscripts with a personal or restricted use, see, for example, Smith's discussion of the manuscript version of the 1567 proclamations and Morrissey's essay; for presentation copies, see Coatalen and Schurink's essay and Morrissey's essay.

returning at a later point) interacts with, and potentially changes, the sense and status of the words on the page. Evelyn Tribble has consequently described "the glossed page as a site upon which new relationships between author, auctor, and reader are uneasily negotiated."[13] Such annotation does not necessarily show the unease or anxiety that Tribble here identifies, however: glossing can endorse or underscore a preexisting meaning manifested in a text as much as it might disrupt or modify it. Nonetheless, such marginalia can be used as a form of self-display, advertising the reader's knowledge and authority for future readers, or—by noting details of the original event or circumstances—it might transform occasional poems into historical texts (see, for example, O'Callaghan's essay).

The essays in the collection span the period from the 1560s to the 1660s. Composed a century or more after the arrival of print in England, and therefore produced once the consumption of print had become an established feature of cultural life for the literate, the manuscripts studied in this issue provide a useful way of investigating the relationship between manuscript and print. The essays reveal the ways in which sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers frequently repurposed printed texts, be it through copying printed publications—particularly in excerpted form—or by mimicking printed typographic features (Morrissey, O'Callaghan, Williams). As this set of essays shows, however, the interactions between print and manuscript culture extended beyond reproducing texts and visual features. The compilers of manuscripts can be seen adopting processes and conceptual structures more usually associated with print: the "casting off" of pages and the allocation of set amounts of space prior to beginning copying that is analogous to the preparatory work, estimating the size of a volume, that is undertaken in the printing house (O'Callaghan, Vine, Williams); the role of the transcriber as an editor of texts, akin to the compositor of printed works "modernizing" punctuation and grammar and correcting "error" (Edmondes); or the application of ways of managing and retrieving information, an aspect of early modern print that has received much critical attention (Vine). As such, these essays contribute to the ongoing recovery of the dynamic, two-way relationship between print and manuscript, in which print is not the end point and repository of material initially circulated in scribal form (for which see Marotti) but an alternative medium for publication and a medium that is influenced by print as well as vice versa.

Further to that, this special issue adds to a recent, burgeoning interest in the vocal life of written texts.[14] Smith considers how punctuation aided reading aloud; Coatalen and Schurink demonstrate how the translator John Osborne attempted to capture on the page the oral features of Demosthenes's speeches; Williams takes account of reading as a potentially sociable as well as silent activity. Nor is it simply the division between the written and vocalized that is scrutinized here. From Plato onward,

13. Evelyn Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, Va., 1993), 57–58.

14. See, for example, the Voices and Books project, https://research.ncl.ac.uk/voicesandbooks/.

writing is often placed in a problematic relationship to memory, as something that is threatening to, and erodes, the mnemonic arts.[15] As essays by Smith, Morrissey, and Vine reveal, however, the written page can actually function as an aide-mémoire, even before the writing on it has been decoded. The collection thus contributes to ongoing scholarly debates that seek to break down or contest various binaries: of amateur and professional (O'Callaghan, described above); of print and manuscript; of text and voice; of text and memory, as well as public and private (see, for example, Eardley's discussion of different degrees of "privacy," traced through her contrast of the nondissemination of Pulter's works with the manuscript circulation of those by her near-contemporary Katherine Philips).

The range and variety of the documents discussed in these essays highlight the productive tension between case studies and larger, grander narratives about manuscript culture. The test cases examined here often reveal contradictory impulses: for instance, the manuscripts considered range from notes taken for personal, individual use (as with many of the sermon-notes explored by Morrissey), through collections composed with a view to future readers—although the compiler might seek to obfuscate (Williams) as much as explicate (O'Callaghan)—to texts produced for the consumption of specific individuals, designed to appeal to their aesthetic and intellectual preferences (Coatalen and Schurink). The diversity of these documents, and the differing conclusions that might be drawn from them, are a salutary warning against any attempt to write about "manuscript culture" as if it were a homogenous entity. Nonetheless, collectively, these essays and case studies offer privileged insight into the literary culture of early modern England and Scotland, uncovering a widespread appetite for reading and the acquisition of knowledge and texts; the exchange of texts for social as well as literary/aesthetic purposes; and a propensity for versifying and other forms of literary composition (translation, narrative fiction) that extends well beyond the authors whose names appear in print to include women such as Pulter, whose name was unknown to literary history until her "rediscovery" in the late twentieth century (Eardley).[16]

In the process, these essays continually remind us of the skill set necessary for these forms of literary activity: skills not simply in versifying or prose composition, but also in hearing, reading, memorizing, note-taking, mise-en-page, penmanship, making and deciphering puzzles (such as codes and anagrams), and even textual editing, as copyists attempted to make sense of baffling moments in the texts they were

15. For an early modern example of a text displaying anxiety about the effect of writing, see William Fulwood's 1562 translation of Guglielmo Gratarolo's *De Memoria Reparanda* (1553): "Take heede leste the writinge of thinges doe not hurte your Memorye, to wytte, lest you countynge those thynges to be sure and steadefaste, whyche you haue written in youre Booke of remembrances, doe cease to thyncke anye more of theym, and so trustynge to that securyte, doe suffer theym to slipe oute of your mynde" (Fulwood, *The Castel of Memorie*, sigs. G1v–G2r).

16. For other examples of women's contributions to manuscript culture—as authors (or potential authors), collectors, patrons, and compilers—see the essays in this issue by Marotti, Williams, Morrissey, and O'Callaghan.

transcribing. The compilers and readers of early modern manuscripts drew on a range and depth of expertise. To recover their rich history of use and transmission, their twenty-first-century readers need to do likewise, as the contributions to this special issue amply demonstrate.

CATHY SHRANK is Professor of Tudor and Renaissance Literature at the University of Sheffield. She is the author of *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580*, and the co-editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*. **ALAN BRYSON** is a Research Fellow in the Humanities Research Institute at the University of Sheffield. He is the co-author, with Steven W. May, of *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*. He is writing a monograph on lordship and government in mid-Tudor England.