THE READER IN THE BOOK

A Study of Spaces and Traces

STEPHEN ORGEL

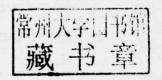


ACRON Prius præceptú é de dispositione & couenientia carminis. Scribit aut ad Pisones uiros nobiles & difertos:ad patré & filiú:uel ut alii dicút ad fra/ tres.capiti at coparat poema : o fine occonomia fit picturæ eiulmodi limile: quæ habebat ceruice equina & diuerlos, animaliú mêbra & penas q psona desinatin pisce. Et uarias inducere plu. mas .iponere plumas uariis coloribus natura flo ridas:uel uarios diuerfar, auiú colores. (Vndiq. ex diuersis sanimalibus Collatis auté mébris. coiundis ad superiore & descriptă formă: ut ba beat humanű caput & collű equi & caudam pi-scis.& multű præcipit conuenientiam poetá seruare debere. Atrum.foedu:magnum Definat. finiat In piscem.hoc est in marinam belluam.i. pistricem (Formosa superne. ut facie sit formo la mulier, inferius autem monstris pariis detur

The Reader in the Book

A Study of Spaces and Traces

STEPHEN ORGEL





OXFORD

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, 0x2 6DP, United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.

It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Stephen Orgel 2015

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First Edition published in 2015 Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press 198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015936025

ISBN 978-0-19-873756-8

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CRO 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

OXFORD TEXTUAL PERSPECTIVES

The Reader in the Book

GENERAL EDITORS

Elaine Treharne Greg Walker

To
Bradin Cormack
lectori optimo
carissimo amico

of Zancher city with a percentage of the Control of

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Marginalia have always fascinated me. I have collected volumes with marks of ownership and annotations for decades, and have written occasionally about them. The fascinating exhibit at the Harvard Library Marks in Books organized by Roger Stoddard in 1985, with its excellent catalogue, helped to focus my interests, and H. J. Jackson's Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books (2001), though concerned with later periods, offered a valuable example of how to take marginalia into account in writing about the history of books. But the idea that my passion could become a book of my own derives largely from encouraging conversations with the great pioneer in this field, William Sherman, as well as from the recent exemplary models provided by his Used Books and Heidi Brayman Hackel's Reading Material in Early Modern England. The Reader in the Book derives more immediately from the enthusiasm of my colleague Elaine Treharne, who saw the shape of the project before I did, and over a thrilling lunch made it all possible. For discussions over many years, and constant material assistance, I am indebted to Stanford's superb Curator of Rare Books, John Mustain; and, for receptive audiences, to the students in the course we teach jointly in "The History of the Book." For two decades I have had my best reader, Bradin Cormack, to talk with about marginalia; he has supplied me with endless information and excellent advice, as well as tireless paleographical and linguistic assistance. Early in the project Diego Pirillo helped me to clarify the argument and pointed me to useful references. Maurizio Campanelli deciphered the first of many sets of baffling Latin postilli for me, and Jane Stevenson generously responded to queries about the history of Latin pronunciation. My polymath colleague Ivan Lupić has been a peerless interpreter of Renaissance Latin and bad handwriting; he led me to Irena Bratičević of the University of Zagreb, who promptly solved the most intractable bit of my intractable schoolboy Latin cruxes. During the six months of my visiting professorship at Harvard's Villa I Tatti in Fiesole, I benefitted from the expertise of my colleagues Eugenio Refini and Davide Baldi,

and from lunchtime conversations with the learned and affable director of I Tatti Lino Pertile. Davide Daolmi clarified a particularly vexing crux. Peter Holland solved two puzzles in my Cibber promptbook of Venice Preserv'd. An anonymous reader for the Oxford University Press made several excellent suggestions about the structure of the book, which I have followed and for which I am very grateful. My admirable research assistant Daeyeong Kim negotiated the picture permissions with astounding efficiency. Jacqueline Harvey has been a vigilant and helpful copyeditor. Michael Wyatt continues to be what he has been for so many years, a constant source of deep scholarly knowledge, support, and encouragement.

Finally, a heartfelt acknowledgment of the book dealer friends who have for decades been my scouts, advisers, and providers: In my school years the venerable and invariably welcoming Dauber and Pine in New York, and Herb Hillman of the original Pangloss Books in Cambridge, MA., both long gone; Stuart Bennett, Justin Croft, Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing, Robert Harding at Maggs, Ted Hoffman and Donovan Rees at Quaritch, David Szewczyk and Cynthia Davis Buffington of Philadelphia Rare Books and Manuscripts, Ken Karmiole, Christopher Edwards, Simon Beattie, Terry Johanson, Gordon Hollis of Golden Legend, Frank Spellman at Krown and Spellman, and Steve Weissman

at Ximenes. Thank you.

Earlier versions of some of the material in this book have appeared in the following publications.

"Spenser from the Gutters to the Margins: An Archeology of Reading," in *The Construction of Textual Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*, SPELL Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature 22, ed. Indira Ghose and Denis Reavey (Tübingen: Gunter

Narr Verlag, 2009).

"Reading Lady Anne Clifford's A Mirovr for Magistrates," in Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain, ed. Karen Hearn and Lynne Hulse (Yorkshire Archeological Society Occasional Paper No. 7, 2009); "Marginal Maternity: Reading Lady Anne Clifford's A Mirror for Magistrates," in Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2005).

"The Book of the Play," in *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England*, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

"Margins of Truth," in *The Renaissance Text*, ed. Andrew Murphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

CONTENTS

List of illustrations	X
1 Reading in Action	1
1 Reading in Action2 Learning Latin	30
3 Writing from the Stage	50
4 Spenser from the Margins	84
5 Scherzo: The Insatiate Countess and the Puritan Revolution	114
6 Reading with the Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery	138
7 Coda: A Note from the Future	158
Bibliography	161
Index Index and the boundary of the boundary and the boun	167

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.1	Raphael Holinshed, <i>Chronicles</i> (1586): heraldic shields added by hand	12
1.2	Holinshed, Chronicles (1586): page with a shield excised	13
1.3	Marginal note in Lydgate's Fall of Princes (1553)	19
1.4	The Lord's Prayer as graffiti in Lydgate's Fall of Princes (1553)	21
1.5	Seneca, <i>Morals</i> , trans. Thomas Lodge (1614): document on the title page verso (courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries)	22
1.6	Abbreviations, notes, and an asterisk, from James Howell, <i>Dodona's Grove</i> (1640)	27
1.7	A reader's instructions in Book 6 of Paradise Lost (1668)	28
2.1	Virgil, <i>Bucolica</i> (1507): section of Eclogue 2 annotated by schoolboys	31
2.2	Bucolica (1507): the beginning of Eclogue 2	33
2.3	Bucolica (1507): annotation in the margin of Eclogue 3	34
2.4	Expurgation in Q. Horatius Flaccus, Opera (1490)	37
2.5	Opening of Terence's <i>Andria</i> (1533), translated by Nicholas Udall, (reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA)	39
2.6	Opening of Terence's Andria (Comædiæ, 1552) annotated by an English reader	40
2.7	Two notes on the title page of Terence, Comædiæ (1552)	42
2.8	Q. Horatius Flaccus, Opera (1490) opening of Ars Poetica	44
2.9	Schoolboy drawing of the opening scene of Terence's Andria (Comædiæ, 1541)	46
2.10	Andria, Act 1 scene 1, from Terence, Comædiæ omnes (1567)	47

2.11	Schoolboy illustration of Prologue to Andria (Comædiæ, 1541), with mischievous additions	48
2.12	Frontispiece to Terence, <i>Comædiæ</i> (1497) and Plautus, <i>Comædiæ</i> (1511) (courtesy of the Stanford University Department of Special Collections)	49
3.1	Meisei University First Folio of Shakespeare with annotations (reproduced by courtesy of Meisei University)	52
3.2	Glosses to the "To be or not to be" soliloquy in the Meisei University folio (reproduced by courtesy of Meisei University)	54
3.3	Last quarto of Davenant's version of Hamlet (London, 1703)	56
3.4	Page from the first scene of Davenant's version of Hamlet in 1703 quarto, with editorial adjustments	58
3.5	The 1703 quarto <i>Hamlet</i> 2.2, with the "little eyases" dialogue marginally inserted	59
3.6	Thomas Heywood's Second Part of The Iron Age (1632)	60
3.7	Heywood's Second Part of The Iron Age (1632), fol. G3v	61
3.8	Much trimmed copy of William Cartwright's Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with Other Poems (1651)	63
3.9	Macbeth 5.5 in the Padua folio (reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia)	68
3.10	Page of <i>Measure for Measure</i> in the Padua folio marked up for performance (reproduced by courtesy of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia)	70
3.11	Thomas Otway, Venice Preserv'd (1682), marked up as a promptbook	79
3.12	Characteristic page of the Venice Preserv'd promptbook (1682)	80
3.13	Beginning of Act 5 in the <i>Venice Preserv'd</i> promptbook (1682) showing prompter's notes and stage directions	82
4.1	The 1611/13 Spenser folio in its arts and crafts binding	85

xii | LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

4.2	Spenser, <i>The Faerie Queen</i> (1611/13), with inscription on front flyleaf	87
4.3	Facsimiles of Cromwell's signature	87
4.4	Faerie Queen (1611/13): annotations to the Proem to Book 1, stanzas 2-4	88
4.5	Faerie Queen (1611/13), 1.1.34-5: Hypocrisy's hermitage	90
4.6	Faerie Queen (1611/13), 1.1.47	91
4.7	Faerie Queen (1611/13), 1.10.8: Celia "busie at her beades"	91
4.8	Faerie Queen (1611/13), 1.9: a page of invective	93
4.9	Faerie Queen (1611/13), 1.2.19: the death of Sansfoy	94
4.10	Faerie Queen (1611/13), 1.7.36: Merlin forges the Red Cross Knight's arms	95
4.11	Faerie Queen (1611/13), 1.3.6-7: Una and the lion	96
4.12	Mother Hubberds Tale, lines 810–15	97
4.13	Faerie Queen (1611/13), 1.4.32: Vile Envie, "The picture of him, that made the former notes"	98
4.14	Manuscript title page to a 1609 Spenser folio	99
4.15	William Bateman's inscription of Spenser's name and his signature	100
4.16	Instructions to the binder of the 1609 Spenser folio	101
4.17	Faerie Queene (London, 1609), 1.2.3: gloss summarizing the action	103
4.18	Faerie Queene (1609), 1.5: Sansjoy or Sansloy?	104
4.19	Faerie Queene (1609): Sansfoy? Sansjoy? Sansloy?	104
4.20	Summarizing and keeping track of characters: glosses on <i>Faerie Queene</i> (1609), 4.7.10–11	105
4.21	Faerie Queene (1609), 5.12: catching Spenser's error	106
4.22	Faerie Queene (1609), 4.12.12: Marinell confused with Florimell	107
4.23	Faerie Queene (1609), 6.12.41: "Tresurer Burley"	107
4.24	Faerie Queene (1609), 4.6: glosses to the opening quatrain.	108
4.25	Faerie Queene (1609), 5.2	108

4.26	Beginning of Faerie Queene (1609), 5.4 marked for emphasis	109
4.27	Faerie Queene (1609), 3.9: Malbecco episode heavily annotated	110
4.28	Faerie Queene (1609), 3.9.26	111
4.29	Faerie Queene (1609), Book 4: a second moralization of the Malbecco episode	112
4.30	The Faerie Queene (London, 1609/11/13), 4.11.49: catalogue of sea-nymphs	113
5.1	Truth Brought to Light: the frontispiece moralized	122
5.2	Truth Brought to Light: the frontispiece	123
5.3	Truth Brought to Light: foldout engraving of Earl and Countess of Somerset	126
5.4	Truth Brought to Light: filling in blanks and expanding references	129
5.5	Marginale in Truth Brought to Light: the travailing Pinke	130
5.6	Marginale in <i>Truth Brought to Light</i> : Poore Pylot; a summary of Carr's fall	132
5.7	Marginale in <i>Truth Brought to Light</i> : a rare pasquinade sympathetic to the Countess of Somerset	134
5.8	Marginale in <i>Truth Brought to Light</i> : epitaph written in anticipation of Carr's execution	134
5.9	Marginale in <i>Truth Brought to Light</i> : an exercise in punning and allusion	136
6.1	Heywood's England's Eliza: Lady Anne Clifford identifies her father	142
6.2	Heywood's England's Eliza: Clifford corrects a first impression	143
6.3	Heywood's England's Eliza: Clifford identifies "Sr Wm Russell"	144
6.4	Clifford's gloss to Heywood's England's Eliza: "this Sr Richard Bingham"	145

	Clifford's gloss to <i>Humphrey Duke of Glocester</i> : "some part of this I red over my selfe"	146
	A Mirour for Magistrates (1610): first page of the induction to the whole collection	147
6.7 A	A Mirour for Magistrates (1610): "Mr. Sackvils Induction"	148
	A Mirour for Magistrates (1610): Clifford as her own secretary	149
F fo	Bernard Berenson's note to his wife, Mary (Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center For Italian Renaissance Studies, courtesy of the President and Fellows of Harvard College)	160

Reading in Action

Textuality has therefore become the exact antithesis and displacement of what might be called history. Textuality is considered to take place, yes, but by the same token it does not take place anywhere or anytime in particular. It is produced, but by no one and at no time. It can be read and interpreted, although reading and interpreting are routinely understood to occur in the form of misreading and misinterpreting. The list of examples could be extended indefinitely, but the point would remain the same. As it is practiced in the American academy today, literary theory has for the most part isolated texuality from the circumstances, the events, the physical senses that made it possible and render it intelligible as the result of human work.

Edward Said, "Secular Criticism"1

General statements in humanities disciplines [...] are neither enunciations of general laws which are testable by experiment, as in the physical sciences, nor are they probabilities expressed in statistical form as in the social sciences. Often, in current practice they turn out to be deliberated hypotheses; historical scholarship is a department of rhetoric. In particular, whatever general claims we may like to make about "The Renaissance reader" cannot be assumed in advance to apply to any given individual act of reading.

Harold Love, "Early Modern Print Culture"2

Edward Said, "Secular Criticism," in *The Edward Said Reader*, ed. M. Bayoumi and A. Rubin (New York: Vintage Books, 2000), pp. 221-2.
 Harold Love, "Early Modern Print Culture," *Parergon* 20.1 (January 2003), 45.

This is a book about individual acts of reading. Writing it has been I possible only because reading in early modern culture sometimes left traces, and sometimes those traces are decipherable. In the past twenty years or so there has been a revolution in bibliographical studies which has involved noticing what had been unnoticeable and finding evidence in the hitherto irrelevant; so that habits of reading, manifested in various marks and marginalia, have become as central to the nature of the book as format and typography, watermarks and chain lines. The recent history of the book, in this construction, is not merely a history of print technology; more important, the history of any particular book does not conclude with its publication. Much significant recent work in the field focuses on readers, booksellers, and collectors, rather than on printers and publishers, on bindings and inscriptions rather than on foul papers (rough drafts), copy texts, scribes, and compositors, and views the print revolution as, in significant ways, a reading revolution, a revolution not only of technology but also of dissemination and reception.

My focus here is on a particular aspect of this history of the book, an archaeology of the use of margins and other blank spaces, a sociology of reading and writing in relation to ownership. What did early modern people write in their books, and how can we, as historians of both the book and literature, take it into account? One of the most commonplace aspects of old books is the fact that people wrote in them, something that until very recently has infuriated modern collectors and librarians. But these inscriptions constitute a significant dimension of the book's history; and one of the strangest phenomena of modern bibliophilic and curatorial psychology has been the desire for pristine copies of books, books that reveal no history of ownership (modern first editions especially lose a large percentage of their value if they have an owner's name on the flyleaf, unless the owner is very famous, or the name is part of an inscription from the author). It has not been uncommon for collectors to attempt to obliterate early marginalia, as if to restore the book's virginity. A 1997 catalogue of the venerable London bookseller Bernard Quaritch lists a first edition of Areopagitica with two manuscript corrections, which are "very faint [...] all but washed out during some restoration in the past." The same corrections

³ Bernard Quaritch (London), Catalogue 1243 (1997), item 50.