'In the Margent some Sentences in Latin': Printed Marginal Notes and Handwritten Marks of Use in Four Copies of Geffrey Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes (Leiden, 1586)

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‘In the Margent some Sentences in Latin’: Printed Marginal Notes and Handwritten Marks of Use in Four Copies of Geffrey Whitney’s *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586)

Research Master Thesis

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Note on the Text

The transcription of early modern printed texts and handwritten marginal notes in this thesis is semi-diplomatic. Letters i/j and u/v have been regularised. The long s has been modernised. Superscript contractions have been silently lowered and expanded. Illegible or missing letters are indicated by dots enclosed in curly brackets, where each dot represents one letter: {…}. Following the MHRA guidelines, line divisions are indicated by a spaced vertical stroke (|). While original line divisions have been retained in the case of Whitney's emblems, they have been disregarded for printed marginal notes and handwritten marks which appear in more than one line.

All mottoes and printed marginal notes in Latin have also been translated into English. Unless otherwise specified in the footnote, they have been translated by me. To identify and refer to individual emblems I have adopted Mason Tung's apparatus.[1] Since individual emblems, strictly speaking, do not have a title but a motto, I refer to them by the first two letters of Whitney's surname and the page number on which they appear, as illustrated in this example: Wh 15. This indicates Whitney's emblem located on page fifteen. Where two emblems appear on the same page, they are distinguished by lower case letters which follow the page number (for example, Wh 218a and Wh 218b). The page numbers and the distribution of emblems are identical in the four copies examined in this thesis. For an overview of all of Whitney's emblems, their mottoes and sources, I refer the reader to Tung's Appendix II.[2]

[1] Mason Tung, 'Whitney's "A Choice of Emblemes" Revisited: A Comparative Study of the Manuscript and the Printed Versions', *Studies in Bibliography*, 29 (1976), 32-101 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40371630>
[2] Tung, pp. 78-85.

1. Introduction

On 13 November 1978, the collection of the Leiden University Library was enriched with a new acquisition, which was added to the library catalogue in the following year.[3] The book in question was Geffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devises* (1586). Approximately five centuries after its first publication in 1586, a copy of this book returned to the city where it was first printed in the Leiden branch of the *Officina Plantiniana*, by the then university printer, Franciscus Raphelengius.[4] This copy, referred to in this thesis as the Leiden copy, is one of the forty-nine extant copies currently in possession of institutional libraries throughout the world, though more copies probably survive in private collections.[5] It is also one of the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* which I examine in this thesis, alongside the copies kept in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California (hereafter, the Huntington copy); the Pennsylvania State University Library in State College, Pennsylvania (hereafter, the Pennsylvania copy); and the Illinois University Library in Urbana, Illinois (hereafter, the Illinois copy).[6]

Figure 1 below shows the description of the Leiden copy in the online catalogue of the Leiden University Library (UBL). As shown on the image, the catalogue entry highlights the key information, such as the title, the author, and the date and place of publication, all of which enable scholars and students to locate the book within a specific historical space and

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[3] Frank Karslake and others, eds, *Book Auction Records: A Priced and Annotated Record of London Book Auction (BAR)*, 95 vols (London: Karslake & Co, 1903-1997), vol. 76 (1978-79), p. 503. According to the *BAR*, a copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* containing the bookplate of Vernon Watney was sold by Sotheby's on 13 November 1978. The Leiden copy of the book bears Watney's bookplate. I owe the knowledge about the year of cataloguing to the curator of Western Printed Works at the Leiden University Library, Dr Kasper van Ommen.
[4] Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: The History of the House of Plantin-Moretus*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Vangendt; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; New York: Abner Schram, 1969-1972), p. 116.
[5] Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden: In the House of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius, 1586), Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) 425939.
[6] Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden: In the House of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius, 1586). (Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheek Leiden (UBL), 20643 F 10); Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden: In the House of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius, 1586). (San Marino, The Huntington Library (HUN), RB 79714); Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden: In the House of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius, 1586). (State College, Penn State University Libraries (PUL), PR2388.W4C5 1586); Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden: In the House of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius, 1586). (Urbana, Illinois University Library (IUL), 096.1 W613c1586).

time before even opening its pages. On the surface, this is an example of an informative, well-functioning catalogue entry. However, it also foregrounds only three human agents involved in the book's production and dissemination: Geffrey Whitney, as the author, and Christopher Plantin and Franciscus Raphelengius, as the printer and publisher, therefore giving the impression of similarity and uniformity to any other of the forty-eight extant copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*, which were likewise written by Whitney and printed by Raphelengius in the Leiden *Officina*. While foregrounding the three individuals, this specific catalogue entry also obscures the presence of the often-anonymous users of books, such as the anonymous early modern user of the Leiden copy, who used the blank margins of their copy to write poetry and whose handwritten intervention has forever 'physically alter[ed] the page.'[7] This catalogue entry provides a useful example for illustrating how the twentieth-century scholarly focus on the author and other authoritative agents, such as the printer, influenced the representation of early modern texts and impacted the attitude towards users' handwritten marks up until today. While absent from the catalogue description of the Leiden copy, the handwritten marks on its pages, and on the pages of other three copies, nevertheless form an important part of the book's history. To address this history, this thesis seeks to examine users' handwritten marks alongside Whitney's printed marginal notes in four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* to answer what their content and form can reveal about the social and political circumstances of the book's production, circulation, and consumption during the early modern period and its reception by later collectors.

[7] Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 137.

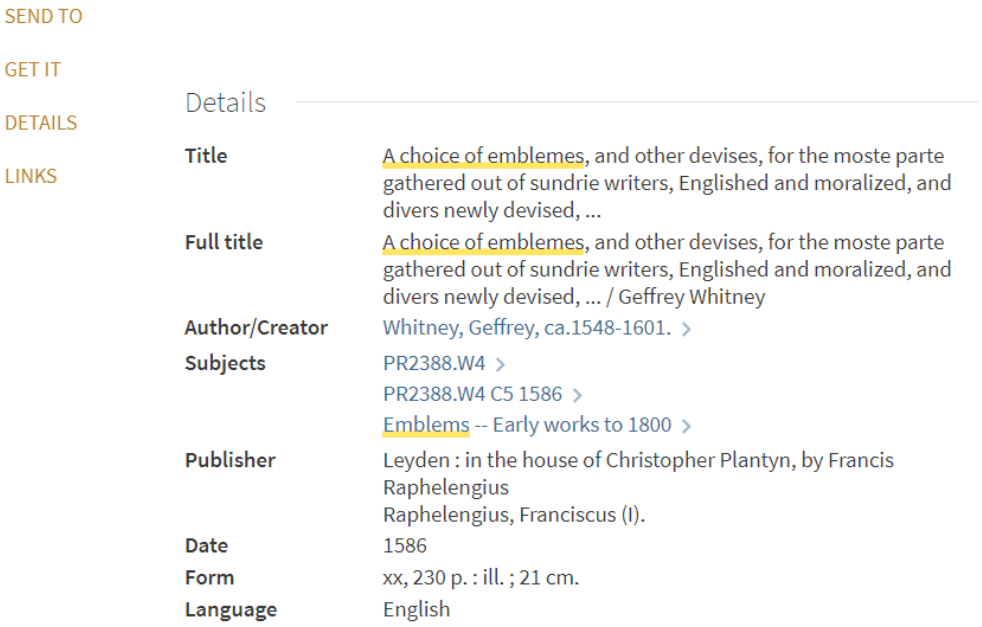

Figure 1: Catalogue Entry for the Leiden copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* (UBL, 20643 F 10) in the Online Catalogue.

When in 1908 an American book collector and businessman Robert Hoe compiled and privately published a *Catalogue of Books of Emblems* in his private collection, he described Whitney's book in his possession, identified as the Huntington copy, in the following way: 'the first English book of emblems, containing two hundred and forty-seven woodcuts, and probably the only English book from Plantyn's press.'[8] The earliest scholars working on Whitney's text have often claimed that Whitney was indeed the first Englishman to publish an emblem book in print.[9] Therefore, in an attempt to define the English emblem tradition in *English Emblem Books* (1948), Rosemary Freeman is predominantly focused on the emblem genre itself and Whitney's reworking — or lack thereof — of the continental emblem writers such as Andrea Alciato (1492-1550), Claude Paradin (c. 1510-1573), Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575), and Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584), whose work had a significant impact on Whitney's own poetic work, as is evident from the fact that he himself

[8] *Catalogue of Books of Emblems in the Library of Robert Hoe*, comp. by Carolyn Shipman (New York: Privately Printed, 1908) (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, Z 997. H69 E5 1908), p. 132 <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015083381932> [accessed 15 June 2023]
[9] Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1967), p. 32.

owned a copy of Paradin's *Devises Heroiques* (1562) and as he also briefly acknowledges in his address to the reader.[10] Whitney's work is described by Freeman as 'characterised by a complete absence of originality' and seen as a mere anthology of translations of continental sources.[11]

As its title indicates, *A Choice of Emblemes* is an emblem book consisting of two parts and containing 248 emblems. Before addressing scholarly responses to Freeman, it is crucial to first briefly delineate the main features of this genre and its history in order to better understand the book's form and the context of its production and dissemination. In *The Emblem* (2002), John Manning points out the difficulty of formulating a precise definition of the emblem due to the versatile manifestations of the genre throughout history.[12] Indeed, scholarly work interested in the genre itself has attempted to devise various definitions. However, in my discussion of Whitney's emblems, I adopt the understanding of the emblem as a poetic form consisting of three parts: a motto (usually in Latin), a picture, and a verse-epigram.[13] Michael Bath explains the connection between these three elements, stating that 'the emblem presents us with an epigram which resolves the enigmatic relation between motto and picture by appealing to received meanings which its images have in established iconographic systems of Western culture.'[14] This configuration of the emblem can be traced to the first half of the sixteenth century to what is considered to be the beginning of this genre: the publication of the 1531 edition of Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber* published in print by an Augsburg printer, Heinrich Steyner.[15] An earlier version of *Emblematum* initially circulated in manuscript form without illustrations, which, according to Manning,

[10] Freeman, p. 47.
[11] Freeman, p. 56.
[12] John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), pp. 13-36.
[13] Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), p. 73.
[14] Bath, p. 74.
[15] Manning, *The Emblem*, p. 42; Bath, p. 1.

were added only later by Steyner himself, who, therefore, inadvertently launched a template which 'became the most usual form in which publication of this kind would be issued for the entire history of the genre.'[16] All emblems, save one, in Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* display this tripartite structure. The only exception is Wh 61 which does not contain a woodcut illustration and is therefore known as a 'naked' emblem.[17]

Since Freeman's discussion of Whitney's book, scholars have rejected the widespread claim that Whitney was responsible for introducing the emblem genre to England. Moreover, in response to Freeman's claim of unoriginality, later discussions of Whitney's work set out to demonstrate that *A Choice of Emblemes* was 'a much more closely organized and deliberate piece of work' than previously recognised.[18] For instance, while acknowledging Whitney's indebtedness to continental sources, Mason Tung compares the manuscript and printed versions of the text in order to shed light on Whitney's reorganisation and revision of the text through different stages of its existence.[19] In doing so, he analyses the changes Whitney made to the text when preparing it for print, including the addition of printed marginal notes. Tung examines these mostly to counter Freeman's claim of unoriginality and to shed light on the creative ways in which Whitney reworked his sources.[20] This creativity, not only in terms of the marginal notes but in terms of the emblems themselves, is echoed by John Manning's close reading of those emblems which appear in the manuscript but Whitney heavily reworks before publication in print.[21] Manning concludes that Whitney 'was prepared to regard the Europeans as his guides rather than his masters in emblematic composition.'[22]

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[16] Manning, *The Emblem*, p. 42.
[17] Tung, p. 38.
[18] John Manning, 'Whitney's "Choice of Emblemes": A Reassessment', *Renaissance Studies*, 4 (1990), 155-200 (p.156) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24412422>
[19] See, Tung.
[20] Tung, pp. 62-65.
[21] John Manning, 'Unpublished and Unedited Emblems by Geffrey Whitney: Further Evidence of the English Adaptation of Continental Traditions', in *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: Ams Press, 1988), pp. 83-107.
[22] Manning, 'Unpublished and Unedited Emblems by Geffrey Whitney', p. 102.

Manning's analysis of the unpublished emblems is also important as it shows that the manuscript and the printed version were meant for two different audiences: one private and the other public.[23] From his analysis, it is clear that Whitney showed great sensitivity to the audience he was writing for and, particularly relevant for this paper, chose to leave emblems which 'praise aggressively expedient policies, or are nationalistic and patriotic in their sentiments' out of the printed copy.[24]

In his later work on Whitney, Manning pursues the political context of the book's publication, arguing that its publication in print coincided with a specific historical and political moment: the Earl of Leicester's appointment as the Governor General to the Low Countries by Elizabeth I and his subsequent journey to the Low Countries with the purpose of securing a stronger Anglo-Dutch Protestant alliance against the threat of Catholic Spain. More specifically, Manning argues that Whitney's work played an important part in Leicester's campaign in the Low Countries, serving as publicity 'to project the earl's public image and to create a climate of opinion, both in England and Holland, which would render the English "invasion" of the Low Countries acceptable.'[25] As the book was printed in Leiden, where a new university was established only eleven years before in 1575, the general public would consist of members of the intellectual elite of scholars and humanists gathered around the newly-established university, among whom would be Janus Dousa (Jan van der Does) the Elder (1545-1604), Janus Dousa the Younger (1571-1596), Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538-1614), Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), Francsicus Raphelengius (1539-1597), and Petrus Colvius (1567-1594).[26] It has been suggested that these individuals constituted Whitney's

[23] Manning, 'Unpublished and Unedited Emblems by Geffrey Whitney', p. 84.
[24] Ibid., p. 85.
[25] Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 162.
[26] For a discussion of the intellectual elite in Leiden at the time of Leicester's campaign and Whitney's stay in the city and their involvement in Anglo-Dutch relations, see J. A. van Dorsten, *Poets Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden: University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

immediate readership.[27] To support his argument Manning turns to the content of the text itself, analysing the textual organisation and presentation of the book to locate the 'deliberate' sites within the text, which point to Whitney's investment in Leicester's political campaign. [28]

This thesis builds on the work done by Tung and Manning, pursuing the socio-political context of the book's publication. After establishing the theoretical framework and outlining the methodological approach in the second chapter, the third chapter focuses on the printed apparatus which accompanies the main text block, specifically the prefatory dedicatory letter addressed to the book's patron, the Earl of Leicester, the printed address to the reader, and the printed marginal notes, added by Whitney himself to help 'some of [his] acquaintaunce' in Leiden, who did not speak English.[29] Drawing on the work of scholars such as Evelyn B. Tribble, who argue that the printed apparatus, specifically printed marginalia, was a site of contestation, where 'competing claims of internal authority and plural, external authorities' converged, I examine their role in Whitney's text.[30] More precisely, I argue that in addition with the preliminary printed material — the dedicatory letter and the address to the reader — they enable Whitney to forge an imagined community of readers, which closely resembles a patronal coterie. While in part a response to the early modern negotiations of literary authority, I aim to show how the construction of a community of readers also carried political implications, arguing that printed marginal notes, alongside other textual elements, also served as a form of public diplomacy within a specific historical locale. To do so, I examine the strategies used in the printed apparatus and explore how they attract the attention of and address the Leiden circle of humanists. It is here that this thesis departs from other scholars, who restrict themselves to textual evidence within the book alone. Using historical

[27] Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 162; van Dorsten, p. 132-3.
[28] Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 156.
[29] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. **3^{v}.
[30] Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1993), p. 6.

sources such as book trade catalogues enables me to examine the circulation of the book within this specific locale and answer to what extent Whitney's text succeeded in reaching his desired community of readers.[31]

This departure is motivated by an attempt to move away from scholarship which locates in the figure of the author all authority over the text. While Whitney indeed aimed at a spatially and temporally specific reader, the Leiden humanist, understanding the circumstances of this book's production, dissemination, and consumption cannot be complete without examining the role of other human agents, besides Whitney, involved in these processes. Therefore, in the fourth and the fifth chapters of this thesis, I contrast this imagined community of readers with the practices of individual historical readers. Specifically, I examine the material traces of book use left by the often anonymous or semi-anonymous users of the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* throughout the early modern period and beyond, not all of which I show coincide with Whitney's description of 'the learned' reader with 'good judgemente.'[32] Applying the methodology of a copy census, based on the principle of observing copy-specific evidence, I first explore the variety of uses by focusing on handwritten marks of use. I distinguish between marks of ownership, marks of recording, and marks of active reading, in order to show that each copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* has, in the words of D. F. McKenzie, 'its own historical identity not only for its author but for the particular market of readers who bought and read it.'[33] Writing the 'historical identity' of the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* into existence, I show that these copies were used by a wider variety of users of both genders, on both sides of the Channel, throughout the early modern period and beyond. Their handwritten marks of use

[31] Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp, 'Book Trade Catalogues: From Bookselling Tool to Book Historical Source', in *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021), pp. 3-32 (p. 6).
[32] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. ***4^{v}.
[33] D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 36.

reveal that the book was valued at once as a prized possession and as a convenient writing surface. Moreover, the users' engagement with the content of Whitney's text, specifically with his sources, demonstrates that the book's intertextuality has been a topic of discussion for users since long before Freeman's attempt to argue for its unoriginality. Examining these 'scattered fragments and half-chanced glimpses' of use in the four copies enables me to look at the circulation of *A Choice of Emblemes* beyond Leicester's political campaign, and examine the different relationships which individual historical readers cultivated with their copies of the book.[34] I further argue that these individual expressions of use were a target of deliberate erasure from the eighteenth-century onwards as a result of the changing conceptions of authorship and the sustained editorial focus on the author's intention. Analysing the rhetoric of book trade catalogues, I trace the changing attitudes towards *A Choice of Emblemes* from the seventeenth century to the present and show how the notion of rarity was developed in relation to the book. Specifically, I argue that the construction of Whitney's book as a rare one depended on the supposed numerical scarcity of copies void of any previous signs of use, which, in turn, triggered further intentional damage. Besides showing how the changing attitudes towards handwritten marks have impacted the materiality of the four copies, I also seek to answer how these attitudes have influenced present-day cataloguing practices.

[34] Alison Wiggins, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?', *The Library*, 9 (2008), 3-36 (p. 14) <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/9.1.003>.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The broader theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this thesis are largely indebted to the work of D. F. McKenzie, Robert Darnton, and Roger Chartier whose approach to book history highlights what Brayman Hackel aptly describes as the 'multiple agencies that produce a text.'[35] Before delving into the meaning of this passage within the context of McKenzie's, Darnton's and Chartier's work and its relevance for this thesis, it is important to note that their work was a response to a particular school of bibliography, known as New Bibliography, which emerged in England at the beginning of the twentieth century among academics such as W.W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow, A.W. Pollard, who were mostly interested in the material evidence of the production and transmission of early modern texts, in particular of Shakespeare, or, as Greg terms it, 'the science of the transmission of literary documents.'[36] Their principal aim as editors of (early modern) texts was the reconstruction of the authorial intention and specifically of the text as first envisioned by the author, both textually and materially.[37] The process of achieving this can be seen in Greg's explanation that 'however many copies of a work there may be, and however diverse the lines by which they are descended, they are all … necessarily derived from a single original by a definite number of transcriptional steps.'[38] Recovering and reconstruing this supposed original or ideal text, meaning 'the work as the author wrote it,' was the ideal towards which New Bibliographers strove and, according to them, it was to be achieved through a scientific observation of multiple versions of this text and the signs of their production, in particular of the printing process.[39] They argued that such an approach to the study of texts would enable

[35] Brayman Hackel, p. 5.
[36] W. W. Greg, 'Bibliography—An Apologia', *The Library*, 4th ser., 13 (1932), 113-143 (p. 114).
[37] Greg, p. 126.
[38] Ibid., p. 125.
[39] Ibid., p. 126. In *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare*, Ronald B. McKerrow formulates a similar definition for what he calls 'the ideal text.' See, Ronald B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare: A Study in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), p. 6.

them to distinguish between the so-called 'good' and 'bad' copies of a text and find an authoritative version, which, importantly, they acknowledge might not be exactly the author's version but the one nearest to their intention and with the least amount of deviation from it.[40] It is important to note that the content itself was secondary in nature: in Greg's words, a bibliographer is concerned with 'pieces of paper or parchment covered with certain written or printed signs. With these signs he is concerned merely as arbitrary marks; their meaning is no business of his.'[41] Rather than the meaning itself, it was the form and the changes in form over different versions of a text which interested them. Their formalist approach facilitated the idea of a text as a finite and stable object. Their sustained focus on the (recovery of) authorial intention meant that less emphasis was given to other agents involved in the production, transmission, and reception of texts, leading to a later critique of their approach.

In his seminal work *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1999), D. F. McKenzie calls into question the scientific claim made by New Bibliographers and their sustained focus on form, arguing that it is precisely these two aspects of their approach which 'obscured the role of human agents' in the process of production and transmission of texts.[42] He proposes a redefinition of bibliography as 'the study of the sociology of texts.'[43] McKenzie expands Greg's definition of a text so that it also encompass other non-verbal media, including visual, oral and numeric ones.[44] By reframing bibliography as a sociology, McKenzie foregrounds not only books as material objects but also the social contexts in which books are produced, circulated, and consumed and the social dynamics between different agents, both human and non-human, involved in these processes.[45] Not only the material aspects of a book but also

[40] Alfred W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays 1594-1685* (London: Methuen and Company, 1909), pp. 64-65; McKerrow, pp. 7-8.
[41] Greg, p. 122.
[42] McKenzie, p. 16.
[43] Ibid., p. 13.
[44] Ibid., p. 13.
[45] McKenzie, pp. 12-15.

the myriad 'social realities' within which it exists are therefore all relevant in the production of meaning.[46]

Crucially, though, this meaning is not rooted in the author's, printer's or publisher's intention and it is also not autonomous or separate from the social and material contexts within which it appears. As emphasised by Roger Chartier, 'it is essential to remember that no text exists outside of the support that enables it to be read; any comprehension of a writing, no matter what kind it is, depends on the forms in which is reaches the reader.'[47] Following Chartier's explanation, the practice of reading and meaning-making is therefore deeply embedded in the materiality of the text, which, as Tribble has shown, includes the organisation of the text on the page itself.[48] Since the material forms in which a single text is transmitted can vary significantly, McKenzie explains that therefore 'each reading is peculiar to its occasion, each can be at least partially recovered from the physical forms of the text, and the differences in readings constitute an informative history.'[49] According to this definition, each reading of a text is therefore an individualised practice which not only derives from a unique text but also results in the production of one — both textually and materially — as this thesis aims to show. What allows for this uniqueness is both Chartier's and McKenzie's rejection of the idea of a finite and stable text put forward by the New Bibliographers. In McKenzie's words, a text is 'always incomplete, and therefore open, unstable, subject to a perpetual re-making by its readers, performers, or audience.'[50] This definition of the text applies also to the four copies of Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* examined in this thesis: each one of them is considered as a unique copy, which has been and

[46] McKenzie, p. 15.
[47] Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings', in *The New Cultural History*, ed. by Lynn Hunt (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 154-175 (p. 161).
[48] Tribble, p. 6.
[49] McKenzie, p. 19.
[50] McKenzie, p. 55.

continues to be made so by the different users involved in their production, dissemination, and consumption throughout time.

As McKenzie shifts the attention from authorial intention to other agents involved in the production of meaning, he opens up a space for other approaches to book history, which emphasise the collaborative nature of textual production, transmission, and consumption. One of the most important of these approaches is put forward by Robert Darnton in the seminal article 'What is the History of Books?' in which he proposes the so-called model for a 'communications circuit.'[51] Darnton envisions this circuit as a suitable model for the analysis of the 'life-cycle' of a text as it moves between different agents involved in its composition, publication, transmission, sale, and reception from the author to the printer, the bookseller, and finally the reader.[52] Darnton argues that examining the influence of each one of these agents and phases on these processes is instrumental for a book historian.[53] As summarised by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, Darnton's model 'would work within and between these key players — thus allowing room, for example, for demonstrating the manner in which readers could influence textual production … or the influence of booksellers on publishing decisions.'[54] Darnton's communications circuit is therefore important for this thesis because, contrary to the New Bibliographers, his model accommodates both the author and the reader, as well as other agents, as equally important in the production of meaning. The reproduction of his circuit shown in Figure 2 illustrates this interdependency. In his case study, Darnton also implicitly emphasises the importance of a wider range of archival sources which contextualise the activities of the many agents in book history and which, he suggests

[51] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111 (1982), 65-83 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024803>
[52] Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', pp. 67-68.
[53] Ibid., p. 67.
[54] David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 12.

elsewhere, the historian should use to 'tease meaning' from them.[55] In line with Darnton's emphasis on archival material and following the example of other book historians, this thesis also makes use of historical sources such as book trade catalogues to better understand the life cycle of the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*.

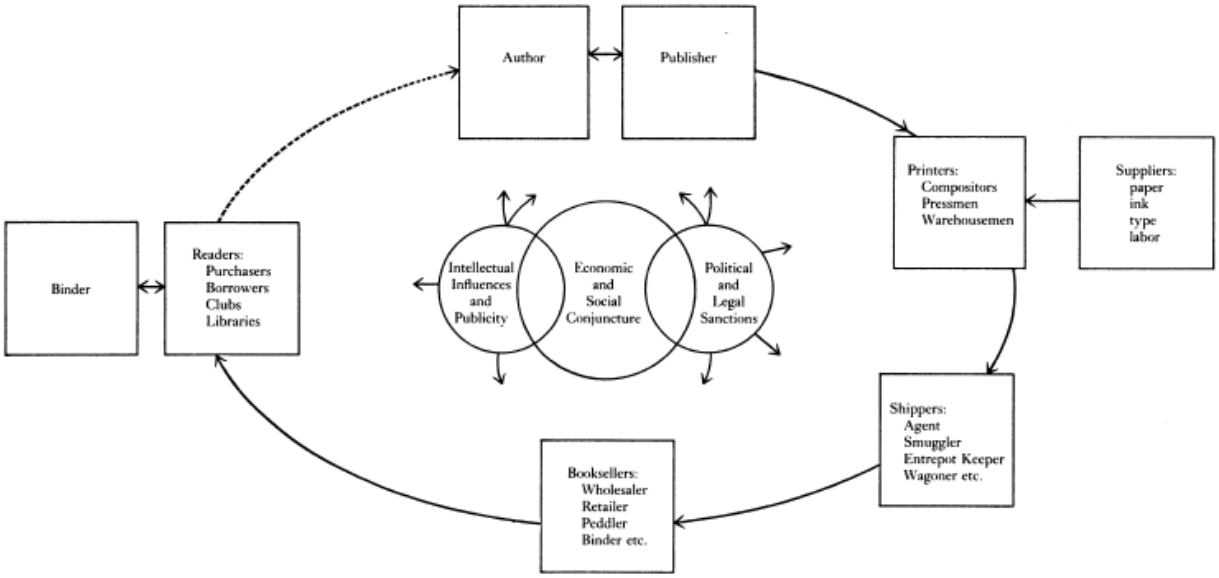

Figure 2: Robert Darnton's Communications Circuit.

The work of McKenzie, Chartier, and Darnton outlined above underpins the broader theoretical approaches of this thesis, which examines printed and handwritten marginal notes found in four copies of an early modern text: Geffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586). This thesis is interested in how the physical form of these copies, specifically the organisation of the printed page with respect to the main text and the margins, facilitates and guides towards different interpretations of the text, which, crucially, are not equally accessible to all. It also questions how the materiality of these copies can be used as a form of public diplomacy. By examining various signs of use left by different historical readers, it traces the 'informative history' of their practices, showing how each individual adapted the text – both textually and materially – to their own individual needs, thus producing a unique

[55] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), p. 6.

copy. This uniqueness sheds light on the social contexts and dynamics within which these copies circulated and were consumed. Taking a chronological approach to the production, transmission, and consumption of four copies of Whitney's text, it further argues that at a particular moment in history this uniqueness came under threat. While the results of this threat are inevitably also part of the life-cycle of Whitney's text, this thesis calls for scholars to take better care to record copy-specific information in their catalogue descriptions of books.

2.1 Handwritten Marks

The theoretical developments in bibliography and book studies therefore gave increasingly more attention to other agents, besides the writer, who are involved in the production, circulation, and consumption of books. As a result, there was an increase in interest among historians of reading in the traces of readers' engagement with early modern printed books, specifically those found in the margins. When the Houghton Library held an exhibition in 1985, the curator of the exhibition, Roger Stoddard, opened the accompanying catalogue *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained* with the following statement: 'in and around, beneath and across [books] we may find traces, some bold, some indistinct, that could teach us a lot if we could make them out and read them also.'[56] Since the publication of Stoddard's catalogue in 1985, there has been a significant increase in scholarly attempts to analyse users' handwritten marks, classify the different kinds of these marks and defend their importance for our understanding of the circumstances of production, transmission, and consumption of early modern printed texts. Monique Hulvey calls these attempts both 'pleasant and challenging,' implying the difficulties scholars have encountered in reconstructing the *whos*,

[56] Roger E. Stoddard, *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library (Harvard University), 1985), p. 1 <https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:474075566$3i>

the *whens*, the *wheres*, and the *hows* of book use.[57] As I show in the fourth chapter, this has been made particularly difficult in some cases by centuries of negative attitude towards handwritten marginal notes, which in itself had an impact on the interests of the scholarly community, which began to discuss early modern handwritten signs of use only in the last two decades of the previous century, when Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton first published their seminal article '"Studied For Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy.' Examining annotation practices of 'humanistically trained readers,' they examine a corpus of handwritten annotations, authored by one individual, Gabriel Harvey, and found in the margins of his folio edition containing a text by Livy.[58] In their article, Jardine and Grafton show that as a paramount example of humanist learning, Harvey's notes illustrate the activity of reading, not just in terms of the mental effort required to process the texts but also in terms of the physical manifestations of this practice in the shape of handwritten annotations and its influence on contemporary political context. Jardine and Grafton's article focuses on the reading practice of a single, well-read and educated, individual, which is reflected in the kind of annotations he wrote: they are dense, detailed and often contain a complex web of references and responses not only to the text in question but to other sources, displaying rich knowledge and engagement with the content of the text.[59]

The dense and detailed annotations by readers such as Harvey provide historians of reading with an insight into an individual's response to a particular text or author. However, following the theoretical influence of cultural historians like Darnton, who put emphasis on the practices of 'ordinary people,' some scholars have moved away from the practices of

[57] Monique Hulvey, 'Not So Marginal: Manuscript Annotations in the Folger Incunabula', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* (*PBSA*), 92 (1998), 159-76 (p. 168) <https://login.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/login??url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/not-so-marginal-manuscript-annotations-folger/docview/1301171374/se-2>
[58] Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '"Studied For Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy,' *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78 (p. 30) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/650933>
[59] Jardine and Grafton, p. 36.

skilled individual readers, instead calling attention to handwritten annotations made by, to borrow Brayman Hackel's phrase, 'less extraordinary readers.'[60] What she and other scholars interested in users' handwritten marks mean by this is the often anonymous owners and readers of books who left in their copies an array of handwritten notes, which are often random in placement and content, and often significantly less extensive and detailed than those of readers like Harvey.[61] Historians of reading interested in the practices of ordinary readers have taken different approaches to the study of their handwritten traces. Some have taken a broader approach, examining larger collections. Two examples of this approach are Monique Hulvey's analysis of the handwritten marks found in the incunabula which are part of the Smedley collection in the Folger Library, and William Sherman's survey of English Renaissance books in in the STC collection at the Huntington Library.[62] Instead of surveying copies of works by different authors, others have focused on users' marks found in different copies of the same work or in different works by the same author. The pioneering work of Owen Gingerich, who located and examined users' marks in 560 copies of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus*, has been followed by Heidi Brayman Hackel's 2005 examination of early modern readers' handwritten marks found in 151 extant copies of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* printed before 1700.[63] In her analysis, she focuses mostly on those marks which convey users' intellectual engagement with the content of the text. In 2008, Alison Wiggins took a slightly broader approach in her survey of fifty-four early modern printed copies of Chaucer's works, covering different kinds of handwritten marks, ranging from ownership marks to sings of engaged reading. In *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (2008),

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[60] Darnton, *Great Cat Massacre*, p. 3; Brayman Hackel, p. 3.
[61] Bayman Hackel, p. 3; Wiggins, p. 14, Sherman, p. 15.
[62] Hulvey, pp. 159-76; William H. Sherman, 'What did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 119-137.
[63] Owen Gingerich, *An Annotated Census of Copernicus' De Revolutionibus: (Nuremberg, 1543 and Basel, 1566)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Brayman Hackel, see specifically chapter four 'Noting Readers of the Arcadia in Marginalia and Commonplace Books', in *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 137-195.

William H. Sherman builds on the previous surveys of handwritten marks in early modern printed books by also reflecting in more depth than others on the changing attitudes towards these marks throughout history.[64] While their approaches differ, the work of these scholars is united by their methodology of a copy census, which implies locating extant copies of a single text and providing a description of their copy-specific features.[65] Positioning itself within these broader theoretical and methodological strands, this thesis therefore seeks to examine users' handwritten marks in four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*. While ideally a larger corpus would be more representative, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Despite their low number, these four copies nevertheless shed sufficient light on the many unique uses of the book throughout time. Before examining these, I first focus on printed marginal notes in *A Choice of Emblemes*.

[64] William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
[65] David Pearson, 'The Importance of the Copy Census as a Methodology in Book History', in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects: Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscripts Section Munich, 19-21 August 2009*, ed. by Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 321-328 (p. 321).

3. 'In the Margent Sentences in Latin': Printed Marginal Notes in Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*

In the first paragraph of the prefatory address 'To the Reader,' Whitney informs his readers that one of the changes he introduced when preparing the manuscript of *A Choice of Emblemes* for print was the addition of printed marginal notes:

> I have now in diverse places, quoted in the margent some sentences in Latin, & such verses as I thoughte did beste fit the severall matters I wratte of … Firste I noted the same in Latin, to helpe and further some of my acquaintaunce wheare this booke was imprinted, who havinge no taste in the Englishe tonge, yet weare earnestly addicted to the understandinge hereof: and also, wheare I founde any verse, or sayinge agreable with the matter, I did gather the same of purpose for my owne memorie, not doubting but the same may bee also frutefull to others.[66]

Explaining the changes made to the manuscript during the process of preparing it for publication was a common rhetorical move used by early modern writers in their printed addresses to the readers, meaning that Whitney here follows the standard formula.[67] Nevertheless, this passage is relevant for the analysis of the printed marginal notes not only because it provides information about the moment of their inception, but because it also includes a statement about Whitney's motivation for their inclusion and their purpose. The fact that the understanding of his writing by 'some of [his] acquaintaunce' was important to Whitney implies that they were (at least in part) his intended audience. By informing the reader that the purpose of the printed notes was to help his non-English-speaking friends in Leiden, Whitney also points to a specific group of people: the intellectual elite of humanists and scholars gathered around the newly-established university in Leiden, such as Janus Dousa the Elder, Janus Dousa the Younger, Bonaventura Vulcanius, Justus Lipsius, and Petrus Colvius. Such an explicit revelation of his intended audience is at odds with the fact that it appears in a printed address to the reader, the principal function of which was to

[66] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. **3^{v}.
[67] Meaghan J. Browne, 'Address to the Reader', in *Book Parts*, ed. by Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 83-93 (p. 83).

encourage and convince an anonymous crowd of potential buyers to spend money on the book.[68] This paradox points to what Evelyn B. Tribble calls a 'complex and indeterminate position' of early modern writers located in the historical moment during which scribal and print cultures coexisted.[69]

In this chapter, I argue that Whitney uses the preliminary material, such as the dedicatory letter and the address to the reader in conjunction with printed notes in the margins to construct and evoke a community of readers, which, despite the book's appearance in print and its availability to a wider audience, resembles a patronal coterie. By including printed marginalia in Latin, Whitney adds a layer of meaning, which, as I show in the first section, remains inaccessible to some readers, reinforcing the idea of an exclusive group of people, whose understanding and interpretation of the text is welcomed by Whitney. The marginal note therefore functions as a site where Whitney is 'conducting transactions with an imagined readership,'[70] representing a visual border on the page between those conceived as part of the community and those on the outside. While, in part, a result of Whitney's attempt to negotiate his status as an author between the system of patronage and the anonymous marketplace, I argue in the second section that the evocation of a coterie, specifically one located in Leiden, also serves as a form of public diplomacy to enhance the Earl of Leicester's public image in Leiden and the Low Countries in the wake of the English attempt to aid the United Provinces in their fight against Spain. Since printed marginalia does not exist in a vacuum but operates within the context of the main text block by either underwriting or undermining its content,[71] the next section considers Whitney's marginal notes in relation to the text in the main text block as well as in relation to the sources to which the notes refer.

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[68] Browne, p. 93.
[69] Tribble, p. 67.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Tribble, p. 6.

3.1 'If Thou Make the Same Common to All': Forging Readerships through Printed Marginalia

Before examining how Whitney uses the marginal space to construct his readership, it is important to first contextualise the complex relationship between early modern writers and their readers. In 1586, when Whitney published *A Choice of Emblemes* in print, the legal and cultural framework which would label and recognise his activity as professional was still in its earliest stages of development. It is only from the eighteenth century onwards that the first forms of copyright began to appear.[72] Besides the lack of the legal framework, the cultural conception of authorship was still largely indebted to the medieval concept of the *auctor* — an authoritative external source who was 'conferring authority from a historical distance.'[73] It is precisely this historical distance which endowed these sources with authority or *auctoritas*, which, when applied within the context of another text, gave that text textual credibility and authenticity.[74] Importantly, therefore, the authority of these sources did not emerge from the creativity of the individuals who wrote them but from the authenticity which their text acquired with age and consistent use throughout time. As noted by Alastair Minnis, in the medieval period, these sources were supposed to be 'respected and believed.'[75] In a material sense, *auctoritas* also denoted a 'quotation or an extract from the work of an auctor,' such as Boethius, Ovid, Virgil, or other Latin or religious writers.[76] These authoritative voices were therefore also visually present on the pages of manuscripts and, later, in the margins of early modern printed texts. According to William Slights, early printed books inherited the practice

[72] Rietje van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, 2nd edn, ed. by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2020), pp. 423-36 (p. 432); David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 'Authors, Authorship, and Authority', in *An Introduction to Book History*, ed. by David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 66-84 (p. 70).
[73] Tribble, p. 2; on the concept of *auctor* and medieval notions of authorship see, Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
[74] Minnis, pp. 9-13.
[75] Ibid., p. 10.
[76] Ibid., p. 10.

of including and listing *auctores* and their *auctoritas* in the margins in order to 'reinforce the book's authority.'[77] Appearing in the form of printed marginal notes, they authorised the main text block by affirming, summarising, translating, or explaining its content.[78] However, as both Slights and Tribble point out, not all marginal notes underwrote the message conveyed by the main text block: they also disputed it, therefore subverting the authority of the text.[79] The emblems in Whitney's book are also accompanied by a plethora of printed marginal notes which, as noted above, were added to the printed version of the text by Whitney himself to help 'some of [his] acquaintaunce' in Leiden, who did not understand English. They are therefore written in Latin and the majority of them provide a reference to an external classical or religious source, most often to Ovid. [80] As stated by Tung, they enable Whitney to 'exhibit [his] knowledge of the common funds of learning.'[81] However, as I show below, they also have other purposes.

In the absence of the legal and cultural framework that would grant the writers authorial status and ownership of their work, early modern literary production largely depended on patronage. Richard McCabe explains that access to political power and social advancement in the early modern period were 'gained through membership of particularized networks of influence operating at all levels of society.'[82] Literary production was not exempt from this process, and writers like Whitney sought their promoters among members of the political and cultural elite. Specifically, they framed their writing activity within the context of a social network, a coterie, gathered around the patron, who in Whitney's case, was the first Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley.[83] In a period during which literary authority was still largely

[77] Slights, p. 6.
[78] Slights, p. 8; Tribble, p. 6.
[79] Slights, p. 8; Tribble, p. 6.
[80] On the exact number of references to a specific source, see Tung, p. 63. As noted by Tung, by far the most notes refer to Ovid (75), who is followed by Horace (40).
[81] Tung, p. 62.
[82] Richard A. McCabe, *'Ungainefull Arte': Poetry, Patronage and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 3-4.
[83] McCabe, 167; Tribble, p. 8.

dependent on external authorising bodies, this connection to a patron provided the writer and their work with credibility and prestige.[84] Tribble describes early modern writers' activity within the system of patronage as characterised by 'face-to-face exchange,' implying that, as their work circulated within a relatively closed circle, the readers of their text were more or less *personally* known to the writer.[85] While some writers certainly fostered a close contact with their patron, this was not always the case. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's concept of *imagined communities*, McCabe describes early modern literary coteries as 'imagined communities or, at best, highly idealized versions of reality.'[86] In his seminal work, *Imagined Communities: Reflections in the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), Anderson explains that nations are imagined communities since members of a nation, despite the fact that they can never meet or know all of their fellow-citizens, nevertheless feel a part of the community and are connected to other members, since they are able to imagine the shared values which tie them together.[87] Anderson further argues that the emergence of print and its spread in the vernacular helped to spread and consolidate this sense of belonging.[88] For McCabe, literary coteries, as communities of individuals tied together by shared values and interests, operate in a similar way: while described by Tribble as operating on the basis of a 'face-to-face exchange' between members of the community, McCabe shows that not all members of this community, including the patron, knew each other as intimately as their writing might suggest and want the readers to believe.[89] Rather than evidence of a close relationship, an overt appeal to a literary community and an association with a patron in early modern printed books primarily served as a protective device for writers to anchor their creative output safely

[84] McCabe, pp. 199-200.
[85] Tribble, p. 8.
[86] McCabe, p. 199.
[87] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 4th ed. (London: Verso, 2016), p. 6.
[88] Anderson, p. 44.
[89] McCabe, pp. 199-213.

within the realm of a respected public figure whose social standing conferred on them and their work a certain credibility, and, as I show below, protected them from the supposed vulgarity of the anonymous marketplace of print.

The emergence of print complicated the dynamic of patronal relationships and the supposed intimacy of coterie circulation by adding a new element: an anonymous crowd of potential buyers and readers of the book. Several scholars have argued that publication in print was fraught with anxiety for many early modern writers.[90] Wendy Wall situates this anxiety in the supposed threat that print was believed to pose to the social hierarchy in place. She observes that manuscript circulation was associated with a higher social class and represented a 'bid for gentility,' while publication in print was seen as a form of addressing 'a "common" audience.'[91] The addition of the anonymous crowd moved the exchange of ideas away from the supposedly private sphere of 'face-to-face exchange' into the public realm, where the authority and integrity of the text were under threat. The vulgarity and social deterioration, with which publication in print was associated, threatened the gentility associated with circulating work within a literary coterie. [92] Both the idea itself and the reality of a general audience posed a challenge to early modern writers publishing in print, who had to reckon with the prospect of an anonymous crowd of people reading and scrutinising their work, therefore potentially spoiling its meaning.[93] In their work, Tribble, Brayman Hackel, and McCabe all conclude that early modern writers who published in print explicitly or implicitly addressed these anxieties in the printed apparatus, such as the dedicatory letter, the address to the reader, and printed marginalia, all of which accompany the main text. Against the prospect of anonymous and multiple readers they, including Whitney, used the printed

[90] Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 12-16; Tribble, pp. 8-9; Brayman Hackel, p. 79.
[91] Wall, p. 12.
[92] Wall, pp. 15-6; McCabe, pp. 199-200.
[93] Tribble, p. 8; Brayman Hackel, pp. 70-82.

apparatus 'as a protective device, mediating between writer and reader.'[94] Specifically, the printed apparatus enabled writers to forge 'a version of readership desired by [them],' which was often modelled on an exclusive, elite, literary community.[95] In *A Choice of Emblemes*, Whitney uses several elements of the printed apparatus, such as the address to the reader, the prefatory commendatory verses written by members of the Leiden circle, and printed marginal notes, to evoke manuscript circulation within a coterie, therefore anchoring his text within a definable circle characterised by what Tribble terms 'face-to-face ties.'[96] Whitney's attempt to uphold the impression of 'face-to-face exchange' in *A Choice of Emblemes* is most obviously brought to the fore in the printed address to the reader, which appears in the book after the dedicatory letter to Leicester and before the commendatory verses. As illustrated below, Whitney pretends that he is 'divulging something private,' therefore inviting the reader, who crucially is also a potential buyer, to take the position of a 'voyeur.'[97] Whitney's letter opens with the following explanation:

> When I had finished this my collection of Emblemes (gentle Reader,) and presented the same in writinge unto my Lorde, presentlie before his Honour passed the seas into the lowe countries: I was after, earnestlie required by somme that perused the same, to have it imprinted.[98]

In this passage, Whitney not only employs the language of modesty to create an impression that it was others who asked him to have *A Choice of Emblemes* printed, but he also informs the anonymous reader that, prior to their access to this book, it circulated among and was read by both Leicester, the patron, and a circle of other people. This opening therefore immediately establishes an exclusive group of people among whom a prior version of the text circulated before it was made available to the general audience. By evoking previous circulation of this text in manuscript form, the anonymous reader is given the impression that

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[94] Tribble, p. 8.
[95] Tribble, p. 8; Brayman Hackel, p. 132.
[96] Tribble, p. 68.
[97] McCabe, p. 80.
[98] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. **3^{v}.

they are accessing a private exchange of ideas and partaking in an activity associated with the cultural and financial elite. McCabe argues that it is precisely this illusion of accessing something private which created the 'frission of print' and enabled it to thrive as the general audience would be drawn by curiosity to read something which was not initially meant for them.[99] The passage showcases Whitney's attempt to negotiate his readership against the template of a literary coterie.

His attempt to further construct the readership of *A Choice of Emblemes* can be observed in his use of the phrases such as 'gentle Reader' and 'good Reader' to directly address the anonymous readers.[100] Brayman Hackel writes that words such as 'gentle' and 'courteous,' when used in the context of early modern printed addresses to the reader, carry the connotation of high social rank as well as of good behaviour.[101] Within a printed address, they emulate the 'bid to gentility' mentioned earlier which underscored early modern manuscript circulation. By using such epithets, Whitney, draws a connection between 'polite, skilled reading [and] membership in the ruling class.'[102] He therefore more specifically formulates his vision of his readership which is modelled on the idea of an intellectual elite. Addressing the anonymous audience, he simultaneously invites them to aspire to this ideal while also keeping them at bay, which becomes even more apparent towards the end of the address. It is here that Whitney attempts to 'shape and control' the readers' response to and reception of *A Choice of Emblemes*, which, as shown by Brayman Hackel, was a key feature of early modern addresses to the reader.[103] Lamenting the shortcomings of publishing in print, which by default of its medium generates a multiplicity of meanings and opinions, Whitney acknowledges that he will not be able to satisfy all of his readers by stating that 'no

[99] McCabe, p. 80.
[100] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. **3^{v}.
[101] Brayman Hackel, p. 116.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid., pp. 116-125.

cooke, can fitte all mennes tastes, nor anie orator, please all mennes humors.'[104] This acknowledgement is followed by the following statement: 'yet trustinge the learned, and those that are of good judgemente (whome I doe chiefelie desire to bee the perusers hereof) with indifferecie will reade, and then favorablie yeelde their verdicte. I offer this my worke, such as it is, unto them.'[105] Brayman Hackel observes that evoking 'indifferecie' was a way of further characterising the desired community of readers, whose impartiality distinguishes them from the potentially hostile responses of the anonymous crowd.[106] Crucially, in the passage this indifference is ascribed to a specific type of reader: 'the learned, and those that of good judgement,' with judgement referring here to both their favourable opinion and their competence to form one. These examples illustrate how throughout the address to the reader, Whitney negotiates his literary authority by contrasting the anonymous, opinionated, un-learned wider audience with a community of educated wealthy readers.

Besides the address to the reader, the printed marginal notes of early modern printed book were also sites where writers negotiated this complex relationship between the near-personal exchange governing patronal relationships and the impersonal marketplace.[107] In the address to his patron 'the right honorable, my singuler good Lorde and Maister, Robert Earle of Leycester' Whitney uses the language of flattery to evoke his patron's sponsorship of 'learninge [which] woulde be soone put to silence, without the aide and supporte of such noble Peeres as [his] Lordship.'[108] In the list of classical figures who themselves were promoters of learning, Whitney lists Aristotle's role as a tutor to Alexander the Great, who, Whitney explains, was 'highly offended' when he learned that Aristotle made his 'certaine private instructions,' initially intended for Alexander, 'common to all' by making them

[104] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. **4^{v}.
[105] Whitney, USTC, 425939, sig. ***4^{v}.
[106] Brayman Hackel, p. 121.
[107] Tribble, p. 8.
[108] Whitney, USTC, 425939, sig. *2^{r}, sig. *3^{r}.

public.[109] Choosing to withhold Aristotle's response to Alexander, Whitney instead includes a marginal note which refers the readers to a classical source where this correspondence on the subject between Aristotle and Alexander is discussed and quoted: Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*.[110] According to Gellius, Aristotle appeases Alexander by explaining that his lectures 'have both been made public and not made public. For they are intelligible only to those who have heard me.'[111] Aristotle's response implies that even though his writing was made available to a larger public, it is only a select crowd of few who will understand its meaning. This exchange between Aristotle and Alexander becomes an analogy for Whitney's manuscript, which was initially 'designed for one ideal reader,'[112] but which he (or he and Leicester) subsequently chose to publish in print, therefore making it available for consumption to an anonymous crowd of potential buyers and readers.

The fact that Whitney deems Aristotle's response 'worthie to bee imprinted in the mindes of the honorable, that they might bee for ever remembred' while withholding it from the letter suggests that readers' access to this passage in Gellius is key to their understanding of the function and the meaning of this correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander within the context of *A Choice of Emblemes*.[113] By withholding the answer and instead referring the reader to his source, which is visually manifested on the page by means of a marginal note 'Aul. Gell. lib. 20. cap. 4,' Whitney implicitly constructs his community of readers.[114] By means of this note, he invites his readers to consult the passage in Gellius, immediately separating those with access to it from those who do not. Those who indeed follow Whitney's note are given the illusion of an exclusive circle of readers, whose access to

[109] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. *3^{v}.
[110] Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights, Volume III: Books 14-20*, trans. by J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 435 <DOI: 10.4159/DLCL.gellius-attic_nights.1927>.
[111] Gellius, p. 435.
[112] John Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 157.
[113] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. *3^{v}.
[114] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. *3^{v}.

this passage grants them a membership to a privileged group of those who will be able to understand the nuances of Whitney's published text. This community excludes those who do not share Whitney's knowledge or his wealth of references to classical authors or, perhaps, do not have physical access to Gellius. If these individuals could be said to constitute a wider audience, then, they are excluded from this community of readers, even though they are, by the nature of the medium, also the ultimate recipients of the text. The effect of this marginal note and the text it accompanies is twofold. In terms of its location in the dedicatory letter, this passage can be read as a defence of publishing in print the manuscript of *A Choice of Emblemes*, which was initially intended as 'a personal gift' to Leicester.[115] This defence, however, depends on the evocation of a select community of readers who presumably are the intended recipients of this text. It is precisely on the grounds of this exclusivity that Whitney is able to assure Leicester that the prestige of the text he is sponsoring will not be tainted by the new medium; instead, it will remain accessible only to those, who, like Leicester, possess the intellectual and material means to interpret it. However, as explained by McCabe, even though an early modern printed dedication is 'addressed to a particular person or persons, it is not exclusively directed to them.'[116] In fact, by virtue of its medium, a printed dedication is directed at a wider audience, serving as a marketing tool. Whitney's construction of an exclusive group of readers by means of the marginal note could, therefore, also function as a marketing strategy to entice the wider audience: by buying Whitney's books, they gain access to this privileged group. The marginal note therefore not only serves as a conduit for Whitney's communication with his imagined community of readers but also as a tool to win the interest of a wider readership.

[115] McCabe, p. 98.
[116] McCabe, p. 80.

As noted by Brayman Hackel, publication in print created both a real and an imagined thread of 'unsupervised readers,' whose reading might be different from that envisioned by the writer.[117] As shown above, managing readers' response to the text against unwarranted interpretations was therefore one of the key features of early modern printed addresses to the reader. To an extent, Whitney also uses the printed marginal notes to guide his audience towards a specific reading of his emblems, which, crucially, upholds the notions of restricted access and exclusivity discussed above. To illustrate how Whitney guides the reading of a specific emblem by using marginal notes I turn to discussion of Wh 88 with the motto 'De parvis, grandis aceruus erit' (transl. 'From little things, a great sheaf will come') which is dedicated to Whitney's brother.[118] According to Tung, Whitney's source for this emblem was Paradin's *Symbola Heroica*, as he used both his woodcut and the motto for his own emblem.[119] The marginal note is addressed directly to Whitney's brother, as Whitney laments the difficulty of filling the empty space of the margin: 'ut huic vacuo spacio aliquid adiiciam, non facilè occurrit (mi frater) quod & tibi (iam patrifamilias) & huic Symbolo magis conueniat, quàm illud Horatianum ad Iccium' (transl. 'To add something to this empty space, I cannot think of anything more appropriate for you, my brother, who are now the head of the family, and for this symbol, than Horace's advice to Iccius').[120] This marginal note is immediately followed by a reference to the first book of Horace's *Epistles*: '1. Epist. 12,' acknowledging the source of the extract which serves as a closing quatrain for the emblem. The extract is written in Latin and translates as follows: 'If, Iccius, you are enjoying as you should the Sicilian products which you collect for Agrippa, Jupiter himself could not give

[117] Brayman Hackel, p. 78.
[118] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. L4^{v}. Translation by Peter M. Daly, *The English Emblem Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 424.
[119] Tung, p. 81.
[120] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. L4^{v}; translation by me.

you greater abundance.'[121] On the one hand, the quoted passage from Horace appears to reinforce the message put forward in the first verse that 'heapes are made, of manie little thinges' provided, of course, that 'heapes' implies a large quantity of grain bundles and that Whitney's message to his brother is to increase his grain stock.[122] Such a reading of the emblem does somewhat comply with the remainder of Horace's epistle, addressed to Iccius, and not quoted by Whitney. In it, Horace warns Iccius against material wealth, telling him that there is no reason to complain since the nature is abundant and 'if stomach, lungs, and feet are all in health, the wealth of kings can give you nothing more.'[123] The notion of abundance in terms of natural supplies is also reinforced visually by the accompanying woodcut design, shown in Figure 3. However, this reading of the poem is complicated by the note in the margin, which informs the reader, who reads Latin, that Whitney's brother is now the head of the family, suggesting that he needs to take care of them financially. What is on the surface a poem about agricultural abundance, could therefore also be read as Whitney's advice to his brother on how to increase his wealth, for, as he says, 'for mightie men, in time theire wealthe did winne, | Whoe had at firste, as little as the leste.'[124] When this meaning of the poem is read against the passage in the *Epistles*, Horace's advice to Iccius to 'hold aloof' from material wealth becomes somewhat ironic.[125] Perhaps this is Whitney's way of warning his brother against falling prey to wealth too easily when 'fortune's stream suddenly flood [him] with gold.'[126] Crucially, this reading is available only to those who read Latin and also have access to Horace's *Epistles* to read the two passages comparatively. This passage shows Whitney's marginal notes in Latin and references to classical sources do not always reinforce

[121] Horace, *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library, 194 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 329 <DOI: 10.4159/DLCL.horace-satires.1926>
[122] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. L4^{v}.
[123] Horace, p. 329.
[124] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. L4^{v}.
[125] Horace, p. 329.
[126] Horace, p. 329.

the message put forward by the poem; they also subvert it and complicate it, therefore offering a different reading, which, crucially, remains inaccessible to some. By adding these layers of meaning Whitney upholds the illusion of manuscript circulation within a coterie, which, in turn, both generates interest in the public wishing to be privy to this act of private exchange of ideas and, as I argue below, also serves a particular political purpose.

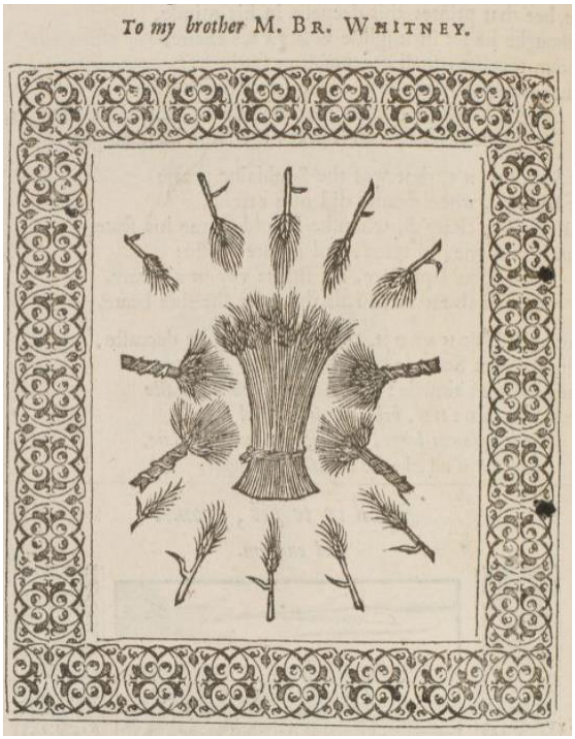


Figure 3: Whitney, HUN, RB 79714, sig. L4^{v}. The woodcut illustration accompanying Wh 88.

3.2 *A Choice of Emblemes* as Public Diplomacy

Discussing patronage, McCabe describes it as a 'dynamic social process endlessly negotiated and renegotiated between the parties concerned.'[127] Rather than a one-way process, patronage operated as an exchange of favour between the two parties — the patron and the writer — involved in this process. It was therefore not only the writer, but also the patron, who gained from this relationship. More specifically, drawing on the work of Helmer Helmers, I would like to suggest that *A Choice of Emblemes* functioned as a form of early modern public

[127] McCabe, p. 4.

diplomacy, helping to further Leicester's mission in the Low Countries. As noted by Whitney himself at the beginning of the dedicatory letter, Leicester was appointed the 'Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of her Majesties forces into the lowe countries' in 1585 as part of the English foreign policy which sought a protestant alliance with the United Provinces against the catholic Spain after the Treaty of Nonsuch in 1585.[128] In his work on early modern public diplomacy and its use of the printed media, Helmers argues that public diplomacy was not limited to government channels only but was also practiced by mobilised members of the civil society.[129] As a poet, Whitney was one of them. As noted by Helmers, public figures on official government business, such as Leicester, were well aware that the success of their campaign depended on their public representation and reception and therefore, they 'sought to manage their appearance carefully.'[130] To this end, they used the medium of print to showcase to the domestic audiences the 'the grandeur of both their state, their monarch, and themselves, through ostentatious display.'[131] While Helmers focuses specifically on different types of printed news, his emphasis on the power of print to simultaneously appeal to both an elite and a wider audience is relevant for the role of *A Choice of Emblemes* within late-sixteenth-century Leiden and the Low Countries.[132] The success of Leicester's campaign in the Low Countries depended on his good reception abroad and, as a patron of Whitney's text, *A Choice of Emblemes* provided a publicly available and visible vehicle for propaganda.

It has previously been suggested that Whitney's text played an important part in Leicester's campaign abroad.[133] For instance, Manning discusses different contenders for the

[128] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. *2^{r}; Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 161.
[129] Helmer Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Towards a New History of News', *Media History*, 22 (2016), 401-420 (p. 414) <DOI: 10.1080/13688804.2016.1174570>.
[130] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', p. 403.
[131] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', p. 403. On the use of print as a strategy of early modern public diplomacy also see Helmer Helmers, 'English Public Diplomacy in the Dutch Republic, 1609-1619', *The Seventeenth Century*, 36 (2021), 413-437 <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2021.1924988>.
[132] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', pp. 412-3. On examples of print as a tool used by authorities to consolidate and uphold power see, *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)*, ed. by Nina Lamal, Jamie Cumby, and Helmer J. Helmers (Leiden: Brill, 2021).
[133] See, Manning, 'A Reassessment'; Bath, pp. 69-89.

initiative to publish *A Choice of Emblemes* in print and, based on the commendatory verses by Colvius and Vulcanius, he argues that it was possibly Leicester himself who ordered it.[134] As mentioned above, Whitney dedicated his book to Leicester, who served as its patron. The visual imagery of Leicester's coat of arms, which appears on the verso side of the title page, and the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' which follows both highlight and celebrate his patronal persona, depicting him as the protector of arts and learning, which would cater to the circle of humanists in Leiden.[135] The circulation of the book in print meant that disseminating this visual imagery was easier, which, as observed by McCabe, would enhance the visibility of early modern patrons, including Leicester.[136] The focus on Leicester in the prefatory material is echoed by the final emblem which closes the volume and is dedicated to Leicester, therefore leaving the readers with a final reminder of his name. By comparing the manuscript and the printed versions of the text, Manning lists the changes Whitney made to the text before its publication in print, arguing that he was motivated by fitting in better with the context of Leicester's stay in the Low Countries.[137] One of the changes he observes is the addition of dedications to members of Leicester's entourage. Such dedications, which often name the individuals in question, and accompany 'Emblemes [which] doe best fitte and pertain' to them would not only make these names and the men behind them familiar with the local audience, but the emblems would also make them appear more human and, possibly, likeable.[138] Their likeability is important as the support of the local audience would have been instrumental to the success of Leicester's campaign. The decision to print the book in Plantin's O*fficina* probably also had a positive

[134] Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 162.
[135] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. *2^{r}-**3^{r}.
[136] McCabe, p. 65.
[137] Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 163.
[138] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. **3^{r}.

impact on the reception of the work since an association with a reputable printer, who was also the official printer of the university, conferred credibility on the text.[139]

Besides the strategies noted above, Whitney also uses the printed apparatus, specifically the printed notes in the margins, to address and flatter specific members of the Leiden circle of humanists and scholars. To exemplify, Whitney dedicates the emblem with the motto 'Inanis impetus' (transl. 'Antagonism that achieves nothing') to a Flemish scholar based in Leiden, Justus Lipsius: 'Clariss. omnig. doctrinae et virtutis laude ornatissimo viro D. Justo Lipsio' (transl. 'with honour, in praise of all learning and virtue of the most distinguished man, D. Justo Lipsio').[140] The emblem consists of two verses, the first of which describes the accompanying image of the barking dog whose barking is 'in vaine' as it remains unheard.[141] It is in the second verse that Whitney reveals the moral of this emblem: the barking dog is a metaphor for envious critics, whose loud criticism, Whitney argues, is in vain, against the divine protection of 'learned' and 'woorthie' men, such as Lipsius.[142] Whitney's overt praise of Lipsius, befitting a poem dedicated to him, is starkly contrasted with the criticism of 'those fooles which baule, and barke,' reinforcing his defence of Lipsius against critics who attack specifically 'learned men, that shine above the reste' like Lipsius does. According to van Dorsten, Lipsius himself was a target of persecution and criticism 'from orthodox-religious quarters' and, by referring to this in the poem, Whitney displays his familiarity with and knowledge of the members of the Leiden circle.[143] However, he is also using the medium of print to show his support of Lipsius as he defends him against the critics. To reinforce his defence, Whitney provides a short quotation from the first book of

[139] See, Voet, p. 166. According to Voet, Raphelengius was named the university printer on 3 March 1586, therefore only a few months before Whitney published *A Choice of Emblemes*.
[140] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. d3^{r}. Translation of the motto by *Alciato at Glasgow* <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A50a164> [accessed 17 June 2023]. Translation of the dedication by me.
[141] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. d3^{r}.
[142] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. d3^{r}.
[143] van Dorsten, p. 136.

Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* in the outer margin adjacent to the second verse: 'ingenium liuor magni detrectat Homeri; Quisquis es, ex illo Zoile nomen habes' (transl. 'Envy disparages great Homer's genius: whoever you are, Zoilus, you get your fame from him').[144] Not only does the content of this reference echo, and therefore authorise, Whitney's defence of Lipsius against the hostile critics, but, by quoting this specific passage, Whitney also implicitly draws a parallel between Lipsius and Homer, both of whom have been a target of envious critics. Through this marginal note, it is not only Whitney's words which are authorised by a classical poet. The praise of Lipsius too is crowned by it. Including this quote therefore reinforces Whitney's criticism of those who build their reputation on others' success by belittling them. By such overt flattery of Lipsius and a defence of him rooted in a marginal classical reference, Whitney shows himself, and, by extension, Leicester as the patron of the work, in favourable light to Lipsius and the circle of humanists gathered around him. The flattery of members of the Leiden circle is therefore used by Whitney, and by extension Leicester, as a strategy to attract the interest of this same circle of people, to promote the book within it, and, in turn, gain support for the Anglo-Dutch alliance as envisioned by Leicester.

The book did indeed attract the interest of the audience. Before revealing how, it is important to mention that it has been previously suggest that the Leiden circle would have been particularly receptive to the format of an emblem book, which would inevitably help Leicester's campaign.[145] Emblem books were a popular genre in the Low Countries, popularised by Plantin and his output of thirteen emblem books in total between 1586 and 1615 in the Leiden branch alone.[146] According to Arnoud Visser, they were particularly popular as 'as a form of learned amusement' for scholars and students alike in university

[144] Ovid, *Art of Love. Cosmetics. Remedies for Love. Ibis. Walnut-tree. Sea Fishing. Consolation*, trans. by J. H. Mozley, rev.by G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, 232 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), p. 203.
[145] van Dorsten, p. 133.
[146] Paul Hoftijzer, 'Emblem Books in Leiden', in *Emblems of the Low Countries: A Book Historical Perspective,* ed. by Alison Adams and Marleen van der Weij (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2003), pp. 79-94 (p. 84).

towns such as Leiden.[147] Examining estate inventories in notarial archives in Leiden, Paul Hoftijzer indeed demonstrates that ownership of emblem books in the city was confined to a rather small readership consisting of intellectuals, businessmen, and students.[148] Neither Visser nor Hoftijzer examine the circulation and ownership of *A Choice of Emblemes* in Leiden specifically. While I discuss the implications of my research into this in more detail in the fourth chapter of this thesis, it is worth mentioning here that book auction catalogues of the library collections of Janus Dousa the Younger and Bonventura Vulcanius from the very beginning of the sixteenth century reveal that both Dousa the Younger and Vulcanius owned copies of Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*.[149] This fact suggests that the book circulated within Leiden and particularly within the community of Leiden humanists after its publication which, I argue, Whitney aspired to address in his text. Therefore, this network of scholars, a coterie, was not merely an imagined literary community, which Whitney rhetorically cultivated and evoked in the preface to *A Choice of Emblemes* and the printed notes in the margins; it was also a fact. His book did indeed reach his intended audience of 'the learned, and those that are of good judgemente.'[150] Their ownership of the book is a sign of what has already been claimed by van Dorsten but the evidence from auction catalogues consolidates even further: Whitney's central place within the Leiden circle of humanists.[151] Dousas' and Vulcanius's ownership of the book suggests that at least within the intellectual

[147] Arnoud Visser, 'Why Did Christopher Plantin Publish Emblem Books?', in *Emblems of the Low Countries: A Book Historical Perspective,* ed. by Alison Adams and Marleen van der Weij (Glasgow: Glasgow Emblem Studies, 2003), pp. 63-78 (pp. 72-3).
[148] Hoftijzer, pp. 90-93.
[149] *Catalogvs Librorvm Iani Ac Georgii Dovsarvm […] Lvgdvni Batavorvm, Ex Officina Thomae Basson, 1604* (Leiden: Thomas Basson, 1604) (Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library (RDK), KB: 79II 39 1:3) <http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online/catalogvs-librorvm-janus-dousa-filius-was-a-classical-scholar-and-librarian-of-leiden-university-sold-by-lowijs-i-elzevier-leiden-thomas-basson-1604;bscobsc02666>; *Bibliotheca Bon. Vulcanii […] Ex Officinâ Typographicâ Ioannis Bauduini. M;DC;X* (Leiden: Jan Bouwensz, 1610) (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB), MW: 112 D 011) <http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online/bibliotheca-bon-vulcanii-collected-by-a-leiden-professor-of-greek-and-latin-sold-by-lowijs-i-elzevier-leiden-jan-bouwensz-1610;bscobsc01209>
[150] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. **4^{v}.
[151] van Dorsten, p. 131; 136.

community the text must have had some appeal, albeit very briefly. The fact that the book was never republished in a second edition has been interpreted as a sign of its failure to achieve what it set out to do.[152] Given the fact that within a short time of its publication Leicester's campaign in the Netherlands was brought to the end, this is perhaps not surprising. However, to determine to what extent the book truly functioned as a form of public diplomacy within the wider social context of the Low Countries and within the limited time of its topicality, more research into its circulation in Leiden and the Low Countries would be needed, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. While this chapter analysed the different ways in which Whitney rhetorically cultivated his readership(s) and demonstrated that *A Choice of Emblemes* did indeed reach some of the members of the sixteenth-century intellectual elite in Leiden, the next chapter looks at the reception of the work among the broader public.

[152] Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 199.

4. Handwritten Marks in Four Copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*

The previous chapter argued that in order to negotiate his literary authority amidst anxiety about publishing for an anonymous audience, Whitney maintains the illusion of manuscript circulation by evoking a community of readers in the printed preliminary apparatus and printed marginal notes. He also employs conventional protective devises to ward off any potential hostile responses to *A Choice of Emblemes*, which, as I show in the second part, could have been damaging given the fact that the book also served as a form of public diplomacy. As I showed, the book did indeed reach some members of the specific 'learned' community, which Whitney desired to address. However, the question which remains is how the ultimate recipient of this text — the anonymous audience — responded to it. This chapter focuses on these often anonymous, 'less extraordinary readers,' whose handwritten interventions on the page are nevertheless a valuable resource for a better understanding of the book's production, circulation, and consumption.[153] In this chapter, I therefore examine users' handwritten interventions, which I term handwritten marks of use, found in four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*: the Huntington, the Illinois, the Leiden, and the Pennsylvania copies of the book.

Drawing on Brayman Hackel's categorisation of users' handwritten marks, I distinguish between three different types of users' marks: marks of ownership, marks of recording, and marks of active reading. Contrary to Whitney's narrowly defined community of readers, this chapter demonstrates that the book was owned and used by a wide variety of users, not all of whom were interested in its rich intertextuality and its value as a literary text. By closely examining different types of marks, I argue that while some users considered their copies valuable possessions, others used them as a convenient writing surface. Because of this distinction in the variety of uses, I follow the example of William H. Sherman, who

[153] Brayman Hackel, p. 3.

advocates for the 'language of "use"' rather than reading, since it acknowledges that not every interaction with a book is a reading, as marks in the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* also confirm.[154] Despite the wide range of uses to which users of *A Choice of Emblemes* subjected their four copies, I maintain throughout this chapter that their handwritten contributions have shaped the text as they adjusted and individualised it to their own needs. Basing my analysis on the work of McKenzie, Darnton, and Chartier, I recognise their contributions as valuable and consider them to be agents in the process of production of *A Choice of Emblemes*. In particular, handwritten marks of active reading are evidence of the users' impact on the future transmission of the text.

4.1 'Richard Carter His Book:' Marks of Ownership in Copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*

Scholars agree that claims of ownership are among the most common kind of users' marks found in copies of early modern printed books.[155] Throughout history, both individual and institutional owners conveyed their ownership in a variety of ways, ranging from handwritten signatures of their names in the margins to non-handwritten means such as pasted-in bookplates on the flyleaves.[156] Since the focus of this chapter are handwritten signs of use, I examine here only those expressions of ownership which have been written by hand. Among these are also marks of institutional ownership, such as modern pencilled-in shelfmarks. Following the example set by scholars such as Heidi Brayman Hackel, William Sherman, and Alison Wiggins who examine the practices of individual historical users, this chapter focuses on claims of ownership made by individuals rather than institutions. However, it is

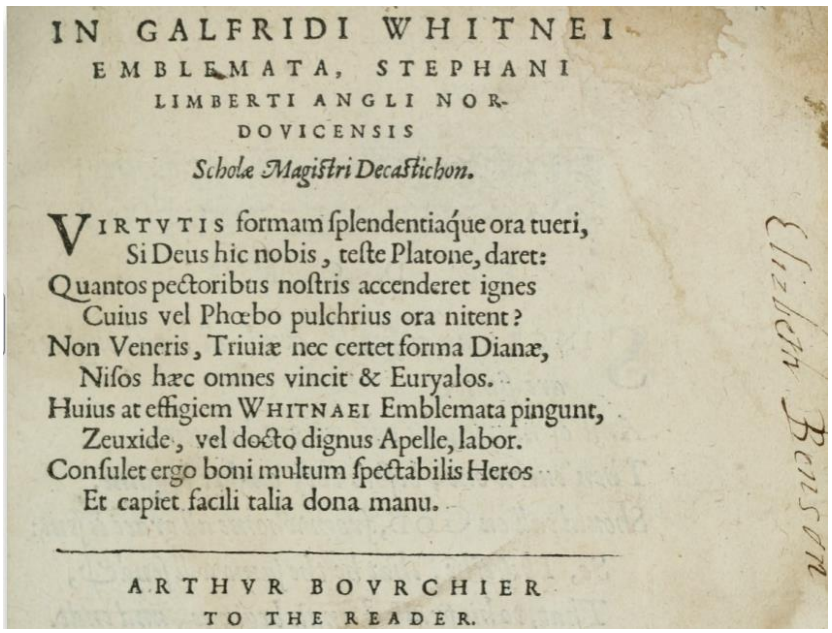
[154] Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. xiii-xiv.
[155] David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (London and New Castle: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1994), p. 12; Brayman Hackel, p. 159; Wiggins, p. 14.
[156] For an overview of other kinds of claims of ownership, including non-handwritten ones, see the third and the fourth chapters in David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History*, pp. 54-131.

particularly these marks, penned by often anonymous and ordinary users, which have also been the most vulnerable to erasure by later booksellers and book collectors, particularly from the nineteenth century onwards. The rise of the desire for erasure of previous marks of use is discussed in more detail in the next chapter, in which I also show that sellers' and collectors' preference for clean copies and their desire to portray themselves as sole proprietors of their books meant that many handwritten claims of previous owners have forever disappeared due to abrasive cleaning or cropping of the pages. Consequently, copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* previously owned by celebrated collectors such as Robert Hoe (1839-1909), who owned the Huntington copy of the book, and James Vernon Watney (1860-1928), who was the owner of the Leiden copy, exhibit no handwritten ownership marks of previous owners, meaning their use as evidence in this section of the chapter is limited.

Handwritten signatures and claims of ownership are by far the most common in the Illinois copy of the book. Five different users of this copy have inscribed their names at nine different locations throughout this copy. Even though users' signatures are most commonly found on flyleaves and on the title page,[157] the users of the Illinois copy decided to sign their names elsewhere in the book, perhaps well-aware that the initial leaves of the book are particularly vulnerable to damage, both accidental and intentional. Referring to intentional damage of signatures in early modern printed books during the early modern period, Brayman Hackel explains that as a number of signatures from different owners and users accumulated on the pages of a book, these 'competing claims to ownership,' were often a target of deliberate erasure.[158] She goes on to say that early modern owners and users of books circumvented these competing claims by inserting their signatures — often more than one — in the middle of the book.[159] Repeated signatures embedded in the pages of the book

[157] Brayman Hackel, p. 160; Pearson, p. 12.
[158] Brayman Hackel, p. 160.
[159] Ibid., p. 160.

are less vulnerable to being crossed out, compared to those appearing on the title page or the flyleaves, as they require a later user to actually leaf through the entire text in their search: a process which not every user is prepared to undergo.[160] A seventeenth-century user of the Illinois copy of *A Choice of Emblemes*, Elizabeth Benson, was possibly concerned with the endurance of her claim to ownership, as she repeatedly signed her name throughout the book. A signature of her name in italic hand first appears at the beginning of the text, located in the margin of the prefatory poems dedicated to Whitney by Stephen Limbert and Arthur Bourcheri, as shown in Figure 4.[161] It then appears again towards the middle of the first part of the book and again in the second part of the book, where it is also crossed out (see Figure 5).[162]


IN GALFRIDI WHITNEI
EMBLEMATA, STEPHANI
LIMBERTI ANGLI NOR-
DOVICENSIS
Scholæ Magistri Decastichon.

VIRTVTIS formam splendentiaque ora tueri,
Si Deus hic nobis, teste Platone, daret:
Quantos pectoribus nostris accenderet ignes
Cuius vel Phœbo pulchrius ora nitent?
Non Veneris, Triuiæ nec certet forma Dianæ,
Nisos hæc omnes vincit & Euryalos.
Huius at effigiem WHITNAEI Emblemata pingunt,
Zeuxide, vel docto dignus Apelle, labor.
Consulet ergo boni multum spectabilis Heros
Et capiet facili talia dona manu.

ARTHVR BOVRCHIER
TO THE READER.

Elizabeth Benson

Figure 4: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. ***2^{r}. Signature of Elizabeth Benson in the outer margin of the Illinois copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586).

[160] Brayman Hackel, p. 160.
[161] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. ***2^{r}.
[162] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. H4^{r}; sig. P3^{v}.

Figure 5: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. P3^{v}. Signature of Elizabeth Benson crossed out. Cropped in the original.

Discussing repeated signatures found in extant copies of Sidney's *Arcadia*, Brayman Hackel enquires whether they were added at the moment of acquisition or during the process of reading, and the same question could be asked about Benson's signatures in her copy of *A Choice of Emblemes*.[163] In the absence of any other biographical information it is impossible to provide an answer to this question. However, the presence of Benson's signature at multiple locations throughout the book strengthens her ownership claim and reveals a user who engaged with her book by means of leafing through it in search of a suitable spot for her signature.

Similar to Benson's example, the location of Richard Carter's signature in the Illinois copy gives rise to questions regarding the moment of signing: did he sign his copy when he first acquired it or was he more intentional in the choice of his signature in the course of his reading? Carter signed his copy towards the middle of the first part of the book, therefore securing his claim to ownership from damage or erasure by embedding it deep into the first

[163] Brayman Hackel, p. 160.

volume. He uses a common format to express his ownership: 'Richard Carter His Book.'[164] Carter's choice of words here indicates that he was indeed not only a user but also the owner of the book at some point in its history. Crucially, his signature appears a page after he had copied two lines of Wh 45 into the lower margin of the page.[165] Given the thematic similarity of Wh 45 and Wh 47, I would like to suggest that he was intentional in the choice of the suitable location for his inscription. Before Carter's signature appears in the book, his handwriting can already be found at the bottom of Wh 45, which has as its motto 'Furor & rabies' (transl. 'Fury and madness').[166] The emblem addresses the 'ire' of 'crewell kinges' such as Agamemnon.[167] According to the poem, Agamemnon's shield is an expression of his 'inwarde bloodie thoughte' as it depicts a 'ramping Lion' and contains the following verse, which Carter copied almost verbatim into the lower margin of the page: 'Mannes terror this, to feare them that behoulde: Which shielde is borne, by Agamemnon boulde.'[168] Due to the fact that Carter's handwritten note is cropped both on the sides and below, it is impossible to know whether Carter provided any further commentary on this excerpt and, consequently, to determine to what extent or in what way he engaged with it. Nevertheless, the fact that Carter singled out this passage and copied it into the margin suggests that these two lines in particular piqued his interest and that he was in some way intrigued by this particular emblem.

One page later, Carter provides his signature at the bottom of Wh 47 with the motto 'Marte & arte' (transl. 'By valour and skill').[169] This poem thematically echoes Wh 45, while approaching the topic from a different perspective. Unlike Wh 45, which warns against the

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[164] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. F4^{r}; For an overview of different kinds of handwritten ways in which early modern owners acknowledged their possession of a book, see Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History*, p. 12.
[165] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. F3^{r}.
[166] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. F3^{r}. Translation by Daly, p. 424.
[167] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. F3^{r}.
[168] Ibid.; Carter's only changes to Whitney's words are the omission of the final 'e' in 'feare' and 'shielde,' therefore not yielding any substantial change of meaning.
[169] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. F4^{r}. Translation by Manning, 'A Reassessment', p. 177.

unstoppable cruelty and fury of warriors like Agamemnon, Wh 47 condemns the use of physical power alone to achieve political victories. This is brought to the fore in the first verse in which Whitney states that 'strengthe alone, dothe unto ruine ronne,' arguing that victory and lasting fame can only be achieved when physical strength is accompanied by counsel and a well-thought-out strategy.[170] By referring to literary portrayals of famous warriors and their counsels, such as Diomedes and Ulysses, the emblem further reinforces the necessity of both. The emblem conveys the idea that it is precisely the use of both — intellect and physical power — to achieve goals which distinguishes good leaders from the bad, as illustrated by the following lines: 'where courage great, and consaile good doe goe, | With lastinge fame, the victorie is wonne.'[171] Given the thematic similarity of the two emblems and Carter's interaction with Wh 45, it is possible that he chose to add his signature below Wh 47 on purpose, since by signing his name under this particular emblem which discusses the pitfalls of physical power alone and discusses the values of good leadership, Carter symbolically inscribes his name into the tradition of values of great leadership.

While Carter's and Benson's signatures are most likely expressions of their ownership of the Illinois copy of *A Choice of Emblemes*, the following example from the same copy illustrates how difficult categorisation of handwritten marks in early modern printed books can sometimes be. Two names — Sarah Ireland and Thomas Staunton — first appear together at the bottom of a page, in the lower margin, below Whitney's printed address to the reader, as shown in Figure 6.[172] Figure 7 shows the same two names repeated on the following page in the outer margin, alongside poems dedicated to Whitney.[173]

[170] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. F4^{r}.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid., sig. **4^{v}.
[173] Ibid., sig. ***1^{r}.

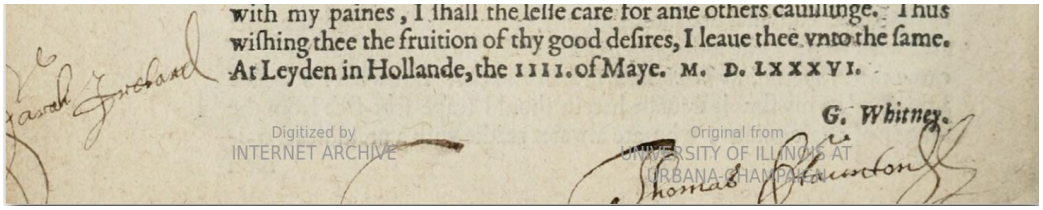

Figure 6: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. **4^{v}. The signatures of Sarah Ireland and Thomas Staunton below the address to the reader.

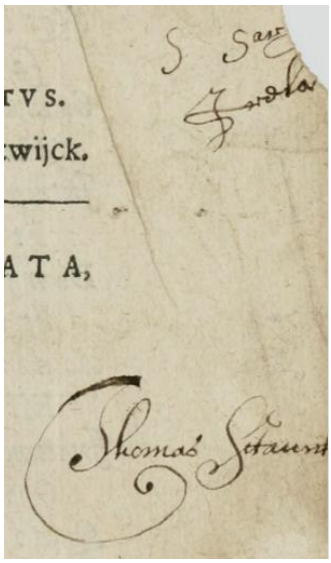

Figure 7: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. ***1^{r}. The signatures of Ireland and Staunton on the following page.

Both names appear to be written in a late Elizabethan secretary hand. The w-like shaped *r* and the open backward *e* in 'Sarah' and 'Ireland' are both typical of the late Elizabethan secretary hand, as are the pronounced descenders and ascenders in *h*, *l*, and *d*. The embellished capital *t* and *s* in 'Thomas' and 'Staunton' also appear similar to the late-sixteenth century secretary hand, though the capital *s* is slightly more elongated, potentially indicating a transitional hand. The shape of the capital *s* with its flourish at the top in 'Staunton' closely resembles that in 'Sarah' shown in Figure 6, suggesting that the two names were either written by the same hand or that Ireland imitated Staunton's handwriting in an attempt to learn and practice her writing skills. That this was most likely a lesson in handwriting is also suggested by the presence of Ireland's name earlier in the copy, as shown in Figure 8, which is written in a significantly less confident hand than her name at the end of Whitney's address to the reader.[174] A closer look at the initial capital *s* in the figure below reveals a slight line extending above the first loop, as if attempting to imitate the initial *s* flourish in 'Staunton' shown above. The capital *s* and the final *h* in 'Sarah' shown in Figure 8 display italic rather than secretary features,

[174] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. *3^{r}.

implying that this was not only a lesson in handwriting but an attempt at practicing the secretary hand.

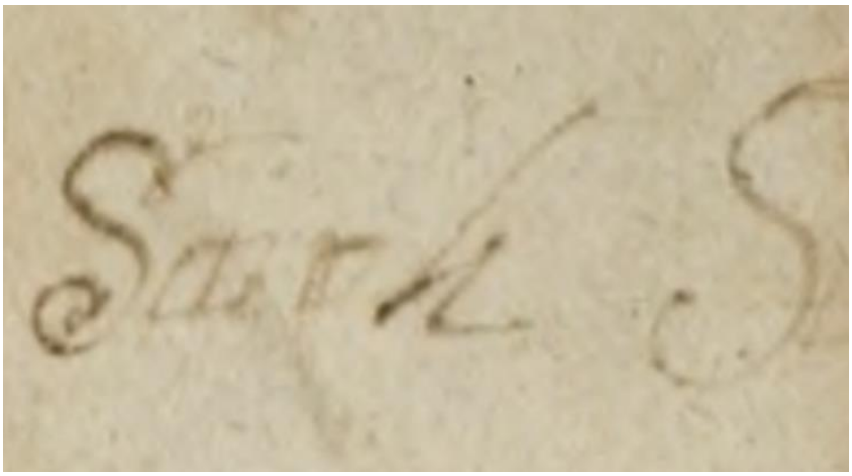

Figure 8: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. *3^{r}. The first appearance of Ireland's first name.

Ireland's and Staunton's signatures illustrate the thin line between the different types of handwritten marks found in the margins of early modern printed books. While they are signatures, these inscriptions are probably not expressions of their ownership of this copy as are Carter's and Benson's. Since Ireland and Staunton were most likely practising their handwriting, their signatures could also be classified as marks of recording, which I discuss in more detail in the following section. While not ownership claims, the presence of these two names in the book nevertheless paints a picture of the different kind of uses of copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*, as well as of the different kind of audiences it attracted. Carter made thoughtful choices regarding the placement of his signature, suggesting that he valued his copy in a way that Ireland and Staunton did not. Their extant interventions in the margins do not reveal a personal relationship with the Illinois copy as a material object or with the ideas conveyed in the printed text itself. Instead, the margins of this particular copy offered them a blank space to test their pens and improve their writing skills.

4.2 'Marks of Recording' in Copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*

As noted above, Ireland's and Staunton's signatures are not necessarily expressions of book ownership and instead bear the characteristics of what Brayman Hackel terms 'marks of recording.'[175] This term denotes handwritten marks which do not engage with the content of the printed text they accompany. Brayman Hackel's term conveys the duality of this type of marks: one the one hand, they contextualise the physical value of the book within a given community as they record important events or deeds and, on the other, they convey that the margins of early modern printed books are accessible and convenient writing surfaces, which in the case of this thesis, were used to practice writing, draw, and compose poetry.[176] The users of *A Choice of Emblemes* examined in this thesis did not find the blank spaces in their copies to be suitable sites for recording major events in their lives, such as births or marriages, since no examples of such notes are present in any of the four copies. However, they did make use of the margins to practise writing, to doodle, and write poetry. As has been the case with ownership marks, the Pennsylvania and the Illinois copies of the book contain the bulk of this type of marks. Several users of these two copies used the blank spaces in the margins to test their pens.[177] Perhaps they did so in preparation to practise their alphabet, as did a user of the Illinois copy in the outer margin of Wh 91, as seen on Figure 9.[178] Unlike this user, who used the italic hand and kept their book upright, the user of the Pennsylvania copy, writing in secretary, turned their copy sideways to fit the letters into a single row.[179]

[175] Brayman Hackel, p. 138.
[176] Brayman Hackel, p. 138.
[177] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig.*3^{r}, sig. F4^{r}, sig. L1^{r}, sig. L1^{v}, sig. L2^{r}, sig. L3^{v}, sig. M4^{r}, sig. P2^{v}, sig. P3^{r}, sig. P4$^{r\text{-}v}$; Whitney, PUL, PR2388.W4C5 1586, sig. H2^{v}, sig. a3^{r}, sig. b1^{r}, sig. b3^{r}.
[178] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. M2^{r}.
[179] Whitney, PUL, PR2388.W4C5 1586, sig. F1^{r}.

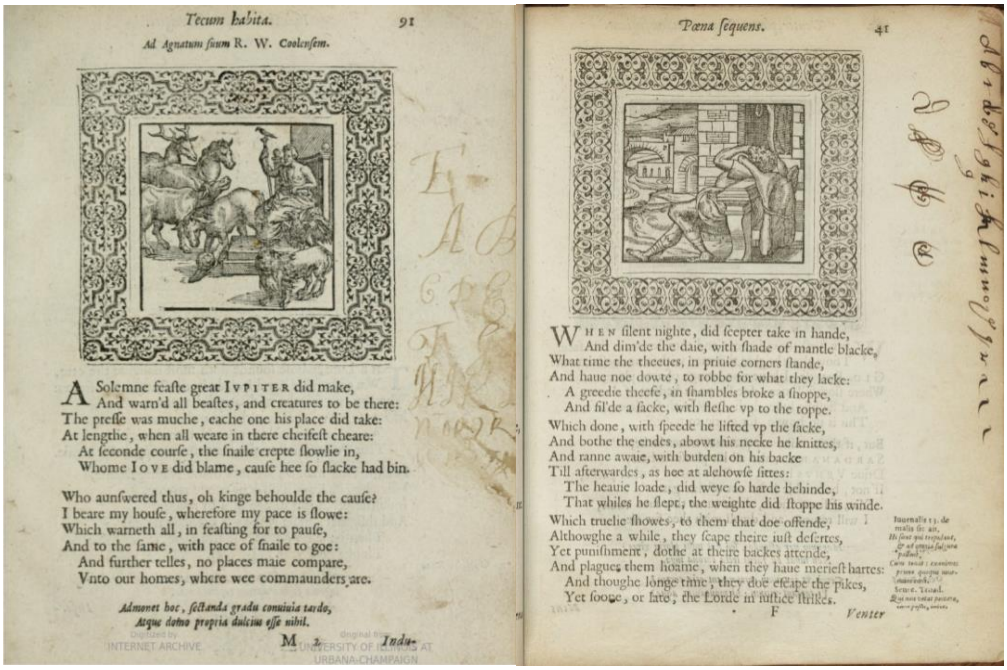

Figure 9: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. M2^{r} (on the left). Whitney, PUL, PR2388.W4C5 1586, sig. F1^{r} (on the right). Users of the Illinois and the Pennsylvania copies practising the alphabet.

In comparison to the Illinois user, they were also more persistent in their practice as penmanship exercises in the same hand appear at several other locations in the book.[180] It seems that the individual behind these drills particularly struggled with the letter *g*, since it is not only the only letter which they write twice when practising the entire alphabet, but they also dedicate an entire page to perfecting it.[181] While not providing an insight into the process of reading *A Choice of Emblemes*, these users' marks nevertheless point to a different type of process in which the individuals behind them partook: the process of learning. The blank margins of their copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* provided a suitable writing support for this process.

Besides practising their handwriting, the blank margins of the four copies are also sites of artistic expression. For instance, one user of the Illinois copy used the empty margin

[180] Random letters in the same hand appear at two other locations in the Pennsylvania copy, see Whitney, PUL, PR2388.W4C5 1586, sig. D3^{r}, sig. b4^{r}.
[181] Whitney, PUL, PR2388.W4C5 1586, sig. b4^{r}.

to express their artistic talent as they drew a figure next to the woodcut of Wh 97.[182] Another, textual rather than visual, expression of artistic skill can be found in the Leiden copy. The blank margin next to the woodcut of Wh 116 provided ample space for an anonymous user to compose a poem. The hand is transitional, exhibiting both late sixteenth century secretarial features such as the w-shaped *r* and the final open-bodied *d* with a loop as well as italic features. Specifically, the capital *a* and *d* in 'Amidist' and 'Death' are more italic in shape. Due to the cropping of the margin, only seven lines of verse, positioned perpendicular to the woodcut, remain, as shown in Figure 10.

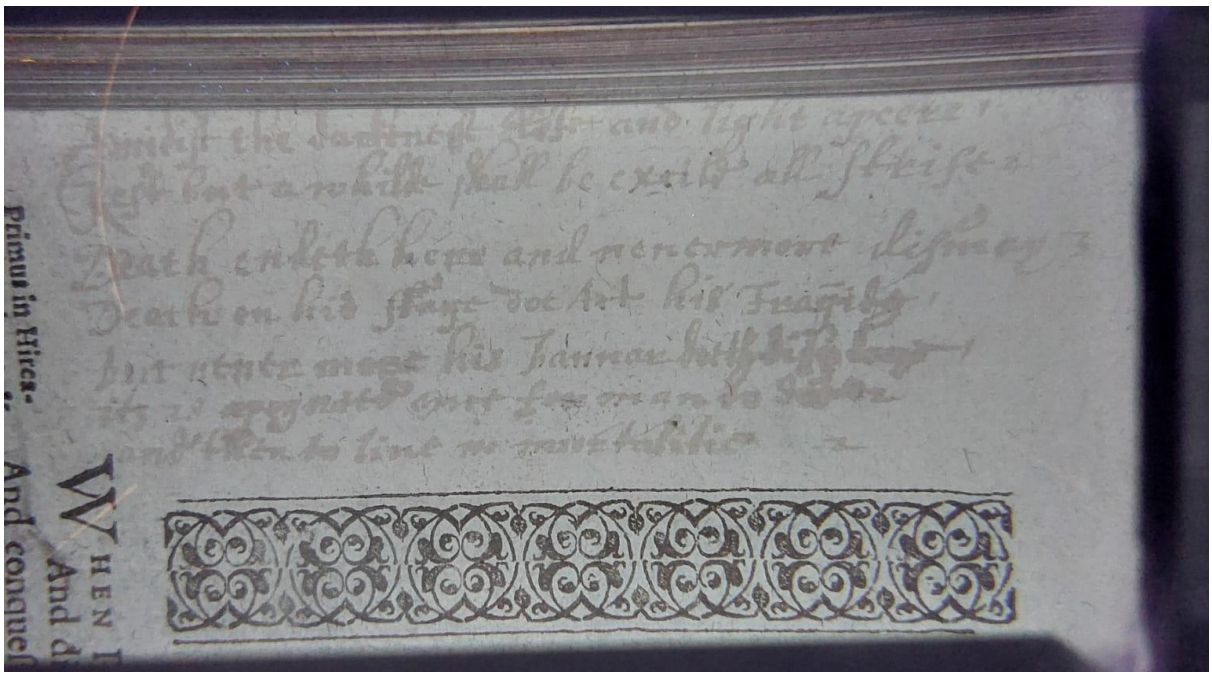

Figure 10: Whitney, UBL, 20643 F 10, sig. P2^{v}. Handwritten lines of verse in the outer margin of the Leiden copy under UV light.

The ability to read this handwritten note is made difficult by the attempts of nineteenth-century collectors whose desire for clean copies resulted in abrasive washing and bleaching of the pages, causing irreversible damage to the ink. The use of modern technology such as a UV light, however, renders the text visible, enabling researchers to access a glimpse of this

[182] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. N1^{r}.

user's engagement with his copy of the book, which, otherwise, would have been erased from history: 'Amidist the darknese life and light apeere | Rest but a whille shall be exilld all strife | Death endeth here and nevermore dismay | Death on his stage doe .. his Tragidy | but never more his banner doeth {….} {….} | its is {.}pog{..}ed {… … .. . … ….} | and then to live in imortalitie.'[183]

4.3 'Marks of Active Reading' in Copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* 1: Reference Apparatus

Unlike marks of recording discussed above which do not directly refer to and respond to the printed text they accompany, handwritten signs of use discussed in this section do precisely this: they directly engage with the content of the main text. The four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* examined in this chapter do not contain the kind of copious annotations which are a product of 'goal-orientated' reading performed by professionally trained readers such as Gabriel Harvey.[184] Even though they are not a product of an identifiable professional scholar, the variety of users' interactions with Whitney's text in the four copies examined in this chapter nevertheless provides an insight into their approaches and attitudes towards *A Choice of Emblemes*. To denote users' marks which engage with the content of the main text and therefore provide a glimpse into 'a reader's intellectual interaction with a book,' Brayman Hackel uses the term 'marks of active reading.[185] According to her, users' handwritten summaries, cross-references, corrections, and reference guides are all visual manifestations of the 'active intellectual process' of reading a book.[186] In my discussion of the four copies of the book, I adopt Brayman Hackel's term, not only because it lends itself well to the kind of user's marks found in the four copies but because it also highlights the activity of reading.

[183] Whitney, UBL, 20643 F 10, sig. P2^{v}.
[184] Jardine and Grafton, p. 30.
[185] Brayman Hackel, p. 137.
[186] Brayman Hackel, pp. 137; 162.

What I mean by this is not only the intellectual rigour involved in the processing of information on the page, but also 'activity' in the physical sense of lifting the pen and taking the initiative to respond to the text. Following Brayman Hackel's categorisation of users' marks of active reading, two kinds of handwritten expressions of an engaged reading practice can be found in the four copies of Whitney's book examined in this chapter: a reference guide to Whitney's sources and several instances of textual correction.

Unlike Whitney himself, who only occasionally refers to his sources in the printed marginal notes, the author of the extensive handwritten apparatus found in the Illinois copy supplied annotations which refer to the source of almost every single one of Whitney's emblems. Always located in the outer margin, next to the woodcut, the majority of these references have been affected by cropping. However, in most cases enough writing has been preserved to be able to reconstruct the entire note. The consistency of this reference guide throughout the copy indicates that to this user, whose identity is anonymous, the text's intertextuality was an important feature worth recording in its margins. Even though the user does not reveal their identity, their reference guide, written in the humanist italic hand in Latin, suggests they were an educated and well-read user, who had an interest in and knowledge of the continental emblem tradition. They skilfully navigate a number of continental emblem books used by Whitney, as they identify individual source-emblems that inspired Whitney's text. In his printed marginal notes accompanying most of his emblems, Whitney only rarely makes overt references to the source of each emblem. Therefore, in the absence of printed references, this user is forced to leaf through every single one of Whitney's sources mentioned in the preface in search of the matching emblem. Such a method indicates that this user most likely had access to a library, either personal or institutional, which was well-stocked with continental emblem books.

The Illinois user takes various approaches to refer to Whitney's sources. In cases where Whitney copied both the motto and the woodcut directly from the source, the user acknowledges this by referring to the author of the source and the location of the source-emblem. For instance, the source of Wh 27 is Alciato's emblem 50, which the user of the Illinois copy records in the following way: 'Ex Andrea Alcia{..} Emblema 50.'[187] Similarly, they indicate that the source of Wh 122 is an emblem from *Picta Poesis* (1552) by Barthélemy Aneau, as shown in Figure 11.[188] Similar constructions, always beginning with 'Ex' or 'In,' are used for all the other sources that this user acknowledges: Hadrianus Junius, Claude Paradin, Johannes Sambucus, and Paolo Giovio. These examples and the consistent presence of the reference guide throughout the copy indicates that attributing sources mattered to this particular user.

Figure 11: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. Q1^{v}. User's reference to Aneau's *Picta Poesis* (1552). Cropped in the original.

[187] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. D2^{r}.
[188] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. Q1^{v}.

However, this user is not interested only in Whitney's sources, but also in his reworking of the source material. Specifically, the user takes care to record Whitney's changes to the mottos found in his sources. In most cases in which Whitney copied the woodcut but changed the motto, the user of the Illinois copy provides the original motto. An example of this is Wh 51 for which Whitney drew on emblem 33 by Hadrianus Junius.[189] In his adaptation of Junius, Whitney used the same woodcut but changed the motto from 'Boni adulterium' (transl. 'The adulteration of what is good') to 'Vitae, aut morti' (transl. 'For life or for death').[190] The attentive user of the Illinois copy notes this change by supplying Junius's motto written above the reference to the source itself, as shown in Figure 12.

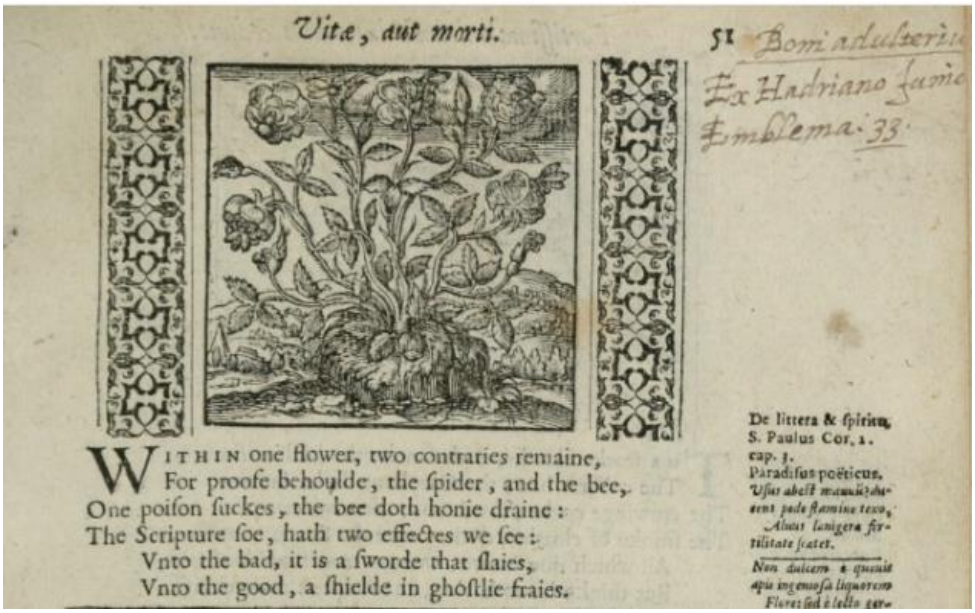

Figure 12: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. G2^{r}. Handwritten reference apparatus referring to Hadrianus Junius.

A similar example of reworking can be seen in Wh 137, the source of which is Alciato's emblem 43. Alciato's motto for this emblem is 'Spes proxima' (transl. 'Hope at hand'),

[189] Hadrianus Junius, *Hadriani Iunii Medici Emblemata* (Antwerp: Chrostpher Plantin, 1565). (Urbana, University of Illinois, Emblems 0036), sig. C4^{r} <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuo.ark:/13960/t74t7794r> [accessed 16 June 2023]

[190] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. G2^{r}; translation for Junius's motto by *French Emblems at Glasgow* <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FJUb033> [accessed 16 June 2023]; translation for Whitney's motto by Daly, p. 428.

which Whitney changed to ‘Constantia comes victoriae’ (transl. ‘Perseverance a companion of victory’).[191] As in the previous example, the user notes this change by supplying Alciato’s motto alongside the reference to the emblem itself. Noting Whitney’s reworking of his sources, this user shows interest in and foregrounds Whitney’s (creative) process of adaptation. Acknowledging the changed motto, however, could also be a conscious step in the production of this handwritten apparatus which serves as a reference tool for both the Illinois user as well as other (later) users who may also own this copy. By providing a guide to Whitney’s sources, the user enhances the findability of the source-emblems should this or any future user be interested in a comparative reading of Whitney and his sources. The two cases discussed here are not isolated instances of the Illinois user noting Whitney’s changes to the source-motto, but they serve as good examples of their engaged and active reading practice as they customised their copy for continued use.

Besides acknowledging Whitney’s changes to the source-mottoes, the Illinois copy user, by supplying the reference apparatus, also provides a guide to the intricate web of Whitney’s sources, both for the contemporary reader and the modern scholar. This, in turn, sheds light on their approach to reading. For instance, the source of Wh 98b is Paradin’s emblem with the same motto ‘virescit vulnere virtus’ (transl. ‘Virtue thrives from wounds’), as seen in Figure 13.[192] Adapting Paradin’s emblem for *A Choice of Emblemes*, Whitney used both his woodcut design and the motto (see Figure 14).[193]

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[191] Andrea Alciati, *Omnia Andreae Alciati v.c. Emblemata: Cum Commentariis, Quibus Emblematum Omnium Aperta Origine, Mens Auctoris explicatur, & Obscura Omnia Dubiaque Illustrantur* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1577). (Urbana, University of Illinois, 853 AL170e 1577), sig. N2^{v} <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuo.ark:/13960/t1hh74j9q> [accessed 16 June 2023]. Translation by *Alciato at Glasgow* <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/emblem.php?id=A21a043> [accessed 16 June 2023]; Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. S1^{r}. Translation by Daly, p. 424.
[192] Claude Paradin, *Symbola Heroica* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1567), sig. T6^{r} <https://books.google.nl/books?id=KRXA0_o7trUC&hl=sl&pg=PA299#v=onepage&q=virtus&f=false> [accessed 16 June 2023]. Translation by Daly, p. 428.
[193] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. N1^{v}.

Figure 13: Paradin, *Symbola Heroica* (1567). Woodcut illustrations accompanying 'virescit vulnere virtus.'

Instead of referring to Paradin's *Symbola Heroica*, which they definitely had access to judging by their previous references, the Illinois copy user refers to Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), as shown in Figure 14.

Figure 14: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. N1ᵛ. Handwritten reference to Paulo Giovio and Gabriele Simeoni next to Wh 98b in the Illinois copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586). Cropped in the original.

Even though they do not provide the title of the work, they are most likely referring to Giovio's treatise *Dialogo dell'Imprese Militarie et Amorose* (1555). According to Manning, Giovio was an Italian historian and antiquarian, whose *Dialogo* is frequently recognised as

the first treatment of the genre of *imprese* in writing.[194] *Dialogo* was reprinted for publication several times before the end of the sixteenth century and was often printed alongside other treatise on *imprese*, including Lodovico Domenichi's *Ragionamento Nel Quale Si Parla d'Impresse d'Armi, e D'Amore* (1556) and Gabriele Simeoni's *Le Imprese Heroiche e Morali* (1559).[195] A 1574 Italian edition containing the three works by Giovio, Domenichi, and Simeoni does indeed include a woodcut which visually strongly resembles the one used by Paradin and later by Whitney, as shown in Figure 15 below.[196] It appears in Simeoni's section of the book, which, as seen in the figure above (Figure 14), the Illinois user also carefully notes. As noted by the Illinois user it is titled 'Virtu Oppressa' (transl. 'Virtue suppressed') and it depicts a man wandering in the fields.[197] The same design already appears in the first edition of Simeoni's *Le Imprese* from 1559.[198]

Figure 15: Paolo, Simeoni, and Domenichi, *Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari et Amorose* (1574). Woodcut illustration displaying the motto 'virescit vulnere virtus.'

[194] Manning, *The Emblem*, p. 73.
[195] Manning, *The Emblem*, p. 77; for the various editions of the three works see, Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964), pp. 352-354.
[196] Paolo Giovio, Gabriele Simeoni, and Lodovico Domenichi, *Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari et Amorose* (Lyon: Appresso Guglielmo Rouillio, 1574). (Urbana, University of Illinois, 853 G43Od1574), sig. N3^{r} <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuo.ark:/13960/t22b9sw9b> [accessed 16 June 2023]
[197] Giovio, Simeoni, Domenichi, sig. N3^{r}.
[198] Gabriele Simeoni, *Le Imprese Heroiche et Morali Ritrovate da M. Gabriello Symeoni Fiorentino, Al Gran Conestabile di Francia* (Lyon: Appresso Gvglielmo Rovillio, 1559), sig. e1^{r} <https://archive.org/details/leimpreseheroich00sime/page/n4/mode/1up> [accessed 16 June 2023]

The illustration in both editions of Simeoni's work includes the motto 'virescit vulnere virtus' (transl. 'Virtue thrives from wounds'), adopted by both Paradin and Whitney in their own emblems. Paradin and Whitney not only use this same motto but the design of the woodcut used in both their emblems is heavily inspired by Simeoni's. Therefore, by referring to Giovio and by attributing this design to Simeoni, the user of the Illinois copy shows that they are not interested only in Whitney's reworking of the text itself but also in the visual rhymes between his emblems and the work of other visual artists.

An even more complex web of references can be found next to Wh 140. The handwritten annotation in the left outer margin refers to Whitney's source-emblem 'Canis queritur nimium nocere' (transl. 'A dog complains that excess harms') by Sambucus.[199] While Whitney used the same woodcut depicting a woman beating a dog, he changed Sambucus's motto to 'Feriunt summons sulmina montes' (transl. 'Lightning strikes the mountain tops').[200] According to Mason Tung, this motto, otherwise attributed to Horace, already appears in the collection at an earlier point, as an end verse to Wh 59.[201] Instead of attributing this motto to Horace, the user of the Illinois copy once again refers to Giovio (see Figure 16), whose discussion of the first illustration in the 1559 edition of *Dialogo* does indeed contain this same motto.[202] The fact that the user of the Illinois copy refers to so many different sources to contextualise one emblem sheds light on their method of reading, suggesting that they simultaneously consulted several books at the same time. Even if this was not the case, they certainly returned to the same emblem again and again as they supplied

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[199] Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata, Et Aliqvot Nvmmi Antiqui Operis, Ioan. Sambvci Tirnaviensis Pannoni* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1576), sig. L6^{v} <https://books.google.nl/books?id=1H9ZHCVM0hcC&printsec=frontcover&hl=sl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=snippet&q=nocere&f=false> [accessed 16 June 2023]. Translation by French Emblems at Glasgow < https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FSAb130> [accessed 16 June 2023]

[200] Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. S2^{v}. Translation by Daly, p. 424.

[201] Tung, pp. 44-5.

[202] Paolo Giovio and Lodovico Domenichi, *Dialogo Dell'Imprese Militari et Amorose di Monsignor Giovio Vescouo di Nocera; Con un Rafionamento di Messer Lodouico Domenichi, nel medesimo soggetto* (Lyon: Appresso Gvglielmo Roviglio, 1559), sig. b1^{v} <https://archive.org/details/impresemilitarie00giov/page/10/mode/1up> [accessed 17 June 2023]

new references to different sources. This suggests their sustained interest in Whitney's text and, possibly, the act of re-reading it. To borrow from Brayman Hackel's discussion of readers' notes found in Sidney's *Arcadia*, by providing this reference apparatus, the user of the Illinois copy not only places Whitney's book 'in the context of other books' but also demonstrates that in their opinion Whitney's work 'merited this kind of scrutiny.'[203]

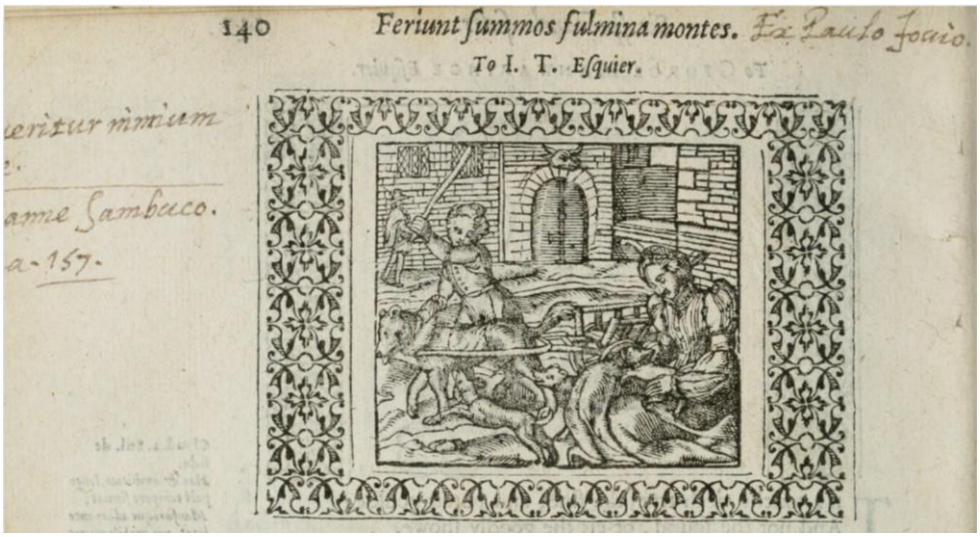


Figure 16: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. S2^{v}. Handwritten reference to Sambucus and Giovio in the Illinois copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586).

A much more partial example of a user interested in acknowledging Whitney's sources is the user of the Huntington copy. Rather than recording the majority of Whitney's sources as the user of the Illinois copy, the Huntington user visually displays their interest in or knowledge of only one of Whitney's sources: Alciato's *Emblemata*. While inconsistent in their application of the apparatus, they provide several references to Alciato's emblems, which they record in the narrow space between the central design of the woodcut and its border, as seen on Figure 17. The Huntington user refers to Alciato with the first two letters of his name, which are always followed by the number of the source-emblem. In the example

[203] Brayman Hackel, p. 169;167.

shown in the figure below, the user is referring to Alciato's seventh emblem, which has the same motto as Wh 8.[204]

Figure 17: Whitney, HUN, RB 79714, sig. A4^{v}. Handwritten reference to Alciato's Emblem seven in the Huntington Copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leiden, 1586).

Unlike the Illinois user, this user is not interested in recording the changes that Whitney made to his sources. The different format used by these two users to refer to the source implies that they had different intentions. The apparatus provided by the Illinois user is much more user-friendly, as it introduces all the references with the preposition 'Ex' and spells the names of the sources in full. Not only is this comprehensive reference guide a handwritten expression of the user's knowledge, but it also seems to be designed with future users of the copy in mind. In comparison, the inconsistent references to Alciato in the Huntington copy seem to be made with the intention of personal use.

[204] Whitney, HUN, RB 79714, sig. A4^{v}. See also Alciati, sig. E6^{r}.

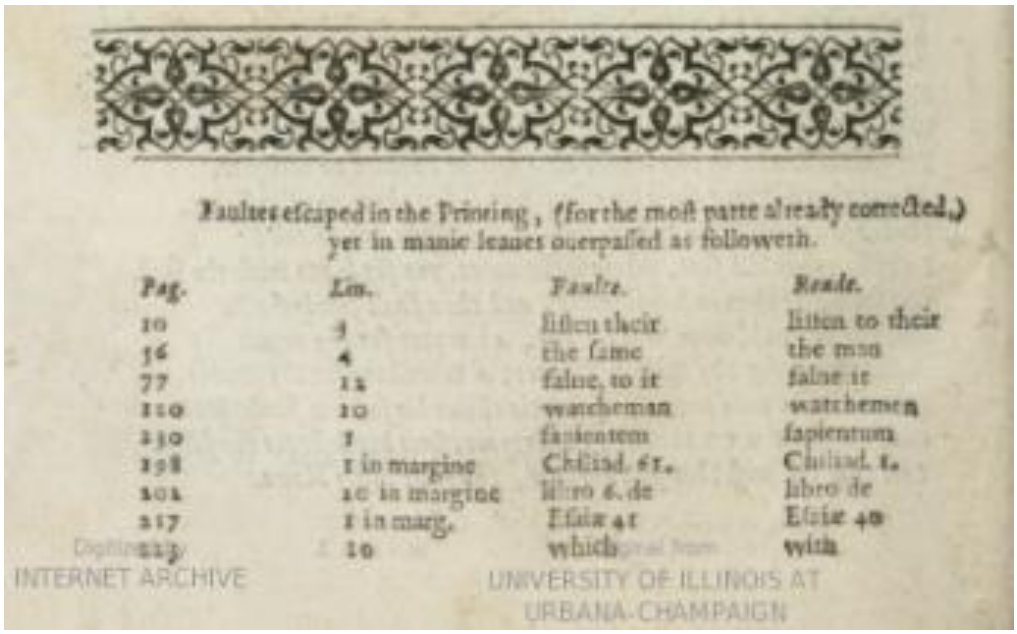
4.4 'Marks of Active Reading' in Copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* 2: Textual Corrections

Another type of handwritten mark which points to users' active engagement with the text is textual correction. According to Brayman Hackel, early modern reader's 'regard for textual accuracy'[205] points to their active and rigorous engagement with the book as they pay careful attention to the errors in the text. In the Huntington and the Pennsylvania copies, corrections are largely a response to the errata list found on the last page of the front matter.[206] For this reason, before dwelling on users' handwritten corrections in these two copies, I will first outline some of the main features of early modern printed errata lists. Scholars agree that by the sixteenth century errata lists became a common feature of printed books.[207] Rather than an exhaustive list of all the mistakes in the text, they were 'more often included in books in which blank pages were left at the end of the final quire' to both fill up empty space that may have been left over and to prevent additional costs in paper.[208] The extent of the errors listed may therefore not be representative of the actual number of errors in the text. Besides listing the errors, early modern errata lists often also include passages written by the author or the printer-publisher in which they either acknowledge their responsibility for the mistakes, apologise for their presence, and/or, sometimes, deflect the blame to the other agents involved in the printing process.[209] Early modern printed errata lists, therefore, are not only markers of 'authorial or editorial control' over the printed text but also sites where this control is shared with the readers who are invited to become the agents of change and

[205] Brayman Hackel, p. 162.
[206] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. ***2^{v}.
[207] Seth Lerer, 'Errata: Print, Politics and Poetry in Early Modern England', in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 41-71 (p. 45); Ann Blair, 'Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 21-41 (p. 27); David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 97-138.
[208] Blair, p. 26.
[209] Blair, pp. 33-34; McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, pp. 120-122.

contribute to the process of textual production.[210] Indeed, overt and explicit invitations directed at the readers to pick up their pens, locate the errors in the text, and provide corrections themselves were often part of the rhetoric of early modern printed errata lists.[211] They mobilised readers, whose handwritten interventions, I argue, are evidence of an early attempt at producing an ideal text, which in the twentieth century becomes a key concern of the New Bibliographers, as discussed in the next chapter. They are therefore a sign of users' involvement in the production and transmission processes.

Despite the fact that the errata list in *A Choice of Emblemes* does not contain an overt invitation to the readers, the users of the Huntington and the Pennsylvania copies of the book both took initiative to locate and correct the errors listed on the errata list (shown in Figure 18).



Faultes escaped in the Printing, (for the most parte already corrected,) yet in manie leaues ouerpaſſed as followeth.

Pag.	Lin.	Faulte.	Reade.
10	3	liſten their	liſten to their
56	4	the ſame	the man
77	12	falue, to it	falue it
110	10	watcheman	watchemen
130	1	ſaſientem	ſapientum
198	1 in margine	Chiliad. 61.	Chiliad. 1.
201	20 in margine	libro 6. de	libro de
217	1 in marg.	Eſdr. 41	Eſdr. 40
223	10	which	with

Figure 18: Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. ***2^{v}. Errata list.

This puts them into the minority since, according to both Ann Blair and David McKitterick, corrections of this kind, where users carefully attended to the errata list and supplied the

[210] Lerer, pp. 41-42.
[211] Lerer, p. 42; Blair pp. 22-3; 34.

corrections in the main text, are relatively uncommon.[212] The handwritten textual corrections found in these two copies provide an example of the different approaches that users took when correcting errors in their copies. One way in which users approached textual correction is by means of handwritten insertions, using caret marks (^) to insert either the missing word or supply the correct one. An instance of inserting a missing word can be observed in the Huntington copy, where a user supplied by hand a missing proposition 'to,' changing 'listen theire songe' to 'listen to theire songe' in the second line of Wh 10, as shown in Figure 19.[213] The missing proposition is the first mistake listed in the errata list. The user of the Pennsylvania copy uses the same symbol to indicate a typographical error in the eighth line of Wh 223: instead of the printed 'which,' the reader supplied above it the correct 'with.'[214]

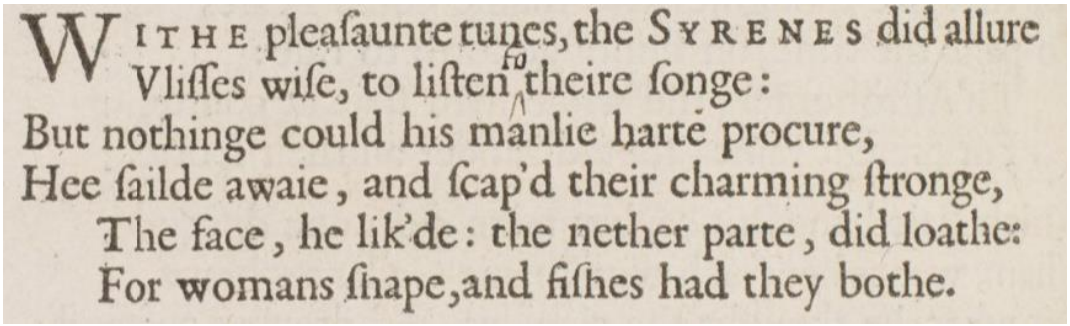

WITHE pleaſaunte tunes, the SYRENES did allure
Vliſſes wiſe, to liſten to theire ſonge:
But nothinge could his manlie harte procure,
Hee ſailde awaie, and ſcap'd their charming ſtronge,
The face, he lik'de: the nether parte, did loathe:
For womans ſhape, and fiſhes had they bothe.

Figure 19: Whitney, HUN, RB 79714, sig. B1^{v}. A user of the Huntington copy inserts a caret mark to supply a missing proposition.

The presence of handwritten corrections in these two copies shows that their users were attuned to the text as envisioned by Whitney in the errata list. Textual accuracy, as laid out in the errata list, mattered to them, and by supplying corrections, despite the absence of an overt invitation to do so, they actively participated in the shaping of their particular copy for themselves and for other (later) users. As observed by McKitterick, users were indeed 'responsible for a part of the book's physical manufacture.'[215] By juxtaposing the error with

[212] Blair, p. 38; McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, p. 142.
[213] Whitney, HUN, RB 79714, sig. B1^{v}.
[214] Whitney, PUL, PR2388.W4C5 1586, sig. c4^{r}.
[215] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, p. 132.

the corrected form, they gave themselves the choice of consuming a slightly different text upon rereading their copy. Rather than supplying the correct form in the main text, another user of the Pennsylvania copy has a clear preference for underlining or crossing over the mistakes listed on the errata list, without actually providing the correct form.[216] By doing this, they identify and highlight their presence without visually juxtaposing the wrong and the correct form. These users' textual corrections in response to the errata list found in their copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* demonstrate that early modern errata lists are, in Lerer's words, indeed the 'loci of authority and action' where the authorial, editorial and readerly control over the text converge.[217]

A slightly different example of textual correction which does not involve the errata list can be found in the Leiden copy of the book. Blair observes that rather than mechanically implementing corrections in response to the errata list, it was far more common for readers of early modern printed books to correct the text 'according to their own judgement on matters of substance as well as grammar and usage.'[218] An anonymous user of the Leiden copy was invested in what appears to be checking the spelling of specific words which appear in the dedicatory letter (see Figure 20). The user underlined three instances of the verb *to write* spelled in different ways: 'wrat,' 'wrat', and 'wratte.'[219] In the margin next to each instance of the word, they added symbols resembling check marks. They did the same with a single occurrence of two other words in the dedicatory letter: 'starke' and 'exspected.'[220] Since these underlined words and the accompanying signs all appear within the same gathering, it is possible that they might be proof-corrections. However, they do not appear in the overview of conventional correction symbols used in England and the Low Countries in early modern

[216] Whitney, PUL, PR2388.W4C5 1586, sig. B1^{v}; sig. G3^{v}; sig. P4^{v}; sig. b3^{v}; sig. c1^{r}; sig. c4^{r}.
[217] Lerer, p. 42.
[218] Blair, p. 38.
[219] Whitney, UBL, 20643 F 10, sig. *3^{r}; sig. *3^{v}; sig.*4^{r}.
[220] Whitney, UBL, 20643 F 10, sig. **2^{r}; sig. **2^{v}.

printing houses, making it difficult to establish their function with certainty.[221] Since these signs have changed little since the sixteenth century, these are probably not examples of proof-corrections.[222] Regardless of their origin and function, their presence points to a user and a reader whose attentive eye did not miss an instance of a spelling variant.

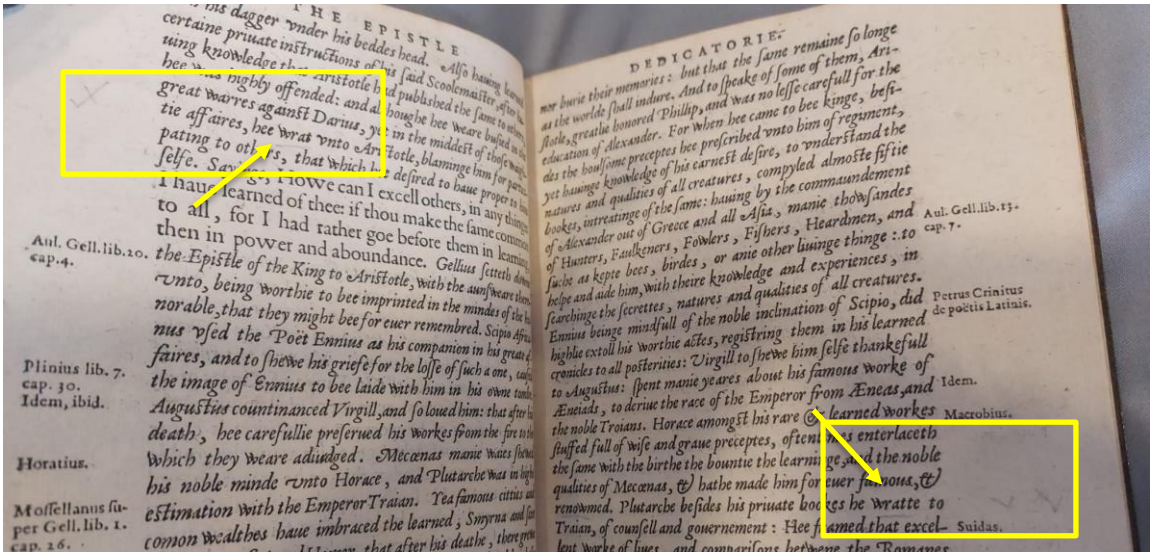


Figure 20: Whitney, UBL, 20643 F 10, sig. *$^{3v-4r}$. Underlined words and correction marks in the margins of the Leiden copy.

The signs in the margins and the ink used to underline the printed words in the Leiden copy have since faded due to age but also as a result of abrasive cleaning agents used to clean the paper in the later centuries. This impermanence of users' marks shows why Blair's statement that the corrections made by readers 'constituted the final stage of production of a printed text' do not apply to books such as *A Choice of Emblemes*, or to any other early modern printed book that has since its production been subject to use and re-use throughout time.[223] I agree with Blair that users' handwritten corrections indeed demonstrate their involvement in the process of producing a version of the text and that through their

[221] For an overview of signs used in England and the Low Countries see: Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick exercises, or, The doctrine of handy-works: applied to the art of printing: the second volumne* (London: Printed for Joseph Moxon, 1683), vol. 2, sig. Nn1^{r}-Nn2^{v} <https://archive.org/details/mechanickexercis00moxo_0/page/262/mode/1up?q=caret> [accessed 16 June 2023]
[222] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 113.
[223] Blair, p. 40.

corrections, users 'shaped the transmission of that text,' as their copies passed on to others.[224] However, they do not complete this process. As illustrated by the example in the Leiden copy, early modern printed books are part of a larger circuit, meaning that they are, as pointed out by Lerer, 'always a work in progress and in process, a text intruded upon for emendation, a text that invites the correction of the reader.'[225] Expanding on Lerer, I would add that they are also material objects with attached value which, as I argue in the next chapter, changes over time and which invites the erasure of signs of use which are considered by some to be detrimental to the book's value. While present once, their absence now results in a different version — both materially and textually — of the same object. In discussing users' interventions in the text, it is important to be mindful of the fact that their corrections are just one stage in the life-cycle of an early printed book and that rather than producing a final version of the book their corrections shaped the consumption and the transmission of only their individual copy.

In this chapter, I examined different types of users' handwritten marks in four copies of Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*. Drawing on Brayman Hackel's categorisation of handwritten signs of use, I distinguished between three different broader categories: marks of ownership, marks of active reading, and marks of recording. My analysis of these marks revealed that four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* attracted a varied audience as they circulated among readers of different genders, ages, and levels of education, all of whom put their copies of the book to different kinds of use. Some users, like Elizabeth Benson and Richard Carter, signed their names to express and, by means of multiple repetition, consolidate their ownership of the book. Others treated the blank spaces in the margins as an available blank surface to test their pens, practice their handwriting, compose poetry and

[224] Blair, p. 40.
[225] Lerer, p. 42.

draw. Unlike these marks of recording, which do not directly engage with the content of the printed text, several users of the four copies did precisely the opposite, leaving behind their marks of active reading, such as the extensive reference apparatus in the Illinois copy and several instances of textual correction.

These vastly different approaches to the blank spaces in the margins of the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* shed light on the different aspects of the book which held value for individual users and the different contexts in which the book was used. By examining their expressions of ownership, I argued that for Elizabeth Benson and Richard Carter the book held value as a material possession, as they either repeatedly signed their name at different locations in the book, as did Benson, or as they sought to sign their name under an emblem meaningful to them, as did Carter. Rather than conveying the value of the book as a material possession, an anonymous user of the Illinois copy reveals that they valued *A Choice of Emblemes* for its intertextuality, explored in the handwritten reference apparatus, which situates the book solidly within the rich network of continental emblem books. I argued that by highlighting Whitney's changes to his sources, the user foregrounded Whitney's creative approach to imitation, thus predating by several centuries the findings of Tung and Manning, who have both defended Whitney's creativity against claims of his unoriginality made by Freeman. In *The Emblem* Manning maintains that emblems 'were intended initially for a learned audience,'[226] and the extensive reference apparatus found in the Illinois copy as well as the several instances of textual corrections in copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* demonstrate that this was indeed the case. Not every handwritten note found in the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* engages, however, directly or indirectly with the text it accompanies. The presence of marks of recording within copies of the book demonstrates that, rather than for its content, the book was used for its relatively wide white margin, functioning as a

[226] Manning, *The Emblem*, p. 76.

convenient writing surface on which users, including less educated ones, could practice their writing, test their pens, and compose poetry. As pointed out by Pearson, even if not engaging with the content of the book, these marks of recording 'provide direct evidence that books *were* used.'[227] By adding their handwritten notes, whether referring to the printed text or not, these different annotators personalise their copy, transforming it to their needs. By doing this, they make it unique: a trait which, as I shown in the next chapter, comes under increasing assault during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

[227] Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History*, p. 4.

5. 'Perfect and Clean Copies are of the Greatest Rarity': Changing Attitudes to the Value of *A Choice of Emblemes*

An online description catalogue of a recent auction held by Forum Auctions (UK) contains the following description of the copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* on sale: 'occasional marking or light soiling, but generally a very good copy.'[228] While there has been a revival of interest in marks of use, as book historians have recognised the value of handwritten marks for the understanding of the production, transmission, and consumption of books in society, this has not always been the case. The language used in the passage is a very recent example highlighting the reservations that book sellers and book collectors used to have and continue to have about previous signs of use. The description above suggests implicitly that the absence of obvious traces of use is not only a marker of value but that it also increases the chances of the book's sale, as clean copies were — and continue to be — in high demand.[229] In this chapter, I argue that this desire for clean copies was part and parcel of a much larger process taking place from the seventeenth century onwards among the antiquaries, booksellers, and bibliophiles, as they collectively participated in the shaping of what David McKitterick terms 'a canon of rare books.'[230] Given the fact that Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* appears in various book trade catalogues which carry on their title page a version of the term *rare* and since at least nine library departments, which keep the book today, use the word *rare* in their name, I adopt this term in my discussion of the changing attitudes towards the book's value from the seventeenth to the twentieth century.

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[228] Forum Auctions, *Lot 125* (2022), <https://www.forumauctions.co.uk/125/Whitney-Geoffrey-A-Choice-of-Emblemes-and-Other-Devises-2-parts-in-1-first-edition-of-th/3?view=lot_detail&auction_no=1002> [accessed 9 June 2023]

[229] Sherman, *Used Books*, pp. 154-155; Stephen Orgel, 'Margins of Truth', in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, ed. by. Andrew Murphy (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 91-107 (p. 92).

[230] David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory, 1600-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 20.

The passage above is an example of how the value of early modern printed books in general, and of *A Choice of Emblemes* specifically, is cultivated rhetorically within a specific genre of ephemeral literature: book auction catalogues. Before the invention of online catalogues, these ephemeral sources circulated in print. Book historians have consistently shown that catalogues of booksellers' stock, of sales, and auctions are valuable historical sources for understanding which books and in what material states were deemed worthy of attention and preservation.[231] According to McKitterick, book trade catalogues are 'the building blocks of canons of collecting and of price [and they serve] as records of rarity,' as they both reflect and shape the attitudes towards second-hand early modern printed books.[232] On the one hand, they are the physical manifestations of the evolving canon of rare books as they reflect the demands of the market, both in the items they list and the way in which they do so. To illustrate, the earliest extant catalogues contain rudimentary bibliographical information, listing only the most basic information about the author of the work, the title, the date and place of publication, and the bibliographical format (size) of the book.[233] This basic format developed into a more complex one, as changes in tastes across Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries meant that buyers began to demand more detailed information. Indeed, the changes in the presentation of books in catalogues were in part 'driven not by the trade but by customers.'[234] However, gradually, booksellers and auctioneers too saw an opportunity in the genre of sale catalogues, using them as a tool to influence the formation of the canon of rare books themselves through the language they chose to market their books and the features they chose to highlight. By issuing catalogues, these agents of the rare book trade became the 'obvious

[231] See, der Weduwen, Pettegree, and Kemp; McKitterick, *Rare Books*, pp. 109-113.
[232] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 123.
[233] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 112; der Weduwen, Pettegree, and Kemp, p. 14.
[234] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 113.

guide to the would-be bibliophile,' as noted by Seymour de Ricci.[235] For my interrogation of the changing attitudes towards handwritten marks in copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*, book trade catalogues are therefore an invaluable historical source. Not only do they provide information about who owned a copy of *A Choice of Emblemes*, therefore revealing how the book travelled through time, but they also provide insight into how the value of Whitney's book was constructed at different points in time, specifically from the seventeenth to the twentieth century.

In this chapter, I therefore examine the rhetoric of book trade catalogues from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, specifically in descriptions of *A Choice of Emblemes*. Drawing on McKitterick's discussion of the concept of rarity in *The Invention of Rare Books* (2018), I first look at how this concept was employed in catalogue descriptions of *A Choice of Emblemes* and how its use mirrored and shaped the attitude towards copies of Whitney's book and the users' marks contained within them. Specifically, I argue that under the claim of rarity the book's value as a collectable item was constructed around the idea of a fine and clean copy. In the next section, I situate this desire for cleanliness in the rise of the author figure and the formation of the English literary canon in the eighteenth century, which, I argue, displaced users' handwritten notes as marginal. Moreover, the sustained antiquarian, bibliographical, editorial, and literary focus on individual authors, specifically Shakespeare, further influenced nineteenth-century sellers' and collectors' attitudes towards *A Choice of Emblemes*, which was increasingly marketed as 'a book certainly known to Shakespeare.'[236] I conclude the chapter by discussing modern day attitudes towards signs of use, in particular

[235] Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts, 1530-1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960), p. 89.
[236] Francis Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare, and of Ancient Manners: With Dissertations on the Clowns and Fools of Shakespeare; on the Collection of Popular Tales Entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris Dance*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Reese, and Orme, 1807), p. 322.

users' handwritten marks, in (online) library catalogues, arguing for an inclusive approach to cataloguing.

5.1 'Unique, Scarce, Rare, Curious:' *A Choice of Emblemes* as a Rare Book

In order to show how Whitney's book is constructed as a rare book in book trade catalogues throughout history, I first address the concept of rarity itself, showing how its meaning shifted in the course of the seventeenth, eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) offers a few definitions of the adjective *rare*, but two definitions in particular are relevant to my discussion of *A Choice of Emblemes*. In one meaning of the word, it denotes a thing 'seldom found, done, or occurring; unusual, uncommon, exceptional.'[237] This meaning of *rare* describes a book which is numerically infrequent. Its rarity emerges from its numerical scarceness, which, as shown by McKitterick in *The Invention of Rare Books* (2018), can be misleading when the term is applied to early modern printed books within the context of the second-hand book trade. In his book, McKitterick examines how the manuscript tradition of the rare text — that is, a text which was by default due to the mode of its production a scarce and unique item — was carried over into the age of print and how the system of value for old printed books was developed and reflected in book trade catalogues and bibliographic literature. Contrary to its implications within the manuscript tradition, McKitterick demonstrates that the term *rare* in relation to early modern printed books does not always necessarily denote scarceness in terms of the existing or surviving copies.[238] Many books described as rare in the book trade catalogues in the seventeenth and later centuries were, in fact, numerically very common. Therefore, rather than indicating numerical scarcity, the rarity of some early modern books, evoked in book

[237] 'rare, adj.1 (and int.), adv.1, and n.', in *The Oxford English Dictionary Online* <www.oed.com/view/Entry/158248> [accessed 9 June 2023]
[238] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 146.

trade catalogues, has a different meaning: it refers to books that are 'unusually good, fine, or worthy; of uncommon excellence or merit.'[239] This meaning of the term implies that the rarity of these books emerges from a set of features, which distinguish a rare book from other, more common and less excellent ones. These books are rare because they are considered 'remarkable' and 'unusual.'[240] This definition of *rare*, however, raises questions about *which books* were considered remarkable, by *what standards*, and by *whom*. In the reminder of this section, I examine the gradual shift in the construction of *A Choice of Emblemes* as a rare book by looking at which features bibliographers, booksellers, auctioneers, and collectors highlighted in their descriptions of the book.

The earliest identified appearance of *A Choice of Emblemes* in a book trade catalogue dates from the very beginning of the seventeenth century, in an auction catalogue issued in the same city in which the book was printed: Leiden. As part of his research into the Leiden circle of humanists, van Dorsten identifies a copy of Whitney's book in the auction catalogue of the private library belonging to two sons of Janus Dousa the Elder, Gregorius and Janus Dousa the Younger.[241] The catalogue, issued in 1604 by the English printer Thomas Basson, who was based in Leiden, describes the copy owned by the Dousas in the following way: 'Emblemata Galfridi Withnei, cum iconibus, 4.'[242] However, the Dousas were not the only members of the Leiden circle who owned the book: the Leiden professor of Greek, Bonaventura Vulcanius, too, owned a copy, listed in the catalogue prepared for the auction of his library in 1610.[243] His copy is described similarly to the one owned by the Dousas:

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[239] 'rare, adj.1 (and int.), adv.1, and n.', in *The Oxford English Dictionary Online* <www.oed.com/view/Entry/158248> [accessed 9 June 2023]
[240] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 138.
[241] *Catalogvs Librorvm Iani Ac Georgii Dovsarvm*, Copenhagen, RDK, KB: 79II 39 1:3, sig. I4^{r}; see, van Dorsten, p. 143.
[242] *Catalogvs Librorvm Iani Ac Georgii Dovsarvm*, Copenhagen, RDK, KB: 79II 39 1:3, sig. I4^{r}.
[243] *Bibliotheca Bon. Vulcanii*, The Hague, KB, MW: 112 D 011, sig. I4^{v}. According to this catalogue, the date of publication is 1592. This indicates a possible second edition. However, *Dictionarium* by Thomas Thomas (1553-1588) which is listed above Whitney's *A Choice* lacks the date of publication and there was indeed an edition of this dictionary which was published in 1592. It is therefore more likely this was a misprint rather than

'Godofredi Widnei Emblemata, cum figuris, Leydae 1592.'[244] While caution is needed as not every owner is also a user and a reader of the book, the fact that copies of the book appear in these two catalogues demonstrates that the book was in their possession at the moment of the sale. While these early references to Whitney's book shed light on the book's circulation, they are less informative about how copies of Whitney's book were perceived and valued by the booksellers and their clientele in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century. As expected from catalogues in this time period, the entries are brief, indicating only the most basic information about the books. Importantly, neither the title pages of the two catalogues, nor the descriptions of the book make any overt claims to its rarity. However, both catalogue entries highlight the presence of the woodcuts by using words such as 'cum iconibus' and 'cum figuris,' indicating that the auctioneers believed that the knowledge about the presence of illustrations in these books would generate interest in these items. Interrogating why Plantin published emblem books in large quantities, Visser points out that illustrated books indeed appealed to the public, meaning that profit was at least in part guaranteed.[245]

Copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* also reached the audiences across the channel soon after the book's publication. While no scholarly attention has been paid to the circulation of the physical copies themselves in England and Scotland, Michael Bath does briefly focus on the reception of Whitney's text in both England and Scotland in the first few decades after its publication, providing a solid starting point for the discussion of the book's circulation.[246] According to Bath, various contemporary authors, such as Francis Meres and Henry Peacham referred to Whitney directly in their respective works, *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury* (1598) and *Minerva Britanna* (1612).[247] Whitney's text also served as inspiration in the field of

evidence of the second edition of *A Choice*, since no other edition than the 1586 one has ever appeared in any of the book trade or library catalogues.

[244] *Bibliotheca Bon. Vulcanii*, The Hague, KB, MW: 112 D 011, sig. I4^{v}.

[245] Visser, p. 67.

[246] See Bath, pp. 85-9.

[247] Bath, pp. 85-6.

applied arts, as seen in the Vyvyan Salt now in the Victoria and Albert Museum and on the painted ceiling in the Palace at Culross in Scotland, which both feature Whitney's mottoes and depict scenes from woodcuts found in *A Choice of Emblemes.*[248] The direct references to Whitney and the use of his textual and visual motifs in these examples indicate that the book reached audiences in England and Scotland quite early after its publication in the Low Countries. In fact, even almost a century after its publication, the book must have still been in demand, at least in London circles. A catalogue of the stock that survived the 1666 fire from a London bookseller, Thomas Rookes, demonstrates that in 1667 the book still formed a part of a bookseller's stock.[249] This fact suggests that there must have been enough demand for the book for it to be financially viable for Rookes to keep it in his storage. As in the catalogues of the Dousas (1604) and Vulcanius (1610) discussed above, the entries in this catalogue are also basic, listing only the author's name and the title of his work. According to Rookes himself, the brevity was an attempt on his part to not have 'swell'd the Catalogue' with too many details.[250] The entry of Whitney's book is therefore not particularly informative in itself regarding the features — either textual or material — which influenced the book's value. Nonetheless, the book's presence in the catalogue itself is indicative of the book's circulation in London in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Catalogues of private libraries of eighteenth and nineteenth century collectors indicate that, in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, Whitney's book became a collectable item based on its external features. For instance, the 1807 catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Brandiana* containing the 'unique, scarce, rare [and] curious' contents of the private library of an English

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[248] Bath, pp. 87-8.
[249] Thomas Rookes, *The Late Conflagration Consumed My Own, Together with the Stock of Books (as it were) of the Company of Stationers, London […] from My Shop in Gresham-Colledge, Next the Stairs, Or Warehouse in Moore-Fields Against the Cardinals-Cap* (London: [Thomas Rookes (?)], 1667), sig. B2^{r} <https://login.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/login??url=https://www.proquest.com/books/late-conflagration-consumed-my-own-together-with/docview/2240940577/se-2> [accessed 16 June 2023]
[250] Rookes, sig. A1^{r}.

antiquarian, John Brand (1744-1806), lists a copy of Whitney's emblems.[251] The description of his copy is quite basic and even incomplete, containing only information about the author and a shortened title, without the place and date of publication. Another collector from around the same time, John Bellingham Inglis (1780-1870), also owned a copy of the book, as did Frances Mary Richardson Currer (1785-1861).[252] According to de Ricci, Currer was 'England's earliest female bibliophile.'[253] Inglis's 'singularly curious and valuable selection' of books was sold by auction by Sotheby's in 1826, while Inglis was still alive.[254] As is the case with Brand, the entries in Inglis's catalogue are also fairly brief, though the description of *A Choice of Emblemes* does list the place and date of publication, the printer's name, and the type of binding.[255] Preparing a catalogue of her private library containing 'specimens of no common occurrence' in 1833, Currer also included additional information about her copy of *A Choice of Emblemes*, such as the place and date of publication, the printer's name, the book's bipartite structure and the bibliographical format.[256] Unlike the earlier, seventeenth-century catalogue descriptions of the book, catalogues by eighteenth and nineteenth century collectors also provide information about physical features, such as the binding, and about the printer, who in this case was Plantin. According to McKitterick, the focus on visible association with a particular manufacturer — in this case the printer — is part of the increased interest in the physical features of old books, which began in the second half of the

[251] John Brand, *Bibliotheca Brandiana, A Catalogue of the Unique, Scarce, Rare, Curious, and Numerous Collection of Works […] being the Entire Library of the Late Rev. John Brand* (London: P. da Ponte, 1807-8) (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Library, 017.2 B73), p. 342 <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951001867406m> [accessed 16 June 2023]
[252] John Bellingham Inglis, *Catalogue of a Singularly Curious and Valuable Selection from the Library of a Gentleman* ([London]: J. Davy, [1826]) <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/wdnryrzh> [accessed 16 June 2023]; *A Catalogue of the Library Collected by Miss Richardson Currer at Eshton Hall, Craven, Yorkshire*, comp. by C. J. Stewart (London: J. Moyes, 1833) <https://books.google.nl/books?id=mykCAAAAQAAJ&printsec=toc&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed 16 June 2023]
[253] de Ricci, p. 141.
[254] Bellingham Inglis, sig. A1^{r}.
[255] Bellingham Inglis, sig. O3^{r}.
[256] *A Catalogue of the Library Collected by Miss Richardson Currer*, p. 402.

seventeenth century and continued throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries; tracing the changes in the catalogues, he observes that new details, such as 'bindings, special decoration, and the size of copies,' as well as the quality of manufacturing, a visible association with a specific manufacturer, and a mark of ownership which associate a copy with a famous previous owner, began to feature more prominently in catalogue descriptions.[257] Since the eighteenth century, besides the content, appearance was at the forefront of determining the rarity and, therefore, the value of a copy of an early modern printed book. [258] Additionally, a display of these features was a sign of wealth for collectors such as Brand, Inglis, and Currer.

Whereas earlier catalogue descriptions, by highlighting the presence of illustrations, bindings, and the name of the manufacturers involved in the production of the book, do imply that the value of the book was, at least in part, rooted in its physical features, they do not shed much additional light on how the rarity of *A Choice of Emblemes* was constructed. This changes significantly in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, as bibliographers, booksellers, and auctioneers begin to employ the rhetoric of rarity in their descriptions of *A Choice of Emblemes*. More specifically, in nineteenth-century catalogue descriptions of the book, the evocation of numerical scarcity is often a rhetorical move used by booksellers and auctioneers to create an impression of rarity, thus increasing the book's cultural value and boosting its sales. An example from the sale catalogue of the private library of William Beckford (1759-1844), who Seymour de Ricci describes as 'one of the greatest collectors of the day,' illustrates this process.[259] His copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* is described as a 'fine copy in old gilt calf … very rare, especially in fine condition. Harward's copy sold for £10.

[257] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 140.
[258] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 63.
[259] de Ricci, p. 84.

15*s*.'[260] The use of the phrase 'very rare' in this example implies that copies of the book and, in particular, fine copies of the book were, supposedly, seldomly encountered on the market. In other words, they were numerically scarce. While the catalogue does not precisely specify what the label 'fine' entails, the standard terms used by the second-hand book trade indicate it probably refers to a copy which is 'close to new' and shows only 'slight signs of age but without any defects.'[261] Beckford's example shows how the idea of rarity was constructed in relation to *A Choice of Emblemes*, as the rarity of copies, in the sense of numerical scarcity, was attached to a specific material condition of the physical copy. The reference to the book's numerical rarity creates an impression of the preciousness of Beckford's copy, elevating its prestige as a collectable item. Crucially, this prestige and, therefore, the value of the copy are inextricably bound with a specific physical form of the copy: one that shows few signs of use, therefore probably also bearing few handwritten marks by users. In Beckford's and other examples, the claim to numerical rarity of fine copies is not rooted in any concrete numerical evidence, suggesting it was used as a marketing tool by sellers and auctioneers.

That this was indeed the case is further reinforced by the fact that the description of the book in Beckford's catalogue strongly resembles the one in the general stock catalogue of a nineteenth-century bookseller and collector, Bernard Quaritch, which appeared on the market only a year after Beckford's catalogue, in 1883: 'rare. This book is seldom found in good condition. Harward's copy sold for £10. 15*s*.'[262] The reference to the monetary value and a close resemblance in the description of the book suggest that the two sellers — Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, who prepared Beckford's catalogue, and Quaritch — both

[260] *The Hamilton Palace Libraries. Catalogue of the Fourth and Concluding Portion of the Beckford library, Removed from Hamilton Palace* (London: Dryden Press, 1882-83) (Los Angeles, UCLA Library, SRLF Z997. H18), p. 34 <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t5h99d986> [accessed 16 June 2023]
[261] Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 162.
[262] *A General Catalogue of Books Offered to the Public at the Affixed Prices by Bernard Quaritch* (London: [G. Norman and Son], 1880-1892), p. 1033
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015058392336> [accessed 16 June 2023]

drew on the same source, using the supposed numerical rarity of copies in good or fine condition to boost the sales of their own copies. Research into catalogues from earlier in the nineteenth century reveals that the trend of advertising *A Choice of Emblemes* as a rare book based on the scarcity of copies in good condition extends further back, to the very beginning of the century, when Thomas Dibdin (1776-1847) published the first volume of his *Bibliographical Decameron* (1817).[263] Discussing Whitney's book, Dibdin states that 'perfect and clean copies are of the greatest rarity.'[264] Given the fact that Dibdin's *Decameron* was an influential resource for those involved in the rare book trade, it is likely that his claim about the scarcity of clean copies influenced the way in which nineteenth-century booksellers and collectors approached the description of their copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* and how they chose to market them. Before *Bibliographical Decameron*, Whitney's book is mentioned in an earlier bibliographical reference work: Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* (1749). Compared to Dibdin, his description of the book makes no claim about the rarity of the book or scarcity of fine copies.[265] However, other catalogues from the nineteenth century, which post-date Dibdin's, such as the one by John Holmes (1828) and Bertram Ashburnham (Earl of Ashburnham) (1897) both include similar claims which strongly resemble each other in content and language.[266] The verbal echoes in multiple catalogues throughout the century confirm that book trade catalogues are indeed 'the building blocks of canons of collecting.'[267]

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[263] Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron; or, Ten Days Pleasant Discourse upon Illuminated Manuscripts, and Subjects Connected with Early Engraving, Typography, and Bibliograp*hy, 3 vols (London: Shakespeare Press, 1817), I, p. 275.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities: Being an Historical Account of Printing in England […] By Joseph Ames, F.R.S. and Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries* (London: W. Faden, 1749), p. 554.
[266] *A Descriptive Catalogue of Books, in the Library of John Holmes, F.S.A., with Notices of Authors and Printers* (Norwich: Matchett, Stevenson, and Matchett, 1828-34), p. 209 <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433074384649> [accessed 9 June 2023]; *The Ashburnham Library. Catalogue of the Magnificent Collection of Printed Books the Property of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ashburnham […] Which Will be Sold by Auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge* (London: Dryden Press, 1897), p. 113 <https://www.google.nl/books/edition/Catalogue_of_the_Magnificent_Collection/hsdCAQAAMAAJ?hl=sl&gbpv=0> [accessed 9 June 2023]
[267] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 123.

More precisely, by highlighting specific features in catalogues — in this case the rarity of fine copies — bibliographers, booksellers, and auctioneers actively shape the canon of rare books. As shown above, in the nineteenth century, this canon and the value of *A Choice of Emblemes* as a collectable item depended on the supposed numerical rarity of copies which showed few signs of previous use. In his chapter on attitudes towards users' marks, Sherman proposes that the emphasis on copies in good or fine condition is, at least in part, 'common sense among those who trade in rare books where … those that are in better condition tend to fetch a higher price than those that are worn.'[268] While agreeing with Sherman, the next section suggests that there were also other reasons which contributed to the preference for clean copies.

5.2 Clean Copies, Cleaning Copies

As show above, a discourse developed in book trade catalogues in the nineteenth century which foregrounded cleanliness and physical integrity of copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* and evoked their numerical scarcity. Fine and clean copies of the book were therefore particularly desirable to collectors, which, in turn, gave rise to aggressive cleaning and restorative practices to meet the demand and supply the market with supposedly ideal copies. According to Monique Hulvey, the deliberate erasure of users' handwritten marks and other signs of use indeed reached its peak in the nineteenth century, when their presence in the margins of early modern printed books was seen by those dealing in rare books 'as disfiguring to a book.'[269] Their presence was experienced as disturbing — both visually and textually —leading to associations with dirtiness. Sherman notes that this idea of dirtiness of handwritten marks and other signs of use was alluded to and conveyed in book trade

[268] Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 162.
[269] Hulvey, p. 161.

catalogues in words such as 'soiled,' which were often used to describe individual copies of early modern printed books, including ones by Whitney.[270] The example at the beginning of this chapter from a recent sale of a copy of Whitney's text shows that this kind of vocabulary is still in use nowadays. The desire to remove users' handwritten marks and other signs of use is therefore closely intertwined with the notions of cleanliness, prompting Stephen Orgel to call booksellers' and collectors' obliteration of these marks an attempt at '[restoring] the book's virginity.'[271]

To remove signs of previous use and therefore achieve this desired state of material purity, booksellers and collectors made use of several methods and tools. To remove the handwritten marks and other signs of use in the margins, they rinsed the pages of the books with water and/or bleach, scraped away the writing, and cropped the margins to obliterate the signs of the notes' existence altogether.[272] An example of these methods in practice can be observed in the Huntington and Leiden copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*. For example, as already indicated above, the handwritten poem in the margin of the Leiden copy has been a target of both cropping and abrasive cleaning which almost obliterated it. An example of a cleaning session gone slightly wrong can be seen in the Leiden copy on the verso of the title page, where two specs of bleach appear to have fallen on the wrong area (see Figure 21).

Figure 21: Whitney, UBL, 20643 F 10, title page verso. Signs of bleaching in the Leiden copy of *A Choice of Emblemes*.

[270] Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 152.
[271] Orgel, p. 92.
[272] For a comprehensive overview of the methods employed see chapter eight in Sherman, *Used Books*, in particular p. 163.

Removing handwritten marks, however, was not the only way in which booksellers and collectors strove to achieve material purity of the book: they also did so by tending to the physical integrity of the book as a material object. They attempted to restore half-torn leaves and frayed edges and supplying missing leaves, therefore bringing the book — structurally — closer to the supposed ideal as first imagined by the author and the printer. For instance, frayed edges of leaves, in particular those found at the beginnings and ends of the books, like title pages, were sometimes remounted 'in a frame of new paper.'[273] Trimming the pages was also used to ensure that the edges of individual leaves were neat and uniform in size, as can also be observed in the Leiden and Huntington copies of the book, which both display neat edges without signs of fraying throughout the book. Contrary to these two copies, the Illinois and the Pennsylvania copies display significantly less uniformity in page size, showing obvious signs of use, such as frayed edges and even torn pages.[274] I would like to suggest that this is because Huntington and Leiden copies of the book both have provenance linking them to wealthy nineteenth century collectors, Robert Hoe and James Vernon Watney, who, like other collectors from the time aspired to own 'perfect and clean copies.'[275] The difference between these four copies confirms once again that the canon of rare books, spearheaded by the bookselling, collecting, and editorial tastes, was built around the ideal of an ideal copy. Such an approach to (handwritten) marks of use and the interventions employed in pursuit of the ideal copy in early modern printed books in general and in copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* specifically result in a paradox whereby 'the ideal copy becomes … a historic object with most of the traces of its history removed.'[276]

[273] Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 163.
[274] See, for example, Whitney, IUL, 096.1 W613c1586, sig. A2^{r-v}, sig. T2^{r-v} and Whitney, PUL, PR2388.W4C5 1586, sig. **4^{v}; sig. b3^{v}, sig. c1^{v}.
[275] Dibdin, p. 275.
[276] Sherman, *Used Books*, p. 164.

I would like to suggest that the changes in the conception of authorship and the formation of the English literary canon beginning in the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth and the twentieth century also significantly impacted the attitude towards users' marks in copies of *A Choice of Emblemes.* The eighteenth century saw a proliferation of new genres, development of criticism as an intellectual activity, and a rise in literacy and book ownership across different genders and social classes.[277] According to Jonathan Brody Kramnick, in response to their anxiety about encroaching modernity, eighteenth-century literary critics turned to the past in search of 'older works as national heritage,' which would distinguish themselves from the mass of new publications available to the public.[278] Set against this rapid expansion of new publications, Kramnick argues that the English literary canon began to form around a triumvirate of earlier writers: Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton.[279] Importantly, the focus at this point lay on a few individuals, whose lives and texts generated significant scholarly, critical, and editorial output. In particular, the editorial approach to Shakespeare is relevant to my discussion of *A Choice of Emblemes* in this section, which is why I predominantly focus on him rather than the other early modern writers.

The evolving legal and cultural framework which increasingly conceptualised the author as the '*original genius*' also contributed to the foregrounding of authors as individuals.[280] In the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, William Wordsworth states that 'poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings,' thus articulating the manifesto for the eighteenth-century

[277] David Allan, 'Book Collecting and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Yearbook of English Studies,* 45 (2015), 74-92 < https://doi.org/10.5699/yearenglstud.45.2015.0074>.
[278] Jonathan Brody Kramnick, *Making the English Canon: Print-Capitalism and the Cultural Past, 1700-1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 1.
[279] Kramnick, p. 3.
[280] Martha Woodmansee, 'The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and the Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the "Author"', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 17 (1984), 425-448 (p. 427; emphasis in the original) <https://doi.org/10.2307/2738129>.

view of authorship.[281] In contrast to the classical and religious *auctoritas* which conferred credibility and authenticity on medieval and early modern writers from outside, Wordsworth locates the source of this authority within the author themselves. As explained by Martha Woodmansee, in the eighteenth century, the author came to be seen as the sole source of inspiration for their creative output. Rather than situated in the external world, as previously, 'inspiration came to be regarded as emanating not from outside or above, but from within the writer.'[282] Consequently, the concept of originality became an important cornerstone of the eighteenth-century definition of the author.[283] Besides the changing cultural perception of authorship, writers also gained legal proprietorship of their work in the eighteenth century.[284] As the legal structure developed over the course of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, the writer became the bearer of the legal rights as well as of the meaning.

In the wake of these changes, eighteenth-century critics and editors sought to access and unravel the authorial intention and convey the true meaning of the text in their editorial work. Addressing eighteenth-century editorial and critical approaches to Shakespeare and particularly to the issue of authenticity, Margreta de Grazia argues that one edition in particular was key to defining future editorial work on Shakespeare, to the present day: Edmond Malone's variorum edition, first published in 1790 and republished in 1821.[285] According to de Grazia, Malone's approach to editing Shakespeare set in motion the search for 'the authentic text, the text closest to what Shakespeare put on paper.'[286] To access this text and convey it to the wider public in his edition, Malone's method differed from that of other editors of Shakespeare, such as Alexander Pope, Edward Capell, and George Steevens.

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[281] William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads, with Pastoral and Other Poems*, 4th edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1805), p. 7.
[282] Woodmansee, p. 427.
[283] Ibid., p. 430.
[284] David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, 'Authors, Authorship, and Authority', pp. 75-6.
[285] Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
[286] De Grazia, p. 4.

Whereas earlier editors used the edition closest to them as the source upon which to build, Malone looked further back, consulting texts and historical sources closer in time to Shakespeare.[287] De Grazia shows that his editorial approach was guided by his interest in 'actual usage' and 'factual accounts.'[288] These would anchor the edited text in a seeming objectivity, therefore separating it from the previous, more subjective, approaches to editing Shakespeare's text.[289] Drawing on De Grazia, Paul Salzman explains that Malone's edition of Shakespeare 'marks a shift towards a historical approach to a stable text,' as it set the standard for further editorial approaches to Shakespeare, including the approach of the New Bibliographers at the beginning of the twentieth century.[290]

Also working in this tradition of uncovering the authentic text of the author in the eighteenth century was an English antiquary and collector, later also an employee of the British Museum, Francis Douce (1757-1834). In 1807, Douce published in two volumes *Illustrations of Shakespeare, and of Ancient Manners* in which he sets out to contextualise and explain references in Shakespeare's work in order to 'throw new light on the plays in particular and on Elizabethan and Jacobean customs and literature in general.'[291] As he informs his readers in the preface, this work is a result of 'the practice, and also the necessity of explaining the writings of Shakespeare.'[292] While not an editor himself, Douce saw himself as part of the critical tradition which believed that the true meaning of the author's text can and should be accessed (and explained by mediation of an editor or writer). In one of his references, Douce refers to Whitney, explaining that a line in *All's Well that Ends Well*

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[287] Ibid., p. 6.
[288] Ibid., p. 6.
[289] Ibid., p. 5.
[290] Paul Salzman, *Editors Construct the Renaissance Canon 1825-1915* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 52.
[291] C. Hurst 'Douce, Francis' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7849?rskey=eH9pa1&result=1> [accessed 29 May 2023]
[292] Douce, p. v. Also see p. vii: 'He, who at this day can entirely comprehend the writings of Shakespeare without the aid of a comment, and frequently of laborious illustrations, may be said to possess a degree of inspiration almost commensurate with that of the great bard himself.'

refers to one of Whitney's emblems.[293] Crucially, when drawing this parallel between Whitney and Shakespeare, Douce asserts that the reference to Bertram's line can be found 'in Whitney's *Emblems*, a book certainly known to Shakespeare.'[294]

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century booksellers and auctioneers adopted and replicated this line by Douce in their catalogues. By associating *A Choice of Emblemes* with Shakespeare, they elevated the prestige of Whitney's text and boosted the sales of their copies. To illustrate how booksellers make use of Douce's claim differently, I will compare three catalogue entries. The most basic approach, seen in the Quaritch stock catalogue from 1883, is providing a direct quotation from Douce when describing a copy of Whitney's book: '"A book certainly known to Shakespere."'[295] A slightly different example can be found in the catalogue of the Lefferts Collection (1902) where the description of Marshall C. Lefferts's copy of Whitney book is accompanied with the following statement: 'Mr. Douce [who] says that it was a book that was *certainly known to Shakespeare*.'[296] Contrary to the previous example, Douce's exact words, while not enclosed in quotation marks, are italicised, achieving a visual impact intended to draw in potential buyers. The sale catalogue of the Library of Herschel V. Jones (1918) goes further when it states that 'Douce in his "Illustrations of Shakespeare," states that [*A Choice of Emblemes*] was "certainly known to Shakespeare," and it was, in all probability, from his work that Shakespeare gained the knowledge which he evidently possessed of the great foreign emblematists of the sixteenth century.'[297] This last example in particular imbues Whitney's text with authority, framing it as an important source of knowledge for one of the biggest names in the English literary

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[293] Douce, p. 322.
[294] Douce, p. 322.
[295] *A General Catalogue of Books Offered to the Public at the Affixed Prices by Bernard Quaritch,* p. 1033.
[296] *Catalogue of a Splendid Collection of English Literature, Including the Works of the Chief Elizabethan, Jacobean and Restoration Authors All from the Library of Mr. Marshall C. Lefferts* (New York: Bangs & Co, 1902), p. 220 <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hxv98v> [accessed 16 June 2023]
[297] *Catalogue of The Library of Herschel V. Jones [A-H]* (New York: The Anderson Galleries, 1918) (Minnesota, University of Michigan Library, Z 997. J77), p. 81 <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015021555993> [accessed 16 June 2023]

canon. These examples illustrate that in order to attract the attention of buyers, sellers and auctioneers used the association of Whitney's text with a bigger name in literature to convince their clients into investing into their copy.

This sustained editorial emphasis on individuals and the understanding of the author as the source of all inspiration and meaning influenced the attitude towards the handwritten voices present in the margins of early modern books, including the four copies of Whitney's text. Beginning with Malone's edition of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century and taken to a new level by the New Bibliographers at the beginning of the twentieth century, the authorial voice gained in importance. Recovering this voice and purging it of previous editorial baggage it has accumulated became the main objective for them. Textually clean and stable text was the desired outcome. Consequently, users' notes in the margins — unless they were penned by the author themselves or by another influential individual — were conceived of as a threat to the integrity of the authorial voice. They could undermine, contradict, or complicate the meaning and the message of the main text, which, as I have argued above, was seen as an expression of the authorial intention. Moreover, Stephen Orgel states that for traditional bibliographers, the printed copy itself was 'essentially a transparent medium through which authorial intentions could, however, imperfectly be viewed.'[298] While his reference is unspecific, Orgel is most likely referring to the New Bibliographers. As already indicated above, as a result of these theoretical developments within the editorial tradition, the margins of early modern printed books, including *A Choice of Emblemes*, were subject to abrasive cleaning practices such as washing and bleaching, discussed in more detail above.[299] The Leiden copy in particular is an interesting case in point as its margins display the unequal treatment of different kinds of users' marks. As discussed above, the leaves were treated with

[298] Orgel, p. 91.
[299] Orgel, p. 107; Hulvey, p. 161

an abrasive cleaning technique at some point in its history. However, the difference with which the cleaning agent or the scrapping tool was applied to different kinds of signs of use is striking. Specifically, the many fingerprints and signs of dirt accumulated over centuries of use remain more or less untouched.[300] In contrast, the handwritten note in the outer margin of Wh 116, however, was almost entirely erased from its existence, to the point where the only way to decipher it now is by using an UV light (see Figure 10 above). The aggressive treatment of someone else's words whose identity cannot be associated with a known personality and which appear next to the printed words of the author suggest that the lines of verse were seen as a disruption, marring not only the page itself but also Whitney's poetic achievement.

5. 4 Present Day Perspective

In the last three decades, book historians and librarians have begun to argue for more detailed, copy-specific, catalogue descriptions of early modern printed books. More specifically, they have been advocating for the inclusion of handwritten users' marks in catalogue descriptions of copies of early modern printed books.[301] While they agree that significant progress has already been made, they remind that more could still be done. In terms of catalogue descriptions of the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes* examined in this thesis, approaches differ between institutions. For instance, the catalogue of the Pennsylvania State University Libraries describes handwritten marks their copy contains very broadly: 'marginal notes.'[302] The Illinois University Library is more specific in the description of their copy, which is described as containing: 'markings in red (including price?) on title-page; contemporary and near-contemporary marginalia, including pen-trials and rudimentary line-

[300] See, for example, Whitney, UBL, 20643 F 10, sig. B1^{r}; sig. F3^{v}; H2^{v}.
[301] Hulvey, p. 160; Pearson, 'Copy Census as a Methodology in Book History', p. 328.
[302] 'A Choice of Emblemes, and other devises […] by Geffrey Whitney …', in *Penn State University Libraries Catalog* <https://catalog.libraries.psu.edu/catalog/208914> [accessed 16 June 2023]

drawings, in numerous locations throughout.'[303] In comparison to the description of the Pennsylvania copy, this specific entry better reflects the uniqueness of the Illinois copy while also providing a more informative description for scholars and students seeking to research handwritten marks of use. The description also acknowledges the presence of handwritten marks of ownership and provides the names of Staunton, Benson, and Ireland. The catalogue therefore not only records the material features which make this copy unique, but it also amplifies the presence of individuals who have previously used the book. While the Huntington Library Catalogue does acknowledge the book's recent provenance by providing the name of Robert Hoe, whose bookplate can be found on the front pastedown of the Huntington copy, the entry does not mention the handwritten reference apparatus to Alciato's emblems provided by an anonymous user. Finally, as already shown at the beginning of this thesis, the catalogue entry of the Leiden copy does not at all provide any copy-specific information, not even the provenance of the book. This is surprising given the fact that *A Choice of Emblemes* has been described as 'the most famous emblem book of the Leiden Officina Plantiniana.'[304]

The catalogue descriptions of the Pennsylvania and the Illinois copies demonstrate an institutional attempt towards treating each copy as an individual item which necessitates a copy-specific description. They represent an important step towards the recognition of users' handwritten marks and other signs of use as relevant information worth recording in institutional records. The catalogue descriptions of the Leiden and the Huntington copies could follow this example. To reiterate McKitterick's words, book trade catalogues are 'the building blocks of canons of collecting.'[305] So are library catalogues. The way in which we

[303] 'A Choice of Emblemes, and Other Devises […] and Divers Newly Devised', in *Illinois University Library Catalogue* <https://i-share-uiu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/01CARLI_UIU/gpjosq/alma99361527012205899> [accessed 16 June 2023]
[304] Hoftijzer, p. 86.
[305] McKitterick, *Rare Books*, p. 123.

choose to catalogue matters. Even though previous owners of these two copies strove hard to eradicate evidence of the book's previous use, modern day institutions and cataloguers responsible for preserving cultural heritage have an opportunity and a duty to write voices from the margins — both literal and metaphorical — into the catalogues. By doing this, they show and will show that not only clean, supposedly ideal, copies, but also those containing a myriad of notes from previous users deserve to be called *rare*.

6. Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine printed marginal notes and handwritten marks in four copies of Geffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* in order to shed light on the circumstances of the book's production, circulation, and consumption from the moment of its publication in 1586 to its present-day reception. The main goal was to assess the interaction of ordinary historical readers with their copies of the book from the seventeenth to the twentieth century by observing, classifying, and interpreting the material traces of their engagement with their copies. By examining handwritten marks of use, this thesis built on and challenged previous scholarship on Whitney's text which disproportionately prioritised Whitney's role in production, transmission, and circulation of the text. Instead, this thesis shed light on other agents — specifically readers, or as I refer to them, users — involved in these processes and therefore contributed to a more inclusive view of the 'social realities' of the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*.[306] The second aim of this thesis was to investigate to what extent the practices of individual historical readers compare or contrast to those evoked by the text itself and to what extent the text succeeded in reaching the community of readers it addressed in the printed apparatus.

Previous scholarship on Whitney's text has focused primarily on the political context surrounding its publication in Leiden in 1586 in Christopher Plantin's Leiden office. To show that the book was a tool for propaganda for the English national campaign in the Low Countries, Manning focused on Whitney's reworking of the manuscript version, arguing that the changes made to the print version were a deliberate attempt on Whitney's part to fit *A Choice of Emblems* within the context of the campaign and aid Leicester's public image abroad. Due to its focus on Whitney, Manning's and Tung's research located the authority over the text in the author himself, disregarding the role of readers in the processes of

[306] McKenzie, p. 15.

production, consumption and transmission. This thesis sought to fill this gap in research by addressing the transmission and consumption phases in the life cycle of *A Choice of Emblemes* as well as the politically charged moment of its production.

After providing the theoretical and methodological frame in the first chapter, the second chapter looked at the printed apparatus which accompanies the main text block: the prefatory dedicatory letter to the book's patron, the Earl of Leicester, Whitney's printed address to the reader, and Whitney's printed marginal notes. It argued that Whitney used the printed apparatus to control and guide the transmission and the consumption of his text. The book was published at a historical and cultural moment when early modern conceptions of authorship and readership were being challenged by the transition from the culture of manuscript circulation to publication in print for the anonymous audience. While manuscript exchange within a coterie provided a model of authorship built on shared ownership of a text, this changed once the text was published in print and therefore available to the anonymous reader to interpret and judge. I argued that Whitney uses the printed apparatus as a protective device 'buffering him from the anonymous impersonal marketplace.'[307] Specifically, I argued that Whitney negotiates his literary authority by continually contrasting the anonymous wider audience of the printed text with an imagined community of readers. Examining the rhetoric of the prefatory address to the reader, I showed that this community of readers is distinguished from the anonymous audience by their previous familiarity with the manuscript version of the text, their closeness with the author, and, crucially, by their access to additional layers of meaning, therefore resembling a patronal coterie. One way in which Whitney constructs this imagined community is by overtly stating that a manuscript version of *A Choice of Emblemes* previously circulated within a coterie. By doing this, Whitney establishes its value as a (shared) product of an intellectual elite, therefore immediately

[307] Tribble, p. 100.

separating those on the outside of this community — the general audience — from those within it. By evoking gentility and characterising his desired reader as 'the learned … who with indifference will reade,' Whitney seemingly protects himself and his text from the un-learned, opinionated anonymous readers, whose reading of his text might result in a hostile response.[308] This division between the two readerships is further reinforced by the printed marginal notes. By purposefully withholding information from the reader, Whitney uses the marginal note as the vehicle to an external source, which fills in the information gap in the main text block. On the one hand, this marginal note serves as an abstract yet material border on the page between those who can and cannot access the reference due to language or other limitations. Those who can indeed access it are given the impression of membership within an exclusive community of readers privy to the nuances of Whitney's text. I argued that while the construction of an imagined community of readers was in part a response to his 'indeterminate' position as an early modern writer navigating publication in print,[309] perpetuating an imagined divide between the general audience and an imagined community of readers also served as a marketing technique as it gave the readers the impression of being privy to an otherwise private exchange of ideas.

I further set out to show that the marketing aspect would have been particularly important for the first buyers of Whitney's book when it was first published in Leiden in 1586. Drawing on Helmer Helmers's work on early modern public diplomacy, I argued that, as Manning has already established, *A Choice of Emblemes* did indeed function as a tool for Leicester's public image in Leiden and, by extension, for the English involvement in the Dutch revolt against Spain. Rather than considering the text as a whole, I focused on the role of the printed apparatus, specifically the printed marginal notes, in addressing and forging

[308] Whitney, USTC 425939, sig. ***4^{v}.
[309] Tribble, p. 67.

relationships with members of the intellectual elite in Leiden. I therefore showed that the construction of an imagined community of readers characterised by gentility in the preliminary apparatus also served a particular political purpose. Furthermore, to address to what extent the rhetorical moves in the printed apparatus and the construction of an imagined readership were indeed successful in building Leicester's public image and defending the English cause, I examined the circulation of the book within the Leiden circle of scholars. I used book historical sources such as book trade catalogues to determine that two members of this circle, Janus Dousa and Bonaventura Vulcanius, did indeed own copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*. While the auction catalogues confirm that they at some point owned the book, determining the real extent of the book's influence on the Leiden community of scholars remains impossible in the absence of other material traces of the book's circulation in this community.

While printed marginal notes were used by Whitney to address and construct his intended audience and readership, the fourth chapter focused on individual historical users of *A Choice of Emblemes* and the material traces of their use. As the work of scholars interested in handwritten signs of use has consistently shown, users' handwritten interventions — however visually or textually disruptive — are valuable sources for the understanding of early modern printed books. Following their methodological framework in the fourth chapter, I undertook a copy census of four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*: the Leiden, Huntington, Illinois, and Pennsylvania copies of the book. I examined, recorded, and interpreted the different handwritten marks within them, distinguishing between three broader categories: marks of ownership, marks of recording, and marks of active reading. By doing this, I demonstrated that contrary to the narrowly-defined community of readers evoked in the printed apparatus and the printed marginal notes, the book circulated among a wide and varied audience consisting of different genders, ages, and interests. These findings suggest

that the attempt to shape and control the circulation of *A Choice of Emblemes* was only partially successful.

Looking at handwritten marks of ownership of two users of the Illinois copy — Elizabeth Benson and Richard Carter — I argued that their copy of *A Choice of Emblemes* held value for them. They expressed this value by either repeatedly signing their name throughout the copy in order to avoid any potential erasure by later users, or by expressing their ownership at personally meaningful locations in the book. By examining the palaeographical features of the repeated signatures of two other users of the Illinois copy — Sarah Ireland and Thomas Staunton — I highlighted the narrow line between marks of ownership and marks of recording, therefore pointing to the difficulty with which scholars and students are faced when examining ambiguous handwritten signs of use. Proceeding with the handwritten marks of recording, I countered the claims of value discussed in the previous section, showing that for some users the blank margins of their copy served as a convenient writing surface for testing their pens or practising their art. Finally, I looked at handwritten marks of active reading, which shed light on users' intellectual engagement with the content of the text. The extensive reference apparatus provided by the user of the Illinois copy not only sheds light on the kind of users interested in Whitney's book — educated, well-read, interested in the emblem tradition — but also on the manner of their reading: their references to multiple of Whitney's sources, which appear next to individual emblems, suggest that they consulted several sources at the same time. Besides the reference apparatus, I identified textual corrections as another example of users' active engagement with the text, showing that early modern and later users strove to emend the text according to Whitney's vision set forth in the errata list. They therefore not only passively consumed the text but also actively shaped it by means of handwritten corrections. By means of this 'perpetual re-making,' to borrow McKenzie's words, users of the four copies customised and personalised their copies,

which, in turn, affected their future transmission, by providing future users with a guide to Whitney's intertextuality and an emended text.[310] Whether engaging intellectually with the content of the printed text, placing the book within a larger web of intertextual references, or simply an expression of boredom, I concluded that handwritten marks are an invaluable testament to the sociology of a single — yet, as shown, multivocal — text.

The fifth, and the final chapter argued that this multivocality came under attack, particularly form the eighteenth century onwards, as the book became a collectable item and entered the canon of rare books. Examining the rhetoric of book trade catalogues, I demonstrated that the process of selecting not only *which books* are worthy of attention and preservation but also *in what material states* necessarily also involves the influence of human agents, and that these decisions emerge at the intersection of bookselling, collecting, editorial, and conservationist practices. In the case of Whitney's book, its rarity was built around the idea of a clean copy, both visually and textually. Even more specifically, it was built on the idea of the numerical scarcity of clean copies. I further showed that collectors' taste in clean copies influenced the circulation of the book: as the extant copies exhibiting previous signs of use were cleaned of these marks, collectors significantly changed the material form of the copies which circulated. The desire for clean copies was part and parcel of a larger development in bibliography and textual criticism, initiated in the eighteenth century and championed by the New Bibliographers at the beginning of the twentieth century, which sought to recover authorial intention, resulting in the users' voices in the margins becoming marginal. The findings of this chapter indicate that changing attitudes towards which books and in what material states are worthy of being collected and preserved for future generations significantly impacted the materiality of the four copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*, particularly of the Huntington and the Leiden copy, both of which have been rendered almost

[310] McKenzie, p. 55.

entirely devoid of previous signs of use. As a consequence, some producers and consumers of the book have been erased from the history of the book and therefore barred from further circulation. Their absence, in turn, bears consequences for present-day researchers, who are interested in studying signs of use and who, inevitably, are also the consumers of the book by means of their scholarly engagement with it. As producers of new knowledge, they play an important role in the future transmission and reception of *A Choice of Emblemes* and, therefore, greater efforts are required on their part to acknowledge the presence of previous users in catalogue descriptions of copies of *A Choice of Emblemes*. It is only through more inclusive cataloguing practices that we will ensure better representation across the canon of rare books.

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