Dramatic Extracting
and the Reception of Early Modern English Drama

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Abstract

Dramatic Extracting and the Reception of Early Modern English Drama builds on recent work on the transmission of early modern dramatic texts by, for instance, Laura Estill (2015), Jean-Christophe Mayer (2018) and András Kiséry (2019), and it is the first study to directly challenge currently accepted ideas about the role that dramatic extracting played in the promotion both of canon formation and of the 'literary' status of early modern drama. More generally, this thesis demonstrates the importance of studying the archive in order to offer more inclusive and detailed narratives about how early modern drama was received in its own time. It shares Heidi Brayman Hackel's (2005) belief that the investigation of the multiple, individual histories of the habits of reading as suggested by archival evidence can help us gain a more complex and historicised vision of notions of reading, and of the reception of texts more generally, in the early modern period.

This study offers detailed case studies of miscellanies and commonplace books from the first half of the seventeenth century, directly placing in comparison both printed and manuscript examples (which have typically been treated separately), to give a fuller account of the practice of dramatic extracting and its evolution over five decades, from its earlier and more theoretical manifestations in print to its later and more practical instances in manuscript form. This thesis shows that if, at first, printed collections advertised a canon of early modern drama and attempted to promote it to a 'literary status', then the practice of dramatic extracting in manuscript collections encouraged diverse, sometimes personal approaches towards, and uses of, dramatic texts, suggesting that the status of drama was more diverse and shifting, and the canons many and more varied than has previously been acknowledged.

Each chapter is organised around one fundamental thematic aspect of the practice of dramatic extracting, which is explored through the close analysis of key case studies. This analysis examines a variety of individual responses to drama in order to highlight patterns and tendencies, and to distinguish recurrent behaviour within the practice of dramatic extracting from individual choices and practices. This, in turn, allows for a deeper, and more multi-faceted and historicised, understanding of notions of popularity, appropriation, circulation and the evaluation of drama in these compilations, and enables a reappraisal of certain critical orthodoxies of the subject. Ultimately, each chapter discusses the larger implications of the results observed in the analysis of the archival evidence: chapters 1 and 2 examine how collections were created, and also contribute more broadly to the discussion of textual malleability in the early modern period, the status of authorship and non-authorial literary production and reception, and finally the status of drama as a cultural category (genre). Chapters 3 and 4 explore how the practice was received by playwrights, how popular it was, and how it affected the popularity of drama. Together these two chapters contribute to our understanding of canon formation and the cultural and social role of early modern drama.

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Introduction: A Re-evaluation of the Practice of Dramatic Extracting

Collection-making, you could say, is a method of producing knowledge.
Hans Ulrich Obrist[1]

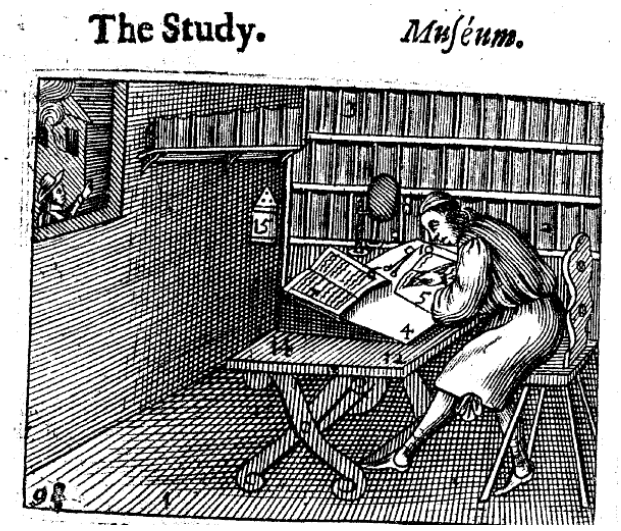


Fig. 1: Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1659), p. 200.

> The Study 1. is a place where a Student, 2. apart from men, sitteth alone, addicted to his Studies, whilst he readeth Books, 3. which being within his reach, he layeth open upon a Desk 4. and picketh all the best things out of them into his own Manual, 5. (Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, 200)

In his *De copia* (1512), Erasmus describes a system for organising one's reading by storing the most striking passages under thematic headings. He claimed that this method would help students to remember what they had read, as well as to improve their writing skills and eloquence.[2] Throughout the early modern period, students in grammar schools, universities and the Inns of Court were encouraged to follow Erasmus's precepts to copy striking passages from the works of Classical and Christian authors (the authorities of the time) into their personal notebooks.[3] 'The Study' (Fig. 1) depicted in Comenius's *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*

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[1] Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Ways of Curating* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 39.
[2] Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. by James K. McConica, 86 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974–), XXIV: *Literary and Educational Writings 2: De copia / De ratione studii*, ed. by Craig R. Thompson, trans. by Betty I. Knott and Brian McGregor (1978), pp. 636–8 (*De copia*, method 11 for enriching style), and pp. 670–2 (*De ratione studii*).
[3] For a thorough account of the various printed prescriptions regarding the creation of commonplace books and their functions in the Renaissance, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of*

(1659), an illustrated dictionary aimed at children, shows precisely this practice: a student at his desk reading from his books and 'pick[ing] all the best things out of them into his own manual'.[4] However, in the isolation of his room, the student, 'addicted to his studies', is neglecting to notice the fire that has broken outside the building (visible from the window). This satirical note hints at the danger of a type of study which distracts students from real life problems. Francis Bacon (1561–1626), a great advocate of the utility of commonplace books, also criticised the more traditional methods for compiling a commonplace book, which promoted the use of what he called 'pedantical divisions without all life or respect to action', that is thematic headings which reflected not the world, but only school.[5] How this method of study, once used exclusively for reading the 'the ancientest, wisest, and most experienced' writers of the past,[6] was taken out of the classroom, adopted, and adapted to the study of the most contemporary English playwrights for more 'practical' skills (reflecting the world rather than school) is the object of study of this thesis.

This thesis focuses not only on commonplace books, but also on miscellanies. Both are forms of collections that require reading selectively, extracting relevant passages that were considered as specimens to be remembered and reused as they were, or to be used as models of beautiful language and moral content. Commonplace books and miscellanies however differ in their form, or organisation of the material collected: commonplace books categorise

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Renaissance Thought (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 101–33. For vernacular kinds of commonplacing, see also Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); and also manuals such as William Baldwin's *Treatise of Morall Philosophie Contayninge the Sayinges of the Wise* (1547), Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), Thomas Blague's *Schole of Wise Conceytes* (1569), Henry Peacham's *The Garden of Eloquence* (1577), John Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612), and Obadiah Walker's *Of Education: Especially of Young Gentlemen* (1677).

[4] Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis sensualium pictus, hoc est, Omnium fundamentalius in mund rerum & in vita actionum, pictura & nomenclatura* (London, 1659), p. 200.

[5] Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. by James Spedding, et al., 14 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1857–74), III: *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. by James Spedding (1868), p. 398. See also Peter Beal, '"Notions in Garrison": The Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1993), pp. 131–47, especially p. 138. See also Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2019).

[6] John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (London, 1612), sig. Z4v.

their material under thematic headings, whereas miscellanies organise their material miscellaneously, or by work or author.

The term 'commonplace book' is recorded for the first time in English in a dictionary of 1578, and the Oxford English Dictionary defines it as:

> A book in which 'commonplaces' or passages important for reference were collected, usually under general heads; hence, a book in which one records passages or matters to be especially remembered or referred to, with or without arrangement. [7]

This definition suggests that commonplace books should usually have 'general heads', but it does not limit it to this form: any collection of extracts gathered for reference can be called a commonplace book, even if it is not organised with headings. However, Ann Moss recognizes that 'the feature which distinguished the commonplace-book from any random collection of quotations was the fact that the selected extracts were gathered together under heads'. [8] Responding to the OED's definition of 'commonplace book', Peter Beal underlines how the 'with or without arrangement' part of the definition opens the category of the commonplace book 'both then and now, to cover different kinds of compilation'. He lists the main different kinds: the table book, 'used for jotting down on the spot things to be remembered', and therefore whose portability is its main feature; the adversaria, notebooks without arrangement and collecting different kinds of information; the coucher, a bigger notebook usually left open on a desk; and the miscellany, 'meaning any kind of compilation or anthology comprising

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[7] *OED*, s.v. 'commonplace book' (definition 1). The first record of the word according to the *OED* appears in T. Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1578), a dictionary of the Latin language with translations in English. Each entry presents a Latin word, which is translated in English and then a series of phrases in which the word is used. These are examples taken from classical authors such as Cicero, Martial, Ovid, Horatio, etc., as it is signalled in brackets. This dictionary shares some of the features of the commonplace book, as it seeks to show-case phrases used by approved, classical authors and aims to enrich the vocabulary of those using it. Of course, these phrases are not the philosophical aphorisms found in commonplace books, but are the stripped, grammatical phrases suitable for a dictionary. However, the author, Thomas Cooper, in his address to the reader suggests that readers use a commonplace book especially for the purpose of gathering the phrases collected in his work.

[8] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. v.

works, or extracts from works, by different authors'.[9] The two main kinds of compilations dealt with in this thesis are commonplace books and miscellanies, but this open definition shows how they are part of the same category of collection. Beal, in an earlier definition present in his glossary of the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, had distinguished between commonplace books and miscellanies as two different types of collections, the first aimed at collecting '"commonplaces" (that is notable pieces of wit or wisdom, useful extracts, quotations, anecdotes, or items of information, deemed worth remembering' to be collected under headings 'for easy reference or as an aid to study').[10] Beal makes of this last feature the crucial aspect that distinguishes a commonplace book from a miscellany.[11] In his definition of miscellany, Beal describes it as 'a manuscript consisting of works, or extracts from works, by various authors, usually compiled for pleasure rather than as an aid to study'.[12] However, as the commonplace books and miscellanies analysed in this thesis will show, this clear-cut distinction between the two types of collection needs to be reconsidered. Moss points out that a commonplace book is after all a tool for reference,[13] which evolved into a less exclusively scholastic tool.[14] The purpose and nature of these compilations often eludes categorisation and strict definitions, and if in the sixteenth century 'a clear line of demarcation between commonplace-books and other works of reference which included quotations' was still visible, in the seventeenth century the line became blurred.[15] Adam Smyth offers a helpful way to deal with the issue of definition of these collections of extracts, which could take

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[9] Beal, '"Notions in Garrison"', pp. 132–3.
[10] Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts, vol. I: 1450–1625* (London: Mansell, 1980), part 2, p. ix.
[11] 'Miscellany' is a term that appears in English later on as well, in 1615, according to the *OED*: See *OED*, s.v. 'miscellany' (definition 3): 'A book, volume, or literary production containing miscellaneous pieces on various subjects'.
[12] Beal, *Index*, I.2, p. ix.
[13] Some scholars even call some collections that could be clearly commonplace books, like *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, 'dictionaries of quotations'**;** see Charles Crawford in the introduction to his edition of Robert Allott's *England's Parnassus or The Choysest Flowers of Our Modern Poets* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. xiii.
[14] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. v.
[15] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. vii–viii.

different, mixed forms, but that shared common features: he suggests to use the term 'commonplace book culture' and he offers a list of sixteen traits that are shared by all these collections belonging to the same cultural category.[16]

The core of the analysis in this thesis focuses on a total of 16 compilations, both printed and manuscript, with over 5,000 dramatic extracts (mainly, but not exclusively, from professional plays), with the addition of a larger pool of collections, which has been considered and mentioned when relevant (but not exhaustively analysed). The collections I have selected for this study include well-known printed and manuscript compilations, but also lesser known (or in some cases newly re-discovered) material. These documents are located primarily in the Bodleian Library and the British Library, and found with the help of Peter Beal's *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700 (CELM)* and the respective library catalogues. The primary sources selected for this research are connected chiefly to early modern London and University environments (Oxford in particular). This evidence offers an important insight into how commonplacing, originally a pedagogical practice used exclusively for studying classical texts, was adopted for the purpose of reading vernacular drama. Lastly, the time period of c. 1590–1660 allows me to study the practice of dramatic extracting (in England) from its very beginning to after the closure of the theatres in 1642, a time when printed manuals, conduct books and commonplace books displaying dramatic extracts became increasingly popular. This span of time enables me not only to observe how the practice of dramatic extracting evolved in its first fifty years of existence, but also how compilers related to past and present playwrights, and how they treated their plays for commonplacing.

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[16] See Adam Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture: A List of Sixteen Traits', in *Women and Writing c. 1340–c. 1650: The Domestication of Print Culture, ed. by Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman* (York: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp. 90–110.

The larger collections I focus on for the main analysis are all collections that can be defined as commonplace books or miscellanies. The smaller collections are sometimes simple notebooks, with personal notes, or single leaves with extracts. I also mention examples from other types of printed collections, which contained dramatic extracts—like the printed manuals very successful around the middle of the seventeenth century—however, I do not offer a full analysis of these collections, nor use them in my main analysis. I made this choice for two reasons, primarily a practical one, but also an ideological one. The collections I use for my main analysis are all collections I have been able to study and transcribe personally. I have therefore an intimate understanding of their content. I have sometimes relied on the work of others: for instance, for the very large printed collection by John Cotgrave, *The English Treasury of Wit and Language, Collected out of the most and best of our English Drammatick Poems* (London, 1655), I have used the identifications made by Joshua McEvilla and already available online.[17] However, the printed manuals with dramatic extracts I mention, but do not analyse in full, do not have editions that could be used to this purpose, and the process of identifying every extract contained therein would have been impossible to achieve in the space (and time) of one thesis.[18] Moreover, these manuals, although part of the 'commonplace book culture' family, belong to a slightly different genre of printed collection. For example, Joshua Poole's *The English Parnassus, or, A helpe to English poesie* (1657) presents itself as a different genre from, for example, Cotgrave's or Bodenham's printed commonplace books. It is clearly structured as a writing manual, divided into three parts: a list of monosyllabic rhymes; a collection of epithets; and phrases and ends of verse. In some parts, these collections resemble commonplace books, but the material they collect is not always definable as dramatic extracts. But what do I mean by 'dramatic extract'?

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[17] Joshua J. McEvilla, with Sean M. Winslow, *Cotgrave Online* (2014, rev. 2019) <https://shakespeareauthorship.com/cotgrave> [accessed 1 August 2019].

[18] I hope in future to be able to add more material to this study, and expand the range of collections included in the main analysis.

Dramatic extracts are short passages taken from plays that undergo a process of selection, extraction and possibly alteration, before being copied in a collection. They can be of varied length, from one line to whole speeches, but they should not be a whole scene, or a long exchange. This thesis considers short dialogues, but not adaptations like drolleries. Some material can be more descriptive and poetic, other more sententious and aphoristic. The latter are also called commonplaces, or *sententiae*, that is philosophical propositions, aphorisms, which had the property of encapsulating wisdom and human experience in a few lines. What classical rhetoricians like Cicero meant when talking about 'commonplaces' were 'generally applicable ideas, precepts, images or similes which pointed or illustrated universal truths and could be used to adorn and enhance formal argument and exposition'.[19] If commonplaces had traditionally had a moral and aphoristic tone, and were pithy and sententious in form, compilers collecting dramatic extracts in the seventeenth century found new types of commonplaces to be taken out of early modern English drama, offering a variety of conventional and unconventional knowledge. As I show in Chapter 1, dramatic extracts could take on various forms and could be used for different purposes, but they all shared that they had gone through a process of decontextualisation and appropriation, which meant that they were not simple copies or quotations of the material in the play, but that their meaning and/or form had been transformed in the process of extraction. I therefore deliberately use the term dramatic extract instead of quotation (as I also explain in Chapter 1), to reflect the process of transformation and decontextualisation. Moreover, my thesis does not study allusions or quotations in texts, but only extracts gathered in collections.

Finally, I do not consider as dramatic extracts all those parts from plays that already had an independent life from the playtext, such as songs, prologues and epilogues, which were not only printed in italics in the plays, but often circulated independently. I will mention

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[19] Beal, '"Notions in Garrison"', p. 135.

some examples of songs present in the collections I analyse when relevant, but I do not offer a full analysis of all the songs present in seventeenth century collections, as this is not the object of my study.[20] Laura Estill talks about the popularity of songs, and how 'songs continued to be among the most popular dramatic extracts in verse miscellanies, songbooks, and even (as manuscript additions in) printed books.'[21] She considers songs as dramatic extracts, but I do not, as songs were not the result of a process of selection, extraction, decontextualisation and appropriation; that is, they were not the result of dramatic extraction. Moreover, songs cannot be used as evidence of how drama was received in the early modern period, because they were not necessarily taken from plays, as they were often 'stand-alone piece[s]', circulated independently from the plays.[22] As Estill herself claims, 'songs... [could be] copied without music and with no reference to their musical nature or dramatic sources'.[23] Tiffany Stern has also claimed that songs from plays, but also prologues and epilogues, 'often circulated in a different way from—and so "outside"—playbooks'.[24] Furthermore, songs 'were likely not be written into the playtext from the start, and to circulate in a bundle containing prologues and epilogues'.[25]

The practical challenges of gathering a corpus of data are also important. The first difficulty that this kind of archival material presents is locating it: uncovering collections with dramatic extracts is not a straightforward task, especially because of the elusive nature of dramatic extracts in these collections (these extracts are often presented unattributed and with no sign of their dramatic origins). Once a collection with dramatic extracts has been individuated, the second task consists in the process of transcribing and identifying its

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[20] Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-century English Manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015), pp. 117–27, has a whole section dedicated to the circulation of songs in these collections.
[21] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 121.
[22] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 93.
[23] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 122.
[24] Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 124.
[25] Stern, *Documents*, p. 171.

contents. The development in recent years of digital resources like *Early English Books Online* (*EEBO*) have helped tremendously with the research of extracts from texts and have made projects like this possible.[26] *The Folger First-Line Index* and especially Beal's *CELM*, now also available online, have been extremely useful resources for identifying collections with dramatic extracts, even if inevitably they do not list all of the manuscripts with dramatic extracts (and *First-Line Index* does not include all those examples of dramatic extracts written as prose), and sometimes miss crucial information.[27] Popular research tools like this can sometimes (and somewhat paradoxically) become a barrier, by fixing the canon of manuscripts with literary content and providing a single resource to which all scholars unquestioningly turn. The lack of detail and information in archives' catalogues can also be an obstacle in the discovery of new material. The complexity of describing the content of miscellanies or commonplace books collecting a large number of texts or extracts of texts from a variety of sources would be an impossible task for a catalogue entry, which, by nature, need to be succinct. Even when an entry quite explicitly states that a manuscript contains extracts from plays, it does so vaguely, and sometimes in a biased way. [28]

More recent digital projects have sprung from the desire to help build a larger, more inclusive and searchable corpus of seventeenth-century manuscripts with dramatic extracts, as in the case of *DEx: A Database of Dramatic Extracts*, edited by Laura Estill and myself.[29] I

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[26] These digital resources have also encouraged scholars to embark on new and improved editions for these kinds of collections. In particular, see the very first modern edition of *Belvedere* which is currently being produced at the University of Geneva by Lukas Erne and Devani Singh, which will offer on-page annotation with not only the identification of the given passage, but also a transcription of it as it appears in the original source (forthcoming, Cambridge University Press).

[27] See also my review of the *First-Line Index*: 'Carolyn W. Nelson et al. eds., *Union First Line Index of English Verse* (https://firstlines.folger.edu)', *Early Modern Digital Review*, 2, 2 (2019).

[28] See also Laura Estill's recent essay on the bias of the archives, with which I further engage in Chapter 4: 'Shakespearean Extracts, Manuscript Cataloguing, and the Misrepresentation of the Archive', in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Tiffany Stern (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2019), pp. 175–92.

[29] *DEx: A Database of Dramatic Extracts*, ed. by Laura Estill and Beatrice Montedoro (Iter: Gateway to the Middle Ages and Renaissance) <https://dex.itercommunity.org> [accessed 11 November 2018]. The database is currently available in its beta launch version. This database offers free access to semi-diplomatic transcriptions of the dramatic extracts found in the seventeenth-century collections present on the website, along with modern

have provided many of my transcriptions to this database, which works as an extended appendix to this thesis. *DEx* builds on and complements existing digital resources like the aforementioned *CELM*, and *Folger First-Line Index*, hoping to build an open-access resource, gathering in one searchable database all surviving dramatic extracts from manuscripts. Currently, *DEx* presents only manuscripts dating from the seventeenth century with extracts from plays written and published before the closure of the theatres in 1642, but in the future this timeframe could be expanded. Moreover, *DEx* does not focus only on the canon, but includes extracts taken from lesser-known playwrights, and includes both verse and prose, and by offering full transcriptions of the dramatic extracts it greatly contributes to the ongoing opening of the archives facilitated by the 'digital turn'.[30] *DEx* is intended to be a short-cut for researchers, especially reducing time spent on the necessary process of transcription and identification of this material. It is not intended to be a substitute to research in the archives, but instead aims to offer scholars more time to go back to the physical manuscripts and investigate these collections more thoroughly. The preparatory work involved in studying such collections can be very time-consuming, and a hindrance to the time actually spent interpreting this data, as well as limiting the amount of data that it is possible to consider. *DEx* aims to facilitate and promote the study of the role of dramatic extracts in theatre history, audience reception, early modern print and manuscript culture, and the history of reading.

When confronted with dramatic extracts, scholars have often focused most of their efforts on the process of tracing those extracts back to an original source: studying this material was therefore not an end in itself, but simply a means to study the reception of a

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transcriptions of the passages found in a modern edition of the play. Each extract is accompanied by the basic metadata information regarding the source of the extract: the playwright, play, character and act, scene, line from a modern edition. Finally, it provides a search engine and faceted filter that allows users to search the extracts by playwright, play, character or manuscript. This tool, crucially, makes the data more dynamic and provides a quick way of comparing dramatic extracts from a variety of collections, produced by different compilers at different times.

[30] Laura Estill, 'Introducing DEx: A Database of Dramatic Extracts', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 13, 4 (2013): 128–30 (p. 128).

particular author or play. The importance attached to the sources and the authorship of the extracts by recent critics reflects a modern concern with intellectual property and the focus of scholarship on particular authors, especially Shakespeare. Scholars such as Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier, Arthur Marotti and Laura Estill, and Lukas Erne use printed and manuscript miscellanies primarily to demonstrate how Shakespeare's work was circulated, and to speculate on how this practice promulgated his name.[31] This approach is author-centric: not only it is centred around only one author (namely, Shakespeare), but it also gives little consideration to the other 'non-authorial' agents involved in the making of these collections.[32] More recently, *Shakespeare and Quotation*, edited by Julie Maxwell and Kate Rumbold (2018), also displays a source- and author-centred approach, as it focuses on how Shakespeare used quotation and how others used his quotations.[33] Ultimately, the preoccupation of this book is to 'speculate about the cumulative influence of these quotations on Shakespeare's reputation'.[34] Lastly, Jean-Christophe Mayer's *Shakespeare's Early Readers* offers a survey and rich analysis of readerly responses to Shakespeare's texts, but, as the title suggests, his research is centred on a particular author.[35] The aim of this thesis is to study collections of dramatic extracts not as a means to talk about the sources commonplaced, but to study this material in its own right, so as to offer a re-evaluation of the practice of dramatic extracting. This re-evaluation is two-fold: on the one hand, it re-evaluates the practice of dramatic extracting in the first half of the seventeenth century in both print and

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[31] Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier, 'Reading and Authorship: The Circulation of Shakespeare 1590–1619', in *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text*, ed. by Andrew Murphy (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 35–56; Arthur Marotti and Laura Estill, 'Manuscript Circulation', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 53–70; and Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: University Press, 2013).

[32] See Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), especially chapter 3, for a discussion of the many agents involved in the making of manuscript miscellanies and anthologies.

[33] *Shakespeare and Quotation*, ed. by Julie Maxwell and Kate Rumbold (Cambridge, University Press, 2018).

[34] Julie Maxwell and Kate Rumbold, 'General Introduction', in *Shakespeare and Quotation*, ed. Maxwell and Rumbold, p. 19.

[35] Jean-Christophe Mayer, *Shakespeare's Early Readers: A Cultural History from 1590 to 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

manuscript collections, and highlights how dramatic extracts were appropriated, understood, used and valued. On the other hand, it sets out to complicate our understanding of the impact this practice had on the reception of early modern drama, and especially re-evaluate the impact it had on the popularity and status of drama. Several scholars in recent years have seen in the practice of dramatic extracting a sign of the increased status of vernacular drama. For instance, Peter Stallybrass and Zachary Lesser have argued that by commonplacing drama, compilers of printed collections of extracts such as *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* (both 1600) promoted drama to a 'literary' status, because the presence of this material in these collections attests, they claims, 'the ability of an emergent vernacular literature to reproduce the timeless and impersonal authority attributed to *sententiae* in classical texts'.[36] More recently, Erne and Estill have endorsed Neil Rhodes's and Moss's claim that these collections promoted the formation of a canon of early modern writers, signalling, as Moss claims, that 'English and English literature, perhaps precociously, had come of age'.[37]

However, these arguments are problematic, not least because they are limited in their assumption that how the practice was advertised in print in its early manifestations subsequently dictated the way in which dramatic extracting was performed in the following years in both manuscript and printed collections. There is an assumption that practice followed theory. While printed commonplace books could be used as models or even as quarries of material for private collections,[38] the presence of prescriptions and models did not necessarily mean that compilers adhered to them blindly. As Earle Havens has pointed out,

> [t]he much more extensive manuscript record reveals a considerable gap between the theoretical history of commonplace books, which was most often communicated in

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[36] Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, 'The First Literary *Hamlet* and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008), 371–420 (p. 417).
[37] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 210. See also Neil Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins of English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 170; Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, p. 232; Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 6.
[38] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. vii.

> the medium of print, and historical practice, in the form of manuscript collections generally kept for personal reference and use.[39]

Smyth has also lamented that 'scholarly discussion has focused on printed prescriptions' and that 'this concentration on theory limits our understanding of how these rules were enacted'.[40] An evaluation also of the contexts in which commonplacing was practised, the nature of its uses and the status of its users will also be fundamental in order to build a more complex picture of the social and cultural role of dramatic extracting (as I will do more fully in a chapter that will be added in the book development of this thesis). This thesis uses the archival evidence to challenge this assumption and demonstrate the complex nature of the relationship between the practice of dramatic extracting and the status of vernacular drama. Above all, I argue that dramatic extracting promoted the circulation and appropriation of drama; but rather than stabilizing a canon of texts or the category of drama itself – a stabilizing that canonization and 'literary' status would seem to require – the practice of extracting encouraged diverse, novel approaches towards and uses of dramatic texts. Compilers sought material in the most recent plays, chose the passages that best suited their own personal interests, and were not afraid of altering the extracts when needed. This effectively made drama a 'commodity' to be used as one pleased, in a form that could be easily adapted to the time and needs of the compiler. This challenges the claims of Lesser, Stallybrass, and Moss (amongst others) that there is a simple correlation between the widespread practice of dramatic extracting and the invention of literary drama as a stable and legible cultural category.

Finally, this thesis is informed by the recent increasing interest of scholarship in material culture and the material embodiments of texts both in their dissemination and

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[39] Earle Havens, *Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, 2001), p. 9.
[40] Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture', p. 90. Estill offers an important survey of the variety of ways in which drama was appropriated through dramatic extracting in her monograph *Dramatic Extracts*.

reception, and re-asserts Charles Whitney's claim in *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama* (2006) that 'an essential perspective for understanding Renaissance drama' is to be gained from studying collections of dramatic extracts.[41] This belief was also shared by Heidi Brayman Hackel, who, in *Reading Material in Early Modern England* (2005), encourages the investigation of the multiple, individual histories of the habits of reading told by archival evidence, such as dramatic extracts, in order to gain a more complex, and historicised vision of notions of reading, and of the reception of texts more generally, in the early modern period.[42] Previous work has often been organised around rather stark arguments focused around one 'literary' narrative, or has focused around one particular figure, such as Shakespeare. This thesis aims to offer a more inclusive and diversified exploration of the archives, to open up multiple narratives and create a subtler and more inclusive discussion of the role that dramatic extracting played in the reception of early modern drama.[43] My research follows Estill's *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts* (2015) as only the second study dedicated to the investigation of the practice of dramatic extracting in seventeenth-century England, and it addresses the two main limitations of Estill's book: the first being the (almost) exclusive focus on manuscript sources, and the second lying in the chronological, survey approach to the analysis of this material. In my thesis, each chapter is organised around one fundamental aspect of the practice of dramatic extracting, which is explored through the close analysis of key case studies, and compared with a larger pool of

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[41] Charles Whitney, *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 13.

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

[43] See also Paul Werstine, 'Plays in Manuscript', in *Early English Drama*. ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 481–97. In his study of (whole) plays in manuscripts, Werstine, pp. 494–5 at 494, discusses the importance of accepting that 'Each dramatic manuscript can... be appreciated in its uniqueness as the matrix of a variety of possible scholarly narratives', and is against an *a priori* theorisation of the archives. The archival evidence allows us to tell multiple stories, which should not be limited by *a priori* narratives or accepted arguments. See also András Kiséry, '"Flowers for English Speaking": Play Extracts and Conversation', in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Tiffany Stern (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2019), p. 163, who has also lamented the fact that current narratives on dramatic extracting are limiting what we can say about this practice.

examples from different years and different types of collections, both in print and manuscript forms. Studying a variety of individual responses to drama through the lens of one main question in each chapter, enables the highlighting of similar and contrasting elements, thereby distinguishing recurrent behaviour within the practice of dramatic extracting from individual choices and practices. This, in turn, allows for a deeper, more multi-faceted and historicised understanding of notions of commonplacing, authorship, popularity and the status of drama in these compilations.

Chapter 1, *From Drama to Extract: Varieties of Appropriation in Seventeenth-Century Printed and Manuscript Collections*, offers a close analysis of dramatic extracts, in both their original sources and the collections in which they were then gathered, in order to demonstrate how compilers did not simply copy but transformed a passage from a play into a dramatic extract in a compilation. The analysis is presented as a taxonomy of ways in which these extracts were appropriated in a range of printed and manuscript collections from the first half of the seventeenth century. This includes the first analysis of a previously neglected manuscript commonplace book almost entirely dedicated to drama (Bod. MS Rawl. D 952) among poetic miscellanies by Oxford students (such as Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 142 and BL Egerton MS 2421), but also the first in-depth analysis of dramatic extracts present in more widely known printed collections such as *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, or manuscript miscellanies such as Edward Pudsey's (Bod. MS Eng. poet. d.3, SBTRO MS ER 82/1/21) and Abraham Wright's (BL Add MS 22608). The argument of this chapter addresses how these dramatic extracts were the product of a creative act of reception, in which the compilers were as much 'authors' of the extracts as the original writers. Finally, this chapter raises the question of whether these extracts still bore any sign of their dramatic origins, and shows how the dialogical aspect of drama was a feature unique to dramatic extracts.

Chapter 2, *Whose Work? Authorship and Attribution in Collections with Dramatic Extracts*, raises the question of how authorship was treated in printed and manuscript collections with dramatic extracts. In order to answer this question, the chapter studies how dramatic extracts were attributed, or not, and more generally how compilers presented and referred back to the sources and original authors of the texts that they extracted and copied into their collections. For example, how often did compilers note their sources, and what purposes did author attributions serve? In a culture preoccupied with circulating and re-appropriating extracts, why note the original source or author? Looking at the same wide range of printed and manuscript collections presented in the first chapter (with the addition of poetic miscellanies such as BL Add MS 30982), this chapter offers for the first time a thorough analysis (accompanied by detailed tables) both of the ways in which attributions were used in these collections and of their different functions, of which I am able to identify three main recurring categories (organisation, traceability and marketing). Here I demonstrate that even when attributions were present, attitudes towards authorship were complex and varied: I argue that attribution was not always primarily meaningful as a means of reaching back to a source (and therefore as an acknowledgement of one's authorship), but sometimes rather worked as a way to make a collection efficient and navigable, or to make a passage in a collection more easily traceable, or, lastly, as a 'marketing' device exploiting the reputation of authors. Finally, the chapter ends with a discussion of anonymity and communality—that is the idea that once a text had been made public, either in writing or orally, it could be considered as a shared property—and shows how widely accepted these concepts were within commonplace book culture. Studying the material signs of attribution left in these collections gives the opportunity to discuss the concept of early modern authorship from the point of view of the compilers of these collections, and also to evaluate whether drama was presented as a distinct cultural category (genre).

Chapter 3, *Playwrights and Commonplacing: Representing and Promoting Dramatic Extracts Within and Beyond the Play-Text*, discusses commonplacing from the perspective of those who wrote plays, and asks how they responded and engaged with this practice. Two main types of responses are analysed: in the first half of the chapter, I explore how the practice of commonplacing was dramatised by playwrights in plays such as Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* and *Cynthia's Revels*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and the Cambridge play *The Returne from Pernassus*, in order to gain a perspective on the status of commonplace culture in the play world itself. The dramatic representations of commonplacing are also compared to similar images portrayed in non-dramatic texts, such as Rich's *Faultes Faults, and nothing else but Faultes* and Stephens's *Satyrical Essayes*. In the second half of the chapter, I show how playwrights pointed out and therefore promoted commonplacing of their own plays, through the use of verbal pointers (within the play or in the prologue) and sometimes, if more rarely, through the use of typographical marks (such as italics or quotation marks also known as 'commonplace markers', which, however, were most of the time the sole domain of stationers). This analysis will lead to a discussion of the status of the practice of commonplacing, and the cultural and social anxieties (not to mention fears of 'plagiarism') that it raised among writers and practitioners alike. The chapter demonstrates that despite the generally bad publicity given to the practice of commonplacing in the portrayals of it discussed here, playwrights (and stationers) also actively sought to promote the commonplacing of their works as a way to increase their popularity.

In order to explore questions of popularity and status, the final chapter of this thesis, Chapter 4, *Dramatic Extracting and the Popularity and Status of Early Modern Drama*, pays close attention to numbers—the number of extracts taken from marked out passages, the number of extracts taken from certain plays, authors, and the number of extracts collected for particular topics. The first section raises the question of what impact dramatic extracting had

on the popularity of drama and canon formation. All of the dramatic content of the printed and manuscript collections studied in this work is presented in detailed tables (see Appendices 1 and 2) that allow one to easily compare which plays and authors recurred in these collections. What the data shows is that a variety of 'canons' were created in these collections and that compilers of printed and manuscript collections, I argue, had different criteria for choosing their material: print compilers were influenced primarily by the book trade, but also offered a wider range of authors from a wider time-period, aiming to please a public readership, whilst the manuscript compilers were driven instead by personal interest and focused on more current and local material. The second part of the chapter explores questions of status, analysing what kind of drama was popular with compilers. It does so by considering which topics were favoured in their collections, but also how typographical pointing affected the popularity with commonplacers of certain passages or plays. My work shows that compilers of print collections were more receptive to these markers than compilers of manuscript collections. This demonstrates how partial and limited the impact of such markers was and supports the argument that 'commonplace markers' were mainly meant as a marketing device, which stationers promoted, but which ultimately did not have a great impact on manuscript compilers. Finally, this evidence challenges arguments made by Lesser and Stallybrass claiming that dramatic extracting promoted drama to a 'literary' status, as a more detailed and inclusive analysis of the presence of gnomic pointing in plays, and their impact on the readers and commonplacers of those plays, shows how limited their influence on how a play should be read and commonplaced was. I show instead how dramatic extracting promoted a popularisation of drama, both because it contributed to its wider circulation, and because it promoted its appropriation and manipulation as a kind of commodity that provided current, fashionable material, both in terms of language used and topics covered.

1. From Drama to Extract: Varieties of Appropriation in Seventeenth-Century Printed and Manuscript Collections

1.1. Introduction

Scholars have often used miscellanies and commonplace books with dramatic extracts as a way of studying how a specific author (especially Shakespeare) was read and circulated, and so when confronted with such material they have focused most of their efforts on the process of tracing those extracts back to an original source.[1] While tracing the sources of the extracts under study is one important route towards understanding the nature of these compilations, if we are to read these compilations on their own early modern terms, we need to think not only about sources and original authors, but also of the new 'destination' of this material, the collection, and the agency of the compilers who made these collections.[2] In other words, we need to consider these collections as texts that need to be studied on their own terms.[3] This approach builds on Arthur Marotti's *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (1995) and its focus on the reader/compiler's agency, which I use as a methodology to study both print and manuscript collections and the textual transmission of dramatic extracts.[4] The aim of this chapter is to offer a re-evaluation of dramatic extracting and the agency of compilers, showing how compilers were not simply copying their material, and that the alterations in the dramatic extracts were not simple variants due to textual instability, but were

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[1] See review of such scholarship in general introduction, p. 18.

[2] For poetry in miscellanies read in a similar way, see Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[3] Recently scholarship has begun to study these objects for their own value, with examples of editions dedicated to whole collections, thereby offering more detailed and inclusive analysis. For examples of scholars working on whole collections (rather than on single extracts), see recent editions of commonplace books: *The Commonplace Book of Sir John Strangways (1645–1666)*, ed. by Thomas Olsen (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004); *Nicholas Oldisworth's Manuscript (Bodleian MS. Don.c.24)*, ed. by John Gouws (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009); *The Holgate Miscellany: An Edition of Pierpont Morgan Library Manuscript MA 1057*, ed. by Michel Denbo (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012). For a critique of this scholarship that considers each MS collection as a whole, see Jonathan Gibson, 'Synchrony and Process: Editing Manuscript Miscellanies', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, 52 (2012), 85–100.

[4] Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*.

often the result of deliberate acts of re-writing.[5] The chapter offers a close analysis of dramatic extracts in a variety of types of collections, both printed and manuscript, in order to illustrate some of the main patterns of how extracts from plays were appropriated, and re-written in these collections.

What can we learn from studying dramatic extracts? Estill's recent monograph, the only book at present wholly dedicated to the study of dramatic extracting, concludes that dramatic extracts can be used as variant readings for the sources from which they are derived, opening up 'the text [of those plays] to multiple meanings and interpretations'.[6] However, the compilers of these printed and manuscript compilations tended to read the extracts thinking about the potential future uses, and meanings, of this material independently from the plays. Commonplacers did not necessarily read plays for their plot or characters, but to learn new phrases and expressions, which could be 'appropriated for a range of uses that ha[d] no connection' with the original source.[7] Approaching this material as evidence of how plays were interpreted could therefore be misleading.[8] These extracts were, to various degrees, created (or re-created) by the compilers, and therefore, I claim, studying them tells us more about the compilers and how texts could be appropriated and transmitted in the early modern period, than how a certain play or playwright was interpreted. Estill understands that studying

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[5] On the importance of variance as an intentional creative process in the transmission of medieval literature, and on the establishment of the 'new philology', see, for example, Bernard Cerquiglini's thought-provoking *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. by Betsy Wing (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1999 [1989]); and the special journal issue edited by Stephen G. Nichols in *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 65, 1 (1990). For a recent assessment of the new philology, see the special journal issue titled *Rethinking Philology: Twenty-Five Years after The New Philology*, edited by Markus Stock and A. E. Christa Canitz in *Florilegium*, 32 (2015).

[6] Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 227.

[7] Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier, 'Reading and Authorship', p. 50. Also, Sasha Roberts suggests that reading for commonplacing 'meant the antithesis of reading for plot or character': the quotations were chosen for their intrinsic qualities, independently from their function in the narrative of the play ('Reading Shakespeare's Tragedies of Love: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, and *Antony and Cleopatra* in Early Modern England', in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works, Volume I: The Tragedies*, ed. by Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 125.

[8] As Jean-Christophe Mayer remarks, 'Examining commonplacing readers' excerpts can be frustrating for critics who would like to associate these extracts with a general interpretation of a play' (*Shakespeare's Early Readers*, p. 169).

these extracts 'add[s] to our understanding of a text's fluidity', but while her aim is to show how 'Early modern plays change meaning when readers and audiences experience and interpret them', my aim in this chapter is to look at this from the opposite angle, not from the perspective of the plays and authors, but from that of the collections and collectors, and show how compilers engaged with these extracts and transformed them into something new to be read independently from the plays.[9] Dramatic extracting is not simply a passive act of reception, offering a reading of a passage in a play, but it is an act of active reception, a re-writing of the passage where the compiler is as much author of the extract as the original writer. Commonplacing or dramatic extracting is often defined as a mode of reading, but it should also be seen as a mode of writing.[10]

In my study of the reception of drama in these collections I use what Ika Willis calls a 'text-to-text approach'. This means that I conceive of these printed and manuscript collections, and the extracts that they contain, as texts in their own right, created by compilers in response to the texts extracted, and that I consider these as the 'responding texts' and 'the place where the process of reception happens'.[11] In this chapter, I offer a close analysis of the extracts in both their original context, the play, and their new context, the collection, in order to observe this process of reception (and transformation) and what compilers actually did when gathering, ordering, and transcribing dramatic extracts. This analysis of the corpus under study will exemplify a variety of recurrent types of appropriation, and will also offer the basis for a much-needed reflection on the status of 'quotation' in the early modern period (showing how what it meant then, could be quite different from what we understand with this term now). In fact, as already discussed in the introduction of this thesis, rather than using the

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[9] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 227.
[10] See also Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), in which she argues that the practice of commonplacing encouraged particular modes of reading and writing amongst the educated.
[11] Ika Willis, *Reception* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 35.

term ‘quotation’ in discussions about the material studied in this thesis, I opt instead for ‘dramatic extract’.[12] This term better describes the type of ‘quotation’ analysed here, as it puts greater emphasis on the process of the extraction and displacement of an excerpt, rather than the implied pointing back to the source as the term ‘quotation’ would do.

Moreover, examining this material will not only contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the status of quotation in the early modern period, but will also offer precise models of textual malleability more broadly.[13] Much work has been undertaken on the textual transmission of lyrics, both in manuscript and printed miscellanies, and this chapter is indebted to work carried out by scholars including Mary Hobbs, Henry Woudhuysen, Peter Beal, Harold Love, and Arthur Marotti.[14] These scholars have already opened up the possibility of studying textual variants as positive evidence of the activity of readers and editors of collections who were circulating texts, or textual fragments, in a variety of versions. This work has led to a general sense of manuscript transmission and the malleability of texts; in what follows, I offer a particular focus on drama and illustrate the different textual outcomes of transforming passages in a play into extracts in a collection (not only in manuscript but also in printed forms). What I hope to contribute to the field of textual transmission is to offer more specificity to this area of study, by introducing a taxonomy of the variety of things that happen to plays when they are extracted and show with precision the variety of textual stories they tell. This detail – organised around kinds of textual variance – is

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[12] See discussion of terminology used here in the introduction to this thesis, especially p. 14. Estill was the first to use this term as a title for her monograph, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts*, and for her digital project, *DEx: A Database of Dramatic Extracts*.

[13] Work done on poetic miscellanies such as Adam Smyth’s *“Profit and Delight”: Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004) and Callum Seddon’s ‘“Witness William Strode”: Manuscript Contexts, Circulation, and Reception’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2016) shows very similar categories of alterations being applied to poetry.

[14] See Mary Hobbs, *Early Seventeenth Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992); Henry R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth- Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); and Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*.

needed to bring more focus and nuance to the discussion of textual transmission.[15] This lack of precision has already been noted by Adam Smyth in his analysis of printed verse miscellanies.[16] In the case of dramatic extracts, Estill in her survey offers an overview which aims to show diversity, rather than highlight similarities through close analysis and direct comparison of dramatic extracts from a variety of collections; and other scholars, like Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier, offer only a very limited number of examples of how extracts were appropriated, and do not attempt categorisation.[17]

The analysis of this chapter is organised as a taxonomy, which presents various examples of textual transmission, from which I extrapolate a series of broader types, or models, so as to avoid being constrained by a discussion of dramatic excerpts only through a sequence of individual, atomised case studies. Moreover, offering examples from a variety of types of collection (commonplace books, miscellanies, courtship manuals), both printed and manuscript, allows me to show how these categories of appropriation occurred across all types of collections (and how print and manuscript culture behaved in much more similar ways than previously thought).[18] The dramatic extracts in the following analysis are taken from a variety of collections (from the first half of the seventeenth century), some of which are under-studied poetic miscellanies compiled by Oxford students (such as Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 142 and BL Egerton MS 2421), but also some miscellanies that have received some critical discussion, such as Edward Pudsey's (Bod. MS Eng. poet. d.3, SBTRO MS ER 82/1/21) and Abraham Wright's (BL Add MS 22608), or more widely known printed collections such as *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* (for which I offer a first in-depth

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[15] Mayer, pp. 167–73, offers useful parallel examples of types of alterations recurring in these collections, but only dedicates a subsection of his Chapter 5 to this. My chapter, being dedicated to the topic of appropriation, offers a larger number of examples and it is also more inclusive in that it looks at dramatic extracts from various authors and not only Shakespeare as in Mayer's case.

[16] Smyth, *'"Profit and Delight"'*, p. 76.

[17] See Stallybrass and Chartier, 'Reading and Authorship', pp. 35–56**.**

[18] See especially Marotti, p. 135, who claims that print culture was more 'author-centered' or 'interested in correcting, perfecting, or fixing texts in authorially sanctioned forms' than the manuscript system was.

analysis). However, most of the dramatic extracts analysed here are taken from a previously neglected manuscript commonplace book almost entirely dedicated to drama (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawlinson D 952, henceforth only 'D 952'), as this manuscript offers a large number of extracts never studied before, and also shows how a compiler could adopt a range of treatments for appropriating dramatic extracts within the same collection. This is a duodecimo manuscript probably produced by a University student (identified by the initials 'CB') around 1632, which contains 339 extracts organised throughout under thematic headings.[19] Until now, D 952 has only received the attention of one short catalogue entry in the Rawlinson Quarto Catalogue, which describes it, very succinctly, as '[a] common-place book of sentences out of plays, under heads in alphabetical order'.[20] D 952 offers insight into the process of compiling a collection dedicated mainly to dramatic extracts organised with thematic headings throughout, aspects not so commonly found in extant collections. First of all, this type of organisation was very rarely adhered to as thoroughly as in this case, and especially in manuscript collections with dramatic material: as Smyth has pointed out in his work on commonplace book culture, '[i]t is extremely common to find a manuscript that

[19] Three hands are present in the manuscript: a main hand, who compiled the large majority of the collection and added the headings and the initial list of plays 'read' or 'not yet learned of me', and which I assume to be 'CB', who also had the manuscript bound; the other two hands are later and only contribute minor additions. A note left in the first pages of the collection by the main hand compiling this manuscript (CB's hand), indicates a place and time, which could suggest the environment with which the compiler was associated: 'Five Score barrels of beare at one vine lane I seene in the schollers buttery. without horseing. besides 4 empty places for four barrels moore. 1632. August. 21th' (fol. 1^{v}). This date is corroborated by the paper watermark and the fact that most plays mentioned in the collection appeared in print, either for the first time or with a reprint, around the years 1630–1633. The content and headings used by CB in this manuscript will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[20] William D. Macray, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ Partis Quintæ Fasciculus Quarto Ricardi Rawlinson Codicum Classes [A-D] Complectens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), col. 216. Despite the explicit reference to its dramatic content, this entry (among others) has not made it into Peter Beal's *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450–1700* (*CELM* henceforth) nor, as far as I am aware, is it mentioned by any other scholar. Perhaps the very fact that Beal does not mention D 952, has rendered the manuscript invisible, so to speak, in scholarly criticism.

started life as a dutiful enactment of commonplace principles… but which proceeds to blur into different forms'.[21]

Secondly, D 952 is the earliest known example of manuscript commonplace book (thoroughly organised with thematic headings) mainly dedicated to drama (265 out of 339 total extracts): the very first printed collections containing dramatic extracts, *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* (both 1600) also adopted this traditional structure, but drama played a very minor role in them. It took more than fifty years, with Cotgrave's *English Treasury of Wit and Language* (1655), for the first printed commonplace book collecting extracts exclusively from vernacular playwrights to appear. Laura Estill proposes a new subcategory of collection, the 'dramatic miscellany', which, she explains, 'overlaps with both verse miscellany and commonplace book, but also has distinct characteristics', mainly to do with the 'focus on extracts from plays'.[22] She claims that 'the earliest extant dramatic miscellanies date to after the closure of the theatres in 1642' and lists Cotgrave's *English Treasury* as the only known seventeenth-century print dramatic miscellany, and a few more manuscript examples, including Abraham Wright's miscellany (c. 1640s).[23] However, D 952 predates the closure of the theatres, dating from around 1630, and most likely Wright's miscellany. Estill concedes that earlier evidence than that which she supplies might be uncovered, and indeed D 952 is proof that other early examples of 'dramatic miscellanies' could potentially be lying undisturbed in library archives. It is therefore tempting to say that D 952 is the earliest known case of this kind of collection, but what seems even more important than this claim for firstness is the reminder that what scholarship has been able to analyse to this day is only a

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[21] Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture: A List of Sixteen Traits', p. 98. As already discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the multiple shapes taken by these collections makes it difficult for scholars today to give them a name. Smyth suggests that clear nomenclature was not a concern in the seventeenth century, and that it is more useful to think of all these collections as being part of a common 'commonplace book culture', rather than trying to identify each of them individually, as each collection is unique.
[22] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, pp. 79–80.
[23] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 80.

portion of the surviving evidence, and that, in turn, surviving evidence represents only a fraction of the real picture of the practice of dramatic extracting in early modern England.[24]

The following analysis begins with subtler and more indirect examples of appropriation (or re-framing) of the material collected, and gradually incorporates examples which display a greater degree of direct, textual manipulation (or re-writing) of the extracts. Each of the headings and sub-headings below introduces a new variety of textual transmission; the whole constitutes an attempt towards a taxonomy of the culture of dramatic extracts.

1.2. New contexts

1.2.1. Losing satirical meaning

The commonplace book D 952 offers several examples where an extract is appropriated simply by inserting it into a new context. This first category of appropriation concerns specifically those examples where the new context strips the extract of its original satirical meaning such that it gains new meanings. The very first example of this is to be found in the opening folio of this commonplace book with the lists of 'Comedies not yet learned'[25] and 'Comedies read of me & tragedyes' (f. 1r). Between these two headings the compiler (hereafter 'CB') adds these lines: 'prophanation bringes mortalls / laughing to damnation' (see Fig. 2). Such admonishing lines, placed in isolation (that is, out of their original context), at the beginning of this collection, raise some intriguing questions about meaning and function: what do these lines mean, and how is CB using these lines in his collection?

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[24] In the book to be developed from this thesis I will dedicate one new chapter to the issue of the partiality of the evidence of the practice of dramatic extracting underlining the gap between extant evidence and lost evidence.

[25] By which CB means not yet commonplaced, as I explain in Chapter 2. See also Marta Staznicky, 'Closet Drama', in *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 416–30, who discusses how playtexts could be studied and 'read in the manner prescribed for all classical texts: diligently, repeatedly, with pen and paper at hand, and directed or at least assisted by a tutor... Taking place at a writing table.' (pp. 422–3). CB might have been familiar with scholarly playreading, which, Staznicky explains, was usually extended to vernacular closet drama, but that CB here clearly applied not only to closet drama, but also professional plays.

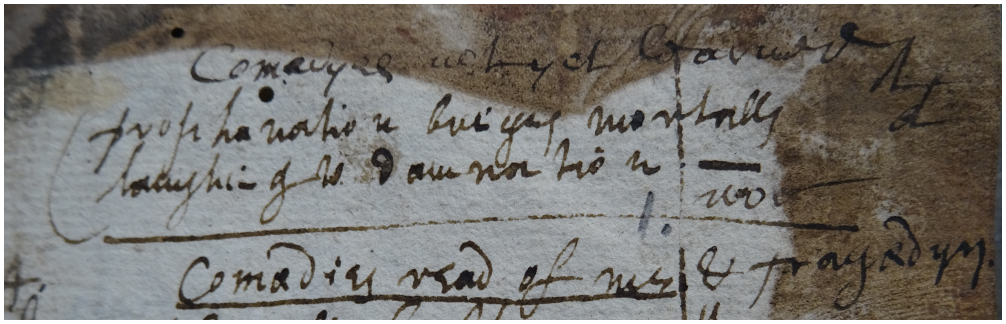


Fig. 2: 'prophanation bringes mortalls / laughing to damnation' as it appears alongside 'Comedyes not yet learned' and 'Comedies read of me & tragedyes' in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 952, f. 1r. 1630s-50s. Reproduced with permission of the Bodleian Library.

The literal meaning is essentially thus: to desecrate or degrade what is considered worthy of respect brings those who are laughing to damnation (even if it is not clear who is doing the 'laughing', whether it is 'prophanation' or the 'mortalls'). The function of this passage can be discerned by considering the placement of these lines, that is at the start of the volume, where they seem to assume the function of a kind of motto, a piece of paratext that encourages the reader not to 'prophane' and to respect the compiler's efforts in making this collection. But how is the reader supposed to understand this 'motto'? Are these lines intended as serious or ironic? This example offers an opportunity to explore how nuances in tone were generated in a commonplace culture where excerpts were taken out of their original context and placed in a new one, alongside other material. The lines are originally taken from John Marston's *The Insatiate Countess* (1613),[26] the most quoted play in the collection (forty-eight times). This tragedy tells the story of Isabella Countess of Swevia, and her adulterous life, which finally leads to her execution for adultery. However, the play is not entirely about immoral behaviour, as Marston also portrays three virtuous women in the play's subplot. The play presents both vicious and virtuous behaviour and how porous the line between the two

[26] Throughout this chapter, unless stated otherwise, the date of the first edition of a play is provided, although it might not necessarily correspond to the copy used by the compiler. The first editions available through *EEBO* are cited as the source texts in the analyses below. It is often impossible to know the precise edition that was used by a compiler with any certainty when a playtext exists in multiple editions (except in those cases when an extract is taken from a line only present in one particular edition of the playtext). I discuss the issue of establishing sources used in Chapter 4. Here the exact source used is not at the centre of the analysis, as long as the extract is present in it.

can sometimes be, and how reputation can be easily damaged, but also restored. In Marston's play, the lines extracted by CB are spoken by the countess herself, who is in conversation with Guido, the man she eloped with after marrying her second husband, Roberto, the count of Cyprus. Isabella confesses to him that she has repented from her sinful life, and that she wants to become 'a perfect Wife', but Guido does not seem to believe the honesty of her words, so she insists:

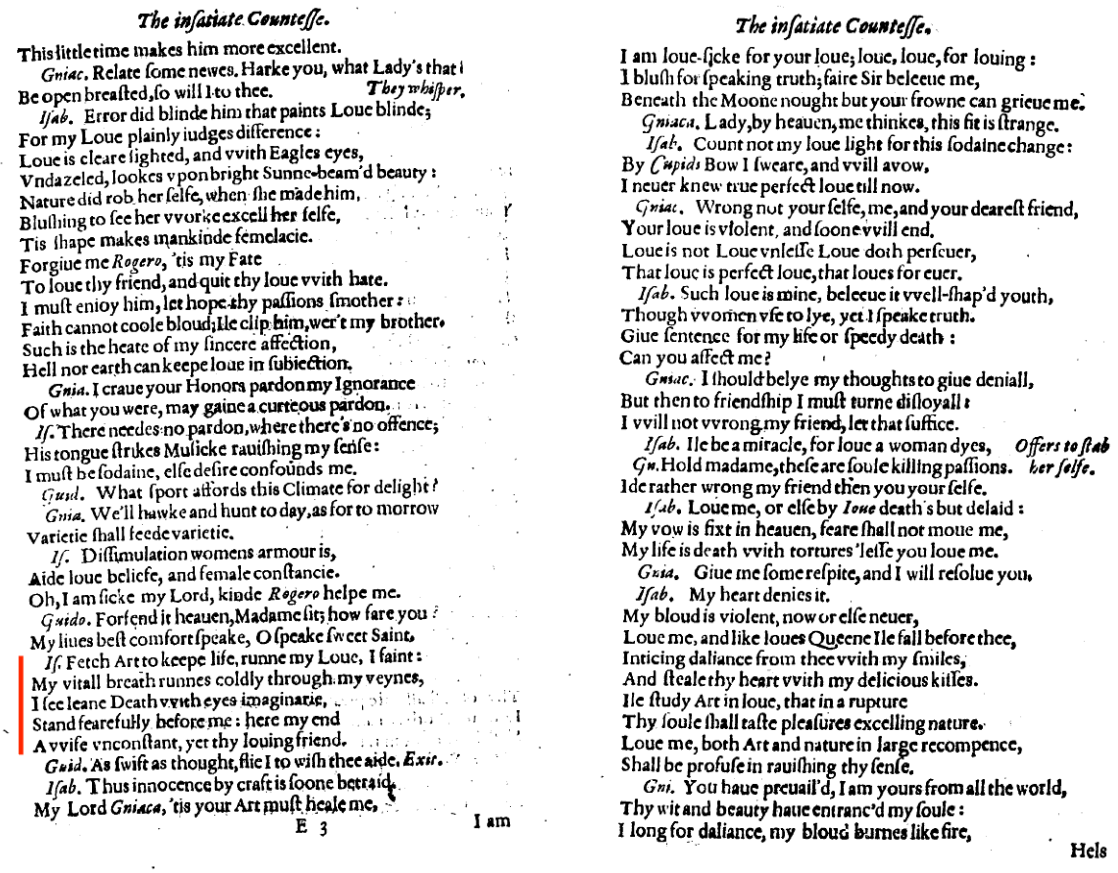
> Mocke not Repentance. Prophanation
> Brings mortals laughing to damnation.
> Beleeue it Lord, *Isabella's* ill past life,
> Like gold refin'd, shall make a perfect Wife.
> I stand on firme ground now, before on Ice;
> We know not vertue till wee taste of vice. (sig. F2v)

By this point of the story, however, Isabella has already betrayed Guido, her second lover, with a third lover, Count Gniaca, Guido's friend. Isabella's repentance is therefore but a lie to get rid of Guido and pursue her lust even further. If someone encountering the extract in CB's collection had also read Marston's play then they might have known that Isabella's words were in fact a lie, and thus that her admonition on profanity was a profanity itself. The extract read in its original context assumes a clearly ironic tone.

Studying the extract in the play allows one to highlight how different the tone of the extract in its new context, the collection, is. The lines 'prophanation bringes mortalls / laughing to damnation' presented as they are in the collection, with no hint of their origin, read very differently: their original satirical tone is lost, and a new tone is gained. The lines now read as an aphorism promoting the moral value of the work of the compiler of this commonplace book. A lie, and especially a blasphemous one, uttered by a morally dubious character such as the insatiate countess, once taken out of context ceases to be a lie and becomes instead a warning (beware of profanation). Here, the irony, which perhaps (although we can never know) resonated with CB when he decided to place this extract at the very beginning of his collection, is that by extracting and concealing the original meaning and

function of these lines, the compiler himself becomes a deceptive character, only showing what these lines *appear* to mean, but depriving the reader of their original meaning. The broader model suggested by this example is that satire is quickly compromised, lost, or reworked as a result of extract-transmission: this may mean a loss of satirical intent, but also the acquisition of a new moral significance.

This is not the only example from *The Insatiate Countess* where CB decided to select Isabella's deceptive words. The lines 'My vitall breath runnes coldly through / my veines. I see leane death with eyes imaginary stand fearefull before / me' were copied by CB under the heading 'To dye.' (f. 27r, see Fig. 4 below). CB does not directly alter the extract, as the passage is copied faithfully, but the extract, taken out of the context of the play, loses the voice of the character who spoke them there, and the placement within a broader narrative, and therefore their original tone. In the play, it is Isabella who delivers these words to Guido: 'Fetch Art to keepe life, runne my Loue, I faint', she says, 'My vitall breath runnes coldly through my veynes, / I see leane Death vvith eyes imaginarie, / Stand fearefully before me: here my end / A vvife vnconstant, yet thy louing friend.' (sig. E3r, see Fig. 3). Isabella is telling Guido that she is sick and that she needs help, but once again her words are deceptive: in fact, if one continues to read one will find out that Isabella is not sick nor is she dying, but just wants to get rid of Guido, so that she could remain alone with Guido's friend, Gniaca, to whom she confesses her love as soon as Guido exits the stage (see Fig. 3).



The inſatiate Counteſſe.

This little time makes him more excellent.
Gniac. Relate ſome newes. Harke you, what Lady's that i
Be open breaſted, ſo will I to thee. *They whiſper.*
Iſab. Error did blinde him that paints Loue blinde;
For my Loue plainly iudges difference:
Loue is cleare ſighted, and vvith Eagles eyes,
Vndazeled, lookes vpon bright Sunne-beam'd beauty:
Nature did rob her ſelfe, when ſhe made him,
Bluſhing to ſee her vvorke excell her ſelfe,
Tis ſhape makes mankinde femelacie.
Forgiue me *Rogero*, 'tis my Fate
To loue thy friend, and quit thy loue vvith hate.
I muſt enioy him, let hope thy paſſions ſmother:
Faith cannot coole bloud; Ile clip him, wer't my brother.
Such is the heate of my ſincere affection,
Hell nor earth can keepe loue in ſubiection.
Gnia. I craue your Honors pardon my Ignorance
Of what you were, may gaine a curteous pardon.
If. There needes no pardon, where there's no offence;
His tongue ſtrikes Mulicke rauiſhing my ſenſe:
I muſt be ſodaine, elſe deſire confounds me.
Guid. What ſport affords this Climate for delight?
Gnia. We'll hawke and hunt to day, as for to morrow
Varietie ſhall feede varietie.
If. Diſſimulation womens armour is,
Aide loue beliefe, and female conſtancie.
Oh, I am ſicke my Lord, kinde *Rogero* helpe me.
Guido. Forſend it heauen, Madame ſit; how fare you?
My liues beſt comfort ſpeake, O ſpeake ſweet Saint.
If. Fetch Art to keepe life, runne my Loue, I faint:
My vitall breath runnes coldly through my veynes,
I ſee leane Death vvith eyes imaginatiue,
Stand fearefully before me: here my end
A vvife vnconſtant, yet thy louing friend.
Guid. As ſwift as thought, flie I to wiſh thee aide. *Exit.*
Iſab. Thus innocence by craft is ſoone betraid.
My Lord *Gniaca*, 'tis your Art muſt heale me,

E 3

I am

The inſatiate Counteſſe.

I am loue-ſicke for your loue; loue, loue, for louing:
I bluſh for ſpeaking truth; faire Sir beleeue me,
Beneath the Moone nought but your frowne can grieue me.
Gniaca. Lady, by heauen, me thinkes, this fit is ſtrange.
Iſab. Count not my loue light for this ſodaine change:
By *Cupids* Bow I ſweare, and vvill avow,
I neuer knew true perfect loue till now.
Gniac. Wrong not your ſelfe, me, and your deareſt friend,
Your loue is vviolent, and ſoone vvill end.
Loue is not Loue vnleſſe Loue doth perſeuer,
That loue is perfect loue, that loues for euer.
Iſab. Such loue is mine, beleeue it vvell-ſhap'd youth,
Though vvomen vſe to lye, yet I ſpeake truth.
Giue ſentence for my life or ſpeedy death:
Can you affect me?
Gniac. I ſhould belye my thoughts to giue deniall,
But then to friendſhip I muſt turne diſloyall:
I vvill not vvrong my friend, let that ſuffice.
Iſab. Ile be a miracle, for loue a woman dyes, *Offers to ſtab*
Gn. Hold madame, theſe are ſoule killing paſſions. *her ſelfe.*
Ide rather vvrong my friend then you your ſelfe.
Iſab. Loue me, or elſe by *Loue* death's but delaid:
My vow is fixt in heauen, feare ſhall not moue me,
My life is death vvith tortures 'leſſe you loue me.
Gnia. Giue me ſome reſpite, and I will reſolue you.
Iſab. My heart denies it.
My bloud is violent, now or elſe neuer,
Loue me, and like loues Queene Ile fall before thee,
Inticing daliance from thee vvith my ſmiles,
And ſteale thy heart vvith my delicious kiſſes.
Ile ſtudy Art in loue, that in a rupture
Thy ſoule ſhall taſte pleaſures excelling nature.
Loue me, both Art and nature in large recompence,
Shall be profuſe in rauiſhing thy ſenſe.
Gni. You haue preuail'd, I am yours from all the world,
Thy wit and beauty haue entranc'd my ſoule:
I long for daliance, my bloud burnes like fire,

Hels

Fig. 3: The exchange between Guido, Isabella and Gniaca in the play (sig. E3r-E3v).

The extract in the collection loses its satirical and deceptive function, and presented decontextualised under the heading 'to dye' takes on its face-value meaning, now functioning as language useful to describe the feeling of dying. Words are not chosen by CB for their honesty or their dishonesty, their virtuousness or viciousness, they are simply taken as words, which once deprived of their original context and tone in the commonplace book regain all their potential to be used either way, to deceive, persuade, flatter or to say the truth.

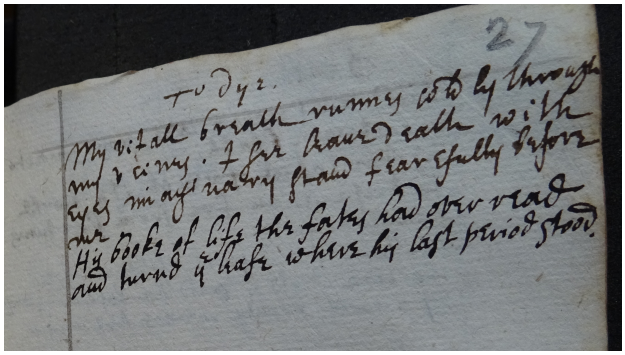
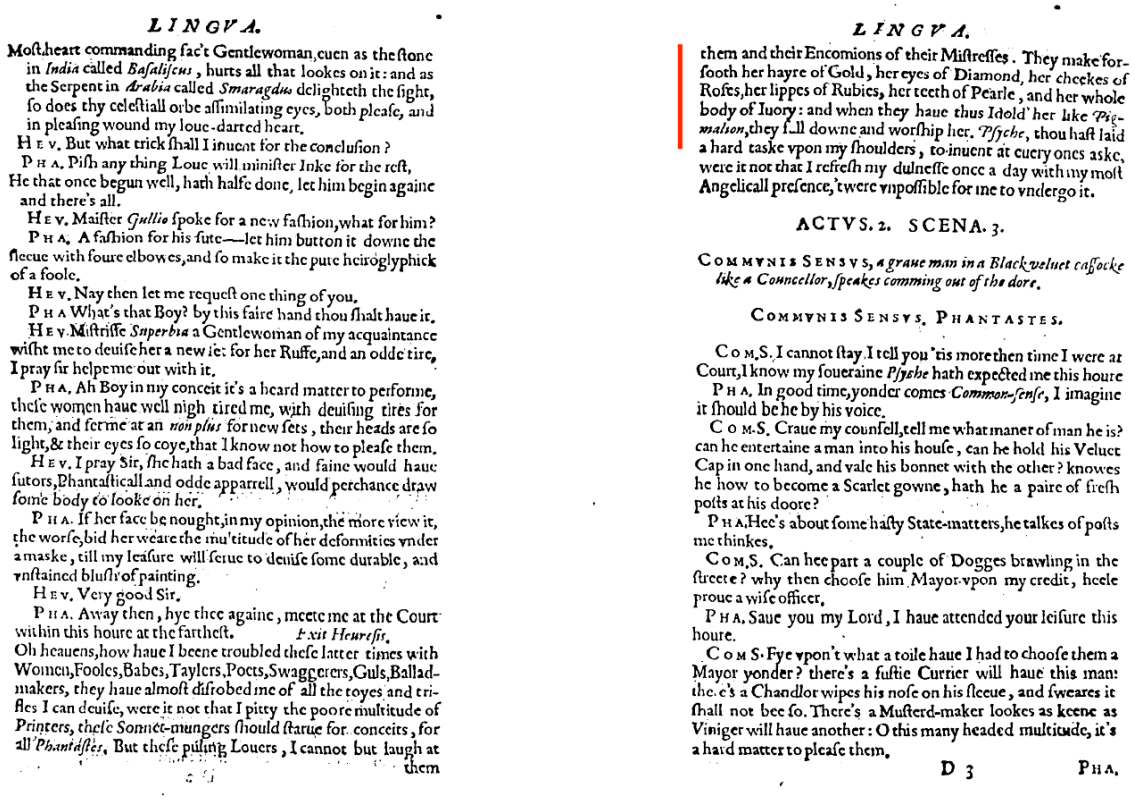


Fig. 4: Image from D 952 for extract To dye (f. 27r)

Another example in which the satirical tone of the passage in the original is lost in the process of extraction and insertion in the collection is provided by this extract CB took from Thomas Tomkis's *Lingua* (1607):

> her haire of gold, her eyes of diamond,
> her cheekes of roses, her lips of rubies
> her teeth of pearle, and her whole
> body of Ivory. and when they have thus
> Idold her like pigmal: the fall downe & worship her.
> (sig. D3r; f. 11r)

CB selected and copied these lines under the heading 'Beautiful' (f. 11r), amongst other extracts all offering descriptions of beauty. The play depicts the story of Lingua, the female personification of language, who strives to become the sixth sense. The other senses oppose her wish, and so in response to this she decides to create discord among them and put them in competition to establish which one is the worthiest of all. The words of the passage selected by CB in the play are spoken by another personification, Phantastes, Common Sense's wise assistant (Common Sense being the judge of this competition). In this passage Phantastes complains about 'puling Lovers' (sig. D2v) and the practice of writing 'Encomions of their Mistresses' (sig. D3r, see Fig. 5): the extract selected by CB is in the original a mock encomium, parodying that kind of language and invention, but by taking it out context, ironically, CB is re-habilitating it to be used precisely for the thing which Phantastes is preaching against.



LINGVA.

Moſt heart commanding fac't Gentlewoman, euen as the ſtone in *India* called *Baſaliſcus*, hurts all that lookes on it: and as the Serpent in *Arabia* called *Smaragdus* delighteth the ſight, ſo does thy celeſtiall orbe aſſimilating eyes, both pleaſe, and in pleaſing wound my loue-darted heart.

HEV. But what trick ſhall I inuent for the concluſion?

PHA. Piſh any thing Loue will miniſter Inke for the reſt, He that once begun well, hath halfe done, let him begin againe and there's all.

HEV. Maiſter *Gullio* ſpoke for a new faſhion, what for him?

PHA. A faſhion for his ſute—let him button it downe the ſleeue with foure elbowes, and ſo make it the pure heiroglyphick of a foole.

HEV. Nay then let me requeſt one thing of you.

PHA What's that Boy? by this faire hand thou ſhalt haue it.

HEV. Miſtriſſe *Superbia* a Gentlewoman of my acquaintance wiſht me to deuiſe her a new ſet for her Ruffe, and an odde tire, I pray ſir helpe me out with it.

PHA. Ah Boy in my conceit it's a heard matter to performe, theſe women haue well nigh tired me, with deuiſing tires for them, and ferme at an *non plus* for new ſets, their heads are ſo light, & their eyes ſo coye, that I know not how to pleaſe them.

HEV. I pray Sir, ſhe hath a bad face, and faine would haue ſutors, Phantaſticall and odde apparrell, would perchance draw ſome body to looke on her.

PHA. If her face be nought, in my opinion, the more view it, the worſe, bid her weare the multitude of her deformities vnder a maske, till my leaſure will ſerue to deuiſe ſome durable, and vnſtained bluſh of painting.

HEV. Very good Sir.

PHA. Away then, hye thee againe, meete me at the Court within this houre at the fartheſt. *Exit Heuerſis.*

Oh heauens, how haue I beene troubled theſe latter times with Women, Fooles, Babes, Taylers, Poets, Swaggerers, Guls, Ballad-makers, they haue almoſt diſrobed me of all the toyes and trifles I can deuiſe, were it not that I pitty the poore multitude of Printers, theſe Sonnet-mungers ſhould ſtarue for conceits, for all *Phantaſtes*. But theſe puſing Louers, I cannot but laugh at them

LINGVA.

them and their Encomions of their Miſtreſſes. They make forſooth her hayre of Gold, her eyes of Diamond, her cheekes of Roſes, her lippes of Rubies, her teeth of Pearle, and her whole body of Iuory: and when they haue thus Idold her like *Pigmalion*, they fall downe and worſhip her. *Pſyche*, thou haſt laid a hard taske vpon my ſhoulders, to inuent at euery ones aske, were it not that I refreſh my dulneſſe once a day with my moſt Angelicall preſence, 'twere impoſſible for me to vndergo it.

ACTVS. 2. SCENA. 3.

COMMVNIS SENSVS, *a graue man in a Black velure caſſocke like a Councellor, ſpeakes comming out of the doore.*

COMMVNIS SENSVS. PHANTASTES.

COM.S. I cannot ſtay, I tell you 'tis more then time I were at Court, I know my ſoueraine *Pſyche* hath expected me this houre

PHA. In good time, yonder comes *Common-ſenſe*, I imagine it ſhould be he by his voice.

COM.S. Craue my counſell, tell me what maner of man he is? can he entertaine a man into his houſe, can he hold his Velure Cap in one hand, and vale his bonnet with the other? knowes he how to become a Scarlet gowne, hath he a paire of freſh poſts at his doore?

PHA. Hee's about ſome haſty State-matters, he talkes of poſts me thinkes.

COM.S. Can hee part a couple of Dogges brawling in the ſtreete? why then chooſe him Mayor vpon my credit, heele proue a wiſe officer.

PHA. Saue you my Lord, I haue attended your leiſure this houre.

COM.S. Fye vpon't what a toile haue I had to chooſe them a Mayor yonder? there's a fuſtie Currier will haue this man: there's a Chandler wipes his noſe on his ſleeue, and ſweares it ſhall not bee ſo. There's a Muſterd-maker lookes as keene as Viniger will haue another: O this many headed multitude, it's a hard matter to pleaſe them.

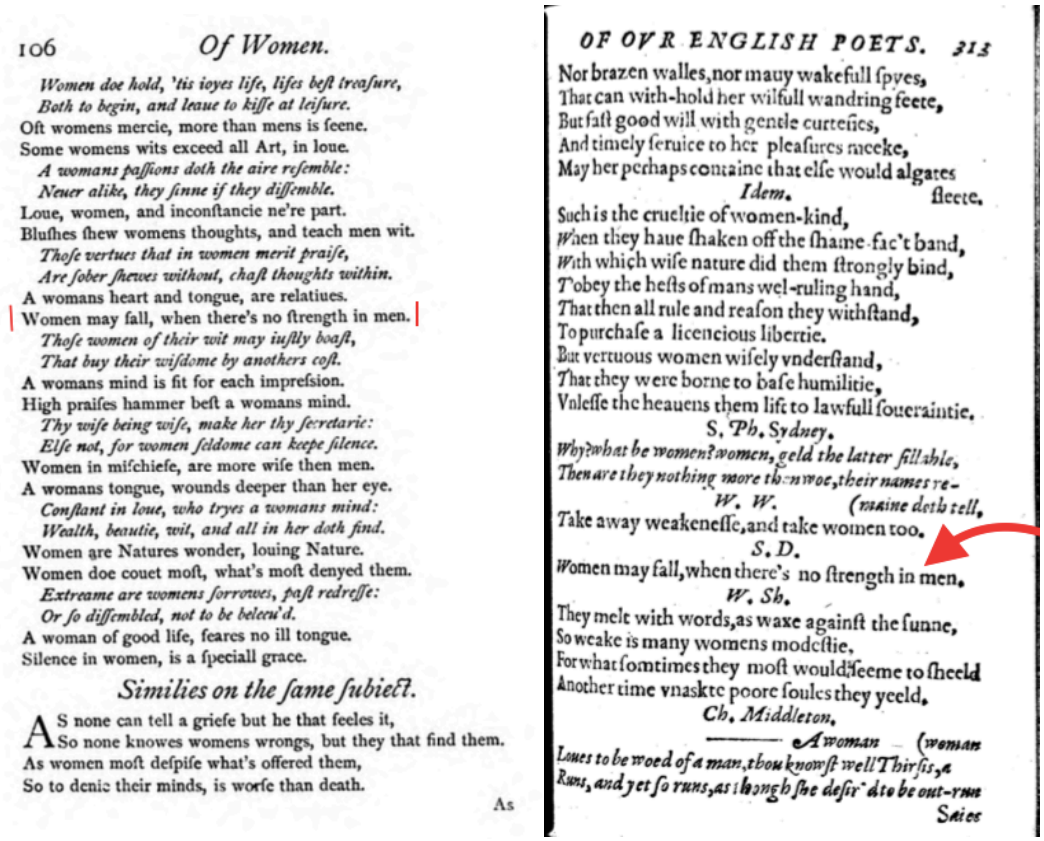
D 3 PHA.

Fig. 5: sig. D2v-D3r Phantastes's complaint in *Lingua*

1.2.2. Acquiring new ideological meaning

The process of dramatic extracting created new contexts in which not only could tone be altered, but also the ideological message of a passage when reconfigured. The re-framing of extracts in new contexts, in which extracts from very different sources could interact and influence the way in which they were read and used, occurred in all collections, and especially in commonplace books organised by headings, where extracts from different sources were placed one after the other. Organising the material collected under headings had the central aim of making it easier to retrieve and re-use the extracts, but it could also remove them further from their original function and meaning. For instance, the new context in which the extracts were collected could render a passage not intended as misogynistic in the original function as just that, as in the case of the line 'Women may fall, when there's no strength in men', collected in both *Belvedere*, 1600 (p. 106) and *Englands Parnassus*, 1600 (p. 313). This

line was delivered by Friar Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) and originally constituted a warning to Romeo. However, when read outside of its original context and alongside the extracts collected under the heading 'Of Women' in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* (see Fig. 6 below), which are all misogynistic in tone—attacking women's fickleness, immodesty and weakness—the line's meaning is subsumed into the ideology of the neighbouring extracts.[27] This shows a dialectical relationship between the extracts, whereby the tone and ideology of the extracts surrounding this line are imposed on it.



106 *Of Women.*

Women doe hold, 'tis ioyes life, lifes beſt treaſure,
Both to begin, and leaue to kiſſe at leiſure.
Oft womens mercie, more than mens is ſeene.
Some womens wits exceed all Art, in loue.
A womans paſſions doth the aire reſemble:
Neuer alike, they ſinne if they diſſemble.
Loue, women, and inconſtancie ne're part.
Bluſhes ſhew womens thoughts, and teach men wit.
Thoſe vertues that in women merit praiſe,
Are ſober ſhewes without, chaſt thoughts within.
A womans heart and tongue, are relatiues.
Women may fall, when there's no ſtrength in men.
Thoſe women of their wit may iuſtly boaſt,
That buy their wiſdome by anothers coſt.
A womans mind is fit for each impreſsion.
High praiſes hammer beſt a womans mind.
Thy wife being wiſe, make her thy ſecretarie:
Elſe not, for women ſeldome can keepe ſilence.
Women in miſchiefe, are more wiſe then men.
A womans tongue, wounds deeper than her eye.
Conſtant in loue, who tryes a womans mind:
Wealth, beautie, wit, and all in her doth find.
Women are Natures wonder, louing Nature.
Women doe couet moſt, what's moſt denyed them.
Extreame are womens ſorrowes, paſt redreſſe:
Or ſo diſſembled, not to be beleeu'd.
A woman of good life, feares no ill tongue.
Silence in women, is a ſpeciall grace.

Similies on the ſame ſubiect.

AS none can tell a griefe but he that feeles it,
So none knowes womens wrongs, but they that find them.
As women moſt deſpiſe what's offered them,
So to denie their minds, is worſe than death.

As

OF OVR ENGLISH POETS. 313

Nor brazen walles, nor mauy wakefull ſpyes,
That can with-hold her wilfull wandring feete,
But faſt good will with gentle curteſies,
And timely ſeruice to her pleaſures meeke,
May her perhaps containe that elſe would algates
Idem. fleete.
Such is the crueltie of women-kind,
When they haue ſhaken off the ſhame-fac't band,
With which wiſe nature did them ſtrongly bind,
To obey the heſts of mans wel-ruling hand,
That then all rule and reaſon they withſtand,
To purchaſe a licencious libertie.
But vertuous women wiſely vnderſtand,
That they were borne to baſe humilitie,
Vnleſſe the heauens them lift to lawfull ſoueraintie.
S. *Ph. Sydney.*
Woy'd what be women? women, geld the latter fillable,
Then are they nothing more then woe, their names re-
W. W. (maine deth tell,
Take away weakeneſſe, and take women too.
S. D.
Women may fall, when there's no ſtrength in men.
W. Sh.
They melt with words, as waxe againſt the ſunne,
So weake is many womens modeſtie,
For what ſomtimes they moſt would ſeeme to ſheeld
Another time vnaskte poore ſoules they yeeld.
Ch. Middleton.
——— *A woman* (woman
Loues to be woed of a man, thou knowſt well Thirſis, a
Runs, and yet ſo runs, as though ſhe deſir'd to be out-run
Sacs

Fig. 6: 'Women may fall' extract under heading 'Of Women' in *Belvedere* (1600), p. 106, and *England's Parnassus* (1600), p. 313.

Similarly, an extract from *The Devil's Law-Case* collected in John Cotgrave's *English Treasury of Wit and Language* (1655), gains a much more misogynistic tone in the collection than in its original context: under the heading, 'Of Painting, &c.,' (p. 209) Cotgrave copied a

[27] See, for example, the extract attributed to 'S.D.' (Samuel Daniel) in *Englands Parnassus*, (and immediately preceding Shakespeare's line), 'Take away weakenesse, and take women too' (p. 313), and the extract in *Belvedere* 'A womans heart and tongue, are relatives' (p. 106).

long extract that mocks women for wearing makeup and posing, to the point of becoming unrecognizable, for the purpose of being painted:

> I have noted divers,
> Either to feign smiles, or suck in the lips
> To have a little mouth, ruffle the cheeks,
> To have the dimple seen, and so disorder
> The face with affectation, at next sitting,
> It has not been the same.
> (1.2.149-154; p. 209)

These lines in the play are spoken by a woman, Leonora (the 'devil' of the title), who refuses to have herself painted for a younger, manipulative, pursuer (Contarino). In the play these lines are not clearly misogynist as they appear in Cotgrave's collection (p. 209). As noted elsewhere, Cotgrave 'twist[ed] themes from the play' when digesting the extracts for his collection and built 'entirely new interpretative contexts' for them.[28] In this sense the extracts 'are repurposed into the commonplace book with the goal that they will be repurposed again by Cotgrave's reader, this time, at a double remove from their original source.'[29] The new context of the collection appropriates the voices of these characters, in order to deliver an altogether different ideological message. What this section demonstrates is that the interaction between neighbouring extracts in a collection could result in extracts acquiring a new ideological meaning (in the examples provided, namely, a misogynistic message which was not originally meant to be understood as such).

1.2.3. Ideology: from resistance to orthodoxy

How controversial or unorthodox were the ideas appropriated in these collections? Specifically, how were questions of gender in excerpts reworked, suppressed, or

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[28] Beatrice Montedoro, and Laura Estill, 'Seventeenth-century Approaches to *The Devil's Law-Case*', *American Notes and Queries*, 31, 3 (2018), 151–60 (p. 156).
[29] Montedoro and Estill, p. 156.

accentuated?[30] A passage from *The Insatiate Countess*, which originally took the form of a dialogue between Isabella and Gniaca, to whom she declares her love, is extracted in two printed manuals of courting language—Edward Phillips's *The mysteries of love & eloquence, or, The arts of wooing and complementing* (1658) and John Shirley's *The triumph of wit, or, Ingenuity display'd in its perfection* (1688)— with the gender of the wooer reversed, in order to make it more conventional, or orthodox, according to the gender roles of the time.[31] These manuals offer a wider variety of materials (as marketed on their title pages) than the material found in the manuscript collections analysed in this chapter, but their social function and focus on topics related to love are points to which both printed manuals and manuscript collections from the 1630s onwards relate (in contrast to the more clearly moral aims of the first printed and manuscript collections); as a matter of fact, printed miscellanies from the second half of the seventeenth century grew out of the same cultural tradition as the earlier manuscript and printed collection treated in this thesis, and sometimes even directly drew material from the latter.[32] This affiliation, direct or indirect, is also observable in D 952, as several of the love extracts collected in this private manuscript were later also found in printed miscellanies like Blount's *The Academie of Eloquence* (1654), Poole's *The English Parnassus, or, A helpe to English poesie* (1657), Smith's *The Mysterie of Rhetorique unveil'd* (1665), and the two manuals analysed here, Phillips's *The mysteries of love & eloquence, or, The arts of wooing and complementing* (1658), and Shirley's *The triumph of wit, or, Ingenuity*

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[30] For a discussion of the politics of print, manuscript and gender, see Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); and Marotti, esp. pp. 48–61.

[31] See also the anonymous compiler of British Library, Additional MS 41063, who changed the phrase 'To me he seems like diamond to glass' (from *Pericles*, 1609) into 'To me she seemes diamond to glasse ./.' (f. 87r), probably by a male writer, who found it more useful to re-write the line as a compliment addressed to a lady.

[32] See Smyth's discussion of this topic in *"Profit and Delight"*, esp. pp. 15, 90–1. He observes that 'compilers seem to have drawn on miscellanies and commonplace books of the sort compiled by Oxford undergraduates in the 1620s and 1630s, and as a result printed miscellanies offered public versions, thirty years later, of these kinds of manuscripts'.

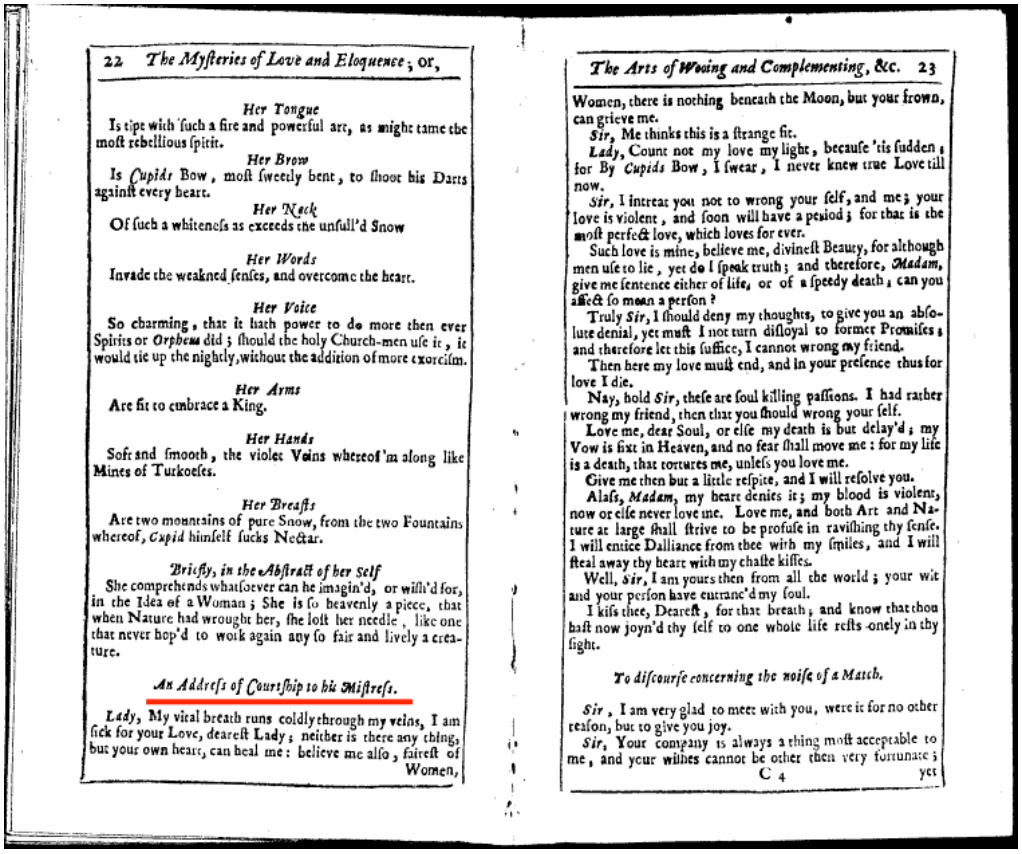
display'd in its perfection (1688). Part of the passage from *The Insatiate Countess* analysed here was in fact already found in the 1630s-manuscript commonplace book.[33]

Phillips's *The mysteries of love & eloquence* offers plenty of models for amorous discourse, including 'Addresses, and set forms of expressions for imitation' as pointed out on the title page, such as 'Poems, pleasant Songs, Letters, Proverbs, Riddles, Jests, Posies, Devices, A la mode Pastimes, A Dictionary for the making of Rimes...Epithets and flourishing Similitudes', but also questions and answers to be used in conversation suitable for different social contexts, like a walk in Hyde Park, the horse races, balls or other courtly entertainments. In this manual, the dialogue from *Insatiate Countess* is collected under the heading 'An Address of Courtship to his Mistress' (pp. 22-23, see also Fig. 7). The same dialogue is also re-presented in Shirley's *The triumph of wit, or, Ingenuity display'd in its perfection* (1688), another popular manual offering various models of poems, songs, epigrams, letters, dialogues, and phrases all to improve one's art in complementing and courting women. Towards the end of the collection, under the heading 'An Address of Courtship; *or,* The Passionate Wooer' (p. 179) we find the same dialogue (see Fig. 8). It is very much possible that Shirley copied the passage directly from Phillips's collection, and not from Marston's play, since Phillips's manual was first published thirty years before Shirley's and it was very common for manuals of this kind to copy material from one another and use intermediary sources rather than the original ones.[34] Both manuals start the dialogue with the line 'My vital breath runs coldly through my veins', originally spoken by Isabella and addressed to Guido, but then cut the rest of her speech and Guido's response to it. This line is instead attached directly to the following speech which Isabella addresses to Gniaca.

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[33] The extract in D 952 being 'My vitall breath runnes coldly through / my veines. I see leane death with eyes imaginary stand fearefull before / me' (f. 27r), also analysed earlier in this chapter (p. 36).

[34] See also how Bodenham recycled much of the material in *Belvedere* (1600) from his previous successful collection, *Politeuphuia* (1597). I further discuss this in Chapter 4.



22 *The Myſteries of Love and Eloquence*; or,

Her Tongue
Is tipt with ſuch a fire and powerful art, as might tame the moſt rebellious ſpirit.

Her Brow
Is *Cupids* Bow, moſt ſweetly bent, to ſhoot his Darts againſt every heart.

Her Neck
Of ſuch a whiteneſs as exceeds the unſull'd Snow

Her Words
Invade the weakned ſenſes, and overcome the heart.

Her Voice
So charming, that it hath power to do more then ever Spirits or *Orpheus* did; ſhould the holy Church-men uſe it, it would tie up the nightly, without the addition of more exorciſm.

Her Arms
Are fit to embrace a King.

Her Hands
Soft and ſmooth, the violet Veins whereof 'm along like Mines of Turkoeſes.

Her Breaſts
Are two mountains of pure Snow, from the two Fountains whereof, *Cupid* himſelf ſucks Nectar.

Briefly, in the Abſtract of her Self
She comprehends whatſoever can he imagin'd, or wiſh'd for, in the Idea of a Woman; She is ſo heavenly a piece, that when Nature had wrought her, ſhe loſt her needle, like one that never hop'd to work again any ſo fair and lively a creature.

An Addreſs of Courtſhip to his Miſtreſs.

Lady, My vital breath runs coldly through my veins, I am ſick for your Love, deareſt Lady; neither is there any thing, but your own heart, can heal me: believe me alſo, faireſt of Women,

The Arts of Wooing and Complementing, &c. 23

Women, there is nothing beneath the Moon, but your frown, can grieve me.

Sir, Me thinks this is a ſtrange fit.

Lady, Count not my love my light, becauſe 'tis ſudden; for By *Cupids* Bow, I ſwear, I never knew true Love till now.

Sir, I intreat you not to wrong your ſelf, and me; your love is violent, and ſoon will have a period; for that is the moſt perfect love, which loves for ever.

Such love is mine, believe me, divineſt Beauty, for although men uſe to lie, yet do I ſpeak truth; and therefore, *Madam*, give me ſentence either of life, or of a ſpeedy death; can you affect ſo mean a perſon?

Truly *Sir*, I ſhould deny my thoughts, to give you an abſolute denial, yet muſt I not turn diſloyal to former Promiſes; and therefore let this ſuffice, I cannot wrong my friend.

Then here my love muſt end, and in your preſence thus for love I die.

Nay, hold *Sir*, theſe are ſoul killing paſſions. I had rather wrong my friend, then that you ſhould wrong your ſelf.

Love me, dear Soul, or elſe my death is but delay'd; my Vow is fixt in Heaven, and no fear ſhall move me: for my life is a death, that tortures me, unleſs you love me.

Give me then but a little reſpite, and I will reſolve you.

Alaſs, *Madam*, my heart denies it; my blood is violent, now or elſe never love me. Love me, and both Art and Nature at large ſhall ſtrive to be profuſe in raviſhing thy ſenſe. I will entice Dalliance from thee with my ſmiles, and I will ſteal away thy heart with my chaſte kiſſes.

Well, *Sir*, I am yours then from all the world; your wit and your perſon have entranc'd my ſoul.

I kiſs thee, Deareſt, for that breath; and know that thou haſt now joyn'd thy ſelf to one whole life reſts onely in thy ſight.

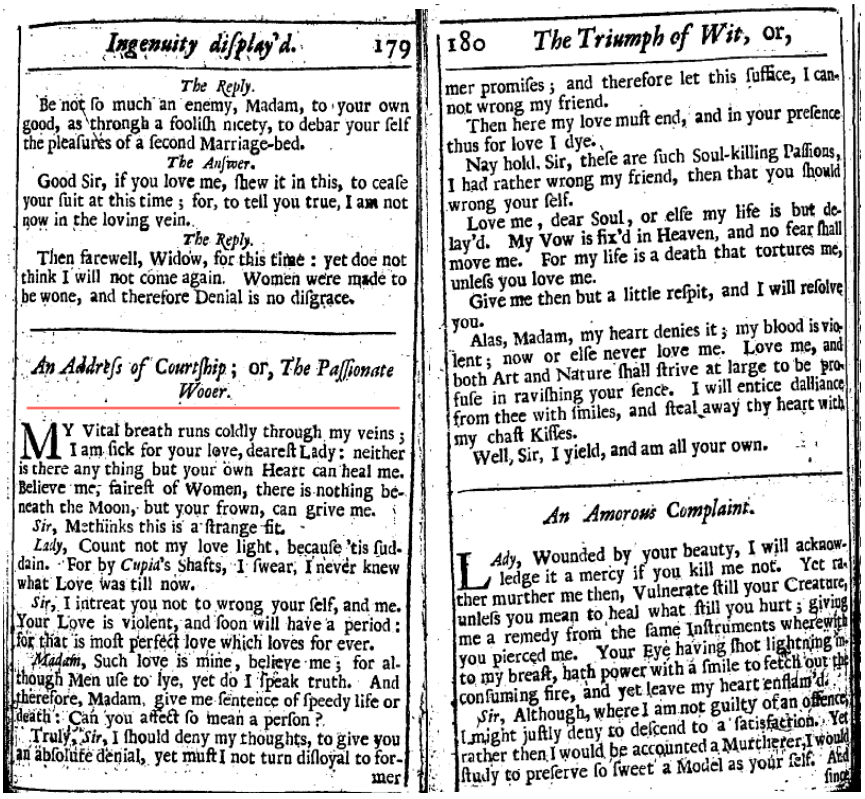
To diſcourſe concerning the noiſe of a Match.

Sir, I am very glad to meet with you, were it for no other reaſon, but to give you joy.

Sir, Your company is always a thing moſt acceptable to me, and your wiſhes cannot be other then very fortunate; yet

C 4

Fig. 7: An Address of Courtship to his Mistress, in Edward Phillips's *The mysteries of love & eloquence, or, The arts of wooing and complementing* (1658), pp. 22-23.



Ingenuity diſplay'd. 179

The Reply.
Be not ſo much an enemy, Madam, to your own good, as through a fooliſh nicety, to debar your ſelf the pleaſures of a ſecond Marriage-bed.

The Anſwer.
Good Sir, if you love me, ſhew it in this, to ceaſe your ſuit at this time; for, to tell you true, I am not now in the loving vein.

The Reply.
Then farewell, Widow, for this time: yet doe not think I will not come again. Women were made to be wone, and therefore Denial is no diſgrace.

An Addreſs of Courtſhip; or, *The Paſſionate Wooer.*

MY Vital breath runs coldly through my veins; I am ſick for your love, deareſt Lady: neither is there any thing but your own Heart can heal me. Believe me, faireſt of Women, there is nothing beneath the Moon, but your frown, can grive me.

Sir, Methinks this is a ſtrange fit.

Lady, Count not my love light, becauſe 'tis ſuddain. For by *Cupid*'s ſhafts, I ſwear, I never knew what Love was till now.

Sir, I intreat you not to wrong your ſelf, and me. Your Love is violent, and ſoon will have a period: for that is moſt perfect love which loves for ever.

Madam, Such love is mine, believe me; for although Men uſe to lye, yet do I ſpeak truth. And therefore, Madam, give me ſentence of ſpeedy life or death: Can you affect ſo mean a perſon?

Truly, *Sir*, I ſhould deny my thoughts, to give you an abſolute denial, yet muſt I not turn diſloyal to former

180 *The Triumph of Wit*, or,

mer promiſes; and therefore let this ſuffice, I cannot wrong my friend.

Then here my love muſt end, and in your preſence thus for love I dye.

Nay hold. Sir, theſe are ſuch Soul-killing Paſſions, I had rather wrong my friend, then that you ſhould wrong your ſelf.

Love me, dear Soul, or elſe my life is but delay'd. My Vow is fix'd in Heaven, and no fear ſhall move me. For my life is a death that tortures me, unleſs you love me.

Give me then but a little reſpit, and I will reſolve you.

Alas, Madam, my heart denies it; my blood is violent; now or elſe never love me. Love me, and both Art and Nature ſhall ſtrive at large to be profuſe in raviſhing your ſence. I will entice dalliance from thee with ſmiles, and ſteal away thy heart with my chaſt Kiſſes.

Well, Sir, I yield, and am all your own.

An Amorous Complaint.

Lady, Wounded by your beauty, I will acknowledge it a mercy if you kill me not. Yet rather murther me then, Vulnerate ſtill your Creature, unleſs you mean to heal what ſtill you hurt; giving me a remedy from the ſame Inſtruments wherewith you pierced me. Your Eye having ſhot lightning into my breaſt, hath power with a ſmile to fetch out the conſuming fire, and yet leave my heart enflam'd.

Sir, Although, where I am not guilty of an offence, I might juſtly deny to deſcend to a ſatisfaction. Yet rather then I would be accounted a Murtherer, I would ſtudy to preſerve ſo ſweet a Model as your ſelf. And ſince

Fig. 8: 'An Address of Courtship, or The Passionate Wooer', in John Shirley's *The triumph of wit, or, Ingenuity display'd in its perfection* (1688), pp. 179-180.

Despite the deletions and slight paraphrasing of some lines, the main alteration of this passage is ideological rather than linguistic, in that it consists in inverting the gender of the speakers in the exchange in order to adhere to the gender norms of the time: the wooer is now a man, addressing a 'dearest Lady' (Shirley, p. 179). In Phillips's manual this switch in gender is already clear from the title: this is 'an Address of Courtship to *his Mistress*' (p. 22). Smyth, in his survey of printed miscellanies from the second half of the seventeenth century, observes that these manuals 'overwhelmingly imply male readers and agents, and construct females as the passive recipients of praise', even if occasionally female readers were also included.[35] This was also the case for Phillips and Shirley's manuals.[36] Smyth also observes that in these miscellanies 'the socially mobile woman is often invoked as a figure of transgression, both comically and as a serious warning about the misapplication of miscellany materials'.[37] Isabella's transgressive voice therefore needed to be transformed into a male voice, thereby making the dialogue conform to the gender politics of the time. Both Phillips and Shirley are thinking of the usability of the passage outside its original context, and so mould it to the conventions of the time in order to sell more copies. Phillips and Shirley adapted the dialogue for the prevailing male readership and gender norms of the time, according to which a man should woo a woman; as such, the compilers of these manuals transformed the potentially controversial exchange into an orthodox one. Mary Chapman, writing on quotation and ventriloquism in the works of the American suffragist poet, Alice Duer Miller, argues that Miller used these tropes to expose how the democratic system relied on silencing women by ventriloquising their voices through male discourse—in other words,

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[35] Smyth, *'"Profit and Delight"'*, p. 27. Smyth gives a few examples of miscellanies that are also addressed to female readers, such as *The New Academy of Complements* (1669), which is addressed to Ladies and Gentlewomen.
[36] Phillips addresses his manual to the 'young Practitioners of Love and Courtship' (title page *Mysteries of love*), and 'the Youthful Gentry' (sig. A3r) and Shirley to 'the Younger sort' (sig. A2v), even if the latter also offers some 'Instructions for Female Courtship' (p. 36) and models of letters written by female voices.
[37] Smyth, *'"Profit and Delight"'*, p. 27.

women were not permitted self-expression, in either political or literary discourse, and were spoken for by men.[38] Similarly, the example of appropriation illustrated by the dramatic extract analysed here is also a case of ventriloquism, whereby the originally transgressive voice given to Isabella is muted and lost in the process of extraction: her voice is adapted for a potential male user, who would then ventriloquise this line when uttering it. This is not an isolated case: speeches or lines that were deemed unorthodox in their original contexts tended to be rendered more orthodox and predictable in the process of extracting. Once again, quotation is adapted for its new home, the collection, and its potential future uses. The next section of this chapter focuses on a particular type of new context into which extracts were inserted, heading sections in commonplace books, and how these headings created 'new interpretative contexts'.[39]

1.3. Headings

1.3.1. Heading-led appropriation

Headings in commonplace books could sometimes determine what compilers collected and how they did so. As Ann Moss has suggested, readers who were selecting extracts for collection in a commonplace book, would have to 'consciously appropriat[e] the matter of the book [...] by dismembering it, then fitting its constituent parts into a pre-ordered spectrum of areas of knowledge', that is, the headings the compiler would have chosen previously for his/her collection.[40] Traditionally, Erasmus instructed that schoolboys who wanted to read productively by means of a commonplace book should begin by taking several sheets of paper, later to be bound, and then 'make [themselves] as full a list of place-headings as

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[38] See Mary Chapman, *Making Noise, Making News: Suffrage Print Culture and U.S. Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), esp. pp. 88, 100.
[39] Montedoro and Estill, p. 156.
[40] Ann Moss, 'Locating Knowledge', in *Cognition and the Book: Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Karl A. E. Enenkel and Wolfgang Neuber (Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 35.

possible' to write at the top of each page.[41] This means that compilers of commonplace books would often be reading the texts to extract only after having established these headings, and that therefore their reading and extracting would be 'heading-led', that is influenced by the headings laid out in their collections.

Here it is worth comparing two printed commonplace books, John Bodenham's *Belvedere* and Robert Allott's *Englands Parnassus*, which often display extracts culled from the same plays and the same passages, but which ended up being commonplaced very differently because of the different ways in which the material was organised under headings. For instance, both Bodenham and Allott selected extracts from John of Gaunt's popular monologue in *Richard II* (1597), which occurs at the very beginning of Act II, when the dying Gaunt desires to be heard by Richard II, who is leading England to ruin:[42]

> ...the tongues of dying men,
> Inforce attention like deep harmony:
> Where words are scarce, they are seldome spent in vaine,
> For they breathe truth that breathe their wordes in paine:
> He that no more must say, is listened more,
> Than they whom youth and ease have taught to glose.
> More are mens ends markt than their lives before:
> The setting Sunne and Musike at the close,
> As the last taste of sweetes is sweetest last,
> Writ in remembrance more than things long past.
> (sig. C3r)

In *Englands Parnassus*, Allott commonplaces the passage in its entirety, as a single extract, and copies it under the heading 'Of Death' (p. 54). However, in *Belvedere* Bodenham divides

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[41] Cited in Moss, 'Locating Knowledge', p. 36, translating Erasmus, *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*, ed. by F. Akkerman et al., 52 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1969–), I.6: *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum*, ed. by Betty I. Knott (1988), pp. 258–261.

[42] For simplicity, I am referring to Bodenham as the main agent in the selection and appropriation of the extracts found in *Belvedere*, as in one dedicatory sonnet appended to *Belvedere*, A.M., identified by scholars as Anthony Munday, the editor of the collection, calls John Bodenham the 'first causer and collectour of these floures' (sig. A7r), that is, the initiator and promoter of this collection. See also Crawford, 'Belvedere, or The Garden of the Muses', *Englische Studien*, 43 (1910–11), 198–228 (pp. 212–13); and Celeste Turner Wright, 'Anthony Mundy and the Bodenham Miscellanies', *Philological Quarterly*, 40, 4 (1961), 449–61 (esp. p. 449). However, it is impossible to know for certain to what degree the stationers involved in the making of this collection also contributed to the choice and alteration of its material. Lois Potter believes that 'the alterations were made by Anthony Munday, the editor of the collection, who was also a writer himself' (*The Life of William Shakespeare: A Critical Biography* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 262). I further discuss the involvement of stationers in the making of these collections in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

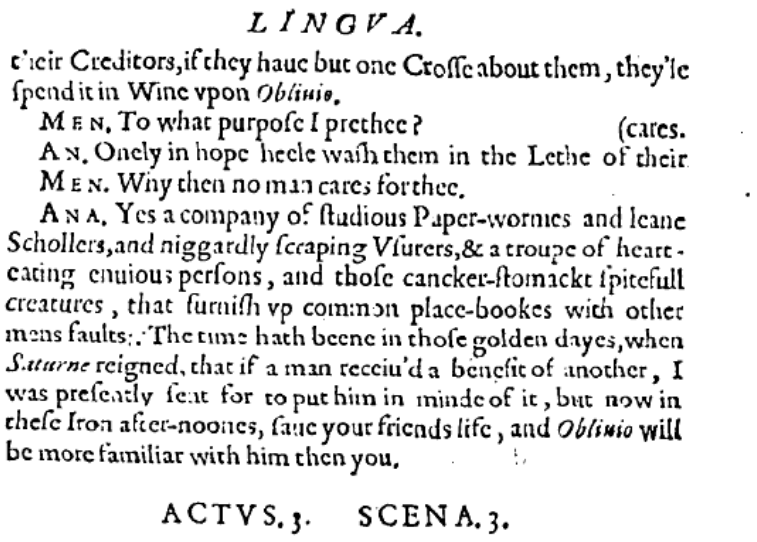
the same passage into four separate extracts: 'The tongues of dying men enforce attention' (under the heading 'Of the Tongue', p. 171), 'Where words be scarse, th'are seldome spent in vaine, / For they speake truth, that breath their words with paine' ('Of Paine', p. 205), 'He that no more must speake, is listned more, / Than they whome youth and ease hath taught to glose' ('Of the Tongue', p. 171), and 'More are mens ends markt, than their lives before' ('Of Life', p. 227). Bodenham sees the passage as being comprised of independent sententious expressions, and exploits this structure by extracting several quotations from the same passage and placing them under several different headings: namely, he culls two pithy sentences and two couplets. All four extracts are self-contained in form and meaning and are thus easy to extract and apply to different situations. They deliver practical moral advice and echo proverbial wisdom, and the rhyme and repetition of the words in the couplets, what Adam Fox calls 'mnemonic verbal patterns' typical of proverbs,[43] make these lines stand out and render them more memorable. In this way, the passage in *Richard II* might be said to encourage such extraction.[44] Nevertheless, the different approaches to this passage taken by Allott and Bodenham are not really determined by the intrinsic qualities of the passage, but by the nature of the collections in which the passage is appropriated and the types of extracts gathered under the headings in these collections. Allott's collection offers typically longer and more descriptive extracts, which can be used in their entirety or broken up, whereas Bodenham's collection offers shorter, aphoristic extracts, of one or two lines at most. The types of extracts the compilers had set out to collect and the pre-established topics of the headings therefore influenced how the passage from *Richard II* was extracted by these two compilers.

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[43] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 132.
[44] Chapter 3 explores how playwrights sometimes directly hinted at lines in their plays that could be extracted. See also Ted Tregear, 'Music at the Close: *Richard II* in the Elizabethan Anthologies', in *Studies in Philology*, 116, 4 (2019), 696–727.

How headings could determine the way in which a passage was extracted in a collection is also clearly visible in the following example from D 952, extracted from *Lingua*. The passage, spoken by Anamnestes, Memory's page, is taken from a longer prose dialogue between the latter and Mendacio, Lingua's page, in which Anamnestes is expressing his pain at seeing that 'Courtiers' prefer 'an vglie foule idle, fat, dusty clog-head, called *Obliuio*' (sig. E4r) to him, but also 'swagerers...bound to their Creditors' (sig. E4r-v). Mendacio asks if no man cares about Anamnestes at all, and Anamnestes replies that yes, some still care about remembering things, but these (especially the last three) are not entirely virtuous beings either:

> Yes a company of studious Paper-wormes and leane Schollers, and niggardly scraping Vsurers, & a troupe of heart|eating enuious persons, and those cancker-stomackt spitefull creatures, that furnish vp common place-bookes with other mens faults. (sig. E4v)



LINGVA.

their Creditors, if they haue but one Crosse about them, they'le spend it in Wine vpon *Obliuio*.

MEN. To what purpose I prethee? (cares.

AN. Onely in hope heele wash them in the Lethe of their

MEN. Why then no man cares for thee.

ANA. Yes a company of studious Paper-wormes and leane Schollers, and niggardly scraping Vsurers, & a troupe of heart-eating enuious persons, and those cancker-stomackt spitefull creatures, that furnish vp common place-bookes with other mens faults: The time hath beene in those golden dayes, when *Saturne* reigned, that if a man receiu'd a benefit of another, I was presently sent for to put him in minde of it, but now in these Iron after-noones, saue your friends life, and *Obliuio* will be more familiar with him then you.

ACTVS. 3. SCENA. 3.

Fig. 9: Anamnestes speech from *Lingua*, sig. E4v.

Anamnestes despises especially the latter category, the compilers of commonplace books who do not acknowledge the name of the authors from whom they gained benefit. The list of men who still care about Anamnestes is the passage that attracted CB's attention, perhaps because of its reference to commonplace books. What is relevant to note here is the fact that this

passage was not extracted as one and collected under one heading, but that it was extracted in shorter extracts and scattered to be put under different headings. Similarly to Bodenham's treatment of Gaunt's speech seen above, CB exploited this passage for different topics: the first line, 'a company of studious paper wormes / and leane Schollers', is collected under the heading 'Scholler' (f. 74v), where it serves the simple purpose of being an expression for describing scholars, along with an extract from *Wily Beguilde* (1606), 'a scholler without money is just / like a pudden without suit'. Then CB collects 'a troupe of hart eating envious p*er*sons' under the heading 'Envy. Envious man' (f. 30r), along with an extract from *The Insatiate Countess* that reads 'That viper envy shall not spot thy fame'. And finally, he collects the lines 'those canker-stomackt spitefull / creatures y^{t} furnishat common / place-bookes with othermens faultes' as the only extract present under the heading 'Critickes' (f. 19v). The one passage taken from Anamnestes's speech furnished CB with three different extracts, which were copied not in chronological order in the notebook (the first line is copied on folio 74v, the second on folio 30r, and the last was copied towards the beginning of the collection, on folio 19v), and under headings completely unconnected with each other. The three extracts in D 952 are decontextualised from their original source and meaning, and copied, without any link to each other, under very different headings, as the result of CB's process of appropriation dictated by the structure and topics of the headings that he had chosen for his collection.

How reading and commonplacing was influenced by the needs of a collection—as with, for example, the need to offer a variety of material covering the topics of the headings in a collection—is also made evident in examples where the same passage was gathered under different headings of the same collection, in order to exploit it for a variety of purposes. An instance of this is offered by CB, who selected a passage from Randolph's *Jealous Lovers* (1632, sig. A1v), which he used for two different headings in his collection: the heading

'Covetous. man' (f. 17v) and 'Rich. to get riches.' (f. 74r). In the first instance CB is selecting a longer passage from the play:

> I have lived a dunghill wretch, growne
> poore by getting riches mine owne torture
> I runst unto my selfe as to my gold.
> I have to pile up idle treasures, starv'd
> my body thus to a wrincled skin & rotten
> bones and spider like have spun a web
> of gold out of mine bowells.
> (f. 17v)

Whilst in the second example CB only selects two lines (the very last two lines from the extract he had collected earlier in his commonplace book) from the same passage to copy under the heading 'Rich. to get riches': 'spider-like have spun a web of gold / out of my bowells' (f. 74r). The two topics are clearly related, but CB exploits the same passage for different purposes and meanings (one negative and the other positive) and for different stylistic models.[45] Once again it is the potential future uses seen in the passage that matter to the compiler, who then creates several shorter extracts for his collection out of them.

The examples from the printed and manuscript commonplace books analysed here show how the compilers' awareness of the headings in their collections and the type of extracts collected in them might have led them towards certain kinds of selection and reading, as they looked for material to fill those categories. This reading, then, might be said to be 'heading-led', that is, the compiler's reading and selection of material for extraction depended on the topics (thematic headings) of his/her collection. This type of focused reading or reading for a purpose meant that compilers were not (only) reading the text and selecting the passages they found most useful for potential further use, but that they actively engaged in deciding how precisely they would be appropriating the extracts for their own purposes (that

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[45] Erasmus encouraged his readers to use the same material for a variety of uses in method 11 of his *De Copia*, and stated that 'some extracts must therefore be written out in more than one place' (Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus, vol. 24: Literary and Educational Writings, 2: De copia/De Ratione Studii*, ed. by Craig R. Thompson, trans. by Betty I. Knott and Brian McGregor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 642).

is, for which topics). Finally, this is a more complex process of collecting than simply gathering material in a miscellaneous way or by work, copying the extracts in their chronological order (*seriatim*), as it is the case of manuscript miscellanies. A compiler of a commonplace book, like Bodenham, Allott or CB, might scatter passages from the same play across the collection, under different headings: this was a complex and time-consuming process, where the compiler would have had to go back and forth from the play to the collection, trying to retrieve passages scattered throughout the play fitting the various headings in his collection.

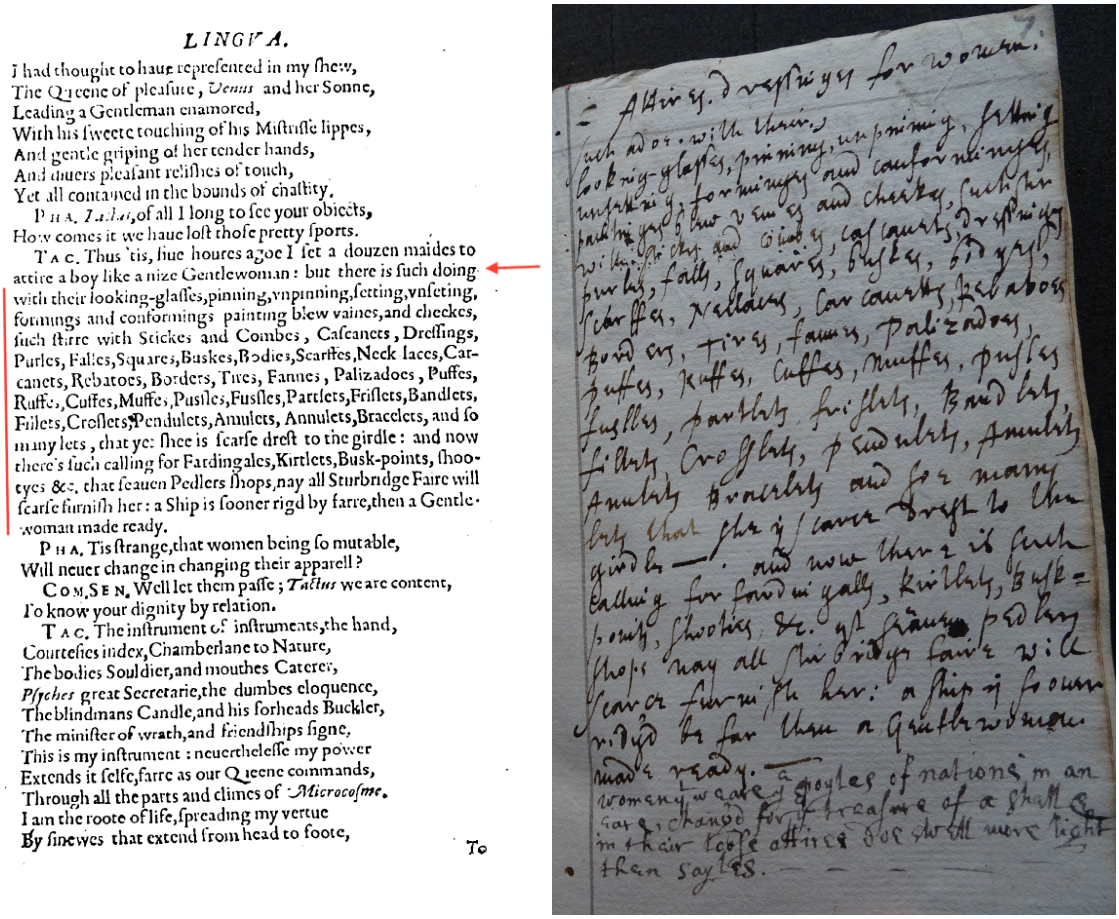
1.3.2. From dramatic narrative to static extract

It could also happen that a particular extract might require the creation of a heading for it *ad hoc*, as in the case of a passage from *Lingua* (1607) that CB commonplaced under the heading 'Attires. dressinges for women.' (f. 7r), which was too specific to have been prescribed (that is, this heading is particular, and apparently unique to this collection, rather than being taken from a traditional model of headings).[46] The extract was taken from a passage describing a bustling moment in the pageant, organised for the competition among the five senses, when Tactus arrives with his display for the pageant. Tactus is late because, he laments, it took a dozen maids and more than five hours 'to attire a boy like a nize Gentlewoman' (sig. I2v) for his display. Tactus lists all the garments and accessories necessary to this purpose, as found in CB's commonplace book:

> Such adoe with their.,
> Looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, setting
> Unsetting, forminges and conforminges,
> Paintings blew vaines and cheeks, such stir
> with sticks and combes, cascanets, dressings
> purles, falls, squares, buskes, bodyes,
> sckarffes, neclaces, Car canetts, rebatoes

[46] As a matter of fact, the headings found in D 952 were appropriated and re-written by CB from a print model, Thomas Farnaby's *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores* (1631), but some headings, such as in the example analysed here, were 'created' by CB himself, and not copied from his print model. A full discussion of the headings found in D 952 is included in Chapter 4.

Borders, Tires, fannes, Palizadoes,
Puffes, ruffes, Cuffes, Muffes, pusles
Fussles, partsets frislets, Bandlets,
Fillets, Crosslets, pendulets, Amulets,
Anulets Bracelets and soe many
Lets that she is scarce Drest to the
Girdle --. and now there is such
calling for fardingalls, Kirtlets, Busk-
points, shooties, &e. y^{t} seauen pedlers
shops may all Sturbridge faire will
scarce furnish her: a ship is sooner
ridg'd by far then a Gentlewoman
made ready.
(sig. I2v; f. 7r)



LINGVA.

I had thought to haue represented in my shew,
The Queene of pleasure, *Venus* and her Sonne,
Leading a Gentleman enamored,
With his sweete touching of his Mistresse lippes,
And gentle griping of her tender hands,
And diuers pleasant relishes of touch,
Yet all contained in the bounds of chastity.
PHA. *Tactus*, of all I long to see your obiects,
How comes it we haue lost those pretty sports.
TAC. Thus 'tis, fiue houres agoe I set a douzen maides to attire a boy like a nize Gentlewoman: but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, vnpinning, setting, vnseting, formings and conformings painting blew vaines, and cheekes, such stirre with Stickes and Combes, Casecanes, Dressings, Purles, Falles, Squares, Buskes, Bodies, Scarffes, Neck laces, Carcanets, Rebatoes, Borders, Tires, Fannes, Palizadoes, Puffes, Ruffes, Cuffes, Muffes, Pusles, Fussles, Partlets, Frislets, Bandlets, Fillets, Croslets, Pendulets, Annulets, Annulets, Bracelets, and so many lets, that ye shee is scarse drest to the girdle: and now there's such calling for Fardingales, Kirtlets, Busk-points, shooties &c. that seauen Pedlers shops, nay all Sturbridge Faire will scarse furnish her: a Ship is sooner rigd by farre, then a Gentlewoman made ready.
PHA. Tis strange, that women being so mutable,
Will neuer change in changing their apparell?
COM. SEN. Well let them passe; *Tactus* we are content,
To know your dignity by relation.
TAC. The instrument of instruments, the hand,
Courtesies index, Chamberlane to Nature,
The bodies Souldier, and mouthes Caterer,
Psyches great Secretarie, the dumbes eloquence,
The blindmans Candle, and his forheads Buckler,
The minister of wrath, and friendships signe,
This is my instrument: neuertheless my power
Extends it selfe, farre as our Queene commands,
Through all the parts and climes of *Microcosme*.
I am the roote of life, spreading my vertue
By sinewes that extend from head to foote,

To

Fig. 10: sig. I2v and f. 7r: Tactus's speech in the play and as commonplaced in D 952.

The speech is copied faithfully by CB,[47] but, by presenting it under the heading 'Attires. dressinges for women.' (f. 7r), CB took the extract out of its dramatic narrative context and

[47] Except for the very first line, which is cut out, the original prose is maintained, as is the order of the items (and even the spelling is almost always consistent).

transformed the speech into a static extract, which could then be valued for its currency as a double commodity: firstly, the heading suggests that CB saw this passage as a practical list of 'Attires. dressinges for women', which offered practical vocabulary of garments, which CB could use to talk about women, or even on the occasion of being in the company of women; secondly as a misogynistic joke, which could be used to mock women with male friends (the closing line of the passage mockingly remarks that it would take more than seven shops to provide for the Gentlewoman in question and that to get her ready it would take longer than it would to rig a ship).[48]

In the process of dramatic extraction passages are often removed from a sense of dramatic action, voice, and character in order to become free-standing, but static, expressions, in other words commonplaces. Once again, the compilers' interest rests in the potential new uses of a passage, whilst its original context is forgotten. However, compilers did not always ignore the original context of their extracts and their original function, and they sometimes strictly adhered to it, as in some of the examples of metaphors analysed in the next section.

1.3.3. How to commonplace a metaphor

In a commonplace book such as D 952, how were metaphors collected, and how did metaphors function in such a culture of textual transmission? Examples in this collection show how CB, when selecting metaphors or similes from a play, would largely preserve their original language, but would then collect them under a heading that would reflect their literal meaning, rather than the meaning and function of the metaphor itself (the meaning of the

[48] The Cambridge academic play *Lingua* enjoyed much popularity in the seventeenth-century, with its misogynistic jokes likely finding approval among the all-male student audience (see *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by William Engel, Rory Loughnane and Grant Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 336). An extract from Jonson's *Catiline*, much more misogynistic in tone, was added after this one. However, this was added by a later hand, and so it has no bearing on how CB intended his extract from *Lingua* to be used and read.

vehicle, rather than the tenor of the metaphor).[49] For instance, the extract from *The Insatiate Countess*, 'Intomb'd in Ice. haveing lost the / feeleing warmth in blood.', copied by CB under the heading 'Cold' (f. 18v), in the collection loses much of its original meaning, simply serving the function of preserving lines useful for describing the feeling of being cold. However, in the original dialogue between Gniaca and Isabella, these lines have the function to describe the effect of Isabella's passionate words, and how they have the power to give warmth even to flesh 'entomb'd in Ice':

> Thy wordes are able to stirre cold desire,
> Into his flesh that lyes emtomb'd in Ice,
> Hauing lost the feeling vse of warmth in bloud,
> Then how much more in me, whose youthfull veynes,
> Like a proud Riuer, ouer-flow their bounds?
> Pleasures *Ambrosia*, or loues nourisher,
> I long for priuacie; come, let vs in,
> 'Tis custome, and not reason makes loue sinne. (sig. F1v)

CB takes the metaphor of the first two lines and responds to them in a very literal way by collecting them under the heading that expresses the explicit vehicle of the metaphor. This kind of attitude towards metaphors seems to be a tendency of commonplacing culture, even if sometimes commonplacing the metaphor by its vehicle would also mean changing its original function.[50] Collecting the metaphor under a heading which expresses its literal meaning seems to distance the extract from its original source further still, however, it does not necessarily mean that the extracts were intended to be used in completely novel ways. In the example 'Ile bury the to swans downe & tombe the in my armes', an extract from *The Insatiate Countess* collected under the heading 'Bury' (f. 12v), CB also adds the marginalia 'imbrace' (see Fig. 11 below) to allude to its original meaning. This is a revealing example that shows how the

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[49] On the distinction between 'vehicle and 'tenor', see Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 153 (s.v. 'metaphor').

[50] For example, when Bodenham extracts the couplet 'the fairer and more beautifull the skie,/ The ouglier seeme the clouds that in it fly' (*Belvedere*, p. 42), and placed it under the heading 'Of Beautie', he detached the image employed from its original meaning, referring to Mowbray's alleged treason in *Richard II*, and applied to its literal meaning instead.

apparent literal reading of the metaphor, collected under the heading 'Bury', does not preclude the fact that CB intended to use the image to designate embracing ('imbrace'), the original meaning (tenor) of the metaphor in the play. Pointing out this meaning in the margin is perhaps a reminder from CB to himself, and other potential readers of the collection, of how best to use this metaphor. Even if at first CB seems to suggest a new function for this extract, by placing it under the heading 'Bury', the word 'imbrace' in the margin suggests that, on the contrary, CB intended to use that image in a very similar way to the one proposed in the original source.[51] Even after having elided the original frame of the extract, its original meaning is still present.

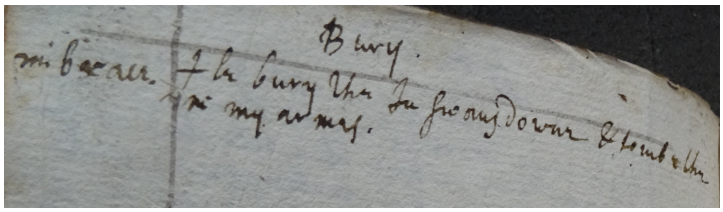


Fig. 11: 'Bury', f. 12v.

In this case, CB used what I call a 'double-frame', combining both the generic heading, 'Bury', and the extract-specific marginalia 'imbrace'.[52] In this type of collection, focused on both individual words and expressions, filing a metaphor under its explicit vehicle was perhaps the easiest way for CB to remember and recover the extract. Moreover, collecting a metaphor under its literal meaning does not only take it out of its original context,

[51] Although the extract is far from its original form, as it blends together a line from Isabella, 'you'll bury me I see' with Roberto's following line, 'In the Swans downe, and tombe thee in mine armes' (*The Insatiate Countess*, sig. A3r).

[52] Examples of this 'double-framing' are to be found throughout the collection (see ff. 12v, 14v, 16v, 32v, 33r, 34v, 35v, 36r, 42v, 70v, 76r, 79v, 81r): for example, some extracts under the heading 'to commend. for beauty' (f. 16v) are marked 'women' and 'man', thus specifying to which gender the extracts should be addressed; the same goes for the headings 'faire. or beautiful' (ff. 32v-33r) and 'to prayse' (f. 70v); under the heading 'frends' (f. 35v), CB specifies in the margin whether the extract describes 'true' or 'false' friendship; or on the next leaf, under the heading 'Fortune' (f. 36r) he specifies 'bad' fortune next to one extract; finally, under the heading 'the sun' (f. 79v) he specifies if the extract is about 'rising' or 'setting'.

but also strips it back to its basic form, making it available to users of the collection for whichever need they saw fit.[53]

1.4. Annotation

1.4.1. Explanatory tags

If compilers of commonplace books created new interpretative contexts in a collection through the creation of headings, compilers of miscellanies, who did not organise their material by thematic headings, employed other strategies to add a new interpretative layer to the material that they collected: sometimes they would add what I label 'explanatory tags' in this discussion, which functioned as additional commentary either following or preceding the extract, or sometimes to be added in the margin. Here, I examine two manuscript miscellanies which collect a considerable number of dramatic extracts and adopt this type of annotation: Edward Pudsey's notebook (c. 1600–10) and Abraham Wright's miscellany (c. 1640).[54] Pudsey, a man perhaps connected with the Inns of Court, gathered 436 extracts from contemporary plays that he may have seen performed in the years he spent in London, and which he primarily intended to use in witty conversation.[55] Wright, a student at St John's College, Oxford, and later an Anglican divine, used a large folio manuscript in which he transcribed (amongst other material) more than 1,500 dramatic extracts, all of which came from very contemporary, Caroline playwrights, except for Jonson, Shakespeare and Webster. He was interested in how one could shape one's style by using commonplace books, and

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[53] A variety of use for similes and metaphors was also encouraged by Erasmus in method 11 of his *De Copia*, where he suggested that the same simile could offer a 'wealth of parallels', and that 'Quite often one aspect of a simile can be applied to various purposes' (*De copia*/*De Ratione Studii*, ed. Thompson, trans. Knott McGregor, pp. 641, 642). Here the metaphor is not added under several headings, but collecting it under its literal meaning makes its potential still available to be exploited by the reader of the collection in as many ways as possible.

[54] Pudsey's notebook is now held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS English poetry d.3) and a few leaves, mainly those with Shakespearean extracts, in Stratford-Upon-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office (MS ER 82/1/21); Wright's miscellany is kept in the archives of the British Library, London (MS Add. 22608).

[55] For more on the content of Pudsey's notebook see Chapter 2 of this thesis, but also Juliet Mary Gowan, '"One Man in his Time": The Notebook of Edward Pudsey', *Bodleian Library Record,* 22, 1 (2009), 94–101 (esp. pp. 94, 97). For Pudsey's connections with the Inns of Court see Tom Lockwood, '"At Mr Marston's Request": Edward Pudsey and the Inns of Court', *Notes and Queries*, 63 (2016), 450–3.

plays were for him 'as rhetorical primers for his own sermons'.[56] His interest in language and style is also reflected in the commentaries that accompany each play excerpted, where he reviewed the plot, language, style and characters of the play in question. Moreover, this interest could have also been spurred by the fact that Wright wrote plays himself during his student years.[57]

Both compilers copied their extracts *seriatim*, which meant they would not need to think about new, specific headings, under which to collect those extracts. In both collections extracts were collected under a header with both the title and author of the play in question (Wright also added act divisions).[58] However, sometimes compilers could add marginalia or comments to some of their extracts, in order to explain for which topics an extract might be used: the potential uses of an extract were concerns of compilers of miscellanies, too, and not the monopoly of compilers of commonplace books. Peter Beal distinguishes miscellanies from commonplace books by stating that the organisational system of the commonplace book made it a tool specifically for studying, in contrast to the miscellany, which was (by Beal's reasoning) built simply for pleasure and was not carefully organised.[59] However, this clear-cut distinction between the two types of collection needs to be reconsidered in light of the documents studied here. Compilers of miscellanies often adopted a 'double-frame' system not dissimilar to the one described in the previous section, where, in addition to the principal heading under which the extracts were collected (the title or name of the playwright), the compiler could add marginalia. Pudsey, for instance, occasionally added marginalia stating either the topic (for example 'Love', 'Hate', 'Envy'), or the rhetorical function for which he

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[56] Arthur C. Kirsch, 'A Caroline Commentary on the Drama', *Modern Philology*, 66 (1968), 256–61 (p. 260).
[57] During his student years at Oxford (1629–1637), 'Wright himself earned a reputation as a playwright: his comedy, *The Reformation*, is known to have been acted at St John's, but the text has not survived' (Stephen Wright, 'Wright, Abraham (1611–1690)', in *ODNB*). Later on Wright also wrote poetry and compiled a printed verse miscellany, *Parnassus Biceps* (1656).
[58] How compilers attributed extracts is fully explored in Chapter 2.
[59] Beal, *Index, vol. 1.ii*, p. ix.

would have used the extract. For example, Pudsey clearly points out his intention of using an extract for its usefulness as a simile by writing 'Simile' next to the line 'As tender as y^{e} foot of a foundred nag, or a ladies face new mercuried.' (see Fig. 12, f. 40r), an extract taken from Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (1601).

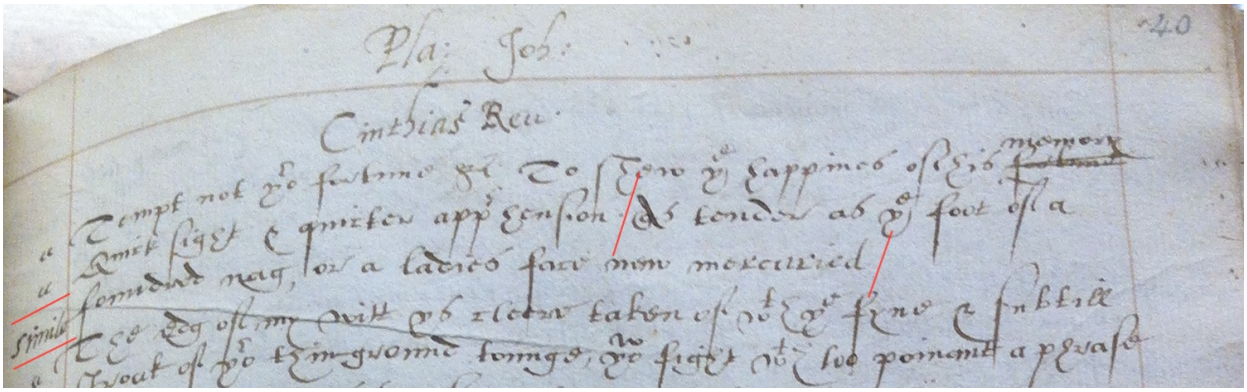


Fig. 12: Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. d. 3, f. 40r (Pudsey's miscellany).

Wright also sometimes added paraphrases, or glosses, next to extracts, in order to explain, briefly and clearly, what the phrase extracted meant and could be used for (such examples start with 'ie'): for instance, 'pray you remove y^{e} cloud', an extract taken from *The Devil's Law-Case* (1623, from sig. A4r), is accompanied by 'ie, speake planely' (f. 74); or again (from the same play, sig. K3r) he glosses 'to vaile ones dishonour' as 'ie, to cover it' (f. 75v). These explanatory tags demonstrate how the lines extracted functioned in their original context, as well as signalling how that material could be used in a new context. This type of literal reading of the extract in its source is similar to the way in which CB commonplaced metaphors in his commonplace book, as seen above. It is another example of quotation copied with future uses in mind: what might at first appear as an interest in the original and literal meaning of an extract is in fact a way of making that material more applicable outside of that original context.

1.4.2. Pointing forward

Marginalia also allowed compilers of miscellanies (as well as commonplace books) to provide lengthier and more detailed descriptions of the content of an extract or how they intended to use that extract than a heading alone would allow: as seen above, marginalia could be specific to one extract, whereas headings had to be generic so as to fit the various extracts collected under them. For example, a compiler of a tall folio miscellany of verse and prose extracts (in parts organised by work, in others organised randomly) from the early seventeenth century (British Library, MS Add. 61822, c. 1586-1605), compiled by William Briton (1564-1637), tended to attach lengthier marginalia to some of the extracts taken from the play *Gorboduc* (1561). These descriptive commentaries in the margin summarise, in general terms, the content of the passage and point to future possible uses of the extract. Various examples of these marginalia are found on folio 89v: 'a coueat for gou^{3}m^{t} of youth', used next to a passage from Arostus counselling on how to guide younger generations to virtue (a topic typically found in commonplace books), or 'a fatherlie care of a prynce fo^{r} his Sonnes', for a passage originally delivered by Gorboduc referring to his son, or again, 'the differenc betwene vnyon & diuysion' for a passage describing union and division in government, another on how 'to reiect good councell & imbrac flattery' and finally one on 'Remorse of consyence in a malefacto described'. A marginal annotation like the latter shows how the compiler was aiming to summarise the extracts not for their specific content, but for the universal message that the passage could deliver, suggesting how the extracts could function as pieces of advice or universal wisdom beyond the original context of the play. In this sense the annotation in the margin is pointing forward towards potential future uses of this extract.

By the same token, compilers that were clearly detaching their extracts from the original source, in order to take this material beyond the play, could at times be interested in including some of the original context, with the end of making that extract more readily

usable in the future. This can be seen in CB's commonplace book: under the heading 'to Dissemble' (f. 25v), CB collects an extract taken from Marmion's *Hollands Leaguer* (1632), where the character Fidelio asks Snarle about life at court, and what he has observed there. The passage from Snarle's response which CB selects reads in the play like so: 'Why they doe hold here the same Maxime still; That to dissemble, is the way to live' (sig. B1r). This line is ideal commonplace book material, as it explicitly contains a 'Maxime'. However, in order to make it easier to use this passage outside of the context of the play, one main issue arises: the adverb of place 'here' does not explicitly say what this 'here' consists in. CB therefore deletes 'here' and puts in its place the explicit reference 'in court'. The line copied in the collection therefore now reads: 'In court they hold y^{e} same maxime / still y^{t} to dissemble is y^{e} way to live' (f. 25v). Paradoxically, adding context (albeit still very generic) from the original source enables the excerpt to function better in future contexts. This is not 'backward' contextualisation aimed at including and referring back to the original source of the extract, but it is 'forward' contextualisation, by which I mean a contextualisation included in order to make an extract ready to be used in potential future contexts independently of its original function. It should therefore be reconsidered how transformation of an extract did not always consist in a process of decontextualisation, but that contextualisation could also allow appropriation for other uses.[60] The next section will show how some compilers who appropriated extracts in their collections, also valued referring back to their sources.

1.4.3. Pointing back

If marginalia could point towards future uses of an extract, marginalia could also sometimes serve the opposite function: some compilers used marginalia to refer back to their original

[60] Another extract where some additional context is added at the beginning of the extract in order to make the extract more readily usable is also offered by an extract CB took from Randolph's *Jealous Lovers* (sig. A3r): '*In doeing this*, yow print eternall / staines upon yr honour & corrupt / yr blood.' (f. 28r, my emphasis). CB adds 'In doing this' at the beginning of the sentence, in order to suggest that some context is missing and that it needs to precede this sentence in order to make it usable.

source, and added details about the context from which the extract was taken. For instance, one of the compilers of Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 142 (c. 1630s-40s), a quarto verse miscellany in English and Latin associated with Oxford, added in the margin details about the title of the source, but sometimes also added the topic of and name of the characters delivering the lines in the original. The first example encountered in this miscellany, on folio 19v, is taken from a dialogue between Nano and Androgyno from Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1607). The passage in the original reads:

> **Nano:**
> But, from the moyle, into whom did'st thou passe?
> **Androgyno:**
> Into a very strange beast, by some writers cal'd an asse,
> By others, a precise, pure, illuminate brother,
> Of those deuoure flesh, and sometimes one another:
> And will drop you forth a libell, or a sanctified lie,
> Betwixt euery spoonefull of a natiuitie-pie.
> (sig. B3r)

The compiler, however, does not copy the passage as in the original (as a dialogue between two characters), but as one passage, deleting the names of the characters, and also introducing slight changes to the text itself ('beast' into 'creature', for instance). At the end of the extract he adds 'etc.'[61] and the name of the author of the play, 'B Johnso:'.

> yis but fro ye moylie into whom didst thou pass
> Into a very strange creature wch some writers call an Asse
> By others a precise pure illuminate Br
> Of those devour flesh & Sometimes one another
> And will drop yw forth a Libell or a Sanctifyed lye
> Betwixt every Spoonfull of nativity pye: etc. B Johnso: (f. 19v)

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[61] This was not an isolated case: it is in fact quite common to find elision marks, such as 'etc.', '&c', '...', or even '-' at the end or within these extracts to signal their fragmentary nature. Some of these can also be seen in Pudsey's and Wright's miscellanies, CB's commonplace book, and also in Bodleian Library, MS Eng. poet. e. 97 and MS Eng. misc. d. 28, and even in print, with examples found in Allott's *Englands Parnassus*, Phillips' *The mysteries of love & eloquence*, Shirley's *The triumph of wit* and many more. This phenomenon was also common in poetic miscellanies, as suggested by Seddon (p. 245): 'By adding '&c.//.', next to the end of the poem, [the] copyist signalled that his copy derived from a longer version'. On the function of 'etc.' in the early modern period see also Laurie Maguire, 'Typographical Embodiment: The Case of *etcetera*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. by Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 527–48.

Both elements signal the compiler's interest in the source of the extract: the name of the playwright points to the original writer of the passage, and 'etc.' points out the fact that the extract is taken from a longer passage (in other words, it is a substitute for the missing text), and shows how this compiler tended to refer back to an elided 'original', from which the extract is never fully detached. Finally, in the left margin (see Fig. 13) the compiler also added 'A Puthagorass' Sowles transmigration Volpone', another element referring back to the source of the extract (*Volpone*) and the original meaning of the extract, which might otherwise be difficult to extrapolate from the extract (Nano and Androgyno are talking about Pythagoras's theory of the transmigration of the soul).

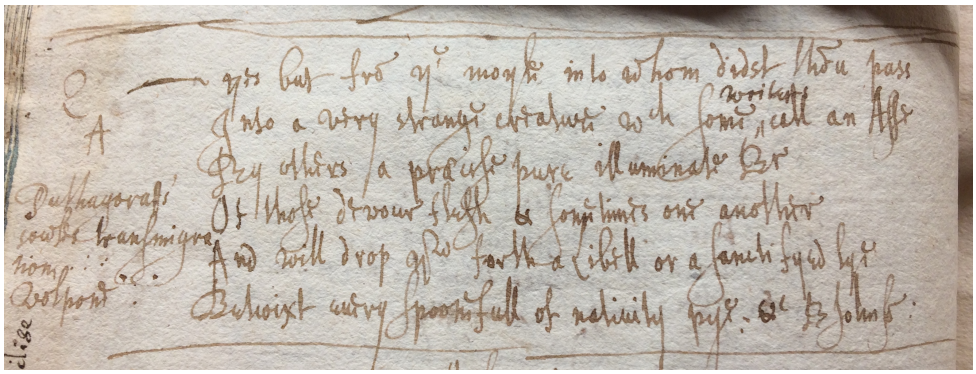


Fig. 13: Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 142, f. 19v.

Why did the compiler find this information useful? There seems to be a tension between keeping the information pertaining to the source and, at the same time, altering the extract in order to make it independent from that same source and more readily usable in future situations. However, the evidence analysed here shows that future and past uses could coexist in early modern collections. It is also interesting to note how in this miscellany only dramatic extracts were contextualised in reference to the specifics of the original action, but that the poetry collected received only generic titles, which do not give away anything specific about their origin. Even a song from *Cynthia's Revels* is not simply labelled song, as

in most cases, but refers to the character who is singing (Amorphus) and to whom he is singing the song (his 'Mistris Glove', f. 45v).[62]

This was not an isolated case, as also BL Egerton MS 2421 (1630s?), a verse miscellany containing songs from Shakespeare's *Tempest* not only presents them as 'Songes [out of] Shakespeares', but also provides all the names of the characters singing these songs: Ariel, Stephano, Caliban, and Juno (ff. 6v-7r). The interest in recording the name of the characters who spoke these lines might also seem particularly odd, as in most examples studied for this thesis, compilers tended to erase local references, such as the name of characters or places mentioned in a play.[63] Despite this oddity, it has to be acknowledged that some compilers, as in the case of the compiler of MS Rawl. poet. 142, wanted to remember where an extract came from, perhaps so that they could mention their source when using the extract.[64] Once again this shows how varied the treatment of dramatic extracts could be. Ultimately, the fact that the compiler was interested in maintaining a degree of connection with the original source, did not prevent him from altering the original lines. The compiler is still exerting his agency and control over the extracts, as he adds the information that he finds most useful for himself, as well as by altering the original dialogue into continuous prose. Finally, these examples illustrate the continuous presence (explicit or implied) of an elided 'original' even after the original framing has been erased. In the final section of this chapter, I explore how compilers appropriated extracts by directly altering their language and form. Dramatic extracts, in the examples that follow, is not only re-framed, but it is, in some cases, completely re-written and made into something new.

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[62] Why these dramatic extracts were treated as a different category from the other material in the collection will be further discussed in the next chapter.
[63] For example, CB in his commonplace book deleted the names of characters and left a hyphen in their place (see extracts from *The Insatiate Countess* on folios 55v and 85v).
[64] Chapter 2 of this thesis will further explore how attribution in these collections worked.

1.5. Re-writing

1.5.1. The fate of dialogue

The examples discussed so far have shown how it could at times be preferable to maintain a degree of attachment to the source from which the extract was taken. The voice of characters, especially when engaging in dialogue with one another, is a clear trace of the dramatic origin of the extracts. This feature, however, presents complexities for commonplace culture, which generally aimed to collect impersonal, sententious phrases with universal, or at least wide, applicability. The clear signalling of speakers of lines complicated the practice of straightforward transmission. How did compilers treat the dialogic passages typical of drama? In some (rare) cases, the original dialogic form was copied faithfully in the collection, so as to exploit the extracts as models of dialogues, which could permit the user of the collection a form of ventriloquism—that is, speaking through the lines of the characters extracted. Wright, in his miscellany, offers a considerable number of dialogues, copied faithfully, except for one small change: instead of using the names of the characters delivering the lines he uses 'A' and 'B', or sometimes marks the second speech with 'A' for 'answer', thus eliding any sense of character and gender. As he begins copying extracts from *The Devil's Law-Case* (1623), Wright explains that 'A: and B: stand for y^{e} 2 speakers,' (f. 74r). A dialogue from the beginning of Act I (sig. A4v) between Contarino (marked as 'A' by Wright) and Leonora ('B'), was copied in the miscellany as follows:

> Sr you are nobly welcome, and presume you are in a place yts wholly dedicated to yr service
>
> A~~nsweare:~~ [in the margin] I am much bound to you for your many speciall favours B: Sr your fame renders you most worthy of it. A. it could never have got a sweeter aire to fly in then your breath. (f. 74v)

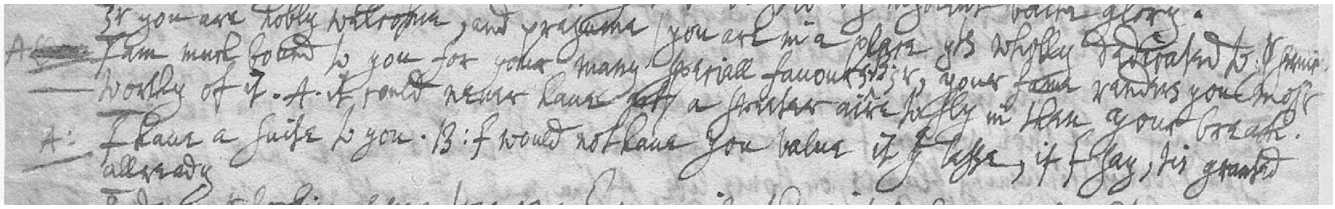


Fig. 14: The dialogue between Contarino and Leonora as extracted in Wright's miscellany, f. 74v.

The interpersonal drama, the rhetorical turns and the dialogic nature of the extract is maintained by Wright.[65] As was mentioned above, deleting local references such as the names of characters was a typical way of making an extract more widely applicable and detached from its source. By introducing this alteration Wright is simply making the dialogue available for potential use in new contexts.

Wright was not the only compiler of a miscellany to keep dialogues in their original form: Pudsey also offers a few examples.[66] But how were dialogues appropriated and transformed into more conventional commonplaceable material? Blending and re-configuring lines from a dialogue into forms more suitable for the commonplace book context was not uncommon. The different voices taking part in a dialogue could be mixed in with one another, and at other times deleted, in order to adapt its dialogic form and transform it into a more impersonal, commonplaceable material. A frequently used way of transforming dialogues was to condense them into a definition-like statement. This was a technique also used by Wright in his miscellany in order to make them sound more like regular commonplaces, which could stand as extracts independent from their original source and seem more universally applicable. In this example from *The Duchess of Malfi* (1623) Wright selected the exchange between the Duchess and Antonio:

> **Duchess**
> What doe you thinke of marriage?

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[65] For more on Wright's interest in dialogues see Montedoro and Estill, p. 155.
[66] For instance, a dialogue between Sebastian and Cataplasma from Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedie* (1611) is kept in dialogic form, signalled by the marginal annotation 'Resp', even if Pudsey slightly alters the original and deletes all characters' names. Mayer, among other compilers, also mentions Pudsey's interest in dramatic dialogue (Mayer, *Shakespeare's Early Readers*, esp. p. 148, n. 32).

Antonio
I take't, as those that deny Purgatory,
It locally containes, or heauen, or hell,
There's no third place in't.'
(sig. C3)

Wright did not copy this as a dialogue, but transformed it into a single definition-like sentence—'I take marriage as those y^{t} deny purgatory, it locally ctaines or heauen or hel, there's noe 3^{d} ^(place in't.› (f. 87v)—thus erasing the dramatic origin of the extract and transforming it into a typical aphoristic commonplace.

In D 952, CB offers a few more examples of this kind: the dialogue between Agurtes and Trimalchio in *Hollands Leaguer* (1632) naturally offered material that could be easily transformed into a definition. In the play, Agurtes asks Trimalchio, 'What thinke you of a rich Widow?', and Trimalchio answers 'I'll none of them, / They are like old cloathes that haue beene worne.' (sig. D3r). The answer to this question is already in itself a definition, which can easily be adapted into a commonplace definition: 'A widow… they are like old cloaths y^{t} / haue beene worne - .' (f. 2v), collected under the heading 'Selected English phrases' at the beginning of the collection.[67]

At other times, CB simply took the various speeches in a dialogue and combined them to create a new, single, passage that reads as a paraphrase of the original dialogue. In Ford's *Lovers Melancholy* (1629), a dialogue between three characters (Thamasta, Amethus and Menaphon) is transformed into one passage, combining the lines from the different characters into one, new extract (a patchwork style of appropriation that was not just limited to adaptation of dialogues, but could also be used to create new extracts from strings of text found in very different places, as it will be shown later in this chapter):

---

[67] A similar transformation is undergone by a dialogue between Gripe and Ploddall in *Wily Beguilde*: the original exchange between Gripe, 'Schollers? why what are schollers without money?' and Ploddall, 'Faith, eene like puddings without suet' (sig. C1v), is transformed into a definition-like commonplace: 'a scholler without money is just / like a pudden without suit.' ('Scholler', f. 74v).

> **Thamasta**
> For your reward,
> Henceforth Ile call you Seruant.
> **Amethus**
> Excellent Sister.
> **Menaphon**
> ‘Tis my first step to honour: May I fall Lower then shame,
> when I neglect all seruice That may confirme this fauour.
> (sig. C4v)

CB takes Thamasta’s speech and attaches it to the lines delivered by Menaphon, but also transforms ‘Ile call you Servant’ into the passive form ‘to be cald y^{r} servant’ in order to erase that sense of exchange between two characters, and make the extract read as a passage that one could use to address someone else:

> to be cald y^{r} servant
> is my first step to honour. May I fall
> lower than shame when I neglect all service
> (f. 14v)

The multiplicity of voices in the dialogue is deleted, but a sense of one voice is still present. This type of alteration and deletion of the dramatic origin is partly due to the compilation’s structure: the commonplace book format requires the extracts to be appropriated to fit under their new home, the thematic heading, and to be universally applicable within that thematic category: in this case the dialogue has become a sentence to deliver as a compliment, as the extract is collected under the heading ‘Complements’ (f. 14v). This type of alteration takes the lines outside of their dramatic context, erasing the presence of characters talking to one another, and making them into one single voice, one voice that is made as impersonal as possible, so that anyone could then adopt those lines may they find them useful. A commonplace under a heading tends to be material thought for use by a single voice, the user(s) of the collection, who might use the extract in their writing or when speaking. A multiplicity of voices within an extract would not be usable by a single person, and this explains the condensing of dialogues into a one-voice extract. This is also why monologues or

more reflective speeches typically made up the majority of commonplace material, ready to be selected and copied in a collection without much need of alteration.

Direct speech and the dialogical aspect of drama is still maintained in the examples where the extracts could be used as models of language to be adopted when addressing someone: that is, they are removed from their theatrical context and become instead model dialogues to be deployed in life.[68] We can find this type of extract under the heading 'Welcome' (f. 85v) in CB's commonplace book:

> welcome to - faire - yow sight
> deare friend, is lifes restorative
> this days the period of long wight
> content. more welcome to me then
> day to the wond, might to the weavied,
> or gold to a miser, such ioy feele,
> friendship is sociely. ---
> S^{r} yow are nobly welcome, and p*re*sume
> yow are in a place thats wholly
> dedicated to yo^{r} service.

The 'welcoming' words which CB copies from Marston's *Insatiate Countess* (sig. E2v) and Webster's *Devil's Law-Case* (sig. A4v) are apt for this heading: in both cases the address to 'yow' is kept, so that the extract is readily usable to address someone directly. The dialogical voice is maintained as it fits the practical use of such language for such occasion, welcoming someone, but any specific name (Isabella), or place (Pavia), has been deleted: as pointed out earlier in this chapter the hyphens replace the name of a character and of a place, so as to render it more universal. Even though the dialogical form is evident here, it is presented only in the form of an address, rather than in its full form as an exchange between different characters.

However, most of the time, compilers of commonplace books, and miscellanies, took the text from direct speech, and transformed the dialogue into indirect speech, so as to make

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[68] See also Kiséry, '"Flowers for English Speaking"', pp. 155–74, at 160–1, who observes that the analysis of dramatic extracts 'reveals how often plays were read for details that were conversational or otherwise markedly oral in character'.

the extract impersonal and more 'commonplaceable'. Compilers of printed commonplace books like *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* offer many examples of this type of appropriation. For instance, the line delivered by Gaunt and addressed to King Richard II, '*Thou* canst helpe time to furrow *me* with age' (*Richard II*, sig. C1r, my emphasis) is commonplaced in *Belvedere* as '*We* cant help time to furrow *us* with age' (p. 216, my emphasis), thus losing the directness of the speech, and sounding more universal and proverbial. Or the line from a stichomythia in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (1592), 'The lesse *I* speake, the more *I* meditate' (sig. C4v, my emphasis), appears in *Belvedere* as 'The lesse *men* speake, the more *they* meditate' (p. 172, my emphasis): removing the voice entailed by 'I' renders the passage more impersonal, thereby transforming the line into a more aphoristic and universally applicable extract.

Transforming direct speech into indirect speech was also common practice in miscellanies such as Pudsey's. This, for example, can be seen in the way that Pudsey transformed a dialogue between Flamineo and Marcello from Webster's *White Devil* (1612) into a commonplace:

> **Flamineo:**
> You are deceiu'd. There are not Iewes enough; Priests enough, nor gentlemen enough.
> **Marcello:**
> How?
> **Flamineo:**
> Ile proue it. For if there were Iewes enough, so many Christians would not turne vsurers; if Preists enough, one should not haue sixe Benefices; and if gentlemen enough, so many earlie mushromes, whose best growth sprang from a dunghill, should not aspire to gentilitie.
> (sig. F3v)

Here, Pudsey puts together lines from two different speeches by Flamineo and paraphrases them slightly in order to make the extract flow in its new form, and by adding 'one said' at the very beginning he creates an impersonal, universal commonplace:

> one said theer wer not Iews Preests nor gentlemen

> inough in England, els so many christians wold not turn
> vsuring Iews, one Preest shold not haue so many benefices
> nor so many dunghill vpstarts become gentlemen. (f. 81v)

Dialogue, with its multiple voices, raises some issues in a culture that privileges universal and impersonal commonplaces with no speakers. However, as this section has shown, compilers dealt with this in a multitude of ways: the alterations all aim, to different degrees, to universalise the extracts, or at least to widen their potential deployment and applicability, by making the voice of the extracts impersonal or by exploiting that dialogic voice as a model for conversation.

1.5.2. Paraphrasing

However, not all alterations were intended to render the extracts more universal: sometimes compilers paraphrased extracts simply to make them their own, or to improve their readability after 'cutting and pasting' new lines together. Compilers copied and altered extracts freely: authorial integrity, by which I mean the original words used by the author from which compilers extracted the material, was not of concern. If something did not work in the new context created for the extracts, then it would be altered accordingly. However, another kind of fidelity is often at work here: compilers might still cherish and maintain the ideas, the content of the passage selected, and would therefore aim to convey those accurately even when altering the words used by the original writer.[69]

Alteration of this kind was much more accepted and normal practice in the early modern period than it would be now. Even when compilers seemed to care about their sources, this did not mean they always faithfully copied the extracts. For instance, Wright extracted from each play *seriatim* and also added act divisions, which could help him retrieve the passages in the original source. Nevertheless, he also explicitly admitted that sometimes he would be quoting directly from a play, but at other times he could be paraphrasing the

[69] *OED*, s.v. 'to paraphrase' (definition 1.a.): 'To express the meaning of (a written or spoken passage, or the words of an author or speaker) using different words, esp. to achieve greater clarity.'

lines. As he writes, 'those [passages] y^{t} are markd thus + either here or in my books are not phrases but expressions and lines' (f. 69), by which he means 'direct quotations of lines or speeches'.[70] To take a play found in this miscellany, for instance *The Devil's Law-Case*, one notices that there are a few instances of direct quotation, but that the most common kind of extract for this play, and more generally in the collection, as Kirsch observes, is 'what Wright calls "phrases," paraphrases or quotations of turns of phrase, often wrenched out of context, which are designed for his own future use'.[71] An example of a turn of phrase Wright loosely paraphrased from the original passage is the line from *Hamlet*, spoken by Horatio, 'It beckons you to goe away with it, / As if it some impartment did desire To you alone.' (F1, p. 257),[72] which he re-wrote as 'I haue some impartment to you. he, I haue something to tell you. (f. 85r).

Pudsey, too, often paraphrased his extracts, for instance, from Dekker's *Honest Whore* (1604), where he paraphrased the line from Hipolito, 'His quarrels, and (that common fence) his law' (sig. G1r) into 'Lawe y^{e} comō ffence.' (f. 80r). Or he reduced the lines from the Duke, 'A noble youth he was, but lesser branches / Hindring the greaters growth, must be lopt off, / And feede the fire' (sig. H2v), to 'Little branches hindering growth of the great^{r} must be lopt of & thrown into y^{e} ffyer.' (f. 80r). In this case, it seems clear that Pudsey extrapolated from the passage the content that interested him: he deliberately kept the content of the metaphor of the passage intact, even if he altered some of the wording of the extract and took it out of its original use to speak about 'noble youth'. In other cases it is harder to tell whether the alterations are due to the type of source the compiler used, or because of intentional alterations. Most famously, scholars have claimed that the lines from *Othello* (1622) which

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[70] Kirsch, p. 260.
[71] Kirsch, p. 260.
[72] This line is not found in Q1, so I give here my reference from F1. However, I explain in Chapter 4 that the actual source used by Wright might have been the quarto edition published in 1637 as Wright quotes a passage which was present only in that edition.

Pudsey had copied into his miscellany (now in the Stratford-Upon-Avon part of the manuscript, SBTRO ER 81) were copied from performance, as *Othello* had not appeared in print by the time Pudsey allegedly compiled his miscellany (1609-10?).[73] Pudsey crammed at the end of folio 1 in SBTRO ER 81, after extracts taken from *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II* and *Richard III*, just three extracts that can be identified as being taken from *Othello*. These are the extracts found right after extracts from *Richard III* and only separated by a line and left unattributed (see Fig. 15 below):

> Dangerous to tell where a soldier lyes. his yf I shold say he lodge theer I lyed the[e]r.
>
> Shee yt is free of her toung ys as frank of her lipps. An ey y[t] offe[r]s p[ar]le to p[ro]uocac[i]o[n]
>
> (in the margin) A fit match: An equalitye of p[er]fections fit in mariage for when y[e] act ys past theere wilbe / a dulnes much needing y[e] help of beauty youth loue & such lyke to p[re]uent loathing. (f. 1)

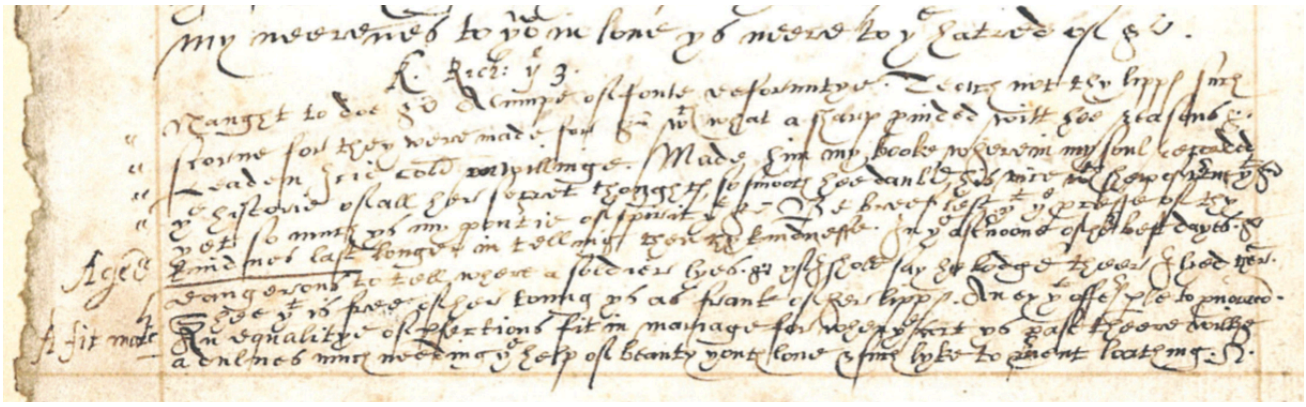


Fig. 15: SBTRO ER 81, f. 1, the *Othello* extracts.

[73] This is an argument long left undiscussed. See for example Fred Schurink, 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature, and Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73, 3 (2010), 453–69 (p. 465): 'While most of the dramatic extracts are copied from printed playbooks in the study, those from at least one play, *Othello*, must have been taken down in a manuscript notebook during a performance of the play and then copied on return home'. See also Juliet Rees, 'Shakespeare and "Edward Pudsey's Booke", 1600', *Notes and Queries*, 39, 3 (1992), 330–1; Tiffany Stern, 'Watching as Reading: The Audience and Written Text in Shakespeare's Playhouse', in *How to Do Things with Shakespeare: New Approaches, New Essays*, ed. by Laurie Maguire (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), p. 144, n.6; Arthur Marotti and Laura Estill, 'Manuscript Circulation', p. 67; and Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, p. 231, n. 176.

The extract 'Dangerous to tell where a soldier lyes. his yf I shold say he lodge theer I lyed the^{e}r.' should paraphrase a passage in Act 2, Scene 1:[74]

> **Des.** VVhy man?
> [75]He is a Souldier, and for one to say a Souldier lies, is stabbing.
> **Des.** Go to, where Iodges he?
> **Clo.** I know not where he lodges, and for me to deuise a lodging, and say he lies there, were to lie in my throate.
> (sig. H4r)

Pudsey is clearly paraphrasing this dialogue between Desdemona and Clown, in order to make the exchange suitable as a commonplace in his miscellany. It is also easy to imagine how he could have memorised the idea expressed in this dialogue if heard during a performance, and then paraphrased what he remembered of it once he had a chance to add it to his miscellany. 'An ey y^{t} offe^{r}s p[ar]le to p[ro]uocac[i]o[n]' was also taken from Act 2, Scene 1, but earlier on:[76] 'Iag**.** What an eye she has?/Me thinkes it sounds a parly of prouocation' (sig. E3v). Again, here Iago's internal dialogue is paraphrased and reduced to a commonplaceable line. The other extracts are more difficult to identify because of the degree of alteration which they underwent (or because the source Pudsey had differed from *Othello* Q1). Martin Wiggins (who is referring to the act and scene division in modern editions, which do not always correspond to the act and scene divisions in the *Othello* 1622) suggests that among these four extracts, two were paraphrased from Act 2, Scene 3 and Act 3, Scene 4 respectively (corresponding to the two examples above), and two from Act 2, Scene 1.[77] 'Shee yt is free of her toung ys as frank of her lipps' could be taken from this passage from Act 2, Scene 1 (2.1.100-102 in the Arden modern edition, and corresponding to sig. D4r-v,

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[74] In modern editions, this passage is found in Act 3, Scene 4, lines 3–13. All citations not from original editions are from William Shakespeare, *The Arden Shakespeare: Complete Works*, ed. by G. R. Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan, rev. edn. (London: Arden Shakespeare 2001); however, here I quote from the original printed edition, as this version would have been closer to the source used by Pudsey.
[75] Character heading missing from print, but this is Clown's answer to Desdemona's question.
[76] In *The Arden Shakespeare*, this is 2.3.21-22.
[77] Martin Wiggins, with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama, 1533–1642: A Catalogue, vol. V: 1603–1608* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 133.

Act 2 Scene 1 in *Othello*, 1622), where Iago describes Emilia as being liberal with kissing ('free of her toung'), lines 100-01 (see emphasis), but also with scolding ('as frank of her lipps'), lines 106-7 (see emphasis). The exchange between Cassio and Iago reads:

> **Cassio**
> See for the news.
>
> *Exit Gentleman.*
> Good ancient, you are welcome.
> [to Emilia] Welcome, mistress.
> Let it not gall your patience, good Iago,
> That I extend my manners; 'tis my breeding
> That gives me this bold show of courtesy.
> [*He kisses Emilia*.]
> **Iago**
> *Sir, would she give you so much of her lips*
> *As of her tongue she oft bestows on me*
> You'd have enough.
> **Desdemona**
> Alas! she has no speech.
> **Iago**
> In faith, too much!
> I find it still when I have list to sleep.
> Marry, before your ladyship, I grant,
> *She puts her tongue a little in her heart*
> *And chides with thinking.*
> (2.1.95-107; emphasis added)[78]

The extract 'Shee yt is free of her toung ys as frank of her lipps' vaguely echoes the idea of these lines, but it is difficult to establish which precise passage Pudsey was paraphrasing. It is possible that he did not paraphrase just one passage, but that his extract was summarising an idea he picked up from multiple passages in the play referring to women: although Wiggins does not mention this, I believe that this extract could also be related to a passage from Act 3, Scene 3 in modern editions. These lines are spoken by Othello and they refer to Desdemona, and not to Emilia as in the previous passage:

> 'Tis not to make me jealous
> To say my wife is fair, feeds well, loves company,
> Is *free of speech*, sings, plays and dances well:
> Where virtue is, these are more virtuous.

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[78] This is sig. D4r-v in *Othello*, 1622.

(3.3.186-189; emphasis added)[79]

Here the idea of a woman who is 'free of speech', who speaks her mind, is clearly also central and could have inspired Pudsey's recollection ('Shee yt is free of her toung ys as frank of her lipps').

Finally, the longer extract, 'An equalitye of p[er]fections fit in mariage for when y^{e} act ys past theere wilbe / a dulnes much needing y^{e} help of beauty youth loue & such lyke to p[re]uent loathing' which Pudsey annotates with a marginal note describing it as 'A fit match' could possibly also be taken from a passage in Act 2, Scene 1, spoken by Iago (corresponding to *Othello*, 1622, sig. E2r):

> *When the blood is made dull with the act of sport, there should be, again to enflame it, and to give satiety a fresh appetite, loveliness in favor, sympathy in years, manners, and beauties*, all which the Moor is defective in. Now for want of these required conveniences, her delicate tenderness will find itself abused, begin to heave the gorge, disrelish and abhor the Moor - very nature will instruct her in it and compel her to some second choice. Now sir, this granted - as it is a most pregnant and unforced position - who stands so eminent in the degree of this fortune as Cassio does? a knave very voluble, no further conscionable than in putting on the mere form of civil and humane seeming, for the better compass of his salt and most hidden loose affection? Why none, why none: a slipper and subtle knave, a finder out of occasions, that has an eye, can stamp and counterfeit advantages, though true advantage never present itself – a devilish knave; besides, the knave is handsome, young, and hath all those requisites in him that folly and green minds look after. A pestilent complete knave, and the woman hath found him already.
>
> (2.1.224-246; emphasis added)

The lines 'When the blood is made dull with the act of sport, there should be a game to enflame it, and, to give satiety a fresh appetite, loveliness in favor, sympathy in years, manners, and beauties' are paraphrased as 'for when y^{e} act ys past theere wilbe / a dulnes much needing y^{e} help of beauty youth loue & such lyke to p[re]uent loathing', whilst

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[79] This is sig. G4r in *Othello*, 1622.

'An equalitye of p[er]fections fit in mariage' is an addition by Pudsey who summarises the idea expressed in this passage, that in order to have a fit match and a fit marriage both parties need to be equal in their perfection. Iago thinks that Cassio is a better fit for Desdemona than Othello, as all the features he lists at the beginning of this passage are missing from the Moor. Pudsey tags this extract as material to be used to describe 'a fit match', but completely decontextualises it from the narrative of the play, as he disregards the impact of the passage on the main plot of the play (that is, Desdemona's alleged betrayal and preference for a younger, newer lover (Cassio) over an older, already consumed lover (Othello)). However, as seen earlier in this chapter, decontextualisation was normal practice for compilers.

The considerable paraphrasing and the fact that *Othello* appeared in print about a decade after Pudsey wrote his miscellany have long been considered sufficient by scholars to suggest that Pudsey extracted these lines from performance, thus offering a rare, known, surviving example of such practice.[80] Recently, Estill has also acknowledged the plausibility of the suggestion that Pudsey used a table book and took notes during a performance of *Othello*, or that he 'wrote down his recollections after attending a play performance without using any notes'. However, she also posits the possibility that 'Pudsey might have copied from another manuscript source, although full-text plays did not circulate as widely in manuscript as poetry, songs, or extracts from plays'.[81] It is not possible to establish with any certainty what source was used by Pudsey, but, as Estill remarks, 'the circulation of full-text plays bears mentioning as context for dramatic extracts.'[82] The fact that the extracts from

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[80] As I discuss in Chapter 3, several references to playgoers extracting dramatic snippets in the theatre survive in plays and other satirical texts, but not much evidence of such extracts actually survives. For an account of the practice of dramatic extracts in theatres see also Stern, 'Watching as Reading', pp. 136–59.

[81] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 48. Estill also notes that 'Richard Savage, a nineteenth-century scholar, went so far as to suggest that Pudsey might have transcribed these extracts from Shakespeare's original manuscripts, though his speculation is far-fetched'.

[82] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, 48. In Chapter 4 of this thesis I discuss further the issue of establishing which sources were used by compilers and mention a few other examples where the possible source used was a manuscript (for example Bodenham in *Belvedere* (1600) might have used a manuscript version of *The Case is*

Othello were crammed by Pudsey at the end of the folio (see Fig. 15 on p. 73), without a proper heading attributing the extracts, could signal, however, that he had not planned to include extracts from this play (as he could not have had a printed copy of it, and might not have had access to a hypothetical manuscript copy), and that he added the lines that he could remember (even if only vaguely in form) as an afterthought after he had attended a performance of the play. As noted by Wiggins, the play was performed by the King's Men at the Globe on Monday 30 April in 1610, a time when Pudsey was living in London and possibly regularly attending the theatre.[83] Moreover, the fact that the extracts were not written in chronological order as they appear in the text could also indicate that these extracts were taken from memory rather than from a written source (usually Pudsey copied extracts in their order of appearance when using a printed source).

Though the passages from *Othello* were highly paraphrased, this element alone cannot be used as evidence of Pudsey's writing these extracts from memory: there are examples where Pudsey paraphrased extracts that we can infer were clearly taken from the printed source, such as, for example, the extracts which he takes from *The White Devil*, f. 81r. Thinking about how early modern compilers used paraphrasing as a way of appropriating the extracts can open up an alternative to the print *versus* performance binary deployed by past scholars writing about Pudsey.[84] Paraphrasing was not always the result of mishearing or misremembering a passage, but it could be a conscious and deliberate act of appropriation.

How paraphrasing allowed compilers to create their own extract, suitable for their collection, is also clearly visible in *Belvedere*. This printed commonplace book shows how

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Altered, first printed only in 1609, or for *Every Man in His Humour* (1601), Bodenham and Allot might have been given a manuscript copy by the publisher of the play, Nicholas Ling).

[83] Wiggins, *British Drama*, V, p. 133. See note 55 above for more on Pudsey's connections with London and the theatre scene. Gowan also notes that 'further evidence in support of [the idea that Pudsey was living in London and enjoying theatre-going] is to be found in his quotations (fols. 87-8) from the 1598 Christmas revels at the Middle Temple...[which] did not appear in print until long after Pudsey's and the author's death' ("One Man in his Time", p. 97).

[84] See note 73 above. Except for Estill, scholars have long accepted the argument that Pudsey copied these extracts from performance without discussing alternative possibilities.

the compiler's intentions and type of collection that he aimed to create could be more important than preserving an extract's original language**.** In the case of *Belvedere*, Bodenham makes no secret of the fact that each item of his collection strictly adhered to his own rule of displaying only sententious extracts, 'and none exceeding two lines at the uttermost' (sig. A3v), as explained in the address to the reader. One form of paraphrasing a passage was to condense its message and make it into a pithier commonplace, in order to fit the needs of his collection. An instance of this is offered by a passage from Thomas Kyd's *Cornelia* (1594):

> The wide worlds accidents are apt to change:
> And fickle fortune staies not in one place,
> But (like the clowdes) continuallie doth range
> (sig. B4r)

Bodenham reduced the aphoristic description into 'Like clouds continually doth fortune caunge' (p. 150) and, in so doing, adapted the passage to the extent of transforming it, effectively, into his own creation.[85] The line in *Belvedere* has completely lost the poetic qualities of the original. In this case, the compiler seems to care more about remaining faithful to his project of creating a collection of pithy sayings and *sententiae*, rather than preserving Kyd's style and language. Examples of this kind show clearly how compilers assumed a degree of authority over the dramatic material that they collected, a topic central to the next chapter. Moreover, these examples also show how quotation in this culture was regarded as something that could be appropriated to the point of becoming as much the creative product of the compiler as of the original author.

1.5.3. Pastiche

The active and creative role of the compilers of these collections is even more evident when studying those extracts 'made up of parts drawn from a variety of sources' which I call here

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[85] As Seddon points out in his work on poetic miscellanies, this sort of 'condensation' consisted 'not just as a summary of the longer text from which the extract derives, but also as a text intelligible on its own terms' (p. 246).

'pastiche' extracts.[86] In these concluding pages I discuss how compilers could appropriate extracts to the extent of creating their own, new material, out of different parts from a play (or plays). This is the most active and direct way in which compilers appropriated extracts, namely, by combining words or lines from different places within a passage, as well as from very distant places within a text.[87] The examples of dramatic extracts which follow are very similar to poetic extracts studied by Callum Seddon, in which the 'scribe [had] taken several cuttings, and then grafted the pieces together in a unique combination […] not simply […] in the order in which they originally occurred, but strikingly out of sequence'.[88]

My first example comes from the compiler of MS Rawl. poet. 142 who devised his own invocation to Diana using phrases (marked in bold in the following long quotation) cherry-picked from a longer passage in Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*:

> When hath **DIANA**, like an enuious wretch,
> That glitters onely to his soothed selfe,
> Denying to the world, the precious vse
> Of hoorded wealth, with-held her friendly aide?
> Monthly, we spend our still-**repaired shine**,
> And not forbid our **virgin-waxen torch**
> To burne, and blaze, while nutriment doth last:
> That once consum'd, out of IOVES treasurie
> A new we take, and **sticke it in our spheare**
> (sig. K1v-K2r)

Following the discussion above, this cannot be called paraphrasing, nor is it a condensation; rather, it is a tailoring process, whereby the compiler carefully cuts out the parts of lines (words or phrases) in which he is interested in order to create his own, new, extract: 'Diana stick thy Virgin=waxen torch / With its repaired shine in this our spheare' (f. 45v). Pastiche

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[86] Although the term 'pastiche' is attested from the nineteenth century, the concept it describes is very relevant to the seventeenth-century practice of commonplacing; see *OED*, s.v. 'pastiche' (definition 1.a): 'A novel, poem, painting, etc., incorporating several different styles, or made up of parts drawn from a variety of sources'.

[87] See also Smyth, *"Profit and Delight"*, pp. 84–5, for examples of how editors of printed miscellanies could also create new poems by conflating previously distinct texts.

[88] Seddon, p. 246.

extracts could also be created by combining lines from speeches far apart from within the same source text.[89]

Finally, in his miscellany, Pudsey created extracts which included both paraphrasing and pastiche. For example, the extract from Jonson's *Everyman out of his humour* (1600), '**The trew condicion of envy is *Dolor aliena felicitatis***, so that it is not / lyke hate, **for what a man trewly envyes in another, he cold loue in himself**' (f. 39v; emphasis added), was not only the result of cutting and pasting together lines from different speeches (see words in bold in long quotation transcribed below), but also paraphrased other parts, in order to transform a long passage into a shorter, easier to remember extract. The part 'so that it is not lyke hate' is a paraphrase, and a necessary addition which helps the compiler to glue together the lines which he has selected, in order to create a coherent extract with a clear message. The message is the same as its original passage, but the form has been clearly modified:

> Yes, but you must vnderstand Signior, hee enuies him not as he is a villaine, a wolfe i' the commonwealth, but as he is rich and fortunate; for **the true condition of envie, is *Dolor alien felicitatis,*** to haue our eies continually fixt vpon another mans prosperitie, that is his cheefe happinesse, and to grieue at that. VVhere as if we make his monstrous and abhord actions, our object, the greefe (we take then) comes neerer the nature of **Hate** than Enuie, as being bred out of a kind of contempt and lothing in our selues.
>
> (...)
>
> Right, **for what a man truly enuies in another, he could alwaies loue, and cherish in himselfe**
>
> (sig. D4v, emphasis added)

[89] For instance, the line 'His breath want's ayringe, his calues are sunke into his toes.' (f. 164v [rev]) in Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.) is made up of lines from Marston's *Parasitaster* (1606) taken from lines 150 apart, the first being from Zoya's 'your breath wants ayring' (sig. D1v) and the second part being Gonzago's 'and his calues Are sunck into his toes' (sig. D3v).

This long passage from *Everyman out of his humour* is simplified and made into a sententious, pithy phrase. Pudsey presents many more examples of this type of appropriation, which renders this instance not quite unique.[90]

This pastiche technique was also adopted by compilers of commonplace books such as D 952. An extract collected under the heading 'To commend for beauty' (f. 16v), shows how CB could copy a passage faithfully, whilst also introducing some degree of innovation, by inserting a line from another speech:

> fine haire, an amorous brow, a pretty
> lovely eye, a most delicious cheeke, a
> handsome nose, How nectar like his
> lips are, and his teeth like to Ivory
> pales enclose a tongue made up
> wth Harmony: than he has a Chin soe
> full of ravishing dimples, it is pitty a
> beard should over grow it, **and a shoulder**
> R. **streight as the pine or y^{e} cedar**, and
> his feete past all expression pretty. (f. 16v)

The extract is taken from Randolph's *Jealous Lovers* (1632) and is almost in its entirety a faithful copy of Techmessa's speech (sig. C4v-D1r). However, the line 'and a shoulder / streight as the pine or y^{e} cedar' (marked in bold above) originally belonged to a speech occurring a few lines below (sig. D1r). CB's decision to insert the line here shows once again how compilers cared both about copying the original words of the author faithfully, but at the same time felt free to be able to make adjustments and to personalise, or to make the extract their own. This is even more curious if we take into consideration the fact that some of these 'personalised' extracts were accompanied by an acknowledgement of the original author: in this case CB inserted in the margin an 'R' standing for 'Randolph', the name of the author of this play. This raises more questions about the status of dramatic extracts and how compilers understood the authorship or ownership of these extracts: did they think of them as their own, or as belonging to the authors from which they took them? Or is it possible that they saw

[90] Several examples appear on ff. 39v, 40v, 41r, 42v, and 81r of MS English poetry d.3.

them as belonging both to the original authors and to them? Questions of authorship and ownership are explored more fully in the next chapter, but what is already visible here is that for these compilers, both past and future could co-exist, and they viewed the end result as a mix of old and new authorship. Matteo Pangallo discusses how members of the audience interacting with a play in performance collaborated, even if unwillingly, with the original author in creating a slightly new reception of that theatrical event. Pangallo continues by saying that these 'intrusions' do not always change the 'dramatist's intentions, but they always have the effect of appropriating to the consumer a degree of authority over the dramatic event'.[91] Similarly, the extracts collected in a collection are the result of both the original author and the compiler's agencies, with the compiler assuming a degree of authority over the dramatic text when appropriating it for his collection.[92]

1.6. Conclusion: is this still drama?

This chapter's taxonomy of acts of appropriation has highlighted how significant the agency of the compilers who collected dramatic extracts might be, and how varied their interventions could be. This analysis has also offered models that demonstrate broader patterns of textual appropriation relevant elsewhere (see, for example, seventeenth-century manuscript and printed verse miscellanies), as these examples are representative of general attitudes towards textual transmission in the seventeenth century.[93] The categories displayed here represent the main types of appropriation evident in the collections studied in this thesis. Whilst the picture presented here might only be partial, it is nonetheless a relevant illustration of how profitable

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[91] Matteo Pangallo, *Playwriting Playgoers in Shakespeare's Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), p. 32. Pangallo gives the example of a certain 'Hoskins of Oxford', who in 1621 attended a performance of Barton Holyday's *Technogamia* (a play also mentioned by CB in D 952), to which also King James was present. During the performance Hoskins comically interjected delivering a rhyming line after a line spoken by a character on stage, and so indirectly collaborated with Holyday, as he affected the dramatic event.

[92] This also echoes Jerome McGann's socialized theories of textual production and the idea that '[a]uthority is a social nexus, not a personal possession' (*A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 48).

[93] Smyth, *'"Profit and Delight"'*, esp. pp. 76, 82, offers examples of typologies of alterations observed in printed verse miscellanies; see also Seddon's work on manuscript verse miscellanies (esp. p. 240 and examples on pp. 245–7).

to the study of textual transmission a close analysis of dramatic extracts can be. This type of study presents detailed accounts, as told by these collections, which, though made by different individuals, also share common narratives. Such an approach is valuable, according to Smyth, since to 'embrace this textual diversity [is] a real opportunity for a more detailed understanding of how writing was read in seventeenth-century England'.[94] This survey has also shown how compilers of miscellanies were as likely to manipulate and appropriate the extracts as compilers of commonplace books; moreover, compilers of printed collections (such as Bodenham and Allott) were not interested in 'fixing texts in authorially sanctioned forms', as Marotti puts it, any more than the compilers of manuscript collections were.[95] On the contrary, the examples of types of textual malleability, or deliberate re-writing, observed in this chapter are equally present in both printed and manuscript collections. Certainly, the liberties taken by compilers of printed collections could more easily be the object of public scrutiny, as was the case for Bodenham, whose collection was ridiculed in the Cambridge play *The Returne from Parnassus* (1606), where Iudicio describes Bodenham's activity, among other things, as blurring 'fayer paper, with foule bastard rimes' (B1r).[96] That the lines in *Belvedere* are 'foul' and 'bastard' could be understood to mean that they are fatherless, because they are left unattributed, and further bastardised because they have been tampered with by Bodenham.[97]

Finally, analysing these dramatic extracts allows us to discuss the status of 'quotation' in the early modern period and to see how the importance we attach to authorial integrity and faithful copying today was not fully present as an early modern concern; in this textual

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[94] Smyth, *'"Profit and Delight"'*, p. 90.
[95] Marotti, p. 135.
[96] I talk more about this kind of criticism in Chapter 3.
[97] In Chapter 2 I also mention the criticism in the Preface to Hayward's *British Muse* (1738), by William Oldys, who accuses Bodenham of having left all his extracts unattributed because 'afraid of being detected of having mangled his originals egregiously in his barbarous manner of curtailing them' (viii). Oldys also criticises John Cotgrave's alterations in *The English Treasury* (1655), and how the extracts were decontextualised and given a different meaning to their original ones (Oldys, p. xii, laments that the extracts were 'quoted imperfectly... corrupted... under heads foreign to their subjects').

culture, faithfulness and appropriation could co-exist in seemingly paradoxical ways. In the early modern period, quoting, as well as imitating, did not have to be perfect or faithful: as Colin Burrow points out, 'misremembering and mishearing […] can be as much as a response […] as careful imitation'.[98] Dramatic extracting did not simply correspond to an act of quotation and ventriloquism, but also allowed for self-expression. This chapter has shown how dramatic extracts, in the early modern period, were the product of a creative act of reception, a process of 'digestion' and transformation.[99] The compiler is therefore as much of an author of the extracts collected as the original writer from whom the material was extracted.[100]

This culture of textual transmission, of which commonplacing, or dramatic extracting, is a part, did not see any limits to the freedom of writing and re-writing texts, and not even print was able to establish 'textual fixity and […] the rise of the author' that it would have hoped to achieve.[101] How compilers treated the authors (and authorship) of the material they collected is explored in the next chapter. Here, I have demonstrated how compilers freely applied their agency over the extracts collected, but also how they not only collected extracts,

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[98] Colin Burrow, 'Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture', in *Shakespeare and the Classics*, ed. by Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 15.

[99] A very common image used to describe the activity of commonplacing, or collecting extracts from the best writers, has, since Seneca, been that of comparing the reader/compiler to a bee that flies in a garden with the best flowers (writers) of a certain time and collects the pollen, which then needs to be digested in order to make honey. See Seneca's words, as copied by Francis Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) under the heading 'The use of reading many Bookes', are: 'Bees out of divers flowers draw divers iuices, but they temper and digest them by their owne vertue, otherwise they would make no honny: so all authours are to be turned over, and what thou readest is to be transposed to thine owne use. Seneca' (p. 268v). This is a quotation paraphrased from Seneca's *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (65 AD), letter 84.

[100] Stephen B. Dobranski, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 55–6, also claims that '[j]ust the act of commonplacing transformed readers into authors, for it required a process of selecting, transcribing, and organizing that resulted in a "personal construction of meaning"' (citing Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 279)). See also how adapters of pre-existing plays could be considered on the same level as the original authors. Paulina Kewes *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660–1710* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 127, compares Dryden's and Langbaine's attitudes towards this idea: 'Langbaine, who is willing to credit the adapter with improvement (if such has been accomplished), none the less wishes to reserve the true proprietorial splendour for the author of the original piece. Dryden, by contrast, insists on the parity of originals and adaptations, demanding the recognition of the adapter as author'.

[101] Smyth, *'"Profit and Delight"'*, p. 74.

but also created a new material object to be valued in its own right. The layout of some collections make this idea even clearer: for example, Bodenham's *Belvedere*, with its extracts of one or two lines of pentameter presented one after the other without any interruption (like attributions), and interpolated by couplet extracts, which create the effect of a division between stanzas, starts to look like a poem.[102] Even more explicit about this formal aspect of the collection is James Shirley in the 'epistle dedicatorie' of his *Wits Labyrinth* (1648): Shirley anonymously quotes thousands of verses taken from various literary texts, that he compiles so as to create a maze-like pathway through the many excerpts. The title page presents it clearly as a collection, 'A briefe and compendious Abstract of most witty, ingenious, wise, and learned SENTENCES and PHRASES. Together with some hundreds of most pithy, facetious, and patheticall, complementall Expressions.' However, in the letter addressed to the readers, Shirley refers to his collection as 'a Poem' (sig. A3r) and later on, when explaining the reasons why he decided to publish this work he calls this *his* 'Pamphlet' (sig. A3v). This does not mean that Shirley wanted to conceal the fact that his was a collection, on the contrary, towards the end of the epistle he writes:

> 'this Poem is but a collection of divers sentences, phrases, &c. as appeareth in the Title, (not methodically composed or digested) it being unpossible in a subject of this nature, so to doe (but promiscuously intermixt with variety and delight) which many yeares since in times of my better prosperity I gathered out of some hundreds of Authors' (sig. A3v).

For Shirley the fact that *Wits Labyrinth* was made of extracts 'gathered out of some hundreds of Authors' could coexist with the idea that this collection was also his own creation (on the title page one finds 'By J.S. Gent.', suggesting a degree of authorship claimed by Shirley),

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[102] Ted Tregear pointed out this particular formal aspect of *Belvedere* in 'Truth and Rhyme in Bodenham's *Belvedere*' a paper presented at the biennial Society for Renaissance Studies conference held at Sheffield University (July 2018). Tregear describes how 'these units of one-line *sententiae*, flanked by italicized and indented couplets, take on the appearance of stanzas. Bodenham's collection looks like a cento, weaving its contents into a new poetic whole'.

and that he could call it a Poem, or Pamphlet.[103] Marotti reminds us how '[i]n the manuscript environment the roles of author, scribe, and reader overlapped', but this is true for both the manuscript and printed collections considered in this thesis.[104]

One final question might be raised here: what is left of drama after this process of extraction and appropriation? The examples of extracts shown in this chapter suggest that compilers were not primarily interested in preserving the exact form of the material extracted, but in the main idea or image of the passage expressed in a way that could be usable in new contexts, independent from the play.[105] Not only that, compilers could also alter extracts to the point of changing their generic category: for instance, in both *Politeuphuia* (1597) and *Palladis Tamia* (1598) extracts are all presented as prose, although many were originally in verse form; *vice versa* Bodenham in *Belvedere* changed many extracts from prose into verse to fit the style and structure of his collection.[106] As illustrated by the different examples of re-writing practices illustrated in the final section of the chapter, compilers often transformed lines from plays into commonplaces, virtually deleting any dramatic voice or sense of context and narrative. Only when the lines were not made impersonal, but the voice of the speaker was maintained, as in extracts kept as dialogue (see the examples from Wright and Pudsey shown here), then the extracts were clearly 'dramatic' and distinguishable from extracts from other types of texts. Yet, once a dramatic extract was transformed into a commonplace,

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[103] It is relevant to note that James Shirley was also a writer, so his attitude towards styling himself as an author could also be influenced by this other aspect of his professional life. See also Smyth's discussion of how compilers of these printed miscellanies portrayed themselves as authors in *"Profit and Delight"*, pp. 75–6. MS collections were often left anonymous, and inscriptions would indicate ownership over the book, rather than authorship of it; see, for example, the inscription 'Daniell Leare his Booke' (f. 1v) in British Library, Add MS 30982, specifying ownership over the material object. In the case of Abraham Wright's miscellany it was James, his son, who later on entitled the miscellany 'Excerpta Quaedem per A. W. Adolescentem'.

[104] Marotti, p. 135.

[105] Compilers of verse miscellanies were also 'often not interested in authorial origins, or in the formal integrity of texts' (Seddon, p. 232).

[106] More examples of generic shift are also found in Eckhardt's work on manuscript verse collectors: Eckhardt, p. 5, shows how by 'routinely countering or complementing love poetry with erotic or obscene verse, manuscript verse collectors arguably formed an unrecognized poetic genre [...] anti-courtly love poetry'. Seddon, p. 242, also gives examples of generic shift: for example, a longer love lyric could be transformed into an epigram, or a funerary elegy into a series of re-usable quotations.

beyond additional annotation, like attribution or names of characters, nothing in the extract itself could indicate to the reader that that particular extract was taken from drama. I have claimed elsewhere that certain playwrights offered commonplaceable material that could stand out for its originality, innovative imagery and current language.[107] However, such claims need more careful and thorough analysis of dramatic and non-dramatic material found in these collections in order to be viable. What is less debatable is that a commonplace in the form of an aphorism, pithy phrase or definition with universal appeal by its nature bears no sign of its origin, or the nature of its source: whether it was taken from drama, from poetry, or a non-fictional text, a commonplace is a commonplace, a 'genre' of its own. CB, at the beginning of his collection, entitles the material transcribed in his notebook 'Selected English phrases' (sig. 2v), signalling that the tragedies and comedies he had listed on the very first page of his collection, once transformed into extracts for his commonplace book had become simply 'phrases', language with no specific origin and genre. As Lois Potter points out talking about the heavily altered material in *Belvedere*, 'The object of the anthologist was to make playbook quotations as untheatrical as possible.'[108]

Commonplaces, as already discussed in the general introduction, could take various forms: they could be phrases, rhetorical images, aphorisms, sayings, but what made them commonplaces is the fact that they were reduced to their core, that is, language independent from context that aspired to be universally applicable.[109] Miscellanies were more accommodating places than commonplace books to welcome less traditional commonplace such as dialogues, a type of material that still carried some of its dramatic origins, and that

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[107] See Montedoro and Estill, pp. 152–5, in which we discuss how the originality of Webster's language was appreciated by compilers like CB and Wright.
[108] Potter, p. 263.
[109] For example, in *Belvedere* each heading is divided into three subcategories of commonplaces: 'learned, grave, and wittie sentences' (sig. A3v), 'similies on the same subject' and 'examples likewise on the same'. It seems that Bodenham tried to incorporate the different kinds of commonplaces he collected in his previous collections: the grave sentences of *Politeuphuia*, the 'as... so' similes of *Palladis Tamia*, and the exempla of *Wits Theater* (Bodenham actually extracted much of his material from the *Wits Commonwealth* commonplace books).

was unique to drama.[110] If this type of 'dramatic' material was rarely found in the first instances of printed, and manuscript, commonplace books and miscellanies, with time dialogue became more and more represented in manuscript and printed miscellanies (see for example Wright, and Phillips and Shirley's printed manuals), as useful models of conversation, a type of material that became more and more popular as the practice of commonplacing moved from the classroom to more sociable environments.[111]

[110] See also András Kiséry, '"Flowers for English Speaking"', p. 169, who claims that 'its representation of informal, improvisational conversation in social interaction' was 'a feature specific to drama'. Elsewhere, I have also claimed that vernacular drama was commonplaced for qualities that were specific to it, such as fashionable and current language which could be used in sociable conversation ('Comedies and Tragedies "read of me" and "not yet learned": Dramatic Extracting in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 952', in *Early British Drama in Manuscript*, ed. by Tamara Atkin and Laura Estill (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 281–98). A full survey on the nature of dramatic extracts needs to be carried out, as I aim to do in the book development of this thesis.

[111] Chapter 4 of this thesis also offers an account of how the practice of commonplacing evolved over the first half of the seventeenth century. See also Kiséry, p. 160, for an exploration of how compilers were particularly interested in early modern drama 'as a form of exemplary orality', which could be used to help with conversation.

2. Whose Work? Authorship and Attribution in Collections with Dramatic Extracts

2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines how dramatic extracts were attributed, or not, and how, more generally, compilers presented and referred back to the sources and original authors of the texts they extracted and copied in their collections. Among the questions addressed here are: how often did compilers note their sources? What attitudes did collections suggest towards authors? And what purposes did author attributions serve? In a culture preoccupied mainly with circulating and re-appropriating extracts, where extracts were taken out of their original sources, oftentimes re-written (as seen in the previous chapter) and projected into new contexts, what is the purpose of noting the original sources/author? Many compilations survive with no attribution, as recording the source of the material gathered was not the priority of their collectors. As Marcy North's work on anonymity in the Renaissance reminds us, 'the use of personal names as marks of authorship and ownership' is a standard practice today, but 'for early literary culture was only one approach among many'.[1] This more recent obsession with tracing and identifying the authors of these extracts can be seen in the work of several scholars from a distant, but also more recent, past: in the eighteenth century, antiquarian and literary scholar William Oldys (1696–1761) painstakingly identified most extracts collected in *The English Treasury of Wit and Language* (1655) by John Cotgrave, who had left them all unattributed.[2] At the beginning of the twentieth century, Charles Crawford undertook the considerable (pre-digital) task of uncovering the sources of

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[1] Marcy L. North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 162. North's study focuses mainly on printed and manuscript collections of whole poems, but it is a very useful model for comparison of attitudes towards attribution and anonymity also in collections of extracts, as these were part of a more general literary culture in which attribution had not been standardised yet, and compilers had 'freedom in their choices to attribute certain poems and not others' (p. 209).

[2] In 1730, Oldys added the name of the authors and titles of the plays to most entries of *English Treasury* (which contains 1,701 dramatic extracts in total) in two copies of the book: one now held in the Bodleian Library, Douce CC223, and the other in the British Library, 1451.c49. For a thorough discussion of how this collection of dramatic extracts was read by early and later readers see Laura Estill, 'The Urge to Organize Early Modern Miscellanies: Reading Cotgrave's *The English Treasury of Wit and Language*' in *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America*, 112, 1 (2018), 27–73.

the extracts found in John Bodenham's *Belvedere* and Robert Allott's *Englands Parnassus* (both 1600).[3] These scholars focused most of their efforts on the process of identifying authors. But recent studies have also perpetuated this approach by using collections with dramatic extracts exclusively as a means to study their sources, often focusing on one author, Shakespeare in particular. In this chapter, I do not focus my attention on the *identity* of the authors attributed, but on the *purpose* of the attributions, how they were used by compilers and why. My aim is to explore the meaning of, and role played by, attribution within commonplace book culture. The analysis contained in this chapter is accompanied by detailed tables of examples of attributions in both printed and manuscript miscellanies and commonplace books, and it is organised around different categories of function given to attribution that I found recurring in the collections examined in this thesis.[4]

I also discuss how anonymity and communality—the idea that once a text had been made public, either in writing or orally, it could be considered as a shared property, belonging to everyone—were widely accepted concepts within commonplace book culture. Traditional commonplaces, as the name suggests, were after all 'common', as they recurred in texts and had become part of a shared pool of conventional wisdom that could be considered belonging to everyone.[5] For example, Kenneth Muir points out how Shakespeare drew much material from 'the stock of contemporary commonplaces', ideas and phrases that had appeared in

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[3] For *Belvedere* Crawford claims to have traced 3,000 quotations out of the total 4,482 unattributed items, and lists the sources identified in 'Belvedere, or The Garden of the Muses', *Englische Studien,* 43 (1910–11), 198–228. Crawford did not publish an edition of this collection, but he did so for *England's Parnassus or The Choysest Flowers of Our Modern Poets (1600)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913). *Englands Parnassus* contains 2,350 quotations attributed with the name of the writer, but sometimes erroneously, as Crawford points out in his edition (see p. xxv).

[4] The same wide range of printed and manuscript collections presented in the first chapter is also presented here, with the addition of poetic miscellanies such as BL Add MS 30982.

[5] See my section on 'Commonplacing and Anonymity' in this chapter, where I discuss Margreta De Grazia's claim that commonplaces belong to a 'communal ground' or 'public domain' like proverbs and sayings ('Shakespeare in Quotation Marks,' in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. by Jean I. Marsden (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), p. 77).

several different books, so much so that it would be 'impossible to know the precise source'.[6] Studying commonplaces, and anonymity, also allows us to think of authorship as multiple and changing. As North writes, anonymity 'frustrates narrow definitions of the author, challenges modern notions of autonomous composition', as it 'can represent collaboration, compilation, and the communal production of literature as easily as it can individual authorship'.[7] Anonymity therefore reminds us that texts in the early modern period were often the product of collaboration or re-appropriation and compilation.[8] Moreover, as we consider textual production within print culture we need to consider that the various agents involved in the physical making of the text, 'those financing the book...the publishers and master printers of the London Stationers' Company, retained the best legal claims to texts', not the author.[9] Furthermore, anonymity was not only commonly accepted practice in collections, but also in the book market, as 'more than half of the items published in the 1600s were still printed anonymously.'[10] However, as the printing trade grew, the first names of authors started to appear on the title page: the first play by Shakespeare that was attributed to him on the title-page was Q2 *Richard II* (1598), but his name was 'supplementing the name of the acting company': normally, a play would be identified in print 'by a reference on the title page either to the performing company alone or – a slightly less common alternative – to the venue of performance', so having the name of a playwright on the title-page of a play was still rare,

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[6] Kenneth Muir, 'Shakespeare among the Commonplaces', *The Review of English Studies*, 10, 39 (1959), 283–289 (p. 288).
[7] North, pp. 3–4.
[8] On the collaborative nature and shared authority in the writing of plays, see for example Jeffrey Masten, 'Playwrighting: Authorship and Collaboration', in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 357–82.
[9] North, p. 56. See also Janet Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic: Imitation, Borrowing and Competition in Renaissance Theatre* (Cambridge: University Press, 2014), pp. 11–13, on the topic of the lack of rights of authors, and for the lack of control over publication see the examples of unauthorized publications in Arthur Marotti's 'Shakespeare's Sonnets as Literary Property', in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry*, ed. by Harvey Elizabeth, D. and Katherine Eisaman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp. 143–73, p. 155.
[10] Dobranski, p. 8. North, p. 3, also mentions that 'More than 800 known authors were published anonymously between 1475 and 1640'.

and one that took on slowly and in some cases never.[11] More standardised was to have the title and printer's name on the title pages: as North observes,

> Title pages were used as advertising leaflets, and what a book producer chose to include on the title page was more often than not determined by what might bring a purchaser to the bookshop. The author's name appeared when his or her name could help sell the book.[12]

The first half of the seventeenth century is also the time when writers like Ben Jonson began to assert their authorship and ownership of their texts.[13] Jonson did so mainly through the publication of his collected *Works* in 1616, which he supervised: Sara van den Berg claims that Jonson was 'the first English writer to exploit the humanist concept of authorship by publishing his own collected works in folio.'[14] Van den Berg offers a detailed analysis of how Jonson presented himself in his 1616 folio, starting with the frontispiece, but also the dedications, in which his 'claim of authorship [is] so prominent'.[15] Joseph Loewenstein calls this type of editorial interventions 'editorial authorship' and claims that this 'became one of [Jonson's] chief forms of self-experience, and one of the most powerful of imaginative stimuli'.[16] Jonson is known for his involvement in the production of his plays, but other forms of intervention, like revision, were also promoted by stationers, who promoted new editions of plays claiming for their improved and corrected nature: through the process of revision playwrights like Shakespeare would see themselves 'as an author who both revises and

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[11] Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 62.
[12] North, p. 65.
[13] The first English author who 'found ways to perform functions normally performed by stationers exclusively' was Samuel Daniel, who was also the first 'to supervise the publication of a collected *Works*' in 1601 (Loewenstein, p. 7).
[14] Sara van den Berg, 'Ben Jonson and the Ideology of Authorship', in *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, ed. by Jennifer Brady and W. H. Herendeen (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), p. 111. See also the fourth meaning of 'author' in Foucault's 'What is an Author': 'a historical or circumstantial identification of writing as the person's distinctive act' (in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews by Michel Foucault*, ed. and trans. by Donald F. Bouchard and Simon Sherry (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 113–38).
[15] Van den Berg, p. 112. See her in-depth analysis of the frontispiece at pp. 111–14.
[16] Loewenstein, p. 103.

rectifies'.[17] The printing of plays therefore played a fundamental role in the gradual construction of ideas of dramatic authorship, as 'the growth of the printing trade and the number of available texts, led to the further assumption that some instances of language should be attributed to a single person'.[18] However, as Loewenstein reminds us, 'the new weight given to dramatic authorship, is by no means decisive: after the Restoration, Pepys records his attendance at some fourteen plays without mentioning the name of the playwright; six of those plays were printed without attribution.'[19] In this literary culture, in which the idea of authorship was still new and unstable, how did the practice of dramatic extracting contribute to the construction of these ideas?

Throughout this chapter I evaluate how significant the concept of authorship was within the commonplace book culture and what happened to the authorship of the extracts once they were decontextualised and appropriated in a collection.[20] Studying the material signs of attribution left in these collections offers the opportunity to discuss the concept of early modern authorship from the point of view of the compilers of these collections, and ultimately to understand what contribution this practice made to the construction of notions of authorship of early modern English drama.

Compilers display a variety of attitudes towards attribution: some could leave all the extracts they collected completely unattributed, leaving all authors present in the collection invisible, or do so only partially or inconsistently, while others would attribute all extracts, and give detailed information on the sources. The lack of attribution should not be seen as a

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[17] Loewenstein, p. 102.
[18] Van den Berg, p. 113. See also Loewenstein, p. 102, who points out that 'By promoting revision, the theatrical environment not only inflated the prestige of dramatic authorship, it transformed its nature'.
[19] Loewenstein, p. 63.
[20] See also Max W. Thomas, 'Reading and Writing the Renaissance Commonplace Book: A Question of Authorship?', in *The Construction of Authorship*, ed. by Martha Woodmansee and Peter Jaszi (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 401–15. In this chapter Thomas explores what role authorship played in compilations such as the verse miscellany composed by John Lilliat in the 1590s (Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson poetry 148), where 'literary production consists of reworking already extant poetry... translations... collections of sententious material' (p. 415).

shortcoming to be rectified but itself indicative of attitudes towards sources, that is, we need now as scholars to be careful not to moralize anonymity as a 'lack', a textual and even a moral shortcoming. Finally, even when attributions were present, these attitudes are not straightforward in their intent: I argue that attribution was not always primarily meaningful as a way of reaching back to a source (and therefore as an acknowledgement of one's authorship), but sometimes worked as a way to make a collection navigable, or to make a passage in a collection more easily traceable, or, as a 'marketing' device exploiting the reputation of authors. The referential function of attribution is the most obvious function of attribution, but what this chapter demonstrates is that attribution could be used in more complex and varied ways. A past critical preoccupation with identifying the source has obscured these subtler functions of attributions. In contrast, I have identified three main recurring categories: organisation, traceability and marketing. The remaining sections of the current chapter examine these categories in turn.

2.2. The functions of attribution

2.2.1. Organisational

If compilers of commonplace books used thematic headings as a method for organising their extracts, some compilers of manuscript miscellanies used attribution as a way of organising their collections. The two most relevant examples here are Abraham Wright's and Edward Pudsey's miscellanies, which were both organised around the names of the different authors quoted and the titles of their works. Wright's miscellany (British Library, Add MS 22608) is a large quarto miscellany from around 1640 mainly dedicated to extracts of passages from six English historical chronicles (William Martyn, *The History and Lives of the Kings of England*; Francis Bacon, *History and Reign of Henry VII*; Francis Godwin, *Annals of Henry VIII*; William Camden, *History of Queen Elizabeth*; Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Holy War*; and Anthony Stafford, *Stafford's Niobe*). However, of the total 119 leaves (238 folios) 47 folios were densely written, in a cursive hand, with extracts from plays, all grouped

together, from folio 69r to folio 116r. The dramatic extracts are mostly prefaced by a heading telling the user of the miscellany from which playwright and play the excerpts were taken (see Table 1).

Author and title play	**Attribution as recorded in the MS**	**Folios**
Jonson, Ben, *Staple of Newes*	Heading, 'Out of Johnsons: Sta. of Newes'	69r-70v
Jonson, Ben, *Bartholomew Fair*	Heading, 'Out of his Barthol: fayre'	70v-72v
Shirley, James, *The Tragedy of the Traitor*	Heading, 'Out of James Sherley's Tragedy of y^{e} Traitor'	72v-74r
Webster, John, *The Devil's Law-Case*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} devill's law-case by John Webster. A tragecomedy'	74r-75v
Shirley, James, *Contention for Honour and Riches*	Heading, 'Out of John Sherlies *con*tention for honour and riches'	75v
Shirley, James, *The Grateful Servant*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} Grateful Servant. A comedie by James Shirly'	76r-78v
Shirley, James, *Changes, or Love in a Maze*	Heading, 'A Comedie. Out of y^{e} Changes, or, loue in a maze. by Ia: Shirly.'	78v-79v
Shirley, James, *The School of Complements*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} Schoole of Complement a Comedie by Ia: Shirley'	80r-80v
Shirley, James, *The Wedding*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} Wedding by Iames Shirley.'	81r-82r
Shirley, James, *The Bird in a Cage*	Heading, 'y^{e} birds in a cage. A Comedie by y^{e} same.'	82r-83r
Shakespeare, William, *Othello*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} Tragedy of Othello. by Shakspeare.'	83v-84v
Shakespeare, William, *Hamlet*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} sregedin of Hamlet ~~by~~ Prince of Denmarke. by Will: Shakespeare.'	85r-85v
Fletcher, John, *The Elder Brother*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} elder brother. A Comedie by Iohn Fletcher. Beaumonts fellow ^poet.'	85v-86v
Shirley, James, *Hyde Park*	Heading, 'Out of hide parke by Ia: Shirley. A Comedie.'	86v-87r
Webster, John, *The Duchess of Malfi*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} tragedy of y^{e} Duchess of Malfy by Iohn Webster.'	87r-88v
Webster, John, *The White Devil*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} tragedie of y^{t} white deuill, or Vittoria. Curombona, by Iohn Webster.'	88v-89r
Shirley, James, *The Young Admiral*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} young Admirall by Iames Shirly'	89r-90v
Davenant, William, *The Platonicke Lovers*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} Platonicke louers: a Tragecomedy By Will: Deuenant.'	90v-91v
Davenant, William, *The Wits*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} witts. A Comedie by Will. Dauenant.'	91v-93r
Massinger, Philip, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*	Heading, 'Out of y^{t} new way to pay old debts, a Comedie by Phillip Massinger.'	93r-93v
Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, John, *Philaster*	Heading, 'Out of Pilaster, or loue his a bleeding. A Tragecomedie. by ffrom: Beaumont, and Iohn ffletcher.'	93v-94v
Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, John, *A King and No King*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} K: and noe King by Fran: Beamont and Iohn Fletcher.'	95r-v

Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, John, *The Maid's Tragedy*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} Maides Tragedie by Fran: Beamont and Io: Fletcher.'	95v-96v
Beaumont, Francis, and Fletcher, John, *The Scornful Lady*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} Sournefull lady. a Comedie by Fran: Beaumont and Io: Fletcher.'	96v-98r
Fletcher, John, *The Faithful Shepherdess*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} faithful shepherdesse.'	98-99v
Shirley, James, *The Lady of Pleasure*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} lady of pleasure a comedy by Ia: Shirly.'	99v-101v
Shirley, Henry, *The Martyr'd Souldier*	Heading, 'Out of y^{e} Martyr souldier by Sherly. A. trag:'	111v- 113v
Shirley, James, *Royal Master*	Heading, 'Y^{e} roial M^{r}. Shirly.'	113v-114
Peaps, William, *Love in its Exstasie*	Line division but no attribution	114r
Mayne, Jasper, *Amorous War*	No attribution, no line division	114r
Peaps, William, *Love in its Exstasie*	No attribution, no line division	114r-115r
Jonson, Ben, *Every Man in his Humour*	No line division. No attribution in heading, but at the end of first extract 'these are bombast leaping termes of Bobadil a pauls man in B: Johnson' and later on 'Justice Clements bombast poetry in Johnson'	115r
Jonson, Ben, *Cynthia's Revels*	Line division but no attribution	115r
Jonson, Ben, *Volpone*	No line division, no attribution in heading but at the end of third extract 'B: Johnson in his foxe'	115r
Jonson, Ben, *Cynthia's Revels*	No attributions, no line division	115r-115v
Jonson, Ben, *Forest*	No attribution in heading, but at the end of extract 'Jōson'	115v
Jonson, Ben, *Poetaster*	No attributions, no line division	115v
Jonson, Ben, *Catiline*	No attributions, no line division	115v
Jonson, Ben, *Poetaster*	No attributions, no line division	115v-116r
Jonson, Ben, *Every Man out of his Humour*	Line division, no attributions	116r

Table 1: Plays and attributions found in Wright's miscellany, c. 1640.

Table 1 shows that Wright seemed to group extracts by the same author together, as most extracts by (James) Shirley, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Davenant and Jonson are grouped together. However, he is not entirely consistent with this organisation, as some material by Shirley, Jonson and Webster was not kept together. What is more consistent is his method of attribution. As mentioned above, each series of dramatic extracts collected from one play is prefaced by a heading specifying out of which play Wright was taking the extracts, along with the name of the author and sometimes even the genre of the play (i.e. comedy, tragedy or tragicomedy), as for example with 'Out of y^{e} devill's law-case by John Webster. A tragecomedy' (f. 74r, see Fig. 16). Moreover, by using the phrase 'out of', Wright

draws attention to the process of extracting and the fact that the material collected was taken out from another source: in so doing the heading not only points out the source, but also draws a distinction between the source and its original author, and Wright as the extractor and compiler of this material. 'Out of' signifies the process of extraction, and so the onwards life of the extract, as much as it declares a source. What follows are the extracts, collected *seriatim* (in the margin Wright also specified which act of the play the extracts belonged to, showing that the user of the miscellany might wish to read the extract back in its original context), and at the end of the extracts Wright also adds an evaluative comment on the quality of the play, paying attention to plot, characterisation and language.[21] As already mentioned in the previous chapter, in these commentaries Wright positioned himself as a receiver and critic of the play, a position that might have reflected his personal interest as a writer. Wright prefaced these commentaries with another heading, specifying again the title and author of the play, as shown in Fig. 17, 'y^{e} Devil law case by Iohn Websters' (f. 75v).

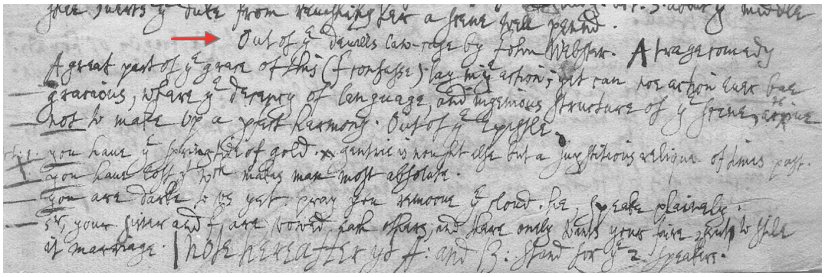


Fig. 16: Wright's miscellany, 'Out of the devill's law-case by John Webster. A tragecomedy', f. 74r.

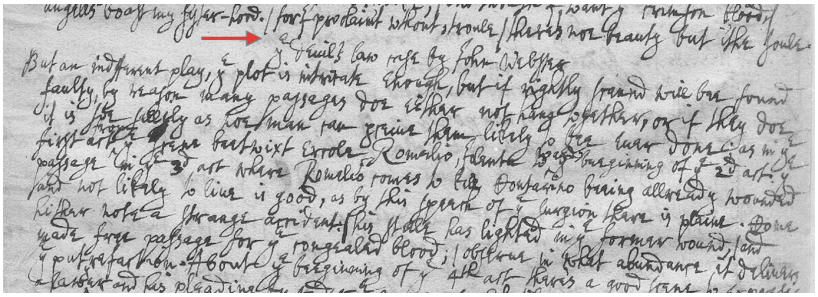


Fig. 17: Wright's miscellany, 'y^{e} Devil law case by Iohn Websters', f. 75v.

[21] These comments reveal in part the kind of interest Wright had in this material: as already mentioned in Chapter 1, Wright was himself a writer of plays and poetry, but also a clergyman who wrote many sermons. His interest in language, plot and character therefore reflects his interests and for what qualities he might have appreciated a play.

A closer look at Table 1, and especially the column dedicated to how Wright attributed the material he collected, shows however some inconsistencies. Some are minor; for example, the fact that in some headings, especially in the beginning, Wright sometimes alternated the order of the information he was providing, putting the name of the author before the title of the play (as in the first instance, with 'Out of Johnsons: Sta. of Newes' f. 69r, or 'Out of James Sherley's Tragedy of Traitor' f. 72v), even if in the majority of the examples he followed the opposite order (i.e. out of [title], by [name of author]). Wright shows a high degree of precision in compiling his miscellany, as he even feels the need to specify the genre of the text extracted, as for example when he collected extracts from James Shirley's *Contention for Honour and Riches*, 'Noe, play, but 2 or 3 speeches compiled together' (f. 75v): this is in fact a short play or Interlude. Other times, however, he makes some basic mistakes, such as the time he confuses James for John when attributing the latter to 'Iohn Sherlies' (f. 75v). This might have been simply accidental. Finally, when attributing *The Martyr's Soldier*, a play by Henry Shirley, Wright simply writes 'Sherly', therefore paying no attention to the importance of attributing the play to the right Shirley.

Perhaps more significant are other inconsistencies, which seem to be more the result of conscious choices (rather than distractions or imprecisions, as the previous examples) on Wright's part. When attributing plays from the Beaumont and Fletcher canon, Wright carefully notes both names, however, when extracting from *The Elder Brother*, a play written by Fletcher without Beaumont (who had died in 1616, long before the play was written, in 1625), Wright feels compelled to specify that the play was written 'by Iohn Fletcher. Beaumonts fellow ^poet' (f. 85v). Fletcher's name is associated with that of Beaumont, as if to lend him authority and reputation. On the other hand, the other play written by Fletcher alone from which Wright extracts material, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, is not attributed to Fletcher at all, as the compiler only notes the title, 'Out of y^{e} faithful shepherdesse' (f. 98r). Several

extracts are taken from this play, starting with the commendatory poem Jonson wrote for 'The worthy Author M. John Fletcher.' (sig. A4r) in the 1629 quarto. Wright extracted a few lines from this poem and also attached Jonson's name at the end of it: 'y^{e} wise, and many headed bench y^{t} sits| vpon y^{e} life and death of plaies, and wits;| such as may iudge for 6 pence, had, beefore| they saw it (new page) damd thy whole play, and more. Ben: Ionson of y^{e} same.' (ff. 98r-v). Remarkable is the fact that Wright decided not to attribute the play to its author, Fletcher, but still decided to attribute this specific extract to Jonson. This could suggest that Wright considered Fletcher a less important author, worth mentioning only when associated with Beaumont.

Did Wright think Jonson was more relevant and worth attributing?[22] The way he treats Jonson is not straightforward. The end of Table 1 shows that after the section on Shirley's *Royal Master*, following folio 114r, Wright gets messier in his organisation of the material. Extracts from the same work are not rigorously grouped together as Wright had done until that point: so for example one finds extracts from Peaps' *Love in its Exstasie* before and after one extract from Mayne's *Amorous War*; extracts from Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* are interspersed with extracts from *Volpone*, and *Poetaster* is found before and after extracts from *Catiline*. He had also disrupted his section dedicated to dramatic extracts, introducing extracts from Thomas Fuller's *History of the Holy War* between folios 101v and 110v. Lastly, in this final section of dramatic extracts attributions become rarer. From folio 114r Wright collects a few miscellaneous extracts from different works, which he simply separates from one another drawing a line between extracts from different sources (see Fig. 18).

[22] Even if North, pp. 171–2, 209, warns us that anonymity could equally be a sign of the compiler's familiarity with an author and the value bestowed upon the unnamed author.

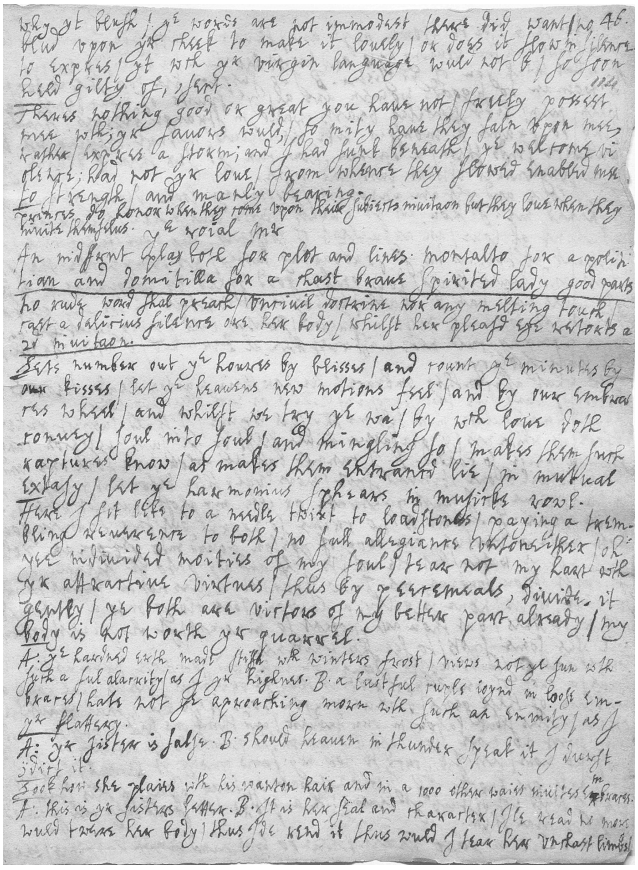


Fig. 18: Lines separating the extract from Peaps's *Love in its Exstasie* and extracts from Shirley's *Royal Master* (above) and Mayne's *Amorous War* (below).

Wright leaves the rest of these extracts without any heading referring to their sources, as he had previously done for all the other dramatic extracts collected in the earlier folios. As Wright becomes messier in his collecting, he also uses attribution increasingly less, as if by this point attribution would not help with organising this material: a line separating extracts from different sources is deemed enough instead.

Furthermore, Peaps and Mayne are left without any mention at all in this section, whilst Jonson receives a more particular treatment: Wright is not using the heading attribution format anymore, but in the case of *Every Man in his Humour*, *Volpone* and a song from *Forest*, the compiler attaches the name of Jonson, and in one case, the title of the play ('his foxe' i.e. *Volpone*), at the end of an extract. *Cynthia's Revels*, *Poetaster* and *Every Man out of his Humour* remain unattributed. The inconsistency of treatment of Jonson's attributions is striking: Jonson is the only author among this section to have been collected also at the

beginning of the collection and presented with the heading attribution. He was also the author that Wright decided to acknowledge when collecting an extract from the commendatory poem to Fletcher. Nevertheless, Wright does not attribute all the works by Jonson in this final section, but only three out of seven. Also inconsistent is the level of detail shown in a few instances, as when at the end of the first extract taken from *Every Man in his Humour* Wright specifies also the name of the character who spoke the lines, and also adds a commentary (criticism) on Jonson's style: 'these are bombast leaping termes of Bombadil a pauls man in B: Johnson' (f. 115r), and the same again, later on, 'Justice Clements bombast poetry in Johnson' (f. 115r). Wright does not seem to be a supporter of Jonson's style (in this play, at least), however he still copies these extracts and attributes them to their author (perhaps to be used as examples of style to be criticised). The reason why Wright mentioned Jonson here is very much bound to the commentary he wrote: Wright needs to mention Jonson because he is critiquing his work, so he needs to position himself and identify the text he is judging and commenting upon. These examples show how attribution methods could be expressive of a compiler's investment or interest in a particular author, or text. As North observes, compilers framed the material they collected 'according to their own tastes', as attribution was not standard, but a personal choice.[23]

Finally, on top of folio 111r Wright also drew a list of the authors, plays, and their genre, collected in his miscellany (see Fig. 19), but this list ends with Shirley's *Royal Master*.[24] One explanation of why Wright started to be messier with the extracts collected after Shirley's play could be that these were later additions, squeezed in the empty folios left in his miscellany. This would also explain why they are missing from this otherwise

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[23] North, pp. 209–10.

[24] In the left-hand margin Wright adds: 'See for Shirley's plaies at the marigold in the yard.', i.e. Paul's Church Yard. This could have been a note to his son, advising where to buy Shirley's works, clearly a favourite of Wright's. Shirley was one of the most popular playwrights of the Caroline era, but Wright's preference might also have been due to personal affinities, as Shirley also went to St John's college in Oxford and was a minister for a period of his life.

exhaustive list of the works and authors he collected. It is also worth noting that Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, the only work Wright did not attribute to its author in his heading attribution system, is attributed in this list to both Fletcher and Beaumont, as it is listed at the end of a sequence of plays by the two playwrights and presented as written by 'Idem', i.e. Fletcher and Beaumont (see red line added by me in Fig. 19):

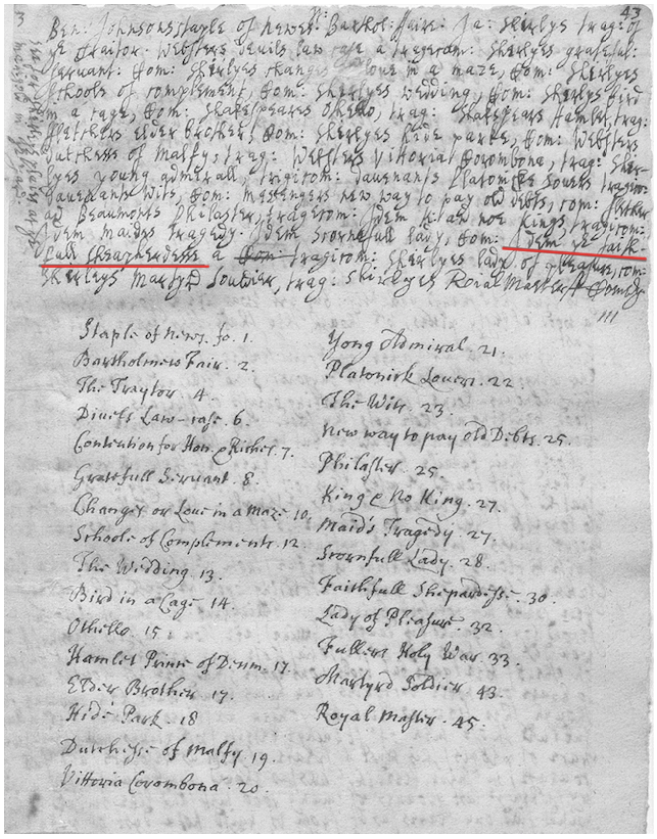


Fig. 19: Wright's miscellany, f. 111r.

The second, more spaced-out list with folio numbers, added below the first list was probably added later by his son, James, who inherited his father's miscellany. Even in this list the plays collected after Shirley's *Royal Master* are not present, though by that point they would have been present in the collection. Perhaps this is simply because of the lack of organisation and explicit attribution of the extracts of this section, or perhaps both Abraham and James Wright considered those plays and authors of lesser renown or, especially in the case of Jonson, not so favoured for their style. It is evident that more importance was given to the plays that were collected in the section where Wright, very orderly, used attribution as a heading to mark the

beginning and end of a series of dramatic extracts. This structure and attention to detail shows a studious approach to the process of collecting extracts from plays. Having a list of all the plays and authors towards the end of these extracts is also testament to Wright's will to make this collection useful and its material easily traceable: the list works as a table of contents, and James's addition of the page number next to each title only makes it more efficient.

The practicality of attribution as a concrete means of organising one's collection, but also as a way of making the collection more navigable seems to be the central function of attribution in this miscellany. Here attribution is not only or even primarily meaningful as a reaching back to a source, but rather works to make the present collection efficient and navigable as a compilation of extracts. However, the choice of which authors or texts to mention and which to exclude might have also reflected the compiler's interest in that particular text; in other words attribution is, in the variety it assumes, indicative of the compiler's attitude towards the texts in question. Wright attributed those playwrights and plays he had an interest in, and for which he wrote evaluative commentaries, but also showed that the reputation of the author was a factor in his choice (as seen in Fletcher's case, but also Peaps and Mayne, who were lesser known authors and did not receive any mention in Wright's miscellany). Finally, attribution seems to be a tool used by Wright as a way to assert and describe his agency: the first heading at the beginning of the extracts draws attention to the process of extraction (the heading always specifies the title of the play 'out' of which he took the material); whilst the second heading, at the end of the extracts, is used to introduce Wright's own commentaries, visually also separating what he wrote from what he extracted from other authors. However, when he is not interested in structuring this material, or he is not giving a critical evaluation of a text, or he is dealing with a lesser known text or author, he is not concerned with attribution, and feels comfortable with leaving material unattributed.

Like Wright's miscellany, Pudsey's miscellany also comprises a variety of material, which he organised by work and author:[25] first he collected poems by Sidney and Ralegh (ff. 1-2), then he copied summaries of the descent of the kings and princes of England from the Conquest (ff. 3-8), and in the following pages he copied extracts from English editions of classical and continental authors.[26] All extracts are prefaced by the name of the author and title of the work, and sometimes the topic of the extracts is added in the margin. The dramatic extracts are concentrated in two groups of leaves: the first group from folio 39v to folio 42v, and the second from folio 80r to 86v (or up to f. 90v, if considering that the Stratford folios could have been taken from the end of this section as I indicate in Table 2).[27] In the gap between these two groups Pudsey collected extracts from poetry and essays (by Daniel, Bacon, Sidney, Lodge, Breton) (see Table 2).

Author and title play	**Attribution as recorded in the MS**	**Folios**
Jonson, Ben, *Every Man out of his Humour*	Pl. Iohns : Iohnson. humors out (top page f. 39v)	f. 39 v
Jonson, Ben, *Cynthia's Revels*	Pla: Joh: Cinthias Rev. (top page f. 40r) Pla: Ioh: (top page f. 40v)	f. 40r-v
Marston, John, *Jack Drum's Entertainment*	Marst (top page f. 40v) Iack drū. m^{r}a^{s}ton. (Mid page, above extracts)	f. 40v
Shakespeare, William, *The Merchant of Venice*	Pl. Shakesp. Ioh. (top page f. 41r) M^{r}chaunt of Ve Shakespear. (above extracts)	f. 41r
Jonson, Ben, *Every Man in his Humour*	Eu^{r}y mā out of his humo^{r}. Iohnson. (Mid page, above extracts)	f. 41r
Marston, John, *Antonio and Mellida, first part*	Pl: Ma^{r}ston. (top page f. 41v) Antonio & Mellida. 1 part. Marston (above extracts)	f. 41v
Marston, John, *Antonio and Mellida, second*	2 part of. A:M. (above extracts)	f. 41v

[25] A quarto miscellany dating from around 1600–1610 and now being split into two parts, one in Bodleian Library, MS Rawl poet d. 3 and the other in Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, ER 82/1/21. The greater part of the miscellany (104 leaves) is kept in MS Eng. poet. d. 3, whilst ER 82/1/21 only contains four leaves (mainly dedicated to Shakespearean extracts). Richard Savage, at the end of the nineteenth century, separated the leaves with the Shakespearean extracts to preserve them and edit them (Savage published an edition of the *Shakespearean Extracts* in 1887). They were rediscovered in 1977 (see *CELM* entry for ER 82/1/21).

[26] For a full account of the content of Pudsey's miscellany see Juliet Mary Gowan, '"One Man in his Time"', and 'An Edition of Edward Pudsey's Commonplace-Book' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of London, 1967). In the conclusion of this chapter I also discuss the impact that reading dramatic extracts among these other genres of writings might have had on the reception of drama.

[27] The first of the folios kept in Stratford seems to be a natural continuation of the series of extracts taken from *Romeo and Juliet* on f. 86v of MS Rawl poet d. 3, as they are collected in chronological order (*seriatim*), which is how Pudsey normally gathered his material.

part (Antonio's Revenge)		
Jonson, Ben, *The Poetaster*	Iohnson (top page f. 41v) Poetaster (mid page, above extracts) Play: Iohns: (top f. 42r)	ff. 41v-42r
Dekker, Thomas, *Satiromastix*	PL: Vntruss: of y^{e} Poet. Dekker (top f. 42v)	f. 42v
Dekker, Thomas, *Satiromastix*	Plays (top f. 80r) Dekke^{r} ((left margin)	f. 80r
Jonson, Ben, *The Case is Altered*	Not attributed	f. 80r
Greville, Fulke, *Mustapha*	Plays (top f. 80v) Not attributed	f. 80v
Tourneur, Cyril, *The Atheist's Tragedy*	Atheists Trag. (above extracts)	ff. 80v-81v
Marston, John, *What You Will*	Plays (top f. 81r) No attribution	f. 81r
Daborne, Robert, *A Christian Turned Turke*	No attribution	f. 81r
Webster, John, *The White Devil*	Plays. (top f. 81v) No attribution	f. 81r-v
Lyly, John, *Loves Metamorphosis*	PL. Loues metamorph: Lilly. & Alexand^{r} & campaspe his Titus Andronic: Romeo & Juliet (top f. 86v)	f. 86v
Lyly, John, *Campaspe*	Alexa: & Campasb: A quipp (left margin)	f. 86v
Shakespeare, William, *Titus Andronicus*	Titus Andronicus (above extracts)	f. 86v
Shakespeare, William, *Romeo and Juliet*	Romeo & Iuliet. (above extracts)	f. 86v
STRATFORD ER 82/1/21		
Shakespeare, William, *Romeo and Juliet*	Pl. Ro: & Jul. K. R 2 Shaksp. K. R. 3 (top f. 1)	1/1 (f. 1r) [= f. 87r]
Shakespeare, William, *Richard II*	K. R 2 (top page) K. Rich. 2 (above extracts)	1/2 (f. 1r)
Shakespeare, William, *Richard III*	K. R. 3 (top page) K. Rich: 3 (above extracts)	1/3 (f. 1r)
Shakespeare, William, *Othello*	Not Attributed	1/4 (f. 1r)
Shakespeare, William, *Much Ado About Nothing*	Much adoe ab: no: Sha: (top f. 1v)	2 (f. 1v) [= f. 87v]
Shakespeare, William, *Hamlet*	Playes: Hamlet. Shak. (top f. 2r) Hamlet. (top f. 2v, left corner) Plays (centre) Shak (right corner)	3-4/1 (ff. 2r-2v) [= 88r-88v]
Dekker, Thomas, *The Honest Whore, Part I*	Conu^{r}ted curtes (left margin f. 2v), i.e. converted courtesan Dekker (right margin)	4/2 (f. 2v)
Heywood, *The Golden Age*	Not attributed	f. 4r
Jonson, Ben, *The Alchemist*	Not attributed	f. 4v [= f. 90v]
Marston, John, *What You Will*	Not attributed	f. 4v

Table 2: Plays and attributions found in Pudsey's miscellany, c. 1600-10.[28]

[28] Gowan, '"One Man in his Time"', p. 99, also suggests that extracts from Nashe, *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (f. 21v), Chapman, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* (f. 41r), Middleton, *Blurt, Master-Constable* (ff. 41v, 42v, 86r), and Heywood, *How a Man may chuse a Good Wife from a Bad* (f. 86r) are present in the manuscript, but I was not able to identify any extracts from these sources. Gowan, moreover, does not identify the dramatic extracts from Jonson's *The Alchemist*, Heywood's *Golden Age*, Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turke* and Greville's *Mustapha*. Some unidentified extracts could still be identified as material from plays, showing how complex and ongoing a process this is.

Table 2 shows that, similarly to Wright, Pudsey grouped together the dramatic extracts in his collection and organised them by work, using attribution in headings as a way to give structure to his miscellany. However, like Wright, he did not group together plays by the same author (see the plays by Jonson and Marston not being put consecutively together in the first group), but dispersed extracts from different plays by the same author in the pages dedicated to drama. For example, Jonson, Marston and Dekker are not grouped together in one section, but extracts from their plays are found in both sections of the manuscript. However, Pudsey seems to be putting together plays by Lily and Shakespeare at the end of the second group (see also the leaves now kept in Stratford-Upon-Avon with extracts from various Shakespearean plays copied on consecutive leaves). The fact that extracts from the same author were, mostly, not grouped together, suggests that the main criterion for organising the material is not centred around the authors: the material is organised by criteria difficult to discern, according to the compiler's desire or casual mode of collecting. Attribution is used simply to structure the collection.

That authorship was not the main concern of Pudsey is also suggested by the fact that, like Wright, he was not consistent in his attributions as it might appear at first glance: in the first group of dramatic extracts (ff. 39v-42v), Pudsey always specifies above the top margin of each folio the category of the source of the material collected, that is plays (usually written in an abbreviated form), the name of all authors present in that folio (see on top of f. 40v, 'Pla: Ioh: Marst', in Fig. 20), and sometimes also the title of the work collected (if it was the only one present on that folio, see Fig. 21, 'Pla: Joh: Cinthias Rev', f. 40r). When multiple sources were present in one folio, Pudsey added the title, and repeated the name of the author, just above the beginning of the extracts from that source (see the addition in the middle of f. 40v, Fig. 20, of the title of the play and author 'Iack drū. m^{r}a^{s}ton').

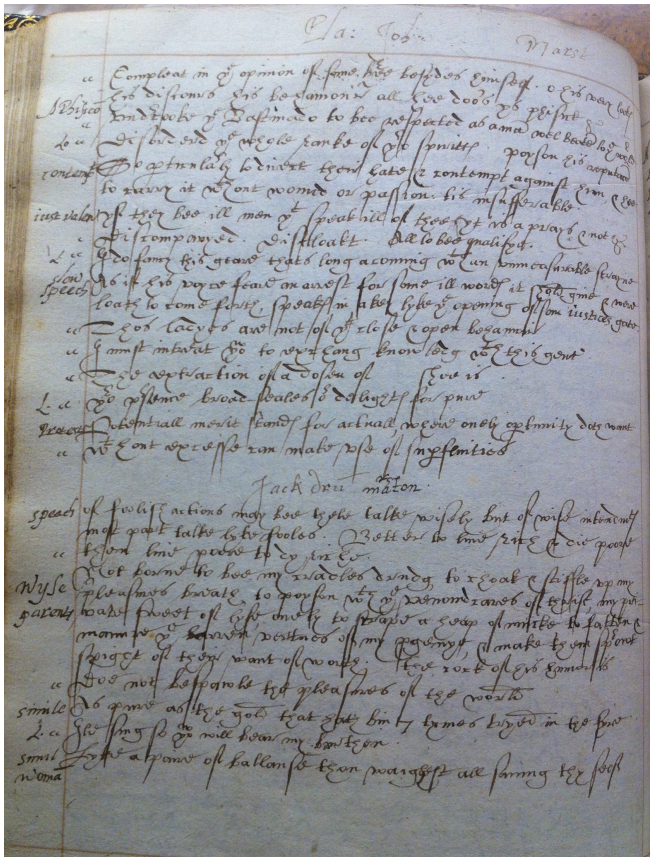


Fig. 20: Double attribution in Pudsey's miscellany, 'Pla: Joh. Marst.' (top margin), 'Jack drum Marston' (mid page), f. 40v.

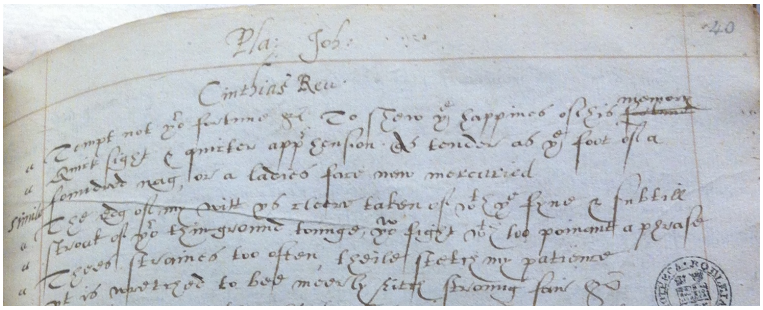


Fig. 21: Pudsey's miscellany, 'Pla: Joh: Cinthias Rev.', f. 40r.

This system of attribution/organisation is consistently used by Pudsey in the first group of dramatic extracts. The only mistake he makes is to attribute the extracts from Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* to 'out of his humo[r]' (f. 41r), but this is perhaps a simple error, as he had already collected extracts from *Out of his Humour* at the start of his collection of dramatic extracts. However, the second group of dramatic extracts, starting from f. 80r, shows a very different degree of attention to attribution (see Table 2 bottom half): Pudsey abandons his systematic attribution and organisation as Wright did in the final leaves of dramatic extracts

collected in his miscellany.[29] In this later part of the collection, Pudsey uses as headings just the general category of the material collected, i.e. 'Plays' (see Fig. 22):

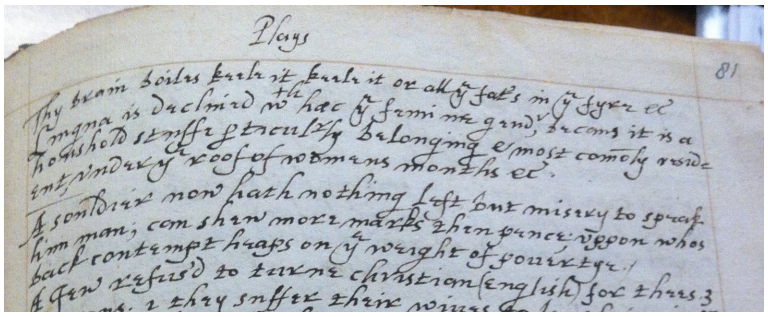


Fig. 22: Pudsey's miscellany, 'Plays', f. 81r.

Pudsey still adds in the margin next to extracts from *Satiromastix* the name-tag 'Dekker' (f. 80r), and above extracts from Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* the title of the play ('Atheists Trag.' f. 80v), but does not attribute at all extracts from Jonson's *The Case is Altered*, Greville's *Mustapha*, Marston's *What You Will*, Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turke*, Webster's *The White Devil*, and later on (in the Stratford folios), Jonson's *The Alchemist* and another extract from Marston's *What You Will*. Some of these titles are now obscure, but others belong to the well-established canon of early modern plays. More importantly, Pudsey had already attributed plays by Jonson and Marston in the earlier group, so the reason why he would not attribute the later extracts is unclear. Even more inconsistent is the fact that on folio 86v Pudsey starts to give again full references of the material extracted, with the heading 'PL. Loues metamorph: Lilly. & Alexandr & campaspe his Titus Andronic: Romeo & Juliet' (top f. 86v), referring to Lyly's *Loves Metamorphosis*, *Campaspe* and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and *Romeo and Juliet*, plays which also received the additional attribution just

[29] This was a usual phenomenon, as many miscellanies and commonplace books show that even when compilers started their collections following a systematic organisation, they would soon abandon their good intentions at some point. Gowan, '"One Man in his Time"', p. 97, n. 14, observes that already from folio 47 Pudsey's 'use of the margins is much reduced', when previously Pudsey had added in the margin 'the subject matter of each quotation'. See also, for example, Bodleian Library, MS Sancroft 29, one of the many miscellanies collected by Archbishop William Sancroft (1617–1693) in the late seventeenth century. As Estill observes, 'Sancroft began this manuscript with a specific organizational system in mind, although he abandoned the system when it became unmanageable' (*Dramatic Extracts*, p. 179). Sancroft started by organising his collection by commonplace heading, but then switched to the easier organisation by source.

above the start of their respective extracts (as Pudsey was doing in the first group of dramatic extracts). Finally, the folios with extracts from Shakespearean plays now kept in Stratford-Upon-Avon were all attributed following the initial system (see Table 2). What does this tell us about the function that attribution had in this miscellany and the meaning Pudsey attached to it? Again, as in Wright's example, the organisational function of attribution also expresses the compiler's personal attitudes towards certain texts and authors: it is possible that the authors that were not attributed at all, like Tourneur, Greville, Daborne and Webster, were authors that did not occupy a relevant place in Pudsey's opinion or in this particular miscellany. The heading 'plays' was a sufficient way of organising and identifying this group of extracts. This could also simply be due to the less organised nature of the latter part of his collection, where he might have lost interest in identifying and organising the material in a more detailed fashion as he had done initially, and which would also explain why he stopped attributing plays by Jonson and Marston, when he had previously done so. Or again, we may read these exclusions as an expression of Pudsey's disinterest in referring to these particular plays by Jonson and Marston. Finally, the consistency with which Pudsey attributed Shakespeare, but not Jonson, could also hint at Pudsey's preference for one author, and his evaluation of one's reputation over the other. In any case, the inconsistencies in the treatment of attribution observed in both Wright and Pudsey's miscellanies suggest that the primary motivation for using attribution in these collections was not acknowledging the authorship of the extracts collected, but having a means for organising one's collection. Of course, personal preference and reputation of the author could have played a role in the choice of attributions, as will be examined later in this chapter, but in these cases the organisational function of attribution seems to have been paramount.

2.2.2. Traceability

In the examples given in this section, attribution takes various forms—it can be a tag or a list or index—and is mainly used to make a passage in a collection more easily traceable, or retrievable within the same collection. However, in a few instances, attribution is also used to trace the material back to its source, not simply in a referential way, but in order to try to maintain a sense of narrative or contextual placement which is generally not sustainable in a note-taking mode of commonplacing and extracting. This is visible in examples where compilers added very detailed attributions, not limited to the name of the author and title of the play, but giving more contextual evidence. In British Library, Egerton MS 2446, a folio composite volume of historical papers, contains one single quarto leaf with a copy of the whole speech given by Prince Hal in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part 1*, at the end of Act 1, Scene 2 (ll. 190-212), 'I know you all, and will of a while uphold' (f. 13r). The unknown scribe not only attributes this to 'The Prince of Walles his speech. 165', but also adds a very precise date: 'April 14 / Anno / Domi 1620 [or 28]' (see Fig. 23 below).[30] Here the attribution does not even mention Shakespeare (perhaps there was no need for that, or perhaps Shakespeare's name was not interesting to this compiler), but the character delivering the line and a precise date. The first function is to trace the speech back to a character and possibly to its original context and meaning in the play. The second function of what is considered to be part of the marginalia attached to this speech is the date, which links this speech to a precise moment in time (in terms of performance/reading). Whether this date was significant only to the compiler, as this might have been when he copied this speech (as Wiggins suggests in his

[30] Beal in *CELM* transcribes the year as 1620, whereas Martin Wiggins, with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama, 1533–1642*, 10 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012–), III: *1590–1597* (2013), p. 367, reads it as 1628. Fig. 23 shows how ambiguous the writing is, as if the scribe corrected the number, so that now both 0 and 8 are visible and it is unclear which one is meant to be the correct number. The '165' at the end of the attribution to Prince Hal could also be a date, as the wiggle on top of the 5 could be read as a 6, making this 1656.

catalogue entry),[31] or the date he saw this play performed, or whether this date had a more collective and historical meaning, is unclear. One way or the other, the compiler found significant to copy this speech and trace it to a particular character and point in time, thus contextualising the passage both in the play and in real time, as if to mark a personal, or collective, memory (as one would do for a diary entry).

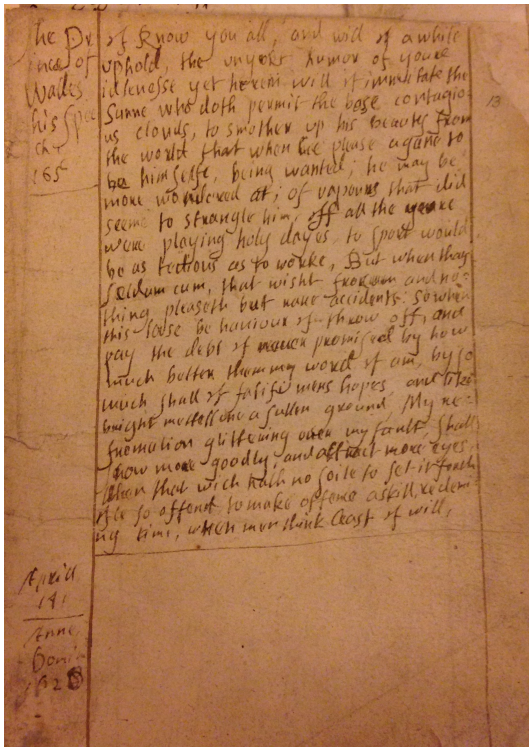


Fig. 23: British Library, Egerton MS 2446, f. 13r.

It was not uncommon for compilers to add details about when and where a play was performed (whether they had attended the performance in person or not), if the occasion was remarkable. This was the case for the anonymous compiler of British Library, Egerton MS 2725, who, around 1640, copied in his poetic miscellany 'A song' (f. 105v) from Jonson's *Epicoene* (1609), and the prologues and epilogues from William Cartright's *Royal Slave* (1636).[32] The compiler did not limit himself to mention that one of the epilogues was spoken

[31] Wiggins, III, p. 367.

[32] Cartright's plays were often extracted for his songs, prologues and epilogues. Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 120, finds a rare example of extract from *The Royal Slave* in John Abbott's miscellany (Bodleian MS Rawl. D. 954, c. 1670s), which is actually taken from the play itself, and which Abbott prefaced by a title that inserts the

by the slave (ff. 115r-v), but also specified where and on which occasion the prologues where delivered: 'The Prologue to the Royall slaue p[r]sented to his Ma[tie] at X[ts] Church in Oxford .' (f. 115r); and another 'The Prologue of the same presented to the Wniversity.' (ff. 115v-16v); and finally, 'The Epilogue to the Vniversity.' (ff. 116v-17r). This last passage was concluded with an attribution to the author of the play, 'William Cartwright' (f. 117r), but otherwise the focus of this compiler was on the occasion of the performance: these lines were delivered to His Majesty, Charles I, at Christ Church in Oxford. It is possible that the compiler attended this very performance, as many poetic miscellanies survive from students at Christ Church, and the contents of the miscellany also point to an Oxford context.[33] However, this information was also provided in the printed version of the play: the title page of the play boasts that this play was 'Presented to the King and Queene by the Students of *Christ-Church* in Oxford. *August* 30. 1636'. The compiler could have copied these passages from the printed version and added the contextual information given on the title page as it gave authority to the material copied. The other passages copied by the compiler were also headed in print as 'The Prologue to the King and Queene' (sig. A2r), 'The Prologue to the University' (sig. A2v), 'The Epilogue to the King and Queene' (sig. I1r), and 'The Epilogue to the University' (sig. I1v). The compiler therefore copies what was already written in print for the headings dedicated to the University, but changes the headings addressing King and Queen: the prologue to the King and Queen becomes 'The Prologue to the Royall slaue p[r]sented to his Ma[tie] at X[ts] Church in Oxford ./' (f. 115r) and the epilogue becomes 'The Epilogue spoke by the slave' (f. 115r-v). On both occasions, he omits mentioning the Queen, whilst he adds the place of performance in the first instance; in the second instance, he also omits the King, but

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extract in its original context and story: as Estill says, 'Abbott's extracts and titles demonstrate his understanding of the speeches' original contexts; his titles offered him a shorthand for remembering what happened in the play'.

[33] On the popularity in the 1620s–1640s of verse miscellanies from the Christ Church circle, and the Universities more in general, see for example, Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, pp. 32–34 and Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, pp. 22–29.

adds the character who delivered the epilogue. Perhaps, as he collected prologue and epilogue to the King and Queen, he did not need to repeat the information that this was the epilogue to King and Queen, so he found it more relevant to record that this was delivered by the slave.

The examples of use of attribution for traceability analysed here involve whole speeches, whole songs and whole prologues and epilogues. The latter two categories are not strictly dramatic extracts, as songs, prologues and epilogues tended to work as distinct genres and tended to be circulated independently from plays.[34] However, I wish to mention these examples to show how attribution could be used to trace the passage back not only to a source but also to a private, or collective, memory. Other collectors of songs, a genre, as Stern shows, that often circulated independently from its original dramatic context,[35] were also interested in tracing the songs back to their dramatic origins, as they not only added the author and title of the play, but also the name of the character who delivered the lines. As discussed already in Chapter 1, the compiler of Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson 142, labelled 'Amorphus his Mistris Glove' (f. 45v) a song from *Cynthia's Revels*, thus specifically referring to the original context and function of the song—that is it was sung by Amorphus to his mistress, Glove—or British Library, MS Egerton 2421, where the compiler copied all the songs from *The Tempest* in one section of the manuscript, and not only did he trace the songs back to Shakespeare's *Tempest*, but each song was also traced back to the character originally

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[34] Estill dedicates a whole section of her chapter 4 to 'Late seventeenth-century commonplace books, songbooks, and verse miscellanies' (pp. 117–27), where she shows how 'songs continued to be among the most popular dramatic extracts in verse miscellanies, songbooks, and even (as manuscript additions in) printed books', but also how 'in the late seventeenth century these texts circulated separately from their plays', and that compilers were not interested in the dramatic origin of the songs (pp. 121–3, at 121, 123). See also Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 124, where she reminds us that songs 'often circulated in a different way from—and so "outside"—playbooks'. Moreover, songs 'were likely not be written into the playtext from the start, and to circulate in a bundle containing prologues and epilogues' (*Documents*, p. 171). As I explain in the introduction of this thesis, I do not consider songs, prologues and epilogues as dramatic extracts, as they do not undergo the same process of selection and extraction (which is what I am interested in exploring in my study) that a dramatic extract taken from the body of the play would.

[35] Stern, *Documents*, p. 124, 171 (see note above).

delivering it.[36] These attributions not only refer to the original author and source of the text, but also re-contextualise these passages in their original place and story, pointing back to the original voices, which would have spoken, or sung, these lines. The compilers could have used these songs without needing the information given in these attributions, but it seems that being able to trace these songs back to a play, and perhaps mentally re-contextualising them within a plot, a story between characters, was very relevant for these compilers and an added value that individual songs (of non-dramatic origin) could not offer.

However, not all compilers were interested in tracing extracts back to their origins, especially when dealing with commonplaces. In those cases, attribution could be used pragmatically as a (book)mark to make the material attributed more easily traceable and retrievable within the collection. This use of attribution is not as thorough as the organisational one seen in the previous section, as it does not function as a system that structures the whole collection, but as a marker for individual extracts dispersed in a collection. Attribution in the previous section works as subheadings or chapters in a book, whereas here attribution functions as a bookmark. This function of attribution is particularly visible in manuscript collections that attributed only a small selection of the extracts gathered. The selection of extracts attributed can be revealing of the compiler's preference for some authors over others. To illustrate this category I will analyse examples of attributions found in Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D 952 (a duodecimo of 87 folios from c. 1630s). This is an important case to study not only because it is an example of a manuscript commonplace book organised throughout with thematic headings (in contrast with the manuscripts analysed so far, which were all miscellanies either organised by author or miscellanously), but also

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[36] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 125, remarks that 'the most popular Shakespearean songs in mid- to late seventeenth-century songbooks and verse miscellanies were those from *The Tempest*'.

because of the selective way in which attribution is used within the same collection.[37] The compiler, CB, provided a list of titles of works he had 'read' or 'not yet learned' on the first folio of the manuscript, but left the extracts in the collection mostly unattributed. Trying to understand the motivation behind CB's choices of which works to include in his lists, which extracts to attribute, and which to leave out is going to be the focus of this section. I will start by presenting a table which lists all authors and works present, or mentioned, in this manuscript, from the most quoted to the least. I am also specifying if the work in question was part of the initial lists drawn by CB of works read or not yet learned, and if it was attributed I also add how. The entries written in bold character are those from non-dramatic texts also present in the commonplace book:

	Author and title play	**Attribution as in the original**	**Present in list?**	**no. attributions[38] / total no. extracts**
1	Marston, John, *The Insatiate Countess*	Unattributed	Yes	48
2	**Sidney, Philip, *Arcadia***	**f. 6v Sid; f. 28v Sid. l.i. (margin); f. 31v Sid. (margin) and Sid (end extract); f. 32v Sidney; f. 33r Sid. (margin); f. 39v Sid. (margin); f. 40r Sid.; f. 47r twice Sid.; f. 58r Sid.; f. 60v Sid.; f. 78r Sid; f. 78v Sid.; f. 83v Sid.; f. 86r Sid. (twice in margin)**	**No**	**17 / 30 (CB) 5 (Hand 3)**
3	Randolph, Thomas, *Jealous Lovers*	f. 14v R. (margin); f. 16v R. (margin); f. 17v R. (margin); f. 20r R. (margin); f. 46r R.; f. 50v R. (margin); f. 51r R. (margin); f. 54r R. (margin); f. 55v R. (margin); f. 65r R. (margin); f. 70v R. (margin); f. 75v R. (margin) and R. (end	Yes	12 / 31

[37] Estill also offers examples of manuscript miscellanies from the second half of the seventeenth century in which compilers used attribution selectively (see especially Chapter 4, 'Re-Presenting and Re-Reading the Renaissance: Restoration Extracts from Renaissance Plays, 1660-1700' in *Dramatic Extracts*, pp. 115–160).

[38] The number I give here corresponds to the number of attributions present in the collection. However, in some cases one attribution could be applied to multiple extracts when, for example, several extracts from the same play were copied consecutively under the same heading. This means that in some cases the number of attributions here could not correspond to the actual number of extracts attributed. This is something I address in my analysis of the data below (see the examples of Hausted, Randolph and Sidney).

		extract)		
4	Jonson, Ben, *Catiline*	Unattributed	No	21 (Hand 2)
5	Tomkis, Thomas, *Lingua*	Unattributed	Yes	16
6	Webster, John, *The Devil's Law-Case*	Unattributed	Yes	14
7	Hausted, Peter, *The Rival Friends*	f. 2r Hausted (margin); f. 14v Hausted (margin)	Yes	2 /13
8	Dekker, Thomas, *The Honest Whore, Part 2*	Unattributed	Yes	12
9	Marmion, Shackerley, *Holland's Leaguer*	Unattributed	Yes	12
10	Ford, John, *The Lovers Melancholy*	Unattributed	No	10
11	Massinger, Philip, *The Maid of Honour*	Unattributed	Yes	9
12	Goffe, Thomas, *The Tragedy of Orestes*	Unattributed	Yes	8
13	**Greene, Robert, *Philomela***	**Unattributed**	**Yes**	**8**
14	Markham, Gervase, *The Dumb Knight*	Unattributed	Yes	8
15	Chapman, George, *Caesar and Pompey*	Unattributed	Yes	7
16	Goffe, Thomas, *Amurath, the Courageous Turk*	Unattributed	Yes	7
17	Jonson, Ben, *Volpone*	f. 32v Johnson Volpone; f. 37r Johnson; f. 52r Ben: (margin); f. 54r Johnson (margin); f. 87r Johnson	Yes	5 / 7
18	Massinger, Philip, *The Emperour of the East*	Unattributed	Yes	7
19	Fisher, Jasper, *Fuimus Troes*	Unattributed	Yes	6
20	**Taylor, John, *A Very Merry Wherry-Ferry Voyage***	**f. 80v Iohn. Taylor**	**No**	**1/6**
21	Jonson, Ben, *Every Man out of His Humour*	Unattributed	Yes	5
22	**Lady Mary Wroth, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania***	**Unattributed**	**No**	**5**
23	Massinger, Philip, *The Roman Actor*	Unattributed	Yes	4
24	**Sylvester, Josua (translator), *Du Bartas his Devine Weeks and Works***	**f. 31v Sylvester (margin); f. 60v Bart. (margin)**	**No**	**2 / 4**
25	Mabbe, James (translator), De Rojas *The Spanish Bawd*	Unattributed	No	3
26	Shirley, James, *Changes, or Love in a Maze*	Unattributed	Yes	3
27	Heywood, Thomas, *The Four Prentices of London*	Unattributed	Yes	2
28	Brooke, Samuel, *Melanthe*	Unattributed	No	2

29	Middleton, Thomas, *Michaelmas Term*	Unattributed	Yes	2
30	Shakespeare, William, *Pericles*	Unattributed	Yes	2
31	**Taylor, John, *A New Discovery by Sea***	**Unattributed**	**No**	**2**
32	Anon., *Wily Beguiled*	Unattributed	No	1
33	**Baron, Robert, *An Apology for Paris***	**Unattributed**	**No**	**1 (Hand 2)**
34	**Bauhuis, Bernard, *Epigrammatum lib. IV***	**f. 28v B.**	**No**	**1/1**
35	Beaumont, Frances, and Fletcher, John, *A King and No King*	Unattributed	Yes	1
36	Jonson, Ben, *Cynthia's Revels*	Unattributed	No	1(Hand 3)
37	Jonson, Ben, *Every Man in His Humour*	f. 47r Ben: (margin)	Yes	1/1
38	Jonson, Ben, *Sejanus*	Unattributed	Yes	1
39	May, Thomas, *The Tragedy of Antigone*	Unattributed	Yes	1
40	**Quarles, Francis, *Argalus and Parthenia***	**Unattributed**	**No**	**1 (Hand 3)**
41	**Taylor, John, *Jack a Lent his Beginning and Entertainment***	**f. 74r T.**	**No**	**1/1**
42	**Taylor, John, *Water-Cormorant***	**Unattributed**	**No**	**1**
43	Anon., *Swetnam, the Woman Hater*	Unattributed	Yes	Not found
44	Beaumont, Frances and Fletcher, John, *Cupid's Revenge*	Unattributed	Yes	Not found
45	Davenant, William, *The Cruel Brother*	Unattributed	Yes	Not found
46	Davenant, William, *The Just Italian*	Unattributed	Yes	Not found
47	Heywood, Thomas, *The Rape of Lucrece*	Unattributed	Yes	Not found
48	Holyday, Barten, *Technogamia, The Marriages of the Arts*	Unattributed	Yes	Not found
49	Jonson, Ben, *The Alchemist*	Unattributed	Yes	Not found
50	Jonson, Ben, *The Silent Woman*	Unattributed	Yes	Not found

Table 3: List of works collected, or mentioned, in D 952, ordered by number of extracts identified.

It is apparent from this table that CB did not include in the lists on folio 1 all of the works he collected in his commonplace book: only 34 works are mentioned in those lists, but in reality, there are 50 works present in this manuscript (either because mentioned or extracted). The main list (see Fig. 24), entitled 'Comedies read of me & tragedyes' (f. 1r), contains twenty-four titles of plays, except for *Philomela*, which is a prose romance, whilst the shorter list, in

the column on the left margin of the folio, contains ten titles of ‘comedies not yet learned’ (f. 1r).

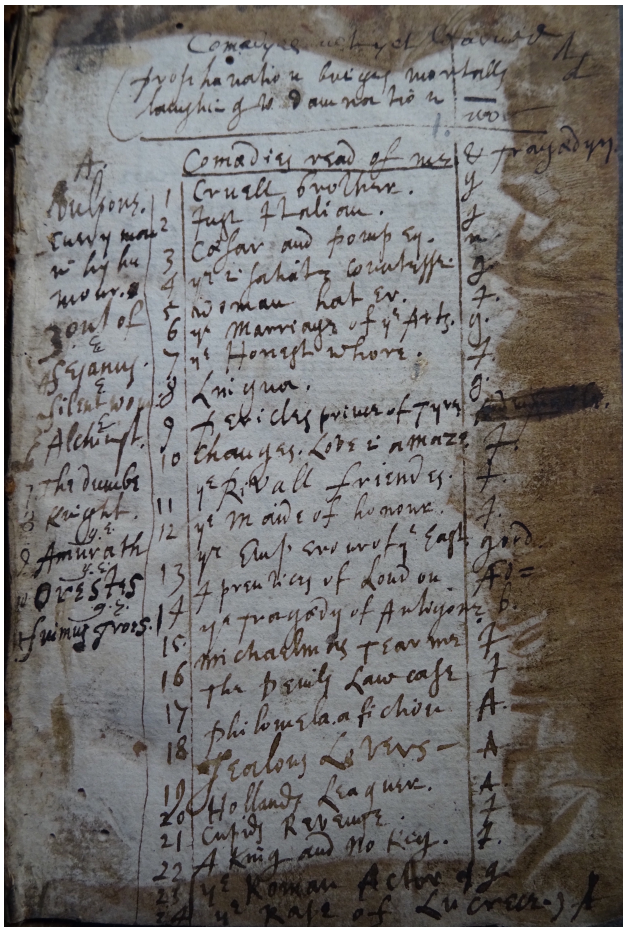


Fig. 24: List of ‘Comedies read of me & tragedyes’ and ‘comedies not yet learned’ in D 952, f. 1r.

Through these lists, CB presents his collection as exclusively focused on drama (except for Greene); yet, this is a partial and unreliable view of the actual contents of the collection. To start with, CB did not include four plays he actually extracted from, while eight of the plays listed I was not able to identify in the collection. The plays missing from the lists are: Ford’s *Lovers Melancholy* (quoted ten times), Mabbe’s translation of De Rojas’s *Spanish Bawd* (quoted three times), Brooke’s *Melanthe* (quoted twice), and the anonymous *Wily Beguiled* (quoted once). Also present in the collection are extracts from Jonson’s *Catiline* (twenty-one)

and Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (one extract), but these were added by two later hands.[39] The plays present in the lists but not in the collection are: the anonymous *Swetnam, the Woman Hater*, Beaumont and Fletcher' *Cupid's Revenge*, Davenant's *The Cruel Brother* and *The Just Italian*, Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*, Holyday's *Technogamia, The Marriages of the Arts*, and Jonson's *The Alchemist* and *The Silent Woman*. It is possible of course that CB actually extracted from these plays, but that I was not able to identify them (I was not able to identify twelve extracts present in the collection overall, out of a total of 342) because of the level of alteration of the extracts.

The plays by Jonson I could not find in the collection, *The Alchemist* and *The Silent Woman*, were listed as comedies not yet learned, by which CB could mean not yet commonplaced.[40] Looking at the extracts present in the collection taken from plays in this list (*Volpone*, *Every Man in his Humour*, *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Sejanus*, *The Dumb Knight*, *Amurath*, *Orestes*, and *Fuimus Troes*), shows that all extracts from these plays appear at the end of headings, meaning that they were added at a later stage than the ones from the main list of plays already 'read'. It seems that therefore CB, after having written this list, proceeded to commonplace most of these plays that he still needed to 'learn' at the time when he had 'read' already the others. The only two plays mentioned here that I could not find in the collection were *The Alchemist* and *Silent Woman*. It is possible that CB simply did not

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[39] The person whom I call 'hand 2' in Table 3 added twenty-one extracts from Jonson's *Catiline* and one from Baron's *Apology for Paris* (the presence of this play also helps dating the hand from around 1649), whilst 'hand 3' added five extracts from Sidney's *Arcadia*, one from Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, and one from Quarles's *Argalus and Parthenia* (this hand could date from any time after 1629, the publication date of Quarles's poem).

[40] It is worth noting that learning and commonplacing from drama would have not been a completely new academic activity: 'scholarly playreading' was a scholarly activity in the seventeenth century, in which a student, preferably with a tutor, would approach a play 'not [to] seek pleasure or even diversion', nor 'as a theatrical script', but rather, they would approach it first as 'an object of linguistic and rhetorical instruction, scrupulously to be analyzed using every available technological aid, and second [as] an instrument to be incorporated by the pupil and literally put into action in speech, writing, and conduct' (Staznicky, 'Closet Drama', p. 423). This technique was initially applied to Greek and Roman drama, 'plays of moral or religious instruction, and the kind of topical political drama written by the Sidney circle' (p. 422). Closet drama was part of this tradition, but this activity could be applied also to plays initially written for the professional theatre, as the 'scholarly reader' annotating all classical sources in Jonson's *Catiline* and *Sejanus* shows (see Jane Rickard's account of this later in this chapter, note 85).

have the time or will to finish what he had started, leaving out two plays he hoped to add to his collection at a later point. The other six titles not present in the collection belonged to the main list. Again, it possible that I was simply not able to identify these, but it is also possible that CB intended to commonplace from these plays, but did not have the time to do so, or did not find any suitable material for his collection. It could also be that with this list he simply wanted to record which plays he had read, but that he did not mean to include all of them in his collection. Perhaps he owned these books, or he had borrowed them from someone else, and this list simply had a practical function. It is not uncommon to find this type of lists of books in personal manuscripts: just to mention three examples, the poet Sir John Harington drew a list of the plays he owned in a commonplace book now kept in the British Library;[41] Frances Wolfreston drew lists of the books she lent to friends in her almanacs;[42] and finally, William Drummond of Hawthornden, who had a 'list of the books that he had read in 1606', which he left all unattributed, even when the name of the author had appeared on the title page of the book.[43] These lists of works had the practical function of making a record of the material books owned by these people; they were lists used to record ownership, transaction, and in CB's case, perhaps they could have been used to make more easily traceable which plays he had already commonplaced and which needed to be added to his collection.

Whatever the function of these lists was, CB was certainly selective with the choice of material listed, as he chose not to mention non-dramatic material (except for Greene's

[41] British Library, Add MS 27632, ff. 43r-v. Harington lists 168 plays, only nineteen of which are accompanied (in parenthesis) with the name or initials of the playwright and date of publication. In the first volume, containing plays by Shakespeare, Jonson and Chapman, Harington only added "Ben: Iohnson" as the author of *Sejanus*. (Stallybrass and Chartier, p. 41). F. J. Furnivall first wrote about this list in 1890, in 'Sir John Harington's Shakspeare Quartos', *Notes and Queries*, 7, 9 (1890), pp. 382-83. For a transcription of this list and reproduction of the document see also Alan H. Nelson, 'Commonplace Book and Papers of Sir John Harrington, the Poet, with Additions. Mostly Autograph', *Shakespeare Documented* <https://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/exhibition/document/sir-john-haringtons-catalogue-plays-ownership-shakespeare-quartos> [accessed 1 June 2019].

[42] Bodleian Library, MS Don. e. 246, f. 122v. I must thank Rachael Hodge for pointing this out to me.

[43] National Library of Scotland MSS 2059-2060. See Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier, 'Reading and Authorship: The Circulation of Shakespeare 1590–1619', in *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text*, ed. by Andrew Murphy (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p. 39.

Philomela, which was a prose narrative). However, of the total 342 extracts in the collection 65 were from non-dramatic sources. These were taken from eight poems and one prose. The poems were: Sidney's *Arcadia*, Lady Mary Wroth's *The Countesse of Mountgomeries Urania*, Sylvester's translation of *Du Bartas his Devine Weeks and Works*, Taylor's *A Very Merry Wherry-Ferry Voyage*, *Water-Cormorant*, *A new discovery by sea*, and *Jack a Lent his Beginning and Entertainment* (from *All the vvorkes of Iohn Taylor the water-poet Beeing sixty and three in number*), and finally, Bauhuis's *Epigrammatum lib IV* (the only work in Latin quoted in D 952). The selective use of attribution in the lists is confirmed, if not complicated, by the use of selective attribution in the rest of the commonplace book. CB left most of his extracts unattributed: only 43 attributions appear in the commonplace book against 342 total extracts, and when he attributed he was not consistent in the tag he would use, as illustrated in Table 3 above.

It is worth pondering a little here over which criteria could have influenced CB's choice of which extracts to attribute and which not. It is curious to see, for example, that CB's favoured playwright, Marston, quoted 48 times for his *Insatiate Countess*, was not attributed even once, but his second most quoted author, the poet Sidney, who was not even mentioned in the initial lists, was the most attributed author of all with 17 extracts from *Arcadia* attributed out of 30 (I am not considering here the extracts added by hand 3). The third most quoted author is Randolph: he is also the second most attributed author, with 12 attributions for his play *Jealous Lovers*. The rest of the attributions are much more scarce: Hausted's *Rival Friends* is attributed twice (out of 13 extracts), and the only other playwright also attributed is Jonson, with five attributions for his *Volpone* (out of 7) and *Every Man in His Humour* (1/1). The other attributions are all dedicated to non-dramatic authors: Taylor's poems *A Very Merry Wherry-Ferry Voyage*, *Jack A Lent*, and another extract I was not able to identify were attributed to him (3 out of 10 total extracts); two extracts out of four extracts

from Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas *Works* were also attributed; and finally, the only extract from Bauhuis's *Epigrammatum* (also the only extract in Latin of the whole collection), was attributed. Even though this material was absent from the initial lists drawn by CB, his actual attributions were largely covering most of this material—though this could be a good reason for pointing them out in the collection itself. The only non-dramatic sources not to have been attributed are Greene's *Philomela* (which, however, appears in his main list), quoted 8 times, Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*, quoted 5 times, and one extract from Taylor's *Water-Cormorant*. The choice of leaving all poetry out of the initial lists of titles of works potentially present in the collection, but then attributing most of this non-dramatic material in the collection seems counterintuitive.

Moreover, CB did not seem to be concerned about mentioning at least once all of the authors he used in his collection, as some of the material he collected was neither mentioned in the lists, nor attributed, making the source and author of those extracts completely invisible in the commonplace book. These are: Ford's *Lovers Melancholy*, Lady Mary Wroth's *Urania*, Mabbe's translation of *The Spanish Bawd*, Brooke's *Melanthe*, and the anonymous *Wily Beguiled*. Some of Taylor's work quoted was not attributed, but his name had appeared in the collection for other poems, making him a 'visible' name in the collection. It is also important to note at this point that the extracts added by two later hands found in the manuscript were also all left unattributed: these consisted of twenty-one extracts from Jonson's *Catiline* and one from Baron's *Apology for Paris* for hand 2, and five extracts from Sidney's *Arcadia*, one from Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, and one from Quarles's *Argalus and Parthenia* for hand 3. What is relevant to note here is that these later users of the collection, one of which could have added to the collection as late as in 1649, also chose not to attribute any of the material extracted (not even Jonson and Sidney, who had been attributed by CB), nor felt the need to add attributions to any other extracts collected by CB.

Finally, as mentioned above, CB was inconsistent with his attributions. The first inconsistency is that in his initial lists he only used the titles of the plays, but did not mention the playwrights, whereas the majority of the attributions within the main body of the commonplace book consisted in the name of the author. Adding only the name of the author alongside extracts was not uncommon for compilers of commonplace books, as in the case of Robert Allott's *Englands Parnassus* (1600), whilst miscellanies like Pudsey and Wright's, as seen earlier, tended to provide both name of the author and title of the work. Secondly, CB did not always attribute in the same way: he often used initials or an abbreviated form of the name of the author extracted, but sometimes he could also use the full name.[44] Table 3 offers the full list of attribution tags used by CB, whilst the following images illustrate the main types of attributions found in D 952: Fig. 25 shows two instances of attribution, both added in the margin, one being only the initial of the author ('R.' for Randolph) and the other being the full name of the author, 'Hausted'; Fig. 26 shows a common way of attributing for CB, simply adding an abbreviated version of the name of the author, in this case 'Sid', at the end of the extract; finally, in one instance, CB also referred to the title of the text extracted, as in the case of Jonson's *Volpone*, referred to on folio 32v (Fig. 27). One more similar example occurred when he referred to 'Sid. li.i.' (f. 28v), probably referring to 'liber 1' of his *Arcadia*.

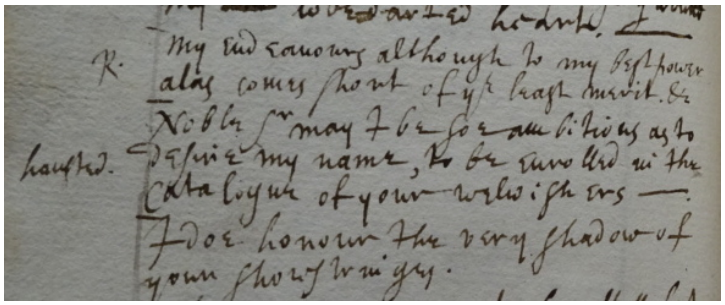


Fig. 25: 'R' and 'Hausted' in D 952, f. 14v.

[44] North, p. 60, also points out that 'In early print culture there were several conventions besides the author's name that could designate responsibility for a text. Furthermore, when book producers mentioned the author, they did not always use a name. Initials, pseudonyms, and designations of class were sometimes just as ascriptive'.

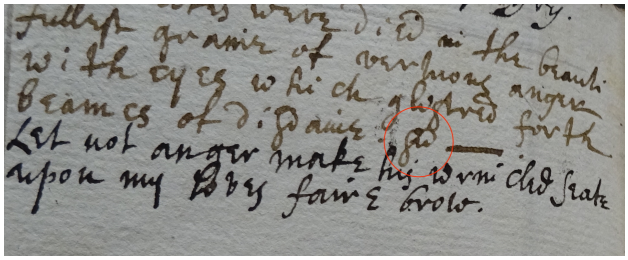


Fig. 26: 'Sid' in D 952, f. 6v.

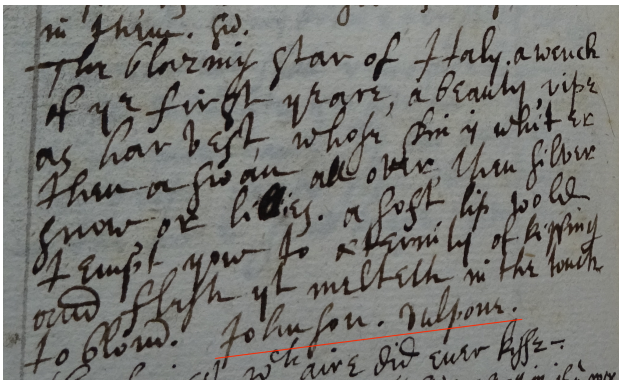


Fig. 27: 'Johnson. Volpone' in D 952, f. 32v.

Looking at the forty-three attributions listed in Table 3, it seems that CB had a system: every time he attributed extracts from Randolph (see ff. 14v, 16v, 17v, 20r, 46r, 50v, 51r, 54r, 55v, 65r, 70v, 75v), he only used the initial R., usually in the margin, whereas he tended to use the full name for Hausted (ff. 2r, 14v), as illustrated in Fig. 25. Moreover, CB generally used attribution in the margin when the attribution could be applied to several contiguous extracts: the 'Hausted' in the middle of the margin on folio 2r applies to all three extracts on that folio, and on folio 14v it applies to the first and following extract; in the case of R. there are not always several extracts present, but on folio 17v the R. can be applied to two extracts, and on folios 20r, 50v, 51r, and 54r to several contiguous extracts (on folio 54r the R. is placed near the extract in the middle of the five contiguous extracts, but it can be assumed that the attribution was meant to be applied to all of the extracts by Randolph in that section). In one case, also Sidney (f. 28v) had an attribution in the margin, which could be applied to two extracts. However, his attributions tended to be at the end of extracts, applying to one single extract. He was mostly referred to as Sid by CB (ff. 6v, 28v, 31v, 33r, 39v, 40r, 47r, 58r, 60v,

78r, 78v, 83v, 86r) and only on one occasion with his full name (f. 32v). CB seemed to be consistent with the attributions of these authors, however, this was not always the case: Ben Jonson is sometimes referred to as Ben (f. 47r, 52r), and other times as Johnson (ff. 32v, 37r, 54r, 87r) and in one instance CB also adds the title of the play, *Volpone* (f. 32v). Taylor is initially simply T. (ff. 43v,[45] 74r) and once, in a later extract (somewhat counterintuitively) Iohn Taylor (f. 80v). Finally, even the same text, *Du Bartas his Devine Weeks and Works*, is first attributed to Sylvester (f. 31v), the translator, and later on to du Bartas (f. 60v) himself.

In terms of numbers, the total extracts attributed (43) are a very small minority of the total extracts (342). Only seven authors are attributed, four of which are quoted for their poems, and three for their plays. Moreover, if one compares the number of attributions for one author with the total number of extracts present in the collection by that author, it is noticeable how in most cases CB only attributed the minority of those extracts. So, for instance, the most attributed author, the celebrated poet and diplomat Sir Philip Sidney, is only attributed seventeen times (out of thirty extracts). Why did CB only attribute half of the extracts by this poet? What was the decision process behind this selection? If his aim was not to point out *all* of the extracts by Sidney, then this could mean that his use of attribution was not entirely (or solely) concerned with authorship, but that his use of attribution was partly driven by the practical desire to pin point, or bookmark, some of the material in his collection so to make it more easily traceable and retrievable.

CB is selective with his attributions throughout: he only attributes three out of ten extracts from Taylor, and out of the four extracts taken from the works of du Bartas, CB attributed only half, one to the translator Sylvester, and one to the original author. This inconsistency also suggests how CB considered the name of the translator and of the original author both potentially useful in tracing the origin of the extract. CB did not attribute all

[45] The extract on f. 43v was attributed by CB to 'T.', that is Taylor, but I was not able to trace it back to any source.

extracts from Randolph's *Jealous Lovers* (even when taking into account that one attribution could apply to several neighbouring extracts, it is certain that seven extracts were left without any attribution), as it was the case for the extracts from Hausted's *Rival Friends* (nine extracts were left without any sign of attribution). The case of Jonson is more complex as CB quoted several of his plays: *Volpone*, from which CB culls seven extracts, is attributed six times (if we consider that the one attribution on folio 87r can be applied to two extracts), so only one extract from this play was not attributed (on f. 61v, 'Newes'); the other attribution dedicated to Jonson was attached to the only extract from *Every Man in his Humour* quoted in this manuscript. Whilst CB attributed (almost) the entirety of the extracts taken from these two plays by Ben Jonson, extracts from *Every Man out of his Humour* (five extracts) and *Sejanus* (one extract) were all left unattributed. All of Jonson's plays were mentioned in the list of plays yet to learn, *Volpone* and *Every Man in his Humour* being the first two plays on this list (as can be seen in Fig. 24). Perhaps their positioning on this list and the fact that CB chose to focus his attributions on these two plays shows their relevance and importance in CB's commonplace book.

Attaching a tag or attribution to an extract could have had a practical function, making it more easily retrievable in a collection of extracts collected by theme, but it could also betray personal preference with some authors, as already discussed in the previous section of this chapter when talking about some of Pudsey's and Wright's unattributed authors. This selective use of attribution shows a very personal and only partial interest in the authors CB collected in his manuscript. It shows his preferences, and how he anticipated reaching out for certain material more than other. In a commonplace book, where organisation was dictated by the thematic headings, and the majority of the material was left unattributed, attribution could be used as a practical tool to highlight (rather than organise) material. A bit like a bookmark would do, attribution helps the compiler make his favourite material in the collection more

readily traceable. For example, it seems that CB's attributions reflect a personal preference (or personal connection) with certain authors, a bit like the attributions seen at the beginning of this section could possibly be tracing back a passage from a play to a personal memory of a performance attended.[46] It is possible to hypothesize that playwrights such as Ben Jonson and his 'Sons', Randolph and Hausted, who were among the most popular in this collection and were also the only playwrights attributed in CB's commonplace book, were also a personal favourite of his.[47] That CB left the vast majority of the extracts unattributed, makes the choice of attributing these few authors more relevant. It was a way for him to single them out, make his favourite extracts stand out more. Perhaps his desire to record the authorship of these extracts could also signal that CB was more likely to use these extracts and wanted to mention, or remember at least, who wrote them originally. To explain why CB did not attribute all extracts by his favourite authors, one could also consider the nature of the extracts attributed. This analysis seems to suggest that especially those longer, stand-alone poetic descriptions were attributed.[48] Given their length, these stand-alone passages might have demanded some kind of acknowledgement (either in writing or in speech) more than a short, sententious line would have, even if in a few instances the compiler also attributed extracts that are aphorisms: for instance 'as well may sheepe forget to feare / when they spie wolues' ('impossible', f. 47r), a line by Sidney, or simple phrases, like Randolph's 'steeld impudence' ('impudence', f. 46r). Whether these personal preferences were also aimed at later users of the collection is hard to tell. Some attributions might have been added to show off a certain

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[46] As I discuss fully in Chapter 4, personal connection might also have played a big role in the way that CB chose the material to extract.

[47] The authors who were overtly influenced by Jonson, and therefore nicknamed 'Sons of Ben', were: Randolph, who was personally acquainted with Jonson, and Hausted, who studied and wrote, albeit not very successfully, academic drama at Cambridge and then proceeded to become a vicar; the other 'Sons' were Davenant and Marmion, who were not attributed by CB, but also popular with the compiler in terms of their presence in this collection. See David Kathman, 'Hausted, Peter (*c.*1605–1644)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12620> [accessed 5 October 2017] and John Drakakis, 'Marmion, Shackerley (1603–1639)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18083> [accessed 5 October 2017].

[48] By stand-alone I mean those that do not require to be inserted in a longer sentence, but can be appreciated in the form in which they appear.

knowledge of the material or to display the use of specific authors or works, which could have been popular with the circle of potential users of the collection. It is hard to tell what CB's intentions were, whether his attributions were exclusively meant for himself or not. His initial lists however seem to have a public and declarative tone, as if addressing any potential user and presenting them with a sort of table of contents, but also introducing the compiler, CB, as someone who applies a rigorous, studious approach to drama.[49]

In other cases, it is clearer that the compiler preferred to keep attributions for personal use only. The anonymous compiler of Bodleian Library, MS Eng. misc. d. 28, a manuscript miscellany from around 1620s, is a good case in point to show how attribution could underline the private and personal nature of some material. The compiler, as suggested by Guillaume Coatalen, was probably a theology student at Oxford.[50] In his miscellany he included extracts from both classical and vernacular authors, and whilst he displayed very clear attributions at the beginning of his collection when dealing with extracts from biblical or classical works (as for example with 'Ex. P. Virgilii Maronis Georgicoru*m* lib:1^{o}:', col. 149), he treated with less care the English works (also those non-dramatic extracts present in the collection). Not all extracts were attributed, and instead of clearly writing the attribution as heading, the compiler attached this information to either the very first extract or one of the following ones, sometimes making this information more difficult to retrieve. More to the point here, the attributions used in this miscellany are not always 'user-friendly': for some attributions the compiler used a code, 'a variant of the so-called rotate-one Caesar cipher, named after Julius Caesar who used it in his correspondence':[51] instead of choosing the right

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[49] See note 40 above on 'scholarly playreading'.

[50] See Guillaume Coatalen, 'Shakespeare and other "Tragicall Discourses" in an Early Seventeenth-Century Commonplace Book from Oriel College, Oxford', *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700*, 13 (2007), pp. 120–64.

[51] Coatalen, p. 154. The compiler also quotes classical authors that talk about Caesar's cipher, Svetonius and Gellius. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries displayed an increasing interest in cryptology, but, as Coatalen notes, this manuscript 'seems to be a unique instance of a university commonplace book displaying a cipher for authors and titles of plays only'.

letter to compose the title or name of an author, the compiler picked the letter preceding it in the alphabet. For example, at the end of an extract from Shakespeare's *Richard II*, the compiler added the coded attribution 'UlF, Usbhfekz pg Skdibse Uif tfdpoe. cz Tiblftqfbsf', col. 697 (see Fig. 28), which corresponds to 'THE, Tragediy of Richard The second. By Shakespeare'. As Coatalen has pointed out, 'the compiler generally chose to keep his sources to himself, but was not entirely consistent'.[52] For example, next to one extract from *Romeo and Juliet* (col. 705) the compiler added only the title of the play, and this time did not use any code, but simply tagged it as 'Tragedy of Romeo and Iuliet' (col. 705).[53]

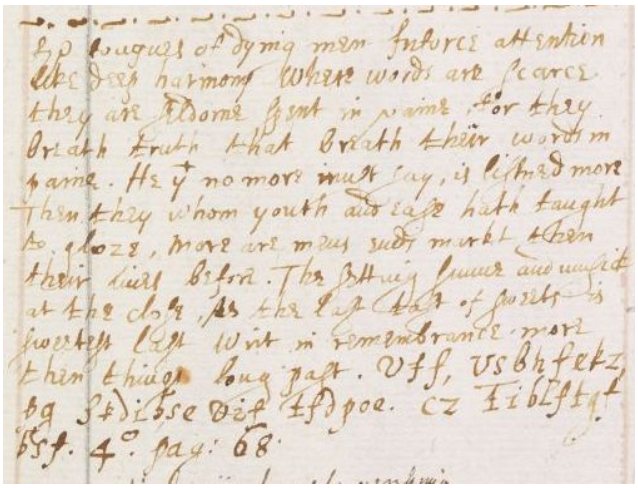


Fig. 28: 'UlF, Usbhfekz pg Skdibse Uif tfdpoe. cz Tiblftqfbsf' or 'THE, Tragediy of Richard The second. By Shakespeare', MS Eng. misc. d. 28, col. 697.

The inconsistency of this attribution system suggests a degree of playfulness, but also perhaps that the compiler was hoping to conceal this material, as these dramatic extracts might have been deemed too frivolous to be found in a collection mainly dedicated to serious, theological topics.[54] Moreover, the elusiveness of these attributions shows how attribution was thought of as a personal, and private, means to trace back those extracts. The attributions could in fact be

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[52] Coatalen, p. 154.
[53] See Coatalen, p. 154 for more examples of inconsistencies in the attribution of plays.
[54] Perhaps he was hoping that only a reader who was familiar with these texts could have guessed the attribution, and the code breaking part of it could have provided entertainment, or at least would have temporarily concealed the nature of the material collected. Paulina Kewes, *Plagiarism in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), p. 8, also wonders about the possibility that compilers may have sometimes left their material unattributed because they 'were meant to be recognized by the knowing readers'.

very detailed, as sometimes the compiler included the page, format and year of publication of the source used. For example, on column 705, when extracting from *Romeo and Juliet*, the compiler indicated '4^{o}: pag*:* 84:', that is, the format of the source, a quarto, and page number. The issue is, however, that 'the pagination of the extract from *Romeo and Juliet*, as in other extracts from Shakespeare in the manuscript, does not belong to any early quarto'.[55] This pagination could therefore correspond to a personal collection of printed plays, bound together and paginated by hand, or, as the range of pages indicated in the manuscript is 60-100, Coatalen suggests that 'the compiler is in fact taking his extracts not from the plays themselves but from somebody else's manuscript collection of extracts', or, I might add, another compilation of his.[56] This pagination therefore provided limited traceability, as only the compiler would have had access to the particular sources he was referring to. Nevertheless, the traceability and usability of this collection were clearly a concern for the compiler, who also added an index of the writers quoted in his collection (along with a reference to the columns on which they were quoted) at the beginning of the manuscript (p. 6), and a list of subjects in Latin organised in alphabetical order at the end of the collection (pp. 611-646).[57] However, even these tools were incomplete and only partial, as some of the writers quoted are missing from the index (see for example Dekker), and the list of subject at the end of the collection seems to be pointing back only to the first half of the collection, dedicated to the Latin extract from classical works. It might be hard to tell whether these manuscript compilers used attribution (tags, lists, or indexes) to make their collections more searchable not only for their private use but also for potential other users, but it is certainly clearer how attribution in printed collections was all about engaging with the public, who is

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[55] Coatalen, p. 155.
[56] Coatalen, p. 155.
[57] In *Ludus Literarius,* Brinsley advises to create 'Indexes of their books of Commonplaces' (Aa2r) so that the material in their collections can be easily found. He does not however mention whether one should attribute or not the extracts.

first of all the potential buyer of the collection and only secondly the user of the collection, as I explore in the final category of the function of attribution.

2.2.3. Marketing

The reputation of authors could have also been an influencing factor in the compilers' choice of attribution. As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, both Wright and Pudsey became sloppy with attribution towards the end of their collections, where they copied extracts from lesser known and less renowned authors. Wright also preferred to refer to Beaumont and Fletcher, rather than Fletcher alone, and referred to the latter as 'Beaumonts fellow ^poet' (f. 85v). The authors CB decided to attribute were certainly among the most popular and renowned writers of the time (see for example Sidney's *Arcadia*), and the lower cultural reputation of drama *versus* classical works might have also been a factor influencing the coded attributions used by the compiler of MS Eng. misc. d. 28 seen above. Manuscript compilers were not unaware of the reputation of writers, but if collecting fashionable material in a manuscript collection could have social implications, as these miscellanies were circulated among circles of friends who could judge each other's personal taste,[58] collecting material that was popular and sold well was certainly a priority for compilers of printed commonplace books. In this section I focus my attention on the ways in which attribution was used in printed collections in order to show a third type of function for attribution: marketing, that is when compilers used attribution as a means to advertise their collection to a paying readership.[59] This is the case of John Bodenham and Robert Allott, who had published two commonplace books in 1600, *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* respectively, containing, for

[58] An instance of this is provided by a mid-seventeenth century manuscript miscellany (British Library, MS Egerton 2421), compiled by several Oxford students, one of which, a certain Henry Balle, wrote an address to the reader in which he explained that he believed the extracts gathered in the collection were written for 'mirth and sport' and 'fitting the vulgar not the wiser sort' (f. 1r), and therefore should be simply enjoyed for what they are, and not judged too harshly, showing how compilers of manuscript collections could also worry about potential readers' judgements.

[59] This is mostly a print phenomenon, but lists like the one CB provides at the beginning of his manuscript collection could also be considered as advertising his collection, and his knowledge, to friends and family who could have read his commonplace book.

the first time ever, extracts from English fictional works. Allott gave an authorial attribution to each extract but failed to include the title of the work from which they came. Moreover, its attributions are not entirely reliable, as some tags were mixed up in the process of organizing the extracts.[60] If the exact authorship of each extract was not a central concern, the reputation of the authors commonplaced certainly was. The importance of the individual reputation of the authors quoted is visible when Allott attributed extracts from plays written by multiple authors, such as *The Tragedy of Jocasta* (1566), a collaborative play written by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmarshe. Allott assigned all of the extracts to Gascoigne, ignoring his collaborator. Charles Crawford suggests that the compiler purposefully 'ignored minor contributors, and assigned all he transcribed from them to authors of established reputation, poets whose names were in everybody's mouth'.[61] Attribution was used here as a way to exploit the reputation of authors and use this as a selling point, rather than acknowledging their authorship.

This exploitation of the reputation of the authors is made even clearer in Bodenham's *Belvedere*. Bodenham did not attribute any of the extracts in his collection, but in the preface of his collection he included a list of alleged authors present in *Belvedere* (see Table 4).

Social rank	**Name**	**Number of extracts present in collection**[62]
Royal	Queen Elizabeth I	Not found
	King James I of England and VI of Scotland	Not found
'right Honorable persons' (sig. A4v)	Thomas, Earle of Surrey	Not found
	The Lord Marquesse of Winchester	Not found
	Mary, Countesse of Pembrooke	14
	Sir Philip Sidney	6

[60] Crawford claims that 130 of the 2350 quotations were incorrectly ascribed and 68 were left unsigned (*Englands Parnassus*, ed. Crawford, p. 449, n. 982).
[61] *Englands Parnassus*, ed. Crawford, p. xxvii.
[62] For the latest data on extracts identified in *Belvedere* I am indebted to Lukas Erne and Devani Singh who generously shared their findings for an edition of the commonplace book (*Bel-vedére or the Garden of the Muses: An Early Modern Printed Commonplace Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2020)). See also Lukas Erne, and Devani Singh, 'Newly Discovered Shakespeare Passages in *Bel-vedére or The Garden of the Muses* (1600)', *Shakespeare* (2018) <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450918.2018.1548501> [accessed 11 January 2019].

'noble personages' (sig. A5r)	Edward, Earle of Oxenford	Not found
	Ferdinando, Earle of Derby	Not found
	Sir Walter Raleigh	Not found
	Sir Edward Dyer	Not found
	Fulke Grevile, Esquier	Not found
	Sir John Harrington	27
'Moderne and extant Poets' (sig. A5v)	Edmund Spencer	232
	Henry Constable Esquier	Not found
	Samuell Daniell	237
	Thomas Lodge, Doctor of Physicke	104
	Thomas Watson	7
	Michaell Drayton	278
	John Davies	Not found
	Thomas Hudson	7
	Henrie Locke Esquier	Not found
	John Marstone	5
	Christopher Marlow	51
	Beniamin Johnson	6
	William Shakspeare	240
	Thomas Churchyard Esquier	2
	Thomas Nash	Not found
	Thomas Kidde	53
	George Peele	1
	Robert Greene	91
	Josuah Sylvester	36
	Nicholas Breton	Not found
	Gervase Markham	27
	Thomas Storer	1
	Robert Wilmot	Not found
	Christopher Middleton	Not found
	Richard Barnefield	8
deceased at the very end (sig. A6r)	Thomas Norton, Esquier	Not found
	George Gascoigne Esquier	1
	Frauncis Kindlemarsh Esquier	Not found
	Thomas Atchlow	Not found
	George Whetstones	5

Table 4: Writers as listed by Bodenham in the preface of *Belvedere* (sig. A4-A6) and their social rank.

The first noticeable fact about this list is that Bodenham listed a variety of authors, who wrote a variety of genres, but not all of the authors mentioned here were then found in the collection. Again, as in CB's case, this could be due to the difficulty for modern scholars to identify the sources of some extracts, especially as Bodenham greatly altered the extracts (or perhaps because he used sources that have not survived today, or that have not been digitised, making the task of identifying sources difficult). Indeed, many extracts in *Belvedere* have still

remained untraced (926 out of 4482) even after the recent work done for the first modern edition of *Belvedere* by Lukas Erne and Devani Singh.[63] However, not all unfound authors can be explained with this theory, as, once one starts to identify the extracts in *Belvedere* it is quickly apparent that this list offered only a partial representation of the actual contents of this collection, as more authors, deliberately not mentioned in this list, are found (see Table 5 below):

Author and title	**Number extracts identified**
Wit's Commonwealth	680
Southwell, Robert	80
Chapman, George	52
Brandon, Samuel	50
Fitzgeoffrey, Charles	39
Wit's Theater	37
Mirror for Magistrates	31
Anon., *Edward III*	23
J. C. (*Alcilia* sonnets)	21
Middleton, Thomas	20
Tubervile, George	20
Anon., *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*	17
Lyly, John	13
Anon., *Gorboduc*	12
Anon., *Arden of Feversham*	10
Griffin, B.	7
Rawlinson MSS	6
Fletcher, Giles	4
Munday and Chettle	4
Byrd, W.	2
Campion, Thomas	2
Guilpin, E.	2
Bastard, Thomas	1
Roydon, M.	1
Whitney, G.	1
Wit's Treasury	1

Table 5: Writers and texts quoted in *Belvedere* but missing from the list in the preface.

The names not mentioned in the initial lists, as shown in Table 5, are, in some cases, less renowned and reputed than the ones Bodenham chose to exhibit on his preface. Bodenham is also perhaps trying to hide the fact that a very large number of extracts were recycled from

[63] Erne and Singh, *Bel-vedére or the Garden of the Muses*.

other print collections he had compiled, especially *Wit's Commonwealth* (1597). The aim of Bodenham was to advertise *Belvedere* as containing new and applauded material: in the preface to the collection he reassures his reader that the works of the men gathered in his collection have been 'so especially approoued, and past with no meane applause the censure of all in general' (sig. A4r). He then proceeds to claim that his collection offers to the reader exclusive access to prestigious material: 'extant and privat' (sig. A4v) quotations allegedly drawn from poems written by Queen Elizabeth I herself, but also King James I of England and VI of Scotland, courtiers, honourable and noble men, and finally contemporary poets. His list of names follows the social rank of the authors: first the 'right Honorable persons' (sig. A4v), then the 'noble personages' (sig. A5r), the 'Moderne and extant Poets' (sig. A5v)—and finally those deceased at the very end (sig. A6r).[64] If the lack of attribution within the collection itself might signal that authorship, in the sense of acknowledging the original author of each individual extract, was not a central concern, the presence of the writers' names in the preface certainly means that at least reputation was considered as a selling point to be advertised. In the list of poets allegedly quoted in *Belvedere*, social rank and reputation are paramount, as are the private and exclusive nature of the sources. However, Charles Crawford, who undertook the huge task of identifying the unattributed extracts in *Belvedere*, discovered that the 'list is not only inaccurate, but also misleading' and that 'it is not uncharitable to conclude that King James, Sidney, and others of rank are named in this way to advertise the book to quicken its sale'.[65] Pointing back to the names of the authors allegedly

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[64] Bodenham did not boast the literary reputation of contemporary writers as Francis Meres did in his *Palladis Tamia* in 1598, where he compared contemporary writers such as Shakespeare, to classical writers (Meres compared the playwright to Ovid in terms of the 'honey-tongue' he revealed in his poetry (p. 281v), and to Plautus and Seneca in terms of the power of his comedies and tragedies (p. 282r)). However, both show that certain names already had a reputation, and were therefore worth mentioning, in Bodenham's case, in order to boost sales.

[65] Crawford, 'Belvedere, or The Garden of the Muses', p. 201. King James is completely absent from the book and Sidney is quoted only six times. Crawford states that this list is inaccurate and misleading, as certain names do not appear at all in the commonplace book, while other writers, who are actually present in the collection, are unmentioned. As discussed earlier, lists of authors or works in commonplace books and miscellanies were often

collected in *Belvedere* was not, I claim, a way of acknowledging the authorship of the extracts, which are left anonymous, therefore leaving their authorship invisible in the collection, but rather, as suggested by Crawford, their names, listed in the preface, were used for marketing purposes, reputation being paramount. Attribution in print collections such as *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* played a role in its marketing and saleability, aiming to appeal to the potential buyers, an issue that compilers of manuscript collections did not have to worry about.[66]

However, most of the time printed collections left their material completely unattributed and marketed their collections in other ways. For instance, John Cotgrave in his *English Treasury of Wit and Language* (1655) does not mention a single author collected, nevertheless he still uses attribution, although a 'generic attribution' (generic both because it is vague but also because it points out the genre of the material collected), to market his collection.[67] So the reader/buyer sees already on the title page that this *Treasury* is *Collected out of the most and best of our English Drammatick Poems*. This is all they need to know: the extracts are taken from the work of English playwrights, but not just any kind, but 'the most and best', a phrase that reminds us of the best and applauded writers in *Belvedere*. The quality of the authors is stressed also in the preface, where Cotgrave promises his readers 'Authors [that] fear no colours', who 'have stood the Worlds Gun-Shot, and passed the Pikes already, and that with no mean reputation...have given many more faire hits then they tooke' (sig. A1r). This is material that has been approved many times before, it has withstood the test of

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partial at best and misleading at worst. In a way, CB's list of plays read and not yet learned could be considered misleading, as it portrays the commonplace book as exclusively dedicated to drama, whilst also mentioning titles of works not quoted, and missing out material added to the collection. See also Smyth, *'"Profit and Delight"'*, p. 75, who, talking about printed collections from the middle of the seventeenth century says that 'boasting specific contributors often misrepresented the book's actual contents', but also that, similarly to the list in *Belvedere*, 'There was some interest in invoking particular writers', with prestige and social eminence playing an important role in this choice.

[66] In Chapter 4 I discuss fully how even the choice of the material included in these collections had profoundly economic reasons.

[67] Cotgrave selected extracts from 240 plays, but did not attribute any of them.

time (and of the closure of the theatres, which had been closed for more than ten years when this compilation was published, and that would remain so until 1660) and it is ready to be enjoyed in this commonplace book, which delivers them in a distilled form, 'digested into common places for generall use', as described on the title page. The only name to appear in this book is actually that of Cotgrave, who presents himself on the title-page as the 'author' of this collection: 'By John Cotgrave Gent.' Later in the preface Cotgrave defends the authors of the dramatic extracts he collects by encouraging those readers who have 'prejudice' (sig. A2r) against this kind of material to remember how these playwrights

> were the most fluent and redundant Wits that this age (or I think any other) ever knew, and many of them so able Schollers, and Linguists, as they have culled the choicest Flowers out of the greater number of Greeke, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French Authors, (Poets especially) to embellish and enrich the English Scene withall (sig. A2r)

This comment again advertises the collection through the genius of the authors collected. However, as he claims that these playwrights were also collectors of the 'choicest Flowers' from classical and continental authors (especially poets, as he specifies), Cotgrave is also indirectly exploiting the reputation of those unnamed classical and continental authors to market his collection. The lack of actual attribution in this collection as well as in most printed and manuscript collections analysed so far needs however further discussion in this chapter, in order to draw a more complex picture of the role of authorship in commonplace book culture. The next section is dedicated to this topic.

2.3. Commonplacing and anonymity

The examples analysed so far have shown how attributing the material in one's collection was something some compilers put great effort into, even if the attributions' primary function was not to acknowledge someone's authorship over the extract collected, but to help with the organisation or marketing of the compilation, or to make that extract more traceable and retrievable. Some compilers, however, valued referring back to the source used, as in the case

of the poetic miscellany (British Library, MS Egerton 2421) with songs from *The Tempest* mentioned earlier, which were attributed not only by name of the author and title, but also by name of the character delivering the song.[68] In the same miscellany, most poems have generic titles and are left unattributed, but some poems received the label 'Incerti Authori', as if to suggest that authorship was actually a point of interest for the compilers of this collection and to justify the lack of attribution they would claim that the author was unknown.[69] Nonetheless, the inconsistent use of attribution observed throughout this chapter shows that, even in miscellanies carefully constructed, the presence of attribution, and therefore authorship, was not fundamental. This is shown, by the fact that when attributions would have served a less effective organisational purpose, as towards the end of Pudsey and Wright's miscellanies, they were not used, leaving some authors invisible in these collections. Or in selective uses of attribution, like in CB's commonplace book, personal preference and functionality were more important reasons for attribution than acknowledging the work of others, a right that was regulated in the eighteenth century, with the Copyright Act of 1710.[70] This does not mean, however, that compilers in the seventeenth century were not aware of the importance of attributing and acknowledging someone else's work. For instance, although CB

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[68] On the topic of the effort and accuracy that compilers of poetic miscellanies put into attributions see also Lara M. Crowley, 'Attribution and Anonymity: Donne, Ralegh, and Fletcher in British Library, Stowe MS 962', in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, ed. by Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 133–149. Crowley, p. 134, shows how 'Ascriptions in manuscript miscellanies might provide a more accurate picture of who wrote what in early modern England than do printed attributions'. Scott Nixon, 'A Reading of Thomas Carew in Manuscript' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), p. 2, has also observed that 'the ascriptions in verse miscellanies of the 1620s and 1630s have a rate of accuracy as high as ninety-five percent'.

[69] Some extracts in *Englands Parnassus* were also attributed to 'Ignoto'. North, p. 75, also points out that the 'use of "Anonymous" and "Ignoto" create a typography specifically for the absent name', as 'they stand for absent knowledge, for a piece of missing information, often in a context where that information has been defined as significant. From this perspective, they can be read as responses to the print industry's standardization of authorial naming'.

[70] Chapter 3 gives a fuller account of how writers' rights were acquired slowly and gradually over time, and also how attitudes towards authorship and plagiarism evolved during the seventeenth century. As Dobranski, p. 7, also reminds us, 'That a few Renaissance authors were nevertheless compensated for their works suggests that authorial rights emerged gradually with the demise of patronage and the rise of a market system'. Dobranski also mentions that the earliest agreement in England to treat the author as the work's owner was Milton's 1667 contract with Samuel Simmons for the publication of *Paradise Lost*.

did not apply attribution throughout his collection, he was clearly aware of the importance of attribution and how using extracts without acknowledging their original authors was a practice already criticized in the seventeenth century (a topic I fully discuss in the next chapter). On this matter, he included a passage from the play *Lingua* under the heading 'critick', where Anamnestes criticises those who forget to name those from whom they have gained benefit, and specifically mentions 'those canker-stomackt spitefull/creatures y^{t} furnishat common/place-bookes with othermens faultes' (f. 19v).

Despite this awareness, in the seventeenth century most compilers of manuscript, and print, miscellanies and commonplace books deliberately decided to present their material unattributed, leaving the authors extracted completely invisible. Compilers, both of miscellanies and commonplace books, were more concerned with the potential future uses of the material collected. As discussed in Chapter 1, a central point of commonplacing and extracting material to copy in collections is that the material could be used independently from its original context: this is why most commonplace books, which were usually organised by thematic headings, present their material unattributed. This is also true for miscellanies, and also poetic miscellanies which collected whole poems, as for example British Library, Add MS 30982 (c. 1620s-30s), a collection associated with Christ Church, Oxford. The poems collected here were all left unattributed, but some material would receive generic titles, such as 'A sonnet on the Virgin' (f. 8r) and 'On a good foot and a bad leg' (f. 15r), titles which summarise the topic of the poem, but says nothing of its source, or 'To one that would dy a maide' (f. 18r), suggesting to whom this poem could be addressed, but giving no clue that this was a Shakespearean sonnet. What mattered here was not the source of the passage or poem copied, but to be able to identify from the title its generic topic or type of the material

copied, and therefore how it could be used in new contexts.[71] This was also a common practice in printed manuals containing models of dialogues like the ones mentioned in Chapter 1, Phillips's *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* (1658) and Shirley's *Triumph of Wit* (1688), which simply entitle the dramatic dialogue between the Insatiate Countess and Gniaca as 'An Address of Courtship to his Mistress' (p. 22) and 'An Address of Courtship; *or,* The Passionate Wooer' (p. 179) respectively. Other similar manuals such as *Wits Interpreter* (1655), which collected drolleries, were also headed generically as 'A Dialogue', or stating the nature of the speakers and occasion for such a dialogue ('A Dialogue. Occasioned by a Lover presenting a copy of Verse to his Mistresse').[72] These examples show how the material is decontextualised from its original, dramatic source, and emphasis is given to the generic function (or category/type) of this material as a dialogue between a man and a woman.

Commonplacing was concerned more with the future uses of the material collected than its origins. As Laura Estill has posited referring to Cotgrave's commonplace book, not only 'the lack of attribution would have been normal' (Estill also lists other extremely popular printed miscellanies that quoted their material without attributions, such as Blount's *Academy of Eloquence*, 1653, or *The Academy of Complements*, 1639, just to mention two famous examples),[73] but also the users of the commonplace book would have been more interested in

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[71] It is also worth reminding us here that anonymity could also be a deliberate choice of the compiler. In this case, MS Add 30982, was compiled by Daniel Leare, a distant relative and probably a student of Strode's at Christ Church. Despite Leare's familiarity with Strode, he deliberately left his poems unattributed: North, p. 209, tells us how 'Anonymity could mark familiarity as easily as an attribution could'. In fact, it makes sense that 'Within the intimate world of private text transmission where readers and authors are reasonably familiar with one another... textual attribution [was] unnecessary' (North, p. 167).

[72] For more on *Wits Interpreter* see John H. Astington, 'Dramatic Extracts in the Interregnum', *Review of English Studies*, 54 (2003), 601–14.

[73] See Laura Estill, 'Urge to Organize', p. 30, for more examples of printed collections with no attributions. As she shows, the majority of miscellanies from the 1650s did not attribute their material. This lack of attribution also occurred when compilers were using intermediary sources, that is, when they were taking their extracts not directly from the original source but from other compilations (many print collections borrowed their material directly from other print collections, using these as intermediary sources). For instance, several extracts found in Edward Poole's *The English Parnassus* (1657) were taken from Allott's *Englands Parnassus*, but Poole does not acknowledge his intermediary source, nor the original source. Even whole sections could be copied from other collections, as in the case of Phillips's *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* (1658), who borrowed the whole section

the commonplaces rather than their sources.[74] Interestingly, a copy of Cotgrave's *English Treasury* exists interleaved and with extracts from other sources (including, but not exclusively, dramatic) added by an early modern reader, who also left the extracts unattributed, confirming how this was common practice.[75] Other readers added annotations or underlined extracts in Cotgrave's commonplace book but, as pointed out by Estill, 'In general, these copies with underlining and marginal ticks suggest that readers were comfortable with Cotgrave's organization and lack of attribution'.[76] Anonymity was a widely accepted way of circulating one's work in the early modern period: whole poems, extracts from any type of work, and any author (even those taken from Classical and Christian authors), could be circulated unattributed. Traditional collections of extracts from classical authors tended to include more details of the source, both in the manuscript and printed manifestations, but not always. In fact, the well-reputed schoolteacher and grammarian Thomas Farnaby (1574/5–1647), did not attribute the extracts in his *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores* (1631). This was a popular print collection of elegant phrases in Latin by classical and Christian writers organized under thematic headings (written in English). Farnaby, described by Anthony Wood as 'the most noted Schoolmaster of his time' and 'the chief Grammarian, Rhetorician, Poet, Latinist and Grecian of his time', dedicated his life to 'the systemization of the grammatical principles of classical Latin and Greek' and the annotation of classical authors.[77] The fact that a scholar of his stature, printing for a large

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of his book, 'A Garden of Tulips or the Pleasant Prospect' (p. 49) from Cotgrave's *English Treasury* without acknowledging his sources.

[74] Estill, 'Urge to Organize', p. 38, dedicates a whole section on how some readers engaged with Cotgrave's collection and shows that the 'underlining and marginal additions [of these readers] do not suggest [they were] concerned with who wrote the *bon mots* Cotgrave copied, rather that [they were] interested in the pithy wisdom they contained'.

[75] This copy is now British Library G 16385. For more detail on this see Estill, 'Urge to Organize', pp. 34–6. Estill also mentions that other copies were marked up by seventeenth century readers, but none of them added attributions (see p. 36).

[76] Estill, 'Urge to Organize', p. 39.

[77] Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (1692?), 2. 106 (f. E2r). See also James McDermott, 'Farnaby, Thomas (1574/5-1647)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9173> [accessed 22 December 2016].

readership of students, felt comfortable with publishing his collection without attaching attributions to the material of classical authorities like Cicero, is a clear sign that this was deemed acceptable practice, even if it raised a few critics, as mentioned earlier.[78] As Marcy L. North shows, 'Anonymity not only survived, it flourished in the modern period, coexisting with naming and other methods of text presentation to which to introduce and frame the literature they produced.' North also explores the various forms and meanings that could be given to anonymity, and claims that 'Anonymity's many variations in early modern books and manuscripts speak to its popularity and usefulness'.[79] Indeed, the anonymity of this material also facilitated its circulation in collections: as North discusses, the material poetic miscellanies created in private coteries was then more broadly circulated, as 'the absence of any clear claim to the poem allowed it to travel broadly and serve a variety of purposes'.[80] Similarly, anonymous commonplaces were circulated from commonplace book to commonplace book and appreciated for their universality, that is the 'variety of purposes' that the compiler could put them to. Commonplaces worked independently from their original sources. North also notices how poems in collections worked in similar ways, as collectors did not value attributions, but 'found certain types and pieces of literature valuable for their interpretative and textual flexibility, for their extractable common wisdom or images, for their lack of clear authorial claims'.[81] It was this 'interpretative and textual flexibility' that was the most important for compilers of dramatic extracts also, leaving authorial attribution as secondary.

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[78] Treatises on the practice of commonplacing like Erasmus's *De Copia* or Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612) instructed readers on how to select and organise the material for a commonplace book, which kind of thematic headings and material to use, and praised the moral and didactic virtues of engaging in such an activity, but did not provide instruction on how to treat the authorship of the material collected.

[79] North, p. 3.

[80] North, p. 171.

[81] North, pp. 171–72. North, p. 207, also shows how attribution could be flexible and malleable when this material was circulated. She compares poems appearing again and again in the poetic miscellanies from the Christ Church coterie and observes how the same poems could be attributed, unattributed or misattributed in different miscellanies, thus showing that 'even in scribal networks that share many of the same poems, authors' names were very unstable texts'.

However, if the lack of attributions was accepted as normal in the seventeenth century, later readers of the collection felt the need to ascribe the material to their authors, showing a shift in the importance given to authorship: Estill in her article gives a full description of how four copies were heavily annotated,[82] but also mentions a few examples where the annotations were more selective and focusing around one author. The examples she offers are all from eighteenth century readers. In the latter case, a Robert Smith around 1720 attributed a handful of extracts in Cotgrave's collection, mostly Shakespearean material, showing that he was mostly familiar with his canon.[83] The way the attributions were abbreviated also suggests that 'The ascriptions were meant for personal reference or for someone quite familiar with the canon of early modern drama'. In these instances Estill believes that readers 'enjoyed the anonymous and unattributed nature of Cotgrave's extracts precisely because of the frisson of recognizing a play from just one snippet'.[84] Recognising the sources of material used in texts was a scholarly activity and one that would prove the knowledge of a reader. This kind of scholarly reading was encouraged in grammar schools, and it was probably with this aim that one reader of Jonson's plays annotated his *Sejanus* and *Catiline*: this 'scholarly reader', to use Jane Rickard's expression, took particular interest in 'identifying classical sources', so for example 'in Act 3 of *Sejanus* against 'Appears the Senate's brainlesse diligence/ Who think they can' he has written 'Tac. An. 4. p. 111. Ed paris. 1608. fol' (p. 396).[85] This attribution was part of a scholarly exercise and reflected a desire to display personal knowledge, rather than to acknowledge the authorship of a passage. However, the agenda of those readers that

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[82] The four copies of *The English Treasury* meticulously annotated with the names of playwrights and play titles are: Bodleian Douce CC223, BL 1451.c49, Folger C6368, and Northwestern 808.8 C843.
[83] Estill, 'Urge to Organize', pp. 60–3. Estill, p. 63, also explains that when only a few attributions were given these tended to be from Shakespeare, underlining how 'the urge to attribute anonymously presented dramatic extracts is inherently tied to our understanding of canon'.
[84] Estill, 'Urge to Organize', p. 62.
[85] Jane Rickard, 'Seventeenth-Century Readers of Jonson's 1616 Works', in *Ben Jonson and Posterity: Reception, Reputation and Legacy*, ed. by Martin Butler and Jane Rickard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2020). The copy of Jonson's *Works* with this annotation is now Huntington Library, 606578, p. 376.

thoroughly annotated Cotgrave's *English Treasury*, and ascribed each single extract, was quite different, staring with the antiquarian and literary scholar William Oldys (1696-1761), who around 1730 'meticulously annotated with the names of playwrights and play titles...almost every extract'.[86] His attitude towards authorship and attribution is much closer to ours than that of seventeenth century readers, who accepted the lack of attributions: Oldys's notion of 'intellectual property' had been already affected by the Copyright Act of 1710, but was also informed by the growing interest in literary canon in the eighteenth century.[87] The labour invested by Oldys in the ascription of all 1,701 extracts is a testament of the importance he gave to authorship, perhaps also with a view to create a 'scholarly' edition of the collection. The fact that Oldys was a literary scholar obviously influenced his approach to this collection, as his interest was not so much in the collection as a provider of commonplaces for general use, but as a collection of early modern authors which Oldys desired to study. Oldys also expressed his disapproval of collections that leave their material unattributed in the preface of Hayward's *British Muse* (1738) that he himself wrote. In this preface he offers an overview and review of the main poetic anthologies, as he calls them, printed from 1600 up to 1738. Talking about Bodenham's *Belvedere* he criticises several aspects of this collection (the choice of material, the method of collecting and altering the material, just to mention a few), but most of all he points out 'another singularity of a more serious nature...which is, the collector's having omitted to annex the poets names to his citations' (viii). The importance given to attribution by Oldys is underlined by his choice of words: this issue is of a 'more serious nature' than the other criticism he had. Talking about *Englands Parnassus* he points out the issue with misattributions (ix), but even worse than this collection is Cotgrave's *Treasury*: 'this is a more injudicious performance even than the last'

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[86] Estill, 'Urge to Organize', p. 45. The two copies of the book with Oldys's annotations are now in Bodleian Library, Douce CC223, and in British Library, 1451.c49, respectively.
[87] As argued by Estill, 'Urge to Organize', p. 44, n. 62, 'our notions of intellectual property are one of the contributing factors to why we seek to attribute (and organize) miscellanies'.

(xi), he says, because 'the author has annexed not one poet's name to his extracts throughout his book, nor even given a list of his authors in the front of it, by way of amends for omitting them' (xi-xii).

Another eighteenth-century critic, Edward Capell, annotated a copy of Cotgrave's *Treasury* (now in Trinity College, Cambridge). As Estill points out, he was a Shakespearean critic, so he only ascribed extracts from Shakespeare.[88] This activity was for eighteenth-century literary critics a way to participate in 'canon formation',[89] and a scholarly activity that continued for a long time: Estill shows that copies survive with nineteenth-century annotations adding attributions to the collection, and argues that this might be a 'compulsion... explained as a natural scholarly tendency'.[90] If Estill claims that 'modern scholarship necessarily follows in Oldys's footsteps', and that 'we cannot mimic the kind of early modern reading that accepts these texts without seeking to sort or categorize their contents in anew',[91] this chapter shows how it *is* possible to follow a different path when approaching these collections, in which identification is not at the centre of the analysis and the end goal for studying this material. As I have already shown in Chapter 1, moving away from a source oriented approach allows us to study these collections in their own right and gain a subtler understanding of how they work and what they have to offer to scholars of reception studies and beyond. One of the first steps when researching this kind of material is necessarily to get acquainted with the material in these collections, and this could entail working through the identification of each extract. However, scholars should not stop at that. In this chapter, focusing on the function of attributions (or the lack thereof) rather than the

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[88] Estill, 'Urge to Organize', p. 64.
[89] Richard Terry, *Poetry and the Making of the English Literary Past, 1660–1781* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 221–22.
[90] Estill, 'Urge to Organize', p. 64.
[91] Estill, 'Urge to Organize', pp. 64, 66.

identity of the authors, allows me to gain a subtler understanding of how compilers used attribution, to what ends, and also how they related to notions of authorship.

Finally, thinking about the general lack of attribution in these collections allows us to think about commonplaces and commonplace books as promoters of the idea of communality. As Margreta De Grazia claims, commonplaces belong to a 'communal ground,' like proverbs and sayings, they belong to what we would call now 'the public domain'.[92] Harold Love also reminds us, '[t]he very name commonplace (*loci communes*) indicates their status as a universal possession'.[93] What happens to the authorship of the extracts once they are decontextualised and appropriated somewhere else, as in the case of commonplace books and miscellanies? In one of his pretended moments of madness, Hamlet points out that his words are no more his once they have left his mouth and they go into the air.[94] This idea is also echoed by Peter Beal in *In Praise of Scribes*, when talking about the process of circulation and 'publication' of manuscript texts like the letters Sidney wrote to Queen Elizabeth I. He says there that once a text is 'launched into a relatively 'public' domain', it takes 'its natural course—as an autonomous, but in a sense living, and therefore inevitably changing organism; as a piece of communal property independent of its author'.[95] When circulated or published in manuscript, print or oral form, texts became part of the public domain, so equally snippets taken from them (as happens to proverbs and sayings) were also considered common property.[96] This idea of communality is also suggested by the various titles used for printed miscellanies and commonplace books, referring to their contents as 'commonwealth', or

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[92] De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 77.
[93] Harold Love, 'Originality and the Puritan Sermon', in *Plagiarism in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Paulina Kewes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 153.
[94] Cladius: 'I have nothing with this answer, Hamlet. These words are not mine.' Hamlet: 'No, nor mine now.' (3.2.94–96).
[95] Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*, p. 143.
[96] On proverbs as common property, see also Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*. On the topic of the author's disempowerment, and how the writer ceases to exercise control over his or her verse, and is forced to cede authority to readers see also Adam Smyth, *"Profit and Delight"*, p. 73. I talk more about this topic in Chapter 3.

banquets, places where goods are shared among many and become common possession.[97] Mary Thomas Crane, discussing sixteenth-century miscellanies such as *Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1578), considers how such collections, that promoted '[t]he common ownership of gathered matter', contributed 'to devalue the individual achievement of the author'.[98] The material collected in these collections was not only considered as a shared commodity available to be freely used by compilers, but as shown in the previous chapter, some compilers could make this material their own, presenting themselves as much as authors of the material collected.[99] Again, Crane considering sixteenth-century poetic miscellanies also suggests that

> If authors themselves had created their poems out of gathered matter, then editors and readers who gathered the poems had an equal right to "own" them. Indeed, the string of popular miscellanies published in the middle of the century seems to have gone some way toward establishing editorship—the judicious selection and rearrangement of poems—as equal, if not in some ways superior, to original authorship.'[100]

These attitudes towards the authorship claims of compilers and those of the original authors continue well into the seventeenth century, as I have shown in this chapter. However, I claim that whilst the practice of commonplacing promoted the circulation of material unattributed, it also contributed to raising awareness of the issues linked to this lack of acknowledgement, as

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[97] Names like 'Wit's Commonwealth' suggest that the extracts have become the common property of everyone, to be used to enrich one's wisdom. See Neil Rhodes, *Common: The Development of Literary Culture in Sixteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) for a full exploration of ideas of 'common' in the early modern period, especially chapter 1, 'Versions of the Common', pp. 3–27. Rhodes mentions how Erasmus placed the following sententia at the beginning of the *Adagia* printed by Aldus Manutius in 1508: *Amicorum communia omnia*. Rhodes, *Common*, p. 3, reads this as 'a statement—partly about friendship itself, but mainly about the idea of the 'common', particularly with regard to property'. He goes on to say that 'The broader concept of the *Adagia* speaks also to the principle of common property... in a literary sense. The collection represented a vast storehouse of literary resources and the work that Erasmus put into assembling it he saw as being for the public good. (*Common*, p. 5). This idea of public good recalls ideas of 'Commonwealth' suggested by the titles of the collections printed at the turn of the seventeenth century. Kathy Eden, *Friends Hold All Things in Common: Tradition, Intellectual Property, and the Adages of Erasmus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 162, has also pointed out that here '*res literaria* parallels *res publica*; the republic of letters—the common literary wealth—models itself on the political republic or commonwealth'.

[98] Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 169.

[99] See examples in the conclusion of Chapter 1, as well as the example of Cotgrave above.

[100] Crane, p. 169. See also Dobranski, p. 55, who claims that 'the act of commonplacing transformed readers into authors'.

it created constant debate and controversy among writers and readers alike, a topic I discuss in detail in the next chapter, and thus played a part in the process that saw 'In the last decades of the age the [increasing] demand for the explicit acknowledgement of sources'.[101]

2.4. Conclusion: is drama still visible?

In this chapter, I have moved away from focusing merely on the process of identification, and have instead directed my analysis on how attribution was used by compilers, so to offer a new perspective on how attribution functioned in seventeenth century collections. I have shown how attribution was not simply used as a reference tool, but how different compilers, creating different collections aimed at different readerships, could use attribution to different ends: some compilers used attribution as a means to organise their miscellanies, whilst others as a way to re-contextualise the extracts or to make material within their collections more traceable and retrievable. I have also shown how the use of attributions can also reveal the personal interest and attitudes of compilers towards texts and authors: as North shows, attribution was a free choice that reflected the personal taste of compilers.[102] Studying the selective use of attribution, particularly observed in manuscript compilations, tells us that compilers had criteria for making these choices: these could reflect personal preference, or the reputation of an author or text. However little importance might have been given to authorship in many cases, compilers were not unaware of its significance and, as I have shown, of its *use* in a collection. The discussions on authorship and the circulation of unattributed text started in this chapter are further developed in the next, where I explore how the practice of commonplacing, and especially the lack of acknowledgement of the material commonplaced, created much discontent among writers and 'good' practitioners. I claim that by generating criticism, the practice of commonplacing raised awareness of the issue and in

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[101] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 96.
[102] North, p. 209.

so doing indirectly contributed to the making of notions of authorship. As Paulina Kewes posits, 'this mode of appropriation', that is commonplacing and collection making, increasingly created 'anxieties about illicit copying' over the course of the seventeenth century, but also 'brought unacknowledged copying into the open'.[103]

Moreover, in this chapter I analysed examples from different forms of collections (miscellanies or commonplace books) and both manuscript and printed formats, to see if the form and medium of the collections affected attitudes towards attribution and authorship. I have found that both miscellanies and commonplace books were not centrally concerned with attribution as a means of acknowledging authorship, but attribution for organisational purposes is mostly used in miscellanies (commonplace books being already organised by thematic headings do not need to be further organised), whereas selective attribution (used for marking specific passages and making them more traceable) is used in both manuscript miscellanies and commonplace books. Print and manuscript collections were equally inconstant in their application of attributions, but the *treatment* of attributions has revealed a discrepancy between the two: not only was selective attribution not used in print collections (compilers either attributed all extracts or none at all), but the target of their attributions was different from that of manuscript compilations, attributions in manuscript being almost exclusively aimed at personal use, against the more public function of attribution in print collections, which were mostly used for marketing purposes. Harold Love claims that attitudes towards the ownership of texts in manuscript compilations was 'totally different' from printed texts, as there was a 'free trade attitude towards the handwritten text' and 'anonymous, scribally circulating documents...were regarded as available to all and no stigma attached to making use of them'.[104] Love seems to suggest that anonymity was more common in manuscript form than in print form, but as the examples analysed in this chapter have

[103] Kewes, *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, pp. 5, 8.
[104] Love, 'Originality and the Puritan Sermon', pp. 152–153.

shown, *Belvedere* and *English Treasury* both left their content entirely unattributed, and *Englands Parnassus* only gave half of the information necessary to trace the material to its source.[105] It is true that these printed examples were more exposed to public criticism, as I explore in the next chapter, *Belvedere* was publicly mocked in the Cambridge play *The Returne from Parnassus* (1606), and as seen earlier Oldys attacked all three printed compilations I analysed here for their lack of accuracy and attributions. However, anonymity was as common and accepted in printed collections as in manuscript compilations (most of the popular manuals from the middle of the century were left unattributed, as well as collections of Latin extracts like Farnaby's *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores*, and even Jonson's commonplace book, *Timber*, was published with no attributions).

Finally, the choice of attributions and the visibility of authors in these collections also raises questions of how these documents contributed to canon formation, which is one of the topics discussed in Chapter 4. Ann Moss affirms that documents such as *Englands Parnassus* show that 'English and English literature, perhaps precociously, had come of age', signalling that English literature had started to establish itself as such, as a distinct cultural category.[106] But how visible and distinct was vernacular drama in these collections? Often dramatic extracts in miscellanies and commonplace books were found among a variety of material from different sources: in Pudsey and Wright one finds them among classical and continental authors, English historical chronicles, and English poetry for instance. Even if dramatic extracts occupy fewer pages in these collections than the other material, plays are presented as their own category: as seen earlier, Pudsey uses the title 'Plays' on top of some pages, and Wright even distinguishes between the various genres of drama in the title preceding his commentaries and in the list he draws on folio 111r. Other examples discussed in this chapter

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[105] North, p. 159, also shows how common anonymity was in print, and points out that print and manuscript collections 'both influenced the attribution practices of the other medium in important ways', showing how 'manuscript and print cultures were not entirely separate spheres in early modern England'.
[106] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books* p. 210.

showed how songs were sometimes marked out in poetic miscellanies as their own category of material, however the lack of further information would make it difficult to know if the song was sourced from a play or somewhere else: for example, in Add MS 30982 a song taken from Middleton's *The Witch* is presented among other songs—one from Daniel's *Hymens Triumph* and the other from a sonnet by Strode— and tagged as '13 Songe' (f. 36v), not only making it impossible to trace it back to Middleton's play, but also making it impossible to distinguish it from the poetry around it.[107] Only when the title, or perhaps the name of a character was also added as in the examples of the songs taken from Shakespeare's *Tempest* in Egerton MS 2421, then the presence of dramatic material would be made visible in a poetic miscellany. However, in some collections, drama was basically invisible: in all those collections left with no attributions, but also those that did not provide enough information. I am thinking in particular of *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*. Drama played a very minor role in these collections: 54% of the extracts in *Belvedere* were taken from poetry, 13% to drama and 2.3% to prose; whilst 89% of *Englands Parnassus* was dedicated to poetry, and only 6.8% to drama and 3.5% to prose. Poetry is therefore the main focus of these collections: Bodenham in his list of authors allegedly present in his collection uses the term 'Moderne and extant Poets' (sig. A5v), but also mentions in the address to the reader that the extracts are 'excellent Sentences [that] have been in any presented Tragedie, Historie, Pastorall, or Comedie' (sig. A6r). However, once the reader is facing the unattributed extracts in the collection they would not be able to distinguish between extracts taken from poetry, drama or prose texts. Perhaps this was actually Bodenham's goal, to make this material

[107] North, p. 196, talking about the Dalhousie manuscripts, which contained 94 poems, only 7 of which were attributed, notices how an 'early outside reader'—that is, he/she was not an insider of the coterie circle that originally created the manuscripts—added headings to the poems, according to their genre ('satire', 'elegy') and a number when several poems of the same genre would appear, like in the example from Add MS 30982 that I have provided here. 'This reading', North says, 'imagined as that of the outside reader who does not know exactly which poems are Donne's, privileges genre rather than author, collective perspective rather than individual expression'.

undistinguishable from one another, by removing 'all traces of distinction, individuality, and provenance':[108] focusing on the dramatic extracts from Shakespeare's plays, it is noticeable that, often, these were commonplaced alongside extracts from *Venus and Adonis* or *Lucrece*.[109] Lastly, Allott attaches the name of authors to their extracts (even if sometimes erroneously) in his *Englands Parnassus*, but this information is not enough to distinguish extracts from poetry or drama. Moreover, Allott never mentions the presence of drama at any point in his collection, which he entitles 'The choysest Flowers of our Moderne Poets'. The focus on poetry is also underlined by the title of the subsection on page 341, a section dedicated to the 'Poeticall comparisons' and 'Descriptions of Bewties, Personages, Castels, Pallaces, Mountaines, Groves, Seas, Springs, Rivers, &c.', in which one finds mostly extracts from poetry, but also a few extracts from drama, which are presented as poetic material in this collection. Finding drama among poetry as in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* could be a reflection of how drama was perceived in 1600, but could have also affected how drama was read.[110] The misattributions in *Englands Parnassus* show, for example, 'that as a poet and a 'name' [Shakespeare] is comparable even with Spenser, since in *England's Parnassus* he has passages from *The Faerie Queene* attributed to him'.[111] Moreover, Rhodes, talking about the ambitions of these printed compilations, suggests that '[b]y showing that Parnassus, Helicon, and the garden of the Muses can all be found in England, they initiate the idea of a national literary canon, and by admitting drama to the canon they raise the status of writing for the

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[108] Neil Rhodes, 'Shakespeare's Popularity and the Origins of the Canon', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Emma Smith and Andy Kesson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 115.

[109] It is also worth noting that most playwrights collected here were also commonplaced for their poetry. The association of poetry and drama is also made clear in Cotgrave's title, as this mentions that the treasury is '*Collected out of the most and best of our English Drammatick Poems*'.

[110] Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania, 2013) explores what whole texts bound together with other kinds of texts can tell us about how the reader interpreted these different texts, but also how reading them alongside one another affects the reading experience and creates new intertextualities.

[111] Rhodes, 'Shakespeare's Popularity', p. 115.

stage to the condition of poetry.'[112] How the practice of commonplacing drama affected its status is further explored in the final chapter of this thesis, Chapter 4.

[112] Rhodes, *Common*, p. 298. See also Mayer, *Shakespeare Early Readers*, p. 147 (especially the section on 'The Manuscript Commonplace Books: A Generic Mix') where he claims that this generic mix 'shows how Shakespeare's text was aesthetically blended throughout the period with other types of literature'.

3. Playwrights and Commonplacing: Representing and Promoting Dramatic Extracts Within and Beyond the Play-Text

3.1. Introduction

So far I have been analysing the practice of commonplacing from the perspective of those who practiced it and the collections they created; in this chapter I aim to discuss commonplacing from the perspective of those who wrote plays, and analyse how they responded and engaged with this practice. Two main types of responses are analysed: in the first half of the chapter, I explore how the practice of commonplacing was dramatised by playwrights in their plays, in order to gain a perspective on the status of commonplace culture in the play-world itself. The dramatic representations of commonplacing are also compared to similar depictions portrayed in non-dramatic texts. In the second half of the chapter, I show how playwrights pointed out and directly, or indirectly, promoted the commonplacing of their own plays, through the use of verbal pointers (within the play or in the prologue) and sometimes, if more rarely, through the use of typographical marks, such as italics or quotation marks also known as 'commonplace markers'—I will mainly be focusing on those rare instances in which there is evidence that the playwright was directly involved in the choice of using such markers, which, otherwise, were usually the result of stationers' agency only.[1]

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[1] The examples of playwrights directly involved with the printing of commonplace markers were exceptions: G. K. Hunter's 'The Marking of *Sententiae* in Elizabethan Printed Plays, Poems, and Romances', *The Library*, 5, 6 (1951), 171–88, provides convincing evidence to make a case for Ben Jonson's involvement in the printing of *Sejanus*, for example, which I discuss in the final section of this chapter. However, these typographical marks were usually the sole domain of stationers, publishers and printers involved in the physical making of the text. Even playwrights like Shakespeare were not involved in these decisions. Kevin Petersen, 'Shakespeare and *Sententiae*: The Use of Quotation in *Lucrece*' in *Shakespeare and Quotation*, ed. by Julie Maxwell and Kate Louise Rumbold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 49, asks whether Shakespeare was involved in the decision of including commonplace markers in his poem *Lucrece*, the first of his texts to have been printed with such markers, and concludes that as 'the printed book's design was constructed by the publisher and not the author', then the decision of including commonplace markers was also down to the publisher: 'Shakespeare wrote the poem; but the publisher devised a material form to market the product that bore a sales strategy and reader's infrastructure rather than an artistic impulse'. I further discuss the presence of commonplace markers as a marketing device promoted by stationers in the next chapter. The argument that Shakespeare was not directly involved in the decision of including commonplace markers in his texts is also advanced by Adam Hooks, 'Shakespeare at the White Greyhound', *Shakespeare Survey*, 64 (2011), 260–75 (esp. p. 264), where he also posits that publishers like Richard Field (who published *Lucrece*) should not even be

This analysis will lead to a discussion of the status of the practice of commonplacing, and the cultural and social anxieties (not to mention fears of 'plagiarism') that it raised among writers and practioners alike.[2] What the chapter demonstrates is that despite the generally bad publicity given to the practice of commonplacing in the portrayals of it discussed here, playwrights also actively sought to promote the commonplacing of their works as a way to increase their popularity (and sales).[3] I also address the question often asked by scholars such as Tiffany Stern and Lukas Erne of whether Shakespeare wrote *for* commonplacing:[4] Erne in particular wonders whether or not Shakespeare was consciously writing for commonplace books to advance himself with this new, popular practice. He cannot give a conclusive answer, but he asserts that at least the bard 'is likely to have known that his plays were being excerpted'.[5] Through the examples of verbal pointing I am giving in this chapter, I aim to suggest that Shakespeare consciously engaged with the practice of commonplacing and promoted extracting from his plays.

The practice of commonplacing and, consequently, 'quoting *sententiae* appropriately' was 'basic to the Elizabethan educational system', as Charles Whitney reminds us in his *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama*.[6] Thinking and writing in fragments, thanks to the support of 'a commonplace book [which would] provide material for later use in conversation or

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considered a 'conduit' for Shakespeare's intent. Finally, Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, 'The First Literary *Hamlet* and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 59 (2008), 371–420 (p. 38), conclude that commonplace markers were 'made by a reader, not a dramatist', the first reader of a text being its publisher, in this case Nicholas Ling.

[2] *OED*, s.v. 'plagiarism', 1.1: 'The action or practice of taking some else's work, idea, etc., and passing it off as one's own; literary theft'. The *OED* gives 1621 as the first citation of the word. As I explain later in this chapter, the notion of plagiarism was not legally recognised until the eighteenth century, but it had already started to emerge as a concept in the first half of the seventeenth century, which is the period covered in this thesis. See also Dobranski, p. 7, who shows how 'authorial rights emerged gradually with the demise of patronage and the rise of a market system'.

[3] The degree to which this promotion was successful and effective is discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

[4] Stern, 'Watching as Reading', p. 144; and Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, pp. 229–32.

[5] Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, p. 232.

[6] Charles Whitney, *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 83.

writing' was a common practice,[7] and one that would not have been unfamiliar with playwrights: as Stern reminds us,

> A culture that works with commonplace books has a habit of thinking in snippets, in pieces of removable text. Playwrights in particular had a reputation for working from fragments, which is why they were often known, critically, as "playpatchers".[8]

This feature, however, was not always viewed as negative, on the contrary: John Cotgrave in the preface of his *English Treasury of Wits and Language* (1655), a printed commonplace book entirely dedicated to extracts from early modern English plays, boasts to have selected material from playwrights he considered 'the most fluent and redundant Wits that this age (or I think any other) ever knew', with 'many of them [being] so able Schollers, and Linguists' that they themselves 'culled the choicest Flowers out of the greater number of Greeke, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French Authors, (Poets especially) to embellish and enrich the English Scene withall' (sig. A2r). Here the nature of the sources used by these 'playpatchers' only improves and validates the quality of the work of these playwrights (not to mention that in so doing Cotgrave suggests that commonplacing from these English authors could also indirectly give access to the language, style and ideas expressed by authoritative writers like classical and continental authors). Writing using commonplaces taken from other sources would imply that playwrights also kept a commonplace book. Although not many examples of commonplace books belonging to playwrights survive, it seems reasonable to suggest that many playwrights used a commonplace book and wrote with the help of one: for instance, 'Shakespeare's recycling of phrases across plays, combined with what looks like a tendency

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[7] Marotti and Estill, 'Manuscript Circulation', p. 65.
[8] Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, p. 42. The expression, 'a Cobler of Poetry called a play-patcher', was first used by Thomas Dekker in *Newes From Hell*, 1606, sig. H1v.

to think and write in separate "passages"' would suggest that 'Probably, like his Hamlet, Shakespeare had a "commonplace" or "table" book'.[9]

That the practice of commonplacing was familiar in the early modern world is also confirmed by the many references to commonplacing and its many tools (such as commonplace books, table-books, miscellanies) found in texts. Sir Philip Sidney, in chapter 4 of his *Arcadia* (1590), writes about Amphialus' warlike preparations and how a false character like Amphialus could 'from true common-places, fetch downe most false applications' (sig. 256v). Thomas Nashe, in *Pierce Penilesse his supplication to the divell* (1592), uses the term 'common-place of abilitie' (sig. A3r) to compare the devil's many skills to a commonplace book with a plethora of abilities. In Greville Fulke's *The Tragedy of that famous Roman oratour Marcus Tullius Cicero* (1651), an actual table-book makes an appearance on stage, as the stage direction suggests: Tyro 'Takes out a Table-book, and writes' (sig. C4r).[10] The same happens in Philip Massinger's *The Roman Actor* (1629): Caesar 'Pulls out a Table booke' (sig. I3v) to sign the death of Domitia. And again, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Spanish Curate* (1647), it appears as a prop in a trial scene: 'A Bar. Table-

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[9] Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, p. 42. See also Mayer, p. 158, who talks about how 'The recent discovery of a dictionary, John Baret's 1580 *Alvearie*, with notes supposedly written in Shakespeare's hand, has reawakened the dream that there may have been a commonplace book composed by Shakespeare'. Mayer, p. 158, n. 63, comments on the 'highly questionable' nature of such evidence. He also mentions how 'Professional writers such as Nashe, Chapman, Webster and of course Jonson kept table books, that is portable notebooks. No such table book is evident in the case of Shakespeare' (p. 142), but gives no evidence or further reference on the matter. Ben Jonson's *Timber or Discoveries* (ed. by Ralph S. Walker (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1953) has long been considered as a printed version of Jonson's personal commonplace book. However, as Jane Rickard pointed out in her paper on 'Ben Jonson's Expert Readers' given at the biennial Society for Renaissance Studies conference held in Sheffield in July 2018, Jonson's *Discoveries* was too carefully constructed to be used as evidence of his reading. Finally, Robert William Dent's *John Webster's Borrowing* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960) is a collection of quotations used by Webster in his plays, especially *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi*, which Dent catalogued with the aim of proving that Webster was 'second to none in his dependence upon sources' (p. 3). He also observes that one common feature of Webster's process of composition, namely the 'concentration of borrowings from a single work, but from widely separated passages in that work' could be 'plausibly explained if we imagine Webster sometimes working at first directly from his source, but more often employing a commonplace book, in one part of which quotations were arranged by author rather than topic' (p. 16). The idea that Webster used a commonplace book for writing had also been previously suggested 'on stylistic grounds' by John Addington Symonds, Dent points out, who 'shrewdly conjectured that Webster used a commonplace book, but only for occasional lines of relatively prosaic sententiousness' (p. 4).

[10] This is what Tyro writes: 'Cal. Sex. An. ab urb. cond. D. CC. XX. Cornelius with other Centurions and Souldiers, to the number of 400 came in the behalf of the whole army to Rome, to ask of the Senate the Office of Consull for their Generall Octavius Caesar' (sig. C4r).

booke, 2 chairs, & paper standish set out' (sig. F2v). Hilton Kelliher refers to the fact that 'table-books', portable notebooks often used to note down extracts from live performances, are referred to 'in half a dozen plays and sonnets' by Shakespeare.[11] However, as I discuss in detail throughout this chapter, the practice was not without its critics and its use remained controversial throughout the seventeenth century, and beyond, as shown in Jean-Christophe Mayer's work on *Shakespeare's Early Readers*.[12]

This chapter does not attempt a comprehensive study of all representations of commonplacing in early modern texts, but instead offers a close analysis of the main types of dramatic representations of commonplacing (not just of plays but of texts in general), which I have divided into three categories. Examples of representations include instances in which the use of a commonplace book or similar (often the more generic term table-books is used instead) is explicitly mentioned, or when the action of copying and quoting other sources is explicitly performed and commented upon in the action of the play. I do not consider as representations of commonplacing the many instances in which characters quote other sources, as these are too abundant, but I engage with some of these examples when they interact directly with the representation I am analysing. Furthermore, some instances of characters quoting other sources will be used in the second part of this chapter, when I analyse how playwrights pointed out such commonplaceable material in their plays, either using typographical elements (quotation marks or italics) or verbal pointers.

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[11] Hilton Kelliher, 'Contemporary Manuscript Extracts from Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part I*', *English Manuscript Studies,* 1 (1989), 133–81 (p. 168). Kelliher mentions *A Winter's Tale* (IV.iv.598) and *Hamlet* (I.v.107) as examples. For more examples where table-books are either used on stage or mentioned see also Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, John Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, 'Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 55, 4 (2004), 379–419 (p. 380). The plays mentioned in this article which represent a table-book on stage are: *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Antonios Revenge*, *The Cuck-Queanes and Cuckholds Errants*, *The Sparagus Garden*, *Pandora*, and *The Fair Example*. The plays mentioning table-books within their dialogues are: *James, Slaine at Flodden*, *Every Woman in his Humor*, *Every Man Out of his Humour*, *Apollo Shroving*, *The City Wit*, *The Guardian*, and *The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman*.
[12] Mayer, p. 142.

3.2. Representations of commonplacing

3.2.1. Down with the poetasters

My first example is taken from Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* (1601). The story begins with Lorenzo Senior, a landed gentleman, who is worried about the education of his son, Lorenzo Junior. He follows his son to Florence, where he is worried his son's friends, and especially Prospero, a rich young gentleman, are distracting him from his studies with poetry and less virtuous activities. Thorello, a rich merchant and brother-in-law to Prospero, is also worried about the bad influence Prospero's friends might have on him and on Prospero's sister, Hesperida. Both Lorenzo Senior and Thorello wish for the younger generation to have a moral education, such as classical learning would have offered. The fear of moral corruption that comes with the shift of study from classical texts to vernacular poetry is one of the main topics discussed in the play, and one that was also a real concern in early modern England.[13] The passage in the play directly engaging with the practice of commonplacing is found in the final scene, Act 5, Scene 3 (I am looking here at the quarto version of the play). The scene is set at Dr Clement's house, where all the characters are found by the end of the play to be judged by the lawyer. Of particular interest is the judgment of Matheo, a town gull and aspiring poet. He is there with his friend Bobadilla to complain about having been attacked in the street by a Signor Giuliano, who wanted to quarrel with them. In the end, Bobadilla and Matheo are punished for their lack of courage and the latter also for being a bad poet, or, in other words, a poetaster. The interrogation leading up to Matheo's punishment offers the crucial representation of the practice of commonplacing: when Dr Clement asks Musco to tell him what kind of man Matheo is, Matheo declares that 'he is an author' (5.3.215). In response to this claim, Dr Clement quotes Horace's translation

[13] Commonplace books focusing on vernacular poetry such as *Belvedere* (1600) and *Englands Parnassus* (1600) had to present themselves as equally morally valuable as previous collections with a classical focus, as I also discuss in the next chapter.

of the beginning of the *Odyssey* (*Dic mihi, Musa, virum* 5.3.216), and encourages Matheo to join him in creating some extemporal poetry. As David Bevington points out, Clement here uses verses that parody heroic verse.[14] Clement, in a parodic tone, is showing off his knowledge of classical authors, but Prospero suggests that Matheo does not write in that 'height of style' (5.3.224). Clement therefore goes 'a step or two lower' (5.3.225), but his examples are only lower in terms of the geography they refer to (the Nile *versus* Greece in the previous example). Prospero thinks these examples are still 'too far-fetched' (5.3.229) for Matheo (also a possible pun, as the line was dragged all the way from Egypt).

As it is established that Matheo is not able to 'create' poetry extempore, his pockets are searched to reveal what kind of poetry he writes. What they find is 'a commonwealth of paper' (5.3.233-34), that is unbound leaves of paper covered in notes. This is something that surprises Clement, who had just paraphrased a few classical sources by heart in his extempore reciting (underlining the difference in education and status of the two characters).[15] Clement reads the first piece of paper and finds:

> Unto the boundless ocean of thy beauty
> Runs this poor river, charged with streams of zeal,
> Returning thee the tribute of my duty,
> Which here my youth, my plaints, my love reveal.
> (5.3.235-238)

He asks Matheo, 'Is this your own invention?' (5.3.239). Matheo answers: 'No, sir, I translated that out of a book called *Delia*' (5.3.240), that is Samuel Daniel's *Delia* (1592).[16]

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[14] *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. by David Bevington, 5.3.n.219, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler, and Ian Donaldson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014–) <https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/> [accessed 11 April 2019]. Unless otherwise stated I use this edition for Jonson's works.

[15] Jonson also often drew his detail 'out of fullnesse, and memory of my former readings', as he claims in the dedication of *The Masque of Queenes* (Dedication, ll. 35–6). However, quoting by heart also poses some problems: as Paulina Kewes, 'Historicizing Plagiarism', p. 6, points out, 'The role of memory raises the grey area of influences that are half-remembered or even forgotten'. This is especially important because 'It is the theft of the general idea that authors sometimes complain of, not the exact reproduction of the original'.

[16] See Bevington's note on Jonson's dismissive view of Daniel as a poet (*Ben Jonson Online*, 5.3.n.235). Robert S. Miola remarks that Samuel Daniel was 'the hottest sonneteer of the late 1590s' (Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. by Robert S. Miola (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 17), and how a large number of references to Daniel appeared around 1598, the year in which Jonson first wrote this play.

But Clement wants to read something that Matheo invented himself.[17] What Matheo presents him next is something he considers to be his own 'conceit' (5.3.249), even if he took the main idea of it from a ballad (5.3.249). It begins: 'In summertime, when Phoebus' golden rays' (5.3.246).[18] Clement's immediate response is that this is also just a copy, and not Matheo's work, probably recognizing the familiar ballad line. Prospero responds: 'No, this is invention. He found it in a ballad' (5.3.248). Here the word invention is used ambiguously, as it can both signify 'something invented or composed' or 'something found (Lat. *invenio, –ire*, to find)'.[19] After all, early modern writing was less about self-expression and creativity *ex nihilo*, and more about 'borrowing, appropriating, and recombining'.[20] In this commonplace book culture then it is easy to see how the ambiguity could arise: Prospero seems to say that the verse can be both Matheo's own work, but at the same time also something Matheo found in a ballad.[21] Matheo claims that this is 'the beginning of a sonnet [he] made to [his] mistress' (5.3.242), that is 'Madonna Hesperida' (5.3.243). Matheo therefore also believes that this is his own work. This is what makes his poetry problematic and questionable to men like Dr Clement: again, in a mocking tone, he argues with Matheo that he sees no conceit in these lines,[22] as he ironically asks to be fetched 'a couple torches' (5.3.250), in order to be able to see such a thing. This situation is however unsurprising to Prospero and Lorenzo Junior, who had heard and read his verse previously, in Act 3, Scene 4, when Matheo had gifted 'an elegy' (3.4.26),

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[17] *OED*, s.v., 'invent', 3: 'To find out in the way of original contrivance; to create, produce, or construct by original thought or ingenuity; to devise first, originate (a new method of action, kind of instrument, etc.). The chief current sense.'

[18] See Bevington's note: Matheo's line was 'The beginning of a popular ballad, registered to Richard Jones on 24 April 1558... named... "The Fall of Folly"' (*Ben Jonson Online*, 5.3.n.246).

[19] Bevington, *Ben Jonson Online*, 5.3.n.248. See also definition of 'invent' in *OED* above.

[20] Knight, *Bound to Read*, p. 94. See also Crane, p. 94.

[21] The idea that an extract could be both the work of the compiler and of the original writer is already discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

[22] *OED*, s.v., 'conceit', 1.a: 'Something conceived in the mind; a notion, conception, idea, or thought.'

which he claims to have written extempore of his own invention, to Hesperida.[23] The lines read:

> Rare creature, let me speak without offence.
> Would God my rude words had the influence
> To rule thy thoughts, as thy fair looks do mine;
> Then shouldst thou be his prisoner who is thine.
> (3.4.49-52)

Lorenzo Junior was the first one to react: 'this is in *Hero and Leander*!' (3.4.53); indeed the note in the online edition points out that these lines are a 'slight loose rendition of lines 199-204 and 221-2 from the first sestiad of Marlowe's immensely popular *Hero and Leander* (1598)'.[24] Most crucially, when Prospero asked Matheo 'who made these verses' (3.4.75) Matheo answered 'I made them extempore this morning' (3.4.76), completely concealing the fact that he took these lines from another source (unlike in the case where he confesses to have copied the sonnet from *Delia*).

If in Act 3, Scene 4, Matheo's actions as a poetaster are left unpunished, in the final scene of the play Giuliano and Lorenzo Junior, a scholar and aspiring poet, passionately intervene in the exchange between Prospero, Dr Clement and Matheo:

> **Giuliano:**
> Call you this poetry?
> **Lorenzo Junior:**
> Poetry? Nay, then call blasphemy religion,
> Call devils angels and sin piety;
> Let all things be preposterously transchanged.
> (5.3.252-55)

What Matheo is showing cannot be defined as poetry, according to Giuliano and Lorenzo Junior, unless words should be used to represent their opposite meaning (i.e. blasphemy for religion, devils for angels, sin for piety). These paradoxes powerfully convey Lorenzo Junior's outrage. If Clement and Prospero so far had simply ridiculed Matheo and shown him

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[23] It was actually Prospero who tricked Matheo into believing that he could pursue Hesperida (Lorenzo Junior reprimands Prospero for his 'villainy' as he 'gull[ed] with a *mot*' (3.4.46-47)).
[24] Bevington, *Ben Jonson Online*, 3.4.n.49.

his place by paraphrasing (by heart) classical sources, the attack purported by Lorenzo Junior here becomes decisively stronger and more serious. Lorenzo Junior's attack is grave, because his concern is that the status of poetry in general has been tainted by poetasters such as Matheo. When Lorenzo Senior reprimands him for his strong reaction against Matheo's poetry, he makes exactly this generalisation, as he says: 'You see / How abjectly your poetry is ranked / In general opinion.' (5.3.257-59). Lorenzo Junior's response to this is an apology for true, divine poetry and an attack of poetasters:[25]

> Opinion? Oh, God, let gross opinion
> Sink and be damned as deep as Barathrum!
> If it may stand with your most wished content,
> I can refel opinion and approve
> The state of poesy, such as it is,
> Blessèd, eternal, and most true divine.
> Indeed, if you will look on poesy
> As she appears in many – poor and lame,
> Patched up in remnants and old worn rags,
> Half-starved for want of her peculiar food,
> Sacred invention – then I must confirm
> Both your conceit and censure of her merit.
> But view her in her glorious ornaments,
> Attirèd in the majesty of art,
> Set high in spirit with the precious taste
> Of sweet philosophy, and, which is most,
> Crowned with the rich traditions of a soul
> That hates to have her dignity profaned
> With any relish of an earthly thought:
> Oh, then, how proud a presence doth she bear!
> Then is she like herself, fit to be seen
> Of none but grave and consecrated eyes.
> Nor is it any blemish to her fame
> That such lean, ignorant, and blasted wits,
> Such brainless gulls, should utter their stol'n wares
> With such applauses in our vulgar ears,
> Or that their slubbered lines have current pass
> From the fat judgements of the multitude,
> But that this barren and infected age
> Should set no difference 'twixt these empty spirits

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[25] Lorenzo Junior's defence is only found in Q1 and not in F1. As Miola remarks 'Jonson's Lorenzo Junior delivers here, and not in the revised version, a Sidneyan defence of Poetry. This defence culminates the concern with poetry that is pervasive throughout Q' (Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. Miola, p. 29). For more on the conventions of defence of poetry followed by Lorenzo Junior and how Jonson engaged with chapter 4 of Puttenham's *Of Poets and Poesy* (1598 edition), see Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. Miola, pp. 29–30.

> And a true poet – than which reverend name
> Nothing can more adorn humanity.
> (5.3.260-291)

What Lorenzo Junior takes issue with is that 'this barred and infected age / Should set no difference 'twixt these empty spirits/ And a true poet' (288-90): his own father, Lorenzo Senior, does not seem able to distinguish between the poetry of a 'true poet', like Lorenzo Junior, and the poetry of one 'empty spirit' like Matheo. Lorenzo Junior describes this type of poetry as 'poor and lame,/Patched up in remnants and old worn rags,/Half-starved for want of her peculiar food,/Sacred invention' (5.3.267-70), terms he had already used in Act 3, Scene 4, to describe the verse Matheo had gifted to Hesperida ('he / utters nothing but stol'n remnants' (3.4.63-64)). In that case, Lorenzo Junior was also very outraged by the fact that Matheo stole 'from the dead', that is, from Marlowe: 'A pox on him, hang him, filching rogue! Steal from the dead? It's worse than sacrilege' (3.4.66-67). The fact that Matheo's poetry is clearly made up of recycled material, 'old worn rags', and lacks its 'peculiar food, / Sacred invention' was also a main concern for Dr Clement, who complained about it when Matheo claimed the lines he copied from a ballad as his own.

The practice of commonplacing is fundamentally bound to the practice of writing poetry in this play, so much so that one depends on and qualifies the other. A bad poet is also someone who uses commonplacing badly, someone who utters 'stol'n wares' (5.3.284): commonplacing is often compared to the act of stealing when used by such bad poets. Again, the sentiment expressed by Lorenzo Junior in his defence is also shared by Jonson: in several of his epigrams Jonson complains about those who lacking of wit steal other people's, for example the 'Poet-Ape' (*Epigram* 56), or 'Prowl the Plagiary' (*Epigram* 81). The first only has 'frippery of wit' (l. 2), that is second-hand wit, he deals in 'brokage' (l. 3), again a second-hand business, and 'He takes up all, makes each man's wit his own' (l. 8). The

second, 'Prowl the Plagiary',[26] is very much like Matheo: 'For all thou hear'st thou swear'st thyself didst do' (l. 5). However, Jonson (if we assume that his own attitudes towards literary property are indeed reflected in these literary epigrams) believes that the work of these poet-apes and plagiarists can be easily singled out, as even with half-eyes open it would be possible to recognise whether 'a fleece' (*Epigram* 56, l. 13), that is, a poem was made 'From locks of wool, or shreds from the whole piece' (*Epigram* 56, l. 14), or, in other words, made from original material, digested by the writer himself as the bee digests the pollen to make his own honey, or else patched up together from fragments stolen from other whole pieces. What is being critiqued here is not commonplacing in general, but a particular, bad, version of it.

However, one is left to wonder how Dr Clement's *extempore* verse is different from Matheo's. Dr Clement quotes and paraphrases classical authors, creating a patchwork of other people's work; the only difference is that instead of having 'patched up' 'remnants and old worn rags' (like ballads or Daniel's sonnets), Dr Clement puts together material from classical sources like Horace. Dr Clement is quoting, paraphrasing and adapting his texts by heart, showing off his humanistic education, which promoted the use of commonplaces (primarily from classical or biblical texts), in order to improve one's eloquence. Matheo is a simple man, with basic education and of lower social status: he carries a 'commonwealth of paper' with him, material which he has copied but not organised in a proper commonplace book and which he has not memorised. The material condition of these extracts, found unbound on loose leaves, also suggests the occasional and lesser cultural value of the practice of commonplacing as practised by Matheo. A few examples of dramatic extracts found on individual loose leaves survive in the archives (see for example British Library, Egerton MS 2446 and Add. MS 41063), but their ephemeral nature made them more scarce. Their survival

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[26] See Colin Burrow's note to the title of this epigram: 'Prowl: The verb can mean "To obtain (something) by stealth, cheating, or petty theft…" (*OED*, 2a)' (*Ben Jonson Online*, *Epigram* 81). The *OED* cites *Poetaster* (4.3.83) as an example for the first use of 'Plagiary', in the sense of plagiarist (now obsolete) in 1602: 'Why? the Ditt' is all borrowed; 'tis Horaces: hang him Plagiary'.

would also have depended on them being part of a larger collection that would have been deemed worth preserving over the years. This means that the material of less educated commonplacers, like Matheo, is more likely to have been disposed of a long time ago. However, dramatic representations of this kind, as well as accounts such as I will analyse in this chapter remind us that the practice of commonplacing was not limited to the elite of society, but was more broadly practised than the extant, surviving evidence can tell. Finally, Dr Clement's use of quotation confers authority, whereas Matheo's is problematic and mocked. The cultural and social status of both compiler and material used therefore seem to be the main difference between the practice of making a 'new' text out of old texts as performed by Dr Clement and by Matheo: the gap between Matheo's ambition (he is aspiring to be an author and pursuer of a woman of higher social rank, Hesperida, sister to Thorello, a merchant), and both his lower status (Matheo is a simple town gull) and the low cultural status of the material he is using (a popular ballad and a sonnet from a vernacular author not favoured by Jonson) are the main issues here.[27]

This is what Jonson's characters express in the play-world, and while we of course need to avoid simply conflating dramatic representation with authorial belief, these reflections do not operate in complete isolation from reality: throughout this chapter I give examples from non-dramatic texts that also criticise the practice of commonplacing as practised by some less educated people using very similar arguments. As Michelle O'Callaghan has pointed out, printed miscellanies that became very popular in the 1640s all shared the common aim of providing public access (hence the common use of the term 'Commonwealth' in the title of printed miscellanies, as discussed in the previous chapter) to material that had once circulated exclusively in manuscript form within the private circles of the court and

[27] Matheo is making a fool of himself: as Bobadilla points out to him 'Signor, you abuse the excellency of your mistress and / her fair sister. Fie, while you live, avoid this prolixity' (3.4.40-1). Hesperida calls him an ass just a few lines below (3.4.74).

nobility, thus offering to the 'general reader' a privileged opportunity for self-improvement.[28] That commonplacing, a practice once only limited to the elite of society for study in the classroom of Classical texts, had become more broadly practised by individuals of lower social status and for material of lesser value was a phenomenon that created some anxieties in the early modern period.[29] Jonson's play tracks both the downwards (or outwards) dissemination of this practice, and these attendant anxieties. Ben Jonson himself in the address to the reader of his play *Sejanus* (1605) expresses the desire that 'none but the Learned' (sig. 2v) were 'presupposed' (sig. 2v) to deal with classical authors, as 'they are in *Latine*...the learned *Tongues*' (sig. 2v).[30] Jonson's complaint and claim that only those with a particular variety of education should meddle with such practices closely echoes Lorenzo Junior's defense for a poetry 'fit to be seen / Of none but grave and consecrated eyes' (5.3.280-81). In Lorenzo Junior's speech, what makes good poetry better than bad poetry is in the end just a difference of status: good poetry is an elevated art form, 'Set high in spirit', and is performed by noble poets, who do not have to meddle with 'earthly thought'. In contrast, poetasters like Matheo are described by Lorenzo Junior as 'lean, ignorant', 'blasted wits', 'brainless gulls', clearly attacking the lack of intelligence and education of these individuals.[31]

Finally, the practice of commonplacing should be read within the social context portrayed in the play and in relation with the '[c]lass conflict and social aspiration [that]

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[28] See Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Textual Gatherings: Print, Community and Verse Miscellanies in Early Modern England', *Early Modern Culture*, 8 (2010). Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture', p. 108, also writes about 'a connection between commonplacing and improvement (whether linguistic, moral, social, financial, spiritual)'. See also Rhodes, 'Shakespeare's Popularity', p. 115, n. 50, where he comments that commonplace books were used both 'by gentlemen and by those who saw it as a vehicle for achieving gentlemanly status'.

[29] This ambition of the lesser gentry concerned the more privileged, not only in the seventeenth century but also later on. As Mayer, p. 164, suggests, 'concerns about new social classes gaining access to knowledge and altering the political make-up of British society' were also the order of the day in the eighteenth century.

[30] As Mayer, p. 138, points out, the method of commonplacing 'had originally been developed for and practised by a small elite' and was limited to 'the study of classical authors'. Collections like *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* signalled 'a major change' as they promoted the 'commonplacing of Shakespeare and other writers and the ever-growing interest in vernacular literature'.

[31] *OED*, s.v. gull (definition 3.1.a): 'A credulous person; one easily imposed upon; a dupe, simpleton, fool'. The term in this definition was first used in 1594.

underlie the play and motivate much of its action'.[32] Identity and status, for example, could be changed through a change of clothes: this is a recurrent theme in the play, with examples such as when Stephano, Lorenzo Junior's cousin, is confused with Signor Giuliano when he appears in front of Bobadilla and Matheo because he is wearing Giuliano's cloak, and Musco is believed to be a varlet, just because of the suit he stole from Dr Clement's servant.[33] Through these clothes, which made him look 'courtier-like' (5.3.149), Musco did not only assume a new identity and status but was also able to usurp his 'phrase and action' (5.3.150), in order to deliver a deceptive message to Signor Thorello in Clement's name. Clothes gave him power.[34] Language was often considered as a commodity similar to clothing, which would allow one to assume a certain social status.[35] This is a common image used to describe commonplacing as practiced by those people of lower rank who lacked personal wit: as described in the satire *Faultes Faults, and nothing else but Faultes* (1606) by Barnaby Rich

> some wanting wit to coine conceits of their owne are driven to commit felonie, to steale from other men…so there be among them that will get jestes by heart, that have gathred a Common-place booke out of Plaies, that will not let a merriment slip, but they will trusse it up for their owne provision…and this they esteeme to be as good as a sute of Sattin, to grace themselves withall (sig. B4v).

Language in this description becomes something comparable to a fashionable item of clothing that can be bought and used 'as a sute of Sattin, to grace themselves withall' (B4v), that is to elevate themselves. Commonplacing made language more easily accessible and more easily

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[32] Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. Miola, p. 21.
[33] Ian Donaldson, '"The Fripperie of Wit": Jonson and Plagiarism', in *Plagiarism in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Paulina Kewes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 131–2, suggests that the act of stealing someone else's garments is to 'invade and appropriate a part of their very selfhood, and to masquerade under an alien identity', and, as in the example here of Musco stealing Dr Clement's clerk clothes, it is 'disruptive of conventional notions of the stable individual self'.
[34] Miola notes how Elizabeth I in 1597 complained in one proclamation about the current 'inordinate excess in apparel' and the 'confusion also of degrees in all places... where the meanest are as richly appareled as their betters' (Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. Miola, p. 19).
[35] See for example, Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, book 3 (ornament), chapter I, on poetry as clothing.

reusable as a commodity, as clothes to be worn and used for social advancement.[36] Again, as in the dramatic representations discussed in Jonson's play, these individuals are 'wanting wit to coine conceits of their owne' and so they have to 'steale from other men'. The parallel between commonplacing and clothes is meaningful also because it suggests that commonplaces, like clothes, are things not emanating from within the person but are acquired externally and taken on and displayed.

Rich also criticizes the new costume of poets and painters, who

> in diebus illis… were privileged to faine whatsoever themselves listen; but now…if he be not the Tailors Ape, I will not give him a single halfepenie for his work…if it be not fitte in the new fashion, he may go scrape for commendation (sig. B3r).

What Barnaby is describing here is a tendency of art to be limited by the popularity of a fashion which needs to be copied apishly. Here writers become the 'Tailors Ape' (a title very similar to Jonson's 'Poet-Ape'), and as in Matheo's case, their creativity is limited to cutting and patching together, like a tailor would do with fragments of cloth, only copying what is fashionable at that time (Matheo copied material that was very popular, and therefore also highly recognisable). The term tailor also recalls the pejorative term used to describe playwrights, 'playpatchers'. Concerning Jonson's *Epigram* 49 'To Playwright', Colin Burrow reminds us that even 'The word [playwright] was in use as a contemptuous term for a "mere mechanical fashioner of plays, rather than true poet" in Jonson's circle from c. 1605'.[37] A playwright could also be considered as a tailor, someone sewing together pre-existent pieces.

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[36] In *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* (1658), Edward Phillips complains about women using the material of these miscellanies for social advancement, as he laments that 'a wench of fourteen... such a Lass defeat a Gentleman of some years standing at the Inns of Court' (sig. A5r). See also Smyth, 'Commonplace Book Culture', and O'Callaghan, 'Textual Gatherings', for the social aspirational aspect of the practice of commonplacing and printed miscellanies in seventeenth century England.

[37] See Burrow's note to the title in *Ben Jonson Online*, *Epigram* 49.

Another non-dramatic example that uses similar ideas, is offered by John Stephens, from Lincoln Inn, in his *Satyrical Essayes Characters and Others* (1615). Writing about a Lawyer's Clerk he says:

> his best education hath beene at a dull Writing-schoole. He doth gladly imitate Gentlemen in their garments… hee woes with bawdery in text; and with Iests, or speeches stolne from Playes, or from the common-helping *Arcadia.* (pp. 275-276)

The clerk described here is poorly educated, but aims to look like a gentleman (again, garments play a role in fulfilling this ambition).[38] He steals lines from plays and *Arcadia*, but he misuses this material, as he woos with bawdy, inappropriate, material. The issue here is not the kind of material commonplaced, but the lack of education (and intelligence) of the commonplacer, who is not able to use that material adequately. These concerns with identity, education and social status are central in *Every Man in his Humour* as well. In the trial scene social order is re-established when Musco reveals all his disguises and goes back to his normal garb; Dr Clement orders Giuliano to retrieve his cloak from Stephano; Matheo is exposed and his punishment is jail for one night, public ridicule by singing a ballad, and wearing 'an old suit of / sackcloth and the ashes of [his] papers' (5.3.305-06).[39]

A similar, albeit slightly different example of dramatisation of commonplacing taken from another play by Jonson can be found in *Cynthia's Revels* (1600). Here again social ambition, as well as the ambition of a wooer to conquer his beloved, are the themes across which attitudes to commonplacing are articulated. However, in this case commonplacing is presented as a practice fundamental to a gentleman's education, and instead of being ridiculed in a trial kind of scenario, is encouraged and promoted in a more classroom-like setting. In

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[38] See note 34 above on Elizabethan sumptuary laws which determined a very concrete relationship between clothing and social rank. See also Rhodes, 'Shakespeare's Popularity', pp. 117, 118, who notes that 'during Elizabeth's reign there were various attempts to reinforce the 1554 Act of Apparel, which stipulated what certain ranks could or could not wear', and that theatres broke these rules on a daily basis, common actors dressing up as noble men and kings.

[39] Bevington notes that the attire Matheo is made to wear is 'biblical penitential attire... here made satirically appropriate by the use of ashes from the burned books' (*Ben Jonson Online*, 5.3.n.306).

Cynthia's Revels we find Asotus, a figure in many ways similar to Matheo, a fool who wants to become a courtier, and his coach in courtly learning, Amorphus. In Act 3, Scene 5, Amorphus is training Asotus in the art of wooing and courtly manners, and having taken up the role of lady Lindabrides he asks Asotus to say some words of his own invention, a request which echoes that of Dr Clement to Matheo in *Every Man in his Humour*. In response to this request Asotus delivers a few dull words before turning to a quotation from a play: in Q1 this is a line of blank verse 'untraced but seemingly from the prologue of a play' and a reference to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*;[40] in F1 the lines are borrowed from Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, showing that Jonson was making sure his jokes and references were kept up to date and relevant for a 1616 readership.[41] Amorphus explicitly asked for words born from Asotus's 'proper Genius, without adiection of any other Minerva' (3.5.81), but he seems to have forgotten his own instructions as he is now very pleased with Asotus using someone else's words. Paradoxically, he even promotes this practice:

> if you could picke out more of these play-particles, and (as occasion shall salute you) embroider, or damaske your discourse with them, perswade your soule, it would most indiciously commend you (F1, 216).

Again, the fine line between invention and copy is dramatised here, as well as the clothing metaphor, and the idea that language can be a commodity, like a beautiful cloak which can be used to embellish one's discourse. This example is also pervaded by a sense of irony, but with the addition of portraying the commonplacing, or quoting, specifically of a vernacular play.

Finally, what is striking is the amount of references and quotations that Jonson uses in his plays to criticise or ridicule the practice of commonplacing. As Miola points out, '[a]s a poet and playwright Jonson practises on a large scale what he preaches. In *EMI* he

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[40] See *Cynthia's Revels*, ed. by Eric Rasmussen and Matthew Steggle, 3.5.n.94, in *Ben Jonson Online*.
[41] The exact lines from Kyd's play are: 'And she in time will fall from her disdain, / And rue the sufferance of your friendly pain' (*Spanish Tragedy*, 2.1.7–8). It is possible that the reference to Kyd might be an indirect attack of Shakespeare who also borrowed and imitated Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* for his *Hamlet*.

appropriates and transforms classical, medieval, and, to a lesser degree, Italian texts and traditions'.[42] The difference between what Jonson is doing and what characters like Matheo or Asotus are doing is all in the manner in which the sources are used: the bad poet simply repeats the verses of his betters, whilst the good poet transforms and imitates using his own creativity. Jonson does not simply patch together the best flowers, but also tempers and digests their pollen and by his own virtue transforms the pollen into honey, to use Seneca's metaphor. Finally, even if the practice of commonplacing was often associated with dramatists, 'it became a source of pride to claim that good writers did not use a table-book'.[43] Jonson in the address to the reader of his *Sejanus* (1605) is very uneasy about the fact that he used '*Quotations*' (sig. 2r) in the play, so much so that he feels the need to justify this choice and explains that the only way he is using quotations is to 'shew [his] integrity to the *Story*' (sig. 2v). Jonson otherwise wants to let the reader know that he 'abhor[s] nothing more' (sig. 2r) than quotation, and especially if used like 'those common Torturers' (sig. 2v), the compilers of collections like *Belvedere: or the Garden of the Muses*. He describes these collectors of quotations as 'Swine spoyling, and rooting up the *Muses* Gardens' (sig. 2v) (Jonson is referring here to the subtitle of *Belvedere*) and 'like Moles, as blindly working vnder Earth to cast any, the least, hilles upon *Vertue* (sig. 2v). As a good poet, Jonson's job is not to spoil and cover the virtues of Classical texts, but to make them shine and give them new life in his texts. The next section of the chapter takes the ideas of theft and 'plagiarism' already raised here and develops them further, in order to discuss how playwrights engaged with these categories.

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[42] Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. Miola, p. 32.
[43] Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 413. The example given is Richard Broome's dedicatory poem 'To the memory of the deceased but ever-living Author in these his Poems, Mr. John Fletcher' in *Comedies and Tragedies* (London, 1647), sig. G1r. Brome praises Fletcher as a writer who never stole from other wits. Mayer, *Shakespeare's Early Readers*, p. 142, also points out how this was 'a touchy subject, in the sense that it posed the question of the originality of creative writing with acuteness'.

3.2.2. Out with the thieves

In the seventeenth century, literary property was not regulated. Copyright was not officially regulated until the beginning of the eighteenth century: the 1710 Statute of Anne gave authors 'sole control of a text for a period of fourteen years, renewable for a further fourteen years if the author were still alive'.[44] The statute 'recognized the author as a possible proprietor', however, the ownership of texts remained in the hand of booksellers until 1774:[45] as Shef Rogers points out, booksellers 'long accustomed to treating titles as tradable stock and managing their own affairs through the Stationers' Company, were very reluctant to cede ownership to authors'.[46] Until then ownership was not an 'innate right of the author', and writers could claim that a text was theirs only 'before it was made public': as De Grazia points out, until then '[a]n author might by common law own his work in manuscript, but once it was reproduced in print he forfeited that right'. So, when a text like a play was given to the players or printers, 'it was legally (and physically) out of the author's hands'.[47]

By the same token, an author could not control how his texts were read, extracted, re-appropriated and re-used in other texts. The relationship between text and author in the early modern period was therefore not straightforward and, as seen in Chapter 2, acknowledging sources was not common practice in the first half of the seventeenth century. It was only towards the end of the century that 'the demand for the explicit acknowledgement of sources intensified'. This is also when 'a new perception of the relationships, links, and affinities between old texts and new ones' emerged, especially in relation to 'the licence of authors to

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[44] Shef Rogers, 'Imprints, Imprimaturs, and Copyright Pages', in *Book Parts*, ed. by Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 58. For further details about this statute see also Margreta, De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 184–5, 191.
[45] De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, p. 191.
[46] Rogers, p. 59.
[47] De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, pp. 185, 188–9. A playwright like Shakespeare would have not owned his plays in his role as writer but only (at least partially) in his role as shareholding member of his acting company.

appropriate older texts'.[48] After the Restoration many older plays were adapted and re-written by contemporary authors (see for example the many plays by Shakespeare adapted by later playwrights). How texts could circulate without any acknowledgement of their original authors is also something denounced in the representations analysed in this chapter: as seen earlier, Jonson lamented the lack of control over his 'intellectual property' in some of his *Epigrams* (56; 81; 100) and clearly despised plagiarists (100), who could claim as theirs the work of others. The first regulations on copyright were based on laws made for the defence of private property: John Locke's ideas on the matter 'figured prominently in the debates over literary property'.[49] So John Dennis in 1711 wrote:

> As Laws are made for the Security of Property, what pity tis that there are not some enacted for the Security of a Man's Thoughts and Inventions, which alone are properly his?[50]

Securing 'a Man's Thoughts and Inventions' was certainly a concern that had been expressed before 1711 by writers such as Ben Jonson. In 1691, Gerard Langbaine discussed at length the precise nature of an act of plagiarism in his *Account of the English Dramatic Poets* with the aim to 'distinguish legitimate literary borrowing from plagiarism, the borrowers from the thieves'.[51] Paulina Kewes analyses in great depth the contribution made by Langbaine to the study of plagiarism and property,[52] and points out how Langbaine not only aimed to list all the sources used by the dramatic poets he mentions, but also sought to discuss how those sources were used. In his entry on Dryden, he makes one very important point about the difference between plagiarism and legitimate literary borrowing that is worth stating here: 'only plots (ideas, themes, sentiments) can be borrowed legitimately, whereas the language

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[48] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 96.
[49] De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, p. 179. De Grazia also explains that 'In his "Second Treatise of Government", written sometime around 1688, Locke made the concept of private property fundamental to civil society and government'.
[50] John Dennis, 'To the Spectator' (1711), in *Critical Works*, ii. 27 (as quoted in Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 96).
[51] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 117.
[52] Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, pp. 96–129, dedicates a whole chapter to it, titled 'Plagiarism and Property'.

(style, words, expression) must be altered if the work is not to degenerate into literary theft'.[53] Despite the lack of regulation and the fact that authors did not technically own their texts, plagiarism was an emerging but still inchoate concept and concern in the first half of the seventeenth century, and as seen in the accounts analysed so far, it is precisely the theft of linguistic form that is being condemned (as when Matheo in *Every Man in his Humour* claims as his own creation lines copied from Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* or as expressed by Jonson in *Epigram* 81 'Prowl the Plagiary' seen earlier).[54] Playwrights were aware that other writers could steal their work: Jonson in *Epigram* 100 accuses other playwrights, who 'by chance hearing some toys I'd writ, / Cried to my face they were th' elixir of wit' (ll.1-2), to have then stolen 'Five of [his] jests' (l. 4), which are now appearing in their plays.[55] However, even Jonson was accused of plagiarism: John Dryden, in his *Works* said of Jonson, 'He invades Authors like a Monarch, and what would be theft in other Authors is only victory in him'.[56] Christopher Ricks points out how 'By the time Dryden was writing *Of Dramatic Poesy* [that is around 1668]... Jonson's borrowings required a defence' when forty years earlier Jonson had been praised by Inigo Jones for his translation, imitation and borrowing.[57] Ben Jonson played a fundamental role in the gradual emergence of the notion of plagiarism: as Ian Donaldson eloquently puts it

> Ben Jonson is for two reasons a central figure in the history of plagiarism in England. During his lifetime he contended vigorously against various forms of literary theft, introducing to the language a number of words, still in common currency, to

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[53] As paraphrased by Kewes in *Authorship and Appropriation*, p. 116.
[54] On plagiarism and the rise of authorial identification in the seventeenth century see Loewenstein, pp. 104–32 (chapter 4, 'Jonson, Martial, and the Mechanisms of Plagiarism').
[55] In *Tarugo's Wiles*, 'a table-book is... imagined as the prop of the plagiarizing dramatist' (as quoted in Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', pp. 413–14).
[56] On Ben Jonson, in the *Works* of John Dryden, pp. 57-8. However, Dryden's comment was originally not meant to be a criticism: Kewes, 'Historicizing Plagiarism', p. 5, explains that Dryden's comment was intended to 'justify and vindicate' Jonson's use of sources. She comments that it is only in a 'postcolonial era [that] this becomes interpreted as negative and as a condemnation'.
[57] Christopher Ricks, 'Plagiarism', in *Plagiarism in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Paulina Kewes (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 31, n. 36.

> describe the practice. After his death he was ironically regarded in many quarters as something of a thief himself.[58]

Playwrights were also aware of the fact that their plays were being mined by playgoers specifically for their language as the many representations of characters filling their notebooks with dramatic extracts show (see for example Jonson's Sir Politic Would-be, in *Volpone*, who collected '*notes* / Drawne out of *Play-bookes*' (sig. M2r)).[59] As Tiffany Stern has noted, 'one important pull of the theatre was its use of language. First, plays provided a source of jests and anecdotes; they supplied the quips and one-liners that could be used to spice up conversation later'.[60] However, playwrights also depicted their clear discontent in such activity: in the Prologue of *The Custome of the Countrey* (1647), Beaumont and Fletcher wish 'injurie' to 'any man, that brings his Table-booke/ To write downe, what againe he may repeate/ At some greate Table, to deserve his meate' (sig. Dd1r).[61] Heywood looked suspiciously at all people who brought a table-book to his plays, especially the popular ones such as *If you know not mee, You know no body*, first published in 1605. In the 1639 edition of the play, he added a prologue in which he describes how 'some by stenography drew / The plot: put it in print: (scarce one word trew)' (sig. A2r). His fear of piracy was already made clear in the epistle to his *Rape of Lucrece* (1608), where he justified his decision to publish this text as a way to rectify other inferior versions 'coppied onely by the eare [that] had reached the printers' hands' (sig. A2r). Short-hand, or stenography, would allow note-takers to transcribe long texts even when delivered at speed and made it easier to transcribe rapid

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[58] Donaldson, p. 123. In *Poetaster* Jonson uses the term 'plagiary', which is the first recorded use of the word in the *OED* (see note 26 above). The scene very much echoes Matheo's trial, in that Crispinus, a pretend poet, sings verses that he claims to be his, when the poet Tibullus recognises them to be by Horace: 'The ditty's all borrowed!', Tibullus exclaims, ''tis Horaces; hang him, *plagiary*' (4.3.96-6). However, Donaldson, p. 124, points out that, paradoxically, Crispinus's song, 'Love is blinde, and a wanton', 'bears no resemblance to any known work by Horace'.

[59] Simon Palfrey and Tiffany Stern, *Shakespeare in Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 77.

[60] Tiffany Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, p. 20.

[61] Beaumont and Fletcher, in the prologue of the play, also prompt the Gentleman not to get distracted, because the play is 'quicke and witty' and 'one point unmark'd, the whole is lost' (sig. 25).

speech.[62] Stern suggests that 'various commonplace-books survive crammed with passages from performed, rather than printed, Shakespeare plays'.[63] This means, Stern continues, that 'passages, perhaps whole plays, might be "bookt" in the playhouse;' and that 'sections of the performed play could be learned, mulled over, despised, published – all carried away from the theater by the means of writing'.[64]

The examples above are taken from the prologues of plays, and therefore express more directly the playwrights' voice, but many more examples of theatre-goers 'stealing' lines are dramatised in plays. Often, these representations turned into satirical commentaries mocking the gallants in the theatre who would note down jests (like Sly in Webster's Induction to Marston's *The Malcontent* (third edition, 1604) and satirized by Dekker in his *Guls Horne-booke* of 1609).[65] Marston explicitly satirized the practice of commonplacing plays with his character Luscus in the 10th satire of the *Scourge of Villainy* (1599). Luscus here is presented as a regular playgoer, who knows which plays are played every day, and the best actors of London theatres, but who is not able to speak about anything other than plays or players. Luscus 'hath made a common-place booke out of plaies, / And speakes in print' (sig. H4r). In fact everything he does, writes, speaks, jests, comes 'all from out his huge long scraped stock / Of well penn'd playes' (sig. H4r). This way Luscus thinks to be a more convincing courtier, as he feels 'warranted by Curtaine *plaudities*' (sig. H4r). Moreover, Marston, like Barnaby and Stephens above, satirizes the inappropriateness of the dramatic language chosen: so as

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[62] This was a practice also very commonly used to transcribe whole sermons, see Stern, 'Sermons, Plays and Note-Takers', pp. 1–23.
[63] Stern, 'Watching as Reading', p. 144. See also the example of the extracts from *Othello* in Edward Pudsey's miscellany discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis.
[64] Stern, 'Watching as Reading', p. 144.
[65] See Kelliher, p. 169. See also Dekker's *Guls Horne-booke*, p. 32, where the playwright writes about 'How a Gallant should behave himself in a Play-house'.

Stephens's clerk unduly 'woes with bawdery in text' (p. 276), Luscus courts Lesbia's eyes by speaking movingly 'from out some new pathetique Tragedie' (sig. H4r).[66]

Plagiarism and felony (stealing) are recurrent accusations drawn against commonplacers. One famous example is provided by the Cambridge play *The Returne from Parnassus* (1606), where the compiler of the printed commonplace book *Belvedere*, John Bodenham, is publicly mocked. In scene two of the play, the two protagonists, Ingenioso, a corrector of the press, and Iudicio, a poet, are complaining about people like John Bodenham, 'those young Can quaffing hucksters' (mercenaries), who publish commonplace books like *Belvedere*. Iudicio says that he would rather see them 'shoot of their pellets so they would keepe them from these English *flores-poetarum*' (sig. B1r). He then describes the activity of commonplacing, such as performed by Bodenham, as stealing, and compares those commonplacers to 'an old goose [which] sits hatching up those eggs which have ben filcht from the nest of Crowes and Kestrells' (sig. B1r). This metaphor not only compares commonplacing to stealing, but also presents again a concern with status and the gap between bad compilers, who are of inferior status (they are geese), appropriating the material of their betters (the crows and kestrels). For Iudicio this is an immoral act and one that allows even the less educated to appropriate such material and misuse it. What is new here is that Bodenham is not only commonplacing for his private use, but he is commonplacing for a wide public, making accessible material that was once only the domain of the elite, and also showing in print for the first time that vernacular authors, and in particular vernacular playwrights, could also be used as a source of commonplaceable material. The elite Cambridge students that wrote *The Returne from Pernassus* in 1606 clearly did not like how the practice of commonplacing had been popularised by Bodenham both in terms of the authors commonplaced and the kind of readers it addressed.

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[66] Compare this with my discussion below of how Jonson worried about the ignorant reader (*Epigram* 58 'To Groom Idiot'), who would read his work carelessly and laugh in the wrong places.

An actual copy of *Belvedere: or The Garden of the Muses*, is shown on stage, as Iudicio and Ingenioso use it to give a very detailed and harsh critic of its every aspect. Iudicio begins by mocking the title of the book: instead of *Belvedere* he calls it 'a belwether in Paules Churchyeard, so cald because it keeps a bleating, or because it hath the tinckling bel of so many Poets about the neck of it' (sig. B1r). In St Paul's Churchyard one could find the majority of book-shops, and there the voice of writers would be heard in the form of pamphlets, quartos, octavos, broad sheets. In this case, the voice produced by such a book is a 'bleating', which continues the belwether pun, but also scornfully describes the human voices as displayed in the book.[67] The other explanation for such a title is that it is so called because 'it hath the tinckling bel of so many Poets about the neck of it' (sig. B1r). This book is like the leading sheep of a flock, with not just one bell, but many, corresponding to the multitude of the poetic voices contained in it. This image implies that the readers of such a book are like sheep, slavishly (and unintelligently) following the multiple voices of the bell-wether. The choice of using such a negative bucolic image has the function of directly mocking the aspirational bucolic images used in the paratext of *Belvedere* itself, where images of multitude and beauty in nature were used to advertise the collection as a garden full of flowers which would elevate the reader to the level of the sacred mountain Parnassus, where the Muses lived.[68] Ingenioso also criticises the second part of the title, *The garden of the Muses*, which states clearly the ambition of the compiler, but which to Ingenioso only has a similar effect as a 'garish gayly bedeket like fore horses of the parish' (sig. B1r).

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[67] *OED*, s.v. 'bell-wether' (definition 1): 'The leading sheep of a flock, on whose neck a bell is hung'. *OED*, s.v. 'bleating' (definition 1): the crying of a sheep, goat, or calf; also *contemptuously* said of human utterances'.
[68] On the title page of *Belvedere* one finds printed the image of Mount Parnassus with the inscription *Digna Parnasso et Apolline* (see Fig. 29 below).

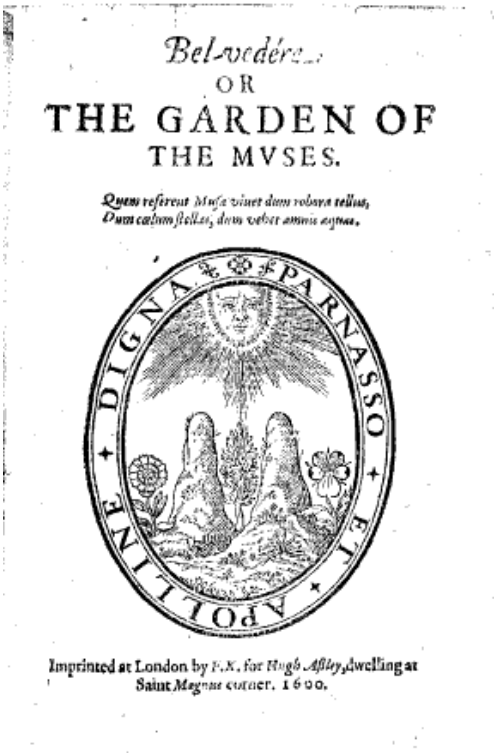

Belvedére:
OR
THE GARDEN OF
THE MVSES.
Quem referent Musæ vivet dum robora tellus,
Dum cælum stellas, dum vehet amnis aquas.
DIGNA PARNASSO ET APOLLINE
Imprinted at London by P.S. for Hugh Astley, dwelling at
Saint Magnus corner. 1600.

Fig. 29: *Belvedere* (1600), title page.

Even the Latin motto on the title page (Fig. 29), '*Quem referent musae, vivet dum robora tellus /Dum caelum stellas, dum vehit amnis aquas*', which is an ode to the poet and eternal life ('The man of whom the Muses tell shall live while the earth bears oaks, while rivers hold water, while the heavens sail the stars', taken from Tibullus's *Elegies* (I, iv, 65-66), is parodied in Iudicio's translation of it:

> Who blurres fayer paper, with foule bastard rimes,
> Shall live full many an age in latter times:
> Who makes a ballet for an ale house doore,
> Shall live in future times for ever more.
> Then ([Bodenham]) thy muse shall live so long,
> As drafty ballats to thy praise are song. (sig. B1r)

The Latin motto is addressed to the readers of the commonplace book, but the only way Iudicio can read this motto is with irony: what the motto is promising, eternity, is a doomed ambition for someone who would use such a commonplace book. The users of *Belvedere* are going to be, in Iudicio's opinion, simple poetasters, who will waste good paper with foul, dirty bastard rhymes (rhymes that are not the offspring of the writer, that have been stolen from others), and will write a 'drafty' (garbage) ballad to stick on an ale house door, which

would soon after have to be disposed of.[69] Next is the devise on the title-page, the emblem with Mount Parnassus and the sun. Iudicio says that 'his devise might have bene better a foole going in to the market place to be seene, with his motto, *scribimus indocti*, or a poore beggar gleaning of eares in the end of harvest, with this word, *sua cuique gloria*' (sig. B1v). Again, the attack is against the poetasters, who, unskilled, will write using this commonplace book. Iudicio is using here an excerpt from a line from Horace, which in its entirety read 'Skilled or unskilled, we write poetry, all alike.'[70] Clearly, this is not what Iudicio thinks. In conclusion, Ingenioso and Iudicio declare that those who write not out of inspiration but out of need are 'Fellowes that stand onely upon tearmes to serve the tearme', who 'with their blotted papers write as men goe to stoole, for needes', can only 'write as a Beare pisses, now and then they drop a pamphlet' (sig. B3r). Such an excretion of digested commonplaces is compared to a bodily function; necessary for survival, perhaps, but thoughtless, base, and, in the case of the bear, expelled sporadically. These are the type of writers who would use 'Belvedere, this methodicall asse' (sig. B3r): they are geese, stealing kestrels' eggs, they are uninspired fools, who copy lines without understanding them, and then use them inappropriately.

Finally, Iudicio and Ingenioso also review the names of the authors listed in the preface of *Belvedere*: Spencer, Constable, Lodge, Daniel, Watson, Drayton, Davis, Marston, Kit, Marlowe. Ingenioso calls them 'Good men and true' (sig. B1v), but then proceeds to review each one of them, often in a mocking tone. Relevant to the dramatisation of the practice of commonplacing are the reviews of Daniel and Jonson. Daniel is criticised for imitating Petrarch too much, and encouraged to use his own wits (perhaps this is why Jonson had a poor opinion of Daniel, as seen in the example from *Every Man in His Humour*): he 'doth wage / Warre with the proudest big Italian....Onely let him more sparingly make use, /

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[69] *OED*, s.v. 'drafty' (definition 1): 'Of the nature of refuse or garbage; rubbishy, worthless; filthy, vile'. The *OED* quotes this passage as example of usage of the word 'drafty', now obsolete.
[70] 'Unskilled, we write.' From Horace, *Epistles* II, i, 117: *scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim*, 'skilled or unskilled, we write poetry, all alike'.

Of others wit, and use his owne the more' (sig. B2r). Ingenioso claims that Jonson is an empirical poet,

> one that getts what he hath by observation, and makes onely nature privy to what he endites, so slow an Inventor, that he were better betake himselfe to his old trade of Bricklaying, ... as confident now in making of a booke, as he was in times past in laying of a brick. (sig. B2v)

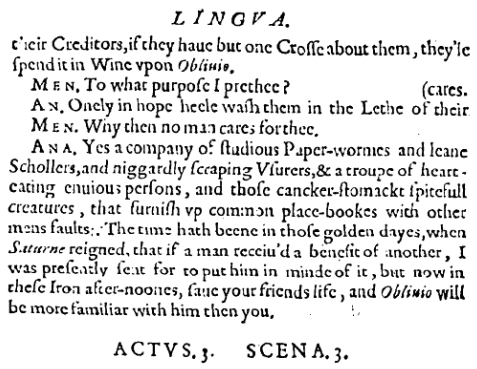
The review starts with a positive, but clearly ends on a negative tone. The thing for which Jonson is praised is his originality and invention, concepts which his characters Dr Clement, Lorenzo Junior and Amorphus were using to distinguish between a good and a bad poet. However, the irony here is that this idea of Invention is also used to criticise Jonson and mock him for his social background, as he is 'so slow an Inventor, that he were better betake himselfe to his old trade of Bricklaying'. Even though Jonson boasted so much about his classical learning in his plays, his social background remained an easy target for mockery: he is also called 'The wittiest fellow of a Bricklayer in England' (sig. B2v). Social status was also an element of discrimination in the plays seen so far, and might have been something for which Jonson himself was mocked.[71]

The very last example of representation of commonplacing I want to analyse here is a passage that was actually copied in a manuscript commonplace book from around the 1630s, MS Rawlinson D 952. The extract was taken from Thomas Tomkis's *Lingua* (1607), from a prose dialogue between Mendacio, Lingua's page, and Anamnestes, Memory's page. Anamnestes is expressing his pain at seeing that 'an vglie foule idle, fat, dusty clog-head, called *Obliuio*' (sig. E4r) is being preferred to him by 'Courtiers' (sig. E4r), but also 'swagerers...bound to their Creditors' (sig. E4r-v). Mendacio asks if no man cares about

[71] Jonson actually did not attend University because he had to complete a bricklayer apprenticeship with his stepfather instead. Shakespeare, too, had been mocked for his lower status and education: Robert Greene called him 'an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers' (sig. F1v) in *Groat-Worth of Wit* (1592).

Anamnestes at all, and Anamnestes replies that yes, some still care about remembering things, but these (especially the last three) are not entirely virtuous beings either:

> Yes a company of studious Paper-wormes and leane Schollers, and niggardly scraping Vsurers, & a troupe of heart|eating enuious persons, and those cancker-stomackt spitefull creatures, that furnish vp common place-bookes with other mens faults (sig. E4v)



LINGVA.

their Creditors, if they haue but one Crosse about them, they'le spend it in Wine vpon *Oblivio*.

MEN. To what purpose I prethee? (cares.

ANA. Onely in hope heele wash them in the Lethe of their

MEN. Why then no man cares for thee.

ANA. Yes a company of studious Paper-wormes and leane Schollers, and niggardly scraping Vsurers, & a troupe of heart-eating enuious persons, and those cancker-stomackt spitefull creatures, that furnish vp common place-bookes with other mens faults: The time hath beene in those golden dayes, when *Saturne* reigned, that if a man receiu'd a benefit of another, I was presently sent for to put him in minde of it, but now in these Iron after-noones, saue your friends life, and *Oblivio* will be more familiar with him then you.

ACTVS. 3. SCENA. 3.

Fig. 30: Anamnestes speech from *Lingua*, sig. E4v.

Anamnestes despises especially the latter category, the compilers of commonplace books who do not acknowledge the name of the authors from whom they gained benefit. This passage attracted the attention of the compiler of MS Rawlinson D 952, perhaps because of its reference to commonplace books, and the irony of the fact that he himself did not attribute most extracts in his collection, a practice, as discussed in Chapter 2, which was very common. Commonplacers, those 'cancker-stomackt spitefull creatures', are put on the same level as usurers, as ungrateful thieves. If the dramatisations of commonplacing seen so far expressed feelings of social tension and fears of misuse and theft (feelings that contributed to raising the issue of plagiarism and copyright, questions which were officially dealt with at the beginning of the eighteenth century), commonplacing also constituted a new way of promoting (or marketing) works, which playwrights and stationers alike welcomed and encouraged, as I discuss in the second half of this chapter.

3.2.1. Youthful waste of paper

The two main categories of commonplacers analysed so far, the poetaster and the thief, offered similar, if not overlapping representations of commonplacing. Slightly different, yet showing some continuity, are the representations of commonplacing in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1603). First of all, an example that seems to work well in parallel with Lorenzo Junior's defence of poetry and denunciation of bad poetry and bad poets, is the attack Hamlet addresses to bad clowns in Act 3, Scene 2 (these lines are unique to Scene 9 of Q1, so I quote directly from *EEBO*):

> And do you hear? Let not your Clown speak
> More than is set down. There be of them, I can tell you,
> That will laugh themselves, to set on some
> Quantity of barren spectators to laugh with them,
> Albeit there is some necessary point in the play
> Then to be observed. Oh, 'tis vile, and shows
> A pitiful ambition in the fool that useth it.
> And then you have some again that keeps one suit
> Of jests, as a man is known by one suit of
> Apparel, and gentlemen quotes his jests down
> In their tables before they come to the play, as thus:
> "Cannot you stay till I eat my porridge?" and "You owe me
> A quarter's wages," and "My coat wants a cullison,"
> And "Your beer is sour," and blabbering with his lips
> And thus keeping in his cinquepace of jests
> When, God knows, the warm Clown cannot make a jest
> Unless by chance, as the blind man catcheth a hare.
> Masters, tell him of it. (sig. F2r-v)

Hamlet here is giving instructions to the players who will perform his play in front of the King and Queen. He reviews how to perform his lines: 'Pronounce me this speech trippingly o'the tongue as I taught thee' (sig. F2r) and 'do not saw the air thus with your hands, / But give everything his action with temperance' (sig. F2r). He also adds 'Let not your Clown speak / More than is set down' (sig. F2r): Hamlet is against improvisation and adding to his carefully scripted playtext, because his story has the function of revealing his uncle and mother's wrong-doing. His authority as writer of the script has to be respected and followed by the players, but he knows that some clowns would not care about that and would rather

make ‘some / Quantity of barren spectators...laugh with them /Albeit there is some necessary point in the play/ Then to be observed’ (sig. F2r). This transgression would have great repercussions on Hamlet’s main aim to have a play performed at court. However, Hamlet expresses strong disapproval of such activity also in a normal staging context: he considers it ‘vile’ and showing ‘pitiful ambition of the fool that useth it’ (sig. F2r). The gentlemen in the audience would keep a notebook, ‘tables’ (sig. F2r-v), in which they would copy jokes heard before, meaning that many others would have heard the jokes many times before. In Q1, sig. F2r-v (this part is not present in either Q2 or F1), Hamlet lists examples of bad jokes ‘as examples of the kind of stale jest that bad clowns recycle: these are bad jokes, for Hamlet, because they are old jokes, already written down in gentlemen’s commonplace books, but reworn, like an old suit of apparel.’[72] Like Matheo, or Asotus, these bad clowns are not capable of creating something of their own invention, or as Hamlet says, they ‘cannot make a jest /Unless by chance, as the blind man catcheth a hare’ (sig. F2v).

Different from the examples seen so far, are two instances of representations of commonplacing found in speeches by Polonius (Act 2, Scene 2) and Hamlet (Act 1, Scene 5) respectively. The first example I want to discuss is found in Polonius’s speech after having discovered Hamlet’s madness and suicidal letter to Ophelia. Polonius explains that he was aware of Hamlet’s love for his daughter, and when asked by the King how Ophelia responded to Hamlet’s love, Polonius aims to prove his value in a lengthy and weighty explanation typical of his ‘commonplace’ style:[73]

> I would fain prove so. But what might you think,
> When I had seen this hot love on the wing –

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[72] Adam Smyth, ‘“Divines into dry Vines”: Forms of Jesting in Renaissance England’, in *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Allison K. Deutermann and András Kiséry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 55.

[73] Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 25, points out that ‘Shakespeare’s references to classical authorities are theatrically motivated performances rather than scholarly citations’. The use of quotation is therefore part of the characterisation, part of the story, of the play, as in the case of Polonius here, or Friar Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet*.

> As I perceiv'd it, I must tell you that,
> Before my daughter told me –what might you
> Or my dear Majesty your queen here think,
> If I had play'd the desk or table-book,
> Or given my heart a winking mute and dumb,
> Or look'd upon this love with idle sight –
> What might you think? No, I went round to work,
> And my young mistress thus I did bespeak:
> 'Lord Hamlet is a prince out of thy star.
> This must not be.' And then I prescripts gave her,
> That she should lock herself from his resort,
> Admit no messengers, receive no tokens;
> Which done, she took the fruits of my advice,
> And he, repelled – a short tale to make –
> Fell into a sadness, then into a fast,
> Thence to a watch, thence into a weakness,
> Thence to a lightness, and, by this declension
> Into the madness wherein now he raves,
> And all we mourn for. (2.2.131-151)[74]

Polonius describes how as soon as he heard of the exchange between Hamlet and his daughter, he did not simply note it in a 'desk or table-book' (136) and did nothing about it, but rather he acted straight away and told his daughter that "Lord Hamlet is a prince out of [her] star. / This must not be" (141-42) and instructed her to reject him and deny him access to her. Commonplacing here is portrayed as an idle activity, which serves no active purpose: it is the enemy of decision. This sceptical (or suspicious) portrayal of commonplacing seems to suggest that once this material is copied in table-books it no longer serves a purpose, and lies there, idle.

Hamlet's portrayal also highlights the uselessness of such trivial material, deemed worthy of being remembered and fashionable in youth, but whose value is only temporary. The relevant speech takes place after Hamlet has seen his father's ghost and is told about the treachery of his mother and uncle (Act 1, Scene 5). The last words of his father's ghost were

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[74] When there is no significant textual variant, I use *The Arden Shakespeare* edition for Shakespeare's plays.

'Adieu, adieu, adieu. Remember me' (1.5.91). Hamlet clings to these last words, and focuses his response all around the idea of remembrance and memory:[75]

> Oh, all you host of heaven! Oh, earth! What else?
> And shall I couple hell? Oh fie! Hold, hold, my heart,
> And you, my sinews, grow not instant old,
> But bear me stiffly up. Remember thee?
> Ay, thou poor ghost, whiles memory holds a seat
> In this distracted globe. Remember thee?
> Yea, from the table of my memory
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
> All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past
> That youth and observation copied there,
> And thy commandment all alone shall live
> Within the book and volume of my brain,
> Unmix'd with baser matter. Yes, by heaven!
> O most pernicious woman!
> O villain, villain, smiling damned villain!
> My tables. Meet it is I set it down
> That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain –
> At least I'm sure it may be so in Denmark. [*Writes*]
> So, uncle, there you are. Now to my word.
> It is 'Adieu, adieu, remember me."
> I have sworn't. (1.5.92-112)

Hamlet repeats the ghost's words three times: 'Remember thee?' (95), 'Remember thee?' (97) and at the end of the speech "Adieu, adieu, remember me" (112), and swears he will remember his words and the promise to avenge him. In this passage the seat of memory, however, Hamlet's mind, is too unsound ('distracted globe', 97) to be in charge of such a memory all by itself. What he needs is therefore an *aide-mémoire*, his table-books: Hamlet refers to the 'table of my memory' (98), a metaphorical version of the erasable writing tables commonly used to note down things to be remembered. [76] Here these tables are not material

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[75] As Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 379, point out, 'the most important book in the play, both figuratively and literally, is that of memory'; see esp. pp. 410–14 at 410 (on 'Tables, Memory, and Erasure'), for a discussion on how these table-books 'also shaped and were shaped by a structure of memory different from our own' and they were part of 'a pedagogical system that emphasized the gathering of commonplaces, their organization under topical headings, and their redeployment as the materials of one's own writing'.

[76] For a description of these tables, how they functioned as erasable tables and how popular they were in the Renaissance, see Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 381 ff. Stallybrass et al., p. 401, also discuss how these tables were initially marketed to merchants, as they also contained printed material that was specifically useful to this category. Their popularity, however, reached well-beyond merchants and 'a wide range of other people' started to buy these tables at a variety of prices and for a variety of uses. John Jowett, 'The Writing Tables of

ones, but represent Hamlet's memory. However, in the description that ensues Hamlet treats the 'table of [his] memory' very much as a material object: in order to preserve a strong memory of his father's ghost's 'commandment' (102), Hamlet decides to 'wipe away all trivial fond records, /All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past / That youth and observation copied there' (99-101).[77] Hamlet portrays the material currently stored in his table-books as youthful waste: among this trivial and base material are the 'saws of books', that is *sententiae* memorised from books, wise sayings and foolish things that were impressed on his mind when he was young. These memories are discarded and dismissed as useless. Commonplaced material is considered as foolish and idle, as it serves no real purpose; Hamlet argues that once something is copied in a table-book it remains there unused, forgotten and finally wiped away. The focus of these representations is not the social or cultural status of those practising the commonplacing as in the previous examples from Jonson's plays, it is rather their age and behaviour: commonplacing is associated with youth and idleness. As Polonius aims to show his promptness in action, so Hamlet also aims to rid his memory of idle thoughts and only think of the action he has been charged by his father, that is to avenge him.

It is also worth considering that table-books were used in the first stage of commonplacing, as the first place where one would gather the material encountered, which would then be copied in a manuscript, perhaps organised under headings, as Melanchthon teaches in *Rhetoric* of 1525.[78] Not all material noted in tables would therefore make it to a commonplace book, and selection and analysis were therefore necessary to avoid pointless

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James Roberts', *The Library*, 20, 1 (2019), 64–88 (p. 81), claims that when Hamlet mentions 'my tables' he 'envisages writing tables that belong to elite and leisured users who are keen to expand their repertoire of pithy moral maxims and witty sayings'. See also Henry Woudhysen's article in British Library online journal on these tables, and Stern's account of how table-books could have been used for copying *Hamlet* Q1 (Stern, 'Sermons, Plays and Note-Takers').

[77] On memory and forgetfulness and how Hamlet 'obsessively stages erasures of memory', see Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 418.

[78] Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 411.

accumulation of material: 'mere accumulation creates what Ann Blair calls "information overload"' and it is hence a threat to memory.[79] This is what Hamlet is afraid of: in order to avoid this overload he decides to erase his 'tables', so that his father's ghost's 'commandment all alone shall live / Within the book and volume of [his] brain / Unmix'd with baser matter' (102-104). The fact that Hamlet compares his mind to a book, and not to tables, is also meaningful, as table-books were erasable writing supports, making that writing ephemeral. Hamlet swears to keep his father's memory well secured and fixed in his mind, the book being a more stable writing support onto which to write this: 'a place of indelible writing, like the Mosaic tablets'.[80] Moreover, Hamlet specifies that he wants to dedicate his thoughts entirely to the mission of avenging his father, 'Unmix'd with baser matter' (104), again qualifying the *sententiae* and other material he gathered in his youth as unworthy to be remembered. So, unlike the examples seen earlier, where the practice of memorising and using lines from authors worth remembering, like the Classics, as in the case of Dr Clement, is portrayed as favourable, Hamlet erases all material and describes this as 'baser matter' to him now. Hamlet is here rejecting a system that played a fundamental role in Elizabethan education (and that was used by Shakespeare to write this very play),[81] and in part because of that association with school and youth he dismisses that material as trivial and useless in adult life.[82]

Hamlet's mind is overwhelmed with the thought of his mother and uncle's betrayal, that 'most pernicious woman' (105) and 'smiling damned villain' (106). The next two lines, however, seem to contradict what Hamlet said a few lines before: 'My tables. Meet it is I set it

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[79] Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 411.
[80] Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 415.
[81] On this contradiction see Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 414: 'While Hamlet scorns the audience's table-books in Q1, the scripts through which he comes into existence are themselves the products of writing tables and commonplace books.' Rhodes, 'Shakespeare's Popularity', p. 119, observes that 'Shakespeare wanted to be creative in his commonplacing, distinguishing between the common commonplaces of Gertrude and Polonius and what we might call the rare observations of Hamlet himself'. This play, Rhodes suggests, is 'preoccupied with commonness and, indeed, with the status of commonplaces'.
[82] Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 413.

down, / That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain' (107-8). Hamlet calls for his (metaphorical) tables, in which he now 'writes' down the aphoristic line 'That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain': Stallybrass *et al.* posit that these might have been 'actual tables', and that real table-books might have appeared on stage, but I think that Hamlet here is still talking in metaphorical terms, using the tables as an image to indicate that these are lines worth remembering.[83] This is a warning against people like his uncle who Hamlet wants to remember, but at the same time this is the kind of material that he just wiped off the tables of his memory. This inconsistent behaviour is perhaps already revealing of Hamlet's mental instability, but also betraying the complex, sometimes contradictory, attitudes towards the practice of commonplacing that seem omnipresent in the representations analysed, and that reflected real concerns about the practice. As Mayer has observed, 'Shakespeare had seemingly the same ambivalent attitude to commonplacing as most of his contemporaries':[84] in one speech he could portray both the wastefulness and usefulness of using table-books, as it is emblematically represented here. This ambivalent, if not paradoxical, attitude towards commonplacing is made even more apparent when considering also how playwrights engaged with the practice through pointers that would encourage readers to extract material from their plays, as I discuss in the next section of the chapter.

3.3. How did playwrights engage with the practice?

3.3.1. Verbal pointers

In this section I will discuss instances where playwrights directly engaged with the practice of commonplacing, by pointing out lines suitable for extraction. There are two main methods for doing this that I have observed: the first method is using verbal pointers, that is using phrases that hint at the presence of commonplaceable material, and the second is using typographic, or

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[83] Stallybrass et al., 'Hamlet's Tables', p. 380. The stage direction 'Writes' present in modern editions was not present in Q1.
[84] Mayer, p. 141.

gnomic pointers, such as the use of italics or of inverted commas, also known as 'commonplace markers'—the first mode being undeniably an authorial type of pointing, whereas the second being most often the doing of stationers. In a culture in which quotation was a regular mode of writing, but the use of quotation marks for marking words borrowed from somewhere else had not been standardized yet, most quoted passages were left unmarked.[85] However, sometimes verbal pointers added by the writers could be used to mark that a proverb or a known saying was being used. The expressions can vary from 'remember the olde proverbe' (Greene, *Mamillia*, 1593, sig. B2v), or 'as the Proverbe saith' (Greene, *The Scottish historie of Iames the* fourth, 1598, sig. H2v), and again 'You are the hare of whom the proverb goes, Whose valour plucks dead lions by the beard' (Shakespeare, *King John*, II, i, 1639: Clarke, 216).[86] Similar examples in a variety of forms (see also the more generic 'as they say' or 'you know' or 'as it were'), are found in a variety of texts, from poetry to drama and prose.[87] These verbal pointers did not indicate a precise source for the material, but suggested that they belonged to the 'public domain', or that they were *loci communi*: see for example in *Julius Caesar* that ''tis a *common proof* / That lowliness is young ambition's ladder' (2.1.21-2, my emphasis), or in *Twelfth Night* ''tis a *vulgar proof* / That very oft we pity enemies' (3.1.125-6, my emphasis).[88] However, sometimes pointers could even refer to the source from which the phrase was taken. Contemporary references appear in Marston's *What You Will* (1601), in which the character Quadratus exclaims 'A horse, a horse, my

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[85] See Margreta De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 58: 'the convention of flagging speech originating elsewhere – in another text, in another speaker – is relatively recent. Only toward the end of the eighteenth century did grammar books make quotation marks mandatory'.
[86] I thank Laura Wright for pointing out this last example to me.
[87] A quick search of these phrases on *EEBO* gives thousands of results.
[88] These examples were first noted by T. W. Baldwin (*Small Latine*, pp. 328–9) and quoted in Mayer, p. 140. See also Kenneth Muir, 'Shakespeare among the Commonplaces', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 10, 39 (1959), 283–289 (p. 288), who discusses how Shakespeare used commonplaces in his writing which did not originate in one specific source, but which belonged to a shared pool of commonplaces; as Muir points out, 'the appearance of all these ideas and phrases in several different books [is] a sign that they were all commonplaces', and that it is 'clear that Shakespeare did draw on the stock of contemporary commonplaces, and it is frequently impossible to know the precise source'.

kingdom for a horse! / Look thee, I speak play scraps' (sig. C1r-v), not referring explicitly to the source, but clearly pointing out the fact that he is quoting from a play (*Richard III*, 1598);[89] and in Nathaniel Field's *A Woman is a Weather-Cock* (1609), in which there is an allusion to the plot of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Woman-Hater* (1606): 'Why, what amends will you make me, can you give me some sum of money to marry me to some Tradesman, as the play says?' (sig. E3r). These verbal pointers suggest, to various degrees, that a phrase originating from another source had been used.

When considering these lines exclusively in the play world, these examples can be considered as moments in which commonplacing is represented on the stage and affects the characterisation of the fictional character speaking the lines as analysed already in the first part of this chapter: quotation could be used by well-educated figures from a higher social status (such as Dr Clement) to reinforce the authority of the character, but when characters from a lower social and cultural background (such as Matheo), used quotation in order to improve themselves, commonplacing was used for parody. However, if one considers these verbal pointers from the perspective of a reader who was interested in culling commonplaces from a play, and that therefore, as showed in Chapter 1, was reading for snippets of language that could be easily detachable and usable independently from their original context, then these verbal pointers would have helped making that material stand out as suitable for a collection of commonplaces. It is impossible to say whether the playwrights who used these verbal pointers intended them to have one, or multiple, functions: they could have contributed

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[89] There was probably no need to reveal the source explicitly as the phrase had 'already become a fashionable cant phrase' (Clement M. Ingleby, Lucy Toulmin Smith, and Frederick J. Furnivall, *The Shakspere Allusion-Book: A Collection of Allusions to Shakspere from 1591 to 1700, vol. I*, rev. by John Munro (London: Chatto & Windus, 1909), p. 54). The same line reappeared in parodied versions in several other texts: in Marston's *Parasitaster, or the Fawne*, 1606, as 'A foole, a foole, a foole, my Coxcombe for a foole!' (sig. H3); and again in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1598, as '*A man, a man, a kingdome for a man* (Satire 7); in the anonymous *The Hangman's joy*, as 'a horse, a horse, a horse, a thousand pounds for a horse, to keep head and shoulders together' (sig. A2v-A3r). On the popularity of this line, see also Stern, 'Watching As Reading', p. 144. An *EEBO* search for 'A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse' shows that the line appeared also quoted *verbatim* in several different places: in Richard Brathwaite's *Upon a Poets Palfrey* (1615), p. 154, and in James Nalton's *Twenty Sermons preached upon several texts; published for publick good* (1677), to name only a couple.

to the portrayal of a character, or served as a way to point out intertextuality and acknowledge the use of sources, or they could have been used for promoting commonplacing. Whichever the case, these verbal pointers showed that playwrights were aware and engaging with the practice of commonplacing in their writing. How these verbal pointers functioned ultimately depended on how they were received. What I want to explore here are those verbal pointers that seem to have been effective verbal cues to alert the commonplacer that a remarkable line worth remembering and perhaps noting down in a commonplace book was coming up. The examples I am analysing here all come from extracts I found in the collections I analysed for this thesis that were taken from Shakespearean plays. What I want to posit here is that, although Shakespeare might not have been involved in the marking of *sententiae* in his plays through the use of gnomic pointers such as inverted commas and italics,[90] as I discuss in the next section of this chapter, he might have however used verbal pointing in similar ways. As Stern argues that 'Shakespeare, always conscious of the people for whom he writes, may even have shaped his plays to the commonplace-book culture'; it would be plausible then that he did not only write punchy lines 'intended to be "removable": to appeal to table-books',[91] but that he also decided, I argue, to point them out on some occasions so as to help the reader in the process.

Usually commonplaceable material that is easily detachable from the dramatic action and is already universally applicable occurs in monologues and soliloquies (as observed in the majority of extracts found in the collections analysed in this thesis). However, as seen in Chapter 1, dialogues could also offer such material. Perhaps because less notable in a dialogical exchange, commonplaceable material in dialogues tended to be verbally pointed

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[90] See De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 57: 'Shakespeare himself did not use quotation marks to distinguish the words of another from his own'. The first playbook by Shakespeare printed with these markings is Q1 *Hamlet* (1603), but Shakespeare had no say in the matter. Hunter, pp. 183–5, discusses to what degree other playwrights such as Jonson, Chapman and Marston were instead involved in some of the process.
[91] Stern, 'Watching as Reading', p. 144.

out by one of the characters involved in the exchange. In so doing, the character announces the *sententiae* both to the other characters on stage, but also, indirectly, to the audience. For instance, in a dialogue between Queen Margaret and the Marquis of Dorset in *Richard III*, Margaret's line, 'They that stand high have many blasts to shake them' (1.3.259), is followed by Richard's remark, 'Good counsel, marry! Learn it, learn it, Marquess' (261), thus signalling Margaret's line as a commonplace delivering good counsel that needs to be learnt. The verbal pointing is not suggesting that this line originated elsewhere, but it aims to seize the attention of the characters in the scene, and it also functions as an acoustic signal to the audience in the theatre.[92] The verbal pointing worked well in its goal, as this line was commonplaced in *Belvedere* under the heading 'Of Authoritie' (p. 195).[93] Also, the line from *Romeo and Juliet,* 'Women may fall when there's no strength in men' (2.3.76), commonplaced in both *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* under the heading 'Of Women' (p. 106 and p. 1771 respectively), is introduced by Friar Lawrence by a verbal queue, 'Pronounce this sentence then' (2.3.75): this verbal pointer has both the function of attracting Romeo's attention and the audience/reader's attention, but also qualifies the phrase specifically as a Sentence, therefore worthy to be noted. Moreover, in both examples discussed here the speakers of these lines represent authoritative figures (one a Queen and the other a Friar used to speak in *sententiae*), both presented as characters who deliver wisdom and advice in their respective plays. What I want to argue, is that Shakespeare *could have* used these verbal pointers to advertise the presence of (original) commonplaceable material in his plays, especially in a context, the dialogue, that was a less conventional place for finding

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[92] On the delivery of sententious lines see also Hunter, p. 179, who in his work on the marking of *sententiae* in Elizabethan printed plays, poems and romances, found a prompt copy of a play in which the playwright had clearly given instruction to the actor to give special treatment to the delivery of a sententious line, so that it would stand out from the rest of the action.

[93] The line was also used in Robert Baron's *Pocula Castalia, Fortunes Tennis-Ball* (1650).

commonplaces.[94] Lesser and Stallybrass actually describe the 'verbal pointing' I have analysed here as 'The second kind of printed commonplace markers suggesting an author's involvement' after typographical marking. They strongly believe that these verbal pointers do not only have a function in the play-world, but are there as a way for the author to mark 'the lines as a commonplace in the dialogue of the play' to be extracted by readers. This idea is based on Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, a play which contains also typographical markers. In this play the verbal pointers added by Jonson are often associated also with a 'shift in font to mark the commonplace in print'.[95] This evidence further advances Jonson's direct involvement with the promotion of commonplaces in his plays, but could also suggest that other playwrights, like Shakespeare, who did not participate in the marking of their plays through typographical marking, could have used verbal pointing as an authorial way of doing so.[96]

If the argument that these verbal pointers were meant as a way to promote commonplacing can only remain hypothetical, looking at what playwrights wrote in the paratexts of their plays gives a more direct sense of their engagement with the practice of commonplacing. James Mabbe, translator of Fernando De Rojas's *Spanish Bawd* (1631), used the dedicatory epistle to Sir Thomas Richardson as the place to explicitly advertise the abundancy of commonplaceable material present in the play and the moral and pedagogical

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[94] On the originality of Shakespeare's commonplaces see Laura Estill, 'Proverbial Shakespeare: The Print and Manuscript Circulation of Extracts from *Love's Labour's Lost*', *Shakespeare* 7 (2011), 35–55 (p. 35): 'Shakespeare is regularly credited with coining more than a thousand English words', but many of these 'new' words were actually 'borrowed from other languages and other sources'. However, Estill, p. 36, also admits that 'his work both used existing proverbs and created new ones', a topic that I aim to further explore in the book development of this thesis.

[95] Lesser and Stallybrass, 'The First Literary *Hamlet*', p. 403.

[96] As Lesser and Stallybrass, p. 414, propose, 'The strongest case for Shakespeare's own authorial commonplacing occurs in *Troilus and Cressida*, where one line [that] is pointed out by Shakespeare himself as sententious' through verbal pointing is also printed in italics and with commonplace markers. The passage in question is: 'Therefore this *maxim* out of love I teach, / "*Atchievement is command; vngained beseech*' (sig. B3r). This passage is therefore marked three times: by the verbal pointing, 'maxim', the italics and the commonplace markers. Of course, the change in font and quotation marks could have been added by a printer, but, according to Lesser and Stallybrass, p. 414, 'here Shakespeare himself draws the reader's attention to the sententious nature of his writing'.

function of the story, an aspect that traditionally went hand in hand with the practice of commonplacing. Mabbe uses *La Celestina*, the name of the main character of the play (a manipulative prostitute who is behind much of the action of the play so much so that the play is also known by her name), as a personification of the play. He confesses to his patron that *Celestina* is

> not *sine scelere;* yet must I tell you withall, that she cannot be harboured with you, *sine vtilitate.* Her life is foule, but her Precepts faire; her example naught, but her Doctrine good; her Coate ragged, but her mind inriched with many a golden Sentence. (sig. A3r)

Mabbe invites his patron, and his readers, to go beyond the appearance of the story (a story of prostitution and illicit love) and see the many moral lessons and wise phrases that can be culled from it. He goes on to describe the book 'like a Court-Iack, which though it be blacke, yet holds as good liquor as your fairest Flagon of siluer or like the Rod that *Brutus* offred to *Apollo,* which was rough and knottie without, but within, all of furbusht gold' (sig. A3r). The comparisons here grow in classical value and become more and more hyperbolic, perhaps in an attempt to elevate the status of the play and encourage a positive reception. He then proceeds to describe the author of the play, De Rojas, and his style:

> Our Author is but short, yet pithy: not so full of words as sense; each other line, being a Sentence; vnlike to many of your other Writers, who either with the luxury of their phrases, or superfluity of figures, or superabundancie of ornaments, or other affected guildings of *Rhetorick,* like vndiscreet Cookes, make their meats either too sweet, or too tarte, too salt, or too full of pepper. (sig. A3r-v)

Mabbe praises De Rojas for his ability to express the essence of his message, avoiding all the superfluous ornaments with which many writers of the 1630s adorned their texts. *Celestina* was originally published in Spanish in 1499, and gained renowned across Europe. Mabbe is suggesting that this continental writer, writing more than a century earlier, was writing in a language that was perhaps more rough but also purer and rich in meaning, being abundant in sentences. However, the very style used by Mabbe is comparable to the one he is criticising,

as he uses a plethora of different comparisons to express how devoid of meaning most contemporary pamphlets, written using an abundancy of ornaments, are:

> It is not as many of your Pamphlets be, like a tree without sap; a bough without frut; a nut without a kernell; flesh with|out bones; bones without marrow; prickles without a Rose; waxe without honey; straw without wheate; sul|fure without Gold; or shels without pearle. (sig. A3v)

Again, to express how de Rojas's sentences are, in contrast to the void content of the pamphlets criticised above, valuable and everlasting, Mabbe presents another long list of rhetorical images to express this:

> Sentences worthy to be written, not in fragile pa|per, but in Cedar, or lasting Cypresse, not with the quill of a Goose, but the feather of a *Phoenix;* not with inke, but Bal|salmum; not with letters of a blacke tincture, but with Characters of Gold and Azure; and deseruing to be read, not only of a lasciuious *Clodius,* or effeminate *Sardanaplus,* but of the grauest *Cato,* or seuerest Stoick. (sig. A3v)

Mabbe compares de Rojas's words to those of classical, moral figures, and underlines their permanent nature. These words attracted the attention of one compiler of a manuscript commonplace book, CB of Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 952, who extracted part of this passage and copied it under the heading, 'eternall', f. 7v:

> thinges worthy to be written, not
> in fragile paper, but in Cedar or
> lasting Cipresse. not wth y^{e} Quil of
> a goose, but y^{e} feather of a phoenix
> not with Inke but balsalmum
> not with letters of a blacke tinc=
> ture, but with characters of gold
> and As^{z}ure. - (f. 7v)

Mabbe's description of things commonplaceable and universal becomes in itself worth commonplacing, as it offers a variety of comparisons to describe something that is eternal. CB commonplaces two more extracts, also taken from Mabbe's dedicatory epistle:

> I esteeme it in comparison of others
> as gold amongst mettalls, as the

> carbuncle amongst stones, as the
> rose amongst flowers, as the palme
> amongst trees, as the eagle amongst
> birds, as the sunne amongst inferiour
> lights as y^{t} choisest & y^{e} cheifest.
> ('To Excell', f. 31r)

> It is the sta =
> tute and deere of heaven, that every
> composition here beneath, as well
> framed by the hand of arte, as fashio =
> ned by the helpe of nature, should
> sustaine some imperfections. for
> glasse hath hits lead, gold its drosse,
> corne its chaffe, Helene her
> mole, the moone her spots, and
> the sun its shade.
> ('Imperfect', f. 49r)

Both extracts are long list of comparisons offered by Mabbe to describe the topics of excellence and imperfection respectively—the latter was also listed in *The Academie Eloquence* (1654), under the heading 'Of Comparisons'. What is striking is that the very language which is so praised by Mabbe in this epistle is then ignored, as both CB and the compiler of *The Academy* did not extract from De Rojas's play, but were only attracted to Mabbe's comparisons. These comparisons represented the very ornamental material that was so popular in commonplace book culture and that in turn helped to shape the ornamental style of writing criticised by Mabbe.

Other writers advertised the presence of sentences in their work. Ben Jonson, most famously, not only got involved in the marking of *sententiae* in his works in the printing house, as I discuss in the next section, but also used verbal pointers in the preface of his works. As seen already earlier, in the dedicatory epistle of *Sejanus*, Jonson expresses his hate for the abuse of quotation and feels the need to justify to the reader why he is using quotations in his play–to prove his faithfulness to the story—and why he has added precise references to

the quotations he used in the margins of *Sejanus* (see Fig. 33 on p. 204). However, at the same time he is advertising the 'ful-nesse and frequencie of Sentence' (sig. Π2r) present in his play. He is against overusing classical sources, but then in his play he is also clearly showing an abundancy of such elevated quotations (which, he explains in the preface, as mentioned above, he uses as proof of his loyalty to the original sources of the story), and in so doing he indirectly advertises them to the reader and commonplacer.[97] Verbal pointers were a way for writers to direct and guide their readers. Ben Jonson in particular was very concerned with the way his texts were read. In *Epigram* 58, 'To Groom Idiot', Jonson clearly expressed his concern that an 'idiot' (l. 1) would 'read [his] verses' (l. 2) and 'laugh in the wrong place' (l. 4). Jonson is particularly worried because he believes that this bad reading affects the quality of his verse: 'And so my sharpness thou no less disjoints / That thou didst late my sense, losing my points' (ll. 5-6). This is a sentiment also expressed in the very first epigram: addressing the reader in the collection of epigrams in his Folio, Jonson asks the reader to 'take care' and 'read [his book] well: that is, to understand'.[98] As Jane Rickard explains, 'In just two lines Jonson's well-known epigram communicates a distinctive understanding of the kind of transaction between author and reader that publication entails.' What Jonson means by reading is 'not the mere absorption of text but a practice that can be performed "well" or otherwise. Each reader is responsible not only for understanding the book but also for determining what such understanding might be'. The kind of understanding that the reader should apply is left unsaid, but, as Rickard points out, 'the fact that it is silently modelled on the opening epigram of Martial's *Epigrams* ('Ad lectorum') offers the learned reader a seemingly important hint: understanding might involve careful attention to allusion and

[97] These marginal annotations are also considered to be acts of 'editorial repossession', whereby Jonson tries to maintain control over his texts. See Joseph Loewenstein, *Possessive Authorship*.
[98] *Epigrams*, ed. Burrow, in *Ben Jonson Online*.

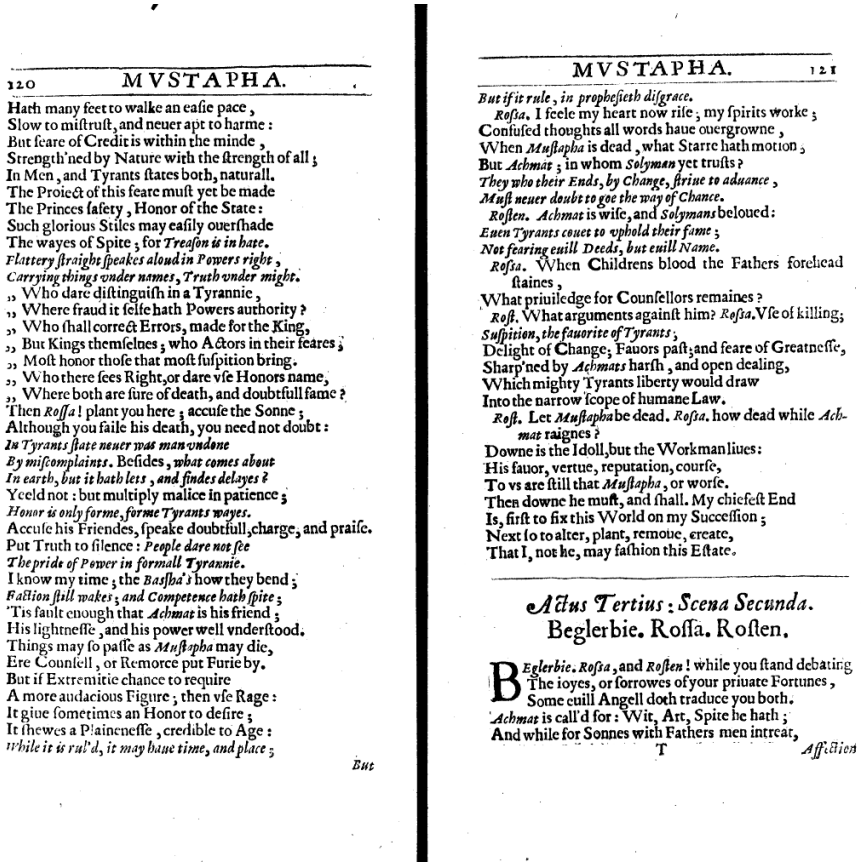
imitation'.[99] However, Jonson's concern with having a certain amount of control over the reception of his theatrical language brought him, as Stern comments, to go 'a step further', as he was not only involved in the editing of his own plays for publication, but he also sometimes had his say in the printing house about the use of typographical pointers for marking out *sententia*: as I discuss below, Jonson probably had a hand in the marking of *Sejanus*.[100] What function typographical pointers had in plays and how involved, or not, playwrights were in the promotion of such markers is the subject of the next section.

3.3.2. Typographical pointers

Typographical pointers, or gnomic pointers, could take various forms. G.K. Hunter lists five different methods found in printed books from the Elizabethan period: using a different printing type, for example italic; using inverted commas at the beginning of the line; using commas at the beginning of the line; an asterix or a manicule in the margin.[101] A variety of types of markers could be found within the same text, and, as Hunter shows, these changes were mostly due to a change of compositor in the printing house: for example, in Sir Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* (collected with *Alaham* in *Certaine learned and elegant workes*, 1633), commas at the beginning of the line and italics could coexist on the same page (see Fig. 31); or in Jonson's *Poetaster* (1602) some passages lifted from classical texts could be printed in italics and also have some lines additionally marked up with commas at the beginning of the line (see Fig. 32).[102]

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[99] Rickard, 'Seventeenth-Century Readers'.
[100] Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, p. 45. Stern adds that 'he also chose, sometimes, to print quotation marks around what he decided were the best or most memorable bits in his plays, singling key thoughts from the rest and, by so doing, highlighting them for removal into commonplace books'. See also, Hunter, pp. 187–8.
[101] Hunter, p. 180.
[102] I refer here to the opening scene of *Poetaster*, where the character of Ovid reads aloud in its entirety a poem he has just composed, *Amores* I. xv, in an English version that had been published in a collection of Christopher Marlowe's Ovidian translations in 1595. As Donaldson, pp. 124–5, points out, 'Jonson is boldly paying open tribute to the recently dead Marlowe, whose Ovidian translations just two years earlier had been banned and publicly burnt in the notorious bishops' bonfire of 1599'.



120 MVSTAPHA.

Hath many feet to walke an easie pace,
Slow to mistrust, and neuer apt to harme:
But feare of Credit is within the minde,
Strength'ned by Nature with the strength of all;
In Men, and Tyrants states both, naturall.
The Proiect of this feare must yet be made
The Princes safety, Honor of the State:
Such glorious Stiles may easily ouershade
The wayes of Spite; for *Treason is in hate.*
Flattery straight speakes aloud in Powers right,
Carrying things vnder names, Truth vnder might.
„ Who dare distinguish in a Tyrannie,
„ Where fraud it selfe hath Powers authority?
„ Who shall correct Errors, made for the King,
„ But Kings themselues; who Actors in their feares;
„ Most honor those that most suspition bring.
„ Who there sees Right, or dare vse Honors name,
„ Where both are sure of death, and doubtfull fame?
Then *Rossa*! plant you here; accuse the Sonne;
Although you faile his death, you need not doubt:
In Tyrants state neuer was man vndone
By miscomplaints. Besides, *what comes about*
In earth, but it hath lets, and findes delayes?
Yeeld not: but multiply malice in patience;
Honor is only forme, forme Tyrants wayes.
Accuse his Friendes, speake doubtfull, charge, and praise.
Put Truth to silence: *People dare not see*
The pride of Power in formall Tyrannie.
I know my time; the *Bassha's* how they bend;
Faction still wakes; and Competence hath spite;
'Tis fault enough that *Achmat* is his friend;
His lightnesse, and his power well vnderstood.
Things may so passe as *Mustapha* may die,
Ere Counsell, or Remorce put Furie by.
But if Extremitie chance to require
A more audacious Figure; then vse Rage:
It giue sometimes an Honor to desire;
It shewes a Plainenesse, credible to Age:
While it is rul'd, it may haue time, and place;

But

MVSTAPHA. 121

But if it rule, in prophesieth disgrace.
Rossa. I feele my heart now rise; my spirits worke;
Confused thoughts all words haue ouergrowne,
When *Mustapha* is dead, what Starre hath motion,
But *Achmat*; in whom *Solyman* yet trusts?
They who their Ends, by Change, striue to aduance,
Must neuer doubt to goe the way of Chance.
Rossen. Achmat is wife, and *Solymans* beloued:
Euen Tyrants couet to vphold their fame;
Not fearing euill Deeds, but euill Name.
Rossa. When Childrens blood the Fathers forehead staines,
What priuiledge for Counsellors remaines?
Ross. What arguments against him? *Rossa.* Vse of killing;
Suspition, the fauorite of Tyrants;
Delight of Change; Fauors past; and feare of Greatnesse,
Sharp'ned by *Achmats* harsh, and open dealing,
Which mighty Tyrants liberty would draw
Into the narrow scope of humane Law.
Ross. Let *Mustapha* be dead. *Rossa.* how dead while *Achmat* raignes?
Downe is the Idoll, but the Workman liues:
His fauor, vertue, reputation, course,
To vs are still that *Mustapha*, or worse.
Then downe he must, and shall. My chiefest End
Is, first to fix this World on my Succession;
Next so to alter, plant, remoue, ereate,
That I, not he, may fashion this Estate.

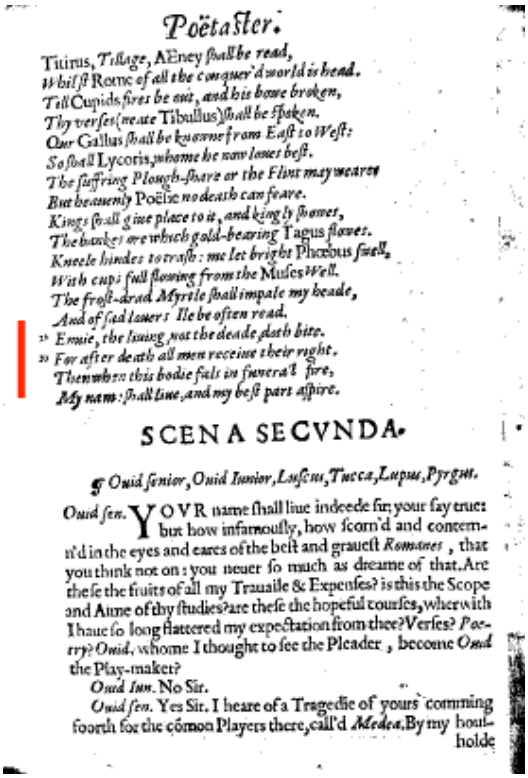
Actus Tertius: Scena Secunda.

Beglerbie. Rossa. Rossen.

Beglerbie. Rossa, and *Rossen*! while you stand debating
The ioyes, or sorrowes of your priuate Fortunes,
Some euill Angell doth traduce you both.
Achmat is call'd for: Wit, Art, Spite he hath;
And while for Sonnes with Fathers men intreat,

T *Affection*

Fig. 31: *Mustapha* (1633), sig. 120-121.



Poëtaster.

Titirus, *Tillage*, AEney *shall be read,*
Whilst Rome *of all the conquer'd world is head.*
Tell Cupids *fires be out, and his bowe broken,*
Thy verses (meate Tibullus) *shall be spoken.*
Our Gallus *shall be knowne from East to West:*
So shall Lycoris, *whome he now loues best.*
The suffring Plough-share or the Flint may weare
But heauenly Poëtie *no death can feare.*
Kings shall giue place to it, and kingly shower,
The banke are which gold-bearing Tagus *flowes.*
Kneele hindes to vnsle: me let bright Phœbus *swell,*
With cups full flowing from the Muses *Well.*
The frost-dread Myrtle shall impale my heade,
And of sad louers Ile be often read.
„ *Ennie, the liuing, not the deade doth bite.*
„ *For after death all men receiue their right.*
Then when this bodie falls in funerall fire,
My name shall liue, and my best part aspire.

SCENA SECVNDA.

Ouid senior, Ouid Iunior, Lucius, Tucca, Lupus, Pyrgus.

Ouid sen. YOVR name shall liue indeede sir; your say true: but how infamously, how scorn'd and contemn'd in the eyes and eares of the best and graueſt *Romanes*, that you think not on: you neuer so much as dreame of that. Are these the fruits of all my Trauaile & Expenses? is this the Scope and Aime of thy studies? are these the hopeful courses, wherwith I haue so long flattered my expectation from thee? Verses? *Poetry? Ouid*, whome I thought to see the Pleader, become *Ouid* the Play-maker?

Ouid Iun. No Sir.

Ouid sen. Yes Sir. I heare of a Tragedie of yours comming foorth for the cómon Players there, call'd *Medea*. By my housholde

Fig. 32: *Poetaster*, 1602, sig. A4v.

However, sometimes writers could express preferences with printers and 'impose one method of gnomic pointing, but... such cases were the exceptions.'[103] The main example of such cases Hunter provides is Ben Jonson. First of all, it seems that Jonson did not like the use of italics, so much so that he

> seems to have interfered to this extent that George Eld, a printer normally very liberal with italic, does not use italic for proverbs or *sententiae* in *Seianus* (1605) though in all the other plays...printed by him...he uses italic for this purpose.[104]

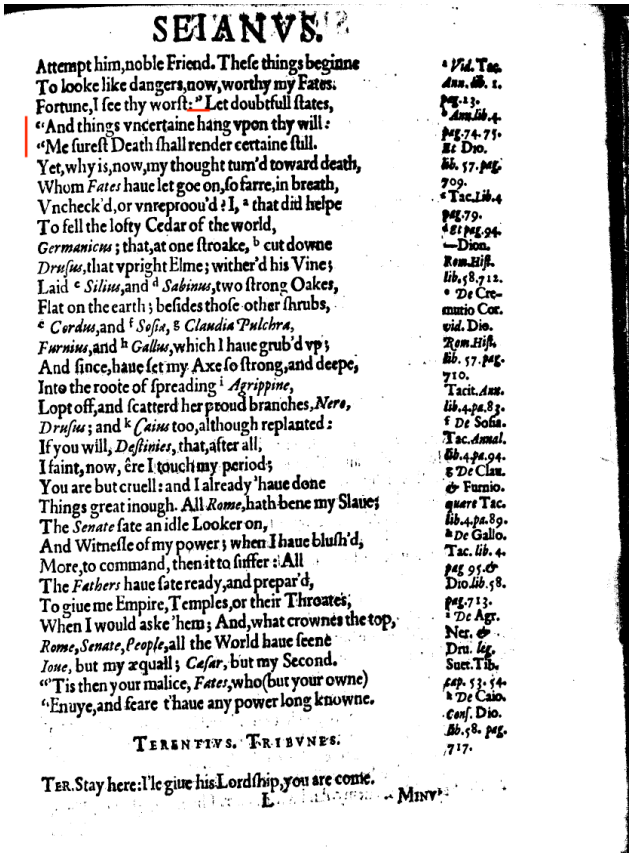
The *Sejanus* printed by George Eld provides evidence of how Jonson could have a direct agency over the use of gnomic pointers in his plays. In *Sejanus* both inverted commas (") and commas (') are used as markers. As Hunter explains, various methods could be used within the same text, and most changes were due to a change in compositor. However, some variations cannot be explained by a change of compositor, as for example when two different methods of pointing were used not only on the same page but 'even in the same *sententia*. Indeed it seems improbable that any compositor would change his mind so often about the method he was using.'[105] This type of variation, Hunter claims, is too peculiar for not to have been 'deliberately introduced'. Hunter also identifies how this special treatment of the marking of some *sententiae* is used:

> in each case the *sententia* begins in the middle of a line, and (3) [referring to the method of using commas] is used to mark the gnomic hemistich, the full lines which follow being marked by (2) [referring to the method of using inverted commas].[106]

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[103] Hunter, p. 185.
[104] Hunter, p. 183: 'Jonson would seem to have had some objection to gnomic italics.' Perhaps this is because, as expressed in the prologue discussed earlier, Jonson was against quotations and using italics was more the norm for material quoted in a foreign language, such as Latin. Dr Clement's Latin lines from classical authors were also printed in italics. See also *Poetaster* (1602) and how passages lifted from classical texts, as in the case illustrated in Fig. 32, could be printed in italics even if not in a foreign language. The source of this passage, fully referenced in the margin of sig. A4r, is 'Ovid. Lib. I. Amo. Ele. 15'.
[105] Hunter, p. 187.
[106] Hunter, p. 188.

As can be seen in Fig. 33 below, the passage ‘Let the doubtfull states, / And things uncertaine hang upon thy will:/ Me surest Death shall render certaine still.’ (sig. L1r) is first marked with double commas (”), marking the beginning of the hemistich ‘Let the doubtfull states’, whilst the full lines are marked with inverted commas (“) at the beginning of the line.



SEIANVS.

Attempt him, noble Friend. Theſe things beginne
To looke like dangers, now, worthy my Fates.
Fortune, I ſee thy worſt: ” Let doubtfull ſtates,
“And things vncertaine hang vpon thy will:
“Me ſureſt Death ſhall render certaine ſtill.
Yet, why is, now, my thought turn'd toward death,
Whom *Fates* haue let goe on, ſo farre, in breath,
Vncheck'd, or vnreproou'd? I, [a] that did helpe
To fell the lofty Cedar of the world,
Germanicus; that, at one ſtroake, [b] cut downe
Druſus, that vpright Elme; wither'd his Vine;
Laid [c] *Silius*, and [d] *Sabinus*, two ſtrong Oakes,
Flat on the earth; beſides thoſe other ſhrubs,
[e] *Cordus*, and [f] *Soſia*, [g] *Claudia Pulchra*,
Furnius, and [h] *Gallus*, which I haue grub'd vp;
And ſince, haue ſet my Axe ſo ſtrong, and deepe,
Into the roote of ſpreading [i] *Agrippine*,
Lopt off, and ſcatterd her proud branches, *Nero*,
Druſus; and [k] *Caius* too, although replanted:
If you will, *Deſtinies*, that, after all,
I faint, now, êre I touch my period;
You are but cruell: and I already 'haue done
Things great inough. All *Rome*, hath bene my Slaue;
The *Senate* fate an idle Looker on,
And Witneſſe of my power; when I haue bluſh'd,
More, to command, then it to ſuffer: All
The *Fathers* haue fate ready, and prepar'd,
To giue me Empire, Temples, or their Throates,
When I would aske 'hem; And, what crownes the top,
Rome, *Senate*, *People*, all the World haue ſeene
Ioue, but my æquall; *Cæſar*, but my Second.
“'Tis then your malice, *Fates*, who (but your owne)
“Enuye, and feare t'haue any power long knowne.

TERENTIVS. TRIBVNES.

TER. Stay here: I'le giue his Lordſhip, you are come.

[a] *Vid.* Tac. *Ann. lib.* 1. *pag.* 13.
[b] *Ann. lib.* 4. *pag.* 74. 75. Et Dio. *lib.* 57. *pag.* 709.
[c] Tac. *Lib.* 4 *pag.* 79.
[d] *Et pag.* 94. —Dion. *Rom. Hiſt. lib.* 58. 712.
[e] *De* Cremutio Cor. *vid.* Dio. *Rom. Hiſt. lib.* 57. *pag.* 710.
[f] Tacit. *Ann. lib.* 4. *pa.* 83.
[g] *De* Sofia. Tac. *Annal. lib.* 4. *pa.* 94.
[h] *De* Clau. & Furnio. *quære* Tac. *lib.* 4. *pa.* 89.
[i] *De* Gallo. Tac. *lib.* 4. *pag.* 95. & Dio. *lib.* 58. *pag.* 713.
[k] *De* Agr. Ner. & Dru. *leg.* Suet. Tib. *cap.* 53. 54.
[l] *De* Caio. *Conſ.* Dio. *lib.* 58. *pag.* 717.

Fig. 33: *Sejanus*, 1605, sig. L1r.

Hunter concludes that it was ‘possible for author or editor to impose systematic gnomic pointing upon a printer, though few achieved absolute uniformity’.[107] Jonson, but also Chapman and Marston attempted to have a say in this matter, but more often than not gnomic pointing was up to the printers of these books.[108] Before further discussing the implications of

[107] Hunter, p. 188.
[108] See Hunter, pp. 183–5, for more on the involvement of Chapman and Marston. See also Lesser and Stallybrass, ‘The First Literary *Hamlet*’, p. 404, who claim that when ‘marginal commas occur frequently and throughout the book rather than sporadically’ as in Marston’s *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605), or Jonson’s *Sejanus* (1605) or *Catiline* (1611), then this should be taken as a sign of the authorial agency over these signs. On the other hand, they suggest that sporadic marking was the result of readers, ‘readers like Bodenham and reader-publishers like Ling [who] were the driving force behind the printing of commonplace markers’. Talking about the markings in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet versus* those in Jonson’s *Sejanus* they say that ‘The sporadic nature of

why either the writers or the stationers would want to use commonplace markers in their texts, I would like to discuss how these markers worked in the texts and their possible function. As mentioned before, Stern has argued that Jonson used quotation marks 'around what he decided were the best or most memorable bits in his plays, singling key thoughts from the rest and, by so doing, highlighting them for removal into commonplace books'.[109] I want to tackle here the first part of this argument, that is the nature of the material that was highlighted by these markers.

Of the 55 extracts marked out with gnomic pointers in *Sejanus*, only 19 were clearly echoing, or paraphrasing other sources (mostly classical except for one Italian source).[110] These were not exact quotations, but they were all sententious or aphoristic in style. On three occasions Jonson used commonly known proverbs: 'The thoughts be best are least set forth to show' (2.1.120); [111] 'Sir, wolves do change their hair, but not their hearts' (2.1.273);[112] and 'He threatens many that hath injured one' (2.1.476).[113] As De Grazia notes, 'no typographic distinction differentiated "original" from "borrowed" locutions'. [114] In 'Shakespeare in

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these markings points towards readers, just as the thorough commonplacing of *Sejanus* points towards the author' (p. 415).

[109] Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, p. 45.

[110] From *Sejanus*, ed. by Tom Cain, in *Ben Jonson Online*: see 1.1.70-72 (Machiavelli), 1.1.407-09 (Claudian), 1.1.433 (Horace), 1.1.498-502 (Tacitus), 2.1.174-5 (Seneca), 2.1.178-87 (Lucan), 2.1.186-8 (Machiavelli), 2.1.198-9 (Aristotle), 2.1.206-7 (Velleius Paterculus) and 209 (Tacitus), 2.1.257-9 (Juvenal), 2.1.274 (Tacitus), 2.1.277-8 (Seneca), 2.1.326-7 (Tacitus), 2.1.388-90 (Machiavelli and Seneca), 3.1.441 (Seneca), 3.1.637-46 (Machiavelli), 3.1.717 (Lucan), 3.1.736-9 (Machiavelli), 4.1.68-70 (Seneca), 4.1.76 (Seneca), and 5.1.429-30 (Petronius).

[111] Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of the Proverbs Found in English Literature and the Dictionaries of the Period* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), T248.

[112] A Greek proverb, for which, see Erasmus, *Adagia*, 787C. See also Tilley, W616.

[113] Robert William Dent, *Proverbial language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495–1616: An Index* (London: University of California Press, 1984), T255. To what degree material that had been taken from other sources, such as proverbs, was popular with compilers is discussed in the next chapter.

[114] De Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, pp. 214–15. De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 68 also notes that it was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that quotation marks assumed the function they have now: 'Quotation takes on new forms in the same decades that the traditional construct of authorship emerges. Both coincide with the gradual formulation of authorial rights. The author comes to have legal rights over his or her work that are fashioned after those protecting private property. Quotation marks are copyright writ small, extending the same kind of claim over smaller units of text.' See also De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 60.

Quotation Marks', De Grazia discusses what function gnomic pointing had in early modern texts:

> Commas and inverted commas, single and double, were generally placed only at the onset of a passage. They were used interchangeably with the pointing index finger that directed the reader's eye to passages of special note... Both signals appeared in the margin rather than within the text itself, the space where aids to the reader were supplied.[115]

What these marks were doing was to point readers to passages worth remarking, that is worth copying again and again: 'they thus indicated not that a passage originated elsewhere, but rather simply that it was important'.[116] These markers were therefore not used as modern quotation marks, which have the primarily function of alerting the reader that the words used originate somewhere else (with the addition of a precise reference to the source), but they were used to highlight parts of the text worth commonplacing. As De Grazia eloquently notes:

> The quotation marks surrounding a passage now serve to fence in a passage as property of another; in earlier centuries, however, they served to advertise its appropriability. They now mark off private property; before the eighteenth century, they signalled communal ground or commonplaces.[117]

This idea of communality, or shared property, as discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, was central to the practice of commonplacing, and explains why most collections of extracts left their material unattributed. De Grazia qualifies this 'appropriable' material as '*sententiae* or commonplaces, authoritative statements drawn from the great books of the past, primarily the Bible and the ancient classics', that is 'words that had been validated over the ages [by] authoritative authors who were invariably dead'.[118] The idea that the lines highlighted by these markers were authoritative and well-established can be seen in plays where most markers are concentrated around authoritative, classical, figures, like Cicero, or the Chorus in

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[115] De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 58.
[116] De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 58. Italicized print served the same function.
[117] De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 58.
[118] De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 58.

Kyd's *Cornelia*.[119] For example, from the opening, long, soliloquy given by Cicero before the Chorus, several lines are marked out with 'commonplace markers', as for example:

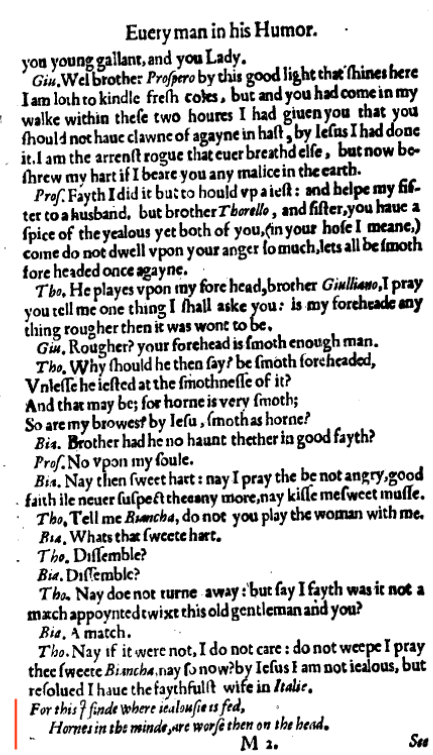
> "But faith continues not where men command.
> "Equals are euer bandying for the best:
> "A state deuided cannot firmely stand.
> "Two Kings within one realme could neuer rest. (sig. A1v)

Sometimes almost entire speeches by Cicero can be marked up (see for instance sig. B4r and C4r) or exchanges between him and other characters (with Cornelia, see for example sig. C2r, C3v and F1v). Several other lines are marked out in speeches delivered by Cornelia (sig. C4v), Phillip (sig. E4v), Brutus (sig. G1r), and Cassius (sig. G2v and G3r), but most marked out passages are from the Chorus (sig. A4r-v, D1r-v, E1r-v, F2r-v, F3r-v, G3v, G4r-v, H1r, I1r-v, I2r). The gnomic pointers are distributed more or less equally throughout the play.

Sometimes gnomic pointing was not only used for lines delivered by authoritative figures, but also for lines that originated somewhere else. In the dramatisations of the practice of commonplacing analysed in the first section of this chapter, we already encountered examples of gnomic pointing, as in the case of Dr Clement's lines in *Every Man in his Humour*, when he challenges Matheo to create verse extemporally: these lines were in Latin, so they would have been printed in italics anyway as was standard practice for printing any foreign word. Another example is provided by the lines Thorello used in his final speech at the end of the play: 'For this I finde where jealousie is fed / Hornes in the minde, are worse than on the head' (sig. M2r). These lines draw a moral conclusion to the story and are suitable for commonplacing, and in the quarto versions of the play they were also printed in italics (but not in the Folio), as can be seen in Fig. 34.

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[119] It is also worth remarking that markers abounded in this closet drama more than in other professional plays with similar markers. For more precise data see Appendix 4.



Euery man in his Humor.

you young gallant, and you Lady.

Giu. Wel brother *Proſpero* by this good light that ſhines here I am loth to kindle freſh coles, but and you had come in my walke within theſe two houres I had giuen you that you ſhould not haue clawne of agayne in haſt, by Ieſus I had done it. I am the arrenſt rogue that euer breathd elſe, but now beſhrew my hart if I beare you any malice in the earth.

Proſ. Fayth I did it but to hould vp a ieſt: and helpe my ſiſter to a husband, but brother *Thorello*, and ſiſter, you haue a ſpice of the yealous yet both of you, (in your hoſe I meane,) come do not dwell vpon your anger ſo much, lets all be ſmoth fore headed once agayne.

Tho. He playes vpon my fore head, brother *Giulliano*, I pray you tell me one thing I ſhall aske you: is my foreheade any thing rougher then it was wont to be.

Giu. Rougher? your forehead is ſmoth enough man.

Tho. Why ſhould he then ſay? be ſmoth foreheaded,
Vnleſſe he ieſted at the ſmothneſſe of it?
And that may be; for horne is very ſmoth;
So are my browes? by Ieſu, ſmoth as horne?

Bia. Brother had he no haunt thether in good fayth?

Proſ. No vpon my ſoule.

Bia. Nay then ſweet hart: nay I pray the be not angry, good faith ile neuer ſuſpect theeany more, nay kiſſe meſweet muſſe.

Tho. Tell me *Biancha*, do not you play the woman with me.

Bia. Whats that ſweete hart.

Tho. Diſſemble?

Bia. Diſſemble?

Tho. Nay doe not turne away: but ſay I fayth was it not a match appoynted twixt this old gentleman and you?

Bia. A match.

Tho. Nay if it were not, I do not care: do not weepe I pray thee ſweete *Biancha*, nay ſo now? by Ieſus I am not iealous, but reſolued I haue the faythfulſt wife in *Italie*.

For this I finde where iealouſie is fed,
Hornes in the minde, are worſe then on the head.

M 2. *See*

Fig. 34: ***Every Man in his Humour*****, 1601, sig. M2r.**

These lines were also found in *The Blazon of Jealousy* (1615), a translation of the lesson on the subject of jealousy by the Italian Benedetto Varchi (1503-65), first published in Italian in 1560. The English translator, Robert Tofte, copied it in a marginal note to Varchi's text.[120] The original source of these lines is not clear, but it is possible that Tofte actually quoted from Jonson, or one of the other many sources in which the proverb was circulated. The proverb had in fact become a popular one in plays of the time, as it appeared also in *Westward Ho!* (1607) and *The Iron Age, Part 1* (1632), and had been extracted under the heading 'Jealousy' in both *Belvedere* (p. 45) and *England's Parnassus* (p. 145), where it is attributed to Jonson, showing how what was commonplaced before could easily be commonplaced again.[121] In *The*

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[120] See *The Blazon of Iealousie*, p. 56, left-hand margin: 'Considering the great Plagues and Afflictions which many (too too Iealous ouer their Wiues) inflict most worthily vpon themselves, the voluntary Cuckolds, and kinde Wittols, are to be counted wise, in respect of the other, because they are neuer tortured with such frightfull and sensible punishment for, *Most certaine t'u, where IEALOVSIE to bred, HORNES in the Mind, are worse then HORNES on the Head*.' The text is Tofte's translation of Varchi talking about how Petrarch viewed jealousy in love relationships. The note in the margin with the proverb found in Jonson's play, however, is Tofte's addition.

[121] See the note to the text in *Every Man in his Humour*, ed. Bevington, 5.3.n.353–360, in *Ben Jonson Online*: 'This sententious passage, for which no source is known, was much admired. Lines 353–4 are quoted, with

Case is Altered (1609), Jonson also incorporated popular proverbs, which were then printed in italics. Many such sayings were delivered by Jaques the Beggar, underlining the common nature of the wisdom delivered by such proverbs.

In *Every Man out of His Humour* (1600), all six of the *sententiae* marked in inverted commas were pithy and aphoristic in nature.[122] Out of the six only two are known to have been taken from other sources: both are found in the induction of the play, and they are spoken by Asper. The first instance is taken from Horace's *Satires*, which Jonson's translates freely as 'Mean cates are welcome still to hungry guests' (Induction, l. 170).[123] The second example, 'Art hath an enemy called Ignorance' (Induction, l. 217) was originally a known proverb traced to 'the *Adagia* of Gilbertus Cognatus: *'Ignorantia scentiae inimica'* ('Ignorance and knowledge are enemies')'. [124] The other passages highlighted with 'commonplace markers' were all around lines 'presented as an aphorism, though not a common proverb,'[125] as in the case of 'Wealth in this age will scarcely looke on merit' (1.3.87)[126], or again, 'He that will thrive, must thinke no course vile' (1.3.146), also 'represented as proverbial, but having no known source'.[127] More often than not (as I have observed when looking at the plays with gnomic pointing collected in the compilations analysed in this thesis) gnomic pointing was applied to lines that did not originate from another source, but that simply had the qualities of a *sententia*. As modern readers of early modern plays, we should therefore not assume that all gnomic pointing corresponds to a

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minor variations, by Dekker and Webster in *Westward Ho!* (1607), 4.2, and by Robert Tofte in *The Blazon of Jealousy* (1615), 56, as a marginal note, and appear in two anthologies under 'Jealousy': *England's Parnassus* (1600), 145, and *Bel-vedére* (1600), 45. Lines 359–60 reappear in Thomas Heywood's *The Iron Age*, Part I, 1 (1632)'.

[122] Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. by Helen Ostovich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). From the Revels ed.: Induction, ll. 169-170 and l. 217; 1.3.87 and 146; 2.2.73-73; 3.2.121. All of these were copied in *Englands Parnassus*, as I discuss in the next chapter.

[123] Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. Ostovich, p. 122, nn. 169–70.

[124] Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. Ostovich, p. 124, n. 217.

[125] Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. Ostovich, p. 154, n. 87. by Macilente (1.3.87), at the end of long speech.

[126] *Englands Parnassus*, sig. D3r.

[127] Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. Ostovich, p. 157, n. 146. *Englands Parnassus*, sig. D4r.

quotation taken from another source—in many instances this was not the case—nor that all material in a play taken from another source would be marked out. On the other hand, it is also true that not all suitably commonplaceable material in a play with gnomic pointers would be marked, and the process for selecting such 'elected' material is still a mystery, especially when gnomic pointing were only used sparsely.[128] For example, in Kyd's *Cornelia* gnomic pointers were used throughout the play: this choice clearly presented the play as a play printed with 'commonplace markers', as these pointers were a heavily present feature of the play and could affect the way it was read. However, other plays could have only one or two passages highlighted: see for example John Ford's *Lover's Melancholy* (1629), which only has one passage marked out with inverted commas in the whole play, 'But no wounds deadly till our honours bleed' (4.1.83).[129] The line is clearly proverbial in style and tone, but no source is provided for it in the Oxford classics edition and no proverb corresponding to it is found in Morris Palmer Tilley's or Robert William Dent's dictionaries of proverbs.[130] So, it could be that this line was created by Ford, but why mark out this particular line and only this one? This is also true for *Every Man Out of His Humour*, or *Hamlet* Q1 and Q2, which both only had two passages marked out: the 1603 edition had a few lines from a speech delivered by Corambis to Laertes (sig. C2r), and on the following page from Corambis addressing Ophelia (sig. C2v);[131] the 1604 edition also had markers towards the beginning of the play, but this time they marked out lines from Laertes's speech to Ophelia (sig. C3v), and later on in the

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[128] The disparity in use of gnomic pointing and the lack of detail provided in Hunter's work is a topic I address in the next chapter.

[129] John Ford, *'Tis Pity She Is a Whore and Other Plays*, ed. by Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 55.

[130] Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs*; and Dent, *Proverbial Language*.

[131] Kirk Melnikoff, 'Nicholas Ling's Republican *Hamlet* (1603)', in *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography*, ed. by Marta Straznicky (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 106, points out that Corambis was taken as a serious character in the early modern period, and that the lines Ling decided to mark out in his speech 'help establish the "foundation" of his own authority as the king's counselor'. Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 118, also mentions that a late seventeenth-century compiler copied 'Polonius's advice to his son Laertes in *Hamlet*' in his miscellany (University of Chicago, MS 824). What the compiler thought of this advice we cannot know, but Estill posits that the 'reader certainly recognized that the importance of this part of Shakespeare's play lies in its commonplace nature'.

play they marked out lines delivered by the Queen (sig. K4r.) It is difficult to tell why these particular passages were chosen among the many that could have been marked out. This a useful reminder about the difficulty of discerning intention or motives in many cases.

3.4. Conclusion: promoting drama for commonplacing

If the practice of commonplacing is generally criticised in the dramatic world and used to represent the tensions and anxieties over the emerging new generation of less educated, but ambitious mercantile gentry, it is also true that both playwrights and stationers exploited this practice in the hope of promoting their works to buyers interested in commonplaceable material. The status of the practice of commonplacing is depicted negatively in all the dramatisations analysed here, and associated in particular with bad practice (plagiarism, stealing) and lower social status or futile motivations. These associations are a sign that the practice had moved beyond the limited circle of the educated elite, and had started to become more and more popular among the general population, generating some social anxiety over it. This practice facilitated access to the educated words of others, but also meant less control over how that material was going to be used by these 'unsophisticated' readers, what Mary Thomas Crane calls the '"common readers", artisans and citizens, urban merchants, and the ambitious lesser gentry'.[132] The representations of the practice in the first half of the chapter show how commonplacing could be the object of harsh criticism when practised by some characters, and at the same time could be used and applauded when used by others, a tension palpable throughout the examples: as Mayer shows in *Shakespeare's Early Readers*, which covers not only the seventeenth century, but also and especially the eighteenth century, commonplacing 'never ceased to be controversial, while remaining indispensable and attractive'.[133] Furthermore, the criticism that commonplacing attracted might have helped to

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[132] Crane, p. 181.
[133] Mayer, p. 142.

bring 'unacknowledged copying into the open', meaning that commonplacing could have contributed to the gradual construction of notions concerning authorship and plagiarism. Kewes also posits that 'the frequency with which accusations of plagiarism have been made [in the seventeenth century] is a telling index of plagiarism's importance as a cultural concern'.[134] The second part of this chapter, however, tells another story: playwrights were consciously engaging with the practice of commonplacing and promoting it to their readers. Perhaps playwrights, alongside stationers, started to see the potential for sales and promotion of their texts with the popularisation of the practice of commonplacing. The commonplacing of plays would have helped in the circulation of their work, and therefore it could have generated further interest in their plays. If their language was appealing to commonplacers, and commonplace markers further promoted such material in their plays, this could have a positive impact on sales and popularity, as it would have facilitated the circulation of dramatic extracts.[135]

Finally, it almost seems paradoxical that writers who in their writing were constantly echoing, paraphrasing or imitating other sources would be so harsh critics of the practice. Virtually everyone who was writing in the Renaissance was practicing commonplacing: as the practice became more and more popular and started to be used outside the classroom by less educated people, like the ones depicted in the plays here analysed, the more elite, educated writers started to feel anxious about how their plays were being commonplaced.[136] It is

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[134] Kewes, 'Historicizing Plagiarism', pp. 8, 5.

[135] Concerning the later negative impact of this dissemination and popularisation, Mayer, p. 163, comments that 'the dispersal of Shakespeare's words meant that they could become overly common and hackneyed'.

[136] Mayer, p. 142, reports Thomas Fuller's ironic comment on how he knew 'some have a Common-place against Common-place books and yet perchance will privately make use of what publickly they declaim against' (Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State* (1642), p. 176, in ch. 10, 'Of Memory'); see also Beal, '"Notions in Garrison"', p. 139. See also van den Berg, 'Ben Jonson and the Ideology of Authorship', p. 112, who explores how Jonson presented his authorship in the dedications of his works, but aimed to please only a few learned readers: in his *Forrest* he imagines 'an alternative world for art, a private realm of intimate conversation and meditation', and the motto on the frontispiece of his *Sermones* makes it explicit that Jonson does not want the work to be admired by the crowd, and is happy with only a few readers (from *Sermones*, 1. 10. 73-74: 'neque, me ut miretur turba, / laboro: / Contentus paucis lectoribus').

therefore possible that playwrights like Jonson saw 'commonplace markers' as a way to control how their texts were read for commonplacing (even if Jonson's case is certainly exceptional, as most commonly commonplace markers were not the result of authorial agency).[137] This can be seen in *Sejanus*, where one sometimes finds quotation marks at the beginning of 'memorable' lines, such as: 'Ambition makes more trusty slaves, then need' (368) or 'When power, that may command, so much descends / Their bondage, whom it stoupes to, it intends' (369). Yet, control cannot be imposed on texts which become public, and these lines, thirty years after the publication of Jonson's *Works* were lost in Shirley's *Wits labyrinth* (1648). Shirley anonymously quotes thousands of verses 'stolen' from various literary texts, which he compiles so as to create a maze-like pathway through the many excerpts. Jonson's control over Shirley is only partial: his quotation marks (or 'commonplace markers') direct the latter to the lines mentioned above 'Ambition make more trusty slaves...' and 'When power that may command…', but these lines now appear in the labyrinth created by Shirley with no attribution, and no separation from the surrounding extracts.[138] Rather than exert control, these markers had the effect of spreading the material from these plays even more, which now appear in collections, manuscript and printed, with or without attribution, well beyond Jonson's reach. Moreover, gnomic pointing, De Grazia claims, was mainly there to underline the presence of commonplaceable material, their sources being secondary, if not to lend authority to it.[139] As noted by Helen Ostovich:

> Quotation marks do not necessarily indicate actual quotation from another work, but may simply lend conspicuity and authority to *sententiae*, either invented by Jonson or in the public domain.[140]

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[137] Loewenstein, p. 134, fully explores how Jonson tried to 'repossess' his texts through editorial control and '*bibliographic authorship*, a gesture by which the author is presented as an editor of his own works, and thus as perhaps the pre-eminent reader of his works'.
[138] Shirley's *Wits labyrinth* (1648), p. 11.
[139] De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', pp. 59–60.
[140] Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. Ostovich, p. 124, n. 217.

The effect of signalling that a text contained material that was considered 'memorable or worth commemorating', was that of giving it a 'special status', as these markers attested that the text contained passages which, traditionally, possessed 'superior moral, theological, and philosophical validity.'[141] That commonplace markers advertised plays as worthy of being studied and culled for *sententiae* is also the main argument of Lesser and Stallybrass in their study of the first quarto of *Hamlet*, who claim that these markers actually gave a 'literary' status to the play.[142] However, in order to assess what impact these markers actually had on readers/commonplacers, one has to consider in as much detail as possible how it affected their commonplace practice. How effective these markers really were on promoting these plays and the lines marked up with commonplacers will be analysed in detail in the next chapter, which focuses on how the practice of commonplacing affected the circulation of early modern drama and what impact it had on its cultural status.[143] There I discuss a table I have drawn of plays with gnomic pointing and list the collections in which these plays were found (table in Appendix 4). I then count how many of those extracts were taken from marked up passages, in order to assess what impact these markers had on the way these plays were commonplaced. In so doing I not only offer more detail than previous studies on commonplace markers such as Hunter, but I also engage with arguments by Stallybrass and Lesser and offer a more nuanced understanding of how commonplace markers, and commonplacing more generally, affected the cultural status of early modern drama.

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[141] De Grazia, 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', pp. 59–60.
[142] Lesser and Stallybrass, 'The First Literary *Hamlet*', pp. 371–420.
[143] See also Emily Rendek, 'Bound Bodies: Book Use and the Early Modern Reader, 1450 1660' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Carolina, 2016), p. 102, 'While in theory these marks, which take the form of either inverted commas or italics, suggest to the reader what extractions *should* be made, the act of reading is not something that can be controlled'. As I show in the next chapter compilers indeed did not often follow these instructions.

4. Dramatic Extracting and the Popularity and Status of Early Modern Drama

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore questions of popularity and status, and how the practice of dramatic extracting affected these. The current dominant narrative of the impact that dramatic extracting had on the status of early modern English drama, as argued by Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass among others, is that it elevated vernacular drama to a 'literary' status, as drama started to be commonplaced for 'generally applicable ideas, precepts, images or similes which pointed to or illustrated universal truths', a practice traditionally exclusively applied to the study of classical authors.[1] In particular, in their article on *Hamlet* Q1, Lesser and Stallybrass claim that this play is the first 'literary' *Hamlet*, despite this edition having been long considered the 'bad quarto', because of the presence of printed 'commonplace markers', that is, inverted commas which had usually been used to mark *sententiae* in classical texts. However, in the seventeenth century these markers were 'rapidly becoming a distinguishing feature of plays for the learned or scholarly reader – a feature central to early seventeenth-century attempts to forge a culture of literary drama and poesy in the vernacular'.[2] Ultimately, their argument rests on the crucial question of agency: *who* made drama 'literary'? Lesser and Stallybrass challenge Lukas Erne's argument that 'literary drama originates in the author himself'.[3] For Erne the literary value of *Hamlet* Q2 lies in the 'interiority and psychological complexity' of the characters, which Shakespeare had developed in this version of the play 'in an attempt to raise the literary respectability of [the]

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[1] Beal, '"Notions in Garrison"', p. 135. See also Lesser and Stallybrass, 'The First Literary *Hamlet*'. Whilst a close analysis of the nature of the dramatic extracts collected in a variety of printed and manuscript collections would be necessary in order to challenge this argument (something I aim to do in the book development of this thesis), here I limit myself to discuss the topics for which drama was popular and the evolution of the function of collections with dramatic extracts.

[2] Lesser and Stallybrass, p. 376.

[3] Lesser and Stallybrass, p. 414 and Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as a Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 220.

playtext'.[4] For Lesser and Stallybrass the literary value of *Hamlet* Q1 lies in the extractability of some lines, which were highlighted through the use of 'commonplace markers' added by stationers. Their perspective opposes Erne's not only because the agency of *who* made drama 'literary' is different, but also because the extractability of these lines (which is, for them, what makes drama 'literary') suggests that these words were not appreciated for their unique emotional and psychological character, but for their universal, and even anonymous character, which allowed them to be circulated independently from their original source.[5] Finally, Lesser and Stallybrass claim that

> literary drama as it was created through printed commonplace markers emerged primarily through the activity of readers, not authors, beginning with the circle of John Bodenham and widening to include a host of other readers, including the London stationers who published these playbooks.[6]

Lesser and Stallybrass make it clear here that they hold responsible the activity not only of stationers for elevating drama to a literary status, but also that of all readers, especially those who read plays for commonplacing. In their article they only consider John Bodenham and Robert Allott, the compilers of *Belvedere* (1600) and *Englands Parnassus* (1600), focusing, however, only on readers—such as stationers and compilers of printed collections—who had particular connections with the book market, which risks presenting a biased, if not limited vision of how readers valued drama. In this chapter I offer a broader picture of the impact that dramatic extracting had on the status and popularity of drama, by also considering readers of drama, who collected dramatic extracts in their personal manuscript compilations. Additionally, I also explore what influence commonplace markers had on the choice of plays

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[4] Erne, *Literary Dramatist*, p. 236.
[5] Lesser and Stallybrass, pp. 410, 413–14.
[6] Lesser and Stallybrass, p. 414. Chartier and Stallybrass, 'Reading and Authorship', p. 47, similarly argue that Richard Field by printing *Lucrece* with commonplace markers in 1594, 'produced a book that drew attention to the fact that it had already been read as a canonical text'. Publishers were the first readers of these texts, and were the ones responsible for advertising them as suitable for commonplacing.

and lines that readers of commonplaces selected for their collections. In order to address these questions, this chapter pays close attention to numbers—the number of extracts taken from marked out passages, the number of extracts taken from certain plays, authors, and the number of extracts collected for particular topics. This approach allows me to offer a quantitative analysis of dramatic extracting, which lets the evidence speak, if not for itself, then at least on its own terms.[7] I do not disagree completely with Lesser and Stallybrass's argument—the practice of commonplacing, and commonplace markers *did* reflect a change in attitudes towards vernacular drama—but the archival evidence that I have analysed shows that commonplace markers were not always, or indeed even in the majority of cases, followed by readers of commonplaces, and that drama was not appreciated only for its 'literary' value, but also for other kinds of use or profit. Lesser and Stallybrass offer an overarching narrative about the relationship between commonplace markers, readers of commonplaces and the status of drama based on a limited amount of (highly canonical) evidence. In this chapter, I show how examining a wider range of (less canonical) evidence can offer alternative narratives about dramatic extracting and its impact on the status of drama.

The other argument I engage with in this chapter, especially in the first part, is related to the role that dramatic extracting played in the formation of a 'canon' of early modern English drama. In her survey of the first printed commonplace books to include vernacular writers, Ann Moss highlights how, in England, authors such as Thomas More and Philip Sidney had gradually found their way into printed conventional moral commonplace books such as Nicholas Ling's *Politeuphuia, Wits Commonwealth* (1597), occupying a place alongside the Church Fathers and the Classics.[8] More radical still, she posits, was Allott's *Englands Parnassus* (1600), which represented 'a complete change of masters of literary

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[7] Although this study provides a quantitative analysis, which is illustrative of broader tendencies, I do not claim, of course, that the data have statistical significance.
[8] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 209.

discourse, in effect to replace the ancient canon of authors and rewrite commonplaces in the language of a new canon of modern poets'.[9] By including exclusively vernacular writers in his collection, Allott had dared more than any other to create a new type of commonplace book, the very first dedicated exclusively to 'the choysest Flowers of our Moderne Poets', as the subtitle of *Englands Parnassus* reads.[10] Allott makes his ambitions clear in the dedicatory sonnet, where he writes that with this collection he will 'consecrate' (sig. A4r) the works displayed in his *Parnassus*; he also calls Sir Thomas Mounson, his dedicatee, an 'English Maecenas' (sig. A4r), alluding to Mounson, a courtier, as the literary patron, who would promote a Golden Age of English writers.[11] Moss affirms that documents like this one show that 'English and English literature, perhaps precociously, had come of age', signalling that English literature had started to establish itself as such, as a distinct cultural category.[12] Neil Rhodes states more firmly that the 'Wit' compilations promoted by Bodenham between 1597 and 1599, along with *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* in 1600 'celebrate the birth of a national literary canon', drama included, and that '[i]n these works the authority which had guaranteed the cultural value of Latin texts, excerpted and tabulated in countless commonplace-books, is for the first time transferred to English'.[13] More recently, Erne has also taken the fact that Shakespeare's plays, and poems, were extracted in printed and manuscript collections to signify that they 'were entering the literary canon',[14] and Laura Estill has likewise endorsed Moss's and Rhodes's ideas in her monograph on dramatic

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[9] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, pp. 209–210.
[10] Note that the running title appearing on top of each page actually reads 'our English poets'. It should be clarified here that Bodenham's *Belvedere*, published in the same year as *Englands Parnassus* and advertised as a commonplace book collecting only English authors, was actually made up of a large quantity (almost 30%) of extracts copied directly from *Politeuphuia*, therefore tacitly making *Belvedere* a collection with extracts from non-vernacular authors as well.
[11] *Englands Parnassus*, as well as *Belvedere*, used a rhetoric that directly compared English literature with classical literature. Allott calls his collection 'Parnassus', referring to the sacred mountain of Apollo and home to the Muses in classical culture, thus suggesting that vernacular authors can be considered as worthy as classical authors. However, as scholars we should be cautious of reading too much into what could simply be a marketing device.
[12] Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books*, p. 210.
[13] Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins of English*, p. 170.
[14] Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, p. 232.

extracting, where she also supports Lesser and Stallybrass's argument that '[t]he inclusion of vernacular dramatic excerpts in both print and manuscript commonplace books and miscellanies indicates the literate public's acceptance of vernacular authors as equal to their classical forebears and of the genre of drama as a worthwhile literary endeavor'.[15] However, all these arguments become problematic once we consider the evidence of how the practice of dramatic extracting was carried out in both printed and manuscript collections from the first half of the seventeenth century. How can we establish that these first instances of printed commonplace books actually contributed to the creation of a 'canon', in the sense of a selection of material that is certified for its quality,[16] without looking at any other collection and comparing the material found in those? In order to problematize these existing narratives about dramatic extracting and canon formation, I take the raw data and use the body of the evidence I have compiled (see tables in Appendices 1 and 2),[17] and I ask two main questions: did the practice of dramatic extracting aid the circulation and spread of drama? And could this have had an impact on canon formation? The first question is therefore purely based on numbers, that is, I consider the popularity of drama in these collections by quantifying in how many different collections extracts from a certain play or playwright appeared.[18] Comparing the content of sixteen collections of various size, format and period, this analysis will allow us to see whether different trends of popularities appeared at any given point, and how they compared across time and different media. This focus on popularity in terms of number of times a play or playwrights recurred in different collections, that is how much a play or playwright was circulated in these collections, takes away also the many issues that 'canon'

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[15] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 6.
[16] Barbara M. Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 4, calls 'the formation of a canon' in eighteenth-century anthologies as 'a demonstration of refined choice'.
[17] Appendix 1 presents the dramatic extract content by compilation in chronological order. Appendix 2 presents the dramatic extracts by playwright (in alphabetical order).
[18] This is also the approach adopted by Smyth in '"*Profit and Delight*"' (see p. 7).

formation presents: first of all, can we even talk about 'canon' when considering only extracts from plays and not whole plays? And what about the fact that these extracts were often presented as anonymous in these collections, as discussed in Chapter 2? These remain open questions. Moreover, canon also implies a certain status and standard of quality, but as I discuss later in this chapter, what was found in these collections was not always considered high quality material.[19] I therefore prefer to use the term popularity over canon, and what I claim based on the data I have gathered is that a plurality of popularities, that is of material recurrently circulated, manifested itself in these collections, and that today's canonical authors were promoted alongside more obscure playwrights.[20]

Finally, I do not aim to establish the absolute popularity of some playwrights, or plays, over others, as this would be impossible to do considering the limited amount of material I am studying, and also unhelpfully rigid in the context of the complicated literary culture that I explore.[21] However, the range of material I have chosen here offers a useful sample which can highlight 'relative popularity' (within a compilation),[22] and mechanisms of popularity, that is, which factors (such as personal and environmental factors, and availability) could have influenced the choices of compilers of manuscript and print collections.

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[19] See also Rhodes's discussion of the difference between popularity and canon in 'Shakespeare's Popularity and the Origins of the Canon', esp. pp. 120–2, at 121: 'The book that made [Shakespeare] popular was a small book of poetry. The book that made him canonical was a large book of plays.'

[20] Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'What is Print Popularity? A Map of the Elizabethan Book Trade', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Emma Smith and Andy Kesson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 19–54, at 20, also discuss the difficulties of establishing the popularity of (whole) plays in the book trade, and how similarly this 'needs to be understood as multiple rather than singular', that is multiple popularities rather than one popularity. See also Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'Canons and Classics: Publishing Drama in Caroline England', in *Localizing Caroline Drama: Politics and Economics of the Early Modern English Stage, 1625–1642*, ed. by Adam Zucker and Alan B. Farmer (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), where they suggest that 'there is more than one variety of canon, and more than one way that canons are created' (p. 37, n. 3).

[21] I explain in the general introduction of this thesis why I have not considered printed manuals with dramatic extracts in my main analysis.

[22] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 101, says that 'Dramatic miscellanies offer particularly valuable insight into the relative popularity of plays because they were compiled by readers who were interested in theatre and who had access to printed plays'.

4.2 Dramatic extracting and canon formation

4.2.1 The popularity of drama in manuscript compilations

First of all, I shall address an issue recently raised by Estill.[23] As she points out, the fact that, historically, Shakespeare has been the writer whom scholars and archivists have known and revered, has meant that material concerning him is more likely to have been catalogued and made available to study.[24] This creates a bias of which we, as scholars of dramatic reception using archival evidence, must be aware. This also means that, to some degree, the results I discuss here are affected by such a bias. I aim, however, to be as inclusive as possible and to move away from a Shakespeare-centred approach, and on the contrary, I show how Shakespeare's alleged popularity in commonplace book culture can be questioned, when looking at a wide range of (particularly longer) manuscript collections.[25] Small collections of dramatic extracts, and collecting only a few extracts from Shakespeare's plays—such as Harriot's notebook, BL Add. MS 64078 (Table 1 in Appendix 1), or single slips of paper, such as BL Egerton MS 2446 (Table 6 in Appendix 1), or BL Add. MS 41063 (Table 7 in Appendix 1), which was used as a bookmark—tell us more about our attention to preserving, cataloguing and studying material relating to certain authors, as pointed out by Estill, than which plays and playwrights early modern people were commonplacing more frequently. Moreover, poetic miscellanies mainly dedicated to poetry, but including a handful of dramatic extracts like Bod MS Rawl. poet. 142 (Table 10 in Appendix 1), Bod MS Eng. poet. e. 97 (Table 11 in Appendix 1), and BL Egerton MS 2727 (Table 13 in Appendix 1) also show that songs were the type of dramatic material these compilers were mostly interested in, rather

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[23] Estill, 'Shakespearean Extracts', pp. 175–192.
[24] Estill, 'Shakespearean Extracts', pp. 175, 178, suggests that 'Shakespeare's canonical status colours not just how we value what manuscript evidence we find, but what we can find in the first place', as 'cataloguing practices have historically privileged Shakespeare over even those authors we think of as canonical'.
[25] Estill, 'Shakespearean Extracts', p. 188, also suggests that 'improved cataloguing and finding aids will allow scholars to move beyond author-centric and, specifically, Shakespeare-centric questions'.

than dramatic extracts taken from the narrative of the play, which is what I am interested in here.[26]

Looking at manuscripts with multiple dramatic extracts is definitely more conducive to understanding how Shakespeare, and other playwrights, were appreciated by commonplacers, as it allows us to compare the number of extracts from different authors, or plays, within the same collection, therefore allowing for an understanding of 'relative popularity'. Here, I analyse these larger manuscript collections following their chronological order as they appear in Appendix 1, starting with Edward Pudsey's miscellany, compiled around the first decade of the seventeenth century (Table 5 in Appendix 1): Pudsey gathered 436 dramatic extracts from ten different playwrights. Shakespeare is clearly a favourite of his (at least in this collection), as he is the most quoted playwright with 155 extracts taken from eight plays, his most extracted play being *Hamlet* (53 extracts). Except for *Much Ado About Nothing* (44 extracts), his other plays are quoted from relatively rarely: *Romeo and Juliet* (20 extracts), *The Merchant of Venice* (14), *Richard III* (9), *Richard II* (8), *Othello*, (4), and *Titus Andronicus* (3). Jonson is present with 142 extracts in total, taken from six plays: *Cynthia's Revels*, *Poetaster*, *Every Man out of His Humour*, *Every Man in His Humour*, *The Case is Altered*, *The Alchemist*, quoted 46, 42, 35, 13, 5 and 1 times respectively. Dekker, in third position with less than half of the extracts taken from Shakespeare and Jonson (he only has a total of 60 extracts), is present with 40 extracts from *Satiromastix* alone. If we were to rank the presence of dramatic extracts by play and not by playwright the most popular plays in Pudsey's collections would be: *Hamlet* (53), *Cynthia's Revels* (46), *Much Ado About Nothing* (44), *Poetaster* (42), *Satiromastix* (40), *Every Man out of His Humour* (35), *The Honest Whore* part 1 (20), *Romeo and Juliet* (20), *The White Devil* (19), *Antonio's Revenge* (16), *The*

[26] A glimpse at *CELM* shows how many more songs from plays, especially from Jonson's plays, appear in poetic miscellanies, but I have not listed these as in this thesis I do not consider songs as dramatic extracts (as explained in the introduction to this thesis).

Atheist's Tragedy (15), just to mention the top ten. Shakespeare has only three plays (out of eight) in the top ten, and so has Jonson (out of six). Dekker has two (which is the total of plays he is quoted for), and Marston, Webster and Tourneur have one (the last two also being quoted only for one play). Shakespeare and Jonson are the playwrights quoted for the largest number of plays, eight and six respectively, but half of their plays are only quoted for a few extracts. Shakespeare appears to be predominant, along with Jonson, when considering the totality of extracts taken from his plays, but if one looks at the plays individually, he becomes just one playwright among the others collected in this miscellany.

In order to understand whether Pudsey's choice of material was typical, or not, among the collections I have analysed, it is necessary to examine the data in the tables in Appendix 2, and see how often the plays in this miscellany appeared in the other collections considered in this thesis. To start with *Hamlet*, the most quoted play here: of the sixteen collections considered for the data in Appendix 2, only three other manuscript collections extract from it, and only one printed collection. Furthermore, the number of extracts in Pudsey (53) is quite exceptional: Wright quotes *Hamlet* 38 times, and *English Treasury* 19 times, but MS Eng. misc. d. 28 and MS Rawl. poet. 117 only quote from it five and four times respectively. The two collections in which *Hamlet* appears in higher numbers date from some thirty years apart from one another (Pudsey being from the first decade of the seventeenth century and Wright from the 1640s), which could suggest that the play endured a degree of popularity and visibility (especially in terms of print availability) with compilers of such collections. However, Pudsey and Wright are the only two compilers of manuscript collections to show some interest in this play. *Much Ado About Nothing* is also a play not commonly found in collections: in fact, it only appears in another manuscript here analysed, MS Rawl. poet. 117, with only one extract, and with eight extracts it also makes an appearance in *English Treasury*. Both collections date from the middle of the seventeenth century. Pudsey's

favourite Shakespearean plays are therefore not typically found in collections with dramatic extracts, reflecting the compiler's preference, rather than a general trend. The other Shakespearean plays, and in particular *Romeo and Juliet*, show how a play commonplaced in printed collections (it was extracted in both *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, as well as in *English Treasury*) did not automatically become a popular play to be extracted in manuscript collections, as this appears only in Pudsey's miscellany and with one extract in MS Eng. misc. d. 28. *Merchant of Venice* was also a rarely commonplaced play (it only appears in MS V.a.87 and *English Treasury*), and *Titus Andronicus* only appears in Pudsey's. Finally, *Othello*, *Richard II* and *Richard III* circulate more widely, as they appear in several printed and manuscript collections: *Othello* in *English Treasury*, MS Eng. misc. d. 28 and Wright's miscellany; *Richard II* and *Richard III* both appeared in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* as well as in MS Eng. misc. d. 28 and Add. MS 41063. However, considering that *Richard II* and *Richard III* were among the most popular plays commonplaced in the two collections printed in 1600, their circulation in manuscript collections is somewhat limited. Pudsey's choice of Shakespearean extracts therefore cannot be said to be typical or following particular previous trends, they are more a reflection of his personal taste and what was being performed in the London theatres in the first decade of the century.[27]

The selection of extracts from Jonson's plays shows a different dynamic: *Cynthia's Revels* appears in three other manuscripts and one printed collection, even if with only a handful of extracts. *Poetaster* appears in two other manuscripts and one printed collection, but it is *Every Man in His Humour* and *Every Man out of His Humour* that seem the most circulated of the plays selected by Pudsey: they appear equally in printed and manuscript collections. *The Case Is Altered* and *The Alchemist*, however, are among the most rarely

[27] See also Chapter 1, where I discuss Pudsey's connections with London and the possibility that Pudsey commonplaced *Othello* from a performance rather than the printed text, as this would have not been available to him until 1622.

quoted plays by Jonson: the first only appears in *Belvedere*, whilst the second is only extracted in Pudsey, and is mentioned in the initial list of D 952. Overall, Jonson's plays tend to be found in several other collections analysed in this thesis. The other plays extracted in Pudsey's miscellany are less 'popular', in the sense that they are less circulated among the collections that I have analysed here. For example, Dekker's plays which are present in Pudsey's miscellany only appear in *English Treasury*, and so it is the case for most of Marston's plays, except for *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, which only appears in Pudsey. *Antonio's Revenge* and *Antonio and Mellida* also appear in MS V.a.87. Webster's *The White Devil* seems to have attracted more attention, with Wright extracting it 43 times and *English Treasury* also including 41 extracts. Finally, Greville's *Mustapha* appears in one more manuscript and *English Treasury*, Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* and Daborne's play appear in *English Treasury*, whilst Lyly's plays and Heywood's *Golden Age* only appear in Pudsey. This data confirms that, in general, Pudsey's choices (except for Jonson) were not very popular among other manuscript compilers, and that he did not copy them from the 1600 printed collections.

Also quite unique and personal was the material collected in Bod MS Eng. misc. d. 28, c. 1620–30 (Table 8 in Appendix 1). In this manuscript miscellany the most extracted playwright is Chapman, with 43 extracts from five plays: the table dedicated to Chapman in Appendix 2 shows us that these plays did not appear in any other manuscript collection I have analysed, except for ten extracts from *Sir Giles Goosecap* appearing in MS. V.a.87.[28] All plays are however also present in *English Treasury*, demonstrating the wide range of plays present in this printed collection, as I further discuss in the next section, rather than the popularity of this material. The anonymous compiler of this miscellany also collects eleven extracts from Shakespearean plays, showing his distinctive preference for Chapman, who is

[28] The printed plays used for extracting these plays date from the beginning of the century, as shown in Appendix 2. This could suggest that Chapman's plays had a relative late popularity with compilers.

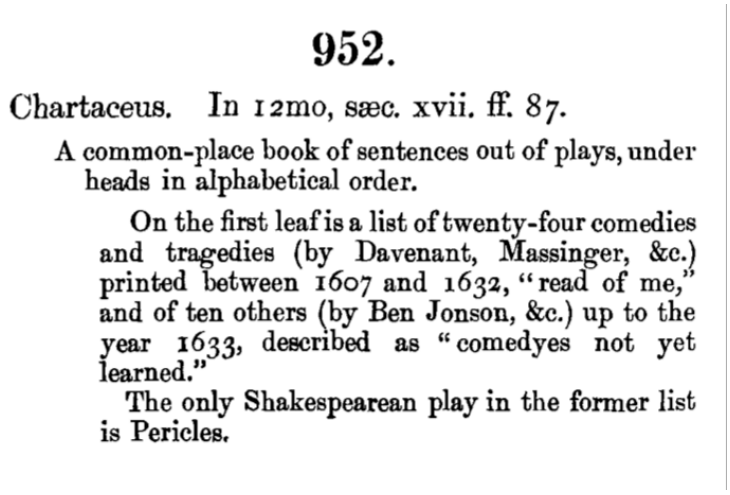
present with 43. These plays are similar to those collected by Pudsey: *Hamlet*, *Richard II*, *Othello*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. As seen before, despite the fact that these plays were popular in the book trade, they were not so commonly found in collections (especially manuscript ones) of dramatic extracts, with the exception perhaps of *Richard II*.[29] Finally, Fletcher's *Thierry and Theodoret* and Dekker's *If It Be not Good* also appear in *English Treasury*, whilst Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady* also appears in Wright's miscellany with 95 extracts. Jonson's *Volpone*, here only present with two extracts, is generally a more 'popular' play with commonplacers, as it appears not only in *English Treasury*, but also in four other manuscripts.

Since in both manuscript cases analysed so far the choice of material collected does not seem directly to follow wider trends, it might be more useful to think about what mechanisms might have influenced the choice of dramatic extracts in manuscript collections. MS Rawlinson D 952 (Table 9 in Appendix 1), dating from around 1630, is the perfect example to explore for developing ideas of 'mechanisms of popularity'.[30] D 952 was a manuscript commonplace book compiled by CB, who collected (almost exclusively) extracts from English Jacobean and Caroline drama under thematic headings, for a total of 265 dramatic extracts. It is relevant to consider here the Bodleian Rawlinson Quarto Catalogue entry for it (Fig. 35), to see a practical example of the archival bias described by Estill mentioned above:

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[29] See Rhodes, 'Shakespeare's Popularity', p. 116, in which he compares print popularity and extracts in *Belvedere*: 'Shakespeare's most popular plays in print before 1623... *1 Henry IV* and *Richard III* (six editions), followed by *Richard II* (five editions) and then *Romeo and Juliet* (four editions)' were also present and popular in the printed collection.

[30] This is also discussed in Montedoro, 'Comedies and Tragedies "read of me" and "not yet learned"'.



952.

Chartaceus. In 12mo, sæc. xvii. ff. 87.

A common-place book of sentences out of plays, under heads in alphabetical order.

On the first leaf is a list of twenty-four comedies and tragedies (by Davenant, Massinger, &c.) printed between 1607 and 1632, "read of me," and of ten others (by Ben Jonson, &c.) up to the year 1633, described as "comedyes not yet learned."

The only Shakespearean play in the former list is Pericles.

Fig. 35: Bodleian Rawlinson Quarto Catalogue entry, col. 216.[31]

The entry simply describes D 952 as 'a commonplace book of sentences out of plays, under heads in alphabetical order', and the fact that on the first leaf the compiler wrote a list of 24 comedies and tragedies 'read of me' and 10 others described as 'comedyes not yet learned'. Moreover, it mentions the names of Davenant, Massinger and Jonson, but nothing more is said about the content of this commonplace book, except that 'the only Shakespearean play in the [...] list is Pericles'.[32] This clearly shows the special attention reserved for Shakespeare (his play is the only one mentioned), yet the picture it depicts clashes completely with the reality of the collection as only two extracts of 265 are copied from *Pericles*. What I explore here, however, is specifically how CB selected the drama to excerpt for his collection and what factors could have influenced his choices. Situating CB in space and time might help to understand the reasoning behind the choice of plays he included in his collection. The exact identity of CB (these are the initials embossed in the middle of the front and back cover of the manuscript binding) is not possible to establish, however, it might still be possible to situate

[31] William Dunn Macray, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ Partis Quintæ Fasciculus Quarto Ricardi Rawlinson Codicum Classes [A-D] Complectens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), col. 216.
[32] Macray, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum*, col. 216.

the origins of this collection more generally.[33] A good starting point is a note left in the manuscript itself:

> Five Score barrels of beare at
> one vine lane I seene in the
> schollers buttery. without horseing.
> besides 4 empty places for four barrels
> moore. 1632. August. 21th (fol. 1^{v})

The date '1632. August. 21th' is the only date present in the manuscript and could correspond either to the moment in which the event described took place, or to the day the compiler wrote this note (or, of course, both). That CB began to write D 952 around this time, is corroborated by the paper watermark, but also and especially by the fact that most plays mentioned in the initial list of comedies and tragedies 'read of me' appeared in print, either for the first time or with a reprint, around the years 1630–33, suggesting that the activity of commonplacing was concentrated around those years, or shortly thereafter.[34] In addition to helping with dating, the note above gives further clues hinting at the environment in which the compiler operated, by suggesting that CB frequented 'the schollers buttery' around 'one vine lane', where a hundred barrels of beer were kept. A scholar's buttery suggests an academic environment, and a 'Vine Hall Lane' existed in Oxford in those years, so called because of Vine Hall, an academic hall situated on that street in the sixteenth century, incorporated into Christ Church College in 1547.[35]

The compiler's connection with an academic environment is also confirmed by his choice of plays (see Table 9 in Appendix 1). The compiler mentions several university plays

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[33] A lack of information on the provenance of the manuscript and any other precise information make the search for the exact identity of 'CB' a very difficult, if not fruitless, process. No record of the acquisition by Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) is available.

[34] Parts of the watermark, a pot with one handle, a crescent, a quatrefoil and the initials GRO, are especially visible between folios 39^{r} and 46^{r}, but also on folios 55^{r}, 61^{r} and 62^{r}. This watermark is the same as item POT.110.1 in the Gravell Watermark Archive, for which 1633 is noted as the year of use.

[35] The street came to be known as Bear Lane in the mid-seventeenth century, because of the eponymous pub located on that street (though by 1850 that section of Bear Lane came to be known as Alfred Street, the name it still has to this day). See Margaret Gelling, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire, vol. I*, English Place-Name Society, 24, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), p. 37.

by Oxford students, such as *Technogamia, the Marriages of the Arts* (1618), written by Barten Holyday, a student of Christ Church, first performed at the same college in 1618, and reprinted in 1630, as well as Thomas Goffe's *Amurath* (1632) and *Orestes* (1633), both also performed at the same college in the early 1620s and printed, for the first time, in 1632 and 1633 respectively. Jasper Fisher's *Fuimus Troes* (1633), also present in the list, was performed at Magdalen College, and, not in the list, but present with extracts in the collection, is Fernando de Roja's *Spanish Bawd* (1631), translated by James Mabbe, also a student of Magdalen College. Cambridge University plays are equally present in this manuscript: Thomas Tomkis's *Lingua* (1607), Samuel Brooke's *Melanthe* (1615), the only Latin play extracted in the collection (but not mentioned in the initial list), Thomas Randolph's *Jealous Lovers* (1632) and Peter Hausted's *Rival Friends* (1632), are all plays associated with Trinity College, except for the latter, which was performed at Queen's College. It can therefore be speculated that CB was a student, at Oxford, who was a keen reader of university plays, some of which he might have also seen performed. University plays are not so commonly found excerpted in collections of dramatic extracts from the first half of the seventeenth century, not even when the compilers were students at one of the universities, as Wright was (see Appendix 2). In this case, however, the academic environment of the compiler certainly was a factor that made these plays popular in his collection. And just as many verse miscellanies produced in the 1620s at Christ Church, Oxford, included works by poets of the same college or the same network, so too is it possible to imagine that CB was part of a circle of students and playwrights and that he might have known personally some of the playwrights he collected in his manuscript.[36] Still, even if university plays by Randolph, Tomkis and Hausted were among the most quoted in CB's collection, these were a minority (of only seven plays)

[36] Marotti and Love, 'Manuscript Transmission and Circulation', *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 71. The Christ Church poets most famously part of these circles were William Strode, Richard Corbet, and Henry King.

in the whole commonplace book: a total of fifty different works—thirty-nine plays (six of which are not mentioned in the initial list) and eleven of which are non-dramatic works (ten not in the list)—is mentioned and/or extracted in D952. What other factors, then, influenced the choice of the rest of the works extracted?

Around half of the plays in this manuscript (seventeen) had been published, for the very first time, around the time that CB created this collection, meaning that he was interested in finding material from the most contemporary Caroline drama: not only the academic plays mentioned above, but also Dekker's *Honest Whore, Part 2* (1630), Marmion's *Holland's Leaguer* (1632), Ford's *Lovers Melancholy* (1629), Massinger's *Maid of Honour* (1632), Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* (1631), Massinger's *Emperour of the East* (1632), Massinger's *Roman Actor* (1632), J. Shirley's *Changes, or Love in a Maze* (1632), May's *Tragedy of Antigone* (1631), and finally Davenant's *Cruel Brother* and *Just Italian* (both 1630). Some of these names might not be well-known amongst students today, however, they were evidently relevant to the seventeenth-century student: Smyth talks about 'an alternative literary canon of writers' often present in these kinds of collections, highlighting the discrepancy between what was read then and what is read today.[37]

The other half of the dramatic material chosen for extraction by CB belonged to plays first published in the Elizabethan or Jacobean periods. In this case, the trading popularity of the plays—some were published several times over the years, as the tables dedicated to these playwrights in Appendix 2 show—seems to have influenced the compiler's choice. All non-dramatic works extracted in the collection were also culled from very popular works in the early modern period, such as Sidney's *Arcadia*. CB therefore shows that his interest is split between the most current material, and the very popular. A mixture of old/popular and new/current is quite characteristic of these collections and also reflects the market production.

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[37] Adam Smyth, "*Profit and Delight"*, p. 8.

As Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser explain in their chapter on professional drama in Caroline England, 'In the 1630s, the market for printed drama from the professional theater underwent an unprecedented division in which new plays were split from a group of "classic" plays first published decades earlier', a division which resulted, they continue, 'in the creation of the first canon of early modern English drama'.[38] However, if the playbook market was showing signs of consolidating a canon of 'classic' plays, the same cannot be said for the practice of dramatic extracting, contrary to what is argued by some (as reviewed in the introduction of this chapter). The same consistency observed by Farmer and Lesser in the playbook market is not as evident in collections with dramatic extracts, and especially in the manuscript ones. In fact, comparing the plays excerpted in manuscript collections analysed in this thesis will scarcely highlight a canon of plays and playwrights regularly commonplaced, except for a few examples, such as Jonson and Shakespeare, who tend to have a higher recurrence rate than other playwrights (probably also due to the 'archival bias'). However, in general, the plays CB extracted were not particularly popular in manuscript or printed collections from before or around that time.[39] CB's preferred play, for example, *The Insatiate Countess*, quoted 48 times, is only found elsewhere in MS V.a.87 and in *English Treasury*. As seen in Chapter 1, the play was also extracted in printed manuals such as Edwards's *The mysteries of love & eloquence, or, The arts of wooing and complementing* (London, 1658) and John Shirley's *The triumph of wit, or, Ingenuity display'd in its perfection* (1688), where one of its dialogues was used as a model for conversation. *Catiline*, another of the most quoted plays in D 952, was only quoted in one more manuscript, Wright's miscellany, and *English Treasury*, whereas *Jealous Lovers*, another favorite of CB's, was only quoted in

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[38] Farmer and Lesser, 'Canons and Classics', p. 18.

[39] Of the total thirty-nine plays present in this manuscript, only sixteen appear in other manuscript or printed collections here analysed. These are: Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, *Catiline*, *Every Man in his Humour*, *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Sejanus*, *Volpone*; Marston's *Insatiate Countess*; Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*; Fisher's *Fuimus Troes*; Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King*; Hausted's *Rival Friends*; Massinger's *Maid of Honour*; Tomkis's *Lingua*; Shakespeare's *Pericles*; Shirley's *Changes*; and Webster's *Devil's Law-Case*.

English Treasury. Going through the list of plays extracted in D 952 in the tables of Appendix 2 shows how most plays were peculiar to this collection, D 952 often being the only manuscript collection with extracts from a play. Other exceptions are *A King and no King*, also quoted in Wright, *Rival Friends* and *The Maide of Honour* also in MS V.a.87, and some of Jonson's plays, such as *Cynthia's Revels*, *Every Man in His Humour*, *Every Man out of His Humour*, and *Volpone*, which, as mentioned before, appeared in several other manuscripts. *Pericles*, a popular play by Shakespeare by book market standards, was also quoted in two other manuscripts, Add MS 41063 and MS V.a.87. *Love in a Maze* is also in Wright, as it is *The Devil's Law-Case*. It is interesting to note that the collections sharing some material with CB are usually the larger ones, like Wright or MS V.a.87, which offered a wider range of material, but when compilers were more selective in their smaller collections, they did not pick the more local playwrights CB seemed to be so familiar with.

Finally, to consider further the relative popularity of playwrights within D 952, CB evidently favoured Jonson, one of the playwrights most popular among compilers. Jonson is the playwright with the most plays in CB's collection, with seven plays (*Volpone*, *Every Man out of His Humour*, *Every Man in His Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, *Sejanus*, *The Silent Woman*, and *The Alchemist*), plus another, *Catiline*, added by another hand (hand 2). He is also among the most extracted playwrights in the collection, with 15 extracts added by CB, however, 35 in total if considering also *Catiline*. Also among the most popular playwrights in this collection are those authors who were overtly influenced by Jonson, known as the 'Sons of Ben', including Randolph, who was personally acquainted with Jonson; Hausted, who studied and wrote, albeit not very successfully, academic drama at Cambridge and then proceeded to become a vicar; Davenant; and Marmion, like Davenant an Oxford man, who after a tumultuous youth wrote his first play, *Hollands Leaguer*, for the Prince Charles's Men, who

performed it at Salisbury Court Theatre in December 1631.[40] Particularly relevant as well is the fact that although CB left the vast majority of the extracts unattributed (only 42 excerpts out of the total 339 are attributed), when he chose to attribute dramatic extracts he did so only for those taken from Jonson, Randolph and Hausted, as discussed in Chapter 2. Whilst Jonson had a place of honour in this collection, Shakespeare was almost completely ignored, showing how the making of a manuscript compilation was ultimately the result of personal preferences, or, to put it differently, that emerging canons did not dominate all culture. As Peter Beal observes, 'every commonplace book is a unique document, a unique witness to the tastes, values, and thinking of a specific person or group'.[41] The personal element of these collections, especially those in manuscript form, seems natural. However, habits of compilation are not always and inevitably personal and unique. D 952 is itself a perfect example of conventionality, combined with personality, concerning both its form and its content; as I also show in the section on popular topics below, D 952 is not the product of a simple act of self-expression, but it is in part the result of a collective act, which is rooted in its time.

The mechanisms of popularity observed in D 952 were not unique to this collection. Wright's miscellany, c. 1640 (Table 12 in Appendix 1), displays similar mechanisms. With a total of 1,680 dramatic extracts, this is the largest manuscript collection of dramatic extracts I analyse in this thesis. As with the previous examples (both CB and Pudsey), Wright's dramatic extracting is focused on the most current plays. As Arthur Kirsch has observed, Wright 'most admires... what his age most admired', namely, Beaumont and Fletcher, and

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[40] See David Kathman, 'Hausted, Peter (*c.*1605–1644)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12620> [accessed 5 October 2017] and John Drakakis, 'Marmion, Shackerley (1603–1639)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18083> [accessed 5 October 2017].
[41] Beal, '"Notions in Garrison"', p. 133.

James Shirley.[42] James Shirley receives most of his attention: Wright quotes widely and abundantly from Shirley's plays, as he collects 564 extracts from eleven of his plays. *The Lady of Pleasure* is the second most quoted play in this collection, with 104 extracts. Shirley was not just contemporary to Wright, but also had a personal connection with him, as he also attended St John's College, Oxford, which could explain, at least in part, the particular interest shown by the compiler. However, most of Shirley's plays are only quoted in Wright (and *English Treasury*), the only two exceptions being *Love in a Maze* (also present in D 952), and *Hyde Park* (also in MS V.a.87). The most quoted individual play, however, is by Davenant, *The Wits*, quoted 125 times. Davenant is quoted for only two plays, making him rank only fourth in the miscellany, but again, Wright's preference for this play reflects his and the author's connection with Oxford and the university environment. Similarly to CB, Wright has a penchant for material related to his personal environment. Other authors contemporary to Wright and popular in his collection are Beaumont and Fletcher, quoted 255 times, and Webster with 180 total extracts. Henry Shirley, also contemporary to Wright, is in eighth position, followed by Peaps, Massinger and Mayne. Most playwrights are therefore of the Caroline era, but Shakespeare and Jonson also occupy a strong position in this collection, in fifth and sixth position, with 165 and 131 extracts respectively. However, Wright commonplaces more widely from Jonson's plays, as he collects from nine of his plays, in contrast with two of Shakespeare's, *Othello* and *Hamlet*. It is possible that the presence of so many of Jonson's plays had been influenced by the publication of the second instalment of his *Works*, which was published in 1640, even if many plays used by Wright were not present in that volume, and could have only been sourced from texts printed decades before. In the case of *Hamlet*, Wright evidently used the 1637 edition, as he collected one extract only present in

[42] Kirsch, 'A Caroline Commentary', p. 260.

that edition.[43] Shakespeare and Jonson were the two main writers from a previous generation present in this collection, and that, to use the same term employed in the analysis of D 952, had become 'classics' as they were reprinted repeatedly throughout the years.[44]

If the interest evident in D 952 was split between older material and contemporary/personal material, whilst Wright showed a keener interest in contemporary drama, the compiler of Bod MS Rawl. poet. 117 (Table 14 in Appendix 1) showed a clear preference for older material. He compiled his collection around the middle of the century (of course, the fact that we cannot date the miscellany more precisely limits the claims that one can make), but most authors collected by the compiler dated to the beginning of the century: Shakespeare, Daniel, Jonson, Middleton and Marston. It is also true that some of the plays quoted here are among the most circulated in the collections analysed in this thesis: *Cleopatra* was extracted in all three printed collections analysed here; *Poetaster* was also found in Pudsey's and Wright's miscellanies, and *Volpone* was quoted in four other manuscripts; finally, *Hamlet* was extracted in three other manuscripts. The compiler was also attracted to popular lines that had started to circulate independently from their dramatic origins: the 'fat paunches' line from *Love's Labour's Lost* was not quoted directly from the play, but from an intermediary source, which the compiler noted in the margin—'// Humo:' (f. 276r rev), that is *The Optic Glass of Humors* (1607). MS Rawl. poet. 117 is what we might call a 'nostalgic' collection that looks back at a past of popular playwrights. One could also say the same of Folger MS V.a.87 (Table 15 in Appendix 1). Both dramatic miscellanies date from after the closure of the theatres, which could explain their 'nostalgic' character. MS V.a.87 in particular, Estill points out, 'also reveals how plays that we consider canonical were read and

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[43] The passage (only in this edition) is: 'They clepe us Drunkards, and with swinish phrase / Soil our addition: and indeed it takes / From our atchievements, though persorm'd at height, / The pith and marrow of our attribute' (sig. C2v).

[44] However, as Mayer, *Shakespeare's Early Readers*, p. 182, points out, Shakespeare's popularity faded the decades after his death: 'Indeed, around the time when Wright was taking his notes, William Cartwright talked of Shakespeare's 'Old fashion'd wit' in Beaumont and Fletcher *Works* sig. D2v'.

extracted alongside plays that are now rarely studied.'[45] The compiler of this manuscript, identified by Estill as EC, copies extracts from ten playwrights: the most recent playwrights are Goffe, Hausted, Massinger and James Shirley, and those of a slightly older generation are Chapman, Ford, and Marston. The oldest playwright present in this collection is Shakespeare, whilst Jonson is absent from this collection. EC offers a wide variety of plays from different genres and different periods: the earliest play is *Merchant of Venice*, which dates from 1596, and the most recent is *The Fancies* (1638). The most popular play is Massinger's *Maid of Honour* (with 116 extracts), followed by Ford's *Fancies* (94). The first was also quoted in D 952: Massinger's play would have been contemporary to CB, dating from 1632, but it would have already been older for EC, even if only by a few years (it is possible that EC was compiling his collection in the 1640s). Ford's play was not found in other manuscript collections, only in *English Treasury*, and EC could have used either the printed edition of 1638, or the second edition of 1652, depending on when he was active. The choice of plays by Shakespeare extracted here is also slightly unconventional: *Merchant of Venice*, *Pericles*, and *Henry V* were rarely found in other manuscripts (the first being only commonplaced by Pudsey, the second being found in only two other manuscripts, and the last one being only commonplaced in this manuscript). Again, EC chooses a mix of contemporary and older material, but the selection of plays is ultimately unique to this collection.

As I discuss further when comparing trends in manuscript and print collections, the collections analysed so far show how manuscript collections were personal endeavours which mostly reflected personal taste and do not highlight particular trends. Rather than following one canon of playwrights and plays suitable for commonplacing, manuscript collections display multiple ones. A common trend, however, is the mechanisms of popularity followed

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[45] Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, p. 101. For a full description of the manuscript see pp. 98-102. Estill also asserts that this collection 'presents early modern tastes largely at odds with our modern conception of the early modern theatrical canon' (p. 101).

by compilers: compilers of manuscript collections tended to prefer contemporary material, for which the compiler could have a personal or local connection. This material was also often mixed in with some plays from older generations, which had been reprinted more recently, showing both their print success and their relevance as commonplaceable material over the years. Finally, manuscript compilations tended to be somewhat more limited in their range of material than printed collections. One manuscript compilation that I have not considered here, but that is particularly interesting because it was destined to become a print collection, is *Hesperides, or the Muses' Garden*, compiled by John Evans and intended for publication by Humphrey Moseley (even if in the end the collection was never published).[46] Evans compiled different manuscript versions of the collection, which all date from around the middle of the seventeenth century.[47] Tianhu Hao lists all the playwrights included in Evans's collection: Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakespeare, Jonson, Shirley, Randolph, Dekker, Killigrew, Middleton, Chapman, Cartwright, Suckling, Heywood, and finally Barry, Brathwait, Corneille, Glapthorne, Greville, Habington, Harding, Haughton, Manuche, Mayne, Milton, Quarles, Rawlins, Rouley, Sidney, and Tomkis.[48] A total of 177 plays by 31 playwrights were quoted by Evans. Here, one should note, simply, the range of playwrights, from the 'triumvirate of wits' of Beaumont and Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Jonson, to the canonical Sidney, through to Jacobean playwrights, Dekker, Middleton, Chapman, Tomkis, and Caroline playwrights like Shirley, Randolph, Greville, Mayne, and the most recent ones, such as Milton, Quarles, Cartwright. This list shows that playwrights from all periods of the

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[46] Moseley was the publisher of Cotgrave's *English Treasury*, but also of Thomas Blount's *The Academie of Eloquence* (1654), *The Card of Courtship* (1653), and *The Marrow of Complements* (1654). His role in the creation of 'English literature' has been discussed by David Scott Kastan in 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*. Eds. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 105–24.

[47] These are Folger MS V.b.93, and also MS V.a.75, 79, 80 (1654-1666). Although I personally have not been able to study these manuscripts, see Tianhu Hao, '"Hesperides, or the Muses' Garden": Commonplace Reading and Writing in Early Modern England' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 2006).

[48] Hao, pp. 200–1 (Appendix IV).

seventeenth century up to the moment of compilation were selected for this collection, including both names that are very familiar to the student of early modern drama today, and more obscure ones, like Habington, Harding, and Haughton. This range of material was more typical of printed collection than of manuscript ones, as I discuss in the next section.

4.2.2 The popularity of drama in printed collections

Examining the content of commonplace books can help us understand which plays, and playwrights, were available at the moment when these collections were composed, and to understand their reputation among commonplacers. In the case of *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* the majority of the quotations were copied from plays printed, and reprinted, before 1600, and, in a few instances, possibly from manuscript sources.[49] The most frequently cited playwrights in *Belvedere* (Table 3 in Appendix 1) are Shakespeare (with a total of 117 dramatic extracts), Kyd (53), Brandon (49), and Daniel (34). *Englands Parnassus* (Table 4 in Appendix 1) also displays many extracts culled from Shakespeare, even if in proportion to the total dramatic extracts collected, Shakespeare's popularity is less here than in *Belvedere* (20% of dramatic extracts in *Englands Parnassus* are by Shakespeare, *versus* 35% in *Belvedere*). Shakespeare has a total of 30 dramatic extracts in this collection, culled from a total of five plays (it should also be noted that the extracts in *Englands Parnassus* were much longer than in *Belvedere*, where Bodenham collected extracts of one or two lines at the most). Shakespeare's plays, if considered individually, are not the most popular in the collection: *Romeo and Juliet* is quoted 13 times, *Richard II* 7, *Richard III* 5, *Love's Labour's Lost* 3 and *Henry IV, pt. 1* only twice. Daniel had 25 extracts from *Cleopatra* alone, Gascoigne 23 from *Jocasta*, and Kyd 21 from *Cornelia*. Many plays and playwrights were commonplaced in both collections, and sometimes even the same lines were to be found in both of them (even if, as I

[49] Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* (1601), *The Case is Altered* (1609) and *Every Man out of his Humour* (1600) could have been copied from 'the author's own papers', as Crawford suggests (*Englands Parnassus*, ed. Crawford, p. xii). Ling published *Every Man out of his Humour*, so it is possible that he had access to Jonson's manuscript.

showed in Chapter 1, the same lines could be commonplaced in different ways): more than half of the lines from *Richard III* in *Belvedere* are also in *Englands Parnassus*, and the same goes for *Romeo and Juliet*; while, in the case of *Richard II,* almost all of *Englands Parnassus*'s quotations are to be found in *Belvedere* as well. This overlap could be taken as a sign that these plays were popular both in the book trade and with commonplacers, and indeed Bodenham claims in the opening of his address to the reader that the works collected were 'especially approoved, and past with no meane applause the censure of all in generall' (sig. A3r).[50] However, the amount of material shared in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* could also be due to the fact that these collections were created by the same circle of stationers, who worked together on the making of these (and previous) compilations.[51] Considering who these stationers were, and their involvement in the book trade, could also reveal new 'mechanisms of popularity' peculiar to printed collections. As I have shown earlier, personal connections could be a factor in the choice of material present in manuscript collections, but in print collections this personal factor could have financial implications. Considering the book trade background of the editor of *Belvedere*, Anthony Munday (1560–1633), and of the publisher of *Englands Parnassus*, Nicholas Ling (1570–1607), could reveal that these two stationers played a much bigger role in the choice of the material to commonplace in these collections than it has been argued so far.

Munday, the editor of *Belvedere*, started his career as a stationer, but also became a very active poet and playwright.[52] In his early years he was involved in the creation of other

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[50] Basing print popularity on the number of reprints is a good starting point, but it is only one aspect of a more complex question. On this topic see *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

[51] It is relevant to notice that Bodenham, Allott and Ling were all previously involved in the production of the *Wits Commonwealth*'s commonplace books, which I describe later in this chapter.

[52] Munday was an apprentice stationer between 1576 and 1578. He probably befriended Bodenham at this time, who, in sign of this long friendship, included some of his pastorals in *Englands Helicon* (1600), the last of the anthologies part of *Wit's Commonwealth*. See David M. Bergeron, 'Munday, Anthony (*bap*. 1560, *d*. 1633)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19531> [accessed 29 May 2015].

collections: he was the editor of *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578), a collection of anonymous poems and epistles on the topic of love, which would teach the young gallant how to court a lady. Munday compiled a few more collections of poems, like *A Banquet of Daintie Conceits* (1588), a collection of ditties that could be put to music.[53] In the 1590s, he wrote several plays in collaboration with dramatists such as Drayton, Dekker, Middleton, and possibly Shakespeare, all names present in *Belvedere*. Munday's personal connections with many poets/playwrights could have had an impact on the material present in *Belvedere*, whether he added it himself or he had encouraged Bodenham to do so.[54] His personal connection with some stationers could have also played a role: Brandon's *Octavia* and Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*, the only play by Marlowe in the collection, were printed by Edward Allde, the son of Munday's master, John, who would also go on printing the second edition of *Belvedere* in 1610.[55]

The publisher of *Englands Parnassus*, Ling, offers an even more convincing picture of how his personal connections with the book market could have influenced the presence of some works in the collection. From the 1590s, Ling had focused his publication output on fictional writing, and by the end of his career, in 1607, around 60% of his total output was dedicated to poetry, drama and fictional prose.[56] Gerald Johnson, writing about Ling's involvement in the Bodenham's commonplace books, affirms that 'it is obvious that he found such collections attractive':[57] the benefit of publishing these collections was twofold for him,

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[53] The poems in the collection are anonymous, and on the title page 'written by A.M.' leaves the ambiguity of whether he collected works by others or if the ditties were his.
[54] Crawford, 'Belvedere, or The Garden of the Muses', p. 213, suggests that we should not exclude 'the possibility of additions by A.M. himself'.
[55] Wright, 'Anthony Mundy and the Bodenham Miscellanies', pp. 449–61, discusses the personal connections between the agents involved in the production of the Bodenham's miscellanies and shows how Munday was eager to find jobs for his stationer friends.
[56] See also Melnikoff, 'Nicholas Ling's Republican *Hamlet* (1603)', p. 97, who argues that Ling's publishing choices were motivated 'not just by economic gain but also by a variety of social, cultural, and political agendas'.
[57] Gerald D. Johnson, 'Nicholas Ling, Publisher 1580-1607', *Studies in Bibliography* 38, (1985), pp. 203–16 (p. 211).

as, on the one hand, he could gain financially from the sales of the collections, and on the other, the visibility gained by writers commonplaced in them could have increased the sales of their individual works.[58] The latter is a very relevant point, especially if the works (and authors) commonplaced in *Englands Parnassus* are compared to those published by Ling. The result of this comparison is that Ling published several works written by five of the writers most commonplaced in *Englands Parnassus*: Drayton's *Ideas' Mirrour* (1594), *Legends* (1596), and *Englands Heroical Epistles* (1598); Lodge's *Rosalynd* (1590); Davis' *Orchestra* (1596); Greene's *Arcadia or Menaphon* (1599); and Middleton's *The Legend of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* (1600). Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor* (1600), Kyd's *Cornelia* (1594) and Guilpin's *Skialethia* (1598), all published by Ling, are also present in the collection. The same works by Drayton, Lodge, Kyd, and Guilpin quoted in *Englands Parnassus* and published by Ling are also present in *Belvedere*, with the addition of Greene's *Never too Late* (1590).

The amount of works and writers published by Ling also commonplaced in *Englands Parnassus* and *Belvedere* could suggest that the publisher actively promoted them with their compilers, in order to gain some additional publicity from this venture.[59] Ling might have also tried to advertise the works he published as material for commonplacers in other ways: Kyd's *Cornelia* (1594) and Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1600) were published by Ling with 'commonplace markers'. It is relevant to note here that the large majority of quotations commonplaced from these 'pre-marked' plays in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* were taken from lines singled out by those signs, as I discuss further below.[60] The financial interest of those involved in the making of *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* is

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[58] As the title of the works commonplaced was not provided, what could potentially increase the sale were the names advertised in the collection.
[59] He might have also promoted the most commonplaced play in *Englands Parnassus*, Gascoigne's *Tragedy of Jocasta*, which was printed by Ling's master, Henry Binneman.
[60] Bodenham culled from *Every Man in his Humour* and *The Case is Altered* extracts written in italics, or marked with inverted commas.

undeniable: the motivation behind their choice of dramatic material seems therefore to be dictated largely by personal, financial, gain. Publishers promoted the names that sold, reflecting, and consequently influencing, the market.[61] Bodenham, who was, after all, a businessman, Munday, Allott, and Ling saw in the production of a new type of commonplace book, collecting extracts from vernacular authors, a good investment and a platform for advertising English authors. Printed commonplace books with quotations of classical and Christian authors had sold well throughout the sixteenth century, and the several reprints of *Politeuphuia* (1597) before 1600 confirmed this.[62] Furthermore, references to the practice of dramatic extracting in works pre-dating 1600—see *The First Part of the Returne from Parnassus*, (1598), ll. 981-94, and *The Scourge of Villanie* (1598), sig. H3v—suggest that the practice of copying dramatic extracts, either from reading or watching a play, was more diffused than the surviving evidence can tell us.[63] Bodenham and his circle might have viewed these commonplacers as potential buyers of their printed commonplace books. Yet, the project of launching a new, successful product onto the market failed. In 1600, a printed commonplace book made from works of vernacular authors was a completely new enterprise, maybe too new for the book trade, and perhaps too impersonal for those compilers, who extracted quotations from plays already before 1600, and did not see the use of a collection of dramatic quotations chosen by others (and almost impossible to identify in the books). Nevertheless, directly or indirectly, *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* promoted, and in a

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[61] As Estill, *Dramatic Extracts*, pp. 49–50, describes: 'The relation between the publication of plays and the copying of dramatic extracts is chiastic: the publication of plays offers texts from which to extract, and compilers interested in drama increase the demand for play publication'. Farmer and Lesser, 'What is Print Popularity?', p. 52, also claim that print popularity was shaping the larger culture, but was also 'shaped by it. As the broader culture changed, so, too, did the book trade'. Finally, Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader*, p. 3, explains, in reference to eighteenth-century anthologies, that 'the collections shape and are shaped by the cultural contexts in which they were produced'.

[62] This collection had already been re-printed twice before 1600, and went through several reprints throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the last one of which appeared in 1773 under the new title *Antiquity; or, the Wise Instructer*.

[63] The surviving dramatic extracts in manuscript form predating *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* are sparse. See Estill's discussion of the earliest known English dramatic extracts in *Dramatic Extracts*, pp. 7–16.

way popularised the practice of commonplacing, once 'the primacy of a Latin commonplace tradition and its promoters and guardians, the universities',[64] by showing that vernacular drama could be extracted and gathered in an organised commonplace book.[65] Dramatic extracts in print did not appear again until the 1640s, but the practice in manuscript form flourished after 1600. Did *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* contribute to the creation of a 'canon' as scholars like Moss, Rhodes, Stallybrass and Lesser, Erne, and Estill have suggested? If we accept that dramatic extracts can be considered as moments of a play, and that they can therefore promote the canonisation of the play from which they were commonplaced, then we cannot simply assume that the authors and plays present in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* were canonised because they were present in these printed collections. Canonisation is a process that proceeds through time, by the continuous selection and refinement of 'canonical works'. It is therefore fundamental to see what impact the choices made in the print collections of 1600 had on other collections, as discussed in the next section. Let us first look at how things changed and evolved fifty-five years later, with the first printed collection fully dedicated to early modern drama.[66]

John Cotgrave's *English Treasury* (1655), allows us to see how the practice of dramatic extracting evolved in a printed collection published over half a century later, at a point when early modern drama had fully blossomed and produced a larger number of texts than in 1600, and at a time when, of course, theatres were closed and had been so for years.[67] What is most striking about this collection is the great range of playwrights and plays on

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[64] Stallybrass and Chartier, 'Reading and Authorship', p. 54.
[65] See also Lesser and Stallybrass, 'The First Literary *Hamlet*', p. 399, on the impact that *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* had on the practice of dramatic extracting. Before 1600 no professional plays were published with commonplace markers, 'but immediately after the publication of *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, a wide range of authors, publishers, and printers began to practice such commonplacing'. In fact, between 1600 and 1613 41.4% of first editions were printed with these markers.
[66] *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* were mostly dedicated to extracts taken from poetry: only 12% and 6.8% of these collections respectively were dedicated to dramatic extracts.
[67] Theatres had been closed from 1642 and remained so until 1660.

offer.[68] Looking at Table 16 in Appendix 1, one is immediately struck by the sheer quantity of material collected here: the total 1752 extracts are collected from 60 different playwrights and more than 200 different plays. Shakespeare is the most quoted playwright with a total of 160 extracts. As with Evan's *Hesperides* mentioned above, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Jonson are the most represented playwrights in this collection. Cotgrave's, Evan's collections and the Beaumont and Fletcher folio all have one thing in common: Moseley was their publisher (or intended publisher in the case of *Hesperides*). It is not surprising to see, then, that Cotgrave collected extracts from every possible play found in Beaumont and Fletcher's folio: Moseley, like Ling in *Englands Parnassus* and *Belvedere*, might have had a say in it, or might have influenced Cotgrave's choice. Including extracting from this folio could have been a promotional strategy similar to the ones I have discussed above. What is striking, however, is the treatment of this material: Cotgrave only copied a few extracts from each play, offering more of a superficial, or survey-like approach to the commonplacing of these plays. His aim seems to be range, rather than depth: he covers as much material as possible, but when considering the number of extracts taken from each of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays these are among the least commonplaced in the collection (the most quoted play from the folio, *Queen of Corinth*, is only quoted 9 times). A similar approach is used for commonplacing Shakespeare's plays: the most extracted play, *Hamlet*, is only quoted 19 times, and the majority of his plays are quoted less than ten times each. Comparing the Shakespearean plays that were also quoted in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* shows how *Richard II* and *Romeo and Juliet*, which were among the most popular Shakespearean plays in the 1600 collections, are only quoted twice and once respectively in *English Treasury*. Jonson has considerably fewer plays extracted here than Shakespeare or Beaumont and Fletcher, only

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[68] For the table of contents of *English Treasury* I rely on Joshua J. McEvilla, with Sean M. Winslow, *Cotgrave Online* (2014, rev. 2019) <https:// shakespeareauthorship.com/cotgrave> [accessed 1 August 2019].

11, but his plays are quoted at greater length, especially *Catiline* and *Sejanus*, which are quoted 34 and 30 times respectively.

The 'superficial' approach repeats itself every time Cotgrave covers a large number of plays by the same author. William Oldys in the preface of *The British Muse* (1738) criticised Cotgrave because of this: he says of Cotgrave,

> he has evidently allowed himself too little room for the number of plays he undertakes to extract; in consequence of which, he has not only given us a very superficial taste of them, but has omitted many better thoughts than he has used.[69]

In addition to the plays taken from Shakespeare's and Beaumont and Fletcher's folios, this approach can also be seen with James Shirley's plays. Shirley is quoted for 23 plays, but most of these are quoted for fewer than ten extracts each. Paradoxically, in a way, the playwrights with fewer plays extracted in this collection receive more attention: Greville is present with only two plays, but these are the most quoted in the collection with 66 and 48 extracts each; Webster is only quoted for five plays, but *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The White Devil* have 42 and 41 extracts respectively; Chapman, Marston, Davenant, and Middleton also rank well, with half of their plays being quoted more than ten times; and finally, playwrights with only a handful of extracts, like Daniel (with three plays quoted 24, 16 and 13 times), Suckling (with three plays, two of which are quoted 23 and 19 times), and a series of playwrights only quoted for one play (Rowley, Barry, T.D., Mason, Daborne, and Denham) receive more than ten extracts each. The treatment of these plays, compared with the dates of publication of these plays, suggests that, in general, Cotgrave quoted more abundantly from plays that were written more recently, perhaps because the language used in these plays was more current and relevant to a mid-century audience. Shirley's and Beaumont and Fletcher's plays were, of course, recent as well, but the large number of plays considered could explain why Cotgrave did not extract much from each single play. Overall, however, these authors were among the

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[69] Oldys, *The British Muse*, p. xii.

most popular. Finally, Cotgrave quotes from both playwrights that had been 'canonised' through the publishing of one, or even two, folios, but also playwrights that had not received such treatment, and that nowadays are almost unheard of. His collection aims to offer an overview of old and new material, some of which could only be sourced from printed editions from the beginning of the century (see for example, Barnes's *Devil's Charter* (1607), or Barry's *Family of Love* (1608), to mention just two; for more see Appendix 2), and he even includes one extract from Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, Marlowe being one of those playwrights who is both canonical today, and was very popular in his own time, but who is very rarely found in commonplace book from the seventeenth century.

Finally, a look at the tables in Appendix 2 shows how most material in *English Treasury* was only quoted by Cotgrave, and was only rarely found also in manuscript collections or the 1600 printed commonplace books. Most material shared with manuscript collections concerns collections written after 1620, such as MS Eng. misc. d. 28, or MS V.a.87. Cotgrave also shares an interest in contemporary drama already seen in Wright (see for example their shared interest in Davenant's plays), but it also covers plays from an older generation of playwrights already commonplaced by earlier compilers like Pudsey (see, for example, Dekker's plays). As already mentioned, Cotgrave's commonplace book is remarkable for its range, and it is rare that it does not cover a play found in another manuscript or print collection (as noted above, *English Treasury* was often the sole other compilation in which a play was found). However, when a play was also found in a manuscript collection, usually the manuscript compiler offered a larger number of extracts from that play: for instance, Wright quotes *Scornful Lady* 95 times, whilst Cotgrave only twice; Ford's *Fancies* is quoted only once by Cotgrave, but 94 times by EC. Sometimes the opposite can also happen: Greville's *Mustapha* is quoted only once respectively in two manuscripts, but is present with 48 extracts in Cotgrave's collection. The only selections

made by Cotgrave that seem to follow some trends of popularity among manuscript collections, are those taken from Jonson's plays, especially *Cynthia's Revels*, *Every Man in His Humour*, *Every Man out of His Humour*, *Poetaster*, *Sejanus* and *Volpone*, which appeared in several different manuscript collections.

4.2.3 Comparing popularities

Further comparison between what recurred in print collections and what recurred in manuscript collections can help us understand whether the two influenced each other or worked independently from each other, and also, whether a 'canon' of playwrights and plays was created through the practice of commonplacing. Looking at the material in Appendix 2 allows us to see how each playwright collected in the documents analysed for this thesis fare in print and manuscript collections. The total number of playwrights, including anonymous plays, considered here are 78. Of these, 38, almost half, were extracted only in printed collections, mainly *English Treasury*. Of the 15 playwrights present in *Belvedere*, 9 did not appear in manuscript collections again, and of the 11 playwrights in *Englands Parnassus* 6 did not recur in manuscript collections. This means that half or more than half of the playwrights promoted in the 1600 printed collections were not even considered by compilers of manuscript collections from the following years. This is also true for Cotgrave's collection, as again about half of the playwrights present in this commonplace book only appear in the latter, but not in any manuscript collection analysed here, showing that Cotgrave was not following what was popular in manuscript collections.

Some playwrights are commonplaced in multiple printed collections, but find no place in manuscript collections: for example, Gascoigne's *Jocasta* (1573) is quoted in both *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, but finds no place in manuscript commonplace books, probably due to its age. Similarly, Greene's plays, which all date from the end of the sixteenth century, are only quoted in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*. The same fate belongs to

Kyd's, Lodge's, Peele's, and Marlowe's plays, the latter being also present, with one extract in *English Treasury*, but not present in any manuscript collections.[70] These playwrights from an older generation present in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* do not have great afterlives in the manuscripts analysed here, even if today these are considered canonical authors, and are much more familiar than other names that might have occurred more frequently in seventeenth century commonplace books.[71] This could be down to two practical factors: these older plays were not accessible to later readers anymore, and/or their language was too outmoded to be relevant for commonplacing years later their first publication.[72] Ultimately, the fact that these names appeared in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* did not make them 'canonical' to later compilers of dramatic extracts. Moreover, some playwrights selected in printed collections, like Thomas Nabbes (1605–1641), which was present in Cotgrave's *English Treasury* with six plays, were not 'critically acclaimed' playwrights; Nabbes, for instance, was considered a poet of 'third rate' in Gerard Langbaine's *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691). The presence of a playwright in a printed collection was not a guarantee of quality: compilers of printed collections (such as Cotgrave) were not necessarily making 'canonical' selections, in the sense of selecting a group of works representative of a certain standard of quality, nor were they necessarily reflecting what was popular and recurrent in other collections.[73] Barbara M. Benedict, discussing eighteenth-century

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[70] Marlowe, curiously enough, does not seem to be popular either with *Belvedere* (8 extracts), nor *Englands Parnassus* (1 extract), despite his popularity on the stage at the time.

[71] The only old play that also appears in a manuscript collection is *Gorboduc*, which is quoted in *Belvedere* but also in Add. MS 61822, a collection dating from around c. 1587–1605, which would explain why the play made the cut.

[72] This attention to more current material and leaving out of older material, can also be seen in the process of canon formation in the second half of the century: see Paulina Kewes, 'Between the "Triumvirate of Wit" and the Bard: The English Dramatic Canon, 1660-1720', in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, ed. by Cedric Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 200–24. Note as well Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), where he posits, as Kewes notes, 'linguistic change to be the main reason for the lapse of older works from the canon' (p. 204).

[73] Kewes, 'Between the "Triumvirate of Wit" and the Bard', also points out how dramatic catalogues in the second half of the seventeenth century were not simple lists of plays, but also offered a critical review of the quality of the works listed, as mentioned above in the case of Gerard Langbaine's *An Account of the English*

anthologies, argues that 'literary anthologies mediate between individual readers and literary culture', and promote 'a consensual hierarchy... beyond individual taste, a systematic classification of excellence established by professionals'.[74] However, these goals seem beyond the remit of printed commonplace books from the first half of the seventeenth century, which did not succeed in mediating or creating a consensual selection, or 'canon', of material suitable for commonplacing (nor, probably, did they aim to).

In a few instances, playwrights only appeared in manuscript collections: Brooke is only found in D 952; Cartwright is only found in Egerton MS 2725 (even if we saw earlier that he was also present in *Hesperides*); Mabbe is again only found in D 952, as it is Holyday, and the anonymous writer of *Wily Beguilde*. Finally, Hausted is only in D 952 and MS V.a.87. This tallies up to six playwrights present only in manuscript collections, against the 38 present only in printed collections. This suggests that compilers of printed collections (especially in the case of *English Treasury*) paid even less attention to what was circulating in dramatic collections than compilers of manuscript collections, choosing their material independently from what was popular in the commonplace book world. This is perhaps due to the fact that compilers of printed collections were using other criteria for selecting their material, perhaps more linked to what was current and popular in the book market: as I have discussed earlier, compilers of printed collections saw these as a financial investment, and therefore tended to be more careful about what was selling in the book trade than what was circulating in manuscript collections. Cotgrave in particular aimed to offer his readers a short-cut to what had been published up to that time, so his attention to what was currently being published, and what was successfully reprinted and popular in the book trade, could be understood as and attempt to offer a collection of extracts that reflected the current state of drama in the

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Dramatic Poets (1691). See also Langbaine's *Momus Triumphans: or, The Plagiaries of the English Stage* (1688) for an evaluation of early modern playwrights.

[74] Benedict, pp. 3, 4.

book trade (rather than reflecting the current state of drama in commonplace books).[75] Moreover, compilers of printed collections tended to offer a wider range of material, as they aimed to please a public readership, and not just their (private) selves.

Finally, it is necessary to consider those playwrights who appeared in both printed and manuscript collections, in order to understand whether it is possible to establish some sort of 'canon' of authors, which appeared throughout the first half of the seventeenth century in both kinds of collection. In Table 6 (below), I present, in alphabetical order, the playwrights recurring in both print and manuscript collections. This table contains only those playwrights who appeared in at least two manuscript or two printed collections, with more than 20 extracts in at least one of the two categories of collections.

Chapman	Printed collections: 2 Manuscript collections: 3 Dramatic extracts in print 123 / in manuscript 66
Daniel	Printed collections: 3 Manuscript collections: 1 Dramatic extracts in print 112 / in manuscript 10
Davenant	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 2 Dramatic extracts in print 63 / in manuscript 192
Dekker	Printed collections: 2 Manuscript collections: 3 Dramatic extracts in print 92 / in manuscript 73
Beaumont and Fletcher	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 3 Dramatic extracts in print 125 / in manuscript 351
Ford	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 2 Dramatic extracts in print 40 / in manuscript 104
Goffe	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 2 Dramatic extracts in print 14 / in manuscript 21
Jonson	Printed collections: 3 Manuscript collections: 8 Dramatic extracts in print 138 / in manuscript 356
Marston	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 4 Dramatic extracts in print 89 / in manuscript 257

[75] Cotgrave, in the preface to *English Treasury*, wrote that the aim of his collection was to offer his readers a 'short-cut' to the vast range of volumes printed in the previous fifty years or so in the form of commonplaces extracted from the plays, which he believed were 'the best conservers of knowledge, if not the readiest way to it' (sig. A1v).

Massinger	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 3 Dramatic extracts in print 53 / in manuscript 196
Middleton	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 2 Dramatic extracts in print 61 / in manuscript 9
Shakespeare	Printed collections: 3 Manuscript collections: 10 Dramatic extracts in print 307 / in manuscript 428
James Shirley	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 3 Dramatic extracts in print 94 / in manuscript 587
Webster	Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 3 Dramatic extracts in print 121 / in manuscript 213

Table 6: Playwrights recurring in both print and manuscript collections, as observed in Appendix 2.

The two playwrights who appear most often in the collections analysed in this thesis are, perhaps unsurprisingly, Shakespeare (appearing in all three printed collections and ten manuscripts) and Jonson (also appearing in all three printed collections and eight manuscripts).[76] This data therefore needs to be considered in relative terms, and also because of the limited amount of collections analysed here. Shakespeare is, additionally, the most quoted in terms of total number of extracts collected, with 735 extracts more or less divided equally between printed and manuscript compilations. However, the second most quoted playwright in terms of number of extracts is not Jonson but Shirley, who is quoted 587 times in manuscripts and 94 times in print. The majority of the manuscript extracts are due to Wright's collection (he alone collected 564 extracts from Shirley), so this is not very indicative of 'popularity' in the sense of material spread across several different collections. Shirley is only present in two other manuscripts and one printed collection. Jonson is much more consistently present across the collections analysed here, with a more prominent presence in the manuscript compilations than the printed ones (356 *versus* 138, for a total of 494 extracts). Beaumont and Fletcher are the fourth most extracted playwrights (with 476

[76] It is unsurprising that Shakespeare appears in the largest number of collections here studied when one considers the archival bias discussed above, and likewise with other currently canonical authors such as Jonson.

total extracts appearing in one print and three manuscript collections). Other playwrights who also appear with a relative frequency across different collections are Marston (with 346 extracts in total, the majority of which, 257, are spread across four manuscript collections), Webster (with 334 extracts appearing in one print and three manuscript collections), Massinger (with 249 extracts in one print and three manuscript collections), and perhaps more surprisingly for the modern reader Davenant (with 255 in one print and two manuscript collections, even if this data once again is heavily influenced by Wright, the only manuscript compiler who actually extracts material from him—CB only mentions one of his plays in his initial list). Then comes Chapman (with 189 extracts in two print collections and three manuscript ones), Dekker (with 165 extracts in two print collections and three manuscript ones), Ford (with 144 extracts in 1 print collection and two manuscript ones), Daniel (with 122 extracts, even if the majority are found in the three printed collections, and only ten in one manuscript compilation), and finally Middleton (with 70 extracts in one print collection and two manuscripts). The names appearing among the most circulated playwrights in the collections analysed for this thesis are indeed among the most canonical today. Despite the peculiarities, the individual choices, the more local and period-specific selections of plays extracted in these collections, looking at the playwrights (rather than the individual plays) that were most circulated, allows us to outline some potential trends occurring within these compilations. Whether these recurrences are enough to say that the practice contributed to the canonisation of such playwrights remains questionable, as I believe that a much larger sample of data needs to be collected to be able to assess this properly. What my analysis demonstrates instead is the complexity of such questions, and how problematic it is to assert that the printed collections of 1600 already started to contribute to a process of ‘canonisation’.

Furthermore, looking at individual plays and in how many collections they appeared, rather than considering the total number of dramatic extracts collected per playwright, can

help us get a sense of which plays were circulated more often in the documents analysed here.[77] Again, in Table 7 below, as for Table 6, I only consider plays that occurred in both printed and manuscript collections, and in at least two of either of them. I group the data by author, listed in alphabetical order:

Author	**Play**	**no. print + n. MS collection**	**total**
Chapman	*Caesar and Pompey*	1+2	3
	Sir Giles Goosecap	1+2	3
Beaumont and Fletcher	*A King and No King*	1+2	3
	The Scornful Lady	1+2	3
Greville	*Mustapha*	1+2	3
Jonson	*Catiline*	1+2	3
	Cynthia's Revels	1+4	5
	Every Man in His Humour	3+3	6
	Every Man out of His Humour	2+3	5
	Poetaster	1+3	4
	Sejanus	1+3	4
	Volpone	1+5	6
Marston	*Antonio's Revenge*	1+2	3
	Antonio and Mellida	1+2	3
	Insatiate Countess	1+2	3
	Parasitaster	1+2	3
Shakespeare	*Hamlet*	1+4	5
	Henry IV part 1	3+2	5
	Love's Labour's Lost	3+2	5
	Merchant of Venice	1+2	3
	Much Ado About Nothing	1+2	3
	Othello	1+3	4
	Pericles	1+3	4
	Richard II	3+2	5
	Richard III	2+2	4
	Romeo and Juliet	3+2	5
Shirley	*Change, or Love in a Maze*	1+2	3
	Hyde Park	1+2	3
Webster	*The Devil's Law-Case*	1+2	3
	The White Devil	1+2	3

Table 7: Plays recurring in three or more collections.

[77] Smyth, "*Profit and Delight*", p. 7, working on poetic miscellanies, suggested that considering just number of appearances of poems by writers can be 'misleading as indicators of popularity since several of the writers cited occur many times in one text and hardly at all in others: their figures reflect more the predilections—or sources—of a single compiler, and less the status of the author's work in general miscellany circulation'. However, looking at 'the number of *different* miscellanies in which a poet's work appears... gives a much better indication of how widely circulated his or her work was' (p. 7).

As Table 7 shows, extracts from individual plays most commonly occurred in three different collections (one print and two manuscripts). What is quite surprising is seeing only two of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays being only circulated in just three collections each. Comparing this data with Table 6 (presenting the total number of dramatic extracts collected per author), shows how 'popularity' can look very different depending on which factors one takes into account.[78] Comparing the two tables helps us to understand that Beaumont and Fletcher were particularly popular in one collection (*English Treasury*), but were not so widely circulated. The other playwrights with plays circulated in three collections are Chapman, Greville, Marston, Shirley and Webster. Comparing these names with the names in Table 6 shows how some playwrights that were extracted more heavily than others, could be circulated less than others with fewer extracts in total. For instance, Massinger was among the most 'popular' playwrights in Table 6, but he is absent from Table 7, meaning that his plays were not so widely circulated among collections. Also missing are Daniel, Davenant, Dekker, Ford and Goffe. Greville was not present in Table 6, but makes an appearance in Table 7. Again, the playwrights coming at the top are Shakespeare and Jonson. The plays most circulated are Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour* and *Volpone*, appearing in six different collections, the first equally appearing in print and in manuscript, the second appearing more in manuscript collections (although, of course, *Volpone* could not have appeared in the 1600 collections because it had not been written yet). Jonson has two other plays (*Cynthia's Revels* and *Every Man out of His Humour*) collected in five different collections, two (*Poetaster* and *Sejanus*) collected in four, and one (*Catiline*) in three. Shakespeare has more plays, circulated in five collections, than Jonson—these are *Hamlet*, *Henry IV part 1*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard*

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[78] See, for example, Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, p. 54, in which he considers reprint rate as 'the best evidence we have of the breadth of bibliographic dissemination', whilst Gerald E. Bentley, *Shakespeare and Jonson: Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared, vol. I* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 138, claimed that 'Jonson's general popularity was greater than Shakespeare's from the beginning of the century to 1690'; this was because, Erne explains, Bentley was 'counting not editions but allusions to and quotations from the playwrights and their plays'.

II and *Romeo and Juliet*. Three (*Othello*, *Pericles* and *Richard III*) appear in four collections, and two (*Merchant of Venice* and *Much Ado About Nothing*) in three collections. One is left to wonder what the best approach to adopt is for an exploration of 'popularity' of drama in these collections. In this chapter I have tried to use different approaches, first looking at popularity within individual collections, then considering mechanisms of popularity, and finally comparing material within the pool of collections, both printed and manuscript, in order to understand how many collections the same plays and playwrights reappeared in.[79]

In the end, how we approach this data very much depends on what meaning we ascribe to popularity: is popularity about the amount of material that is collected (the number of extracts), or is it, rather, about how much this material was circulated (the number of collections commonplacing this material)?[80] There are various types of popularity: a play, or a playwright, could be very popular—that is quoted many times—in one collection, but completely ignored in another. Other plays, or playwrights, could reappear again and again in different commonplace books, both in printed and manuscript ones, but might not be quoted for many extracts. Using different approaches and comparing results as I have done here allows me to discuss this data from multiple perspectives, and remember how the results are always relative, rather than absolute truths. A thorough comparison of the plays that were popular in the book trade with the plays popular in these collections is beyond the scope of this thesis; however I have shown in the discussion of the mechanisms of popularity how compilers were sensitive to both what was current and what had been successful in the book

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[79] This is also the approach adopted by Smyth for analysing printed poetic miscellanies in '"*Profit and Delight*"'.
[80] Circulation was certainly responsible for making certain lines from plays popular or proverbial, see Estill, 'Proverbial Shakespeare', pp. 35–55, where she shows how the line from *Love's Labour's Lost* 'Fat paunches have lean pates, and dainty bits / Make rich the ribs, but bankrupt quite the wits' (1.1.26-27) was popularised because it was circulated repeatedly in printed and manuscript collections. She also points out how these compilers tended to quote from one another, that is, using intermediary sources rather than culling the line directly from the play.

trade.[81] I have also shown how compilers of manuscript collections and compilers of printed collections tended to have different attitudes towards the material they chose: the first, as they were creating a private collection, catering for their private needs, followed their personal tastes, focusing more on current and local material, and thus creating more diversified collections; the second, catering for a public demand, tended to exploit what was already popular in the book trade (new or reprinted several times over the years), in order to promote their new collections on the market and assure themselves good sales (their ultimate goal being market success, something that compilers of manuscript collections did not have to worry about). Finally, considering the plays and playwrights in these collections has shown that, even if the names of Shakespeare and Jonson appeared more often in these collections than others, ultimately, the practice of dramatic extracting as analysed here did not promote one canon of authors, but multiple ones, showing diversity and including names that we would not consider canonical today. As more collections are discovered in the archives, and more data added to open access databases like *CELM* or *DEx*, a more diversified and more inclusive picture of the history of the reception of drama through the analysis of dramatic extracts will be possible.

4.3 What kind of drama was popular with compilers?

4.3.1 Popular topics

In the introduction of this chapter, I discussed how current scholarship on dramatic extracting (especially Lesser and Stallybrass) supports the idea that this practice promoted early modern drama to a 'literary status', which meant that early modern drama was appreciated as classical texts were, mainly for sententious lines that could be applied as advice for a virtuous life.[82]

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[81] In the last section of this chapter I also consider how the presence of commonplace markers in printed plays could have influenced the choice of compilers, and how it affected in different ways compilers of manuscript and printed collections.

[82] See John Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612) on the utility of compiling a commonplace book as a way to 'traine up young Gentlemen, and all others whome we would have to become wise men, & good Common-

This kind of material was indeed found in collections like *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, however, it is necessary to investigate what kind of 'cultural value' drama was actually appreciated for, not only in these early printed instances, but also in subsequent examples in both manuscript and printed form, in order to build a more complex picture of the impact dramatic extracting had on the status of early modern drama. Studying the evolution of the topics to which dramatic extracts were applied will help complicate current arguments and highlight how vernacular drama through commonplacing gained its own new cultural value, somewhat different from the moral and universal wisdom for which the classics were traditionally considered.

Let us start from the series that Bodenham promoted: in addition to *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, Bodenham financially supported the publishing of the *Wits Commonwealth* series, which consisted of four commonplace books published between 1597 and 1604, *Politeuphuia, or Wits Commonwealth* (1597), *Palladis Tamia*: *Wits Treasury* (1598), *Wits Theatre of The Little World* (1599) and *Palladis Palatium: wisedoms pallace* (1604).[83] *Politeuphuia* (1597), the first collection of the series, provided moral 'admonitions and sentences' drawn from 'great antiquitie' (*Politeuphuia*, sig. A2r), many of which were extracted from Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Banket of Sapience* (1539). The second in the series, *Palladis Tamia* (1598) (meaning 'treasurer or dispenser of Pallas Athena', goddess of wisdom) was compiled by Frances Meres (1565-1647), a minister and schoolmaster. The extracts collected here delivered nuggets of wisdom in the form of 'as...so' similes, like 'As the body is nourished by earthly foode: so is the soule by the foode of the heavenly worde' (p. 24). Number three in the *Wits Commonwealth* series is *Wits Theater of the Little World* (1599), a commonplace book consisting of what are called 'epitomized histories' (sig. A3v):

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wealths men' as commonplace books are 'full of most singular precepts and instructions concerning dueties and vertues' (sig. Z4v).

[83] For a brief history of these collections, see *England's Parnassus*, ed. Crawford, esp. pp. xiii–xiv.

these are slightly longer, descriptive prose extracts from which the reader can draw moral lessons about the consequences of human actions and behaviour. *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* (both 1600), broke with the tradition in regards to their choice of sources, but not so much for their choice of material and topics: their headings were mainly themed around virtues and vices, touching on all matters of life, as it was traditionally done.[84] Brinsley suggested in *Ludus Literarius* that themes in commonplace books should relate to daily life, both moral and political, in order to teach a gentleman how to become a wise man.[85] In *Belvedere*, the headings that have the most extracts overall (not limited to dramatic extracts) are: 'Of Love', 'Of Kings and Princes' and 'Of Griefe', occupying six pages each. In *Englands Parnassus*, one heading stands out above all, 'Of Love', which is followed by 22 pages of extracts. 'Of Beautie', 'Fortune' and 'Women' follow, with fewer than ten pages each. Whilst both commonplace books display very traditional thematic headings, the emphasis on the topics of love, beauty and women (especially in *Englands Parnassus*) already shows that these collections were not just promoting moral, sententious material (Allott also used longer, descriptive passages as part of the poetic descriptions offered in his collection).[86] In general, Bodenham collects fewer extracts on moral and religious themes, and more quotations dealing with human behaviour, practical topics and negative feelings than *Englands Parnassus*, which favours positive feelings and poetic themes. Looking at the most quoted playwright in these collections, Shakespeare, and the thematic headings under which his dramatic extracts were collected, it is noticeable that, in both *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, he is the playwright culled for the greatest variety of topics: his plays appear under 31 different headings in *Belvedere* and 25 in *Englands Parnassus* (see Table 8

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[84] I list the headings present in *Belvedere* and in *Englands Parnassus* in Appendix 3.
[85] See John Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612), sig. Z4v.
[86] It should be noted here that also commonplace markers covered a mixture of kinds of topics: as Lesser and Stallybrass, 'The First Literary Hamlet', p. 413, point out, 'In the archive of marked lines in professional plays' both 'low erotic matters' and 'high matters of state and philosophy' coexist'.

below), while the other playwrights are commonplaced under fewer headings (see Appendix 3, where I include tables displaying which headings playwrights were collected beneath in these two commonplace books). The themes of the headings under which Shakespeare is mostly commonplaced relate to abstract concepts, human behaviour and virtues, but in particular, he was commonplaced under 'Grief' or 'Sorrow', 'Kings and Princes', and also 'Love'. These headings reflect, of course, the main themes of the plays for which Shakespeare was commonplaced in these collections: *Richard II* and *Richard III* providing most of the material on 'Kings and Princes', *Richard II* providing the material on 'Sorrow', and *Romeo and Juliet* providing most of the pleasurable material on 'Love', as well as moral instruction.[87] Despite the appearance of topics on love, beauty and women, the majority of headings are however still very much dedicated to traditional, moral themes, as Table 8 here shows, and as also visible in Appendix 3.

Belvedere	*Englands Parnassus*
14 Griefe	5 Love
7 Kings and Princes	3 Sorrow
4 Povertie	1 Angels
4 Wit&Wisdom	1 Death
3 Beautie	1 Good Name
3 Tongue	1 Kings
3 Youth	1 Albion
3 Love	1 Griefe
3 Feare	1 Care
3 Anger	1 Mercie
3 Authoritie	1 Vertue
2 Good Deeds	1 Women
2 Pain	1 Diliculum
2 Fortune	1 Mane
2 Death	1 Description
2 Counsel	1 Delaie
2 Evil Deeds	1 Hope
2 Hope	1 Princes
1 Vertue	1 Words
1 Age	1 Gluttonie
1 Women	1 Gifts
1 Gluttonie	1 Pleasure
1 Fame and infamie	1 Treason
1 Courage	1 Thoughts

[87] Schurink, p. 457, illustrates how the compilers of the manuscript commonplace books he analyses contain a typical 'combination of moral instruction and attractive writing on love and women', also visible in *Englands Parnassus*.

1 Nobilitie	
1 Time	
1 Hate	
1 Life	
1 Heaven	
1 Truth	
1 Justice	

Table 8: Headings with Shakespearean dramatic extracts and the number of quotations.[88]

As time went on, the practice of commonplacing evolved and started to be used not only for learning moral and universal wisdom, but also to learn more everyday, social skills. This transformation can be seen in particular in Bodleian Library, Rawlinson D 952, the only manuscript analysed here (and one rare example overall) organised with thematic headings throughout. Studying these thematic headings, and how the compiler, CB, chose them and adapted them for his collection, can help understand how the nature of the material extracted from plays had changed by 1630. The headings in D 952 amount to a total of 180, ordered alphabetically, as by convention, and appearing at the top of each page in the collection.[89] In Table 9 (below) I list the headings in the order and spelling as given in the manuscript. The variety of topics ranges from abstain to woe, but CB shows a preference for topics pertaining to beauty, love, women, courting, and compliments. However, many traditional topics related to virtuous and vicious behaviour (such as abstain, anger, bold, chaste, civil, covetous, constant, envy, faithful, gluttony, honest, jealousy, idle, impudence, ignoble, lust, modesty, proud, devil, whores) are still part of this commonplace book.

abound - able - abstain - no account - good account - adversity - full age - allure - ambitions - anger - attires, dressing for women - eternal - **B banishment - beseige - boast - to be briefe** - Beautiful - barren - bould - bury - beautiful - chast - civil - complements - **careless - challenge** - common - **childhood** - country - **to commend** for beauty - to curse - **covetous man** - to court a lady etc. - cold - cuckhold - critiques - constant - **darke** - day - **danger - deceive** - devil - **defence - delay - desire - despaire - doubt - dissemble - dull - duty - to die - death** - to disgrace - descriptions - deformed - **eloquent** - envy, envious man - **end - excell - to erre** - first - faithful - faire or beautiful - faire or beautiful - **famous - favour - feare - to flatter - friends (marginalia: true or false)** - fortune - gentrise - gift - greatness (great men) - **glad - gluttony - grevie** - hair, woman hair - **happy - hate - health** - hell - heaven - **honest (woman) - hope** - hunger - humors - iealousy - **idle** - ioy - impudence - ignoble - impossible - **iests - ignorant - iudge** - imperfect - clownish conference - **to kill** - to kiss -

[88] From the Shakespearean plays present in both commonplace books: *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and also *Love's Labour's Lost* and *1 Henry IV*.

[89] CB on a few occasions inserts an additional heading half-way through the page, as for example on ff. 80v and 81r.

kings - **to laugh - learned - light - to love,** love, Venus - to be in Love - **to look merrily - luckily, ill luck** - lust - man - **mad** - modesty - **mourning** - morning, evening - music - melancholy - **naughty** - never - **night** - nothing - news - **to obey - old, old man, woman - old age - to overcome** - oration - t**o punish - to take pains - to pardon - to please - at your pleasure - poor - power - proud - promise** - to plot - **prosperity - to prayse (a woman/ a man) - to rail, slander - report - requite - revenge - reward - rudely - rule - rich, to get rich** - scholler - **safe** - salutations, complements - the sea, tempest - simple, **shameless** - sweet - **silent** - sacrifice - slavery - to be in a strayte - to speak - speedily - to sleep - to swear - the sun - vid. constant, sooner - T to bane - **to give thanks** - thunder, tempest - to travel - **trusting unto - time** - unthankful - **war, warlike - to wait on - wit, of aged wit - world** - weep - **write** - to wie - **young** - women - welcome - to woo - whores - to woe

Table 9: A complete list of headings present in Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 952.

A search of these headings on *EEBO-TCP* reveals that CB had copied more than half of the headings for his collection (corresponding to one hundred, and marked in **bold** in Table 9) from *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores* (1631).[90] This was a popular printed collection of elegant phrases in Latin by classical and Christian writers organised under thematic headings (written in English), compiled by the well-reputed schoolteacher and grammarian Thomas Farnaby (1574/5–1647). His collection is divided into three parts, though only the first of which, entitled 'Phrases elegantiores ex optimis Autoribus selectae', is important here, as it is from the 249 thematic divisions (in English) found in this section that CB chose one hundred for his own notebook. This process of selection shows us that CB was not interested in those headings that were too detailed and linguistically specific (a fundamental aspect for Farnaby's dictionary of elegant phrases, but one for which CB did not care), as well as many of those topics aimed at reflecting on vicious behaviour and its consequences (such as 'honour', 'condemn', 'confess', 'corrupt', 'correct', 'punishment', 'to trial'), a didactic aspect typical of conventional commonplace books (even if, as seen above, he did not exclude all of these traditional headings).

Looking at how CB then personalised his collection by adding eighty headings (listed in Table 10), which were not present in the model he was using (Farnaby's), can reveal which topics were personally relevant to him, and perhaps more current to the year in which CB was operating. It is significant that the most popular headings in D 952 (marked in **bold** in Table

[90] The earliest surviving copy dates from 1631 and it is the sixth edition, potentially the one that CB referred to.

10), by which I mean those headings with extracts completely filling their entry or requiring even a second leaf, are all headings the compiler added himself, with the exception of two instances: 'to prayse (a woman/a man)', which was already present in Farnaby, and 'to commend for beauty', which in Farnaby was simply 'to commend', but that CB personalised by adding 'for beauty'.

attires, dressing for women - eternal - **Beautiful** - barren - bould - bury - **beautiful** - chast - civil - **complements** - common - country - **to commend for beauty** - to curse - to court a lady etc. - cold - cuckhold - critiques - **constant** - day - devil - to disgrace - descriptions - deformed - envy, envious man - first - faithful - **faire or beautiful** - **faire or beautiful** - **fortune** - gentrise - gift - greatness (great men) - hair, woman hair - hell - heaven - hunger - humors - iealousy - ioy - impudence - ignoble - impossible - imperfect - clownish conference - **to kiss** - kings - to love, love, Venus - **to be in Love** - lust - man - modesty - morning, evening - music - melancholy - never - nothing - news - oration - to plot - scholler - salutations, complements - the sea, tempest - simple - sweet - sacrifice - slavery - to sleep - to swear - the sun - **vid. constant, sooner** - thunder, tempest - to travel - unthankful - weep - to wie - **women** - welcome - to woo - whores - to woe

Table 10: Headings CB did not take from Farnaby's *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores*.

The eighty headings added by CB in order to personalise his commonplace book confirm a strong interest in topics concerned with matters of love, beauty and compliments,[91] combined with a variety of headings on more traditional, moral commonplace topics (such as chaste, civil, envy, hell, heaven, jealousy, impudence, ignoble, lust, modesty). This combination of frivolous and moral topics was not offered by Farnaby in his collection dedicated mostly to classical and Christian authors writing in Latin. As seen before, the headings from *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* already showed some of this variety in 1600, but their headings were still predominantly dedicated to moral topics. CB's manuscript collection, however, shows a much stronger interest in the less moral topics, and deliberately avoided some of the more traditional headings present in Farnaby's collection, by not including them in his collection. Finally, of the total 180 headings present in the collection, one third (corresponding to sixty-four headings, listed in Table 11) were left blank by CB:

able - abstain - no account - good account - adversity - full age - allure - ambitions - B banishment - beseige - boast - to be briefe - *barren* - careless - challenge - childhood - darke - *day* - *devil* - defence - delay - desire - dull - *deformed* - eloquent - end - to erre - famous - favour - grevie - health - *hell* - *heaven* - hope - idle - *ioy* - *ignoble*

[91] A preference also reflected in the popularity of plays like Marston's *The Insatiate Countess*, and Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, the two most quoted plays in the collection.

- ignorant - learned - light - to look merrily - mad - *never* - to obey - to take pains - to pardon - to please - at your pleasure - poor - power - promise - report - requite - reward - rudely - rule - safe - *sacrifice* - speedily - *to travel* - *unthankful* - war, warlike - world - write

Table 11: Headings in D 952 left blank.

Headings were usually chosen at the beginning of the commonplacing process, before the compiler would start looking for extracts, so it is not unusual to find commonplace books with some headings left blank, as compilers may have found no material in their reading to fit these thematic categories. Again, the headings left blank tend to be of a moral and traditional nature (see for example abstain, banishment, famous, hope, mad, to pardon, and war). However, among the sixty-four headings left blank, twelve headings were added by CB (in italics in Table 11): he did not find material to fit under barren, day, devil, deformed, hell, heaven, joy, ignoble, never, sacrifice, to travel, unthankful. Perhaps these categories were too specific, or he lost interest in them whilst looking for extracts—maybe because the topics of these headings tend to depict a negative life. However, most headings left blank by CB were those he took from his print model. That CB left half of the headings taken from Farnaby empty is in itself meaningful: as Laurie Maguire has pointed out, very often there is nothing blank about blank spaces.[92] Examining those topics for which CB was unable to find extracts, as well as those for which he was, can tell us something about his intentions, as they express a choice – that is, an individual choice which contradicts the stipulations of a given model. These moments of departure from convention can be read as moments of self-revelation, or at least, as moments when the inherited print model fails to satisfy manuscript practice. Although one ought to beware seeking out an author's or compiler's intentions, the empty headings – such as 'to abstain', 'banishment', 'to obey', 'to pardon', 'to take pains' – tell us that these topics no longer fitted CB's purposes in compiling this manuscript, perhaps because they were seen as too grave or, once again, as expressing negativity. My method for

[92] Laurie Maguire, '"This page left intentionally blank": Ludic Space in Early Modern Texts', paper delivered at the Early Modern English Literature Seminar, Tuesday 10th October 2017, at Merton College, Oxford.

distinguishing the compiler's agency is therefore to read the gap between the inherited (print) model and the manuscript enactment. It is in this interaction between manuscript and print culture that it is possible to observe broader, contemporary trends, and how compilers responded to them and personalised them.

The example discussed here shows how CB's collection was in part the result of a collective act, responding to print models and broader trends, but also the product of a very individual and personal act. Not only did CB re-write and appropriate the extracts collected (as seen in Chapter 1), but also re-wrote and appropriated an existing, conventional structure of headings to his own intent. Moreover, the very copy of Farnaby's *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores* that I consulted in the Bodleian Library (Bodleian Library, Wood 43) underwent a similar process of personalisation by Oxford students around the same time CB was also using Farnaby as a model for his collection.[93] This copy was bound interleaved and multiple hands added new headings and extracts to it: one hand, for example, added the headings 'bee without chance' (opposite p. 32), where the headings included by Farnaby were 'to Care. Cares', 'to be Carelesse', 'to Certifie', 'to Challenge' and 'Childe-hood' (Fig. 36). The addition by the manuscript hand is not related to any of the topics found in the print collection, but the the compiler perhaps felt the need to collect the extract on a more personal topic ('Extra omnem liturarum et obu liscorum aleam esse.').

[93] This copy, as suggested by the shelfmark, belonged to Anthony Wood. One of the hands found in it could actually be his: Nicolas Kiessling, *The Library of Anthony Wood*, Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, 5 (3rd series) (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2002), p. 273 (entry 2950), states that the manuscript addition 'Tho. Farnibie' on the title-page might have been in Wood's own hand. Wood wrote about Farnaby in his *Athenae Oxonienses* (1692). The other names appearing on this copy are also all connected to Oxford.

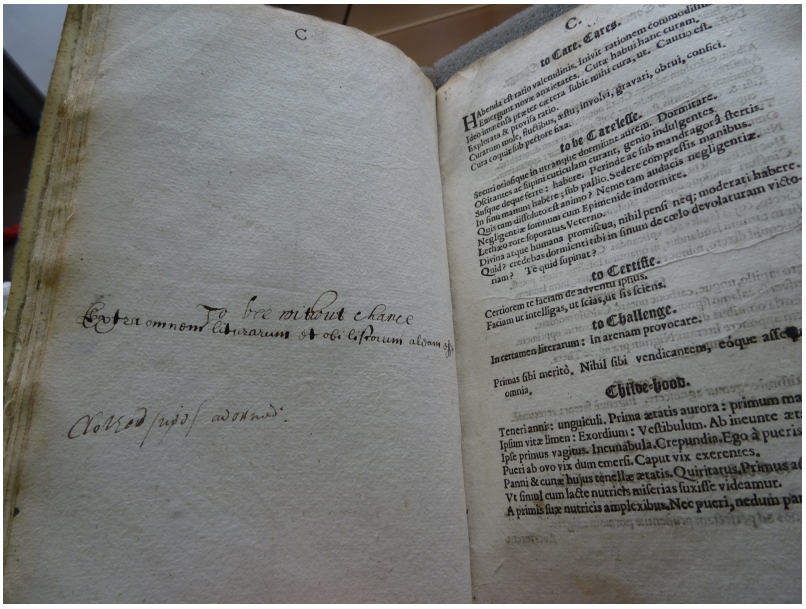


Fig. 36: Thomas Farnaby, *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores, Editio sexta: Cui accesserunt phrases aliquot poëticae* (1631); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 43, p. 32.

On one single page (opposite p. 81), one hand added 'to be godly', 'to be pious', and 'to grieve vehemently' (Fig. 37).[94] The addition to be godly could hint at a particular interest of the reader as a student of theology. Some additional headings, however, simply expanded headings already present in print, as in the case of 'to Grieve' present in Farnaby, and 'to greeve vehemently' added by the same hand on the opposite leaf.

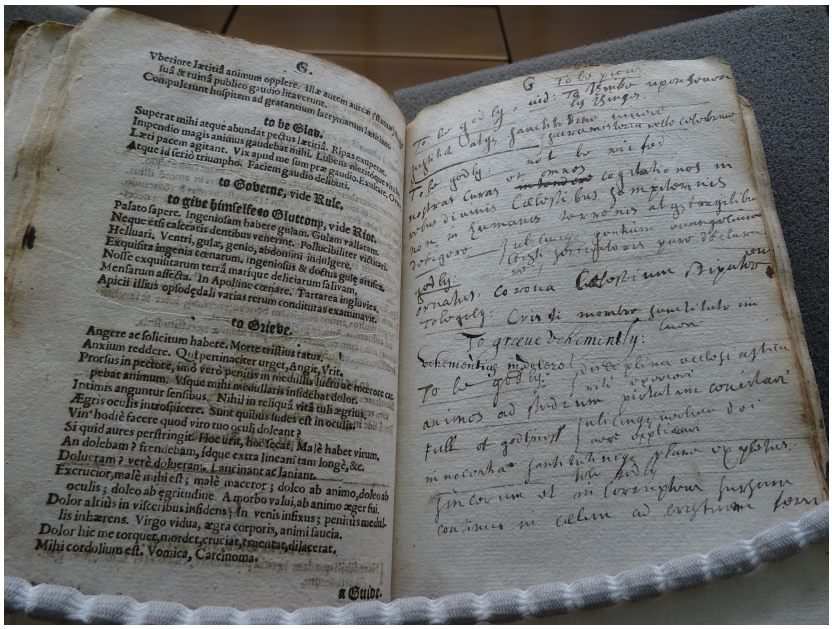


Fig. 37: Thomas Farnaby, *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores, Editio sexta: Cui accesserunt phrases aliquot poëticae* (1631); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 43, p. 81.

[94] Note that the pagination was added by hand in this copy.

Perhaps most interesting is the addition of one particular heading: opposite page 65, where the headings printed were ‘to make easy’, ‘easily’, ‘eloquence’, the reader added the heading ‘to embrace, vid. to love’ (tanto amore aliquem amplecti) (Fig. 38).

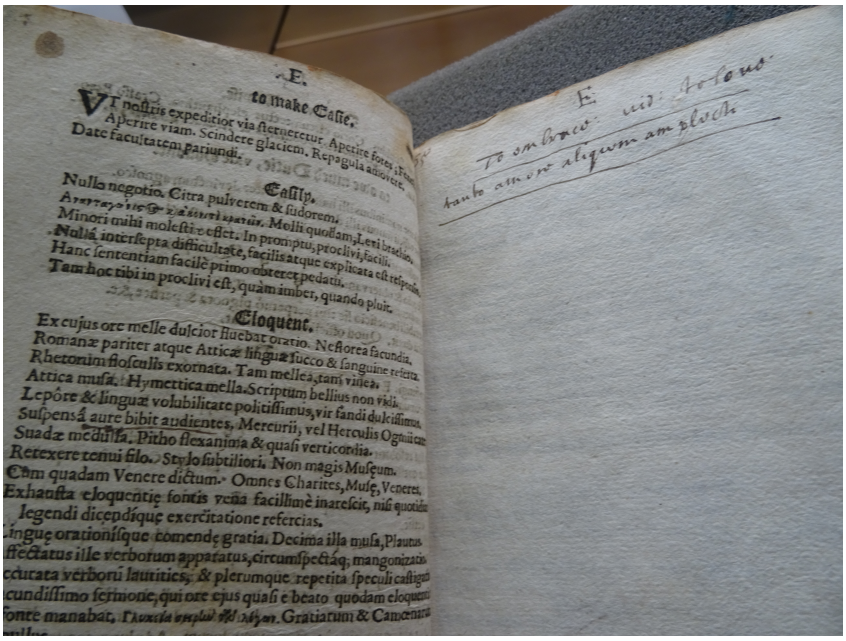


Fig. 38: Thomas Farnaby, *Phrases oratoriae elegantiores, Editio sexta: Cui accesserunt phrases aliquot poëticae* (1631); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 43, p. 65.

The topic of love was neglected by Farnaby, but it seems that both CB and the student who added this had some interest in it. These examples are typical of a culture that was not afraid of interacting and manipulating printed text, adding marginalia, amending and editing, extracting and copying. It was expected, and sometimes even encouraged, that a printed collection would be appropriated and personalised.[95] Even if printed collections were intended for a public readership, and therefore designed to cater for and please the many, readers could still further personalise these collections to their own needs and interests.

Ultimately, what this analysis of CB’s headings reveals is that one of the main purposes of commonplacing drama was to improve his linguistic ability by refining his

[95] For instance, in 1557 John Foxe published *Locorum Communium Tituli* (later republished as *Pandectae Locorum Communium*), a commonplace book with printed headings, but with empty pages that could be filled by readers as they saw fit.

eloquence in matters of love. He would not have been alone in using drama as a quarry of language, and especially of love language. As Tiffany Stern has noted,

> one important pull of the theatre was its use of language. First, plays provided a source of jests and anecdotes; they supplied the quips and one-liners that could be used to spice up conversation later.[96]

Playgoers, as well as playreaders, 'enriched their vocabularies with the new terms that the plays freely presented to them', and plays were particularly appreciated for their language of flirtation.[97] More generally, early modern drama offered current, everyday language, as also claimed in *The Actors Remonstrance, or Complaint* (1643) by actors themselves: it is on the stage that 'the most exact and natural eloquence of our English language [is] expressed and daily amplified' (p. 5).[98] CB's collection is a storehouse of metaphors, similes, and poetical images, especially of hyperbolic descriptions of women and love. Even in the case of the only Latin play present in the collection, Brooke's *Melanthe*, CB shows his propensity for hyperbolic compliments – he collects the lines 'delicia femina, ah dulcissima, mea se- / renitas, meus zephyrus, Aprilis meus' under the heading 'complements' (fol. 14^{v}) – and discourse on love.[99] Plays were often seen as quarries of poetical images, but especially of florid descriptions of women and love. This kind of material became very much sought after in print handbooks and manuals teaching gentlemen how to converse with women, how to court them and how to write letters to them, a genre that saw the pinnacle of its popularity around the middle of the century, with manuals such as Philomusus's *Academy of*

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[96] Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, p. 20. See also Chapter 3, where I quote John Stephens, *Satyrical Essayes Characters and Others*, 1615, in which a Lawyer's clerk 'attempt[s] a mistresse (with) Jests, or speeches stolne from Playes' (p. 276), or Marston's *Scourge of Villainy* (1599), in which Luscus courts his mistresses using lines from *Romeo and Juliet*.

[97] Stern, *Making Shakespeare*, p. 20.

[98] That drama could provide everyday, colloquial language was not a novelty: Kiséry, p. 164, reminds us, 'The colloquial language of Roman comedy, and of Terence in particular, was the cornerstone of the teaching of spontaneous everyday Latin oral communication, as it provided direct access to the colloquial language of the Romans'. Moreover, Erasmus thought that Terence's language was 'pure, concise, and closest to everyday speech and then, by the very nature of his subject-matter, is also congenial to the young' (*De copia / De ratione studii*, ed. Thompson, and trans. Knott and McGregor, p. 669).

[99] Brooke, *Melanthe*, 1615, sig. $D2^{r}$.

Complements (1663). Indeed, some of the extracts collected in D 952 can also be found in some later print manuals, such as Blount's *The Academie of Eloquence* (1654), Poole's *The English Parnassus, or, A Helpe to English Poesie* (1657), Smith's *The Mysterie of Rhetorique Unveil'd* (1665), and Edwards's *The Mysteries of Love & Eloquence, or, The Arts of Wooing and Complementing* (1685)**,** signifying that the dramatic extracts chosen by the compiler of D 952 were copied in other collections specifically for the purpose of courting. For instance, some extracts from *The Insatiate Countess* and *Jealous Lovers* present in D 952 (fols. 27^{r}, 32^{r}, 58^{r} and 57^{r} respectively) are also to be found in later printed manuals like those by Edwards and Poole. The popular printed commonplace books of the sixteenth century used for moral advancement were gradually replaced by the vernacular collections, more concerned with the social advancement of their readers.[100] What CB hoped to gain from his commonplacing of drama was 'quotidian conversational or amatory devices',[101] which these later handbooks would offer in abundance and without the labour involved for CB.[102] Again, this implies that D 952 was not simply expressing an individual's motives, but was rather a barometer of the period's trends. That these printed collections appeared on the market a few years later, and were so successful, also means there was a demand for them and an interest in this kind of topic, which had been previously expressed in manuscript collections.

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[100] This change was also reflected in the genre of the plays collected: in 1600, histories and tragedies dramatising stories inspired by classical history and tragedies, but also English history, were the most commonplaced plays in printed collections. As time went on comedies telling more contemporary stories gained a more prominent place in collections with dramatic extracts.

[101] Smyth, *"Profit and Delight"*, p. 20. See also Kiséry, '"Flowers for English Speaking"', on the appreciation of drama for conversational language. In Montedoro, 'Comedies and Tragedies "read of me" and "not yet learned"', I also claim that drama was particularly valued for the currency of its language as a useful resource in social contexts. See also Chapter 1 of this thesis for examples of dramatic extracts appreciated for their colloquial value.

[102] Smyth, *"Profit and Delight"*, p. 17, also explains how commonplace books like *The Academy of Complement*s 'explicitly advertise themselves as ready-made commonplace books', offering 'the gallant's formerly secret rhetorical techniques' to 'the general reader'.

4.3.2 The impact of 'commonplace markers'

If, as Lesser and Stallybrass posit, 'literary drama... emerged primarily through the activity of readers, not authors', [103] then we should spend more time studying those readers and the evidence that they left behind. I do so by analysing the impact commonplace markers had on the compilers of the collections I have analysed. In Appendix 4, I list the plays with typographical markers quoted in the collections studied, and consider how many of the extracts taken from these plays were actually culled from lines marked with typographical markers (either italics or commonplace markers).[104] I also consider whether these markers played a role in promoting the plays in which they appeared as commonplaceable, even when compilers did not extract directly from lines pre-marked.

Comparing playwrights and plays that were popular as shown in Table 6 and Table 7 earlier in this chapter, it seems that the popularity of Greville's plays, *Mustapha* and *Alaham*, in Cotgrave's collection was down to the presence of typographical markers, as Cotgrave selected extracts mostly from passages already pre-marked in the printed plays. It is also noteworthy that the compiler of MS Eng. poet. e. 97 collected only one extract from *Mustapha*, and selected this from a passage already marked in the printed text. Kyd's

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[103] Lesser and Stallybrass, 'The First Literary *Hamlet*', p. 414.

[104] My main source for the list of playbooks printed with typographical markers is Hunter, 'The Marking of *Sententiae*'. However, Hunter's list is outdated, and as such I have found additional material not present in it. Lesser and Stallybrass, 'The First Literary *Hamlet*', p. 407, also offer a list of plays with typographical markers, however, neither the latter nor Hunter list the number of passages, or lines, marked in each play (except for the Shakespearean plays, which are given a separate table with precise data in Lesser and Stallybrass). In my current list, I offer the number of passages marked out in the plays in question, sometimes offering precise numbers, other times simply saying whether the play had more or fewer than ten passages marked out (that is, whether the marking was sporadic or appeared throughout the play). Moreover, I should clarify that when italics are used to mark riddles, letters, oaths, songs or other material which I do not consider as a dramatic extract, I do not count them as marks of commonplaceable material. Finally, as I have mentioned throughout this chapter, compilers could rely on a variety of sources for their commonplaces: printed, oral and intermediary. The large amount of extracts from individual plays found in the large collections I am analysing here suggest that the compilers were copying their extracts from the printed play, but sometimes it is not possible to know for certain which edition of a play they used. In Appendix 2 I mark this with a quotation mark. When it is possible to know which edition was used, because an extract present in one edition but not another is present, I put the precise date. In the case of Appendix 4, I add a question mark next to the collection when I am not sure that the edition used was the one with typographical markers, however I still verify whether the extracts present in the collection could have potentially been taken from marked-out passages, in the eventuality that the compiler used this specific edition.

Cornelia, a closet drama not circulated widely in the collections studied here, but popular in both *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, was also clearly commonplaced by Bodenham and Allott following the markers present in the text. Marston's plays, also among the most popular according to Table 6 and 7, were perhaps also made popular among compilers because of the presence of typographical markers, even if in some cases these were very sporadic. In general, plays where commonplace markers were present throughout seemed to attract more attention, as in the case of Webster's plays, and in particular of *Duchess of Malfi*, which was among the more circulated plays: the presence of commonplace markers in this play might have attracted the attention of compilers like Wright and Cotgrave, but neither of them selected much of their material from pre-selected passages.

Finally, Shakespeare and Jonson, the two most popular playwrights in the collections studied here, offer two very different pictures of how typographical markers might have influenced their popularity. We might consider first *Hamlet*, and in particular Q1 *Hamlet*, the play that Lesser and Stallybrass have defined 'the first literary' *Hamlet*. First of all, the commonplace markers in Q1 and Q2 are only sporadic, covering only two passages respectively, which are also different in the two editions.[105] Moreover, looking at the extracts that have been selected from *Hamlet* in the collections I consider, I have been able to determine with certainty, except for Cotgrave, that none used Q1 as their source.[106] Even if we hypothesize that Cotgrave was using Q1, the extracts he collected did not correspond to any of the lines marked out in Q1. The direct impact of Q1's markers therefore seems non-existent. Q2 attracted slightly more attention: Pudsey collected from it, but did not extract any lines from the pre-marked passages; the compiler of MS Rawl. poet. 117 also used this edition, but again, selected none of the pre-marked passages. If we hypothesize that Cotgrave

[105] See Appendix 4 for details on the passages marked out in *Hamlet* Q1 and Q2.
[106] The presence of passages that could be found in one edition, but not another, helped me determine which edition each compiler was using, except for Cotgrave, where there is no evidence to prove that he was using one particular source, even if it seems likely he was using F1 for all of Shakespeare's plays.

used Q2 instead, then one extract was taken from a pre-marked section, but if he used F1, as it is more likely, then he did not, as *Hamlet* in F1 has no markers. Finally, Wright used the 1637 edition of *Hamlet*, which was also marked with commonplace markers (the same as Q2, although Hunter does not list this play in his article), and selected three passages from pre-marked lines. The other plays in F1 with some typographical markers are *Love's Labour's Lost*, a play that was relatively popular, but for which no extracts were taken from pre-marked sections, *Twelfth Night*, *Henry V, Troilus and Cressida*, *Othello*, *Cymbeline* and *Merchant of Venice*. These plays were not recurrent in collections, except perhaps for *Othello* and *Merchant*; moreover, none were selected for passages pre-marked, except for *Merchant*, which was commonplaced by EC, the compiler of MS V.a.87, who selected two extracts (out of 38) from pre-marked lines. Commonplace markers in Shakespeare's plays were sporadic, and their direct impact on compilers limited, as the evidence discussed here shows.

The situation with Jonson's plays is quite different. His most popular plays all contained commonplace markers (generally present throughout the play, but on a couple instances being only sporadic): these are *Every Man out of His Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, *Poetaster*, *Sejanus*, and *Catiline* (these plays were also present in his *Works* with the same typographical markers, except for *Sejanus*, which had fewer in F1 than in Q1). Pudsey and the compiler of MS Rawl. poet. 117 commonplaced some passages marked out in these plays, but it was mainly the compilers of printed collections, first Allott (who collected all of his extracts from *Every Man out of His Humour* from the passages pre-marked) and then Cotgrave, who were following the guidance of such printed markers. All in all, the typographical markers in Jonson's plays had a more distinct impact on the popularity of his plays with those collecting dramatic extracts than anyone else's. Even if the compilers of printed collections show a stronger interest in such markers, as it seems to be the more general trend, in these instances it seems that compilers of manuscript collections also paid

some attention, consciously or not, to the passages selected and marked out by Jonson himself (in the case of *Sejanus*) or by his stationers.

In conclusion, a glance at Appendix 4 shows that compilers of print collections were more receptive to these markers than compilers of manuscript collections. This could be partly explained by the different nature of the collections: print collections being public and aiming to please as many as possible, the compilers might be more inclined to follow the guidance of a printed gnomic pointer, as this would also accelerate the process of compilation.[107] The compiler of a personal collection, on the other hand, would probably take the time to find the extracts that would suit his or her collection better, finding these pointers in opposition to the creation of a truly personal, and unique, collection.[108] Moreover, print collections seemed more attentive to these markers when the stationers involved in the production of the collections were also directly involved in the publishing of the plays extracted. This is the case of the extracts from *Every Man out of his Humour* (1600) found in *Englands Parnassus* (1600): both books were published in the same year by Nicholas Ling. This could explain why every extract taken from *Every Man out of his Humour* in *Englands Parnassus* was selected from the passages printed with quotations marks in the play. Financial gain and marketing exposure were then clearly the motives behind the choice of this material, as discussed earlier in this chapter.[109]

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[107] As De Grazia 'Shakespeare in Quotation Marks', p. 59, notes, 'By simply perusing the margins of a text, readers might lift material for their own personalised storehouse of wise and therefore widely applicable sayings'. However, I claim that this was more often the case for compilers of printed collections, rather than compilers of private, manuscript collections. See also for example how the lines marked with pointers in *Sejanus* were copied in Shirley's *Wits labyrinth* (1648), pp. 368, 369.

[108] Mayer, *Shakespeare's Early Readers*, pp. 154–5, has also observed that these markers were not so influential in the choice of material readers added to their personal collections: 'Marked-up editions of Shakespeare with inverted commas, marks or special fonts no doubt exerted some influence, but the impression left by several hundred books which I examined in the course of my research tends to be that many readers enjoyed extracting exactly what *they* wanted'.

[109] See also Petersen, 'Shakespeare and *Sententiae*', p. 49, where he also claims that typographical markers were 'a material form to market the product that bore a sales strategy', that is, they were part of a marketing strategy aimed at creating demand and sell more copies of a text.

4.4 Conclusion: the status of early modern drama

This chapter has shown how the compilers' selection of drama could be dictated partly by personal interest, taste, and connection, and partly by current trends in the book trade market. It has also shown how the compilers of these collections displayed material that is not canonical today, alongside playwrights and plays more familiar today. The main aim of this chapter has been to challenge the current argument that printed commonplace books like *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* promoted a canon of playwrights and plays. Considering how the practice evolved in the first fifty years of its existence, starting from 1600 to 1655, shows how dramatic extracting promoted the circulation and appropriation of drama but, rather than encouraging continuity and permanence, as canonisation would require, it encouraged novelty and variation. Compilers sought material in the most recent plays, chose the passages that best suited their own personal interests, and were not afraid of adapting and altering the extracts when needed, as seen in Chapter 1. This effectively made drama a 'commodity' to be used as one pleased, in a form that could be easily adapted to the time and needs of the compiler. I have also shown how dramatic extracting promoted a popularisation of drama, both because it contributed to its wider circulation (as also seen in Chapter 3), and because it promoted its appropriation and manipulation as a kind of popular commodity that provided current, fashionable material, both in terms of language used and topics covered.[110]

The impact of this practice on the status of early modern drama has also been discussed. Lesser and Stallybrass claim that *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*, as well as the presence of 'commonplace markers' in printed plays, promoted drama to a 'literary' status, as the practice of commonplacing was once only limited to the study of classical, academic, texts. I do not dispute that these markers and the presence of dramatic extracts in commonplace books signified a newly found respect for vernacular drama as material worthy

[110] This topic will be further explored in the book development of this thesis, where a whole new chapter will be dedicated to analysing the nature of dramatic extracts, their uses and the type of users involved in this practice.

of being studied and preserved in the form of commonplaces. However, examining how dramatic extracting was carried out, in practice, over half a century, can open up multiple narratives of the impact commonplacing had on the reputation, and appreciation, of drama.[111] As I have shown, the focus on serious, moral and historical dramatic material in the form of dramatic *sententiae* displayed in the first printed compilations with dramatic extracts and reflecting the popularity of sixteenth-century moral commonplace books, was gradually replaced by an appreciation for the more practical and colloquial elements of drama, dealing with more frivolous and poetic topics, and being used as linguistic models for writing and speaking of love and women, a type of material very fashionable in the 1630s and 40s, as also reflected by the popularity of printed manuals like *The Academy of Complements* (1640).

We cannot know for certain how readers of plays were affected by the presence of commonplace markers in plays, but what we can study is the material trace left by some of those readers who chose to commonplace from those texts.[112] The data analysed here shows that the presence of these markers did not so clearly dictate which plays were also most appreciated and circulated in the collections analysed here, except for Jonson's plays, which seem to have received more attention than others, perhaps also due to the presence of such markers (even if the two most popular plays within these collections were *Every Man in his Humour* and *Volpone*, which had no markers). Some plays were circulated and 'popular' even if they were not printed with such markers (see the most circulated plays by Chapman and Shirley), whilst some plays with commonplace markers did not receive any attention at all

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[111] Kiséry, p. 163, also aims to open up new narratives, and laments the fact that current discourses are limiting what we can say about dramatic extracts: he says, 'the dominantly literary focus of the study of early modern play reading had made it difficult to integrate the colloquial use of plays into a larger cultural-historical narrative'.

[112] Trying to establish what readers thought of Shakespeare is what Mayer does in his *Shakespeare's Early Readers*. Mayer suggests that the answer to the question 'What did early modern readers really think of Shakespeare's works?' should be 'based not on theoretical or pedagogical guidebooks of the time, but on the empirical evidence gleaned from the study of several hundred manuscripts and annotated books', an approach which 'requires us to remember that each reader's receptivity is unique and that aesthetic response in particular is multifaceted and may sometimes appear bewildering (if not meaningless) from our perspective' (p. 174).

(see Middleton's plays and some of Marston's plays, like *The Malcontent* and *Duchess of Malfi*, which had extensive markings, but nevertheless did not attract the attention of compilers). Finally, Shakespeare's popularity cannot be attributed to the presence of such markers, which were only scarce in his Folio, as well as in the quarto editions of *Hamlet*. *Hamlet* indeed turned out to be one of the most circulated plays by Shakespeare, however only three extracts (or four, if Cotgrave did not use F1) were taken from passages marked out in this play.[113] As observed above, compilers of printed collections tended to be more receptive of these markers and selected more extracts from pre-marked passages than compilers of manuscript collections. If, in theory, commonplace markers had the function of promoting material to commonplacers, then they were not entirely successful in the instances of compilers analysed here.

Lesser and Stallybrass associate the idea of 'literary' with higher, classical culture, and when they discuss what they mean by 'literary drama' they refer to 'the ability of an emergent vernacular literature to reproduce the timeless and impersonal authority attributed to sententiae in classical texts'.[114] The presence of extractable passages with a universal and timeless applicability is therefore crucial in this definition. However, compilers could also appreciate dramatic extracts that did not display these qualities, and that to us, who expect to find some of the most 'quotable' and literary lines from plays, might seem insignificant and almost haphazard.[115] That dramatic extracting automatically elevated vernacular drama to the level of the classics is therefore debatable. Moreover, as already seen in Chapter 3, this practice was not well received by the elite, as the Cambridge play *The First Return from*

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[113] This is a phenomenon also observed in other plays with commonplace markers, which were selected for extraction, but then not extracted for the passages already marked out: see for example Marston's plays, *Antonio's Revenge*, *Antonio and Mellida* and *Parasitaster*.
[114] Lesser and Stallybrass, p. 417.
[115] James P. Bednarz, 'The Early Modern Culture of Quotation', in *Shakespeare and Quotation, ed*. by Julie Maxwell and Kate Louise Rumbold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 40, notes that 'The quotations that Shakespeare's contemporaries cited most frequently are not usually the ones that come to mind today'.

Parnassus (1598) and the tenth satire in Marston's *Scourge of Villaine* (1598) show: the practice of commonplacing vernacular plays was considered as a ridiculous attempt of low-brow readers at pretending to be scholars, or indeed poets. [116]

Throughout this thesis I have intended to stay away from assumptions based only on theory, and let the archival evidence speak instead. Here, I also want to approach the concept of 'literature' (a term that would not have been in use in the early modern period),[117] in more practical terms, thinking about its broader meaning: Chris Baldick defines 'literature' as what 'deserve[d] to be preserved as part of the current reproduction of meanings within a given culture'. [118] If we think of dramatic extracting as a form of selective reproduction and preservation, then each commonplace book, each miscellany and each treasury offers us a unique window into a portion of the kind of material people considered relevant and deserving to be 'preserved as part of the current reproduction of meanings'. As I have shown in this chapter, what was considered worth preserving changed as cultural values and cultural contexts shifted over time. Ultimately, in the commonplace book culture of the first half of the seventeenth century, drama did not simply take on the cultural values conventionally applied to commonplaces from classical texts, but was appreciated for other, newer cultural values, as compilers appreciated some extracts for their practical, and 'occasional' use in the present moment, for their relevance and currency (of topic and language), rather than their 'timelessness'.

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[116] Both texts directly attack Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (See Roberts, 'Reading Shakespeare's Tragedies of Love', pp. 110–11), and *Belvedere* was publicly mocked in the final part of the Cambridge plays, *The Returne from Parnassus* (1606). Crane, *Framing Authority*, p.181, discusses how the activity of commonplacing vernacular drama at the beginning of the seventeenth century was associated with 'unsophisticated' readers, what Crane calls the '"common readers", artisans and citizens, urban merchants, and the ambitious lesser gentry'.

[117] Even if, 'this is precisely the moment when certain kinds of English vernacular writing were beginning to be classed alongside celebrated classical works' (András Kiséry, with Allison Deutermann, 'The Matter of Form' in *The Book in History, the Book as History: New Intersections of the Material Text, Essays in Honor of David Scott Kastan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 54). See also Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature'.

[118] Baldick, *Literary Terms*, p. 142.

Conclusion

Dramatic Extracting and the Reception of Early Modern English Drama is only the second monograph-length study dedicated to early modern dramatic extracts and the first to explore the practice of dramatic extracting in both printed and manuscript collections from the first half of the seventeenth century. This thesis analyses many primary sources that are often overlooked by scholars, or that are considered but not analysed in detail, such as *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus*. I have also considered manuscripts that have not been studied before, such as Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 952.[1] Chapters 2 and 4 also offer tables that gather previously unexamined data relevant for the treatment of attribution and the impact of dramatic extracting on the popularity of early modern drama. The latter is further supported by evidence presented in extensive tables found in the Appendices of the thesis: these offer statistics of the dramatic extracts in the manuscript and print collections analysed here (ordered by collection in Appendix 1, and by playwright in Appendix 2), the thematic headings and dramatic extracts present in *Belvedere* and *Englands Parnassus* (Appendix 3), and finally, the plays with typographical markers that have been extracted from in the collections considered here (Appendix 4). In each chapter I have also provided transcriptions of some of the dramatic extracts found in these collections, which can also be found fully transcribed in the digital database *DEx: A Database of Dramatic Extracts*, of which I am associate editor alongside Laura Estill, and to which I have contributed many of my own transcriptions of this material. New transcriptions are continuously added to this database, and as more material is shared and found in the archives, we are reminded how working with archival material is always a work-in-progress. In this thesis, I follow Estill's example in

[1] I have also created a full transcription, which I could not include in this thesis due to its length, but which I hope to publish in the near future with the Renaissance English Text Society.

showing the benefits of studying dramatic extracting and encourage further study and collaboration in the field. In turn, this can lead to the building of more robust databases and the creation of a more nuanced understanding of the practice of dramatic extracting and its role in the reception of early modern drama. Previous studies concerned with dramatic extracting have used this evidence to talk about one author, primarily Shakespeare.[2] In my thesis, I approach dramatic extracts as not simply a means to discuss the sources used, but as the very subject of my research, which I study within its new home, the commonplace book or miscellany collection.[3]

Estill in her book, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts* (2015), was the first to dedicate a whole monograph to the study of collections with dramatic extracts, but she limited her main analysis to manuscript collections, which she presented in chronological order. Her aim was to offer an overview of the practice and show the benefits of studying dramatic extracts from a variety of perspectives, but this study did not challenge current accepted ideas of the role dramatic extracting had in the reception of early modern drama. My thesis compares print and manuscript collections, which are analysed in detail in thematic chapters. This more inclusive approach allows me to offer more complex and nuanced narratives about the impact that dramatic extracts had on the reception of early modern drama, and break free from unchallenged assumptions about dramatic extracting that have been partially responsible for limiting studies on dramatic extracts. It has become

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[2] See for example Sasha Roberts, 'Reading Shakespeare's Tragedies of Love: Romeo and Juliet, Othello, and Antony and Cleopatra in Early Modern England', in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works, Volume I: The Tragedies*, ed. by Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 108–33; Stallybrass and Chartier, 'Reading and Authorship'; Marotti and Estill, 'Manuscript Circulation'; *Shakespeare and Quotation*, ed. by Maxwell and Rumbold; and Mayer, *Shakespeare's Early Readers*.

[3] See also Matthew Zarnowiecki, 'Reading Shakespeare Miscellaneously: Ben Jonson, Robert Chester, and the *Vatum Chorus* of *Loves Martyr*', in *Formal Matters: Reading the Materials of English Renaissance Literature*, ed. by Allison K. Deutermann and András Kiséry (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 34–54. Zarnowiecki, pp. 35–6, advocates 'medium-close reading' as the approach to be used if we want to consider material within a collection. In his case, he studies Shakespearean poetry in miscellanies, and he claims that this approach 'takes seriously the medium in which Shakespeare's poem was published, which is miscellaneous' and 'helps us to assess whether and how individual lyric poems are incorporated into a single entity, the miscellany'.

conventional to think that the practice of commonplacing elevated drama to a 'literary' status and started a canon of early modern drama. This is the narrative that greatly influential works such as Ann Moss's *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* and Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass's 'The First Literary *Hamlet*' have brought about. Since then, scholars working on the reception of Shakespeare—and even those, like Estill, working specifically on the practice of dramatic extracting—have endorsed these claims without challenging them. András Kiséry, in a very recent essay in *Rethinking Theatrical Documents in Shakespeare's England*, has also lamented the fact that current narratives are limiting what we can say about dramatic extracts: he says, 'the dominantly literary focus of the study of early modern play reading had made it difficult to integrate the colloquial use of plays into a larger cultural-historical narrative'.[4] These unchallenged arguments are not only limiting, but are also restricted in terms of the evidence they base their claims on: Moss refers only to *Englands Parnassus* (1600) and Lesser and Stallybrass to Q1 *Hamlet* (1603). My thesis aims to encourage a more inclusive approach to the study of dramatic extracting, foregrounding the detailed analysis of the archival sources, the collections, the physical embodiments of the practice. By analysing in detail how the practice evolved from 1600 to 1650s, both in print and in manuscript collections, and asking questions organised in thematic chapters, I have been able to open up multiple narratives of the practice of dramatic extracting and its role in the reception of early modern drama.

Each chapter of this thesis brings forward one main argument: that the process of appropriation of the dramatic extracts was a creative act of reception that made the compilers as much the authors of the extracts as the original writers; that authorship was not a primary concern of compilers, and that attribution was used for multiple functions aside from its referential function; that the popularisation of the practice of commonplacing among less

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[4] András Kiséry, '"Flowers for English Speaking"', p. 163.

educated readers/playgoers of drama was a concern for playwrights, but nonetheless they chose to promote it through various strategies; and finally, that the circulation of dramatic extracts in these collections did not highlight one canon but multiple canons, as well as an appreciation for multiple cultural values of drama, and not just a 'literary' value. The overall argument of this thesis is that focusing our attention on the collections, rather than the works they quote, allows us to think more about the agency of the compilers, and seeing the practice from their perspective allows us to gain a more historicised understanding of how the practice of dramatic extracting influenced their reception of drama. Current arguments made on the role of dramatic extracting in the reception of early modern drama have focused primarily on the agency of writers and stationers, but the agencies of both those who produced the texts and those who received them need to be considered to gain a better sense of the impact this practice had on drama. When both sides are considered, it is possible to argue, as I have already articulated in the final chapter of this thesis, that dramatic extracting helped to promote the circulation of early modern drama, and in so doing it also promoted its popularisation, as it not only reached more people but it was also appreciated for other values than its 'literary' qualities.

In future, I aim to think further about the readers/compilers involved in this practice: who they were, in which cultural and social contexts they operated, what kind of dramatic extracts they collected, and to what ends. Elsewhere I have already talked about the potential functions for which CB found drama useful, but a fuller survey would be beneficial. Kiséry has recently advocated the conversational function of dramatic extracts, but dramatic extracts were considered useful for many other purposes.[5] In the book development of this thesis, I will include a new chapter dedicated to the cultural and social role of dramatic extracting, which will develop some of the themes already introduced in Chapter 3 (on the anxiety of the

[5] See Kiséry, '"Flowers for English Speaking"'. Among other different uses for dramatic extracts, I will explore how dramatic extracts were used in sermons.

popularisation of dramatic extracting). This, in addition to a close analysis of the nature of the material collected, will allow an even fuller picture of the status of the practice and the impact the practice had on the status of drama. The new chapter will also aim to make this thesis more inclusive: on the one hand, it will bridge the fields of reading history and theatre history, by considering more examples of playgoers compilers, and on the other hand it will include more examples of collections, and will even consider the missing evidence, that is the evidence for which we have indirect proof in accounts, but for which no direct evidence survives. Finally, this chapter will aim to demonstrate that the practice of dramatic extracting was much more popular and widely practiced than previously thought. A more inclusive and detailed approach to dramatic extracting and to reception studies in general is certainly welcome in the field of the history of reading: new editions dedicated to individual collections are being published (see, for example the forthcoming edition of *Belvedere* by Lukas Erne and Devani Singh), as well as books dedicated to less canonical and less studied readers (see Erin McCarthy's *Doubtful Readers: Print, Poetry, and the Reading Public in Early Modern England*), and finally the growing presence of digital resources offering access to larger databases than ever before.[6]

This thesis began with the question: what can commonplace books tell us about drama? My answer to this question has altered significantly over the years of research. When I set out I subscribed to the current arguments promoted by Lesser and Stallybrass, but as my research of dramatic extracts advanced, I realised the problematic and limiting nature of equating commonplacing with promotion to 'literary' status. It is certainly significant that vernacular drama started to be commonplaced in 1600, but its meaning, or meanings, should not be influenced by theory and modern scholarly narratives. Instead, we should focus our efforts on carefully observing the archival evidence, and let this evidence offer us an insight

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[6] See *DEx*, *WordWeb*, *CELM*, *BLMO*, *EEBO*, *DEEP*, *Shakespeare Documented*, and Rebecca Munson's *Common Readers*, just to mention a few.

into what dramatic extracting meant to early modern compilers. Archival evidence should not be forced into big narratives, but instead should be appreciated for its diversity and complexity. As this thesis demonstrates, when evidence is given its own voice, more complex stories can thrive.

Appendix 1: Dramatic extracts in printed and manuscript collections used in primary analysis (in chronological order)

Table 1-BL Add. MS 64078 (c. 1594-1602/3)				Total extracts 20
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shakespeare	*Henry IV, Part 1*	20	20

Table 2-BL Add. MS 61822 (c. 1587-1605)				Total extracts 25
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Anon.	*Gorboduc*	25	25

Table 3-*Belvedere* (1600)				Total extracts 333
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shakespeare	*Richard II* *Edward III* (?) *Richard III* *Romeo and Juliet* *The True Tragedy* *Love's Labour's Lost* *Henry IV, Part I*	49 23 14 14 10 6 1	117
2	Kyd	*Cornelia* *Spanish Tragedy* *Soliman and Perseda*	22 21 10	53
3	Brandon	*Vertuous Octavia*	49	49
4	Daniel	*Cleopatra*	34	34
5	Anon.	*A Knack to Know an Honest Man*	17	17
6	Anon.	*Gorboduc*	13	13
7	Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (translator)	*Antony*	12	12

8	Anon.	*Arden of Feversham*	10	10
9	Marlowe	*Edward II*	8	8
10	Jonson	*The Case Is Altered* *Every Man in His Humour*	4 2	6
11	Lyly	*The Woman in the Moon* *Sapho and Phao*	4 2	6
12	Munday and Chettle	*The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington*	4	4
13	Greene	*Alphonsus*	2	2
14	Gascoigne	*The Tragedy of Jocasta*	1	1
15	Peele	*David and Bethseba*	1	1

Table 4-*Englands Parnassus* (1600)				Total extracts 153
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shakespeare	*Romeo and Juliet* *Richard II* *Richard III* *Love's Labour's Lost* *Henry IV, Part I*	13 7 5 3 2	30
2	Daniel	*Cleopatra*	25	25
3	Gascoigne	*The Tragedy of Jocasta*	23	23
4	Kyd	*Cornelia*	21	21
5	Greene	*History of Orlando Furioso* *The Tragedy of Selimus* *A Looking-glass for London* *James IV of Scotland* *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*	6 6 4 3 2	21
6	Dekker	*Old Fortunatus*	13	13

7	Jonson	*Every Man out of His Humour* *Every Man in His Humour*	7 2	9
8	Peele	*David and Bethsabe* *The Battle of Alcazar* *The Hunting of Cupid*	3 2 1	6
9	Chapman	*The Two Italian Gentlemen* *The Blind Beggar*	2 1	3
10	Lodge	*A Looking-glass for London*	1	1
11	Marlowe	*The Massacre at Paris*	1	1

Table 5-Bod MS Eng. poet. d. 3 (c. 1600-10) **SBTRO MS ER 82/1/21 (*)**				Total extracts 436
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shakespeare	*Hamlet* *Much Ado About Nothing* *Romeo and Juliet* *The Merchant of Venice* *Richard III* *Richard II* *Othello* *Titus Andronicus*	53* 44* 20 (11*) 14 9* 8* 4* 3	155
2	Jonson	*Cynthia's Revels* *Poetaster* *Every Man out of His Humour* *Every Man in His Humour* *The Case Is Altered* *The Alchemist*	46 42 35 13 5 1*	142

3	Dekker	*Satiromastix* *The Honest Whore, part 1*	40 20*	60
4	Marston	*Antonio's Revenge* *Jack Drum's Entertainment* *The History of Antonio and Mellida* *What You Will*	16 8 5 3 (1*)	32
5	Webster	*The White Devil*	19	19
6	Tourneur	*The Atheist's Tragedy*	15	15
7	Lyly	*Love's Metamorphosis* *Alexander and Campaspe*	7 5	12
8	Daborne	*A Christian Turned Turk*	6	6
9	Heywood	*The Golden Age*	2*	2
10	Greville	*Mustapha*	1	1

Table 6-BL Egerton MS 2446 (1620 or 1628)				Total extracts 1
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shakespeare	*Henry IV, Part 1*	1	1

Table 7-BL Add. MS 41063 (c. 1620)				Total extracts 11
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shakespeare	*Richard III* *Pericles*	8 3	11

Table 8-Bod MS Eng. misc. d. 28 (1620-30)				Total extracts 62
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Chapman	*Byron's Conspiracy*	17	43
		Bussy d'Ambois	15	
		The Tragedy of Byron	6	
		All Fools	3	
		Sir Giles Goosecap	2	
2	Shakespeare	*Hamlet*	5	11
		Richard II	3	
		Othello	2	
		Romeo and Juliet	1	
3	Fletcher	*Thierry and Theodoret*	4	4
4	Jonson	*Volpone*	2	2
5	Beaumont and Fletcher	*The Scornful Lady*	1	1
6	Dekker	*If It Be not Good*	1	1

Table 9-Bod MS Rawl D 952 (c. 1630-50)				Total extracts 265
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Marston	*The Insatiate Countess*	48	48
2	Jonson	*Catiline*	21	35
		Volpone	7	
		Every Man out of His Humour	5	
		Every Man in His Humour	1	
		Cynthia's Revels	1	
		Sejanus	0	
		The Silent Woman	0	
		The Alchemist	0	
3	Randolph	*Jealous Lovers*	31	31
4	Massinger	*The Maid of Honour*	9	20

		The Emperour of the East *The Roman Actor*	7 4	
5	Tomkis	*Lingua*	16	16
6	Goffe	*The Tragedy of Orestes* *Amurath (The Courageous Turk)*	8 7	15
7	Webster	*The Devil's Law-Case*	14	14
8	Hausted	*The Rival Friends*	13	13
9	Dekker	*The Honest Whore, part 2*	12	12
10	Marmion	*Holland's Leaguer*	12	12
11	Ford	*The Lovers Melancholy*	10	10
12	Markham	*The Dumb Knight*	8	8
13	Chapman	*Caesar and Pompey*	7	7
14	Fisher	*Fuimus Troes*	6	6
15	De Rojas	*The Spanish Bawd*	3	3
16	Shirley (James)	*Changes, or Love in a Maze*	3	3
17	Heywood	*The Four Prentices of London* *The Rape of Lucrece*	2 0	2
18	Brooke	*Melanthe*	2	2
19	Middleton	*Michaelmas Term*	2	2
20	Shakespeare	*Pericles*	2	2
21	Beaumont and Fletcher	*A King and No King* *Cupid's Revenge*	1 0	1
22	May	*The Tragedy of Antigone*	1	1
23	Anon.	*Wily Beguilde*	1	1
24	Holyday	*The Marriages of the Arts*	0	0
25	Davenant	*The Cruel Brother* *The Just Italian*	0 0	0

26	Swetnam	*The Woman Hater*	0	0

Table 10-Bod MS Rawl. poet. 142 (c. 1630s-40s)				Total extracts 6
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Jonson	*Cynthia's Revels* *Volpone*	5 1	

Table 11-Bod MS Eng. poet. e. 97 (1630-40)				Total extracts 4
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Greville	*Mustapha*	1	1
2	Shakespeare	*Love's Labour's Lost*	1	1
3	Jonson	*The Sad Shepherd (song)*	1	1
4	Suckling	*Aglaura (song)*	1	1

Table 12-BL Add. MS 22608 (c. 1640)				Total extracts 1,680
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shirley (James)	*The Lady of Pleasure* *The Grateful Servant* *The Wedding* *The Young Admiral* *The Bird in a Cage* *Hyde Park* *Changes, or Love in a Maze* *The Traitor* *The School of Complements* *A Contention for Honour and Riches* *Royal Master*	104 89 55 54 53 51 50 50 40 10 8	564

2	Beaumont and Fletcher	*The Scornful Lady* *Philaster: or, Love lies a-bleeding* *The Maid's Tragedy* *A King and No King*	95 62 57 41	255
3	Webster	*The Devil's Law-Case* *The Duchess of Malfi* *The White Devil*	77 60 43	180
4	Davenant	*The Wits* *The Platonicke Lovers*	125 67	192
5	Jonson	*Bartholomew Fair* *Staple of Newes* *Poetaster* *Every Man out of his Humour* *Every Man in his Humour* *Cynthia's Revels* (*Forest*) *Volpone* *Catiline* *Sejanus*	82 42 12 9 5 5 4 (songs) 3 2 1	165
6	Shakespeare	*Othello* *Hamlet*	93 38	131
7	Fletcher	*The Elder Brother* *The Faithful Shepherdess*	46 44	90
8	Shirley, Henry	*The Martyr'd Souldier*	67	67
9	Peaps	*Love in its Exstasie, or The Large Prerogative*	18	18
10	Massinger	*A New Way to Pay Old Debts*	17	17
11	Mayne	*Amorous War*	1	1

Table 13-BL Egerton MS 2725 (c. 1640s)				Total extracts 6
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Cartwright	*The Royal Slave*	5	5
2	Jonson	*Epicoene* (song)	1	1

Table 14-Bod MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.)				Total extracts 43
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shakespeare	*Hamlet* *Twelfth Night* *Love's Labour's Lost* *A Midsummer Night's Dream* *Much Ado About Nothing* *Troilus and Cressida* *Winter's Tale*	4 3 1 1 1 1 1	12
2	Daniel	*Philotas* *Cleopatra*	7 3	10
3	Jonson	*Sejanus* *Poetaster* (song) *Volpone*	6 1 1	8
4	Middleton	*The Phoenix* *A Mad World My Masters*	5 2	7
5	Marston	*The Malcontent* *Parasitaster*	3 3	6

Table 15-Folger MS V.a.87 (mid. 17th c.)				Total extracts 734
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Marston	*Dutch Courtesan* *Parasitaster, or The*	42 34	171

		Fawn (1606) *The Insatiate Countess* *Antonio's Revenge* *The Wonder of Women or Sophonisba* (1606) *Antonio and Mellida*	 32 27 19 17	
2	Massinger	*The Maid of Honour* *The Bondman* *The Great Duke of Florence*	116 24 19	159
3	Ford	*The Fancies, Chaste and Noble*	94	94
4	Shakespeare	*The Merchant of Venice* *Pericles* *Henry V*	38 36 10	84
5	J. W. Gent.	*The Valiant Scot*	52	52
6	Hausted	*The Rival Friends*	44	44
7	Anon	*The Tragedy of Nero*	36	36
8	(James) Shirley	*Hyde Park*	20	20
9	Chapman	*Sir Giles Goosecappe* *Caesar and Pompey*	10 6	16
10	Goffe	*The Raging Turk, or Baiazet the Second*	6	6

Table 16-*The English Treasury of Wit and Language* (1655)				Total extracts 1752
n°	Playwright	Play	n° extracts	Total extracts
1	Shakespeare	*Hamlet* *Timon of Athens* *Measure for Measure* *Merchant of Venice* *Troilus and Cressida* *Much Ado About*	19 11 10 10 9 8	160

		Nothing		
		Coriolanus	7	
		Julius Caesar	7	
		All's Well That Ends Well	6	
		Henry VIII	6	
		King Lear	6	
		Macbeth	6	
		Othello	6	
		As You Like It	5	
		Cymbeline	5	
		Henry IV Part I	5	
		Henry V	5	
		Pericles	5	
		Winter's Tale	5	
		Henry IV Part II	3	
		Twelfth Night	3	
		Two Gentlemen of Verona	3	
		Antony and Cleopatra	2	
		Richard II	2	
		Two Noble Kinsmen	2	
		Comedy of Errors	1	
		Love's Labour's Lost	1	
		Romeo and Juliet	1	
		Tempest	1	
2	Beaumont and Fletcher	*Queen of Corinth*	9	125
		Bloody Brother (F)	8	
		Philaster	8	
		Thierry and Theodoret	8	
		Wit Without Money	7	
		Cupid's Revenge	6	
		King and No King	5	

		Rule a Wife and Have a Wife	5	
		Four Plays or Moral Representations in One	4	
		Honest Man's Fortune	4	
		Mad Lover	4	
		Maid's Tragedy	4	
		Sea Voyage	4	
		Humorous Lieutenant	3	
		Night Walker (F)	3	
		Prophetess	3	
		Chances	2	
		Coronation (F)	2	
		Coxcomb	2	
		Custom of the Country	2	
		Elder Brother	2	
		False One	2	
		Knight of Malta	2	
		Love's Cure	2	
		Maid in the Mill	2	
		Monsieur Thomas (F)	2	
		Nice Valour	2	
		Scornful Lady	2	
		Two Noble Kinsmen (F)	2	
		Valentinian	2	
		Women Pleased	2	
		Bonduca	1	
		Captain	1	
		Fair Maid of the Inn	1	
		Laws of Candy	1	
		Love's Pilgrimage	1	
		Lovers' Progress	1	
		Pilgrim	1	

		Spanish Curate	1	
		Wit at Several Weapons	1	
		Woman's Prize	1	
3	Jonson	*Catiline*	34	123
		Sejanus	30	
		Poetaster	12	
		Volpone	8	
		Every Man Out of His Humour	7	
		Staple of News	7	
		Eastward Ho	6	
		Cynthia's Revels	5	
		Every Man in His Humour	5	
		New Inn	5	
		Devil is an Ass	4	
4	Webster	*Duchess of Malfi*	42	121
		White Devil	41	
		Devil's Law Case	21	
		Westward Ho	11	
		Northward Ho	6	
5	Chapman	*Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*	29	119
		Conspiracy of Charles Duke of Byron	15	
		Caesar and Pompey	14	
		Tragedy of Bussy D'Ambois	13	
		Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron	13	
		Chabot Admiral of France	12	
		All Fools	7	

		Eastward Ho	6	
		Widow's Tears	6	
		Monsieur d'Olive	3	
		May-Day	1	
6	Greville	*Alaham*	66	114
		Mustapha	48	
7	Shirley (James)	*Chabot Admiral of France*	12	94
		Lady of Pleasure	9	
		Gamester	8	
		Witty Fair One	7	
		Bird in a Cage	6	
		Grateful Servant	6	
		Hyde Park	5	
		Traitor	5	
		Young Admiral	5	
		Constant Maid	4	
		Love's Cruelty	4	
		St. Patrick for Ireland	4	
		Example	3	
		Royal Master	3	
		School of Compliment	3	
		Changes	2	
		Duke's Mistress	2	
		Wedding	2	
		Arcadia	1	
		Contention for Honour and Riches	1	
		Maid's Revenge	1	
		Opportunity	1	
8	Marston	*Wonder of Women*	21	89
		Malcontent	15	
		Dutch Courtesan	11	

		Antonio's Revenge	10	
		Insatiate Countess	10	
		Parasitaster	8	
		Eastward Ho	6	
		What You Will	5	
		Antonio and Mellida	3	
9	Dekker	*Honest Whore Part II*	17	79
		Honest Whore Part I	11	
		Westward Ho	11	
		Whore of Babylon	8	
		Roaring Girl	7	
		Wonder of a Kingdom	7	
		Northward Ho	6	
		If It Be Not Good The Devil Is In It	3	
		Match Me in London	3	
		Satiromastix	3	
		Virgin Martyr	3	
10	Davenant	*Cruel Brother*	20	63
		Albovine	15	
		Just Italian	11	
		Platonic Lovers	9	
		Wits	6	
		Unfortunate Lovers	2	
11	Middleton	*Fair Quarrel*	15	61
		Phoenix	13	
		Mad World My Masters	11	
		Michaelmas Term	8	
		Roaring Girl	7	
		Chaste Maid in Cheapside	4	
		Game at Chess	3	
12	Daniel	*Philotas*	24	53

		Queen's Arcadia	16	
		Cleopatra	13	
13	Massinger	*Emperor of the East*	16	52
		Fatal Dowry	10	
		Bondman	4	
		Duke of Milan	4	
		Renegado	4	
		Great Duke of Florence	3	
		Picture	3	
		Virgin Martyr	3	
		New Way to Pay Old Debts	2	
		Unnatural Combat	2	
		Roman Actor	1	
14	Suckling	*Aglaura*	23	44
		Discontented Colonel	19	
		Goblins	2	
15	Ford	*Broken Heart*	17	40
		Perkin Warbeck	10	
		Lover's Melancholy	8	
		Love's Sacrifice	4	
		Fancies Chaste and Noble	1	
16	Nabbes	*Microcosmus*	13	39
		Hannibal and Scipio	8	
		Covent Garden	7	
		Tottenham Court	7	
		Bride	3	
		Unfortunate Mother	1	
17	Tourneur	*Revenger's Tragedy*	30	35
		Atheist's Tragedy	5	
18	Rowley (William)	*Fair Quarrel*	15	23
		All's Lost by Lust	5	

		Match at Midnight	3	
19	Sharpham	*Cupid's Whirligig* *Fleer*	15 5	20
20	Brome	*City Wit* *Sparagus Garden* *Northern Lass* *Antipodes*	9 6 3 1	19
21	Field	*Fatal Dowry* *Amends for Ladies*	10 7	17
22	Killigrew (Henry)	*Conspiracy*	15	15
23	Goffe	*Courageous Turk* *Raging Turk* *Orestes*	8 4 2	14
24	Marmion	*Holland's Leaguer* *Fine Companion* *Antiquary*	7 4 3	14
25	Rowley (Samuel)	*Noble Spanish Soldier*	14	14
26	Barry	*Ram Alley*	13	13
27	T.D.	*Bloody Banquet*	13	13
28	Glapthorne	*Albertus Wallenstein* *Ladies' Privilege* *Hollander* *Argalus and Parthenia* *Wit in a Constable*	6 3 2 1 1	13
29	Mason	*Muleasses (Turk)*	12	12
30	Carlell	*Arviragus and Philicia Part 1* *Arviragus and Philicia Part II* *Deserving Favourite*	6 3 1	10
31	Daborne	*Christian Turned Turk*	10	10
32	Denham	*Sophy*	10	10
33	Berkeley	*Lost Lady*	9	9

34	Anon.	*Family of Love*	8	8
35	C.J.	*Two Merry Milkmaids*	8	8
36	S. W.	*Puritan*	8	8
37	Tomkis	*Lingua*	8	8
38	Anon.	*The Tragedy of Nero*	6	6
39	Cooke	*Greene's Tu Quoque*	6	6
40	Killigrew (Thomas)	*Claricilla* *Prisoners*	4 2	6
41	Markham and Sampson	*Herod and Antipater*	6	6
42	Mayne	*City Match*	5	5
43	Randolph	*Jealous Lovers* *Muses' Looking Glass*	4 1	5
44	Tailor	*Hog Hath Lost His Pearl*	5	5
45	Wilkins	*Miseries of Enforced Marriage*	5	5
46	Fisher	*True Trojans (Fuimus Troes)*	4	4
47	Habington	*Queen of Aragon*	4	4
48	May	*Antigone* *Heir*	2 2	4
49	W. J.	*Valiant Scot*	4	4
50	Barnes	*Devil's Charter*	3	3
51	Chettle	*The Tragedy of Hoffman*	3	3
52	Jones	*Adrasta*	3	3
53	Sharpe	*Noble Stranger*	2	2
54	Shirley (Henry)	*Martyred Soldier*	2	2
55	Anon.	*Sir Giles Goosecap*	1	1
56	Fletcher (Phineas)	*Sicelides*	1	1
57	Harding	*Fatal Union of Sicily and Naples*	1	1
58	Heywood (Thomas)	*English Traveller*	1	1
59	Marlowe	*Jew of Malta*	1	1

60	Strachey	*Upon Sejanus*	1	1
	Unidentified			15

Appendix 2: Dramatic extracts in printed and manuscript collections organised by playwright (in alphabetical order)

Barnabe Barnes (1569-1609)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Devil's Charter (1607)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1607	3				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 3 / in manuscript 0**

Lording Barry (1580-1629)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Family of Love (1608)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1608	8				
Ram Alley (1611, 36)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1636?	13				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 21 / in manuscript 0**

Francis Beaumont (1584/5-1616) and John Fletcher (1579-1625)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
F1 1647 F2 1679								
The Bloody Brother (1639) (only Fletcher)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	8				
Bonduca (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
The Captain (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
The Chances (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
The Coronation (1640, F2) (only Fletcher, but actually by J. Shirley)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	2				
The Coxcomb (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
Cupids Revenge (1615, 30, 35, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1635?	6	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1630?	Listed
Custom of the Country	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				

(F1, F2)								
The Elder Brother (1637, 50, 51, 78, F2, 83) (only Fletcher)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1650?	2	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1637	46
Fair Maid of the Inn (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
The Faithful Shepherdess (1609-10, F2) (only Fletcher)					**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1609-1610	44
False One (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
Four Plays or Moral Representations in One (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	4				
The Honest Man's Fortune (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	4				
The Humorous Lieutenant (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	3				
A King and No King	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1655?	5	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-	1631?	1

(1619, 25, 31, 39, 55, 61, 76, F2, 93)					**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	50 c. 1640	1639?	41
The Knight of Malta (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
The Laws of Candy (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
Love's Cure (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
Love's Pilgrimage (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
The Lovers' Progress (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
The Mad Lover (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	4				
The Maid in the Mill (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
The Maid's Tragedy (1619, 22, 30, 38, 41, 50, 61, F2, 86)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1650?	4	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1638?	57
Monsieur Thomas	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	2				

(1639, F2) (only Fletcher)								
The Nice Valour (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
Night Walker (1640, 61, F2) (only Fletcher)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	3				
Philaster (1620, 22, 28, 34, 39, 52, F2, 87, 95)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1652?	8	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1639?	62
The Pilgrim (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
The Prophetess (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	3				
The Queen of Corinth (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	9				
Rule a Wife and Have a Wife (1640, F2) (only Fletcher)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	5				
The Scornful Lady (1616, 1630, 51, 77,	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631?	2	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	1620-30	1616	1

F2)					**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1630?	95
The Spanish Curate (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
Two Noble Kinsmen (1634, F2) (only Fletcher)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1634	2				
The Sea Voyage (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	4				
Thierry and Theodoret (1621, 48, 49, F2) (only Fletcher)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1649?	8	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	1620-30	1621	4
Valentinian (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
Wit at Several Weapons (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				
Wit Without Money (1639, 61, F2) (only Fletcher)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	7				
The Woman's	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	1				

Prize (F1, F2)								
Women Pleased (F1, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1647	2				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 3** **Dramatic extracts in print 125 / in manuscript 351**

William Berkeley (1608-1677)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Lost Lady (1638, 39)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639?	9				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 9 / in manuscript 0**

Samuel Brandon (fl. 1598)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Vertuous Octavia (1598)	**Belvedere**	1600	1598	49				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 49 / in manuscript 0**

Richard Brome (1590-1652)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Collection 1653, 54								
Antipodes (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	1				
City Wit (1653, 54)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	9				
Northern Lass (1632, 63, 84)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632	3				
Sparagus Garden (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	6				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 19 / in manuscript 0**

Samuel Brooke (c. 1575-1631)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Melanthe (1615)					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1615	2
								Total: **Printed collections: 0** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 0 / in manuscript 2**

J. C. (active 1620)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Two Merry Milkmaids (1620, 61)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1620	8				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 8 / in manuscript 0**

Lodowick Carlell (1602-1675)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Arviragus and Philicia Part 1 (1639)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	6				
Arviragus and Philicia Part 2 (1639)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	3				
Deserving Favourite (1629, 59)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1629	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 10 / in manuscript 0**

William Cartwright (1611-1643)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Royal Slave (1636)					**Egerton MS 2725**	c. 1640s	1636	5
								Total: **Printed collections: 0** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 0 / in manuscript 5**

George Chapman (1559-1634)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
All Fools (1605)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1605	7	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	1620-30	1605	3
Byron's Conspiracy (1608)""	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1608	15 (0)	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	1620-30	1608	17
The Blind Beggar of Alexandria (1598)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1598	1				
Caesar and Pompey (1632)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632	14	**MS Rawl. D 952** **MS V.a.87**	c. 1630-50 mid. 17th c.	1632 1632	7 6
Chabot Admiral of	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	12				

France (1639)								
Eastward Ho (1605)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1605	6				
May-Day (1611)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1611	1				
Monsieur d'Olive (1606)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1606	3				
Two Italian Gentlemen (*Fedele and Fortunio*) (1585) (attributed to Anthony Munday)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1585	2				
Sir Giles Goosecap (1606, 36)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1636?	1	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28** **MS V.a.87**	1620-30 mid. 17th c.	1606 1636?	2 10
The Tragedy of Bussy d'Ambois (1607, 08, 41, 46, 57)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1646?	13	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	1620-30	1607	15
The Tragedy of Byron (1608)""	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1608	13 (0)	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	1620-30	1608	6
The Revenge of Bussy	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1613	29				

d'Ambois (1613)								
Widow's Tears (1612)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1612	6				
								Total: **Printed collections: 2** **Manuscript collections: 3** **Dramatic extracts in print 123 / in manuscript 66**

Henry Chettle (c. 1564- c. 1606)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
The Tragedy of Hoffman (1631)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631	3				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 3 / in manuscript 0**

Jo Cooke (active 1614)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Greene's Tu Quoque (1614, 22, 40)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640?	6				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0**

	Dramatic extracts in print 6 / in manuscript 0

T.D.

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
The Bloody Banquet (1639)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	13				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 13 / in manuscript 0**

Robert Daborne (c. 1580-1628)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
A Christian Turned Turke (1612)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1612	10	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1612	6
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 10 / in manuscript 6**

Samuel Daniel (1562/3-1619)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
The Works of Samuel								

***Daniel* (1601"", 02, 23); *Certaine Small Workes* (1607,11)**								
Tragedy of Cleopatra (1594,95,98, 1601"", 02, 07, 11, 23)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus** **English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1600 1600 1655	? ? ?	34 25 13 (0)	**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	1611?	3
Philotas (1605, 07, 11)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	24	**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	1611?	7
Queen's Arcadia (1606)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1606	16				
								Total: **Printed collections: 3** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 112 / in manuscript 10**

William Davenant (1606-1668)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Albovine (1629)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1629	1629	15				
The Cruell Brother (1630)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630	20	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1630	Listed

The Iust Italian (1630)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630	11	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1630	Listed
The Platonicke Lovers (1636, 1665)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1636	9	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1636	67
Unfortunate Lovers (1643, 49)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1649?	2				
The Wits (1636, 1665)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1636	6	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1636	125
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 2** **Dramatic extracts in print 63 / in manuscript 192**

Thomas Dekker (1572-1632)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
The Honest Whore, part 1 (Converted Courtesan) (1604, 05, 16)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1616?	11	**Pudsey (MS ER 82/1/21)**	c. 1600-10	?	20
The Honest Whore, part 2 (1630)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630	17	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1630	12

If It Be not Good (1612)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1612	3	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	1620-30	1612	1
Match Me in London (1631)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631	3				
Northward Ho (1607)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1607	6				
Old Fortunatus (1599)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1599	13				
Roaring Girl (1611)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1611	7				
Satiromastix (1602"")	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1602	3 (1 *italics*)	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1602	40
Virgin Martyr (1622, 31, 51, 61)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1651?	3				
Westward Ho (1607)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1607	11				
Whore of Babylon (1607)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1607	8				
Wonder of a Kingdom (1636)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1636	7				
								Total: **Printed collections: 2** **Manuscript collections: 3** **Dramatic extracts in print 92 / in manuscript 73**

John Denham (1615-1669)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Sophy (1642, 68, 71, 84)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1642	10				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 10 / in manuscript 0**

Fernando de Rojas (1465/73-1541), translated by James Mabbe (1572-1642)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Celestina or *The Spanish Bawd* (1631)					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1631	3
								Total: **Printed collections: 0** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 0 / in manuscript 3**

Nathan Field (1587-1620)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Amends for Ladies (1618, 39)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639?	7				
Fatal Dowry	**English Treasury of**	1655	1632	10				

(1632)	**Wit and Language**							
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 17 / in manuscript 0**

Jasper Fisher (1591-after 1639)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Fuimus Troes (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	4	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1633	6
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 4 / in manuscript 6**

Phineas Fletcher (1582-1650)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Sicelides (1631)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 1 / in manuscript 0**

John Ford (1586-1639)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Collection 1652								
Broken Heart (1633, 52)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1652?	17				
Fancies Chaste and Noble (1638, 52)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1652?	1	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	?	94
Lovers Melancholy (1629"", 52)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1652	8	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1629	10 (0")
Loves sacrifice (1633"", 52)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1652?	4 (0)				
Perkin Warbeck (1634"", 52)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1652?	10 (2")				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 2** **Dramatic extracts in print 40 / in manuscript 104**

Robert Garnier (1544-90), translated by Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (1580-1649)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Tragedy of Antony (1595)	**Belvedere**	1600	1595	12				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 12 / in manuscript 0**

George Gascoigne (c. 1535-1577)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Tragedy of Jocasta (1573"", 75, 87)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus**	1600 1600	? ?	1 23				
								Total: **Printed collections: 2** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 24 / in manuscript 0**

Henry Glapthorne (1610- c.1643)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Albertus Wallenstein (1639, 40)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	6				

Argalus and Parthenia (1639)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	1				
Hollander (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	2				
Ladies' Privilege (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	3				
Wit in a Constable (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 13 / in manuscript 0**

Thomas Goffe (1591-1629)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
***Three excellent tragedies* (1656)**								
Amurath (The couragious Turke) (1632, 56)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632	8	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1632	7
Raging Turk (1631, 56)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631	4	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	1631?	6
The Tragedy	**English Treasury of**	1655	1633	2	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c.	1633	8

of Orestes (1633, 56)	**Wit and Language**					1630-50		
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 2** **Dramatic extracts in print 14 / in manuscript 21**

Robert Greene (1558-1592)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Alphonsus, King of Aragon (1599)	**Belvedere**	1600	1599	2				
Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay (1594)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1594	2				
The History of Orlando Furioso (1594, 99)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	?	6				
James IV of Scotland (1598)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1598	3				
A Looking-glass for London (1594,98)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	?	4				
Tragedy of Selimus	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1594	6				

(1594)								
								Total: **Printed collections: 2** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 23 / in manuscript 0**

Sir Fulke Greville (1554-1628)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
***Certaine learned and elegant workes* (1633)""**								
Alaham (after 1628, 33"")	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	66 (41 *italics*; 4""; 2 extracts with both features)				
Mustapha (1609, 33"")	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	48 (28 *italics*; 6"")	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)** **MS Eng. poet. e. 97**	c. 1600-10 c. 1630-40	1609 1633	1 1 (1 *italics*)
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 2** **Dramatic extracts in print 114 / in manuscript 2**

William Habington (1605-1654)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Queen of Aragon (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	4				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 4 / in manuscript 0**

Samuel Harding (1618-)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Fatal Union of Sicily and Naples (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 1 / in manuscript 0**

Peter Hausted (1605-1644)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Rivall Friends A comedie					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1632	13

(1632)					**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	1632	44
								Total: **Printed collections: 0** **Manuscript collections: 2** **Dramatic extracts in print 0 / in manuscript 57**

Thomas Heywood (1573-1641)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
English Traveller (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	1				
The Four Prentices of London (1615, 1632)					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1632?	2
The Golden Age (1611)					**Pudsey (MS ER 82/1/21)**	c. 1600-10	1611	2
The Rape of Lucrece (1608, 38"")					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	?	Listed
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 2** **Dramatic extracts in print 1 / in manuscript 4**

Barten Holyday (1593-1661)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Technogamia, The Marriages of the Arts (1618, 30)					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1630?	Listed
								Total: **Printed collections: 0** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 0 / in manuscript 0**

John Jones (active 1635)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Adrasta (1635)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1635	3				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 3 / in manuscript 0**

Ben Jonson (1572-1637)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Workes (1616"", 40)								
The Alchemist (1612, F1"")					**Pudsey (MS ER 82/1/21)** **MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1600-10 c. 1630-50	1612 ?	1 Listed
Bartholomew Fair (1631?, F2)					**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1640?	82
The Case is Altered (1609)""	**Belvedere**	1600	MS	4 (no"")	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1609	5
Catiline (1611"", F1"", 35, 69, 74, 80?)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1611	34 (12"")	**MS Rawl. D 952** **Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1630-50 c. 1640	? ?	21 (1"") 2 (0"")
Cynthia's Revels (1601"", F1"")	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	5 (3"")	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)** **MS Rawl. poet. 142**	c. 1600-10 c.	1601 1616	46 (4"") 5

						1630s-40s		
					MS Rawl. D 952	c. 1630-50	?	1 (0)
					Wright (Add. MS 22608)	c. 1640	1616	5 (0)
The Devil is an Ass (1631?, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	4				
Epicoene, or The Silent Woman (1609, F1"", 1620, 80?)					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	-	Listed
					Egerton MS 2725	c. 1640s	1620?	1 (song)
Eastward Ho (1605)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1605	6				
Every Man in His Humour (1601, F1"")	**Belvedere**	1600	MS	2	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1601	13
	Englands Parnassus	1600	MS	2				
	English Treasury of Wit and Language	1655	?	5 (0"")	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	?	1 (0"")
					Wright (Add. MS 22608)	c. 1640	?	5 (0"")
Every Man out of His Humour (1600, "" in	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1600 (Q3)	7 (6"")	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1600 (Q3)	35 (2"")
	English Treasury of	1655	?	7 (0"")				

Q3 Ling, F1"")	**Wit and Language**				**MS Rawl. D 952** **Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1630-50 c. 1640	? ?	5 (0"") 9 (0"")
The New Inn (1631, F3 1692)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631	5				
Poetaster (1602"", F1"") song "If I freely may discover"	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	12 (6""; 3 *italics*)	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)** **Wright (Add. MS 22608)** **MS Rawl. poet. 117**	c. 1600-10 c. 1640 mid. 17th c.	1602 ? 1602	42 (6""+ 1 *italics*) 12 (0) 1(1 *italics*)
The Sad Shepherd (1641) song "Though I am young, and cannot tell" I, v, 65-80					**MS Eng. poet. e. 97**	c. 1630-40	1641	1
Sejanus (1605"", F1"")	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1605	30 (22"")	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	?	Listed

					Wright (Add. MS 22608)	c. 1640	?	1 (0)
					MS Rawl. poet. 117	mid. 17th c.	1605	6 (4"")
Staple of Newes (1631?, F2)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	7	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1640?	42
Volpone (1607, F1"", 80?)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	8 (0"")	**MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	1620-30	1616	2
					MS Rawl. D 952	c. 1630-50	?	7
					MS Rawl. poet. 142	c. 1630s-40s	1616	1
					Wright (Add. MS 22608)	c. 1640	?	3 (0"")
					MS Rawl. poet. 117	mid. 17th c.	?	1
Total: **Printed collections: 3** **Manuscript collections: 8** **Dramatic extracts in print 138 / in manuscript 356**								

Henry Killigrew (1613-1700)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Conspiracy (1638)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1638	15				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 15 / in manuscript 0**

Thomas Killigrew (1612-1683)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
***The prisoners and Claracilla* (1641); *Comedies and Tragedies* (1664)**								
Claricilla (1641, 64)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1641	4				
Prisoners (1641)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1641	2				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0**

	Dramatic extracts in print 6 / in manuscript 0

Thomas Kyd (1558-1594)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Tragedy of Cornelia (1594 "", 95)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus**	1600 1600	1594 1594	22 (12"") 21 (16")				
Soliman and Perseda (1592-3,99)	**Belvedere**	1600	-	10				
Spanish Tragedy (1592,99)	**Belvedere**	1600	-	21				
								Total: **Printed collections: 2** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 74 / in manuscript 0**

Thomas Lodge (1558-1625)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
A Looking-glass for London (1594, 98, 1602, 05, 17)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	?	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1**

	Manuscript collections: 0 **Dramatic extracts in print 1 / in manuscript 0**

John Lyly (1553/4-1606)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Alexander and Campaspe (1591)					**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1591	5
Love's Metamorphosis (1601)					**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1601	7
Sapho and Phao (1584, 91)	**Belvedere**	1600	1591?	2				
The Woman in the Moon (1597)	**Belvedere**	1600	1597	4				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 6 / in manuscript 12**

Gervase Markham (1568-1637)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
The Dumb Knight (1608, 1633)					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1633?	8

Herod and Antipater (Markham and Samson) (1622)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1622	6				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 6 / in manuscript 8**

Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Edward II (1594,98)	**Belvedere**	1600	-	8				
The Jew of Malta (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	1				
The Massacre at Paris (1594?)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1594	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 3** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 10 / in manuscript 0**

Shackerley Marmion (1603-1639)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Antiquary	**English Treasury of**	1655	1641	3				

(1641)	**Wit and Language**							
Fine Companion (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	4				
Holland's Leaguer (1632)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632	7	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1632	12
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 14 / in manuscript 12**

John Marston (1576-1634)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
***Tragedies and Comedies* (1633) 8°: A&M, A'sR, Sophonisba, WYW, Fawne, Dutch C.** **The Works of Mr John Marston (1633), 8° (A'sR,**								

Wonder, Para, Dutch, WYW)								
Antonio's Revenge (1602"", 1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633?	10 (1 *italics*)	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)** **MS V.a.87**	c. 1600-10 mid. 17th c.	1602 1633?	16 27 (0)
Eastward Ho (1605)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1605	6				
The History of Antonio and Mellida (1602"", 1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633?	3 (0)	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)** **MS V.a.87**	c. 1600-10 mid. 17th c.	1602 1633?	5 17 (0)
The Insatiate Countess (1613, 16, 31)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631?	10	**MS Rawl. D 952** **MS V.a.87**	c. 1630-50 mid. 17th c.	1631? 1631?	48 32
The Dutch Courtezan (1605"", 1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633?	11 (4"")	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	1633?	42 (4"")
Jack Drum's Entertainment (1601"", 16, 18)					**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1601	8 (1"")

The Malcontent (1604)""	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1604	15 (7""; 6 *italics*)	**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	1604	3 (1"")
Parasitaster (1606"", 1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633?	8 (0"")	**MS Rawl. poet. 117** **MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c. mid. 17th c.	1606 1633?	3 (0"") 34 (1"")
What You Will (1607"", 1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633?	5 (1"")	**Pudsey (2 MS Eng. poet. d. 3 + 1 MS ER 82/1/21)**	c. 1600-10	1607	3 (1"")
The Wonder of Women (1606"", 1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633?	21 (5 *italics*)	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	1633?	19 (3 *italics*)
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 4** **Dramatic extracts in print 89 / in manuscript 257**

John Mason (active 1606-10)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Mulleasses (The Turke) (1610, 32)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632?	12				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 12 / in manuscript 0**

Philip Massinger (1583-1640)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Bondman (1624, 38)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1638?	4	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	1638?	24
Duke of Milan (1623, 38)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1638?	4				
The Emperour of the East (1632)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632	16	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1632	7
Fatal Dowry (1632)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632	10				
Great Duke of Florence (1636)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1636	4	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	1636	19
The Maide of Honour (1632)					**MS Rawl. D 952** **MS V.a.87**	c. 1630-50 mid. 17th c.	1632 1632	9 116
A New Way to Pay Old Debts (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	2	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1633	17
The Picture (1630)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630	3				
The Renegado	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630	4				

(1630)								
The Roman Actor (1629)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1629	1	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1629	4
Unnatural Combat (1639)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	2				
Virgin Martyr (1622, 31, 51, 61)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1651?	3				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 3** **Dramatic extracts in print 53 / in manuscript 196**

Thomas May (1596-1650)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
The Tragedy of Antigone (1631)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631	2	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1631	1
Heir (1622, 33)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	2				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 4 / in manuscript 1**

Jasper Mayne (1604-1672)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Amorous War (1648, 58, 59)					**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1648?	1
City Match (1639, 58, 59)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	5				
								Total: Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 1 Dramatic extracts in print 5 / in manuscript 1

Thomas Middleton (1580-1627)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Chaste Maid in Cheapside (1630)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630	4				
Fair Quarrel (1617, 22)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1622?	15				
Game at Chess (1625)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1625	3				
A Mad World My Masters (1608)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1608	11	**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	1608	2
Michaelmas Terme	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630?	8 (1"")	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-	1630?	2 (0"")

(1607"", 13, 30)						50		
The Phoenix (1607)""	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1607	13 (2"")	**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	1607	5
Roaring Girl (1611)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1611	7				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 2** **Dramatic extracts in print 61 / in manuscript 9**

Anthony Munday (1553-1633) and Henry Chettle (1564-1606)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
The Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington (1601)	**Belvedere**	1600	1601	4				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 4 / in manuscript 0**

Thomas Nabbes (1605-1641)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Collection in 1639								
Bride (1639,	**English Treasury of**	1655	1640?	3				

40)	**Wit and Language**							
Covent Garden (1638, 39)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639?	7				
Hannibal and Scipio (1637, 39)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639?	8				
Microcosmus (1637)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637	13				
Tottenham Court (1638, 39)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639?	7				
Unfortunate Mother (1639, 40)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640?	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 39 / in manuscript 0**

William Peaps (1632?-)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Love in its Exstasie (1649)					**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1649?	18
								Total: **Printed collections: 0** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 0 / in manuscript 18**

George Peele (1556-1596)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Battle of Alcazar (1594)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	1594	2				
David and Bethsabe (1599)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus**	1600 1600	1599 1599	1 3				
The Hunting of Cupid (c.1591)	**Englands Parnassus**	1600	?	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 2** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 7 / in manuscript 0**

Thomas Randolph (1605-1635)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Jealous Lovers (1632, 34, 40, 43, 46, 52)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1652?	4	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1632?	31
Muses's Looking Glass (1638, 40, 43, 52, 68)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1652?	1				

	Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 5 / in manuscript 31**

Samuel Rowley (-1624)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Noble Spanish Soldier (1634)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1634	14				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 14 / in manuscript 0**

William Rowley (1585-1626)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
All's Lost by Lust (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	5				
Fair Quarrel (1617, 22)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1622?	15				
Match at Midnight (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	3				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0**

	Dramatic extracts in print 23 / in manuscript 0

W.S.

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Puritan (1607)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1607	8				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 8 / in manuscript 0**

William Shakespeare (1564-1616)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
F1 1623"" F2 1632 F3 1664								
All's Well That Ends Well (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	6 (0)				
Antony and Cleopatra (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	2 (0)				
As You Like It (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	5 (0)				
Comedy of	**English Treasury of**	1655	?	1 (0)				

Errors (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**Wit and Language**							
Coriolanus (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	7 (0)				
Cymbeline (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	5 (0)				
Hamlet (1603"", 04"", 05, 11, F1, 25, F2, 37"", F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	19 (1"")	**Pudsey (MS ER 82/1/21)** **MS Eng. misc. d. 28** **Wright (Add. MS 22608)** **MS Rawl. poet. 117**	c. 1600-10 1620-30 c. 1640 mid. 17th c.	1604 1605 1637 1604	53 (0) 5 38 (3"") 4 (0)
Henry IV, Part 1 (1598, 99, F1, F2, F3)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus** **English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1600 1600 1655	? ? ?	1 2 5 (0)	**Add. MS 64078** **Egerton MS 2446**	1594 - 1602/03 1620 (or 28)	1598/99? ?	20 1
Henry IV, Part 2 (1600, F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	3 (0)				
Henry V (1600, 02,	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	5 (0)	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	1600	10

08, F1, F2, F3)								
Henry VIII (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	6 (0)				
Julius Caesar (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	7 (0)				
King Lear (1608, F1, F2, 1655, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	6 (0)				
Love's Labour's Lost (1597,98, F1, F2, F3)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus** **English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1600 1600 1655	? ? ?	6 3 1 (0)	**MS Eng. poet. e. 97** **MS Rawl. poet. 117**	c. 1630-40 mid. 17th c.	? 1607 (using intermediary source *The Optic Glass of Humors*, 1607)	1 1 (0)
Macbeth (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	6 (0)				
Measure for Measure (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	10 (0)				
Merchant of Venice (1600, 1619,	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	10 (0)	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	1600	14

F1, F2, F3)					**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	?	38 (2 *italics*)
A Midsummer Night's Dream (1600, 19, F1, F2, F3)					**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	?	1 (0)
Much Ado About Nothing (1600, F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	8 (0)	**Pudsey (MS ER 82/1/21)**	c. 1600-10	1600	44
					MS Rawl. poet. 117	mid. 17th c.	?	1 (0)
Othello (1622, F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	6 (0)	**Pudsey (MS ER 82/1/21)**	c. 1600-10	MS or performance	4
					MS Eng. misc. d. 28	1620-30	1622	2
					Wright (Add. MS 22608)	c. 1640	?	93 (0)
Pericles Princes of Tyre (1609, 11, 30, 35, F3 1664, F 1685)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	5	**Add. MS 41063**	c. 1620	?	3
					MS Rawl. D 952	c. 1630-50	1630?	2
					MS V.a.87	mid.	?	36

						17th c.		
Richard II (1597,98, 1608, 15, F1, F2, F3)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus** **English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1600 1600 1655	? ? ?	49 7 2 (0)	**Pudsey (MS ER 82/1/21)** **MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	c. 1600-10 1620-30	? 1598	8 3
Richard III (1598, 1602, F1, F2, F3)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus**	1600 1600	1598 1598	14 5	**Pudsey (MS ER 82/1/21)** **Add. MS 41063**	c. 1600-10 c. 1620	? ?	9 8
Romeo and Juliet (1597,99, 1609, 22?, F1, F2, F3)	**Belvedere** **Englands Parnassus** **English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1600 1600 1655	1597 1597 ?	14 13 1 (0)	**Pudsey (9 in MS Eng. poet. d.3 and 11 in MS ER 82/1/21)** **MS Eng. misc. d. 28**	c. 1600-10 1620-30	1599 1609	20 1
The Tempest (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	1 (0)				
Timon of Athens (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	11 (0)				
Titus Andronicus (1594, 1600, 11, F1, F2, F3)					**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	?	3

Troilus and Cressida (1609"", F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	9 (0)	**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	1609	1 (1"")
Twelfth Night (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	3 (0)	**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	1623	3 (0)
Two Gentlemen of Verona (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	3 (0)				
Two Noble Kinsmen (1634)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1634	2				
Winter's Tale (1623 F1, F2, F3)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	5 (0)	**MS Rawl. poet. 117**	mid. 17th c.	1623	1 (0)
Edward III (1596,99)	**Belvedere**	1600	?	23				
The True Tragedy (1595)	**Belvedere**	1600	1595	10				
								Total: **Printed collections: 3** **Manuscript collections: 10** **Dramatic extracts in print 307 / in manuscript 428**

Lewis Sharpe (active 1640)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Noble Stranger (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	2				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 2 / in manuscript 0**

Edward Sharpham (1576-1608)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Cupid's Whirligig (1607, 11, 16, 30)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630?	15				
Fleer (1607"", 10, 15, 31)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1631?	5 (1"")				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 20 / in manuscript 0**

Henry Shirley (1591/7-1627)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Martyr'd Souldier (1638)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1638	2	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1638	67
								Total: Printed collections: 1 Manuscript collections: 1 Dramatic extracts in print 2 / in manuscript 67

James Shirley (1596-1666)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Arcadia (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	1				
The Bird in a Cage (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1633	1633	6	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1633	53
Chabot Admiral of France (1639)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	12				
Changes, or Love in a Maze (1632)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632	2	**MS Rawl. D 952** **Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1630-50 c. 1640	1632 1632	3 50
Constant Maid (1640,	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	4				

57, 61, 67)								
A Contention for Honour and Riches (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	1	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1633	10
The Duke's Mistress (1638)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1638	2				
The Example (1637)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637	3				
Gamester (1637)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637	8				
The Grateful Servant (1630)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1630	6	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1630	89
Hyde Park (1637)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637	5	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)** **MS V.a.87**	c. 1640 mid. 17th c.	1637 1637	51 20
The Lady of Pleasure (1637)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637	9	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1637	104
Love's Cruelty (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	4				
Maid's Revenge (1639)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1639	1				
Royal Master	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1638	3	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1638	8

(1638)								
The Opportunity (1640)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	1				
The School of Complement (1631, 37, 67)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637?	3	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1637?	40
St. Patrick for Ireland (1640, 57)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1640	4				
The Traitor (1635)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1635	5	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1635	50
The Wedding (1629, 33, 60)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633?	2	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1633?	55
Witty Fair One (1633)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633	7				
The Young Admiral (1637)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637	5	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1637	54
Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 3** **Dramatic extracts in print 94 / in manuscript 587**								

William Strachey (1572-1621)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Upon Sejanus - Sonnet published in *Sejanus* (1605)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1605?	1				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 1 / in manuscript 0**

John Suckling (1609-1641)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Aglaura (1638, 46, 48?, 58, 96) song "why so pale and wan fond lover?" IV, ii, 14-28	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1646?	23	**MS Eng. poet. e. 97**	c. 1630-40	1638?	1
Discontent Colonel (1642)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1642	19				
Goblins	**English Treasury of**	1655	1646?	2				

(1646, 48, 58, 96)	**Wit and Language**							
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 44 / in manuscript 1**

Robert Tailor (active 1614)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
The Hog Hath Lost his Pearl (1614)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1614	5				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 5 / in manuscript 0**

Thomas Tomkis (1580-1634)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Lingua (1607, c. 15, 17, 22, 32, 57)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1632?	8	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1632?	16
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 8 / in manuscript 16**

Cyril Tourneur (1575-1626)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Atheist's Tragedy (1611,12)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	5	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)**	c. 1600-10	?	15
The Revenger's Tragedy (1607"", 08)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	?	30 (3"")				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 35 / in manuscript 15**

J.W.

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Valiant Scot (1637)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637	4	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	1637	52
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 4 / in manuscript 52**

John Webster (1578/80-1638?)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Devil's	**English Treasury of**	1655	1623	21	**MS Rawl. D 952**	c.	1623	14

Law-Case (1623)	**Wit and Language**				**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	1630-50 c. 1640	1623	77
The Duchess of Malfi (1623)""	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1623	42 (4""+3 *italics*)	**Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1640	1623	60 (1")
Northward Ho (1607)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1607	6				
Westward Ho (1607)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1607	11				
The White Devil (1612)""	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1612	41 (1 *italics*)	**Pudsey (MS Eng. poet. d. 3)** **Wright (Add. MS 22608)**	c. 1600-10 c. 1640	1612 1612	19 43 (0)
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 3** **Dramatic extracts in print 121 / in manuscript 213**

George Wilkins (active 1607)

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Miseries of Enforced Marriage (1607, 11, 29, 37)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1637?	5				

	Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 5 / in manuscript 0**

Anonymous plays

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Arden of Faversham (1592,99)	**Belvedere**	1600	?	10				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 10 / in manuscript 0**

Norton and Sackville

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Gorboduc (1565, 70"", 90)	**Belvedere**	1600	?	13 (no "")	**Add. MS 61822**	c. 1587-1605	1570 ?	25 (1"")
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 13 / in manuscript 25**

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
A Knack to Know an Honest Man (1596)	**Belvedere**	1600	1596	17				
								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 0** **Dramatic extracts in print 17 / in manuscript 0**

Joseph Swetnam (d. 1621)

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
Swetnam the Woman-Hater, Arraignment by Women (1620)					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1620	Listed
								Total: **Printed collections: 0** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 0 / in manuscript 0**

Play	Printed collections	Year	Source used or presumed	N. quotations	Manuscript collections	Year	Source used	N. quotations
The Tragedy of Nero (1624, 33)	**English Treasury of Wit and Language**	1655	1633?	6	**MS V.a.87**	mid. 17th c.	?	36

								Total: **Printed collections: 1** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 6 / in manuscript 36**

Play	**Printed collections**	**Year**	**Source used or presumed**	**N. quotations**	**Manuscript collections**	**Year**	**Source used**	**N. quotations**
Wily Beguilde (1606, 14, 23, 30, 35, 38, 53)					**MS Rawl. D 952**	c. 1630-50	1630?	1
								Total: **Printed collections: 0** **Manuscript collections: 1** **Dramatic extracts in print 0 / in manuscript 1**

Appendix 3: Headings in *Belvedere* (1600) and *Englands Parnassus* (1600)

Table 1: Thematic headings in *Belvedere* (1600) and playwrights collected beneath them

	Playwrights										
Headings											**Tot. dramatic extracts**
	Shakespeare	Brandon	Greene	Jonson	Kyd	Lyly	Marlowe	Daniel	Arden of Faversham	Gorboduc	
God											**0**
Heaven	1				3			2			**6**
Conscience		1									**1**
Religion											**0**
Truth	1	1							1		**3**
Vertue	1	**6**			1						**8**
Faith and Zeale											**0**
Hope	2										**2**
Love	**3**				1				**2**	1	**7**
Hate	1				1		1				**3**
Chastity						1					**1**
Beautie	**3**	1						1			**5**
Jealousy		2		1	3				1		**7**
Wits and Wisedom	**4**	2			2				1		**9**
Learning											**0**
Kings and	**7**	**4**					2	**7**		**5**	**25**

Princes											
Kingdoms		1									**1**
Nobilitie	1			1	2		1				**5**
Honour and dishonour		**4**							1		**5**
Counsel	2				1						**3**
Justice	1	**3**					1				**5**
Pollicie					1						**1**
Peace and Concord											**0**
War		1					1				**2**
Fame and infamie	1	**3**									**4**
Praise		1									**1**
Friendship					1						**1**
Patience		2									**2**
Man and Men					1						**1**
Women	1							1			**2**
Ambition								1			**1**
Tyrants				1	2						**3**
Treason		1					1	1			**3**
Envie											**0**
Lust								1			**1**
Pride											**0**
Covetousness, Avarice				**3**							**3**
Sloth											**0**
Anger	**3**				2						**5**
Gluttonie	1										**1**

Griefe	**14**				1			2		1	**18**
Feare	**3**	2		1	1			1	1	1	**10**
Fortune, Misfortune	2	1			**6**						**9**
Fate											**0**
Mind								**5**	1	1	**7**
Affection		2									**2**
Disdain											**0**
Slaunder									1		**1**
Tongue	**3**	1			1				1		**6**
Flatterie											**0**
Good Deeds	2				2	1		1			**6**
Evil Deeds	2				**4**						**6**
Thoughts											**0**
Teares	1	1			3						**5**
Humility					1						**1**
Authoritie	**3**									**3**	**6**
Courage	1	**4**	1					1			**7**
Pleasure		2									**2**
Paine	2	2			1						**5**
Povertie	**4**							1			**5**
Bountie											**0**
Follie											**0**
Time	1	2			**5**			1			**9**
Youth	**3**										**3**
Age	1							1			**2**
Life	1				1			2			**4**
Death	2		1		2			2			**7**
Tot. d. ex.	**78**	**50**	**2**	**7**	**49**	**2**	**7**	**31**	**10**	**12**	**248**

Table 2: Thematic headings in *Englands Parnassus* (1600) and playwrights collected beneath them

	Playwrights											
Headings												**Tot. dramatic extracts**
	Shakespeare	Peele	Greene	Jonson	Kyd	Lodge	Marlowe	Dekker	Chapman	Daniel	Gascoigne	
Angels	1											**1**
Ambition								1		1	**2**	**4**
Affection												**0**
Affliction												**0**
Audacitie												**0**
Art				1								**1**
Avarice								1				**1**
Beautie								1		1		**2**
Banishment											1	**1**
Bashfulnesse												**0**
Blisse					1							**1**
Bountie												**0**
Care	1											**1**
Charitie												**0**
Chastitie												**0**
Of Christ												**0**
Children											1	**1**
Chaunge										1		**1**
Chaunce												**0**
Counsaile												**0**
Concord											**2**	**2**
Conscience										1		**1**

Craft. Deceit. Fraud.												**0**
Conquest												**0**
Country, common-weale	1			1						1		
Content					1						1	**2**
Courage												**0**
Court			1							1		**2**
Courtesie												**0**
Crueltie												**0**
Custome												**0**
Danger							1			1		**2**
Dread												**0**
Death	1				**4**							**5**
Delaie	1		1									**2**
Delight												**0**
Desire												**0**
Destinie												**0**
Dispaire					1							**1**
Divell												**0**
Discord					1							**1**
Dissimulation												**0**
End												**0**
Earth												**0**
<Envie.>												**0**
Error												**0**
Faith												**0**
Fame												**0**
Famine				1								**1**

Fancie												**0**
Fate			1					1				**2**
Feare			1		**2**					1		**4**
Fortitude											1	**1**
Felicitie												**0**
Folly. Fooles.										1	1	**2**
Flatterer												**0**
Fortune					1						1	**2**
Friendship. Friends.												**0**
Frugalitie				1								**1**
Furie												**0**
Gifts	1							1				**2**
Gentlenesse												**0**
Gentrie												**0**
Gluttonie	1											**1**
Good name	1										**2**	**3**
Goodnesse												**0**
Of God										1	1	**2**
Good deeds												**0**
Greatnesse												**0**
Griefe	1											**1**
Paine												**0**
Heaven					1					1	1	**3**
Heart			1							1		**2**
Hate			1		1							**2**
Haste												**0**
Hell												**0**
Honour												**0**

Hope	1											**1**
Humilitie												**0**
Hypocrisie												**0**
Iealousie				**2**								**2**
Idlenesse												**0**
Ignorance												**0**
Impatience												**0**
Infamie												**0**
Ingratitude												**0**
Innocencie												**0**
Inconstancie												**0**
Ioye												**0**
Iniustice										1		**1**
Iustice			1									**1**
Kings	1		2					1		1		**5**
Kingdomes												**0**
Knowledge												**0**
Labour												**0**
Learning												**0**
Lechery			1									**1**
Lawes												**0**
Libertie												**0**
Life				1								**1**
Love	**5**	1		1								**7**
Magicke												**0**
Man		1		1				1				**3**
Marriage												**0**
Maladie												**0**

Might												**0**
Miserie											1	**1**
Melancholy												**0**
Memorie												**0**
Mischiefe												**0**
Mercie	1											**1**
Minde												**0**
Monarchs												**0**
Murder				1								**1**
Muses												**0**
Musicke												**0**
Nature												**0**
Nobilitie			1		**2**							**3**
Old Age											1	**1**
Opinion										**2**		**2**
Opportunitie												**0**
Occasion										1		**1**
Patience												**0**
Passion												**0**
Parents			1									**1**
Peace											1	**1**
Pleasure	1											**1**
Poesie												**0**
Poets												**0**
Plentie												**0**
Pollicie			1									**1**
Povertie												**0**
Prayer			1									**1**

Praise												**0**
Providence												**0**
Pride												**0**
Princes	1									**4**	**2**	**7**
Quietnesse												**0**
Reason												**0**
Religion												**0**
Repentance			1									**1**
Rest												**0**
Revenge		1								1		**2**
Riches. Description of Mammon.			1									
Sacriledge												**0**
Secrecie												**0**
Silence												**0**
Sences												**0**
Sight												**0**
Hearing												**0**
Smelling												**0**
Tasting												**0**
Feeling												**0**
Sinne												**0**
Slaunder											1	**1**
Sleepe												**0**
Solitarinesse												**0**
Souldiers												**0**
Soule												**0**
Of Sorrow	**3**									**2**		**5**

Suspition												**0**
Teares												**0**
Temperance												**0**
Thoughts	1	1										**2**
Time												**0**
Truth											1	**1**
Treason	1											**1**
Tyrannie					1							**1**
Vertue	1							**4**				**5**
Vice												**0**
Victory					1							**1**
Vnderstanding												**0**
Vowes												**0**
Virginitie												**0**
Vse												**0**
Warre												**0**
Will												**0**
Wisedome								1	1			**2**
Wit												**0**
Woe												**0**
Words	1										1	**2**
Women	1		1						**2**	1		**5**
Of Wrath												**0**
World								1		1		**2**
Youth												**0**
The division of the day naturall.												
Mediae noctis					1							**1**

inclinatio												
Gallicinium					1							**1**
Diliculum	1		1									**2**
Mane	1											**1**
Solis Ortus												**0**
Meridies												**0**
Solis Occasus												**0**
Vesper												**0**
Noctis initium												**0**
Noctis concubium												**0**
Intempesta nox												**0**
Noctis initium												**0**
Poeticall Descriptions.												
Albion	1											**1**
Aegipt			1									**1**
Tempests						1						**1**
Rome					1							**1**
Description	1	1	**2**									**4**
of Beautie and												
personage												
Miscellanea												
Phoenix			1									**1**
Tot. dramatic extracts	**30**	**6**	**21**	**10**	**21**	**1**	**1**	**13**	**3**	**25**	**23**	**154**

Appendix 4: Plays with typographical markers, presented by playwright in alphabetical order, and the collections in which they are extracted

Playwright	Play	no. passages marked	Collection	no. extracts marked/ total extracts
George Chapman	*The conspiracie, and tragedie of...Byron* (1608)	less than 10 (italics)	MS Eng. misc. d. 28 (1620-30) Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/23 0/13+15
Samuel Daniel	*The works of Samuel Daniel* (1601)	No markers in *Cleopatra*	Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	*Cleopatra* 0/13
Thomas Dekker	*Satiro-mastix* (1602)	less than 10	Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10) Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/40 *1*/3
John Ford[1]	*The lovers melancholy* (1629)	1	MS Rawl. D 952 (c. 1630-50)	0/10
	Loves sacrifice (1633)	less than 10	Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/4
	The chronicle historie of Perkin Warbeck (1634)	4	Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	2"/10
Fulke Greville	*Certaine learned and elegant workes* (1633)	more than 10	MS Eng. poet. e. 97 (1633) Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	*Mustapha 1*/1 *Alaham* 45 (4"+*41*)/ 66 *Mustapha* 34 (6"+*28*)/48
Ben Jonson	*The comicall satyre of Every man out of his humor* (1600)	6	*Englands Parnassus* (1600) Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10)	6"/7 2(1"+*1*)/35

[1] I should point out that I found some "" also in Ford's collected works, demonstrating how Hunter's article needs an update.

			?MS Rawl. D 952 (c. 1630-50)	0/5
			? Wright, Add MS 22608 (c. 1640)	0/9
			?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/7
	The fountaine of selfe-love (1601)	more than 10	Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10)	4(3"+*1*)/46
			?MS Rawl. D 952 (c. 1630-50)	0/1
			?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	3"/5
	Poetaster (1602)	more than 10	Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10)	6(4"+*2*)/42
			? Wright, Add MS 22608 (c. 1640)	0/12
			MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.)	*1*/1 (song "If I freely may discouer")
			?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	9(6""+*3*)/12
	Sejanus (1605)	55	? Wright, Add MS 22608 (c. 1640)	0/1
			MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.)	5"/6
			Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	22"/30
	A pleasant comedy, called the Case is altered (1609)	less than 10	Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10)	0/5
	Catiline (1611)	more than 10	?MS Rawl. D 952 (c. 1630-50)	1"/21
			? Wright, Add MS 22608 (c. 1640)	0/2
			Cotgrave's	12"/34

			English Treasury (1655)	
	Works (1616)	same as in Qs but reduced in *Sejanus*	?MS Rawl. D 952 (c. 1630-50)	*Every Man Out* 0/5 *Cynthia* 0 /1 *Catiline* 1"/21
			?Wright, Add MS 22608 (c. 1640)	*Poetaster* 0/12 *Every Man Out* 0/9 *Every Man In* 0/5 *Cynthia* 0/5 *Volpone* 0/3 *Catiline* 0/2 *Sejanus* 0/1
			?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	*Poetaster* 9 (6""; 3 italics)/12 *Volpone* 0/8 *Every Man Out* 0/7 *Cynthia* 3"/5 *Every Man in* 0/5
Thomas Kyd	*Cornelia* (1594)	more than 10	*Belvedere* (1600)	12"/22
			Englands Parnassus (1600)	16"/21
John Marston	*Jacke Drums Entertainment* (1601)	less than 10	Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10)	*I*/8
	Antonio and Mellida (1602)	1	Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10)	0/5
			?MS V.a.87 (mid. 17th c.)	0/17
			?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/3
	Antonios revenge (1602)	1 (italics)	Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10)	0/16
			?MS V.a.87 (mid. 17th c.)	0/27
			?Cotgrave's English Treasury	*I*/10

			(1655)	
	The malcontent (1604)	More than 10	MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.) Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	1"/3 13(7"; *6*)/15
	The Dutch courtezan (1605)	More than 10	?MS V.a.87 (mid. 17th c.) ?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	4"/42 4"/11
	Parasitaster (1606)	6	MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.) ?MS V.a.87 (mid. 17th c.) ?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/3 1"/34 0/8
	The wonder of women (1606)	More than 10	?MS V.a.87 (mid. 17th c.) ?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	*3*/19 *5*/21
	What you will (1607)	1	Pudsey MS ER 82/1/21 (c. 1600-10) ?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	1"/3 1"/5
Thomas Middleton	*The phoenix* (1607)	5 (1 italics)	MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.) Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/5 2"/13
	Michaelmas terme (1607)	less than 10	?MS Rawl. D 952 (c. 1630-50) ?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/2 1"/8
Norton and Sackville	*Ferrex and Porrex* (1570) -- Gorboduc	4	BL MS Add. 61822 (c. 1587-1605) ?*Belvedere* (1600)	1"/25 0/13

William Shakespeare	*The tragicall historie of Hamlet* (1603)[2]	2	?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/19
	idem in 1604 [3]	2 (but different from Q1)	Pudsey, MS ER 82/1/21 (c. 1600-10) MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.) ?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	0/52 0/4 1"/19
	The famous historie of Troylus and Cressida (1609)	4	MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.) ?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	1"/1 0/9
	Comedies, histories, & tragedies (1623)	Not in all plays: *Measure* 1 *LLL* more than 10 *Twelfth Night* less than 10 *Henry V* 1 *Troilus* 1 No markers in *Hamlet* here	? Wright, Add MS 22608 (c. 1640) ?MS Rawl. poet. 117 (mid 17th c.) ?MS V.a.87 (mid. 17th c.) ?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	*Othello* 0/93 *MSND* 0/1 *TN* 0/3 *WT* 0/1 *MV 2*/38 *Hamlet* 0/19 *Timon* 0/11 *MM* 0/10 *MV* 0/10 *Troilus* 0/9

[2] The first passage with commonplace markers is Corombis's speech to Laertes, sig. C2r, '"Be thou familiar, but by no meanes vulgares / "Those friends thou hast, and their adoptions tried, /"Graple them to thee with a hoope of steele, / "But do not dull the palme with entertaine, / "Of euery new vnfleg'd courage, / "Beware of entrance into a quarrell, but being in, / "Beare in that the opposed may beware thee, / "Costly thy apparrell, as thy purse can buy. / "But not exprest in fashion, / "For the apparell oft proclaimes the man. / And they of *France* of the chiefe rancke and station / Are of a most select and generall chiefe in that: / "This aboue all, to thy owne selfe be true'. The second is taken from a speech Corambis gives to Ophelia, sig. C2v: '"For louers lines are snares to intrap the heart; / "Refuse his tokens, both of them are keyes / To vnlucke Chastitie vnto Desire; / Come in *Ofelia*, such men often proue, / "Great in their wordes, but little in their loue.'

[3] The first passage with commonplace markers is taken from a speech given by Laertes, sig. C3v: '"The chariest maide is prodigall inough / If she vnmaske her butie to the Moone / "Vertue it selfe scapes not calumnious strokes / "The canker gaules the infants of the spring'. The second is taken from a speech given by the Queen, sig. K4r: '"To my sicke soule, as sinnes true nature is, / "Each toy seemes prologue to some great amisse, / "So full of artelesse iealousie is guilt, / "It spills it selfe, in fearing to be spylt.' Hunter does not mention *Hamlet* 1637 in his list, which also had commonplace markers (the same as Q2) and which was the source used by Wright. As I point out in Appendix 2, Wright selected 38 extracts from this play, three of which were from passages marked out with commonplace markers.

		Merchant less than 10 *Othello* 3 *Cymbeline* less than 10 *Merry Wives* less than 10 *Henry IV p1* less than 10 *Henry IV p2* less than 10 *Gentlemen* 1		*MAAN* 0/8 *Coriolanus* 0/7 *JC* 0/7 *AWEW* 0/6 *HVIII* 0/6 *King Lear* 0/6 *Macbeth* 0/6 *Othello* 0/6 *AYL* 0/5 *Cymbeline* 0/5 *HIV p1* 0/5 *HV* 0/5 *WT* 0/5 *HIV p2* 0/3 *TN* 0/3 *TGV* 0/3 *AC* 0/2 *RII* 0/2 *CE* 0/1 *LLL* 0/1 *RJ* 0/1 *Tempest* 0/1
Edward Sharpham	*The Fleire* (1607)	Less than 10	?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	1"/5
Cyril Tourneur	*The Revengers tragedie* (1607)	Less than 10	?Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	3"/30
John Webster	*The white divel* (1612)	More than 10	Pudsey, MS Eng. poet. d.3 (c. 1600-10) Wright, Add MS 22608 (c. 1640) Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	*2*/19 0/43 *1*/41
	The Dutchesse of Malfy (1623)	14 (7 italics)	Wright, Add MS 22608 (c. 1640) Cotgrave's English Treasury (1655)	1"/60 7(*3* + 4")/42

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