Paperscapes:

Navigating Books in Early Modern England

Georgina Wilson

Hertford College

University of Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in English,

University of Oxford,

2020.

Contents

Abstract 3

List of Figures 6

Introduction: A Paper Manifesto 8

I Volvelles: Navigating the Book 54

II Imprints: Navigating the City 111

III Shelf Marks: Navigating the Library 163

IV A Paper Boat: Navigating the Globe 218

Conclusion: The Paper Subject 267

Bibliography 281

Abstract

This thesis attends to the place of paper in early modern literature, both in actuality and in imaginary form. While a conventional set of (often gendered) tropes holds paper to be passive, blank, and static, these four chapters attend to texts and sites which resist those tropes, and which foreground paper's role as an intellectual-material site that is both agentic and mobile. *Paperscapes: Navigating Books in Early Modern England* fuses literary scholarship, bibliography, and book history to engage with the affordances of paper as textual substrate and material form.

The structure of this thesis foregrounds paper on the move. The chapters focus on the paper volvelles that direct readers around George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes* (1635), whose verse enables spiritual as well as bibliographic modes of navigation; on the stories that imprints tell about paper's journeys through the city, which collide with the textual routes of James Howell's *Londinopolis* (1657); on the moving sheets and books which trouble the rhetoric of Samuel Pepys' aspirationally static library; and on the global narratives of circulation in which John Taylor's *The Praise of Hempseed* (1620) implicates paper. *Paperscapes* takes its structure from actual sites through which paper moves – the book, the city, the library, and the globe – while simultaneously asserting that paper as substrate makes room for the texts in which imaginary journeys of readers and books play out. Reading early modern printed texts was and is to encounter paper in a contingent place and form. Noting both that paper moves around, and that place matters for how we read, this thesis argues that the mobility of paper has literary implications in unsettling the meaning of text. *Paperscapes* reverses the suggestion that 'text is more legible than its substrate', and provides a paper counterpoint to the codex which is grounded both in material readings and in the early modern imagination.

Acknowledgements

This thesis was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and a Senior Scholarship at Hertford College, Oxford; I am grateful to both for making the research and writing of this thesis possible. Outside of the UK I spent a rose-tinted three months at the Huntington Library: thanks to Steve Hindle for welcoming PhD students; to Steve Tabor for answering all manner of ridiculous questions; to Patrick McGhee, Philippa Hellawell, Charles Green and the other 'Huntingtones' for extended lunches and beach trips; to Mimi Goodall for extending positivity and realism across two continents. Thanks also to Owen Williams and Kathleen Lynch at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and to Juliet Fleming whose 'Book Theory' Seminar and its participants helped me to image the kind of scholar I'd most like to be. Catherine Sutherland at the Samuel Pepys Library was a huge source of help and patient advice; my thanks to her for making chapter three possible. In York many eons ago Helen Smith set me on the path of graduate study; I am still grateful for her intellectual insight, encouragement, and clarity, which always came at top speed. In Oxford my thanks go to the Bodleian Library, in particular Alex Franklin, Richard Lawrence, and Andrew Honey, as well as to Naomi Tiley at Balliol Library and Alice Roques at Hertford Library. Michael Athanson and Todd Atticus filled the void in my technical and design skills to help create the maps in chapter four. In libraries, museums and a herbarium my thanks to Abigail Williams and Adam Smyth and our students in 2018, who were a timely reminder of many of the best parts of academia. My PhD was made a lot more fun because of a wonderful, friendly, and pro-work-swapping cohort including Kate Allan, Christopher Archibald, Jake Arthur, Felicity Brown, Fraser Buchanan, and James Misson. Thanks to Ben Higgins for reading multiple versions of chapter two, amongst other things, and to Natalya Din-Kariuki for forging the way. Rachael Hodge offered unending brilliance, generosity, and support throughout: academic and otherwise.

Thanks to my supervisors Adam Smyth and Olivia Smith without whom this project would neither have begun nor ended. As supervisors they were role models of untiring intellect, wit, and generosity; as humans they inspired me to persevere and made the endeavour overwhelmingly enjoyable. Jason Scott-Warren and Emma Smith were examiners of the best kind: enormously helpful, rigorous, and affirmative.

This thesis is for Charlotte and Alan, for the pep-talks, the parcels, and the reassuring belief (even when I lacked it) that everything would be alright. It's for Emily who enforced lie-ins and a sense of perspective, and who sistered above and beyond. It's also for Charles, professor extraordinaire, and Susan, who, were she alive, would rightfully expect a jolly good spot in the acknowledgements.

List of Figures

Figure 1 Paper making: the vat man, the coucher and the layman, depicted in Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers*, 35 vols (Paris: Briasson et al, 1676), Planches tome 5, plate 10. 14

Figure 2 Low quality printing paper in William Winstanley, *The Essex Champion*, London: printed for J. Blare at the Looking-Glass on London-Bridge, 1690 (University of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Douce H 396, leaf B2, transmitted light). 31

Figure 3 George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Bodleian Library, Mason E 105. 55

Figure 4 Frontispiece to *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Magdalen College, Oxford. (Wither-G. (COL) (fol.). 72

Figure 5 Emblem 1.37, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Huntington Library 79920.....74

Figure 6 Emblem from Rollenhagen's *Nucleus* with the same engraving as *A Collection of Emblemes* 1.37. Huntington Library 142344. 75

Figure 7 R.B., *Delights for the Ingenious* (London, 1684), folio 37. Huntington Library 71694. 79

Figure 8 Frontispiece to *Coryats Crudities* (1611). Bod Douce C 660. 85

Figure 9 Paper index. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Huntington Library, 79920. 90

Figure 10 Thomas Blundeville, *Mr. Blundevil his Exercises* (London, 1636). Huntington Library 95578. 98

Figure 11 A detached volvelle. *Mr. Blundevil his Exercises* (London, 1597). Huntington Library 95582, sig. Xr. 106

Figure 12 Thomas Blundevile, *Mr. Blundevil his Exercises* (London, 1636) sig, Bbb6r. Huntington Library 708329. 107

Figure 13 Imprint of *Londinopolis* (1657), Bod K 4.17 Art. 120

Figure 14 The stationers of Londinopolis. Image courtesy of *Map of Early Modern London Online*, ed. Janelle Jenstad. 124

Figure 15 Identical printed quadrants within the book, and pasted on wood. John Collins, *A Sector on a Quadrant* (1659), Huntington Library 437087; British Museum 1888 1201.277. 128

Figure 16 Deleted shelf mark recorded in 1605 Bodleian catalogue. Bod B 4.8 Art..... 188

Figure 17 Chaucer's *Works* back of shelf, third from the left and Somner's *Dictionary*, fourth from left. Image courtesy of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. 191

Figure 18 'acale' in Speght's table of 'old and obscure words in Chaucer'. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Works… newly printed*, ed. Thomas Speght (1602), shelf mark 2365. Image courtesy of the Pepys library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. 193

Figure 19 Deleted shelf marks in *Ovids Metamorphosis* (1640), shelf mark 2481. Image courtesy of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge..... 202

Figure 20 'Vagabond' sheet in Stow's *Survey*, shelf mark 2476. Image courtesy of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge..... 211

Figure 21 Churning pulp and water to make paper, depicted in Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers*, 35 vols (Paris: Briasson et al, 1676) , Planches tome 5, pl. VII. Image courtesy of the Sackler Library, Oxford, AE25 ENC 1751. 241

Figure 22 Marginal note in John Taylor, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* (1623). Huntington Library 69661. With *All the workes of John Taylor* (1630). St John's College, Oxford, phi.2.46..... 244

Figure 23 Map showing copies of John Taylor's *Workes* in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland in 2019. 259

Figure 24 Map showing copies of John Taylor's *Workes* in North America in 2019..... 260

Figure 25 Map showing copies of John Taylor's *Workes* in Oxford in 2019. 262

Introduction: A Paper Manifesto

This thesis demands that we look at paper. To read printed texts is to look at inked forms which are localised within the page: itself a site of transitory elements with their own geographical, historical, and material beginnings.[1] In the seventeenth century, some writers (such as Edward Waller, to whom I return) conceptualized paper not by attending to the rough, malleable, globally-produced matter in hand, but by buying into an older set of tropes about paper as the passive and static receptacle of print. Those tropes, which generate often gendered images of impressionability, fetishize an idea of paper that has little to do with the realities of its material form and which suppresses the dynamic, two-way relationship between paper and printed text. Yet other writers, and other texts, draw attention to the ways in which paper was not in fact the blank support to printed text, but a mobile form. That is, there is a corpus of early modern writing – and a mode of attentive reading – which makes clear that paper enables, limits, and shapes printed texts; that paper tells its own, sometimes conflicting narratives about the lives of books which emerge from and are dismantled by the environments through which they move; that paper brings new meanings to the texts to which it gives literary and material form. Throughout this thesis I turn to those early modern texts that demand new critical ways of looking at paper: in particular, texts that foreground paper as a mobile site. I deploy the term 'paperscape' across four environments which paper both occupies and constructs: the book, the city, the library, and the globe. But I begin with Edward Waller and his hitherto untroubled fantasies.

In 1668 Waller addressed a disembodied hand, which moves across paper as it writes:

> Fair hand that can on virgin Paper write,

[1] Two recent global histories of paper include Lothar Müller, *White Magic: The Age of Paper*, trans. Jessica Spengler (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014); Mark Kurlansky, *Paper: Paging Through History* (New York: Norton, 2016).

> Yet from the stain of Ink preserve it white,
> Whose travel o're that Silver Field does show
> Like track of Leveretts in morning snow.[2]

Waller's 'Virgin-paper' mingles with the characteristics of his addressee. This paper is 'white' and at risk of being 'stain[ed]' with ink; it lies still beneath the tracks of the moving leveret; it is a passive object which provides a surface for the actions of both the writing hand and the lolloping hare. Blank, beneath, silent, passive: Waller's image of paper plays into a centuries-old metaphor of the female space inscribed by the masculine writer.[3] The 'silver field' situates this metaphor within its classical, pre-paper origin, which feminises the ploughed field or virgin/mother land.[4] The gendered image of inscribed space becomes increasingly graphic (both violent, and pertaining to writing) in the seventeenth century, as is legible in George Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois* (1603). The character of Montsurry, already responsible for the titular character's death, realises the full violence of the metaphor by stabbing his wife Tamyra with the words: 'Till thou writest/I'll write in wounds/my wrongs fit characters/Thy right of suffrance'.[5] By 'writ[ing] in wounds', Montsurry reverses the page-as-woman metaphor to inscribe Tamyra as a page.[6] Deploying wounds as 'fit characters', Montsurrey transforms his wife's body into a writing surface. While Montsurrey 'writes' in the broadest sense of mark-making, Waller's image, which functions where the 'Fair Hand', the 'stain of Ink', and 'Virgin-paper' intersect, specifically evokes a manuscript.

---

[2] Edmund Waller, *Poems &c written upon several occasions and to several persons* (1668), sig. Q3*r*.
[3] Susan Gubar, '"The Blank Page" and the Issues of Female Creativity', *Critical Inquiry* 8.2 (1981), 243–263.
[4] For example, 'most sacred of all such sowings is the marital sowing and ploughing for the procreation of children', Plutarch, *Moralia*, ed. Frank Cole Babbitt, 15 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), ii, 333.
[5] George Chapman, *Bussy d'Ambois*, ed. John H. Smith, in *The plays of George Chapman: the tragedies with Sir Gyles Goosecapp, a critical edition*, ed. Allan Holaday (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987) V.i.124-126.
[6] Tamyra's martyred body echoes Christ's; fourteenth-century visionary Margery Kempe claimed Christ told her she was inscribed in his wounds: 'wretyn in myn handys and my fete'. Cited in Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 175.

The metaphorics of the inscribed page take on a particular charge in light of the printing press. Having first come to England in 1476, the press had an increasing literary and physical presence of which early modern writers made use. In Ben Jonson's *The New Inn* (1631), Lovell writes a poem in praise of a woman described as 'A curious form without a fault/A printed book without a blot', punning on 'forme' as both the woman's body and the locked-up group of typeset pages inside a chase.[7] In *Much Ado about Nothing,* Leonato misreads Hero's blushes as evidence of her sexual infidelity: 'Could she here deny/The story that is printed in her blood?'[8] Hero-as-writing-surface lacks agency twice over: she is both 'printed in' and (as is almost inevitable with a gesture as mercurial as the blush), wrongly interpreted by Leonato's own dramatized gaze.[9] The rapidly-procreative nature of the printing press inflected these gendered metaphors: Shakespeare's Falstaff in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is a comically heavy 'presser' of women, who is ridiculed for his capacity to overproduce. The pointedly named Mrs Page imagines Falstaff printing multiple copies of love letters and sending them to thousands of women, concluding: 'He will print them out of doubt; for he cares not what he puts into the press… I would rather be a giantess and lie under Mount Pelion'.[10] As Wendy Wall notes, this image of Falstaff's 'pressing' onto Mrs Page 'intensifies culturally widespread ideas about female impressionability'; the image also gestures towards the generative capacities of the printing press.[11] Readings of this metaphor have given rise to feminist critiques of that active-male, passive-female binary: a binary which is complicated within early modern writing itself – by the satirical impotence of Falstaff; by Marcus' queasy attempt to 'wrest an alphabet' from the mutilated Lavinia in *Titus*

---

[7] Ben Jonson, *The New Inn, or Light Heart*, ed. Julie Sanders, *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vi, 163–307, IV.iv.11–12.
[8] William Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing,* ed. Claire McEachern (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2015), IV.i.121–122.
[9] Derek Dunne, 'Blushing on Cue: The Forensics of the Blush in Early Modern Drama', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 34.2 (2016), 233–252, 239.
[10] William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2000), II.i.76).
[11] Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 346.

Andronicus; by Othello's *own* impressionability which makes him read Desdemona as 'a fair paper… made to write 'whore' upon'.[12] This metaphor extends beyond the early modern period: in Henry James' *The Portrait of Lady* (1881) the protagonist Isabel looks upon a new acquaintance named Pansy as 'a blank sheet of paper – the ideal *jeune fille*', in contrast to the Countess Gemini who was 'by no means a blank sheet… a number of unmistakeable blots were to be seen upon her surface'.[13] The fact that Isabel takes this view of Pansy unsettles the gendered categories of onlooker and object, but not the gendering of the paper and text metaphor: 'the general tendency is for women to be seen as the books or papers which are to be read by men—having been written or printed upon by other men'.[14]

This metaphor affords certain characteristics to women, but it also assumes a certain role, or uses for, paper. Using paper to make claims for women's impressionability, receptivity, and passivity relies on paper having stable qualities: that paper lies passively beneath the pen or the printing press, that it provides a motionless surface across which writing can be traced. Those qualities, as this thesis will show, do not hold up under scrutiny. Waller's poem with which I began is sometimes called 'Of a tree cut in paper' or 'Of cutting trees in paper': its subject testifies to the myriad uses of paper as an aesthetic mobile form. The marginal note bestowed by John Aubrey on his manuscript copy asserts that the paper cutting is performed 'by the Lady Isabella Thynn, daughter of ye Earle of Holland', and so reintroduces female agency to paper forms.[15] That Aubrey's hand is legible on a copy once belonging to Anthony Wood also traces the movement of this single sheet between owners and sites: movement which is rearticulated in the changing shelf marks which document this

[12] William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. Paul Prescott (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2018), IV.iii.73–74.
[13] Henry James, *The Portrait of a Lady*, ed. Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 281.
[14] Douglas Brooks, ed., *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 70; see also Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 152.
[15] Kate Bennett, 'John Aubrey and the Circulation of Edmund Waller's "Of a tree cut in paper"', *Notes and Queries* 49.3 (2002), 344–345.

single sheet's incorporation into a book.[16] And what does paper itself have to say? Far from being a passive bystander in all early modern literature, paper is the protagonist of *Paper's Complaint* (1625): a protest against 'bad' writers in a calligraphic sense as well as a literary one (its author John Davies was a writing-master and a poet). The speaker of *Paper's Complaint* draws attention to its 'virgin hue' on which the writer 'blots my Brow', and antagonistically addresses the author(s) by whom it was inscribed. Paper, here, makes its own scathing interventions in the literary sphere, equating bad writing to meaningless materiality: 'a massy heap of blockish senseless stiles'.[17] The protagonist of this poem voices a resistance, even an agency, which is located in the actual and imaginary ways that early moderns experienced paper. Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, increasing numbers of texts were printed on high quality white paper.[18] In some senses, then, that image of paper being passively 'pressed' under the weight of an imprint was everywhere to be seen. But the idea of paper conveyed within Waller's metaphor – blank, beneath, silent, passive – was increasingly undermined by the realities of the printing process and of paper production.

'Unobtrusive, Deferential, Self-effacing'?

Paper-making changed little between the fifteenth and late-eighteenth centuries. Firstly, it relied on (usually female) rag-pickers who searched for and sorted their materials into piles: strong linen for white paper, old canvas for brown wrapping-paper. The rags were soaked in

[16] The manuscript now called Ashm. 1819, in which the single leaf is slotted between nos. 22 and 23, was formerly MS Wood 276c.
[17] John Davies, *A scourge for paper-persecutors, or Papers complaint* (1625), sig. A3*r-v*.
[18] The number of extant publications recorded in the ESTC more than tripled from 79 in 1599 to 280 in 1602, and more publications were printed between 1640 and 1660 than in the previous century and a half. Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'What is Print Popularity? A Map of the Elizabethan Book Trade', in Emma Smith and Andy Kesson, eds., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 19–54, 24. However, more titles does not always equate to more paper because of the varying number of edition sheets per title. One copy of John Taylor's *The Praise of Hempseed* (1620) uses six sheets of paper, a copy of Taylor's *Workes* (1630) requires 158 sheets.

water and then placed in heaps to rot and ferment. They were then pulped in a stamping mill. The resulting mixture, known as 'stuff', was conveyed by bucket to the vat and warmed by a charcoal stove. Into the stuff the vat man (usually male) dipped a mould: a rectangular wooden frame between the two ends of which were stretched parallel metal wires. He then used a 'deckle' (a narrow wooden rim placed on the mould) to prevent the stuff from flowing off the mould and to determine the size of the sheet. After the vat man came the coucher, who allowed the water to drain and deposited the wet sheet on a felt. As more sheets of wet paper were added to the pile, the coucher constructed a 'post', usually of 144 sheets or six quires. The post was transferred to a press, where it was screwed down to remove as much water as possible. Afterwards, the sheets were hung up and left to dry. Then the paper was ready for 'sizing': the application of a protective layer to make the paper less absorbent and thus suitable for writing on. Finally the paper was smoothed out, either by rubbing with a stone or by means of a pressing or glazing hammer operated by water power.[19]

[19] D.C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry, 1495–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 27–32.

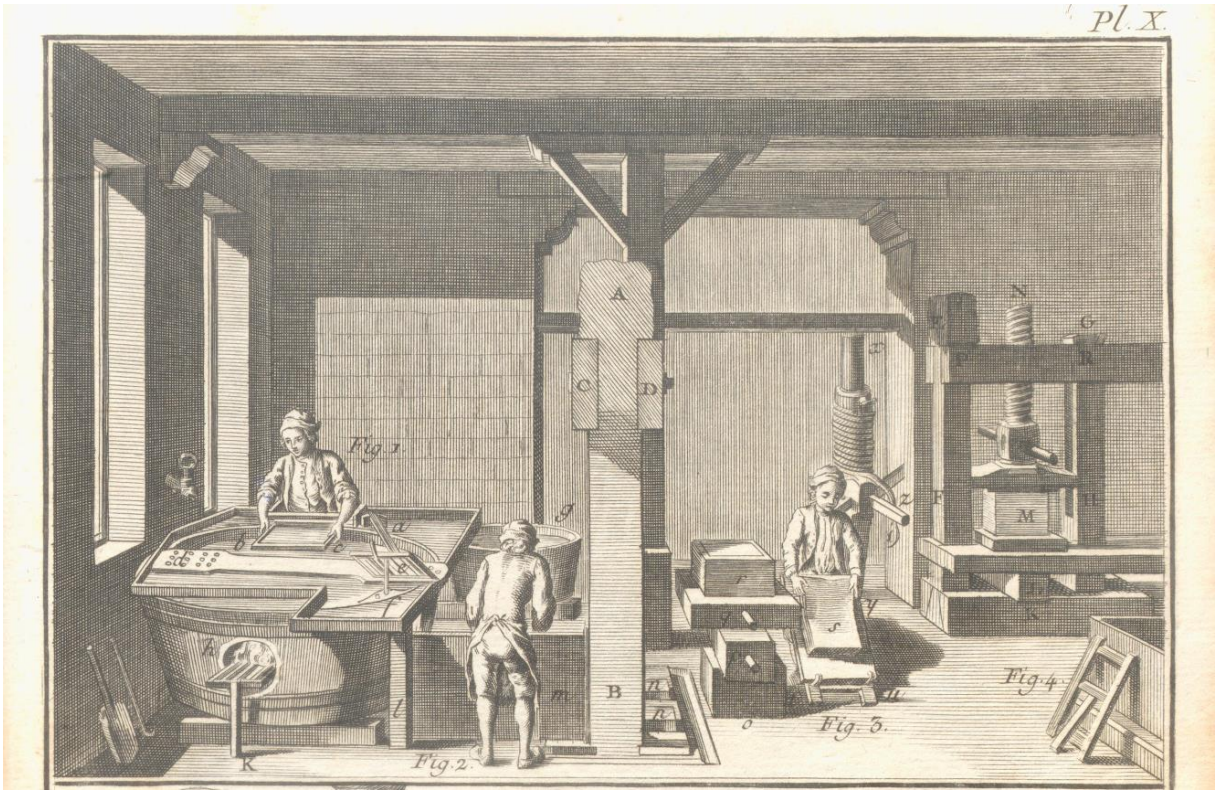


Figure 1 Paper making: the vat man, the coucher and the layman, depicted in Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers*, 35 vols (Paris: Briasson et al, 1676), Planches tome 5, plate 10.

The material realities of paper production and printing unsettle those descriptions of paper as passive, static, beneath. Making paper for printing and writing means negotiating with the qualities of paper which actively shape the text on its surface. For example, the wires on the deckle leave visible chain marks which run at cross-inference with text (usually vertical in folio and octavo formats, horizontal in quartos). 'Wove paper', invented in the mid-eighteenth century by James Whatman, uses moulds of finely woven wires and has no chain lines.[20] Tellingly, paper historian John Bidwell describes wove paper as 'unobtrusive, deferential, self-effacing… a truly blank sheet less likely to encumber freedom of expression'.[21] The covert moralising and gendered inflections of early modern paper poetics linger in recent bibliographical scholarship, under the guise of objective study. The methods

[20] Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books 1450–1800* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2019), 29.
[21] John Bidwell, 'Wove Paper in England and France', in *Paper and Type: Bibliographical Essays* (Charlottesville: The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2019), 33–40, 33.

of producing early modern paper not only inscribed it with chain lines, but also rendered the sheets highly absorbent. Sizing paper was crucial because it 'transformed the absorbent surface of handmade paper into a surface on which one could write with water-based inks'.[22] Sizing was essential for making pages annotatable by readers – and patently unhelpful for making pages suitable for printing. As Joshua Calhoun notes, printers working with sized paper had to take the extra step of moistening the sheet so that it would receive oil-based printers' ink. Alternatively printers could use un-sized paper, and it was often cheaper and less time-consuming to do so. When that happened, it was up to the book-binder to size the pages after printing, as detailed in Charles Hoole's translation of Johannes Comenius's *Orbis Sensulium Pictus* (1659). Here the binder 'bindeth Books, whilst he wipeth 2. [sic] over Papers steept in Gum-water'.[23] The paper gains the advantages of sizing (annotatability, and durability) without the difficulties being passed onto the printer. All this is to say that paper physically impacts the text with which it is inscribed. More accurately, paper resists, inflects, and absorbs ink depending on both the nature of that ink (oil or water-based) and the sheet's own material qualities: a reminder that writing is not only a collection of linguistic signifiers but also a localised material substance. In *Micrographia* (1665), Robert Hooke subjects paper to the microscope and finds an 'uneven surface' which 'at best appears no smoother then a very coarse piece of shag'd cloth', on which type ends up 'looking but as so many furrows and holes, and their printed impressions, but like smutty daubings on a matt or uneven floor with a blunt extinguish brand or stick's end'.[24] Paper's uneven surface is a reminder that it inflects the uses, intentions, even the 'impressions' of its readers. Sized paper, like the size of paper, brings its own semiotics to the printed page: a folio printed on well-sized pages, which gently rattle when they are turned, has already framed its text with a set of value judgements as

[22] Joshua Calhoun, *The Nature of the Page: Poetry, Papermaking and the Ecology of Texts in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 99.
[23] 'The Book-binder' in Johannes Amos Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium* Pictus, trans. Charles Hoole, (1659) sig. O*v*–O2*r*. Cited in Calhoun, *The Nature of the Page,* 114.
[24] Robert Hooke, *Micrographia* (1665), 3.

much as it has delineated the surface area of the page. Edward Waller's fantasy of unresisting 'Virgin-paper', like the subject of Bidwell's eulogy to the 'unobtrusive, deferential, [and] self-effacing' page, is as fictional as the addressee of Waller's poem. This thesis shows that rather than passively receiving text, paper is a symbiotic multi-dimensional site of meaning making.

Neither passive, then, nor still: the reality of paper production also unsettles the association between paper and stasis. Paper relies on the circulation of raw materials and processed goods in order to come into being. Early modern paper was made from recycled rags, which themselves were gathered originally from flax. High-quality white paper was made from linen sheets which themselves were expensive and time-consuming to make, demanding between six and eight months of milling, washing, bucking (that is, bleaching in an alkaline solution such as wood ashes), watering, bluing, starching, drying and sun bleaching.[25] When linen became too worn for clothes or sheets, it was reused in the form of wiping rags, either around the home or on the body as menstrual cloths. And when rags finally became too tattered for that, they were collected by rag-pickers from the home (specifically from female servants in any house wealthy enough to employ one) and taken to paper mills. The worn fibres of these repeatedly laundered and repaired rags made them ideal for papermaking, since 'tattered, weak and tender rags would ferment more easily, respond more easily to beating and grinding, and drain more quickly than the tough, strong, fibres of raw flax or new linen'.[26] Paper could only be made from materials which had circulated through different strata of society, and which had almost certainly come into contact with the low status female bodies of the rag trade. Reading chastity and purity into white paper is to overlook, or indeed to overwrite, its material beginnings.

---

[25] Timothy Barrett, 'European Papermaking Techniques 1300–1800', *Paper Through Time*: *Nondestructive Analysis of 14th Century Through 19th Century Papers* (The University of Iowa, 2018), http://paper.lib.uiowa.edu/.

[26] Heidi Craig, 'English Rag-Women and Early Modern Paper Production', in Valerie Wayne, eds., *Women's Labour and the History of the Book* (London: Arden, 2020), 29–46, 32.

It is also to overlook the numerous geographical locations, and hands, and homes, and bodies, with which paper had necessarily come into contact. Throughout the sixteenth and the majority of the seventeenth century, England imported paper from France and, to a lesser extent, Italy, Germany and Holland.[27] The first record of English papermaking is from 1494, when a mercer named John Tate opened a mill in Hertford. Tate supplied paper for a papal bull for Wynkyn de Worde, but had to close his mill soon afterward because he was unable to compete with cheaper paper imported from abroad.[28] England, with a flourishing wool trade but little by way of linen, was unable to supply its paper makers with the raw materials required for white paper. In the late sixteenth century, William Stafford complained of strangers who buy up 'all our broken linnen clothes and ragges' and later sold them back to England in the form of 'paper both white and brown'.[29] There were forty-one operative paper mills in England between 1601 and 1650 supplying brown paper, but no evidence suggesting any of them supplied the white paper used in the printing trade.[30] In 1630, 95,572 reams of white paper were imported into London by English merchants, compared to only 8038 bundles (the equivalent of 16,076 reams) of brown paper.[31] It wasn't until 1678 that Eustace Burnaby made 'good' English writing paper, sparking a shift in English paper supplies from importation to production.[32] Lothar Müller suggests that 'rag paper could be made anywhere because its raw materials could be found wherever people lived, wore suitable clothing, and engaged in trade', but white writing paper was limited in its places of production because it

---

[27] John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book,* iv: *1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 583–601, 583.
[28] Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', 584.
[29] William Stafford, *A Compendious or Briefe Examination of Certayne Ordinary Complaints of Diverse of our Country Men in these our dayes* (1581), sig. 25*r*.
[30] Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', 586.
[31] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry,* 12. One English ream was twenty quires of twenty four or twenty five sheets each (480 sheets): in some French and Italian mills a ream was 500 sheets. A bundle is two reams, but indicates poorer paper quality; Henry Dagnall, *The Taxation of Paper in Great Britain 1643–1861* (Edgeware: The British Association of Paper Historians, 1998), 13.
[32] Allen T. Hazen, 'Eustace Burnaby's Manufacture of White Paper in England', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 48.4 (1954), 315–333.

required expensive white linen.[33] Müller's argument that paper production is geographically unbound underestimates the need for another natural resource, namely water, which affected the distribution of paper mills. These restrictions to paper making explain, in part, the mobility of sixteenth and seventeenth-century white paper. Paper used in the London book trade had an inherently nomadic nature on several accounts: it required raw materials, specifically linen and rags, which had already been used and circulated to wear them down; it was imported into England because of a lack of domestic supply; and it was then circulated between printing houses, bookshops, libraries as it transformed, physically and culturally, into a book. Paper, including 'white' printing paper, travelled around the country in the form of rags, crossed the seas to international paper mills, and then came back into England before it was printed and written on. Early printed books were nomadic because their printers were: printed texts were sold on the move rather than from stationary bookshops.[34] The early modern book was defined by mobile paper at an international scale. And the book was not the final resting place of paper. The reuse of printed paper for non-bookish purposes (which I discuss further in chapter four), is testimony to the ongoing mobility of printed paper in which the codex plays a sometimes only temporary role. Printing might take place before rather than after paper crossed national borders; at that point, to take this thought in a direction which extends beyond the scope of this thesis, the movement of paper becomes part of the international book trade.[35] Even as it waits to bear text, poised beneath the pen or upon the printing press, the page carries within it the traces of multiple topographies. If we

[33] Müller, *White Magic,* 6.
[34] Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800* (Paris: A. Michel, 1958, rev. ed. London: Verso, 1976), 169.
[35] Daniel Bellingradt, 'Paper Networks and the Book Industry: The Business Activities of an Eighteenth-Century Paper Dealer in Amsterdam', in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 67–85; see also Matthew McLean and Sara Barker, eds., *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

look hard enough, paper resists the notion built into those gendered metaphors that mobile text unfurls across a papery stasis.

The charges of paper's passivity and stillness, implicit in Mrs Page's ridicule of Falstaff, both fail to stand up under scrutiny. Her satirical image also relies on paper being 'beneath' the printing press: an orientation which is challenged by the inky reality. When paper is inserted into the printing press, it is the paper that comes down upon the inked forme. Joseph Moxon describes in vivid detail the co-ordination and speed required of the pressman who makes sure his 'White-paper' lies 'even upon the Tympan-sheet'. The left hand of the pressman (Moxon uses a male model throughout) is 'slipt to the hither under-corner of the Frisket, to receive it, that it fall neither too hard nor too quick down upon the Tympan'.[36] The sheet of white paper falls down (according to the orientation of the printing press) *upon* the rows of type. Handwriting enacts the ubiquitous image of page as the substance that lies beneath text – a 1622 handwriting manual explained that 'as the paper is the subject *whereon*, so the Inke is the matter thereof' – but printing reverses that orientation.[37] Mrs Page's image of herself lying under Mount Pelion is at odds with the reality of the printed page.

To dig back into the travels of paper before it arrives in the printing house and falls down 'neither too hard nor too quick upon the Tympan' is to give a temporal and spatial three-dimensionality to paper's history: to give paper a cultural and historical depth. That depth is important in reminding us of the ever-receding starting points of literary and material forms. Where does a text, and where should our reading of a text, begin? Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* (1605) was printed on the only extant copy of seventeenth-century English paper made by John Spilman in Kent. The sheets on which this play would be printed

---

[36] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683–4), ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 293–294.
[37] David Browne, *The New Invention… or, the arte of faire writing* (1622), 'The Elements of Fair Writing: Causes' (preliminary material, n.p.), my italics.

emanated from the same paper mill which sparked furious complaints against 'girls and vagrant women' hired by Spilman 'to collect rags etc, within the city and liberties', and who 'under pretence of that service, ranged abroad in every street, begging at men's doors, whereby the discipline of the city was weakened'.[38] Paper has been used since its infancy to collapse, as well as to enforce, gender roles, as it circulates between intellectual and domestic domains.[39] Behind, or underneath, or perhaps alongside Jonson's classical and performatively 'literary' play, is a prior and parallel world of dunghills, rags, and itinerant workers. Very possibly Jonson and his commissioning stationer Thomas Thorpe were attuned to the semiotic affordances of paper: we might read the use of English paper bearing the initials of James I as evidence of poet and stationer professing nationalist loyalty, attempting to undo Jonson's perceived complicity in the Gunpowder plot of that year.[40] While the marginal notes of *Sejanus* anchor its literary origins in classical sources, the choice to print some copies on English paper made in the very mill visited by James I asserts the play's topographical beginnings. Both of those 'beginnings' contrive to draw out particular frameworks for reading *Sejanus*: one is intellectually-grounded, the other is pro-nationalist by supporting the English paper trade.[41] That pro-nationalist framework enacts the play's argument which warns against 'Traytors and Treasons', if only in a minor way.[42] But if Jonson and Thorpe were aware of the significance of texts' beginnings, those beginnings only went back so far. Choosing Spilman's paper is also to choose the paper whose making provoked complaints about itinerant female workers, perceived as sexually and

[38] Cited in Heidi Craig, 'English Rag-Women', 35.
[39] Carla Bittel, Elaine Leong, and Christine von Oertzen, eds., *Working with Paper: Gendered Practices in the History of Knowledge* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019).
[40] Thomas Calhoun and Thomas Gravell, 'Paper and Printing in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* (1605), *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 87.1 (1993), 13–64.
[41] A failed funding bid to set up a paper mill by Richard Tottel in 1585 was also couched in terms of nationalist self-sufficiency: 'Hopinge well that I… shall make Englande hable not onlie sufficientlye to serve it selfe, but also Ire[e]lande and Scotlande with good and substaunciall paper'. Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London, 1554–1640,* 5 vols (London, 1875–1894), i, 242.
[42] Ben Jonson, *Sejanus his fall* (1605), sig. A4*r*.

topographically incontinent figures. While Jonson is frequently cast as an obsessive intervener in the making of his texts into printed books, the full semiotic spectrum of *Sejanus*' paper was either overlooked by or invisible to him. The labour that goes into paper-making is suppressed beneath the surface of the literary text. Scoured for their linguistic tropes or as evidence of performance history, it is easy to overlook that these texts are also material forms whose origins are erased or rendered illegible to all but the most insistent sets of eyes.

Substrate, Surface, Depth

Paying attention to the paper on which text is printed challenges material notions of surface and depth as well as chronological or historical ones. To think in surfaces is to think in terms of boundaries between inner and outer, uppermost and beneath.[43] Paper works as a textual 'surface' because it absorbs ink; sizing and moistening paper are attempts to optimise paper's absorbency for different ink types. When book historians refer to 'the absorbent surface of the Shakespearean text', they articulate that paradox between a material which is at once outermost, uppermost, and yet which draws ink into itself during the process of inscription.[44] That word has aesthetic literary qualities too: 'absorbent' conjures the Shakespearean text as sponge, which soaks up literary theories and interpretative readings ad infinitum; the 'yielding' surface of the page similarly describes a text that makes room for, enables, allows, but also collapses under the pressures of its readers, whilst making claims about the materiality of print. Ink sinks into paper when it is applied by the printing press: as Juliet Fleming reminds us, printed letters and marks on an early modern book 'have been punched into the surface of the paper… and now lie slightly behind it'.[45] When, in 1641, John Gauden preached that '*truth is not obvious in the surface of things*, *but hath a depth,* being sunke and

[43] *OED*, 'surface, n.', 1.
[44] Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, 'The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44.3 (1993), 255–283, 283, my italics.
[45] Juliet Fleming, *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 129.

retired from us', he imagines an opposition between surface and sunken depth.[46] By partially absorbing the text with which it is inscribed, paper embodies surface *and* depth, encompassing both halves of Gauden's opposition in a single paradoxical form. Paper's relationship with the codex (a form in which 'contents become surfaces themselves when a book is opened') further complicates the relationship between surface and depth.[47] Lucy Razzall's description of the book as 'a multi-surfaced, multi-dimensional object with physical as well as metaphorical "depth"' is attuned to the way that paper gives books both their physical depth (more leaves stack up to a heftier book) and their intellectual depth which is summoned into being by the material text. And finally, as we have seen in the case of rag-pickers, paper 'brings to the surface' (that is, makes 'evident, perceptible, apprehensible') the otherwise illegible labour that hovers underneath the printed surfaces of book production.[48] Maureen Bell notes that 'concentration on the physical form of the text… and its paratexts… [has] opened up a wider approach to women's engagement with texts'.[49] Concentrating on paper brings to the surface those gendered forms of labour which enable the circulation of raw materials, paper, and printed books. The chapters that follow do not explicitly place gender at their fore, but remain invested in the implied challenge to the paper surface as a neutral or reliable measure of what is above or below, legible or illegible. Yet, whilst taking seriously notions of both surface and depth, my aim is not to triumphantly uncover hidden meanings which lurk in paper's semiotic depths. Instead, I show that attending to paper enriches our encounter with textual substrates as sites which collate and assemble 'links between things that were previously unconnected', specifically links between the actual and

---

[46] John Gauden, *The love of truth and peace, a sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons* (1641), sig. D4*r*.
[47] Claire Canavan, 'Reading Materials: Textile Surfaces and Early Modern Books', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017), 4.
[48] Leah Marcus and Sharon Best, 'Surface Reading: An Introduction', *Representations* 108.1 (2009), 1–21, 9.
[49] Maureen Bell, 'Women and the Production of Texts: The Impact of the History of the Book', in John Hinks and Victoria Gardner, eds., *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections* (New Castle, DE; Oak Knoll Press, 2014), 107–131, 108.

imagined journeys of paper and readers.[50] In this light, the relationship between paper and reader echoes that between print and paper: 'a cocreation between actors that leaves neither party unchanged'.[51]

This thesis takes on the challenge presented by paper to re-read early modern printed texts. Challenging those metaphors of paper as blank, beneath, silent, passive, I read paper as the dynamic substrate of printed text and as a mobile material form.[52] Here I am building on work by Boris Jardine which reads early modern paper *instruments* as both a 'transparent medium' of printed marks, and an 'opaque' substance wielded in the name of mathematics and natural history. I invoke a broader spectrum of paper forms (which includes paper instruments, specifically volvelles, in chapter one), and consider paper's literary affordances rather than its epistemological ones. If there is a contradiction between the paper 'surface' (uppermost, superficial, outwards, distinct from 'the heart of the matter'), and paper as characterised by being beneath (imprinted upon, with qualities of a background, foundation, frame) then those contradictions come to the fore by describing paper – as I do throughout this thesis – as the *substrate* of printed text. We now use 'substrate' most commonly as a noun, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 'substrate' was a transitive verb which meant to lie underneath: '*the Nature of the Backe-bone*' wrote Helkiah Crooke, 'is *Inclining Inward*, in that it might bee substrated or couched under the Gullet'.[53] That sense of being underneath had conceptual connotations too. In the early seventeenth century, the Church of England clergyman Thomas Beard explained that sins were made up of an act and a defect: the 'material part of the sin, which is called by the Schoolemen, *subjectum substratum:* the under-laide subject' is due to the will of God.[54] The

[50] Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2015), 173.
[51] Felski, *The Limits of Critique,* 84.
[52] Boris Jardine, 'State of the Field: Paper Tools', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 64 (2017), 53–63.
[53] Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia, a description of the body of man* (1615), sig. C5*v*.
[54] Thomas Beard, *A retractive from the Romish religion contayning thirteene forcible motives* (1616), sig. Hh3*r*.

defective nature of the sin, on the other hand, was due to man. Dividing up sin into substrate act and cognitive volition helps explain how an omnipotent God co-exists with the presence of evil. Glossing these terms twenty-five years later, John Davenant gives the example of Adam and Eve eating forbidden fruit. The 'Mastication and Manducation and other bodily acts' are the material, or 'the substrate act' and therefore the will of God, 'but the disorderly Manner of desiring and eating contrary to the law of God, this is reducible (as being a defect) onely to the defective will of man'.[55] This theological distinction defines the substrate as the material cause of an abstract 'obliquity'. Beard and Davenant wield the term 'substrate' to distinguish between practice and theory, and between the 'Formall' and 'Materiall': pairings whose relationships still occupy literary scholars today. Attending to paper as the substrate to writing is useful because it reminds us that paper is more than a passive 'support' and is in fact something like a foundation in a real, generative sense: the cause of the text it bears.[56] Paper in early modern printed books challenges the status of the *sub*-strate as something whose defining quality is being underneath. We have to think harder about the word 'surface' to describe the site of the dynamic relationship between ink and paper when we get so close as to notice 'the three-dimensional topography of the printed page', in which *sub*-strate and *sur*-face are one and the same.[57] The relationship between print and paper is not a binary of on top/underneath, any more than it sustains the distinctions of matter/form, or idea/vehicle. Instead the resistance between printed ink and paper enacts the symbiosis of those categories. In Beard and Davenant's seventeenth-century definitions of 'substrate', eating the apple precedes the act of disobeying God but knowledge of that disobedience shapes how we read back that act. Paper-as-substrate both precedes and is altered by its text.

---

[55] John Davenant, *Animadversions upon a treaty intitled, Gods love to mankind* (1641), sig. L7*v*–L8*r*.
[56] See also John Krill, *English Artists' Paper: Renaissance to Regency* which shows the 'more than supportive role' that paper has played in graphic art (London: Trefoil, 1987), 8.
[57] Andrew Gordon, 'The Renaissance Footprint: The Material Trace in Print Culture from Durer to Spenser', *Renaissance Quarterly* 71.2 (2018), 478–529, 482.

Rather than lying passively beneath text, paper directly inflects textual meaning. That inflection happens at a local level – paper resists and reacts with the surface of the inked type in the printing press – as well as on a larger scale: paper moves around the spaces of the printing house and the cities of the early modern book trade, but also around libraries, and within the pages of books in the form of interactive paper tools and dials. In tandem with 'substrate', 'surface' foregrounds the vertical relationships of paper and ink, but paper surfaces are equally characterised by their horizontal dimension. One early seventeenth-century mathematical tract defined 'surface' by its horizontal qualities: 'A Superficies or Surface hath onely length and bredth without deepenesse'.[58] Paper localises text on a horizontal plane on multiple scales: text is grounded within the page, and pages are co-ordinated themselves in a library, or a city, or a globe, each with both 'length and bredth'. Here I am purposely making use of the two meanings of 'local' as at once 'the concrete and the particular' and 'a specific, fixed place with its own unique characteristics'.[59] The topography of paper both localises text on the page and localises text in (often temporary) reading spaces and environments. Paper challenges rather than enforces Latour's concept of 'immutable mobiles' – things which move without changing – because the movement of paper gives rise to the *mutability* of textual meaning.[60] Paper moves through reading sites as both textual substrate and mobile form, and so paper inflects text both vertically (as an absorbent writing surface) and horizontally (it situates where we read). The relationship between paper and text exists on these two axes: bearing both in mind animates Juliet Fleming's description of writing 'as process that is activated "idiomatically" (that is, according to local conditions) at each of the moments and places where it may be said to

[58] Robert Norton, *A Mathematical Appendix* (1604), sig. G3*r*.
[59] Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink*: *Script and Print in the Making of the East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 11.
[60] Bruno Latour, 'Visualisation and Cognition: Thinking With Eyes and Hands', *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Past and Present* 6 (1986), 1–40, 7.

occur'.[61] Each of the following chapters pursues these two axes, attending to the role of paper as it resists, reacts, delineates, foregrounds text on the depths of the page *and* as it bears that text horizontally across topographies of the city, the library and the globe.

The Mobility of Paper

This thesis close-reads texts in which those dual roles of paper most legibly intersect. The following four chapters are concerned with texts which are alert to the mobilities afforded by paper, in that they represent the real and imagined journeys of readers and book. In chapters two and three I read imprints and shelf marks as the histories of travelling books, which document the movement of their own paper form. Chapters one and four show how printed texts which construct imagined and metaphorical voyages open up the modes of navigation that paper makes available. As becomes evident across the four chapters, the materiality of paper plays a role in textual mobility, and textual representations of mobility, which is neither constant nor static. That role is not only to endorse or subvert the meaning of the text to which the page acts as a substrate, but also to 'illuminate, defy, resist, augment, make and unmake meaning as well'.[62] The quality of paper that catalyses those relationships between material and literary form is its own mobility, by which I literally mean: paper's ability to move around.

Today book historians broadly agree that printed texts are 'mobile' in ways which, whilst attentive to materiality, overlook the particular role of paper. Invoking the mobility of print participates in a continued response to the *fixity* of print, as proposed by Elizabeth Eisenstein in 1979. Eisenstein's case for the 'fixity of print' is paradoxically based on printed texts' capacity for geographical mobility. She emphasises how printing technology meant it

---

[61] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 54.
[62] Arthur Bahr and Alexandra Gillespie, 'Medieval English Manuscripts: Form, Aesthetics, and the Literary Text', *The Chaucer Review* 47.4 (2013), 346–360, 354. See also Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 12.

was possible to disseminate close-enough copies of texts, such that 'the book read by someone in Madrid was the same book read by someone in Montpellier'.[63] Eisenstein's coining of 'the fixity of print' provoked a flurry of research in book history and the history of reading which unearthed evidence to the contrary. For one thing it makes a difference whether one reads in Montpellier or Madrid; for another those copies of the 'same' text are unlikely to be exactly the same. The current position in the history of the book is that printed texts are 'not fixed', rather that they are 'mobile'.[64] To say that printed texts are 'mobile' is to label them, according to the *OED*, as 'not fixed or stationary; capable of or characterized by movement; movable, wandering'.[65] The two strands of that definition are legible in Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656) which defines 'mobilitie' as 'moveableness' as well as 'changeableness, inconstancy'.[66] Our current perception of early modern print is well-attuned to the 'changeableness' of printed texts in at least two ways. Firstly, since Eisenstein wrote her field-changing monograph, we have become more aware of localised differences in the printing process: David McKitterick suggests it is 'an illusion' that manufactured type replicates identical printed signs.[67] Texts produced on a printing press are inevitably susceptible to 'changeableness' throughout the print run. While Elizabeth Eisenstein relegates 'textual drift' to the world of manuscripts, studying printed books reveals that a similar phenomenon plays out not only between editions of printed texts but within copies of the same print run, as Charlton Hinman's exhaustive survey of the variants of Shakespeare's

---

[63] Alberto Manguel, *A History of Reading* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), 137; Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 72, 81.
[64] David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 97. See also Margreta de Grazia, 'Imprints: Shakespeare, Gutenberg and Descartes', in Douglas Brooks, ed., *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 29–58, 53.
[65] *OED*, 'mobile, adj', 1a.
[66] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia*, *or, A Dictionary, interpreting all such hard words ... as are now used in our refined English tongue* (1656), sig. Bb8*v*.
[67] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript*, 222.

First Folio demonstrates beyond argument.[68] While Eisenstein's 'fixity' actually embraces 'moveableness', it overlooks the forms of 'changeableness' inherent in early modern printed texts. Secondly, printed texts are mobile because of the open-endedness of reading: the notion that 'each individual applies subjective as well as received understanding to what is seen'.[69] Even books in one place can have their heuristic authority loosened by a multitude of non-conforming readers.[70] 'In all this' writes McKitterick, summing up his own analysis of print as 'endlessly mobile', 'we are examining not fixity, but inconstancy'.[71] If the two forms of mobility (production and reception) with which we now associate print have to do with that 'changeableness', or oddly moralised 'inconstancy', then this thesis attends with equal patience to that second meaning of mobility: 'moveable, wandering'.

The moveable nature of print is bound up with its light and portable substrate. While the ubiquity of early modern paper-and-writing metaphors might momentarily convince us that paper is a condition of writing (a claim swiftly undone by work on early modern textiles, or whitewashing, or early moderns' own reflections on non-paper media) then we can with more confidence say that paper is a near condition of print.[72] With a few exceptions, including some early copies of the Gutenberg Bible printed on parchment, printed texts were read on paper.[73] One consequence of using light and portable paper was that printed texts moved around in very literal terms: sheets and fragments moved among books, while books themselves circulated around cities, libraries and around the world. Of course, medieval and

---

[68] Charles Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).
[69] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript*, 222.
[70] Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library*: *Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 235–236.
[71] McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript*, 224.
[72] Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion, 2001), 73–78.
[73] About 150 copies of the Gutenberg Bible were printed on paper, and 35 on parchment or vellum; Bruce Metzger and Michael David Coogan, *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 263.

early modern libraries chained books to their stalls, and the Bible, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and other godly books were chained to lecterns in churches and cathedrals. But chaining was a temporary state in the lives of those books, which simultaneously circulated as gifts, loans, and inheritance.[74] The making of paper into books relies on its portability. This was particularly true of the early modern period, before automated machinery transported unwieldy towers of printed stock. In early modern England, the making of books required transporting paper between printing houses, bookshops and binders, often in carts or wagons. Paper restrained as much as it enabled print: paper was about half the cost of making a printed book so it was the single largest overhead for publishers to take into account.[75] But paper also made room for printed text (as poetic *stanzas*, or 'rooms', remind us):[76] it was the substrate, or surface which rendered text mobile as it travelled through topographies at the scale of the bookshelf, the bookshop, or around the world. This thesis attends to paper in all these dimensions and on each of these scales, and reads paper as both a textual substrate and as a mobile, circulating form.

Paperscapes

The 'paperscapes' of my title are intended to keep in mind all of these dimensions and scales of looking at paper. The term resists the smooth surface of the page offered by Waller and Davis' images of paper: the paperscape is constituted by peaks and troughs and disruptions, starkly legible in figure 2, which shows a leaf from William Winstanley's *The Essex Champion* (1690). Backlighting this low-quality printed page firstly undoes the notion that printed paper was always whiter and smoother than wrapping paper: visible here are the knots and shives that record its natural beginnings. The backlight is designed to make the page more

[74] John King, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 267–268, 273.
[75] Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books,* 32.
[76] *OED*, 'stanza, n.', 2.

visible but renders the printed text almost illegible: the would-be recto and verso meld as the lines collide and run over one another. If this sheet of paper forces us to confront the printed page as an object with a production timeline, technical flaws, and the intersection of primary resources, then it partially echoes the agenda of *The Essex Champion* itself. This text parodies Cervantes' already-parodic *Don Quixote*, which constitutes an overwrought melting pot of the elements of chivalrous romance. On these two pages of *The Essex Champion* the protagonist Sir Billy of Billericay is depicted 'taking Pen and Paper in hand' to create a bathetic and cliché-ridden poem to Dulcima: ('Most sweet Dulcima, whose beauty doth surpass/Our common beauties, as the Flowers doth Grass'). Verse-writing is a necessary trait of chivalry according to Billy: 'they being two as inseparable Companions as a Whore and a Pox'.[77] Billy apparently ticks all the boxes of knighthood but still fails to construct himself convincingly as a knight. Aware of the various elements of his idealised role, the protagonist fails to make them cohere. If today we need a backlight to be reminded that a printed sheet of paper is constructed from an assemblage of material parts, then that materiality enacts *The Essex Champion*'s textual and satirical forms of collation which have remained closer to the surface across the centuries. The back-lit paper makes legible its origins, its production, and the gap between its intended and practical use, while the visible seams in Billy's stitched-together clichés draw attention to this text's not-fully-melded elements in which the whole is less than the sum of its parts.

[77] William Winstanley, *The Essex Champion* (1690), sig, B2*r*.

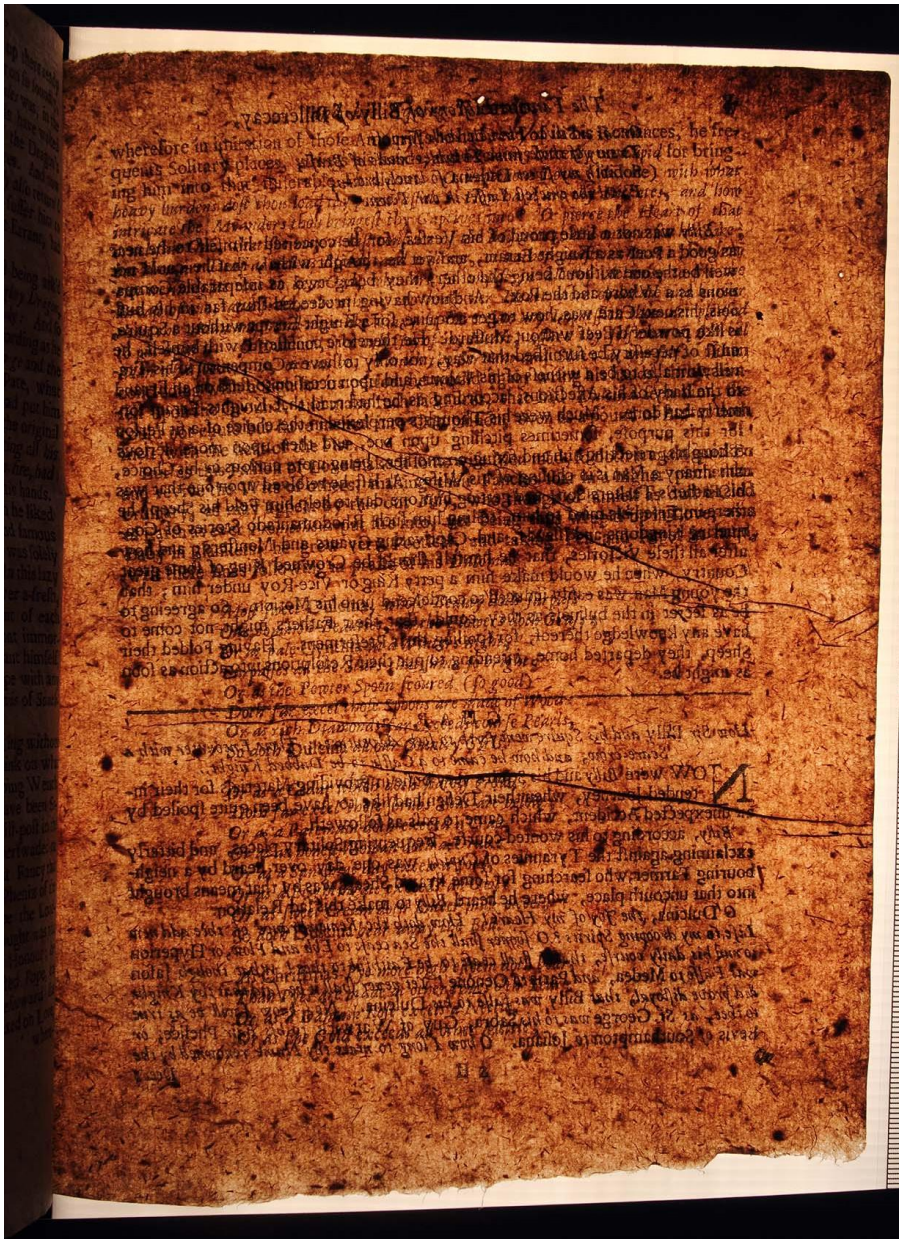


Figure 2 Low quality printing paper in William Winstanley, *The Essex Champion*, London: printed for J. Blare at the Looking-Glass on London-Bridge, 1690 (University of Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, Douce H 396, leaf B2, transmitted light).

So much for the vertiginous surfaces of the page. 'Paperscapes' also draw attention to the horizontal topographies of paper: the way that paper moves around. In the early modern period, 'scape' was a shortening of 'escape' as well as a moral transgression: a helpful reminder of the capacity of paper to flee the clutches that would categorise it as an unresisting and static surface. Those transgressive qualities had particular nuance in the printing house, where typographical errors (often flagged as 'faults escaped') could be

condemned as 'the scape of your Printer'.[78] Gerard Manley Hopkins used 'scape', devoid of a prefix, in juxtaposition with 'species': thus 'our action leaves in our mind scapes and species'.[79] We can pin down this lofty formula by noticing that 'species' has non-genealogical senses, referring to a 'mental impression' as well as an 'outward appearance'. The 'scapes' in Hopkins' sentence, like his 'species', are visible and legible as well as internalised or imaginary. The connection to 'landscape' brings out the topographical implications of 'paperscape': my term draws out the significance of textual sites but also the connections, distances and journeys between them. Landscapes also include imagined topographies: a landscape might refer to a piece of art which represents or recreates an environment. The direction that 'First, for the scene, was drawn a landscape' in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1608) draws attention to the twice-constructed 'drawing' of landscapes (as graphic inscription) and the moment when that landscape is artificially realised in a theatrical performance.[80] In modern critical usage, scholars have made use of the constructed nature of the 'landscape' as a trope to discuss elements of book history. David Pearson suggests 'the landscape of private libraries' currently constitutes 'a number of well-known examples that are regularly cited in the literature'. An awareness of these landscapes' reinforcement of a subjective hierarchy provokes an urgent feeling that 'there is more that could be uncovered with systematic research'.[81] Landscapes, in this sense, are flourishing sites of data-led 'distant reading': the long-lens view expands the scholar's prospect and sharpens their perspective.

Landscapes, then, are on the one hand understood as quiet backdrops and on the other as constructed and artificial things with the ability to remake or re-present the world

---

[78] Thomas Bilson, *The survey of Christs sufferings* (1604), sig. H2*r*.
[79] Gerald Manley Hopkins, *Sermons and Devotional Writings*, ed. Christopher Devlin (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 136.
[80] Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Blackness,* ed. David Lindley, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson,* 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), ii, 504–528, 512.
[81] David Pearson, 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library* 13.4 (2012), 379–399, 386.

around us. Leah Knight, Micheline White and Elizabeth Sauer's *Women's Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain* (2018) draws attention to the constructed nature of the 'bookscape' in order to provoke new insight into women's writing – to rewrite the contours and well-trodden paths of that literary and scholarly environment. My 'paperscapes' are intended to provoke and denaturalise this environment still further. The relatively minor authors whose work takes centre stage in this thesis (including George Wither, James Howell, George Sandys, Edward Hall, John Stow, and John Taylor) resist dominant early modern literary trajectories through Donne, Shakespeare, Jonson and Milton, and provide an alternative history of literature told in and on paper. Had this thesis returned to Donne's resistance to print, Shakespeare's contested entanglement with his readers, Milton's dialogues with his publisher, or Jonson's propensity to wedge one foot in the printing house door, it would be easy to recycle tropes about paper's 'impressionability': its readiness to yield to the agency which emanates from these canonical figures.[82] Instead my chapters concentrate on texts in which paper takes centre stage.

Paperscapes insistently foreground the broader material environment in which books are made and un-made, and 'paperscapes' rather than 'bookscapes' address the contingency of the codex form. Celine Prest deploys the trope of 'paperscapes' to conceptualise the city of London as described by Charles Dickens and experienced by the characters in his novels.[83] Her notion of the paper-covered city echoes the early modern London articulated by Tiffany Stern, who argues for the ubiquity of playbills 'on every wall and corner post'.[84] While Stern and Prest imagine paper-covered London across the

---

[82] Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Stephen Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); David Gants, 'The 1616 Folioe (F1): Textual Essay', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*, http://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/F1_textual_essay.
[83] Celine Prest, 'Walls of Words: Paperscape in Charles Dickens' Novels', *Revue d'etudes Anglophones* 13.2 (2016), https://journals.openedition.org/erea/4954.
[84] Tiffany Stern, '"On Each Wall and Corner Poast": Playbills, Title-pages and Advertising in Early Modern London', *English Literary Renaissance* 36.1 (2006), 57–89.

centuries, this thesis also reflects how texts imagine topographies that endorse and compete with the actual environment through which those texts move as mobile material forms.

This thesis takes up the term 'paperscape' for the following four reasons:

1. The 'paperscape' keeps in mind the material forms of texts themselves. While early modern books are made of materials other than paper (ink, wood, leather, brass), printed text is almost exclusively situated on paper. Bearing this in mind resists homogenising 'the book', and demands an attention to the particular forms and materials with which we are dealing when we are dealing with books.
2. This thesis focuses on the contingency of the book-form: paperscapes take into account how paper circulates in and out of the codex and so disrupts the cohesion of the book as a unit of analysis.
3. Paperscapes refuse to disappear into the backdrop behind or underneath books: unlike 'bookscapes' they resist a distinction between the books themselves and the agents and sites from which books emerge.[85] Instead, paperscapes are constructed by and within texts as well as the places through which texts move. That is, paperscapes are constituted both within the book, and by the connected sites of the origins and destinations of paper (which include, but are not limited to, books). The term demands attention towards the two-way, semiotic charge between the printed text and its environment.
4. That environment is always both local to the paper sheet and co-ordinated within an extra-paper material world: whether that world be at the scale of the city, the library, or the globe and whether that world is imagined or actual. Those two scales of the paperscape – the competing yet mutually generative axes which localise text both on

[85] James Raven, *Bookscapes: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: British Library, 2014). Thomas Roberts compares the 'bookscapes' which are constructed by 'paperback' as opposed to 'literary' texts, *The Aesthetics of Junk Fiction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 204.

the page and in the world beyond – provide the logic for the progression through the following four chapters.

This thesis begins close up at the topography of the page, and expands outwards in scale across its four chapters. Reading books at scale, and in motion, has its methodological origins in Franco Moretti's *Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900* which engages in what later came to be theorised as a form of 'distant reading' to track both the locations of fictional events and the distribution of books themselves.[86] Moretti's approach combines 'textual geographies' (detailed readings of the conjunctions between spaces and texts) with 'geographies of texts' (geographies of literary production, circulation, reception): the two defining branches of 'literary geography'.[87] Since the publication of Moretti's book, 'literary geography' has come to be a discipline in its own right, with a journal to its name since 2015 and a blossoming of work which is described variously as imaginative geography, literary cartography, geocriticism, geopoetics and geohumanities. [88] For Moretti, the significance of literary geography is to reconceptualise geography not as an 'inert container… a box where cultural history happens', but instead as an 'active force that pervades the literary field and shapes its depth'.[89] This thesis, which studies the mobility of printed text but is not a cultural geography of reading, makes some of the claims for paper that Moretti makes for geography. No longer an inert container – or surface, or support – paper exerts an 'active force' on writing which works by carving out space *for* writing, that is, by carrying early modern printed texts into different reading places. By asserting the significance of reading place, literary geography fuses with the work of book historians who articulate the significance of

[86] Moretti coins the phrase 'distant reading' in *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007); see also *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013).
[87] Miles Ogborn, 'Mapping Words', *New Formations* 57 (2005), 145–149, 149.
[88] Neal Alexander, 'On Literary Geography', *Literary Geographies* 1 (2015), 3–6.
[89] Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the Novel 1800–1900* (London: Verso, 1998), 3.

the sites – the printing houses, bookshops, reading spaces – of book production, which give shape to texts not only in a practical sense but also to their meaning.[90]

To claim, as I do, that paper makes a difference to how we read, that it 'modif[ies] a state of affairs', is to argue that paper has agency, at least in the sense that Bruno Latour has defined that word.[91] Paper, in Latour's words, is a 'non-human actant'. That does not mean, or does not have to mean, that paper causes or determines things: texts do not reach out with papery arms to passing potential readers and compel them to attend to its forms. But, as Latour notes, there exist 'many metaphysical shades between… "determining" and serving as a "backdrop for human interaction"'.[92] Those shades include the fact that non-human actants 'authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid': terms which (although this is not Latour's point), are more cosily familiar to inhabitants of English faculties who are trained to close read literary texts. As one such prominent inhabitant notes, to call a text an actant within this theoretical framework is not to treat the text as a 'solitary self-governing subject who summons up actions and orchestrates events. Rather, actors only become actors via their relations with other phenomena'.[93] This thesis takes Rita Felski's argument and replaces 'text' with 'paper'. Paper's ability to 'make a difference' is constituted by interactions with readers, but also writers, printers, binders, booksellers, rag women, and vat men, among others. The 'affordances', of paper, a term which recurs in this thesis to describe paper's possible literary and material roles, arises out of the interactions between human and non-human actants: between paper and its makers and users.[94] One of those interactions – the most significant for this thesis – is that between

[90] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 59.
[91] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 71.
[92] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 72.
[93] Felski, *The Limits of Critique*, 164.
[94] The term was coined by James Gibson, *The Senses Considered as Perceptual Systems* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), 26.

paper and place. While paper is mobilised, and moved into place, by its makers and uses, paper in turn affords (or permits, or allows) the localisation of text. The paperscapes of this thesis attend to both of these affordances, and the relationship between them, to demonstrate how paper 'modif[ies] a [literary] state of affairs'.

Place matters for how we read, which makes sense if we think of a text's environment as an extended interpretative framework, or even paratext, with its own semiotic charge. The mobility of paper affords texts site-specific meaning. Paul Nelles argues that books acquire value and meaning 'both by means of the activity of movement itself and through contact with the spaces they traversed'.[95] Nelles is discussing the international book trade, but his statement is also true at the level of the bookshop, or indeed the bookshelf, as I show in chapters two and three. Attending to the mobility of paper across all four chapters, my work responds to Miles Ogborn's call to 'recogniz[e] simultaneously the groundedness and the mobility of written objects'.[96] This thesis develops through four topographic scales of the paperscape, from the localities of the page to global dissemination. The mobility of paper is characteristic of moving book parts, such as the rotatable paper dials discussed in chapter one; of the making of books as they move around the early modern London book trade in chapter two; and of the dissemination of books around libraries, and finally the world, as discussed in chapters three and four. By moving between these topographic scales, this thesis resists Moretti's collapse of literary geography into 'distant reading'. I read paper up close by attending to its local relationship with printed text, even as the four chapters account for the ever-expanding scales by which the mobility of paper shapes and produces meaning. Across

[95] Paul Nelles, 'Conrad Gessner and the Mobility of the Book: Zurich, Frankfurt, Venice (1543)', in Bellingradt, Nelles and Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe*, 39–66, 43.
[96] Ogborn, *Indian Ink*, 11.

all four chapters I look *at* rather than *through* paper, providing a corrective to the claim that 'text is by definition more legible than its support'.[97]

Bibliography, Literary Studies, and the Early Modern Imaginary

Looking at paper is traditionally the work of the bibliographer who studies 'how books are made' (although paper-making is excluded from Greg's narrow definition of bibliography as 'the science of the material transmission of literary texts').[98] Under the bibliographic gaze, paper is all too often seen as a 'mute vehicle' which 'almost never impinges upon [books'] communicative function'.[99] That image of the 'mute vehicle' is reminiscent of those lingering gendered metaphors: in James Shirley's *The Wittie Faire One,* Mr. Aymwell describes a letter from the woman he desires as 'silent paper', even as he imagines the letter bearing a 'whiteness' and 'perfum'd ayre' from its author.[100] Despite its material affordances, paper in this moment is subservient to and muzzled by the semiotics of its texts. Not until the letter is conveyed 'by voyce' can Mr. Aymwell receive its meaning. Aymwell has a reduced sense of paper's communicative powers, which relies on ventriloquism rather than visual engagement. When paper is brought under scrutiny today, it is rarely of the kind associated with literary close reading which finds imaginative charge in its objects of study. In 1991 Ann Lennon and David Pearson surveyed 125 British libraries to find out which bibliographic details were entered in their catalogues. Of all those categories to do with paper (watermarks, pagination, collation, format), watermarks were the most frequently overlooked: Lennon and Pearson could state with gleeful dismay that 96% of the surveyed

---

[97] Kathryn James, *English Palaeography and Manuscript Culture, 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 26.
[98] W. W. Greg, 'What is Bibliography?', *The Library* 1.1 (1913), 39–54, 48. Recent bibliographical handbooks with sections on 'Paper' include Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books*; Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose, eds., *A Companion to the History of the Book* (2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 2020); and Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).
[99] John Bidwell, 'The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact, and Commodity', in Peter Hobley Davison, ed., *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth-Century Bibliography*, (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), 69–82, 69.
[100] James Shirley, *The Witty Faire One* (1633), sig. E4*r.*

libraries never recorded them. But if these libraries *had* recorded watermarks (or format, or collation) would that have been looking, *really* looking, at paper? Watermarks offer specific, if limited information about books: they become useful if we want to find out about provenance. Another way to pose the question of what it means to look at paper is to ask what it is that we are looking *for*. John Bidwell advocates looking at paper firstly because it enables us to date and localise documents; secondly because it provides evidence of 'business practices, labour issues, economic trends, and technological developments'.[101] None of this sounds hugely promising for the literary scholar until we arrive at Bidwell's third reason to study paper, which is that it has much to teach us about the historical book trade. Bidwell's interest in the book trade is primarily in the methods and circumstances of production: his work attends to the economic and cultural worth of paper as it circulates in both financial and social forms of exchange, including books. Sarah Werner suggests that paper has a very precise, if rather limited bibliographic scope: 'being able to distinguish between early modern or original leaves and facsimile or forged ones is probably the most useful skill to come out of a familiarity with paper'.[102] While Bidwell and Werner are interested in how paper is produced and circulated, this thesis focuses on the intersection between paper's reception and its actual and imagined circulation: how paper was read and how it signifies as mobile textual substrate.[103] If the realities of paper production are not always legible to early modern readers, then the following chapters attend to texts in which the narratives of paper merge the actual with the imaginary. This thesis looks at paper in a new light: not only as a source to be excavated for historical evidence but as a substrate to be attended to with the critical and creative skills gained in literary scholarship.

---

[101] Bidwell, 'The Study of Paper', 70.
[102] Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books,* 33.
[103] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982), 65–83.

The literary slant of this thesis distinguishes it from the valuable work of Bellingradt, Nelles and Salman whose edited volume corrects the 'static' nature of book history they see embodied in Robert Darnton's 'communications circuit' of production, circulation and consumption, and to replace this with a more dynamic sense of books 'in motion'.[104] Bellingradt's own chapter on the movement of paper through eighteenth-century Amsterdam provides a corrective to 'book history… as an almost paperless field of research' by drawing connections between 'the socio-spatial relations of paper traders' and 'the interconnectedness of the book industry'; his aim is not to re-read the texts which circulated within and out of that industry.[105] These collected essays make an important contribution to a history steadfastly of the *book*, as a material, socially and geographically produced object, rather than to a history of reading which also takes account of those books' literary affordances. Looking at paper in this thesis is a mode of close reading, which pays attention to text as an embodied and material form. My simultaneously bibliographical and literary approach responds to Seth Lerer's provocation: 'what is the relationship between the book as artifact and the aesthetics of literary imagination?'[106] The thesis offers one answer by showing the symbiotic roles of paper as both substrate to printed textual representations of mobility – those real and imagined journeys of readers and books – and as a mobile form in its own right.

The early modern imagination was well aware of the mobility of paper, and of print. *Jests to make you merie* (Thomas Dekker and George Wilkins' selection of short comic prose vignettes or jokes, printed in 1607) begins with a rejoinder against failed authors who undertake 'miserable and endless labour'. The preface gives the un-comforting advice that 'better it were for him in my judgement to turne his leaves into such paper-kites as boyes

---

[104] Daniel Bellingradt and Jeroen Salman, 'Books and Book History in Motion: Materiality, Sociality and Spatiality', in Bellingradt, Nelles and Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe*, 1–13, 1–2.
[105] Bellingradt, 'Paper Networks and the Book Industry', 68, 72.
[106] Seth Lerer, 'Falling Asleep Over the History of the Book', *PMLA* 121.1 (2006), 229–234, 230.

ruane after, whilest they flye in the Ayre, then to publish his wits in Follio'.[107] These 'paper kites' make up the first instance of this peculiar seventeenth-century paper metaphor, which peaked in the second half of the century but tailed off abruptly by 1720 according to the ESTC-TCP, perhaps when the mobility of print became so normalised as to elude metaphorical charge. Published texts have something in common with paper kites and with the birds of prey that go by the same name: both are able to travel far and fast and so – the quality that Dekker worries about – to reach a greater number of eyes. That insult of the 'paper kite' to describe overly-mobile, overly-legible printed texts is reiterated in an anonymous pamphlet entitled *The run-awyaes answer,* printed in retaliation against *A rod for run-awayes* (1625)*.* The author of *The run-awyaes answer*, 'being Abusde in a Book printed in London', threatens to call in the authorities to censor said book and its author: 'Bid him therefore send all his Paper-Kites flying from his Stall, quite through the Citie… for when wee come to Towne, they shall be All callde in'.[108] This is a specifically early modern image of paper, contrasting with Waller's lines with which I opened and which are grounded in a longstanding rhetorical tradition. In this anonymous pamphlet the mobile printed text 'flies' around the city from booksellers to readers and then, if this author has his way, from readers back to the authorities, or the fire. The mobile text moves in more than one direction, and occupies a contingent role both in reality and in the early modern imagination. *Much Ado About Nothin*g offers an alternative image of mobile paper when Benedick imagines the insults he exchanges with Beatrice as 'paper bullets' of the brain. Benedick's 'paper bullets' are metaphors for spoken rather than graphic text; it is Thomas Dekker once again who articulates what the print shop might mean for the distribution and mobility of 'paper bullets'. In *Newes from Graves End* (1604) Dekker toys with rejecting writing altogether (a rejection countered by the presence of the very page on which it is recorded). Dekker thinks

---

[107] Thomas Dekker, *Jests to make you merie* (1607), sig. A3*r*.
[108] *The run-awyaes* [sic] *answer to a booke called, A rodde for runne-awayes* (1625), sig. A3r.

to condemn 'my pen-knife to the cutting of powder-beefe and brewes: my paper to the drying and inflaming of *Tobacco*' and swears that that 'the Goose-quill should never more gull me, to make me shoote paper-bullets into any Stationers shop'.[109] These paper-bullets come from the quill, but they enter into the 'Stationers shop' from whence they will be 'shot' even further. And if the stationers' shop is only one possible destination, alongside the tobacco pipe, for Dekker's paper bullets, then the relationship between paper and the book seems less inevitable than it does the result of disciplinary bias. Dekker's image derails impressions of paper which are at once too bookish and too textual, and reminds us of the selectivity at play when we choose to figure paper as books. Coming so soon after the image of returning writing materials to non-writing use (the knife to cutting beef, the paper to drying tobacco), Dekker's 'paper-bullets' are strangely emptied out of text. Indeed, the materiality of 'paper bullets', like 'paper kites', threatens to submerge content entirely within form: the risk is that these flitting paper fragments have nothing to say, that they 'contain nothing solid' (as another seventeenth-century text described 'paper bullets') at all.[110] Dekker writes into the beginning of a seventeenth-century metaphor which clusters around furious pamphlet exchanges, when speed and hostile retort was the order of the day. Trivialising the response of one's opponent by depicting it as rapidly flying paper inserts a critical moral judgement into the mobility of print, which echoes that 'inconstancy' of Blount's definition. Imagining mobile paper in the form of bullets, or kites, is to imagine inadequate rhetoric, even as it acknowledges the impact of that rhetoric in the mobile form of print.

---

[109] Thomas Dekker, *Newes from Graves-end* (1604), sig. B*r*.
[110] George Keith, *The way cast up, and the stumbling blocks removed* (1677), sig. C5*r*. That concern for insubstantial content extends to the genre of books categorised as 'paperbacks' today; Roberts, *The Aesthetics of Junk Fiction,* 186–193.

Navigating Paper: A Global Story

These imagined forms of mobility are divorced from the logistical and mechanical realities of early modern paper on the move. Dekker's paper kites and paper bullets appear miraculously free-floating in their trajectory between author and reader, but transporting paper relies on human agents (in the form of stationers, waggon drivers, book-buyers) more frequently than it does on the happenstance of a gust of wind.[111] A rare glimpse of those agents comes in the form of a court record. William Bushee, a papermaker from Hounslow, was brought before court on 8th December 1636 to answer for 'grinding ragges in his papermill that came from London, whereby one of his servants became infected with the plague'.[112] Importing rags from London to Hounslow is a necessity of the paper trade which also produces anxiety about the policing of geographical boundaries. Printed books were distributed by all manner of waggon drivers, sailors, street vendors and even authors themselves. An Independent Minister, Thomas Larkham, posted copies of his own collected sermons to his family in Cumbria, while Richard Baxter handed out cheap religious print to his parishioners at his own expense.[113] Itinerant sellers of books and pamphlets known as hawkers sold topical literature on the streets; from the 1640s onwards 'mercury-women' supplied hawkers with printers' stock.[114] Itinerant sellers were especially associated with transgressive or non-conformist work but some communities, including Quakers, had their own carefully monitored networks which included trusted carriers and preachers who distributed printed copies of their own sermons.[115] In noting the 'loose and idle Persons, called Hawkers, who do

---

111 'The wagon, the canal barge, the merchant vessel, the post office, and the railroad may have influenced the history of literature more than one would suspect'; Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', 77. See also Nelles, 'Conrad Gessner and the Mobility of the Book', 43.
112 Heidi Craig, 'Rags, Ragpickers and Early Modern Papermaking', *Literature Compass* 16.5 (2019), 6.
113 Bernard Capp, 'The Book Trade and the Distribution of Print', in Hinks and Gardner, eds., *The Book Trade in Early Modern England*, 209–228, 225–228.
114 Bell, 'Women and the Production of Texts', 117; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 56.
115 Kate Roberts, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60–72.

daily Publish and Sell Seditious Books, Scurrilous Pamphlets, and scandalous Printed Papers', the London Corporation of 1679 registered an unease with itinerant vendors of print.[116] The desire to control the movement of printed texts, to stop those treacherous gusts stirring up leaves in uncensored corners of the isles, is felt in the 1586 Star Chamber Decree which stipulated that:

> no printer of books, nor any other person or persons whatever shall sett up, keepe or maintain, any presse or presses, or any other instrument or instruments for imprinting of bookes, ballades, chartes, pourtraictures, or any other thing or thinges whatsoever, but onely in the cittie of London or the suburbs thereof… and that no person shall hereafter erect, sett up or maynteyne in any secret or obscure corner, or place, any such presse.[117]

The anxiety about a 'secret or obscure corner' of printing reveals an attempt to keep the topographies of printing under control. These documentations of moving paper, and moving books, reveal the human agents who are otherwise erased from the streamlined and disembodied images of paper kites and paper bullets.

At stake here is both a further-reaching and darker history, which shows that conceptualizing paper as either an imaginatively-charged metaphor or a fetishized form of materiality is inadequate. That history has to do with the causes and methods by which paper was exported and imported into the British Isles. Paper which left England in the seventeenth century both in bookish and non-bookish form had a political, religious, and imperial agenda. Arabic books printed in England were sent to Egypt, Lebanon and Turkey, some with the explicit agenda of converting Muslims to Christianity,[118] while John Ferrar (1588–1657) of the Little Gidding community embroiled his niece and daughter in a failed venture to sell two hundred copies of *Eikon Basilike* in Virginia and the Somers Islands.[119] Paper was a key

---

[116] *The London Gazette,* 7th August 1679; Issue 1432, *17th-18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers*.
[117] Cited in Wall, *The Imprint of Gender*, 343.
[118] Geoffrey Roper, 'Printed in Europe, Consumed in Ottoman Lands', in Bellingradt, Nelles and Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe*, 267–288.
[119] 'To give 8 or ten pounds of tobacka apec for them they will rather Let them alone', reported one of Ferrar's agents on his unforthcoming customers; David R. Ransome, 'Little Gidding and the *Eikon*

technology in establishing international trade: for the East India Company writing and accounting were material practices which were also forms of power and knowledge. Cheaper brown paper as well as writing paper was required to wrap and pack the goods of international trade.[120] The paper documents of the East India Company included cargo labels and stock lists, as well as 'lengthy letters sent from London to India that gave orders for goods to be supplied and instructions for the deployment of shipping. In return came not only vessels full of merchandise, but boxes of documents including replies to these letters, requested information, and copies of the accounts, letterbooks, and diaries that detailed the factories' operations'.[121] Paper is a technology which over time has enabled, or even validated, imperial rule by transcribing people, places and things into the logic of the paper-wielder. Relying on written documents to represent the world is a form of 'papereality' which is, as Bhavani Raman notes, 'in part, an empirical description of bureaucratic logic and in part, a reflection of the bureaucracy as it exists in its own view. Papereality makes invisible the artifice of writing'.[122] Raman parses what she calls 'the rule of paper' in eighteenth-century colonial South India where it had 'a subtle but devastating discretionary authority', but Raman's case study makes a broader point about how paper can be appropriated to enforce structures of power. The mobile documents of the East India Company, and their subsequent archiving (which took up miles of shelf space first in the British Museum and then the British Library) shape narratives about global exploitation. Scholars no longer read archives as spring-clear 'sources', but as sites of power formation which themselves have

Basilike of King Charles I', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 16.3 (2018), 401–414, 413; see also Mansfield Forbes, 'Nicholas Ferrar: America and Little Gidding', *Clare College, 1326–1926*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), ii, 480.

[120] Richard Hills, *Papermaking in Britain 1488–1988: A Short History* (London: Bloomsbury, 1988), 45.

[121] Ogborn, *Indian Ink,* 74.

[122] Bhavani Raman, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 2. The term 'papereality' was coined by David Dery in '"Papereality" and Learning in Bureaucratic Organisations', *Administration and Society* 29.6 (1998), 677–689.

historically perpetuated the narratives of the privileged.[123] The materiality of the archive has much to offer intellectual and political history and reveals the structures that decide who owns, categorises, and circulates paper.[124] Turning an eye to how paper travelled back and forth across early modern borders prompts us to question the one-way motion implicit in the assumption that 'scientific innovations emerged from Europe and were then disseminated to the rest of the world'.[125] While paper provides the material substrate for texts which played an active role in global encounters, the mobility of paper across webs and networks undermines a Eurocentric perspective of immovable 'centres' and 'peripheries'.

Paper was a weapon of political power in a time when printed texts, goods, and people were increasingly mobile. In 1580 Francis Drake led a circumnavigation of the globe, a feat that was repeated in 1588 by Thomas Cavendish. For those breathlessly awaiting Drake and Cavendish's return, these voyages rewrote the surface of the earth as a bound, limited, navigable space.[126] While the 'navigation' foregrounded in this thesis' title focuses on the imagined and actual journeys of reader and paper, early modern navigation plays out within a context of economic and political exploitation. 'Navigation' is rooted etymologically in the Latin *navis,* meaning ship, and its primary sense is a narrow one: 'sayling or passing by water', according to Robert Cawdry.[127] In *The Seamans Secrets* (1595) John Davis euphemistically explained that 'Navigation is the meane whereby Countries are discovered, and comunitie drawne betweene nation and nation'.[128] Davis' use of 'discovered' enforces the relationship between the mobile, active 'discoverer' and a passively waiting 'nation' – whilst at the same time idealising that relationship as constituted within a mutually beneficial

---

[123] Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
[124] Ben Kafka, 'Paperwork: The State of the Field', *Book History* 12 (2009), 340–353, 348.
[125] Anna Winterbottom, *Hybrid Knowledge in the Early East India Company World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 19.
[126] Ayesha Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 106–107.
[127] Robert Cawdry, *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604), sig. F7*v*.
[128] John Davis, *The Seamans Secrets* (1595), 'To the right honorable Lord Charles Haward'.

'community'. Specialist manuals like Davis' had an ennobling sense of navigation as 'an Arte which teacheth by true and infallible rules, howe to governe and direct a ship from one Port to another safely, rightly, and in shortest time'.[129] This thesis draws on early modern definitions of navigation in print, with an awareness of the sociological and material processes that navigation entailed. The paperscapes of this thesis will necessarily be approached and critiqued within an increasingly decolonised mode of book history, which is alert to attempts to paper over subjugated voices in the histories of its subjects and its own discipline. This thesis draws attention to how paper forms overlooked or reimagined the parameters of their own mobility and the labouring individuals and processes that enabled it: George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes* (1635) depended on printed imports from Holland; James Howell's *Londinopolis* (1657) suppresses its extra-London material beginnings; John Taylor's *The Praise of Hemp-seed* (1620) reflects on the prior life of paper which nevertheless circulates in what Taylor imagines as a topographically unrooted world.

Navigation is a precise and material form of mobility which has to do with geographical travel, and specifically with travelling ships. According to the *OED*, it took until the eighteenth century for 'navigation' to take on figurative meanings, but the rhetorical purchase of navigation as a metaphor for spiritual or intellectual journeys was apparent to sixteenth and seventeenth-century readers and writers in ways which are discussed in chapter one. I want to broaden navigation beyond the geographic definition to unravel the connections between that meaning and its uses in the history of reading. Today we sometimes use the term 'navigate' to articulate, in somewhat imprecise ways, the kinds of interactions – three dimensional, non-linear, haptic as well as cognitive – which characterise encounter with different media. Navigating is now a term of digital interfaces (we 'navigate' documents, and websites; we create 'shortcuts' in filing systems), but it also defines how we

[129] Thomas Blundeville, *Mr Blundevil his exercises* (1594), sig. Qq8*r*.

interact with the printed codex. The phrase 'navigating books' included in the title of this thesis takes into account both the mobility of books themselves – the ways in which printed texts articulate their navigation of places including the city, the library, and the globe – and the navigating *of* books by readers who engage with these locally mobile paper forms. The metaphor of reading-as-navigating is not an early modern one, but it is frequently used in scholarship concerned with the history of reading. This thesis brings precision to that metaphor of reading as navigating in ways which are also alert, as early moderns were, to the contingency of the book and the place of the reader.

Book, City, Library, Globe

Across the chapters, I parse the mobility of paper through four sites of expanding scale. All of the chapters demonstrate what it means to read paper as a mobile form and as textual substrate, and each of them attends to a different kind of mobility, imagined or undergone by the printed codex. In chapter one, George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes* (1635) provides a case study for reading paper as both the substrate of printed text and a mobile form. The emblems combine engravings from Crispijn de Passe with Wither's verse, and Wither draws on navigational metaphors – comparing the reader, or Christ, to a ship – to offer encouraging or warning models for spiritual and moral development. Those metaphors carry extra weight in the context of the *Collection* because the book contains a rotatable paper dial with which its readers are invited to navigate the emblems. The *Collection* transforms its readers into metaphorical and bibliographic navigators by means of the linguistic and material structures of the book. The paper dial offers new ways to move through the codex, and promises a pedagogical payoff of reading which lifts readers beyond the scale of the page to chart their course along a spiritual dimension. Reading paper in the *Collection* means to engage with both textual representations and interactive tools of navigation. Paper in this book is the

substrate (the bearer of text, and the cause) of at least two modes of navigation which direct readers within, and point beyond the parameters of, the printed book.

Chapters two and three move from navigation within the book to navigation by the book. Here I read imprints and shelf marks as co-ordinates which mark specific sites along the journeys of printed paper. Both chapter two (with imprints) and chapter three (with shelf marks) attend to bibliographic markers of a book's being-in-a-place. Rather than reading these marks as documents of stasis, I read them as evidence of the mobile lives of books which testify to the contingency, rather than the fixity, of reading spaces. Chapter two offers an extended close reading of the imprint of James Howell's *Londinopolis* (1657). I suggest that imprints partially document the journeys of paper as it travels around the very city which, in the case of *Londinopolis*, is also traversed through the structure of the prose. The imprint offers an alternative cartography of London: a mid-seventeenth-century foil to the historically palimpsestic text. Suggesting that imprints invite us to read in situ, the second half of this chapter follows *Londinopolis* into its bookshops, and reads it alongside texts whose (temporary) proximity compounds the affordances of paper in constructing the city. Chapter three is a reading of Samuel Pepys' library in which I attend to the hitherto neglected fact that the multiple shelf marks of his books allow us to track their movement around the shelves as the collection expanded and altered. These updated shelf marks form the backbone of an argument that libraries are places of textual mobility: of multiple, ongoing little journeys, in which we can track extracts moving between texts, paper moving between books, and books moving between shelves. That mobility resists the rhetoric of Pepys' will, and the library catalogue, which aspire towards fixity. Pepys' library, then, is not just a residue of the impressions of his agency. The affordances of paper resist or complicate intention, as the rhetoric of fixity and the reality of moving paper clash within the material frame of the library. The environments of the bookshelf and the bookshop act like extended forms of paratexts; they provide material as well as semiotic frameworks for books which

shape our reading of the texts therein. Michel Foucault's suggestion that, at the turn of the seventeenth century, 'a thing's place was no longer anything but a point in its movement' gains local critical purchase with imprints and shelf marks. Both are forms of co-ordinate which track books' movement, and testify to the mobility of the text as both a hermeneutic and physical form.[130]

In chapter four I turn towards an early modern writer who was highly attuned to the mobility of paper and its literary affordances. That writer is the waterman-turned-poet John Taylor (1578–1653) whose career consisted of writing up, printing and disseminating satirical accounts of his own travels in return for sponsorship. Taylor married the success of his own geographical wanderings to their propensity for widespread dissemination in print. This chapter focuses on Taylor's extended poem *The Praise of Hempseed* (1620) which eulogises paper with an eye to its circulation throughout society as plant stuff, rags, ropes, and paper. That network of interconnected matter culminates in the final part of the poem which describes an imaginary journey down the river Thames in a paper boat. Paper is the substrate of this printed poem about material mobility, in which it is transformed into a navigational vehicle. I pick up this cue to read *The Praise of Hemp-seed* as a reflection on the affordances of paper, which is simultaneously an imaginative piece of travel writing and a mobile material form. The dissemination of the paper boat 'in a thousand scraps' at the end of Taylor's imagined voyage, I suggest, situates his journey as a tiny segment within the extended historical and global travels of paper which the poem has just described. If there appears to be a division across the previous chapters between the imagined or cognitive forms of navigation described in the texts, and the 'real' physical mobility of paper, then *The Praise of Hempseed* breaks down that binary by depicting the mobility of paper both 'as it

[130] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Places', *Diacritics* 16.1 (1986), 22–27, 23.

happened' in the early modern rag-and-paper trade and as a journey of imaginative possibilities.

This thesis is a history of reading rather than of readers, in the sense that it is led by the texts themselves rather than individuals. The four chapters distinguish between modes of reading rather than writing; their rationale is a thematic one based on reading spaces of different scales rather than a constellation of authors or chronological spread. Samuel Pepys, probably the most well-known character of this thesis, recedes behind the affordances of his library. Those books are catalogued and moved into place by agents other than Pepys himself (including Pepys' nephew Jackson, prior readers of his books, and later librarians of Magdalene). Their actions give rise to the bookshelf topographies which generate new readings of the individual texts and of the library itself as a mobile, rather than a straightforwardly monumental, space. In chapter four it is paper, not Taylor, that takes centre stage during a voyage in which paper is, on an isolated reading, merely a vehicle or a support. Across all four chapters paper is the single sustained protagonist, as I show how it resists tropes of blankness, passivity and most crucially, stasis, by drawing attention to the spaces through which paper moves both imaginatively and in physical form.

As John Taylor could tell us, studying printed paper amounts to studying a whole range of forms, including broadsheets, pamphlets, and fragments, as well as those examples of paper which purport to disregard its textuality, sometimes called 'waste' paper. While these movements away from the codex are a useful reminder of the heterogeneity of early modern reading practices, this thesis is mainly concerned with the codex, of which paper is a defining characteristic. The word *biblos* referred to the interior of the plant used in paper-making before it came to mean 'book', and before it gave the name to the 'Bible' which marked the dominance of the codex in Christendom.[131] But paper, as it emerges more legibly

[131] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 128.

throughout this thesis, also crumbles our sense of the codex. As Lothar Müller reminds us, 'neither the printing press nor the book is an appropriate starting point for contemplating paper… the only fixed point available to us is the sheet of paper as it is scooped out to form a page'.[132] These chapters extend Müller's anti-book focus to rotatable paper dials, extractable paper instruments, printed inserts, and the dispersal of non-codexical fragments. Paper moves in and out of books: the mobility of paper (its capacity for movement) marks the mobility (the contingency) of the codex form.

This thesis has been written as the field of material literary studies increasingly includes non-paper texts: Juliet Fleming has expanded the scope of early modern writing to include graffiti, whitewashing, and tattooing, while Tiffany Stern has written on the untapped archives of textually-inscribed artefacts, such as wooden trenchers, whose future cataloguing will allow us to draw new connections in the history of reading.[133] This thesis returns to paper not to overlook the significance of non-paper textualities but to enlarge it: to suggest what is at stake in writing away from or off the page and to make that page more clearly legible. One of the payoffs of book history is to reverse the literary critic's tendency to overlook the materiality of texts. As Leah Price writes, 'if the book has been invisible (or intangible) to most twentieth-century critics, it isn't simply because we aren't trained to analyse material culture: it's also because a commonsense Cartesianism teaches us to filter out the look, the feel, the smell of the printed page'.[134] Since Price wrote those words much scholarship has been done – on typography, on binding practices, on page breaks and spacing – to bring those elements back into our line of vision.[135] This thesis builds on that work to

---

[132] Müller, *White Magic*, 70.
[133] Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts*; Tiffany Stern, 'Trencher Poetry: Non-Paper Literature, How it Means, and Why it's Lost', *English Literary Renaissance* 50.1 (2020), 153–160.
[134] Leah Price, 'Introduction: Reading Matter', in Seth Lerer and Leah Price, eds., 'The History of the Book and the Idea of Literature', special edition of *PMLA* 121.1 (2006), 9–16, 12.
[135] On typography see Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter', in Marta Straznicky, ed., *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers and Readers in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 99–126; on binding practices see Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of*

filter back *in* the printed page, whilst also pointing out how contingently the page might be behind us, in front of us, on our shelves, in our libraries and under our fingers. If we no longer overlook paper – if instead we close read paper, as this thesis demands – then we are confronted with the richness of paper's affordances which undo that binary between paper as simple, straightforward and orthodox versus other surfaces as complex, maverick, or queer. Attending to the page matters for historians of reading because it takes into account the material conditions which framed encounters with printed paper. It matters for literary critics because the mobility of paper shapes how printed texts represent the journeys of readers or books; more broadly, material mobility grounds the contingency of interpretation in historical reality. For Miles Ogborn and Charles Wither, both writing and researching within geography faculties, the pay-off of book history is in locating texts with topographic specificity in their material environment: 'All these considerations of materiality ground the history of books in the stuff of the world'.[136] Attending to the relationship between books and their environment is least productive when it means to 'ground' in the sense of anchor, settle, or fix. On the contrary, this thesis seeks to un-ground, to un-root, to unfix the printed text by attending to the imagined and actual forms of mobility that are enabled by its paper form.

Renaissance Literature (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); on page breaks see Coleman Hutchinson, 'Breaking the Book Known as Q', *PLMA* 121.1, (2006), 33-66, and Craig Farrell, 'The Poetics of Page-Turning: The Interactive Surfaces of Early Modern Printed Poetry', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017); on spacing see Juliet Fleming, 'Changed Opinions as to Flowers', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 48–65.

[136] Charles Withers and Miles Ogborn, eds., *Geographies of the Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 12.

I

Volvelles: Navigating the Book

The first paperscape this thesis will discuss takes the form of George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). The *Collection* was printed by Augustine Matthews and entered in the Stationers' Register under Robert Allott, Henry Taunton, Richard Royston, John Grismond and Robert Milbourn on 10th March 1634.[1] The *Collection*'s perhaps most striking aspect is its final recto page, on which are fixed two volvelles – or revolving paper dials – one above the other. If we are prone to speak uncritically of paper 'surfaces', then the extant copies of this page of the *Collection* show a multi-layered, multi-dimensional paperscape constructed not only from the wrinkles and troughs of paper but of ink, paste, wax, and string. These volvelles enrich our sense of the page as, instead of uniform, blank, or smooth, rather a haptically engaging site with material and intellectual depth. The purpose of these volvelles is explained in printed text on the facing page: 'Turne about one of the *Indexes* in the Figures which are in the following Page', the verso tells us:

> without casting your eyes thereupon, to observe where it stayeth until your hand ceaseth to give it motion. If it be the upper *Figure*, whose *Index* you moved, then that *Number* whereupon it resteth, is the number of your *Lot*, or Blancke.[2]

The *Collection* consists of four 'books' of fifty emblems: each emblem combines a couplet with an image and a thirty-line verse. The upper of the two paper 'Figures' or dials has fifty possible landing points; it tells the reader to which number emblem they should attend. The lower dial, which hovers above a square divided into four, directs the reader to one of the four books. This paper tool allows the reader to navigate the *Collection* and so in some ways it works, as I shall discuss, like the textual signposts of indexes and contents pages. Yet unlike those features the

---

[1] Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640*, 5 vols (London: 1894), iv, 288.
[2] George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635), sig. Oo3*v*.

dials demand a particularly kinaesthetic mode of reading, in which mobile paper forms direct a path through the preceding pages.



Figure 3 George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Bodleian Library, Mason E 105.

Rotatable paper dials in printed books have been in use since at least the fifteenth century, ranging in form from Jacobus Publicius' *Artes Orandi, epistolandi, memorandi* (1482) which used manipulable tools to aid the reader's memory, to seventeenth-century instrument books which teach navigation in the mathematical and geographical sense.[3] But deploying a volvelle to navigate the book, as *A Collection of Emblemes* does, is strikingly uncommon. This

[3] Suzanne Karr Schmidt, '"Constructions Both Sacred and Profane": Serpents, Angels and Pointing Fingers in Renaissance Books with Moving Parts', *Yale University Gazette* 78.3–4 (2004), 101–127.

chapter argues that the physical form of the *Collection*, which comes with a paper 'index', provides a hitherto overlooked landmark in the history of reading. The volvelles facilitate movement across or through the pages: they enable a mode of reading along an axis which locates specific emblems throughout the book. The directions that instruct the reader how to use the volvelles are printed on paper, the same material of which the dials are made. The volvelles put the technologies of paper to use both as a textual substrate and as a haptic, mobile form.

These volvelles offer a quirky and unusual encounter in the archives, but this book and its paper technologies did not arise in a cultural vacuum. George Wither, a non-conformist writer who was imprisoned at various points throughout his lifetime for his wavering Royalist views, was familiar with the technologies of making printed books.[4] In 1628, he printed *Britain's Remembrancer containing A Narration of the Plague lately past; A Declaration of the Mischief present; And a Prediction of Judgements to come (if Repentance prevent not).* By choice Wither was an author, not a printer, but as he explained in the preface, 'I was faine to imprint every sheet thereof with my owne hand, because I could not get allowance to doe it publikely'.[5] That 'allowance' refers to a Star Chamber decree, in place from 1585 and updated in 1637, which required all printed books to be officially approved by the bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury.[6] It is unlikely that such micro-management of the book trade actually took place, but the decree was deployed to put the brakes on controversial texts like the *Remembrancer*. Wither unravels a spool of reasons for why the authorities might have taken umbrage against the *Remembrancer*: he 'inserted some lighter expressions, than seeme at first view to become the gravity of the subject'; it includes 'so many Lines concerning my owne

[4] David Norbrook, 'Levelling Poetry: George Wither and the English Revolution 1642–1649', *English Literary Renaissance* 21.2 (1991), 217–256, 253.
[5] George Wither, *Britains Remembrancer* (1628), sig. B3*v*.
[6] Peter Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in John Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 383–422, 396–397; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 67–71.

thoughts and resolutions'; the text arguably makes presumptuous claims about Wither's 'authority'; it involves 'impersonating God'; the poem might 'seeme too large, or the particulars to be tediously insisted on'.[7] In fact, Wither was already a controversial figure whose inflammatory statements verged on the treasonous. His 1611 satire *Abuses Stript and Whipt* had him imprisoned, as did *Withers Motto* (1621) for looking doubtingly upon the proposed marriage between the King's son, Prince Charles, and the Infanta of Spain.[8] When it came to *Britains Remembrancer,* printers were wary of handling a text that sidles flatteringly up to Charles I ('The world had not his peere/In all those vertues') only to lament the King's perceived fall from grace ('what pitty 'twere/His minde should ever fall below that *spheare/*
Of *Grace* which he hath climb'd') and offer presumptuous prayers for the monarch's salvation: 'Forgive, and perfect him, that he may grow/To be in deed, what he appeares in show'.[9] Wither's position in the minority camp made him into a certain kind of writer – he excused the thumping repetitions of *Tuba-Pacifica* (1664), which argued bluntly against the Anglo-Dutch war, on the grounds that he was trying to get his point through to a country who had fallen into a 'Trance' – but it also forced him to become involved in making his own books.[10] Wither thus stands as a counterexample to the commonplace of book history, originating with Roger Stoddard, that 'authors do not write books'.[11] Authors, says Stoddard, write *texts*. Books – as material objects with a set of formal characteristics brought about by a series of technological processes – are made by printers, binders, paper-makers, type-setters, and engravers, among

[7] Wither, *Remembrancer*, sigs. B2*v*–B3*r*.
[8] Jocelyn Creigh, 'George Wither and the Stationers: Facts and Fiction', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 74.1 (1980), 49–57.
[9] Wither, *Remembrancer,* sig. C3*v*. John Taylor registers the contemporary sense of Wither's untrustworthiness, calling him 'great George thus altered, thus all-turd'; *Aqua-Musae* (1645), 2.
[10] Wither, *Tuba-Pacifica* (1664), sig. A4*v*, D3*r*.
[11] Roger Stoddard, 'Morphology and the Book from an American Perspective', *Printing History* 9.1 (1987), 2–14, 4.

others. George Wither was an author who also made books, and who broke down the distinction between author and bookmaker.[12]

Wither's less-than-peaceful interactions with the book trade began five years before printing *Britains Remembrancer*, when he clashed with the Stationers' Company after being awarded a patent for his *Hymes and Songs of the Church* (1623). The patent granted Wither and his heirs what we would call authorial copyright (although that word did not emerge until the eighteenth-century) for the next fifty-one years. Wither's miniature monopoly in the book trade was fairly unusual, although John Norden, Arthur Golding, and Thomas Middleton were among a scattering of authors who acquired monopolies for their work.[13] Wither's patent insisted that all copies of the Psalter were to be bound with Wither's voluminous *Hymnes and Songs*. The stationers were outraged. This would mean unstitching and rebinding all unsold Psalters currently lying on book stalls or in printing houses, causing particular difficulties for small-format books which had to double or triple in size to incorporate Wither's text. The 1623 octavo edition would gain in bulk (and expense) by 112 additional leaves, and probably lose custom as a result.[14] In protest the Stationers raided the print shop belonging to George Wood, who was in the doubly culpable position of being both a Puritan and the printer of *Hymnes and Songes*.[15] Wither rescued the two sheets already printed by Wood, and had the remaining seven printed elsewhere.[16] Authorship, here, extended to whisking away pre-codexical sheets in order to salvage the existence of a book. In many ways, the patent disrupted what authorship was. Wither's patent afforded him rights usually distributed among members of the book trade: to

[12] John Streater and Ben Jonson, discussed in chapters two and four, also straddled this divide. Other authors who lived and worked in early modern print shops include William Baldwin (fl. 1545–1561), Thomas Nashe (b.1575–c.1601) and Henry Chettle (d. 1603x7); Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 101–102.
[13] Joseph Loewenstein, 'Wither and Professional Work', in Arthur Moretti and Michael Bristol, eds., *Print, Manuscript and Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 103–123, 107.
[14] Norman E. Carlson, 'Wither and the Stationers', *Studies in Bibliography* 19 (1966), 210–215, 211.
[15] Creigh, 'George Wither and the Stationers', 55.
[16] Carlson, 'Wither and the Stationers', 213.

grant a patent to an author was to intervene in the structures by which stationers regulated their own competitive practices. As Jocelyn Creigh notes, the battle for freedom of thought has its origins 'in a fight against the monopoly of an important commodity – printed paper'.[17] As well as being a watershed moment in the history of copyright, for Wither the patent underlined the importance of his book as a commodified object. It gave him an invested insight into the logistics and economics of circulation usually confined to stationers.

Wither was not the only writer of an emblem book with a sense of the book trade. Thomas Jenner, an independent minister born a generation after Wither around 1606, also combined political activism with writing an emblem book and knowledge of the stationers. Jenner owned a printing shop on Cornhill in London, and published illustrated political pamphlets including *A Copy of the Letter from his Excellency to the Lord Generall Cromwell* (1656), as well as his own emblem book: *The Soules Solace, or Thirtie and one spritiual emblems* (1626). Like Wither, Jenner knew more about printing and about the possibilities and limits of paper than is usually suggested by the label of 'author'. However the paper dial of the *Collection* is unique among emblem books. Wither's work stands out for this reason among the flurry of emblem books in English printed at the turn of the seventeenth century, which began in 1586 with George Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes and other devices*, included Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (1612), and culminated in Francis Quarles' highly popular *Emblems* (1635), reprinted for the final time in 1777. If Wither's *Collection*, because of its paper dials, shifts our focus more than these other emblem books onto its material form, then that focus is at odds with Wither's own resistance to fetishizing the materiality of texts. In *The Schollers Purgatory* (1624), which Joseph Loewenstein reads as 'the great historiograph[y] of… that important aspect of authorship that was constituted specifically as a trade function',[18] Wither describes the various roles in which one would deserve the title 'Honest Stationer'. Given Wither's own

[17] Creigh, 'George Wither and the Stationers', 57.
[18] Loewenstein, 'Wither and Professional Work', 105.

run-ins with stationers *The Schollers Purgatory* is hardly an objective account of the trade, but it provides evidence of his close entanglement with the infrastructures and individuals who dealt in printed books.[19] After explaining the responsibilities of the 'Printer' and 'Booke-bynder', Wither adds that an honest 'seller of Bookes… is no meere Bookeseller (that is) one who selleth meerely ynck & paper bundled up together for his owne advantage only, but he is the Chapman of Arts, of wisdome, & of much experience'.[20] Wither registers an unease with seeing books as 'meerely ynck & paper': an unease which extends to today's dialogues between, on the one hand, bibliographers who express disinterest in the literary effects of text, and on the other, literary scholars who view ink and paper as the boggy counterpoint to flights of poetic imagination.

Just as those dialogues are starting to open up – and this thesis takes part in some of them – Wither's remark urges the need to keep in mind what paper does and does not signify, and the changing, inter-dependant relationship between those paper bundles and the semiotics of their texts. The text of the *Collection* foregrounds its material form in at least two ways: firstly in advocating the use of the paper tool to navigate through the text, and secondly (as I shall discuss in more detail later) in alerting us to Wither's difficulties in collating his materials which travelled overseas from Holland. Irritably awaiting the arrival of the engravings for the emblems and then cutting them down to size, Wither embroils himself in the construction of his never-quite-static paperscape. These moments alert us to the mobility of the book on two scales: to the malleable fragments of the volvelles which rotate above the printed page, and to the international travel of printed emblems across the seas. When we pay attention to the mobility of paper within the *Collection*, there arises a disconnect between the specific, faulty, and sometimes exasperating material experiences of making and reading the book, and the ways that the language of the emblems – those two line couplets and thirty lines of verse – imagine or construct idealised metaphorical forms of navigation.

---

[19] Creigh, 'George Wither and the Stationers', 55–56.
[20] George Wither, *The Schollers Purgatory* (1624), sig. H3*v*.

If the paper dial makes explicit the reader's role in navigating the book, then it replicates in physical form a recurring trope of Wither's language. Seven of the emblems portray the reader as a spiritual navigator in that specific sense which has to do with sailing; a further eight imagine journeys either unspecified or on foot.[21] The journeys imagined in these emblems take place across unnamed 'Seas' or 'Storms' or 'this Worlds wide Ocean': the destination is not a cartographic place so much as the achievement of salvation. The paper tools by which the reader is invited to encounter the emblems compound those textual images of navigation, by injecting a new possibility of relations between the actual and the imaginary. Emblem 1.37 offers spiritual advice to its reader in the metaphorical language of navigation: '*He, that his* Course *directly Steeres, nor* Stormes *nor* Windy-Censures *feares*'. Beneath the motto is an image of a boat weathering the storm of life, and below that is a thirty-line verse which teases out the image of the spiritual pilgrim reliant on his own internalised moral compass. Navigational images – textual and visual – occur across the *Collection*. Emblem 1.13 ('*To him a happy* Lot *befalls*/*That hath a* Ship *and* prosp'rous Gales') depicts a boatman at sea, and encourages the reader to make use of their own 'Sailes and Oares' as well as trust in God. Other emblems imagine their reader choosing between two paths (1.22, 3.26), trusting providence to save them from shipwreck (4.13), and as a slow and steady traveller (1.19, 3.19, 3.39). Navigation is sometimes at the heart of the emblem – as those illustrated by a boat (1.13, 1.37, 4.13) – whereas 4.28 slips in textual references to 'cabin', 'tackling' and 'fraile vessel' towards the end. The motto of emblem 4.35 – '*they passe through many* stormes, *and* streights/*Who rise to any glorious* heights' – promises nautical imagery, only to focus on a tree that withstands both the hardships of winter and a pruning knife before finally comparing the tree's difficulties to man's own 'tempests' and 'streights'. The form of the *Collection* transforms the reader into a metaphorical navigator, as well as a literal one. To successfully navigate paperscapes in the

[21] The seven with maritime references are 1.10, 1.13, 1.37, 2.10, 4.13, 4.28, 4.35; those with unspecified journeys are 1.19, 1.22, 2.45, 3.9, 3.19, 3.26, 3.39, 4.50.

Collection is to go beyond the axes of paper and earthly topographies, and 'to God your course commit'. If paper dials operate on a vertical axis (they work when two surfaces align) and a horizontal one (they enable a mode of reading through or across the book from the volvelles), then the language of emblems operates in a third dimension beyond the parameters of the page.

The *Collection* mobilises paper as both a textual substrate, and a mobile form which lends itself to readerly navigation. This chapter treats navigation as both a material form of mobility which plays out on the pages of the book and the wider world, *and* of navigation in its imaginative or cognitive forms. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson propose that orientational metaphors give shape to our experience of reality rather than transparently describing our experience of a prior, external world.[22] Where they focus on simple orientations (up, front, higher) as a way of making sense of the world, in this chapter I show that readers 'navigate' in multiple dimensions to configure the language and forms of early modern books. Wither's *Collection* is unusual in its particular configuration of paper and text, but it foregrounds the literary and metaphorical affordances of paper which shape early modern conceptions of the book. I read the *Collection* to consider the relationship between textual metaphors of navigation (its spiritual 'tenor' and its geographic 'vehicle') and the actual vehicle – that is, the material substrate – of that text.[23] Rethinking that relationship alters our reading, as literary scholars, of the *Collection*; more broadly it provides a case study of what happens when we look at, rather than through, the paper on which texts were printed.

Navigating Metaphors

Reading the literary affordances of paper still means taking into account the language rendered legible by that paper; it just means doing so with an attention to the relationship between that

[22] George Lakoff, and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
[23] I import these now widely-used terms from I.A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 96.

language and its material form. I want to begin by close reading the navigational metaphors of Wither's *Collection* as they both perform and resist the kinds of navigation enacted by the paper dials. The text of emblem 4.23 is particularly alert to the slipperiness of its own meaning. The thirty-line verse begins by announcing the ambiguity of its metaphorical image: 'what thing soever some will have exprest,/As typified by this *Halcyons-nest*…'.[24] The halcyon is a bird of classical mythology, usually identified as a kingfisher, who theoretically controlled the wind and waves. In *The Jew of Malta*, Barabas muses 'but now how stands the wind?/Into what corner peers my Halcyon's bill?'.[25] *The Jew of Malta* was printed posthumously in 1633, just two years before the *Collection*. In the play's very first speech the calm wind and waves promises the safe travels of Barabas' mercantile ships. In the *Collection*, fair weather is supposed to prompt the reader to think on less earthly concerns. Emblem 4.23 continues: 'I shall not think this *Emblem* ill-applied/If, by the same, the *Church* bee signified'. The lines point out the open-endedness of metaphor: the vehicle is the halcyon, but the tenor – while aspiring to signify the Church – is self-consciously unfixed. It takes the entire page for the image to be read in the light in which it is intended. The emblem requires the reader to connect the halcyon's ability to calm the sea, to the waves' inclination to 'roule/as if they meant to swallow up my soule', to the weakness of the speaker's own 'Cable' and 'tackling', to the desire for safety upon the rock of the Christian church. Wither complains in his preface about the limiting parameters of the emblem which, in the *Collection*, consists of one image, one couplet and precisely thirty lines of verse. He was 'constrained to conclude, when my best *Meditations* were but new begunne: which (though it hath pleased Some, by the more comely Uniformitie, in the Pages), yet, it hath much injured the libertie of my *Muse*'.[26] But here the edges of the page bring cohesion to a metaphor which begins by announcing its unsettled semiotics.

---

[24] Wither, *Collection*, sig. Ii2*v*.
[25] Christopher Marlowe, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. Tucker Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), I.i.74–75.
[26] Wither, *Collection*, sig. A2*r*.

The halcyon makes a single appearance in the *Collection*, but the emblem segues into the familiar image of a Christian sailor who pleads for wave-soothing interventions from above. This emblem arrives at one of many navigational metaphors which occur across the book. Navigational metaphors enact the role of metaphor itself, which comes from the Greek *μεταφορά*: to carry across. We use metaphor to transfer elements of the vehicle into the tenor: 'vehicle' is a helpful term for the thing which renders certain attributes mobile.[27] Metaphor, that is, has mobility inbuilt into its function. Emblem 1.13 offers a sustained example of a navigational metaphor because it takes navigating – in the sense of directing a vessel – as its vehicle. The motto reads 'To him a happy *Lot* befalls/That hath a *Ship* and prosp'rous *Gales*'.[28] The ship and prosperous gales represent financial or social advantages, or a healthful disposition. Owners of such advantages, according to this motto, will chart a 'happy' course through life. Emblem 1.13 uses the attributes of ships and gales (they are external to us, they assert agency over us) to signify other things with those attributes. Broadly, what I am referring to as navigational metaphors take vehicles (boats) as their vehicles (rhetorical term). They deploy mobility twice over as a way of associative thinking, and illustrate the mechanics of a metaphor by means of their very vehicle.

Navigational metaphors are frequently used in the seventeenth century to gloss scripture. Bishop of Gloucester William Nicholson identified this in 1661, writing 'The Church is often compared unto a ship, in which Christ is the Pilot, the Cross the Mast, the Gospel the sayles, Saints the passengers, the Apostles and their Successors tugg at the Oare and Ropes, and the holy Ghost the wind that drives it on'.[29] Emblem books play variations on this rhetorical theme. Thomas Jenner's *The Soules Solace* makes the Christian rather than Christ into a pilot. The reader is likened to a 'Marriner' who, 'when Beacons he perceives/Or Boyes before him,

[27] Alternatively, tenors are carried over, or transformed, *into* the vehicle; see Dennis Donoghue, *Metaphor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 32.
[28] Wither, *Collection,* sig. C3*r*.
[29] William Nicholson, *Ekthesis pisteos, or, An exposition of the Apostles Creed* (1661), sig. Eee2*v*.

warily them leaves'.[30] Jenner's emblem reflects on how to read scripture, and specifically what to do with the models it provides: 'Gods children[s] falls, and errings, scripture shewes/not to be followed, but foregone with heed'.[31] This sailor depicted in the image and text should navigate around the 'Beacons' and 'Boyes' (the vehicles representing sins and temptations) of the sea. But the emblem acknowledges other role models besides the successful mariner/Christian: 'May be thoult thinke, why may not I, as they/So sinne, and live?' The metaphor works by reframing temptation as obstacle: sins, like beacons, might lure the mariner to apparent safety but are more correctly to be read as warnings. I.A. Richards divides metaphors broadly into those that find resemblance between tenor and vehicle, and those that locate resemblance in our attitude towards the two.[32] This emblem in *The Soules Solace* does both. In pointing out how beacons both warn and lure, the metaphor suggests their resemblance with earthly temptations. The emblem attempts to shift the reader's attitude towards the tenor and bring it in line with the wise sailor's wariness towards this vehicle. Metaphors more broadly carry traction in early modern theological teaching. As the poet and preacher John Donne points out: 'How often, how much more often doth thy *Sonne* call himselfe a *way*, and a *light*, and a *gate*, and a *Vine*, and *bread*, than the *Sonne of God*, or of *Man?* How much oftner doth he exhibit a *Metaphoricall Christ* than a *reall*, a *literall?*'[33] Navigational metaphors, which bring together a vehicle as well as a tenor in motion, prove effective in mapping the journey of a Christian towards an ultimately incomprehensible God.

One of the most successful early modern emblematists used navigational metaphors directly drawn from scripture. In Francis Quarles' *Emblemes* (1635), one emblem launches from Psalm 69 ('let not the water flood drown me, neither let the deep swallow me up: and let not the pit shut her mouth upon me') to imagine the world as 'a Sea, my flesh, a ship… steer'd by

[30] Thomas Jenner, *The Soules Solace* (1626), sig. B6*v*.
[31] Jenner, *The Soules Solace* (1626), sig. B6*v*. 'Gods children falls' is corrected to 'Gods childrens falls' in the 1631 edition.
[32] Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 118.
[33] John Donne, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624), sig. Y3*r*.

Reason's hand'.[34] The speaker of the emblem makes repeated appeals to God to help them navigate to safety:

> Lord still the seas, and shield my ship from harm
> Instruct my Saylours; guide my Steermans Arme;
> Touch thou my Compass, and renew my Sailes;
> Send stiffer Courage, or send milder gales;
> Make strong my Cable; bind my Anchor faster
> Direct my pilot, and be thou his Master.[35]

The urgency of those imperatives, which accumulate vehicles without ever clarifying their tenor, almost topples this extended metaphor into literal waters. The further we read beyond the opening line's metaphorical vehicles of sea and ship, the more the poem's figurative meaning vanishes behind the vibrant and sustained imagery of a wave-smashing, sail-rending voyage. As in the *Collection*, these pages are substrates for printed text whose language transforms the reader into a navigator of maritime environments, carried beyond the limits of the page or of a fixed theological framework.

The rhetoric of Quarles' emblem book overlaps with the *Collection*, but its material differences demonstrate the range of what an emblem, and an emblem book, can be. Quarles' *Emblems* are divided into five books, all containing fifteen emblems. Each of these constitute a biblical verse with extended poems of approximately (but not exactly) fifty lines, usually in either pairs or groups of three rhyming lines. Like the *Collection*, Quarles' *Emblemes* has relatively extensive inscriptions which resist generic limits.[36] The emblem has a tendency to run out from underneath any overarching definition, although Alastair Fowler provides a helpful starting point in describing emblems as 'ideas, extracted from classical literature, the Bible, or the Fathers… designed to be reinserted in the modern setting, enhancing, ennobling,

[34] Francis Quarles, *Emblemes* (1635), sig. M*r*.
[35] Quarles, *Emblems*, sig. M*v*.
[36] Hester Pulter's emblems, however, are even longer; R. Dunn, 'Breaking a Tradition: Hester Pulter and the English Emblem Book', *Seventeenth Century* 30.1 (2015), 55–73.

reforming'.[37] In a printed book, that new 'setting' is the mise-en-page, which affects what an emblem is, how it signifies, and how it is read. The 1626 edition of *The Soules Solace* is an octavo, folded in such a way that the pages read in landscape rather than portrait.[38] The emblems are spread across multiple pages, losing the formal cohesion of Wither's *Collection* which uses its page's edges as a semiotic frame. In the voyage emblem of *The Soules Solace*, the illustration of the boat takes up an entire recto, emphasising the vehicle of the navigational metaphor. The pages of a book offer their own formal restrictions. The layout of *The Soules Solace* renders image and text equal to one another, balanced across verso and recto, rather than the vertical spooling out that occurs down the length of each page of the *Collection*.[39] Fowler's observation that emblems operate by reinserting, or reframing, lurks in the etymology of the Latin *emblemata* meaning inlaid work or applique: *Paradise Lost* describes 'the ground, more colourd then with stone/Of costliest Emblem'.[40] If ideas from classical literature or the Bible are reworked into emblems, then each emblem book offers a different setting for those didactic gems.

Navigational metaphors work differently across emblem books because of linguistic context as well as material format. Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* (1612) includes another emblem illustrated by a boat which provides an aspirational model for its reader quite unlike the fortune-tossed vessel of the *Collection*'s 1.13. Peacham's emblem uses a simile rather than a metaphor and the boat in question (specifically, 'the Dread-nought Argo') is held up as an example, rather than an embodiment of the doubting self. The Argo illustrates determination in the pursuit of a goal: it 'cuts the foaming surge/Through dangers great, to get the golden prize'.[41] Unlike Quarles' sailor who asks for deliverance from God, or Wither's invocation in

---

[37] Alastair Fowler, 'Emblem as a Literary Genre', in Michael Bath and Daniel Russell, eds., *Deviceful Settings: The English Renaissance Emblem and its Contexts* (New York: AMS, 1999), 1–31, 10.
[38] STC 14494.
[39] Jenner, *The Soules Solace*, sig. B7*r*.
[40] John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Helen Darbishire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). IV.702–703.
[41] Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* (1612), sig. I3*r*.

emblem 1.13 of a voyage determined both by internal qualities and providence, Peacham's emblem uses the Argo to advocate that its reader 'avoid ignoble Cowardice' and 'endure…. Labour'.[42] Just as voyages vary in their distance, speed, and destination, the voyage as metaphorical vehicle alters its semiotic course throughout these emblem books towards an array of different readings.

That open-endedness between tenor and vehicle mirrors the unfixed relationship between spiritual and geographical (or 'metaphorical' and 'real') forms of navigation. Emblem 1.13 oscillates between a specific instance of marine travel, and navigation along a biographical axis: to travel from 'this Worlds wide ocean' into the 'wished Harbour' is to describe the chronological experience of living. For some readers and printers, navigating was more than an abstract endeavour. Many engravings emerged from Holland at the same time as those of the *Collection* which were directly inspired by the return of Dutch fleets.[43] One engraver, Cornelis le Blon, collected more than 170 travel narratives of Dutch voyages, 'undoubtedly to provide inspiration for exotic scenes'.[44] Wither himself was aware of the very real prosperity that voyages could bring. In 1664, he wrote against the prospect of an Anglo-Dutch war, citing the benefits of international trade: 'Your ships are numberless, your Merchants more/And richer, then the Tirians heretofore./Your *Ware-houses* are stor'd by your Commerce/With all things precious through the *Universe*'.[45] *Tuba-Pacifica* suggests that war will end up enslaving both parties, and draws on the example of the Roman empire 'Orewhelm'd and destroyed by your own strength'.[46] Despite illustrating contemporary international relations through the lens of another city and another millennium, *Tuba-Pacifica* shows Wither to be well-attuned to his

[42] Peacham, *Minerva*, sig. I3*r*.
[43] Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 91.
[44] Pettegree and der Weduwen, *Bookshop of the World*, 96.
[45] Wither, *Tuba-pacifica* (1664), sig. B2*r*.
[46] Wither, *Tuba-pacifica*, sig. C3*r*.

country's place within a set of global geo-political coordinates.[47] This real-life knowledge may have fed into Wither's choice of imagistic language: Philip Edwards suggests that a preoccupation with 'the ethics of voyaging' played a large part in the ubiquity of the metaphorical voyage between the 1590s and 1660s.[48] Wither's foreign policy towards the end of his life is a long way from his earlier light-hearted emblems, but the language of the *Collection* taps into the potential material advantages of voyaging, and maps them onto less earthly rewards. We might also think of Britomart in the *Faerie Queene*: a poem in which physical space is a 'moral testing ground' which divides the successful from the failed navigators.[49] Edmund Spenser was himself embroiled in colonial rule in Ireland, where borders and the delineation of space carried extra political charge. Britomart travels 'Withouten compass, or withouten card/Far from my native soil' and succeeds because she was motivated by 'honour and for high regard/Without respect of richesse or reward'.[50] Again, topographical landscapes are mapped onto moralised or cognitive ones where north and south are substituted to conceptualise right and wrong.

The *Collection* hopes to transform its reader into a Britomart, with their own inbuilt moral compass. This payoff is promised time and time again: 'That *Instruction*, and *Good Counsell*, may bee furthered by an Honest and Pleasant *Recreation*' (on the title page); to 'dissuade from Vice, or to incourage men to Vertue', to 'stirre up the *Affections*, winne *Attention*, or helpe the *Memory*', and to remind readers 'of their Dangers, and Duties' (in the preface to the reader).[51] The *Collection* hopes to teach its readers to navigate the moral world, and the book makes this explicit from the very beginning. The frontispiece depicts a pilgrimage presided over

---

[47] Stephen Bardle, *The Literary Underground in the 1660s: Andrew Marvell, George Wither, Ralph Wallis and the World of Restoration Satire and Pamphleteering* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 80.
[48] Philip Edwards, *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage, Spenser to Milton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), 205.
[49] Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 70, 167.
[50] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2013). 3.II.vii, ll. 2–8.
[51] Wither, *Collection*, fol. 3, sig. A*r*, sig. A2*r*.

by Virtue and Fortune, who is identified by her billowing cloak. The pilgrims draw 'lots' from the bowl in front of Fortune and then progress to one of two paths: a broad and tree-lined avenue to the right or the steep and rocky mountain path to the left. As each path ascends up the page we can see (although the pilgrims cannot) that the apparently easy route becomes treacherous, whilst the rocky mountain flattens out into rolling meadows. The frontispiece offers the reader the choice, reiterated in emblem 3.26, between virtue's 'newly ploughed, and deep-furrow'd Ground' which 'uneasie seemth', and the temptations of 'Pleasure's pallaces' on which 'many rubs, and perills… betweene/Our *Hopes* and *Us* will lurke unseen'.[52] One intended outcome of reading the *Collection*, amidst entertainment and recreation, is to help readers choose wisely at such forks in the road. Representing moral decisions as a choice of two routes, in which the easy way is never the 'right' way (in either sense), echoes Matthew 7:14: 'Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it'. 'Strait' here means confined, or restricted (the later saying 'straight and narrow' often misconstrues its origin).[53] Emblem 3.26 picks up on that association between strait/straight paths and morality. The left-hand path 'though seeming straight, it lyes', slips between 'lie' as both deceptive and topographical. That association – between the geometrically and the morally straight – is legible in the English recusant Benet Canfield's *The Rule of Perfection*, which explains that:

> as the materiall rule is the thing wherby to draw a line straight… so the *will of God* is that wherby wee may draw only the course of our life, and the intention of our works, words, or thoughts, and whereby wee may knowe whether they bee straight by right intention, or crooked by any blind affection.[54]

Reading Canfield, Jason Scott-Warren notes that references to 'the rule of righteousness' or 'the rule of reason' in the period are 'by no means dead metaphors, but are imagined as physical

---

[52] Wither, *Collection*, sig. Z*v*.
[53] As in, 'Teach Thy lamb Thy voice to hear; Suffer not my steps to stray From the straight and narrow way', J.E. Leeson, *Hymns and Scenes of Childhood; or, A Sponsor's Gift* (1842), 25.
[54] Benet Canfield, *The Rule of Perfection* (Roan, 1609), sig. C*r*.

rules'.[55] While straight lines signify moral orientation along a geometric axis, boats, compasses and pilgrims embody spiritual navigation in multiple dimensions. Together, the text and images of the *Collection* provide a gateway into a world other than the reader's own, whose geographical co-ordinates are plotted onto their own spiritual and moral journeys. The engraving transforms that choice of paths into a paperscape which is both more substantial than its substrate (mountains and rocks instead of plant-and-water pulp), and more fragile: reading the frontispiece as an artificial landscape requires a suspension of disbelief which reading paper *qua* paper does not. The imagined landscape of the frontispiece enacts its own navigational metaphor, in which the dimensions of the page are the vehicle which conveys a set of spiritually-charged directions. This scene of Fortune – whose meaning is built on navigation yet whose actual 'location' is neither real nor significant – reveals both the kinds of imagined spaces which are possible within the parameters of the page, and the relationship between spiritual and earthly topographies borne out on paper in the pages of the *Collection*.

[55] Jason Scott-Warren, *Shakespeare's First Reader: The Paper Trails of Richard Stonley* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 69.



Figure 4 Frontispiece to *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Magdalen College, Oxford. (Wither-G. (COL) (fol.).

Interlude: To Holland and Back

The paperscape of the *Collection* brings its own depths and limits. The verses and engravings of the book are material forms which are shaped by the dimensions, absorbency, age and quality of their paper substrates: the emblems are not distilled intellectual nuggets which fall from the sky. The resetting or 'reworking' of navigational metaphors which takes place in the emblems is as much a physical, even artisanal endeavour as it is the cerebral altering of literary or artistic

forms. Like all 'rare books', the *Collection* arrives on the twenty-first century desk via a particular set of material processes (in this case the engraving, printing, and binding of paper), as well as the exchange of money between hands. The *Collection* has a particularly mobile production history in that it reworks two hundred copperplate engravings originally made in Holland which travelled overseas to London in order for the book to be made. So far I have shown how the paper of the *Collection*, via those visual and textual forms to which it plays substrate, constructs landscapes which are both imaginary and topographically non-specific. Yet, at the same time, its sheets bear witness to the benefits and struggles of their own very real journey from Amsterdam to London.

The copperplate engravings were the work of the Dutch engraver Crispijn de Passe (1564–1637), and they were originally used in two emblem books printed about twenty years before the *Collection*: *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum* (1611) and *Selectorum emblematum centuria secunda* (1613). The engravings appeared with short Latin mottos provided by the German writer Gabriel Rollenhagen (1583–1619). Placing the *Collection* alongside its predecessors allows us to toggle between two emblems which use the same copperplate illustration. Emblem 1.37 in the *Collection* uses the same image as that on folio thirty-seven in *Nucleus emblematum selectissimorum.* Wither captions the boat '*He*, *that his* Course, *directly steers/Nor* Stormes *nor* Windy-Censures *feares*' but in *Nucleus* the motto is *Dum Clavum Rectum Teneam nauvmgi gubernē/Vni committam, coetera cuncta, Deo* (if I the helmsman hold this rudder true, I may be reunited with God). In both books the engraving is encircled by the beginning of the Latin motto: *Dum Clavum Rectum Teneam*. But whereas in Rollenhagen's *Nucleus* the textual frame iterates the motto beneath, in the *Collection* the additional English text demands another form of literacy, and offers another means of interpreting the page.

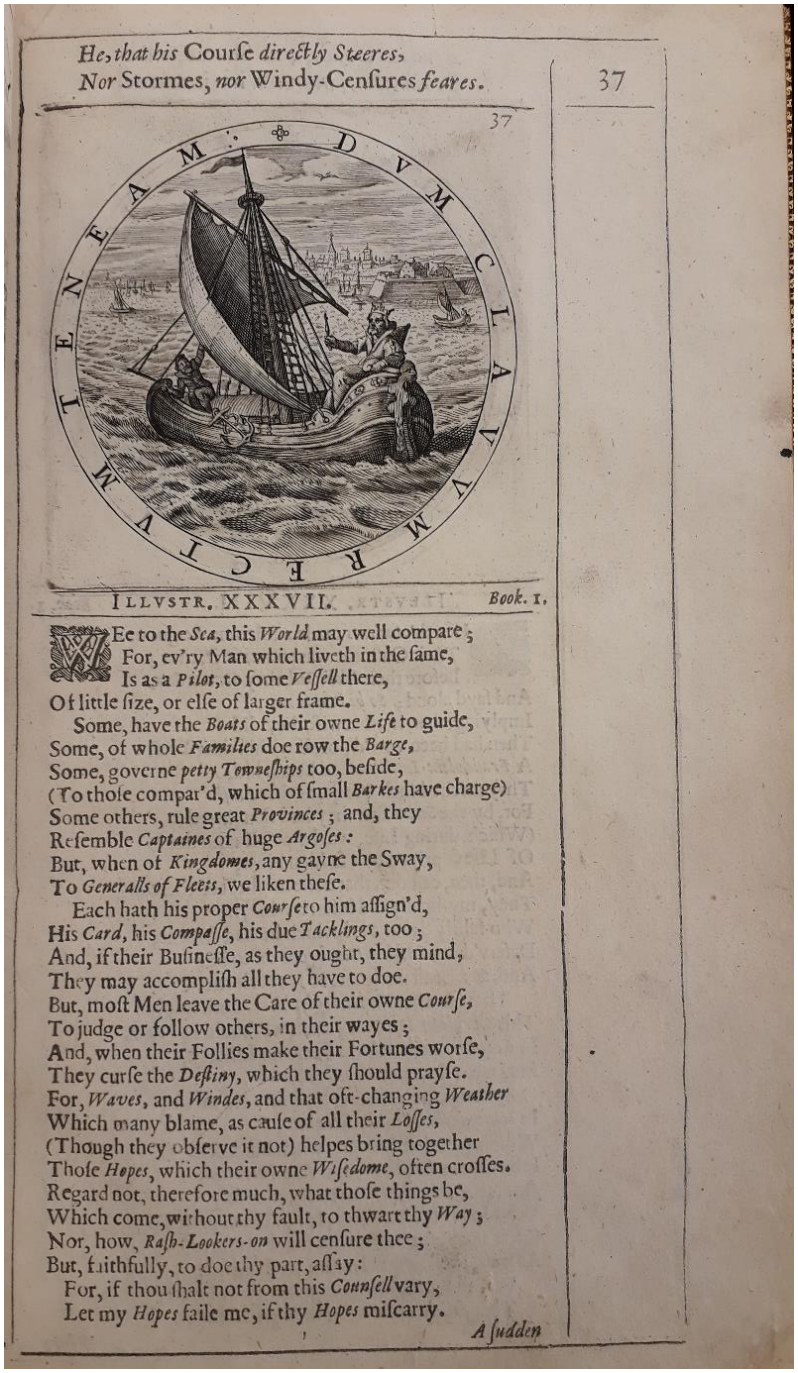


Figure 5 Emblem 1.37, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Huntington Library 79920.



Figure 6 Emblem from Rollenhagen's *Nucleus* with the same engraving as *A Collection of Emblemes* 1.37. Huntington Library 142344.

All this is to say that emblems are mobile in a local sense – they signify differently in different forms – and in a global one: Wither was sent the engravings from Holland. While Elizabeth Eisenstein suggests that print is bound up with 'fixity' because print technology allows copies to be quickly disseminated, the transport of de Passe's engravings enables the same visual fragments to be reworked into alternative forms.[56] The printed engravings are

[56] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; repr. 1993), 52.

geographically mobile, and that ability to move round (both internationally and on the local level of their paratexts) renders their literary meanings changeable. The delay between Wither first seeing de Passe's work and writing the accompanying English lines was caused by the fact that the engravings 'could not be procured out of Holland, upon any reasonable Conditions'.[57] Wither's justifications for his delay mirror the complaints of poets like Georg Schaller, who was commissioned by the Frankfurt publisher Sigmund Feyerabend to write inscriptions for the illustrations in his *Thierbuch* (1569) within overambitious deadlines.[58] Here, Wither's well-worn lament of the time-restricted poet foregrounds the international nature of the supply chain which produced the *Collection*. The construction of the *Collection* relied on copperplate engravings travelling overseas from Holland during a time when Holland was not only a centre of the book trade – the number of publishers in the Dutch Republic rose from around eighty in 1620 to four hundred and fifty in 1660[59] – but also of the paper industry: Amsterdam's prominence in the early modern paper trade has led one historian to dub it the 'paper shop of the world'.[60] De Passe's engravings were part of a huge collection of prints, including lavish illustrations of voyages from the East Indies and depictions of political executions destined for newspapers, produced in the Dutch Republic. These engravings joined an array of printed sheets which travelled out of Holland to France, Germany, England, Denmark, and beyond. Thinking in terms of international paper journeys figures the codex as only a contingent frame for paper, and shows the precariousness with which the book stands up as the primary unit of paper study. That precariousness shows up under entries in the Stationers Register which refer

---

[57] Wither, *Collection*, sig. A*r*.
[58] Peter van der Coelen, 'Producing Texts for Prints: Artists, Poets and Publishers', in Celeste Brusati, K. A. E. Enenkel, and Walter Melion, eds., *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 75–100, 80–81.
[59] Claartje Rasterhoff, 'The Market for Art, Books and Luxury Goods', in Helmer J. Helmers and Geert Janssen, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 249–267, 251.
[60] Daniel Bellingradt, 'Paper Networks and the Book Industry', in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 67–86, 74. See also Lotte Hellinga et al., eds., *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade 1473–1941* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graff, 2001).

to units other than a 'booke'. A short poem by George Wither printed in quarto was entered on 10th July 1656 'under the hand of Master ~~Norton~~ Thrale a sheet of paper entitled *Boni Ominis votum. A good omen to the next parliament*, & by George Wither'.[61] The *Collection* participates in an international network of blank and printed sheets, pre- and post-codexical sheets, and sheets that never came near a book at all. The book offers a temporary holding point for a series of fragments gathered together in this particular mise-en-page: here is where the output of papermakers, printers, binders, and engravers from London and Holland intersect.

Wither's publishing relations with Holland extended beyond the emblems. *The Psalmes of David translated into lyrick-verse* (1632), authored by Wither, were printed by Cornelis Gerrits van Breughel in Amsterdam. His later prose tract *Paralellogrammaton* (1662), which advocates free will and has some political crossover with Milton's *Areopagitica,* also shows Wither's links with Holland*. Paralellogrammaton* breaks off at the end, apparently because 'a part of the Copy was lost at the Printing-house, which could not be supplied without sending privately that which was left to the *Author,* in whose hands both this *Supplement,* and the rest of the Copy, was seized in his Chamber'.[62] Wither was back in prison, and the final part of *Paralellogrammaton* had been whisked away from him. The anonymous 'printers' (the self-named 'printer' who prefaces the book was probably the publisher, or sponsor, rather than the one who set the type) 'doubt not but the Remainder will shortly come to our hands, either from a Copy which is said to be sent into *Holland,* or by another which is in a Friends hand that will keep it safe'.[63] A copy of *Paralellogrammaton* had been sent to Holland to combat the clamp down on religious debate, but in this moment the printers look forward to the return of *Paralellogrammaton*, or at least a fragment of it, to London. While the language of emblem 1.37 advocates the sailor who successfully crosses metaphorical seas, the material form of the

---

[61] George Eyre, Charles Rivington and Henry Plomer, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640–1708*, 3 vols (England: Priv, print, 1913) ii, 72. See also 100, 156, 162.
[62] George Wither, *Paralellogrammaton an epistle to the three nations of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1662), sig. S*r*.
[63] Wither, *Paralellogrammaton,* sig. S*r*.

Collection stands as evidence for the generative possibilities of geographically mobile paper. The text's metaphors are realised in the form of printed engravings which travelled from Holland to London to be remade into this book. Both *Paralellogrammaton* and the *Collection* are situated in an Anglo-Dutch network of moving paper, a productive form of traffic which might explain why Wither later rebutted Anglo-Dutch wars and argued for the mutual benefits of trade.

The *Collection* preserves de Passe's Dutch engravings, and so preserves, at least in part, Rollenhagen's emblems. But it also reworks those emblems in order to make something new. Wither reports that Rollenhagen's accompanying mottos were '*so meane… nor so exact in observing the true* Proprieties *belonging to every* Figure' that they were '*cut off from the* Plates'.[64] Wither suggests that his own lines come closer to the 'true Proprieties' (that is, are more properly characteristic) of the engravings. To preserve the essence of the images, Wither discards their mottos. Preservation and discarding happen at one and the same time: an instance of what Juliet Fleming calls 'the curious form of survival that is… repurposing'.[65] De Passe's engravings, which start out life in copper, are transferred to paper, given Latin mottos, sent to England, 'cut off' from their mottos (apart from the first few words which continue to frame them), and finally given English mottos and thirty additional lines of verse by Wither. In 1684, Nathaniel Crouch (under the pseudonym R.B.) pirated fifty of the engravings in a cheap duodecimo entitled *Delights for the ingenious*, mobilising the labour of de Passe, Rollenhagen and Wither for his own ends. Wither's emblem 1.37 becomes 'Emblem XLV'; the English verse is discarded, and the Latin motto which encircled the picture becomes a line beneath a now rectangular engraving. The engraving takes centre stage, and the relation between text and image is more uncertain (especially given the likelihood that at least some purchasers of this cheaper volume lacked Latin literacy). If emblems make meaning from the dynamic relationship

[64] Wither, *Collection,* sig. A*r*.
[65] Juliet Fleming, *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 107.

between text and image, then these emblems are dynamic – 'mobile' in the sense of both portable and changeable – between different emblem books. The pages of the *Collection* temporarily suspend a series of reworked textual and visual parts, held in place by the printed rules and physical edges of the page. The *Collection* is a very real 'collection' which holds together its disparate items.

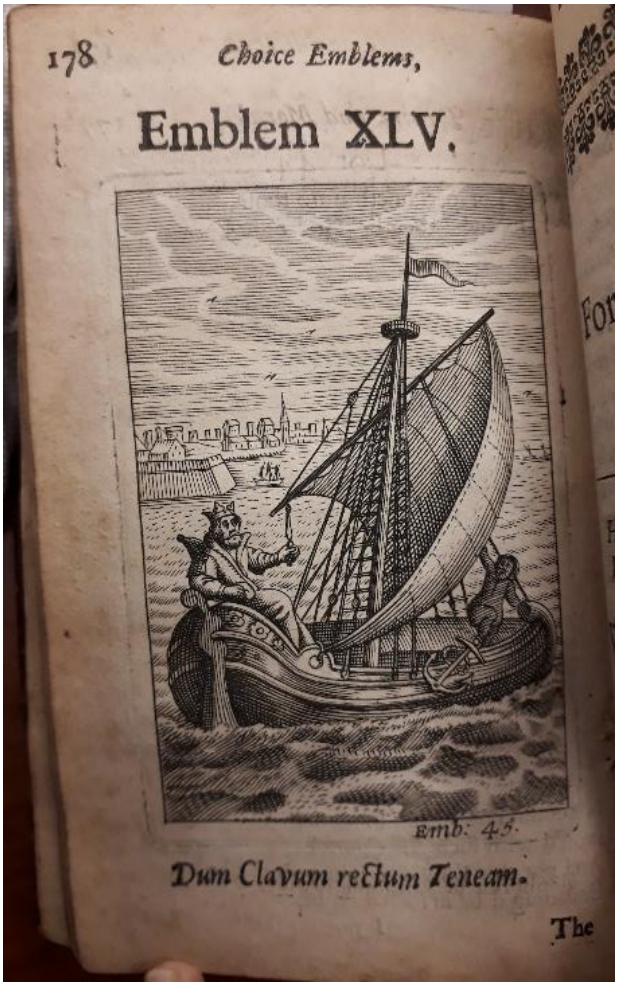


Figure 7 R.B., *Delights for the Ingenious* (London, 1684), folio 37. Huntington Library 71694.

How do we read Wither's emblems, newly transferred across the seas from two parts (illustration and motto in Rollenhagen's *Nucleus*) into three (illustration, motto, and thirty-line verse)? What does this newly-orientated paperscape mean for the signifying of its image? We might note the shift in genre, technically defined, between a two-part 'symbol' or 'device', and the three-part emblem. According to the poet and lawyer Abraham Fraunce (c.1559–c.1592),

the emblem uses its extended verse to pin down an interpretation of the motto and illustration. This makes it more accessible for its audience: 'the emblem therefore is made so that the precept and doctrine will be for the common people; the symbol however is private and its purpose is revealed and accommodated to one or another man'.[66] But the addition of text opens up as much as it attempts to narrow our reading, by adding layers of interpretation and providing multiple routes for the reader through and across the page. When poets added text to prints, as was common in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe, they were rarely seeking to straightforwardly explain the image. The *Collection* is less a collaboration with the engraver de Passe than it is a 'literary complement to a pictorial invention' which expands, rethinks or even contradicts its source.[67] Emblem 3.12 confronts this multitude of interpretative parts directly: 'When *Emblems*, of too many parts consist/Their Author was no choice *Emblematist*'. The defence is in the value of the emblem's meaning: 'if the *Kernell* proove to be of worth/No matter from what shell we drew it forth'.[68] The compounded 'shells' of the *Collection* become a fortress around a single, extractable meaning. Wither's ambition for his reader to be schooled in navigating the spiritual world demands the localised navigation of a book which the addition of his verses has rendered more plural, more 'unnavigable', than its source.

The verse of emblem 4.13 reflects on the relationship between its parts:

> When I beheld this Picture of a *Boat*,
> (Which on the raging *Waves* doth seeme to float)
> Forc'd onward, by the current of the *Tide*,
> Without the helpe of *Anchor*, *Oare* or *Guide*,
> And, saw the *Motto* there, which doth imply,
> That shee commits her selfe to *Destinie*;
> Me thinkes, this *Emblem* sets out their estate,
> Who have ascribed ev'ry thing to *Fate*.[69]

---

[66] Abraham Fraunce, *Insignium Armorum, Emblematum, Hieroglyphicorum, Et Symbolorum* (London, 1588) sig. N3*r*. Cited and translated in Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 187–188.
[67] Van der Coelen, 'Producing texts for prints', 88.
[68] Wither, *Collection*, sig. X2*v*.
[69] Wither, *Collection*, sig. Gg3*r*.

Wither, or the speaker, momentarily occupying the position of reader, recalls seeing the 'Picture of a *Boat*' prior to his moment of writing. And then (according to the temporal experience of reading the poem) he 'saw the *Motto* there'. Image, text, interpretation: '[m]e thinkes, this *Emblem* sets out their estate/Who have ascribed ev'ry thing to *Fate*'. The second half of Wither's verse performs an about-turn, as the drifting boat warns against passive dependence on Fate. If the boat brings to mind those who believe that 'their *Worke*, nor hinders, neither helpes thereto', then it does so to hold them up as a warning rather than a model. And now we, following in the speaker's footsteps, are presented with a reading of the boat that directly contravenes the motto above, which reads: 'When thou art shipwrackt in Estate/Submit with patience unto Fate'. Submit to providence, says the verse beneath, and we risk being numbered among those who 'to ruine runne/By their neglect of what they might have done'. Fate or free will? Beware the drifting boat, or take comfort? Negotiating this page is to track between motto, verse and image in a doomed attempt to reconcile its parts.

By the time we get to the bottom of Wither's verse, the relation between the motto and image has been thrown into disarray. Does the motto overwrite the extended verse, or vice versa? Does the significance of the depicted boat change between the two pieces of text? Juliet Fleming gives an account of emblems as 'asking us to understand in terms of what is missing'.[70] The gaps Fleming identifies between the emblems' parts are enacted in the unprinted spaces – the visible paper – between texts and images which stubbornly resist semiotic cohesion. In the shift from *Nucleus* to *Collection*, Wither's extended verse fills that gap (physically and thematically) by training a particular interpretative lens on de Passe's stranded vessel. But the poem's dire warnings create new distance on the page between the extended verse and the motto. Reading this emblem, one 'can no longer proceed in one direction but must go back and forth in space and time'.[71] If the page is a surface to be navigated by the reader then the

[70] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology,* 102.
[71] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 102.

emblem, is a particularly disorientating paperscape: a site of internationally imported parts where paths run into dead ends and at cross purposes.

Navigating the Page

This interlude has shown that the *Collection* is a contingent frame for mobile elements of material, visual and literary composition. The preface to the *Collection* explicitly represents the book as a material holding point, by imagining (in a common early modern trope) the book as a building.[72] Like the frontispiece, the preface demands that we read the book as an alternative material site. Here this reimagining of form creates a surface on which to invoke patronage from the book's dedicatees: 'In ARCHITECT, it giveth good content/(And passeth for a praisefull *Ornament*),/If, to adorne the FORE-FRONTS, *Builders* reare/The *Statues* of their *Soveraigne-Princes* there'.[73] In imitation of this architectural practice, Wither assigns inscriptions to each of the four sides of the book, or rather (as he acknowledges two spatial models of the *Collection* at the same time) to the front of each of the four 'books' which together make up the codex:

> *In this* Hope, *I have placed before on the* FORE-FRONT (*or before the* First Booke *of these* EMBLEMS) a Joint-Inscription *to the* KING *and* QUEENES *most excellent* MAJESTIE. / *Upon the* Right-Side-Front *of this* Building (*or before the* Second Booke) One Inscription *to the most hopefull* Prince, CHARLES, *Prince of* Wales; *And*, *another to his deere* Brother, JAMES, *Duke of* Yorke &etc. / *On the other* Side-Front, (*or before the* Third Booke) *One* Inscription *to the gratious Princesse*, FRANCES *Dutchesse-Dowager of* RICHMOND *and* LENOX; *And, another to her most noble Nephew*, JAMES *Duke of* Lennox &etc. / *On the* Fourth Front *of our* Square, (*Or, before the* Fourth Booke), *One* Inscription *to the right Honourable* PHILIP *Earle of* Pembroke *and* Montgomery, &etc. *And another to the right Honourable* HENRY, *Earle of* Holland.[74]

These inscriptions locate Wither within networks of patronage. Throughout his corpus, buildings stand for different artistic and political structures. *Vox Pacifa* (1645) warns Charles against the 'artificiall-heav'n/which flatring *Poets*, and his *Painters* made', while *Amygdala*

---

[72] William Sherman, 'On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext and Print Culture' in Eleanor Shevlin, Eric Linquist, and Sabrina Baron, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 67–81.
[73] Wither, *Collection,* sig. *2.
[74] Wither, *Collection,* sig. *2.

Britanica (1647) puts in a rallying cry for a republic to imitate that of Venice: the realm would be made stronger 'if you could add/to strengthen and adorn the same/Some parts of the *Venetian Frame*'.[75] The political implications of these imaginary buildings carry over into the preface of the *Collection*, where Wither's own role as a 'flatring Poet' constructs social capital by means of four imaginary walls.

The language of this preface draws on a popular trope of title pages which display architectural structures. The title page is a paratext and, if we are helped by thinking of paratexts as 'thresholds' (according to the title of Gérard Genette's seminal work), then these images of archways push towards literalising Genette's architectural metaphor within the confines of the page.[76] Depictions of wood or bricks lend their paper substrates the appearance of something more solid and more durable. Paradoxically Wither suggests that his paper monument will outlast those architectural structures on which his patrons' names might otherwise be engraved: 'perhaps it may/To their high praise be found, another day/That in these LEAVES their *Names* will stand unrac'd/When many fairer STRUCTURES are defac'd'.[77] 'Frontispiece' was an architectural term which referred to the front of a building from the sixteenth century, but it also meant 'front scenery' or the forefront of the stage.[78] Many frontispieces show, not sturdy and permanent buildings, but pegmas: the flimsy frameworks of wood and cloth used as stage sets for outdoor pageantry.[79] The *Collection*, which does not run the pegma's risk of being dismantled immediately after use, offers its text a different kind of durability to that which it imagines in other, non-papery forms.

---

[75] Wither, *Vox Pacifa* (1645), sig. N7*r*; *Amygdala Britannica, almonds for parrets* (1647), sig. B2*r*.
[76] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[77] Wither, *Collection*, sig. *2.
[78] *OED,* 'frontispiece, n.', 5b.
[79] Alastair Fowler, *The Mind of the Book: Pictorial Title Pages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 15–22.

The effect of the *Collection*'s preface is to reimagine the book as a material space or a three-dimensional structure other than its own. The preface shares this characteristic – this negotiation of the printed book 'as a multi-surfaced, multi-dimensional object with physical as well as metaphorical "depth"' – with a broader culture of early modern paratexts.[80] The frontispiece of *Coryats Crudities* (1611) constitutes a series of lettered images, around and between which the reader is imagined to move (see figure 8). The images are cross-referenced by Ben Jonson's couplets: 'Here, finer then coming from his Punke, you him see,/F shewes what he was, K. what he will be'.[81] This piece of travel writing begins by inviting the reader to traverse the frontispiece, and so encourages 'spatial ways of reading, and of thinking' which draws explicit connection between bookish and geographic modes of discourse.[82] As in *Coryats Crudities,* to read the *Collection* is to navigate not just in the cognitive spaces of the stormy seas or the rocky paths of emblems 1.37 and 3.26, but in the material space of and between the paper sheets which constitute the form of the book. The preface to the *Collection* erects four inscription-bearing walls, linking patronage to the social establishment of the author and to the establishment of a textual space into which the reader is invited to roam. This particular visual paratext arises on the title page, but the suggestion that the page constructs a space which extends beyond itself is sustained throughout the book. Printed paper embeds and co-ordinates text on its own vertical and horizontal axes, but the semiotics of that text – in the architectural trope of the preface, in the navigational metaphors of emblems 1.13 and 1.37 – situate the reader in spaces which resist the limits of the page.

---

[80] Lucy Razzall, '"Like to a title leafe": Surface, Face and Material Text in Early Modern England', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017), paragraph 3.
[81] Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities hastily gobled up in five moneths travells* (1611), sig. A4*v*.
[82] Thomas Corns, 'The Early Modern Search Engine: Indices, Title Pages, Marginalia and Contents', in Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, eds., *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: Routledge, 2000), 93–102, 95.



Figure 8 Frontispiece to *Coryats Crudities* (1611). Bod Douce C 660.

How did early modern books control, or facilitate, readerly navigation of the page? Books – designed to be alert to the navigating reader – direct that navigation by means of their material form. One of the particular qualities of the codex is that it invites non-linear reading. Having long overtaken the scroll as the defining form of Christian scripture, the codex became one of the dominant technologies of reading in early modern England. To read a Bible was to follow a designated pathway around the book, depending on the time of year or the order of a Church service.[83] Books signpost readers by means of their paratexts: by frontispieces (as we have already seen) but also the prefaces, indices, dedications, contents and summaries which prime the reader as they enter the book. Genette posits that the paratext is intrinsic to the book: 'the paratext is what enables a text to become a book, and be offered as such to its readers'.[84] But what those readers understand a book to be, and how to navigate it, changes across any given moment (Genette's own work was anchored in the nineteenth–century novel). Early modern books had their own ways of imagining the reader as a navigator, which rely both on the three-dimensional forms of the page and on the printed signs, including paratexts, which announce boundaries, routes and shortcuts throughout the book.

Of all paratexts, the index makes one of the strongest claims to help the reader actively navigate the book. Indexes rely on three things: keywords or topics (from *topoi* – the index signposts us to 'places'), an ordering system for those topics (usually alphabetical), and 'a locator of sufficient granularity that the reference can be followed up swiftly'.[85] In the fifteenth century, indexes were accumulating currency within a culture of compiling and commonplacing under subject headings, as advocated by Jan Ludovicus Vives (1493–1540) and modelled in Erasmus' *Adages* (1500). By the early seventeenth century, indexes were increasingly common

---

[83] Peter Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, eds., *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 42–79, 47.
[84] Genette, *Paratexts,* 1.
[85] Dennis Duncan, 'Index', in Michele Kennerly, Samuel Frederick, and Jonathan E. Abel, eds., *Information: Keywords* (New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming 2021). See also Judith Flanders, *A Place for Everything: The Curious History of Alphabetical Order* (London: Picador, 2020), 136.

in books of theology and natural philosophy. Mercator's *Historia Mundi*, John Swan's *Speculum Mundii,* Richard Sibbes's *The soules conflict with itself,* Edward Kellett's *Miscellanies of Divinite divided into three books*, and Joseph Bentham's *The Christian Conflict* were all printed in 1635, and supplied alphabetically-ordered tables of subjects with relevant page numbers, located towards the end of the book. Bentham alone referred to this device as an 'alphabeticall index' rather than simply a 'table'.[86] All of these texts also contained contents pages at the beginning, structured according to the order to the text. One key difference between the contents page and the index is whether they prioritise the reader or the order of the book. The index is 'reader-orientated': it offers the ability to curate reading to one's interests, at least within the constraints of the categories dreamt up by the index-compiler. Conversely, the contents page is committed to the linear structure of the codex.[87] Printed commonplace books also sometimes came with indexes. Francis Meres' *Palladis tamia* (1598) ends with 'A Table of the Common Places into which the Simultudes are digested' in alphabetical order with page numbers, and *Politeuphuia, or wits commonwealth* (1598) has a similar device.[88] Indexes in commonplace books promise selectivity twice over. Not only was the reader freed from the obligation of traversing a library in order to extract fragments of 'wit', they were also free from reading this book in its entirety.

The *Collection* is unusual in offering a reader-orientated index in a book of verse. It ends with 'A Table for the better finding out of principall things and matters, mentioned in these Foure Bookes'.[89] Entries range from abstract nouns ('Authoritie', 'Curiositie') to entire adages ('Great things from small beginnings') and pieces of advice ('Night helpful to meditation'). Contemporary emblem books, as a rule, omit indexes: Francis Quarles' *Emblems*, Thomas

[86] Joseph Bentham, *The Christian Conflict* (1635), sig. Aa7*r*.
[87] Denis Duncan, 'Indexes', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth eds., *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 263–274, 265.
[88] Francis Meres, *Palladis tamia Wits treasury being the second part of Wits common wealth* (1598), sig. Vv5*v*; Nicholas Ling, *Politeuphuia, wits common wealth* (1597), sig. Ll5*r*.
[89] Wither, *Collection*, sig. Nn4*r*.

Jenner's *The Soules Solace*, Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* and George Whitney's *A choice of emblemes* (1586) lack similar tools. By including an index the *Collection* sits poised on the brink between entertainment and instruction. Given that a broader effect of an indexical 'Table' is to afford agency to the navigating reader, Wither's *Collections* affords its reader greater agency than most emblem books. If a characteristic of emblem books – because of their codex form, and because of their make-up of texts and images between which we toggle back and forth – is to invite non-linear reading, then Wither's *Collection* is particularly attentive to its selective reader who navigates in the discontinuous mode of the 'Table'.

The index brings its own ideology to the organisation of the *Collection*. If we wanted to look for 'sailing' or indeed 'navigating' we would be at a loss, although the index offers two entries under 'ship' (emblems 1.13 and 1.37). The latter ('*He, that his* Course *directly Steeres*,/*Nor* Stormes, *nor* Windy-Censures *feares*') also turns up under 'Kings', and is the sole entry under 'Governours' and 'Steerman'. The index casts its own particular and partial light on this emblem. These headings alight on the poem's mention of those who 'rule great *Provinces*; and…/Resemble *Captaines* of huge *Argoses*', but ignores the democratising opening which reminds us that 'ev'ry Man…/Is as a *Pilot*'.[90] The association in this 'Table' between emblem 1.37 and leadership mispresents the emblem's final theme, which is to urge all, regardless of their status: 'If thou shalt not from this *Counsell* vary/Let my *Hopes* faile me, if thy *Hopes* miscarry'. While an index affords agency to the reader in how they choose to navigate the book, it provides a finite number of routes by which to do so. The 'Table' makes the *Collection* navigable only in partial and compromised ways. If it works like a map in scaling down the *Collection* from seventy-three edition sheets into one, then the 'Table' also refocuses and re-centres the entire codex that it is supposed to transparently represent. Another effect of the 'Table' is to explode the verses into a series of fragments. If emblems promise coherence (even buried or symbolic

[90] Wither, *Collection*, sig. F3*r*.

coherence), then an index shatters the discrete framework of each page and replaces it with themes which thread their way throughout the book: 'Death 1. 21. 45. 48. 94. 168. 184. 235.'

An index offers a choice of signposts for navigating the book: come in search of these pre-determined topics and these pages will tell you where to look. But the printed index is only one of the navigating tools of the *Collection*. Where the *Collection* deploys the word 'index', it refers not to the table of topics but to the rotatable paper dials fixed to the final recto of the last gathering. 'Index' here signifies the paper pointer rather than the printed list *on* paper, and Wither instructs the reader on its use: 'Turne about one of the *Indexes* in the Figures' to select the book (from one to four) and the emblem (one to fifty) within that book. In copies which have now lost their volvelle that instruction rings hollow. The volvelles are extant in only one of the five copies at the Huntington Library (79920). Another of the five (79919) has facsimile volvelles. The copy at Magdalen College, Oxford (Magd.Wither-G) has its original volvelles, as does Mason E. 105 in the Weston Library, Oxford. While the volvelles originally oriented readers, today archivists and scholars find themselves hunting down those volvelles. In copies lacking the volvelle, there is an incongruity between text and codex: the passing of time has altered the paper form but not its accompanying instructions. Today we understand an index primarily as a paratext of a book, but the *Collection* frames its 'index' as the least conventional and most non-bookish feature which requires explanation. Indeed, if we associate paper with 'the book' then it is striking that this paper form is precisely what allows the *Collection* to diverge from our understanding of the codex. Recent attempts at volvelle collation laid out by Anthony Drennan (in which, for example, λ^0 stands for an uncut volvelle and λ^1 for one that has been cut) attempt to wrestle these paper, thread, pearl and sometimes brass entities into tidy formulae which attach to uniform gatherings of paper.[91] But, as Drennan's somewhat tortured collations show, fragmentary and mobile paper dials refuse to be confined by the fixed

[91] Anthony S. Drennan, 'The Bibliographical Description of Astronomical Volvelles and Other Moveable Diagrams', *The Library* 13.3 (2012), 316–339, 320.

concept of the book. Instead, the rotatable volvelles offer a defamiliarising paper-based technology with which to navigate that form. The printed 'Table' relies on paper as printed surface: as substrate for text with semiotic meaning which can be summarised in topics, and on which the numbers of emblems can be replicated and cross-referenced as they are ordered within the codex. The volvelle, on the other hand, constitutes paper as a mobile form manipulated by its reader, which persistently escapes the structures of the book.



Figure 9 Paper index. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635). Huntington Library 79920.

The *Collection*'s paper 'index' invites a mode of reading based on chance: on random selection by the drawing of 'lots' rather than patient and deliberate combing for topics. This

mode has its roots in a tradition of reading classical literature which excavates ancient authors for applicable nuggets of wisdom. The tradition of *Sortes Virgilianae* consisted of opening the *Aeneid* at random, and trusting in the prophetic powers of the poet to afford particular insight by means of whichever sentences emerged. Documented in the biographies of second and third-century emperors in the *Historia Augusta*, this method of intervention-as-reading was alive and well at the time of the publication of the *Collection*.[92] John Aubrey records Charles I in Oxford in 1642 whiling away the time in this way: 'the Party that has an earnest desire to be resolved in such an Event takes a pinne, and thrusts it between the leaves of [Virgil's book], and choose which of the pages he or she will take, and then open the booke and begin to read at the beginning of [that] period'. Mr Cowley, who has suggested this pastime, luckily 'alwaies had a Virgil in his pocket' so 'the Prince accepted the proposal, and prick't his pinne in the fourth booke of the Aeneids'.[93] Choosing a passage by inserting a pin, like turning a paper dial, allows for a mode of reading that departs from the strictly linear: one which is invested in extracting parts rather than reconstituting wholes.[94] *Sortes Virgilianae*, like the *Collection's* paper 'Index' and its printed table of topics, frees the reader from the physical structures of the text (verso before recto, book one before book two). While the printed list limits the reader's navigation by means of its semiotic content (that is, its inclusion and exclusion of particular categories), the rotatable dial asserts its own agency over the reader's route by means of its material form. In the *Collection*, the coming together of the rotatable paper tool with the hand of the reader fuses two modes of 'index', each with their own pointing powers. If we struggle to take seriously paper's 'agency' – it seems unlikely that such a flimsy material as paper would hold sway over

---

[92] Philip Sidney was aware of *Sortes Virgilianae* as a historical mode of reading, describing 'when by sudden opening Virgil's book, they [the Romans] lighted upon any verse of his making… Which although it were a very vain and godless superstition… yet serveth it to show the great reverence those wits were held in'; *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004), 7.

[93] John Aubrey, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, ed. James Britten (London: Satchell, Peyton and Co, 1881), 90–91.

[94] Penelope Usher, '"Pricking the Virgil": Early modern Prophetic *Phronesis* and the *Sortes Virgilianae*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45.3 (2015), special edition on 'Renaissance Collage: Towards a New History of Reading', ed. Juliet Fleming, William Sherman and Adam Smyth, 557–572, 557.

other individuals or objects – then we can consider how the material affordances of paper dictate encounters between readers and this book.[95] Yet to talk only of affordances, that is, to foreground how readers select or draw out *potential* uses of paper, is to suppress the material qualities of the dial which render it able to drift, get stuck, tear, return to the same position, or land across two sections at once. The physical characteristics of paper enable the volvelles of the *Collection* to intervene in the reader's intent to submit to some less messy, and more ethereal, form of chance.

Fortune operates in the gap between these two competing modes of agency. Readers spin the volvelle to 'find out Fortunes' (in the sense of their future), but fortune also dictates where the dial lands. If fortune determines each reading of the *Collection* by means of the volvelle, then the volvelle picks out a recurring theme of the emblems themselves. Carmen Ripollés counts nine emblems in the *Collection* which feature fortune, such as emblem 1.6 whose motto is '*Though* Fortune *prove true* Vertues *Foe*/*It cannot worke her Overthrowe*'.[96] Fortune has secular, even necromantic associations of luck and chance, but also at stake is a theological debate of salvation and providence: whether salvation is predetermined by God, or whether it depends on our own 'painful Industrie'.[97] Overall Wither advocated universal salvation: thirty years later he went so far as to write that 'a professed denial of the universality of humane Redemption seems to me a cursed counter-callol, made and sung by devils'.[98] Throughout the Protestant-inflected *Collection* the emblems dwell on the relationship between fortune (as pre-determined events), and the imperative to find signs of one's own salvation. Maria Devlin argues that while the 'systematic theology' of the Reformation advocated predestination, where 'good works indicate one's spiritual status but do not cause it', the forms and genres in which these

[95] Orietta Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 5.
[96] Wither, *Collection,* sig. B3*v*. The others are 1.4 1.6 3.40, 2.39, 2.47, 3.5, 4.31, 2.26 and 4.10. '"By Meere Chance": Fortune's Role in George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes*', *Emblematica* 16 (2008), 103–132.
[97] Emblem 2.28 suggests that 'painful industries' will bring 'peace'; emblem 1.13 less happily suggests that while '*some* endeavour, and their Paines are blest, others 'labour, and are cast away'.
[98] Wither, *Paralellogrammaton*, sig. H4*r*.

beliefs were circulated 're-open a place for temporality, indeterminacy, and human agency'. That is to say, 'the rhetorical forms of reformation theology carried implications that ran contrary to the predestination doctrines they were meant to teach'.[99] Devlin is interested in the grammars and genres of popular plays and sermons, but the volvelle of the *Collection* adds a material form to Devlin's rhetorical ones. The volvelle has its own logic which re-introduces agency, or at least the performance of such, into its user's spiritual profile. If the elect are already chosen but must simultaneously take action to assure themselves of their grace, the volvelle enacts that negotiation by combining readerly agency with material forces beyond the reader's control.

Navigational metaphors, like paper dials, are particularly suited to this see-sawing of theological agency. Philip Edwards observes 'the voyage of a sailing ship at sea is almost by definition a two-faced Janus of a metaphor; being on the one hand an image of successful struggle and on the other an image of human helplessness in the face of greater powers'.[100] Emblem 4.13 looks at this Janus from one direction, warning that 'Hee that shall thus to *Fate*, his fortunes leave/ Let mee bee ruin'd, if Shee him deceive'.[101] This rhetoric condemns anyone whom 'to *Fate*, his fortunes leave', directly contravening the invitation by the volvelle to navigate the book by drawing lots. Similarly emblem 1.37, urges the reader to 'Regard not' their external circumstances (the '*Waves*, and *Windes* and that oft-changing *Weather*') as a sign of pre-determined shipwreck, but to simultaneously chart the best course they can and put their hopes in God. That theological ambiguity – between free will and providence – plays out in the paper index which splits agency between the reader and the book. Split because, as Wither is quick to assure us (or rather, to assure any readers who happen to be 'deriv'd from Kings'), if we dislike the assigned lot we need merely choose another: 'till, they find/A lot, which is agreeing to the

[99] Maria Devlin, '"If it were made for man, 'twas made for me": Generic Damnation and Rhetorical Salvation in Reformation Preaching and Plays', in Jonathan Willis, ed., *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 173–189, 174.
[100] Edwards, *Sea-Mark,* 6.
[101] Wither, *Collection,* sig. Gg3*r*.

mind/They shall have libertie, anewe, to try/Their sought-for Chance'.[102] If the point of the emblems is to grapple with the difficult and sometimes contradictory matter of whether to submit to fortune or navigate by an internal moral compass, then the rotatable index fuses the agential subject with the state of being-subject-to in the navigating of the book. Our fortune is both up to us, and out of our hands: in the pages we read and on the biographical narratives we travel.

Navigating Genre

The paper index makes the reader of the *Collection* into a navigator in a specific sense. To call the reader a 'navigator', as I have been doing throughout this chapter, is to imagine the book as a three-dimensional space and the reader as a mobile vessel. This is not to think only in metaphors: we have seen how early modern readers and writers were attentive to their books as navigable structures, to printed texts as a series of localised sites, and to reading as an activity in which hands as well as eyes traversed the page. But it is to overlook the meaning of 'navigation' as it appeared on the pages of books by William Blaeu, Thomas Blundeville, John Davis, Richard Delemain, Edward Gunter, Richard Norwood, William Oughtred and Charles Saltonstall. All of these men had books printed contemporaneously to the *Collection*, in which 'navigation' is a strictly geographical term.[103] I want to move briefly from Wither's emblems to these books, firstly to pin down the claims I have been making about the role of paper in

[102] Wither, *Collection*, sig. Oo3*v*.

[103] Blaeu, *The sea-mirrour containing a briefe instruction in the art of navigation* (1635); Blundeville, *Mr. Blundevil his exercises, contayning eight treatises…To the furtherance of which art of navigation, the said Mr. Blundevil specially wrote the said treatises* (1636); Davis, *The seamans secrets* (includes 'the second part of this treatise of navigation' (1633); Delemain, *Grammelogia or, the mathematicall ring… applied to the practicall parts of geometrie, horologographie, geographie, fortification, navigation, astronomie*, (1631); Gunter, *The description and use of the sector, crosse-staffe, and other instruments… and the use thereof in astronomie, navigation, dialling, and fortification* (1636); Norwood, *The sea-mans practice, contayning a fundamentall probleme in navigation, experimentally verified* (1637); Oughtred, *An addition unto the use of the instrument called the circles of proportion, for the working of nauticall questions. Together with certaine necessary considerations and advertisements touching navigation* (1633); Charles Saltonstall, *The Navigator, shewing and explaining all ye chiefe principles and parts both theorick & practick that are contained in the famous art of navigation* (1636). Dates given are the edition printed closest to 1635, not necessarily the first edition.

bridging bibliographic and geographic modes of navigation, and secondly to consider how the modes of reading offered by paper volvelles traverse strictly textual categories of genre.

The Mathematician Thomas Blundeville defined navigation as 'an Arte which teacheth by true and infallible rules how to governe and direct a Shippe from one Port to another, safely, rightly and in shortest time'.[104] Blundeville's book formed part of a flourishing genre of printed texts that taught their readers the art of navigation and simultaneously turned a blind eye to the political undertones of that 'art'. This definition, though, implicitly suggests the practical uses to which the mathematical rules of navigation might be put. Merchants and diplomats had to 'govern' and 'direct' their ships – liminal sites where power was negotiated in the circulation of texts, goods, and people – before they stepped onto foreign soil to forge international trading relations.[105] *Blundeville's Exercises* formed part of a burgeoning genre of late sixteenth-century navigational books, which began with *The Arte of Navigation* by Martin Cortés (printed ten times between 1561 and 1630). The first part of John Dee's unfinished *General and rare memorials pertaining to the perfect Arte of Navigation* was printed in 1577; Jean Taisnier's *A very necessarie and profitable book concerning navigation* (1575) and Edward Wright's *Certaine Errors in Navigation* (1599) followed hot on its heels. The popularity of these books continued into the seventeenth century with Wither's contemporaries. *The Seamans Secrets* was reprinted six times between 1595 and 1657, and makes the coloniser's claim that 'Navigation is the meane whereby Countries are discovered, and comunitie drawne betweene nation and nation'.[106] Focusing on the authority and mathematical correctness of a 'good' navigator meant overlooking the material and moral consequences of the global criss-crossing that navigation entailed. Indeed, for some navigators, crossing the seas was a proactively moral practice, bound up in the search for faith and redemption. Willian Blaeu provides observations on 'the true lying

[104] Blundeville, *Exercises* (1636), sig. Tt3*r*.
[105] Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 52–57.
[106] John Davis, *The Seamans Secrets* (1595), 'To the right honorable Lord Charles Haward'.

of the Seas and Coasts of the land', so that, 'with the helpe of the Almightie, he [the reader] may stiere both Ship and goods into a safe and wished for haven'.[107]

Blaeu's is a solidly real 'Ship': a vehicle for 'goods' rather than for a metaphorical tenor (although in chapter four I will discuss a paper boat which occupies the fictional shades between metaphor and solid reality). If the readers of Blaeu, Blundeville and the rest are 'navigators', then they are navigators of the geographical landscape. But they are also readers of books. At the moment of encountering Blundeville's *Exercises*, the would-be expert in 'Cosmographie, Astronomie, and Geographie, as also in the Arte of Navigation' is simultaneously navigating a codex. Many navigational manuals deploy paper tools which are disseminated in, explained by, and function within the form of the codex, and which draw attention to the book as a three-dimensional navigable space. And yet these volvelles, dials and quadrants (instruments shaped like the quarter-segment of a circle)[108] use paper as a mobile form to help readers co-ordinate themselves in a geographical environment beyond the book, by measuring latitude and longitude, solar declination and the rhythms of the tide. The most common volvelle in navigational manuals is made up of two circular paper surfaces which rotate one on top of the other. Anthony Drennan's recent taxonomy of volvelles labels the part that turns the 'volvelle leaf', while the 'volvelle base leaf' is static beneath: what I am describing here, then, is books that have two volvelle leaves on top of a volvelle base leaf.[109] John Davis' *The Seaman's Secrets* (1595) displays such an instrument, described as '*a very necessary instrument for* the knowledge of the Tydes'.[110] The volvelle is double-sided; the reverse functions as 'A necessary Instrument for the better understanding of such things as are required to the finding of the Poles Elevation'.[111] Martin Cortes' *Breve compendio de la sphere y de la arte de navegar* (1551,

[107] Willem Blaeu, *The Sea-Mirror*, (1625), sig. A2*r*.
[108] 'A certain Mathematical Instrument, being the fourth part of a circle, also the fourth part of any measure or number' Edward Phillips, *The new world of English words* (1658), sig. Ii4*v*.
[109] Drennan, 'The Bibliographical Description of Astronomical Volvelles', 317.
[110] Davis, *Seamans Secrets*, sig, B*v*.
[111] Davis, *Seamans Secrets*, sig. C3*v*.

translated into English as *The Arte of Navigation* by Richard Eden in 1561) contains up to six of these volvelles in each copy. Richard Norwood's *The Seaman's Practice* (1644) which covers latitudes and tide-tables also includes a volvelle. A perfect copy of Thomas Blundeville's *Exercises* (first printed in 1594) includes no fewer than four volvelles.[112] One shows the hours of the tide, another 'The Shape or Figure of the rectifier of the North starre', another 'the shape of the Flie' which 'containeth the two quarters of the Mariners compass', while the final one illustrates 'the latitude of any place to be equal to the elevation of the Pole'.[113] All of these bar the first consist of an extended pointing finger (a particular shape of volvelle leaf) which rotates above printed (and sometimes also rotatable) circles. These volvelles – examples of 'type set or inscribed notation' which also deploy the 'ingenious uses of paper' *as paper* – allow the reader to set values and calculate results.[114] Registering the possible unfamiliarity of this instrument to his readers, Blundeville instructs his reader: 'turne the inward rondle of the houres & Rumbs, until the foresaid known Rumbe doth justly answer to the 30 day of the great rondle, and there laying it firm with your finger seke in the outermost border of the greater rondle the age of the moone'.[115] These instructions replicate the language explaining the index in the *Collection* which asks the reader to 'Turne about one of the *Indexes* in the Figures'. That shared language is suggestive of the fact that Blundeville's book includes paper instruments whose technology replicates that in Wither's emblem book. In the *Collection* the index is a tool for navigating a book whose text imagines the reader undertaking geographical voyages as metaphors for spiritual ones. In Blundeville's *Exercises,* almost identical paper tools enable the navigation of the globe. The book transforms its reader into a navigator of the three-dimensional paper landscape to model their navigation of the extra-codexical one. In both cases these tools demand

[112] Blundeville's *Exercises* were first printed in 1594 with six 'exercises', to which two more were added for the editions of 1597, 1603, 1606, 1613, 1622, 1636 and 1638.
[113] Blundeville, *Exercises* (1636), sigs. Yy5*r*, Zz8*v*, Bbb4*v*, and Ccc2*r*. Huntington Library 95578.
[114] Boris Jardine, 'State of the Field: Paper Tools', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 64 (2017), 53–63, 56.
[115] Blundeville, *Exercises*, sig. Bbb4*v*.

an exceptionally haptic and embodied form of reading: they invite interventions into the codex form.



Figure 10 Thomas Blundeville, *Mr. Blundevil his Exercises* (London, 1636). Huntington Library 95578.

What can we do with these collisions and cross-inferences of navigational modes on paper? What might one emblem book and one navigational treatise say about each another's

material forms and modes of reading? Perhaps this physical resemblance is a dead end: to say 'x is like y' can offer a crude perspective which ignores all the ways in which x is *not* like y. The emblem book constitutes an entirely different genre to the instrument book: that is why it sits on different shelves in the library, or is usually lifted down to be read by different disciplinary eyes (historians of art, say, rather than historians of science). But to uphold these divisions of genre across early modern books is to uphold divisions of our own, rather than of *their* own making. We know that early modern reading involved compiling texts into democratic and colourful (dis)array; that a single book might work as a genealogical record, recipe book, calendar, and scriptural collection at one and the same time.[116] To maintain these distinctions is to attempt to read books solely for their texts, unyoked from their material form. If it is now broadly accepted among twenty-first century literary historians of the book that texts signify in part by means of their physical qualities, then we have only just caught up with early moderns. Sorting their books by size, owners of seventeenth-century libraries saw one of the most fundamental distinctions between their books to be a matter of height and heft: the physical experience of reading bringing to bear on every encounter with text.[117]

If we are used to plotting texts in genres using the co-ordinates of literary tropes, visual forms, linguistic style, or narrative content, then such a haptic book as the *Collection* also commands a relationship with texts with which it shares physical traits. Reading with a paper tool, and specifically with a rotatable paper index as we do in the *Collection* and Blundeville's *Exercises*, is to take part in a particular mode – indeed a particular genre – of bookish encounter. A study of materiality – a study which takes seriously the text as material thing – has much to contribute to the study of genre. We are still learning to understand the consequences of this. Two examples: Alexandra Socarides' study of Emily Dickinson shows the nineteenth-century

[116] Early modern commonplace books embodied this multiplicity; see Folger V.a. 260 which includes a will, recipes, letter excerpts, humorous epitaphs, legal notes, and family baptisms dated 1662–1684. Philip Henslowe's diary – an economic record of Elizabethan theatre – also contains legal contracts, copies of letters, recipes, and *sententiae*.
[117] See chapter three for further discussion of ordering books by size.

American author deploying paper in order to 'navigat[e] the problems of genre'.[118] Socarides draws attention to the ways in which Dickinson uses the single sheet as well as the fascicle, the pre-printed scrap, and the envelope form to address the limits of literary and material form. Closer to Wither's historical home, the database of printed waste in early modern books currently being compiled by Megan Heffernan, Anna Reynolds and Adam Smyth questions the inbuilt assumptions of 'generic' thinking. This database identifies the vast numbers of fragments of text found in the boards, backing strips, hinges, pastedowns, flyleaves or endpapers of early modern books. One of its outcomes will be to consider the relationship between 'waste' and 'host' both from a book history perspective (what can we learn about how these books were made) and a literary one (what does it mean to read this waste '*in situ*, in a relationship with its host').[119] Another effect of this project on waste will be to consider the materiality of genre. Terms like drama/satire/advice book/letter/ballad are replaced, in this kind of research, by categories of host/waste/scrap/container, questioning the implicit hierarchies of these terms and rewriting long held distinctions in our discipline as they do so.

Reading across Wither's *Collection* and Blundeville's *Exercises* prompts us to reflect on other sets of material terms by which we understand the form of the book. Are these books or paper instruments? Should we talk about turning pages, or tools? And, if texts can be 'hosts', what is the relationship between the volvelle and the book? Noting that the *Collection*'s volvelles are transactional, that they are placed after everything else (except blank end-pages and book boards), and that they shape the reader's encounter with the text, we might call them paratexts and so extend that term beyond the textual, or even the printed. To call this volvelle a paratext is to move away from Genette's predominately linguistic concept, and engage instead, as Helen Smith and Louise Wilson's study of paratexts does, 'with early modern books as objects which

[118] Alexandra Socarides, *Dickinson Unbound: Paper, Process, Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 13.
[119] Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England,* 144. For forty sample instances of printed waste from this nascent database, see 183–189.

are visible as well as legible'.[120] Yet unlike paratexts, volvelles are less a frame for, or a way *into* the text, than tools whose utility emerges *out* of, alongside, or as a replacement for, reading. Their intended relationship with text is illustrative, but volvelles might equally cast light on impenetrable prose as overshadow it completely. And while paratexts question where a text begins and ends, volvelles introduce a material dimension to that question. The volvelles of both the *Exercises* and the *Collection* work because of the dialogue between the rotatable dial and the printed surface beneath; there is no clear line to be drawn between codex, text and tool. All we can say – and it is no insignificant statement – is that both of these books model a genre of reading: a haptic and embodied encounter with paper as both printed substrate and mobile form.

In fact we can go one step further in our comparison. The frontispieces which divide up Blundeville's *Exercises* highlight the navigational affordances of paper, which this book shares with the *Collection*. Each of Blundeville's eight 'Pamphlets', as he calls them, have their own frontispieces, four of which include a Biblical verse.[121] These verses bring a new perspective to the navigational content of the pamphlet by seeing God's presence reflected in the world's material form. The title page of 'A New and Necessary Treatise of Navigation' cites Psalm 107: 'they that go downe to the Sea in Ships and occupy their businesse in great waters: These men see the workes of the Lord, and his wonder is in the deepe'. [122] To fully immerse oneself in one's geographical environment, as the surveying and navigational treatises of the *Exercises* demand, is to attend to the power of God's creation. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, as Kristine Poole notes, 'a surveying instrument is not just… an instrument that is used to measure land understood as God's creation, but an object that, through its shape and purpose *participates* in

---

[120] Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 2. The examples of paratexts in Smith and Wilson's edited collection, however, invoke paper only implicitly and as a printed substrate (whether for text or image), rather than as a paratextual form in its own right.

[121] Blundeville, *Exercises* (1636), sig. A5*r.* S3*r*, Ee8*r*. Tt3*r*,

[122] Bartholomeus Hulsius' *Emblemata Sacra* (1631) includes an emblem with the same image and Biblical citation, sig. I*r*.

the divine'.[123] In this light, the scriptural framework set up around Blundeville's instrument book reads less like a contrived attempt to confirm status on a functional manual and more like evidence of an early modern understanding that knowing how to 'navigate', in the narrow, practical sense of Blundeville's own definition, also catalyses a spiritual payoff.

Where the *Collection* invokes metaphorical scenes of geographical navigation in order to spiritually aid the reader, the frontispiece to Blundeville's 'treatise' shores up the religiosity of successfully sailing the seas. The verse from Psalm 107 on Blundeville's *Exercises* is the beginning of an extended metaphor in the Bible about suffering on sea voyages before God brings the vessels to safety: 'For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof… He maketh the storm a calm, so that they waves thereof are still' (Psalm 107: 25-29). These verses imagine voyagers being tossed around by the whims of the Almighty, rather than coolly calculating angles in accordance with the rest of the book. Daniel Pell's commentary on 'the nine nautical verses in the 107 Psalm' suggests that there is more to be gained from practising the 'most famous art of Navigation' than there is from reading:

> They that follow their callings on Land, and have no other discoveries but Map-knowledge, or Book-knowledge, they may read of much, but the navigating *Viator* carries the bell away. Such may say, *Insulam videmus, etiam cum non videmus*, wee see a fair Island by description, when wee see it not, but they that go down into the Sea in ships, they have a real, a full, and satisfactory sight of all the sweet and delightful Countries, and fruitful Islands, whilst others by Maps and Books, do but read of, or at the best but hear of them.[124]

Pell's biblical commentary contrasts 'book-knowledge' with the knowledge of the traveller, as though 'maps' and 'book' might get in the way of 'real' navigation. But his sustained commentary on the nine verses of Psalm 107 demonstrates how much 'book-knowledge' has to offer. His own reader, 'detain[ed] so long in the Porch' and now 'lead… into the Pallace' is made a *Viator*

---

[123] Kristine Poole, *Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 197.
[124] Daniel Pell, *Pelagos* (1659), sig. P2*r*.

by means of Pell's book.[125] Paperscapes can be complementary, as well as antithetical, to 'a real, a full, and satisfactory sight of all the sweet and delightful Countries'. Transposing this psalm into the frontispiece of Blundeville's 'Treatise' integrates 'Book-knowledge' into the knowledge of those that 'go down into the Sea in ships'. Like the navigational emblems of the *Collection*, this frontispiece suggests the spiritual rewards to be reaped by folding together paper-based and extra-codexical forms of navigation.

Coda: Navigating the Paperscape

'Navigating' in this chapter has come to mean different things, which all arise out of paper's role as both textual substrate and mobile form. I want to finish by suggesting that, by overlaying spiritual, geographic and codexical topographies, paper volvelles bring a new precision to that much-used but under-theorised phrase 'to navigate the book'. To talk about reading as navigating is to imagine the reader charting a course: the book as static and the reader as mobile. That binary ignores the very real mobility of a book as it is read, the turning of pages that enables a sense of readerly movement. It also ignores the mobility of a book's material or intellectual elements prior to their codexical life, loudly visible in the case of the *Collection* whose engravings came from Holland. 'Navigating' books has crept into the lexicon of the history of reading where it has now become commonplace. When Ann Blair notes that 'printed reference works needed to offer readers formalized finding devices with which to navigate materials', she is referring to subject lists, authors cited, and indexes by which readers identify relevant pages.[126] Peter Stallybrass glosses 'navigational aids' as 'aids that showed one how to read the bible other than as continuous narrative'.[127] Those aids continue to shape how we think

[125] Pell, *Pelgos*, sig. P*r*.
[126] Ann Blair, *Too Much To Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 37; see also 117, 186. See also Wendy Wall's discussion of the (to modern eyes) inadequate table of contents in John Partridge's *The Treasurie of commodious conceits* (1573), which she approaches with the question 'how does a modern person expect to navigate through the text [of a cookery book]?' 'Reading the Home: the Case of *The English Housewife*', in Smith and Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts,* 165–187, 167.
[127] Stallybrass, 'Books and Scrolls', 51.

about reading: a recent online 'dummies' guide' to Kindles informs the reader: 'You use the Contents tab to navigate through the book, and the Notes tab to navigate through personal annotations you've made'.[128] Navigable books, on these terms, come in neatly delineated sections: they are navigable because we see clearly their isolated parts (these sources, these subjects, these chapters). The result is a book which, as Peter Stallybrass states, can be read in a non-linear fashion. The imminently 'navigable' *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) by George Puttenham is 'a book you can use without reading through'.[129] And it is for that reason that, as Wilcock and Walker note in the preface to their edition: '*The Arte of English Poesie* is a work of proved usefulness…its *disiecta membra* meet one everywhere in Elizabethan studies. Yet, though much handled, it seems to have made little impression as a whole'.[130] If the thing in our hands is legibly crumbling into citeable and cross-reference-able fragments, what use to think of a beginning, a middle and an end? Suddenly the reader is no longer navigating a smooth path, but leaping between slippery rocks. Images of the reader as navigator often invoke paratexts as signposts, which 'help readers navigate their way through sometimes implausibly expansive landscapes'.[131] But navigational aids disrupt the notion of a book as landscape, if by that we mean a single continuous surface. That is both because navigational aids show up textual seams and because, in the case of the *Collection*'s paper dial, they literally reconfigure the no-longer-flat surface of the page.

'Navigating books' has almost become a dead metaphor, in the sense that we have almost forgotten it *is* a metaphor: 'navigating' has become a truth of how we read.[132] But as

---

[128] https://www.dummies.com/consumer-electronics/tablets/kindle/how-to-move-through-a-book-on-your-kindle-paperwhite/, accessed 14/08/2020.
[129] Corns, 'The Early Modern Search Engine', 98.
[130] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Gladys Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), vii.
[131] Jason Scott-Warren and Andrew Zurcher, 'Introduction', in Scott-Warren and Zurcher, eds., *Text, Food and the Early Modern Reader: Eating Words* (London: Routledge, 2019), 4.
[132] 'Truths are… metaphors that have become worn out and have been drained of sensuous force'; 'On Truth and Lies in a Normal Sense,' in *Philosophy and Truth: Selections from Nietzsche's Notebooks of the Early 1870s*, trans. and ed. Daniel Breazeale (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1979), 84.

Dennis Donoghue writes, 'there are no dead metaphors, only sleeping ones: any of them, looking like death, can be brought to life by paying attention to it'.[133] Wither's *Collection* hovers over that metaphor, bringing it back to life, because of the relation between that book's literary and material form. Navigating the *Collection* with a volvelle leads the reader to navigational metaphors, which themselves imagine geographical landscapes to teach us moral lessons about how to live when our nose is no longer buried in a book. Geographical navigation illuminates the spiritual forms of navigation that the *Collection* describes. In turn, those printed metaphors provide a framework for reading the material form by which they are constituted. That is, they ask us to imagine the reader as a navigator in a way that is made literal by a volvelle-driven encounter with this book. Lakoff and Johnson propose that metaphors work because the concrete sense of a word, like 'navigate', gives definition to its abstract uses.[134] But in the *Collection,* where navigational metaphors are printed on navigable paper structures, there is a back-and-forth-between the abstract and the concrete which demonstrates the generative relationship between these two modes. As textual substrate and mobile form, paper makes room for different scales of navigation to pile up, to accumulate, and finally to collapse Lakoff and Johnson's distinction between language's concrete and imaginative forms.

[133] Donoghue, *Metaphor*, 57.
[134] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By,* 107–114.

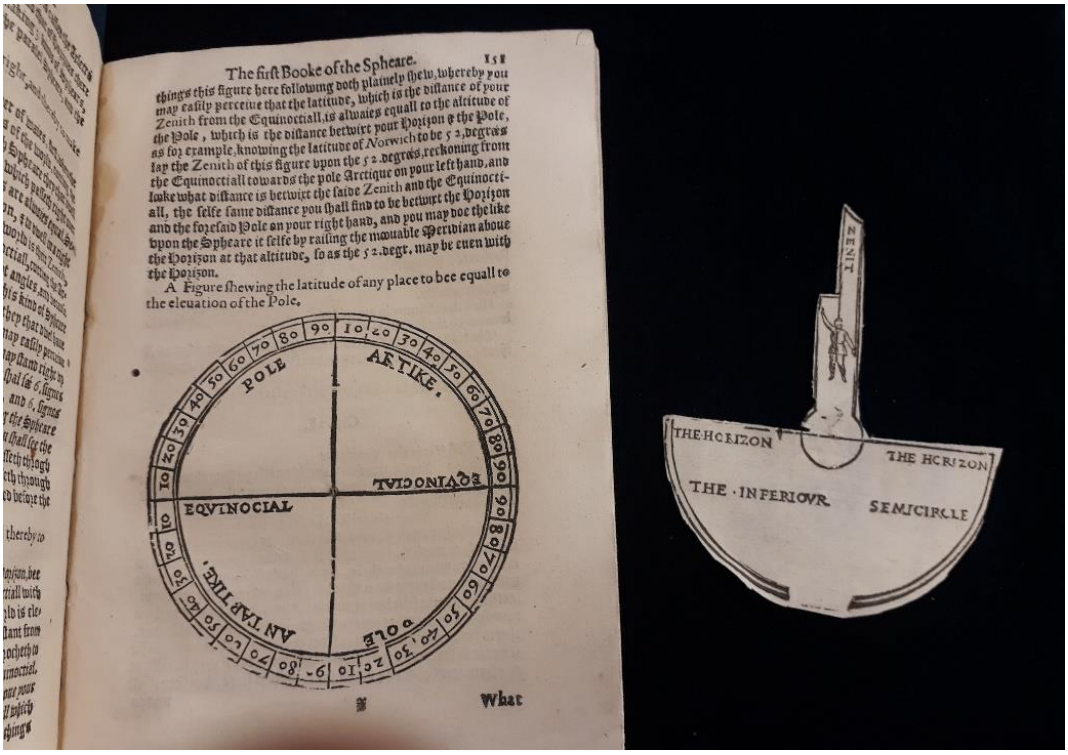


Figure 11 A detached volvelle. *Mr. Blundevil his Exercises* (London, 1597). Huntington Library 95582, sig. Xr.

All these meanings of 'navigating', though, still downplay the full spectrum of interaction which paper invites and demands from its readers. To navigate a book is to navigate a paperscape which is always under (de)construction. In the *Collection,* readers manipulate the index and so shape their reading experience by choosing which path to take. In Blundeville's *Exercises* the reader is explicitly invited to construct the paperscape through which they move: the book reaches its earliest readers only partially made. The *Exercises* instructs the reader, or perhaps the binder, to cut out and paste the paper volvelles into different pages. In one copy survives an additional bound-in sheet on which is printed an uncut pointer. The directions, which disappear into the gutter, read 'Place this upon that page 315' (see figure 12).[135] These instructions show a rare moment of visible incompleteness: a book frozen in the middle of its production. The pointer will now never be placed upon page 315 because today we place a higher value on preserving early modern books than on using them, or rather, we use books to

[135] Blundeville's *Exercises* (1636). Huntington Library 708329.

extract different kinds of knowledge to those that their early readers did. In some copies that same volvelle is at work on page 315; in others it has become entirely detached. In the Huntington Library only one of five copies of Wither's *Collection* retains its volvelles, whilst the eight copies of the *Exercises* now have between three and none. In one copy of the *Exercises* a volvelle has become detached but miraculously preserved with the book – when I came across it the pointer was slotted between the pages where it was intended to be fixed.[136] Different copies of the *Exercises* show the book in various stages of assemblage: a collaborative work which resists fixity or completeness.

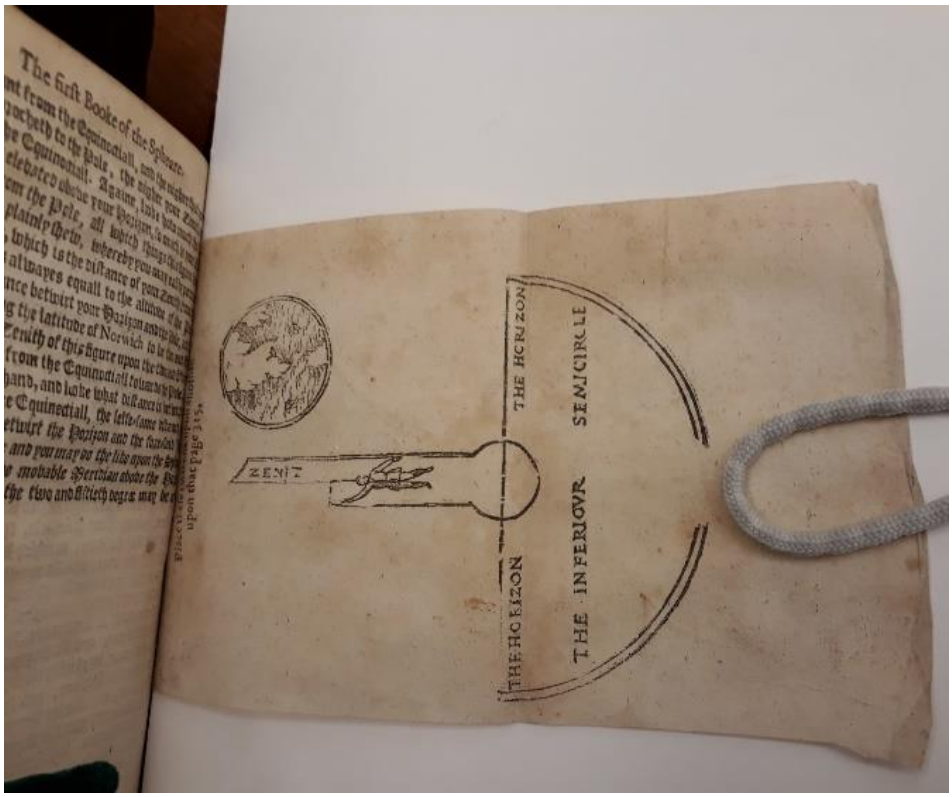


Figure 12 Thomas Blundeville, *Mr. Blundevil his Exercises* (London, 1636) sig, Bbb6r. Huntington Library 708329. Uncut volvelle: text in the gutter reads 'Place these two one upon the other upon that page 315'.

Inviting the reader to intervene in the *Exercises* is part of a broader early modern culture of book use. Early modern readers sometimes rebound their texts, or made manuscript

[136] Blundeville's *Exercises* (1597). Huntington Library 95582.

corrections as instructed by the errata list. Taking to the page with scissors and paste as the *Exercises* requires is a productive form of engagement which fits with an understanding of the book (as material, as contingent) and of reading (as active, as generative) that is particular to this historical moment. But navigational instrument books bring their own contribution to the history of reading. Blundeville's *Exercises* asks the reader to construct a book whose material form models (if only imperfectly) the external environment. In being asked to 'place this upon that', the reader mobilises the page that will mobilise them in future instances of navigation. The reader shapes the environment through which they move. If the reader brings their own interpretative lens to a text, shaping its semiotic meaning, then they also literally shape its paper form. In a navigational manual like the *Exercises*, that symbiotic shaping of reader and text mirrors the interaction between a geographical navigator and their landscape: an interaction which is modelled by this book. Michel de Certeau's image of a reader 'poaching their way across fields they did not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy it for themselves' affords that reader a violent kind of agency, which captures something of the interventions of Blundeville's reader into the paperscape.[137]

Poaching is the depletion of a finite resource. But cutting in the *Exercises* is the first step in the creation of more useful instruments. Paper is a mobile form, and to literally move fragments of paper between the pages of the *Exercises* – to cut the volvelle from its surrounding page and place it on page 315 – is to deploy its mobile qualities for didactic effect. This moment of cutting provides a legible intersection in early modern reading practices of the distinct but related concepts of 'mobility' and 'navigation'. The *Exercises* are a mobile paper form in two senses: paper instruments literally shuttle between sheets of the book, and that movement renders the *Exercises* a changeable form both in time and across its copies. If geographical

[137] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 165–176, 174.

navigation is a qualified form of mobility, then it is the local mobility of paper within the *Exercises* that enables navigation both within and beyond the space of the book.

Volvelles change the very nature of the book, and of the parameters of reading. To say that their presence increases 'both [a book's] reach and its local specificity' draws attention to how these paper dials both exceed the book's material bounds and individualise each reading experience.[138] It would also be to cut and paste Juliet Fleming's summary of the qualities of an emblem onto volvelles, and so to find a congruity between the two which makes the presence of the volvelle in George Wither's *Collection* look suddenly like a continuation of, rather than divergence from, the more particular kinds of reading that its other printed pages allow. Volvelles exceed the bounds of a book both physically (they extend above the surface of the page) and conceptually. That is, they enable a mode of non-linear reading which never comes to an end, hence Wither's invitation to his patrons 'anewe, to try/Their sought-for Chance'. In navigation manuals, volvelles allow the reader to input infinite values with the same pieces of paper rather than irreversibly printing over surfaces with textual examples. The volvelle 'shewing the Latitude of any place to bee equal to the elevation of the Pole' is demonstrated with the example of one city: 'knowing the latitude of Norwich to be two and fifty degrees, lay the Zenith of this figure upon two and fiftie degrees'.[139] To write out further examples is to take up more space; the paper instrument embodies the capacity for endless examples and infinite calculations. Paper devices such as the volvelle offer a kind of solution to the spatial limits of the codex. Whereas text increases in proportion to the number and complexity of the ideas it seeks to relay, a paper instrument has the potential to overlay concepts within the same material bounds or, in the case of the *Collection*, to open up the space of the book to new routes and readings.

---

[138] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 104.
[139] Blundeville, *Exercises*, sig. X5*v*.

The inclusion of paper devices in codices puts pressure on the notion of books-as-spaces because they radically transform how books, texts and paper actually construct and represent space. Attending to paper as simultaneously textual substrate and mobile form invites us to think about the nature of literary criticism as well as the nature of books. We might say that attention to the materiality of paper as both textual substrate and mobile form combines 'close reading' with a close-up attention to the embodied forms of that reading. But Rita Felski critiques the literary scholar intent on plundering metaphorical 'depth' by close reading, or defamiliarising textual surfaces 'through the imperturbability of her gaze'.[140] Pointing out the shared suspicion which motivates both 'depth' and 'surface' readers, Felski suggests that both, wrongly, 'treat the text as an inert object to be scrutinised rather than a phenomenon to be engaged'.[141] Employing spatial metaphors can compound this sense of hostility, by unhelpfully framing our interaction with textual spaces as either an intrusion or an attempt to escape from a misleading labyrinth of meaning. But the *Collection*'s paper index, like Blundeville's volvelles, demands a kind of reading in which terms like 'surface' and 'depth' emerge from the metaphorical into the literal. Navigating through and around the *Collection* (both at the local level in the gaps between text and image, and through the book by means of the index) is to operate in a mode advocated by Felski of making, composing, and creating connections.[142] It is also to take seriously the dimensionality of the page, and of the simultaneous planes of engagement (haptic, geographic, figurative) offered by these paper tools. Reading with an attention to surface and depth is to read with rather than against the material grain of Wither's *Collection*; to take seriously the notion of paper as mobile form and printed surface which turns readers into navigators on its own terms. In my next chapter I take that notion out beyond the book, broadening my scale to the city of London and the urban journeys that imprints convey.

---

[140] Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 54.
[141] Felski, *The Limits of Critique*, 84.
[142] Rita Felski, 'Introduction', *New Literary History* 47.2&3 (2016), 215–229, esp. 216.

II

Imprints: Navigating the City

Imprints tell stories about the making of books. They document the stationers who contributed to a book's making. Given that seventeenth-century printers and booksellers often worked where they lived, the names of stationers connote topographical sites. Imprints, then, track printed sheets as they move through the city in which they become, and are sold as, printed books. The imprint of James Howell's *Londinopolis* (1657) states: 'Printed by J. Streater, for Henry Twiford, George Sawbridge, Thomas Dring, and George Place and are to be sold at their shops. 1657'.[1] This imprint does what imprints have been bound to do since 1542 when Henry VIII issued a proclamation which demanded 'henceforth no printer print any English book, ballad, or play without putting in his name and the name of the author and day of the print'.[2] Insisting on an imprint in this manner ensures legal accountability: a seditious text can be traced back to the origin of its printer or publisher. More than that, as was common by the seventeenth century, the imprint of *Londinopolis* gives the names of the stationers by whom it was printed, sold and sponsored, and so it plots the book's movement through the printing house and bookshops of its production. The dual roles of the imprint – as self-reflexively travelling sites, and as miniature textual cartographies – deploy paper in its capacity as both printed substrate and mobile form. Printed on paper, imprints tell some of the story of paper's journey as it shaped and was shaped within the unit of a book.

The imprint is only one of the ways in which *Londinopolis* narrates a route around the city. The title page of *Londinopolis* promises 'An Historicall Discourse or PERLUSTRATION Of the city of LONDON'. The text offers a history of the city, which begins with key sites including the

---

[1] James Howell, *Londinopolis; an historicall discourse or perlustration of the city of London, the imperial chamber, and chief emporium of Great Britain whereunto is added another of the city of Westminster* (1657).
[2] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols (Her Majesty's Stationery Office: London, 1900), xvii, 80.

river, the bridge, and 'publick places of science and literature' and then moves topographically across the twenty-six wards.[3] While the imprint of *Londinopolis* tracks the movement of *Londinopolis*-as-book through the city of 1657; the text of *Londinopolis* takes the reader on a historical tour of that space. The imprint compounds the changing geographies of London that are erected within *Londinopolis*-as-text. In the first chapter, I focused on the paperscape of George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes* as both the mobile paper fragments within the book and the imagined navigable worlds beyond. This chapter reads the imprint of *Londinopolis* as a meaningful text which overlays and re-historicises the city that is imagined throughout the prose.[4] I wrote in the introduction that paperscapes are constituted both within the book, and by the connected sites that make up the origins and destinations of paper. That symbiotic relationship between text and environment develops in this chapter at the level of the city: specifically between *Londinopolis* and the city of London. The paperscape of *Londinopolis* is forged at the intersection between a mobile paper form which takes shape as it moves through the city, and the city which is given shape or form by the progression of that text.

Imprints tell only partial stories about moving paper. Paper becomes books because it travels much further than imprints would suggest: from the paper mill to the printing house, to binders as well as booksellers. And imprints pass over the manner or mode of travel, even between those sites to which they draw attention. Joseph Moxon's description of a warehouse keeper packing up printed books offers a rare insight into the logistics of transport between printing houses and booksellers. The warehouse keeper, says Moxon:

---

[3] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. E4*r*.

[4] Consequently this chapter is London-centric; but its methodology suggests new ways of reading, for example, James Paterson's *Geographical Description of Scotland* which was printed in Edinburgh in 1625. For the provincial book trade see Paul Morgan, 'The Provincial Book Trade before the End of the Licensing Act' in Peter Isaac, ed., *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), 31–39; John Barnard and Maureen Bell 'The English Provinces', in John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* iv: *1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 665–86; and Rachael Stenner, 'Regional Print Cultures', in Adam Smyth, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the History of the Book in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

> writes the Title of the Book, and numbers of the Book on the uppermost Waste Paper, and sets them by square and orderly on the Shelves in the Warehouse, to deliver them out according to Master-Printers order. But if the Impression were printed for an Author, or a Bookseller, he sends them to the Authors or Book-sellers without writing on the uppermost Waste Paper.[5]

This passage shows a glimpse into those moments about which imprints remain silent: about the actual transport of paper, and the shaping of paper into commodified books. Despite these shortcomings, imprints are alert to the fact that paper is very far from static. In particular they document how paper moves around as it becomes a culturally legible codex. Paper's mobility is intrinsic to the shaping and distribution of the codex; at the same time, paper bears the text which partially and imaginatively enacts that journey. Reading imprints in this way is both to foreground the paper whose mobility they document, and to reverse the tendency of imprints to recede, like paper, into the shadowy backdrop of a text's non-literary support. This chapter reads imprints as texts which bear witness to the mobility of their own form, and which showcase the role of paper in the construction of place.

The role of the imprint, in the most functional sense, is to provide information about the production and circulation of a book. The early modern imprint is the ancestor of the colophon (derived from the Greek word for summit), which signalled the end of a manuscript or printed book. From the mid-fifteenth century, the printed colophon cited the publisher and pointed wholesale retailers and individual readers towards where a book could be bought.[6] That information migrated to the title page in the late fifteenth century, as an increasing number of stationers competed for the market.[7]

---

[5] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683–4)*, ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (London: Oxford University Press, 1958)), 318–320.
[6] Peter Blayney argues that the imprint is aimed at the wholesale retailer; 'The Publication of Playbooks', in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 383–422, 389. Helen Smith suggests that 'members of the book trade *and* the amorphous body of the read public were the target audience' of imprints; '"Imprinted by Simeon Such a Signe": Reading Early Modern Imprints', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 17–33, 23.
[7] Shef Rogers, 'Imprints, Imprimaturs and Copyright pages', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth, eds., *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 51–64, 54.

In *Londinopolis* the imprint has a more than functional role. In a book which takes the reader on an imagined historical and topographical journey through the streets of the city, the imprint adds another layer to the text's 'perlustrations' in the form of the route the book takes during its production. It is one of the contentions of this chapter that we read imprints in dialogue with the texts they precede. That tussle between text and paratext has hitherto been lacking from scholarship on imprints, which either deliberately stops short at the title page, 'never reading farther of anie Booke, than Imprinted by Simeon such a signe', or reads imprints as documentary evidence for the book's production: a kind of sociological context with which to unlock the main body of text.[8] This chapter argues that imprints can offer something richer, more ludic, and more complex than 'a social and semiotic mode of understanding urban habitation', by placing imprints in dialogue with texts that complicate or undermine those modes.[9] To take seriously the imprint as a paratext is to read the imprint as a threshold of the text it precedes: to read into and beyond the literary frame of the imprint in the same way as we would the title page, the preface, the epistle dedicatory. If these other paratexts have greater claims to authorial agency, then the imprint occupies a similar position to printers' flowers, or devices, or other such non-authorial paratexts which announce 'this is what writing looks like', or more precisely: this is what writing looks like in a world of printed books.[10] We now understand paratexts as catalysts of literary meaning within a particular book, rather than merely examples, whether unusual or conventional, of their own form. In this chapter it is the turn of the imprint to be integrated within the codex.

The imprint of *Londinopolis* is one of many rhetorical techniques by which Howell's book constructs a sense of place. The imprint of *Londinopolis* has a relation with London which

---

[8] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: print and knowledge in the making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) and, for a later period, James Raven, *Bookscape*: *Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: British Library, 2014).
[9] Smith, 'Reading early modern imprints', 27.
[10] Juliet Fleming, *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 84.

is both precise – honed to the level of a shop (in contrast to today's imprints which name an entire city) – and, to our modern eyes, vague: the imprint assumes a knowledge of London built on its streets' inhabitants. The imprint's sense of London – as familiar, populated, and yet navigable only to those plugged into the co-ordinates of the book trade in this particular historic moment – sits in dialogue with the image of the city as it is erected within the text of *Londinopolis. Londinopolis* renders the city in both a temporal dimension – the one-time playground of Ethelbert King of Kent – and a spatial one, to be perambulated by Howell and his reader: 'we will direct our pace downward now, and take a survey of Bridge Ward within'.[11] This topographically-inflected language of reading transfers the city onto the surface of the page. *Londinopolis* articulates this transferal quite literally, imagining the growth of the newly extended city over the last fifteen hundred years, which now 'may be said, in point of magnitude, to be as a large Volume in Folio, to a book *in Decimo Sexto*'.[12] While Howell's image of the expanding city maps onto the boundaries of an ever-larger book format, the imprint defines the edges, the centre and the nodes of the city in terms of the book trade. Taken together, the imprint and the body of *Londinopolis* chart simultaneously the actual mobility of printed paper, and the journey of a reader through a city constructed on and within the page.

While imprints provide co-ordinates for a particular book, the very word 'imprint' draws attention to the local relationship between printed type and paper. Anterior to the bibliographic meaning of imprint (the text at the bottom of the title page which gives details of a book's printer, bookseller, and sometimes place of sale) is its earlier use: 'a figure imprinted or impressed upon something; a mark produced by pressure'.[13] To print and to *im*print are sometimes interchangeable, as in the 1611 King James Bible 'imprinted at London by Robert Baker'. But 'imprint', like the prefix to *im*migration, emphasises the entry of ink *into* paper

[11] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. M4*r*.
[12] Howell, *Londinopolis*, 'To the Renowned City of London', n.p.
[13] *OED*, 'imprint, n.', 1a.

cellulose. Randle Cotgrave's 1650 dictionary traces imprint's etymological roots to the French 'empreindre': to print, also to assaile or set on with violence', suggesting disruptive entry into a paper substrate whose resistant surfaces constitute depth.[14] The implication is that the places and stationers of book production leave their mark even after the sheet escapes them. One of the first documented figurative uses of the verb – 'enprinte my teching in thy soule stedfaste' – comes in one of the earliest English printed books.[15] The technological reality of (im)printing lends figurative resonance to this image, which oscillates between metaphor and reality. Goodly Christians follow in the imprints of Christ, and a good preacher in those of St John the Baptist: 'I *shall thinke myself happie if I can but tread in any of his steps, or imprint, but one of his notes in your heart*', emphasises a sermon printed in 1640.[16] Imprints are the traces of one gone before which invite and facilitate others to follow in their footsteps. Printed texts add their own visual charge to the affordances of the imprint: Andrew Gordon suggests that 'the word footprint itself is a coinage that emerges with the rise of the printing press'.[17] Just as ground yields underfoot to make a footprint, paper yields to the inky impression of the press: print is embedded within the 'three-dimensional topography' of paper.[18] Gordon parses what he calls the 'metaphorics' of printing, but does not distinguish the role of the imprint – those lines we define *as* printed trace – from other forms of printed text. That is perhaps because the imprint, in the narrow bibliographic sense, undoes that neat association between the footprint and the printed mark. A footprint is the trace of a moving agent across a static surface: if imprints worked more like footprints then we would have to imagine herds of bookshops and printing houses thundering across title pages and leaving their mark. Instead, evidently, it is the book which is both mobile and which bears the imprint: the imprint on the book signifies that the book moves between

[14] Randle Cotgrave, *A French-English Dictionary* (1650), sig. Kk*v*.
[15] *Hic incipit paruus Catho* (1477), 'Liber Tercius', unnumbered page.
[16] 'Tempus putationis, or The ripe Almond gathered', in *Threnoikos: The House of Mourning; Furnished* (London, 1640), 837.
[17] Andrew Gordon, 'The Renaissance Footprint: The Material Trace in Print Culture from Durer to Spenser', *Renaissance Quarterly* 71.2 (2018), 478–529, 482.
[18] Gordon, 'The Renaissance Footprint', 483.

sites of the book trade, rather than that those sites move around. The second half of this chapter takes up the imprint as an invitation to follow, treading in the footsteps of codices as they navigate the city and reading *Londinopolis* in those bookshops cited by its imprint.

Putting pressure on imprints transforms the history of the book into a geography of the book, which takes into account the place-specific nature of production, circulation and reception. Ogborn and Withers coin the 'geography of the book' as a methodological focus which brings together 'the local places in which books were produced, and their impact on the nature of books as material and signifying objects; the patterns of dispersal and modalities of movement through which books travelled… and the geographical positions of readers'.[19] This chapter takes Ogborn and Wither's geographical questions and transforms them into literary ones: when the geography of a book such as *Londinopolis* is carefully broken down into the imagined and actual journeys of paper and readers, how does that change our reading of the text? Tracking the real and imagined journeys of books necessarily involves tracking their destinations, while keeping in mind that those destinations are both multiple, and temporary. Imprints in this chapter, and shelf marks in the next, locate books in particular places (albeit to differing levels of specificity) to show the *un*fixity of books: firstly in terms of their topography – the way they move around – and secondly, which is a consequence of the first, the fluidity of texts' site-specific meanings. While paper localises text at the scale of the page, it also does so within the larger-scale environment of the bookshelf, the bookshop, or the city. In this chapter I narrow Ogborn and Wither's global scope to the 'city-favoured microgeography' and the individual bookshop. To read at the level of the bookshop is to read at the level of the edition, rather than the copy (where we might trace reader's marks) or the work (where we might track changes between editions printed and sold in different places over time). The second half of this chapter, which reads inside two of the bookshops to which *Londinopolis*' imprint leads us,

[19] Miles Ogborn and Charles Withers, 'Introduction: Book Geography, Book History', in Ogborn and Withers, eds., *Geographies of the Book* (London: Routledge, 2016), 1–26, 10.

responds to Jeffrey Todd Knight's call to 'open ourselves up to interpretative possibilities grounded not just in the familiar modern book and our own received generic, chronological, and authorial categories, but also in the frequently unfamiliar material configurations and categories fashioned by readers and retailers in early print culture'.[20] Imprints (along with other sources, such as booksellers' lists) document the arrival of books at specific sites, and so allow us to read books in situ both locally within the city, and in the company of other books which passed through that bookseller's premises at the same time. (The same might be said of printing houses, although their locations are less well documented in imprints). The paperscape of early modern London is constituted by those environments where paper temporarily clusters: environments which materially and semiotically shape texts, and which are mapped by imprints in turn. Rather than pinning down, or fixing books, imprints demonstrate the contingency of early modern reading encounters – like paper versions of footprints left behind by those who were once indubitably present and yet are necessarily on the move.

'Perambulating' Imprints: The City on Paper

How do we read the imprint of *Londinopolis*? Those lines 'Printed by J. Streater, for Henry Twiford, George Sawbridge, Thomas Dring, and George Place and are to be sold at their shops. 1657' tell a story about this bundle of circulating sheets, yet elide some of that story's particulars. The imprint tells us that *Londinopolis* was printed by J. Streater who (as an early modern book-buyer might know, and a historical scholar with access to other records can find out) lived near the Hospital of St Bartholomew.[21] The other four men listed on *Londinopolis*' imprint are book sellers who spread between them the cost of publishing the book. Early

[20] Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 82.
[21] Three surviving imprints record John Streater's location as 'dwelling in Well-Yard near the Hospitall of St Bartholomew': Simon Birckbek's *The Protestants Evidence* (1657), Joannes Jonstonus *An History of the Wonderful Things of Nature* (1657), and Thomas Bromhall, *An history of apparitions* (1658). Daniel King's *The vale-royall of England* (1656) has a variant imprint which states 'printed by John Streater, in Little S Bartholomews'.

modern imprints range wildly in their length and precision: compare Johannes Jonstonus' *A History of the Wonderful things of nature* (1657) which is 'Printed for John Streater, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of London' (in which Streater, the publisher of the book with no given address, is the sole listed stationer), with William Hughes's *The Grand Abridgement of the Law continued* (1660): 'printed by J.S. for Henry Twyford, George Sawbridge, Thomas Dring, and John Place, and are to be sold at their shops in Vine-Court in the Middle-Temple, at the Bible on Ludgate-Hill, at the George in Fleetstreet, at Grays-Inne Gate, and at Furnivalls-Inne Gate in Holborn'.[22] Streater prints but is not financially responsible for *The Grand Abridgment* and the book can be traced to four bookshops. Where *The Grand Abridgement* omits Streater's address, Simon Birckbek's *The Protestant's Evidence* (1657) pins him down more precisely: 'printed by John Streater, dwelling in Well-Yard near the Hospital of St Bartholomew's the Lesse'. One of two extant impressions of *The Protestant's Evidence* gives the name and location of one bookseller: 'to be sold by Edward Brewster… in Paul's Churchyard'.[23] Usually the taxonomy of imprints is understood in terms of how many agents are listed: W.W. Greg parses 'Printed by A', 'Printed (by A) for B' (demonstrated by *Londinopolis*), and 'Printed (by A) for B and to be sold by C' as the three models available for imprints, where A is the person in charge of the printing house in which the paper gains its inky impressions, B pays upfront for the book production, and C sells the book.[24] According to these models, *Londinopolis*' imprint is structurally identical to that of William Hughes's *The Grand Abridgement*. But crucially, the latter provides the locations of the booksellers. *The Grand Abridgement* names four of the five *Londinopolis* stationers but gives weight to the locations, as well as the human agents, of the book's production. *Londinopolis*' imprint acknowledges that copies of *Londinopolis* emerged from John Streater's premises and circulated to those of Twyford (or Twiford), Sawbridge, Dring, and

[22] STC R12818.
[23] STC R172972. Compare Wing B2945 whose imprint elides Brewster and states only 'to be sold by the Book-Sellers of London'.
[24] W.W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1959), iv, clxiii.

Place; yet it takes foreknowledge, or scholarly digging, to translate this imprint into a map of *Londinopolis*' travels. In 1657 Henry Twyford was based in Middle Temple, George Sawbridge at the sign of the Bible on Ludgate Hill, Thomas Dring at the sign of the George on Fleet Street near Clifford's Inn, and John Place at Furnivals Inn. These brief lines document *Londinopolis* travelling south west from Streater's printing shop to a multitude of destinations across the city.

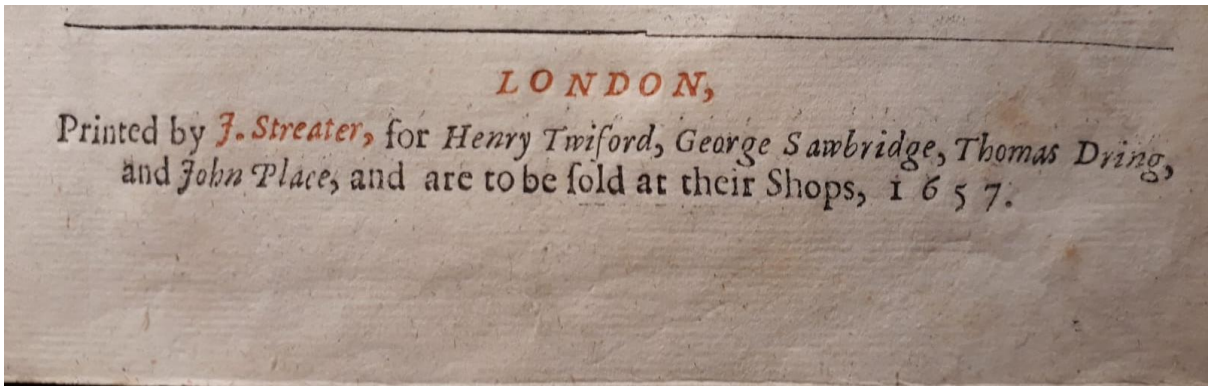


Figure 13 Imprint of *Londinopolis* (1657), Bod K 4.17 Art.

The structure of imprints is visual as well as textual. As figure 13 shows, the imprint of *Londinopolis* picks out both 'J. Streater' and 'London', in red ink. Producing such an effect involves separate impressions: the slight elevation of 'J. Streater' suggests a 'two-pull' technique, in which the type was assembled and inked in black, before a second forme was made up for the letters in red ink.[25] Printing in colour requires a separate frisket sheet to be made for each forme. Frisket sheets – parchment, paper, or parchment-and-paper fragments – 'mask the chase, furniture, and other non-printing areas of the forme so that only the type transferred ink onto paper'.[26] Preserved in the bindings of books dating 1490–1700, frisket sheets testify to the repurposing of paper across the European book trade. They also, in dictating what Elizabeth Savage calls the 'non-printing areas of the forme', suggest the complex relationship between blanks, space, and paper in printing rubricated text. The holes cut into a frisket sheet (which are

[25] Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 137.
[26] Elizabeth Savage, 'Red Frisket Sheets, ca. 1490–1700: The Earliest Artifacts of Colour Printing in the West', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 108.4 (2014), 477–522, 479.

specific to each rubricated forme) mark the areas that will be printed in colour. While the absence of the frisket sheet outlines the paper that will be printed, the *presence* of the frisket sheet overlays the paper that will remain, at least by this pull, untouched. Empty (cut away) space and blank (unprinted) space map onto opposite areas of frisket and page. During the first pressing, as Joseph Moxon explains, the space for the rubricated letters would be briefly occupied with 'Quadrats, m-Quadrats, Spaces': not 'empty' space, or 'blank' space, but material fillers which negate the impression of black ink.[27] *Londinopolis*' imprint confronts the reader with the memory of its skeletal black-and-white structure from which the names of the city and the printer were omitted. Is the status of those rubricated words one of afterthought or emphasis? And does that status emerge from their relation with the black text, or with the 'white' paper? The meaning of 'white' took on particular typographical emphasis at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1594 Hugh Plat advised those looking to improve their handwriting that 'the whites of certaine letters bee made of one equall bignesse with the o, supposing the same were all round, as the white of the b. of the a. p. y. v. w. x. q. d. g. and s'.[28] As Jonathan Senchyne observes, 'black/white dualism is assumed in these definitions: white is sensible between black marks, and black against paper, which is white by definition'.[29] Rubricated ink throws that dualism into disarray: 'white' here is no longer 'not black' but 'not ink'. And white, as a close encounter with this imprint shows, is a descriptive sledge hammer for the mottled, uneven texturing of creams and browns which frame – and are framed by – the letter formations. Plat's description lends importance to the 'making' of the paperscape on a local level. To say that 'the whites of certaine letters *bee made* of one equall bignesse' grants significance to the shape constituted by the still-visible paper, rather than the shape drawn on

[27] Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, 299. See also Bianca Calebresi, 'Red Inke: Reading the Bleeding on the Early Modern Page', in Douglas Brooks, ed. *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 237–264, 245.
[28] Hugh Plat, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature* (1594), sig. H*v*.
[29] Jonathan Senchyne, *The Intimacy of Paper in Early and Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2020), 139.

the page. Juliet Fleming poses a counter-intuitive way of looking: 'what is "blank" is not the space *between* words but the inked words themselves, and these are no longer surfaces shapes but something more dizzying: black holes that open onto shafts, stratified histories, vertical axes down which meaning is attracted and disappears'. This thought experiment reverses the binary of blank/paper against substance/ink: 'it is not words that are assembled in space but space that is assembled inside words'.[30] The red and the black ink of *Londinopolis'* imprint 'assemble' space differently, both at the myopic level of the page – is spacing amid red a different 'white' to spacing amid black? – and at the level of the city, as the imprint picks out certain sites and individuals while suppressing others into the background. Pushing this suggestion further, this sheet of paper assembles the imprint into a local and colour-specific form, suggesting a relationship between a place (London) and a set of individuals which in turn assembles the sites from which this book emerged.

Enough myopic peering. What of the bigger picture? This imprint records a particular book travelling between five different stationers, each of whom have an investment in *Londinopolis* and in the community from which *Londinopolis* emerges. One way of reading imprints is as documents of the book trade and its people. A side effect of imprints is their ability to 'map' social networks of human affiliations onto the logistic and spatial networks which distribute books. An early modern reader literate in the topographies of the book trade could parse more than geographical data about a book from its imprint, because stationers' names did social and political, as well as geographical, work.[31] That John Streater lived near Bartholomew Close was a sign of his non-conformist leanings: Streater printed James Harrington's censored *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, and wrote his own texts that gave readers explicit licence to criticize, even disobey, Republican rule.[32] *Londinopolis* was not sold in the

[30] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology*, 130.
[31] Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 147.
[32] One of Streater's pamphlets warned that people 'be obedient to Higher Powers… no further then the Higher Powers act for the general good'; *A glimpse of that jewel*, *judicial, just, preserving liberty* (1653), sig. A2*r*.

more dubious areas of Smithfield or Aldersgate Street, but its controversial printer may have been one of the reasons it was relegated from the bookish hub of St Paul's. What status *Londinopolis* lost from that marginalisation, it gained from Thomas Dring living in Fleet Street: a place with the literary credentials of Little Britain and Cornhill. Dring specialised in law books as well as playbooks, co-publishing *Five new playes* of Richard Brome (1653) with the influential stationer Humphrey Moseley. Dring's bookshop shed its own contextual light on the reception and readership of Howell's work. While Streater and Henry Twyford orient Howell within a network of anti-Cromwellian activists and writers, the variety of places in which *Londinopolis* was sold – even only half a mile apart – lessens the ideological hold of any one Stationer, or area, on *Londinopolis*. Instead this imprint shows the hybridity of Stationers who formed miniature communities under the banner of a single text. In his study of female stationers in the 1630s, Alan Farmer finds similar religious and geographical diversity among a group of co-operating widows which included Anne Boler, Anne Griffin and Joan Broome.[33] Farmer suggests that these women worked together for financial advantage rather than in the name of a coherent ideological agenda. We might be tempted to read the imprint of *Londinopolis* as a political or cultural barometer for the book as Adrian Johns imagines early moderns did: deciphering a book's ideology or literary status by the people and places of its production.[34] But the diversity of the community held together within those few lines suggests the imprint was not always a place of ideological reconciliation. *Londinopolis*' imprint shows a shared belief in the economic viability of this printed book, but it also contains political and cultural diversity within a seeming space of coherence. That small space on the page reduces geographical distances to a few centimetres: it also flattens the cultural gulfs across which early modern books travelled in the course of their production. Reading *Londinopolis*' imprint to unearth the circumstances of book production assumes, rightly, that there is something to be learnt about a book from its

[33] Alan Farmer, 'Widow Publishers in London 1540–1640', in Valerie Wayne, ed., *Women's Labour and the History of the Book in Early Modern England* (London: Arden, 2020), 47–73, 61.
[34] Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 68, 136.

environment. But attending to the constructed nature of the paperscape means also being alert to the disjunction between the lie of the political and geographical land through which books moved, and the ways imprints re-presented those topographies on the space of the page.

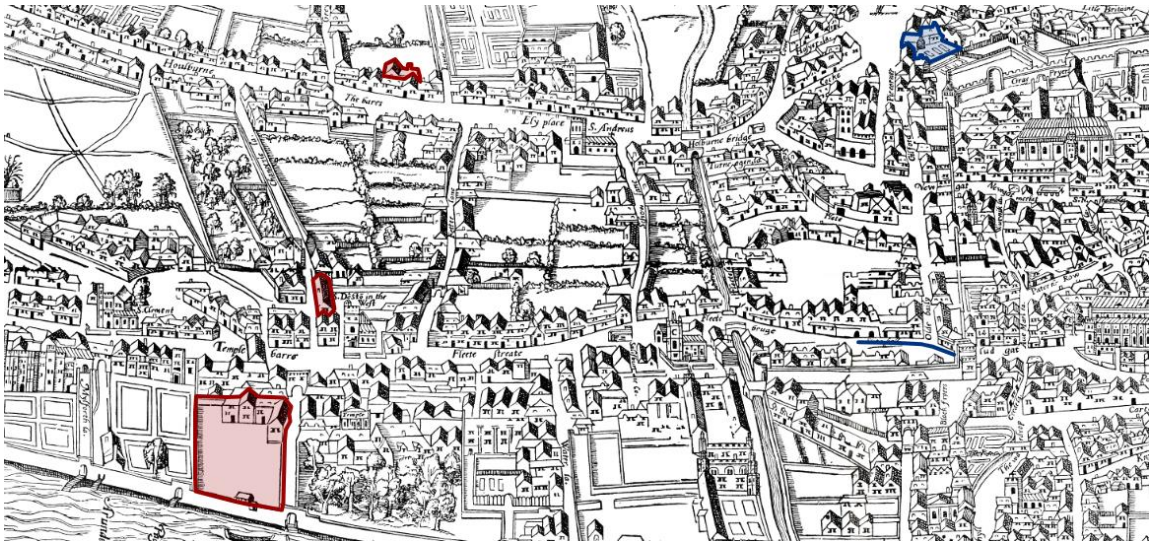


Figure 14 The stationers of Londinopolis. From left to right: Middle Temple, Clifford's Inn, Furnivals Inn, Ludgate Hill, Bartholomew Hospital. Image courtesy of *Map of Early Modern London Online*, ed. Janelle Jenstad.

Imprints are prone to simplify the nuances of heterogeneous communities of stationers, who were bound by temporary and economic ties at least as much as steadfast social ones. They more reliably tell how paper moved between individuals and across sites which made up the early modern book trade. This is a different way of thinking about the book trade: not as a series of social or human networks, but as a network of circulating materials, including paper. An alternative to Greg's taxonomy of imprints (which deciphers economic relations and the division of labour) attends instead to the spatial co-ordinates of a book's travels: the imprint as it 'expresses three data points in prose: (1) a stationer, (2) a toponym referring to a location of print activity, and (3) a preposition describing the relationship between 1 and 2'.[35] An imprint that includes multiple toponyms enables us to map the variant journeys that different copies of a book made around London. Figure 14 (in which toponyms have been derived from the names

[35] 'Georeferencing the Early Modern London Book Trade 3: What's in a name?', *Map of Early Modern London Online,* 11th December 2015, https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/BLOG18.htm.

of stationers) provides a visual map of the sites through which *Londinopolis* travelled. *Londinopolis* was something of a bookish pioneer in Streater's career. 1657 was the first year that Streater's books were sold by Dring, Place, Sawbridge or Twyford (although all five individuals collaborated together in twelve more titles):[36] the first time, then, that bundles of printed paper travelled from Bartholomew Hospital to these four bookshops. More books circulating between these stationers reiterate the strength of the *Londinopolis* network as a channel of printed paper. Streater worked with Twyford for 61 separate editions, with Sawbridge for 46, Place for 25 and Dring for 17.[37] While Streater collaborated frequently with Twyford but without the others (38 times), or Sawbridge without the others (28 times), Furnivals Inn and Cliffords Inn were most likely to receive printed paper from Bartholomew Hospital as part of the network of all five individuals established in the making of *Londinopolis*. *Londinopolis,* that is, instigated a new miniature network of stationers which resulted in and was performed by paper traffic. Paper moved both ways between printers and booksellers. Noting that publishers often supplied printers with their paper stock, it becomes clear that paper circulated among these communities in more than one direction.[38] *Londinopolis*' imprint creates a miniature textual community on the space of the title-page, among whom printed and unprinted paper circulated freely.

Yet there is also reason to be sceptical about the stories imprints tell about the circulation of paper. Imprints are selective about the start and end points of books' production. They begin with the stationer who sponsors the book's production, and, in their fullest manifestation, document paper journeys which start in the printing house and end in the bookshop. They omit the journeys some copies made to the author's house for proofing (Henry

[36] R12262, R22664, R20168, R43134, R174783, R24770, R203324, R216066, R13420, R19880, R186583, R218448.
[37] I am using the term editions to refer to deliberately separately conceived printings, that is, amalgamating ESTC entries of the same title and date which share a reference in the Wing catalogue.
[38] Anthony Griffiths, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820* (London: The British Museum Press, 2016), 66.

Brouncker, the third viscount Brounckner of Lyons (1627–1688) had the proofs of his translation of Descartes' *Musicae compendium* posted to him, although less affluent authors had to come into the printing house themselves).[39] On an international scale, imprints overlook the fact that paper travelled into the seventeenth-century London printing house from elsewhere (most often France, but also Holland and Italy), and out of the bookshop to libraries new. The imprint of *Londinopolis* suppresses all but the London leg of its paper's journey, and so centres the making of that book with the city that is the subject of its text. That London-centricity is characteristic of imprints more generally, and extends to books destined for England that were actually printed abroad. Imprints on imported works from Holland, often unbound, frequently claimed to be printed in London: some bibles emanating from Georg Veseler's printing house in Amsterdam cited the London-based printed Robert Barker in order to gain legitimacy in London bookshops.[40] Benedict Anderson observes that print helped to forge early modern nations by stabilising national languages, but imprints make their own interventions in that story by delineating and erasing national boundaries.[41] Moreover, imprints are silent about the copy-specific nature of books' journeys. Each copy of *Londinopolis* bears the same imprint, listing all five stationers, regardless of whether it left Streater's premises on Bartholomew Close for Fleet Street, Middle Temple, Furnivals Inn or Ludgate Hill. As I suggested earlier, imprints are equally mute about the mode of books' journeys from printing houses. A record of three 'cartloads' of books being taken from the printer Andrew Sowle in 1677 reveals a logistical framework for moving books which is invisible in the destination-focused imprint.[42] Andrew Sowle's 'seditious' books were to be damasked: that is, the pages printed over with patterns to use as

---

[39] Johns, *The Nature of the Book,* 103.
[40] Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 278. See for example, *The Holy Bible: containing the Old Testament and the New. Newly translated out of the originall tongues* (1643) which claims to be 'Printed by Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: and by the assignes of John Bill'. Glasgow university library, Sp Coll Euing Dk-i.17.
[41] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (rev. ed., London: Verso, 1991), esp. chapter 3.
[42] *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the Book Trade, 1641–1700*, eds. D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), ii, 155.

binding, wall paper, or other decorative purposes.[43] Damasking suppresses book and text in order to redeploy paper: a practice that undermines the coherence of the codex implied by the imprint. Significantly, then, imprints insist on a unity of the book which falls apart when we pay attention to the sheets or fragments of sheets which move in and out of the codex. For example, John Collins' *Sector on a quadrant* (1658) contains paper instruments which were printed separately to the book as engravings, and which survive both inside the codex and separately, pasted on a board. *The Sector on a quadrant's* imprint reads '*Printed by* J.M. *for* George Hurlock *at* Magnus *Corner, Thomas Pierrepont,* at the Sun in *Pauls* Church-yard; *William Fisher,* at the Postern near Tower-Hill, Book-sellers; And *Henry Sutton,* Mathematical Instrument-Maker, at his House in *Thred-needle* street, behind the *Exchange*'. These lines afford coherence to the entire book which is undone by the detachable mobile instrument with its own quasi-imprint text: 'H. Sutton fecit'. This phenomenon exemplifies a common attribute of books with detachable parts, which incorporate work by those other than stationers (namely, mathematicians and instrument makers). These books make legible the hybridity of material origin points which culminate in the temporary holding point of the codex: a hybridity which the imprint partially masks. Lastly, imprints document only the place of their initial sale. They elide the subsequent distribution of printed texts, especially shorter pamphlets and ballads, to hawkers, mercury women and pedlars: condemned in 1679 as 'those loose and idler Persons… who do daily Publish and Sell seditious Books, Scurrilous Pamphlets and scandalous Printed Papers'.[44] Those itinerant vendors took copies out onto the streets or even directly to the houses of customers who consequently had no need to navigate bookstalls themselves.[45] Imprints provide a starting point to tracing the journeys of books and paper: a journey which continues

[43] On damasking as an index of ephemerality and re-distribution, see Juliet Fleming 'Damask Papers', in Andy Kesson and Emma Smith, eds., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 179–191.
[44] *The London Gazette*, 7th August 1679, Issue 1432, 17th–18th century Burney Collection Newspapers.
[45] Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 153–155.

legibly in signatures, bookplates, shelf marks and catalogue numbers – and less legibly in gift-giving, loss, theft and sale.



Figure 15 Identical printed quadrants within the book, and pasted on wood. John Collins, *A Sector on a Quadrant* (1659) in Huntington Library 437087; British Museum 1888 1201.277.

Noticing how imprints skew the movement of paper is to note the fictional potential of imprints. While imprints' verisimilitude provides an apparently sturdy framework in which to record the production of a book, recently book historians have read imprints both more sceptically and as literary texts with 'narrative possibilities'.[46] The imprint on the 1597 imprint of *Romeo and Juliet* claims to be 'printed by John Danter', but a shift in typography on sig. E*r*, at the point where the Friar and Romeo are discussing how Romeo transferred his love from Rosaline to Juliet, suggests the work of another print shop – most likely that owned by Edward

[46] Smith, 'Reading early modern imprints', 20.

Allde.[47] There are many examples of such unacknowledged shared printing and it is worth remembering, too, that nearly all claims of books to be 'printed by' silently assign credit for the labour of compositors and pressmen to the print-shop owner.[48] Temporal inaccuracies also creep into imprints, which sometimes omit to take into account the death of a stationer.[49] The imprint of Edward Gunter's *The Description and use of a sector* (1623) states the book is 'printed by W[illiam] J[ones]'. A second cartouche contains the text 'to be sold by James Boler, at the signe of the Marigold in Pauls Church-yard. 1636.' But James Boler's last entry in the Stationers' Company records was on 31st July 1635 for *The Description and use of the Sector…made by Master Edward Gunter*, and Boler died before the end of that year.[50] On 4th March the Company records James' widow Anne Boler being assigned 'all or any part of the workes of Master Gunter… Provided the said William Jones is to have the printing and workemanship thereof'.[51] Anne Boler continued in the book trade for two years after her husband's death.[52] Omitting to update a male book-seller's name with that of his entrepreneurially active widow in the sixteenth and seventeenth century – as to acknowledge other near-invisible forms of female labour in the book trade – is by no means isolated to this example.[53] This obfuscation is part of a historical system which assumes and constructs male agency. Imprints are one of the ways in which printed paper suppresses the labour of women which goes into making books. But these elastic forms of truth also work on behalf of women by creating space in which they retain

---

[47] Helen Smith, '"To London all"? Mapping Shakespeare in Print, 1593–1598', in Margaret Jane Kidnie and Sonia Massai, eds., *Shakespeare and Textual Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 69–86, 83–84.
[48] David Scott Kastan, 'Plays into Print: Shakespeare to his Earliest Readers', in Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer, eds., *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 23–41, 36–38.
[49] D.J. Bryden, 'Evidence from Advertising for Mathematical Instrument Making in London 1556–1714', *Annals of Science* 49 (1992), 301–336, 313–314.
[50] R. B. McKerrow, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1550–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), 41.
[51] Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640*, 5 vols (London: 1894), iv, 330.
[52] Peter Blayney, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990), 22.
[53] Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). On Anne Boler see 116–117, 131–132. See also Alan Farmer, 'Widow Publishers in London 1540–1640', 49.

autonomy as booksellers. As the substrate of imprints, paper demarcates which agents of its production are above or beneath ground-level: legible or illegible to the roving eye. More broadly, while imprints are beginning to be noted for their 'narrative possibilities', hitherto unnoticed is their ability to fictionalise how paper moves around: their tendency to tell tales which are shaped, curtailed and organised by London-centric, codex-focused fictions which elide the richer life of paper on the move.

Imprints which reject that London-centricity do so less to nuance and verify the geographies of production, and more to draw attention to the affordances of the imprint as a fiction-making site. If the false imprints of the Q1 *Romeo and Juliet* or Gunter's *The Description and Use of a Sector* are motivated by economic or other practical agenda, then others playfully wink at the absence of real people and places that we expect from these brief lines. John Reynolds' *Vox Coeli, or Newes from Heaven* (1624) announces itself as 'Printed in Elisium'; Thomas Scott's 1643 pro-Royalist satire *The bloody game at cards* is 'cut at Westminster, dealt at Yorke, and plaid in the open field by the citty-clubs, the country spade-men, rich-diamond men and loyall hearted men'; while *The ladies remonstrance; or, A declaration of the waiting-gentlewomen, chamber-maids, and servant-maids, of the city of London, and within the loyns of copulation* (1659) is 'Imprinted at London for Virgin Want; and are to be sold by John Satisfie, at the sign of the Waiting-Gentlewoman, in Do-little-Lane, over against Smock-Alley'. The English Short Title Catalogue solemnly announces that 'the imprint is fictitious' for each of these three cases. That warning paradoxically imbues these imprints with potential legitimacy, as though the reader might fall for their utopian constructions instead of understanding them as satirical flags.[54] At the same time those ESTC labels collapse the different kind of fictions to which the imprint played host. Do Little Lane was a real place just south of St Pauls: this imprint overlays an actual, locatable site with rhetoric that reasserts the nature of the book (that is, an erotic

[54] Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 40.

satire construed in political terms, lamenting the place of women 'under the sad and heavy pressure of a dry and withered RUMP').[55] It is not enough to call an imprint 'fictional' or 'non fictional': imprints could misconstrue a book's origin with a variety of strategies which shielded its stationers, tickled its readers, altered its value, or advertised its contents.

We can identify in all these imprints a glimmer of self-awareness: a nod to the reader who understands the category of the imprint and recognises its subversion. These imprints acknowledge and poke fun at their documentary status. Their self-consciousness as texts – as a series of 'signs' (in multiple senses) which signify within a transactional framework constructed between text and reader – attracts us to read them on literary terms. I want to suggest that this ability to go beyond the merely documentary – to toggle between the historical and literary domains – arises most visibly not only when we read imprints in relation to other imprints but when we place imprints in dialogue with the text they precede. All three 'fictional' imprints above signal something about the nature of their text. Reynolds' *Newes from Heaven* (in which Prince Charles' ancestors discuss the pros and cons of his marriage to the Spanish Infanta) reasserts the celestial authority of Reynolds' title by claiming to be printed in Elisium, while the imprint of Scott's satire rewrites political confrontation as a national game of cards. The places of *The Ladies Remonstrance*'s imprint (the sign of the Waiting-Gentlewomen, Smock Alley) signal the kind of text readers will find within these sheets. The imprint of *Londinopolis,* on the other hand, lacks the playfulness of these examples. The dutiful list of stationers – real, locatable stationers – seems to resist the attention which is invited by imaginary streets and fanciful trading signs. But as these examples show, early modern readers were alert to the literary affordances of imprints, and the imprint of *Londinopolis* has its own particular relationship with its text. *Londinopolis* invites us to read those brief lines not as a factual statement entirely divorced from Howell's prose, but as one of the ways – indeed, the first way encountered by the

[55] Anon, *The ladies remonstrance* (1659), sig. A2*r*.

reader who picks up the book – by which literary texts and paper codices construct the places through which they textually and physically move.

Reading the imprint of *Londinopolis* as paratext – as a meaningful literary site which frames our reading of the book – draws attention to how the text of *Londinopolis* does something both complementary and antithetical to the role of imprints themselves. Honing in on Howell's little-studied, seemingly inert text (rather than its more richly studied predecessor, John Stow's *Survey of London*) is part of this thesis' attempt to offer an alternative set of literary co-ordinates with which to rethink the affordances of paper. The ubiquity of paper as a printed textual substrate undermines distinctions between the literary and the non-literary; more specifically, the composition of *Londinopolis* (including the ways it deviates from Stow's *Survey*), demonstrates clearly how paper localises, and thus effects, textual meaning. Imprints construct the world through which they chart the moving book, while the text of *Londinopolis* perambulates the city of London in the mode of a tour guide. *Londinopolis* at once inhabits the real bookshops and printing houses of 1657, and builds a historically and topographically constructed city in the architecture of its prose. The paperscape is where those two versions of the city, which emerge from mobile and printed paper, collide.

Re-reading *Londinopolis*

At the time of its publication in 1657 *Londinopolis* was the latest voice in a cacophony of topographical texts. That year alone saw the printing of the anonymous *Book of the names of all parishes, market towns, villages, hamlets, and smallest places, in England and Wales* (published by Thomas Jenner, who we met in the previous chapter) and *A geographicall description of all the countries in the known world* by the clergyman and biographer Samuel Clarke (1599–1682). Those simultaneously-issued texts constructed very different ideas of the places they discussed. *The Names of all Parishes* lists parishes alphabetically but then switches to a geographically-orientated structure for the market towns within those parishes, providing two lists depending

on whether the traveller 'passe through the middle or the skirts of each shire'.[56] London in this book is one of hundreds of towns whose distances have been calculated from one another. Clarke's *Geographical Description* lends London historical eminence within a global landscape, giving equal weight to the Egyptian pyramids as to Gresham College and the Royal Exchange.[57] London is constantly rewritten in these works, unfixing or multiplying the versions of the city circulating in print. Howell's greatest debt was to John Stow's *Survey of London* (1598) which he acknowledges 'preceded me in the same subject'.[58] Howell is overtly treading in Stow's footprints, to use a classical metaphor for *imitatio* which gained new traction as it passed into the age of the printing press and its imprints.[59] Stow's *Survey* was reprinted in 1599, 1603, 1618, and 1633, demonstrating the sustained currency of chorographic texts which began in the late sixteenth century with William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* (1576), William Camden's *Britannia* (1586), and John Norden's *Speculi Britanniae* (1593).[60] Despite the variety of tone and agenda, taken together these works suggest a prolonged interest in textual modes of cartography, synchronic with what Bernhard Klein identified as a 'spread of map-literacy'.[61] *Londinopolis,* which transcribes large sections from Stow's *Survey,* contributes to an extended historical and geographical discourse on the city of London which had its own textual history and tradition.

Among these titles Howell's is playfully self-conscious, provoking reflection on the kind of space that *Londinopolis* might be. The title page of *Londinopolis* describes itself as a 'perlustration': a word which appears on no other title page transcribed by the EEBO-TCP (Early

---

[56] Anon, *A book of the names of all parishes, market towns, villages, hamlets, and smallest places, in England and Wales* (1657), 4.
[57] Samuel Clarke, *A geographicall description of all the countries in the known world* (1657), sigs. H2v–H3*v*; M4v–N*v*.
[58] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. b*r*.
[59] Gordon, 'The Renaissance Footprint', 504.
[60] Another issue of Stow's *Survey of London*, dated 1633 on the title-page, may have been printed between 1640 and 1657 (STC 23345.5).
[61] Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 6.

English Books Online Text Creation Partnership). The word has its etymological roots in the Latin *perlustratio* (I roam, traverse; but also I scan, scrutinize), and in English signifies both the act of surveying and the 'comprehensive survey or description' that arises from such an act taking place.[62] But the book also declares itself a 'discourse' which, to a modern ear, resonates in the sense of 'a connected series of utterances by which meaning is communicated'.[63] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 'discourse' referred to the logical thread of an argument (as in Hamlet's gloss on man's capacity for 'large discourse… that capability and godlike reason') and 'the onward course of something in space or time; succession or sequence of time, events, actions'.[64] A text which proclaims itself a 'Discourse' invites the reader to make cognitive progress through the city, mapped as progress across the page. *Londinopolis*' 'Perlustration' announces at least three forms of navigation: a text through the city, a reader through a book, and a reader through the city made legible in those pages.

Those bibliographical and urban dimensions of navigation are legible across the book. Howell's rhetoric takes his reader through *Londinopolis* and through London at one and the same time. 'Because we are not yet ready to speak of the Abby, we will pass by it to the Gatehouse of Westminster'; and later, 'now we are, according to the method of our Discourse, summoned to appear at Westminster-Hall'.[65] These rhetorical moments are original to *Londinopolis* rather than transcribed from Stow's *Survey*, as are the six in-text uses of 'perambulation': *Londinopolis* uniquely stresses the reader's progress through the text as enacting or embodying a journey through the city. The book's geographic progression through the city – the line that we could draw from Westminster Abbey to Westminster Hall – is a series of choices mostly led by the order of Stow's *Survey*. *Londinopolis* presents those choices as rhetorical ones shored up by the structure of the text. The logic of discourse dictates the route

[62] *OED,* 'perlustration, n.', 1.
[63] *OED*, 'discourse, n.', 8.
[64] *OED*, 'discourse, n.', 2b. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2016), IV.iv.48.
[65] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sigs. Gg*v*, Gg4*r*.

through the city. Parataxis joins up streets and clauses: 'Next out of the high street, turneth down a Lane, called the *Little Bayly,* which runneth down to the East end of St. *Georges* Lane'.[66] Terms like 'next' and 'turneth' here have a bibliographic and an urban dimension. In a description of Farringdon Ward without, *Londinopolis* lingers on some new buildings in Smithfield: 'among these new buildings is Cow-bridge street, or Cow-lane', which turn-eth towards Holbourn'. 'Turn-eth' is printed across two lines, performing a literal turn influenced by the edge of the page. While paper makes room for the printed text which imagines the reader tramping down Cow Lane, or turning into Holbourn, the folded sheet brings its own structures to that journey and dictates the direction and turning points of the reader.

Reading *Londinopolis* as paperscape makes us alert to how the material page shapes the text, and in turn structures the reader's textually-mediated experience of the city. *Londinopolis* is explicit about the role of books in shaping London in a literal sense. Pater Noster Row is so called 'because of Stationers, or Text-Writers, that dwelled there, who wrote, and sold all sorts of Books then in use, namely, *A. B. C.* with the *Pater Noster, Ave, Creed, Graces, &c*'.[67] This passage collapses the distinction between activities of Stationers, or members of the book trade, and 'Text-Writers'. Both 'wrote, and sold, all sorts of Books': whether 'Stationers' or 'Text-Writers' these communities participated in different stages in the making of books. Ave-Mary Lane and Creed Lane obtained their name 'likewise'. This granular history of individual street names operates at a difference scale to the title page's lordly claims to 'scan' and 'survey' the city entire. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner's collection of essays on early modern London, named after Howell's work, reject the 'depopulated bird's eye view' to show instead how cities were 'produced by social practice'.[68] This passage of *Londinopolis*, which remembers with topographical specificity the shuffling of books up and down Pater-Noster Row, is a reminder of

[66] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. Dd3*v*.
[67] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. BB4*r*.
[68] Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner, eds., *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 15.

how local spaces are produced by the routes of circulating books. The presence of these books and their makers (or rather the memory of those who, in the past tense, 'dwelled there') lends these streets their names. When W.W. Greg wrote that a text 'exerts… its own influences on its surroundings' he may not have been thinking of this most literal reading by which his claim holds true.[69] *Londinopolis* records the historical presence of stationers and books which dictated the names of streets, and which in turn dictate how those streets are described and navigated in the pages of *Londinopolis*. Books 'make' the geographies of London in this specific and real sense: they come to be associated with particular streets, and so lend them the names by which those streets are mapped and navigated. Both of these examples – the mise-en-page which relays the winding journey of the reader, and the enshrined presence of books in Pater Noster row – document how books construct experiences of the city of London in a manner which reverses the usual justification for reading imprints: namely, that books are shaped by the places from which they emerge. While not seeking to undermine this claim, I am offering a simultaneous and alternative reading of *Londinopolis* to suggest that paper also shapes its environment: both in the traces that paper leaves on the city through which it travels as books, and as the substance which dictates the form of the texts in which that city is described. To use the term 'paperscape' to refer to the worlds imagined by printed texts *and* to the material sites through which those sites travelled is not to confuse or muddle two opposing ideas, but to provide a framework for analysing the symbiotic relationship between paper and its environment which is legible in early modern printed texts themselves.

Incorporating *Londinopolis*' imprint into a reading of *Londinopolis* is, then, firstly a reminder of how paper shapes its environment as a textual substrate and a mobile form. It is also a reminder of the palimpsestic versions of London that are legible within the pages of this book. The book trade of 1657 is the latest moment in the line of civic disputes, customs, and

[69] W. W. Greg, 'Bibliography – an Apologia', in *Sir Walter Wilson Greg: A Collection of his Writings*, ed. Joseph Rosenblum (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 150.

battles through which the receding origin points of this city can be traced. Howell was eminently aware of his role as a historian, comparing his activities to those who 'must repair to old *Archives,* and peruse many mouldred and moth-eaten Records'.[70] This description foregrounds the fragility of 'records' on paper or parchment, but also the stubbornness with which those records live on and enable the work of historians like himself. While paper shapes how the reader of *Londinopolis* moves through the text and through the city it also, as Howell's 'mouldred… Records' make clear, preserves prior versions of that city through time. Those two qualities – to preserve and to travel – have been perceived as mutually exclusive traits of media.[71] Yet paper, as the mobile substrate of a chronological 'perlustration', undoes that neat binary. Near the end of 'Faringdon Ward Without', the text arrives at Furnivals Inn: 'now an Inne of *Chancery,* but sometime belonging to Sir *William Furnival* Knight, and *Thomasin* his Wife, who had in *Holdbourne* two Messuages, and thirteen Shops, as appeareth by Record of *Richard* the second, in the sixth of his Reign'.[72] These lines recount the ownership of land which begun in 1350 when William Furnival (1326–1383) acquired a freeholding in Holbourn named 'Fournyvalles Inn'.[73] The freeholding became an inn of chancery when the Furnival line went extinct: students were studying law there by 1406.[74] As the text states, Furnivall's freeholding consisted of thirteen shops and two 'messuages', or dwellings. It isn't clear, and the text doesn't state, which original 'Record' is drawn on here, but this passage is copied word-for-word from John Stow's *Survey.*[75] The *Survey's* 'now' – 'now an Inne of Chancery' – remains true for *Londinopolis* written over half a century later, but Howell's text elides the precision of its own temporal moment. William Furnival and his wife Thomasine hover on the fringes of this remembered city as it rears up momentarily in 1383, in the *Survey*'s 'now', *Londinopolis*' 'now',

[70] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. b*r*.
[71] Müller, *White Magic*: *The Age of Paper* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), 63–64.
[72] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. Dd3*v*.
[73] Doulas Richardson, *Plantagenet Ancestry: A Study in Colonial and Medieval Families,* 3 vols, (Genealogical Publishing, Baltimore, 2004), i, 405.
[74] W. Herbert, *Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery* (London: Venor, Hood, Storer and Greid, 1804), 324.
[75] John Stow, *A Survey of London* (1598), sig. X6*r*.

and in the nows of their readers. Tracing the streets of London in the footsteps of the partially-transcribed syntax of *Londinopolis*, we are also transported back and forth in time: between the historical events and the multiple presents from which this book emerges.

The early modern reader of *Londinopolis* might stop in their tracks when they reached this passage for another reason: it could be describing the history of the location from where they just picked up this book. John Place, who features as a bookseller on *Londinopolis'* imprint, was based at Furnivals Inn by 1650. He was still there in 1686, shortly after which the place was turned over to his son. *Londinopolis*' description of Furnivals Inn is lifted from Stow's *Survey* which, first printed in 1598 on Popes Head Alley, has no material link to Furnivals Inn. However, the 1633 edition of Stow's *Survey* was sold at the Royal Exchange. So when the *Survey* describes the relatively recent construction of the Royal Exchange (erected in 1566 when the houses of three nearby streets were taken down, and possession of the plot given over to Sir Thomas Gresham), a similar phenomenon occurs as to when the text of *Londinopolis* arrives at a site of its own production. That vignette about the Royal Exchange is transcribed into *Londinopolis* where it has no direct bearing on the production of that book: nor does *Londinopolis*, parroting the *Survey*, make explicit its own associations with Furnivals Inn. The reconstruction of the past in the *Survey* has been read as an 'urgent contemporary issue', but there is something other than politics at stake in this revisiting of books' own past.[76] There is a self-reflexivity to these moments that is animated by their contingent place on paper within particular texts. If literariness is in part a self-consciousness of text *as text* – as a self-referential node within a network of other texts – then what term describes this momentary foregrounding of material text *as material text*: that is, as an embodied site of writing that arises from and exists within a physical environment? Can we say this moment is 'literary?' In Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* the protagonist ominously realises that already fixed in the calendar is the day of

[76] Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text, Community* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 114.

her own death: 'a day which lay sly and unseen among all the other days of the year, giving no sign or sound when she annually passed over it; but not the less surely there. When was it?'[77] That date has no significance in all its prior iterations until we reach the year of her death, at which point it gains significance in retrospect. Stow's *Survey* passes over all the landmarks of London, and in so doing passes over the future, currently unknown, places of its own production: first as new editions of the *Survey*, and later as reworked in *Londinopolis*. These pages of *Londinopolis* draw our attention to Furnivals Inn's history, because, in the textual origin of that passage when Stow put pen to paper, or Streater's men put frisket to forme, the place was significant as a historical landmark. But, as the imprint of *Londinopolis* testifies, that place later becomes of material importance to the form of this very text. The imprint assumes that we know this site as the dwelling of John Place, and that we might go there to buy this book. *Londinopolis* visits Furnivals Inn – like Bartholomew Close, Ludgate Hill, Fleet Street and Middle Court – twice over: once as a physical, codexical presence, and once as a textually-constructed site. *Londinopolis* the text, and *Londinopolis* the multi-codex edition, shape and are shaped by competing versions of Furnivals Inn. Griffiths and Jenner suggest that early modern London should be viewed retrospectively as 'a turbulent multiplicity of simultaneous and overlapping narratives… [which] question the very notion of a single history of London'.[78] This chapter adds a material dimension to those 'overlapping narratives' by attending to the way that *Londinopolis,* as both a circulating book and a localised site of print, constructs mid-seventeenth-century London. In one sense our division between text and codex is a division between a London of the past (Furnivals Inn as the one-time property of William Furnival in 1382) and the present (Furnivals Inn as the vending site of this printed object in 1657). But that distinction between text and codex – between a metaphorical 'perambulation' consigned to writing, and the physical journey of printed pages – is resisted by the imprint, which embodies

[77] Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles,* eds. Juliet Grindle and Simon Gattrel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), II. xv.139.
[78] Griffiths and Jenner, *Londinopolis*, 8.

both. That is, the imprint charts in textual form the actual perambulations of a physical codex. Book and text intersect at Furnivals Inn, where *Londinopolis* emerges as a material object shaped by the topographical sites of this city.

At this intersection is located a two-way relationship between the making of *Londinopolis* in the city and the 'making', in a rhetorical sense, of that city in the text. The link between making and writing lies in the etymology of 'poet', from *poiesis:* to make, create, produce. In *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), George Puttenham describes the poet as a maker: 'the very Poet makes and contrives out of his own brain, both the verse and matter of his poem'.[79] Writing here is to construct a poetic, which is also to say a material, form: in Puttenham's account, 'the distinction between 'form' and 'matter' breaks down, as form becomes associated with a pattern or mould upon which a thing is shaped… as well as philosophical senses denoting the Platonic *idea* or immutable form of a thing'.[80] In *Londinopolis* the material form of the book becomes the pattern or mould upon which London – or this particular and textually-constructed manifestation of London – is inscribed. The paper structures of the book, as well as the text within those structures, give form to the city, while at the same time geographical place gives form to *Londinopolis.*

Following Imprints: Paper in the City

In the first half of this chapter I have shown how *Londinopolis* – as printed text and as mobile paper form – represents and reshapes the subject of its prose, which encompasses the sites of its own production. Close reading imprints allows us to say, with new precision, how books 'make' the city through which they move, and to notice the contingency of that making across the book as a whole. In the second half of this chapter I argue that the reverse is also true: books

[79] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesy: A Critical Edition,* eds. Wayne Rebhorn and Frank Whigham (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), I.93.
[80] Ben Burton and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 'The Work of Form', in Burton and Scott-Baumann, eds., *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–22, 10–11.

are shaped by the city through which they move. Imprints signal their presence in printing houses which are inextricably invested, in a literal sense, in the production of these books. Often, although not always, imprints also acknowledge their presence in bookshops: sites which are also invested in the making of their books. To take imprints seriously *as* imprints, which is to say, as impressions which invite 'the pursuit of material traces across the page', is to tread in their wake and through the doors of the final destinations it is possible for imprints to cite.[81]

Bookshops have much to offer the history of reading. Peter Blayney laid the historical groundwork for a topographical study of the late sixteenth-century book trade in *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard*, which traces the stationers and their signs with exact geographical precision. Adrian Johns, working on a slightly later period, suggests that the density of the cultural associations of St Pauls were such that 'the topography of print should be measured on a small scale, in feet and yards'.[82] James Raven, working still later into the early eighteenth century, suggests that the topography of early modern books is a product of readers' imagination, memory and association (as well as a geographical reality). Topography is important because it inflects early modern understanding of texts which emerged from particular areas. If we have preconceptions about Shoreditch, or Budleigh Salterton, we probably have preconceptions about the kinds of books which emanate from their respective independent bookshops. More recently, book historians have suggested various ways in which the contents of particular bookshops might have influenced readings of texts therein. Adam Hooks takes this approach to delve into the publishing houses and bookshops of those stationers who shaped the corpus and 'authorial personae' of William Shakespeare.[83] Hooks parses the significance of the fact that Shakespeare's *Venus and Lucrece* was sold alongside Ovid's *Amores* and *Metamorphoses*, and that *I Henry IV, Richard II*, and *Richard III* were sold by

[81] Gordon, 'The Renaissance Footprint', 504.
[82] Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 68.
[83] Adam Hooks, *Selling Shakespeare: Biography, Bibliography and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 4.

Andrew Wise alongside the sermons of Thomas Playfere. To read Harrison's shop as 'a nexus in which a nascent vernacular Ovidianism co-existed with the Latin original that inspired it', as Hooks does, is to take seriously the bookshop as a meaningful site which shaped early modern reading – in all the richness of experiences that verb implies.[84] An awareness of neighbouring 'wares' might also shape early modern writing, as in Kirk Melnikoff's suggestion that Isabella Whitney was influenced by the stock of her printer Richard Jones.[85] Bookshops are places of juxtaposition; they bring texts together in a literal sense and so invite a critical reading of that proximity. In that sense, bookshops offer a larger scale of the close reading that might be offered by a Sammelband (a multi-text volume). Joshua Eckhardt's literary analysis of religion 'around' John Donne takes that preposition literally by reading Donne's prose and poetry, and the contents of his library, in the bookshops, libraries and Sammelbände in which they were encountered by early modern readers.[86] Eckhardt's methodology builds on the work of Jeffrey Todd Knight, who made an earlier case for the payoff of early modern textual juxtaposition at the level of the Sammelband. Knight's reading of Sammelbände is interested in 'material intertextuality', which extends the parameters of a text to its immediate material surroundings. Expanding the scale of this kind of study from Sammelbände to bookshops draws on the same rationale of foregrounding the hybridity of early modern textual encounters.

Reading critically in a bookshop has become an accepted, though still recent, methodology in the history of the book. As part of a close reading of imprints, the bookshop gains new purchase in a history of reading. Bookshops reverse the relationship between books and their environments enabled by imprints. Imprints are textual sites which construct a version of the early modern city; albeit a partially obfuscated, subjectively navigable version, which sits alongside other modes of urban navigation available within a book such as

[84] Hooks, *Selling Shakespeare*, 52.
[85] Kirk Melnikoff, 'Isabella Whitney Among the Stalls of Richard Jones', in Valerie Wayne, ed., *Women's Labour and the History of the Book* (London: Arden, 2020), 145–162.
[86] Joshua Eckhardt, *Religion Around John Donne* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019).

Londinopolis. We can turn this relationship – the book constructs the city – on its head, reading books in situ to consider how the city might shape the book. While my introduction drew attention to the vertical relationship between paper and printed text – to the ways in which paper yields to, resists, absorbs, gives form to, and inevitably alters the impression of ink – this chapter and the next attend to the 'horizontal' localisation of text on mobile paper. Imprints enable extended relations of 'material proximity' within the seventeenth-century bookshop, and so invite us to consider those spaces as literary sites: spaces which shape printed texts both hermeneutically and materially. These new juxtapositions create otherwise impossible interpretations, making us reflect on the contingency of our naturalised reading modes which are built on certain assumptions about text, book, genre, author. Bookshops are key sites in the paperscapes of early modern books: sheets of paper, including printed paper but also wrapping paper, binding supports, and endleaves clustered around book stalls as well as around more permanent structures. Bookshops were home to non-paper items too. Booksellers traded ink, pencils, sand, brass and wooden instruments as well as, in the case of James Rowbothum's shop in Cheapside, the necessary items for playing *The most notable, auncient and learned playe, called the Philosopher's game* (1563).[87] Among the free-floating sheets and other media which populated bookshops, imprints work hard to assign coherence to particular bundles of paper, which were often sold unbound. Meanwhile the proximity of texts to one another in the bookshop enables intertextual reading *between* these bundles, including, as the remainder of this chapter will show, a fuller sense of the affordances of paper.

In this chapter's sustained reading of *Londinopolis*' imprint, I'd like to follow those brief lines into one or two of the places they cite, and carry out a test case for this critical mode of book-shop reading. Such a test case is necessarily selective: the limits of this approach are precisely its infinitude. If bookshops offer an endless supply of juxtaposed texts, they are also

[87] Thanks to Ben Higgins for drawing my attention to this example.

limited in their scope: the case study only ever offers the perfect articulation of itself as a singular phenomenon. We could trace any text with a legible imprint to its bookshop, rifle through the ESTC to find another text sold there at a similar time, and lay the two side by side to explore how the juxtaposition of the two might alter our reading of one or both. And why stop at the early modern period? Or indeed the bookshop? While my third chapter takes up a similar methodological approach within Samuel Pepys' library, we could attend to books within numerous domestic or institutional settings to demonstrate the open-endedness of those relationships between, as Jason Scott-Warren articulates, 'those attachments of a book that are material (part of its physical design), interpersonal (part of the social network that produced, distributed and consumed it), and environmental (part of its situatedness as an object among other objects)'.[88] Perhaps what the bookshop uniquely allows is a sense of possibility. If no single reader can be proved to have picked up *this* particular book followed by *that*, then the bookshop was a space of multiple customers, readers, and potential owners who could pick their own way through the texts on offer. Libraries aspire to totality (even the smallest library, which in this period is to say, the Bible, contains the sum of the divine Word – what more could there be to say?). Conversely, bookshops are there for the chooser, to be selected from.

Case Study I: Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrea*

My first test case for reading in bookshops takes place on the premises of Thomas Dring. *Londinopolis* was sold here in 1657 alongside twelve extant editions of other texts printed that same year. Three of those texts are religious teachings; another is a translation of the letters of the French writer Vincent Voiture (1598–1648). Also present were Willian Sancroft's *Modern Policies*, and two romances: *Polindor and Flostella* in verse, and a translation of Honoré D'Urfé's *Astrea* in prose. The biggest group in Dring's shop, according to surviving records, was legal texts, including Michael Hawke's *The grounds of the lawes of England* and *Nomotomia: An exact*

[88] Jason Scott-Warren, *Shakespeare's First Reader: The Paper Trails of Richard Stonley* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 250–251.

abridgement of all acts and publique ordinances of Parliament, made since the year 1640 to this present time. If we want to make sense of *Londinopolis* within this selection we might be inclined to think of it as a local kind of legal history: a text which documents land ownership, among other things, and whose structure is delineated by administrative divisions of the city. To draw conclusions about Dring's shop from this grouping of texts is to ignore the fact that this constellation is made up mostly of darkness: the myriad lost texts also printed in 1657, and sold in Dring's shop, for which we now have no surviving evidence. Moreover a bookshop was unlikely to be selling only the latest products. At any one time Dring would be trying to rid himself of lingering stock, as well as promote his newest editions. Entering Dring's shop in 1657 would also have meant browsing copies of books printed in 1656, 1655 and further ago. However if we assume that the most recent books were set out in the front of the shop, while the old ones lingered in the back, then juxtaposing *Londinopolis* with its contemporaries mirrors the physical layout of the space.[89]

So having followed these imprints into the bookshop and set the stage, on what grounds are we to sit and read? Reading *Londinopolis* in juxtaposition with any of its neighbouring texts is based on their proximity for the early modern reader who rifles through Thomas Dring's stock on Fleet Street. That early modern readers could indeed rifle, rather than being confined to look upon the title pages, has been demonstrated by Philip Tromans who finds pleas, requests, and instructions to potential customers to buy the book in hand within the pages of 134 extant editions printed between 1567 and 1695.[90] John Heminge and Henry Condell invite readers to 'read and censure' Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories and Tragedies* with the hasty qualification 'but buy it first'; they address those frantic page-turners skulking in the corners of

[89] Ben Higgins, 'What Was a Bookshop and What Happened There?', in Adam Smyth, ed., *The Oxford Handbook to the History of the Book in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).
[90] Philip Tromans, 'The Business of Browsing in Early Modern English Bookshops', in Shanti Graheli, eds., *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 111–135. Harold Love also claims that 'the practice of browsing in booksellers' shops was well-established'; *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 193.

bookshops who attempt to inhale a book on site without parting with their money, or who more brazenly 'sit… a whole afternoon, sometimes, in a book-sellers shop reading the Greek, Italian, and Spanish, when he understands not a word of either'.[91] Ben Jonson's complaint smacks of time spent sitting in one of the larger bookshops – an enclosed building with a cellar below, and a kitchen and bedrooms above – rather than one of the smaller (chair-less) booths with shutters that folded down to create a counter on which to display books to passing customers.[92] 'Bookshop' encompasses a variety of places. Their size and level of enclosure dictated in part the ability to browse, but these prefaces suggest that browsing was normal (if occasionally frowned-on) behaviour. The pleas of Heminge and Condell, and of Robert Lewes (who advised any party who had got as far as page eleven in *The Merchants Map* (1638), 'If thou would'st be a Merchant, buy this Booke'), and of many others that Tromans locates, would be inaccessible if the pages were unopened or if books were off-limits to browsing customers. Their ubiquity suggests that these pleas worked, or at least rhetorically made sense, because customers saw them when they were still in the shop. Tromans' research gives historical force to the image of the early modern browser who flicks through the pages of books, considering whether or not to purchase them. And that image in turn lends critical clout to arguments about reading across and between books within the same bookshop: to do so is to read as early moderns could and did, and so to recover these books on their own terms.

The book I wish to select as my first test case for reading in the bookshops of *Londinopolis* makes explicit reference to the purchasing power of readers in its preface. The English translation of Honoré D'Urfé's *Astrea* was printed in three volumes between 1657 and 1658, and the epistles 'to the reader' in volumes two and three look knowingly on their

---

[91] Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of His Humour*, ed. Randall Martin, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), i, III.i.39–41.
[92] Johns, *The Nature of the Book*, 110; Giles Mandelbrote, 'Workplaces and Living Spaces' in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, eds., *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the Sixteenth Century* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2003), 21–43, 29–35; Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering, Sociability* 1660–1703 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 168–169.

commercial surroundings. These prefaces are written not by D'Urfé but by the translator J.D., who is invested (personally if not financially) in the speed or lack thereof with which his books flew off the shelves. The preface to volume two weighs the book's supposed moral and intellectual payoff against its price: 'the more a Booke is bought up, the more are people inform'd, the more instructed, the more edifi'd; which who looks not on as of much greater consequence than the price, is a person certainly of no great correspondence with Letters'.[93] The preface to part three similarly insists that this book is well worth the cash: 'the floridness of its Discourses will Apologize for your pains in reading, and its price in your purchasing'.[94] Dring's investment in *Astrea* was made less risky by spreading the cost with two others: Henry Herringman (at the sign of the Blue Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange), and Humphrey Moseley at the Princes Arms in Paul's Churchyard.[95] Although both *Astrea* and *Londinopolis* are sold at multiple bookshops across the city, the two only intersect here, in Thomas Dring's shop. While *Londinopolis* tends towards lesser known booksellers, *Astrea* is a jewel in Dring's crown in that it was endorsed by two of the most successful stationers who shaped the contemporary literary market.[96] Copies of both books travelled from their printers to different bookshops around the city, and those that inhabited Dring's bookshops did so temporarily. If there is a contingency to the way we read these texts, to the parts that draw our attention or recede into the background, then that flickering focus arises in part from the contingency of their physical situation and textual environment.

How might the intersection of *Londinopolis* with *Astrea*, documented in their imprints, alter a reading of those texts? The imprint of *Londinopolis* relies on knowledge of the city: knowledge which is historically thickened within that text. *Astrea* on the other hand signals its

---

[93] Honoré D'Urfé, *Astrea: a romance… the second volume* (1658), 'To the Reader'.
[94] Honoré D'Urfé, *Astrea: a romance… the third volume* (1658), 'To the Reader'.
[95] George Eyre, Charles Rivington and Henry Plomer, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers 1640–1708*, 3 vols (London, 1913–1914), ii, 13th May 1656.
[96] David Scott Kastan, 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature', in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric Lindquist and Eleanor Shevlin, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 105–124, 113.

otherness to London. This is a translation of a French text; the words 'translated' and 'written in French' are capitalised and enlarged on the title pages of all three volumes. *Londinopolis* describes the history of the city from which it emerged as a printed book, whereas *Astrea* makes quite different claims to its literary relationship with the place of its own production. The second largest word on the title page, 'romance', suggests an inventive narrative plot which unfolds at a distance from reality. The preface of the first volume makes a strong case for fiction. 'OF all the *Books* that Mankind hath convers'd with', writes J.D,

> none hath contributed so much to the *civilization* thereof, or gaind that *esteeme* and *Authority* with it, as those of POETRY; by which terme I meane, FICTION, in the largest extent... Hence was it that some stumbled on that *Paradoxe: That mankinde, look't on generally, had made greater advantages of* Fiction, *than ever it had done of* Truth.[97]

'Fiction' is more palatable than 'Truth', reasons J.D, because the latter, 'by reason of her nakednesse, find[s] so much the colder reception; the *other,* disguized in the dresses of *Witt,* and *Eloquence,* [is] the noblest entertainement that could be expected from *reverence, admiration, and Idolatry*'. Leaving aside that this passage collapses 'poetry' into 'fiction' to defend its own prose, this preface is complicated by the topographies of *Astrea* which themselves oscillate between the fictional and the historical. The romance plays out in fifth-century '*Forrests*' or Forez, in southeast France. Book one opens 'neare the Antient Cittie of Lyons' and follows the river 'Loyre' or Loire through the valley.[98] Upon the banks of this river we hone in on 'an abundance of shepheards', and there pick up Celadon with whom the story starts. During the course of the adventures mainly set in France, characters travel to and from London. Alcippes is 'forced to *London* unto King *Arthur,* who as I have heard', says the narrator 'did at that time institute the order of Knights of the Round Table'.[99] As he disappears off the map of France, Alcippes also disappears briefly from the plot: 'the discourse would be much too

[97] D'Urfé, *Astrea,* sig. A2*r*.
[98] D'Urfé, *Astrea,* sig. B*r*.
[99] D'Urfé, *Astrea*, sig. D3*v*.

tedious should I particularise every passage of this voyage'. A more sustained attention to London plays out in the history of Lydias and Melandre, who meet in London where Lydias has fled to escape the consequences of killing a man in France. After two years of courtship between Lydias and Melandre in London, global events intervene. Nuestria, the western part of the Frankish empire, is in *Astrea* an independent state. The Nuestrians are facing invasion from the Franks, and 'send unto *London,* their antient Allie' for help.[100] So Lydias leaves London, and the story continues. English readers of this translated romance might have been more alert to these cameo appearances of their own capital city than D'Urfé's French readers. Throughout *Astrea*, London is fleetingly integrated into a historical landscape inhabited by Gauls and Romans: two peoples who also appear in *Londinopolis*'s potted history of the city. All this suggests a plot playing out on a 'real', if temporally distant, landscape. In the English translation, *Astrea* is divided up into 'histories': a word which has a fraught relationship with fiction in prose as much as the well-documented examples of early modern drama.[101] The second part of *Don Quixote*, translated by Thomas Shelton into English in 1620, refers to one of its characters, Sidi Hamid, as 'the most punctuall Searcher of the very moats of this true History'.[102] That familiar tautology, 'true History', undermines the tale's performance as 'history', in the sense of a faithful record.[103] In *Astrea*, the repetitive appearance of the word 'history' belies the stance of the preface which describes the 'nakedness' and 'cold reception' of truth. *Astrea* amalgamates London into an early medieval history which plays out on a map populated by the fictional 'histories' of Celadon, Alcippes, Lydias and Melandre.

---

[100] D'Urfé, *Astrea,* sig. Bb2*v*.
[101] As well as the genre-based 'Catalogue' of Shakespeare's First Folio (1623), see the anonymous *The true chronicle history of King Leir* (1605), or Christopher Marlowe's *The tragicall history of Doctor Faustus* (1604).
[102] Miguel De Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, trans. Burton Raffel and ed. Diana de Armas Wilson (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), II.50, 621.
[103] The title page of Shakespeare's *Pericles* (1609) claims to provide 'the true relation of the whole historie… of the said Prince'.

The events of those characters play out in a 'microcosm', as Kathleen Wine writes, configured not so much by national borders but by a 'dazzling variety of emotional states'.[104] Characters several times describe themselves as being in a 'labyrinth'. Arimant says as much to Criseyde, and adds that his only means of escape, or 'refuge' is to 'referre my selfe wholly unto your will': later Criseyde finds herself 'in such an extream Labyrinth of griefe'.[105] Wine describes these emotional mazes in the terminology of art history as 'baroque': 'a work in which infinite complications deny the very possibility of resolution'.[106] These unnavigable localities differ from the broadly recognisable topographies of Neustria, Gaul, and London which delineate the events of the romance. In *Astrea*, London is mapped on the fringes of a landscape which oscillates between imaginative terrain, documented history, and personal experience.

But first of all, of course, London appears on *Astrea's* imprint: '*LONDON,* Printed by *W. W.* for *H. Moseley, T. Dring,* and *H. Herringman,* And are to be sold at their shops in St *Pauls* Church-yard, *Fleetstreet,* and in the Lower walke in the *New Exchange.* 1657'. The imprint tracks the printed romance as it moves south from the premises of William Wilson at the sign of the Three Foxes on Long Lane, and towards St Paul's Churchyard, the New Exchange, or Fleet Street – in the case of the latter arriving next to *Londinopolis*. What the imprint does not track is the life of the paper on which it is printed prior to the book: paper most likely exported from the very country, France, fictionalised in this text.[107] The imprint names where *Astrea* intersects with *Londinopolis* – albeit, as one site among three other, *Londinopolis*-free destinations – and so makes legible the crossover in the journey of these books. As I have stated, imprints suppress or are ignorant of the sites of a book's parts before it became a book (in this case, the origin of *Astrea's* paper, or the libraries in which *Astrea* ends up), and so they overlook

---

[104] Kathleen Wine, '*L'Astrée's* Landscapes and the Poetics of Baroque Fiction', *Symposium* 40.2 (1986), 141–153, 143.
[105] D'Urfé, *Astrea… the second volume*, sigs. T3*v,* V2*r*.
[106] Wine, '*L'Astrée's* landscapes', 144.
[107] John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English books', in John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* iv: *1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 583–601.

the places other than bookshops and printing houses in which texts might cross over for the second or third time.[108] The imprint gives a partial history of this book's mobility which centres around the printers and booksellers of mid-seventeenth-century London. In turn, London – a place of 1657, a place of material book production – is fictionalised and historicised within the romance of *Astrea*. *Astrea*-as-codex (which encompasses both romance narrative and imprint) overlays London's history onto its own: a fuller, palimpsestic version of 'book history' in which the traces of the past are both rewritten and remain.

That theme of the palimpsest is legible in *Astrea* itself. In volume one the loyal lover Silvander reads out 'Twelve Statutes of Love' which are found in the middle of the forest. Those statutes advocate infinite fidelity, monolithic devotion, chivalry, and a belief in the recipient's own constancy. Hylas, an inconstant lover and Silvander's nemesis, decides to amend these statutes to conform to his own creed. When the others are absent he creeps back to alter the statutes:

> That the alteration might be lesse discerned, he first erased out what he thought fit with the point of his knife, then did polish it with the haft of his knife, then did write upon it what he had changed; and when all was done, he set it in its place again, and went out, unperceived by any'.[109]

Hylas takes on the role of editor: the first couplet in the statutes 'He that's a perfect Lover, and a just/ And as he ought; love infinitely must' becomes 'He that's a perfect Lover, and a just/ And true, never love infinitely must'.[110] A call for fidelity becomes a spur to inconstancy. Hylas erases text with a knife in a technique which mirrors the practices of scribes working on parchment. Parchment's layers allow for the digging out of text, rather than the pasting over or crossing out required on paper. These qualities – the absorbency of paper and the thickness of parchment – have led scholars to pronounce that paper, in contrast to parchment, 'does not

---

[108] A sale catalogue of the library of Jeremy Copping sold in Exchange Alley in Cornhill in 1687 includes a French copy of *Astrea* (1612) and *Londinopolis*; wing C6107, p.3, p.5.
[109] D'Urfé, *Astrea*, sig. Nn3*r*.
[110] D'Urfé, *Astrea*, sig. Nn3*v*.

easily accommodate erasure as a technique for correcting'.[111] This is true, but this scene in *Astrea* undermines the extent to which paper *uniquely* shows up 'fraudulent interference with accounting, notorial and legal practices'.[112] Hylas's editing of parchment does not go undetected. While Silvander is baffled by the apparent change in the statutes, it is Diana who

> found, that though the Inke was alike, yet there was some difference on some Characters, and then rubbing them with her finger, the new written went off, and the rasure appeared; then holding the Parchment betwixt the Sun and her eye, all the rasures and old writing easily appeared'.[113]

This parchment is a true palimpsest: the statutes may be written over by new ones but the old ones remain stubbornly layered underneath. 'In one and the same place', says Diana, 'you, *Silvander,* may finde it written as you did read, and you *Hylas,* as you did correct it'.[114] Diana demonstrates how to read parchment in a way which is attuned to its competing meanings, embodied in physical form. As Diana shows, one place on the parchment bears witness to multiple temporal moments of reading and writing.

In a bookshop surrounded by other records of law, that scene in *Astrea* makes a mockery of the permanence of legislation. *Londinopolis* transcribes legal records, and so articulates, or attempts to shore up, their authority. The text includes citations of the Magna Carta, whose etymological root in 'chart' signifies 'paper, parchment or anything to write on'.[115] Collapsing writing and substrate into one, the Magna Carta takes its authority from its material form. Howell lovingly describes the supremacy of that charter in rhetorical terms of selective humanist learning: 'the choysest of the *British, Roman, Saxon, Danish,* and *Norman* Lawes, being cull'd and pick'd out, and gathered as it were in one bundle'.[116] That 'one bundle' acknowledges

---

[111] Orietta Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 114.
[112] Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England*, 114.
[113] D'Urfé, *Astrea*, sig. O*o*r.
[114] D'Urfé, *Astrea,* sig. O*o*r.
[115] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia* (1656), sig. H8*r*.
[116] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. Hh*r*.

the charter's papery form, which hovers on the edge of Howell's field of vision. *Londinopolis* champions effective legal systems, and compares the city to a ship in which 'Good Lawes and Constitutions are the Cables and Ligaments'.[117] In Howell's own time those cables and ligaments were creaking rather badly. Under the transcription of a parliamentary summons, Howell writes, 'This was the Law and usage in former times; but what is the power of the Commons in these dayes now that the Government is altred, and cast into another mould, (the House of Peers being dissolved) it is not the intent of this Discourse to determine'.[118] While the future looks uncertain, *Londinopolis* looks back towards the past as a source of determinacy. In *Astrea*, those visibly amended written statutes bring the past and the present into collision on the surfaces of parchment. In that sense, Diana's reading of the twice-written parchment in *Astrea* offers a narrative for what happens in *Londinopolis* on paper: the history of the city is traced back through the body of the text, and simultaneously into the moment of the book's production on the imprint. Reading *Londinopolis* next to *Astrea* in Thomas Dring's bookshop adds yet another historical layer to the palimpsests of London which build up like sediment in and around that book. Instead of taking on binary roles of preservation/erasure, paper and parchment both display their ability to embody multiple temporalities. And if London in *Londinopolis* hovers somewhere on a spectrum between past and present, then juxtaposing *Astrea* implicates that city into an even less stable world of fiction, romance, and the editing tendencies of the historian, all borne out on paper.

Case Study II: *The Compleat Surveyor*

Switching starkly from one case study to another reveals the potential, as well as the flaws, in bookshop reading. On the one hand there is a certain imprint-driven logic to reading in bookshops, because imprints lead us to the places where texts encounter one another on their journeys around the city. Imprints allow us to say relatively easily whether any two editions did

[117] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. F*r*.
[118] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. Hh2*v*.

(or did not) overlap. On the other hand, they are not reliable tools for building an exhaustive catalogue of nearby books. There were many books sold in the same bookshops as *Londinopolis* in 1657: twelve with Thomas Dring, thirteen with John Place, seven with Henry Twyford and fourteen with George Sawbridge according to the ESTC. Forty-five case studies lies beyond the remit of this thesis, and such labour would remain subject to accusations of partiality given the unknown number of lost texts. Attending to the imprint of *Londinopolis* enriches both the modes of navigation (reader-based and paper-based, imagined and embodied) and the multiplicity of historical moments, which are legible within a single bundle of printed paper bound together as codex. My two case studies of reading in bookshops are picked overtly to sustain and nuance those lines of thinking. They also model more broadly how paper localises text in specific environments which, if only temporarily, effect meaning. That is to say, the physical mobility of texts (their moveableness) directly causes their semiotic mobility (their changeableness in emphasis or affect).

This second example moves a little way east down Fleet Street to Ludgate Hill. There we enter George Sawbridge's shop at the sign of the Bible which, despite its proximity, would have felt very unlike that of Thomas Dring. This was not the place to come looking for romances. In 1657 Sawbridge's latest stock included Geverse Markham's agriculturally instructive *A Way to Get Wealth* and *Cheape and good husbandry*, Plutarch's *Morals*, a book of physic, another of mathematics, two sets of sermons, and three other theological texts. Among these reams of printed paper were texts which carefully described, or colourfully imagined, non-bookish uses of paper. One *Medicinal Dispensatory* draws on paper in the making of medical cures; meanwhile John Ball describes how those who 'lay not a good foundation of faith' are defended against the devil about as effectively as 'brown paper shall… keep out musket shot', thereby invoking paper to convey flimsy or insubstantial self-discipline. William Barlee describes the worrying dissemination of some 'heterodox disowned, and at last *owned papers* of Mr *T[homas]. P[ierce]'s*' which 'have in a clandestine, and in an open way, fluttered about our Country', as though

entirely unbound from the anchoring codex form; Marchmont Nedham similarly challenges the integrity of the Independent minister John Godwin for 'shooting Paper-pellets and Squibs of Slander in Pamphlets'.[119] Nedham's own 'paper-pellets', which travelled just under a mile from Thomas Newcomb's printing house in the Savoy to Sawbridge's shop and beyond, are figured as a corrective to Goodwin's misfires. Sawbridge's shop contained a multitude of texts which imaginatively deployed paper outside the relatively solid confines of the books which filled its shelves, and instead foregrounded paper in more contingent and sometimes entirely non-textual forms.

Among this corpus was the second edition of another didactic treatise entitled *The Compleat Surveyor* by William Leybourn (1626–1716), who had also written books on astronomy, accounting and architecture. The imprint reads 'LONDON, Printed by R. and W. Leybourn, for G. Sawbridge, at the signe of the Bible upon Ludg-gate-hill', thereby leading us to George Sawbridge's shop where it was sold alongside *Londinopolis*. One of the reasons for looking harder, and longer, at this juxtaposition, is that the subject of Leybourn's book – and specifically the largest word on the title page, 'surveyor' – has a nuanced semantic history which matters for understanding the rhetorical mode in which *Londinopolis* operates. John Stow's 'survey' of London promises a particular genre of chorographical text also nascent in *Londinopolis*, where surveying structures our experience of the book (EEBO logs *Survey of London* as an alternate title to *Londinopolis*, possibly a curatorial echo of Howell's debt to Stow). *Londinopolis* invites the reader to 'go South-East, and take a Survey of *Billingsgate-Ward*' and to 'direct our pace downward now, and take a Survey of *Bridge Ward within*'.[120] Those linguistic choices, in which *Londinopolis* departs from Stow's *Survey*, activate the slippery meaning of 'survey' which had shifted across the previous hundred years. That century was a fraught period

[119] Jean de Renou, *A Medicinal Dispensatory* (1657), sigs. N*v*, OOO*v*; John Ball, *Power of Godlines* (1657), sig. I8*v*; William Barlee, *Predaestination* (1657), sig. a2*r*; Marchmont Nedham, *A great accuser cast down* (1657), sig. Q2*v*.
[120] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. M2*v*, M4*r*.

in the history of surveying because the practices of knowing and owning land were shifting, broadly speaking, from feudalist to capitalist.[121] In the early sixteenth century the surveyor was concerned less with 'the shape of the land and its cartographic representation… [than with] a whole range of social and economic issues arising from the complex network of duties and responsibilities that defined the relationship between soil and subject, between tenant and lord'.[122] Gradually surveying became a different kind of activity: one in which land was a legally-defined commodity.[123] As one of the so-called 'mathematicals', surveying was grouped with other numerate skills required for totting up lands into wealth, including navigation, accounting, drainage and architecture.[124] Euclidean geometry came into its own as a tool for these newly arithmetically-precise surveyors, and surveying manuals had to defend themselves against moral and social frustration generated by this new mathematical direction of the art. John Norden's *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607) mounts one of these defences by depicting a farmer who is won over to the surveyor's numerical methods. The farmer's initial frustrations – 'customes are altred, broken, and sometimes perverted or taken away by your means' – are swept away by the surveyor's assurances.[125] Those assurances are grounded both on personal benefit to the famer ('every man could finde out his owne land by the plot') and on tenuous Biblical precedent: in the second chapter of Zacharias a man with a measuring line goes 'To measure *Ierusalem,* that I may see what is the bredth thereof, and what is the length thereof'.[126] John Stow's work exists in a sphere distinct from these shifting practices: the *Survey* accounts for historical and political land boundaries (in the form of wards) rather than numerical ones. Stow's description of his work as 'a duty, that I willingly ow to my native mother & Countrie. And an office… to bestow upon the politike body and members of the same' emphasises its

[121] Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space,* 43.
[122] Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space,* 43–44.
[123] Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England 1500–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 169–197, esp. 170.
[124] Stephen Johnson, 'Mathematical Practitioners and Instruments in Elizabethan England', *Annals of Science* 48.4 (1991), 319–344.
[125] John Norden, *The Surveyor's Dialogue* (1607), sig. B2*r*.
[126] Norden, *Surveyor's Dialogue*, sig. C2*v*.

communal payoff, modelling a value system of social responsibility which was at the heart of sixteenth-century conflict about new surveying practices.[127]

Emerging in the mid-seventeenth century, *Londinopolis* no longer had to fight these ideological battles. Howell's injunctions to 'take a Survey' come from a more settled distinction between the privilege of overseeing the wards of Billingsgate and Bridge Ward offered by *Londinopolis*, and the detailed, quantified work of a surveyor. Contemporary texts concerned with mathematical forms of surveying similarly assume that John Norden's fictional surveyors have already played out their dialogues, and won. *The Compleat Surveyor,* first printed in 1653, presented its geometrical subject as its own defence: geometry 'is able to with-stand all opposers, and silently with Lines and Figures to *non-plus* the most malevolent tongue or pen that shall either speak or write against it'.[128] To survey, in this context, is unequivocally the aspiration of the accounting land owner who delineates, values, and tots up his enclosures. At this point, however, the word retained another set of ambiguities. It has – and had – the sense of viewing in detail, exploring or scrutinizing; as well as 'taking a comprehensive mental view of; to consider or contemplate as a whole'.[129] The 'General Survey of the whole Work' of *The Compleat Surveyor* offers a birds-eye view in the form of a contents page divided into subsections, which reduces the entirety of the book onto three pages. Surveying, in its mathematical sense, is to know a patch of land in granular detail; it is also to step back and to 'know', or at least to project, an image of the comprehensive whole.

The Compleat Surveyor shifts between the specific and the general, between the abstract and the topographically rooted. Promising to teach its reader the use of instruments such as the theodolite, the circumferentor and the protractor, to undertake 'the Plotting and Protracting of all manner of Grounds', the ultimate aim of the book is to 'take the Plot of the whole Manor, to

---

[127] Stow, *Survey*, sig. A3*r*.
[128] William Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor* (1653), sig. A3*r*.
[129] *OED*, 'survey, v.', 4b.

cast up the content, and to make a perfect Chart or Map thereof'.[130] Effective surveying is to turn the detail of those multiple 'small Inclosures' into a comprehensive surface to be viewed from above. The first part of the book consists of 'Geometry only'; the second of 'the most necessary instruments used in Surveying'; the third 'the doctrine of the dimension of plain Triangles, by Sines, Tangents and Logarithms; and the fourth 'the use of all the fore-mentioned Instruments in the practice of surveying'. In the fourth part 'you are also taught… how to take the plot of a whole Manor, or of diverse severals'.[131] Here the text moves from immaterial geometry to the rootedness of a physical, if imaginary, place. Leybourn uses the example of 'The Manor of Elsmore in the County of S for the Honourable R.B. Lord thereof', and describes the material steps by which one transposes this manor onto the page. Firstly the surveyor must survey the estate in bodily form:

> before you begin your work, it will be very necessary to ride or walke about the whole Mannor, or at least so much as you are to survey, that you may be the better acquainted with the severall bounders, and in your passage you ought to take speciall notice of all eminent things lying in your way, as Churches, Houses, Mils, High-wayes, Rivers, &c.[132]

In traversing the estate in person to become 'better acquainted' with its boundaries, Leybourn resists the entirely abstract notion of place which is latent in geometric principles of surveying. Once perambulated in person, a plot of land can be better transposed onto paper or parchment: 'Provide a Skin of Velom, or Parchment, or divers sheets of paper neatly fastned together with Mouth-glew, according to the magnitude or greatnesse you intend to have your Plot, which paper or parchment let be ruled all over with parallel lines, representing Meridians'.[133] Leybourn instructs his reader to turn the Manor of Elsmore into a series of geometrical parts to make it more navigable. Those 'Churches, Houses, Mils' (the stuff of imprints, in another life) are

[130] Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor*, title page.
[131] Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor*, sig. A4*v*–A5*r*.
[132] Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor*, sig. Ll2*v*.
[133] Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor*, sig. Mm5*r*.

erected on a series of parallel lines that impose a mathematical structure on the layout of the land.

That framework of land criss-crossed with 'parallel lines, representing Meridians' evidently contrasts with *The Compleat Surveyor*'s imprint, which announces the book to be 'printed by R. and W. Leybourn, for G. Sawbridge, at the sign of the Bible upon Ludg-gate-hill, M DC LIII'. The imprint transposes specific points within the city not onto a series of parallel meridian lines, but onto the dwellings and signboards of stationers. This imprint orients itself within a populated London book trade rather than by a series of numerically calculated positions. The imprint on *The Compleat Surveyor* compounds the rhetorical strategies of navigation across the codex, and within the bookshop. Imprints work against the idea of the city as a measurable, quantifiable space. 'The sign of the Bible' is not a value that can be plugged into any of Leybourn's 'Tables of Sines', nor do those 'Tables' bear much relation to *Londinopolis*' sustained perambulation through wards from east to west. Read side by side, these two books compound the navigational modes available within a book, and within a bookshop.

While both *Londinopolis* and *The Compleat Surveyor* are sold under the sign of the Bible, only the latter's imprint transposes that signboard into printed text. Signboards signify topographically by association; imprints transpose those painted wooden boards into text printed on paper.[134] *The Compleat Surveyor* is alert to the qualities of paper as a material form in its own right for manipulating representations of a particular place. The book's instructions to take 'divers sheets of paper neatly fastned together with Mouth-glew' shows how to transpose a plot of land onto paper in a material sense, treating paper not only as the substrate of printed text (or indeed manuscript drawings) but as a malleable surface area. Paradoxically, those texts which treat of land as abstract – as geometric and quantifiable in three dimensions rather than culturally and historically palimpsestic – engage the reader in particularly material encounters

[134] Andrew Gordon, '"If My Sign Could Speak": The Signboard and the Visual Culture of Early Modern London', *Early Theatre* 8.1 (2005), 35–51, 36.

with the book and with paper. One 1664 book on surveying explains how the surface area of a piece of land can be found by cutting out a map and weighing it: 'likewise might the area of content of any flat superficies or Plane, being drawn upon any moveable and weighable matter or substance, (as Paper most commonly, and so parchment, paist-board, &c.) be discovered or produced accordingly.[135] Paper works not only as a two-dimensional surface but as a three-dimensional object with weight as well as area. As printed substrate, paper makes room for at least two ways of navigating space (that is, across the imprint, and via the calculations of *The Compleat Surveyor*); meanwhile Leybourn's instruction to take up sheets of paper also makes use of paper as a haptic material in order to imagine or represent space. Leybourn recommends measuring surface area by cutting around cartographic enclosures and laying them end to end, 'leaving no vacuity'.[136] In this moment paper brings the geometrical unruliness of land under control, making it easier to measure and quantify. That control is a question of scale: the estate is scaled down onto paper. *The Compleat Surveyor* deploys paper in these two distinct ways – as textual substrate, as mobile form – across the codex, and so parses the affordances of paper as an instrument of navigation.

Like *The Compleat Surveyor, Londinopolis* demonstrates the capacity of paper to rescale extra-codexical space. This occurs in the form of inscriptions. By transcribing the engravings on coins into print, *Londinopolis* scales up ('we read in those Pieces of Money… *P. Lon. S.* that is *Pecunia Londino signata,* Mony stamp'd in London'), whereas engravings on buildings are scaled down.[137] Paper renders these inscriptions in mobile form: on paper the once-engraved text is both materially changed and literally more able to move around. The scaling up and down of engravings onto paper is both to 'fix' them (the printed text replicates and disseminates the engraved text through time and space) and to unfix them – to unpin that text from its original

[135] John Wybard, 'An Additament', in Vincent Wing, *Geodoetus practicus, or The art of surveying surveyed* (1664), sig. O8*v*. Boris Jardine discusses the cut-and-weigh technique in 'State of the Field: Paper Tools', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 64 (2017), 53–63, 54.
[136] Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor,* sig. MM*r*.
[137] Howell, *Londinopolis*, sig. B3*v*.

substrate and to alter it into a more ephemeral form. Harold Love writes that 'fixity as a property of texts in transmission' depends on two things: firstly a commitment to 'presumed authorial readings', and secondly 'the capacity of any given technological practice to protect the text from progressive deterioration through the inevitable errors of replication'.[138] Love's 'inevitable errors of replication' is a less helpful phrase here, insisting as it does that textual and material changes (like that rescaling of text on paper) should be passed over, corrected or ignored rather than read as a productive event within *Londinopolis*' agenda of preservation and record. Howell transcribes some text 'upon a high Beam' of a chapel in Wapping: '*viz. This Chappel was dedicated to Almighty God, and consecrated to the Honour and glory of his great and wonderful name, the seventh day of* July, 1617. *by the right Reverend Father in God,* John King, *then Bishop of* London'. The italic font is a visual reminder of this transcription from wood to paper, although the 'viz', signalling the threshold between Howell's words and his copy is also in italics, blurring the exact moment of that material switch. In transcribing the material city onto the page, *Londinopolis* translates this text into forms which are preserved in archives long after the church was demolished in 1790. That paper preserves non-papery engravings seems counter-intuitive to impressions of paper as an insubstantial, fleeting, form. When Harold Innis divided media into the 'heavy' (such as stone, which preserves through time) and the 'light' (which travels through space), he put paper firmly in the category of the latter.[139] But paper, as imprints make clear, stores information through time.[140] *Londinopolis* deploys paper – easily replicated, easily disseminated – to preserve this chapel's inscription beyond the site of its origin. That transferal of writing from beam to paper, from wood carving to metal type, demands a reduction of scale which we also see in Leybourn's cutting up of his papery estate. Imprints themselves work with something like a reduction of scale: the title page of

[138] Harold Love, 'Fixity Versus Flexibility in "A Song on Tom of Danby" and Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*', in Alcorn, Lindquist and Shevlin, eds., *Agent of Change*, 140–155, 141.
[139] Harold Innis, *Empire and Communication* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), 7.
[140] Müller, *White Magic*, 63–64.

Londinopolis reduces the 0.7 mile distance between its stationers to approximately a three centimetre space on the page. While the cartographical methods advocated in *The Compleat Surveyor* make use of paper's mobile form, the imprints and transcriptions of *The Compleat Surveyor* and its neighbour *Londinopolis* use that same form as textual substrate to reduce the environment into something at once more knowable, more long-lasting, and more navigable.

Read together, *Londinopolis* and *The Compleat Surveyor* show the multiple ways in which places are constructed within and by books: both by the linguistic choices of their printed text, and by the mobility of their papery forms. Attending to imprints in this chapter has shed light on the paperscape of early modern London: by which I mean, the symbiotic and competing versions of the city as constructed by, and from which emerge, printed texts. Imprints are one of many rhetorical strategies by which books articulate, imagine, and construct the environments through which they move. Uniquely they record when texts temporarily collide with others which occupied the same bookshops. Consequently, imprints invite us to read sideways within the premises whose locations and owners they cite: to read texts within the bookshop as I have modelled with two test cases. New meanings emerge from reading in situ: the topographical unfixity of books shifts critical focus around different sections of the page, including moments (or perhaps, areas) which ask us to attend to paper not as invisible support but as a knowledge-making substance in its own right. The 'mobility' of books, in the sense of their movement throughout the city and beyond, is symptomatic of their mobility as signifying texts – as prone to hermeneutic change caused by their environment as are the shifting paper forms which make them.

III

Shelf Marks: Navigating the Library

In September 1666 Samuel Pepys was alarmed. The raging fire of London, 'a most horrid malicious bloody flame' which 'burned with a shower of firedrops', had finally subsided.[1] Pepys had escaped the damage that befell others by storing his possessions at the house of his friend, the navy contractor Sir William Rider, in Bethnal Green. Wednesday 19th September found him up late with 'the boy' Tom Edwards setting his things to rights now that the danger had passed. But in the kerfuffle some of Pepys' books had gone missing. Pepys was 'mightily troubled, and even in my sleep, at my missing four or five of my biggest books. Speed's Chronicle and Maps, and the two parts of Waggoner, and a book of cards, which I suppose I have put up with too much care, that I have forgot where they are; for sure they are not stole'.[2] The diary entry for the next day starts and ends by noting his 'troubled' disposition, but Pepys didn't have to wait long for the dilemma to be resolved. On Friday 21st September:

> W. Hewer tells me that upon enquiry he do find that Sir W. Pen hath a hamper more than his own, which he took for a hamper of bottles of wine, and are books in it… At noon after dinner I sent for Harry, and he tells me it is so, and brought me by and by my hamper of books to my great joy, with the same books I missed, and three more great ones, and no more.[3]

The books were in a hamper all along: a wicker container that William Pen 'took for a hamper of bottles of wine'. Hampers carry provisions, not books: but in the emergency any portable object would do to wrest possessions from the flames. Pepys' diary records the chaotic journeys of books which often go undocumented: the unplanned, unintended movement of books around the city. The loss of Pepys' books represented more than a loss of material possessions. The

---

[1] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: HarperCollins, 1971), vii, 271.
[2] *Diary,* vii, 290. Pepys refers to John Speed's *History of Great Britaine* (1650) and his *Prospect of the most famous parts of the world* (1631), as well as Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer's *Speighel der zeevaerdt* (1584). Latham suggests that the 'book of cards' was a collection of sea-cards, or charts.
[3] *Diary*, vii, 292.

'trouble' and the 'joy' that Pepys' library afforded him – brought to the surface at the moment when his books left his home and were sent out into the perilous provisionality of the fire-scavenged city where boxes of books masquerade as hampers of wine – suggest the personal investment that Pepys had in his books. Earlier that year on Monday 23rd July, Pepys had rallied against the higgledy-piggledy state of his office to turn his collection into something more closely resembling a library. He commissioned the joiner Thomas Simpson to build his first book-cupboard, or 'press' as Pepys called it (a usage which predates the printing press),[4] because, as the diary explains, the books 'now growing numerous, and lying one upon another on my chairs, I lose the use to avoyde the trouble of removing them, when I would open a book'.[5] Three months after the fire, perhaps as a result of this near loss, Pepys began to enforce greater systematic control and to 'ticket a good part of my books'.[6] Assigning numbers or 'tickets' was the first step towards the system which lingers in the original presses still standing in Magdalene College, Cambridge. So began the organisation of Pepys' possessions which was also the assigning of places for his books.

After 1666 Pepys' books were not to walk off the shelves again. Pepys' commitment to pinning down the contents of his library emerges from the pages of his will. The will requires John Jackson, Pepys' nephew, to 'preserv[e] the said Library intire in one body, undivided unsold and Secure against all manner of diminution damages and embesselments… for the benefit of posterity'.[7] In a codicil added on 12th May 1703, Pepys gives lengthy directions for the final systematising of his books. His instructions were:

> 1stly That a general review be taken of my said Library compared with its Catalogues and all outlying books immediately lookt up and put into their places… 5thly that this being done my said Library be closed and from thenceforward noe Additions made... 11thly That all the Additaments with their new numbers by then properly incerted in the bodies of the Catalogue and Alphabet and there elegantly

[4] *OED*, 'press, n.1', 10.
[5] Diary, vii, 214.
[6] *Diary*, vii, 416.
[7] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*: *supplementary volume: Pepysiana*, ed. Henry B. Wheatley (London: G. Bell and sons, 1923), 246.

> and finally transcribed to remaine unalterable and for ever accompany the said Library.[8]

This was a fantasy of a library 'closed' and 'finally transcribed to remaine unalterable'; a library of stasis; a library which would preserve and fix a given moment. The Catalogue and the Alphabet are findings aids which help the would-be reader to navigate the contents of the library. But Pepys' will articulates an aspiration that no books would make their own way in or out of the now 'closed' library. While the reader moves fluidly about the collection, the books themselves stay still. This aspiration of fixity was realised in many Cambridge college libraries which still, as had been common in sixteenth-century parish churches, chained their books to the shelves.[9] Cambridge was relatively late in unchaining books in the 1620s, although the Bodleian kept their books chained until 1769 and the last college libraries in Oxford unchained in 1799.[10] The control of books' movement in libraries has a long history. Since 1484, Merton College, Oxford had required users to inform on anyone who 'privily' or 'openly remove[d] any book'; by 1637 fellows of Trinity College, Dublin were still required to obtain permission from the Provost to borrow, and were 'obliged to return the Book so carried away, within two weeks'.[11] Similarly reliant on institutional authority, Pepys gave 'sole power and custody' of his library to the Master of the College of its final resting place ('rather in that of Cambridge than Oxford'). A second codicil to the will specified that even the Master:

> shall neither himself convey nor Suffer to by conveyed by others any of the said books from thence to any other place except to his own Lodge in the said College nor there have more than ten of them at a time and that of those also a strict entry

[8] Wheatley, *Pepysiana*, 266.
[9] Strickland Gibson, *Some Oxford Libraries* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1914), 77; John King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 276.
[10] C.Y. Ferdinand, 'Library Administration', in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, eds., *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, vol. I: to 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 565–591, 584.
[11] William Clennell, 'The Bodleian Declaration: A History', *Bodleian Library Record* 20 (2007), 47–60, 49, 56.

> be made and account kept of the time of their having been taken out and returned, in a booke to be provided and remain in the said Library for that purpose.[12]

Safe-guarding against the mobility which had nearly cost its owner his collection of John Speed, two parts of Waghenaer and a book of cards, the library of Samuel Pepys was to be locked into perpetuity.

This chapter, then, sets out as an anti-narrative to mobile texts. Libraries are at first glance precisely the kinds of places where paper does not move: the places where this thesis about the mobility of paper might be expected to break down. If one of the aims of libraries is to make knowledge more widely available, that aim is caveated by the contradictory impulse of the library-as-archive: a place which, because it preserves, necessarily encloses or restricts its contents from external influence or decay. The Latin word *arca*, which means stronghold, box or vault, makes clear the desire for fortification, fixity and inaccessibility embedded in the etymological history of 'archive'.[13] This is not the flimsy, malleable language of the paperscapes I have discussed so far. When Gideon Harvey describes an 'archive' at the end of the seventeenth century, he describes papers 'lock'd up in their Desk, secured in a lock'd Closet, within a lock'd Room'.[14] Mediating access to his library through the Master of Magdalene College, and keeping the library ideologically (if not completely, in practical terms) 'closed', Pepys prescribes his library's future in *arca*-hival terms. According to the rhetoric of its first curator, Samuel Pepys' library is testimony to the tendency of books to finally land: to end up somewhere, to reach their resting place. Pepys' 'unalterable' collection smacks of a set of books which, having come to harbour, navigate no more.

---

[12] Wheatley, *Pepysiana*, 267. This second codicil was added to the will on 13th May: its first draft was made on 12th May and is found in MS. Rawl. D. 923, f.292.
[13] Kate Peters, Alexandra Walsham and Liesbeth Corens, eds., *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 13.
[14] Gideon Harvey, *The Vanities of Philosophy and Physick* (1699), sig. B*v*.

Yet within Pepys' library exists a lively array of texts which bear testimony to their own provisionality. This is an archive with its own spatial history: the library we call Pepys' is a room in Cambridge filled with the same books and book-presses as those that once occupied his various homes in London, and which once contained fewer books, and different books, which were discarded for newer editions. Strictly speaking, the room in Magdalene College which houses Pepys' books is not 'Pepys' library' at all but a replica, a facsimile. A library is both a place ('a studie') and 'a great number of books', as Robert Cawdrey noted in 1604, and as Pepys was himself aware.[15] To nominate 'Pepys' library' as we do (and as does the building itself which bears the imposing engraving *Bibliotheca Pepysiana*) is to define a space which bears the closest possible relation to the once-living Pepys' library in London – minus the mildew, the mice, and the seventeenth-century smog. During their owner's lifetime Pepys' books followed him from his house in Axe Yard to Seething Lane in 1660, to Winchester Lane in 1673, Derby House in 1674, York House in 1685 and then to the Clapham house of Pepys' life-long friend Will Hewer from 1701.[16] The construction of this library relies on the now-invisible labour of those who manually packed and transported its papery bulk around the country, as much as on the rhetoric of stasis and bookshelf-scale topography inscribed in its catalogues. The library 'survives' (although I will return to that word) in Magdalene College library in Cambridge, where it arrived in 1724. In the 1960s, following a renovation by the architect Dykes Bower during the reign of the librarianship of R.W. Ladborough, the collection moved up a floor to its current location. The *Bibliotheca Pepysiana* of 2020 is a temporary iteration of a space, a site, and a collection that has existed in multiple forms since its inception – whenever that moment can claim to be.

---

[15] Robert Cawdrey, *Table Alphabeticall* (1604), sig. F4*v*. In the codicil to his will Pepys bestowed the name 'Bibliotheca Pepysiana' on 'the said roome and books so placed'; Wheatley, *Pepysiana,* 267.
[16] Pepys inherited his father's Brampton estate in 1661 where some of his books may have been stored. C.S. Knighton, 'Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703), Naval Official and Diarist,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 23 September 2004.

Over Pepys' lifetime his collection of books increased to three thousand: a material accumulation which documents Pepys' self-advancement from the son of a tailor to the owner of a veritable 'gentleman's library'.[17] The expanding collection caused books to move between shelves to make room for new ones. This movement is still legible in the erased shelf-marks which preserve the memory of these books' successive positions as they took up new homes within the oak presses, and shuffled up and down his shelves.[18] The lists of up to seven shelf marks (as in the case of Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend,* printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1527) point to a frequent reordering of books, as Pepys arranges and rearranges to take account of a rapidly growing number of books and book presses.[19] While many of the shelf marks display the hand of Pepys and his copyists, the latest ones (distinguished by their red ink) are more likely the work of his nephew, John Jackson, fulfilling the intentions of his increasingly frail uncle. This phenomenon – of older shelf marks crossed out and replaced by new ones – reflects the history of library organisation in a series of textual palimpsests, leaving the older configurations still legible underneath. David Pearson observes that it is common to see traces of moving books in libraries where they have been held for a long time. [20] But the extent of the updated shelf marks in Pepys' library, coupled with the rhetoric of the catalogue and the will, means those contradictory impulses of mobility and fixity clash particularly loudly. If the paperscape of Pepys' library is constructed by those textual claims of closure and inalterability, then it is constructed in quite another way by the papery forms which take up their place on its

[17] David Pearson gives the average number of books in an English private library 1670–1689 as just over 3000 volumes, rising to 3400 in the period 1690–1715: figures which place Pepys in the healthy middle. At the upper end of the scale, the apothecary and physician Francis Bernard (d.1698) had a library of over ten thousand volumes and Christopher Codrington (d.1710) gave about twelve thousand volumes to All Souls College in Oxford. See Pearson, 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library* 7th series, 13 (2012), 379–399, 380–381.

[18] Robyn Adams traces books moving around the shelves of the Bodleian library, although without the literary pay-off, in 'Building a Library Without Walls: The Early Years of the Bodleian Library', in Annika Bautz and James Gregory, eds., *Libraries, Books and Collectors of Texts 1600–1900* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 11–27.

[19] Of the forty books I have seen in Pepys' library, the average number of shelf marks is 3.5.

[20] David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1994, rev. ed. 2019), 57.

shelves and by their shelf marks which document books on the move. Like those other paperscapes to which I have attended in this thesis, this library contains real *and* imagined narratives about the mobility of paper: here those two run strikingly at cross purposes with one another.

Whilst shelf marks spring from the aspiration that 'each book ha[s] a permanent, definable position on the shelves', their updated manifestations record the topographical impermanence of those books.[21] In the previous chapter I read imprints, those documents of place, as evidence of books' mobility rather than fixity. Like imprints, shelf marks testify not straightforwardly to stasis but to periods of stasis punctured by mobility. Reading shelf marks in this light brings them closer in affect to a piece of marginalia in Pepys' collection of ballads, which imagines paper on the move. Pepys copied out lines from John Selden's own ballad collection, which read:

> Though some make slight of *Libels*, yet you may see by them how the Wind sits: As take a Straw and throw it up into the Air, you shall see by that which way the Wind is, which you shall not do by casting up a Stone. More Solid things do not shew the Complexion of the times so well, as Ballads and Libels.[22]

Selden equates the insubstantiality of non-codexical printed sheets with fluctuating political fidelities. The image foregrounds that curious symbiosis by which materially mobile texts (those wayward sheets) enable the marking of time. Libels in particular arise from a historically specific moment. Updated shelf marks transform Selden's vision of paper buffeting about in the wind into (tempered) reality, and document how books actually travel around their presses.

By recording books' journeys around one library, shelf marks invite us to consider the library as a whole and in parts. Shelf marks lend a coherence to the library by marking each book as part of that unified structure. They also treat books as an entire unit and so lend

---

[21] Pearson, *Provenance Research,* 56.
[22] *Ballads* volume 1: Libels. *Seldeniana* I: (X). Transcribed from John Selden, *Table-talk* (1689), sig. G7*r*.

coherence to the codex – a coherence of which this chapter remains suspicious. One of the pay-offs of thinking in 'paperscapes' is to disrupt the cohesion of the book as a unit of analysis. This chapter is alert to the mobility of paper as it moves in and out of the copies on Pepys' shelves, undermining the framework of the codex form. Whilst books themselves are mobile objects, so is the paper within them. Pepys' predominantly sixteenth and seventeenth-century collection includes 'sophisticated' texts (in which lost leaves are replaced by those from different copies), as well as books used as repositories for printed and manuscript sheets. The bundles of voting slips and bills inserted into Pepys' copy of John Stow's *Survey* (1633) announce their alien status to that book. If updated shelf marks document the mobility of paper as codex, Pepys' library also testifies to mobile paper which is resistant to the fixity of the book as container.

In this chapter I argue that Pepys' library – ostensibly a place of preservation and stasis – bears witness to the literary and material mobility of paper in the archive. That is, I use Pepys' library to make a broader claim about the surprisingly mobile nature of paper in libraries, and I test how we might read books on the move at the level of the bookshelf. Carrying out such a reading experiment demands an awareness of, even a resistance to, the necessary restrictions of the research environment. Reading books in Pepys' library in 2019 meant sitting dutifully at the solitary desk set up for such a purpose. The readers' desk becomes a landing spot for books which arrive on request, one by one, from the hands of the librarian. In that sense this collection is closer to a museum (curated, fixed, and often untouchable) than to an open-access public library. Although surrounded by Pepys' books, the scholar experiences a heavily mediated version of the spatial relationships between those appearing on her desk. The positioning of these books on the shelves – their juxtaposition, or distance – is erased, unless one browses and reads the shelves, reads in situ as it were, in a way which is off-limits not only in Pepys' library but in the majority of archives, stacks, and special collections. Heather Wolfe and Peter Stallybrass describe a similar phenomenon in the National Archives, which obscure how state papers 'were once scattered, bundled, bagged, filed, and stored in a wide range of public and

private collections in London and the provinces'.[23] Pepys' library is unusual in preserving the 1703 order of books over three hundred years later. But the means by which we access the collection today undermines the logic of the library and partially suppresses 'the classification systems of early book owners', demonstrating the force of the claim that it is the systems of '*modern* book culture, which shape our archives'.[24] It is not for the twenty-first century researcher to ease the books out of their snug shelves, or to roam along the neatly aligned rows where the eye may be caught by the neighbouring work. Instead we read these books through the conveyor belt of library guardianship. Metadata (in the form of shelf marks, and the library catalogue) provides mediated access to these books' physical contexts. The catalogue is a kind of epitext itself: a paratext outside the book, which nevertheless leads back to its material frameworks.[25] This chapter restores something of that physical relationship between books on the shelves, and makes an argument for the semiotic significance of place and proximity.

As we saw in chapter two, place matters for how we read. While paper makes room for text on the page, it also localises text within a larger-scale material environment: in this case, the library. As paper and books take up new positions alongside and within other texts, their semiotic environments invite new connections, and new forms of intertextuality. Considering these questions at the scale of the Sammelband, Jeffrey Todd Knight suggests that attention to material proximity 'recasts traditional concepts of intertextuality, allusion and imitation as habits of the book, profoundly connected to the material organisation of knowledge'.[26] This chapter broadens Knight's approach from the Sammelband to the library as an actively interpretative framework which opens up new readings of texts. While in chapter two my

[23] Peter Stallybrass, 'The Material Culture of Record-Keeping in Early Modern England', in Peters, Walsham and Corens, eds., *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World*, 179–208, 180.
[24] Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), my italics.
[25] The epitext is 'any paratextual element not materially appended to the text within the same volume but circulating, as it were, freely, in a virtually limitless physical and social space', Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 344.
[26] Knight, *Bound to Read*, 9–10.

readings in bookshops were led by imprints – those pieces of evidence of fleetingly shared spaces – this chapter goes against the grain of Pepys' rhetoric of stasis to uncover the actual mobility of paper both in codexical and non-codexical form. This chapter shows how those local journeys broaden the literary affordances of these texts in this library. Beginning with the fantasies of monumentalisation set out in the diary and in the authorial 'Works' owned by Pepys, I then turn to the catalogue which, despite its opening rhetoric of fixity, partially documents how books travel around the library. The aspiration of fixity crumbles increasingly throughout this chapter as I then turn more closely to the books themselves. Looking firstly at updated shelf marks, and then at the more and less visible traces of moving paper, provides a fuller sense of the provisionality of this paperscape at the level of the library and the book. Rather than trying to resurrect what Pepys read (for which the library is only ever a hazy approximation),[27] I attend to the material contingency of Pepys' books – both as cohesive units, and as localised objects – to ask how the mobility of paper creates new modes of intertextuality. The recent critical turn towards archives probes what is at stake when we note that 'archives are sources of history but… also its subjects'.[28] I read this library not as a source of Pepys' reading history but as an animated textual subject: a locus which gives physical structure and site-specific meaning to the papery forms that it constitutes. Whilst the library is a place of preservation it is also and necessarily a place in which texts are reframed, even re-written, by the very nature of their mobility. Reading the changing nature of this 'material organisation of knowledge' we find competing systems of stasis overlaid by books, paper, and text on the move, their meaning sharpening in and out of focus as they navigate the shelves.

[27] On libraries and library catalogues as inadequate or partial evidence of reading, see Jason Scott-Warren, 'News, Sociability, and Bookbuying in Early Modern England: The Letters of Sir Thomas Cornwallis', *The Library* 1.4 (2000), 381–402, 382–384.
[28] Elizabeth Yale, 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline', *Book History* 18 (2015), 332–359, 332.

'The Will to Enclose': The Libraries of Pepys and Spenser

Unlike bookshops or printing houses, libraries usually regale their books with indefinite permission to stay.[29] That prolonged stasis leads to an accumulation of matter, and of meaning. Towards the end of the twentieth century, Michel Foucault observed that libraries are 'heterotopias in which time never stops building up' and that they are, at the same time, 'outside of all time and inaccessible to its ravages'.[30] This notion of the library was, according to Foucault, birthed from 'our modernity', and marked a break from the seventeenth century in which libraries were 'the expression of an individual choice'. The seventeenth-century library which takes centre stage in this chapter sheds light on the flaws in Foucault's teleology. On the one hand, Pepys' library seems to confirm Foucault's individualistic sense of a seventeenth-century collection: the books nestled in a curatorial haven in Magdalene College preserve the agency of its curator frozen in time. The rhetoric of the library catalogue and the will articulate narratives of Pepysian monumentalisation and self-preservation. Those reverential narratives are upheld today in the critical status which accumulates around Pepys as an object of study both for his own intellectual development, and as a lens through which to read the bookish habits of a broader tranche of society.[31] Yet the collection of books which entered Pepys' library bear the traces of their own accumulating histories, in which 'time never stops building up'. Those traces render the library something more complex than 'the expression of an individual choice'. It is one of the tasks of this chapter to suggest how we might read the paperscape of Pepys' library other than as the impressionable residue of that individual's agency. Paper opens up new ways of reading across literary and historical periods. While the affordances of paper in Emily Dickinson's poems can demonstrate that 'the material object and the intention of the writer are intimately connected', my aim is to give space to the literary affordances of moving

[29] Although on libraries dispersing and destroying hard copies in place of digital and microfilm, see Nicholson Baker, *Double Fold: Libraries and the Assault on Paper* (New York: Random House, 2001).
[30] 'Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Places', *Diacritics* 16.1 (1986), 22–27, 26.
[31] Kate Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering and Sociability, 1660–1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3.

paper unyoked from, or even as it overrides, the intentions of Pepys as spelled out in his will and the catalogue.[32] Despite Pepys' best efforts to frame his library otherwise, paper sheets and entire codices entered this library individually and with their own tales of mobility to tell. Throughout this thesis I deploy the term paperscape in order to denaturalize the literary environment and offer an alternative history of literature told in and on paper. In this chapter I attend to this collection of books not solely as 'Pepys' library' (although I use that term to account for this collection of books for simplicity of expression), but as an open-ended textual space.

It is no accident that Samuel Pepys gravitates so easily towards the centre of a seventeenth-century history of books, or of reading. Famously known as a diarist (at least since the diary's translation in dribs and drabs throughout the nineteenth century), [33] Pepys was evidently interested in his own posterity. If the project of preservation is legible in all seventeenth-century libraries then it is particularly so in Pepys' because it contains his diaries. While these diaries visibly draw a shroud over the less palatable aspects of Pepys' life – his sexual demands on women often younger or less powerful than himself are couched in macaronic, quasi-infantile prose – then those loudly private scenes are framed within a diary which by its very genre announces a commitment to self-monumentalisation.[34] In the past Pepys' diary – a document of singularity, wit, and confessional insight jarringly punctuated by sexual predation and selfishness – has been (mis)read as an unmediated outpouring of impulsive emotion. But more recent scholarship has shown the calculating, future-orientated work of an editor who paints his own portrait with an eye on his audience (even when that

[32] Alexandra Socarides, *Dickinson Unbound: Paper, Process, Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 17.
[33] Partial editions were produced by Lord Baybrooke (1825), Mynors Bright (1875–1879), and Henry Wheatley (1893–1899).
[34] Alan Stewart, *The Oxford History of Life Writing*, ii: *Early Modern* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 253–271. See also Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 209–212.

audience includes his future self).[35] On 1st November 1660, Pepys records meeting his old school friend. This event occasions a trip down memory lane:

> He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the King was beheaded (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be "The memory of the wicked shall rot"); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time.[36]

Older versions of Pepys are preserved in the diary, as Pepys records the rebellious thoughts of his schoolboy self. Pepys records something he said (supposedly) on 30th January 1649: a remark which itself recollects Proverbs 10:7. Pepys' memory of Pepys remembering is far from an unmediated glimpse into the mind of the writer. Instead, the diary affords an opportunity to remember and reshape the past. Pepys creates critical (both reflective, and essential) distance between his present and younger selves in order establish his current political credibility. The diary is a form of remembering which also fixes and interprets the past: this a tale not of guilt but of absolution. When Jennifer Summit writes that 'libraries always bear an especially rich and complex relationship with the past, which consists… of one part preservation, one part invention, and one part disavowal', her triad could equally be applied to this diary entry. Pepys' reflection on his younger self is at once a preservation of those days, a re-making of them (an 'invention') and a disavowal of that boisterous individual. This diary's ability to preserve and curate the past is also the desire of the library.

Diaries give us different kinds of insights – are different kinds of texts – from libraries and library catalogues, yet all three offer a tantalising glimpse into the life of an individual as mediated by those texts. Both catalogues and diaries record a particular moment in the configuration of events, or people, or things. But while we might search a diary for a narrative, library catalogues are works of anti-narrative: they work best as finding aids when nothing

---

[35] Mark Dawson, 'Histories and Texts: Refiguring the Diary of Samuel Pepys', *The Historic Journal* 43.2 (2000), 402–431.
[36] *Diary*, i, 280.

happens, and books stay still. Pepys' library and diary are and were materially intertwined. The diary was originally stored on the shelves of one of the book presses in his library where it remains today. The volumes in which Pepys wrote his diary in shorthand between 1660 and 1669 were most likely procured from John Cade. Cade, a stationer based at the sign of the Globe in Cornhill, may have employed William Richardson, who also bound Pepys' books.[37] The now famous diary – a volume which today is read both very differently to, and in isolation from, the rest of the library – was (originally at least) just another innocuous object on Pepys' shelves.[38] Though their binding is relatively unusual within this library (lightly mottled brown calf with gold-tooled panel designs), only volumes V and VI are uniform while volume I is considerably smaller than the rest. Moreover, the diaries' binding is nearly identical to at least one other book in the library, namely *Mr Holland his First Discourse of ye Navy* (1638).[39] The bindings attenuate the coherence of the diaries as a discrete unit. Despite its later cultural force, Pepys' diary was initially absorbed into, rather than marked out from, the organising principles of the library. In a material sense as well as a conceptual one, Pepys' book-collecting contributes to the project of self-fashioning at play in his diary.

Books, as they cognitively and physically surround an individual, have a multifarious and self-reflective place in life-writing. In 2016 Adam Hooks reinvented the term 'biblio-biography' (originally used to describe an author's potted biography accompanied by a list of their works) to describe his own compelling focus on Shakespeare: 'not on the man or writer himself, but on the reputation and authorial personae created, bought, and sold by the early modern book trade'.[40] Jason Scott-Warren's reading of the inventories of Richard Stonley – the

[37] On 27th May 1667 Pepys records being visited by 'Richardson the bookbinder with one of Ogilby's Bibles in quires for me to see and buy, it being Mr Cade's my stationer's.' *Diary*, viii, 238.
[38] Jane Hughes, *The Pepys Library and the Historic Collections of Magdalene College Cambridge* (London: Scala Arts and Heritage Publishers, 2015), 41. The diaries occupy shelf marks 1836-1841.
[39] Shelf mark 2193. *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge* vi: *Bindings*, ed. Howard Nixon (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984), xxiv.
[40] Adam Hooks, *Selling Shakespeare: Biography, Bibliography and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 3.

first documented buyer of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593) – adopts the term differently again to describe 'Stonley's biblio-biography, his book life'.[41] For Scott-Warren, a 'biblio-biography' heralds the narratives and networks into which we can plug an individual who comes to us via his book lists, with all those books' signposts towards other readers, authors and stationers. Pepys' library constitutes at least two kinds of biblio-biographies. Firstly, to use the term somewhere between its deployment by Hooks and Scott-Warren, we can say that Pepys' library functions as a scaled-up version of the diary which it contains; it preserves a textually- and bibliographically-mediated image of Pepys, made up of composite parts. Secondly (to expand the affordances of the biblio-biography in a new direction), the library preserves the biographies of the books, whose own journeys within the library reveal a tension between the impulses of fixity and mobility. It is the second of these forms of biblio-biographies – the narratives of paper which bears text between codices, and books between shelves – which make up the subject of this chapter.

To read the library as a Pepysian temple is to suppress the array of other individuals who clamour in the pages of these books. The logic of self-preservation, the attempt to fix an identity, is at play in many volumes on these shelves aside from Pepys' diary. Collected works which populate the book presses are evidence of a historical moment which saw fit to enshrine the literary status of a particular author: Pepys owned collected works of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Gascoigne, and Chaucer. These volumes claim to embody some cohesive essence of personhood for their respective authors. They are bibliographical headstones or monuments to literary individuals, packaged up into a readable corpus and made legible through the lens of a selective, edited book. Pepys and these authors visibly jostle for space in these collected works. The backs of most of Pepys' books display a bookplate with his individual design: the initials 'S P' are entwined with rope and arrows, and headed by the motto *mens cujusque is est quisque*

[41] Jason Scott-Warren, *Shakespeare's First Reader: The Paper Trails of Richard Stonley* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 137.

('the mind's the man'). The anchor indicates Pepys' appointment as Secretary of the Admiralty: this is a biographical marker in miniature.[42] More unusually, Pepys also inserted an engraved self-portrait into the front of his books.[43] Pepys' portraits double up with his bookplates both to mark ownership and deter against theft.[44] In the authorial collections that include a portrait of the author, such as Shakespeare's Fourth Folio, Pepys' much smaller head is pasted on the recto or verso of the same leaf of the author portrait. Consequently Pepys' portrait looks comically overshadowed. Added to the book after it has been printed and bound, these portraits and bookplates intervene in the unit both of the book and the library. Firstly they assert the porousness of the codex: the open-endedness or non-finality of its form to which Pepys – as reader, as collector, as owner – can contribute. The paperscapes of Pepys' library reassert the codex's contingency, which has repeatedly come to the forefront of this thesis. Secondly, inserting these marks of identification imposes coherence on the library which shores up the central identity of its owner. That aspiration to construct Pepys' own biblio-biography works both with and against the attempts of these collected works to delineate the outline of the literary individuals who authored them. As the substrate of printed text, paper preserves something of the agency of those texts' authors. As the substrate of engraved portraits, paper also iterates the presence of Pepys across the collection. The ease with which paper disrupts the discrete unit of the book subverts the agency of any single individual. As the works of Spenser, Gascoigne and the rest accumulate papery additions which mark their entry into this collection, they bear testimony to the contingency of texts' material form and to the over-writing of their own book history.

The Works of Edmund Spenser, perched at the back of the shelves of the fifth press on the left hand side, asks us to remember that particular literary individual on its own terms.

---

[42] Brian North Lee, *British Bookplates: A Pictorial History* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1979), 28.
[43] Lee suggests that although bookplates were common, 'portraits were an exception', and notes that Pepys' portrait is by Robert White after Godfrey Kneller; Lee, *British Bookplates,* 9, 11.
[44] Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books 1450–1800* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons), 138.

Published in 1679 by Jonathan Edwin and printed by Henry Hills, this is already a reworking (in practical, if not literary, terms) of Spenser's corpus. The folio includes a glossary for greater accessibility, although its prohibitive expense for contemporary customers tempers that access. The folio renders its texts as hefty artefacts whose value was registered by ownership or display, rather than reading.[45] This book includes Spenser's now most famous poem *The Faerie Queen* (sigs. B*r*–XX2*r*): a text first printed by John Wolfe in 1590. In the 1679 *Works*, *The Faerie Queene* is followed by numerous other poems including *The Shepherds Calendar, Colin Clouts come home again,* and *Amoretti and Epithalamion,* as well as the prose text *A View of the State of Ireland*. Read in the context of the *Works, The Faerie Queene* is not only a poem of romance and chivalry, or one of nationhood and hardly-buried political allusion to Anglo-Irish relations. The epic takes pride of place at the front of a codex which gives shape to Spenser's literary trajectory. Patrick Cheney reads *The Faerie Queene* as an allegory of the career of the poet which moves through disillusion and retreat before returning to action: the *Works* provides an alternative, physical framework to that career.[46] The book includes a (heavily plagiarised) 'Account of his Life' which tells of Spenser's rise to fame: how the determined young poet won over Philip Sidney with nothing more than 'modest confidence, and the ninth canto of the First Book of the Faery Queen' in his pocket.[47] The 1679 folio continued to alter the kind of author it was nostalgically monumentalising even after it had gone through the press: Theodore Bathurst's *Pastorale Calendarium* (a translation of *The Shepheardes* Calendar) was printed and added to the book as an afterthought.[48] The *Works* are a monument to Spenser which also foreground his texts as living, re-arrangeable entities. The folio preserves the corpus (in both

---

[45] Hazel Wilkinson, *Edmund Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 6, 67–8.
[46] Patrick Cheney, *Spenser's Famous Flight: A Renaissance Idea of a Literary Career* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 231.
[47] *The works of that famous English poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser* (1679), sig. A*r.* The material for the biography was lifted from Camden's *Annales* (1615–1625), Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* (1662), and Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675); see Wilkinson, *Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, 19.
[48] Francis Johnson, *A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser Printed Before 1700* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1933), 54. See also Wilkinson, *Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book*, 18.

senses) of that author. It attempts to fix for posterity both his reputation (Spenser was a literary genius and here is Sidney's endorsement to prove it); and his texts (here are *The Faerie Queene, The Shepherds Calendar* and *A View of the State of Ireland* with 'other new Additions' validated by Edwin). The *Works* attempt for Spenser what the diary *and* the library attempt for Pepys: to invest in the ability of text-on-paper to preserve and remember.

The Faerie Queene has its own investment in the library as a textual holding point. Towards the end of the second book of *The Faerie Queene* – a text whose archaic language shapes its own memory of medieval England – Arthur and Guyon enter the library of Eumnestes, 'a man of infinite remembrance'.[49] There, in a chamber 'all hangd about with rolles' and with 'records from auncient times', the knights stumble upon two books (*Briton moniments* and *Antiquitie of fairy lond*) and begin to read.[50] In this moment of *The Faerie Queene*, Arthur reads a history of his own nation which has been preserved and invented in the texts of Eumnestes' library. This scene demonstrates the role of the library to actively construct national history: Jennifer Summit suggests that Eumnestes' library mirrors how the post-reformation library 'reshap[ed] cultural memory from remnants salvaged from the ruined monastic past'.[51] Those temporal echoes run both ways: for Arthur to be sitting in a library reading about his national past sets him up as a predecessor of the reader of *The Faerie Queene*. As Sarah Wall-Randell notes, this meta-reflexivity is characteristic of how romances tend towards an awareness of their own material and literary form. [52] But to encounter this moment of *The Faerie Queene* from within a library carries its own particular charge. As Arthur and Briton read their own national history they provide models of the reader in Pepys' library, reading about Arthur and Briton in *The Faerie Queene.* In chapter two I observed that the text of *Londinopolis*

[49] Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 2007), II.x.496.
[50]Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, II.x.510.
[51] Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 106.
[52] Sarah Wall-Randall, *The Immaterial Book: Reading and Romance in Early Modern England* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 26.

(1657) constructs a historical version of the city through which copies of printed books, entitled *Londinopolis*, had travelled; here, similarly, the characters of *The Faerie Queene* enter a version of the place in which *The Faerie Queene* as book ends up. But while *Londinopolis* erects a city based on topographical reality, *The Faerie Queene* transports the reader into a library which exists only within the confines of the book. This scene in Spenser's romance constructs a bookish environment which is not only shaped by, but entirely reliant on, printed text on paper. The scene transports the reader into a textually-constructed library at same time as it transforms them into Arthur-as-reader. To be reading this book in this library is both to be hyper-aware of our place in Pepys' library, and to be taken outside of it.

Scenes and sites constructed on paper tend towards instability. Arthur's choice of book, *Briton Moniments*, begins with a 'venturous Mariner' who discovers an unpeopled land and names it Albion. The narrative runs through the reigns of Brute, to 'king Lyer', to Constantine. By the sixty-eighth stanza, Hengist and his successor Aurelius have died to give way to Uther:

> After him Uther, which Pendragon hight
> Succeeding There abruptly did it end,
> Without full point, or other Censure right,
> As if the rest some wicked hand did rend,
> Or th' Author selfe could not at least attend
> To finish it: so that untimely breach
> The Prince him selfe halfe seemed to offend,
> Yet secret pleasure did offence empeach,
> And wonder of antiquity long stopt his speech.[53]

This is an odd moment for Arthur. Uther is his father, and the text has reached the moment of Arthur's own life. In a kind of reverse problem of that encountered by Laurence Sterne's Tristram Shandy, who writes his life for six weeks and fails to reach his own birth, Arthur reads a text which catches up with him and so cannot possibly go any further. 'The Author selfe could not at least attend' because Arthur the reader becomes Arthur the author, poised to determine the future of this text. While that 'stopt speech' leaves the chronicle's future open, textual

[53] Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, II.x.68.

variants further destabilise 'the present' that the reader negotiates with this text. In the perfect participle of that last line, 'long stopt his speech', is the reassuring distance between the reader and an action which has now ended. Arthur stopped talking a long time ago, and that event is over and done with. But in Pepys' copy of this text, encased in the 1679 *Works*, that last line is altered from the 1590 edition. 'Long stopt' becomes 'long stops': suddenly we are still there alongside Arthur, caught in his ongoing silence. Locally this is one of many examples of print's mobility – its ability to mutate – which puts paid to Eisenstein's association of 'textual drift' with a singularly manuscript culture.[54] The 1679 edition of *The Faerie Queene* (printed ninety years after its first manifestation in 1590) effectively puts the reader further back into the past, to the moment when Author stops speaking. *The Faerie Queene* is itself a mobile text with its own history. Firstly, the intervention of Pepys' portrait in this copy demonstrates the fluidity of paper between codices, and how historical moments of ownership and canon-formation collide in the very paper gatherings that preserve them. Secondly, whilst the 1679 *Works* seeks to capture Spenser and his corpus, fixing them for posterity, this edition marks a transient moment in the changing form of this poem. If the fantasy of Pepys' library, like Eumnestes' library, is that paper fixes texts (if not necessarily in 'auncient… rolles' then at least in seventeenth-century codices), then the printed paper sheets across editions of *The Faerie Queene* bear witness to the library as a place which tracks textual mobility, as well as temporary stasis.

'Perfect and Accomplished': The Library Catalogue

While *The Faerie Queene*-as-text has a complex and partially told relationship with the past, the *Works*-as-codex does also. Spenser's *Works* now lives in the fifth of the twelve presses in Pepys' library, but if Pepys bought the *Works* in 1679 when it was printed, then it came into the library

[54] Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 114.

at a time when there were at most seven presses.[55] The home the book has now is not the one it always had, even within Pepys' library. For the formal story of Spenser's *Works* in this library, readers can look to the library catalogue, or, to give it its full title: *Supellex Literari Samuelis Pepys. Containing the Catalogue & Alphab.t of my Books Adjusted to Michaelmass 1700.* This document is a feat of clerical endeavour, and conveys the rhetoric of order and topographical fixity with which Pepys hoped to imbue his library. Begun in its current form in 1693 by Pepys and his nephew John Jackson (d.1724), the weighty manuscript begins by listing all the books in order of shelf mark. Its three hundred page 'Appendix' divides the library into subjects and sub-sections, to present the volumes and their shelf marks in another, differently-navigable form. Expansive topics like 'Arts and Sciences', 'Philosophy', or (rather less expansively), '[Robert] Boyle,' are divided further: 'Arts and Sciences' encompasses sub-sections including 'Agriculture', 'Dancing', and 'Navigation'. Spenser's 1679 *Works* appears on page 228 between Skelton and Suckling in the 'English, Scotch and French' subsection of 'Poetry'. The Appendix juxtaposes books by theme rather than date or author. Shelf mark 714 denoting Charles Cotton's *The Compleat Gamester* (1674) precedes shelf mark 1984 denoting *The book of hawking, hunting and heraldry* (1496), because 'fishing' follows 'dice' under 'Games and Sports of England'. The result of these categories is to impose order on Pepys' books, each of which has its own place within an interlinked network.

The order of this library is shored up in the order of its catalogue. If this library has a coherence in its array of twelve presses, then that coherence is reflected, even intensified, in these neat subject partitions. The catalogue records a set of books as having been in the same place: it works in that sense like an imprint, which stamps multiple texts with the record of a particular location. While imprints anticipate dispersal – they become most relevant when they look backwards to the place from which they were born – catalogues enforce juxtaposition on

[55] *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge,* vii*: Facsimile of Pepys' Catalogue*, ed. David McKitterick (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), xi.

their texts. They either document the proximity of the items in a collection, or construct proximity between the titles on the page. Writing over two hundred years after Pepys' death, Walter Benjamin demands of his own library: 'What else is this collection but a disorder to which habit has accommodated itself to such an extent that it can appear as order?[56] Revelling in 'the disorder of crates' and 'the floor covered with torn paper', Benjamin insists that 'the appearance of order' masquerades in front of 'disorder', but also that 'the appearance of order' is enough to unify his soon-to-be-unpacked collection. Benjamin's rhetoric is useful in unpacking Pepys' catalogue, because this moment highlights the constructed and contingent nature of the order that the catalogue imposes on the collection.

Pepys' subject-based catalogue follows the advice of a book he owned on library-building: Gabriel Naudé's *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library* (1661). *Instructions* made its way into Pepys' library via its translator, Pepys' friend and scholarly mentor John Evelyn, but Naudé originally wrote it for Henri de Mesmes (1585–1650), the president of the Parliament of Paris whose library consisted of eight thousand books. Understandably, Pepys felt the ambition of *Instructions* to be 'above my reach'.[57] Despite this disavowal, Naudé's premise – that books should be 'ranged and disposed according to the variety of their subjects, or in such other sort, as they may easily be found' – is the premise of Pepys' catalogue. Without a sense of order, claimed Naudé, a collection of books:

> were it of fifty thousand Volumes… would no more merit the name of a Library, than a vast heap of stones and materials, that of a Palace or a house, till they be placed and put together according to rule, to make a perfect and accomplished structure.[58]

Naudé makes an essential distinction between a 'heap' of stones, and the moment when they are brought into homogeneity to make a 'perfect and accomplished' building ('rule' here hovers

---

[56] Walter Benjamin, 'Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting', in *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1978), 59–68, 62.
[57] *Diary*, vi, 252.
[58] Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library* (1661), sig. F6*r*.

between a set of instructions, and a series of straight lines). If a pile of materials waits to be moved elsewhere, a house is the unmoving structure. Rubble is temporary, but a palace is permanent. In the imagery of Naudé's *Instructions*, it is at the moment of collecting fragments into wholes, of erecting architectural limits, that order is imposed and the library is formed. Naudé's language echoes those Latinate roots of the archive as a stronghold, box or vault, overlooking the papery reality of most libraries. The catalogue lends an intellectual cohesion to the library which Naudé asks us to imagine in the language of material fixity.

Alongside Pepys' main library catalogue are smaller, subject-specific ones reflecting his dominant interests. As a naval man, it makes sense that he devotes one catalogue to that subject: *A Catalogue and Alphabet to my Books of Geography and Hydrography containing mapps, charts and other descriptions… resting in my Library at its adjustment Midsummer 1693; and form thence by additions carry'd on to Midsummer 1695. And from thence by further additions to the completing of the Library.* Sitting within the library at shelf mark 2700 this catalogue contains a list of works in numerical and then alphabetical order, followed by a fifty-four page subject index to these 'Books' which encompasses the non-codexical items of 'mapps' and 'charts'. One of the advantages of these detailed catalogues is to make Pepys' library 'navigable' to the reader: navigable in the contemporary sense of the word (as I discussed in chapter one) which describes the effect of finding aids within and around books. The bookseller and antiquary John Bagford (1650/51–1716) praised Pepys' cataloguing system in his 1708 survey of London libraries as 'an admirable Method for the easie finding of any Author on various Subjects, and the least Book may be found as soon as the largest Folio'.[59] Naudé, who advocated the public accessibility of a successful library, would have approved. Moreover the very title of this naval catalogue illuminates Pepys' desire to pin down the library. The language smacks of progress

[59] Alexander Justice, *A complete volume of the memoirs for the curious* (London, 1710), 167–182, 179.

towards the goal of 'completion'. At some point, this library will be finished: the catalogue reflects and perpetuates that fixed and final state.

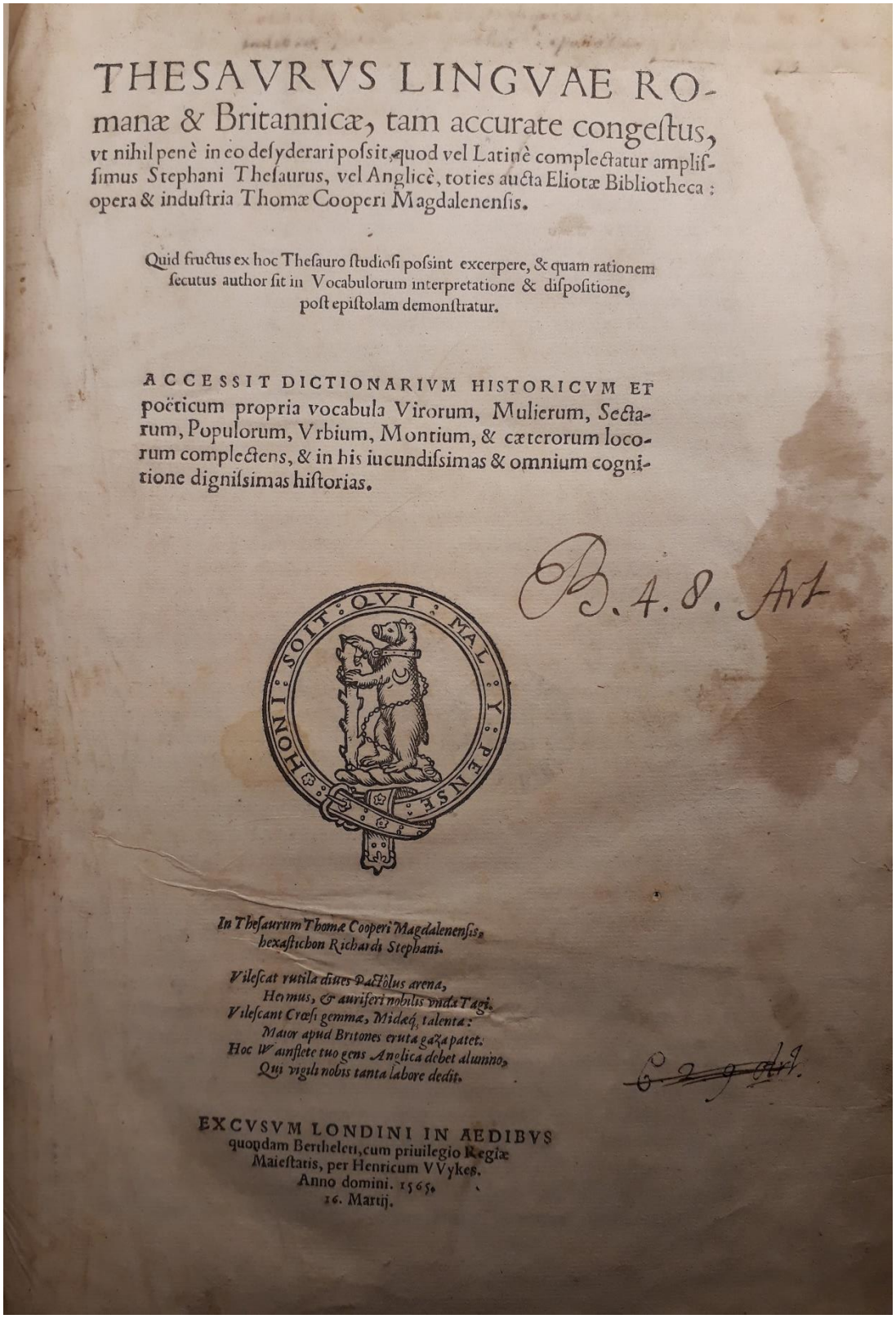
But the three versions of this supplementary catalogue live on in its title, directing our attention to the possibility of 'additions… and… additions'. The last version we have is from 1703 when Pepys died. As the library grew, Pepys had to amend his system and reassign shelf marks to make room for the increasing numbers of books. The catalogues shows two sets of numbers per book: 'Old No.' and New No'. If in general, as Jason Scott-Warren suggests, 'inventories are silent about the mobility of moveables', then Pepys' catalogue provides an exception to the rule.[60] The double-columned list serves to highlight rather than efface the local movements of Pepys' books. Naudé's *Instructions* is accorded shelf mark 789 according to its 'New No.', but the catalogue acknowledges a time when it sat at 488, next to Louis Maimbourg's *Histoire de Calvinism*. Between 1693 and 1704 Pepys was reordering his library enough to re-number the majority of his books as they shifted between shelves.

According to the catalogue, Spenser's *Works* had a previous shelf mark of 1403. That means that it moved, at least once, to its current shelf mark of 2307 from the place where it sat as 1403. But that wasn't the end of the *Works*' mobility within Pepys' library. We know that the entirety of the library moved from Clapham to Cambridge in 1724. That much bigger geographic shift is effaced in the catalogue's neat binaries of 'old' and 'new'. The termination of the book at shelf mark 2307 elides the actual mobility of this codex and of the entire library. The catalogue selectively remembers the life of Pepys' copy of Spenser's *Works* before it landed in its current resting place in the fifth case of Pepys' library in Magdalene College, effacing the record of its earlier movement. Like Arthur's own history in *Briton Moniments,* the history of *The Faerie Queene* as a moving part comes to a halt when it reaches the present of the catalogue's making. The future mobility of this copy of Spenser's *Works* around or even out of its current place in

[60] Scott-Warren, *Shakespeare's First Reader*, 78.

Magdalene College (whether for financial, logistical or institutional reasons) will go undocumented in the catalogue, which presents books fixed in time and space, just as the deeds of Arthur necessarily go unwritten in the book that he reads in Eumnestes' library. The miniature travels of books over time are almost entirely stripped away by the catalogue to show a set of objects in neat relation to one another, firmly entrenched in place in the 'perfect and accomplished structure'. The 'Old' and 'New' numbers of the catalogue make partially legible a tension here between the static impulse of libraries, and of catalogues, and the actual mobility of books in and around this library. The legibility of moving books is not unique to this catalogue. The earliest Bodleian catalogue (1605) shows shelf marks which have since been updated. For example, Thomas Cowper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannica* (1565) originally sat under C 2.9 Art: the ninth volume on the second shelf of authors beginning with C among the Arts folios, from where it has now moved. It has since been re-catalogued as B 4.8 Art, but its title page bears witness to its prior shelf mark and position (see figure 16).[61] In Pepys' catalogue, the aspirational fixity of the title page is at odds with the legible mobility of its books, creating a gap between what the catalogue aims to do and its actual role as a lens or tool with which to read the library. In the remainder of this chapter I pay attention to that gap and read texts as they travelled around Pepys' library: first as whole books, and then as mobile fragments of paper and text. Across the four cases studies I show how that mobility affects, and at times, effects, our reading.

[61] *The first printed catalogue of the Bodleian Library 1605, a facsimile* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 298.



THESAVRVS LINGVAE ROmanæ & Britannicæ, tam accurate congestus, vt nihil penè in eo desyderari possit, quod vel Latinè complectatur amplissimus Stephani Thesaurus, vel Anglicè, toties aucta Eliotæ Bibliotheca: opera & industria Thomæ Cooperi Magdalenensis.

Quid fructus ex hoc Thesauro studiosi possint excerpere, & quam rationem secutus author sit in Vocabulorum interpretatione & dispositione, post epistolam demonstratur.

ACCESSIT DICTIONARIVM HISTORICVM ET poëticum propria vocabula Virorum, Mulierum, Sectarum, Populorum, Vrbium, Montium, & cæterorum locorum complectens, & in his iucundissimas & omnium cognitione dignissimas historias.

B. 4. 8. Art

HONI : SOIT : QVI : MAL : Y : PENSE

In Thesaurum Thomæ Cooperi Magdalenensis, hexastichon Richardi Stephani.

Vilescat rutila dites Pactolus arena,
Hermus, & auriferi nobilis vnda Tagi.
Vilescant Cræsi gemmæ, Midæq; talenta:
Maior apud Britones erutagaza patet.
Hoc Wainflete tuo gens Anglica debet alumno,
Qui vigila nobis tanta labore dedit.

C. 2. 9 Art.

EXCVSVM LONDINI IN AEDIBVS quondam Bertheleti, cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, per Henricum VVykes. Anno domini. 1565. 16. Martij.

Figure 16 Deleted shelf mark recorded in 1605 Bodleian catalogue. Bod B 4.8 Art.

Chaucer's Shelf Life

What broader readings does the mobility of books, legible within the catalogue, allow? Tracing the shelf marks of individual books gives us an insight into their lives in the library, and crucially how these lives overlapped. Just behind Gabriel Naudé's *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library* (the shelves are doubled stacked) sits a copy of Chaucer's *Workes* (1602).[62] We know that Chaucer came into Pepys' hands in July 1664 because he records getting it bound, clasped and embossed ('it was not full neate enough for me', recorded the ever-pernickety Pepys, 'but pretty well it is').[63] In July 1664 Pepys had not yet commissioned his presses: Chaucer may well have joined the piles of books 'lying one upon another on my chairs'. So presumably, when the first book case was built, Chaucer was one of the first authors to be shelved. Today Chaucer's *Workes* sit in the back row of the third shelf down of Pepys' seventh case at shelf mark 2365. But it had not always been there. The *Catalogue* informs us that the book's 'old' shelf mark was 1442. It is impossible to know precisely what position 1442 signified at the time, because of the lack of recorded dates for Pepys' book-buying and press-building. But this updated shelf mark evidently corresponds to a shift in the configurations of Pepys' shelves. The catalogue records the movement of the book: it documents real bibliographic mobility. In that sense the shelf mark does similar work to the imprint, but on a different scale and more precisely (from this shelf to that, instead of this shop to that).

Chaucer's *Workes* occupied different places in the library, and jostled for space next to a variety of neighbours. The extended trajectory of this book through the library means that its outer bindings pressed up against a variety of other (now irretrievable) codices. To read one of Pepys' books is also to read in and of his library, and vice versa: the text cannot be unyoked from its material context (of which the library is one of many in the lives of these books). Pepys' nephew Jackson was urged to pass all the library holdings including the furniture to the library

[62] STC 5080.
[63] *Diary,* v, 199.

of Magdalene College.[64] That the books rather than, for example, the globes, have survived in situ reflects later archival practices and assumptions rather than those of the seventeenth century. In Pepys' lifetime the carpenter Thomas Simpson (or 'Sympson') who constructed the ingenious presses in the library was also responsible for window repairs, a press for cloaks, a bench, and some chimneys.[65] Different kinds of labour contributed to this domestic space without drawing a distinction between the bookish and the non-bookish or the papery and non-papery. Suggesting that early modern books function as cognitive and material forms of 'furniture', Jeffrey Todd Knight compares books to walls, pots, tables, bed pillars, and other domestic objects 'whose significance was at once material and semiotic' and which 'formed part of the physical environment that conditioned the intellectual environment of their users'.[66] This argument also works in reverse: reading this copy of Chaucer's *Workes* as it moved around Pepys' library is to suggest that physical environment conditions the semiotics of the book. The mobility of books supports, rather than resists, their conceptualisation as furniture. An early word for furniture or personal goods, 'moble', also had an adjectival meaning of unfixed, mobile: a fact that goes unnoticed by Knight in his comparison of books and furniture. Books which move around a library, like any other 'moble', both draw meaning from, and give meaning to, their environment.

What precisely does that movement mean for Chaucer? The medieval poet's *Workes* are currently sandwiched between a collection of political writings by the politician and judge Robert Atkyns (1621–1710) and a three-way Anglo-Saxon, Latin and English dictionary by William Somner (1598–1669). The catalogue shows that, in the reshelving documented by the shift from 'old' to 'new' number, these three books moved together: shelf marks 1441–1443 became 2364–2366. Briefly, these books were a physical unit: not with the strength of those

[64] Loveman, *Samuel Pepys and His Books*, 16.
[65] On the 'presses' see *Diary*, vii, 214, 242; for examples of Simpson's other work see iv, 320 (chimneys); iv, 353 (cloaks).
[66] Jeffrey Todd Knight, '"Furnished" for Action: Renaissance Books as Furniture', *Book History* 12 (2009), 37–73, 51.

individual texts which make up a physically bound Sammelband but with some semblance of that 'material proximity' which Jeffrey Todd Knight asks us to read across texts which, however surprisingly or incongruously, occupy one volume. Taking material proximity seriously means comparing Somner's dictionary with the self-contained dictionary found in the back of Chaucer's *Workes*, inserted by its editor Thomas Speght to elucidate 'old and obscure words'.[67] If Chaucer's 'old and obscure words' required explanation, then they looked relatively close to home next to a dictionary which carried out heavy-duty translation between the classical, the early medieval, and the seventeenth-century writer.



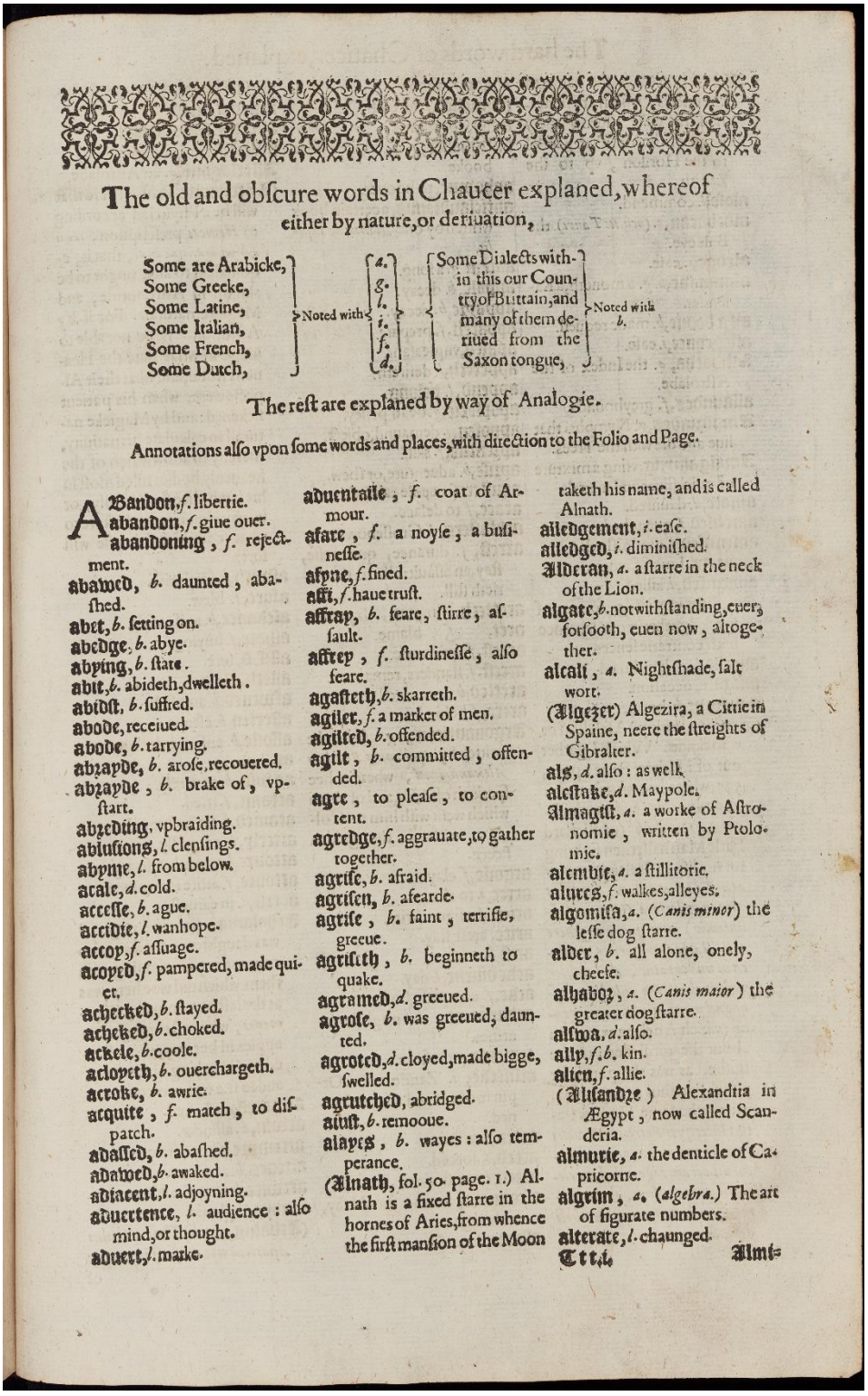
Figure 17 Chaucer's *Works* back of shelf, third from the left and Somner's *Dictionary*, fourth from left. Image courtesy of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Speght's list of difficult words includes 'Arabicke', 'Greeke', 'Latine', 'Italian', 'French', 'Dutch', and 'Some Dialects within this our Country of Brittain, and many of them derived from the Saxon tongue' (these last are helpfully noted with a 'b.'). Speght seeks to rescue the text from

[67] Chaucer, *Works* (1602), sig. Ttt*r.*

linguistic obscurity created by time as well as space. His inclusion of Anglo-Saxon words means that this book replicates in part the work of Somner's neighbouring dictionary. Running our eye down Speght's first column, we see many words with that 'b.' denoting Anglo-Saxon origin: 'abet' (setting on), 'abying' (state), 'abrayde' (arose). Beneath these is 'acale' with a 'd.' implying Dutch origin and translated as 'cold'.[68] Somner's Anglo-Saxon dictionary includes the word 'Acolian' translated as 'cooled', and notes 'Chaucero, acale'.[69] Speght's categories of etymological origin begin to falter as Chaucer's 'acale', whose label 'd.' denotes Dutch origin, shows its Anglo-Saxon roots. Next to Somner's dictionary, the word 'acale' is woven into a richer historical tapestry of language development which pulls together multiple times and places. Somner's reference to Chaucer, in this book, on this shelf, directs us to the neighbouring codex which undermines as much as it reiterates the origins of Chaucer's language. If moving books render the library structurally unsound, then the library's instability in turn causes the instability of the codex. Books which move in proximity (as in the case of shelf marks 2364–2366) signify beyond the unit of the codex: crumbling their own material parameters and rendering their text susceptible to new readings as they are altered by their material surrounds.

[68] Chaucer, *Workes*, sig. Ttt*r*.
[69] William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659), sig. A2*r.*



The old and obſcure words in Chaucer explaned, whereof either by nature, or deriuation,

Some are Arabicke, Some Greeke, Some Latine, Some Italian, Some French, Some Dutch, } Noted with { a. g. l. i. f. d. } { Some Dialects within this our Country of Brittain, and many of them deriued from the Saxon tongue, } Noted with b.

The reſt are explaned by way of Analogie.

Annotations alſo vpon ſome words and places, with direction to the Folio and Page.

ABandon, *f.* libertie.
abandon, *f.* giue ouer.
abandoning, *f.* reiectment.
abawed, *b.* daunted, abaſhed.
abet, *b.* ſetting on.
abedge, *b.* abye.
abying, *b.* ſtate.
abit, *b.* abideth, dwelleth.
abidſt, *b.* ſuffred.
abode, receiued.
abode, *b.* tarrying.
abzayde, *b.* aroſe, recouered.
abzayde, *b.* brake of, vpſtart.
abzeding, vpbraiding.
abluſions, *l.* cleanſings.
abyme, *l.* from below.
acale, *d.* cold.
acceſſe, *b.* ague.
accidie, *l.* wanhope.
accop, *f.* aſſuage.
acoyed, *f.* pampered, made quiet.
achecked, *b.* ſtayed.
acheked, *b.* choked.
ackele, *b.* coole.
aclogeth, *b.* ouerchargeth.
acroke, *b.* awrie.
acquite, *f.* match, to diſpatch.
adaſſed, *b.* abaſhed.
adawed, *b.* awaked.
adiacent, *l.* adjoyning.
aduertence, *l.* audience: alſo mind, or thought.
aduert, *l.* marke.
aduentaile, *f.* coat of Armour.
afare, *f.* a noyſe, a buſineſſe.
afyne, *f.* fined.
affi, *f.* haue truſt.
affray, *b.* feare, ſtirre, aſſault.
affrey, *f.* ſturdineſſe, alſo feare.
agaſteth, *b.* skarreth.
agiler, *f.* a marker of men.
agilted, *b.* offended.
agilt, *b.* committed, offended.
agre, to pleaſe, to content.
agredge, *f.* aggrauate, to gather together.
agriſe, *b.* afraid.
agriſen, *b.* afearde.
agriſe, *b.* faint, terrifie, greeue.
agriſeth, *b.* beginneth to quake.
agramed, *d.* greeued.
agrole, *b.* was greeued, daunted.
agroted, *d.* cloyed, made bigge, ſwelled.
agrutched, abridged.
aiuſt, *b.* remooue.
alayes, *b.* wayes: alſo temperance.
(Alnath, fol. 50. page. 1.) Alnath is a fixed ſtarre in the hornes of Aries, from whence the firſt manſion of the Moon taketh his name, and is called Alnath.
alledgement, *i.* eaſe.
alledged, *i.* diminiſhed.
Alderan, *a.* a ſtarre in the neck of the Lion.
algate, *b.* notwithſtanding, euer, forſooth, euen now, altogether.
alcali, *a.* Nightſhade, ſalt wort.
(Algezer) Algezira, a Cittie in Spaine, neere the ſtreights of Gibralter.
alg, *d.* alſo: as welk.
alehake, *d.* Maypole.
Almageſt, *a.* a worke of Aſtronomie, written by Ptolomie.
alembic, *a.* a ſtillitorie.
alures, *f.* walkes, alleyes.
algomiſa, *a.* (*Canis minor*) the leſſe dog ſtarre.
alder, *b.* all alone, onely, cheefe.
alhaboz, *a.* (*Canis maior*) the greater dog ſtarre.
alſwa, *d.* alſo.
ally, *f. b.* kin.
alien, *f.* allie.
(Aliſandze) Alexandria in Ægypt, now called Scanderia.
almurie, *a.* the denticle of Capricorne.
algrim, *a.* (*algebra.*) The art of figurate numbers.
alterate, *l.* chaunged.

Figure 18 'acale' in Speght's table of 'old and obscure words in Chaucer'. Geffrey Chaucer, *The Works... newly printed*, ed. Thomas Speght (1602), shelf mark 2365. Image courtesy of the Pepys library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

But should we look for meaning in these juxtapositions? That these two books moved together between shelves gives bibliographical sustenance to our reading of one against the other, providing evidence of 'material proximity' through time and space. In reality, the reason Chaucer's *Workes* follows Somner's dictionary around the library is its size. Pepys' library was ordered within his presses solely by the size – or more specifically the height – of the books: the largest in the floor-cases (shelf five); folios and large quartos at the back of shelves two, three, and four; smaller quartos and octavos on shelf one and at the front of shelves two, three and four.[70] Pepys' investment in his sizing system is located in the codicil of his will, which dictates: '8thly That their placing as to heighth be strictly reviewed and where found requiring it more nicely adjusted'. The nice adjustment of Pepys' books according to height was rooted in both curatorial tradition and seventeenth-century trends. At the library of Sion College, a theological learning house established in the City in 1630, the larger books were on the open shelves whilst the smaller ones, designated 'Arch' in the style of the Bodleian library, were available on application to the librarian. This assumption – that the smaller, and therefore less important books would be required less frequently – results in a size-based ordering system, also found in other contemporary libraries.[71] The size of books is effected by the size of sheets of paper, folded into halves, quarters or eights to make folios, quartos and octavos. Paper was bought and sold in different sizes whose names signified their relative status: compare 'pott paper' (measuring 12.5'' x 16'') to 'demy' (around 15'' x 19''), or 'royal' (up to 18'' x 23).[72] The size of a sheet and the way it is folded are, as Joseph Dane observes 'foundational to the definition of

[70] The largest folios were not in presses, but in and upon (now underneath) the writing table at the centre. Edward Duff, *Bibliotheca Pepysiana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), ii, xvi.
[71] David Mckitterick, 'Libraries and the Organization of Knowledge', in Elizabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, eds., *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland,* i: *To 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 592–615, 613–614.
[72] John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* iv: *1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 583–601, 590. For alternative measurements recorded in 1674, when pott paper is as small as 7.5'' x 12'', see R.W. Chapman, 'An Inventory of Paper, 1674', *The Library* s4-VII.4 (1927), 402–407.

what a book *is* (or more accurately, what we will include in an enumerative catalogue)'.[73] That 'foundational definition' is at the forefront of book collections that are categorised by size. While the number of folds in a sheet decides a book's format, both the size of the original sheet *and* the number of folds dictates the size of a book – and thus its position in Pepys' library.

A library ordered by the physicality of the codex offers a suggestive sense of genre as material form. In chapter one I drew a connection between material form and genre in suggesting how the rotatable paper volvelles of George Wither's *Emblemes* invite a similar mode of reading to Thomas Blundeville's *Exercises.* If the modes of reading we bring to books are both invited by, and determine, their generic identities, then those modes are just as much haptic (that is, to do with the physicality of reading) as cognitive (to do with the kinds of intellectual work they demand). The folio forms of Chaucer's *Works* with William Sommer's *Dictionary* hint at an established gravity, even if this gravity is at odds with Chaucer's bawdier tales. The size-ordered shelves of Pepys' library brings them together because of the way that paper is used and folded. Their precise location, like their format, sets up a series of expectations which frame our reading before we have even begun. These arguments demand that we broaden our understanding of reading to engage with the library as a meaningful unit. As Jason Scott-Warren writes, 'you do not need to open a book in order to engage with its more dispersed and sometimes intangible outer wrappings… we need to expand our definition of reading to encompass all of the things that readers do with books'.[74] The library is yet another of these 'outer wrappings'; to organise, file, and sort is to interact with books as textual and material objects. Pepys' library, like the catalogue, documents an awareness that the 'reading' of books begins with noting their physical forms and their place: herein we make and draw their first significance. If 'forms effect meaning' then one surprising way in which this happens in Pepys'

[73] Joseph Dane, *Blind Impressions: Methods and Mythologies in Book History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 41.
[74] Scott-Warren, *Shakespeare's First Reader,* 251.

library is that the physicality of the codex, and more specifically the measurements and folds of its paper, determine its neighbours. The materiality of paper conditions material proximity, and so opens up new ways of reading texts which take into account their place on the shelves.

Reading books next to and against the others in his collection, Pepys sometimes found them to be in the wrong place. The offenders were either moved along or disposed of entirely. This policing of the library is legible in a section of the *Catalogue* entitled the 'Deleta': 'Containing an Account of such Books, as having been laid aside or removed, since the last Adjustment, or shall be after this; stand lined-out in y^{e} praeced.^{ng} Catalogue of Michaelms$^{s'}$.[75] This three-page list records books removed out of sequence 'to a juster Place', or discarded from the library altogether. An example of the former is Louis Maimbourg's *Histoire de Calvinism*, the one-time neighbour of Naudé's *Instructions.* We find it relocated to shelf mark 464 and then to 744 where it sits today as the last in a chronological row of seven works by Maimbourg, between Maimbourg's *Histoire du Calvinisme* (1682) and Jorge de Montemayor's *Los siete libros de la Diana. Traduicts… par I.D. Betranet* (1611). Here the catalogue's claim of improvement 'to a juster Place' seems justified by the grouping of authors. At other times, the motive for the move is less obvious. The Deleta records a 1696 Bible printed by Charles Bill being uprooted from its place between some engravings of French and Italian towns, and Johannes Buxton's guide to Hebrew entitled *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum Et Rabbinicum*, to nestle between a Dutch folio tablet book and Georges Fournier's *Hydrographie* (1667).[76] Place matters in some ideological sense for the categorisation of these books: this Bible should not be here, but *here* is a 'juster' (or, as the Deleta says elsewhere, 'properer') place. It is difficult to do more than guess at the motives behind these books' movements: the reason for that morally invoked 'juster'. But these shelf marks and catalogues do, at least partially, recover the fluidity and mobility that was

[75] *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge,* vii*: Facsimile of Pepys' Catalogue*, ed. McKitterick, 166–169.
[76] The Dutch folio tablet book is made up of eight stiffened and blank leaves.

a characteristic of this frequently re-adjusted library, and foreground the contingency of textual topographies as these book made their way around the shelves. It is easier to pin down the ideological frameworks that resulted in the removal of books from the library altogether. Many items in the Deleta are 'ejected' to make way for preferred editions, often to replace older editions with new ones.[77] The Deleta records absent texts, preserving ghostly versions of paper forms against which the present ones can be read.[78] This list tells a tale of bookish movement and circulation, as much as one of loss. This ejection is in keeping with an older sense of the archive, as articulated by Anthony Grafton's reading of the archive belonging to the sixteenth-century Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker: 'not as a place where texts were preserved in the closest possible approximation to their original state, but as one where texts were "renewed" or "exemplified" and replaced whenever practical needs required it'.[79] Pepys threw away his 1664 Shakespeare folio with gay abandon when the fourth folio of 1685 came on the market (in hindsight a disastrous financial decision), whilst a collected works of Milton published in 1698 in Amsterdam replaced earlier editions of individual works including his *History of Britain* (1670).[80] Ejecting books is a renewal of the library, which renders that site in a state of flux.

The belief in the superiority of later editions which is visible in the Deleta marks the changing priorities between early modern and twenty-first century book-collecting sensibilities.[81] In updating his library, Pepys acted in keeping not only with accepted principles

---

[77] One exception is Cardinal John Fisher's *Treatyse concernynge the fruytful saynges of Dauid* (1509) which came into the library because it was an 'Older Edition'; see *Catalogue,* vii. 167.
[78] Adam Smyth and Gill Partington, eds, 'Missing Texts', a special edition of *Critical Enquiry* 55.4 (2014), 4.
[79] Anthony Grafton, 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive', *History of Humanities* 2.1 (2017), 15–50, 34.
[80] *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge,* vii*: Facsimile of Pepys' Catalogue*, ed. McKitterick, xxviii. The Bodleian library similarly replaced their First Folio with a Third Folio (1663/4), probably when Bodleian Librarian Thomas Lockey sold it for £24 to the Oxford bookseller Richard Davis in 1664 among what the Bodleian accounts from that year describe as 'superfluous library books'; Edmund Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library 1845–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952, repr. 1981), 179.
[81] David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory 1600–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 17–27, 265. As late as 1834 Thomas Lowndes

of librarianship dating back to the sixteenth century, when uniform printed editions were welcome replacements for medieval manuscript stock, but also with the mantras of his mentor, friend, and fellow book-collector John Evelyn.[82] Not only did Evelyn support the substitution of older for new editions, he applauded the other kinds of pruning foregrounded in Pepys' Deleta and advised that 'most of the trifling Books' in a library 'should be weeded out to give place to better till it were thro'ly purged'.[83] The material limits of libraries demand that librarians prune their collections and, as Seth Lerer notes, such pruning instigates a series of literary judgements: 'the physical, artifactual nature of the book has made the canonizing of the literary work into an act of space management'. Growing and bettering a library is to decide which books are worth the space they take up on the shelves: 'canonization is as much a process of selecting space as of selecting value'.[84] Pepys himself was well aware of the payoff, hoping that his library would house 'in fewest Books and least Room the greatest diversity of Subjects, Stiles, and Languages its Owner's Reading will bear'.[85] The decision to afford shelf space to books is simultaneously to afford them literary status. *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* only lists author-focused collections which attain more than 0.5 linear feet, and only then the largest collection per author. Libraries that hold smaller collections are ignored.[86] Discarding various texts requires judgements about their textual content and their material form: judgements which cumulatively play into long-term and widespread definitions of literary taste. Weeding out books was not just compatible with Pepys' ambition to build a structurally solid library: it was an integral part of that ambition. The desire to create a library that would

---

pronounced 'the immense superiority of a second edition over the first, of a third over a second'; *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature,* 2 vols (London: Pickering, 1834), i, ix.
[82] Mckitterick, 'Libraries and the Organization of Knowledge', 580.
[83] John Evelyn, *Memoires for my Grandson* ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London: Nonsuch Press, 1926), 51. See also Giles Mandelbrote, 'John Evelyn and his Books' in F. Harris and M. Hunter eds., *John Evelyn and his Milieu* (London: British Library, 2003), 71–94.
[84] Seth Lerer, 'Falling Asleep over the History of the Book', *PMLA* 12.1 (2006), 229–234, 232.
[85] *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys, 1679–1703,* ed. J. R. Tanner, 2 vols (London: G. Bell, 1926), ii, 247.
[86] Amy Hildreth Chen, *Placing Papers: The American Literary Archives Market* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2020), 10.

'remaine unalterable' paradoxically demands all manner of alterations to accommodate papery bulk in the making of that entity, bringing books together and activating new localised readings beyond Pepys' intentions for visual coherence. The catalogue reveals the mobile form of the library behind the façade of its order, cohesiveness and fixity. And these bibliographical traces – evidence of books moving around Pepys' shelves over time – undermine the rigidity of the structure that the catalogue seeks to impose.

Ovid's Mobile Form

The Deleta, like the main 'Alphabet' in the Catalogue, gives two sets of numbers for all its entries. The 'old' and the 'new' numbers testify to the moving books in Pepys' library. Yet these two configurations of the library are only half the story. In the flyleaves of these books are a trail of shelf marks, lightly crossed out but still legible, documenting each book's journey between the presses and shelves of Pepys' increasingly expansive library. There are numerous examples of this in Pepys' books: moments when the mobility acknowledged by the catalogue only partially documents the full journey of the book told in the deleted shelf marks of its fly leaves. There are no other surviving class marks from previous owners – Pepys bought new books where possible, and selected unmarked copies of incunabular and second-hand books – so these shelf marks all assert the gravitational pull of Pepys' library even as they challenge the fixity of their precise place on the shelf. According to its flyleaf, Naudé's *Instructions* started life as number 465, before becoming 488 and finally 1532. Spenser's *Works*, whose 'old number' in the catalogue is 1401, turns out to have had a series of even older numbers (namely 758, 881, and 1250). These shelf marks document positions through which the book moved before it was shunted on yet again to become 1401. The catalogue does not provide the date on which that book entered the library, but the length of a list of shelf marks is a good approximation of how long a particular book was in Pepys' ownership. The numbers on the flyleaves of Naudé's

Instructions or Spenser's *Works* give a fuller picture of each book's temporal and spatial history in Pepys' library that the updated catalogue only partially reveals.

What can we do with this newly-established mobility? So far, I have noted the juxtaposition of Chaucer and Sommer in foregrounding the significance of size in reading and categorising books; I have also noted the different ideologies which caused books to be ejected, or to move around the shelves to better places. But what can literary scholarship do more precisely with these mobile forms? How does such mobility change our reading? A book devoted to the theme of fluidity and change is a good place to start. At the back of the right hand side of press eleven, on the third shelf down, sits Pepys' copy of *Ovid's Metamorphosis* (1640), translated into English by George Sandys.[87] Ovid nestles between Roger Dodsworth and Sir William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and a manuscript entitled *Parliament Debates touching the Militia, an additional standing Force, Roman-Catholick Officers and raising of Money* dated 1685. The catalogue gives *Metamorphosis*' 'new' number as 2481 and the 'old' number as 1536, but the fly leaf has more to tell. Specifically it informs us that *Metamorphosis*' first shelf mark in Pepys' library was 945. That shelf mark was deleted, as were its later ones: 1359 and 1536. These were all crossed out and updated to the current shelf mark: 2481. The gradual building of presses – which took the number up from two in 1667, to seven in 1693, to nine by 1698 and twelve by 1703 – coincided with Sandys' translation being re-shelved at least three times in thirty-eight years. Thirty-eight years is an accurate timespan because Pepys' diary records *Metamorphosis* coming into the library on 22nd December 1662. Five years later Stow's *Survey of London* entered the library at number 944. At this point Pepys was still on his first two presses, and so we might guess that the books had not been officially reordered within that time. That would suggest Stow first took up residence next to *Metamorphosis*. Stow's *Survey* was separated from *Metamorphosis* when Percy Enderbie's *Cambria Triumphans* (1661), now at

[87] STC 18968.

shelf mark 2477, later entered the library – as well as when the *Survey* expanded into a Sammelband to include voting slips from 1695–1701. The shelf marks of this copy of the *Survey* tell its individual story, which distinguishes the copy within the edition with which it shares its imprint ('Printed for Nicholas Bourn, and are to be sold at his Shop at the South Entrance of the Royal-Exchange. 1633'). While all 1633 copies of Stow's *Survey* are stamped by their one-time presence in Nicholas Bourn's shop, only Pepys' copy bears the marks of its five positions in this library (944, 1246, 1355, 1532, 2476) which record that it shared a space with other books in this location and document how it moved around that space. Reading the deleted shelf marks gives us copy-specific insight into the topographies of these books, and offers a retrospective glimpse of temporary neighbourliness which is otherwise invisible on the 'nicely adjusted' shelves.

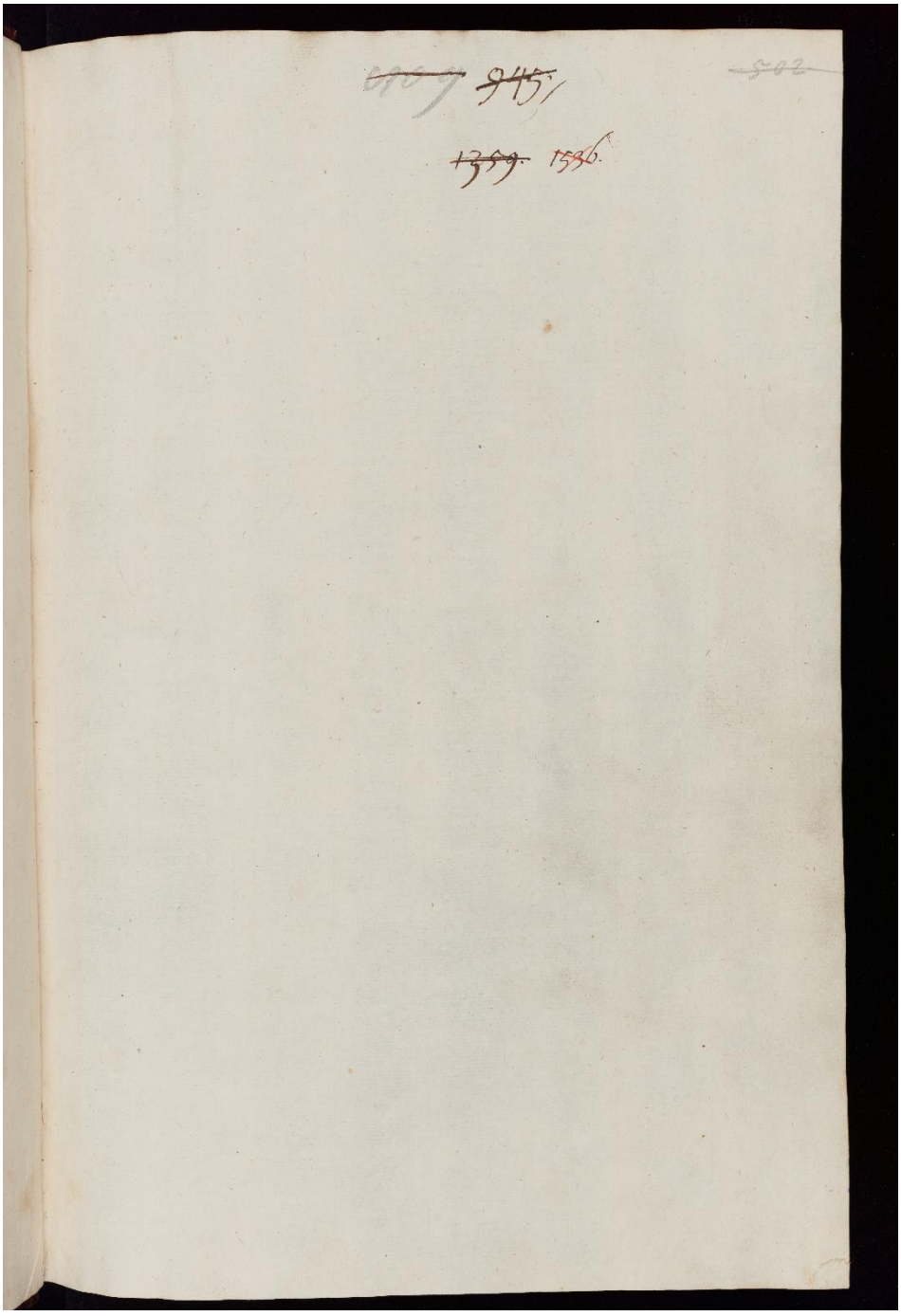


Figure 19 Deleted shelf marks in *Ovids Metamorphosis* (1640), shelf mark 2481. Image courtesy of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

What might Stow and Ovid say to one another? Arguably relatively little, given that one died 1507 years before the other. But the texts which stand in for those authors within Samuel Pepys' library – texts printed only seven years apart – sat (temporarily) side by side. These texts are in one sense paratexts of one another: material surrounds which shape, if only for a limited

period of time, how each text is accessed and therefore how these particular copies are read as localised objects. While these texts are brought together because of Pepys' agency in moving his books, their material proximity affords new ways of reading which emerge outside the limits of human agency or intentionality. Both Stow's *Survey* and Sandys' *Metamorphosis* are self-conscious of themselves as temporally moving texts, and their physical juxtaposition brings this shared attribute to the fore. The *Survey*'s title page provides a potted autobiography of its textual life:

> Begunne first by the paines and industry of John Stow, in the year 1598. Afterwards inlarged by the care and diligence of A.M. in the yeere 1618. And now completely finished by the study and labour of A.M. H.D. and others, this present yeere 1633. Whereunto, besides many Additions (appears by the Contents) are annexed.

Like Pepys' library catalogue, the *Survey* acknowledges its previous states only to announce with a flourish that it is now 'completely finished'. Unfortunately for the rhetoric of Anthony Munday and Henry Dyson, acknowledged here by their initials, this claim to finality was not to be fulfilled. This edition gave way to yet another version 'corrected, improved and very much enlarged' by the historian and biographer John Strype, printed in 1720. This eighteenth-century edition reflects its own moment as well as the history of its sources. It includes, among other additions, a description of the 'most eminent Lecture' as appointed 'by the last Will and Testament of the Honourable Robert Boyle'. Boyle died in 1691 after the earlier editions of the *Survey* were printed. The memorial lecture, which was to take place eight times a year 'in such Churches as the Trustees shall from time to time appoint', mirrors a late seventeenth-century London which came into being after the 1598 *Survey* was printed.[88] Despite the claims of its title pages to finality, the *Survey* constructs the city of London as a historically contingent place which fragments and reforms, kaleidoscope-like, in a materially and formally unstable text.

---

[88] John Stow, *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster… Now lastly corrected, improved and very much enlarged… by John Strype* (1720), 18.

Where Munday and Dyson present themselves confidently as the last in a line of editors, George Sandys reflects more thoughtfully on his role in the mediation of *Metamorphosis*. Sandys' aim, he informs us, was 'to collect out of sundry Authors the Philosophicall sense of these fables of Ovid, if I may call them his, when most of them are more ancient than any extant Author, or perhaps then Letters themselves'.[89] Sandys presents us with the 'Philosophicall sense' of tales which 'perhaps' predate written language itself. Sandys' role is to compose 'those stories conveyed by Tradition in loose and broken Fragments, [which] were by the Poets interwoven with instructing Mythologies, [and] are most obscurely and perplexedly delivered by all'. The 1640 *Metamorphosis* is a remaking of new from old, of written from oral, of a whole from parts. Sandys presents the untangling of such perplexity as a journey into the past: 'I have… endeavoured to cleare the Historicall part, by tracing the almost worn-out steps of Antiquitie'.[90] He was joined on those almost worn-out steps by Stow, who recorded the *Survey's* relationship to its sources in a 'Catalogue of Authors, venerable for Antiquity, out of whom the Truth of those worthy and Ancient Matters contained in this Book is excerpted'.[91] The 'Catalogue' points back as far as Socrates and Tacitus (acknowledgements closer to home included those made to Thomas More, Chaucer and 'Beware the Cat': William Baldwin's satirical anti-Catholic prose *fabula* printed in 1570). Both the *Survey* and *Metamorphosis* are aware of themselves as historically shifting texts. Whilst they gesture towards their own origins in the form of literary and historical sources, they are alike in their efforts to present and update themselves for a new set of readers in the fourth decade of the seventeenth century. Turning up side by side at least thirty years after their printing in the library of Samuel Pepys, they both synthesise texts from across time and space into their pages. The *Survey* and *Metamorphosis* reflect each other's agendas in that they enact, or compound, or repeat that act of synthesis. But they also 'reflect'

[89] George Sandys, *Ovids Metamorphosis Englished, mythologiz'd, and represented in figures* (1640), 'To the Reader', sig. B*v*.
[90] Sandys, *Ovids Metamorphosis*, sig. B*v*.
[91] John Stow, *The Survey of London* (1633), sig. A8*r*.

one another in a less forgiving sense, in that the two texts deploy reverse or opposite rhetorical strategies to describe that act of synthesis. While Sandys arranges a series of textual fragments which are visibly and temporarily 'woven', Munday and Dyson assert a break between their own mode of editing, which is perceived to be final, and the methods by which Stow 'excerpt[s]' from his sources. Sandy's *Metamorphosis* throws into doubt the seriousness of Munday and Dyson's claim to finality, by situating that claim (physically, in the library, as well as intellectually) within a culture in which reading and writing are part of a spectrum of continuous practices which include editing, translating, and excerpting. By re-reading *Metamorphosis* in the material context of its location in the library, I am suggesting that the mobility of its paper form animates a semiotic frame around the text to which that paper plays substrate. The moving form of *Metamorphosis* takes up the subject of that paper's printed text, and exports metamorphosis from the narrative of its textually-constructed world to the world occupied and altered by the material book.

One press away from Sandys' translation of *Metamorphosis* is Pepys' copy of Winstanley's *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687). This imposing folio includes a biography of George Sandys as well as Geoffrey Chaucer, John Skelton, Thomas Churchyard, Philip Sidney, Fulke Greville, Edmund Spenser, John Donne, Ben Jonson, William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, George Sandys, George Herbert, John Taylor and John Milton, all of whom were responsible for at least one work owned by Pepys. Winstanley's book might be read as a gloss, or a paratext, or a reference for all the texts written by these authors which shared Pepys' shelves with the *Lives*. To meander over from Pepys' twelfth press, which held a copy of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (printed in 1688) on its bottom shelf and *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649) further up, to the tenth press (bearing Winstanley's *Lives*) is to encounter the polemical poet alongside the biographer's ringing declaration that 'his Memory will always stink, which might have ever lived in honourable Repute, had not he been a notorious Traytor, and most

impiously and villanously bely'd that blessed Martyr King Charles the First'.[92] Winstanley's vitriol might raise a wry smile, but it also offers a value judgement parcelled up as a barbed compliment about Milton's literary abilities (which, in another world, writes Winstanley, would be worthy of 'honourable Repute'). Winstanley's anti-biography of Milton also enables a historicist reading of Satan: the 'notorious Traytor' of Milton's Edenic narrative who famously comes to look a little like his author.[93] The texts and authors of this library re-encounter one another within the material and textual framework of Winstanley's *Lives*. By enabling those encounters the *Lives* opens up historically-inflected literary readings, whilst preserving those texts and their diachronic judgements for posterity.

Winstanley's commitment to monumentalising is evident from the beginning of the *Lives.* The 'Epistle to the Reader' begins with a defence of commemorating famous poets. 'It were pity (saith Plutarch) that those who write to Eternity should not live so too'.[94] Winstanley ventriloquizes the classical poet, momentarily bringing him to life and using Plutarch's words to support his own position. Winstanley's knack for finding the right quotation, for preserving prior texts whilst turning them to his own use, is evident throughout this Epistle. He goes on:

> For Worthiness and Continuance, Books, and Writings, have ever had the preheminance [sic]; which made Ovid give endless date to himself, and to his *Metamorphosis*, in these Words:
> *Iamque Opus exegi, &c.*
>
> Thus Englished by the incomparable Mr. Sandys.
> And now the Work is ended, which Jove's Rage
> Nor Fire, nor Sword, shall raze, nor eating Age,
> Come when it will, my Death's uncertain hour,
> Which only of my Body hath a power:
> Yet shall my better Part transcend the Sky,
> And my immortal Name shall never Dy:
> For wherefore the Roman Eagles' spread
> Their conquering Wings, I shall of all be read.
> And if we Prophets truly can divine,

[92] William Winstanley, *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687), sig. O2*r*.
[93] William Empson, 'The Satan of Milton', *The Hudson Review* 13.1 (1960), 33–59.
[94] Winstanley, *Lives,* sig. A5*r.*

I in my living Fame shall ever shine.[95]

Winstanley quotes one of the most famous moments of the *Metamorphoses*. As the transformations culminate through textual genres and bodily forms, the 'I' in these lines (a blurry version of Ovid who comes at us through layers of textual and temporal remove) conversely lays claim to his own unchanging form: 'my immortal Name shall never Dy'. This immortality is to be achieved by Ovid's coming into being as a text: 'I shall of all be read'. Winstanley facilitates this wish by writing Ovid into his own preface, and generating a whole new group of readers of Ovid who are also readers of Winstanley, and of Winstanley's Ovid.

Let's remember that, one case away and also on the third shelf down, sits George Sandy's translation entitled *Metamorphosis,* in which these same stanzas turn up at the end of the fifteenth book.[96] The extract in Winstanley's *Lives* copies, and so preserves, Sandys' text, forty-seven years after the earlier book was printed. Yet Winstanley's quotation marks a shift in material form: an altering, or re-making. The line 'and now the Work is ended' comes before the body of the *Lives,* in the middle of the preface, so that its sense has to be understood as a quotation rather than on its own terms. This example shores up the observation that 'the history of reading may be a history… of excerpts', by foregrounding the recycling of textual fragments.[97] The reception of texts over time constitutes, often, their fragmenting and relocating and re-signifying in new and partial contexts. Paper localises this text across two presses in Pepys' library (once in the middle of the *Lives* and once near the beginning of *Metamorphosis*): paper makes room, in a material sense, for two altered readings of what might be called the 'same' text. Winstanley appropriates Ovid's self-memorialising lines – selectively quoting from those already translated by Sandys – in order to show the general 'Worthiness and Continuance'

[95] Winstanley, *Lives,* sig. A5*v*.
[96] Sandys, *Metamorphosis*, sig. Pp*v*.
[97] Lerer, 'Falling Asleep over the History of the Book', 233.

of 'Books, and Writings'. Suddenly Ovid's autographed tombstone is universal, not specific: it is no longer really about Ovid at all.

Where Winstanley quotes Ovid within a group of other classical poets, including Martial and Lucan, who expound the immortalising potential of well-executed verse, Sandys is more scathing in his invocation of Ovid. His translation is tightly encased in printed marginalia: across the margin from this verse we read 'Yea, in his life time he suffered himself to be adored for a God; nor restrained the erecting of Temples to his honour'. To read Ovid's verse in Sandys' translation is to be primed to read a different text from the one in Winstanley's 'Epistle'. Each textual moment of Sandys' *Metamorphosis* is a potential transformation which is remade and re-read by its bookish environment. Winstanley claims that the pre-eminence of 'Books and Writing' allows Ovid, as other poets, to live on in eternal memory. But books and writing are not transparent media of Ovid's texts. The pay-off of attending to the materiality of this book is in reading this copy as a mobile object whose changing physical form refracts the recurring theme of its textual narratives. The movement of all these books between presses in Pepys' library reflects the unsteadiness of these individual texts: their blurred parameters, their fluid beginnings and ends. For *Metamorphosis*, thematic and material mobility amplify one another on at least two levels. *Metamorphosis*-as-codex is transformed by its bookish paratexts within the library, which provides new physical and interpretative frameworks.

Meanwhile *Metamorphosis*-as-text is altered when it is broken down into fragments, as in Winstanley's *Lives*, which cites Ovid in new semiotic context: not so much an example of 'textual drift' as of textual re-routing. In my introduction I described paperscapes as a way of thinking about the relationship between text and environment that is both page-based and world-based. The paperscape of Pepys' library affords site-specific readings of *Metamorphosis*, which emerge both from the text's fractured reappearance among Winstanley's gloss, and from the material proximity of those pages to others on Pepys' shelves. Two scales of material mobility (*Metamorphosis* as moving codex, and *Metamorphosis* as excerpts of localised text)

offer contrasting ways of thinking about the 'place' of *Metamorphosis* in the library and the ways in which paper localises text. The readings afforded by the scattered, temporarily-situated manifestations of *Metamorphosis* foreground the give-and-take between a text's material parameters and its meaning, demanding that we note the richer relational possibilities between form and content beyond those of emphasis or discord.[98] While in general paper delineates the material parameters of a text, in Pepys' library the size and format of paper dictates the site in which text is encountered. Paper brings its own semiotics, and the affordances of material proximity, to bear on the text that it no-longer-so-neutrally bears up, or supports.

Accumulating Paper in John Stow's *Survey*

We left Stow's *Survey* unopened on the shelf next to *Metamorphosis*, abandoned despite its claims to be 'completely finished by the study and labour of A.M. H.D. and others'. The *Survey* as a work expands textually and materially over time: the 1633 folio edition required 245 sheets, compared to the 62 sheets for the 1598 quarto.[99] The title-page is only the beginning of a narrative in which Anthony Munday and Henry Dyson describe their difficulty in assembling the edition of 1633. The book, an inevitably collaborative project, came together in fits and starts, and they were keen to point the blame for these teething pains elsewhere. The 1633 edition ends with:

> The Remaines or Remnants of divers worthy things which should have had their due place and honour in this Worke, if promising friends had kept their words. But they failing, and part of them coming to my hands by other good meanes, they are here inserted, to accompany my Perambulation foure miles about London.[100]

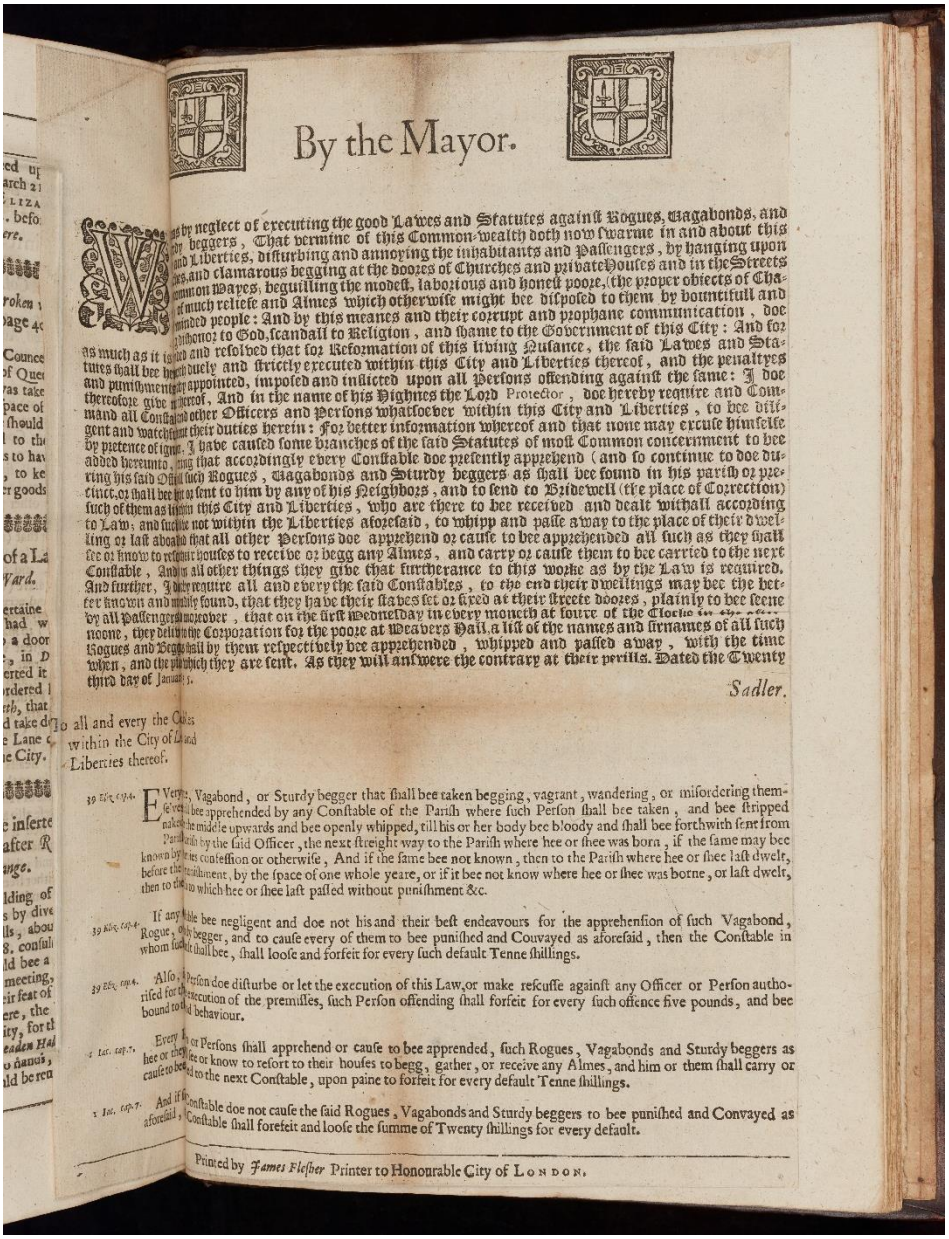
The 'Remaines' are late arrivals into the pages of the printed book. These unpunctual pages are one of the ways in which the *Survey* is conscious of itself as the product of an editorial history,

---

[98] Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 12.
[99] The folio's collation formula is: A^8 B-2X^6 2Y^6 (2Y^5+Yy^4) 2Z-4I^6 4K^6(±4K6) 4L-4M^4 4N^6.
[100] Stow, *Survey,* sig. SSS6*r*.

and more specifically as the (delayed) culmination of dispersed texts. While Jonathan Gil Harris argues that the *Survey* shows John Stow reading London as a palimpsestic city, this copy of the *Survey* overlays (without fully 'scraping out') multiple temporalities within its own material form.[101] The separate title page suggests that the 'Remaines' are a distinct text, bound in later, although the continued page signatures across the volume deny this possibility. The 'Remaines' end with printed passages such as 'Something of Queenhith. To be inserted page 217. Col. 2. after Royall Exchange'.[102] Reading like the hasty promise of a writer to her future self, made as she pushes on through the draft intending to fill in the gaps later, these pages are testimony both to a previous moment in this book's life (when page 217 was originally printed) and to a potential future where these additions are read or written in. This title page holds up a moment in the middle of the book's conception – a moment prior to the printing of the 'Remaines', when the paragraph break between 'Royall Exchange' and On the Northside of this Ward' was not perceived to be missing anything – even as it steps over that earlier stage in the book's life and presents us with those passages 'here inserted'. That gap between the then-and-there as opposed to the here-and-now is where the mobility and unfixity of print plays out on paper. Paper acts as the substrate of printed text which anticipates its own removal, or at least rebuts its current sequence, thereby resisting the linear structure of the codex. The *Survey* shifts through historical and localised forms, even while it works to construct events beyond its own time and moment.

[101] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Age of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 96.
[102] Stow, *Survey*, sig. Kkk6*r*.



By the Mayor.

Whereas by neglect of executing the good Lawes and Statutes against Rogues, Vagabonds, and other idle beggers, That vermine of this Common-wealth doth now swarme in and about this City and Liberties, disturbing and annoying the inhabitants and Passengers, by hanging upon their doores, and clamorous begging at the doores of Churches and private Houses and in the Streets and common wayes, beguiling the modest, laborious and honest poore, (the proper objects of Charity) of much relefe and Almes which otherwise might bee disposed to them by bountifull and well minded people: And by this meanes and their corrupt and prophane communication, doe cause dishonor to God, scandall to Religion, and shame to the Government of this City: And for as much as it is ordered and resolved that for Reformation of this living Nuisance, the said Lawes and Statutes shall bee henceforth duely and strictly executed within this City and Liberties thereof, and the penalties and punishments by them appointed, imposed and inflicted upon all Persons offending against the same: I doe therefore give notice thereof, And in the name of his Highnes the Lord Protector, doe hereby require and Command all Constables and other Officers and Persons whatsoever within this City and Liberties, to bee diligent and watchfull in their duties herein: For better information whereof and that none may excuse himselfe by pretence of ignorance, I have caused some branches of the said Statutes of most Common concernment to bee added hereunto, requiring that accordingly every Constable doe presently apprehend (and so continue to doe during his said Office) all such Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy beggers as shall bee found in his parish or precinct, or shall bee brought or sent to him by any of his Neighbors, and to send to Bridewell (the place of Correction) such of them as is from this City and Liberties, who are there to bee received and dealt withall according to Law; and such as not within the Liberties aforesaid, to whipp and passe away to the place of their dwelling or last abode: that all other Persons doe apprehend or cause to bee apprehended all such as they shall see or know to resort to their houses to receive or begg any Almes, and carry or cause them to bee carried to the next Constable, And in all other things they give that furtherance to this worke as by the Law is required. And further, I doe require all and every the said Constables, to the end their dwellings may bee the better known and easily found, that they have their staves set or fixed at their streete doores, plainly to bee seene by all Passengers whatsoever, that on the first Wednesday in every moneth at foure of the Clocke in the afternoone, they deliver the Corporation for the poore at Weavers Hall a list of the names and firnames of all such Rogues and Beggers shall by them respectively bee apprehended, whipped and passed away, with the time when, and the place to which they are sent. As they will answere the contrary at their perills. Dated the Twenty third day of January 15.

Sadler.

To all and every the Con
within the City of Lond
Liberties thereof.

39 Eliz. cap. 4. EVery Rogue, Vagabond, or Sturdy begger that shall bee taken begging, vagrant, wandering, or misordering themselves, shall bee apprehended by any Constable of the Parish where such Person shall bee taken, and bee stripped naked from the middle upwards and bee openly whipped, till his or her body bee bloody and shall bee forthwith sent from Parish to Parish by the said Officer, the next streight way to the Parish where hee or shee was born, if the same may bee known by his or her confession or otherwise, And if the same bee not known, then to the Parish where hee or shee last dwelt, before that time unlesse he or she have dwelled there by the space of one whole yeare, or if it bee not know where hee or shee was borne, or last dwelt, then to the Parish in which hee or shee last passed without punishment &c.

39 Eliz. cap. 4. If any Constable bee negligent and doe not his and their best endeavours for the apprehension of such Vagabond, Rogue, or sturdy begger, and to cause every of them to bee punished and Convayed as aforesaid, then the Constable in whom such default shall bee, shall loose and forfeit for every such default Tenne shillings.

39 Eliz. cap. 4. Also, if any Person doe disturbe or let the execution of this Law, or make rescusse against any Officer or Person authorised for the execution of the premisses, such Person offending shall forfeit for every such offence five pounds, and bee bound to the good behaviour.

1 Iac. cap. 7. Every Constable or Persons shall apprehend or cause to bee apprended, such Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy beggers as hee or they shall see or know to resort to their houses to begg, gather, or receive any Almes, and him or them shall carry or cause to be carried to the next Constable, upon paine to forfeit for every default Tenne shillings.

1 Iac. cap. 7. And if the Constable doe not cause the said Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy beggers to bee punished and Convayed as aforesaid, the Constable shall forefeit and loose the summe of Twenty shillings for every default.

Printed by *James Flesher* Printer to Honourable City of LONDON.

Figure 20 'Vagabond' sheet in Stow's *Survey*, shelf mark 2476. Image courtesy of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

The printed pages of the *Remaines* were not the last to enter the covers of Pepys' copy of the *Survey.* Their belated temporality is a characteristic of all copies of this edition, but the copy in Pepys' library contains further additions. After page 755 (sig. Sss5) are some inserted sheets inscribed in the hand of Pepys' clerk which list 'London's Income and Expence stated May the 22th 1695'. Printed sheets are inserted too, including a clock-maker's bill from 1697, an act on

the elections of Sheriffs, and a record of the London property market.[103] Between pages 938 and 939 is a single-sided printed sheet giving notice of a statute 'By the Mayor… executing the good Lawes and Statutes against Rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars' taking umbrage against those 'that shall bee taken begging, vagrant, wandering or misordering themselves… Printed by James Flesher'. This sheet, of no fixed abode but landing here within the pages of Pepys' *Survey*, is a bibliographic example of the vagrancy or 'misorderliness' it condemns. Paper renders the unit of the book materially unsound because, as books moved between shelves, so too did paper move between books. These inserted scraps of paper make use of the *Survey* to contain or preserve: they use the *Survey* for its physical, box-like qualities rather than as a legible text in its own right. But choosing a chronography of London to preserve textual mementoes of that city's history has a particular impact on the newly expanded book. If one affordance of loose sheets is to 'reject sequence as an organising principle' of reading (in the sense that these paper interventions disrupt the order of the codex) then at the same time these additions extend, rather than reject, the chronological sequence of this copy of the *Survey*.[104] The voting slips and bills accumulate on top of a textual description of London's past, bringing the 'contents' of the *Survey* as physical object up-to-date to the moment of its being housed in this library. The mobility of paper unsettles the parameters of the codex form: whether that be in the rotatable paper dial which rises above the printed page of George Wither's *Collection of Emblemes,* or the inserted sheets which expand both the chronology and the physical bounds of Pepys' copy of the *Survey*. This legibly 'alterable' text takes on a new material form which simultaneously alters the work it does as the history of London. The framework of the book is as unfixed as the historically changing and textually-constructed city of London: a site of paper traffic into which pages come and go.

---

[103] For the full list of the additions to the *Survey* see *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge supplementary series*: i, ed. C.S. Knighton (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 255.
[104] Socarides, *Dickinson Unbound*, 128.

Unbinding *Twoo Noble… Families*

This phenomenon – the mobility of paper between books – is studied under the technical umbrella of 'sophistication': the making up of lost pages of a book with pages from other copies.[105] Pepys' collection is not unique in bearing signs of sophistication. To give just one other example, a copy of Shakespeare's First Folio has a title-page inserted from another copy which, attempting deception twice-over, bears an altered printing date of 1622.[106] Pepys' copy of *The Union of the twoo noble and illustre families of Lancastre and York* (perhaps best known as a source for Shakespeare's *Richard II*) is missing leaves πA4, A2, Y6 and A6. In addition, A7 and A8 are supplied from another copy, which is easy to spot because those leaves differ slightly in size to the surrounding pages. They are a stark reminder of the anachronistic nature of our obsession with the book form: as Peter Stallybrass has observed, printers print sheets, not books.[107] These inserted leaves, which are not whole sheets, crumble those categories further. The additional leaves fulfil a very different role to the inserted printed and manuscript-covered sheets in Stow's *Survey*, which announce their alterity to the book in which they have been bundled. The result of sophistication, or 'vampment' as George Stevens, co-editor with Samuel Johnson of the 1793 *Plays of William Shakespeare*, liked to refer to his bibliographical upkeep, is either to improve or destroy a text – depending on the historical moment, scholarly trends, and agenda which present themselves to the reader.[108] 'Vampment' shows the historical specificity of these agenda: today there appears a rule-defying paradox in Pepys' decision to obtain two fragments cut from manuscripts at Durham Cathedral and then refuse to return them precisely

---

[105] On the ethics of sophistication in the book trade, see Nicholas Barker, 'Sophistication', *The Book collector* 55.1 (2006), 11–28. See also David McKitterick, *Old Books, New Technologies: The Representation, Conservation and Transformation of Books Since 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 37–56.

[106] Emma Smith, *Shakespeare's First Folio* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 282; see also 200, 317. For other examples of Shakespeare readers' interventions, see Jean Christophe-Meyer, *Shakespeare's Early Readers: A Cultural History from 1590 to 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 83.

[107] Peter Stallybrass, '"Little Jobs": Broadsides and the Printing Revolution', in Sabrina Baron, Eric Lindquist and Eleanor Shevlin, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 315–341.

[108] Smith, *Shakespeare's First Folio,* 319.

because of their 'antiquity'.[109] These manuscript fragments, like the sophisticated pages of *The Union*, are unyoked from their material origins in the name of sacrificing the whole for the part. The sophisticated pages of Pepys' copy of *The Union* attempt to preserve, or rather conserve, the book's prior state.[110] But belatedly adding paper into a book printed in 1550 makes it fundamentally *more* dissimilar to a perfect copy of that edition. The missing pages are the result of change over time; sophistication paradoxically increases the rate of change even as it attempts to reverse that decay. If sophistication is a form of book 'survival' then that survival is not so much sustaining existence as evolving into other forms: herein lies the curatorial paradox that 'the problem with preservation is that it destroys what it saves'.[111]

Other extant copies of *The Union* show similar signs of 'vampment': the Huntington library lays claim to a copy containing sheets printed by John Mychell in 1548, John Kingston in 1560 and possibly John Cawood in 1570, whilst the Folger Shakespeare Library houses various 'made-up' or sophisticated copies.[112] Is there something about *The Union* which invites the deliberate removal of pages, or alternatively attracts readers overwhelmingly to the first few pages which then weaken from overuse? And is there something about this book which demands the reversal of those lost leaves with the addition of new pages? In Pepys' copy, the sophisticated pages bear the text of the thirty-five articles of which Richard II was accused in 1399, leading to his deposition. Those articles range from borrowing 'great somes of money', banishing the Bishop of Canterbury 'without cause', and, in the style of a true political leader, claiming 'that the lawes of the realme were in his head, & sometime in his breste, by reason of which fantasticall opinion, he destroyed noble men and empoverished the pore commons'.[113]

---

[109] Anthony Hobson, *Great Libraries* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 222.
[110] 'Conservation refers to the repair or restoration of the original object… [whereas] preservation… has more generally come to mean… any act that carries on or propagates…the words or images of the original object'; Baker, *Double Fold*, 107–108.
[111] Juliet Fleming, *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 106.
[112] Huntington Library 61301, and Folger STC 12723 copies 2, 3, and 5.
[113] Edward Hall, *The Union of the two noble and illustre famelies* (1550), sig. A7*r*.

That these pages became separated from the book highlights, and indeed could be explained by, the self-contained nature of this list. Despite falling within a section of the book entitled 'An introduction into the history of Kyng Henry the iiii', these articles are entirely to do with Henry's predecessor, Richard II. In that sense, they are not part of the main narrative: the title of the next section, 'the first yere of the unquiet time of Kyng Henry the fourthe', suggests the liminality of this prior history to the main tale. Moreover, a list such as these articles brings its own troubles into a historical narrative of any kind. How do we read a list, which has its own logic for moving forwards ('Item… Item') and yet hovers resolutely over the historical moment of the deposition without narrative progression? One way to approach this list is to register the mobile materiality of this apparently inert form. In a list which documents, among other things, Richard's illegal transport of items across borders (including carrying 'the jewels and plate and treasure over the sea into Irelande' and his fateful banishment of the Duke of Lancashire 'for ten yeeres contrary to all equity'), the passing of paper into and out of the framework of this codex mirrors the troubled borders of the country it describes.

In the context of Pepys' library, the sophisticated pages in *The Union* have a particularly contrary effect. Unlike the books on Pepys' shelves that are artificially raised to a consistent height to create an illusion of coherence and unity, the sophisticated pages in *The Union* make legible the composite nature of the book. Their textual content (those self-contained thirty five 'articles') and their smaller size means these pages twice articulate their distinction from the book in which they are temporarily contained. Whilst at least six sheets of the original have made their way out of the book – either because they fell out from over-reading, never made it into this wrongly-bound copy, or were cut out for particular use – two sheets came in to replace them. If we accept, as D.F. McKenzie suggests, that 'every book tells a story quite apart from that recounted by its text', then this copy of *The Union*, with its visible testimony to the mobility of paper, tells a story of a fluctuating form which is at odds with the ideology of the library in

which it ended up.[114] Though this book tells the history of the 'twoo noble and illustre families of Lancastre and York', it also tells its own temporal and spatial history as a contingent site of printed text and paper.

This copy of *The Union* overlays a national history with a bibliographic one. Beginning in 1399 when Richard II was deposed, as well as in 1500 when this edition was printed, the 'history' of this book continues to an unidentified moment in the seventeenth century when some of the lost leaves bearing textual record of the thirty-five articles were reinserted into this book from another host. This copy of the book preserves the articles precisely because of the mobility of paper: that is, because of the affordance of paper as a textual substrate which also moves between copies of books. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, paper resists the binary of 'heavy' and 'light' media (suited respectively to storage and travel) because paper both preserves through time *and* travels through space. In fact, this copy of the *Union* pushes towards the conclusion that paper preserves precisely *because* it travels. The project of the library is not at odds with the mobility of paper – it depends on it.

While Pepys' library aspires to gather texts into a fixed order and finally to become 'unalterable', it reveals practical and conceptual cracks in this project at the level of the translated and transcribed text, as well as at the level of paper which moves between books, and books which move between shelves. Pepys' library has been a case study for showing the surprising ways in which libraries document the mobility of books amid temporary stasis and how, despite Pepys' rhetorical resistance, material mobility plays a part within a project of commemoration. I have read this site not as a structurally anchored archive – not, that is, as a stronghold, vault, or box – but as a paperscape. This chapter has shed light on how, like the navigable pages of Wither's *Collection* or the self-documented travels of *Londinopolis*, this paperscape adds to the imaginative and material modes in which paper travelled through the

[114] D.F. McKenzie, 'What's Past is Prologue', in Peter McDonald and Michael Suarez, eds., *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 259–275, 262.

seventeenth-century: here the prior journeys of paper in and out of the codex, as around the library, remain legible. Looking past Pepys' declarations of 'unalterability', I have read this library on its own terms. This paperscape has its own literary affordances, brought about by material proximity, which override the rhetoric of fixity articulated both by Pepys' will and the library catalogue. Rather than carving out space for a historically voluble and much-studied individual (and without detracting from previous studies with that very focus), this chapter has shifted the focus away from the intentions of Samuel Pepys and onto an alternative version of this site in literary history, articulated by that history's very own paper forms. The shelf marks in these books testify to the contingency of printed texts within their material environment which, in the context of a library, also means their paratexts: their semiotic environment. And while, like imprints, shelf marks make claims for the cohesiveness of the book, attending to the paperscape of this library reveals the codex's material instability as a site of moving sheets. Reading paper as it travels constructs an alternative version of the library as a site which, rather than adhering to the desires of its one-time owner for the preservation of himself and his books, suggests the open-ended affordances of the paperscape to re-situate, re-activate, and re-configure text.

IV

A Paper Boat: Navigating the Globe

John Taylor's 1620 verse pamphlet *The Praise of Hemp-seed* ends with a striking image of paper on the move:

> I therefore to conclude this much will note
> How I of Paper lately made a boat,
> And how in forme of Paper I did rowe
> From London unto Quinborough I'll show.[1]

John Taylor (1578–1653), ferryman and poet, fuses his maritime and literary personae to describe a near-treacherous voyage made in a paper boat. This poem, printed on paper, foregrounds the imaginative and real possibilities of paper on the move: not just to transport text, but to transport the narrator of its poem in a materially self-reflexive vignette. This chapter explores the paperscape in the early modern imagination through the lens of *The Praise of Hemp-seed*: a poem I read as an imaginative piece of travel writing, a reflection on the affordances of paper, and as a mobile material form. This poem anchors what I have been describing as paperscapes – those simultaneously imaginary *and* concrete worlds that shape and are shaped by paper – firmly within the early modern experience of paper as both textual substrate and mobile form. Bearing its speaker aloft down the river on the very substance which transports this printed poem, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* reverses that anti-paper indictment that 'text is by definition more legible than its support'.[2]

By 1614 John Taylor had branded himself 'the water poet', deploying the name in a dedication to King James.[3] Soon he had graduated to calling himself 'the Kings Majesties Water-

[1] John Taylor, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* (1620), sig. F*r*.
[2] Kathryn James, *English Palaeography and Manuscript Culture, 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 26.
[3] John Taylor, *The nipping and snipping of abuses* (1614), 'To the Sacred Majesty of King James', n.p.

Poet'.[4] The name forges unity out of Taylor's portfolio career, which involved rowing customers along the Thames while also writing satirical verse and prose. Ferrymen enable transport (albeit at a local scale), and that propensity to travel shows up in Taylor's writing. Pamphlets such as *Taylors Pennyles Pilgrimage… from London to Edenborough* (1618), *A very merry wherry ferry voyage* (1622), *Taylor his Travels: from the Citty of London to Prague* (1620), and *A new Discovery… with a wherry, from London to Salisbury* (1623) describe journeys undertaken by the author, in the form of printed texts which Taylor aimed to sell to admiring sponsors.[5] *A Late Weary Merry Voyage* (1650) is another such travel account. Fittingly printed towards the end of Taylor's life, *A Late Weary Merry Voyage* narrates the ferryman-turned-poet's travels 'from London to Gravesend, to Harwich, to Ipswich, to Norwich, to Linne, to Cambridge and from thence to London'. The poem ends 'with feet and pen, my walke and worke is done/And (Caesar like) the Conquest I have won'.[6] Travel and writing collide, as Taylor's journey over the national landscape is mapped by his pen's route across the page. Taylor echoes Thomas Coryate (c.1577–1617) whose works of travel writing – including *Coryates Crambe* (1611) which was 'faithfully written by my industrious Fingers as they were truely troden by these laborious Feete of mine' – Taylor both emulates and derides.[7] A satirically panegyric character description of Coryate reiterates that metonymic relation between the travelling writer and the moving pen: 'for what his industrious Toes have trod, his ready Fingers have written, his subtle head dictating'.[8] Coryate's route across the globe is made legible in these lines, which emphasise the bodily connection between 'Toes' and 'Fingers' drawn out by the intellectual capacity of the 'head'. For Taylor, as for Coryate, the return to London 'with feet and pen' coincides with the end of the written line. But the end of the line is not the end of the journey. Just as Coryate's 'ready Fingers'

[4] *The Pennyles Pilgrimage* (1618). Edward Phillips was still referring to 'Taylor the Water-Poet' in 1699 in *The Beau's Academy*, e.g. sig. N2*r*.
[5] The difficulty of extracting money from said sponsors forms the subject of Taylor's *A Kicksey Winsey* (1619).
[6] John Taylor, *A late weary, merry voyage and journey, or, John Taylors moneths travels* (1650), sig. B4*v*.
[7] Thomas Coryate, *Coryates Crambe… the second course to his Crudities* (1611), sig. B4*v*.
[8] Thomas Coryate, *The Odcombian Banquet: dished forth by Thomas the Coriat* (1611), sig. B*r*.

triggered a printed paper trail in the form of the *Crudities* and *Coryates Crambe*, Taylor's manuscript became a printed pamphlet – the *Late Weary Merry Voyage* – which he sold to make money. An associative relationship between travel and writing, then, develops into one between travel and printed books.

The Praise of Hemp-seed alters this relationship further, presenting a tangible, paper-specific version of these otherwise purely rhetorical associations between travel and writing. *A Late Merry Weary Voyage* brings attention to the scene of writing while suppressing the locus of that scene. In other words, the lines 'with feet and pen, my walke and worke is done' draw attention to the travel writer at the cost of erasing the page on which that 'walke' is traced. If paper has a tangible role here, it is to support the mobile speaking subject of the poem. Paper has a richer and more visible set of affordances in *The Praise of Hemp-seed.* Taylor's paper boat is the pinnacle of the wilder uses of hempseed: the plant whose unsung ubiquity is the subject of the majority of the poem. Hempseed is used to make 'Clothes, Cordage, Halters, Ropes, and Sailes', and also, crucially, paper.[9] Paper is part of a circulating material culture in which organic matter (primarily hempseed) and water is mashed up, trodden down, and rewoven to form garments, ropes, packaging, and writing surfaces. Towards the end of the poem it becomes a paper boat. Paper is a mobile material, and Taylor's paper boat enacts this mobility as it transports him and his companion, the vintner Roger Bird, down the river Thames. By taking on the form of a boat, paper is legibly a vehicle in *The Praise of Hemp-seed*: quite literally the support or prop for the escapades of its double-act cast. But paper takes on that role only after the reader has been exposed to the full spectrum of paper's affordances: the richness of its life cycle, its ubiquity in non-textual (as well as textual) forms, the way it defines the very infrastructures on which society depends. No longer a silent support, the paper boat takes centre stage as the culmination of the narrative of mobile matter.

[9] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. B3*r*.

The Praise of Hemp-seed draws attention to paper as both a writing surface on which Taylor will 'show' us his travels, and as a material which is put to non-textual use. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* – as narrative poem, as printed text – offers a cross-section of the imaginative affordances of paper in the early seventeenth century; firstly as a writing substrate and secondly as an adaptable material with physical properties (malleability, flexibility). Joshua Calhoun's reading of the 'nature' of the early modern page reminds us that paper is an agentic, ecological site whose 'nonhuman elements alter the ways human ideas can be expressed and sometimes even conceived'.[10] In this light, we can read Taylor's poem as vividly aware of itself as an ecological artefact which makes writing possible. But *The Praise of Hemp-seed* is also written on, or about, a voyage carried out on paper, and so it pushes beyond Calhoun's back and forth between biological metaphors about writing and the ecologies of writing substrates themselves. Paper is both the subject matter of Taylor's poem and its physical form. *The Praise of Hempseed* shows the limitations of a model of *res* versus *verba* (or content versus words), which is turned inside out when the content loops back to the *verba*'s material frame.[11] The poem resists an ontology of surface and depth to which the model of *verba* and *res* appeals. Instead *The Praise of Hemp-seed* demands that we elevate the status of paper from being sub-ject *to* Taylor's poem (in the sense of being-beneath, of supporting a written text), to the dynamic subject *of* the same.

The Praise of Hemp-seed is a poem about mobile materiality which turns reflexively to its own matter. This material-consciousness is part of a broader early modern preoccupation with paper as simultaneously a site of literary imagining and an agential material form, which I began to document in the introduction to this thesis. The poet Nicholas Breton advised would-be writers that 'Good Incke graceth a Letter, but if the paper bee naught, the penne will doe no

[10] Joshua Calhoun, *The Nature of the Page: Poetry, Papermaking and Ecology in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 12.
[11] On a similar effect in the works of Thomas Nashe, see Jason Scott-Warren, 'Nashe's Stuff', in Andrew Hadfield, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 204–218, 209.

good'.[12] Paper does not lie passively beneath the text but is prone to exert a tug of resistance. John Donne – whose visceral reaction to the printing press is well-documented[13] – momentarily dwells on paper's signifying qualities. One imaginary book in his satirical book list, *The Courtiers Library*, suggests that one settles a debate by weighing scraps of paper bearing different answers.[14] The mass of each fragment affords rhetorical 'weight' to the assertion of its text. Henry Vaughan (1621–1695) muses on the time when various parts of his Bible, including its 'papr', were 'meer seed', to think through how all things will return to 'dust'.[15] Thomas Nashe – a writer 'sharply attentive to creative recycling' – had a less sombre, and more truncated sense of the same life cycle.[16] The preface to *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594) is only half joking when it laments that a failure to please its patrons would result in the printed text reverting to 'wast paper': destined to 'kindle Tobacco', 'stop mustard pots', or even to end up in the 'privie'.[17] In all four cases, the authors raise the possibility that paper overrides (or in Vaughan's case, intensifies) the semiotics of its text, imagining moments of reading paper *as* paper, rather than as text. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* demands that we do both at the same time, that is, that we attend to the many roles of paper as they are vividly described in this text while remembering that this text's very presence relies on paper. Without paper, as Taylor notes, 'dead were the admirable art of Print'.[18] And not only print, but the less glamorous items of hangmen's ropes, cobblers' thread and fishing nets. As Nashe's preface reminds us, our now-revered objects of literary study were made of the same stuff as that which ended up in the early modern kitchen;

---

[12] Nicholas Breton, *Wits Private Wealth* (1607), sig. D*v*.
[13] Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).
[14] John Donne, *The Courtiers Library, or, Catalogus librorum aulicorum incomparibilium et non vendibilium*, eds. Evelyn Simpson and Percy Simpson (London: Nonsuch Press, 1930), no. 22, *Equilibrium, in two volumes, or The Art of Reaching Stability in Controversy.*
[15] Henry Vaughan, 'The Book', in *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, ii: *Texts 1654–1678, Letters, and Medical Marginalia*, ed. Donald Dickson, Alan Rudrum, and Robert Wilcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 629–630.
[16] Scott-Warren, 'Nashe's Stuff', 211.
[17] Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller,* in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow, rev. ed. F. P. Wilson, 5 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), ii, 207.
[18] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. E4*r*.

or worse, the privy. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* sustains this thought across its pages, delighting in the irreverence of paper's secular circulation:

> Old ruind rotten Rags, and Ropes, all tatter'd.
> And some of these poore things perhaps hath beene
> The Linnen of some Countesse, or some Queene,
> Yet lies now on the Dunghill, bare, and poore […]
> May not a torne shirte of a Lords or Kings
> Be pasht and beaten in the Paper-mill
> And made Pot-paper by the workemans skill?[19]

In that 'may not' is the cackle of a poem that drags royal linen into the paper mill and spits it back out as ropes 'all tatter'd'. For Taylor, the mobility and adaptability of paper is less a prompt for sobering theology than a playful and imaginatively-charged springboard for writing on and with. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* participates in an early modern sensibility to the rich affordances of paper. Those affordances range, as the poem shows, from preserving the lines of Spenser and Shakespeare, 'who did in Art excell', to the starkly non-literary, demonstrating the narrowness of a conception of paper confined to the writing desk, the printing house, and the library.[20] The voyage in a paper boat, printed on paper, confronts its readers with the literary stakes of reading in three dimensions: reading text as paper and paper as text at one and the same time.

This chapter attends to the fuller and richer sense of the paperscape as deployed within *The Praise of Hemp-seed*. In the first part I read Taylor's poem as a strange kind of travel writing, observing how paper in the form of this local textual substrate brings a multitude of worlds into view and unsettles the navigational capacity of both its protagonists and its reader. In the second part I turn to the imaginative and physical properties of that text's papery form. Early modern paper-making techniques were reliant on a supply of both hempseed and water. In Taylor's poem the conceptual link between hempseed (as a ubiquitous, circulating resource), paper (as a mode of transport), and water (as a means of navigation) is grounded in the very

[19] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. D4*v*.
[20] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. E3*v*.

real entwining of hempseed and water to make both the white paper upon which *The Praise of Hemp-seed* is printed and the brown paper boat the poem describes. And whilst readers move through and across the space of the page (occasionally misdirected by paratextual apparatus), *The Praise of Hemp-seed* ends with an image of paper as itself a mobile form, constantly on the move. Near the close of the poem, whilst Taylor celebrates his safe arrival at Queenborough by tucking into dinner, his paper boat is ripped up and carried off by the townspeople: 'That never traytors corps could more be scatter'd/By greedy Ravens, than our poore boat was tatter'd'.[21] The final part of this chapter attends to the 'scattering' of Taylor's textual corpus by mapping surviving extant copies of the papery *Workes* around the globe. The cartographical images that emerge demonstrate how the moving scraps of paper imagined in *The Praise of Hemp-seed* map onto the historically extended reality of circulating early modern books. My use of the term 'paperscape' to bring together fictional and actual journeys of paper is shored up by this 'distant reading' of Taylor's poem. Together the three sections in this chapter make the case for paperscapes as those sites where the early modern imagination and experience of paper collide.

The paperscape of this final chapter operates at a global scale. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* describes a local voyage down the river Thames; more broadly it integrates paper within a global traffic of hempseed. Hempseed makes rope, cordage and sails; it enables clothes, rare metals and foodstuffs to travel around the world. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* deploys paper to imagine paper's global travels as dispersed matter, to narrate the travels of its speaker, as an actual vehicle for watery urban travel, and as printed substrate whose material contingency emerges from the logic of the poem. In so doing, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* demonstrates what is at stake for early modern readers and writers in encountering paper within a material lifecycle of mobile textual forms.

[21] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. F2*v.*

Paper / Travel

What kinds of mobility are made available by paper? As this thesis has shown, one affordance of paper is as writing substrate. By this means, paper conveys a series of textually-constructed worlds, real or imagined, which situate reader, writer, or paper – or all three. As substrate, paper bears witness to the progression of text across its surface, and then to the reader who traces that text. Where a text describes some form of travel, then implicitly a geographic journey has preceded the journey of ink, and of the reader, across paper. Manuscript forms of travel writing enact the writer's criss-crossing of the earth's surface by tracing lines across the surface of the page.[22] In print, that relation is more complex. Each sheet, comprising multiple pages, comes down simultaneously upon the forme made up of discrete type: less a continuous progression than a series of scattered textual 'impressions', which perhaps more accurately mirrors the experience of travel. Travel metaphors which deploy paper, then, are unreliable depictions of the scene of textual production. The closing flourish of *A Late Weary Merry Voyage,* 'with feet and pen, my walke and worke is done/And (Caesar like) the Conquest I have won' exemplifies that unreliability. The lines usurp the 'voyage' of the title for the walking 'feet', and overlook the text's printed reality (as it was experienced by most early modern readers) for the metonymic 'pen'. Yet, as Andrew Gordon reminds us, 'the foot is the human body's primary printing instrument'. [23] This image of 'feet' on a 'walke' does have something to offer in conceptualising the making of this text. Footprints – discrete, sequential – leave impressions upon the earth in a manner which aligns more closely with the printed type legible on this paper, than with the unfurling manuscript the text describes.

This couplet draws attention to the material scene of travel writing. If that scene is populated by the tools of feet and pens, then it is also, as the second line makes clear, a literary

[22] Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, 2007), 26, 93.
[23] Andrew Gordon, 'The Renaissance Footprint: the material trace in print culture from Dürer to Spenser', *Renaissance Quarterly* 71.2 (2018), 478–529, 479.

scene in which questions of authorship and precedent play out. The bathetic reference to Caesar gestures to the range of travellers, writers, and travel writers who make their way across other versions of this territory. Taylor's reference to Caesar is flippant, but it nods to a more sustained agenda of anchoring his writing in a network of literary precedents. Early modern travel writers, whilst neither a stable nor a self-identifying category, were both mindful of their writerly-lineage and territorial of their literary plot. As Melanie Ord has shown, Thomas Coryate worked hard to command an image of himself as part of a network of influential, intellectual, European scholars.[24] His *Crudities* were printed in a grand folio filled with dedicatory verses to fulfil that very image. In his oration accompanying the presentation copy of the *Crudities*, Coryate emphasises his intellect in order to offset any superficial similarity between himself and mere merchants: 'for they bring home their rarities in their Ships. But I have brought home my Ship and her farre-fetched lading in My-selfe. My Ship (My dread Soveraigne) is my Booke, which I brought home swimming in the liquid Ocean of my braine'.[25] This textual self-portrait distinguishes Coryate as a travel writer. Coryate substitutes his ship for a book, and the sea for his cranial 'liquid ocean', to play up his intellectual and cognitive perspective on the world. Following in and tracing the footsteps of merchants, Coryate articulates his difference from those who travel under an economic agenda to both acknowledge the possibility, and reduce the risk, of being misread.

With travellers criss-crossing the globe, it is little wonder that writers of such journeys trod on each other's toes. Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1617) – a hybrid of travel diary, history, and guidebook – provides the reader with information garnered from Moryson's walk through Scotland which may have provided Jonson with a template for his own route.[26] Ben Jonson's

---

[24] Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 124.
[25] Coryate, *Coryates Crambe*, sig. B*v*.
[26] James Knowles, 'Jonson in Scotland: Jonson's Mid-Jacobean Crisis' in Takashi Kozuka and J.R. Mulryne, eds., *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 259–277, 259.

irreverent dedicatory verses in *Coryates Crambe* hold up 'Tom Coryate' as the 'best modell' of a writer as one who, 'because his matter in all should be meete/To his strength hath measur'd it out with his feete'.[27] Jonson's pun on poetical and pedestrian 'feet' collapses the walker into the writer whose verse perfectly encapsulates his travels. Yet Jonson's emphasis on feet (unlike Coryate's foregrounding of 'my braine') affords Coryate all the poetic nuance of a repetitive, mechanically-relayed trudge. This was a not-very-subtle form of self-defence: for all his rhetorical footwork, Jonson feared and acknowledged his likeness to Coryate as a traveller and writer. His remark that his battered shoes 'were appearing like Coryate's' (who had hung up his shoes as a memento in the Odcombe Church for parishioners and pilgrims to wonder at) is Jonson both positioning himself in the mould of the travel writer and reeling back from such a likeness in horror.[28] It was not only Coryate who Jonson had to contend with. Jonson's route from London to Edinburgh, which took place between 8th July and 17th September 1618, closely follows the royal progress of James I between 15th March and 16th May 1617.[29] Jonson wrote an account of his travels which was lost in a fire, but he took with him a hitherto unidentified companion who also documented their journey. The companion's account, if demonstrating a 'general lack of rhetorical self-consciousness', nonetheless dutifully populates the landscape with the people (as well as the places) that the two men encountered.[30] One person who certainly crossed their paths, yet who goes unnamed in the companion's manuscript, is John Taylor. Jonson and his companion set out only six days before Taylor began his *Pennyles Pilgrimage.* They collided with the water poet in John Stewart's house in Leith, provoking Jonson to lament that Taylor had been 'sent along here to scorn him'.[31] In the preface to his *Pennyles*

---

[27] Coryate, *Coryates Crambe,* sig. A2*r*.
[28] Ian Donaldson, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 31.
[29] For a visual comparison of the routes of James I, Jonson, and John Taylor, see the map in James Loxley, Anna Groundwater and Julie Sanders, eds., *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland: An Annotated Edition of the 'Foot Voyage'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 117.
[30] Loxley, Groundwater and Sanders, eds., *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland*, 8.
[31] *Conversations of Ben Jonson with William Drummond of Hawthorn,* ed. Philip Sidney (London: Gay and Bird, 1900), 58. Nonetheless, Jonson was outwardly welcoming to Taylor and gave him 'a piece of gold of two and twenty shillings to drink his health in England'; John Taylor, *All the Workes* (1630), sig. N3*v*.

Pilgrimage Taylor claims 'these Travailes of mine were not undertaken, either neither in imitation, or emulation of any man'.[32] Whilst 'many shallow-brain'd Critickes, doe lay an aspersion on me, that I was set on by others, or that I did undergo this project, either in malice, or mockage of Maister Benjamin Jonson', he continues with a wink, they are not to be believed. Jonson's plans were well-known in London many months before his departure, so Taylor must have known that his own journey would be seen as a 'rival venture'.[33] To complete the Jonson/Coryate/Taylor triad, Taylor also openly derided Thomas Coryate, and wrote a humorous running commentary on the commendatory verses to the *Crudities* in which he informed Coryate 'your plenteous want of wit, seeme wondrous wittie'.[34] Coryate did not deign to reply to the water poet in print, but Taylor later described his supposed effect on his contemporary: 'He frets, he fumes, he rages and exclaims/And views to rouze me from the River Thames'.[35] Coryate's death proved no respite: Taylor transformed the travel writer's learned prose into nonsense poetry in the form of his 'Epitaph on Coryat' and 'Epitaph in the Barmooda tongue' which begins 'Hough gruntough wough Thomough Coratough'.[36] Following in Jonson and Corayate's footsteps, Taylor's light-hearted rhymes have the capacity to shape readings of them for better or worse: his satirical emulation rewriting generic boundaries in their wake.

Travel writing, then, brings a fresh intensity to early seventeenth-century concerns about literary imitation. In his important article on renaissance imitation, G.W. Pigman III distinguishes between three modes of relational writing identified by Erasmus: following, imitating and emulating.[37] Whilst the servile writer follows in the footsteps of their predecessor, the imitator draws level and is placed on equal footing. To successfully emulate one's

---

[32] Taylor, *The Pennyles Pilgrimage*, sig. A3*r*.
[33] Anthony Parr, *Renaissance Mad Voyages: Experiments in Early Modern English Travel* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 56.
[34] John Taylor, *Laugh and be fat: or, A commentary vpon the Odcombyan blanket* (London: 1612), sig. B2*v*.
[35] Taylor, *Workes,* sig. FF4*r.*
[36] Taylor, *Workes,* sigs. Ff2*r*–Ff2*v.* On Taylor as nonsense poet, see Noel Malcolm, *The Origins of English Nonsense* (London: HarperCollins, 1998), esp. 17–29 and 41–51.
[37] G.W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 33.1 (1980), 1–32, 25.

predecessor, however, is to reshape their style into something which surpasses the original: to create a whole which is more than the sum of its parts. Jonson's dread of Taylor setting off hot on his heels is also the fear of a writer whose influence might overshadow his own, 'scorning' Jonson's literary aspirations into satirical shadow. Jonson's description of poetic imitation as a mode of following transforms this act into one of flattery: 'The third requisite in our poet or maker is imitation', writes Jonson, which is 'to be able to convert the substance or riches of another poet to his own use. To make choice of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him till he grow very he, or so like him as the copy may be mistaken for the principal'.[38] In this light, Jonson might optimistically read Taylor's physical and literary 'following' as a nomination of 'one excellent man above the rest'. But the water poet's commentary on their relationship, which resists the hierarchical moulds of 'copy' and 'principal', complicates such mutual flattery. For one thing, Taylor's needling of the literary figure was a publicity ploy, designed to provoke interest (and sales) of his own pamphlets.[39] For another, the topographical overlap allows Taylor to transform Jonson's travel narratives into a satirical target, squashing Jonson's sense of himself into a tighter textual space which is confronted on all sides by the mimicry of *Pennyles Pilgrimage*. Taylor's surpassing of Jonson at Leith enacts the tension of one writer surpassing another in print.

Jonson and Taylor's literary and geographical collision invites us to think again about the expanse of journeys that paper does or does not have room for. Paper has spatial limits: there is only so much that can be written without going over the lines. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* foregrounds the material edges of paper, giving imaginative charge to the very real sense in which paper shapes and delineates text. The poem lists contemporary authors from Drayton to Jonson who 'Must say their lines but for the paper sheete/Had scarcely ground, whereon to set

[38] Ben Jonson, *Discoveries,* ed. Lorna Hutson, in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vii, ll. 1752–1755.
[39] Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet 1578–1653* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 56–57.

their feete'.[40] Paper is the surface upon which these authors mark out their literary territory: their 'feete' are both the metrical feet of their verse and a means of reiterating a connection between writing and pedestrian movement across a surface. Paper here no longer passively enables either kind of feet, but directs their placing and limits their expanse. Seeing a connection between this spatial aspect of writing and the desire to write in the first place, Juliet Fleming suggests that one writes 'to fill a gap or dominate an environment, or because she has an impulse to measure, stretch, cover, cut, fit, join, contain, open, close, begin, end; to clear space or put something away'.[41] Fleming's description forms part of a broader manifesto that writing is inseparable from its own surface. In Fleming's ideological world one writes to intervene in, and thereby to construct, the writing environment. But this poem's foregrounding of the 'paper sheete' interrupts writing before it has even begun. If, in these lines, paper remains firmly below the writer's 'feet', then that positional hierarchy is toppled by the restraining influence that paper exerts on text. In these lines paper pre-supposes text, setting the boundaries and cutting off writing within the limits of its own square feet.

The Praise of Hemp-seed is alert to the potential and limitations of paper. The preface to the reader laments 'That were Earth paper, and Sea inke, they know/Twere not enough great Hempseeds worth to show'.[42] The poem shifts backwards and forwards between paper and land, punning on 'ream' and 'realm': 'Every Reame were Kingdomes for their strength/But that they want a single l in length'.[43] That 'single l' is metonymic of a bigger spatial paper problem, echoed in Thomas Nashe's *Lenten Stuffe* (1599). Nashe hurries across the page in eager pursuit of his subject, restrained only by the dimensions of his material: 'I am posting to my proposed scope, or else I could runne tenne quier of paper out of breath, in further traversing her

[40] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. E3*r*.
[41] Juliet Fleming, *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 31.
[42] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. B2*r*.
[43] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. E2v.

[Yarmouth's] rights and dignities.[44] Taylor and Nashe imagine the world as paper: a transformation reiterated in a manuscript poem tentatively ascribed to John Lyly, which runs: 'If all the Earthe were paper white/ and all the sea were incke/Twere not inough for me to write/as my poore hart doth thinke'.[45] The physical world is transformed into the textual world in an image that conveys how a limitless supply of paper would be required to convey the writer's desires or, in Taylor's case, the worth of hempseed. Exhaustively praising hempseed is to write across the entire surface of the earth and still to fall off the edge. All three of these examples model the writer in the paperscape: they situate their respective speakers in worlds constructed out of paper. Taylor, Nashe and Lyly momentarily make journeys not across the globe but across the page. Nashe specifically dashes across ten quires (assuming a quire of 24 pott paper sheets, each 16 inches in length, ten quires equates to 320 feet) but, whatever the space available, it is never quite enough. While paper as substrate makes room for text, paper as delineated site determines how far writers get to travel.

Transforming the earth into paper, and the sea into ink, is to understand ink as carving out a flowing path through the stasis of the paper. *The Praise of Hemp-seed's* paper boat reverses this phenomenon: paper is the mobile vehicle which moves travellers through a static landscape. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* makes room for these two, seemingly contradictory roles of paper: one as static surface, which feeds into a metaphorical field shared by Nashe and Lyly (among others); the other as mobile material form. As printed substrate, paper makes room for a world in which paper is both surface and substance, passive and active, static and mobile, protagonist and backdrop. The paperscape simultaneously embodies more material environments than can be encountered by any individual off the page.

---

[44] Thomas Nashe, *Nashes Lenten Stuffe,* in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow, 2nd edn, rev. F. P. Wilson, 5 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966), iii, 172.
[45] *The Complete Works of John Lyly,* ed. R. Warwick Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), iii, 'Early Autobiographical Poems', no. 11.

Those overlaid worlds of the paperscape are legible in the competing rhetorical modes which describe the environment encountered by *The Praise of Hemp-seed's* paper boat. We might loosely call this voyage 'travel writing' because of its uneasy relationship with reality: this imaginary and rhetorically overblown voyage from London to Queenborough can nevertheless be mapped in real time and space. Taylor and his companion Roger Bird depart 'upon the vigil of Saint James' (the evening of 24th July) in 1619, and navigate the waterways between Essex and Kent.[46] They enter Gravesend, pass within three miles of Lee, and enter Queenborough within sight of the castle. The next day, presumably loath to repeat their watery perils, they 'hied us home on horse-back all in post'.[47] On the first leg of their outward journey Taylor and Bird hit a storm which vanquishes their landmarks. The water is 'four mile board' and the two no longer have any means to co-ordinate themselves: 'no Oares, to row/Night darke and where we were we did not know'.[48] The pair despair of seeing another geographical landmark: 'yet much we fear'd the graves our end would be/Before we could the Towne of Gravesend see'.[49] Having followed a navigable route known both to them and their readers, the two are now disorientated: thrust from a visually recognisable landscape into an unknowable one.

In this fleeting new realm cast by night, the paper boat becomes as 'bottomless as hell'. The river Thames is transformed into a mythical one as Taylor and Bird 'seeke about/to Finde these light Tiburnian vapours out'.[50] The image of the river briefly echoes Martial's twelfth epigram which describes a place of literary inspiration: 'the chilly heights of Herculean Tibur, where white Albula steams with her sulphurous waters'.[51] Throughout the poem Taylor compares the Thames not only to the 'Tyber' but to forty-five other rivers across the world and

[46] Taylor dates the voyage to 1619 in *The Honourable and Memorable foundations, erections and ruines, of divers cities, townes, castles, and other pieces of antiquitie* (1636), sig. B*r*.
[47] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. F3*r*.
[48] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. F2*r*.
[49] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. F*v*.
[50] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. F*v*.
[51] Martial, *Epigrams*, ed. and trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), i, 12.

ultimately to the imaginary rivers of the underworld including the Styx, Acheron, and Lethe.[52] These fluctuations between the geography of the 'real' and the 'mythical' bring Taylor's route only opaquely into view. If one aspiration of travel writing is to provide a model by which readers might follow in the writer's footsteps, then Taylor's description of his voyage only half works. By citing the map-able co-ordinates of Lee, Wapping, and Queenborough, Taylor offers us a journey through the real world which, whilst rendered with imaginative flair, is grounded on a navigable route accessible to readers. But as the Thames threatens to transform into deadly mythological rivers, the reader is thrown off-course and plunged into a storm beyond our actual navigable reach. As a poem about hempseed which ends with five quarto pages about an inimitable journey, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* hardly fortifies the boundaries of early modern travel writing, nor does it hold it deploy earnest strategies to shore up its credibility.[53] As Taylor's route oscillates between the real and the imaginary, so this text oscillates on the brink of genres: as travel writing, as satire, as imaginative fantasy. Noel Malcolm distinguishes between poetry which presents us with nonsense events ('a parody of the world'), and true parody which makes nonsense of literary forms.[54] But Taylor's paper boat goes further: it is a nonsensical phenomenon which is also a parody of the material forms of travel writing. And if Jonson plots himself in relation to authorial co-ordinates (Coryate, Moryson, James I, Taylor) which steer our reading of his valiant plodding, then Taylor's geographical and mythological co-ordinates send us careering around genre-harbours, never fully able to come ashore.

The Praise of Hemp-seed is, in this sense, the antithesis to travel writing. It misleads us as a text, and it gives an account of the river Thames as almost entirely *un*navigable: both because the river slides into and out of mythological status and because Taylor and Bird themselves

---

[52] The first pages of Taylor's *A New Discovery by Sea* (1623) similarly shifts from the reassuringly solid Surry and Wapping to the quasi-mythological site of 'Cuckold's Haven', sig. A3*r*.
[53] Daniel Carey gives examples of such strategies from contemporary travel writers including 'simple insistence on their reliability, challenging the narrowness of their doubters, and using testimonials'; 'The Problem of Credibility in Early Modern Travel', *Renaissance Studies* 33.4 (2019), 524–547, 526.
[54] Malcolm, *Origins of English Nonsense*, 88.

encounter near-fatal peril in the form of a storm. Unsurprisingly, a paper-based vessel offers little comfort to its passengers, and the two suffer accordingly: 'In rotton paper, and in boisterous weather/Darke nights through we, and toyled together'.[55] As a horrific image of the Thames, Taylor's account has more in common with another of Jonson's poems, 'On the Famous Voyage' (first printed in 1616) which gives a scatalogically-tinged account of a journey down the same river. Jonson's 'Voyage' plunges the reader into the mire of a city lacking in hygienic or moral standards, and turns that city into a set of interior bodily passages to repel all but the least squeamish of readers.[56] And yet bathetically the poem imbues the Thames with mythological status:

> […] from Styx to Acheron,
> The ever-boiling flood; whose banks upon
> Your Fleet Lane furies and hot cooks do dwell
> That with still-scalding streams make the place hell.[57]

We paddle from the Styx to the Acheron to Fleet Street and back again to 'hell' – an unnavigable route if ever there was one. Like the voyage in *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, 'On the Famous Voyage' is a form of *impossibilia*: a literary device that presents reversal of the natural order. Used in the Old Testament as a rhetorical strategy ('the lion shall eat straw like the ox', Isiah 11: 7), *impossibilia* have been deployed since the Middle Ages as a comical device.[58] In *The Praise of Hemp-seed* the comedy of *impossibilia* arises from the incongruity of the boat with the plausibility of its route; 'On the Famous Voyage' elevates a hellish topography to the quotidian contours of London's river. Jonson offers generic signposts for reading even as he takes away topographical ones. 'On the Famous Voyage' cites other individuals who wrote about unlikely modes of travel, such as 'him that backwards went to Berwick, or which/Did dance the famous

---

[55] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. F2*v.*
[56] Andrew McRae, '"On the Famous Voyage": Ben Jonson and Civic Space', in Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, eds., *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 181–203, 195.
[57] 'On the Famous Voyage', ed. Colin Burrow in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, 7 vols, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) v, 190–198, ll. 141–144.
[58] Malcolm, *Origins of English Nonsense*, 78–88.

Morris, unto Norwich'.[59] The first remains unidentified, the second is Will Kempe (the clown and one of five shareholders of the Chamberlain's Men alongside Shakespeare) who performed a Morris dance from London to Norwich.[60] 'On a Famous Voyage' and *The Praise of Hemp-seed* also take up their place against a backdrop of what Anthony Parr identifies as a brief trend in 'mad voyages' in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean England, peaking in the first decade of the new century.[61] Samuel Rowlands drops a tantalising reference to one such venture into a prefatory poem to *The Sculler Rowing from Tiber to Thames* (1612), one of Taylor's first printed texts. Rowlands favourably compares Taylor to one who 'did devise a wooden Whale/which unto Callice, did from Dover saile'.[62] All three accounts share with Jonson and Taylor's poems a sense of the satirical, the ridiculous – of navigation gone awry.[63]

Whether dancing or walking backwards, Jonson is interested in journeys during which the mode of transport is at least as important as the route, and situates his 'Voyage' among texts which take up that challenge. *The Praise of Hemp-seed,* first printed four years after Jonson's *Workes* which includes 'On the Famous Voyage', is the epitome of such a text. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* focuses on its means of transport (the paper boat) rather than on the significance of Queenborough as a destination. While *The Praise of Hemp-seed* showcases the material affordances of paper, so too it foregrounds the imaginary ones. The poem daringly presents us with a means of navigation which is also a substrate of mis-directive writing. A text about a voyage in a paper boat deploys paper twice over to construct a one-off, inimitable, and fictionalised event.

---

[59] Jonson, 'On the Famous Voyage', ll. 35–36.
[60] William Kempe, *Kemps nine daies wonder* (1600). The anonymous walker is not to be confused with Robert Carey who won £2000 for walking the same route, presumably facing forwards, in twelve days.
[61] Parr, *Renaissance Mad Voyages*, 4.
[62] John Taylor, *The Sculler Rowing from Tiber to Thames* (1612), sig. A4*r*.
[63] 'The Famous Voyage' notes two further voyages by sea performed by near-contemporaries: 'his to Bristol/or his to Antwerp'. The first is a reference to *The Most Dangerous and Memorable Adventure of Richard Ferris* (1590) which relates Ferris' voyage from Tower Wharf to Bristol. The second is unknown, but echoed in John Taylor's description of one who 'with his oars and slender wherry/From London unto Antwerp o'er did ferry' in *Sculler Rowing,* sig. A4*r*.

Paper / Water

Texts about places, then, have the potential to make places unnavigable as well as navigable, rendering them just beyond the reader's cognitive grasp. But *The Praise of Hemp-seed* is about more than the cartographical possibilities of text. Taylor's extended eulogy to the plant, and specifically to paper, is about paper's ability to reach those places: to circulate through society as writing surface, garment, or boat's sail and to become, in short, a traveller of its own. John Taylor and Roger Bird's voyage takes up less than five of the forty-six printed pages which make up the first quarto edition of *The Praise of Hemp-seed*: that is, just over half a sheet out of six. If the entirety of this poem is a kind of travel-writing, then it is a kind which centres not around these two men and their fluvial adventure but around hempseed and, inevitably, around paper.

The Praise of Hemp-seed plugs paper into a global network of circulating matter. As the poem informs us, hempseed begins life as a 'graine' which 'growes to a stalk, whose coat or skin/Good industry doth hatchell, twist and spin'.[64] Passing rapidly over the process by which hempseed fibres are made ready for spinning, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* soon turns to the diverse uses of the treated plant. Hemp-seed is an expansive resource in this poem because of the multiple objects and matter which spring from its form: 'It makes Clothes, Cordage, Halters, Ropes, and Sailes'.[65] Hempseed generates things and lists of those things. The plant accumulates nouns which squeeze into a breathless line, a line which runs out of syllables and skips over its first two words to land the emphasis on 'clothes'. The linguistic productivity of hempseed enacts the material function of the plant, or rather, this moment of rhetorical *copia* replicates hempseed's diverse organic output. The 'Preamble' to *The Praise of Hemp-seed* foregrounds this copiousness in explicitly reproductive terms: 'That flax the male and hemp the female is/And their engendering procreative seed/A thousand thousand helps for man doth breed'.[66] The

[64] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. B3*r*.
[65] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. B3*r.*
[66] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. B*v*.

couplet defends the poem against those who would distinguish between hemp and flax in order to undermine the ubiquity of hemp: 'Some Critticks will perhaps my writing tax/With falsehood, and maintaine their shirts are flax'.[67] These 'Critticks' fail to realise that hemp and flax are female and male manifestations of the same plant, as the poem notes a few lines later: 'so Hemp and Flax or which you list to name/Are male and female, both one, and the same'.[68] By homogenising hemp and flax, these lines contradict the binary of male/flax and female/hemp suggested earlier. Whilst the binary explains the copious fertility of the plant, the collapsing of that binary affords equal status – equal productive abilities, equal mobility – to the 'female' hemp as to the 'male' flax.

One of hempseed's significant material offspring (in terms of the space it takes up in the poem) is boats, or parts of boats: 'Spit-sayle, fore-sayle, top-sayle & your maine/Top and top-gallent and your mizzen abase…the bucket rope, the boat-rope, the long or short rope… All these and many more than I can name'.[69] Travellers and mariners rely on this plant because it makes the sails and ropes which facilitate their travel. Hempseed 'is the Art of Navigation's wings', and thus this humble plant delineates and pushes at the boundaries of the known world:

> It spreads aloft, the lofty Skie it scales,
> Flies o'er the great Leviathan and whales,
> Dives to the boundlesse bottome of the Deepe,
> Where Neptune doth mongst dreadfull Monsters keepe.
> From Pole to Pole, it cuts both Seas and Skies,
> From th'Orient to the Occident it flyes.[70]

In the 1620 quarto edition of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* Taylor glosses the third line of this quotation with a marginal note: 'With the Lead and the Anker'. Hemp-seed literally dives to the bottom of the ocean in the form of the ropes with which boats make anchor. As the raw material of the ropes and sails for these vessels, hemp-seed enables mariners and explorers to travel

[67] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. B*v*.
[68] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. B2*v*.
[69] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. C4*v*.
[70] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. B3*r*.

across those rhetorically-summoned spaces: 'from Pole to Pole' and from east to west. The mobility of its own forms (as plant, as sails, as rope, as thread, as well as paper) enables hemp-seed to become the protagonist of its own global travel narrative.

Like any successful early modern traveller, hemp-seed is responsible for importing goods into the country of its origin. Masking colonial plundering in the rhetoric of celebratory abundance, the poem describes how hempseed:

> […]fills our Land with plenty wonderfull,
> From th'Eterne Indies, from the great Mogull,
> From France, from Portingale, from Venice, Spaine,
> From Denmarke, Norway[…]
> from beyond China, farre beyond Peru.
> From Belgia, Almaine, the West Indies, and
> From Guinea, Biny, Island and Newfound-land.[71]

The accumulating abundance of place finally collapses into a non-specific 'island' and 'newfound-land'. Without travel to these places – which is also to say, without the travel *of hempseed* to these places in the form of ropes and sails that are a prior condition of human voyages – the poem's readers would lack 'gold, silver, gems, or Jewels/Wine, oyle, spice, rice and diverse sorts of jewels', as well as 'Silke, Sattin, Velvet'.[72] The extent to which sea-locked British readers rely on the travels of hempseed for provisions emerges throughout the poem. Flanders serge, cambric, nutmeg, almonds, sack, medicines, animal fur, tobacco, sugar... hempseed mobilises an international network of moving goods. The affordances of hempseed literally impact on the globe.

While *The Praise of Hemp-seed* delights in implicating paper in hemp's non-paper forms, the poem is silent about the hefty volumes of paperwork that were involved in international travel and the circulation of goods enabled by hemp.[73] Paper's early (thirteenth- and fourteenth-

---

[71] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. B3*r*.
[72] Talyor, *Praise*, sig. B3*v*.
[73] Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 74.

century) uses in England overwhelmingly revolved around transportation and travel: to wrap exported goods, to send letters, to record expenses accrued on the move.[74] As paper's uses expanded in the early modern period, it retained those early associations because of its lightness and portability. Correspondence, bills, receipts and packaging were all generated by the mobility of goods and people, whose international voyages were brought about by ropes and sails. That list of circulating paper forms includes different kinds of paper, each with their own national or international travel narratives. In 1630, the year John Taylor's *Workes* were published (which included a second setting of *The Praise of Hemp*-seed), 95,572 reams of white paper were imported into London. This was vastly more than the mere 8038 bundles (the equivalent of 16,076 reams) of brown paper imported in the same year because brown paper was produced more widely at home.[75] While brown paper for packing, wrapping, cookery, and medicine could more easily be produced at home, fine white paper for writing and printing was necessarily more likely to have travelled into England from abroad, because of shortages in domestic supply. A key ingredient for all kinds of paper-making, hemp was present in the rougher kinds of paper that wrapped and packaged imported goods. And, as though gaining critical self-reflexive distance from its prior or alternative forms, hemp was also made into the white paper on which those journeys were textually re-enacted in celebratory, Anglo-centric, and satirical form.

The presence of hempseed as raw material in paper, as well as ropes and sails, forges a material connection between maritime travel and its textual records. We might call hempseed a 'vehicle' on both fronts, except that to do so would overlook the ways that cloth and paper are technologies of writing and of travel which shape the possibilities of each. How fast can this boat sail? How long will this text remain legible? These are questions determined by the material

[74] Orietta Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 47.
[75] Donald C. Coleman, *The British Paper Industry 1495–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 12.

qualities of hempseed in two different forms. The role of water strengthens the material connection between these affordances of hempseed. Water has a key part to play in the outcomes of both of voyaging and paper-making. To make paper, rags are firstly soaked in water and pulped until they disintegrate into 'stuff'. The steps of draining, pressing and drying sheets continue that negotiation with water. As Alfred Shorter notes, 'plentiful, pure and clear, or "fair" water is essential in producing good quality white paper'.[76] The presence of water in paper-making remains visible today: Joshua Calhoun observes that the brownish papers we encounter in the archives retain their colour from the silty, muddy or polluted river water used in their production.[77] Water-supply determined the location of paper-making mills which sprung up along river valleys both in Britain and on the Continent.[78] Paper-makers also needed to be near towns for the supply of rags, and near ports where the cordage and sails from ships contributed to making the 'stuff'. Early modern paper depends on water for its production.

[76] Alfred Shorter, *Paper Mills and Paper Making in England 1495–1800* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1962), 23. See also Timothy Barrett, 'European Papermaking Techniques 1300-1800, in *Paper Through Time*, http://paper.lib.uiowa.edu/european.php#stamper, accessed 31/10/20.
[77] Joshua Calhoun, 'The Word Made Flax: Cheap Bibles, Textual Corruption and the Poetics of Paper', *PMLA* 126.2 (2011), 327–344, esp. 331–332.
[78] Coleman, *The British Paper Industry*, 34.

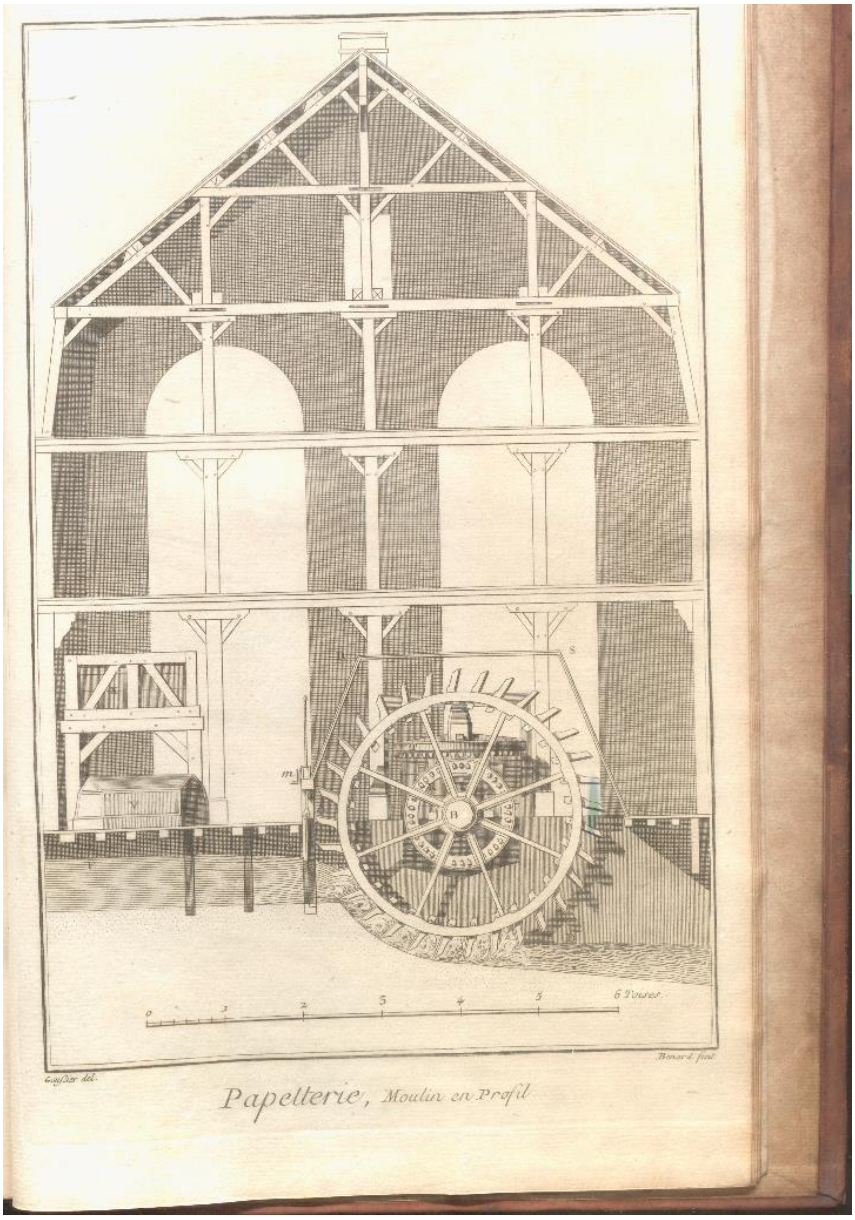


Figure 21 Churning pulp and water to make paper, depicted in Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers*, 35 vols (Paris: Briasson et al, 1676) , Planches tome 5, pl. VII. Image courtesy of the Sackler Library, Oxford, AE25 ENC 1751.

Yet too much water renders paper useless. Thomas Churchyard points out this dilemma in his 'Discription and playne discourse of paper' (1588): 'water too, that Papers enemy is/Yet paper must, take form and shape from this'.[79] Entire libraries have been wiped out by floods.[80]

[79] Thomas Churchyard, *A Sparke of Frendship and warme goodwill* (1588), sig. D*v*.
[80] One such example is the royal library of John V in Lisbon, destroyed in 1755. On this and other examples see James Raven, ed., *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections Since Antiquity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 8.

On a more granular level, paper which absorbs even the minutest quantities of water is useless as a writing surface. That is because such paper would also absorb ink, and so render anything written on it illegible. To guard against this, paper is treated so as to become (in a very mild sense) water-resistant.[81] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this process took place in the form of sizing. Pieces of animal hide were boiled up and the resulting glutinous liquid was drained and allowed to settle. Paper sheets were dipped in the size, pressed again, and hung up to dry. The 'washing' of books by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century book dealers used yet more water and bleaching chemicals to remove readers' marks and restore the book to a 'pristine' condition, working on different assumptions about the hierarchy between the kinds of text visible on the page.[82] Water then, has a tricky and ambiguous relationship in the making of paper, and particularly in the making of paper-as-writing-surface. When Taylor's boat sets out on its voyage, the material closeness of water and paper almost, fatefully, returns paper to its watery beginnings. The vessel collapses and disintegrates into the very stuff from which it is made: 'the tossing billows made our boat to caper/Our paper forme scarce being forme of paper'.[83] The paper 'forme' becomes 'unformed' in the 'tossing billows' whose gentler motion was integral to its first formation. If Taylor's paper voyage facilitates the writing of his exuberant poem in the first place, it is also the near undoing of himself and of the substrate of his text.

Voyages, then – by which I mean travel by water – have a particular place in the history of travel writing as both a material and a generic form.[84] There is a compelling self-reflexivity to voyage-based travel writing because of the close relationship between water and paper, which

---

[81] Joshua Calhoun, 'Reading Habits and Reading Habitats; or, toward an Ecobibliography of Marginalia' in Katherine Acheson, ed., *Early Modern English Marginalia* (London: Routledge, 2019), 15–34, 19.
[82] On the history of changing attitudes to readers' marks see William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 151–178; David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory 1600–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 104–108.
[83] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. F2*r.*
[84] I use 'voyage' here to mean travel by water, although its usage encompassed all forms of journey until well into the seventeenth century: *OED*, 'voyage, n.', 1.

is heightened in *The Praise of Hemp-seed*. Taylor's account reaches the reader in a physical state (that is, printed on paper) which is reliant on the materials that facilitated Taylor's journey in the first place. In other words, the water that transported the poet down the Thames also produced the paper on which the textual record of such a journey is printed. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* is a form of writing-on-water in at least two senses. Taylor's assertion that 'papers now the subject of my book' opens up a dialogue between form and content, rooting D.F. McKenzie's assertion that 'forms effect meaning' within the self-reflexivity of an early modern text. In *The Praise of Hemp-seed* that relationship between material form and literary 'meaning' extends beyond paper into a reflection on water as both a narrative form (the river dictates the geographic shape of Taylor's journey) and a material one. The double presence of water within *The Praise of Hemp-seed* (as narrative text, and as paper form) reiterates the link forged by paper between, on the one hand, the world occupied by paper, and on the other hand, the world constructed by the text to which that paper plays substrate.

One effect of this heightened sense of paper's precarious relationship to water is to draw attention to the sheets of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* as a contingent form of circulating matter. The paper boat struggles in the onslaught of the storm: 'We being in our watry business bound/And with these wicked winds encompassed round'.[85] Water and wind buffet the fragile paper form, literally 'encompassing' the boat with near-fatal effects. That 'encompassing' demonstrates the significance of paper's environment. Increasing scholarly attention is being paid towards paper as both 'a real presence and an idea': 'both a practical and an intellectual resource'.[86] But that 'practical' sense of paper's 'presence' remains strangely disembodied until paper is fully understood as a product of its surroundings, where its durability and permanence is always at stake. In *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, the description of winds 'encompassing' the paper boat is

[85] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. E*v*.
[86] Helen Smith, 'A Unique Instance of Art: The Proliferating Surfaces of Early Modern Paper', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017), paragraph 4.

glossed with a marginal note: 'We had more winds than the Compasse, for we had eight severall winds in our bladders, and the 32 of the Compasse, in all 40'.[87] The thirty-two winds of the compass which surround this vessel might be explained by its papery form. Early compasses were made from printed paper or card with the pivoting needle attached, and these lines open up the possibility that the paper boat is a printed compass card. Although Taylor's 'browne' paper boat, were it to exist, would be logistically of too inferior quality for printing, this imaginative possibility would explain the meteorologically unlikely feat of being surrounded by all thirty-two of the compass' winds.

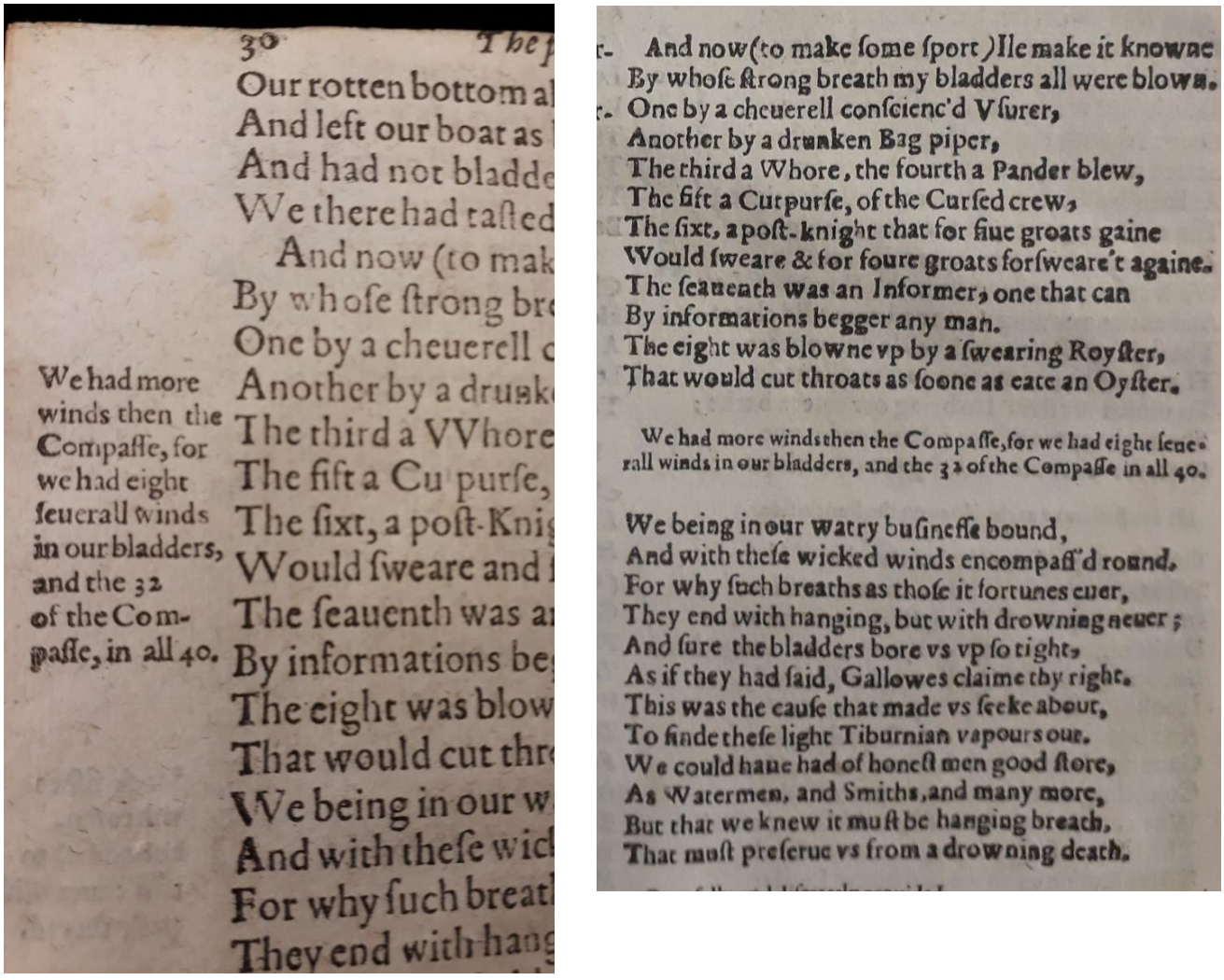


Figure 22 Left, marginal note in John Taylor, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* (1623). Huntington Library 69661. Right, *All the workes of John Taylor* (1630). St John's College, Oxford, phi.2.46.

[87] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. Ev.

The image of wind-filled bladders emphasises the precariousness with which the paper boat navigates these stormy waters. The position of the image also draws attention to the precariousness of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* as a printed form. The bladders are Taylor's self-professed 'stratagem of wit' with which he plans to save Roger Bird and himself from a watery grave. The poem documents a plan to tie 'eight Bullocks bladders…/puft stiffly full with wind' to the side of the boat as a buoyancy aid. Taylor lifts the image of capturing wind in bags from book ten of Homer's *Odyssey*, when Aeolus binds the winds to help Odysseus sail away from the island of Aeolia.[88] In *The Praise of Hemp-seed* these lines reveal a glimpse of sailing mythology, momentarily transposed onto the space of this page. In the 1620 and 1623 quarto texts, that note which tots up the winds in the bladders with the winds of the compass card ('in all 40') is printed in the margin. The marginal note flanks a description of the winds blown by a 'wicked' cast of characters ranging from a usurer to a cut-purse to an informer.[89] In the 1630 *Workes* the same note is printed in line with the body text, in the break between two twelve-line *stanzas* (if such a word can be applied to the groups of varying numbers of lines that make up the poem). The insertion follows the description of the eight winds and precedes these two lines: 'We being in our watry businesse bound/And with the wicked wind encompasse'd round'.[90] In this later edition, the mise-en-page suggests more precisely how the thirty-two winds of the compass fit into our temporal and spatial reading of the text. Bonnie Mak observes that, when reading the unit of the page, 'we are trained to believe that the boundaries of the interface are always identical to the edges of the material platform of the page – namely that the cognitive space and the physical dimensions of the page are necessarily coterminous'.[91] But the slippery place of marginal notes creates boundaries or edges *within* the page that undermine the authority of a single, material edge. Whilst a marginal note might be ignored completely, or read after or

[88] Homer, *Odyssey,* ed. George Dimock and trans. A. T. Murray, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), i, 359.
[89] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. F*v*.
[90] Taylor, *Workes*, sig. Ggg2*r*.
[91] Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 3.

before the body text, or in tandem with the lines it juxtaposes, the inserted lines of the *Workes* are more definite about the order of reading. The effect of this note's placement in the 1630 *Workes* is to tighten the visual and aural echo between the thirty-two winds of the 'compass' which 'encompass' the travellers in their papery boat, heightening the sense of the onslaught of winds from all directions. The mise-en-page foregrounds the etymological tension between a 'compass' (an instrument that points helpfully away from its user or source) and the 'encompassing' or perilous collision of these winds around one point. Firstly, the alternative layouts of the quarto and folio editions lead our eyes around the page differently as we read of the voyage down the river, mapping the same watery route onto alternative textual paths and so subtly shaping and redirecting our reading. The paperscape alters across the quarto and folio texts: the local spacing of printed text contributes towards its effect. Secondly, the two editions demonstrate the precariousness of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* as material text. This is a fragile paper form whose make-up is at the mercy of 'encompassing' winds and lapping water. The two editions deploy the space available differently in an already-contingent page, and so render *The Praise of Hemp-seed* textually, as well as materially, in flux.

Paper / Fragment

Taylor's boat does not come to a halt at the conclusion of its captain's journey. At the end of the poem, as Taylor successfully reaches Queenborough and goes inside for a celebratory dinner, he hangs up his paper boat to dry. Taylor imitates Thomas Coryate, who displayed his shoes at the Parish Church in his home village of Odcombe: a triumphant reminder of what Henry Nevill called the 'trophees of thy travailes'.[92] But whilst Coryate's shoes hung in all their glory until the late-eighteenth century, Taylor's attempt to seal his immortal fame does not go according to plan:

> Whilst we at our dinners thus were merry,

[92] Coryate, *The Odcombian Banquet,* sig. D*r*.

> The Country people tore our tatter'd wherry
> In mammocks peacemeale in a thousand scraps,
> Wearing the reliques in their hats and caps.
> That never traytors corps could more be scatter'd
> By greedy Ravens, than our poore boat was tatter'd.[93]

Taylor's journey is ripped into 'scraps' by the people of Queenborough and carted off about their persons as 'reliques'. To call these paper fragments 'reliques' is to render them mementos of the paper boat: parts which carry some of the charge of their originary whole. Just as Coryate's shoes are metonymic reminders of his journey, these paper fragments are the reminders – and the remains – of an imaginary voyage. More conventionally, relics are mementos of an individual. The couplet that follows in *The Praise of Hemp-seed* frames the scattering of writing as the distribution of a writer's 'corps', or corpus; the anti-Catholic Taylor puns on the relic as the body part of a once-living and holily-revered individual. As writing substrate, paper formed the 'symbols of attachment and badges of belonging' which constituted texts on both sides of the confessional divide.[94] In order to mock paper 'reliques', *The Praise of Hemp-seed* asks us to overlook the textual nature of paper and focus on its ceremonial or symbolic uses; a tricky ask within a poem which turns on the relationship between textual substrates and paper's non-textual forms.

That pun on a writerly 'corps' has a literary history as well as a theological charge. The etymological association between corpse and corpus carried traction within a conventional trope of text-as-body. William Barrett's preface to *St Peters Complaint* (1620) describes his editorial work as a distinctly somatic practice: 'my selfe having first collected these dismembred parcels into one body, and published them in an entire edition… which by the Sunshine of your favour shall be as it were reanimated'.[95] Similarly Richard Hakluyt pronounced the aim of the

---

[93] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. F3*v*.
[94] Alexandra Walsham, Brian Cummings and Ceri Law, 'Introduction: Memory and the English Reformation', in Alexandra Walsham, Bronwyn Wallace, Brian Cummings and Ceri Law, eds., *Memory and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1–46, 35.
[95] John Southwell, *St Peters Complaint Mary Magdal: teares. With other workes of the author* R.S. (1620), sig. A2*v*–A3*r*.

second edition of *Principal Navigations* (1598–1600) 'to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traques of merchandise by both'.[96] Echoing a popular image of the humanist scholar gathering a far-flung 'corpus' of work, Barrett and Hakluyt imagine a series of printed works as a set of severed relics, and the book as the newly constituted and reanimated corpus.

By invoking 'reliques' and, in quick succession, a 'corps', *The Praise of Hemp-seed* imbues these paper fragments with the identity of a human body.[97] The speaker of *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, or his almost identical shadow John Taylor, lives on in the remnants of a voyage, and of a writing substrate. While Barrett and Hakluyt figure themselves gathering texts 'into one body', *The Praise of Hemp-seed* invokes 'reliques' to imagine the scattering, not the conglomerating, of paper. Taylor's fragments travel outwards rather than reunite. These paper fragments disseminate at the end of the poem and at the end of the voyage: that is, after the author-sailor has finished with paper on two counts. These 'reliques' take something of that author – his boat, that he writes into being, the bodily parts of his 'corps' – and transport that personhood beyond the limits of both text and journey. To find the residue of Taylor's personhood in distributed paper scraps is to draw on the work of Alfred Gell, whose seminal work *Art and Agency* (1998) reconfigures the relationships between artefacts and their makers and users. Gell suggests that images of things, dispersed beyond the original in time and space, carry with them the agency of the thing itself.[98] Gell is an anthropologist rather than a literary scholar; he has little interest in seventeenth-century print. But *Art and Agency* articulates a relation between what Gell calls a 'prototype' (in this case, the speaker of *The Praise of Hemp-seed*) and the 'index' (the paper 'reliques'), which illuminates these lines. John Taylor writes these fragments of a boat into

---

[96] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903–1905), i, xxxix. For the history of this trope, see Nandini Das, 'Richard Hakluyt's Two India's: Textual *Sparagmos* and Editorial Practice', in Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, eds., *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 119–128.

[97] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. F2*v*.

[98] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

being, and then compares them to a 'corps'. The pieces of scattered boat bear the residual agency of the person (we can no longer say the in-dividual) at their centre.

As Warren Boutcher observes, mapping Gellian anthropology onto early modern print comes with its own problems: 'texts' are linguistic entities with specific relations to a 'copy', an 'edition', or a 'work'. The payoff of applying Gell's anthropological theory of art to literature is that 'printed and manuscript objects are restored to the circuits of authors, editors, printers and reader-writers who produced and used them'.[99] In this restoration, the gap between Gellian 'artefacts' and literary 'texts' begins to close: 'literary documents become artefacts that witness to histories and agencies in ways that art historians and even archaeologists might recognize'.[100] Texts are socially produced: this is, by now, a familiar narrative. Robert Darnton's 'Communications Circuit' emphasises the circular forms of human agency that constitute book production, while D.F. McKenzie redefined bibliography as 'the study of the sociology of texts'.[101] With Gell's help, these paper 'reliques' become part of a Taylor-centric nexus. If copies of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* are indexes of Taylor's agency which also commemorate his fictional voyage, then the material remains of that voyage are imaginary indexes of the same. The poem is well-attuned to paper's preservative qualities, listing authors 'Whose workes in paper are yet extant store', and invoking gratitude that 'in paper many a Poet now survives/Or else their lines had perished with their lives'.[102] Taylor imagines Gellian indexes at work, and writes them into being in the seventeenth-century. Distributed throughout Queenborough and beyond in hats and caps, the fragmented paper boat enables Taylor the author, and Taylor the voyager, to live on.

---

[99] Warren Boutcher, 'Literary Art and Agency? Gell and the Magic of the Early Modern Book', in Liana Chua and Mark Elliot, eds., *Distributed Objects: Meaning and Mattering after Alfred Gell* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 154–175, 159.
[100] Boutcher, 'Literary Art and Agency?', 159.
[101] Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?' *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982), 65–83, 68; D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 13.
[102] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. E3*v*.

But paper, as *The Praise of Hemp-seed* makes clear, does not submit so easily to the single author figure. By the time we reach the description of those 'scraps' in the final gathering of the quarto, paper has been animated by its fuller material history. Paradoxically, one of the reasons that paper preserves is its mobility: its capacity to travel, to change, to take on other forms and so to operate simultaneously in short-term and long-term modes of existence.[103] While invoking paper 'reliques' calls on those scraps to commemorate one journey and one corps, or one author, the continued travels of those fragments in hats and caps bring more journeys, more individuals, into sight. The locals of Queenborough extend the travels of paper after it arrives from London. And the materially specific sites of those fragments (those hats and caps) makes legible an even longer journey of paper than the one offered by a superficial reading of the text. Human agency – sociological networks – are not the whole story. The travels and timelines of paper go further back from sociological networks to ecological ones.[104] To put it another way, the journey of paper does not begin with a person, but with rags, or before that: hemp; before that: seed. Chapter three showed how books within Samuel Pepys' library resist the narratives of stasis imposed by their one-time owner. The movements of paper within and around the library, discussed in that chapter, are only the latest in a series of journeys of books – which themselves were the culmination of hempseed's pre-codexical, even pre-paper forms. Paper is not just the transparent medium, or surface, or support for human narratives, either inscribed or implicit, but carries its own, much longer, history. Pressed up against the bodily materials of their carriers, the paper scraps in *The Praise of Hemp-seed* are reunited with former versions of themselves. Place matters for how we read. Here, juxtaposed with cloth, sweat, and bodies, the fragments of a paper boat look back much further than the unity of the paper boat to their own material beginnings. Paper's primary plant materials were 'broken in' as clothing, or

[103] John Gagné, 'Paper World: The Materiality of Loss in the Pre-Modern Ages', in M. Lyons and Rita Marquilhas, eds., *Approaches to the History of Written Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 57–72, 57.
[104] Calhoun, *The Nature of the Page,* 7.

handkerchiefs, or rags, and so when these scraps are born off by human bodies they are re-living earlier manifestations of their material lives.[105] Paper has an extended and international history with the intimacy of bodies: an advertisement in the *North Carolina Gazette* issued on 14th November, 1777, encouraged 'young ladies' to save rags for paper-making on the basis that 'by sending to the paper mill an old handkerchief, fit to cover their snowy breasts, there is a possibility of its returning to them again in the more pleasing form of a *billet doux* from their lovers'.[106] This rather leery promotional copy makes a point about the circulation of paper-derived objects, and about the recurring opportunities for such objects to be clutched to the chest. In the seventeenth century, paper was used to strengthen and shape clothing: paper and card have been found in a doublet from c.1625–1630, stuffed inside the collar to stiffen it.[107] An anonymous single-sheet poem printed in 1668 describes this intimate, if unglamorous use of paper in satirical terms: 'My Doublet canvasse worn out quite behind/I put a Poem there, to keep out wind'.[108] Whether the wind emanates from underneath or outside the doublet happily goes unclarified. While hempseed (in the form of linen) provided undergarments and linings for silk clothing, another manifestation of that raw material found its way into wardrobes in the form of paper. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* does more than talk about clothes in general terms: it specifies paper 'scraps' being carried off in 'hats and caps'. Headgear has a particular purchase in re-enacting the prior lives of these paper stowaways: records of haberdashers selling paper date back to the fifteenth century.[109] John Bidwell suggests that while sixteenth-century drapers, tailors, fishmongers, stationers, and other tradesmen might purchase small portions of a paper

[105] Christina Lupton, 'Gender and Materiality on the Eighteenth-Century Page', *Studies in English Literature* 54.3 (2014), 605–624, 616.
[106] Quoted in Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1978), 310; see also Jonathan Senchyne, *The Intimacy of Paper in Early and Nineteenth-century American Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2020), chapter 2.
[107] Clare Backhouse, *Fashion and Popular Print in Early Modern England: Depicting Dress in Black-Letter Ballads* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 17–18.
[108] *A Poore Scholar's Thred-Bare Suit: described in a Petitionary Poem to this Patron* (1663).
[109] Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England*, 84, 169.

shipment, haberdashers (who made hats and caps) handled the largest amounts.[110] Moreover, when the Royal Society proposed to write a 'History of the Trades', one of the proposed items was 'The *Histories* of making Cloth' whose sub-sections included: 'of Parchment, and Vellum-making, and the way of making transparent Parchment: of Paper-making: of Hatters: of making Marble-paper: of the Rowling-Press'.[111] The list places hats in and among a material world of paper making, and of print. All clothes, especially hats and caps, had a close material relationship with paper. When the scraps of paper boat in *The Praise of Hemp-seed* are tucked into hats and caps, they are returning to objects with which early modern paper was often physically proximate, and which also constituted one of paper's prior material forms. In his discussion of 'untimely matter', Jonathan Gil Harris proposes three models for how early modern textual objects negotiate the simultaneous presence of old and new. Those models are supersession (where the later text overrides the earlier), explosion (where the earlier text pierces through the new), and conjunction (the happier dialectic between co-existing temporalities).[112] Harris does not discuss paper's place in those models; indeed this moment in *The Praise of Hemp-seed* sits uneasily within the categories of *Untimely Matter*. The bearing of paper scraps in hats and caps suggests instead the splintered co-existence of sequential forms of matter, which fleetingly pass by one another rather than being contained in one site. As paper boat, these 'reliques' travel from London to Queenborough. But to call them 'reliques' only of that voyage, or of John Taylor, is to overlook the longer life cycle of paper which confronts the boat as soon as it comes on shore.

Such selective paper-memory is at work in Henry Vaughan's 'The Book', printed in 1655. This poem begins not with a book at all but with the 'Eternal maker' who hovers, omnipresent

---

[110] John Bidwell, 'French Paper in English Books', in John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, iv: *1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 588.
[111] Thomas Sprat, *The history of the Royal-Society of London for the improving of natural knowledge* (1667), sig. KK*v*.
[112] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Age of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 15–16.

and infinite, above a time when 'this papyr… was/Mere seed, and after that but grass'.[113] The poem attends to the prior life of the Bible as plants, while aestheticizing the 'squalid beginnings' of the rag trade and the labour of paper-making to describe a brief and disembodied process during which raw materials are 'drest', 'spun', and 'made linen'.[114] Skipping over the messier parts of paper production, 'The Book' elevates the life cycle of hemp and flax into a rhetorical tool for imagining a promised future when God will 'make all new again'.[115] While *The Praise of Hemp-seed* lists 'Bookes Patriarchall, and Prophetical/Historicall, or heavenly Mystical' within a variety of non-bookish and non-paper products, 'The Book', as its title suggests, channels organic matter straight into the contingent confines of the codex.[116] The hats and caps of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* are a pertinent reminder of the bodily stages in paper's life cycle, which Vaughan's idealised vision of book-making omits. These lines suggest that the voyage presents only a truncated version of paper's mobility. Paper is part of a spectrum of material things which ranges from hats and caps, to clothes and cordage, and printed paper sheets. To tuck these far-flung 'reliques' about the persons of Queenborough is to articulate only the next step in a prolonged and varied material existence.

Paper / Scape

If Taylor's 'tatter'd wherry' disappears into the sweaty linings of hats and caps, where do all those pieces end up? Such a question is, of course, unanswerable, but the illusion of immobility and safe arrival that we are offered at the end of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* is unmoored by this final image. If paper comes from recycled linen, which has already nestled in the closet of a countess or been buffeted on the seas as a ship's sail, then Taylor's voyage in a paper boat is a fleeting snapshot of a mobile material form which, resting momentarily on the shore at

[113] Vaughan, 'The Book', ll. 5–6.
[114] Heidi Craig, 'Rags, Ragpickers and Early Modern Papermaking', *Literature Compass* 16.5 (2019), 8.
[115] Vaughan, 'The Book', ll. 27.
[116] Taylor, *Praise*, sig. E3*r*.

Queenborough, continues its journey long after its triumphant sailor has returned home to rest. In this sense, Taylor's imaginative poem reflects the very real phenomena of how text travels beyond its author's reach. The 'thousand scraps' of Taylor's boat point to the scope of the dissemination of this journey's record. Even as the water poet laments the constrictions of paper whose entire surface 'were not enough great Hempseed's worth to show', the printed copies of this poem extend by means of social and economic networks to cover a cartographical surface far beyond the distance covered by the paper boat, and further still beyond its author's imagination. The dissemination of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* as printed text had two distinct beginnings: one in the quarto of 1620, another in the 1623 quarto, and again in 1630 when it formed part of Taylor's folio *Workes.* The *Workes* were printed at three print shops: one belonging to John Beale on Fetter Lane, one to Elizabeth Allde who was dwelling near Christ Church, and one belonging to the partners Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcett on Old Fish Street near the upper end of Lambert Hill.[117] Despite this geographical spread the watermark is consistent throughout the folio, suggesting that all the printers used the same stock of white pot paper. The sheets labelled with signatures B-O were printed by Elizabeth Allde; A, Aa-Ss, and the first Aaa-Kkk by Beale; and the second Aaa-Mmm by Alsop and Fawcet. This last pair, who printed from 'The Water Cormorant' to the end of the *Workes*, were responsible for *The Praise of Hemp-seed*.[118] The imprint names the book-seller as James Boler, who lived at the sign of the Marigold in St Paul's Church-yard. So, having been sent out into the world from Henry Gosson's shop at Christ-Church Gate near Newgate market in 1620, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* set off on a new series of journeys ten years later from a printing house on Old Fish Street. From there it went a quarter mile north-west to St Paul's Churchyard to be gathered within a print run of the *Workes*, and then out into the world in the 'hats and caps' of its readers.

---

[117] Henry Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were At Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907), 3.
[118] This collation is by F.S. Ferguson and cited in Katharine F. Pantzer, 'The Serpentine Progress of the STC Revision', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 62 (1968), 297–311, 304, although Pantzer unsettles its certainty without providing a surer alternative.

The life of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* as printed text enacts the mobility of paper as articulated in its narrative: a narrative which both documents the real circulation of hempseed and paper forms, and describes the travels and dissemination of an imaginary paper boat. Throughout this thesis I have been alert to the imagined worlds that texts convey, whilst also attentive to the material traces of textual journeys left on or by paper in the form of imprints, shelf marks, or missing volvelles. When *The Praise of Hempseed* imagines the dissemination of paper which it enacts in physical codex form, those two modes collide. The simultaneously imaginary and actual characteristics of the paperscape as I have been deploying the term in this thesis are brought together by *The Praise of Hemp-seed* as printed text and as material form. While the reach of those paper 'reliques' is unknown, the paperscape of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* can be plotted by tracking extant copies of the text. Instead of philosophically pondering where the paper of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* goes, we can ask more fruitfully, and with more concrete results, where that printed corpus has ended up.

One way to answer such a question would be to track specific copies: to take a case where we can identify the first owner via a seventeenth-century bookplate or autograph, and to follow that book through private sales documented in book catalogues until it ends up safely ensconced (at least for now) in the arms of a public collection. A 1620 copy of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* now in the Huntington Library in California contains the bookplate of the Bridgewater library, while the 1623 quarto in the Bodleian library was donated by Edward Malone (1757–1812).[119] Copies of the 1630 *Workes* crop up in sale catalogues for private libraries: Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford (1689–1741) owned a 'very fair' copy which was sold off in 1745, as did Thomas Pearson (d.1781) whose library was catalogued and sold in 1788.[120] And Thomas Rooke, bookseller, listed the *Workes* in his catalogue of books that had survived the

[119] Huntington Library, 69661; Bod Mal. 296 (4).
[120] *Catalogus bibliothecæ Harleianæ: or, a catalogue of the remaining part of the library of the late Earl of Oxford* (1745). Lot 1680 is 'Taylor the Water Poet's Works, very fair', p. 80. See also *Bibliotheca Pearsoniana. A catalogue of the library of Thomas Pearson, Esq.* (London, 1788), where *All the Workes of John Taylor, the Water Poet* appears under lot 2716, p. 115.

fire of 1666.[121] But it is very difficult to tease out the thread of a single copy and track it continuously from 1630 to 2020. To track this kind of journey relies on identifiable copy-specific description across diachronic records: in other words, it is almost impossible unless the book in question has been zealously pursued through detailed cataloguing. Shakespeare's texts have most commonly been the target of such zeal. Adam Hooks and Zachary Lesser's *Shakespeare Census* (which has so far located 1855 existing copies of the printed works of Shakespeare to 1700, excluding the four folios), testifies to bibliographic labour and to the pay-off of copy-specificity.[122] Using individual markings (in the broadest sense) to trace books' prior lives, Lesser reflects that 'the books that we imagine guarantee our literary historicism often turn out, on closer inspection, to embody multiple temporalities'.[123] Reading up close at the level of the copy, Hooks and Lesser are confronted in one moment by the traces of each individual book-life – of printing, reading, curating – spanning four centuries.

But to isolate particular copies is to detach a fragment from its whole. Or, hearing Juliet Fleming's reminder to 'stop thinking in wholes' when it comes to early modern texts, we might say instead that to isolate particular copies is to forget the semiotic work of a corpus.[124] Taylor's corpus is as much a single entity as a series of individual texts. This, after all, is why the scattered boat partially functions as a 'relique': each scrap holds something of its prior entity as it travels from its point(s) of origin. Tracking multiple copies of the 1630 *Workes* rather than a single copy of *The Praise of Hempseed* is to read that poem within its corpus, noting that the legibility of paper in that poem is sustained throughout Taylor's writings which are gathered together in the folio. Across the *Workes*, Taylor looks down at the moving paper that constitutes his text and asks us to do the same. *Laugh and Be Fat,* first printed in 1612*,* claims to be a record

[121] Thomas Rookes, *The late conflagration* (1667), sig. B*r*.
[122] *Shakespeare Census* ed. Adam G. Hooks and Zachary Lesser, created 2018. Accessed 26 November 2020, http://www.shakespearecensus.org.
[123] Zachary Lesser, 'The Material Text Between General and Particular, Edition and Copy', *English Literary* Renaissance 50.1 (2020), 83–92, 85.
[124] Fleming, *Cultural Graphology,* 101.

of Thomas Coryate's writing rather than Taylor's own: 'Printed according to the true Copie of the Letter written with his owne hand in the *Persian* paper, and sent home in the good Ship called the *Globe,* belonging to the Company of East India Merchants'.[125] The false memory of 'Persian paper', sent back to London, lingers in this sheet. This image of paper crossing the sea reverses the static role of the page found in 'A Cataplasmicall Satire' in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses*: 'Were Earth to paper turn'd, and Seas to inke/And all the world were writers, yet I thinke/They could not write the mischeifs done by drink'.[126] In these *impossibilia*, which we saw echoed in *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, paper defines the limits of the navigable and writeable world. One final anecdote towards the end of the *Workes* tells another mythological story of mobile paper scraps. Robert Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, is on a boat bearing incriminating letters against Queen Elizabeth I. Fearing discovery, Creighton ripped the letters to shreds:

> His Letters torn, hee ouer boord did fling.
> But the Winde blowing from the raging Maine,
> The Papers backe into the Ship did bring,
> Which though they were in many peeces rent,
> Were plac'd together by Sir William Wade,
> Who found, the Guise, the Pope, and Spaines intent
> Were strong combined England to invade.[127]

The tale, told by Taylor, reverses *The Praise of Hemp-seed*'s story of paper scraps: these 'peeces rent' are restored into a legible whole. Creighton's culpability is legible in the tearing: the fragments are still readable if we assume that the rending of the letter is motivated by the unspeakability of its contents. Placing these letters back together brings precision to the already-existing evidence of Creighton's anti-monarchical sentiment. Reading *The Praise of Hemp-seed* within the *Workes* – and in practical terms, tracing copies of the folio rather than the quarto – has two advantages. Firstly, it allows us to trace a greater number of extant copies: the result of the durability of what might be thought of as the less mobile, more cumbersome folios.

---

[125] Taylor, *Workes,* sig. Gg5*v*.
[126] Taylor, *Workes,* sig. Dddr.
[127] Taylor, *Workes,* sig. Mmm7*v*.

Secondly, and more importantly, it means responding to an awareness of the mobility of paper which, whilst most legible in *Hempseed*, is sustained across the *Workes*. The physical movement of the *Workes* compounds the subject of this single poem. The imaginary scattering of Taylor's 'corps' invites us to track his corpus as a whole because it is within the *Workes* that the mobility of paper is most heightened.

Tracing the whereabouts of Taylor's printed *Workes* today means locating extant copies across the globe. I undertook the task of tracing Taylor's papery dispersal, and of producing a cartographical snapshot of the travels of the *Workes*.[128] If the copy-specific approach of the *Shakespeare Census* prompts reflections on time, then the alternative is a corpus-driven approach committed to space – and to the sense of geographic dispersal rendered imaginatively in *The Praise of Hemp-seed*. By running a digital fine-tooth comb through numerous library catalogues and international databases, supplemented by emails and bodily intrusions into libraries where the accounts seemed particularly murky or interesting, I pieced together a picture of Taylor's scattered paper. Even focusing on a single edition, the task escalated rapidly. Beginning with the English Short Title Catalogue and WorldCat online databases, I cross-checked the vague and sometimes error-ridden structures of digitised catalogues with institutions' own records of their physical holdings. This invariably meant missing those copies which are absent from online records. My maps bear the hallmarks of the black hole of the second-hand book trade, which is to say they lack information on copies held in private collections. But my partial results do the same conceptual work as a more exhaustive database in asking us to think about the mobility of Taylor's papery text. So far, I have found 106 copies in 87 libraries in 62 cities across the globe. A visual answer to the whereabouts of Taylor's *Workes* in the United Kingdom in 2019 looks like this:

[128] My thanks to Michael Athanson for his assistance with these maps.



Figure 23 Copies of John Taylor's *Workes* in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland in 2019.

Figure 23 shows between one and eight copies of Taylors *Workes* in sixteen different locations across the United Kingdom. But as James Raven reminds us, 'the English book trade was…never simply national…The book was, and is, an international commodity'.[129] Many copies of the *Workes* travelled further afield. Here is the map of copies in North America:

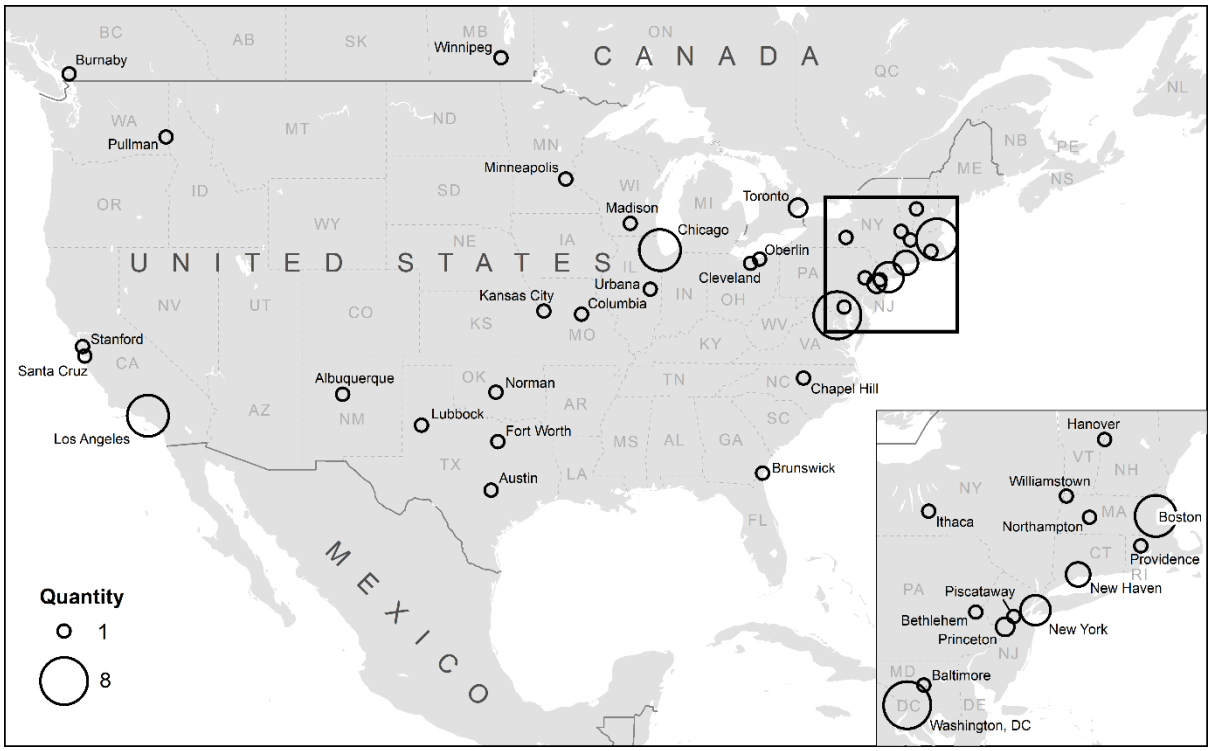


Figure 24 Copies of John Taylor's *Workes* in North America in 2019.

What is this cartographical method, and what can it achieve? The first and loudest advocate for constructing these kinds of maps was Franco Moretti in his manifesto for 'literary geography', published in 1998.[130] Beginning as an interest in the representation of places in literature (which came with the economic advantages of transforming Wessex or Bath into a touristy honey-pot for fans of Thomas Hardy or Jane Austen), literary geography or 'literary

[129] James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Books Trade 1450–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 2.
[130] Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London: Verso, 1998).

cartography' is now a burgeoning and self-reflexive discipline in its own right.[131] Moretti's literary geography was both the study of space in literature, and the study of literature in space. Thus a student of Moretti might look at all the places where betrothals took place in Jane Austen's novels, or calculate the percentage of best-sellers in the UK that were imported from Europe, or survey the sources of Daniel Defoe's *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* .[132] Moretti's methodology is now understood as a form of 'distant-reading': a data-driven, wide-angle mode of analysis which flourishes with and because of the digital humanities. With its tendency toward objective-looking facts and figures, Moretti's graphs, maps, and trees provide a defensive shield against the Gradgrind figure who looms over the humanities in search of Outcomes, breathing particularly hard down the neck of the literary scholar who might be 'making it all up'.

But what can these maps do for us? Mapping seems a strange activity for literary scholars to undertake because it elides close textual analysis; an even stranger activity for the materially-minded researcher given that representing paper as co-ordinates effaces the very materiality of paper. As texts become data points on a map, they become identical apart from their location: indistinguishable except for their latitude and longitude.[133] Up close, the copy in Longleat House (shelf mark 11174) bears the marks of its many owners, including the insistent autography of 'John John Johan' (sig. A4*r*) and the self-immortalising trace of the individual who wrote 'petter huchins is | my name in [th]e | yeare 1660 & shall be | for evermore' on the title page. But these interventions into the life of this particular copy are lost within the grand narrative of the book's movement to Longleat from a printing house in early modern London, told by this map. That indistinguishability remains the case even on a much smaller scale, as in

---

[131] For a review of the field see Neal Alexander, 'On Literary Geography', *Literary Geographies* 1 (2015), 3–6. See also Sheila Hones, 'Text As It Happens', *Geography Compass* 2.5 (2008), 1301–1307.
[132] Pat Rogers, 'The Topographic Sources of Defoe's *Tour*', *The Review of English Studies* 70.296 (2019), 702–715.
[133] Eric Rasmussen and Anthony West eds., *The Shakespeare First Folio: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) provides copy-specific bibliographical descriptions of extant copies alongside their geographical positions.

figure 26 which represents copies of the *Workes* in Oxford. These maps belie the fact that Worcester College in Oxford had its copy since 1705, whereas Longleat House acquired its copy between 1703 and 1810. All three maps present a moment in time (three hundred and ninety years after the publication of Taylor's *Workes*) which is preserved *ad infinitum* on these pages. In one sense then, these maps do the opposite of the work of *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, in which paper forms are constantly on the move.



Figure 25 Copies of John Taylor's *Workes* in Oxford in 2019.

A movement away from textual and material detail, and a break with the stories told about moving paper *in* that text: the case for mapping the *Workes* looks bleak. But, as in the case of imprints, or shelf marks, the co-ordinates plotted on this map are records of temporary stasis which are also necessarily records of movement. That these copies of the *Workes* ended up in Crieff or California is evidence that they have travelled. If *The Praise of Hemp-seed* situates paper within a global network of circulating matter, then these maps show the global paperscape of the *Workes* as a travelling paper form. The paperscape, like the landscape, embraces the potential of the far off or the far away. Thomas Nashe describes the 'dimme farre of launce-skip';

Thomas Overbury, less glassy-eyed, explains that the sins of a whore are 'neere hand, and bigger in the life' compared to those of other women that 'shew in Landscip, far off and full of shadow'.[134] Like the landscape, or 'landscip', or 'launce-skip', the paperscape as constructed in these maps offers the possibility of distant reading, stepping backwards for an overview of moving paper at a global scale. In *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, that overview is inseparable from close attention to the text: this poem is all about moving paper through the world. So firstly, distant reading *The Praise of Hemp-seed* paradoxically brings us closer to the text. By integrating paper into a global network of mobile matter, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* shows implicitly how its own substrate is bound up with those ropes and sails that 'cut… both Seas and Skies/From th'Orient to the Occident'.[135] The trajectories of the book trade, documented by this map, tell the next instalment in the story of hempseed's travel.

Secondly, these maps create a city, a continent, or a world co-ordinated by the positions of the *Workes*. So far I have been deploying the term 'paperscape' to describe the places encountered and constructed by paper on the move. 'Constructed', that is, in the sense that paper plays substrate to textually-conceived worlds, and those worlds in turn are occupied and determined by jostling paper forms. Using paper objects to construct an actual map is to take paper's ability to 'construct' place more literally. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* imagines a world whose connections and nodes are made of paper. The law courts, the church, food, clothes, literature: 'all these and many more' are brought into existence, and into view, as we track paper on the move. The maps of the *Workes* conjure up an image of the world which is literally constructed by moving paper. Told through the locations of Taylor's *Workes,* North America and the United Kingdom have new focal centres, and areas of density and sparseness. In Scotland, the town of Crieff (population 7500) follows Edinburgh as the second most significant site of

---

[134] Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, 181; *Sir Thomas Overbury his wife with new elegies upon his… untimely death* (1616), sig. F2*r*.
[135] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. B3*r*.

interest. The USA becomes a smattering of university cities whose distribution is oblivious to large scale patterns of population, wealth, or even political affiliation. Using a text to construct a map creates a very particular kind of landscape. This version of the world belongs to John Taylor's 1630 *Workes*. A national or global map of Shakespeare's First Folio (1623), or Anna Trapnel's *The Cry of the Stone* (1654) would paint an entirely different picture, reflecting the history of those texts' production as well as contemporary trends within book collecting. Damian Walford Davies makes the blanket claim that 'the process of thinking cartographically about literary texts is, in itself, a form of self-reflexive critical practice', but thinking cartographically about the *Workes* does something more specific.[136] These maps foreground one of the implications of *The Praise of Hemp-seed*: they show the capacity of hemp-based matter to delineate, and to connect, a global environment. In Joshua Calhoun's reading of this poem, 'plant matter in the form of cellulose from around the globe yields paper which in turn yields poetic matter about the global importance of paper'.[137] That phrase, 'the global importance of paper', takes on new meaning in this visual representation of the world which is built out of pioneering copies of the *Workes*. This kind of literary geography goes beyond comparing the academic texts of early modern literary scholars (prose, drama or poetry) with the academic texts of geographers (that is, maps) as was the vogue in the discipline's youth.[138] Instead I am suggesting that reading *The Praise of Hemp-seed* as substrate of meaningful text, as mobile paper form, and as cartographic tool, is all part of the same project: to show the affordances of paper in constructing a global paperscape.

It is tempting to cling to these maps showing the whereabouts of the *Workes* as factual evidence of moving paper, in contrast to *The Praise of Hemp-seed*'s vivid rhetoric of ropes, sheets, and hats (which is nonetheless anchored in the realities of early modern material

---

[136] Damian Walford Davies, *Cartographies of Culture: New Geographies of Welsh Writing in English* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), 12.
[137] Calhoun, *The Nature of the Page,* 41.
[138] Hones, 'Text As It Happens', 1303.

networks).[139] But these maps teeter on the perilous brink between the fictional and real forms of moving paper, which we encounter when we attend to this printed text. If the 'Clothes, Cordage… and Sailes', or 'Bookes Patriarchall' of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* are in some sense fictional (they are non-specific, and made up in the mind of the reader), then so too are the tales told by these maps. The maps shown in figures 24, 25, and 26 are historically specific and geographically limited. They are a framework, or a form, for reading the *Workes*, which attends to the travels of those texts from a particular distance. Like the solidly quotidian forms of hemp-seed which circulate within the imaginary world of *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, these maps are neither entirely fiction nor wholly fact. Encountering paper as it is conceived in text is to grasp as much at an idea, as at solid matter. While the paper sheets that constitute the *Workes* imagine multiple stories of how paper circulates, the four-century travels of that codex bring their own selective truth to the global travels of hempseed, and to ways that paper – as substrate, mobile form, and cartographer – 'makes' the world through which it travels.

If paper has agency to construct a world, then it is more than the residual agency of John Taylor, or the speaker of *The Praise of Hemp-seed* who describes a journey from London to Queenborough, or the stationers and rag-collectors and paper-makers who played a part in the making of this text, or the archivists, librarians, book-dealers, curators, collectors, couriers, pilots and many more who move these paper sheets around. Reading *The Praise of Hemp-seed* on its own terms is to see behind or underneath narratives of authorship. *The Praise of Hemp-seed* teaches us to trace back disseminated paper fragments much further than their textual or literary origin points and also, as these maps show, to trace them further forwards beyond the life of their author. To read the *Workes* solely or predominantly as the distributed indexes of John Taylor overlooks the much richer and much longer life of paper which becomes visible

[139] One didactic botanical treatise quite seriously suggests that if there be any reader 'not sufficiently satisfied with these uses of Hemp, and Hempseed, let them read the Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet'; William Coles, *Adam in Eden, or Natures Paradise* (1657), sig. Ggggv.

across that folio, and particularly *The Praise of Hemp-seed*. Paper, not Taylor, is the protagonist of this piece. If paper fragments carry the traces of an author in printed form, then they also carry the traces of their prior life as seed, grass, thread, linen, rag, and pulp. And if Taylor's paper 'reliques' are written into being after an imagined voyage from London to Queenborough, then they are equally compelling reminders of the global scale of the paperscape; of their own journey in an earlier life which 'cuts… between Seas and Skies'; of globally-mobile folios which demarcate the sites through which they move. Hempseed extends the life cycle and the geographic reach of paper, and asks us to remember the origin points and the sites encountered by what is narrowly conceived of as the substrate of (printed) (literary) text. Paper is a global matter, as Taylor reminds us: 'All the world yeelds matter to my Muse'.[140] *The Praise of Hemp-seed* situates the paperscape in the early modern imagination. By building a globally connected world through the travels of hempseed, *The Praise of Hemp-seed* brings that world into the hands of the reader who encounters this text in paper. Readers leave impressions on texts, but texts also leave impressions on readers. What impression is left here? I suggest it is that *The Praise of Hemp-seed* transforms paper from backdrop to protagonist, within one of the furthest-flung and historically-extended forms of travel writing.

[140] Taylor, *Praise,* sig. E2*v*.

Conclusion: The Paper Subject

This thesis has traced the journeys of paper at the level of the book, the city, the library, and the globe. I have been using the term 'paperscape' to account for the imaginary and actual environments from which printed texts emerge, and which in turn are constructed by those texts. Paperscapes are construed both within text (in the sense that they are conjured up by language) and without (they are the sites in which those textual forms take shape). Paperscapes, then, offer a way of attending to paper's dual role as both the substrate of printed text, and as a mobile form which occupies a series of (often temporary) places in the world. The realities of paper production and circulation undermine early modern metaphors, sustained by eighteenth- and nineteenth- century poetics and even more recent bibliography, of paper as static, or silent, or blank. This thesis shows that the actuality of paper's life cycle, and the writings of an alternative and less-canonical set of authors, cement the case for a more dynamic, agentic and semiotic sense of paper than has hitherto been located in the seventeenth century.

Most fundamentally, as reductively sexualised images of a stationary writing surface blotted by the travailing male author would have us forget, paper travels. Through a series of materially-attentive close readings combined with lessons from book history in textual production, circulation, and preservation, I have shown that the mobility of paper activates site-specific meanings of texts which enrich, enact, expand, and contradict the narratives of movement (and stasis) that printed texts tell about themselves. The modes of reading in this thesis have attended not only to paper's material qualities, but also to how paper intervenes in the topographies of texts. Paperscapes are malleable and imaginative sites created within texts, but they are also the seemingly more concrete worlds of bookshops and libraries in which paper takes up space. Attending to paperscapes means distinguishing those journeys imagined in narratives of printed texts from the journeys of texts' dispersed material forms. By parsing those material and textual forms of mobility, I have shown how they bring to bear on one

another; more broadly I have argued that the movement of paper injects unfixity into the meanings of texts themselves.

Reading paper has a historical as well as a spatial dimension. The chapters of this thesis offer four thematic readings of paperscapes in early seventeenth-century texts. They point to a historical moment in which the mobility of paper is enacted and imagined, challenging the spatial and temporal limits of texts as well as what it means to read at all. By consistently foregrounding paper (above a disembodied or materially non-specific sense of 'the text') I have made space for the material and textual traces of the rag-collectors, rope- and sail-makers, booksellers, librarians and readers who come into contact with the substances of paper during its life cycles. That extended map, and longer timeline, provide a fuller sense of the affordances of early modern paper (its physical uses, its semiotic charge) than is available to a single author, or a single reader. In her study of paper in medieval England, Orietta Da Rold observes that 'an author may choose to adopt and use for their literary invention one affordance of paper over another, and since affordances of paper are manifold, paper is perceived by medieval authors in a variety of ways, and enables these authors to express and investigate themes and ideas'.[141] The implication is that authors are in control of paper's signifying potential: an author-centricity that the history of paper denies. The locally and globally mobile paper fragments in Wither's *Emblemes* which compound the metaphors of its verse; the way *Londinopolis* thickens Howell's history of London by the journey of its own production; the legible instability of sheets within Pepys' aspirationally-static archive; and the global travels of Taylor's *Workes* long after its imagined dispersal: all display the unruliness with which paper exceeds intentionality's grasp. Rather than focus on individuals who select from potential meanings of paper, the previous four chapters display the range of literary interpretations that paper makes available. Keeping those (sometimes contradictory) interpretations in mind, I follow Latour in resisting a model of

[141] Orietta Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 185.

agency which flows from human subjects to subdued and obedient paper objects.[142] Instead, this thesis is grounded firmly within the paperscape, where the meanings of paper are in symbiotic play with their environment – the book, the bookshop, the bookshelf, and the globe – rather than dictated by canonical giants from above.

In so doing, this thesis redresses the balance between textual 'objects' and readerly 'subjects'. The texts which figure here predate a literary moment in the eighteenth-century when a flurry of published prose narratives – humorously, shockingly, or tediously – redistributed agency between textual objects and their readers (or users, or owners). Specifically I am referring to 'it-narratives': short stories usually published in periodicals or newspapers in which objects, including coins, or coats, or occasionally animals, narrate their journeys as they travel between a morally and socially eclectic cast of owners, borrowers, lenders, and thieves. Objects have the sole or dominant authorial voice in these tales, often making satirical and back-biting commentaries on society as they go. By giving voice to (mis)used objects, 'it-narratives break the rules governing the orthodox representations of power and agency'.[143] Conventionally studied as eighteenth-century phenomena, these narratives have a longer history. Speaking objects are manifest in Old English literature: 'The Dream of the Rood', preserved in the tenth-century Vercelli book, is narrated by a wooden cross. The cross is uprooted from its human-free life in a forest and carried to the hill of the crucifixion where, blurring with the Christ figure it bears, the cross weeps, bleeds, and sweats.[144] John Taylor himself authored what might be called an early century it-narrative, entitled *A Shilling, or The Travailes of Twelve-pence* (first printed in 1621). An early arrival into a not-yet-stable or familiar genre, *Travailes of Twelve-pence* pitches itself uneasily as a form of travel writing. The

---

[142] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 72.
[143] Christina Lupton, 'Gender and Materiality on the Eighteenth-Century Page', *Studies in English Literature* 54.3 (2014), 605–624, 606.
[144] 'The Dream of the Rood', in Bruce Mitchell and Fred Robinson, eds., *A Guide to Old English*, 12th edn. (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2012), 264–271, ll. 23.

first words of the preface are 'Sir John Mandeville', whose name precedes a list of other explorers including Christopher Columbus, Hernando Cortez, Francis Drake, and Thomas Cavendish. The twelve-pence takes its place among global travellers, 'but the Traveller that I treat of', explains the preface, 'is like a perpetuall motion in continuall travel, to whose journey there can be no end, until the world come to a final dissolution and period'.[145] This 'Twelve-peny subject' trumps the subjects of all other travel narratives because it never comes to a stop.[146] After the preface, the twelve-pence takes over the first person voice. Like its eighteenth-century and Old English literary relations, *Travailes of Twelve-pence* negotiates how a traditionally mute object might speak. While 'The Dream of the Rood' is framed as a vision, *Travailes of Twelve-pence* transitions more clunkily from human to non-human voice. The title page of the 1635 octavo edition sets the scene for the rest of the text:

> Imagine Reader (to his grief and glory),
> Twelve-pence himself declares his wand'ring glory:
> Relating how he first was borne and bred
> And how about the world he Travelled.[147]

These lines forewarn that the shilling 'himself' will be 'relating' the rest of the poem – if the reader will obey the imperative to 'imagine' such a thing. The poem precedes in a strangely caveated first person: the shilling has agency to speak only on the permission of the reader, and, by implication, the authority of the (non-shilling) narrator of these opening lines.

Making an object the 'subject' of a narrative challenges the tidy distinction between subjects and objects. Bruno Latour 'avoid[s] using the subject-object distinction at all in order to talk about the folding of humans and non-humans'.[148] For Latour the result is a network of actors who are categorised as neither subjects nor objects. It-narratives animate that network

---

[145] John Taylor, *A Shilling, or Travailes of Twelve-pence* (1621), sig. A3*r*–A3*v*.
[146] Taylor, *Travailes of Twelve-pence*, sig. A4*r*.
[147] STC 23794.
[148] Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 194.

into being. *Travailes of Twelve-pence* plays out in a fictional environment summoned into existence by a centrifugal subject: a subject that also happens to be non-human. The protagonists of it-narratives set the limits, and define the nodes, of the networks which make up their world. Seemingly helpless at the hands of their users, the travelling protagonists of it-narratives assert how and when places come into view. The paperscapes of these texts are populated less by a series of geographical sites than by a cast of characters who flicker into sight as they are encountered by the 'it' of the it-narrative. Rather than 'an unthinking channel for the redistribution of the already written' – a recent description of it-narratives which sounds uncannily similar to bibliography's more reductive summaries of paper – these objects assert narrative structure by the temporary destinations of their travels.[149] These protagonists delineate the parameters of fictional environments by means of their very presence.

Adventures of a Quire of Paper (1779) is an it-narrative narrated by paper itself. The tale centres on a mobile material substance which is at times a printed (as well as a manuscript) text, as well as a speaking voice which narrates its life in numerous forms and in numerous places. The eponymous quire of paper tumbles through a series of socially and geographically dispersed vignettes, slyly constructing an impression of society as it is put to a series of rarely textual, and often less-than-reverential, uses: 'I was the bandage to a sore leg and the night cap to a battered beau'.[150] Beginning life as an overambitious thistle, the narrator is transformed into a grain, grown into flax, made into cambric (fine, white linen) and then worn down into a series of ever less glamourous rags, before finally being collected by the ragman for the paper mill. The printed sheets relay the prehistory of their own matter, in which paper has only a minor role and text an even less significant part. Finally transformed into several kinds of paper, including printed paper, paper 'of a sort somewhat less', and 'whity brown' paper destined for a

[149] Lynn Festa, 'The Lives of Things: Objects, It-narratives and Fictional Autobiography', in Adam Smyth, ed., *A History of English Autobiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 133–147, 135.
[150] 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *British It-Narratives, 1750–1830*, iv: *Toys, Trifles and Portable Furniture,* ed. Mark Blackwell (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 23–39, 33.

grocer's shop in Wapping, the former ends up in a stationer's shop where it is purchased by an impoverished writer. Here the once-familiar (and in multiple senses, object-ifying) scene of writing on paper: 'laying me prostrate before him [the writer] began to trace in black characters on my body the ideas that laboured in his mind'.[151] If, as writing substrate, the narrator reinforces the role of paper as a gendered and passive surface, then that role is complicated in the next sentence. 'I took my first flight as an essay on wealth, which my hungry maker sold for the prodigious sum of ten shillings to the editor of a fashionable magazine… I next flew from his sportive, and invigorated Pen, in the shape of an Ode to Pleasure'.[152] To be written on entails mobility. This paper is subjected to the writer's pen, but being so enables it to fly forth and multiply in printed form. Those printed essays are soon bathetically recycled: *An Essay on the Powers of Harmony* is appropriated to turn a comb into a musical instrument; *A Birthday Ode* becomes a shroud for a dead kitten. Evidently these printed-texts-turned-objects are not supposed to be read as 'literature': Christina Lupton calls examples like these 'the definition of bad poetry and prose as mere paper'.[153] But, as Lupton makes clear, that 'mere' is an uneasy attempt to suppress paper's semiotic charge: an attempt which these texts frequently undermine. In *Adventures of a Quire of Paper* forms of printed text are put to use *as paper* in the fictional world, and *as text* to cast satirical comment on that world.

Having been figuratively and literally put through the mill, the narrator of *Adventures of a Quire of Paper* desires only to return to the peace of thistledom: a fate denied it 'should the pen of one of those fine but rare spirits, that dignify and adorn human nature, stamp immortality upon you, in a future transformation'.[154] Such unwanted transformation looms in the form of Robert Lowth, Bishop of London's *Translation and Exposition of Isiah* (1778) which is nearly imprinted upon the quire thus immortalising it as paper. If the assumption is that paper

[151] *Adventures of a Quire of Paper*, 36.
[152] *Adventures of a Quire of Paper*, 36.
[153] Christina Lupton, 'The Knowing Book: Authors, It-Narratives and Objectification in the Eighteenth Century', *Novel* 39.3 (2006), 402–420, 409.
[154] *Adventures of a Quire of Paper*, 28.

preserves (at least temporarily) printed text, here a worthy-enough text threatens to preserve paper in durable form. To its immense relief the quire is 'misplaced' at the last minute, and only found again in time to be printed with the sermon 'that you hold in your hand'. Bearing this (implicitly non-durable) sermon, the narrator 'foresees my sufferings will shortly be ended and my remaining parts happily reunited'.[155] This is not the end of the subject's life, but only the start of its transformation into a thistle: 'both the sermon and the it-narrative, which fail to secure paper any kind of posterity as literature, nevertheless secure the paper's life as circulating material'.[156] Never a book, severally paper, and only fleetingly text, *Adventures of a Quire of Paper* constructs the world as it is encountered by a mobile (both travelling, and qualitatively shifting) substance. Taking the role of the narrative subject, the quire speaks to the reader most urgently not in the form of a printed sermon but in the tale of its own mobility.

One of the fundamental traits of it-narratives of texts is that they describe their own journeys, glimmeringly self-conscious of their arrival in the reader's hand. My reading of John Taylor's *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, in which I track the actual distribution of its parts across the globe as a realisation of its textual narrative of dispersal, renders that early seventeenth-century text a nascent form of it-narrative.[157] Paper in *The Praise of Hemp-seed* provides a defamiliarising, satirical perspective on society in the manner of an it-narrative protagonist, but lacks the first person voice afforded to the later narrators who more self-consciously participate in that genre. And while *The Praise of Hemp-seed* eulogises paper as the triumphant endpoint of hempseed's circulating matter, it contradicts the trajectory of *The Quire of Paper* in which paper is the potentially final form of a tattered, abused, and over-used piece of material. That downwards arc towards paper is even more legible in *Indusiata: or, The Adventures of a Silk Petticoat*, another it-narrative whose narrator also falls through social strata into a vat of stuff:

---

[155] *Adventures of a Quire of Paper*, 39.
[156] Lupton, 'The Knowing Book', 414.
[157] The term 'it-narrative' is a twenty-first century coinage, but Christina Lupton suggests that, certainly by the late eighteenth-century, writers were deliberately taking part in this popular and definitive genre; Lupton, 'The Knowing Book', 407.

'my pilgrimage in a petticoat was done; and I went with a cart-load of rags to the Paper-Mills… we are all subject to decay; and so we entered the mill together, rags and tatters of all climes, forts and colours'.[158] In both eighteenth-century it-narratives, unlike *The Praise of Hemp-seed*, paper is the lowliest and least fetishized of all forms of mobile plant-matter. This reverses the hierarchy of literary criticism (and indeed some histories of paper) which have hitherto focused on paper solely as the vehicle of texts, rendering 'all other roles in paper's drama… [as] the heroes only of sub-plots'.[159] As medievalists helpfully remind us paper arrived in England in the late twelfth century, from which moment its uses extended beyond, although did not exclude, textual use.[160] Situating material texts within a longer timescale shows the anachronism of separating historical research on paper imports from rag-workers, or textiles: distinct objects of study all of which blend into what seventeenth *and* eighteenth-century writers represented as interlinked and co-dependent material forms. The material history of reading sprawls far beyond the covers of a codex. Or, to reverse the priorities of that clause, the printed sheet is a temporary framework of circulating matter which brings traces of its less bookish days into sites of reading. If attending to paperscapes helps us to reread the meanings of early modern texts, they also invite us to situate reading within a broader cultural experience of encountering matter.

Reading is, after all, just another encounter with matter. Literary texts convey *content* (if that word can be emptied out of its material connotations) which is reworked, dispersed, cut up and re-formed: methodologies of composition which are realised or enacted in the mobility (the changeableness) of their physical forms. This heightened awareness of how textual and material composition intersect is a recurring payoff of reading paper: not only within this thesis but across work within different literary periods. As Da Rold observes, 'If periodization has

---

[158] Edward Thompson, 'Indusiata: or, The Adventures of a Silk Petticoat', *British It-Narratives, 1750–1830*, iii: *Clothes and Transportation,* ed. Christina Lupton (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 153–179, 179.
[159] Alexander Monro, *The Paper Trail: An Unexpected History of a Revolutionary Invention* (London: Penguin Books, 2014), 7.
[160] Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England*, 14–15.

unfortunately taught us to compartmentalize our knowledge, paper enables us to define its own materiality through use and affordances across periods'.[161] Alexandra Socarides' study of the nineteenth-century poet Emily Dickinson's use of paper makes the case for 'reading the relationship of paper to text (instead of one without the other)'. As a result of her methodology 'we will find ourselves reading through the scene of composition, instead of through the often anachronistic habits of reading that have guided our critical practices up until now'.[162] That 'scene of [literary] composition' is both material and textual. In light of my readings of *The Praise of Hemp-seed, Adventures of a Quire of Paper,* and *The Adventures of a Silk Petticoat*, to 'compose' a text is not only to fashion a literary form, or to arrange letters on a compositor's stick, but also to gather, garner, and rearrange the very 'atoms' (to quote *Adventures of a Quire of Paper*) of stuff which go into textual production. Lothar Müller observes that 'The history of paper… goes hand in hand with the history of literature'.[163] Less demurely, the history of paper demands that we rethink the teleological arcs and origin points by which we co-ordinate literary history. *The Adventures of a Silk Petticoat* is intertextual in that it interweaves lines by authors including John Dryden, Alexander Pope, and William Shakespeare as well as others by its own author Edward Thompson.[164] The origin points of *The Adventures of a Silk Petticoat* retreat into prior textual forms which will once again be re-composed, just as fragments of that it-narrative have been cited, in parts, in the pages of this conclusion. If the silk petticoat of *The… Silk Petticoat* temporarily threads together dispersed matter, then it enacts in material form the literary scene of composition. This thesis is about the journeys imagined by early modern texts and the sometimes conflicting stories that paper tells about those journeys; these localised research questions are part of a bigger question about where texts come from and where they go.

---

[161] Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England*, 113.
[162] Alexandra Socarides, *Dickinson Unbound: Paper, Process, Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 170.
[163] Lothar Müller, *White Magic: The Age of Paper* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), xiii.
[164] *Adventures of a Silk Petticoat*; 157, 164, 179, 177–178.

Reading paper across historical and literary periods begins to answer that question, or at least to suggest that the only continuum of paper is that its parameters remain in flux. The instability of paper *in theory* – Derrida questions whether paper is an 'empirical body', a 'trope' or a 'quasi-transcendental' set of characteristics – is rearticulated by local, concrete examples of paper being flexibly deployed in texts. In nineteenth-century Massachusetts, Emily Dickinson used paper to open up, rather than reassert, boundaries of form. Socarides overwhelmingly finds Dickinson's genres, like the materiality of her poetry, to be unfixed: 'I will treat the elegy not as a stable and coherent literary genre, but as a set of malleable and flexible conventions'.[165] The payoff of this argument is to expand the capacity of genre, and with it the conventional categorisation of Dickinson as a lyric poet. Elsewhere Socarides resists the fixity of Dickinson's fascicles (stitched together sheets) in favour of the single sheet as a unit of composition, and points out the porousness between Dickinson's poems and her letters. If there is one thing to be taken from this reading of the nineteenth-century writer's materials which stretches beyond this single author it might be that, far from grounding textual readings in the steadfast proof of their material forms, attending to paper opens up those texts to readings which are malleable, contingent, and mobile.

Yet in another sense, Dickinson is a less representative figure in the emerging study of paper. Dickinson's paper is of interest because Dickinson is already established as a literary figure. John Taylor's *The Praise of Hempseed* revels in mashing up the 'Linnen of some Countesse' with 'Old ruind rotten Rags', and it-narratives similarly connect socially stratified members of society through their shared goods. Paper production intensifies that material blending: 'To see the remnants of the garbs of Kings and Queens all stuffed together with the garments of their meanest subjects!' laments the narrator of *The Adventures of a Silk Petticoat*.[166] Dickinson's paper earns critical attention because it is enshrined in literary status.

---

[165] Socarides, *Dickinson Unbound*, 79.
[166] *Adventures of a Silk Petticoat,* 179.

To study Dickinson's shopping lists, envelopes, and papery scraps is easily justified by arguing for their place in the hallowed halls of the literary canon; more critically we might note how those paper bullets, whose layers and folds bring new urgency to questions of poetic form, blow the book-centric canon up.[167] Early modern paper challenges us to rethink hierarchies and distinctions between the literary and the non-literary: not only because paper is ubiquitous among printed texts in all its formats, modes, and genres, but because paper so legibly and inevitably cycles through 'high' and 'low' culture. When, in May 2006, Paul Moran began salvaging John Updike's domestic rubbish, he collected such papery things as short stories, autograph books, love letters, and official documents – but also Kodak slides, moccasin slippers, a pair of shorts, a syringe, and spectacles.[168] Moran assumed that the significance given to Updike's texts would emanate into the non-paper objects that surrounded the author, elevating them from rubbish to objects of study. The status with which Moran injected this collection came, like that afforded to Emily Dickinson's envelopes, from the author figure at its centre. Moran, who tried to sell this entire collection to the Harry Ransom Center, supposed that the discarded items would be of as much value to John Updike scholars as the author's manuscripts and drafts. The Harry Ransom Center disagreed. That the paper archive of this much-read, much-critiqued author nearly ended up in the rubbish bins is perhaps more horrifying to scholars and archivists than that Updike wished to throw away his slippers. But should it be? When does paper, here so legibly enmeshed in the cycles of disposal and waste, lose its literary allure? At the other end of the temporal scale, paper in medieval England has been overwhelmingly read as the low-cost, low-status inferior sibling to parchment. Only recently has paper been promoted from the poor relation of medieval writing materials to an imaginatively

[167] The edition of Dickinson's work that most strikingly foregrounds these questions is *The Gorgeous Nothings*, ed. Marta Werner and Jen Bervin (New: Christine Burgin/New Directions in association with Granary Books, 2013).
[168] Amy Hildreth Chen, *Placing Papers: The American Literary Archives Market* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2020), 3–8; see also https://johnupdikearchive.com.

powerful tool with which Chaucer, for example, might 'express complex visual effects'.[169] These two anecdotes raise the historically sensitive question of where the literary value we attribute to paper comes from: whether from the status of the agents it encounters (to make the case for enshrining Updike's entire bin collection); the value those individuals afford it (Updike's paper goes straight back on the rubbish pile whilst we salvage that of Chaucer and Dickinson); or from its physical qualities, its production and distribution, and the ways that, historically, we have been trained to approach and read paper as a material in its own right. Paper demands that we rethink the structures that enshrine the literary and the non-literary, because a richer narrative of paper extends beyond encounters with agents from whom it is conventionally seen to gain status.

The myriad ways in which paper might be studied, and which I have briefly surveyed here, fall into two categories. On the one hand there are those like Socarides' study of Dickinson, or even Moran's collection of Updike, which foreground material paper forms. These studies give rise to theories of paper, based on embodied or enacted textual things. On the other hand, it-narratives *imagine* the life of paper: their tales are rooted in the historicised realities of paper production, but are unyoked from specific material examples. *The Adventures of a Silk Petticoat* no more documents the travels of an actual petticoat than *The Praise of Hempseed* should encourage a trip to Queenborough in hope of glimpsing the remnants of John Taylor's paper boat. Throughout this thesis I have attempted to keep both methodologies in mind: reading literary texts for the imagined worlds that they convey, and attending to the material traces of textual journeys left on or by paper. Paperscapes, as I have reiterated, are both those landscapes imagined by texts, and the places through which paper travels as it is (temporarily) forged into books. Paper resists that binary of theory and practice because it invites reading on both sides. There is a history of thinking through paper, which takes early modern form in the 'virgin paper'

[169] Da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England*, 185.

fantasies of Edward Waller. That history develops through the writings of John Locke, who 'suppose[s] the Mind to be, as we say, white Paper, void of all Characters' and David Hume, for whom 'the paper on which I write at present' is drained of stable signification.[170] Derrida 'never had any other subject: basically, paper, paper, paper' and yet suppresses that subject beneath the weight of his own subjectivity: *Paper or Me* reduces the history of that substance to a yardstick for measuring Derrida's own 'generation['s]… lifetime'.[171] That (male-authored) history is distinct from the practices of paper-production, and has been overturned in this thesis by early modern experiences and reflections 'on' (or more accurately: around, beneath, within) paper as a haptic, dynamic, and agentic mobile form. Paper is more than the material manifestation of projected ideas and, by showing that early modern paper shapes the texts and the environments by which readers experience the world, Wither's *Collection of Emblems,* Howell's *Londinopolis*, the library of Samuel Pepys, and Taylor's *Praise of Hemp-seed* have demonstrated why.

Today paper is theorised alongside, and increasingly because of, the ubiquity of texts that are born digital.[172] The screen on which this thesis has been typed reminds me always of the page and of print. My computer confronts me with a non-papery version of a papery ideal: haptic but not foldable; manipulable yet unreachable: globally mobile but never fully in or of that multitude of places. Writing a thesis 'on' paper on a raised screen that demands certain postures from its author is to be continually reminded how those metaphors of paper as passive or beneath are eluded by the realities of papery encounters. The paperscapes of today continue to shape the way we read, and write, and think. Yet to pin down the paperscape in prose, as this

[170] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter Nidditch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) II.i.2; David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. Peter Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), 127.
[171] Jacques Derrida, *Paper Machine*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 41.
[172] Andrew Piper, Andrew, Chad Wellmon, and Mohamed Cheriet, 'The Page Image: Towards a Visual History of Digital Documents', *Book History* 23 (2020), 365–397. See also Ryan Cordell, 'Q i-jtb the Raven: Taking Dirty OCR Seriously', *Book History* 20 (2017), 188–225.

thesis has, is to resort to being in the paperscape: to enter into that world of symbiotic relations in which localised words are borne away to signify in other places, on other pages, and behind other screens. The last word lies not with the author, but with paper.

Bibliography

Primary Works

Manuscripts

British Library

MS. Rawl. D. 923.

Bodleian Library

MS. Ashmole 1819.

Print

Place of publication is London unless otherwise stated.

Anon, 'Adventures of a Quire of Paper', *British It-Narratives, 1750–1830*, iv: *Toys, Trifles and Portable Furniture,* ed. Mark Blackwell (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 23–39.

Anon, *A book of the names of all parishes, market towns, villages, hamlets, and smallest places, in England and Wales* (1657).

Anon, *A Compendious or Briefe Examination of Certayne Ordinary Complaints of Diverse of our Country Men in these our dayes* (Stafford, 1581).

Anon, *A Poore Scholar's Thred-Bare Suit: described in a Petitionary Poem to this Patron* (1663).

Anon, *Hic incipit paruus Catho* (1477).

Anon, *The ladies remonstrance or, A declaration of the waiting-gentlewomen, chamber-maids, and servant-maids, of the city of London* (1659).

Anon, *The run-awyaes answer to a booke called, A rodde for runne-awayes* (1625).

Aubrey, John, *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme*, ed. James Britten (London: Satchell, Peyton and Co, 1881).

Ball, John, *The power of godlines [sic] both doctrinally and practically handled* (1657).

Barlee, William, *Prædestination, as before privately, so now at last openly defended against post-destination* (1657).

Beard, Thomas*, A retractive from the Romish religion contayning thirteene forcible motives* (1616).

Benjamin, Walter, 'Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting', in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1978), 59–68.

Bentham, Joseph, *The Christian Conflict* (1635).

Bibliotheca Pearsoniana, A catalogue of the library of Thomas Pearson, Esq (1788).

Bilson, Thomas, *The survey of Christs sufferings* (1604).

Blaeu Willem, *The sea-mirrovr containing a briefe instruction in the art of navigation* (1625).

Blount, Thomas, *Glossographia, or, A Dictionary, interpreting all such hard words ... as are now used in our refined English tongue* (1656).

Blundeville, Thomas, *M. Blundevile his exercises containing sixe treatises* (1594)

-- *Mr Blundevile his exercises containing eight treatises* (1597).

-- *Mr Blundevil his exercises containing eight treatises* (1636).

Breton, Nicholas, *Wits Private Wealth* (1607).

Browne, David, *The New Invention… or, the arte of faire writing* (1622).

Canfield, Benet, *The Rule of Perfection* (Roan, 1609).

Catalogue of the libraries of Mr. Jer. Copping, late of Sion Colledge, Gent., and Anscel Beaumont, late of the Middle Temple, Esq. with others (1687).

Catalogus bibliothecæ Harleianæ: or, a catalogue of the remaining part of the library of the late Earl of Oxford (1745).

Cawdrey, Robert, *A Table Alphabeticall conteyning and teaching the true writing, and understanding of hard usuall English wordes* (1604).

Cervantes, Miguel de, *Don Quijote*, trans. Burton Raffel and ed. Diana de Armas Wilson (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999).

Chapman, George, *Bussy d'Ambois*, ed. John H. Smith, in *The plays of George Chapman: the tragedies with Sir Gyles Goosecapp*, ed. Allan Holaday (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987).

Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The workes of our ancient and learned English poet, Geffrey Chaucer* (1602).

Churchyard, Thomas, *A Sparke of Frendship and warme goodwill* (1588).

Clarke, Samuel, *A geographicall description of all the countries in the known world* (1657).

Coles, William, *Adam in Eden, or Natures Paradise* (1657).

Comenius, Johannes Amos, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, trans. Charles Hoole (1659).

Coryate, Thomas, *Coryats Crudities hastily gobled up in five moneths travells* (1611).

-- *Coryates Crambe… the second course to his Crudities* (1611).

-- *The Odcombian Banquet: dished forth by Thomas the Coriat* (1611).

Cotgrave, Randle, *A French-English Dictionary* (1634).

Crooke, Helkiah, *Mikrokosmographia, a description of the body of man* (1615).

D'Urfé, Honoré, *Astrea: a romance*, 3 vols (1657–1658).

Davenant, John, *Animadversions upon a treaty intitled, Gods love to mankind* (1641).

Davies, John, *A scourge for paper-persecutors, or Papers complaint* (1625).

Davis, John, *The Seamans Secrets* (1595).

Dekker, Thomas, *Newes from Graves-end* (1604).

-- *Jests to make you merie* (1607).

Delamain, Richard, *Grammelogia or, the mathematicall ring* (1630).

Derrida, Jacques, *Paper Machine*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).

Dickinson, Emily, *The Gorgeous Nothings* ed. Marta Werner and Jen Bervin (New York: Christine Burgin/New Directions in association with Granary Books, 2013).

Donne, John, *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624).

-- T*he Courtiers Library, or, Catalogus librorum aulicorum incomparibilium et non vendibilium*, eds. Evelyn Simpson and Percy Simpson (London: Nonsuch Press, 1930).

Evelyn, John, *Memoires for my Grandson*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London: Nonsuch Press, 1926).

Featly, Daniel et al., *Threnoikos: The House of Mourning; Furnished* (London, 1640).

Ferris, Richard, *The Most Dangerous and Memorable Adventure of Richard Ferris* (1590).

Gauden, John, *The love of truth and peace, a sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons* (1641).

Gunter, William, *The description and use of the sector, crosse-staffe, and other instruments… and the use thereof in astronomie, navigation, dialling, and fortification* (1623).

Hakluyt, Richard, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903–1905).

Hall, Edward, *The Union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre [and] Yorke* (1550).

Hardy, Thomas, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, eds. Juliet Grindle and Simon Gattrel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Harvey, Gideon, *The Vanities of Philosophy and Physick* (1699).

Herbert, W., *Antiquities of the Inns of Court and Chancery* (London: Venor, Hood, Storer and Greid, 1804).

Homer, *Odyssey*, ed. George Dimock and trans. A. T. Murray, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

Hooke, Robert, *Micrographia or, Some physiological descriptions of minute bodies made by magnifying glasses with observations and inquiries thereupon* (1665).

Hopkins, Gerard Manley, *Sermons and Devotional Writings*, ed. Christopher Devlin (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

Howell, James, *Londinopolis; an historicall discourse or perlustration of the city of London, the imperial chamber, and chief emporium of Great Britain whereunto is added another of the city of Westminster* (1657).

Hulsius, Bartholomeus, *Emblemata Sacra, dat is, Eenighe geestelicke sinnebeelden* (1631).

Hume, David, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. Peter Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000).

James, Henry, *The Portrait of a Lady*, ed. Roger Luckhurst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

James, Thomas, *The first printed catalogue of the Bodleian Library 1605, a facsimile* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

Jenner, Thomas, *The Soules Solace, or Thirtie and one spirituall emblems* (1626).

Jonson, Ben, -- *Conversations of Ben Jonson with William Drummond of Hawthorn*, ed. Philip Sidney (London: Gay and Bird, 1900).

-- *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, gen. ed. David Bevington, Martin Bitler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Justice, Alexander, *A complete volume of the memoirs for the curious* (London, 1710).

Keith, George, *The way cast up, and the stumbling blocks removed* (1677).

Kempe, William, *Kemps nine daies wonder Performed in a daunce from London to Norwich* (1600).

Leeson, J.E., *Hymns and Scenes of Childhood; or, A Sponsor's Gift* (1842).

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, *of the reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols (Her Majesty's Stationery Office: London, 1900).

Leybourn, William, *The Compleat Surveyor containing the whole art of surveying of land* (1653).

Ling, Nicholas, *Politeuphuia, wits common wealth* (1597).

Locke, John, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter Nidditch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

London Gazette, *The,* 7th August 1679; Issue 1432, 17th–18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers.

Lowndes, Thomas, *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature,* 2 vols (London: Pickering, 1834).

Lyly, John, *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902).

Marlowe, Christopher, *The Jew of Malta*, ed. Tucker Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Martial, Marcus Valerius, *Epigrams*, ed. and trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Meres, Francis, *Palladis tamia, Wits treasury being the second part of Wits common wealth* (1598).

Milton, John, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Helen Darbishire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Moxon, Joseph, *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683–4)*, ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (New York: Dover publications, 1958).

Nashe, Thomas, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow, rev. ed. F. P. Wilson, 5 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1966).

Naudé, Gabriel, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library* (1661).

Nedham, Marchmont, *A great accuser cast down; or, A publick trial of Mr. John Goodwin of Coleman-street* (1657).

Nicholson, William, *Ekthesis pisteos, or, An exposition of the Apostles Creed* (1661).

Norden, John, *The surveyor's dialogue Divided into five bookes* (1607).

Norton, Robert, *A Mathematical Appendix* (1604).

Norwood, Richard, *The sea-mans practice, contayning a fundamentall probleme in navigation, experimentally verified* (1637).

Oughtred, William, *An addition unto the use of the instrument called the circles of proportion, for the working of nauticall questions* (1633).

Overbury, Thomas, *Sir Thomas Overbury his wife with new elegies upon his… untimely death* (1616).

Paterson, James, *Geographical Description of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1625).

Peacham, Henry, *Minerva Britanna, or A garden of heroical devises* (1612).

Pell, Daniel, *Pelagos… Or, An improvement of the sea, upon the nine nautical verses in the 107. Psalm* (1659).

Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*: *supplementary volume: Pepysiana*, ed. Henry B. Wheatley (London: G. Bell and sons, 1923).

-- *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys, 1679–1703,* ed. J. R. Tanner, 2 vols (London: G. Bell, 1926).

-- *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols (London: HarperCollins, 1971).

Phillips, Edward, *The new world of English words* (1658).

-- *The Beau's Academy* (1699).

Plat, Hugh, *The Jewell House of Art and Nature* (1594).

Plutarch, *Moralia*, ed. Frank Cole Babbitt, 15 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927–1976).

Puttenham, George, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Gladys Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936).

-- *The Arte of English Poesy: A Critical Edition*, eds. Wayne Rebhorn and Frank Whigham (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).

Quarles, Francis, *Emblemes* (1635).

Renou, Jean de, *A medicinal dispensatory, containing the whole body of physick* (1657).

Rookes, Thomas, *The late conflagration* (1667).

Saltonstall, Charles, *The Navigator, shewing and explaining all ye chiefe principles and parts both theorick & practick that are contained in the famous art of navigation* (1636).

Sandys, George, *Ovids Metamorphosis Englished, mythologiz'd, and represented in figures* (1640).

Selden, John, *Table Talk* (1689).

Shakespeare, William, *The late, and much admired play, called Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (1609).

-- *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. Giorgio Melchiori (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2000).

-- *Much Ado About Nothing,* ed. Claire McEachern (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2015).

-- *Hamlet*, ed. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2016).

-- *Othello*, ed. Paul Prescott (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2018).

Shirley, James, *The Witty Faire One* (1633).

Sidney, Philip, *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004).

Somner, Wiliam, *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659).

Southwell, John, *St Peters Complaint Mary Magdal: teares. With other workes of the author R.S.* (1620).

Spenser, Edmund, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2013).

Sprat, Thomas, *The history of the Royal-Society of London for the improving of natural knowledge* (1667).

Stow, John, *A Survey of London Contayning the originall, antiquity, increase, moderne estate, and description of that citie* (1598).

Streater, John, *A glimpse of that jewel, judicial, just, preserving liberty* (1653).

Strype, John, *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster… Now lastly corrected, improved and very much enlarged* (1720).

Taylor, John, *Laugh and be fat: or, A commentary upon the Odcombyan blanket* (London: 1612).

-- *The Sculler Rowing from Tiber to Thames* (1612).

-- *The nipping and snipping of abuses* (1614).

-- *The Pennyles Pilgrimage or The money-lesse perambulation, of John Taylor… from London to Edenborough* (1618).

-- *A Kicksey Winsey or a lerry come-twang* (1619).

-- *The Praise of Hemp-seed* (1620).

-- *A Shilling, or Travailes of Twelve-pence* (1621).

-- *A New Discovery by Sea, with a wherry from London to Salisbury* (1623).

-- *All the Workes of John Taylor the water-poet* (1630).

-- *The Honourable and Memorable foundations, erections and ruines, of divers cities, townes, castles, and other pieces of antiquitie* (1636).

-- *A plea for prerogative: or, give Cæsar his due* (1642).

-- *Aqua-Musae: or, Cacafogo, cacadæmon, Captain George Wither wrung in the withers* (1645).

-- *A late weary, merry voyage and journey, or, John Taylors moneths travels* (1650).

Thompson, Edward, 'Indusiata: or, The Adventures of a Silk Petticoat', *British It-Narratives, 1750–1830*, iii: *Clothes and Transportation*, ed. Christina Lupton (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 153–179.

Waller, Edmond, *Poems &c written upon several occasions and to several persons* (1668).

Wing, Vincent, *Geodoetus practicus, or The art of surveying surveyed* (1664).

Winstanley, William, *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687).

-- *The Essex Champion* (1690).

Wither, George, *The Schollers Purgatory discouered in the Stationers common-wealth* (1624).

-- *Britains Remembrancer, containing a narration of the plague lately past; a declaration of the mischiefs present; and a prediction of judgments to come* (1628).

-- *A Collection of Emblemes ancient and moderne quickened with metricall illustrations, both morall and divine* (1635).

-- *Vox Pacifa, a voice tending to the pacification of God's wrath* (1645).

-- *Amygdala Britannica, almonds for parrets* (1647).

-- *Paralellogrammaton an epistle to the three nations of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1662).

-- *Tuba-Pacifica seasonable precautions* (1664).

Vaughan, Henry, *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, eds. Donald Dickson, Alan Rudrum, and Robert Wilcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Younge, Richard, *A Counterpoyson, or Soverain antidote against all grief* (1641).

Secondary Works

Adams, Robyn, 'Building a Library Without Walls: The Early Years of the Bodleian library', in Annika Bautz and James Gregory, eds., *Libraries, Books and Collectors of Texts 1600–1900* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 11–27.

Alexander, Neal, 'On Literary Geography', *Literary Geographies* 1 (2015), 3–6.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (rev. ed., London: Verso, 1991).

Arber, Edward, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London, 1554–1640,* 5 vols (London, 1875–1894).

Backhouse, Clare, *Fashion and Popular Print in Early Modern England: Depicting Dress in Black-Letter Ballads* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017).

Bahr, Arthur, and Alexandra Gillespie, 'Medieval English Manuscripts: Form, Aesthetics, and the Literary Text', *The Chaucer Review* 47.4 (2013), 346–360.

Baker, Nicholson, *Double Fold: Libraries and the Assault on Paper* (New York: Random House, 2001).

Bardle, Stephen, *The Literary Underground in the 1660s: Andrew Marvell, George Wither, Ralph Wallis and the World of Restoration Satire and Pamphleteering* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Barker, Nicholas, 'Sophistication', *The Book collector* 55.1 (2006), 11–28.

Barnard, John, and Maureen Bell 'The English Provinces', in John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, iv: *1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 665–686.

Barrett, Timothy, 'European Papermaking Techniques 1300–1800', *Paper Through Time*: *Nondestructive Analysis of 14th Century Through 19th Century Papers* (The University of Iowa, 2018), http://paper.lib.uiowa.edu/.

Bell, Maureen, 'Women and the Production of Texts: The Impact of the History of the Book', in John Hinks and Victoria Gardner, eds., *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections* (New Castle, DE; Oak Knoll Press, 2014), 107–131.

Bellingradt, Daniel, 'Paper Networks and the Book Industry: The Business Activities of an Eighteenth-Century Paper Dealer in Amsterdam', in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 67–85.

-- and Jeroen Salman, 'Books and Book History in Motion: Materiality, Sociality and Spatiality', in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1–13.

Bidwell, John, 'The Study of Paper as Evidence, Artefact, and Commodity', in Peter Hobley Davison, ed., *The Book Encompassed: Studies in Twentieth-Century Bibliography* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), 69–82.

-- 'French Paper in English Books', in John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book,* iv: *1557–1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 583–601.

-- *Paper and Type: Bibliographical Essays* (Charlottesville, The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2019), 33–40.

Bennett, Kate, 'John Aubrey and the Circulation of Edmund Waller's "Of a tree cut in paper"', *Notes and Queries* 49.3 (2002), 344–345.

Bittel, Carla, Elaine Leong, and Christine von Oertzen, eds., *Working with Paper: Gendered Practices in the History of Knowledge* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019).

Blair, Ann, *Too Much To Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

Bland, Mark, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

Blayney, Peter, *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990).

-- 'The Publication of Playbooks', in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 383–422.

Boutcher, Warren, 'Literary Art and Agency? Gell and the Magic of the Early Modern Book', in Liana Chua and Mark Elliot eds., *Distributed Objects: Meaning and Mattering after Alfred Gell* (New York: Berghahn, 2013), 154–175.

Bryden, D.J., 'Evidence from Advertising for Mathematical Instrument Making in London 1556–1714', *Annals of Science* 49 (1992), 301–336.

Burton, Ben, and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, 'The Work of Form', in Burton and Scott-Baumann, eds., *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1–22.

Calebresi, Bianca, 'Red Inke: Reading the Bleeding on the Early Modern Page', in Douglas Brooks, ed. *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 237–264.

Calhoun, Joshua, 'The Word Made Flax: Cheap Bibles, Textual Corruption and the Poetics of Paper', *PMLA* 126.2 (2011), 327–344.

-- 'Reading Habits and Reading Habitats; or, toward an Ecobibliography of Marginalia' in Katherine Acheson, ed., *Early Modern English Marginalia* (London: Routledge, 2019), 15–34.

-- *The Nature of the Page: Poetry, Papermaking and the Ecology of Texts in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

Calhoun, Thomas, and Thomas Gravell, 'Paper and Printing in Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* (1605)', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 87.1 (1993), 13–64.

Canavan, Claire, 'Reading Materials: Textile Surfaces and Early Modern Books', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017).

Capp, Bernard, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet, 1578–1653* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

-- 'The Book Trade and the Distribution of Print' in John Hinks and Victoria Gardner, eds., *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections* (Oak Knoll Press: Newcastle DE, 2013), 209–228.

Carey, Daniel, 'The Problem of Credibility in Early Modern Travel', *Renaissance Studies* 33.4 (2019), 524–547.

Carlson, Norman, 'Wither and the Stationers', *Studies in Bibliography* 19 (1966), 210–215.

Certeau, Michel de, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

Chapman, R.W., 'An Inventory of Paper, 1674', *The Library* s4-VII.4 (1927), 402–407.

Chen, Amy Hildreth, *Placing Papers: The American Literary Archives Market* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2020).

Cheney, Patrick, *Spenser's Famous Flight: A Renaissance Idea of a Literary Career* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

Clennell, William, 'The Bodleian Declaration: A History', *Bodleian Library Record* 20 (2007), 47–60.

Coelen, Peter van der, 'Producing Texts for Prints: Artists, Poets and Publishers', in Celeste Brusati, K. A. E. Enenkel, and Walter Melion, eds., *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 75–100.

Coleman, D.C., *The British Paper Industry, 1495–1860* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

Corbett, Margery, and R.W. Lightbrown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979).

Cordell, Ryan, 'Q i-jtb the Raven: Taking Dirty OCR Seriously', *Book History* 20 (2017), 188–225.

Corns, Thomas, 'The Early Modern Search Engine: Indices, Title Pages, Marginalia and Contents', in Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, eds., *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print* (London: Routledge, 2000), 93–102.

Craig, Heidi, 'Rags, Ragpickers and Early Modern Papermaking', *Literature Compass* 16.5 (2019).

-- 'English Rag-Women and Early Modern Paper Production', in Valerie Wayne, eds., *Women's Labour and the History of the Book* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2020), 29–46.

Craster, Edmund, *History of the Bodleian Library 1845–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952, repr. 1981).

Creigh, Jocelyn, 'George Wither and the Stationers: Facts and Fiction', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 74.1 (1980), 49–57.

Da Rold, Orietta, *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Dagnall, Henry, *The Taxation of Paper in Great Britain 1643–1861* (Edgeware: The British Association of Paper Historians, 1998).

Dane, Joseph, *Blind Impressions: Methods and Mythologies in Book History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

Darnton, Robert, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111.3 (1982), 65–83.

Das, Nandini, 'Richard Hakluyt's Two India's: Textual *Sparagmos* and Editorial Practice', in Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, eds., *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 119–128.

Davies, Damian Walford, *Cartographies of Culture: New Geographies of Welsh Writing in English* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012).

Dawson, Mark, 'Histories and Texts: Refiguring the Diary of Samuel Pepys', *The Historical Journal* 43.2 (2000), 402–431.

Dery, David, '"Papereality" and Learning in Bureaucratic Organisations', *Administration and Society* 29.6 (1998), 677–689.

Devlin, Maria, '"If it were made for man, 'twas made for me": Generic Damnation and Rhetorical Salvation in Reformation Preaching and Plays', in Jonathan Willis, ed., *Sin and Salvation in Reformation England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 173–189.

Donaldson, Ian, *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Donoghue, Dennis, *Metaphor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

Drennan, Anthony S., 'The Bibliographical Description of Astronomical Volvelles and Other Moving Diagrams', *The Library* 13.3 (2012), 316–339.

Duff, Edward, *Bibliotheca Pepysiana: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914).

Duncan, Dennis, 'Indexes', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth eds., *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 263–274.

--- 'Index', in Michele Kennerly, Samuel Frederick, and Jonathan E. Abel, eds., *Information: Keywords* (New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming).

Dunne, Derek, 'Blushing on Cue: The Forensics of the Blush in Early Modern Drama', *Shakespeare Bulletin* 34.2 (2016), 233–252.

Dunn, R., 'Breaking a Tradition: Hester Pulter and the English Emblem Book', *Seventeenth Century* 30.1 (2015), 55–73.

Eckhardt, Joshua, *Religion Around John Donne* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019).

Edwards, Philip, *Sea-Mark: The Metaphorical Voyage, Spenser to Milton* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997).

Eisenstein, Elizabeth *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

-- *The Printing Revolution in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; repr. 1993).

Eliot, Simon, and Jonathan Rose, eds., *A Companion to the History of the Book* (2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 2020).

Empson, William, 'The Satan of Milton', *The Hudson Review* 13.1 (1960), 33–59.

Eyre, George, Charles Rivington and Henry Plomer, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640–1708*, 3 vols (England: Priv. print, 1913).

Farmer, Alan, 'Widow Publishers in London 1540–1640', in Valerie Wayne, ed., *Women's Labour and the History of the Book in Early Modern England* (London: Arden, 2020), 47–73.

-- and Zachary Lesser, 'What is Print Popularity? A Map of the Elizabethan Book Trade', in Emma Smith and Andy Kesson, eds., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 19–54.

Farrell, Craig, 'The Poetics of Page-Turning: The Interactive Surfaces of Early Modern Printed Poetry'*, Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017).

Febvre, Lucien, and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800* (Paris: A. Michel, 1958, rev. ed. London: Verso, 1976).

Felski, Rita, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

-- 'Introduction', *New Literary History* 47.2&3 (2016), 215–229.

Ferdinand, C.Y., 'Library Administration', in Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, eds., *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, vol 1: to 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 565–591.

Festa, Lynn, 'The Lives of Things: Objects, It-narratives and Fictional Autobiography', in Adam Smyth, ed., *A History of English Autobiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 133–147.

Flanders, Judith, *A Place for Everything: The Curious History of Alphabetical Order* (London: Picador, 2020).

Fleming, Juliet, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001).

-- 'Changed Opinions as to Flowers', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 48–65.

-- 'Damask Papers', in Andy Kesson and Emma Smith, eds., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 179–191.

-- *Cultural Graphology: Writing After Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

Forbes, Mansfield, 'Nicholas Ferrar: America and Little Gidding', *Clare College, 1326–1926*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

Foucault, Michel, 'Of Other Places', *Diacritics* 16.1 (1986), 22–27.

Fowler, Alastair, 'Emblem as a Literary Genre', in Michael Bath and Daniel Russell, eds., *Deviceful Settings: The English Renaissance Emblem and its Contexts* (New York: AMS, 1999), 1–31.

-- *The Mind of the Book: Pictorial Title Pages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Frye, Susan, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

Gagné, John, 'Paper World: The Materiality of Loss in the Pre-Modern Ages', in M. Lyons and Rita Marquilhas, eds., *Approaches to the History of Written Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 57–72.

Gaskell, Philip *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

Gell, Alfred, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

Genette, Gérard, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Gibson, James, *The Senses Considered as Perceptual Systems* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966).

Gibson, Strickland, *Some Oxford Libraries* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1914).

Gordon, Andrew, '"If My Sign Could Speak": The Signboard and the Visual Culture of Early Modern London', *Early Theatre* 8.1 (2005), 35–51.

-- *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text, Community* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

-- 'The Renaissance Footprint: The Material Trace in Print Culture from Durer to Spenser', *Renaissance Quarterly* 71.2 (2018), 478–529.

Grafton, Anthony, 'Matthew Parker: The Book as Archive', *History of Humanities* 2.1 (2017), 15–50.

Grazia, Margreta de, 'Imprints: Shakespeare, Gutenberg and Descartes', in Douglas Brooks, ed., *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 29–58.

-- and Peter Stallybrass, 'The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 44.3 (1993), 255–283.

Greg, W.W., 'What is Bibliography?', *The Library* 1.1 (1913), 39–54.

-- *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 4 vols (London: Oxford University Press for the Bibliographical Society, 1959).

-- 'Bibliography – an Apologia', in *Sir Walter Wilson Greg: A Collection of his Writings*, ed. Joseph Rosenblum (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1998).

Griffiths, Anthony, *The Print Before Photography: An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820* (London: The British Museum Press, 2016).

Griffiths, Paul, and Mark Jenner, eds., *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Gubar, Susan, '"The Blank Page" and the Issues of Female Creativity', *Critical Inquiry* 8.2 (1981), 243–263.

Harris, Jonathan Gil, *Untimely Matter in the Age of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

Hazen, Allen T., 'Eustace Burnaby's Manufacture of White Paper in England', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 48.4 (1954), 315–333.

Hellinga Lotte et al., eds., *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade 1473–1941* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graff, 2001).

Higgins, Ben, 'What Was a Bookshop, and What Happened There?' in Adam Smyth, ed., *The Oxford Handbook to the History of the Book in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

Hills, Richard, *Papermaking in Britain 1488–1988: A Short History* (London: Bloomsbury, 1988).

Hinman, Charles, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

Hobson, Anthony, *Great Libraries* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970).

Hones, Sheila, 'Text As It Happens', *Geography Compass* 2.5 (2008), 1301–1307.

Hooks, Adam, *Selling Shakespeare: Biography, Bibliography and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Hughes, Jane, *The Pepys Library and the Historic Collections of Magdalene College Cambridge* (London: Scala Arts and Heritage Publishers, 2015)

Hunter, Dard, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1978).

Hutchinson, Coleman, 'Breaking the Book Known as Q', *PLMA* 121.1, (2006), 33–66.

Ingold, Tim, *Lines: A Brief History* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Innis, Harold, *Empire and Communication* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950).

James, Kathryn, *English Palaeography and Manuscript Culture, 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

Jardine, Boris, 'State of the Field: Paper Tools', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, *Part A* 64 (2017), 53–63.

Johns, Adrian, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

Johnson, Francis, *A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser Printed Before 1700* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1933).

Johnson, Stephen, 'Mathematical Practitioners and Instruments in Elizabethan England', *Annals of Science* 48.4 (1991), 319–344.

Kafka, Ben, 'Paperwork: The State of the Field', *Book History* 12 (2009), 340–353.

Kastan, David Scott, 'Plays into Print: Shakespeare to his Earliest Readers', in Jennifer Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer, eds., *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 23–41.

-- 'Humphrey Moseley and the Invention of English Literature', in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric Lindquist and Eleanor Shevlin, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 105–124.

King, John, *Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Klein, Bernhard, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

Knight, Jeffrey Todd, '"Furnished" for Action: Renaissance Books as Furniture', *Book History* 12 (2009), 37–73.

-- *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

Knight, Leah, Micheline White and Elizabeth Sauer, eds., *Women's Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain: Reading, Ownership, Circulation* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2018).

Knighton, C.S., ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge supplementary series* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004 –).

-- 'Pepys, Samuel (1633–1703), Naval Official and Diarist,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 23 September 2004.

Knowles, James, 'Jonson in Scotland: Jonson's Mid-Jacobean Crisis' in Takashi Kozuka and J.R. Mulryne, eds., *Shakespeare, Marlowe, Jonson: New Directions in Biography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 259–277.

Krill, John, *English Artists' Paper: Renaissance to Regency* (London: Trefoil, 1987).

Kurlansky, Mark, *Paper: Paging Through History* (New York: Norton, 2016).

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

Landels-Gruenewald, Tye, 'Georeferencing the Early Modern London Book Trade, 3: What's in a name?', *Map of Early Modern London Online*, 11th December 2015, https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/BLOG18.htm.

Latham, Robert, ed., *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge,* 7 vols (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984 –).

Latour, Bruno, 'Visualisation and Cognition: Thinking With Eyes and Hands', *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Past and Present* 6 (1986), 1–40.

-- *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

-- *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Lee, Brian North, *British Bookplates: A Pictorial History* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1979).

Lerer, Seth, 'Falling Asleep Over the History of the Book', *PMLA* 121.1 (2006), 229–234.

Lesser, Zachary, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter', in Marta Straznicky, ed., *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers and Readers in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 99–126.

-- 'The Material Text Between General and Particular, Edition and Copy', *English Literary Renaissance* 50.1 (2020), 83–92.

Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Lochrie, Karma, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

Love, Harold, 'Fixity Versus Flexibility in "A Song on Tom of Danby" and Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel', in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric Lindquist and Eleanor Shevlin, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 140–155.

Love, Harold, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993).

Loveman, Kate, *Samuel Pepys and His Books: Reading, Newsgathering, Sociability 1660–1703* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Loewenstein, Joseph, 'Wither and Professional Work', in Arthur Moretti and Michael Bristol, eds., *Print, Manuscript and Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000), 103–123.

Loxley, James, Anna Groundwater and Julie Sanders, eds., *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland: An Annotated Edition of the 'Foot Voyage'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Lupton, Christina, 'The Knowing Book: Authors, It-Narratives and Objectification in the Eighteenth Century', *Novel* 39.3 (2006), 402–420.

-- 'Gender and Materiality on the Eighteenth-Century Page', *Studies in English Literature* 54.3 (2014), 605–624.

Mak, Bonnie, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

Malcolm, Noel, *The Origins of English Nonsense* (London: HarperCollins, 1998).

Mandelbrote, Giles, 'John Evelyn and his Books' in F. Harris and M. Hunter, eds., *John Evelyn and his Milieu* (London: British Library, 2003), 71–94.

-- 'Workplaces and Living Spaces' in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, eds., *The London Book Trade: Topographies of Print in the Metropolis from the Sixteenth Century* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll, 2003), 21–43.

Manguel, Alberto, *A History of Reading* (London: HarperCollins, 1996).

Marcus, Leah, and Sharon Best, 'Surface Reading: An Introduction', *Representations* 108.1 (2009), 1–21.

Marotti, Arthur, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

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

McKenzie, D.F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

-- 'What's Past is Prologue', in Peter McDonald and Michael Suarez, eds., *Making Meaning: 'Printers of the Mind' and Other Essays* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 259–275.

-- and Maureen Bell, eds., *A Chronology and Calendar of Documents Relating to the Book Trade, 1641–1700*, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

McKerrow, R.B., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1550–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910).

McKitterick, David, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

-- 'Libraries and the Organization of Knowledge', in Elizabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber, eds., *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland,* i: *To 1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 592–615.

-- *Old Books, New Technologies: The Representation, Conservation and Transformation of Books Since 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

-- *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interest and Public Memory 1600–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

McLean, Matthew, and Sara Barker, eds., *International Exchange in the Early Modern Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

McRae, Andrew, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England 1500–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

-- '"On the Famous Voyage": Ben Jonson and Civic Space', in Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, eds., *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 181–203.

Melnikoff, Kirk, 'Isabella Whitney Among the Stalls of Richard Jones', in Valerie Wayne, ed., *Women's Labour and the History of the Book* (London: Arden, 2020), 145–162.

Metzger, Bruce, and Michael David Coogan, *The Oxford Companion to the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Mitchell, Bruce, and Fred Robinson, eds., *A Guide to Old English*, 12th edn. (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2012).

Monro, Alexander, *The Paper Trail: An Unexpected History of a Revolutionary Invention* (London: Penguin Books, 2014).

Moretti, Franco, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London: Verso, 1998).

-- *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007).

-- *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013).

Morgan, Paul, 'The Provincial Book Trade before the End of the Licensing Act' in Peter Isaac, ed., *Six Centuries of the Provincial Book Trade* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), 31–39.

Müller, Lothar, *White Magic: The Age of Paper*, trans. Jessica Spengler (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014).

Nelles, Paul, 'Conrad Gessner and the Mobility of the Book: Zurich, Frankfurt, Venice (1543)', in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 39–66.

Nietzsche, Friedrich, *Philosophy and Truth: Selections from Nietzsche's Notebooks of the Early 1870s*, trans. and ed. Daniel Breazeale (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1979).

Norbrook, David, 'Levelling Poetry: George Wither and the English Revolution 1642–1649', *English Literary Renaissance* 21.2 (1991), 217–256.

Ogborn, Miles, 'Mapping Words', *New Formations* 57 (2005), 145–149.

-- *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Ord, Melanie, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Pantzer, Katharine, 'The Serpentine Progress of the STC Revision', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 62 (1968), 297–311.

Parr, Anthony, *Renaissance Mad Voyages: Experiments in Early Modern English Travel* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

Pearson, David, 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library* 7th series, 13 (2012), 379–399.

-- *Provenance Research in Book History: A Handbook* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1994, rev. ed. 2019).

Pettegree, Andrew, and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

Pigman III, G.W. 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly* 33.1 (1980), 1–32.

Piper, Andrew, Chad Wellmon, and Mohamed Cheriet, 'The Page Image: Towards a Visual History of Digital Documents', *Book History* 23 (2020), 365–397.

Plomer, Henry, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were At Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1907).

Poole, Kristine, *Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Prest, Celine, 'Walls of Words: Paperscape in Charles Dickens' Novels', *Revue d'etudes Anglophones* 13.2 (2016), https://journals.openedition.org/erea/4954.

Price, Leah, 'Introduction: Reading Matter', in Seth Lerer and Leah Price, eds., 'The History of the Book and the Idea of Literature', special edition of *PMLA* 121.1 (2006), 9–16.

Ramachandran, Ayesha, *The Worldmakers: Global Imagining in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

Raman, Bhavani, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

Ransome, David R., 'Little Gidding and the *Eikon Basilike* of King Charles I', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 16.3 (2018), 401–414.

Rasmussen, Eric, and Anthony West eds., *The Shakespeare First Folio: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Rasterhoff, Claartje, 'The Market for Art, Books and Luxury Goods', in Helmer J. Helmers and Geert Janssen, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 249–267.

Raven, James, ed., *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections Since Antiquity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

-- *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Books Trade 1450–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

-- *Bookscapes: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London before 1800* (London: British Library, 2014).

Raymond, Joad, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Razzall, Lucy, '"Like to a title leafe": Surface, Face and Material Text in Early Modern England', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017).

Richards, I.A., *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936).

Richardson, Douglas, *Plantagenet Ancestry: A Study in Colonial and Medieval Families*, 3 vols, (Genealogical Publishing, Baltimore, 2004).

Ripollés, Carmen, '"By Meere Chance": Fortune's Role in George Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes*', *Emblematica* 16 (2008), 103–132.

Roberts, Kate, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Roberts, Thomas, *The Aesthetics of Junk Fiction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990).

Rogers, Pat, 'The Topographic Sources of Defoe's Tour', *The Review of English Studies* 70.296 (2019), 702–715.

Rogers, Shef, 'Imprints, Imprimaturs and Copyright pages', in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth, eds., *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 51–64.

Roper, Geoffrey, 'Printed in Europe, Consumed in Ottoman Lands', in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman, eds., *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 267–288.

Savage, Elizabeth, 'Red Frisket Sheets, ca. 1490–1700: The Earliest Artifacts of Colour Printing in the West', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 108.4 (2014), 477–522.

Schmidt, Suzanne Karr, '"Constructions Both Sacred and Profane": Serpents, Angels and Pointing Fingers in Renaissance Books with Moving Parts', *Yale University Gazette* 78.3–4 (2004), 101–27.

Scott-Warren, Jason, 'News, Sociability, and Bookbuying in Early Modern England: The Letters of Sir Thomas Cornwallis', *The Library* 1.4 (2000), 381–402.

-- 'Nashe's Stuff', in Andrew Hadfield, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 204–218.

-- *Shakespeare's First Reader: The Paper Trails of Richard Stonley* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

-- and Andrew Zurcher, 'Introduction', in Scott-Warren and Zurcher, eds., *Text, Food and the Early Modern Reader: Eating Words* (London: Routledge, 2019).

Senchyne, Jonathan, *The Intimacy of Paper in Early and Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2020).

Sherman, William, 'On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext and Print Culture' in Eleanor Shevlin, Eric Linquist, and Sabrina Baron, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 67–81.

-- *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

Shorter, Alfred, *Paper Mills and Paper Making in England 1495–1800* (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1962).

Smith, Emma, *Shakespeare's First Folio* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Smith, Helen, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

-- '"Imprinted by Simeon Such a Signe": Reading Early Modern Imprints', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 17–33.

-- '"To London all"? Mapping Shakespeare in Print, 1593–1598', in Margaret Jane Kidnie and Sonia Massai, eds., *Shakespeare and Textual Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 69–86.

-- 'A Unique Instance of Art: The Proliferating Surfaces of Early Modern Paper', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 8 (2017).

-- and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Smyth, Adam, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

-- *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

-- and Gill Partington, eds., 'Missing Texts', special edition of *Critical Enquiry* 55.4 (2014).

Socarides, Alexandra, *Dickinson Unbound: Paper, Process, Poetics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Stallybrass, Peter, 'Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible', in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, eds., *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 42–79.

-- '"Little Jobs": Broadsides and the Printing Revolution', in Sabrina Baron, Eric Lindquist and Eleanor Shevlin, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 315–341.

-- 'The Material Culture of Record-Keeping in Early Modern England', in Kate Peters, Alexandra Walsham and Liesbeth Corens, eds., *Archives and Information in the Early Modern World,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 179–208.

Stern, Tiffany, '"On Each Wall and Corner Poast": Playbills, Title-pages and Advertising in Early Modern London', *English Literary Renaissance* 36.1 (2006), 57–89.

-- 'Trencher Poetry: Non-Paper Literature, How it Means, and Why it's Lost', *English Literary Renaissance* 50.1 (2020), 153–160.

Stewart, Alan, *The Oxford History of Life Writing*, ii: *Early Modern* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Stoddard, Roger, 'Morphology and the Book from an American Perspective', *Printing History* 9.1 (1987), 2–14.

Stoler, Ann, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Summit, Jennifer, *Memory's Library*: *Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

Tromans, Philip, 'The Business of Browsing in Early Modern English Bookshops', in Shanti Graheli, eds., *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 111–135.

Usher, Penelope, '"Pricking the Virgil": Early modern Prophetic *Phronesis* and the *Sortes Virgilianae*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45.3 (2015), special edition on 'Renaissance Collage: Towards a New History of Reading', ed. Juliet Fleming, William Sherman and Adam Smyth, 557–572.

Wall, Wendy, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

-- 'Reading the Home: the Case of *The English Housewife*', in Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, eds., *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 165–187.

Wall-Randall, Sarah, *The Immaterial Book: Reading and Romance in Early Modern England* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2013).

Walsham Alexandra, Bronwyn Wallace, Ceri Law and Brian Cummings, eds., *Memory and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Werner, Sarah, *Studying Early Printed Books 1450–1800* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2019).

Wilkinson, Hazel, *Edmund Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Wine, Kathleen, 'L'Astrée's Landscapes and the Poetics of Baroque Fiction', *Symposium* 40.2 (1986), 141–153.

Winterbottom, Anna, *Hybrid Knowledge in the Early East India Company world* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Withers, Charles, and Miles Ogborn, eds., *Geographies of the Book* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

Yale, Elizabeth, 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline', *Book History* 18 (2015), 332–359.

Digital Resources

Hooks, Adam and Zachary Lesser, *Shakespeare Census*, http://www.shakespearecensus.org

Jansted, Janelle, *Map of Early Modern London Online*, https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca

Moran, Paul, *The Other John Updike Archive*, https://johnupdikearchive.com