

Copyright 2011 Tara Lynn Lyons

ENGLISH PRINTED DRAMA IN COLLECTION  
BEFORE JONSON AND SHAKESPEARE

BY

TARA LYNN LYONS

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English  
in the Graduate College of the  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011

Urbana, Illinois

Doctoral Committee:

Emerita Professor Carol T. Neely, Chair  
Associate Professor Zachary L. Lesser, University of Pennsylvania  
Associate Professor Lori Humphrey Newcomb  
Professor Curtis Perry

## Abstract

Benjamin Jonson's *Works* (1616) and William Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1623) overwhelmingly dominate studies of the English drama collection. This critical focus has revealed much of what we know about the collection as a format for dramatic texts in early modern England, but it has also concealed aspects of the format's history. Scholars regularly assume that the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios were the first in England to gather dramatic texts in collections; others often treat the volumes as paradigms for how drama collections looked, functioned, and signified. By examining collections printed or compiled from approximately 1512 to 1623, "English Printed Drama in Collection Before Jonson and Shakespeare" offers a new conceptualization of the collection. This dissertation discovers that drama appeared in multiple collected formats other than large folio volumes and was organized around a diversity of principles of collection other than (and in addition to) "the author." For example, drama was presented in ten-play quarto editions supporting humanist pedagogical agendas, reader-compiled octavo miscellanies created for political persuasion, and serially published sets celebrating the English church and crown. This diversity of collected forms was constructed through different material processes to support the financial and/or ideological aims of various agents, including printers, publishers, booksellers, editors, and readers. Ultimately, I show that when viewed within these genealogies of the collection, the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios signal an incomplete break with earlier collections, and in fact, are constituted by these understudied forms from the past.

Each chapter of this dissertation provides a genealogy of an early printed drama collection by charting the processes and agents who brought the volume into being as well as its

political and cultural stakes. As Foucault suggests, to perform a genealogical analysis is not “to trace the gradual curve of [a concept’s] evolution, but to isolate the different scenes where [it] engaged in different roles.” By focusing on process, I highlight the different “scenes” of collection and closely attend to the agents who created various kinds of collected entities—not just “finished” printed books. My studies uncover dramatic texts that at one time were bound together or sold together, sets of drama marketed as multi-part sets, or collections that existed only in the mind’s eye. I argue that these material and immaterial manifestations underlie early modern approaches to the collection as both a product and a process—both a material object producing meaning through the physical arrangement of texts and a fluid form that was constantly reformulated to suit the needs of its creators. Chapter 1, “Genealogies of English Printed Drama in Collection, 1512 to 1623,” outlines my methodology while addressing some of the fifty collected editions containing vernacular drama published before 1623. I theorize how Foucauldian approaches to genealogy and Derridean models of the archive can offer new perspectives on the book collection as a physical and imagined space where texts accumulate, record their producers’ fantasies of the collected form, and influence further collection processes.

In Chapter 2, “Archiving Processes and Agents in the Collected Edition: Humanist Pedagogy in Thomas Newton’s *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581),” I trace the gradual emergence of the first English vernacular collected edition of Seneca’s ten tragedies. The volume was first conceived by the translator Jasper Heywood in 1560 when he dreamed that the ghost of Seneca descended from Helicon and implored him to create an English edition of the plays. While Heywood did not complete the collection, other translators and publishers made progress as seven single editions of the tragedies appeared from 1559 to 1566. In 1581, these seven previously printed and multiply translated editions were joined with three new translations to

create *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), a ten-play quarto volume published by Thomas Marsh and edited by Thomas Newton. By physically unifying these plays and integrating principles of collection from previously published editions into their design, Marsh and Newton created not only a compilation of dramatic texts but also a rich repository of translators', publishers', and readers' conceptions of Seneca in collection throughout the 1550s and 1560s. Newton adopted and re-invented these conceptions to foreground in the volume his own humanist project of making classical works available to English readers for their moral edification.

Chapter 3," Treating Divisions in the Nonce Collection: Political Persuasion in Thomas Norton's *All Such Treatises* (1570)," addresses a small "nonce collection," a common form of collection in which a publisher simply stitched together a newly printed title-page with a number of previously printed editions. The publisher John Day joined five of Norton's previously printed political pamphlets with the first English five-act play, *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*, to persuade English readers to unite against their Catholic foes after the 1569 Northern Rebellion. *Gorboduc* was positioned as a "treatise" to conclude and reinforce the volume's message: that a divided England will easily fall prey to a nearby enemy, Mary Queen of Scots. After the volume was published, readers reorganized and re-collected the treatises to serve new purposes. For instance, the Huntington Library's copy of *All Such Treatises* was bound together with six more political pamphlets addressing Mary Stuart's plots against England. This compilation and others like it in the Bodleian and York Minster Library demonstrate how Norton's collections became time-specific archives of Tudor/Stuart conflicts in the last half of the sixteenth century.

In Chapter 4, "Marketing the Serial Collection: Remembered Performance in the Paul's Boys' Quartos (1591-1592)," I turn to another form of collection that has not been theorized as

such: the serial collection. The female publisher Joan Broome brought out several editions of John Lyly's comedies in 1591-92, marketing them as a unit and encouraging book-buyers to see them as a single textual entity. I argue that this unusual choice—in the early 1590s, little professional drama had been published at all—was triggered by the Martin Marprelate pamphlet war, in which Lyly's theater troupe, the Children of Paul's, was involved. The pseudonymous Marprelate and his pamphlets lambasting English bishops and ecclesiastical authorities became a sensation in London after 1589, popularizing the serial production of polemical cheap print but simultaneously instigating a censorious backlash from the English crown, including the dissolution of the Children of Paul's. Through her serial publication of Paul's Boys' plays, Broome fought against this association of the drama with religious heterodoxy. She positioned *Endymion* as the first in a set of five pro-monarchical and pro-ecclesiastical comedies, including *Galatea*, *Midas*, *Campaspe*, and *Sapho and Phao*. In this serial collection, the five playbooks celebrated the Children of Paul's devotion to their queen and her church.

In the final chapter, “Negotiating Alternative Principles of Authorial Collections: The “Whole” Monument in Parts in Jonson's *Works* (1616) and Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1623),” I return to the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios that have been the focus of so much scholarly attention, but with the new context provided by my genealogy of the English dramatic collection. Re-reading these folios reveals that “authorship” was just one principle of collection amid a contest of both competing and mutually supporting organizational frameworks. Genealogies of the 1616 and 1623 Folios reveal that agents negotiated past conceptions of each author's collected works with aims to fashion whole authorial monuments that were also open to new additions and reformulations. By examining the genealogies of these mythologized

volumes, my project offers a new understanding of the creation of Jonson and Shakespeare as foundational authors of the English literary canon.

*To Carol*

*For bringing me to and guiding me through  
the process.*

## Acknowledgements

Many agents—advisors, friends, and family— assisted me in the production of this dissertation. I inscribe their names here to express my gratitude for their support.

Carol Neely deserves my deepest thanks. In 1999, her book *Broken Nuptials in Shakespeare's Plays* (1993) persuaded me to pursue this thing called “feminist Shakespeare.” In 2001, when I finally took the opportunity to meet and learn from her, I found that brilliant literary critics could be modest, caring teachers. Over the past few years, Carol’s invaluable feedback on my work has taught me much about writing as a process. She has been a model mentor and one that I will emulate throughout my career as a scholar and teacher. I am also immensely grateful to my co-advisor, Zack Lesser, who introduced me to the wonderful world of stationers’ registers and rare book archives. His vast knowledge and painstaking comments on my work have helped me refine my arguments many times over. I am particularly indebted to both Lori Newcomb and Curtis Perry for their always thoughtful responses to my writing. Lori’s mentorship brought me back from an intellectual detour, and both she and Curtis have kept me on the road to producing careful, meaningful scholarship.

I wish to thank my friends in early modern and medieval studies at the University of Illinois and beyond. Elizabeth Zeman-Kolkovich, Sara Luttring, Alli Meyer, Chaeyoon Park, Aleksandra Hultquist, and the entire Early Modern Workshop made doing Renaissance research at Illinois more fun and rewarding than I ever thought possible. Their support helped me start and finish this project. I also want to thank my medievalist buddies, Ann Hubert and Kimberly Fonzo, for adopting me into their cohort when I returned to the program. Ann’s sage advice and proofreading skills have saved me from making many errors here and elsewhere.

One of the most amazing experiences in writing this dissertation has been conducting rare book research at libraries throughout the U.S. and England. Funding from the Huntington Library and the Graduate College at the University of Illinois made these trips possible. I especially want to thank Stephen Tabor at the Huntington, Colin Harris at the Bodleian, and Georgianna Ziegler at the Folger for their time and assistance. Generous funding from the English Department and Graduate College likewise gave me the time off from teaching to quiet my mind and write.

While finishing this dissertation, my family has kept me grounded and filled my life with humor and joy. As always, their faith in me made it possible to keep doing what makes me happy. I reserve special thanks to Josh, my partner, who made an idyllic home for me here in Urbana and turned these “grad-school years” into the best of my life.

## Table of Contents

Prologue .....	1
Chapter 1	
Genealogies of English Printed Drama in Collection, 1512 to 1623 .....	5
Chapter 2	
Archiving Processes and Agents in the Collected Edition: Humanist Pedagogy in Thomas Newton's <i>Seneca His Tenne Tragedies</i> (1581) .....	52
Chapter 3	
Treating Divisions in the Nonce Collection: Political Persuasion in Thomas Norton's <i>All Such Treatises</i> (1570) .....	94
Chapter 4	
Marketing the Serial Collection: Remembered Performance in the Paul's Boys' Quartos (1591-1592) .....	148
Chapter 5	
Negotiating Alternative Principles of Authorial Collections: The "Whole" Monument in Parts in Jonson's <i>Works</i> (1616) and Shakespeare's <i>Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies</i> (1623) .....	211
Epilogue .....	286
Bibliography .....	288

## Prologue

“English Printed Drama in Collection before Jonson and Shakespeare” is the result of a fascination with rare books, printed plays, and material histories as well as my own stubborn attempts to recover how the collection functioned as a medium for printed drama in early modern England. Having paid homage to the first folios of Jonson and Shakespeare early on in my graduate studies, I soon realized how often scholars regarded these volumes as paradigms of the dramatic collection, so much so, in fact, that collections of drama produced before 1623 were often overlooked or treated as immature manifestations. My sense was that by ignoring these early collections, we had lost part of the history of the collection and its meanings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I took on this project to recover as much of that history as I could. I wondered, how could we fully appreciate what the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios signified without an understanding of the collection as a signifier in the period and particularly in the hundred years before these famous folios came to be?

When I set out to examine these understudied collections compiled and printed from 1512 to 1623, I did not expect to find such a captivating assortment of formats, multiplicity of agents who contributed to collection production, and variety of principles that organized volumes. I was simultaneously surprised by the array of collected forms in which readers of the period would have read their dramatic texts and a bit overwhelmed with trying to ascribe meaning to a medium that was so diverse—and as I soon would learn— so malleable.

One of my first exciting realizations was that collections from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries emerged in a variety of sizes and were fashioned by many different agents. More than fifty collections were published before 1623 in sizes that ranged from sixteenmo to

folio and from two texts to thirty-six, the number in Shakespeare's First Folio. Some resembled the Jonson Folio by presenting multiple genres of literary works in one volume; others assembled just a few political treatises with a court play. Frequently, dramatic collections, especially those recorded in inventories like W.W. Greg's *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* and Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser's *Database of Early English Playbooks*, were available as "collected editions," meaning that a publisher hired a printer to construct a newly printed volume with a new general title page. This type of collection, which was created by stationers, is the most often analyzed in scholarly work on the English book trade and the kind of collection that most twenty-first centuries readers recognize as a textual collection.

Nonetheless, collected editions were only one kind created in early modern England. Since bindings were expensive in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, most books were sold to customers stitched together with a thick thread and topped with a thin paper cover. Even copies of the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios were sold to customers unbound. If a reader wanted a binding to protect her collection, she might be able to purchase a pre-bound copy from the bookseller (as seems to be the case for some Shakespeare and Jonson Folios), or she could visit the local bindery and pay for her choice of vellum, sheepskin, calfskin, etc., to cover her volume. Because many books were purchased without bindings, readers as well as any other agents including publishers, printers, and booksellers could fashion collections according to their own preferences by appending more texts, rearranging the contents, or extracting parts. Readers could also design their own collections by purchasing a selection of previously published editions and paying a binder to fuse them under one cover; the product is what we called a "sammelbänd." If a bookseller or agent of the press (instead of a reader) bundled previously published books and sold them to customers, we call this a "tract volume." Sometimes stationers would even

repackage a group of already published books with a new general title page; the product is called a “nonce collection.”

Many collections created before 1623 were unified by authorship, like the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios, but my research reveals that many other principles of organization motivated agents’ collection-making. For example, agents designed volumes to satisfy their own financial or ideological aims. My chapters uncover collections that were united by authorship, but also organized to teach readers how to extract moral precepts from a collected edition, to persuade English people to support their queen after rebellion, and to celebrate a retired theater company and its patrons. Time and time again, we see that agents negotiated the principles within their collections and that these processes of negotiation are inscribed on the very pages that we read in early editions. The meanings of the collection were bound up in the material books as well as in the processes of agents who gathered, compiled, stitched, organized, arranged, and designed collections. These agents chose the size, format, design, and texts to be compiled, and did so according to principles of collection that would accomplish their goals.

My examination of these early volumes proves that the collection in early modern England is not just a material object that fuses two or more texts together, but it is also a process. Perhaps I should have consulted the *OED* sooner, for it quite clearly divulges that “collection” in early usage refers to “The action of collecting or gathering together” (Def. 1) as well as “A number of objects collected or gathered together, viewed as a whole” (Def. 3a).<sup>1</sup> As I analyzed various types of collections, each one relayed to me its own history— a history that was embedded in the bindings and the pages by the agents and processes that brought it into being. I

---

<sup>1</sup> “Collection n.” Second edition, 1989; online version March 2011. <<http://www.oed.com.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/Entry/36275>>; accessed 05 May 2011. Earlier version first published in *New English Dictionary*, 1891.

realized that not only was I studying material collections—the “objects collected or gathered together viewed as a whole”—but I was studying the “action of collecting or gathering together.”

In this dissertation, by examining the “whole” material book, I write genealogies of collections, for the processes of collecting were ongoing and continued on even after initial readers bound a book. And, the processes of expanding, extracting, and rearranging texts from collections are still ongoing. Thus, my project investigates what it means for a dramatic text to be “in collection.” Each of my chapters explores a different process of collection. What unites all of the collected forms in this dissertation—including the monumental volumes of Jonson and Shakespeare—is that they are objects collected together to form a whole and that each material book is but a snapshot, one scene which bears the marks of the past “action of collecting” and reveals its potential for future development.

## Chapter 1

### Genealogies of English Printed Drama in Collection, 1512 to 1623

When Henry Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucrece* was issued from the press of John Rastell sometime around 1512, it was the first dramatic text in the vernacular to be printed on English soil.<sup>2</sup> Until then, English drama in its many forms had been performed in halls, on wagons, and on stages and recorded in manuscript compilations, but unlike its predecessors, *Fulgens and Lucrece* was fashioned into a printed book. In a ten-sheet quarto, *Fulgens and Lucrece* imitated "the most advanced continental editions of Roman plays" with a woodcut illustration on the title page, centered speech prefixes, and stage directions in Latin.<sup>3</sup> In fact, Medwall's interlude resembled continental editions of dramatic texts such as Terence's six comedies or Seneca's ten tragedies in another way as well, for *Fulgens and Lucrece* was printed as a collection. The title page announces that the interlude was divided into "two p[er]tyes. to be played at ii. Tymes (A1r) and "Co[m]pyled by mayster Henry medwall."<sup>4</sup> In performance, Part I would have been presented during a "mid-day dinner, Part II during an evening supper."<sup>5</sup> Hence, when Rastell published the book, he made the choice to preserve the divisions from performance and establish the two parts as textually and paratextually distinct. He signaled on signature d6v, "*Finis prime partis*" and began the second part on the next page (sig. e1r).<sup>6</sup> For readers experiencing

---

<sup>2</sup> Henry Medwall, *Here is co[n]teyned a godely interlude of Fulgens* (1512-6, STC 17778). The first dramatic texts printed in England were the comedies of Terence, *Comædiæ sex* (1497, STC 23885) published by Richard Pynson in London. See W.W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*. Also see Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser's *DEEP* for a chronological list of English printed drama to 1660. The STC (Short Title Catalogue) numbers throughout this dissertation are based on the second edition of A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave's *A Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland*.

<sup>3</sup> See M.E. Moeslein, *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, 198. He addresses in fine detail the "History of the Text" of Medwall's play, including its provenance. For more on how dramatic texts emerged from both liturgical and classical dramatic forms, see T.H. Howard-Hill, "The Evolution of the Form of Plays," 112-145.

<sup>4</sup> Alan H. Nelson, *Tudor Interludes*, 32.

<sup>5</sup> Nelson, *Tudor Interludes*, 18.

<sup>6</sup> Nelson, *Tudor Interludes*, 67.

vernacular drama for the first time in print, this two-part format was essential to conveying meaning in the interlude, for speakers A and B refer to an Intermission of sorts in “oure long play” and promise “to play the remenant” later in the festivities (d6v).<sup>7</sup> For the material producers, such as the publisher, printer, compositor, collator, and binder, the playbook had continuous signatures running from a-g4, meaning that both parts were collected into one edition. *Fulgens and Lucrece* was bibliographically a collection—and more specifically a collected edition, a volume with a general title page consisting of newly typeset parts.<sup>8</sup>

As the first vernacular drama to be printed in England, Rastell’s two-for-one quarto established a precedent for dramatic publication and presentation in collection. Approximately ten years later, Rastell’s own play *Gentleness and Nobility* (c.1525) was printed in two parts as a collected edition and with continuous signatures (A-C4), and another of Medwall’s plays *Nature* (1530-4) followed suit.<sup>9</sup> However, these interludes continued to undergo processes of collection and entered into a number of new and surprising collected forms. One copy of *Fulgens and Lucrece* was compiled with printed ballads and other ephemera from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by John Bagford (1651 - 1716) and later included as the ninety-eighth item in an assemblage of fragments in the library of Robert Harley (1661-1724).<sup>10</sup> One copy of *Gentleness and Nobility* still survives in a sixteenth- or seventeenth- century “sammelbänd”<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See John Carter and Nicholas Barker in *ABC for Book Collectors*, 67. W. W. Greg refers to *1 & 2 Fulgens and Lucrece* as two separate items/plays and draws attention to “Two parts” in his description. See Greg, *Bibliography*, 1:81. His Memoranda also explains, “Each ‘play’ is given a serial number, and for this purpose each ‘part’ is treated as a separate play.” See *Bibliography*, 1: 80. *DEEP* likewise describes the work as *1 and 2 Fulgens and Lucrece* and explicitly labels the two parts as a “collection.”

<sup>9</sup> Greg describes both *Nature* and *Gentyness and Nobility* as two-part collections: *1 & 2 Nature* (*Bibliography*, 1:93) and *1 & 2 Gentleness and Nobility* (*Bibliography*, 1:86). Greg lists each part as a separate play, as does *DEEP*.

<sup>10</sup> See Moeslein, *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, 186-187. The most complete copy of the play, now Huntington 62599, was previously held in the Mostyn Library.

<sup>11</sup> John Carter and Nicholas Barker offer the most precise definition of “sammelbänd”—“A German word for books in which two or more bibliographically distinct works are bound together within the same covers. The practice itself, common in the Middle Ages, was carried over into the incunabular period, and books still exist in which manuscript and printed works coexist thus – still, because the prejudice of libraries, not to mention collectors,

alongside another play presumably written by John Heywood called *A mery play betwene Iohan Iohan the husbande* (1533); preceding these plays are texts (both in print and in manuscript) by the fourteenth-century woman writer Juliana Berners on the topics of hawking, hunting, angling, and deciphering armorial devices.<sup>12</sup> And these are just a few of the many traces of early printed drama in collections. The *Database of Early English Playbooks* lists forty-eight English drama collections printed before 1616.<sup>13</sup> Fourteen of these editions—including Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine I & II*, the anonymous *Troublesome Raigne of King John I & II*, and Thomas Heywood’s *Edward the Fourth I & II*—can be considered two-part or two-play collections like *Fulgens and Lucrece*.<sup>14</sup> Other collections such as George Gascoigne’s *The Whole Works* (1587), Abraham Fraunce’s *The Countess of Pembroke’s Ivychurch* (1591), and Samuel Daniel’s *Works* (1601) offered readers dramatic texts alongside political treatises, poetry, and prose writings, while collections like Thomas Newton’s *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581) and William Alexander’s *The Monarchick Tragedies* (1604) provided readers with compilations solely consisting of plays. Scholars of early modern drama have recognized that studying the origins of printed vernacular plays can reveal much about how the genre functioned and proliferated; yet,

---

for separating manuscripts and printed books has led to the breaking-up of even more of such books than others. The term is regularly applied to post-incunabula, but is uncomfortable if applied to later confections of the same sort. TRACT VOLUME is not quite the same thing.” See *ABC for Book Collectors*, 197. As I discuss later in this introduction, “sammelbänd” is distinct from “tract volume” and “nonce collection,” although all represent composite compilations of individual printed books being stitched or bound together. For more on medieval practices of creating manuscript compilations, see Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, *The Whole Book*. It should also be noted that the act of compiling drama along with other texts, dramatic and non-dramatic, into sammelbänds was practiced in the medieval period both on the continent and in England. Printed drama in collections then owes much of its conception and design to medieval readers and bookmakers.

<sup>12</sup> See Bodleian Ashm. 1766 (7) & 1766 (6). John Heywood, *A mery play betwene Iohan Iohan the husbande* (1533, STC 17778) and Bodleian Ashm. 1766 (1). Juliana Berners, *This present boke shewyth the manere of hawkyng [and] huntyng* (1496, STC 3309).

<sup>13</sup> Farmer and Lesser, *DEEP*.

<sup>14</sup> *DEEP* lists fourteen two-part play editions printed before 1616: Medwall’s *Fulgens and Lucrece I and II* (1512-1516, STC 17778); Rastell’s *Nature I and II* (1530-4, STC 17779); Rastell’s *Gentylnes and Nobility I and II* (1525, STC 20723); Whetstone’s *Promos and Cassandra I and II* (1578, STC 25347); Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine the Great I and II* (1590, 1593, 1597, STC 17425, 17426, 17427); Anonymous *The Troublesome Raigne of King John I and II* (1591, 1611, STC 14644, 14646); Heywood’s *Edward the Fourth I and II* (1599, 1600, 1605, 1613, STC 13341, 13342, 13343, 13344); Lindsay’s *Satire of Three Estates I and II* (1602, STC 15681). *DEEP* only lists two-part drama collections when the two parts were issued as one edition.

rarely are the origins of vernacular dramatic collections considered in these discussions.<sup>15</sup> When these critics do explore the collection as a format for the presentation of printed plays, sixteenth-century drama collections are typically overlooked.<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, most critics begin in 1616 when a single-author folio volume printed by William Stansby set forth nine plays, along with numerous epigrams, verses, entertainments, and masques. This volume is said to have “inaugurated the era of the printed drama collection,”<sup>17</sup> and is often cited incorrectly as the first to present vernacular drama in collection, English drama in folio, and an English dramatist’s plays as “Works.”<sup>18</sup> What was unique was that the collection presented the plays of a “*commercial* English dramatist” in collection, in a folio volume, and in a *Works* edition.<sup>19</sup> This collection is regularly cited as the “only” or the “essential” precedent for another single-author folio collection printed seven years later.<sup>20</sup> This 1623 folio was published by Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount and offered thirty-six vernacular plays written for the professional theaters. Considered one of the “most critically discussed collected editions ever published,”<sup>21</sup> if not the book that “conquered the world,”<sup>22</sup> it has been deemed a “landmark event

---

<sup>15</sup> Exceptions are Howard-Hill’s “The Evolution of the Form of Plays”; Greg Walker’s *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama*; and Sonia Massai’s chapter, “English Humanism and early Tudor Drama” in *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*. However, *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare* does mention Gascoigne’s plays in collections (see Christopher Gaggero, “Pleasure Unreconciled to Virtue” 167-193) and a manuscript compilation that includes the two-part manuscript play *The Resurrection of Our Lord* to be played on two different days (see Karen Sawyer Marsalek, “‘Doctrine Evangelicall’ and Erasmus’s *Paraphrases*,” 35-66). Still these references to plays in collections are brief and auxiliary to the main arguments in the individual essays.

<sup>16</sup> For critics who investigate how drama collections functioned in the period but leave unmentioned the form’s manifestations in print before 1616, see Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*; Jennifer Brady and W.H. Herendeen, *Ben Jonson’s 1616 Folio*; Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*; Jeffrey Masten’s *Textual Intercourse*; and Andrew Nash, *The Culture of Collected Editions*.

<sup>17</sup> See Douglas Brooks on Benjamin Jonson’s 1616 *Works* in *From Playhouse to Printing House*, 13.

<sup>18</sup> As Jeffrey Knapp clarifies, Jonson’s *Works* was not the first to present English plays in a collection, nor the first to present English plays in folio, nor the first to present an English dramatist’s plays as *Works*. See “What is a Co-Author?,” 19-20.

<sup>19</sup> Knapp, “What is a Co-Author?,” 19-20.

<sup>20</sup> de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 42. Stephen Orgel similarly considers Jonson’s 1616 *Works* as the “essential model for the authorized collection of Shakespeare’s plays in 1623,” in “The Authentic Shakespeare,” 96.

<sup>21</sup> In addition to the First Folio, Philip Horne lists Balzac’s *Comédie Humaine* and *The Novels and Tales of Henry James* in “Henry James and the Cultural Frame of the New York Edition,” 95.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Collins, *The Book of William*; Jeffrey Knapp, “Shakespeare as Co-Author,” 49-59.

in the history of collected editions.”<sup>23</sup> Critics inaccurately claim it was the first English collection to consist solely of plays.<sup>24</sup> Together, these glorified folio collections are argued to have determined the trajectory of dramatic publication in the early modern period and beyond, establishing the model for drama collections printed years later such as John Lyly’s *Six Court Comedies* (1632), John Marston’s *Tragedies and Comedies* (1633), and Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher’s *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), among many others.<sup>25</sup>

That I did not even need to mention the authors or titles of the collections described above illustrates the extent to which this “history” of early modern drama collections has been dominated by claims for the novelty and influence of Benjamin Jonson’s *Works* (1616) and William Shakespeare’s *Comedies Histories, and Tragedies* (1623).<sup>26</sup> With so much critical emphasis on the innovative qualities of these two folios, play collections printed before 1616 are typically considered early precursors or mere embryonic formations of what would later fully

---

<sup>23</sup> Andrew Nash explains that the Folio was a seminal text because “it established conventional methods of editing, accorded a greater legitimacy and authority to the act of committing works to the public domain, and increased the awareness of how collected editions could be monumental to authors.” See “Introduction: The Culture of Collected Editions,” 3.

<sup>24</sup> As for the Shakespeare Folio, Peter Blayney confirms that it was “the first folio book ever published in England that was devoted exclusively to plays.” See *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, 1. If we discount *Fulgens and Lucrece I and II* and *Nature I and II*, Blayney is correct. Knapp similarly confirms that before 1623, “Other collections had been published consisting solely of plays, but not of commercial plays and not in folio.” See “What is a Co-Author?,” 20.

<sup>25</sup> Ian Donaldson asserts that “Jonson’s first folio is a remarkable foundation event in the history of the collected edition in England” in “Collecting Ben Jonson,” 2; John W. Velz contends that “The moment that changed the conception of the nature and status of drama came in 1616” when Jonson’s *Works* was published. See “From Authorization to Authorship, Orality to Literature,” 204; Peter Thomson says that “The 1616 publication of his *Workes* set a precedent for the Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher folios of 1623 and 1647” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Theatre*, 194; Joseph Loewenstein indicates that “the subsequent production of folio [sic] collections of Shakespeare, Marston, Lyly, and somewhat later Beaumont and Fletcher is evidence that such collections of dramatic literature seemed viable commodities” in *The Author’s Due*, 87; While Loewenstein’s point is well taken, he mistakenly identifies the Marston and Lyly collections as folios here.

<sup>26</sup> On Jonson’s Folio, Kevin J. Donovan writes: “Certainly as far as dramatic texts are concerned nothing comparable can be found in the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods” in “Jonson’s Texts in the First Folio,” 24. David Kastan recites the reasons that the Shakespeare Folio is even more exceptional than Jonson’s Folio: “The Shakespeare folio was the first to insist that a man might be an ‘author’ on the basis of his plays alone, and, more remarkably, on the basis of plays written exclusively for the professional stage” in *Shakespeare and the Book*, 64. My point here is not that scholars’ assessments of the Folios as “firsts” or foundational texts are factually incorrect, but that the cumulative effect of such emphasis on novelty has so firmly situated the Jonson and Shakespeare Folio as origins that we often fail to examine the rich lineage of these volumes and those that came before it.

develop in or after 1616 or 1623 when the “plays” of professional dramatists were raised to the status of “works.”<sup>27</sup> In current accounts of the collection, the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios exist as both origins and endpoints, marking the commencement of dramatic authorship and the end of a time when plays were just plays.

The goal of this dissertation is to disrupt this teleology of the early English printed drama collection by reconceptualizing the form as a medium for dramatic presentation. To do so, I historicize the collection to construct a genealogy of the format from the appearance of *Fulgens and Lucrece* through to the Shakespeare Folio.<sup>28</sup> This genealogy demonstrates that printed drama appeared in multiple formats other than large folio volumes, was organized around a diversity of principles of collection in addition to “the author,” and was gathered in quarto miscellanies, octavo pocketbooks, and thick sammelbände by a variety of agents, including readers, editors, booksellers, and publishers. When understood within this genealogy of the collection, we see that the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios were not representative of dramatic collections in the period

---

<sup>27</sup> While Gordon Williams does not mention any pre-1616 collections in his book, he posits that before Jonson’s Folio, plays were regarded as “ephemeral” and like their playwrights granted little “prestige.” For Williams, “This was the situation in which Jonson, determined to advance the dignity of playwriting, finally overturned by including his plays in the 1616 collection . . .” See *Shakespeare, Sex and the Print Revolution*, 7-8. Lukas Erne rejects the notion that plays were not literary or authorized texts before the appearance of the Jonson or Shakespeare Folios. Like Jeffrey Masten and Benedict Scott Robinson, Erne criticizes the notion that dramatic authorship and the status of printed plays changed immediately after the publication of the 1616 and 1623 folios. Both Erne and Robinson also mention a number of drama collections published before Jonson’s as proof that dramatic texts were being published in collections; however, both scholars situate these early collections in the realm of noncommercial drama, even though as printed texts, they were produced as commodities for profit in the book format imagined to bring a stationer the most profit. See Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 45; Benedict Scott Robinson, “Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections,” 370. Douglas A. Brooks offers extended analysis of one sixteenth-century drama collection, Thomas Norton’s *All Such Treatises* (1570), but ultimately, the Norton volume is treated as just an early appearance of authorship constructed by the printing house for a drama collection. See *From Playhouse to Printing House*, 23-40.

<sup>28</sup> Margreta de Grazia is critical of “genealogical accounts” specifically of “Shakespeare’s texts,” which she argues “discourage difference” and “resist the representation of change.” See *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 6. While de Grazia asserts the novelty of Malone’s apparatus in his 1790 Shakespeare edition with an anti-genealogical approach, her point is well taken in regards to my own conception of genealogy, which based on Foucault’s work, acknowledges the interruptions and moments of difference in any history of the collection. Rather than suppressing the oddities and inconsistencies in collections to create a larger coherent narrative of the form’s development, I look to the processes of collection production that both adapt previous forms of collection and introduce new forms. In fact, de Grazia’s description of “genealogy” appears to be more a critique of teleology, or the notion that texts follow a certain trajectory of development, than a rejection of any Foucauldian brand of genealogy.

and that their publication in the collected form signaled an incomplete break with other printed dramas in early modern England. By expanding our definition of “What is a Collection?,” my dissertation shows that a new history of the collection is in order.

To create this genealogy, I treat the drama collection as a cultural object with a past of its own. To read and interpret this past is to “historicize” the collection. Adopting new historicist methods that approach literary texts as “historically determined and determining modes of cultural work,”<sup>29</sup> I show that the drama collection is likewise historically constituted, both reflecting and affecting the discourses of the day. Book history, now trumpeted as the “new New Historicism,”<sup>30</sup> provides specific methodologies with which to “historicize” both the text and its material form –as they are inseparable. As book historians like D.F. McKenzie and Robert Darnton have made clear, texts are transmitted in material forms and these forms affect and produce meaning.<sup>31</sup> This dissertation historicizes the form of the collection to understand more fully how it signified in the period and how it continues to shape our readings of texts that appeared in the format. As Roger Chartier reiterates, “If we want to understand the appropriations and interpretations of a text in their full historicity we need to identify the effect,

---

<sup>29</sup> See Louis A. Montrose, “Professing the Renaissance,” 15. Also see Stephen Greenblatt who defines his methods in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 5: “Social actions are themselves always embedded in systems of public signification, always grasped, even by their makers, in acts of interpretation, while words that constitute the works of literature that we discuss here are by their very nature the manifest assurance of a similar embeddedness. Language, like other sign systems, is a collective construction; our interpretive task must be to grasp more sensitively the consequence of this fact by investigating both the social presence to the world of the literary text and the social presence of the world in the literary text.” Cultural materialism more specifically analyzes how this “social presence of the world” takes material form, which influences and is influenced by the material conditions. As John Brannigan notes, “Cultural materialism. . . is primarily useful as a series of ways of analyzing the material existence of ideology, concentrated in the study of literary texts. For cultural materialist critics[,] ideology works in language and our deployment of language, but more than this, ideology exists in a material form through institutions like the church, the school, the theatre, the university and the museum.” See *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism*, 12. We might add the printing house, bookseller’s stalls, and reading rooms into this mix of sites where ideological contests affect the creation of cultural artifacts like book collections and the kinds of dramatic texts that appear within them and their signification.

<sup>30</sup> Paul Keen, “Book Worlds,” 1-5.

<sup>31</sup> See D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*; Robert Darnton, “What Is the History of Books?,” 3-26.; David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, *An Introduction to Book History*.

in terms of meaning, that its material forms produced.”<sup>32</sup> I would argue that the reverse is also true: if we want to understand the appropriations and interpretations of a material form such as the collection in its full historicity, we need to identify the effect that dramatic texts had on the form. A cultural study of the drama collection must work in both directions simultaneously, understanding how material form affects the meaning of dramatic texts and how those texts shape the meanings of that material form.

To do so following this chapter, I conduct genealogies of five collections printed in and before 1623 and chart the processes of their compilation. The second chapter examines *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), a “collected edition” including ten English translations of Lucius Annaeus Seneca’s tragedies.<sup>33</sup> The third chapter addresses Thomas Norton’s *All Such Treatises* (1570), a six-treatise “nonce collection” containing Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville’s *The Tragedy of Gorboduc* (1570).<sup>34</sup> The fourth chapter focuses on a “serial collection” (1591-2) of John Lyly’s plays performed by the Children of Paul’s theater troupe,<sup>35</sup> while the final chapter analyzes the unfolding processes of collection that constitute Jonson’s *Works* (1616) and Shakespeare’s *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1623).<sup>36</sup>

In each of the case studies, I offer a history— or more accurately a genealogy— of a collection by tracing the processes involved in bringing it into being.<sup>37</sup> To write genealogies of drama collections is not, to borrow from Foucault, “to trace the gradual curve of their evolution,

---

<sup>32</sup> Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings*, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Newton, *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581, STC 22221).

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Norton, *All such treatises* ([1570], STC 18677).

<sup>35</sup> John Lyly, *Campaspe* (1591, STC 17049); *Sapho and Phao* (1591, STC 17087); *Endimion* (1591, STC 17050); *Midas* (1592, STC 17083); *Gallathea* (1592, STC 17080).

<sup>36</sup> Benjamin Jonson, *The workes of Beniamin Jonson* (1616, STC 14751 & 14752); William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedie* (1623, STC 22273).

<sup>37</sup> The current field of descriptive bibliography similarly looks to the process or history of a collection to describe its characteristics and functions. In *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, 98-9. Also see Stephen Orgel, “Textual Icons, 57-92.

but to isolate the different scenes where they engaged in different roles.”<sup>38</sup> By isolating these different “scenes” of production, I show that the collection is not only an assemblage of texts but an archive of processes that have been carried out by a variety of agents. I emphasize process over product in constructing genealogies of a collection, for as Foucault reminds us, genealogy “must record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality.”<sup>39</sup> Thus, my genealogies do not approach books as material objects that are “complete” or “finished.” Of course, the extant books or remnants preserved in special collections libraries offer a rich record of collecting processes and allow us to evaluate how agents understood the collected form at the time. However, genealogies also require that we consider other formulations of collections that emerge—even if they never existed in material form. For instance, studying the processes of forming a drama collection often unveils plans for compilations that were partially aborted, forgotten, or never intended to materialize. These manifestations of the collection can reveal much about how the form was imagined as a medium for presenting printed drama in the period, and thus, my genealogical analysis is attuned to what Foucault terms “accidents, the minute

---

<sup>38</sup> See “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” 76. Michel Foucault’s theory of genealogy underlies my methodological approach in constructing a non-linear history of the dramatic collection in early modern England. Foucault argues for a genealogical model of analysis by examining Friedrich Nietzsche’s *On the Genealogy of Morals* (1887) and the philosopher’s use of three German terms for “origin”: *Ursprung*, *Entstehung*, and *Herkunft*. Foucault repudiates a history of ideas that seeks out the *Ursprung* or “true origin” or “essential moment of birth” of an idea, and he instead urges historians or genealogists to seek out the *Entstehung*, the lineage or “descent” of an idea, and the *Herkunft*, the “emergence” of this idea through a struggle of forces. Both Foucault and Nietzsche choose to focus their genealogical analyses on ideas (such as “sexuality” or “morals”) and their development, but I adopt Foucault’s methodological approach to construct a genealogy of the drama collection, which was both material format and process in the early modern period. I would argue that viewing the collection as both artifact and concept provides a means of studying both a history of the collection (as idea and process) and history of the collection (as artifact) in relation to one another, which forms a large part of the “struggle of forces” that Foucault sees as necessary to understanding moments of emergence. See *The Foucault Reader*, 76-100.

<sup>39</sup> In “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” 76, Foucault explains that genealogy “must record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality; it must seek them in the most unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history—in sentiments, love, conscience, instincts; it must be sensitive to their recurrence, not in order to trace the gradual curve of their evolution, but to isolate the different scenes where they engaged in different roles. Finally, genealogy must define even those instances when they are absent, the moment when they remain unrealized.”

deviations. . . errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations, that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us.”<sup>40</sup>

By charting the processes of collections’ production through genealogical analysis, I show how the collection was constantly being appropriated, adapted, and reinvented in different forms, by a variety of agents, and through multiple processes. I view the collection less as a fixed textual product and more as a stage that texts enter and exit in transmission.<sup>41</sup> Describing a text’s appearance in collection as a “stage” may be a particularly apt metaphor for discussing texts that at one point or another may have actually been performed on a stage; to study the different “scenes” of collection illustrates that like performance, the collection was only one among numerous mediums for the presentation of drama in early modern England. Critics have argued that once plays entered into printed collections, they were no longer presented as ephemeral or transitory, but rather as monumentalized and fixed.<sup>42</sup> I illustrate through genealogies of individual collections printed in and before 1623 that plays often moved fluidly in and out of collected forms, and these forms were appropriated by publishers, printers, editors, translators, collectors, and readers because of their flexibility and utility.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” 81. In his explanation of genealogy as an analysis of an idea’s descent, Foucault writes, “to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations—or conversely, the complete reversals—the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of events.”

<sup>41</sup> Foucault likewise mentions “stages” of an idea’s formation in history with the acknowledgement that these “stages” are not progressive, linear, or developmental. Moreover, Foucault’s theatrical and performance metaphors allow him to elaborate on “emergence.” See “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,” 84-85.

<sup>42</sup> Nash writes, “A collected edition, however, has an air of finality and completeness.” See “Introduction,” 2; Richard Newton refers to this finality in Jonson’s *Workes* as “closed coherence” or the “impression of completeness and self-containment achieved by the Folio.” See “Jonson and the (Re-)Invention of the Book,” 36, 42.

<sup>43</sup> Jeffrey Todd Knight writes, “It might be argued that mutability and flexibility, not stability or perfection, made printed books desirable to their earliest readers.” See “Making Shakespeare’s Books,” 320. While Marjorie Swann’s work relates to curiosity cabinets as well as textual collections, she points to the “representational flexibility of the collection,” which she defines as “its capacity to fuse in various ways the identities of objects and people, things and texts, that made it an attractive cultural form in England during a period of great socioeconomic, political, and cultural change.” Swann explains that collections allowed collectors to fashion themselves into

When we gather together, or collect, these genealogies of individual sixteenth-century drama collections, a genealogy of “the collection” as a format from 1512 to 1623 begins to unfold. By studying some of the various collections imagined and realized in the hundred years before the emergence of the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios, I demonstrate the long lineage of drama in printed collections and highlight how volumes, including the two folios, show traces of earlier scenes of collection, their agents, and their organizational frameworks. Too often this rich genealogy is reduced to a meta-narrative about the progression of dramatic texts into forms that have been deemed authorial, literary, fixed, and authoritative. This critical narrative has obscured the many diverse and revelatory scenes of collection that have shaped the form—and that have shaped the drama central to our study of the early modern period.

## I

The New Bibliographers of the early- and mid-twentieth century were some of the first critics to approach the printed drama collection as a site for sustained textual and literary analysis.<sup>44</sup> Their studies were largely motivated by a desire to understand Renaissance authors and to locate the text that was closest to the author’s intentions; thus, much of the research on the collected form was limited to single-author folio volumes, and specifically, the Shakespeare Folio of 1623. Alleging that their brand of research was “scientific and exact,” the New Bibliographers meticulously examined the First Folio and the processes that produced it, making discoveries about type, paper, watermarks, signatures, and variants that remain important to scholars today, while also investigating the agents, including the printers, publishers, and

---

individuals to “imagine—and sometimes to realize—new forms of selfhood and social identity in seventeenth-century England.” See *Curiosities and Text*, 12.

<sup>44</sup> For more on the New Bibliography and its development as a field, see Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*.

compositors responsible for materially producing the collection.<sup>45</sup> New Bibliographers' assumption that there was a single author behind every collection largely shaped their methodological approaches to Renaissance drama and the collections within which it was printed. The stationers themselves and the processes of book production were treated as mediators between current scholars and the author's "unblotted" papers. In his seminal work on *Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos*, for instance, A.W. Pollard was credited with "rediscover[ing] Shakespeare's manuscripts" when he delineated the "good" quartos, those closest to the author's original intent, from the "bad" quartos, those corrupted by transmission.<sup>46</sup> R.B. McKerrow likewise argued that an author's meaning and objectives within a particular work might be reconstructed through bibliographical methods of research that were attuned to the processes of transforming an author's manuscript copy into a printed book.<sup>47</sup>

"Critical bibliography," then, was esteemed as an empirical mode of analysis that could dislodge the Bard's true voice from his printed texts.<sup>48</sup> Drama collections like the Shakespeare Folio, viewed as authorial monuments recording an author's fame, were an especially rich location for extracting that author's original aims. Charlton Hinman articulates this view in his expansive and comprehensive two-volume study of the printing and proofreading of the 1623 collection: "the intensive bibliographical scrutiny to which the First Folio has now been subjected. . . . will

---

<sup>45</sup> Sir Israel Gollancz, "General Introduction," xxxiii.

<sup>46</sup> See J. Dover Wilson, "The Task of Heminge and Condell," 77; Alfred W. Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*.

<sup>47</sup> Ronald B. McKerrow writes, "in all work so transmitted there has intervened between the mind or the pen of the original author and the printed text as we now have it a whole series of processes, often carried out by persons of no literary knowledge or interests, almost anyone of which may in one way or another affect the transmission of the text, and that thorough understanding of these processes was a necessary preliminary to any attempt to reconstruct from the printed book the text as originally conceived by its author." See *The Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, 1.

<sup>48</sup> "The most important contribution that critical bibliography has made to the textual criticism of Shakespeare is its insistence upon the importance of discovering all that can be known or inferred about the manuscript from which the printer set up his copy, and all that can be known or inferred about what happened to the manuscript in the printing-house. . ." (see citation in Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, 216).

ultimately bring us a little closer to the truth about what Shakespeare actually wrote.”<sup>49</sup> W.W. Greg goes even further in suggesting that bibliographical study may hold the key to unlocking Shakespeare’s own plans for an authorial collection: “It is foolish to suppose that Shakespeare was indifferent to the fate of his own works.”<sup>50</sup> Greg asserts that the length of *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, and *Coriolanus* reveals that Shakespeare, if not actively working to have his plays published in a folio volume, “had an alternative mode of publication in view,”<sup>51</sup> perhaps even a different sort of collection.

Characteristic of the New Bibliographers, Greg presupposes a stable authorial identity for Shakespeare prior to the production of his thirty-six play folio. However, theoretical shifts in textual studies in the 1980s and early 1990s argued the reverse to be true. It was not “the author” that existed before the collection, but the collection that created “the author.”<sup>52</sup> This new approach to the relationship between printed collections and dramatists ultimately derived from the poststructuralist theories of Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault, whose critical interrogations of authorship exposed the historically constructed and functional nature of the authorial persona.<sup>53</sup> Not only did the “death of the author” revise the fields of inquiry for literary critics studying early modern drama, it ushered in a “New Textualism”, which altogether rejected the fantasy of origins—whether it was the true authorial copy of a Shakespeare play or an

---

<sup>49</sup> Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading*, 1:vii.

<sup>50</sup> See W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, 2. In *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatis*, Erne contends that Shakespeare wrote for both the stage and page. Also see more recent suggestions that Shakespeare had a plan for publishing his plays in collection. Stanley Wells writes that the bard “may have discussed with [Heminge, Condell, and Burbage] the possibility of a collection of his plays, and the bequests of them of money to buy mourning rings may mark some kind of bond that they would memorialize him as well as mourn him” in “The First Folio: Where Would We Be Without It?”, 18.

<sup>51</sup> Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, 2.

<sup>52</sup> Newton, “Jonson and the (Re-)Invention of the Book”; Richard Helgerson, *Self-crowned Laureates*.

<sup>53</sup> See Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author”, 142-154; Michel Foucault, “What is an Author?”

author's original intentions for a text.<sup>54</sup> Ultimately, scholars looked to drama collections not to recover the author behind the text, but to better understand how a book of plays could turn a mere maker of stage plays into an "Author."

The effects of the New Textualism on the study of the early modern drama collections were quickly apparent in research on the Shakespeare Folio. Through close readings of the title pages, prefaces, and commendations, scholars exposed the textual apparatuses that were instrumental in creating the authorial persona. For Margreta de Grazia, "Shakespeare" was an ideological holding pen for the thirty-six multiply-authorized and diversely-produced dramatic texts that the London stationers intended to sell under one title page in one folio volume.<sup>55</sup> As she eloquently explains, Shakespeare "served as a rubric for the massive volume, a verbal equivalent to the threads and binding that physically fastened together its pages."<sup>56</sup> Leah Marcus contends that to bring this conception of the Author into being, the Folio had to detach the playwright from Stratford and his plays from their historical locality, a move that effectively created the transcendent Bard of Avon whose works would endure "for all time."<sup>57</sup> In *Shakespeare and the Book*, David Kastan succinctly encapsulates the shift in critical perspective:

---

<sup>54</sup> Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, "Materiality of the Shakespearean Text," 276. de Grazia and Stallybrass state on page 273, "Our post-Enlightenment critical tradition has imagined the author standing above or beyond the categories thus far considered [the single work, discrete word, unified character], generating words, constructing characters, and creating texts that form his collected works. But all the above illustrations lend support to the simple but profound insight that 'whatever they may do, authors do not write books.' Stationers constructed the Folio canon (as well as rival collections); later editors added dramatis personae lists at the beginning of each playtext; compositors composed the Folio's 'weyward sisters.' And these agents also played a part in producing 'Shakespeare.'"

<sup>55</sup> de Grazia writes, "The task of the 1623 publication was to unify the disparate and stabilize the transitory. It had to assume and posit grounds for presenting a collection of thirty-six ephemeral pieces in a venerable and durable format with a perimeter four times as large and a cost forty times as high as the print play quartos." See *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 32.

<sup>56</sup> de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 39.

<sup>57</sup> Marcus offers, "As the volume sloughs off devices that would "localize" author's identity, so it resists the creation of a localized audience." See *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 21. She continues on page 32, "The First Folio gives readers two choices: either we must accept the transcendent Shakespeare, or there will be no Shakespeare at all, only an untidy pile of fragments that cannot be assembled."

“if Shakespeare cannot with any precision be called the creator of the book [1623 Folio] that bears his name, that book might be said to be the creator of Shakespeare.”<sup>58</sup>

The New Textualists’ approach to early modern dramatic collections required that they also recognize and interrogate the models of collaborative textual production both in the playhouses and printing houses that made the books that made the Authors. David Kastan and Douglas Brooks have explored the market forces in the London book trade to conclude that authorship was a product of those forces. In other words, dramatic authorship was a creation of the agents whose livelihoods depended on the sale of literature as a print commodity, and collections that unified around the Author functioned as vehicles for profit. Brooks diverges, however, by moving beyond the Shakespeare Folio and grappling with other authorial collections, a move which followed Jeffrey Masten’s work on collaborative authorship and the collected volumes of Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Margret Cavendish.<sup>59</sup> These scholars and others working in the New Textualism recognize that treating authorship as a discursive production in the folio collections enables new understandings of both the authors and their books. For instance, the notion that Ben Jonson was responsible for constructing his own authorial identity in the 1616 *Works* has been challenged by scholars who highlight the multiplicity of cultural forces and guiding hands that crafted the folio.<sup>60</sup> The cultural emphasis on individual authorial production and the move toward marketing single authors has been interpreted within the larger ideological frameworks that influenced the organization of these

---

<sup>58</sup> Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book*, 78.

<sup>59</sup> See Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House*. Jeffrey Masten differentiates his arguments by resisting “the notion that dramatic authorship becomes an accomplished fact with the publication of the Shakespeare folio in 1623 because such a construal often assumes that authorship is a desire in the minds of authors that pre-exists its articulation . . . [S]ince the dramatic folios [Jonson and Shakespeare’s] early in the century did not simply voice already-present desires, they also did not simply bring forth authorship in the apparently immutable and timeless form familiar to us today.” Masten emphasizes that well into the 1660s, the “folio continued to be a site of contesting, a busy and often discursively chaotic authorial construction site.” See *Textual Intercourse*, 120.

<sup>60</sup> Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship*. Also see Jennifer Brady and W.H. Herendeen, *Ben Jonson’s 1616 Folio*.

collected texts.<sup>61</sup> Even as they continue to respond to and redefine Foucault's question "What is an author?", however, early modern scholars still tend to position the great folio collections as paradigmatic cases of authorial construction.

While the New Bibliography and New Textualism proposed different approaches to textual analysis and the agents involved in producing dramatic collections, they shared a preoccupation with authorship that has limited the scope of research on "the collection." Of course, the Shakespeare Folio was and still is the most frequently examined book from the early modern period, but even when critics began to seek out other collected volumes of dramatists' works, they have typically settled on collections like the Shakespeare Folio whose most apparent principle of collection was its author/s. After Shakespeare's First Folio, the two most frequently discussed dramatic collections— Jonson's (1616) and Beaumont and Fletcher's (1647)— are similarly large material tomes constructed as testaments in honor of their authors. To function as authorial monuments, these collections were printed in the folio format, thereby attaching cultural value and a heavy price tag to these material books. Critics' previous focus on such a small sample of drama collections and primarily those in folio has skewed our understanding of the form and its functions in the period.

Only within the last decade or so have scholars begun deliberately and systematically to reach beyond the authorial folio volumes to investigate other kinds, sizes, and formats of dramatic collections and explore their significance in the period. My project builds upon the work of Benedict Scott Robinson whose article on "Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections" argues that the centrality of the Jonson and Shakespeare collections in

---

<sup>61</sup> Both Wendy Wall and Jeffrey Masten consider how gender and ideologies of patriarchy were embedded in conceptions of authorship and literature in print. Wall's work on the Sidney *Works* volume of 1598 is especially relevant to an analysis of dramatic entertainments in collection and will be discussed later in the introduction. See Masten's *Textual Intercourse* and Wendy Wall's *The Imprint of Gender*.

studies “has distorted our sense of the history of dramatic publication.”<sup>62</sup> To examine the cultural significance of single-author drama collections, Robinson instead turns to a failed collection—or more accurately, a collected edition of Thomas Heywood’s dramatic works that was proposed in 1632 but never issued as such. By tracing Heywood’s futile attempts to be an author “voluminously read,” Robinson’s seminal article demonstrates how the analysis of a proposed collection reveals the high cultural value placed on a single-author volume in the seventeenth century. He claims, “In collections, plays appeared in the accepted bibliographic protocols for a learned text: not only in ‘numerous sheets, and a large volume,’ but a volume that was also often supplied with an engraved frontispiece as well as with the full apparatus of dedications, epistles, table of contents, and commendatory poems characteristic of a ‘high’ publication.”<sup>63</sup>

Like Robinson, I examine how collections other than the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios came to be; however, while Robinson chooses Heywood’s proposed collection as the focus of his study, his criteria for a “drama collection” are largely influenced by the single-author folios of Jonson and Shakespeare. My focus on pre-1623 collections reveals that the form was too diverse and malleable to ascribe it a specific cultural or semiotic value and that very few dramatic collections in the period actually met the “bibliographic protocols” of a “high publication” that Robinson cites as defining the collection.

Others scholars have more fully subordinated the authorial folios in their scholarship by prioritizing alternative formulations of drama in collections, such as serial collections, printed commonplace books, and readers’ *sammelbände*. Paulina Kewes’ research on the publisher Humphrey Moseley and his serial publication of octavo pocketbooks illustrates how small

---

<sup>62</sup> Robinson, “Thomas Heywood,” 362.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 367

formats were used for compiling dramatic texts, even after the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios had been published.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, Kewes examines Moseley's decisions to release single-author collectible editions over a period of ten years in the 1650s. Kewes proposes that the publisher's marketing strategy created a desire in readers to acquire more books in similar designs from Moseley's bookshop—not for the purposes of binding them together, but to gather as a multi-volume set. More recent critics have also turned to the publisher and reader as important agents in collection production. Roger Chartier, Peter Stallybrass, and Zachary Lesser's work on Francis Mere's *Palladis Tamia* (1598) and Bodenham and Munday's *Belvedere* (1600) have provided a model for studying vernacular drama through its appropriation and publication in small parts, as publishers and readers created their own collections of quotes, passages, and/or *sententiae*.<sup>65</sup> These books required that readers compile maxims from a variety of sources, sometimes not even recording the title or author from which a passage was cited. Jeffrey Todd Knight's study of early modern sammelbände similarly highlights the collecting processes of readers. Tapping into another rich strain of textual collection studies through provenance research and the history of libraries, Knight's work complements recent studies of Renaissance reading practices, which recognize how the transmission of texts after leaving the bookseller's stall is subject to a whole set of new meaning-producing processes that continue to shape and make collections.<sup>66</sup> Knight writes, "the parameters of reading and interpretation are frequently established and sometimes imposed by the collectors, compilers, conservators, and curators who,

---

<sup>64</sup> Paulina Kewes, "Give Me the Sociable Pocket-books," 5. The collections discussed in Kewes' article are single-author volumes; however, Kewes models well how to prioritize the collection in critical analysis.

<sup>65</sup> See Roger Chartier and Peter Stallybrass, "Reading and Authorship, 35–56; Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, "The First Literary *Hamlet* and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays," 371–420; John Bodenham and Anthony Munday, *Bel-vedère or The garden of the Myses* (1600, STC 3189); Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*. (1598, STC 17834).

<sup>66</sup> See Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Romance in Early Modern England*; Also see Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*; Marta Straznicky, *Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama*; Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*; Stephen B. Dobranski, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England*.

in a very literal sense, *make* books.”<sup>67</sup> While Knight’s work primarily concerns literary collections in *sammelbände* and the processes of their assembly or disassembly, my chapters concentrate specifically on *dramatic* texts in collection and on the *variety of collected forms*—in addition to *sammelbände*— in which early moderners would have experienced their printed drama.

Participating in this critical discourse, then, my project further develops the study of the dramatic collection. While my methodological approaches have been largely shaped by New Textualism, I align myself with more recent critics interested in looking beyond authorship as the primary lens of analysis. Of course, “the author” remains an important principle of Renaissance drama collections, especially those printed as collected editions before 1623; from 1512 to 1623, of the 56 editions issued as drama collections from English presses, 35 are attributed to authors.<sup>68</sup> What I want to show, however, is that when we approach collections that vary in size and organization from the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios, we begin to see that the author was just one of many agents influencing the collection’s production and that authorship is just one of many unifying principles of the early modern dramatic collection.

## II

Acknowledging and examining the multiplicity of forms of the drama collection from the early modern period does pose its own challenges.<sup>69</sup> When W. W. Greg wrote his pivotal *Bibliography*

---

<sup>67</sup> Knight, “Making Shakespeare’s Books,” 306; also note his article, “Fast Bind, Fast Find: The History of the Book and the Modern Collection,” 70-104.

<sup>68</sup> Farmer & Lesser, *DEEP*

<sup>69</sup> Bowers comments on the difficulties in describing collections: “Collections can seldom be so precisely classified as their separate parts, and some . . . cannot be accurately classified at all except within the most general limits. The irregular manner in which separate sections would be reprinted, the overlapping of changes within the collection, the frequent lack of any set order in the sections, casual binding or special binding for customers who already owned certain parts, and later rearrangement or sophistication all tend to create an inherently complex and often contradictory set of problems for the bibliographer.” See *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, 94. “Bibliographic evidence” he explains on page 44, “is based exclusively on the printing of the book, including any hints which this can give as to the intended binding”, which means that his sense of a “collected” book is based on

of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, he tried to create a formula for distinguishing between collections and separate editions, but this task “caused more trouble than any other point of procedure.”<sup>70</sup> Despite his many efforts to develop clear criteria for identifying “collections,” Greg ultimately decided to “let convenience rather than logic govern the procedure,” confessing, “I do not . . . claim that any real principle [in regard to collections] underlies my practice.”<sup>71</sup> What resulted then was a list of 149 drama collections published from 1570 to 1700 arranged alphabetically by author’s last name; twenty-four of these were dated before 1616.<sup>72</sup> Although Greg claimed that his list of collections lacked clear and consistent methods, almost all of the collections that made it into the catalogue were large and/or thick compilations of single authors’ works like the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios. In fact, smaller collections of just two plays like *Tamburlaine Part I & II* were not included in the catalogue of collections nor were “casual assemblages” – by which Greg generally meant those not unified by author. Perhaps it is not surprising that, as a New Bibliographer, Greg was under the influence of the early twentieth-century preoccupation with the Shakespeare Folio and the concomitant use of its formal features to establish what a drama collection was. *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, still an invaluable resource for anyone studying early modern drama, shows itself as a product of its time by narrowly defining what forms of collections would be deemed intelligible. On the other hand, Greg’s methodological notes on collections illustrates perhaps

---

how the texts were printed and sold—not on how books were assembled later, and as he explains, the diversity of assembling and binding practices causes another set of description challenges.

<sup>70</sup> Greg, *A Bibliography*, 4: xxviii.

<sup>71</sup> Greg, *Bibliography*, 4: xxix.

<sup>72</sup> *DEEP* follows a much more consistent procedure for identifying collections. Its creators, Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser, explain that “Collections are books that contain plays, sometimes many (as in the Shakespeare folio), sometimes only a few (as in “small” collections like *1 & 2 Tamburlaine*), and sometimes only a single play among non-dramatic texts (as in Sidney's *Arcadia*).” *DEEP* relies on the material presentation of books as issued from a publisher or bookseller to delineate what is or is not a collection. If a dramatic item is printed in a book, and that book is materially divided among parts or by separate works, it is considered a collection. Under this formulation, *DEEP* lists 126 editions of collections printed from 1512-1659.

better than any other scholarly work to date the many complex collected forms in which drama appeared in the period.<sup>73</sup>

Hence, when I emphasize that the multiplicity of collections needs to be analyzed for a better understanding of the form, I look beyond the parameters set by the Shakespeare Folio. I highlight that dramatic texts were printed and gathered not only in folios, but also in many smaller formats; not only in collections solely consisting of dramatic texts, but also in mixed-genre compilations; not only in large numbers like the thirty-six play First Folio, but also— and more frequently— slim editions with one or two plays; and not only in volumes published as collected editions, but also produced by readers in *sammelbände* or by stationers in “nonce collections” or “tract volumes.” Moreover, this dissertation highlights the significance of collected forms that may never have materialized in stitched or bound books, but that nonetheless display material evidence of having been marketed as “serial collections” or “proposed collections.” My aim here is to enlarge our definitions of what can be considered a collection to show how the material form reflects its historicity and shapes the dramatic texts compiled within.

Drama collections in the period appeared in an array of sizes from large folios to tiny pocketbooks, with quartos proving to be the most common format before 1623.<sup>74</sup> Collections of Samuel Daniel’s dramas are a noteworthy example of the various sizes that were available for

---

<sup>73</sup> Volume 4 of the Greg’s *Bibliography* describes his approach to collections in sections titled “Separate editions and collections” (xxviii-xxxi), “Books in several parts (lxii), “Plays later included in collections” (lxxvi-lxxvii), “Edition in collections” (lxxxv-lxxxix), and “Collections” (xc-xcii).

<sup>74</sup> According to *DEEP*, seven were printed in folio, twenty-nine in quarto, eight in octavo, three in duodecimo, and one sixteenmo. See Paulina Kewes’ work on the publisher Humphrey Mosely and his serial publication of octavo collections is a fine example of how smaller sized formats were appropriated for the presentation of dramatic texts, even after the Jonson and Shakespeare folios had been published. See “Give Me the Sociable Pocket-books,” 5-21.

publication.<sup>75</sup> In 1594, Daniel's play *Cleopatra* was published with *Delia and Rosamond* in sixteenmo.<sup>76</sup> Measuring only 11.4 by 7.3 centimeters after trimming, a copy of this little book now in the Huntington Library could have easily fit into a pocket.<sup>77</sup> Just one year later, *Cleopatra* was printed again with *Delia and Rosamond* but this time in octavo (one copy measuring 11.8 by 7.7 centimeters), still a fairly small book that is easily cradled in a reader's hands.<sup>78</sup> In 1598, the collection appeared in duodecimo, the copy at the British Library measuring 13.3 by 7.7 centimeters, and in 1599, Daniel's *Poetical Essays* was published in quarto, the Folger copy measuring 16.3 by 10 centimeters.<sup>79</sup> Once Daniel's *Works* (1601) was issued in folio, we might expect it to be the last and final size for the collection,<sup>80</sup> but Daniel's works continued to change formats in 1605 and 1607 when both *Cleopatra* and *Philotas* appeared in octavo collections and in 1611 when both were published in duodecimo.<sup>81</sup> In the same year that Shakespeare's Folio was printed, Daniel's *Works* was issued again but this time in

---

<sup>75</sup> While primarily focused on Spenser's folio publications, Stephen K. Galbraith offers a clear analysis of how Daniel's collections morphed over time. See "Spenser's First Folio," 21-50.

<sup>76</sup> *Delia and Rosamond augmented* ([1594], STC 6243.4).

<sup>77</sup> The measurements are of the text block from the Huntington Library copy of the 1594 edition (STC 6243.4), Call number 58731. However, it should be noted that the sizes of sixteenmos varied depending on the type of paper used for the printing and how a binder trimmed the pages. Format does not indicate the exact dimensions of the book but rather denotes the number of times the paper was folded. A sixteenmo means that a full sheet of paper was folded eight times to create 16 pages. Paper sizes also varied depending on the type of paper used: pot, demy, and royal paper would all produce varying sizes of books once the paper was folded in the appropriate format. See Phillip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, 80-87. I want to thank Stephen Tabor at the Huntington Library for assisting with the measurements of this copy.

<sup>78</sup> Samuel Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond augmented* (1595, STC 6243.5). The measurements are of the text block from the Huntington copy of the 1595 edition (Huntington Call Number 49616). I want to thank Stephen Tabor for assisting with the measurements of this copy.

<sup>79</sup> [*Delia and Rosamond augmented*] ([1598], STC 6243.6). The measurements are of the text block from the British Library copy of the 1598 edition (STC6243.6), Shelfmark, C.58.aa.14. *The Poeticall Essayes of Sam. Danyel*. (1599, STC 6261). [Containing "The First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars," "The fyft Booke of the Civill Warres," "Musophilus," "A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius," "The Tragedie of Cleopatra," and "The Complaint of Rosamond."] I want to thank Georgianna Ziegler at the Folger Shakespeare Library for assisting with the measurements of this copy.

<sup>80</sup> *The Works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented* (1601, STC 6236). Folger Measurements are 20.8 by 9.8 centimeters. I want to thank Georgianna Ziegler at the Folger Shakespeare Library for assisting with the measurements of this copy.

<sup>81</sup> *Certaine small poems lately printed* (1605, STC 6239); *Certaine small vvorkes heretofore divulged by Samuel Daniel* (1607, STC 6240); *Certaine small workes heretofore divulged by Samuel* (1611, STC 6242 & 6243).

quarto.<sup>82</sup> That Daniel's collections morphed from pocketbooks to folios, back to miniatures, and finally to quarto disrupts the teleology often applied to dramatic texts, exemplified by the common Shakespeare narrative "from quarto to folio."<sup>83</sup>

Daniel's multiply-sized volumes also provide a fine example of mixed-genre compilations and reveal their importance to any genealogy of the collection. Because the Shakespeare Folio is so often celebrated as the first collection solely consisting of dramatic texts, the mixed-genre collection has been neglected as a form in which plays were printed in the period. In fact, before 1623, the mixed-genre collection was the most commonly printed kind, with most collections containing one or two plays amid poetry and prose, and Jonson's *Works* was, of course, a mixed-genre volume with nine plays, 133 epigrams, fifteen poems, six entertainments, and thirteen masques. Daniel's *Cleopatra* was the sole play among his verses in the 1594, 1595, 1598, 1599, and 1601 collections, while *Philotas* was added to the 1605, 1607, 1611, 1623 expanded volumes that also contained more verse. Mixed-genre collections could also be much slimmer, compiling only one drama with a poem or prose work. Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton's *Gorboduc*, which I discuss in Chapter 3, found itself in this kind of mixed-genre collection in 1590 when the tragedy was annexed to a single prose text, John Lydgate's *Serpent of Division* (1590).<sup>84</sup>

As for collections containing only drama, the most commonly printed were not the thick folio editions containing thirty or more plays but thin two-part or two-play compilations. As discussed above, early interludes written to be performed in two parts often retained this feature when set in print. Later, we find two five-act plays assembled as one collection, as was George Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra I & II* (1578). The single title page advertises the two plays

---

<sup>82</sup> *The whole Workes of Samuel Daniel* (1623, STC 6238).

<sup>83</sup> Kastan titles one his chapters in *Shakespeare and the Book*, "From quarto to folio; or, size matters".

<sup>84</sup> John Lydgate, *The serpent of deusion* (1590, STC 17029).

as parts: *The Right Excellent and famous Historye, of Promos and Cassandra: Deuided into two Commicall Discourses. In the fyrste parte is showne, the vnsufferable abuse, of a lewde Magistrate . . . . In the second parte is discoursed, the perfect magnanimitie of a noble Kinge, in checking Uice and fauouringe Uertue.*<sup>85</sup> The two plays are separated in the book by a divisional title page that announces the “seconde parte,” but this divisional page is more of a decorative feature, for it lacks an imprint and appears on signature G2r, indicating that the second part was not intended to sell on its own and that it was printed continuously with the first. Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine I & II* (1590) is arranged in a similar fashion, with the title page announcing that “*Tamburlaine the Great*” is also “*Deuided into two Tragicall Discourses.*” Each part consists of its own five-act tragedy, and continuous signatures run throughout the 164-page collection (A-L2).<sup>86</sup>

So far I have discussed dramatic collections that vary in format, consist of multiple genres, and contain few parts, but each of these attributes can simply be used to describe kinds of collections, such as the “collected edition,” “sammelbänd,” “nonce collection,” “tract volume,” “serial collection,” and “proposed collection.” The history of each collection’s parts and the scenes of collection determine its kind. Still, if we understand the collection as an archive of previously collected forms and inscribed by previous agents, no one kind exists in a pure state, but bares the threads of its past in collection.<sup>87</sup>

The “collected edition,” with which most contemporary scholars are familiar, is a volume with a general title page that consists of parts that have been “completely reset or newly set for the

---

<sup>85</sup> George Whetstone, *The right excellent and famous historye, of Promos and Cassandra* (1578, STC 25347).

<sup>86</sup> Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great* (1590, STC 17425). The collection collates more precisely: A-K, L2.

<sup>87</sup> When describing collections in bibliographic terms, Fredson Bowers urges us to examine the processes of collection to determine the kind of collection: “Necessarily, we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that the naming of collections, with all their internal variability, cannot be so precise as that of separate books, and we must content ourselves with following precisely the history of the parts of collections, making what shifts we can to be accurate in a common-sense manner in attaching names to the collections.” *Principles of Bibliography*, 99.

collection.”<sup>88</sup> A collected edition can appear in any format (duodecimo, quarto, folio etc.), contain many genres, or simply fuse two texts. The small two-play octavo, *Tamburlaine I & II* (1590), George Gascoigne’s *Poesies* (1595), as well as the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios meet all three criteria: they have a general title page and consist of parts newly set from type for the respective collection.<sup>89</sup>

However, a collected edition fluidly morphs into what we call a *sammelbänd* if a book contains “two or more bibliographically distinct works” bound or stitched together.<sup>90</sup> For example, if a reader joined Gascoigne’s play *Glass of Government*, which was also printed in quarto in 1595, to *Poesies* (1595), the compilation would be considered a “*sammelband*.” Because texts were often sold to customers simply “stab-stitched” with a single thread running through two or three holes punched through the text block, stationers and readers could easily bring any set of texts together to create their own collections. Readers could then bring any group of texts to a binder and have the selection secured within a protective covering, such as a simple sheet of vellum or decoratively tooled calfskin, among many other choices.<sup>91</sup> If a dramatic text or a drama collection was sold already bound, as seemed to be the case at times, the reader could have the binding removed to reconfigure the texts, adding or removing parts, as he

---

<sup>88</sup> Bowers, *Principles of Bibliography*, 98. While Fredson Bowers admits that “the nomenclature of collected editions is not without its problems”, he insists that for a collection to be called a “collected edition,” it only needs a general title page and newly published parts that were printed *for the collection*.

<sup>89</sup> Oftentimes, the collected edition will contain continuous signatures, although this is not required for a volume to be established as a collected edition.

<sup>90</sup> Carter and Barker explain, “During the years before edition-binding and publisher’s cloth –the whole period, that is, between Johann Gutenberg, 1450, and William Pickering, 1823 – books were normally issued to the public, across the counter, in alternative dress and at alternative prices; (1) unbound, in folded quires (latterly stitched and with the intentionally temporary protection of wrappers or paper-covered boards) for binding to the purchaser’s taste, at his order and expense, as on the Continent to this day, or (2) at a higher price in some usually simple binding put on by or for the bookseller.” See *ABC for Book Collectors*, 218-219; David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles*. Stuart Bennett argues that some books like primers, prayerbooks, and larger volumes were sold already bound. See *Trade bookbinding in the British Isles*.

<sup>91</sup> See David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles*, 1-12.

or she wished.<sup>92</sup> Unfortunately, many sammelbände from the early modern period are no longer extant, as dramatic texts were frequently removed from original bindings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>93</sup> Sammelbände that still remain in their period bindings are rare, but when found, they serve as inimitable resources for understanding collections, how readers organized their texts, and which principles they used to unify or organize dramatic works.<sup>94</sup>

Booksellers could also make collections by gathering together previously published books and selling them in pre-collected bundles. If a publisher had a new general title page printed to repackage the compilation, we call this a “nonce collection.”<sup>95</sup> If the bookseller chose not to print a general title and just sold the books stitched together, we call this a “tract volume.”<sup>96</sup> Thomas Norton’s *All Such Treatises* (1570), the focus of Chapter 3, provides a fine example of a “nonce collection” and exposes the fine line between kinds of collections in the early modern period. In 1569 and 1570, the London stationer John Day printed five political treatises written by Thomas Norton and one play, *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*, in individual octavo editions. At some point in or after 1570, Day bundled the previously published octavos and printed a new title page that advertised the six works as a collection. Only two copies of *All Such Treatises* are extant; more often, we find Norton’s works printed from John Day’s press in 1569 and 1570 assembled together without a general title page, some still in period bindings. For

---

<sup>92</sup> See Pearson, *English Bookbinding*, 8-12; Mirjam M. Foote, *Bookbinders at Work*, 15-22.

<sup>93</sup> See Pearson, *English Bookbinding*, 1-10.

<sup>94</sup> When the binding or the extant copies of texts do not reveal any history of collection, other documents in the archives often do. Catalogues or inventories of books from early modern libraries, records of binding or rebinding from private collections or institutional libraries, or auction records can also provide evidence of previous compilation. See Knight, “Fast Bind, Fast Find,” 70-104.

<sup>95</sup> Bowers, “Functions of Bibliography,” 501. He states that “nonce collection” is when a “group of independent books designed for separate sale is formed for issue as a collection under a general title page.”

<sup>96</sup> In *ABC for Book Collectors*, Carter and Barker define the “Tract volume” as “Short, ephemeral or even frivolous books, originally issued stitched and with little more protection, were often preserved by being bound together” (218). However, I use the term more precisely to define those sammelbände that were bundled and stitched by a member of the book trade, regardless of whether the contents were “ephemeral” or “frivolous” books. Paul Needham in *The Printer and the Pardoner*, explains that “tract volume” does have the connotation of being composed of “slight works” (17) and thus prefers to use the term sammelbänd for both reader or stationer-compiled compilations.

many of these copies, the general title page was likely damaged, removed, or simply lost. For others, a general title page may never have been present. Indeed, the number of extant collections without general title pages suggests that in addition to marketing the nonce collection, *All Such Treatises*, John Day was bundling Norton's octavos and selling the compilations as tract volumes.

At time, it can be difficult if not impossible to identify which agent— a bookseller or reader— created a collection; thus, throughout this dissertation I use the term “sammelbänd” to denote collections that gather previously published works without evidence of a general title page, but also carefully specify when a sammelbänd shows evidence of being a “tract volume”— compiled by an agent within the book trade—and sold in that pre-collected format to more than one reader. I use these terms less to label or categorize collections and more to offer a set of terms by which to differentiate forms that are created through different processes and by different agents.

The most famous tract volume in Western literature, and one I discuss in Chapter 5, is a compilation of nine plays attributed to William Shakespeare, which were published by Thomas Pavier and printed by William Jaggard in 1619.<sup>97</sup> Often called “The Pavier Quartos,” this set of nine bibliographically independent plays, each with their own title pages, may have been an early attempt to issue a collected edition based on the bard's authorship.<sup>98</sup> Scholars still have yet to agree on why this set of quartos was published in 1619, but evidently, Pavier aborted the idea of issuing the plays as a collected edition and instead sold them in pre-gathered tract volumes as

---

<sup>97</sup> For some of the preliminary work done on the Pavier quartos and the fake title page dates, see Walter W. Greg, “On Certain False Dates in Shakespearian Quartos,” 113–131, 381–409; A.W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 81-107; William S. Kable, *The Pavier Quartos and the First Folio of Shakespeare*; Peter W. M. Blayney, “‘Compositor B’ and the Pavier Quartos,” 181–206.

<sup>98</sup> For differing accounts on why the Pavier Quartos were issued, see Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* and Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary*, 255-258.

well as in individual editions, urging readers to assemble the quartos on their own. The number of extant gatherings of these exact nine plays, all published by the same stationer, suggests that Pavier and/or Jaggard played a role in bundling the plays for readers. We know that at least two early modern readers found the compilations worthy of purchasing and preserving, for two bound volumes exist in their early bindings with these nine quartos, although in each, the plays are in a different order.<sup>99</sup>

Other sammelbände still in contemporary bindings show that dramatic texts were compiled with sundry other books by either readers or agents of the press. For instance, a copy of Abraham Fraunce's *The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch Parts I and II* (1591), which includes the translated drama *Phyllis and Amyntas* and exists in its own collected edition, appears in a period vellum binding at the Huntington Library with three other quarto books.<sup>100</sup> The entire volume collates as follows:

1) Etienne Pasquier's *Monophylo, Drawne into English by Geffray Fenton* (1572, STC 10797).

2) Fraunce's *The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch : Conteining the affectionate life, and vnfortunate death of Phyllis and Amyntas: that in a pastorall; this in a funerall; both in English hexameters by Abraham Fraunce* (1591, STC 11340).

3) Fraunce's *The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel. : Conteining the natiuity, passion, buriall, and resurrection of Christ: together with certaine Psalmes of Dauid. All in English hexameters by Abraham Fraunce* (1591, STC 11339).

---

<sup>99</sup> See Greg, *Bibliography*, 3: 1108. The volumes are held at Texas Christian University and Folger Shakespeare Library.

<sup>100</sup> Huntington Library, Call number 59746. I want to thank Stephen Tabor for confirming that this binding is contemporaneous with the books compiled within.

4) Thomas Watson's *The lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis*.

*Paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English hexameters, by Abraham Fraunce*  
(1589, STC 25118.6).

Containing two collections of Fraunce's works, the Huntington volume consists mostly of verse, especially when supplemented by Watson's adaptation of the tale of Philis's death in hexameter, which oddly appears twice in the volume, one copy in *Ivychurch Part II* and the other as its own quarto published in 1589. Similarly, another copy of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch Parts I and II* now at the Newberry Library shows that it too was in a sammelbänd that combined Fraunce's texts with other poetic works. Bound in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century vellum, the Newberry copy's spine states the previous contents of the volume in an early hand in brown ink: "Iuichurch book parts: & Shepards Calender."<sup>101</sup> That *The Countesse of Pembrokes Ivychurch I and II* (1591), *The third part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch Entituled, Amintas dale* (1592), *The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel* (1591) and one other work, Edmund Spenser's *The shepheardes calendar* (unknown date), were all printed in quarto and available to readers in new editions in 1591/2 illustrates that this volume may also have been compiled to capture the works of the emerging poets of the day.<sup>102</sup>

In this dissertation, I have made it a point to expand my examination of collections to include imagined collections, groupings of texts once considered a set or as pieces of a larger textual unit, whether or not extant editions still exist in these formulations. This means that I take very seriously evidence like the Newberry vellum binding that provides a trace of a collection

---

<sup>101</sup> Newberry Library, Call Number Case Y 135 .F86.

<sup>102</sup> Abraham Fraunce, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Ivychurch I and II* (1591, STC 11340); *The third part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch Entituled, Amintas dale* (1592, STC 11341); *Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel* (1591, STC 11339); Again, because Spenser's *The shepheardes calendar* is no longer in the binding, we cannot date the edition; however, it should be noted that an edition of *The shepheardes calendar* was printed in 1591: *The shepheardes calendar* (1591, STC 23092).

that at one time existed in material form. However, in regards to both the Huntington and Newberry volumes, it is also essential to consider the processes that went into making the Fraunce publications collectable in the first place. Even before their compilation in sammelbänds, the *Ivychurch* publications were already marketed as a kind of collection perhaps by their author and definitely by their publishers and printer.

The *Ivychurch* books illustrate how publishers and booksellers used serial collections to market texts together in sets. A “serial collection” results when a publisher issues multiple editions over a short span of time and either numbers them (eg. Part I, II, and III) to prompt readers to collect them and/or markets the books together as a related set based on a common plot -line or character (*Tamburlain I & II*). The division of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Ivychurch* into two parts was a specific choice in 1591 made by the publisher William Ponsonby and carried out with his printer Thomas Orwin. In that same year, Ponsonby and Orwin also set forth Fraunce’s *The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel* (1591), using the same woodcut border on the title pages of both collections and formatting both in quarto. *The third part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch* (1592) appeared in quarto the following year, again with the same title-page woodcut border, though now Thomas Woodcocke was listed as publisher. By first publishing Parts I and II of *Ivychurch*, the stationers could begin to secure a readership and consumer base for Part III. If readers wanted yet another Fraunce work to add to their collection, *Emanuel* would also have been available in 1591. By issuing three sequentially numbered books and a fourth by the same author within a very short timeframe, the publishers and booksellers created texts that could easily be collected, which clearly motivated some readers to buy the parts and have them bound, as we can see in the Huntington and Newberry copies. Or perhaps the stationers or booksellers stitched copies together to sell as tract volumes. Even though many of

these “build-it-yourself collections”<sup>103</sup> no longer remain in their original bindings and evidence of past materialization is difficult to locate, these collected forms and their serial publication point to the processes involved in bringing groups of texts together into collected forms.

In the process of creating a book, intentions for collections were not always carried out on the part of the stationer or even the writer; nevertheless, agents can be found claiming that their texts were to function as parts of a collection. These “proposed collections” can help us to examine the motivations and impulses for bringing sets of texts together in the period. The case of Thomas Churchyard’s proposed collection containing *The Queen's Entertainment at Bristow* provides a useful example of a multi-volume that was seemingly aborted.<sup>104</sup> *Firste parte of Churchyardes Chippes* (1575) offered readers an array of poems, a eulogy, and a progress entertainment in a collection that in title alone anticipated a second part. Churchyard even claims in his dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton that “My first booke hath but few things in it, but such varietie of matter as shall breed to the Reader rather pleasure than painfulnes. And the second shall contain a number of things I trust of no lesse pastime and commodity, waying mirrely the meaning of my Imaginacio[n]s” (sig. \*iir). This “second” book, however, either was not written or was not published. The “First Part” remained the only part of *Churchyard’s Chips*.<sup>105</sup> Still, the unmaterialized collection becomes a fascinating point of study and reinforces the significance of noting and interpreting these multiple scenes of collection in conception as well as physical instantiation. These examples of unrealized collections highlight the variables involved in the processes of collection, emphasizing that moving from inception to production was never a simple teleological path.

---

<sup>103</sup> Galbraith, “Spenser’s First Folio: The Build-It-Yourself Edition,” 21-50.

<sup>104</sup> Thomas Churchyard, *The firste parte of Churchyardes chippes* (1575, STC 5232).

<sup>105</sup> The second edition of *The firste parte of Churchyardes chippes* (1578, STC 5233) was expanded.

### III

When I examine the multiple forms of the collection, the human agents who contributed to bringing collections into being inevitably come to the fore. By highlighting these agents and the diversity of processes they implemented to materialize drama collections, I build upon the work of both New Bibliographers and New Textualists whose research on authors, publishers, printers, booksellers, editors, compositors, binders, and readers demonstrates that making books was always a collaborative effort. Moreover, the material books of the early modern period often record not only the writers who composed the texts but also the specific agents who designed the overall appearance of the book and the readers who inscribed their thoughts (and sometimes names) in the margins.<sup>106</sup> My work shifts the focus to those agents who carried out the processes of collection-making, such as conceptualization, compilation, and materialization.

Collections required agential processes that may not have been necessary in the production of a single playbook. Collected editions were typically conceptualized first, often designed as unified books, with a title page that established the coherence of the pieces while advertising the array of contents or with a table of contents and running headers to help readers maneuver through the volume. When creating sammelbände, readers chose which items they wanted bound together, their order, the material for binding, and whether to insert any blank pages for notes or their own manuscript table of contents— which sometimes appear in extant copies— or readers left those details for the binder to determine.<sup>107</sup> Because collections of drama frequently documented their history of formation, those who shaped that history are similarly inscribed into these books.

---

<sup>106</sup> See Roger E. Stoddard, *Marks in Books*; Sherman, *Used Books*; H.J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*, 45-52. Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material*, 138-195;

<sup>107</sup> See Knight, "Making Shakespeare's Books," 311-313.

Writers, of course, must figure into any discussion of the agents who produced collections and who fashioned their texts (or had their writing fashioned) to be collectable in print. Benjamin Jonson is typically considered the first dramatist to participate in the print production of his own drama collection; Jonson's role as author, collector, and editor of his works has become commonplace thanks to a spate of excellent recent scholarship.<sup>108</sup> Nonetheless, a genealogy of the drama collection shows that Jonson was just one in a long line of writers who imagined their dramatic texts as fit for collection. Gascoigne, for example, asserts in *A hundreth sundrie flowres bounde vp in one small poesie* (1573) that his individual texts, including his plays *Supposes* and *Jocasta* and his *Montague Masque*, form a bouquet of flowers picked from "Classical gardens" and "English orchards."<sup>109</sup> Gascoigne urges readers to approach his volume as collectors themselves: to be bees that hover over the texts, extracting sweet nectars, only later to produce nourishing honey.<sup>110</sup> Gascoigne's concept of his collection is revised in *Poesies* (1575). He claims that he "hath divided" "The healthsome hearbes and flowers sweet, from weedes," thereby providing readers with instructive categorizations of his "poesies" into parts deriving from their use value. A commendatory note from "The Printer" to Gascoigne states,

*Chawcer* by writing purchaste fame,

And *Gower* got a worthie name:

---

<sup>108</sup> For mid-twentieth century accounts of Jonson as author and producer of his 1616 Folio, see Newton, "Jonson and the Re-Invention; Johan Gerritsen, "Stansby and Jonson Produce a Folio," 52-65. For more recent analyses, see Donovan, "Jonson's Texts," 23-37; Herendeen, "A New Way to Pay," 38-63; Loewenstein, "Printing and 'The Multitudinous Presse,'" 168-191; Mark Bland, "William Stansby and the Production of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*," 1-34; Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson*; Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House*, 104-139. For more on Jonson as a collector of his "works," see Swann, *Curiosities*, 149-181.

<sup>109</sup> In *Poesies*, Gascoigne claims that the previous edition had been printed with his knowledge although he did not authorize its publication since he was out of the country. Evidence also indicates that Gascoigne oversaw aspects of the publication of all of his collections. See Gillian Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 68-72.

<sup>110</sup> On the use of Seneca's metaphor of the foraging bee to represent the act of reading and commonplacing, see Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-books*, 12-14. For a similar appropriation of the bee/flower metaphor to signify the act of reading, see Isabella Whitney's *A sweet nosgay* (1573, STC 25440). See also Peter Stallybrass, "Against Thinking," 1580-1587.

And *Wiat* wrote of wondrous things:  
Olde *Rochfort* clambe the stately Throne,  
Which *Muses* holde, in *Hellicone*.  
Then thither let good *Gascoigne* go,  
For sure his verse, deserueth so. (sig. ¶¶¶¶¶iiiv)

Here, it is the agent of the printing house, probably the publisher Richard Smith, who compares Gascoigne to other English authors who were (or who were thought to have been) published in printed collections: Geoffrey Chaucer in his folio *Works* (1532, 1542, 1550?, 1561), John Gower in his folio *Confessio amantis* (1483, 1532, 1554),<sup>111</sup> and Sir Thomas Wyatt and Lord Rochfort (George Boelyn) in the poetry miscellany *Songes and Sonnetts* (1557 & 1559 quartos, 1565 & 1574 octavos). That writers and publishers were thinking about the status that a collected edition could confer on authors seems apparent in the genealogy of Gascoigne's collections, for in 1587, another title page established his *Poesies* and a few additional pieces as *The Whole Woorkes*.

When discussing authors of dramatic texts in early modern collections, it is also essential to consider the English translators and their contributions to the form. Gascoigne's dramas *Jocasta* and *Supposes*, for instance, were translations, the former from Euripides' Greek tragedy, the latter from Ariosto's Italian comedy. In fact, Gascoigne's translations may have in part inspired the material production of a larger collection of English translations of drama that appeared in 1581, *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies*, the focus of my second chapter.<sup>112</sup> This ten-play volume features the works of five English translators who sought through the process of a

---

<sup>111</sup> Gower's *Confessio amantis* (1483, STC 12142) and its many editions throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was single poem, but it consisted of multiple tales, similar to the structure of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or Boccaccio's *Decameron*. *Confession amantis* contained a prologue and eight books, which the 1483 title page states were "compyled by Johan Gower." Hence, it makes sense that Smith would see the multi-tale, multi-book folio as a collection.

<sup>112</sup> Alexander Neville, translator of *Oedipus*, and George Gascoigne responded to one another's literary work. See Gillian Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 42-4.

collection to introduce the Roman author's dramatic works to English readers in an accessible format. The 1590s also saw a number of drama translations in printed collections, including Abraham Fraunce's *Amyntas and Phillis in Ivychurch* (1591) and Mary Sidney Herbert's *Antonius* printed with *A Discourse of Life or Death* (1592). It is likely that the publication of these English translations in collection encouraged English dramatists to conceive of their own vernacular plays as amenable to collection.

Publishers of printed drama also played a significant role in constructing collections and in using the form to entice readers to buy more or bigger books. As Peter Blayney and Zachary Lesser have shown, the publisher, whose name frequently appears alongside the printers on early modern imprints, would have been the primary financial investors in a play's print production.<sup>113</sup> Lesser claims that publishers formulated their own interpretations of texts to determine how to sell a playbook to particular consumers.<sup>114</sup> To access these "interpretations," we need to turn to the playbook as a material object for clues about publishers' preferences and aims. Title pages, fonts, woodcuts, dedications, notes from the printer to the reader, and other aspects of the material book can potentially provide us with a glimpse of the way a publisher conceived of a play. When applied to the publishers of drama collections, much of the same methodology holds, although in producing drama collections containing multiple texts, a publisher may have taken on more economic risk than in setting forth a single playbook. For example, because of its size and length, the 1623 Shakespeare Folio with thirty-six plays would have cost a publisher much

---

<sup>113</sup> Peter Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks"; Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*.

<sup>114</sup> Lesser writes, "[W]hether or not they read a play in its entirety or saw it performed in the theatre, all early modern publishers needed to judge a plays' large cultural meanings in order to decide whether they fit into their specialty. Reading, in this sense, begins well before the publisher leafs through a manuscript or enters the playhouse yard. Reading includes, among other possibilities, the publisher's understanding of a text based on its title, or its author's previous work, or its provenance—its acting company, theatre, patrons, or coterie—or its generic conventions, or simply based on what friends or fellow stationers may have said about the text. . . ." See *Renaissance Drama*, 9.

more money upfront than publishing a single quarto edition of *The Merchant of Venice*. The format and size of the collection, number of texts, amount of paper, and labor costs for printing all contributed to the total investment that a publisher hoped to recoup once editions were selling. In the same sense, large format collections like Shakespeare's Folio were more expensive investments than two-play collections like Sir William Alexander's *Monarchick Tragedies* (1604).

Nonetheless, the publisher Edward Blount found both to be worthwhile, for he not only published Alexander's collection but also entered into partnership with William and Isaac Jaggard to share the burden of producing the expensive Shakespeare Folio.<sup>115</sup> When Blount published the *Monarchick Tragedies*, containing *The Tragedy of Cræsus* and *The Tragedy of Darius*, he had already exerted the labor of creating for readers a pair of plays under a general title page. At the same time, however, he designed the dramas by the Scottish poet and dramatist so that they could sell separately.<sup>116</sup> If customers wanted to purchase just one playbook, they could choose either *Cræsus*, which was introduced by the general title page, or *Darius*, which was printed with its own separate title page. Even more, Blount could encourage readers to purchase additional works by Alexander that he published in the same year, a group of sonnets entitled *Aurora* (1604) and the poem *A paraenesis to the Prince* (1604), or he could sell all of them stitched together in a tract volume.<sup>117</sup> As a published set, these four quartos could have easily been purchased by a reader and made into a sammelbänd in or after 1604.<sup>118</sup> In 1607, Blount would make such a proposed collection even more appealing as he reissued *Cræsus* and

---

<sup>115</sup> For more on Blount, see Leah Scragg, "Edward Blount and the History of Lylian Criticism," 1-10; Leah Scragg, "Edward Blount," 117-26; Also see Gary Taylor, "Edward Blount" in *The New Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>116</sup> William Alexander, *The monarchick tragedies* (1604, STC 343).

<sup>117</sup> William Alexander, *Aurora* (1604, STC 337); *A paraenesis to the Prince by William Alexander of Menstrie* (1604, STC 346).

<sup>118</sup> In 1604, Blount would have been able to offer readers yet another collection of dramatic texts: Benjamin Jonson's *King James his Royall and Magnificent Entertainment* (1604, STC 14756).

*Darius* with two more of Alexander's tragedies, *Julius Caesar* and *The Alexandrian Tragedy*, each of which was printed with its own separate title page.<sup>119</sup> If readers already owned *Cræsus* or *Darius*, they could purchase individual editions of *Caesar* and *Alexandrian* to add to their collection. The marketing strategy worked at least for one reader: the four-play *Monarchick Tragedies* (1607) is currently bound in a seventeenth-century sammelbänd at the Victoria and Albert National Art Library with a copy of *A paraenesis to the Prince* (1604) and *Aurora* (1604) annexed to the plays.<sup>120</sup>

Sonia Massai's recent findings on early modern editing of dramatic texts reveals yet another agent who played a formative role in the creation of dramatic collections—the editor, or as Massai prefers (to avoid the anachronistic term) “annotating readers,” who were possibly publishers or agents hired to correct a printed copy before it went to press.<sup>121</sup> While these annotating readers' names are rarely recorded, their labor can be traced by examining textual variations from one printed edition to the next. Massai focuses primarily on the substantive corrections made in dramatic texts during their transmission in print to define the labor of an editorial agent; however, I also want to emphasize a number of other responsibilities such “editors” might have taken on that parallel those of current editors of anthologies or essay collections. Such an agent chooses texts to be compiled, arranges them according to her/his goals, constructs textual or paratextual apparatuses to facilitate the use of the volume, and sometimes offers prefatory remarks or essays to introduce readers to her/his conceptualization of the book as a whole. We usually see publishers of early modern collections completing many of these tasks, but a number of collections also record a separate agent who was responsible for

---

<sup>119</sup> Sir William Alexander, *The monarchicke tragedies* (1607, STC 344).

<sup>120</sup> See Dyce 9523 (25.E.42). This sammelbänd is in a plain mottled calf binding. I want to thank Carlo Dumontet for his assistance in dating the binding to the seventeenth century.

<sup>121</sup> Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise*, 30-33.

both correcting the text and cohering the collection's parts. As I discuss with *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* in Chapter 2, the clergyman and translator Thomas Newton contributed these editorial functions to more than twenty printed books in the sixteenth century. By compiling texts that he deemed useful to English readers, sometimes translating works from Latin, French or Italian, and writing prefaces or commendatory verses, Newton formed a working relationship with the publisher Thomas Marsh, who printed a number of these collections—including the Seneca translations.

Perhaps a more well-known edited collection is *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, which when published in 1598, included Sir Phillip Sidney's entertainment *Lady of May*.<sup>122</sup> Mary Sidney Herbert (the author of her own translated play in collection in 1592) and her husband's secretary, Hugh Sanford, are credited with editing this volume along with publisher William Ponsonby.<sup>123</sup> The three agents worked together in multiple capacities as collecting agents to gather *Lady of May* and *Certaine Sonets* from manuscript copies, reprint the combined New and Old *Arcadia* from 1593, reprint the 1595 *Defense of Poesie*, and revise the text of *Astrophel and Stella*. The act of compiling *Arcadia* and *Defense* had already been completed, for Ponsonby had previously printed both editions, but adding the sonnets and the entertainment would have required a certain amount of collecting of manuscript texts and correcting them for publication.<sup>124</sup> Bringing out the 1598 volume thus required the labor of editorial agents who were invested in creating the first collection of Sidney's literary output. Delineating which agent made certain additions or excisions is difficult if not impossible, yet it appears that the project, at least for Herbert, was an attempt to honor her brother through the process of collection and publication.

---

<sup>122</sup> Phillip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1598, STC 22541).

<sup>123</sup> Joel Davis, "Multiple *Arcadias*," 401-430.

<sup>124</sup> W.A. Ringler Jr., "Sir Philip Sidney," 12.

Early modern readers also functioned as both publishers and editors when they configured their own sammelbände, and their preferences and choices of collected forms are recorded in extant volumes, library lists, and book catalogues, as well as in manuscript marginalia and manuscript lists of contents of individual volumes.<sup>125</sup> Heidi Brayman Hackel's work highlights a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers who collected dramatic texts in their libraries. For instance, in October 1627, the private library of Francis Egerton, the Countess of Bridgewater, was recorded in "A Catalogue of my Ladies Bookes in London," with a list of 241 titles.<sup>126</sup> The Catalogue reveals that the library contained plays in collection, although few specific titles are mentioned: "44. Diuers Playes by Shakespeare 1602. / 45.46.47.48. Diuerse Playes in 5 thicke Volumes / 49. in velum. I giuen to my Ldy Mary / 50. A Booke of Diuerse Playes in Leather 1599. / 51. The Tragaedy of Mustapha 1609/ 52. A Booke of Diuerse Playes in Velum 1601."<sup>127</sup> In contrast, Sir John Harrington's list of printed plays from his library completed before 1610 offers specific titles of plays and the order in which they were bound in eleven individual volumes.<sup>128</sup> In his "5 tome," one can find at least one realization of collection by an early reader: the list presents what on first glance appears to be duplicate entries: "Tamburlane. Tamburlane" followed immediately by "Edward 4. Edward 4."<sup>129</sup> However, if Harrington compiled his plays by size, which was common for the time, he was compiling quarto playbooks in this sammelband. "Tamburlane. Tamburlane" likely refers to *Tamburlaine I*, which was printed in quarto format for the first time in 1605, and *Tamburlaine II*, also printed in quarto

---

<sup>125</sup> For library catalogues from the period, see Robert J. Fehrenbach and Elisabeth S. Leedham-Green, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*. For an on-line searchable database of these volumes and more recent additions to the catalogue, see the *PLRE Folger Database*. For an on-line bibliography on early modern libraries, sale catalogues, and book lists, see William M. Hamlin, *Early Modern English Library Catalogues*.

<sup>126</sup> Brayman Hackel, 244. "A Catalogue of my Ladies Bookes in London" from October 1627 is transcribed and published in full in *Reading Material*, 258-281.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* 266-7

<sup>128</sup> See Greg, *Bibliography*, 3:1306-1312.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 1311

in 1606. Conceiving of these two parts as a unit by gathering them together in the volume, Harrington simultaneously established each part as its own separate play in his list of books. Thomas Heywood's *Edward the Fourth* was published as a two-play collection under one title page, announcing *The First and Second Partes of King Edward the Fourth* in 1599, 1600, and 1605.<sup>130</sup> Again, in his sammelbänd, Harrington assembled the parts together but listed each part as its own play—even though they had been published under one title page with continuous signatures. In a sense, the *Edward IV* plays were treated in a reader's sammelbänd as materially collected parts, but not an integrated whole. Harrington's treatment of *Tamburlaine* and *Edward IV* thus shows that no matter how well a publisher or other agent carried out his or her intentions in producing a collected volume, readers interpreted and materially manifested their own conceptions of collections, moving dramatic texts fluidly in and out of collected forms while negotiating the parts of the collection with the whole.

#### IV

By tracing the processes of collection before 1623 and staying attuned to the multiplicity of agents and forms that lay behind them, my dissertation reveals that authorship was just one of many principles that served to generate, unify, and organize collections in the early modern period. Even in a single-author collection, other principles of collection subordinate, challenge, or reinforce authorial threads. Genre, pedagogical agendas, political persuasion, and performance emerge as principles that hold the parts in collection together in ways that a name on a title page did not always do. Collections used a variety of principles to support the financial and/or ideological aims of various agents, including printers, publishers, booksellers, authors, translators, editors, and readers.

---

<sup>130</sup> Thomas Heywood, *The first and second parts of King Edward the fourth* (1599, STC 13341); *The first and second parts of King Edward the fourth* (1600, STC 13342); *The first and second parts of King Edward the fourth* (1605, STC 13343).

The scenes of collection for *The Monarchic Tragedies* (1604), published by Edward Blount, show that the two-play volume was organized according to a number of principles of collection. Both plays in the volume were written by the same author, Sir William Alexander, and his name appeared on the general title page; hence, authorship was a primary principle of this collection. Still, both plays, *Darius* and *Cræsus*, were “tragedies,” and similarly relayed the falls of ambitious kings; thus, genre was a principle of the collection and remained so in 1607 and 1616 when two more “monarchic tragedies” (*Julius Caesar* and *Alexandrine*) were added to the collection. Moreover, the dedication in *The Monarchick Tragedies* demonstrates that the volume was compiled to celebrate a timely political event, the ascension of James VI of Scotland to the English throne in late 1603, and to promote the peaceful unification of England and Scotland under his rule. The timing of the publication, just months after James became the king of England, implies that Blount sought to profit from readers’ interests in the new monarch and his retinue. Sir William Alexander was a Scottish poet and courtier to the king.<sup>131</sup> While Blount’s two-play collection reinforced Alexander’s praise of James I, it also fulfilled readers’ interests in the Scottish king, the Scottish men who sought his patronage, and their literary tastes. For the *Monarchic Tragedies*, political motivations underlie the unification of two plays in the quarto collection.

Other collections from the period also show traces of individual readers carefully compiling texts according to useful principles. A reader’s sammelbänd including *Gentylness* and *Nobility*, now at the Bodleian Library, still appears in its contemporary binding with brass

---

<sup>131</sup> Alexander, *Monarchic Tragedies* (1604, STC 343), A3r. In the collection’s dedication, Alexander as a Scottish lord praises James for uniting Scotland and England, or “all greate Britanes coastes from South to North” without violence and the ambition of a tyrant.

clasps.<sup>132</sup> The volume came from the Ashmole collection, and may have been one of Elias Ashmole's own compilations, as his signature appears on the first page. The contents include:

- 1) Juliana Berner's *This present boke shewyth the manere of hawkyng [and] huntyng: and also of diuysynge of cote armours* ([1496]], STC 3309).
- 2) *A mery play betwene Iohan Iohan the husbnde, Tyb his wyfe, [and] syr Iha[n]n the preest* ([1533], STC 13298).
- 3) Henry Medwall's *Of gentylnes and nobyltye. A dyaloge between the marchaut the knyght and the plowman dysputyng who is a verey gentylman [et] who is a noble man and how men shuld come to auctoryte, compiled in maner of an enterlude with diuers toys [et] gestis addyd therto to make mery pastyme and disport* ([ca. 1525]], STC 20723).

Berner's text was an assemblage in itself as it combined sections on a variety of topics. What is perhaps even more interesting about this copy of Berner's text is that it contains a number of pages completely written in manuscript in an early hand (not Ashmole's), accompanied by a number of colored ink drawings of armorial devices. The creator of the manuscript pages was transcribing the text and images most likely from another printed edition to complete his or her copy, which apparently had lost important parts that needed to be supplemented by hand.<sup>133</sup> The inclusion of the two plays in the volume might be explained by the fact that both were published by John Rastell within seven years of each other, which may have made them convenient to compile if they were bought and/or stored together. But, why create a text on hunting, hawking, and armorial devices together with these two playbooks?

All three books were published in folio, making them easy to bind together, the plays adding bulk to Berner's text if it were the highlight of the volume. An analysis of the three texts

---

<sup>132</sup> See Shelfmark Ashm. 1766 (7). The Bodleian SOLO Online Catalogue describes this volume including its binding, <http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>, (accessed April 20, 2011).

<sup>133</sup> Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books*, 71-74.

shows that they were similarly invested in determining the nature of a noble-man or gentleman, what knowledge he was to possess, and how he was to behave. Berner's text was a manual of sorts to teach the gentlemanly arts. Likewise, *Iohan Iohan the husbände* and *Gentylnes and Noblyte* offer debates on the traits that a noble or gentle person should display. Further analysis would definitely reveal more about other ideologies unifying the texts in this sammelbänd, but it is worth considering that no matter the compiler's intentions, this assemblage of texts was preserved in a fine binding with clasps because a reader at one moment valued its contents and perhaps the ideological message that emerged when this grouping of texts was brought together. Considering that *Gentylnes and Noblyte* was the first dramatic text published in folio in England, it seems time to begin to see dramatic texts in collection anew, according to a history or genealogy that could treat this Bodleian sammelbänd as just one instantiation of England's "First Folio."

## V

In the following four chapters, I chart the genealogies of five dramatic collections to further unfold the multiplicity of forms, agents, and principles that shaped the collection and its history as a medium for printed drama in early modern England. In Chapter 2, "Archiving Processes and Agents in the Collected Edition: Humanist Pedagogy in Thomas Newton's *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581)," I examine how agents Thomas Newton and Thomas Marsh constructed a volume of ten vernacular translations that were not only organized by the principle of Seneca's authorship but also designed to teach English men and women how to read the collection for moral edification. By charting the scenes of the collection beginning in 1569, this chapter reveals how Newton and Marsh documented the many English agents who contributed to the volume's production and inscribed the multiple processes of collection onto its pages to

communicate and reinforce their humanist pedagogical agenda. The chapter shows the “collected edition” to be a malleable and shifting archive marked by the traces of past collections.

Chapter 3, “Treating Divisions in the Nonce Collection: Political Persuasion in Thomas Norton’s *All Such Treatises* (1570),” examines how five previously printed political pamphlets written by Thomas Norton were joined by the stationer John Day to the previously published and re-named play, *The Tragedy of Ferrex & Porrex*, co-written by Norton and Thomas Sackville, to create an authorial nonce collection. A genealogy of the collection shows that this nonce collection was designed to persuade English readers to unite against their Catholic foes after the 1569 Northern Rebellion. Norton and Day carefully ordered and arranged the parts to reinforce the political message of the collection in 1570s England. Chapter 3 demonstrates how the “nonce collection” as a material form invited agents to expand the collection, using its open-endedness as a means through which to further “treat” an argument.

Chapter 4, “Marketing the Serial Collection: Remembering Performance in the Paul’s Boys’ Quartos (1591-1592),” focuses on three comedies written by John Lyly and marketed as a serial collection by a widow bookseller and publisher, Joan Broome, to show support for Elizabeth I and her ecclesiastical government. While Lyly’s name did not appear on any of quarto playbooks, Broome advertised first three, and then five comedies as previously performed by the Children of Paul’s theater troupe at court for the queen. By exploring Broome’s marketing techniques and processes of collection, I illustrate how the bookseller appropriated the style of publication but not the polemical message of the Martin Marprelate pamphlets, a serialized set of polemical anti-ecclesiastical tracts which spurred a censorious backlash from the English crown in 1589 and 1590. In the aftermath of the Marprelate affair, Broome’s playbooks together celebrated Elizabeth I and the obeisance of her English Church and subjects—a principle that

would more than forty years later allow another publisher, Edward Blount, to market six of Lyly's plays in a collected edition in 1632. This chapter reinforces the significance of analyzing the history of the parts of collections to understand the collection as a medium for stage plays.

Chapter 5, "Negotiating Alternative Principles of Authorial Collections: The "Whole" Monument in Parts in Jonson's *Works* (1616) and Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1623)," returns to the famous folios that have been the focus of so much scholarly attention, but with the new context provided by my genealogy of the English dramatic collection. Re-reading these folios reveals that "authorship" was just one principle of collection amid a contest of both competing and mutually supporting organizational frameworks. Genealogies of the 1616 and 1623 Folios reveal that agents negotiated past conceptions of each author's collected works with aims to market the volumes as both permanent and whole authorial monuments and as malleable multi-part compilations that remained open to new additions and reformulation. By examining the genealogies of these mythologized volumes, my project offers a new understanding of the creation of Jonson and Shakespeare as foundational authors of the English literary canon.

I have chosen to organize the chapters so that we begin in Chapter 2 with the most commonly accepted material form of collection—the collected edition—and then move to the least recognizable, the serial collection in Chapter 4, positioning the nonce collection, with its new title page gathering together old editions, as an intermediate form. Chapter 5 turns back to the two most famous collected editions, Jonson's and Shakespeare's, but illustrates how the past collected forms are inscribed on the folio editions.<sup>134</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> In *Bibliography*, Greg primarily cites collected editions under "Collections" in Vol. 3. Farmer and Lesser also list only collected editions as "Collections" in *DEEP*.

The case studies in these chapters reveal that just as dramatic texts moved in and out of collections and just as collections in themselves changed forms again and again throughout the early modern period and after, the traces of previously proposed and manifested collections are often inscribed in the bound and unbound books now extant in rare book libraries throughout the world. These volumes and the processes they record become archives of the format, which we use to extract information about dramatic literature and its presentation in books. To conceive of each collection as an archive of processes, agents, ideologies, and material conditions is, in a sense, to treat the collection as a historically constituted cultural object—a product of its history and a record of the scenes of its production. This formulation may not be too far from how early modern readers approached their collections as well, as my chapters show agents creating collections to record processes of compilation, to mark moments in history, or to document productions (cultural, theatrical, or literary). In fact, a genealogical approach to the collection reveals the form to be very much a product of an accumulation of materials organized and managed by authorizing agents, preserving artificial access points to the past.

However, as a genealogy of the collection also shows, collections as archives are unable to resist the changing contexts from which the extant volumes or texts within will be read or understood in the future. These changing contexts have materially altered the collections we now are able to study, as in the past four hundred years, collections were taken apart and rebound with new items, plays by certain authors were extracted from less prestigious materials, copies once unified were sold off to different institutions in separate auctions, and so on, and this process of forming and reforming collections continues even into the present day. While we might wish the archive to signify something that is fixed and lasting, the archive is unstable and

shifting in time, as Derrida reminds us.<sup>135</sup> The early modern drama collection and an analysis of its genealogy becomes a rich location to understand that, as an archive, the collection not only exists to preserve the processes of the past, but that it *is* that process. In other words, to treat the drama collection as a monument or stable holder of the past is to ignore the very sense of the collection as a form that both exists to record history and to be always reinterpreted and reformulated into new forms and by new agents in the future.

---

<sup>135</sup> See *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, 36. Derrida argues that “the question of the archive is not, we repeat, a question of the past. It is not the question of a concept dealing with the past that might *already* be at our disposal or not at our disposal, *an archivable concept of the archive*. It is a question of the future, the question of the future itself, the question of a response, a promise and of a responsibility for tomorrow. The archive: if we want to know what that will have meant, we will only know in times to come. Perhaps.”

## Chapter 2

### Archiving Processes and Agents in the Collected Edition: Humanist Pedagogy in Thomas Newton's *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581)

In an epistle to his English translation of Seneca's *Thyestes* (1560), the Oxford fellow Jasper Heywood narrates a dream in which the ghost of Lucius Annaeus Seneca descends from the heavens to show the young scholar the authorial edition of his ten tragedies. This "gylded booke," the ghost explains, was crafted by the nine Muses in Helicon who formed the parchment from the "silken skyns" of Parnassus fawns, mixed precious water with Myrrha's gum-like tears to make a "gorgeous glyttryng golden Jnke," and meticulously transcribed the texts of the tragedies devoid of any errors (111-112).<sup>1</sup> Unlike the fault-laden printed editions of Seneca's tragedies published on the continent, this manuscript codex escaped the hands of mortal man and the exigencies of textual transmission.<sup>2</sup> As Heywood envisions it, the perfect authorial collection has no precedent; transcending historic time, it descends from the heavens flawless and complete in its first and only manifestation.<sup>3</sup>

While only conjured in a dream, this imaginary volume was one collected form among many within the genealogy of *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), the first vernacular collected edition of the author's plays published on English soil. Without the Muses to prepare its pages,

---

<sup>1</sup> All quotations and page references to the quarto edition of *Thyestes* (1560) are taken from deVocht, *Jasper Heywood*.

<sup>2</sup> Heywood identifies Sebastian "Gryphus" and "Aldus" Manutius as continental printers whose editions of Seneca's tragedies "do mys /of sense or verse" (118). He is likely referring to *Scenecae Tragoediae* printed in Venice by Aldus Manutius in 1517 and *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis*, which was printed in Lyon by Sebastian Gryphium in 1541 and 1548.

<sup>3</sup> See Murphy, "'Came error here by mysse of man,'" 125. Murphy examines Heywood's dream in relation to the Shakespeare Folio's representations of authorship and textual authenticity: "The 1623 folio project operates very largely within the same textual dynamic as that mapped out by Heywood in his preface, and the text itself is bound up in a similar economy of absence and presence."

this 550-page quarto was printed on rag paper with plain black ink by London stationer Thomas Marsh. Thomas Newton, translator and clergyman, joined Marsh in designing the volume to highlight the many scenes of collection and the agents who brought the volume into being over time.<sup>4</sup> The *Tenne Tragedies*, indeed, flaunted its processes of collection, and Newton and Marsh ensured that the volume did so to serve an English readership.

A genealogy of the *Tenne Tragedies* reveals how the collection is constituted by a complex and varied history of production, hearkening back to Heywood's articulation of the fantasy Seneca codex in 1560. Rather than de-emphasizing the volume's heterogeneous makeup so that a uniform authorial volume could emerge, Newton and Marsh used material features of book presentation to create a collection that was uniform, complete, and ordered while it highlighted the labors of its English contributors. Fashioning a collection that could serve both aims was central to Newton's humanist pedagogical agenda, for he beseeched English readers to discover Seneca's moral teachings and simultaneously recognize how English agents labored to make available those fruits in the vernacular. These negotiations were evidently a complex process, as the pages of the quarto volume attest. Interpreting these traces and historicizing the *Tenne Tragedies* asks us to see the collection as both a material object producing meaning through the physical arrangement of texts and as a fluid form that was constantly reformulated to suit the needs of its creators.

Each section of this chapter focuses on the different scenes of collection that are inscribed on the pages of the *Tenne Tragedies*. I begin in the first section by charting the emergence of the

---

<sup>4</sup> Newton, *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies*, sigs. A3v-A4r. See John Hazel Smith, "Seneca's Tragedies," 49-50. Critics have primarily studied the *Tenne Tragedies* within the context of the English translation movement and the volume's influence on dramatic texts and playwrights of the early modern period. See John W. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca*, 1-12. Elizabeth Spearing, *Elizabethan Translations of Seneca*. H. Conley, *The First English Translators of the Classics*. John Velz, *Shakespeare and the Classical Tradition*. Jack O'Keefe, "Innovative Diction," 90-8. Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition*. M.L. Stapleton, *Fated Sky*. Jessica Winston, "Seneca in Early Elizabethan England," 29-58. Howard B. Norland, *Neoclassical Tragedy*, 46-68. Linda Woodbridge, *English Revenge Drama*, 131-161.

Seneca collection as a numbered series of printed editions issued from 1559 to 1566 and tracing the conceptions of a complete and ordered collection of the tragedies fashioned for English readers. The second part of the chapter interprets Thomas Newton's and Thomas Marsh's aims to morally refine the literate masses in England by means of collecting and publishing useful and profitable texts, including the *Tenne Tragedies*. Turning next to the 1581 collection in the third part, I show how Newton and Marsh balanced the volume's uniformity with its genealogy, including the integration of past impressions of the collection envisaged by previous agents as well as their processes of collection. As I demonstrate in the fourth section, out of these very tensions Newton created a morally edifying text for his English readers, fulfilling his larger humanist agenda through textual collecting, although as I show in the final section, readers did and would continue to have other designs on and for Seneca's *Tenne Tragedies*.

## I

From 1559 to 1566, seven single editions of Seneca's tragedies were printed in English. While these individual tragedies were being translated and published, stationers, translators, and readers were conceptualizing and re-conceptualizing the design and function of a complete and ordered vernacular collection of the tragedies unified by Seneca's authorship. To illustrate, Jasper Heywood's dream of the glittering Seneca volume was more than an expression of his desire for direct and unmediated access to the classical author's plays; it also announced and validated his intentions to translate all ten tragedies and put them into print in a serial collection. Within Heywood's self-constructed fantasy, Seneca's ghost implores,

if Senecs name thou loue  
Aliue to keepe, J thee beseече  
agayne to take thy pen,

In miter of thy mother tongue

To geue to sight of men

My other woorks: (99-100)

Having already translated Seneca's *Troas* (1559), Heywood claims in this vision that he has been chosen to "English" the other nine tragedies as well. Yet, when Seneca explains that his works must be printed to make the plays available to a wide English readership, the dreaming scholar expresses his apprehensions. He reports that *Troas* was recently issued full of errors and that he is now reluctant to have any more of his translations in print for fear that they might tarnish his and the author's reputation. The ghost urges him to put aside past grievances with agents of the press and to use the collection crafted by the muses as the definitive source text from which accurate translations can be rendered and previous printed editions of the tragedies corrected:

Thou maist beleuee it trewly wrote,

and trust in euery whit

For here hathe neuer prynters presse

made faute, nor neuer yet,

Came errour here by mysse of man.

.....

This booke shall greatly thee auayle,

to see how Prynters mys,

In all my woorkes, and all theyre fautes

Thou mayste correcte by thys. (116)

By allowing Heywood to use the true, original copy of the ten tragedies, Seneca's ghost assures Heywood that his renderings will be accurate and authorial; from these untainted translations

then, Heywood proposes that his *Thyestes* was derived and so too would be the rest of Seneca's ten tragedies, which the young scholar would produce in Seneca's honor.

By relating this dream vision and describing the transcendent Senecan source text, Heywood was creatively preparing his real English readers for a whole series of Seneca translations.<sup>5</sup> Serving as part of the prefatory address to Heywood's second translation *Thyestes* (1560), the dream emphasizes his attention to textual accuracy and simultaneously advertises his first Seneca translation, *Troas*, even specifying where readers could buy this book in London, at the "synge of Hande and the Starre" (104).<sup>6</sup> Heywood's preface also implicitly encourages readers to begin the process of collecting on their own, starting with *Thyestes* and *Troas* and continuing with eight more translations, which the scholar claimed would soon be available.

Heywood did not produce all ten of Seneca's tragedies in English. While he rendered one more tragedy, *Hercules Furens* (1561), the larger project was abandoned when he fled to Rome to become a Jesuit priest in 1562.<sup>7</sup> Still, by recording his vision of an accessible Seneca collection with all ten plays, he inspired a series of translations that would be published over the next six years and later reprinted in the *Tenne Tragedies*. After Heywood finished *Troas* (1559, 1562), *Thyestes* (1560), and *Hercules Furens* (1561), Alexander Neville's translation of *Oedipus* (1563) was published, followed by John Studley's renderings of *Agamemnon* (1566) and *Medea* (1566), and Thomas Nuce's *Octavia* (1566).<sup>8</sup> Guided by the ideal of a ten-play Seneca

---

<sup>5</sup> Heywood may also have intended to issue the tragedies as a collected edition.

<sup>6</sup> Here, Heywood refers to Richard Tottell's press. The translator uses "The Preface" to criticize Tottell for the poor printing of *Troas* (1559), but in calling out the printer, Heywood was also letting readers know where to find *Troas*. It was a common trope in prefatory addresses to blame the printer for errors.

<sup>7</sup> See Dennis Flynn, "The English Mission of Jasper Heywood," 74.

<sup>8</sup> Jasper Heywood, trans., *Troas* (1559 & 1562) STC 22227, 22227a, 22228; *The seconde tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes* (1560). STC 22226; *The first tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca, intituled Hercules furens* (1561). STC 22223; Alexander Neville, trans., *The lamentable tragedie of Oedipus* (1563). STC 22225.; John Studley, trans., *The eyght tragedie of Seneca* [1566]. STC 22222; *The seuenth tragedie of Seneca, entituled Medea* [1566]. STC 22224; and Thomas Nuce, trans. *The ninth tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca called Octavia* [1566]. STC

collection—a corpus conveniently limited because of the death of the author—the translators and booksellers could track which dramas had been printed in English and which had not. The publication history reveals that each in turn chose to translate and print the Seneca plays that had not already appeared in the vernacular. Thus, each Seneca translation was constituted in part by those that were published before it, an ongoing dialog between editions that catalyzed the further production of the dramas.

Indeed, responding to Heywood’s intention to introduce all of Seneca’s tragedies to and for the English people, subsequent translators saw themselves as collaborating in a nationalist effort to domesticate Seneca. In his dedication to *Hercules Furens* (1561), Heywood confesses that the translation was rendered to “shew [him] self so louing to [his] countreye, as to helpe for the small tale[n]t that god hath geue[n] [him], to conduct by som meanes to further vndersta[n]di[n]g the vnripened schollers of this realm.”<sup>9</sup> Alexander Neville’s *Oedipus* (1563) follows upon two years later, and the author asserts that this translation was also rendered for England, for the purpose of improving the moral fiber of the nation in “this . . . present Age, wherin Uice hath chyefest place, and Uertue put to lyght.”<sup>10</sup> John Studley responds directly to Heywood’s and Neville’s cause in his “Preface to the Reader” of *Agamemnon* (1566) when he notes “the other Tragedies which by *Iasper Heiwood* and *Alexander Neuyile*, are so excellently well done (that in reading of them it semeth to me no translation, but euen SENECA hym selfe to speke in englysh).”<sup>11</sup> Studley aims to bring not only Seneca’s teaching into the “natyue language,”<sup>12</sup> but also English Protestant theology into Seneca’s texts. Like both Heywood and

---

22229. Scholars no longer believe that *Octavia* was written by Seneca, but in the sixteenth century, most scholars and translators accepted that the play was part of Seneca’s oeuvre. See Norland, *Neoclassical Tragedy*, 60.

<sup>9</sup> Heywood, *Hercules Furens*, sig. A2v.

<sup>10</sup> Neville, *Oedipus*, sig. a7v.

<sup>11</sup> Studley *The eyght tragedie of Seneca. Entituled Agamemnon*, sig. A7v.

<sup>12</sup> Studley, *Medea*, sig. A3r.

Neville, Studley liberally translates Seneca's tragedies, but he then justifies his modifications by a Protestant distaste for idolatry and extravagance.<sup>13</sup> An English reader perusing the first chorus of Studley's *Medea* would find a seventy-five line choral lament for Medea as victim of Jason's deceit rather than Seneca's lavish description of a wedding party ornamented with desiring brides and sacrifices to the gods. Studley's new chorus, in a biblical fashion, warns the reader to beware of dissemblers and prompts the audience to "see it playne", how Medea like Eve was tricked by the deceptive serpent, Jason. Thomas Nuce, the translator of *Octavia*, commends Studley's success in "make[ing] his poet playne," exposing "hydden storyes" (sig. ¶2v) and doing so with a concision and clarity unbeknownst even to Seneca. Nuce's *Octavia* was a more conservative translation than Studley's, but Nuce tells the reader to accept Seneca's tragedy "into our mother tong," even though it is a small gesture to "profite the com[m]onwealth" (sig. A4r).

Even though the ten tragedies in English had not yet materialized in print as a collected edition, agents still envisioned a complete serial collection—one with all ten tragedies—that was precisely ordered. Throughout the 1560s, the sequence of Seneca's works was introduced as an essential element of their print presentation, with each of the ten plays was assigned a number: 1) *Hercules Furens*, 2) *Thyestes*, 3) *Thebais*, 4) *Hippolytus*, 5) *Oedipus*, 6) *Troas*, 7) *Medea*, 8) *Agamemnon*, 9) *Octavia*, and 10) *Hercules Oetaeus*. The ordinal numbering did not reflect the order of translation but was a vestige of what we now know to be the A manuscript of Seneca and its derivations.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, printed editions of Seneca's tragedies on the continent retained this sequential arrangement of the plays, so that the titles of the tragedies became associated with their numbers (eg. *The First Tragedy*, *Hercules*

---

<sup>13</sup> Studley calls them a "heape of prophane storyes, and names of prophane Idoles" (sig. A3v).

<sup>14</sup> The A manuscript was known by humanist scholars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The E manuscript, found in 1640, includes only nine plays in a different order and with some variant titles. See John Hazel Smith, "Seneca's Tragedies," 49-50.

*Furens*).<sup>15</sup> In the English translations as well, the numbers assigned to the plays corresponded so directly with specific titles that certain dramas were identified merely by their numbers. The London Stationers' Register documents the entrance of "a boke intituled the eighte Tragide of SENYCA" to "Thomas colwell" in 1555-6, a text that the publisher printed later in the year with a fuller title, *The eyght tragedie of Seneca. Entituled Agamemnon*.<sup>16</sup> Because entrance in the Stationers' Register secured publishers' rights to print and sell specific texts in London, stationers recorded the title of a work to document their ownership and to deter others from printing the same title without their consent. That Colwell trusted that the "eighte Tragide of SENYCA" signified *Agamemnon* speaks to the influence that such ordering had on further publications of Seneca's dramas.<sup>17</sup> Even when the ten tragedies were not published together in a collected edition, each play still would have been understood within the context of the other nine—as parts of the larger ten-play series.

The ordinal numbering and the conception of a collection complete with all ten tragedies offered publishers, printers, and booksellers an opportunity to capitalize on the serialization of Seneca's English plays in single printed editions. For example, the publisher Thomas Colwell invested in the publication of three translations, *Oedipus* (1563), *Agamemnon* (1566), and *Medea* (1566). He formatted all three in octavo, replicating the size and general design of Heywood's translations also published in octavo from 1559 to 1562. Henry Denham similarly recognized the

---

<sup>15</sup> Only one continental edition, to my knowledge, does not follow the traditional sequence, and that is Christopher Plantin's edition of *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis* (Antwerp: 1576). The following editions organize the tragedies in the traditional order: *Tragoediae Senecae cum duobus commentariis: uidelicet* (Venice: Joannes Tacuinus, 1498). *Senecae Tragoediae* (Florence: Philippi de Giunta, 1506); *Tragoediae* (Venice: Philippo Pincio Mantuano, 1510). *L. Annaei Senec[ae] Tragoediae* (Paris: Josse Bade Ascensius, 1514). *Senecae Tragoediae* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1517). *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae X* (Basel: Henricus Petrus, 1529, 1550). *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis* (Lyon: Sebastian Gryphium, 1541, 1548). *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis tragoediae* (Paris: Hieronymum de Marnes, 1563). *Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae* (Lyon: Antonivm Gryphiuvm, 1574, 1581).

<sup>16</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, Vol. 1, 304.

<sup>17</sup> It is also possible that the registrar merely recorded a shortened title from Colwell's manuscript.

potential value in publishing multiple editions of the ten tragedies, although the material evidence is less apparent. Denham's only extant Seneca publication is *Octavia* (1566) in quarto; however, the Stationers' Register entry indicates that Denham paid 4d for "a boke intituled the ixth and xth tragide[s] of Lucious Anneus [Seneca] oute of the laten into englesshe by TW fellowe of Pembrek Hall in Chambrnye."<sup>18</sup> While we currently have no record of the actual publication of *Hercules Oetaeus* (the tenth tragedy) as a single edition, Denham seemed intent on continuing to secure his rights to publish the remaining translated tragedies, for later that year, he paid 6d for "his lycense for ye pryntinge of the iiiith parte [of] SENECA Workes."<sup>19</sup> If Denham, in fact, did print the fourth tragedy, *Hippolytus*, in addition to *Octavia* and *Hercules Oetaeus* in 1566/7, then the publisher nearly completed the tragedies in translation; only one tragedy, *Thebais*, would have been missing from the series of ten.

By 1567, readers would have been able to create their own ordered Seneca sammelbände by acquiring and binding at least seven (and possibly nine) of the ten translations, or booksellers might have stitched the books together to sell as tract volumes. Extant copies suggest these processes of collection-making did occur. One collecting agent chose to bind the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tragedies (*Oedipus*, *Troas*, *Medea*, and *Agamemnon*) together in order in a volume that now resides in the British Library.<sup>20</sup> Another created a two-play collection of Heywood's *Hercules Furens* and *Thyestes*,<sup>21</sup> the first and second tragedies, and the Britwell

---

<sup>18</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 1:327; T.W. was most likely an error for "T.N." or Thomas Nuce, who may have provided Denham with both *Octavia* and *Hercules Oetaeus*. In the 1581 collection, however, the Nuce is credited only with *Octavia*, and John Studley seemingly completed the translation of *Hercules Oetaeus*.

<sup>19</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 1: 336

<sup>20</sup> British Library, Shelfmark, C.34.a.9 (1-4). This volume is from David Garrick's library and was bound or rebound for him in the late eighteenth century. It is unclear whether the three plays were unified in a sammelband before Garrick collected them.

<sup>21</sup> British Library, Shelfmark, C.34.a.8 (1-2). This volume was bound or rebound in the eighteenth century for David Garrick. However, the title page of *Hercules Furens*, the first text in the set, contains the signature of "Humphrey Byng," likely referring to the Humphrey Byng who was the Vice-Provost at King College, Cambridge in 1634.

Court Library previously owned a copy of *Troas* that was bound in a volume of solely Heywood's translations again in order, with *Hercules Furens* first, *Thyestes* second, and *Troas* third.<sup>22</sup> In sum, what emerged from Heywood's fantasy of the perfect Seneca edition in 1560s were multiple scenes of production and collection by a variety of agents. Unlike Heywood's ethereal codex, Seneca's ten tragedies were very much a project in process.

## II

The *Tenne Tragedies* (1581) was another materialization of a unified, complete, and ordered collection of Seneca's tragedies in English. The 1581 collected edition, multiply-authored by English translators and for English readers, was one book among many in which Thomas Newton and the publisher Thomas Marsh utilized collected forms to promote humanist reading practices. A significant number of their books were fashioned in both content and form to be advantageous for those skilled or unskilled in reading for moral improvement, especially texts that had only been available in the past in Latin, Italian, or French. Analysis of Newton's and Marsh's collaborative efforts before and in 1581 highlights their humanist pedagogical aims in building collections, including the *Tenne Tragedies*. These multiple scenes of collection likewise informed the agents who materially constructed the 1581 collected edition.

As a respected Oxford scholar and Church of England clergyman, Thomas Newton (1544/5-1607) contributed to more than twenty printed books in the period by collecting and compiling texts, translating edifying works, providing dedications to books he respected, writing treatises and poetry, and composing prefaces and commendatory verses in both English and Latin.<sup>23</sup> Before editing the *Tenne Tragedies*, Newton had already devised multiple collected

---

<sup>22</sup> deVocht and Spearing cite the Britwell sammelbänd and the two British Library volumes as well; see deVocht, *Jasper Heywood*, xlv-xlv. E.M. Spearing, *Studley's Translations*, vii-viii.

<sup>23</sup> Braden writes, "Between 1569 and 1596 [Newton] published perhaps twenty books, on a wide range of subjects. These include translations of Guglielmo Grataroli, *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Studentes*

editions to inspire England's people to improve their moral, spiritual, and physical health. His texts on medicine both before and after 1581 have led some scholars to infer that he practiced as a physician;<sup>24</sup> likewise, his skill as a Latin poet and his fervor in collecting the Latin poems of John Leland for the 1589 publication of *Illustrium aliquot Anglorum encomia* have led to his characterization as a respected literary man of his day.<sup>25</sup> Even after his death, Newton desired that his library provide guidance to two very special readers, his son and his daughter. His last will and testament indicates that in addition to leaving Bibles to each child, Newton bequeathed to his adult son, Abell, “thirtie or fortie good bookes fit for his vse to be culled and chosen oute of the nober of my bookes or Librarie by the advise of some godlie learned frend” and to his married daughter, Grizell, “such competente number of book[es] as shall be deemed by mine Executor and some other godlie frende to be fit necessary and profitable for her.”<sup>26</sup> Clearly, for Newton, his books, even those that he collected in his library, were to continue instructing the next generation of English readers.

Overall, Marsh's publications primarily cohered around utility—either books that offered readers information on events or practical everyday tasks, such as almanacs and news pamphlets,

---

(1574); Agostino Curione, *A Notable Historie of the Saracens* (1575); Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1576) and *An Herbal for the Bible* (1587); Martin Luther's commentary on the epistles of Peter and Jude (1581); Lambert Daneau, *True and Christian Friendshippe* (1586); an anonymous *Olde Mans Dietarie* (1587); Andreas Gerhard Hyperius, *The True Tryall and Examination of a Mans Owne Selfe* (1587); and Matthew Parker's funeral sermon on Martin Bucer (1588). He is probably the translator of Pedro Mexia's *A Pleasaunt Dialogue, Concerning Phisicke and Phisitions* (1580). He introduced and may have had a hand in editing four tales by Bandello, translated from French versions by Robert Smythe (*Straunge, Lamentable, and Tragical Hystories*, 1577). Newton compiled *Approved Medicines and Cordiall Receiptes* (1580) from various sources, prepared Brownsword's Latin poems for publication (1589), and reworked John Stanbridge's popular *Vocabula* (1577), with Newton's improvements surviving in numerous later editions). He could be the T. N. who edited Henry de Bracton's *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae* (1569). Newton's most consequential editorial work resulted in the publication of John Leland's Latin epigrams (1589); without Newton's efforts most of them would probably have been lost.” Braden, Gordon. “Newton, Thomas (1544/5–1607)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20069>, accessed 19 May 2009].

<sup>24</sup> Taunton, “Time's Whirligig,” 22.

<sup>25</sup> See Braden, “Newton, Thomas (1544/5–1607).”

<sup>26</sup> See Bernard Delbert Morrissey's transcription of Newton's will in “Thomas Newton of Cheshire,” 353.

or spiritual and moral guidance, such as Thomas Becon's sermons or the popular *A Mirror for Magistrates*.<sup>27</sup> That Marsh showed significant interest in the *Tenne Tragedies* is evidenced by his decision to invest capital in the project. On July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1581, Marsh paid 20d to secure his rights to print "SENECAS Tragedies in Englishe," and also paid for the paper and printing for the volume from his press in Fleetstreet.<sup>28</sup> Either Marsh and/or Newton located the previously printed translations, secured the rights to reproduce them, and assessed the quality of the texts for a new collected edition. While we can infer that Marsh included enough diversity in his investments to ensure his financial stability, his publications often aligned with Newton's goals, especially in appropriating the collected form for the purposes of moral instruction, as I show below.

In the year before the *Tenne Tragedies* (1581) was published, Newton advocated for the collected edition as a practical and efficient medium to gather and circulate edifying works of historical, ethical, and medical learning. The editor prefaces an edition of historical war stories entitled *A view of valyaunce Describing the famous feates, and martiall exploitcs of two most mightie nations* (1580) with the following lines:<sup>29</sup>

    this little Booke, [contains] plentifull stoare & varietie of delectable matter: and  
    the same so compendiouslye couched together, y<sup>e</sup> within a small roome it caryeth  
    as great substance of memorable actes, and venturous employtes, as many

---

<sup>27</sup> Here is an incomplete sample of Marsh's publications: Antonius de Montulmo, *A ryghte excellent treatise of astronomi* (1554). Lewes Vaughan, *A newe almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God. M.D.L.XI* 1561). Anon. *The true reporte of the forme and shape of a monstros childe* (1562). John Stow, *The summarie of English chronicles (lately collected and published)*[1566]. Thomas Becon, *A new postil conteinyng most godly and learned sermons* (1566). Anthony Fitzherbert, Sir. *In this booke is contained the office of shiriffes, bayliffes of liberties*, [ca. 1570]. Richard Rainolde, *A chronicle of all the noble emperours of the Romaines* (1571). Thomas Hill, *The profitable arte of gardeninge* (1572). John Higgins, *The first parte of the Mirour for magistrates* (1574).

<sup>28</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 2: 397.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Newton. Trans. *A view of valyaunce* (1580)

(perhappes) that beare a bigger volume, and bragge it out with a loftier countena[n]ce. (sig. A3r)<sup>30</sup>

Here, he vividly sums up the benefits of the collected editions as a form. For Newton, “big” books did not equate with “good” books. The translator and editor knew that *A view of valyaunce*, a short 96-page quarto compiling histories of Roman and Carthaginian military conflicts, could not compare to other “bigger volume[s]” in mere bulk and dimensions, but he argues that a “small” and “plentifull” book could offer more “substance” for readers. Newton claims to see through the “loftier” texts, implicitly critiquing the common trend of including elaborate frontispieces and prefatory materials that “bragge it out,” forcing the reader to wade through material superfluous to the text’s more valuable content and pay high prices for more pages or larger formats. This collection of histories, by contrast, unified a panoply of edifying tales, granting readers a “stoare” of plenty but in a “small room,” a comfortable, accessible space that would be easy to maneuver about and within for English men and women. This style of book, Newton proposed, would more efficiently teach through examples of virtue. Readers of *A view of valyaunce* would not waste time on pages of conventional excess, but pointed, “couched together” tales that would show “how vertue hath bene notablye rewarded, and vice shamefully reproached” (sig. A3v).

In other prefaces and dedications, Newton similarly fashions himself as a purveyor of profitable books. For the humanist scholar, wasteful and ineffective reading was serious concern that needed to be addressed by readers, writers, and publishers alike. In *Straunge, lamentable, and tragicall histories* (1577), an English translation from Matteo Bandello’s French edition,

---

<sup>30</sup> Newton attributes the book on the title page to Rutilius Rufus: “Translated out of an auncient Recorde of Antiquitie, written by *Rutilius Rufus*, a *Romaine* Gentleman, and a Capitaine of charge vnder *Scipio*”; however, Braden notes that the translation is actually an abridgement of Appian’s *Iberikê* (a complete version of which, by another translator, had appeared in 1578). See Braden, “Newton, Thomas.”

Newton comments on the “great swarmes” of books being published “now a days” which he divides into two basic types: “Some tend to good, and Godly purposes: some to vayne and tryfeling fantasyes” (sig. A3v).<sup>31</sup> For the editor, too many texts tended to “serue altogether to nourish wantonnesse, and mayntayne lasciuious lustes,” (sig. A3v) and he warns readers to be aware of how such books can corrupt the will. To all those seeking the path to virtue, he recommends reading collections of histories and tragedies, from which one will learn “by the Examples of others, that haue trodden the way afore, whose successe they may applye to their owne direction” (sig. A3v).

Such recommendations were central to Newton’s decision to translate and compile other texts for readers’ benefit. In 1577, Newton and Marsh amassed and published *Fovvre seuerall treatises of M. Tullius Cicero*, a collected edition considered worthwhile for readers interested in gleaning lessons from the Roman statesman. To complete this volume, Newton translated Cicero’s treatise “Friendship,” adding it to his previously printed translations of Cicero’s “Paradoxa,” “Scipio’s Dream,” and “Old Age,” which had been published in two different volumes by Marsh in 1569.<sup>32</sup> Newton justifies the addition “because the whole Worke being by that meanes fully supplied, shoulde come forth uniforme, and in one maner of Style and order” (A2r). Claiming to be unsatisfied with the disorganization and “peecefmeale” presentation of the 1569 publications, Newton discloses that “sinthens things passed be irrevocable, I have thought good (upon request) to take that direct course in the second edition thereof, which seemed best to breede the Readers profit” (sig. A2v). He suggests that a collected edition of Cicero’s treatises—

---

<sup>31</sup> The title page attributes the translation to “R.S.”; however, the dedicatory epistle to Mayster Henry Vernon of Stoke and Mayster Iohn Vernon of Sudbury is signed T.N., and the note to the read is also attributed to T.N. See Matteo Bandello, *Straunge, lamentable, and tragicall Hystories* (1577).

<sup>32</sup> Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *The booke of Marcus Tullius Cicero entituled Paradoxa Stoicorum . . . Wherunto is also annexed a philosophicall treatyse of the same authoure called Scipio hys dreame*. [1569]; Cicero, *The worthy booke of old age* [1569].

unified, whole, and “brought into order” – could bring the reader more “profit” that each of them separately on their own.

Newton and Marsh also saw the utility of the collected edition for gathering together texts of a practical nature. *Approved medicines and cordiall receiptes* (1580) was edited by Newton and published by Marsh to provide formulas and recipes for common medicines to improve health and treat illness. While he coyly refers to “the auther and compiler” of the book as the one who “penned and gathered” the recipes for publication, it seems that the book of medicine was written by Newton or at least compiled by him from unnamed sources. Newton calls it, “a briefe and compendious collection[n] of many good & aproued medicines with the operation, & vertue of many simples” (sig. A4v). Another medical text, *The touchstone of complexions* (1576), which Newton translated from Levinus Lemnius’ Latin text, was a medical handbook published by Marsh that provided diagnoses and treatments for physical and mental conditions. In his dedication to Sir William Brooke, Newton claims that he translated this collection to disseminate Lemnius’ “knowledge to a publique and vniuersall commoditye,” especially in England where too many writers “beinge fine Architectes and contriuers of matters offensiue and scandalous” produce “needless & friuolous tromperies” (sig. 3r-4v). These unprofitable books, Newton states, “breedeth otherwise greate inconuenience in the bodie of the whole common wealth” (sig. 4v). Hence, Newton takes it upon himself to write, translate, and have published (in collaboration with Marsh) medical texts in English for readers without Latin proficiency. Such efforts, he rationalizes, will positively affect the health of the individual and have positive and recuperative effects on the whole English nation.

Ultimately, compiling and collecting, in addition to translating, allowed Newton to make knowledge consumable in the form of a self-contained book. If a text did not exist for a purpose

that Newton found expedient for English readers, he set out himself to collect and compile the information into a “compendious” collected edition. With Marsh’s support, transforming a manuscript list of recipes into a collection, gathering together Cicero’s treatises, or compiling Seneca’s tragedies into a printed codex was materially possible and profitable for all. Newton’s and Marsh’s decision, then, to compile all ten translations of Seneca’s tragedies into one unified, whole, and ordered collected edition appears as an extension of a larger project they had already begun and a process that utilized and constructed the collected form as functional and practical for presenting great authors and their works.

### III

When Newton arranged the ten translations in the 1581 volume, he set out to 1) establish the collection’s unity as a monument to Seneca and 2) document past agents’ contributions to and conceptions of an English Seneca collection.<sup>33</sup> While at times these aims conflicted, as the pages of the *Tenne Tragedies* attest, Newton used organizational devices, a catalogue, and his own translation of *Thebais* to create a volume that could achieve his objectives. The published collection succeeded in manifesting much of what Jasper Heywood and the other translators had accomplished and imagined. As the title page emphasizes, “SENECA” was the primary principle of collection (Figure 2.1) and the contents were presented as “HIS” unified dramatic oeuvre in the vernacular—a testament to his fame. To make this collection complete, Newton acquired the seven previously published translations of the tragedies and two unpublished translations of *Hippolytus* and *Hercules Oetaeus* by John Studley, while Newton himself provided the

---

<sup>33</sup> Throughout much of this essay, I attribute editorial decisions and design features to Thomas Newton; however, Thomas Marsh as the volume’s publisher and printer also would have had a significant amount of control over how the collection was presented. It should be understood that any features in the *Tenne Tragedies* were collaboratively produced by Newton, Marsh, and Marsh’s employees, but that Newton’s editorial hand is still quite visible in places throughout the pages of the collection. The *Tenne Tragedies* was also not the first time Newton and Marsh would collaborate on a book project.

translation of *Thebais*. These ten tragedies were then ordered according to their traditional sequence, just as translators and publishers had previously envisioned when constructing the serial collection piece by piece in the 1560s.<sup>34</sup>

A number of organizational devices were used to retain the volume's unity, order, and uniformity. Bibliographically, the collected edition had continuous signatures and continuous page numbers appearing on every recto leaf after the catalogue. In addition to adopting the traditional sequence of the ten tragedies, Newton also assigned the traditional ordinal number to each play's title. Throughout the volume, running headers consistently display these titles in large Roman font on verso leaves (eg. *Hercules Furens*), while the rectos indicate the corresponding numbering (eg. *The First Tragedy*). Consequently, the top of every other page within each play was marked by the serial order, which helped to further construct the collection as a multi-part whole. Furthermore, before the start of each tragedy (except for the first), a head-title presents the tragedy's name and number, which is followed by a synopsis of the play called "The Argument." As one can see in Figure 2.2, Newton consistently incorporated the same textual features for each tragedy, with only a few important variations discussed below.<sup>35</sup> This uniformity would have accommodated readers experiencing Seneca's tragedies for the first time as well as any seasoned scholar studying or critiquing the translations.

While the *Tenne Tragedies* was, on the one hand, organized to reflect the coherence of a volume by one classical author, it also flaunted its multiple and varied English production. In the collection, the texts of *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Troas*, *Oedipus*, *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, and

---

<sup>34</sup> Marsh also would have been instrumental in acquiring the rights to reprint the tragedies from the publishers who owned the copies.

<sup>35</sup> The variations are the added epistles before *Troas* and *Oedipus* and the missing "Argument" from *Oedipus*.

*Octavia* were reprinted from copies translated and issued decades before.<sup>36</sup> These seven plays bore traces of their creators' labors, which Newton enthusiastically advertised. For instance, the editor proclaims at the outset of the volume that "the perfection of others artificiall workma[n]ship, that haue trauayled herein aswell as my selfe should somewhat couer my nakednesse and purchase my pardon. . . . Theirs I know to be deliuered with singular dexterity" (sig. A3v). Furthermore, while Newton wrote his new epistle to introduce the whole volume at the start of the collection, he also included three more epistles throughout the volume: one from Heywood's *Troas* (1559, 1562) and two epistles from Neville's *Oedipus* (1563). The head-titles identify the names of the translators and, for some, their status when rendering the translations and dates of composition. The head-title for *Oedipus*, for instance, reveals that the translation was "Englished The yeare of our Lord M.D.LX. By Alexander Nevyle" (158).<sup>37</sup> Similarly, the head-title for *Thyestes* names Heywood as the translator and publicizes his previous status as a "Fellow of Alsolne Colledge in Oxenforde," (54) as he had been in 1560 when the individual edition was first published. For the head-titles for Heywood's *Thyestes* and *Troas*, Studley's *Agamemnon* and *Medea*, and Nuce's *Octavia*, Newton gleaned the words directly from the single editions' title pages.<sup>38</sup> For his own newly rendered translation, Newton provided the date of translation, "1581" and signed the end of the tragedy, "Thomas Newtonus, Cestreshyrius" (112).

---

<sup>36</sup> *Oedipus* in the *Tenne Tragedies* is significantly revised from the 1563 edition. In *Elizabethan Translations of Seneca*, Spearing notes that "Almost every line of the translation contains some alteration from the earlier versions. In the edition of 1563 Neville's versification had been extremely irregular; intermingled with the regular fourteeners which formed the staple metre of his translation were lines containing twelve or sixteen syllables, unrhyming fourteeners, or even short unrhyming lines of four or six syllables. In the later edition the versification runs much more smoothly, and the greater number of the irregularities have been removed, though one or two examples remain" (23).

<sup>37</sup> All quotations and page references to the *Tenne Tragedies* are taken from *The Tenne Tragedies of Seneca, Translated into English*. Edited by John Leigh.

<sup>38</sup> For example, the head-title for *Thyestes* in the 1581 collection reproducing the wording from the 1560 title page: *The seconde tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes faithfully Englished by Iasper Heywood fellowe of Alsolne College in Oxforde*. Newton did, however, add "L. Annaes" to Seneca's name in the 1581 head-titles for *Agamemnon* and *Medea* and delete Studley's and Nuce's Cambridge student status, information which had been

The catalogue page in the *Tenne Tragedies* precisely documents Newton's struggle to construct a unified collection that would nonetheless pay homage to the multiplicity of processes and agents responsible for its conception and construction. Appearing immediately after Newton's dedicatory epistle, the catalogue (See Figure 2.3) displays three vertical columns that present "The Names of the Tragedies of Seneca, and by whom each of them was translated" (4). On the left side of the page, we see the titles of the ten tragedies "of Seneca" accompanied by their corresponding numbers. On the right side of the page, we see that the tragedies are also the products of multiple translators and that their names demand half of the page. Separated by the parenthetical braces or "dilemmas," as printers called them in the period, the tragedies' Senecan and English origins were mapped in equilibrium onto the page.<sup>39</sup>

A closer look at the order of the plays in the table reveals another compromise between genealogy and unity: the tragedies are not listed in their traditional sequence. As noted above, Newton used the traditional ordinal numbering to organize the plays in the collection, but in the catalogue, he imposed a new order on the tragedies based on translator (1, 2, 6, 5, 4, 7, 8, 10, 9, 3). As Figure 2.3 shows, the first column displays the numbers of the tragedies, and neatly spaced to the right of the numbers are the corresponding titles of the tragedies, forming the second column. Braces running down the middle of the page divide the information vertically and horizontally. These five dilemmas group the numbers and titles on the left side of the page into five separate units. When glancing horizontally from the left side of the page to the right, we see that the braces point to the individual translators who were responsible for rendering the specific tragedies grouped on the left. We see that "1 *Hercules Furens*, 2 *Thyestes*, 6 *Troas*"

---

printed on the title pages of the single editions of *Agamemnon*, *Medea*, and *Octavia*. See Bibliography for the full titles of the single editions.

<sup>39</sup> Douglas Brooks explains the significance of "dilemma" marks in establishing collaborative authorship on title pages in the early modern period. See *From Playhouse*, 144, 157-161. See also Jeffrey Masten on the use of braces on title pages to denote collaborative authorship in *Textual Intercourse*, 58-59.

comprise the first grouping and were translated “By Jasper Heywood.” Spaced two lines below is the second grouping consisting of only one play, “5 *Oedipus*,” translated “By Alex. Neuille.” The third unit of plays, “4 *Hippolytus*, 7 *Medea*, 8 *Agamemnon*, 10 *Hercules Octaeus*,” were translated “By Iohn Studley.” The fourth group, including only “9 *Octauia*” “By T. Nuce,” is followed by the fifth and final group also with only one play, “3 *Thebais*” “By Thomas Newton.”

Through the table’s vertical column of translators’ names, Newton was not only recognizing the translators who contributed to the collection but also recording the order in which these Englishmen completed their parts. Jasper Heywood, at the top of the column, was the first of the five translators to English Seneca’s tragedies, followed by Neville, then Studley, Nuce, and finally Newton. That Newton was constructing a chronology of translators is also apparent in the table as the date “1560” appears above Neville’s name. While *Oedipus* was not published until 1563, the *Tenne Tragedies* specifies 1560 as the date of the translation’s composition, as readers could see in *Oedipus*’ head-title (158). Additionally, the date marks a seminal moment in the timeline as it was the year that Jasper Heywood’s dream vision was published, articulating a desire for a collection of Seneca’s tragedies in English. The three titles by Heywood listed above the “1560” were apparently composed in or before that year, and the seven listed below the date were composed after. This dating structure on the catalogue ensured that the lineage of Seneca’s English translators was introduced early on in the collection, even before readers turned to the first tragedy, thereby emphasizing the collaborative nature of the translation project.

While it seems that the ordinal numbering was largely subordinated in the table of contents, it is still partly visible, specifically in Heywood’s and Studley’s play groupings. The

table displays Heywood's three titles in this order: *Hercules Furens* (the first tragedy), *Thyestes* (the second tragedy), *Troas* (the sixth tragedy). Nevertheless, Heywood translated these three plays in reverse order: *Troas*, *Thyestes*, *Hercules Furens*.<sup>40</sup> John Studley's works are also organized by their ordinal sequence, which does not accurately reflect the order in which Studley composed the translations.<sup>41</sup> With the titles grouped by translator and then ordered within groups, the catalogue uniquely documents the kinds of negotiations Newton faced when attempting to construct a guide for a volume that presented parts of the collection's genealogy *as content*.

By adding his own translation of *Thebais* to the collection, Newton ensured that the *Tenne Tragedies* would be a complete volume as well as one that explicitly recorded his own contributions as an editor and as translator. By 1581, *Thebais* was the only tragedy not yet rendered into English; it seems there was some reluctance to translate it because of its fragmented state. Newton took on the challenge and Englished the play, but not without explaining in his prefatory epistle that the tragedy and thus his translation was "an vnnatural abortion" and an "vnperfect Embryon" (2). While the *humilitas topos* was conventional in prefatory addresses in the sixteenth century, Newton is compelled within the *Tenne Tragedies* to explain why his translation might seem less complete than the others, as he continues in the

Argument to *Thebais*: "this Tragedy, was left by the Authour vnperfect, because it neyther hath in it, Chorus, ne yet the fifth Acte" (84).<sup>42</sup> Newton warns readers not to see *Thebais* as a classical model of dramatic form or as representative of Seneca's tragedies. At the same

---

<sup>40</sup> See deVocht, *Jasper Heywood*, p. x.

<sup>41</sup> As the third translator to render tragedies into English, Studley's first undertaking was *Agamemnon*, with *Medea* following quickly afterwards. Yet, in Studley's grouping, *Hippolytus* (the fourth tragedy) appears first, followed by *Medea* (the seventh tragedy), *Agamemnon* (the eight tragedy), and *Hercules Oetaeus* (the tenth tragedy).

<sup>42</sup> Two plots divide the tragedy, which ends abruptly without converging or resolving the two narratives.

time, he indicates that he has been careful not to deviate from his source text, so that readers might access Seneca's tragedy as the author "left" it.<sup>43</sup> Newton thus accomplishes the goal of completing the collection while he fashions his translation as both Seneca's authentic work and his own thorough and deliberate translation of a difficult text.

When Newton presented the play in English in its incomplete form, he thoughtfully considered how *Thebais* would signify as the third tragedy in the collection. Staging the struggle for power over Thebes after Oedipus' self-exile, the story of *Thebais* functioned as a sequel to the events in the fifth tragedy, *Oedipus*;<sup>44</sup> *Thebais* and *Oedipus* were a kind of textual series. Readers who were familiar with Seneca's tragedies in Latin would have understood the connection between the two plays, but Newton suspected that some readers would be engaging with these tragedies for the first time and would approach the plays sequentially, one through ten. If they did so, readers would encounter *Thebais* before *Oedipus*, and perhaps struggle even more with the fragmented play. To remedy this problem, Newton provided an extensive summary of *Oedipus* in his Argument for *Thebais*, including details about the Oracle's prediction of an unborn son who would kill his father and marry his mother, the slaying of the Sphinx, the plague spreading throughout Thebes, and ultimately the end of the tragedy when Oedipus "pulled out his own Eyes, and hid himself in corners and solitary places" (84). While Newton retained the traditional order of the ten tragedies, he offered readers an apparatus before *Thebais* to facilitate their understanding of the tragedy in relation to its prequel.

---

<sup>43</sup> Newton writes in the Argument: "And note that this Tragedy, was left by the Authour vnperfect, because it neyther hath in it, Chorus, ne yet the fifth Acte" (84). Moreover, in his epistle to Henneage, he states, "I haue deliuered myne Authors meaning with as much perspicuity, as so meane a Scholler, out of so meane a stoare, in so smal a time, and vpon so short a warning was well able to performe" (2).

<sup>44</sup> While *Thebais* continues to narrate Oedipus' fall after his self-exile, some details from Seneca's *Oedipus* do not carry over into *Thebais*. At the end of *Oedipus*, Jocasta dies by the hand of her raging husband; however, Jocasta is alive at the beginning of *Thebais*, and she plays a central role in trying to negotiate peace for Thebes after Oedipus has left the city.

When readers turned to the first page of *Thebais*, they would have seen more evidence of Newton's labors as a translator and editor. *Thebais* opens with a large woodcut letter ornament of the letter "D," and Newton's initials "T.N" appear on the letter above his own coat of arms (Fig. 2.4). The sable and cross symbols on the shield reveal his descent from the Newtons of Newton and Pownall in England.<sup>45</sup> By inscribing a signifier of his status as an Englishman and his own lineage onto the printed text of *Thebais*, his translation likewise becomes a marker of his own personal contributions to the English Seneca volume. Effectually, Newton aligns himself with his collection; both are the products of genealogy.

#### IV

By highlighting the contributions of previous translators in the *Tenne Tragedies*, Newton could also effectively accentuate and "domesticate" Seneca's teachings on morality. Two material features—epistles and textual/typographic cues highlighting translators' modifications to Seneca's texts—helped Newton call attention to agents' previous contributions and the moral lessons readers were to learn. While emphasizing the edifying outcomes of reading the volume as a unified, ordered, and complete Seneca collection, the epistles and cues simultaneously point to key moments in the *Tenne Tragedies*' genealogy when translators altered the tragedies to reinforce lessons on virtue and humility in the *de casibus* tradition.

When the seven single editions were published from 1559 to 1566, each included an assortment of prefatory devices: dedicatory epistles, notes to the reader, letters to the book, and commendatory verses. In 1581, Newton chose to incorporate only three epistles from these earlier publications. In addition to writing his own "Epistle Dedicatory" for the whole volume, Newton culled one epistle "To the Reader" from Heywood's *Troas* (1559, 1562) and two (one

---

<sup>45</sup> See John Leigh's "Introduction" to *The Tenne Tragedies of Seneca*, vii. Also see Morrissey, "Thomas Newton of Cheshire," 23.

dedicatory, the other a “Preface to the Reader”) from Neville’s *Oedipus* (1563). Together, the four epistles show how Newton’s own negotiations in recording the labors of his fellow translators urged readers to conceive of the collection as a unified whole to access Seneca’s wisdom.

Newton’s epistle commencing the *Tenne Tragedies* uses the dedication to Sir Thomas Henneage to teach English men and women how to read the Seneca collection for moral edification. Newton begins by addressing the dangers of selective reading, both within individual tragedies and across the whole volume:

it is by some squemysh Areopagites surmyzed, that the readinge of these Tragedies, being enterlarded with many Phrases and sente[n]ces, literally tending (at the first sight) sometime to the prayse of Ambition, sometime to the mayntena[n]ce of cruelty, now and then to the approbation of incontinencie, and here and there to the ratification of tyranny, can not be digested without great dau[ng]er of infection: (2)

His solution is simple: read each tragedy in its entirety. Newton avers that if readers “mark and consider the circumstances, why, where, & by what maner of persons such sentences are pronoun[n]ced, they ca[n]not in any equity otherwise choose, but find good cause ynough to leade the[m] to a more fauourable and milde resolutio[n]” (2). By encouraging forms of critical reading in which character and plot are integral to exegesis, Newton urges readers not simply to read Seneca to pinch *sententia* from individual plays, even though commonplacing was a

widespread humanist reading practice taught throughout England and Europe —and even promulgated by Seneca’s *Epistulae Morales*.<sup>46</sup>

To reap the rewards of Seneca’s lessons on virtue and vice, reading each play completely is essential, but so is reading all ten tragedies—the whole collected edition:

it may not at any ha[n]d be thought and deemed the direct meaning of SENECA himselfe, whose whole wrytinges penned with a peerelesse sublimity and loftinesse of Style, are so farre from countenauncing Vice, that I doubt whether there bee any amonge all the Catalogue of Heathen wryters, that with more grauity of Philosophicall sentences. . . beateth down sinne, loose lyfe, dissolute dealinge, and vnbrydled sensuality: or that more sensibly, pithily, and bytingly layeth downe the guerdon of filthy lust, cloaked dissimulation & odious treachery: which is the dryft, whereunto he leueleth the whole yssue of ech one of his Tragedies. (2-3)

Having edited and compiled each tragedy, Newton proposes that Seneca’s invectives against wickedness become clearest by reading the entire collection. In other words, if one wants to grasp the “direct meaning of SENECA himselfe,” one must read “eche one of his Tragedies” and understand the admonitions in each one, for the repudiation of evil is the “whole yssue” of every play. Readers should not, however, ignore Seneca’s copia of “Philosophicall sentences”; rather, they should recognize that the abundance of *sententiae* merely enriches the ethical message of the whole inter-relational volume.

The epistles that Newton included from Alexander Neville’s 1563 edition of *Oedipus* similarly underscore the moral efficacy of reading each play completely. Because Neville

---

<sup>46</sup> See Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-books*, 120; she quotes the *Epistulae Morales*, which states, “We should imitate bees and we should keep in separate compartments whatever we have collected from our diverse reading, for things conserved separately keep better.”

translated the play to “admonish all men of their fickle Estates” (159), he explains in his homiletic prefatory epistle how the play should be received:

[T]hough that he somtimes boldly presumed to erre from his Author, rousing at random where he list: adding and subtracting at pleasure: yet let not that engender disdaynefull suspition with in thy learned breast. Marke thou rather what is ment by the whole course of the History: and frame thy lyfe free from such mischiefes, wherevwith the World at this present is vniuersally ouerwhelmend, The wrathfull vengeance of God prouoked, the Body plagued, the mynde and Conscience in midst of deepe deuouring dau[n]gers most terribly assaulted. (160)

As had Newton’s epistle, Neville’s makes an appeal for reading the “whole course of the History” as a means of revealing its true meaning.<sup>47</sup> If English men and women were unsure of how to read *Oedipus* within Neville’s framework, the epistle interpreted it for them in a plot summary. This “Argument” is actually incorporated into Neville’s epistle and functions to cast Oedipus as a willful sinner rather than the pitiful puppet of Fate.<sup>48</sup> Neville’s plot synopsis reveals in Oedipus’ depravity: “all inflamed with Phrensie and boyling in inward heate of vile infected minde, hee rooteth out his wretched eyes vnnaturally, bereueth his Mother her life (though earnestly requested hereto) beastly, & in the ende in most basest kind of slavery, banisht, dieth miserably. Leauing behind him . . . a dredfull Example of Gods horrible vengeance for sinne” (162). By positioning the epistles before *Oedipus*, Newton was able to remind readers half-way through the collection to read each play in its entirety and to glean lessons on the tragic fate of sinners.

---

<sup>47</sup> He uses third person to describe his motives but signs the epistle “A. Neuille” (162).

<sup>48</sup> See Frederick Keifer’s “Seneca Speaks in English,” 372-87. He discusses Neville’s attempts to adapt the tragedy’s representation of Fortune and justice to Christian ideologies.

By adding Jasper Heywood's epistle to *Troas*, Newton emphasized that earlier translators had already started the process of making Seneca accessible and profitable to English readers unschooled in Latin or classical literature. Like Neville's epistle, Heywood's "To the Reader" highlights and justifies his alterations to Seneca's original as beneficial to his specific audience:

I haue (where I thought good) with addition of myne owne Penne supplied the wante of some thynges, . . . . for the thyrd Chorus which in Seneca beginneth thus, QVE VOCAT SEDES? For as much as nothing is therein but a heaped number of farre and straunge Countries, considerynge with my selfe, that the names of so manye vnknown Countreyes, Mountaynes, Deserts, and Woodes, shoulde haue no grace in the Englyshe tounge, but bee a straunge and vnpleasant thinge to the Readers (excepte I should expound the Historyes of each one, which would be farre to tedious,) I haue in the place therof made another beginning, in this manner. O Ioue that leadst. &c. Which alteration may be borne withal, seyng that Chorus is no part of the substaunce of the matter. (199)

Anticipating that Seneca's Chorus might have alienated English readers, Heywood decides against translating it or explicating the geographical locales. Neither *Troas* nor any of the tragedies in Newton's volume would try to function as scholarly texts with marginal glosses or commentary.<sup>49</sup> They were designed to be not a "straunge and vnpleasant thinge to the Readers" but accommodating and enjoyable to use. While Heywood's epistle does not explicitly interpret the moral of *Troas* for readers, the letter does highlight the exact places where readers could look for one. By providing a list of interpolations, Heywood focuses readers specifically on Seneca's Choruses, which he altered to encapsulate the "substaunce of the matter" of the tragedy.

---

<sup>49</sup> Some of the earliest collections of the printed tragedies included extensive marginal notes, such as *Tragoediae Senecae cum duobus commentariis: uidelicet* (Venice, Joannes Tacuinus, 1498) and *Tragoediae* (Venice, Philippo Pincio Mantuano, 1510).

In addition to the epistles, Newton (with the assistance or guidance of Marsh) inserted textual and typographic cues within the tragedies to showcase where individual translators modified and revised Seneca's texts for accessibility, especially when the alterations pointed to concepts that Newton deemed beneficial to readers and aligned with humanist dictums. The two plays that most significantly diverged from their source texts were *Troas* and *Oedipus*, two tragedies that had epistles announcing the reasons for their revisions.

Newton advertised Jasper Heywood's additions to *Troas* to highlight the chief lessons of the tragedy and the collection as a whole. Unlike the earlier editions of *Troas*, the version in the *Tenne Tragedies* graphically demarcates passages that Heywood emended to clarify what he saw as the moral of the tragedy. For instance, in the collection, Heywood's Chorus at the end of Act Three is visually separate from the previous scene not only because of the predominant white space but also because of the change in typeface from black letter to Roman (Fig. 2.5). Moreover, the phrase "Chorus altered by the translatur" appears in italics, centered two lines above the speech, and a large woodcut ornament "O" announces the beginning of the Chorus (234). The page is designed to showcase this specific Chorus. By contrast, the single editions of 1559 and 1562 announce the Chorus much more subtly. While the passage is preceded by the note in italics, "Chorus altered by the translator," neither an ornamental "O" nor a spacious multi-line break appears to offset the speech (234). The Chorus at the end of Act Three in these earlier editions appears in black letter, the same typeface used throughout the five acts (Fig 2. 6). From Heywood's epistle in the *Tenne Tragedies*, readers would have already learned that Seneca's original Chorus for Act Three was excised and replaced by Heywood's own, which he thought would better relate to the "substance of the matter" of the tragedy. And this new Chorus offers a pithy summation of the "matter" in *Troas*: "Chance beareth rule in euery place and

turneth mans estate at will. / She geues the vvronge the vpper hand the better part she doth oppresse, / She makes the highest low to stand, her Kingdome all is orderlesse” (234). According to Heywood then, the message is to beware the fickleness of Fortune, for even wealthy kings and queens, like Priam and Hecuba, are victims to her whims. Heywood’s translation implies the necessity of humility for all men and women who have no control over their future estates, and Newton confirms the value of such advice by visually highlighting a Chorus that develops it.

Heywood’s modifications to the Chorus at the end of the first act reinforce a similar maxim in the most direct language for readers’ moral benefit, and Newton visually offset this Chorus in the collection. Heywood writes,

. . . . . O Kinges yee are but dust.  
And Hecuba that wayleth now in care,  
That was so late of high estate a Queene,  
A mirror is to teach you what you are  
Your wauering wealth, O Princes here is seen.  
Whom dawne of day hath seene in high estate  
Before Sunnes set, (alas) hath had his fall  
The Cradles rocke, appoyntes the life his date  
From settled ioy, to sodayne funeral. (210)

Functioning as a warning in the *de casibus* tradition, Heywood’s revised chorus reminds readers that a turn of fate or even death may strike at any time, the implication being that all must be spiritually prepared for such an event. Much like the Chorus in act three, this one is announced with the words “Chorus added to the Tragedy by the Translatour,” with added white space, and with a decorative woodcut to commence the speech. Granted, Seneca was frequently cited by

early modern scholars for divulging the wiles of Fortune and the uncertainty of any persons in positions of wealth or power, as the tale of the Trojan women clearly demonstrates. Yet, within *Troas*, these truisms in the Choruses are distinctive additions to the English tragedy and support Newton's vision for a collection that would accommodate readers on their paths through life. Newton likewise visually spotlighted Alexander Neville's deviations from Latin sources, proving his investment in the collection's ability to teach Seneca's wisdom to English readers by recording its genealogy. In *Oedipus*, one whole page is dedicated to showcasing the translator's liberal rendition of the Chorus from Act Three. Veering far from his source text, Neville concludes the Chorus with this direct address to the reader:

Let Oedipus example bee of this unto you all,  
A Mirror meete. A Patern playne, of princes carefull thrall.  
Who late in perfect Joy as seem'de, and euerlasting blis,  
Triumphantly his life out led, a Myser now he is,  
And most of wretched Misers all, euen at this present tyme,  
With doubtfull waues of feare Itost, subject to such a Cryme  
Whereat my tongue amased stayes, God graunt that at the last,  
It fall not out as Creon tolde. Not yet the worst is past,

(I feare). (183)

Here Neville's warning is clear: prince's estates change quickly and often for the worse. Similar to Heywood's added passages, Neville's also urges readers to approach the tragedy as a "Mirror" wherein they should see reflections of themselves through characters like Oedipus or Hecuba

who once lived lavishly but were reduced to poverty, exile, or enslavement—characters unprepared for their falls.<sup>50</sup>

Newton, with Marsh's guidance, used other typographic cues in setting Neville's translation to direct readers to related conclusions. Each time Neville broke from his customary iambic heptameter couplets into triplets, Newton had braces or dilemmas printed in the right margin to mark the lines. Neville called attention to important lines by using triplets, so Newton's decision to draw readers' eyes to these passages with the braces served to further emphasize them. Some triplets simply focused on significant turns in the plot, including when Oedipus blinds himself. Other triplets precisely capture Seneca's wisdom—or more accurately, Neville's poetic interpretation of Seneca's wisdom—as in the braced lines from the Chorus to Act Four (Figure 2.7):

Our life must haue her pointed course, (alas) what shall I say.

As fates decree, so things do run, no man can make them stay.

For at our byrth to Gods is known our latter dying day. (192)

In Neville's 1563 edition of *Oedipus*, readers could have identified the triplets on their own, but Newton's decision to typographically alert readers in the 1581 collection was a new and useful editorial strategy that not only called attention to Neville's skill and contributions as a translator but also encouraged readers to engage with the ethical principles that Newton was reinforcing through the whole volume.

While Newton showcased translators' multiple and varied contributions to the *Tenne Tragedies*, he concurrently crystallized for readers what was authentically Seneca's. Unmarked text in the collection was understood to be that of the classical dramatist, merely changed into

---

<sup>50</sup> These references to reading the tragedies as a "mirror" was likely an imitation of the influential *Mirror for Magistrates* edited by William Baldwin and George Ferrers. *Mirror for Magistrates* was also a collection and published by Thomas Marsh. Newton provided an address "To the Reader" in the 1587 edition.

another tongue. Despite their revisions to the Latin source texts, both Neville and Heywood express within their epistles their devotion to the author and their desire to capture his intentions in their individual translations and even through their alterations.<sup>51</sup> In his own epistle, Newton similarly expresses his desire for readers to access the “direct meaning of Seneca himself” (2). In effect, Neville, Heywood, and Newton still promote the tragedies as united under Seneca’s authorship. But, access to this singular author was mediated, and translators used their own literary skills to help readers understand the author’s philosophical teachings. In the process, the translators’ labors were not merely recorded but highlighted. For Newton, preserving the processes involved in translation supported his goals for ensuring that Seneca’s edifying lessons were rendered available to and compatible with his fellow English men and women. Calling attention to the multiple translators encouraged readers to see the *Tenne Tragedies* as a collaborative humanist project, undertaken by a community of civic-minded scholars for the bettering of the commonwealth in 1560s England. And some readers responded appropriately by treating the volume as worthy of note in English literary studies in the sixteenth century because of this collaboration. In his *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), William Webbe offers his praise of “the laudable Authors of *Seneca* in English”— a compliment that acknowledges the collection’s multiple authorship. Francis Meres in *Palladis Tamia* (1598) similarly applauds the community of “translators of Senecaes Tragedies,” noting that “these versifiers for their learned translations are of good note among us.”<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Heywood explains that he has “endeuored to keepe touch with the Latten, not worde for woerde or verse for verse, as to expounde it, but neglectyng the placing of the words, obserued their sence” (198). Neville claims to know Seneca’s intention in writing *Oedipus*: “Which was by the tragicall and Pompous showe vpon Stage, to admonish all men of their fickle Estates, to declared the vnconstant head of wauering Fortune. . . . This caused me not to be precise in following the Author, word for word: but sometymes by addition, sometimes by subtraction, to vse the aptest Phrases in geuing the Se[n]se that I could inuent” (159).

<sup>52</sup> See Spearing, *Elizabethan Translations*, 5-6.

The *Tenne Tragedies* (1581) became more than just a compilation of ten translations; it became an archive of agents' approaches to an English Seneca collection throughout a twenty-one year period. To see the collection as an archive of the processes and agents who brought it into being is to treat the collection as a historically constituted cultural object—a product of its genealogy and a record of the scenes of its production. However, to conceive of the drama collection as only a stable holder or repository of its past would be to deny the collection's mutability as a form that was always being reinterpreted and re-imagined by new agents and to serve new aims. In this sense, the scenes of collection do not end when a book materializes; instead, these processes continue, making the collection appear less like a finished product and more like a medium always morphing into another collected form.

The varied fates of copies of the *Tenne Tragedies* (1581) illustrate just this point. A copy now in the British Library shows one seventeenth-century reader adding page numbers to Newton's catalogue so that he or she could locate the start of each tragedy with ease. The numbers are handwritten in a neat column to the right of the translators' names and aligned horizontally with the titles of the tragedies, so that one can look from left to right and see that *Hercules Furens* began on "Fol. 1", *Thyestes* on "Fol. 21," *Troas* on "Fol. 98" and so on.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the "Names of the Tragedies" served this reader as both a genealogy of translation and a makeshift table of contents. Another extant edition further builds on Newton's visions for the collection. Previously owned and signed by Thomas Tanner (1674-1735) and now at the Bodleian Library, this copy shows an annotating reader highlighting Heywood's alterations to *Hercules Furens*, even those unmarked by Newton. This same reader also labeled passages that

---

<sup>53</sup> British Library, Shelfmark C.34.f.1. This collection belonged to David Garrick who had it bound or more likely re-bound in the eighteenth century.

commented on the virtues and vices, scrawling in the margins words and phrases such as “fortitudo,” “ambition,” “tyrannis,” and “Virtus Est sola nobilitas.”<sup>54</sup> Newton surely would have condoned reading the volume for its teachings on morality, yet if the reader was identifying sententious phrases to transfer to his or her commonplace book, then the *Tenne Tragedies* was being put to uses that conflicted with Newton’s conception for the collection.<sup>55</sup>

Proving that some readers took seriously Newton’s instructions on reading the volume as a whole, the antiquarian and book collector Anthony Wood (1632-1695) recorded the *Tenne Tragedies* in his catalogue with this description: “Seneca in English— 1581, . . . . This booke must be perused— & the epistles before every play.”<sup>56</sup> If we consider that “peruse” then denoted the act of wearing out a text, carefully scrutinizing it, and going through it in order,<sup>57</sup> we can see that Wood understood the moral significance of reading the *Tenne Tragedies* very much as Newton intended. By contrast, other readers divided up the uniform volume and discovered entirely new purposes for the *Tenne Tragedies* and its parts. A quarto sammelbänd of plays at the Bodleian Library positions the 1581 *Thyestes* as the second work in an eight-play compilation.<sup>58</sup> Another quarto sammelbänd once bound together *Thebais*, *Agamemnon*, and *Hercules Oetaeus*

---

<sup>54</sup> Bodleian Library, Shelfmark Tanner 784. This collection is no longer in a period binding. I want to thank Colin Harris, Superintendent of Special Collections, for his assistance with this volume and other editions from the Bodleian Library.

<sup>55</sup> Throughout the first ten pages of Heywood’s *Hercules Furens*, the reader scrawled in the margins entire passages from the Latin tragedy and noted the corresponding page numbers from a Latin edition, presumably one printed in Lyons by Antonius Gryphius or a paginary reprint of the same.

<sup>56</sup> See Kiessling, *The Library of Anthony Wood*, 543.

<sup>57</sup> See “Peruse”: “I. To use up. 1. *trans.* To use up; to wear out through use; to exhaust. *Obs.*; II. To go through, examine. a. To go through, deal with (a series of things or persons) one after another; to handle, examine, or deal with (a number of things) one by one. Now *rare.*” See the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

<sup>58</sup> Shelfmark Mal. 206. The arrangement of plays is as follows: 1) Nathaniel Wood’s *Conflict of Conscience* (1581); 2) Heywood’s *Thyestes* (1581); 3) Beaumont and Fletcher’s *A King and No King* (1655); 4) Philip Massinger’s *The Roman Actor* (1722); 5) Philip Massinger and Thomas Dekker’s *The Virgin Martyr* (1661); 6) George Chapman’s *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* (1625); 7) *The Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* (1625). Mal 206 was part of the Edmond Malone collection. The binding is not contemporary; however, a handwritten list of contents bound within the volume sets out a different selection and order of texts apparently from a previous compilation likely from the late eighteenth century. The list records, “1. *Conflict of Conscience*-1581; 2. *Thyestes* {bl.Lett}-1581; 3. *King or no King*-1655; 4. *Roman Actor*-1722; 5. *Virgin Martyr*-[no date]; 6. *Two Merry Milkmaids*-1620; 7. *Conspiracy of C. Duke of Byron*-1625.” For Malone’s acquisition of George Stevens’ collection of plays, see James M. Osborn, “Edmond Malone,” 11-13.

from the 1581 collection alongside six other seventeenth-century stage plays.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, a number of rare book libraries own single copies of the tragedies that were once part of Newton's collection but for some reason or another were pulled from the 1581 volume to function individually.<sup>60</sup>

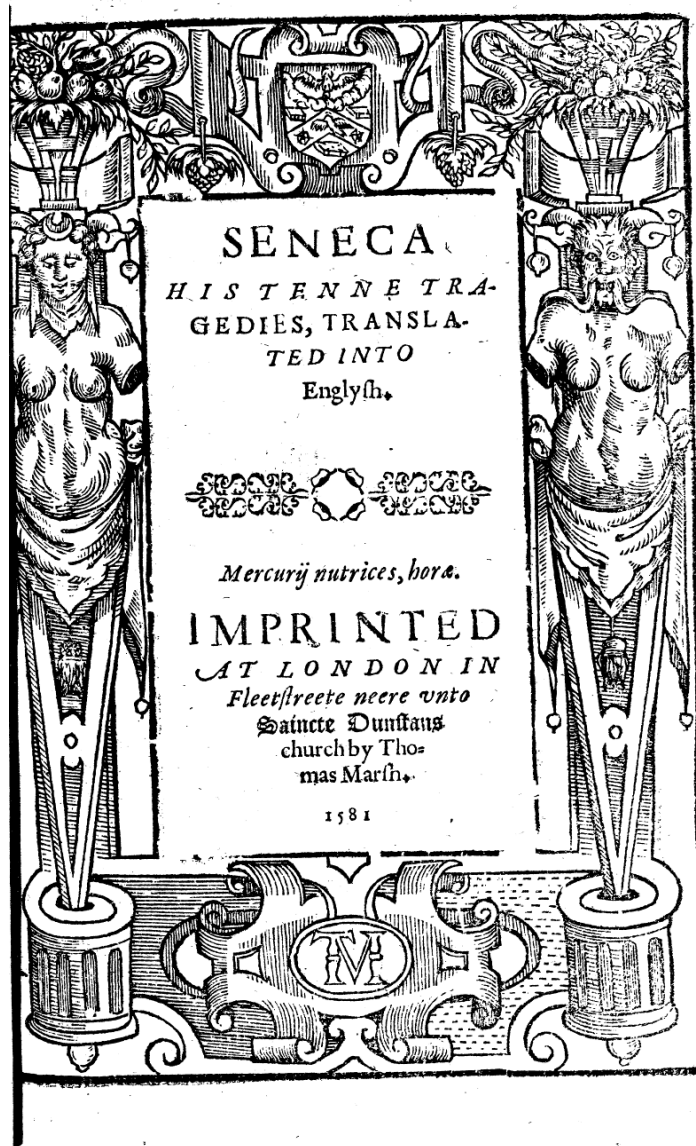
A genealogy of the *Tenne Tragedies* illustrates that the collected form carried with it a past—a past that was shaped by previous agents and that had to be negotiated by new ones. In the *Tenne Tragedies*, Thomas Newton made use of that past to design a volume that unified the translations under Seneca's authorship, while nonetheless recording the processes of collection and multiplicity of translators who created the text. These dual principles served his humanist pedagogical mission of translating Seneca's tragedies both linguistically and morally for English readers. But they also inspired a number of new collected forms, as agents throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries looked to the *Tenne Tragedies* and its inscribed scenes of collection as a paradigm—a precedent for how to present printed drama in collection.

---

<sup>59</sup> Shelfmark Mal. 196. The arrangement of plays is as follows: 1) Abraham Cowley's *The Guardian* (1650); 2) Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher's *Phylaster* (1652); 3) Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* (1631); 4) Gilbert Swinhoe's *The Tragedy of the Unhappy Fair Irene* (1658); 5) Newton's *Thebais* (1581); 6) Studley's *Agamemnon* (1581); 7) Studley's *Hercules Oetaeus* (1581); 8) Thomas Heywood's *The Four Prentises of London* (1632); 9) Fulke Greville's *The Tragedy of Mustapha* (1609). These plays were previously collected by Edmond Malone, but they now appear in separate twentieth-century bindings, with the exception of the three Seneca translations which are bound together in Mal. 196 (5).

<sup>60</sup> A single copy of the 1581 *Medea* is held by University of Kent at Canterbury University Library (Shelfmark C 581.SEN Spec Coll Store). The British Library has a single copy of the 1581 *Hippolytus* (Shelfmark 643.c.76). And the Folger Shakespeare Library has a single copy of the 1581 *Thyestes* (Shelfmark STC 22221 copy 4).

Figure 2.1: Title page of *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581)



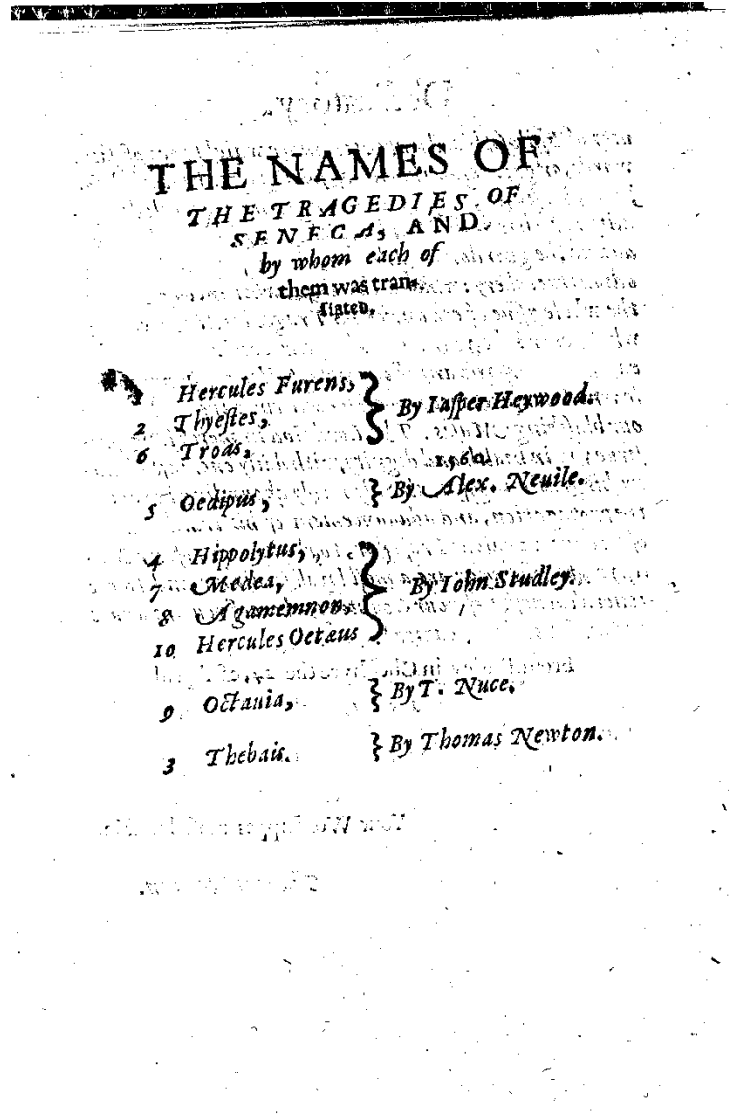
This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 22294).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 2.2: Features in *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581)

Title page	sig. A2r
Thomas Newton's "Epistle Dedicatory"	sig. A3r-A4r
Catalogue or "The Names of the Tragedies of Seneca. . ."	sig. A4v
The Argument for <i>Hercules Furens, the first tragedy</i> Jasper Heywood's <i>Hercules Furens</i>	fol. 1r (sig. B1r) fol. 1r – 20v (sig. B1r-D4v)
Head-title for <i>Thyestes, the second tragedy</i> The Argument Jasper Heywood's <i>Thyestes</i>	fol. 21r (sig. E1r) fol. 21r (sig. E1r) fol. 21v-39v (sig. E1v-F4v)
Head-title for <i>Thebais, the third tragedy</i> The Argument Thomas Newton's <i>Thebais</i>	fol. 40 (sig. G1) fol. 40r-40v (sig. G1r-G1v) fol. 41r-54v (sig. G2r-I2v)
Head-title for <i>Hippolytus, the fourth tragedy</i> The Argument John Studley's <i>Hippolytus</i>	fol. 55r (sig. I3r) fol. 55r -55v (sig. I3r-I3v) fol. 56r- 75r (sig. I4r-L5r)
Head-title for <i>Oedipus, the fifth tragedy</i> Alexander Neville's Dedicatory "Epistle" Neville's Dedicatory "Preface to the Reader" Neville's <i>Oedipus</i>	fol. 75v (sig. L5v) fol. 75v-76v (sig. L5v- L6v) fol. 76v-77v (sig. L6v-L7v) fol. 78r- 94v (sig. L8r- N8v)
Head-title for <i>Troas, the sixth tragedy</i> Jasper Heywood's Epistle "To the Reader" The Argument Heywood's <i>Troas</i>	fol. 95r (sig. O1r) fol. 95r- 96r (sig. O1r-O2r) fol. 96v-97v (sig. O2r-O3v) fol. 98r- 118v (sig.O4r- Q8v)
Head-title for <i>Medea, the seventh tragedy</i> The Argument John Studley's <i>Medea</i>	fol. 119r (sig. R1r) fol. 119r (sig. R1r) fol. 119v-139v (sig. R1v-T5v)
Head-title for <i>Agamemnon, the eighth tragedy</i> The Argument John Studley's <i>Agamemnon</i>	fol. 140r (sig. T6r) fol. 140r-140v (sig. T6r-T6v) fol. 141r- 160v(sig. T7r-Y2v)
Head-title for <i>Octavia, the ninth tragedy</i> The Argument Thomas Nuce's <i>Octavia</i>	fol. 161r (sig.Y3r) fol. 161r (sig.Y3r) fol. 161v-186v(sig.Y3v-Bb4v)
Head-title for <i>Hercules Oetaeus, the tenth tragedy</i> The Argument John Studley's <i>Hercules Oetaeus</i>	fol. 187r-187v (sig. Bb5r-Bb5v) fol. 187r-187v (sig. Bb5r-Bb5v) fol. 188r-217v (Bb6r-Ff3v)
Colophon	fol. 217v (Ff3v)

Figure 2.3: "The names of the Tragedies of Seneca and by whom each of them was translated"



This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 22294).


Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 2.4: Newton's Woodcut Ornament from *Thebais*

41

**THE FIRTE  
ACTE.**

OEdipus. Antigone.



Care Daughter, unto Father blinde:  
a Staffe of Steady Stay,  
To weary Eyes, a comfort greate,  
and Guide in all his way:  
And whom to haue begotten, I  
may glad and sayfull bee:  
Yet leaue me now, thy haplesse Eyes,  
thus plunged in misery.  
Why seekst thou meanes, still to direct  
my walking Steppes aright?  
Let mee I pray thee headlong slide  
in breaknecke tumbling plight.

I better shall and sooner fynde a way my selfe alone  
To rid mee out of all the thzall wherein I now am thzowne.  
Whereby both heauen shall eased bee, and earth shall want the sight  
Of mee vile wretch, whom, guilt hath made a most abhored wight.  
Alas, what litle trifling tricke hath hitherto bene wrought  
By these my hands: what feate of worth or mastery haue I sought?  
In deed, they haue me helpt to pull myne eyes out of my head:  
So that ne Sunne, ne Moone I see, but life in darknesse lead,  
And though that I can nothing see, yet is my guilt and cryme  
Both seene and knowne, & poynted at, (woe worth the cursed tyme,  
Leaue of thy hold, let lose thy hand, good daughter, let mee goe:  
Let foulering footc light where it will, let it (this once) be so.  
Ile trudge, and runne, Ile lha, d, and raunge, Ile lallen to the hill  
Of cragge Stepe Cytheron, there I hope to worke my will,  
Where earst Adon lost his life by strange, and vncouth death,  
Whom bawling Dogges, and hunting Hounds bereft of vitall breath:  
Where once Agave (bedlemlike) raungd by and downe the woode  
With Syllers hers, inspired all with Bacchus raging woode.  
And pleasing well her selfe in that her fact and mischiefe done,  
Pitcht on a Poale the grisly head of him that was her Sonne.

G.      Wherez

This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 22294).


Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 2.5: "Chorus Altered by the Translator" in the *Tenne Tragedies* (1581)

**Troas**

Complaine thy mothers grife to him if former cares may mooue,  
 The spryghts: and that in funerall flame they leese not all their soue,  
 O cruel Hector: suff'rest thou the toyle to be opprest?  
 With bond of Grecians heauy yoke and lest thou stilt be rest?  
 Achilles tosse: take here agayne my teares and rented heare,  
 And (at that I haue left to leade) this hilt the father beare.  
 The coat yett for me comfort leaue, the tomb hath touched it  
 It of his albes ought here lye He seke it euery whit.  
 VI. There is no measure of the cares I may no longer stay,  
 Deferre no further our returne heare of our shipps delay.

*Chorus altered by the  
 translatour.*




loue that leadst the lampes of fire,  
 and deckst with flaming starres the skye,  
 Why is it euer thy desyre  
 to care their course so orderly?  
 That norre the frost the leaues hath wrought,  
 & norre the sprig doth close the tree.  
 Now fiery Leo rypes the corne,  
 and still the soyle should changed be?  
 But why art thou that all doest guide,  
 betwene vrhose hands the poale doth lye,  
 And at vrhose vvil the Orbs do flyde, carter of mans estate alway?  
 Regarding not the goodmans case, nor caring how to hurt the yll.  
 Chaunce beareth rule in euery place and turneth mans estate at vvil.  
 She geues the vrrouge the vpper hand the better part she doth oppresse,  
 She makes the highest lory to stand, her Kingdome all is orderlesse,  
 O parsite profe of her frailty, the princely towres of Troy beat downe,  
 The flower of Asia here yf see vrith turne of hand quight ouerthrowne,  
 The ruthful ende of Hectors son, vrho to his death the Greeces haue led,  
 His fatall hovere is come and gone, and by this tyme the Child is ded:  
 Yet still (alas) more cares encrease, O Trojans doleful destinate,  
 Fall doth approach the maydes decease, and norre Polixenus shall die,

The

The sixt tragedie. 114.

**THE FOVRTH  
 ACTE.**

*Helena, Andromacha,  
 Hecuba*



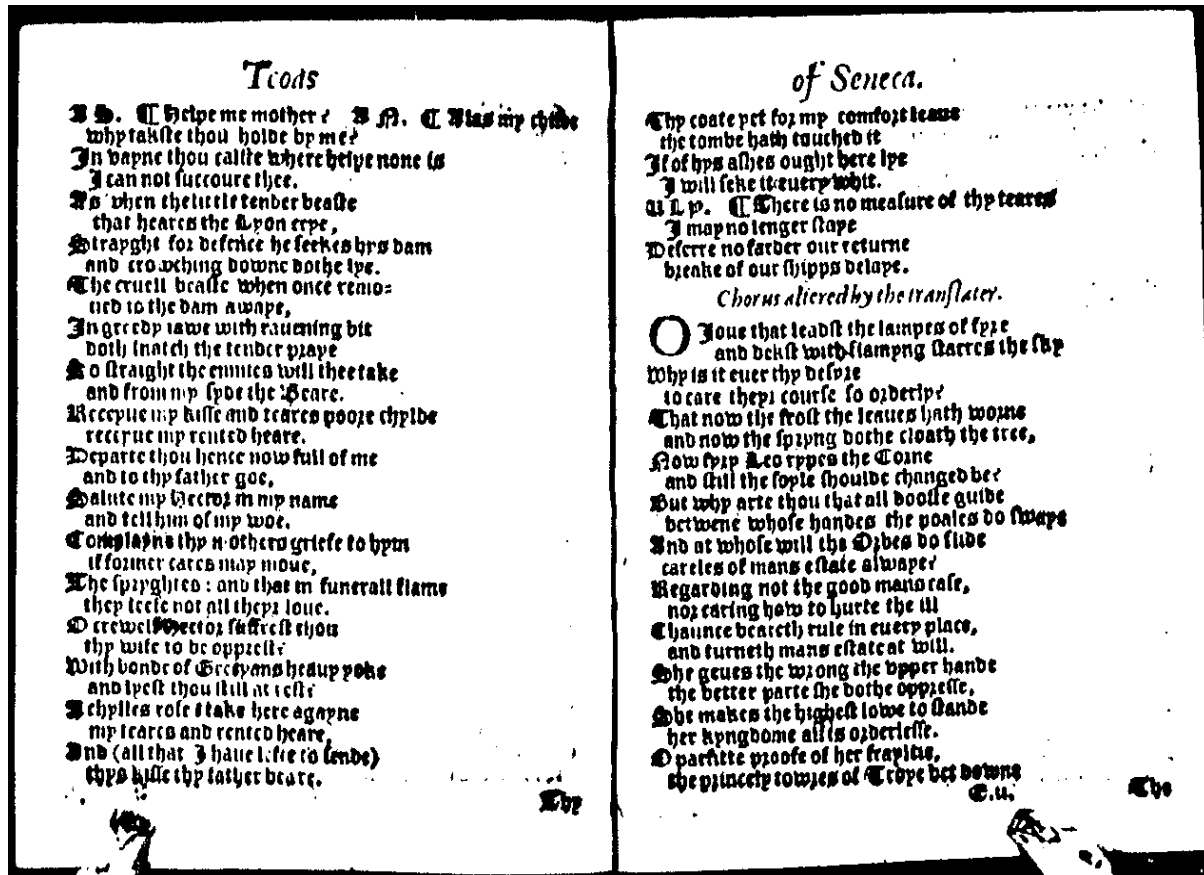
What euer woeful wedding yet,  
 were cause of funerall,  
 Of wayling, teares, bloud, slaughter els  
 or other mischieses all,  
 I woythe much for Helena,  
 and meete for me it wote,  
 My wedding toych hath bene the cause  
 of al the Trojans care.  
 I am constraind to hure them yett,  
 after their ouerthrowne,  
 The false and fayned marriages of Pyrrhus must I shoue,  
 And geue the mayde the Greeces awaye and by my goldece  
 What Paris after be betrayd and by discreept that die.  
 But let her be beguiled thus, the lesse should be her payne  
 If that butware without the feare of death: she might be sayne.  
 What crazed thou the will of Greeces, and message to fulfill  
 Of hurt constraind the fault returne to th'auer of the ill.  
 O noble Virgin of the famous house and stocke of Troy,  
 To thee the Greecians haue me sent I bying thee newes of loy,  
 The Gods rus on the afflicted state more mercifull they be,  
 I grete and happy marriage too, they haue prepared for thee.  
 Thou nether shouldst if Troy had stood, so nobly wedded be.  
 For Priam neuer could grete ther to so hie degree.  
 Whom howe of all the Greecians name the prince of honour hit,  
 That beares the Scepters ouer all, the lands of Thebally  
 With in the lawe of wedlocke chose, and for his wyfe require.

To sacred

This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 22294).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 2.6: "Chorus Altered by the Translator" in *Troas* (1559)



Courtesy of the British Library (c), British Library Board (Shelfmark G.9440).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 2.7: Dilemmas Marking Triplets in Neville's *Oedipus* in the *Tenne Tragedies* (1581)

**Oedipus**

Her eyes and ryes, Thus to wlp rayd (alaa) in piteous plight:  
 He length his head aloft he lifts, and therewith giues a sight.  
 And when he sees that all is gone, both light, and sight, and all.  
 Than schreching out; he thus begins vpon the Gods to call.  
 Now spare you Gods, now spare at length my countrey wch to fall.  
 I haue done that you did commaund: Pour wraths reuenged bee.  
 This wretched looke, this mangled face, is steeled now for mee:  
 Thus speaking, down the blackish blood by streams doth gushing flow  
 Into his mouth. And clotted lumps of flesh the place doth grow.  
 Wherein hee standes.  
 Beware betimes, by him beware, I speake vnto you all.  
 Learne Iustice, truth, and feare of God by his vnhappie fall.

**Chorus.**

**M** This life w<sup>th</sup> tumbling fatal course of fortunes wheele is rowld;  
 To it giue place, for it doth run all swift vncontrowld.  
 And Cares & teares are spent in vayne, for it cannot be stayd:  
 With his deteer of heauenly powers perforce must be obeyd.  
 What mankinde bydes or does on earth is chaiceth from aboue,  
 When wailing gones powrd out in griele do nought at all behoue.  
 Our life must haue her pointed course, (alaa) what shall I say,  
 As fates decree, so things do run, no man can make them stay.  
 For at our birth to Gods is hidde but later dying day.  
 No Prayer no Free, not God himselfe may fatall fates recall.  
 But fained all in heed to pite, vncchaunged they yettill.  
 Such ende thei<sup>r</sup> All vniuers vs they appointed were to haue,  
 Than by all feare of Fortunes chaicng, hee hor to pte a slaue  
 Enthrald in bondage vile to feare. For feare doth often bring  
 Decrees that dreaden ben and mischietes feard vpon vs bring.  
 For many a man hath come vnto his fatall ende by feare.  
 Wherefore set youth feare aside, and worthy courage beare.  
 And thou that subiect art to death, regard thy latter day.  
 Thinke no man blest before his ende. Thinke thee well and stay.  
 Be sure his life, and deary, and all, be quight exempt from misery:  
 Ere thou do once presume to say: this man is blest and happy.  
 But our alas, see where hee come: a wretch withouten Guide,  
 Deceit of light, halfe spoild of life: without all Pomp, and Pride.  
 (Cha: vnto Kings Chaire bitonge.)

THE

This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 22294).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

## Chapter 3

### Treating Divisions in the Nonce Collection: Political Persuasion in Thomas Norton's

#### *All Such Treatises* (1570)

Scholarship on the early modern drama collection would lead one to believe that the collection was a space where play texts became “literary” works that transcended their political and historical location. Using the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios as paradigms, scholars often assert that the collection sought to detach plays from their milieus of production, unify them under a single authorial persona, and construct them as “enduring works.”<sup>1</sup> For instance, agents based features of Jonson's *Works* (1616) on the classical operas of ancient authors to discourage topical readings of his plays, which had previously led to Jonson's imprisonment.<sup>2</sup> While the dramatic texts in Jonson's Folio retained details from performance such as the playing company and names of the actors, Margaret de Grazia propounds that “the immortalization of drama or the making permanent of the transient” were the Folio's aims and what Jonson hoped for himself as well.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Leah Marcus argues that to memorialize Shakespeare and his thirty-six plays, the First Folio of 1623 obscured the individual plays' historical contingencies so that that the “Bard of Avon” could emerge as the volume's primary unifying principle.<sup>4</sup> Through this process of de-localization, collections could serve as authorial monuments, fashioning “Authors” and their “Works” as “not of an age but for all time.” However, as we saw in the last chapter through a study of Thomas Newton's *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), agents who produced collections were not always so invested in stripping texts of their pasts in transmission or

---

<sup>1</sup> Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 27; de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 34; Robinson, “Thomas Heywood,” 362.

<sup>2</sup> Marchus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 108-9.

<sup>3</sup> See de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 34.

<sup>4</sup> See Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 27.

historical location to establish the contents as the enduring works of a single author. Nor, as I show in this chapter, did all single-author collections de-politicize the texts gathered within.

One single-author collection published by Protestant printer, John Day, in 1570 asks us to see the collection as a dynamic space where readers were encouraged to develop topical and polemical readings of interrelated works. Thomas Norton's *All Such Treatises*, an octavo volume that joined five recently published pamphlets with *The Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex* (better known as *The Tragedy of Gorboduc* and co-authored by Norton and Thomas Sackville) did not construct Norton as a transcendent author or transform his playbook and political pamphlets into inert monuments; instead, the collection engaged in partisan political advocacy by warning of a historically immediate threat to Protestants and their queen in 1570s England. To do so effectively, the volume was designed as a nonce collection—its parts carefully arranged to highlight the unity *and* individuality of the serially published treatises— for the purpose of political persuasion, and with its final text *Ferrex & Porrex* presented as a “treatise” to drive home the volume’s ideological message. Through the material design and organization of *All Such Treatises*, the collection’s political assertions were so loudly amplified that they continued to resonate with later readers who expanded the volume to continue charting the effects of one of England’s deadliest revolts, the Northern Rebellion of 1569.

A genealogy of Norton’s *Treatises* shows that the nonce collection emerged from Day’s serial publication and assembly of Norton’s prose ripostes during and after the revolt. Like Newton’s *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), Norton’s *All Such Treatises* bears the marks of its contents’ past transmissions in print as well as the agents who brought those collected forms into being. By tracing the genealogy of the collection, we can see that Norton’s authorship was just

one unifying principle and that the volume as a whole could speak to readers in a very specific historical moment in the late sixteenth century.

I begin by tracing the publication and marketing of Norton's pamphlets in 1569 and 1570 as collectable sets based on their content and aesthetic design. In the second part of the chapter, I demonstrate how the nonce collection unified Norton's texts by authorship and genre while also recording the past production of its parts. The third section shows how *All Such Treatises*, as a nonce collection, functioned to persuade Protestant readers that Catholic enemies were at that moment plotting England's downfall through divisive schemes. In the fourth part, I show how *Ferrex and Porrex* was added to the volume to conclude the collection with a warning to the people of England to unite under Elizabeth's Protestant rule. The concluding section turns to the sammelbände in extant libraries which show how *All Such Treatises* became a base from which further political argumentation about rebellion and its effect on England's sovereignty could be accomplished by building new collected forms.

## I

In November of 1569, the Earle of Northumberland and the Earle of Westmoreland summoned an army of around 6,000 men and marched through a number of the northern English towns in the hopes of ridding Elizabeth I's government of its "wicked" advisors, freeing Mary Queen of Scots from imprisonment, and ultimately restoring the Catholic faith in England.<sup>5</sup> The rebellion was contained by mid-December of 1569, but the book trade used the hype surrounding the insurrection to market texts on the conflict for months after.<sup>6</sup> Thomas Norton, a lawyer and

---

<sup>5</sup> For more on the causes of the Northern Rebellion, see A.J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion*, 6; Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics*, 74-76; Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity*, 182-208.

<sup>6</sup> The sheer number and diversity of rebellion tracts and broadsides printed in 1569 and early 1570 attests to the newsworthiness of the event and the public's desire for works in all genres on the uprising. Ballads like John Barker's *The Plagues of Northumberland* ([1570?], STC 1421) and William Elderton's *News from Northumberland, Agaynst rebellious and false rumours* ([1570], STC 7554) denounced the rebels and set the "news"

pamphleteer who was passionately devoted to the Protestant faith, composed five separate tracts on the rebellion, its causes, and its effects. The five pamphlets were published in individually paginated octavos with separate title pages from approximately November 1569 through December 1570. Like journalistic ripostes, Norton's pamphlets responded to events as they occurred, documenting reactions to the revolt and the two papal bulls that surfaced thereafter. While the five Norton pamphlets and *Ferrex and Porrex* were first issued in bibliographically independent editions, the publisher John Day used continuity in format and title page design to market the texts in pairs or in sets.

For the publisher Lucas Harrison and printer Henry Bynneman, issuing Thomas Norton's pamphlet *To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived subjectes of the northe contreye, drawn into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland* in December of 1569 was good business.<sup>7</sup> In this octavo edition, Norton speaks directly to the rebels and casts blame for the conflict not on the people but on the two northern earls who he argues "abuse you" (B7r) and "raise up you and others to keepe themselues from the face of justice" (A8v). By proposing that the revolt was a product of the earls' deceitful manipulations (and not outrage with Elizabeth I's government and its religious reforms), Norton's pamphlet echoed the crown's own stance in

---

to common tunes. Polemical pamphlets such as *An aunswere to the proclamation of the rebels in the north* ([1569], STC 22234) and Thomas Churchyard's *Come Bring in May with Me* (1570, STC 5224) preached the evils of disobedience while also refuting the rebels' intents and purposes. The crown wasted little time in issuing its own printed propaganda. *A proclamation set foorth by Therle of Sussex* (1569, STC 8022) was published only two weeks after the start of the turmoil, and five more printed proclamations would follow. As Edward Arber remarks, "The Rebellion in the North. . . naturally influenced very strongly the London publications through the month while it lasted and for some time afterwards." See Arber, *Transcripts*, 1:402.

<sup>7</sup> *To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived subjects* (1569, STC 18680). Harrison paid 6d to enter "a boke intituled the advertis[e]ment to the Rebelles in the north parties" in the Stationer's Register sometime after November 1569 and before July 23, 1570. See Arber, *Transcripts*, 1:405. Still, it is also possible that the tract was funded by the crown or that Elizabeth's advisors paid Norton to write it. Graves proposes that the Privy Council or Sir William Cecil sponsored the pamphlet and organized its fast-paced publication and circulation in the north. See Michael A.R. Graves, *Thomas Norton*, 48, 114.

1569 on the uprising.<sup>8</sup> *To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived subjectes* went through four editions within one year,<sup>9</sup> and its popularity with readers must have caught the attention of John Day, for he became the primary publisher of Norton's subsequent works related to the revolt. After May of 1570, Day published Norton's *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* in octavo format.<sup>10</sup> While the author's first tract addressed the "poore deceived subjects" who were "drawn into rebellion" by two villainous earls, Norton's second pamphlet was a virulent attack on Catholic subjects who he now claims were active participants or "parteners of the late Rebellion" (title page). Norton alleges that "euery papist. . . euery one that beleueth all the Popes doctrine to be true, is an enimie & traytor, against the maiestie and honor of God, against the Crownes and dignities of all kings and temporall princes, and against the wealth and safetie of all ciuile kyngdomes, policies, and common weales" (B4r [sic]). The publication in May 1570 of *Regnans in Excelsis*, the papal decree that excommunicated Elizabeth I from the Catholic Church, likely influenced Norton's aggressive tone and new approach to rooting out the league of papists who he suspects were now united in purpose with the Pope and Mary Queen of Scots.

While Day was selling Norton's *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* to compete with other stationers hawking rebellion tracts, it appears that he and fellow stationer Lucas Harrison were collaborating on the publication or at least the distribution of this pamphlet

---

<sup>8</sup> Kesselring elucidates in her historical analysis of the northern rebellion: "The Queen and her agents knew, or at least believed, that they had too many favorers of the old faith on their hands to make religious truth the focus of their arguments against the rising. Instead, they personalized the conflict. They attacked not the integrity of the old religious establishment but the integrity of the rebel earls." Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion*, 149-150.

<sup>9</sup> STC 18680, 18681, 18682, 18679.5. All four editions of *To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived subjects* show an imprint date of 1569, which would suggest that they were all printed in either November or December and sold remarkably fast. It is perhaps more likely that some editions were printed in 1570 but retained "1569" in the colophon.

<sup>10</sup> *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* (1570, STC 18685.3). Day entered the boke "intituled a warnynge agaynste papestes" for 4d. The date of entrance was after November 1569 but before July 23, 1570. See Arber, *Transcripts*, 1:412. In this pamphlet, Norton makes reference to events that occurred in 1570 such as the murder of the Regent of Scotland and Queen Elizabeth's excommunication from the Catholic Church. Therefore, it seems safe to assume that it was not printed in 1569. The STC lists the date as [1569?].

with the first. All three 1570 editions of *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* announce Day as the publisher in the colophon;<sup>11</sup> however, the reissue indicates in the colophon that it was “to be solde in Paules churchyarde at the signe of the Crane,” the location of Harrison’s book shop.<sup>12</sup> As mentioned above, Day published *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* in octavo, the same size as Harrison’s editions of *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes*. Similar to the stationers marketing Seneca’s tragedies in serial octavo pocketbooks in the 1560s, Day and Harrison presented Norton’s two pamphlets to readers in the same size format, making them convenient to buy together and/or bind together.

Furthermore, the tracts’ title page designs suggest that these works were constructed to appear as a pair; the title pages for the two tracts mirror one another as they morphed from edition to edition. As we can see in Figure 3.1, Harrison’s first edition of *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes* includes only the full title of the tract at the top of the page while his second edition adds to the title page the authorial attribution, “Written by Thomas Norton” and supplementary authorization, “Seen and allowed according the Queenes Iniunctions” (Figure 3.2).<sup>13</sup> Day follows a similar trajectory in publishing *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* with the first edition simply presenting the title of the work, the second edition adding “Seen and allowed” to the bottom of the title page (Figure 3.3) and then in a third edition, adding the phrase “Seen and allowed according the Queenes Iniunctions” (Figure 3.4).<sup>14</sup> At various stages in the publication process, the publishers were adding the same additional terminology to their title pages. Harrison’s fourth edition of *To the Queenes Maiesties*

---

<sup>11</sup> STC 18685.3, 18685.7, & 18686.

<sup>12</sup> STC 18685.7.

<sup>13</sup> STC 18679.5 & 18681. It is difficult to determine without a doubt the order in which the editions were printed; however, it is likely that additions to the title pages, such as “newly perused and increased,” appeared on later editions.

<sup>14</sup> STC 18685.3, 18685.7., & 18686

*poore deceiued subiectes* advertises that it was “newly perused and encreased” (Figure 3.5).<sup>15</sup>

Likewise, Day’s third edition of *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* shows the same addition to the title page: “newly perused and encreased” (Figure 3.4).<sup>16</sup> While the same textual derivations on two books published by two different stationers could be a mere coincidence, it seems more likely that Day and Harrison agreed upon the title page modifications as the tracts entered into their second and third manifestations or that Day was copying Harrison’s designs to unify visually the tracts—and thereby encourage readers to purchase the books as a pair.<sup>17</sup>

Within the year, Norton composed three more pamphlets that accused the Pope of using official proclamations from Rome to divide further England’s people after the Northern Rebellion. Day printed the three books in separate octavos, so that the tracts could be sold independently, with each other, and/or with the author’s previous two pamphlets. In *A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding*, Norton further discusses the causes of the rebellion and posits that Pope Pius V had been plotting the revolt at least two years before it occurred.<sup>18</sup> Norton here builds upon theories he presented in *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes* and *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists*, adding new evidence from the aftermath of the rebellion to support his claims. The next pamphlet to be published, *A*

---

<sup>15</sup> STC 18682.

<sup>16</sup> STC 18686.

<sup>17</sup> Norton and Harrison were likely friends or at least acquaintances. Norton lived with the Protestant printer Edward Whitchurch when translating Jean Calvin’s *Institutions of Christian Religion* (1561, STC 4415), and Whitchurch also published Norton’s index to *Paraphrases of Erasmus* or Nichols Udall, trans., *The first tome or volume of the Paraphrases* (1552, STC 2855). Presumably from his relations with Whitchurch, Norton began working with the Harrison family of stationers. Richard Harrison published *Institutions of Christian Religion* and his relative, Lucas Harrison, who married Whitchurch’s daughter, Helen, published Norton’s first rebellion tract *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes*. Axton, Marie. “Norton, Thomas (1530x32–1584),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>18</sup> *A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* ([1570], STC 18678). Another edition was printed as a broadside (1570, STC 18677.5).

*disclosing of the great Bull*,<sup>19</sup> refers back to *A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* and clarifies its assertions for readers who were seemingly confused by the previous pamphlet. That the work was to be marketed with *A Bull Granted* is nearly confirmed by Day himself when he entered the title in the Stationers' Register as "An answer to the Bull."<sup>20</sup> *A disclosing of the great Bull* offers a provocative allegorical explication of recent events relating to the propagation of the 1567 and 1570 papal bulls throughout England. In the fifth rebellion tract, *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles, with a searching of the Maze*, Norton continues to develop his theories about the papal bulls of 1567 and 1570.<sup>21</sup> In this final tract, Norton reminds readers of the assertions he made in previous pamphlets and shows how they have come to fruition. Norton concludes by confirming that England has been infiltrated by traitors who within and without the nation's borders seek to divide further the nation and strip Elizabeth I of her crown. The five serially published pamphlets together reiterate that while the rebellion in the North might have been stifled, the Catholic resistance would use divisive tactics to weaken the Protestant nation.

On the title pages for the three bull tracts, Day used the same typographic techniques and spacing, fashioning the works as a set.<sup>22</sup> As we can see in Figure 3.6, the full title of *A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* is printed in Roman type preceded by a fleuron; approximately five spaces down, another fleuron appears before the phrase, "Imprinted at London by Iohn Daye dwelling ouer Aldersgate." The text of the title is aligned to the left

---

<sup>19</sup> *A disclosing of the great Bull* ([1570], STC 18679).

<sup>20</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 1:413.

<sup>21</sup> *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles* ([1570], STC 18678a).

<sup>22</sup> Day may also have issued *A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* and *A disclosing of the great Bull* as a pair. At the very end of *A Bull*, Norton inserts this note: "None will make sleight accompt of these haynous threatening and practices of Papistes, nor moue any other to make a laughing matter of them, or to wrappe them vp in negligence, but either such as can be content to laugh at her Maiesties destruction, or be blindly led to their owne vndoing, how fayre soeuer with vaine promises they be abused or by other respectes their iudgements darkened." (C2v). The note appears out of place at this end of *A Bull* because very little in the tract would indicate that Norton was treating the circumstances as "a laughing matter" or "wrap[ing] them vp in negligence." Yet, in the following tract, Norton does just this. By applying the tale of lusty Pasiphae to current events, Norton carefully "wrap[s]" the events in classical allegory and mocks the Pope, his followers, and especially Mary Queen of Scots.

margin while the text of the imprint is centered. Additionally, the first line of the title and the first line of the imprint appear in larger type than the rest of the text on the page. If we glance at the title pages for *A disclosing of the great Bull* (Figure 3.7) and *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles* (Figure 3.8), we see almost identical formatting. Furthermore, if we also look back at the title page of *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* (Figure 3.3 & 3.4), we can see not only the continuity among the title pages of Norton's individual publications but also the likelihood that *A Warning* was used as a model for the subsequent title pages' designs.

The title page of *Ferrex and Porrex*, the tract that would be the sixth and final treatise in the 1570 Norton volume, replicates many of the features of the other title pages (Figure 3.9);<sup>23</sup> the playbook was published separately in octavo and its title page used the same typefaces—although the title was centered. But, this centered title is similar to that on later editions of *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes* (Figure 3.5). Furthermore, the phrase “Scene and Allowed” in small black letter appears on the title page of *Ferrex and Porrex* (Figure 3.9), as it does on *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* (Figure 3.3) and *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles* (Figure 3.8). When we view the title pages then for all six of the individual tracts, it appears that the pamphlets were not only composed by the same author, but also published as a visually coherent group that addressed the outcomes of the Northern Rebellion.

Of course, Day had limited styles and sizes of type, which contributed to some continuity among all of the works issued from his presses, but this alone does not explain the extraordinary likeness among the title pages of Norton's individual works published in 1569 and 1570. From 1560-1570, only three other title pages from Day's presses visually resemble the Norton tracts, and as I discuss later in this chapter, these three works were likely produced to supplement the

---

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *The tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex*, ([1570], STC 18685).

treatises in readers' sammelbände.<sup>24</sup> More often than not, though, the title pages printed by Day in 1560 were adorned with intricate woodcut borders and/or center woodcut ornaments (Figure 3.10 & 3.11).<sup>25</sup> Title pages that lacked these decorative woodcut flourishes displayed large amounts of text that filled the title pages from top to bottom (Figure 3.12).<sup>26</sup> Norton's treatises display neither of these characteristics; they use significantly more white space both in the margins and between blocks of text. If the title pages were posted like advertisements near Day's print shop,<sup>27</sup> then customers could have identified rather quickly which texts functioned as a set just by matching type, format, and design on these title pages. Day also might have stitched the works together and sold them together in tract volumes. He could have even had his binders create leather- or vellum-bound volumes for resale, as he seemingly did with bibles, prayer books, and school primers.<sup>28</sup> For the printer and bookseller, whether readers bought the tracts to be materially collected was less important than the fact that readers were purchasing more than just one book from the book stall and perhaps anticipating more.

The extant volumes containing small assemblages of Norton's pamphlets from 1569 and 1570 prove that readers arranged the texts in an order that reflected their serial publication. For example, extant volumes in special collections libraries join together Norton's first two tracts in

---

<sup>24</sup> Only three other works had title pages similar in design to that for *All Such Treatises*: STC 785, 13870, and 3967. Interestingly, all three are bound with an assortment of Norton's tracts in period sammelbände. These similarly designed tracts will be discussed in part V of this chapter.

<sup>25</sup> Of the 135 title pages printed from Day's presses from 1560-1570, approximately 85 displayed woodcut borders and/or center woodcut ornaments. The STC numbers are 1710, 1726, 1754, 4939, 6418, 14018, 14020, 374, 1747, 1757.5, 2434, 2435, 1727, 1747.3, 11263, 1747.5, 2438, 2729, 1758, 11996, 15142, 16705.7, 18601, 18603, 24672, 1581, 1753, 3817.7, 6428, 11997, 830, 832, 933, 1747.7, 1759, 4397, 6694, 6694.5, 7171, 7171.5, 10560, 11223, 11242, 11242.3, 11242.6, 16887.5, 18708, 18768, 14613, 20114, 23187, 1720.5, 1746, 1757, 4061, 5459, 6774.5, 10286, 26135, 2430, 12955a.5, 15276, 1710, 1746.5, 1755, 2430, 2431 (music), 22600, 1710, 5886, 12377, 16705, 24670, 1756.5, 6419, 2437, 2437.5, 24777, 2439.5, 24193a.5, 19848, 19848a, 4938.5, 11230, 11230.5. Eighteen of the title pages counted in the 135 total were unavailable for perusal.

<sup>26</sup> Twenty-three title pages printed from Day's press between 1560-1570 displayed a full page of text: The STC numbers are 11801, 159 159.5, 25708, 12000, 12000.5, 2427, 4450, 14612, 25387.5, 2428, 18412, 19930.5, 24662.5, 11249, 2432, 2433, 24265, 24265.5.

<sup>27</sup> See Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance*, 50-53.

<sup>28</sup> See Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures, and Patronage*, 105, 112; Oastler, *John Day*, 20, 32.

the order in which they were written and published, with *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes* first and *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* second.<sup>29</sup> Sammelbände at the Folger Shakespeare and British Library contain the three bull tracts, also in the order in which they were written and printed, with *A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* first, *A disclosing of the great Bull* second, and *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles* third.<sup>30</sup> The British Library also contains a volume in which all five tracts are positioned in order, the same sequence of tracts that was adopted by Day when he issued the same five titles followed by *Ferrex and Porrex* under the general title *All such treatises* in 1570.<sup>31</sup>

## II

Rather than publishing *All Such Treatises* as a collected edition, the publisher John Day created a nonce collection by joining six individually printed books under a newly printed general title page. Day arranged the treatises in the order of publication, but the heterogeneity of the contents—six books with their own title pages, imprints/colophons, and individual pagination—had to be negotiated. I show in this section that *All Such Treatises* is inscribed by agents' attempts to balance the unity of the whole collection with its individualized parts, which fashioned the single-author nonce collection as timely and relevant for English readers.

The full title of Day's octavo collection was *All such treatises as haue been lately published by Thomas Norton: the titles whereof appear on the next side* (1570), and this title reflects the tensions between blending the varied contents into a unified whole while retaining the individuality of the works in collection. As we see in Figure 3.13, Day's title page presents the author, "Thomas Norton," as the collection's unifying principle and generically categorizes

---

<sup>29</sup> See University of Illinois Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Call Number IUA0918 and Bodleian, Shelfmark Don. F 24; neither are in sixteenth-century bindings.

<sup>30</sup> See Folger Shakespeare Library, Call Number 18678 Copy 1 and British Library, Shelfmark C.37.d.36 (3).

<sup>31</sup> British Library, Shelfmark G.5926 (1-5).

“all” of Norton’s works as “Treatises.” In addition to grouping the contents under the rubrics of author and genre, the title page refers to the published contents as simply “lately published.”

Without ascribing the volume to any specific year of production, the title page initially obscures the historical specificity of the volume to establish its uniformity as a whole.

This general title page, however, cannot represent the varied contents of the volume and so it urges readers to turn the page for a more precise, descriptive list of contents. On this alternative “titles page” (Figure 3.14), the six distinct titles— previously published and now collected—are separately spaced in black letter type. The principles of generic unity (Treatises) and singular authorship announced on the general title page are much less apparent here and throughout the rest of the volume. A reader would merely need to browse the list and peruse the contents to see that the collection contained five prose works and a play, which was co-authored by “the L. Buckherst and Thomas Norton.”

*All Such Treatises* was a compilation of previously published works as well as an archive of the processes and agents who produced the individual tracts and marketed them as collectable in previous manifestations.<sup>32</sup> In addition to its separate title page, *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes* displays a colophon showing that it was printed by Lucas Harrison for

---

<sup>32</sup> The *STC* posits that *Treatises* is “A reissue w[ith] [a] gen[eral] t[itle] p[age] of one or another ed[itions] of 18679.5, 18685.3, 18678, 18679, 18678a, 18685.” See A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-title catalogue*, 191. The implication here is that Day reissued the same six titles under the general title page and randomly selected which editions or issues of each of the pamphlets would comprise each copy of *Treatises*. Douglas Brooks explains that Day had a large inventory of unsold stock in the early 1570s, which motivated him to develop new strategies for selling books to clear out his printing shop or warehouse. According to Brooks, Norton’s authorship presented itself to the publisher as a convenient framework from which to gather up old stock and sell it under a newly printed title page as an authorial nonce collection. See Brooks, *From Playhouse*, 42. However, the only two extant copies of *All Such Treatises*—at the Bodleian (still in contemporary binding) and at the Huntington— contain (or at one time contained) the exact same editions of each of the treatises (STC 18682, 18686, 18678, 18679, 18678a, 18685). If these copies are representative of the nonce collections sold by Day in the sixteenth century, then the collection appears not to be comprised of “one or another ed[itions]” at all, but only of the latest editions of each of the tracts. It is even tenable that the newest editions of the tracts, including *Ferrex and Porrex*, were printed specifically to serve as the contents of the collection. The Bodleian copy of *All Such Treatises* (Shelf mark Wood 257) from the collection of Anthony Wood (1623-1695) is lacking the final work, *The Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex*. In this edition, Wood noted in his own hand the play was “not here.” See Nicolas K. Kiessling, *The Library of Anthony Wood*, 444. The shelf mark for the Huntington Volume is 59846.

Henry Bynneman in 1569; *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* appears next and shows in its colophon that was printed by John Day. The two editions chosen for inclusion in the collection were those advertised as “enlarged and revised;” if not sold together, the pair was likely marketed together, and hence, *All Such Treatises* recorded not only the agents who produced the individual tracts, but also realized in material form the union of the two works.

The next three texts on the papal bulls similarly appeared in *All Such Treatises* with their own title pages and imprints. *A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* appeared as the third text in the collection; *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles* was fourth, and *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles* was fifth. The texts were arranged in their order of publication. What appeared to be designed as three separate, but collectable, tracts became in *All Such Treatises* the unified core of the volume.

*Ferrex and Porrex* was then annexed to the five prose pamphlets, and it too retained the traces of its previous production in *All Such Treatises*. Norton and Sackville composed *Ferrex and Porrex* for the 1561/2 Christmas Revels at the Inner Temple where it was first performed and then weeks later presented to Elizabeth’s court. The title page of Day’s 1570 edition records elements of this history of performance, setting forth that it was “*the same [that] was shewed on stage before the Queenes Maiestie, about nine yeares past, vz. the xviiij. day of Ianuarie. 1561. by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple*” (Figure 3.9). Day divulges the play’s history of textual transmission in his note from the “P[rinter] to the Reader,” claiming that an earlier edition of the play was published in 1565 by William Griffith, who had acquired the manuscript through illicit means and “put it forth excedingly corrupted” (sig. A2r).<sup>33</sup> In his note, Day positions the 1570 playbook as the authorized copy by proposing that the authors never intended for the tragedy to

---

<sup>33</sup> See Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender*, 182-184; Brooks, *From Playhouse*, 30-36.

be published by Griffith. In fact, Day claims that upon seeing their play “bescratched,” “torne,” “berayed,” and “disfigured” by the other rinter, Sackville and Norton “new apparalled” the text and made it presentable again. Day promises his readers that his new edition of the *Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex* is the authorial copy.<sup>34</sup>

While the playbook appears to have been published to circulate on its own in 1570—it has its own imprint and prefatory address— Day writes that “I do not dout her parentes the authors will not now be discontent that she goe abroad among you good readers, so it be in honest companie.” Here, Day implies the “honest companie” are potential readers, but considering that the publisher was also including the playbook in this nonce collection, we might conclude that the “companie” was Norton’s five treatises and that the “blacke gowne lined with white” which Day fitted the play within was *All Such Treatises*. As a single playbook, *Ferrex and Porrex* was marketed as the new and improved second edition, individuated due to its publication title page and pagination, but in collection, the play became a “treatise,” a text functioning together with the other five in the volume.

Balanced between unifying the whole works by a single author and individuating the topical pamphlets, *All Such Treatises* could serve as a topically relevant volume in the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion. In the sixteenth-century London book trade, a “timely” collection might have seemed an oxymoron; if readers wanted current news and commentary, they would typically find it in cheaply printed pamphlets—not collections unified by author, genre, topic, or time period.<sup>35</sup> Day’s publication of Norton’s works, however, claimed to do just this, to unify those “treatises” that were “lately published” and concerning the political milieu in England after

---

<sup>34</sup> January 18, 1561 is the date is according to Lady Day dating; however, according to the Gregorian calendar with the new year beginning on January 1, the play was performed in January 1562.

<sup>35</sup> See Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 15-16. Raymond cites Norton’s pamphlets among those pamphlets “reporting topical domestic news” (16). Also see Raymond on bundles and collections of pamphlets (4-6, 104, 162-3, 169, 193).

the Northern Rebellion. To make sure that readers understood that *Treatises* was a timely collection, Norton advertised that these were the authentic Norton pamphlets, and referred readers to verify the individual titles “on the next page.” The separate title pages for each of the works and their separate pagination confirmed that these were the exact pamphlets that were circulating about England not long after the Northern Rebellion, and therefore, were not belated but relevant to the here and now.

For Norton, the title “Treatises” also communicated that the volume was to be read as a unified “treatment” of problems in a local context— and that the assemblage of different texts was necessary to that purpose. In the preface to *Orations* (1560), Norton describes his authorial approach to “treatises” and divulges their suitability to application and persuasion.<sup>36</sup> Considering the treatise a subgenre of the history, Norton states:

histories not onely many but in sondry wise haue bene written, and of that diuersitie in forme of writing names haue bene geuen to such works & treatises. . . . Some haue writte[n] treatises or discourses upon some speciall factes, by way of gathering other things to the conformitie of that which they treat of, and applieng both it and the other to some ende of persuasion, as some present occasion of their cause or time hath required. (A3r-v)

For Norton then, the treatise is a focused discussion of “special factes,” which involves the process of “gathering” texts together that “treat of” one overarching idea. The careful collection and juxtaposition of texts directs readers to a point of view, which should be applied to recent events. Far from a term that Day hastily used to lump together five political tracts with a play,

---

<sup>36</sup> *Orations of Arsanes agaynst Philip* (1560?, STC 785). This pamphlet does not name an author, but critics seem confident that Norton wrote the tract. See Graves, *Thomas Norton*, 42; Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue*, 162.

“Treatises” were to Norton a sophisticated multi-textual and inter-textual mode of argumentation to persuade readers to a conclusion concerning current affairs.

Moreover, as a type of history, the treatise is a work that Norton imagines readers will respond to for the benefit of the English nation. As Norton warns in his preface to *Orations*, a reader who does not collect and use his learning from books “hath lost both his leasure and his labour, and hath spent them both like a drane that flyeth about the fields gazing upon floures but gathering no hony of them, & after the fayre day fondly wasted is fayne to be sustained by the labours of other, him selfe a frutelesse burden to the com[m]on weale” (A2r-v). In contrast, the proper reader of histories, “digesteth euery mater into his right place and to his right purpose, & therof he layeth up the store of wisdom for him selfe, and counsel for other, & is made able to shew the true difference of a man from a beast. . .” (A2r). According to Norton’s formula, readers are to gather information and create “stores” of knowledge to be used for the profit of others in the realm. However, when we consider Norton’s vision of the “treatise,” we see that he is asking for a much more integrative process of reading and application— similar to Newton’s prescriptions for reading *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies*— that involves a number of texts that together and in their “right place” fulfill a larger purpose. When reading a collection of treatises then, one is asked to follow the author as he or she pieces together evidence or “factes” and to act on the knowledge gleaned from the gathered selection for the betterment of the commonwealth.

### III

Both the time and the cause did require Norton’s “gathering” things to conformity— especially after the Northern Rebellion. In 1570, *Treatises* aimed to persuade English readers that a growing Catholic plot, coordinated by Mary Queen of Scots and the Pope, sought to divide the English people, which if achieved, would facilitate a Catholic invasion, the removal of

Elizabeth I from the throne, and a reinstatement of the old faith under Mary Stuart's rule.<sup>37</sup>

Hence, throughout the six treatises, Norton passionately advocates for a unified England purged of its enemies by generating an expanding list of conspirators in league with Mary Stuart and Pius V and linking Mary to divisive activities before, during, and after the 1569 Northern Rebellion. Through the compilation of five tracts and a play, which had been published in the months after the revolt, Norton warns Elizabeth's loyal subjects of impending plots that will divide the nation, that is, if England's people do not unite and trust in the advice of wise counselors like himself who have the Protestant queen's best interests at heart.

To persuade readers of these "factes," Norton and Day carefully arranged and ordered the works in *Treatises* according to a sequence that would most effectively prove that England's unity was under attack. Thus, the collection begins with *To the Queenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes*, the earliest tract and that which introduces a clear-cut source for the 1569 rebellion: the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Norton anatomizes how the deceitful earls turned obedient subjects into traitors against their queen and country.<sup>38</sup> Norton also gestures towards the likely mastermind of the revolt, the unnamable "lady of the North" (Mary Stuart) who would benefit most if the rebellion had been carried out to its conclusion. While Mary Stuart is not explicitly mentioned in the text, Norton argues that the earls "mean not our Queene" when they and their followers say "God saue the Queene (A6r). Norton suggestively explains in the next paragraph: "Your Earles (say they) are the Queenes true subiectes. Suppose it for the

---

<sup>37</sup> Norton's twentieth-century biographer Robert Graves has identified such a coherent line of argumentation in Norton's treatises. He writes, "To some extent the treatises of 1569-70 can be regarded as separate responses to events as they occurred, in particularly to the northern rising of the previous year and to the bull *Regnans in excelsis*. Certainly some of them have a journalistic immediacy as ripostes, first to the issue of the papal bull and secondly to the action of John Felton, who posted a copy of it in St. Paul's churchyard in May 1570. On the other hand, they have certain common characteristics and read as a related sequence of published pieces." See *Thomas Norton*, 114.

<sup>38</sup> As K.J. Kesselring explains in her historical analysis of the northern rebellion, "The Queen and her agents knew, or at least believed, that they had too many favorers of the old faith on their hands to make religious truth the focus of their arguments against the rising. Instead, they personalized the conflict. They attacked not the integrity of the old religious establishment but the integrity of the rebel earls." Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion*, 149-150.

time & for the questions sake, . . . to take it that they understa[n]d or mean therby Queene Elizabeth our most gracious soueraigne Lady, & not any other that would bring upon us Mariana tempora”(A6v). Norton here toys with the phrase “Mariana tempora” to denote Mary Tudor, but also Mary Stuart, the ousted queen of Scotland, who, some Catholics believed, was the rightful monarch of England.<sup>39</sup> In their proclamation, the earls maintain that they are true subjects to Elizabeth, but they also demand that Mary Stuart be released from the English crown’s unjust confinement. Norton does not go so far as to say Mary of Scots was in league with northern earls, but he divulges that as a symbol of Catholic resistance, she posed an enormous threat.

Based on a series of unfolding events and new discoveries in 1570, the subsequent treatises in the volume expose more conspirators responsible for inciting the 1569 uprising. The second work, *A Warning against the dangerous practices of the Papistes*, identifies a number of new culprits, including “euery papist. . . euery one that beleueth all the Popes doctrine to be true” (B4r) and the “strangers” whom the rebels “confedered with” (I4v). Without explicitly naming the Scottish queen, Norton again here condemns her for stirring up trouble in the north. He confidently accuses the Guise family of meddling in the English succession and granting the northern people justification for removing Elizabeth from the throne: “as it is well knowen, the same familie of Guise sought, under color of his kinswomans title, and by that foren title which was made the title and fundation of this last rebellion, to inuade this land, to ouerthrow the Queenes maiesties estate, and to transport the crowne of our country to strangers” (I3r). Because *A Warning against the dangerous practices of the Papistes* was composed after Elizabeth’s excommunication from the Catholic Church, it reinforced even more so than the previous treatise that Mary would use violence to attain the English throne. In fact, Norton implicates Mary in the

---

<sup>39</sup> Mary also implicitly made claims to the English throne. When she married Francis II, the dauphin of France, their heraldic signs and seals announced their rule over France, Scotland, and England. See John Guy, *Queen of Scots*, 101.

plot to murder her Protestant half-brother, James Stewart, Earle of Moray, who was serving as the Regent of Scotland. Just ten days after the start of the rebellion, Moray arrested the leading English rebel, the Earl of Northumberland, who was seeking asylum in Scotland.<sup>40</sup> Moray, however, was assassinated shortly after on January 23, 1570 by Scottish political rivals.<sup>41</sup> In light of Moray's murder that was still fresh in Norton's (and his readers') mind in 1570, the author asks, "Consider the concurrence and euennesse of tyme of this rebellious enterprise in England, and that late murderous and haynouse attempt in Scotland. . . . What say the Queenes good suiectes to be the cause, why after our rebelles vanquished, the Regent was slayne, that should haue bene done before to serue our rebelles and their conspirators turne" (K2r-v). Norton offers a suggestive answer:

Forsooth their traitors there and some conspiraters here Englishe or Scottish saw full well the sincere frendship of the Regent to the Queene [Elizabeth], that notwithstanding all the practices from hense to the contrarie, he mynded to deliuer our rebelles, whereby the counselles and complices both here and there must haue been disclosed, they politikely prouided, by assent to murder that noble gentleman (K2v).

Here, Norton interprets the recent murder as evidence of foreign conspiracies with those who supported the rebellion and wished to see the likes of the Earl of Northumberland go free. Even more, Norton implies that Moray's murder was orchestrated by a Catholic confederacy who wished to "bring the unityng of realms and crownes" (K3r) under the unnamable "Lady of North" (E1v). After proposing that Moray's assassination was a result of his efforts to capture

---

<sup>40</sup> Mark Loughlin, "Stewart, James, first earl of Moray (1531/2–1570)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>41</sup> Julian Lock, "Percy, Thomas, seventh earl of Northumberland (1528–1572)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

England's northern rebels, Norton encouraged readers to appropriate the association in their own arguments: "This example is terrible, and would be profitably used" (K3r).

It is also in this second pamphlet that Norton defends the crown's violent response to the rebellion. Historically, English monarchs granted pardons to the masses of rebels, saving execution for the leaders or figureheads. However, in early 1570, approximately 600 rebels were hung from the gallows, a number which positions the Northern Rebellion as one of the most deadly revolts in England's history.<sup>42</sup> "Timorous policie is the worst policie that may be," Norton argues, for "if the dangerous traitor be not remoued, the true subiecte may be left in peril" (B1v). Norton claims that rebellion is a deadly disease that will spread throughout the entire body politic: "when the very humor that feedeth such treason is so strong and so angry, that neyther lenitiues of clemencie and bountie can allay it, nor purgatiues of honestie and loyaltie can expel it, it is hye tyme to looke to the health of the body . . . so that the head and heart may be preserued" (A2v-A3r). Norton claims to write his treatises to seek out the source of the boil so that it might be lanced. Positioned as the second treatise in the collection, *A Warning against the dangerous practices of the Papistes* both modified and solidified where English subjects should cast blame for the revolt based on the most recent information and how they could now help remedy the country's ills.

*A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* appears as the third pamphlet in *All Such Treatises* and expounds upon the threat that Catholic provocateurs and especially the Pope posed to England. This pamphlet, significantly shorter than Norton's two previous works, introduced the 1567 papal bull, which Norton alleges was issued "to vndermyne faith and allegiance to the Quene" (title page). The printed bull and attached prayer affirmed the authority of a handful of

---

<sup>42</sup> Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, 119. Kesselring indicates that in previous rebellions such as the Pilgrimage of Grace, large numbers of rebels died during battles; however, none were executed for their involvement as all received pardons. She estimates that the number executed for Wyatt's Rebellion was probably less than 100.

Catholic priests in England to grant absolution to English subjects. Norton, however, claimed to see through the bull's agenda. He elaborates that the Pope, "our Queenes & realms mortall enemye," released this bull to "allure the Queenes subiectes with hope of pardon and promise of the kingdome of heauen, to reuolt from acknowledging . . . her Maiesties supreme and uniuersal au[n]cient authoritie" (B1r-v). Norton posits that in August 1567, the Pope had a pressing need to call lapsed Catholics back to the church, for he was plotting the Northern Rebellion. Norton proposes that the Pope's 1567 bull then functioned to recruit supporters and soldiers who would fight for Rome not only because of their newfound allegiance but also because the primary condition of absolution was to rise against the English Queen. Functioning then as the third work in *All Such Treatises*, Norton's pamphlet claimed to prove that the seeds of rebellion had been sewn much earlier than he or his readers had initially imagined.

As the fourth treatise in the collection, *A disclosing of the great Bull* brazenly assails both Pius V and Mary for breeding division in the realm and further intensifies the attacks on the Scottish Queen. Norton appropriates the myth of Pasiphae, Queen of Crete, to elucidate the circumstances surrounding the origins of the "Monster Bull" or *Regnans in Excelsus*. Norton first rehearses the queen's tale for readers, explaining that to satiate her lust for a bull, Pasiphae persuades Daedalus to disguise her as a female cow so that she can couple with the beast. The product of their unnatural union is the "monster Minotaurns," which Daedalus hides away in a deadly labyrinth until the brave hero Theseus maneuvers the maze with a golden thread and ultimately kills the monster. Norton then applies the tale to current events and expresses his concerns about a Catholic confederacy that is endlessly reproducing itself and spreading treason throughout England. Norton explicates for readers that the coupling of Queen Pasiphae and the bull can be likened to the unnatural "intermeddling of the popish vsurpation of Rome with a

temporall prince, yelding his or her realme to Popish iurisdiction” (B1v). To create the occasion for copulation of the queen and the papacy (thinly veiled as Mary and Pius V), the “Popish clergy,” like the craftsman Daedalus, wraps the queen in a disguise” (B2v). The monstrous product of the sinful affair between the queen and the pope is the bull of excommunication of 1570, which Norton reports, “roared out at the Bishops palace gate in the greatest citie of England, horrible blasphemies agaynst God, & villainous dishonors agaynst the noblest Queene in the world Elizabeth the lawfull Queene of England” (B2v). Like the minotaur, the papal bull of 1570 was such a vile creature that even its parents were ashamed to claim it and decided to hide it and themselves in a “Maze, that is, in uncertaintie of vayne and false reportes. . . to hyde whence the Bull came or where he lurketh, euen as in the Maze of Daedalus it happened” (B4r). However, Norton is hopeful that “some Thesus, some noble and valiant counsellor, or rather one bodie and consent of all true and good nobilitie and counsellors follow the good guiding thred, that is, godly policie deliuered them by the virgine whom they serue, and conducted there by not onely pass without error through the Maze and find out the monster Minotaure that roared so rudely, but also destroy hym and settle theure Prince and them selues in safetie” (B4r-v). While putting faith in the privy council and parliaments of England to find out and punish the conspirators, Norton still asks readers to “be awake” and aware.

By figuring Mary Queen of Scots as Pasiphae, Norton attacks her virtue and exposes the Catholic Church’s power to corrupt a woman of royal blood. Of course, Norton cannot literally name Mary in the pamphlet, but by using the allegory, he can berate her even more by painting her as a “prostitute cow” who has for her own fleshly desires submitted to the beastly Pope. Norton also includes some pointed details that resonated with recent allegations against Mary Stuart after the 1567 murder of her husband, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. Accused of conducting

a sordid affair with Bothwell, her husband's presumed assassin, Mary had to defend her chastity and deny murder charges in a tribunal overseen by Elizabeth I in 1568-1569.<sup>43</sup> Hence, just one year later in 1570, Norton uses the figure of Pasiphae to emphasize the way that the disease of Catholicism will turn a queen into a lustful, murderous, and godless individual:

This principall traitorous lust, that throweth downe the person vnder the vncleane desire, thoweth away virtue & respect of God, . . . . It expelleth remembrance of honor, and kindnesse in regard of husband, for sayth of wedlock hath no place in adulterers, and by Romane practices neither doth superstition permit the soule to keepe her chastity from idolatries and from forsaking Gods rules of religion, nor the wife her due fayth from wandering lust, nor the husband his safetie from traitorous violence. (B1v)

Mary's so-called uncontrollable desires were targeted not only in Norton's tract here, but after 1568, also mocked in print propaganda both in Scotland and England that intended to demonstrate the queen's inability to rule herself let alone any nation. Anne McLaren describes a number of English representations of Mary Stuart throughout the 1560s, including that of Pasiphae, showing the queen's lust, deceit, and ambition.<sup>44</sup> The figure of Pasiphae also was seemingly used to mock Mary and Bothwell's marriage after Darnley's death. As Louis Proal has noted, the myth of Pasiphae was applied to women of high estate who fell madly in love with particularly undesirable, unsophisticated, or downright beastly men.<sup>45</sup> Bothwell was deemed by many in the court as unattractive and brutish, unfit to be married to a queen. Accused of raping Mary to coerce her into marriage, Bothwell was figured in the Scottish and English imagination as a bullish dominating force. Norton's coarsely hints at Mary's depravity for her wiliness to

---

<sup>43</sup> For more on the tribunal court proceedings, see Guy, *Queen of Scots*, 416-423.

<sup>44</sup> Anne McLaren, "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism," 760-761.

<sup>45</sup> See Louis Proal, *Passion and Criminality*, 34.

submit to the literal rape of a Scottish earl and a metaphorical rape by a Roman Pope to secure the crown of both Scotland and England.<sup>46</sup>

As the fifth tract in *Treatises* and the penultimate work in the collection, *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles, with a searching of the Maze* exposes another major player in the genesis of *Regnans in Excelsis* and recapitulates arguments in the previous tracts, underscoring the horrible deeds of Pius V and Mary Stuart. Norton now avers that it was English subjects who sought Elizabeth's excommunication. Denying claims that the bull was decreed in 1570 after the Northern Rebellion, Norton proposes that *Regnans in Excelsis* was circulating among the rebels as early as February 1569. He cites as evidence the similarity in language between the bull of excommunication and the northern rebel's proclamation: "the very effect of our rebelles proclamation translated soundeth within it, and semeth as it were out of the very Bulles belly to roare and tell us that all they were priuy to it that were by any appendance or deuise of coniunction or alliance knit to the late rebellion" (B3v). Norton speculates that the bull was conveyed to the rebels through foreign carriers and by the means of "conference with strangers." The bull was then to be used to assist in raising the new monarch—Mary Stuart—to the English throne. However, as Norton states, because "they had not y[e] person whom they would extol, nor the power to auow it, neither by forein ioyning, nor by domesticall strength, it seemeth they did forbear the proclaiming of this great Bull, and haue hidden him in the Maze" (A4v). The bull of excommunication was originally intended then to be used after the rebellion—after "the Comete" or Mary Stuart had been freed from captivity. As a precursor to the uprising, the bull granted the rebels license to remove Queen Elizabeth from the throne and rally under Mary's

---

<sup>46</sup> See Guy, *Queen of Scots*, 310-311 on Bothwell's bullying and brutish character. Guy also discusses the accusation that Bothwell "ravished" the queen, as some reported (316-7).

rule. That this action was initiated within the borders of England and by Englishmen heightens Norton's insistence that the nation, as it stands, is infiltrated with enemies and in serious danger.

After pages of forewarnings, Norton explains that he is finished with his own applications: "Lay this to our case, I will compare no more" (B4v). That Norton is referring to more than just the conclusion of this single pamphlet is likely, for he seemed to be aware that readers were approaching his texts in a series— or perhaps that Day would be compiling all of the treatises together and using this one to elucidate the main arguments presented thus far. He begins the tract by offering readers clarification on his previous publications: "I thought it good to let you know, that y[e] Bull which is published in Print in Latine and Englishe, together with the forme of Absolution annexed unto it, is not the same Bull that was set up at the Byshops gate" (A2r). Here, Norton proceeds to explain the intents of both bulls and to summarize briefly the assertions in *A Bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* and *A disclosing of the great Bull*. Also, seemingly aware that his recent works on the rebellion and bulls were being consulted, Norton self-references his *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists*. He explains to readers that since writing "the booke of warning," a number of his hypotheses have been confirmed. Specifically, Norton cites his proposition that all English papists were traitors, arguing that "by the setting up of this Bull, shewes the same warning to be true and reasonable" (A4v). In fact, Norton again announces how the events in 1570 validated his earlier suspicions, granting even more legitimacy to his new claims.

*All Such Treatises* revealed tract by tract that an entire faction was plotting to destroy the country and that Protestant subjects needed to rally together to resist. In the first two treatises, Norton implores readers to beware of papists' treachery and invites all subjects to imagine England wholly unified, a "wyde and large Realme gathered together, the countrey round about

within [Elizabeth's] obeisance" (*To the Queenes* D3r). Norton proposes, "let us draw louingly together, and then saye and sing merily God spede the ploughe of England." (*Warning* O4r). As the collection proceeds, however, Norton shifts from idyllic fantasies of unity to cautionary tales of nations fallen into civil discord, and as a result, into enemy's hands. Newfound information and investigations turn Norton's attention to future threats and the potential for a foreign invasion by Catholic enemies. Figuring England as Troy in the fourth and fifth pamphlets, Norton advises subjects to be watchful for a "Trojan Horse," any suspicious activities, meetings, or letters. To further his call to action at the end of the fifth tract, Norton likens himself to the clairvoyant Cassandra whose "good admonitions" may go unheeded (B3r), but whose repeated warnings could preserve the country.<sup>47</sup>

*All Such Treatises* was a "nonce" collection in more than one sense of the word. As mentioned before, it was a nonce collection bibliographically because it unified separately published works under a new general title page, but the collection was also "[f]or the particular purpose" of persuading England's Protestant subjects to a specific conclusion and "[f]or the particular occasion" of addressing immediate threats posed by Catholic enemies.<sup>48</sup> Because the treatises were arranged in their order of publication and release, they charted both the events and political fears that faced English subjects in 1569 and 1570, and in effect, the collection recorded

---

<sup>47</sup> As Robert Graves has shown, Norton's theories were fueled more by paranoia and misinformation than facts. Norton's suspicion that the earls and northern Catholics who triggered the rebellion were plotting not only with the Pope but also Doctor Harding, Mary Queen of Scots, the Guise family, among many other foreign agents in Rome, Spain, and Scotland lacks substance. Historical evidence does not reveal any such unified collaboration to have been in effect. See Graves, *Thomas Norton*, 156. Graves and Kesselring confirm that the rebellion in itself was poorly organized and executed, though it appears financial support was provided from Rome. There is no reason to believe that the papal bull granted to Harding in 1567 allowed the clergyman to recruit an army or that Harding even approved of the uprising. The bull of excommunication was officially decreed in February 1570 in Rome, and while rumors about such a document may have been circulating before the proclamation, all evidence indicates that the bull was issued in response to the rebellion, not the other way around. As D.M. Loades asserts, "The most far-reaching consequence of the rebellion, however, was the promulgation of the papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis*." See *Politics and Nation*, 236.

<sup>48</sup> "nonce n.1" "a. For the particular purpose; c. For the particular occasion; for the time being, temporarily." See *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

not only the genealogy of the tracts' in print but also the history of the conflict in the hopes that the Protestant nation could have a future.

#### IV

Norton's warnings are most strongly advocated in the final treatise in the collection.<sup>49</sup> As a dramatic text repurposed as a treatise, *Ferrex & Porrex* functioned differently from the previous texts by arguing for national unity through grandiloquent speeches, plot devices, and pathos. Nonetheless, as Norton explained in *Orationes*, a treatise was a subgenre of history, compiled to persuade readers of one important point, which could then be applied to current events. *Ferrex & Porrex* precisely performed in this capacity in *All Such Treatises*, perhaps leading to the play's high praise by Sir Philip Sidney for its "notable morallitie, which it dooth most delightfully teach" (H4r).<sup>50</sup> With wailing women, fallen princes, and earfuls of sorrowful lamentations, the Senecan tragedy powerfully underscored the message of the collection, that stories of national division would always, indeed, be tragedies.<sup>51</sup>

Scholars who have written about *Ferrex & Porrex* typically interpret the play within the context of its performance history and its participation in debates concerning the Elizabethan succession crisis.<sup>52</sup> These critics propose that Norton and his co-author Lord Buckhurst (Thomas Sackville) used the play to counsel the queen to marry so that she could provide England an heir—or allow Parliament to name a successor—neither of which Elizabeth would agree to. The

---

<sup>49</sup> Karen J. Cunningham argues that in composing *Ferrex & Porrex* and presenting arguments within the play in the style of Inns of Court moots, Norton and Sackville were preparing for potential threats to England's sovereignty. She states, "moots anticipate threats to the realm, process those threats through imaginative discourse, and redefine them as contained within laws." See "'So Many Books, So Many Rolls of Ancient Time,'" 200.

<sup>50</sup> Sidney, *The defence of poesie* (1595, STC 22535).

<sup>51</sup> The history of King Gorboduc and the division of the kingdom was presented in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The Historia Regum Britanniae*, which may have served as the source text for Norton and Sackville's drama. For more on *Ferrex & Porrex* as a history play, see John E. Jr. Curran's "Geoffrey of Monmouth," 1-20.

<sup>52</sup> For more on interpreting *Gorboduc* in light of the succession crisis, see Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance*, 196-221; Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 40-55; Mortimer Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question*, 38-44; Irby B. Cauthen Jr. Editor. "Introduction," xiii-xxviii; Norman Jones and Paul Whitfield White, "'Gorboduc and Royal Marriage Politics,'" 3-16; and Henry James and Greg Walker, "'The Politics of Gorboduc,'" 109-21.

play then was intended as a subtle warning to the queen. Indeed, it was Elizabeth who was to see her reflection in Gorboduc, the monarch of Britain in the play who ignores the sage advice of his counselors, provoking a civil war and thrusting the entire country into the hands of a foreign invader.

But when the play is read as a treatise in the context of *All Such Treatises* and with a new title, responsibility for the tragedy is re-located in the king's successors and his subjects. When the play was first printed in 1565, it bore the title *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*, confirming that the play was indeed about the tragic fall of the flawed British king. However, in *All Such Treatise*, Day and Norton changed the title, and thereby they shifted the focus to the king's two sons. After King Gorboduc has divided the country into two and each of the brothers are granted their parts, they argue over their assigned lots, raise armies for civil war, and initiate the series of tragic events that claim their lives and the lives of the true monarch of Britain. While Gorboduc may have erred in turning over governance of the country to his sons, the nation's people only rise against another at the bequest of the successors to the throne who ultimately fail to govern, protect their father and king.

Within the play, after the rebels have killed the royal family, Eubulus, Gorboduc's old and wise counselor, reinforces the message reiterated throughout *All Such Treatise*— that it is now the subjects who must thwart division and protect the monarch from traitors. Eubulus laments,

That though so many books, so many rolls  
Of ancient time, record what grievous plagues  
Light on these rebels aye, and though so oft  
Their ears have heard their aged father tell

What just reward these traitors still receive,  
Yea, though themselves have seen deep death and blood,  
By strangling cord and slaughter of the sword,  
To such assigned, yet can they not beware,  
Yet cannot stay their lewd rebellious hands;  
But suffering, lo, foul treason to disdain  
Their wretched minds, forget their loyal heart,  
Reject all truth, and rise against their prince. (V.ii. 3-14)<sup>53</sup>

Here the old advisor bemoans the common people's ignorance and their failure to read and mark history. He cites the many "books" and "scrolls of ancient time"—media that "record" and archive the punishments that befall rebels— but the counselor recognizes that the people of Britain are not extracting the correct meaning from these archives nor from the oral histories told by their fathers, nor from their own lived experience. Eubulus locates the problem in the people's "wretched myndes" for they lack the ability to read, synthesize, and extract moral lessons from history and apply it to their "present occasion." Unfortunately, within the world of the play, Eubulus just gives up on the people of Britain.

But in 1570s England, Thomas Norton and John Day seemingly do not. By gathering together for readers a collection that would persuade them to unite and support the queen, Norton and Day position *Ferrex & Porrex* as a vivid example of how blood will flow from those who rebel against their rightful monarch. The play self-consciously positions itself as a tragic story much like those presumably told by the "scrolls of ancient time" and one that should persuade readers that traitors will suffer for their misdeeds. As Norton reminds readers in previous tracts,

---

<sup>53</sup> All citations from the play are from Irby B. Caughen's *Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton: Gorboduc or Ferrex & Porrex*.

“seueritie & sharpe execution” is required in cases when the monarch and God’s honor are threatened (*Warning* A2v). Gorboduc’s advisor confirms the same, “nothing more may shake the common state, / Than sufferance of uproars without redress” (V.i.34-5). Moreover, calling up images of mass execution not unlike those seen by England’s people in the north in 1570, another advisor describes the “blood and bodies spread of rebels slain, / The lofty trees clothed with the corpses of dead / That strangled with the cord” (V.ii.62-64). *Ferrex and Porrex* directs readers to consider the gravity of the 1569 revolt and to ponder the wider implications of rebellion on the sovereignty of their nation.

Echoing Norton’s warnings throughout *Treatises*, the play also establishes a causal link between rebellion and the subsequent invasion of the realm by a ruthless foreign power. Fergus the Duke of Albany conspires to conquer Britain when the country’s disunity makes it a prime target:<sup>54</sup>

The people are in arms and mutinies;  
The nobles, they are bruised how to cease  
These great rebellious tumults and uproars;  
And Britain land, now desert, left alone  
Amid these broils, uncertain where to rest,  
Offers herself unto the noble heart  
That will dare pursue to bear her crown. (V.i.137-143)

Here, by asking readers to imagine how an invader might view England in 1570 in the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion, *Ferrex & Porrex* complements Norton’s claims that England is currently vulnerable to such attacks. As Norton cautioned earlier in the collection “It is certayne

---

<sup>54</sup> In Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *The Historia Regum Britanniae*, the Duke of Albany was one of the primary contenders for the throne after Gorboduc and his sons had fallen. See Curran, “Geoffrey of Monmouth,” 1-20.

that that Englishe man which can . . . rayse or fauor rebellion in our countrey. . . helpe[s] to inuade and spoyle our countrey: to conuey the crowne of our countrey to a forener” (*Warning* I2v).

As the final treatise in the collection, the play urges readers to view the power-hungry Albany as a representation of Mary Stuart, thereby reinforcing to readers that the conniving queen is the primary threat to England’s unity and sovereignty. Albany’s scheme to conquer Britain includes military action, but it also entails conspiracies to shift the allegiance of the people: “my secret friends / By secret practice shall solicit still / To seek to win to me the people’s hearts” (V.i.168-170). Depicting a foreign power in *Ferrex & Porrex* whose agents clandestinely recruit followers resonates well with Norton’s accusations against Mary and the confederacy of papists who appear again and again in Norton’s list of plotters. Even more, “Albany” was a term for “Scotland.”<sup>55</sup> Experiencing the drama within *Treatises*, readers were directed to interpret Fergus as an embodiment of the Scottish queen—to concern themselves with the fragility of the state if rebellion were to continue and England were to lose Elizabeth.

In response to Albany’s invasion, the lords of England in the play join together against the foreign enemy. The Duke of Cornwall, Clotyn finds reason for unification in that all of Britain must fight “our common foe” (V.ii.94), while Mandud, the Duke of Logris, believes that all in Britain are all the children of the motherland: “Yet now the common mother of us all, / Our native land, our country . . . Cries unto us to help ourselves and her” (V. ii.99-100).<sup>56</sup> The counselor Arostus is pleased the “ye, my lords, do so agree in one” (V. ii.115), and he continues to emphasize that the gathered men must name a ruler to the throne by “common counsel of you

---

<sup>55</sup> See Irby B. Cauthen Jr., *Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton*, 64, note 167; Greg Walker, *The Politics of Performance*, 206; Levine, *Early Elizabethan*, 41.

<sup>56</sup> Jacqueline Vanhoutte considers the number of ways *Ferrex & Porrex* presents the nation as a source of communal identity. See “Community, Authority, and the Motherland,” 227-239.

all / In parliament” (V.ii.157-8), as this is the only way to save the country from the “heavy yoke of foreign governance” (V. ii.173). The play, nearing its end, presents readers with a cure to the ills facing the nation: unity.

However, readers are not allowed to gather too much hope for the noble’s cause. Eubulus, in high Senecan style, predicts the fall of Britain as the nobles and parliament fail to secure a new ruler. By enumerating his visions of the coming days, the advisor sets forth his horrific prophecies and condemns all who would bring such terror to the realm and its innocents:

The wives shall suffer rape, the maids deflowered;  
And children fatherless shal weep and wail;  
With fire and sword thy native folk shall perish;  
One kinsman shall bereave another’s life; (V.ii.209-212)

.....

Even though, O wretched mother, half alive,  
Thou shalt behold thy dear and only child  
Slain with the sword while he yet sucks thy breast.

Lo, guiltless blood shall thus each where be shed. (V.ii.221-24)

Eubulus’ premonitions of famines, fires, and desolation continue for another fifty lines, but the core of his claims is made explicit in his final speech:

And thou, O Britain, whilom in renown,  
Whilom in wealth and fame, shalt thus be torn  
Dismembered thus, and thus be rent in twain,  
Thus wasted and defaced, spoiled and destroyed.  
These be the fruits your civil wars will bring. (V.ii.229-233).

As Norton intended, *Ferrex & Porrex* provides readers of *All Such Treatises* with a tragic view of the divided country. Characters proclaim the terrible events brought on by faction and rebellion with wailing mothers, mourning servants, desperate kings, and hopeless counselors. *Ferrex & Porrex*, unlike Norton's other tracts, offered a representation of a fallen nation bursting with pathos. Norton claims to have understood the effect that such rhetoric could have on his readers, as he considers the talent of orators who with "such strength of eloquence, and pith of persuasion, as might not onely be understood & beleued, but be felt & moue" (*Warning* B3v). By leaving readers with the image of a nation falling apart and wracked with cruelty, Norton could make his readers feel the smart of true division and hopefully urge them to action.

That a printed text could be used to persuade readers to be watchful and to tender their country and queen with more enthusiasm was an essential part of Norton's aims as an author. When he wrote a commendatory poem for the physician and religious writer, Dr. William Turner, to preface his *A preservative, or triacle, agaynst the poison of Pelagius latlie renued by the furius secte of the annabaptistes* (1551), Norton figured the text as a curative "salve" or elixir to clear away sectarian ignorance: "Agaynst these euell ayres thou mayst haue here / (Take it, and taste it, yea let none be left) / A tried triacle, to kepe the clere" (A7r). In a text that attempts to protect England from the disease of rebellion and a bleak future with a foreign monarch on the throne, *All Such Treatises* functions as a "treatment" of rebellion and division, and Norton likely hoped that his octavo nonce collection would serve better than had the "scrolls of ancient time." Ultimately, Norton's authorship was a central principle in *All Such Treatises*, but his role along with that of John Day was that of compilers of history, agents who gathered texts together to make them speak louder than any one text could on its own.

One of the few scholars who has studied *All Such Treatises* as a material book collection, Douglas Brooks questions whether Norton had anything at all to do with the printing and publication of his works, for it was Day who by 1570 owned the rights to reproduce the texts and shape their material form and presentation.<sup>57</sup> Brooks proposes that Day was the agent who compiled *All Such Treatises* and that the printer's primary motive was financial gain. While this may have been the case, other evidence suggests that Day and Norton were political allies devoted to the Protestant cause and the unity of England as a Protestant nation; gathering together Norton's treatises in a nonce collection supported that agenda in 1570 and thereafter.

*All Such Treatises* was not the first time Norton and Day collaborated on a book project to strengthen and unify a Protestant England.<sup>58</sup> As one of London's most profitable stationers and as the printer to the City of London from 1557 until his death, John Day was the period's most successful printer of Protestant books.<sup>59</sup> Much of Day's fortune was derived from his monopolies of bestselling devotionals such as the *ABC with the Little Catechisme* and Sternhold and Hopkins's *Psalms in Metre*, to which Norton contributed a number of translations.<sup>60</sup> Day also profited largely from producing John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, a text that Norton is reported to have helped compile. Norton's son explains that his father "was the greatest help Mr John Foxe had in compiling his large volume of Acts and Monuments."<sup>61</sup> Day, Foxe, and Norton joined forces again in preparing and publishing Thomas Cranmer's *Reformatio legume*

---

<sup>57</sup> Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House*, 29-30.

<sup>58</sup> In addition to *All Such Treatises*, Day printed Norton's *Orations of Arsanes agaynst Philip* (1560?, STC 785); Norton's translations of Calvin's *The institution of Christian religion, vvyrtten in Latine by maister Ihon Caluin* (1561, 1562, STC 4415 & 4416); *A discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolke and the Queene of Scottes* (1569, STC 13870).

<sup>59</sup> See Oastler, *John Day*, 1.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 22-25.

<sup>61</sup> Freeman, "The Reformation," 136.

*ecclesiasticarum* for circulation in the 1571 parliament where Foxe and Norton presented the swiftly printed book to persuade parliament of the need for further changes to the English church and its organizational structures.<sup>62</sup> That Norton, Day, and Foxe collaborated on texts that were grounded in Protestant doctrine may also be confirmed in the elaborate woodcut for the letter “C” in the first edition of *Actes and Monuments* (1563) that presumably depicts the three men kneeling together before Elizabeth I (Figure 3.15).<sup>63</sup> Although Norton worked with other London stationers, the majority of his pamphlets would appear from Day’s presses beginning in 1560 when the printer published Norton’s *Orationes* and again in 1569 when he issued the author’s first polemical pamphlet, *A discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolke and the Queene of Scottes*. After 1570, Day would continue to publish octavo pamphlets, specifically on the plots of Mary Stuart and the unfolding of events of 1571 and 1572 when Mary and foreign conspirators were discovered in the Ridolfi Plot, which sought to have Elizabeth executed, England invaded, and Mary on the throne by the end of 1571— a plot that was eerily close to that imagined by Norton in *All Such Treatises*.

Many of these pamphlets on Catholic plots were joined to copies of *All Such Treatises* either by Day and/or by readers. Apparently, Norton’s arguments resonated so well after the collection’s publication that *All Such Treatises* became as a space (or base) of textual accumulation devoted to the very political arguments promoted in the volume. Appended to the Huntington copy of *All Such Treatises* (1570) are six more political pamphlets—all published by

---

<sup>62</sup> Freemen, “The Reformation,” 135-7. This project may have been particularly close to Norton’s heart not only because the text calls for eliminating vestiges of the Catholic Church in Protestant worship but also because Cranmer was Norton’s then-deceased father-in-law.

<sup>63</sup> King writes that the three men in the woodcut are Norton, Foxe, and Day. King indicates that Patrick Collinson made the identification. John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 156. The image appears on Sig. B1r in Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*.

Day— that examine Mary Stuart’s plots against Elizabeth as they were unveiled from 1569 to 1572.<sup>64</sup>

- 1) Thomas Norton’s *A discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scottes* (1569?)
- 2) Richard Grafton’s *Salutem in Christo* (1571)
- 3) William Fleetwood’s *The effect of the declaratio[n] made in the Guildhall by M. Recorder of London, concerning the late attemptes of the Quenes Maiesties euill, seditious, and disobedient subiectes* (1571)
- 4) George Buchanan’s *Ane admonition direct to the trew Lordis mantenaris of the Kingis graces autoritie. M.G.B.* (1571)
- 5) George Buchanan’s *Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes thouchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretended mariage with the Erle Bothwell* (1571)
- 6) Lord Burghley, William Cecil’s *The copie of a letter written by one in London to his frend concernyng the credit of the late published detection of the doynge of the Ladie Marie of Scotland*, (1572)

*A discourse touching the pretended match* (1569) proposed that Mary Queen of Scots was scheming to marry the English Duke of Norfolk to gain support for her claim to Elizabeth’s throne.<sup>65</sup> The pamphlet appeared soon after the secret negotiations were exposed and after Norfolk was imprisoned, which was just months before the Northern Rebellion. Grafton’s *Salutem in Christo* reported on the second imprisonment of the Duke of Norfolk in 1570 when he was arrested for conspiring yet again with the Scottish queen in the Ridolfi Plot.<sup>66</sup> The remaining pamphlets in the Huntington volume by William Fleetwood, George Buchanan, and William Cecil fully detailed Mary Stuart’s transgressions against both Scotland and England.

---

<sup>64</sup> The call number for the Huntington volume is 59846.

<sup>65</sup> Graves incorrectly assumes that Norton’s *A discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scottes* was one of the tracts published in *All Such Treatises*. It may very well have been added onto editions of the collection, but it was not listed on the volume’s titles page/ table of contents. See Graves, *Thomas Norton*, 117. It is unclear which copy of *All Such Treatises* Graves was perusing to make this assertion, but it’s possible that his copy was like the one at the Huntington, which does include *A discourse* after *Ferrex & Porrex*.

<sup>66</sup> For more on the Ridolfi plot, see Graves, *Thomas Norton*, 158-160; Neville Williams, *The Life and Times of Elizabeth I*, 102-3.

In 1570, *All Such Treatises* was presented as a compilation of individually printed books under a general title page; hence, annexing more books, with their own individual title pages and page signatures, was consistent with the original nonce design. Even if Day was not the one bundling the works together himself, we can deduce that the tracts on the unfolding events were marketed as amenable to collection and as fitting supplements to *All Such Treatises* by Day and other booksellers. Indeed, another tract volume or sammelbänd, at one time owned by Robert Hoe, joined together *All Such Treatises* with the same six additional pamphlets as the Huntington copy only in a different order.<sup>67</sup>

The bindings of these extant volumes and others similarly containing Norton's works bound with other related texts suggest that early modern readers highly valued the coherence and collective argument produced through the compilation and arrangement of *All Such Treatises*. A description of the Robert Hoe volume reveals that it was covered in a "contemporary calf binding that was decorated with "gold fleurs-de-lys and crown on sides, and metal clasps with fleurs-de-lys stamped upon them."<sup>68</sup> A reader in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century clearly found the contents of this small octavo volume of topical pamphlets worthy of a decorative and relatively expensive binding— and worthy of preserving as a whole collection.<sup>69</sup> Another tract volume or sammelbänd now in the York Minster Library contains five of Norton's

---

<sup>67</sup> The copy once owned by Robert Hoe is described in detail in his, James Osborne Wright's, and Carolyn Shipman's *A Catalogue of Early English Books*, 158-9. The volume contained these texts in this order: 1) Buchanan's *Ane Detectiovn of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes*; 2) Cecil's *The copie of a letter written by one in London to his friend concerning the credit of the late published detection of the doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland*; 3) Norton's *A discourse touching the pretended match between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queene of Scottes*; 4) Norton's *All such treatises* (the five political pamphlets); 5) Buchanan's *Ane Admonition direct to the trew Lordis mantenaris of the Kingis Graces Authoritie*; and 6) *The Tragedie of Ferrex and Porrex*. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate this volume in any library. It is likely that the volume since has either been sold to a private collector or broken up and sold off in parts. However, I am indebted to Stephen Tabor at the Huntington Library for assisting in the search for the missing volume.

<sup>68</sup> See Hoe, Wright, and Shipman, *Catalogue of Early English Books*, 158-9.

<sup>69</sup> Again, I need to thank Stephen Tabor at the Huntington Library for drawing my attention to the fact that such a decorative binding on a gathering of nearly valueless remainder stock would have been quite an anomaly in the period. Especially in light of the presentation copy at York Minster Library with a similar assemblage of octavos, it seems these gatherings of texts were deemed a rather esteemed collection by early modern readers.

political tracts from *Treatises (Ferrex and Porrex* was removed at some point), and four similar publications relating to the Northern Rebellion and Mary Stuart's schemes.<sup>70</sup> In 1629, this volume served as a presentational copy given to Archbishop Tobie Matthew by Mrs. Frances Matthew. Thus, nearly seventy years after Norton's treatises were first published as a topical, timely collection, readers preserved their collective message in a decoratively bound collection.

Indeed, *All Such Treatises* continued to function as an archive of the conflict in English history and a warning about the evils of rebellion. Even today, the Norton tracts largely remain unified in a variety of collected forms in more than twenty-three volumes focused on ideologies of national division, which Day and readers connected to the Northern Rebellion of 1569 and subsequent events. A Bodleian volume in a period binding, for instance, includes the Norton pamphlets published in *All Such Treatises*, with the exception of *Ferrex & Porrex*.<sup>71</sup> The volume does not include the title page for *All Such Treatises* but begins with Cheke's pamphlet, *The Hurt of Sedition* (1569), as did the York Minster copy.<sup>72</sup> Cheke's pamphlet, much like Norton's *To the Queenes Maiesties*, was published soon after the start of the 1569 rebellion and urged subjects to submit to their monarch. A volume held by the Wren Library at Trinity College, Cambridge gathers together the *Hurt of Sedition*, Norton's five political tracts, and three more texts that we have seen before joined in collection with Norton's works addressing the Ridolfi Plot:<sup>73</sup>

Cambridge University Library also holds *The Hurt of Sedition* in a sammelbänd with three of

---

<sup>70</sup> The York Minster Library copy, shelf mark II.Q.17, includes the following works: Cheke's *Hurt of Sedition* (1569), Norton's five prose tracts, *A message, termed marke the truth of the worde of God* (1570), Norton's *A discourse touching the pretended match* (1569), and Grafton's *Salutem in Christo* (1571). Information on the binding can be found in the York Minster Special Collections on-line catalogue.

<sup>71</sup> The shelfmark for the composite volume is 8° C 94 Th. The copy of *Ferrex & Porrex* from the Malone collection (Malone 257) retains markings that have allowed previous catalogers to prove that the play was once a part of 8° C 94 Th.

<sup>72</sup> Sir John Cheke, *The hurt of sedition*, ([1569], STC 5110).

<sup>73</sup> The shelfmark of the Wren sammelbänd is VI.1.85. The other works are Buchanan's *Ane Detectiovn of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes* (1571), Cecil's *The copie of a letter written by one in London* (1572), and Norton's *A discourse touching the pretended match* (1569?).

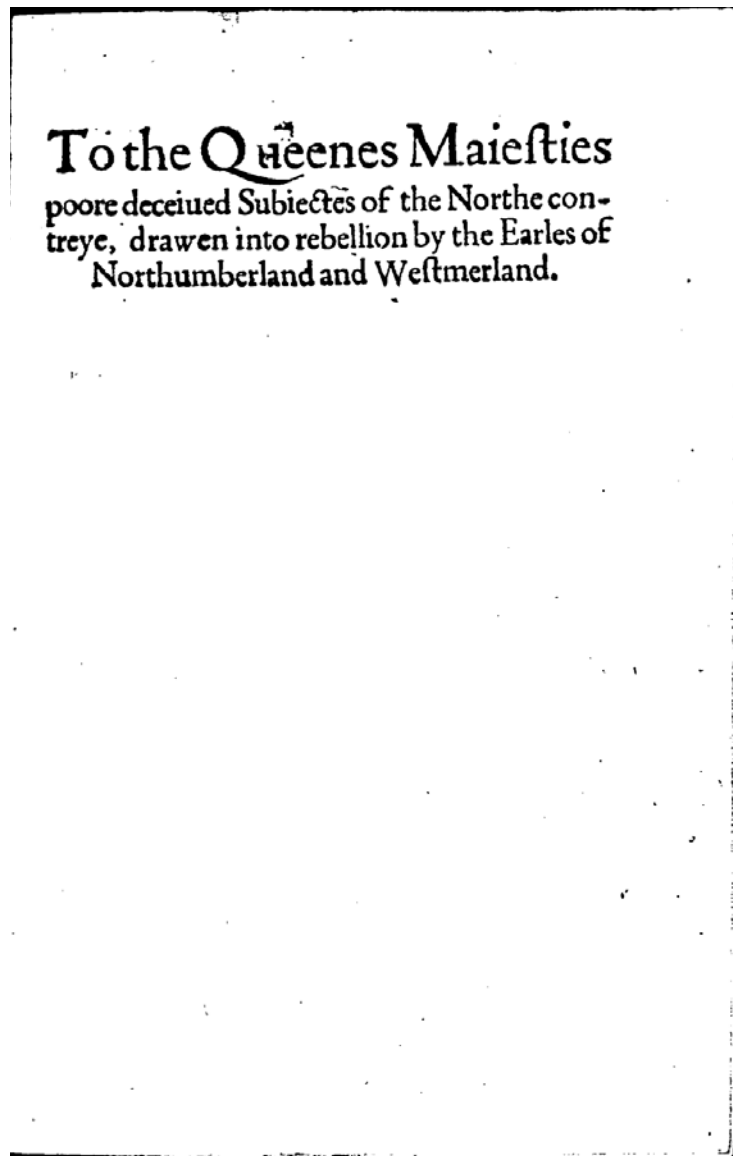
Norton's treatises.<sup>74</sup> The list could go on if we search for other assortments and arrangements of these polemical works.

All in all, material evidence from special collections libraries indicates that *All Such Treatises* was in no way an end product. Although the 1570 collection gathered works unified by a single author and genre, Norton's warnings and admonitions were seen to reverberate in pamphlets published years after, so much so that Norton's authorship was no longer the principle of the collection. But simultaneously, his ideological messages were amplified, serving as a thread to hold new collections together for future readers. Ultimately, a genealogy of *All Such Treatises* suggests that historically specific polemic proved to be a cohesive and alluring principle of collection, one that turned ephemeral pamphlets and a playbook into works that have endured for over four-hundred years in collection.

---

<sup>74</sup> The shelf mark of the Cambridge University Library volume is Syn.8.56.78

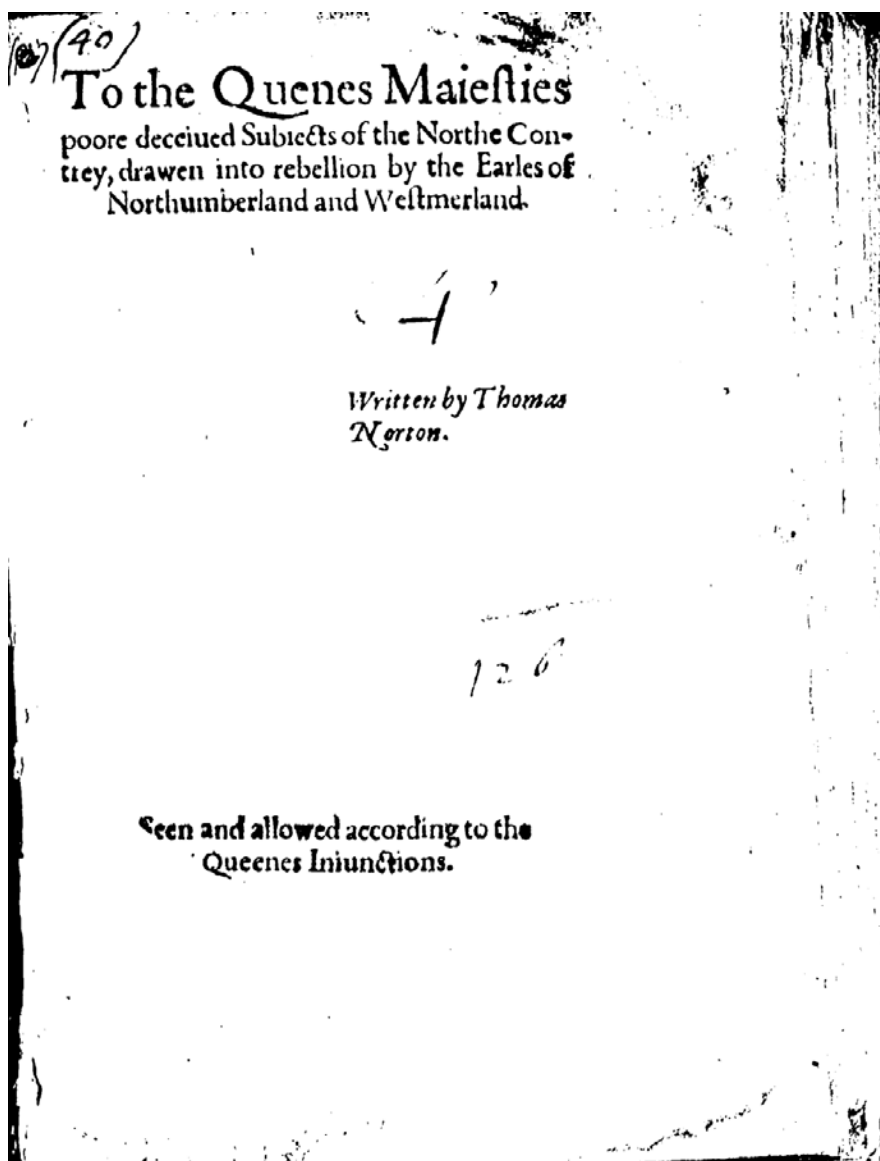
Figure 3.1: Title Page *To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived subjects* (STC 18679.5)



Courtesy of the British Library (c), British Library Board (Shelf Mark C.115.a.3).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 3.2: Title Page of *To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived subjects* (STC 18681)



Reproduced by the kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library (Classmark Syn 8.58.53)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 3.3: Title Page of *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papists* (STC 18685.7)

¶ A warning agaynst the  
dangerous practises of Papistes,  
and specially the parteners of the  
late Rebellion.

¶ Gathered out of the common feare  
and speche of good subiectes.

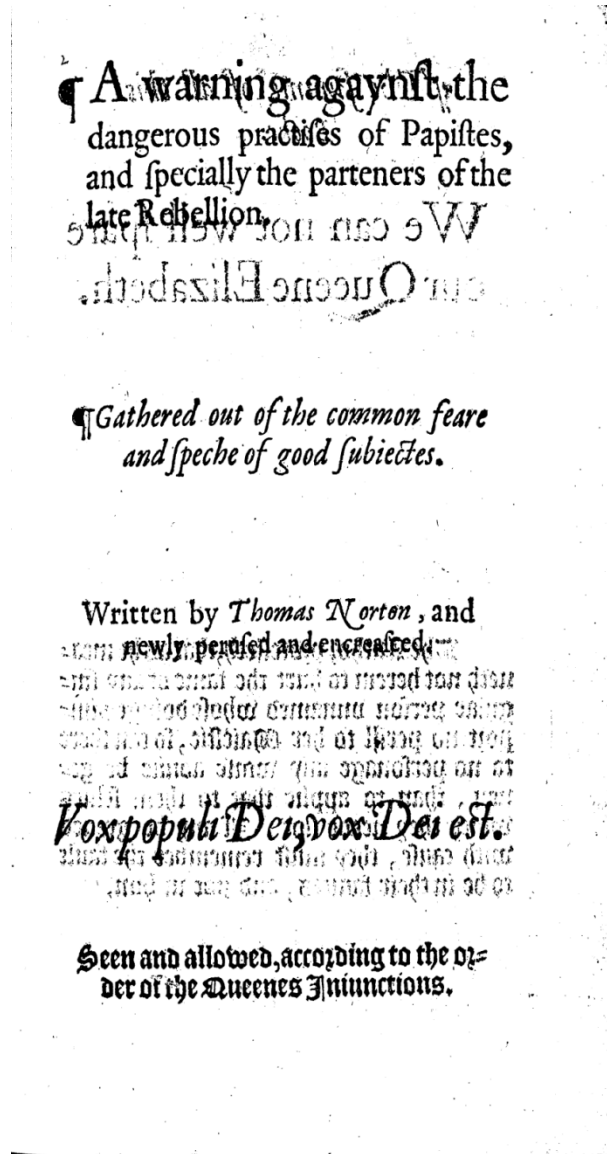
*Vox populi Dei, vox Dei est.*

Done and allowed.

This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62795).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 3.4: Title Page of *A Warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes (STC 18686)*



This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 59846).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 3.5: Title Page of *To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived subjects* (STC 18682)

To the **Q**uenes Maiesties  
poore deceiued Subiectes of the North  
Countrey, drawen into rebellion  
by the Earles of Northum-  
berland and West-  
merland.

*Written by Thomas Norton.  
And newly perused and en-  
creased.*

*Seen and allowed according  
to the Queenes Injunctions.*

This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 59846).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 3.6: Title Page of *A Bull granted by the Pope to Doctor Harding* (1570)

---

**A Bull** graunted by  
the Pope to Doctor Har-  
ding & other, by reconcile-  
ment and asfoyling of Eng-  
lish Papistes, to vndermyne  
faith and allegeance to the  
Quene. With a true decla-  
ration of the intention and  
frutes thereof, and a war-  
ning of perils therby immi-  
nent, not to be neglected.

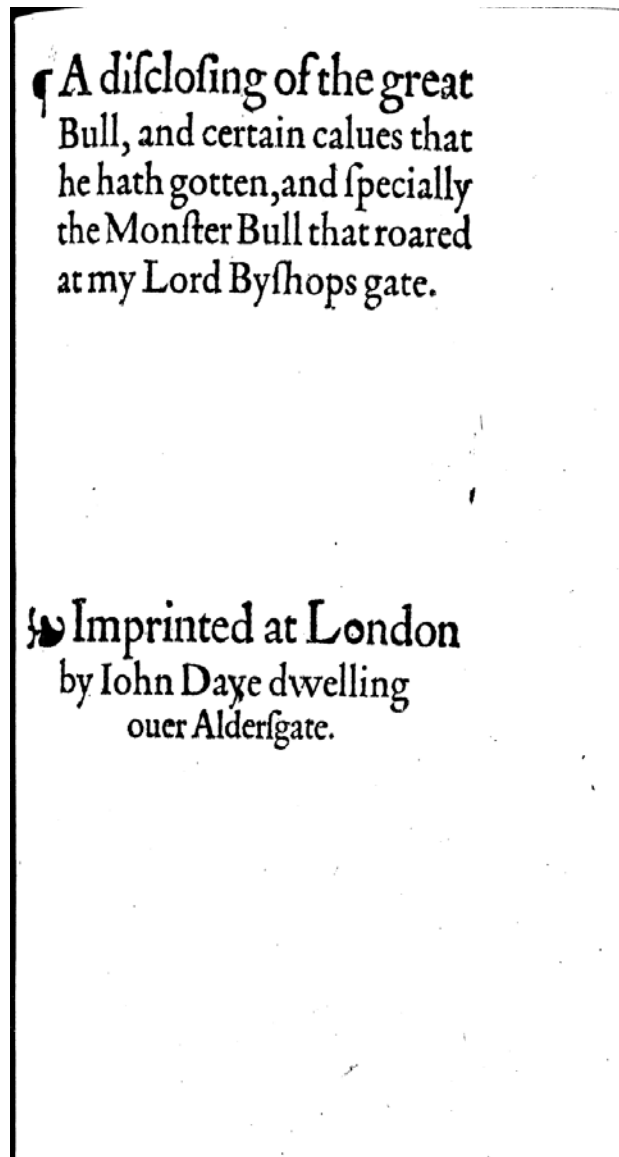
**Imprinted at London**  
by Iohn Daye dwelling  
ouer Aldersgate.

---

This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 59846).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

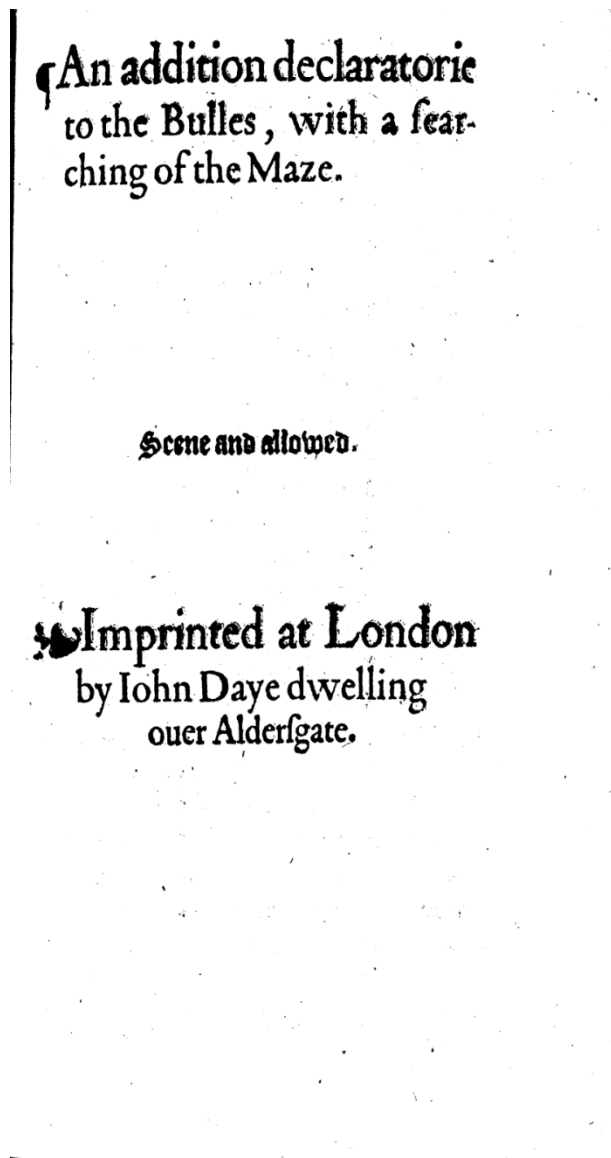
Figure 3.7: Title Page of *A Disclosing of the great Bull* (1570)



Courtesy of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Shelfmark 8° C 94(6) Th)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

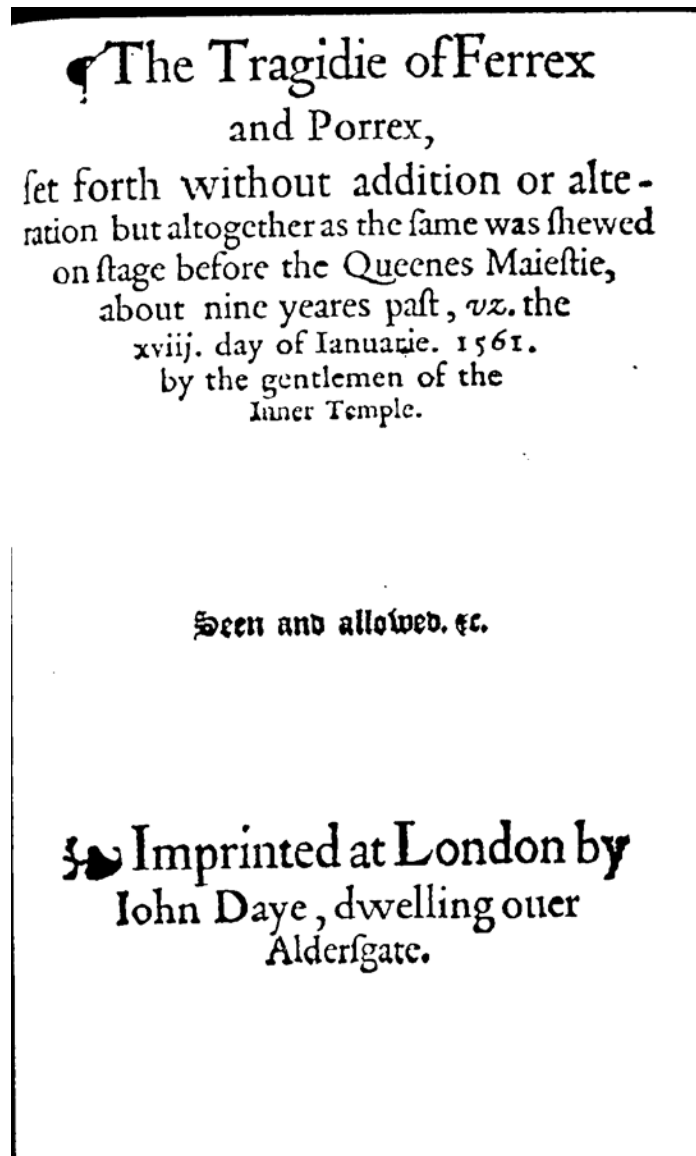
Figure 3.8: Title Page of *An addition declaratorie to the Bulles* (1570)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 59846).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

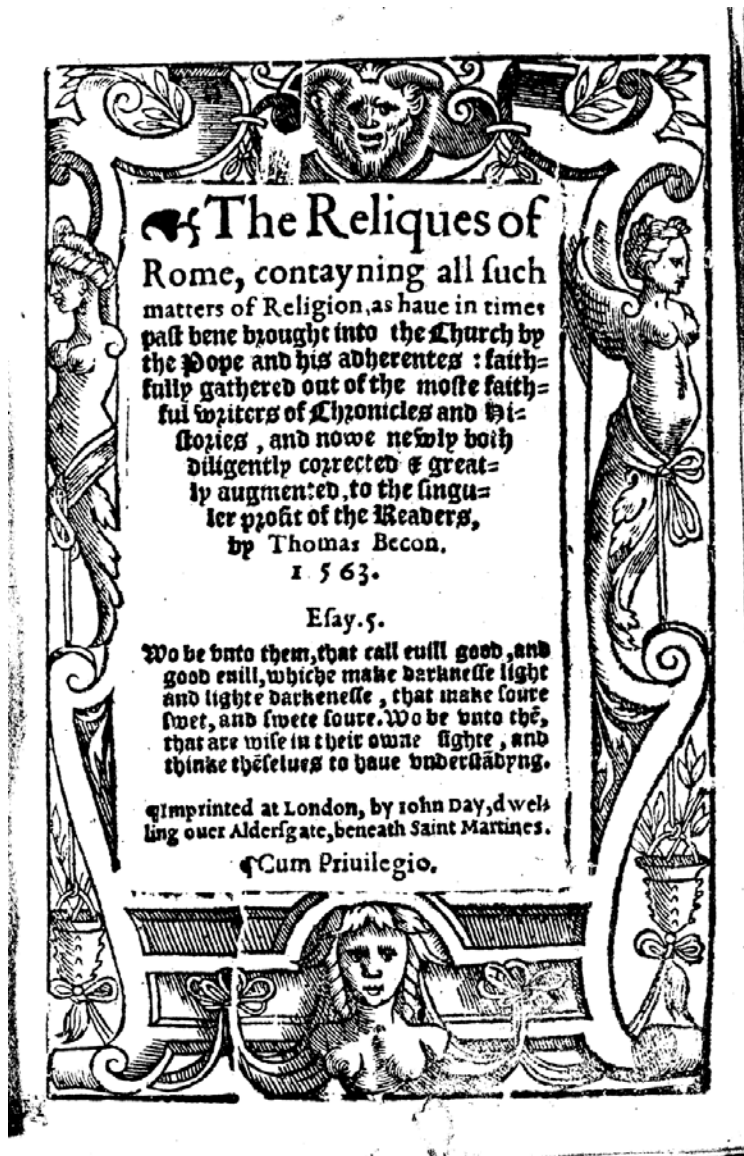
Figure 3.9: Title Page of *The Tragedie of Ferrex and Porrex* (1570)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 59846).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

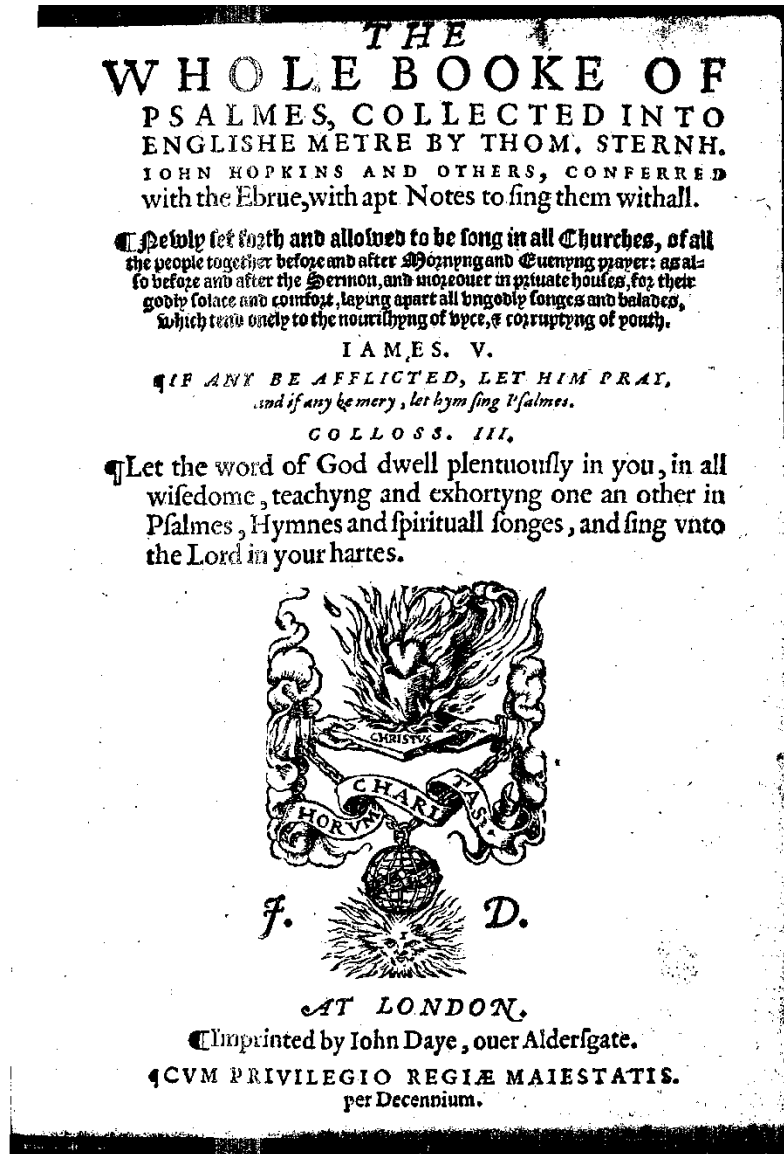
Figure 3.10: Title Page of *The reliques of Rome* (1563)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 60522).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 3.11: Title Page of *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1569)



Courtesy of The Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign.

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 3.12: Title Page of *A new booke of destillatyon of waters* (1565)

**A new booke of destu-**  
**latyon of waters, called the Treasure of**  
**EVONYMVS, containing the wonderful hid**  
**secrets of nature, touching the most apt formes to prepare**  
**& destill medicines, for the conseruation of helth: as Quint**  
**essence. Aurum Potabile, Hypocras, Aromaticall wyne,**  
**Balmes, Oyles, Perfumes, garnishing waters, & other**  
**manifold excellent confections. Whereunto are toy**  
**ned the forms of sondy apt furnaces, at w vessels**  
**required in this art. Translated (with gr eat dillic**  
**gence, & labour) out of Latin, by Peter Mor**  
**wyng felowe of Magdaline Colledge**  
**in Oxforde.**

Whereunto is added a profitable table of Index for the bet-  
ter finding of al such waters as serue aswel for medicines.  
as also for the principal matters of other, conteyned in the  
booke.

**Imprinted at London by John Day, dwel**  
**lyng ouer Aldersgate, vnder saynt**  
**Martines.**

**Cum priuilegio Regie Maiestatis.**

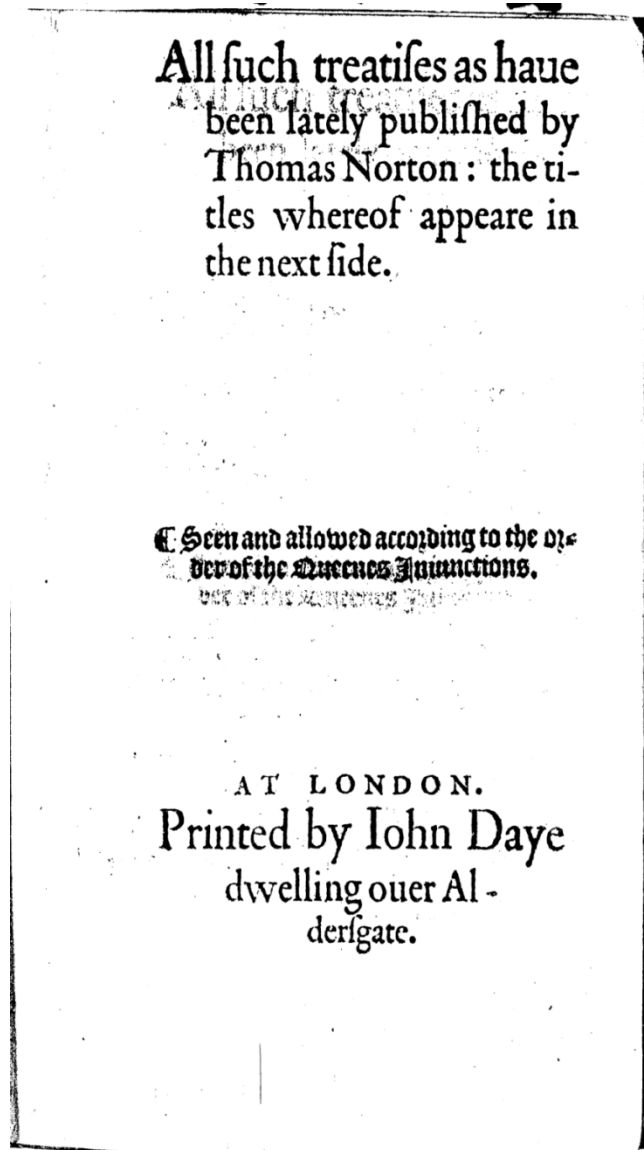
1565.



Courtesy of The Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

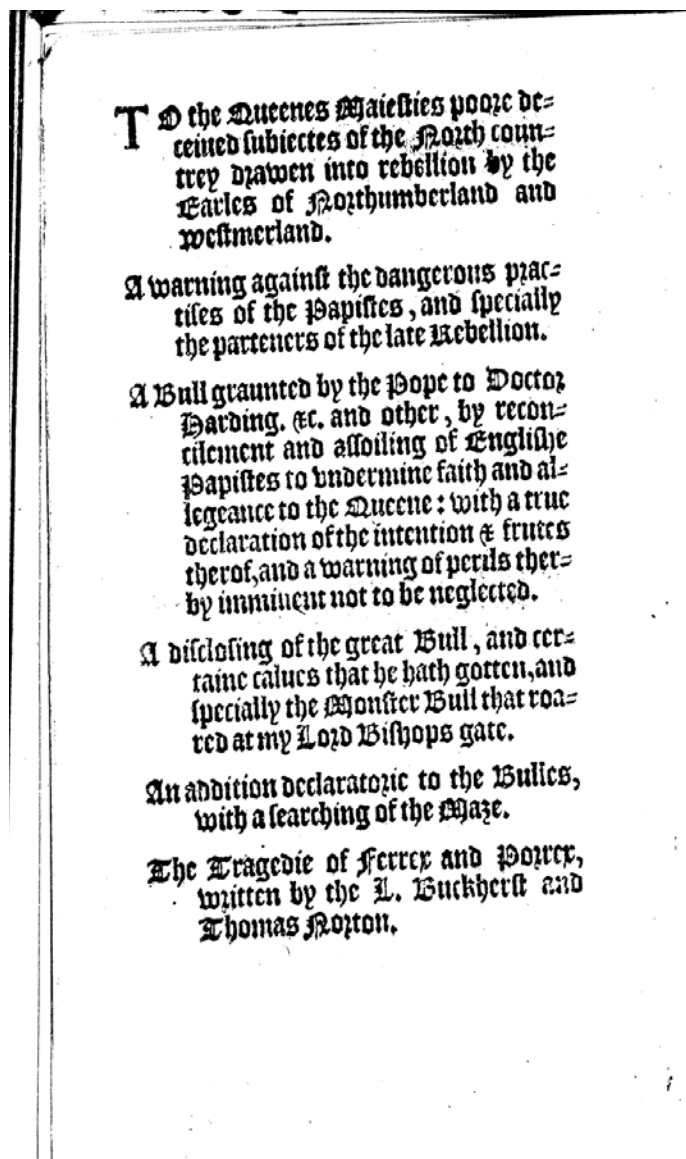
Figure 3.13: Title page of *All Such Treatises* (1570)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 59846).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

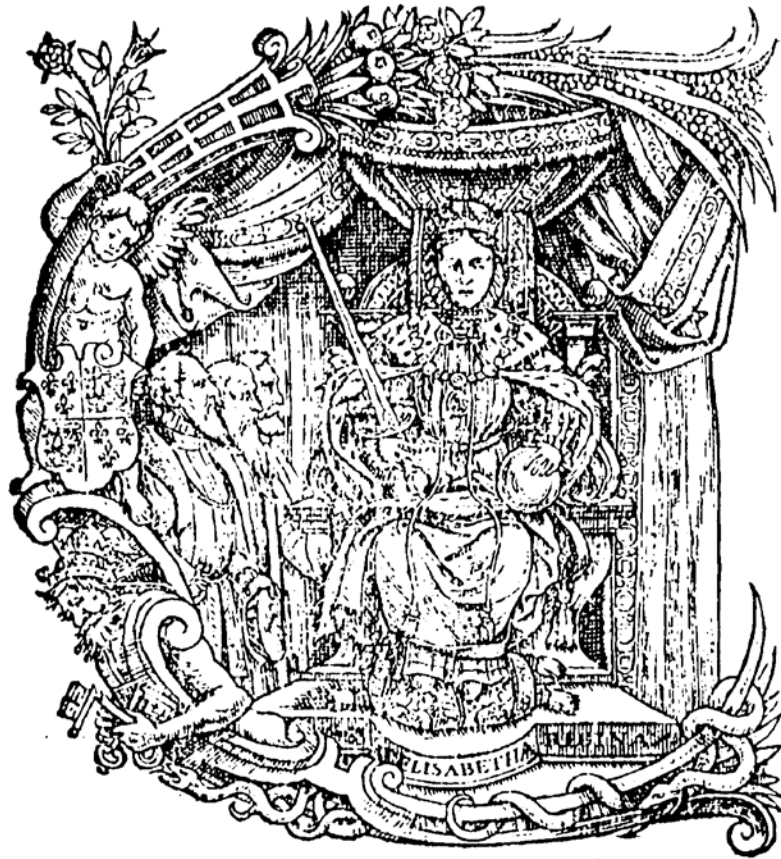
Figure 3.14: Titles in *All Such Treatises* (1570)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 59846).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 3.15: Woodcut in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 59840).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

## Chapter 4

### Marketing the Serial Collection: Remembered Performance in the Paul's Boys' Quartos (1591-1592)

A record from October 4, 1591 appears in the London Company of Stationers' Register B in a standard early modern secretary hand (Figure 4.1). The entry documents that “under the hand of the B[ishop] of London” a woman named “mystress Broome / Wydowe Late / Wyfe of William / Broome” paid 18d to the company to secure her right to publish “Three / Comedies plaid before her maiestie / by the Children of Pauls / th[e o]ne / called. Endimion. Th[e o]ther. Galathea / and th[e] other Midas.”<sup>1</sup> The entry is rather typical for its time. It makes no reference to the author of the comedies, who was later identified as John Lyly. And, like many other entries in the company registers, this one delineates the stationer as the owner of the texts and identifies the title of the entered work. From this record, we see that Mystress Broome is the stationer, and the title is *Three Comedies plaid before her maiestie by the Children Pauls th[e o]ne called. Endimion. Th[e o]ther. Galathea and th[e] other Midas.*

This title, however, is not extant. *Endymion* (1591), *Galatea* (1592), and *Midas* (1592) were printed in individual quarto editions,<sup>2</sup> but a collected edition or nonce collection with the title, *Three Comedies*, never came to fruition.<sup>3</sup> Still, the conception of a Paul's Boys' collection was recorded in the Stationers' Register on October 4<sup>th</sup>, prompting W.W. Greg to suggest that the entry reveals an “intention to issue a set of Lyly's plays at this date.”<sup>4</sup> Greg does not define

---

<sup>1</sup> Stationers' Company, *Records of the Worshipful Company*, 1:1.

<sup>2</sup> John Lyly, *Endimion* (1591, STC 17050); *Midas* (1592, STC 17083); *Gallathea* (1592, STC 17080).

<sup>3</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 2:596. Because the three plays are extant in separate quarto volumes, scholars interpret “The Comedies plaid before her maiestie by the children Pauls” as mere description of the three entered items, not an indication that a collected edition was being proposed. See David Bevington, *Endymion*, 1-2; R. Warwick Bond, *The Complete Works*, 3:10; and Hunter, “Galatea,” 3.

<sup>4</sup> Greg, *Bibliography of English Renaissance*, 1:177.

what he means by a “set,” but within the context of genealogies of the collection, Broome’s three quartos unified by genre and theater company looks very similar to the serial collections discussed previously. As we saw in Chapter 2, the publisher Thomas Colwell released at least three Seneca octavos and advertised the translations as collectable based on their shared authorship and genre. Similarly, as I discussed in Chapter 3, John Day set forth five of Thomas Norton’s prose ripostes and Norton and Sackville’s *Ferrex & Porrex* in serial quarto editions between 1569 and 1570. While the Seneca translations were later published in a collected edition and Norton’s treatises in a nonce collection, the serial manifestations of these collections reveal much about how the collected medium functioned for agents and readers in the period.

Indeed, when we see the collection not only as a product but also as a process—as I do in this dissertation and as did agents of the early modern book trade—Broome’s entrance of *Three Comedies* and her subsequent publication of *Endymion* in 1591 and *Galatea* and *Midas* in 1592 direct us to see how the serially published plays were unified by multiple principles of collection, including genre, playing company, venue, and performance before Queen Elizabeth. By publishing and advertising the comedies as a set that could be collected over time, Broome implemented serial methods of textual production and dissemination akin to those used by the devisers of political pamphlets, specifically the Martin Marprelate tracts of 1589 and 1590. As a group of anti-Episcopal texts issued one at a time from unauthorized presses over a period of nine months, these works and the pseudonymous Martin became a sensation in London, popularizing the serial production of polemical cheap print but simultaneously triggering a censorial backlash from the English crown. Broome used serial publication to market and sell Lyly’s plays soon after the Children of Paul’s theater troupe was implicated in the Marprelate conflict, and the quartos adopted the form but not the ideological message of the Puritan tracts,

for first three and then five of the plays merged as a pro-monarchical unit celebrating Elizabeth I and her Anglican Church. A genealogy of the Paul's Boys' quartos shows that decades later, when Edward Blount published six of Lyly's plays in a collected edition in 1632, the traces of Broome's serial collection in the 1590s inform the volume's nostalgic representation of Queen Elizabeth and the comedic genre.

In this chapter, I begin by examining how texts in the Martin Marprelate controversy were published serially in small, inexpensive, and accessible pamphlets, which one-by-one accumulated and promulgated the message that England's structures of church governance were corrupt. The second section analyzes the Children of Paul's interference in the Marprelate controversy and how Broome marketed the theater company's plays as a collectable series, thereby providing flexibility to readers and safeguarding her own financial investment. The third section addresses the effects of serially publishing Lyly's comedies in the aftermath of the Marprelate pamphlet war as the plays collectively amplified support for the monarch's divine authority over all matters of church and state—a message that would resonate forty years later in *Six Court Comedies* (1632) when new agents reconceptualized how the Paul's Boys' plays would signify in new collected forms.<sup>5</sup>

## I

While early modern scholars typically discuss serial publication in relation to the English news books and corrantos of the seventeenth century, recent critics have demonstrated that serial publication was used by the earliest English printers and for any number of genres of printed books. In her work on early English sammelbände, Alexandra Gillespie discusses the marketing techniques of stationers who formatted related texts in manuscript and print with similar title pages and material features to encourage readers to buy “not just one book, but a whole series of

---

<sup>5</sup> John Lyly, *Six Court Comedies* (1632, STC 17088).

them.”<sup>6</sup> Citing texts by Chaucer printed by William Caxton and devotional books designed as a set by Winken deWord, Gillespie shows that because readers would collect and bind a series of books, “it was in the interests of the early English producers of printed books to predict but not preclude the sort of consumer-driven choices that led to sales.”<sup>7</sup> Hence, rather than issuing related texts in fixed and already unified collected editions, booksellers honored readers’ desire for flexibility by printing the texts as single units, knowing that a collected volume could easily be constructed by simply stitching and binding the books together. Paulina Kewes notes a similar strategy used more than a hundred years later by publisher and bookseller Humphrey Mosely who designed a series of small octavo editions of single-author play collections.<sup>8</sup> Kewes, however, suggests that the series of individual pocketbooks from Mosely’s press were not intended for binding together but to be collected as a series of similar volumes. Whether agents were selling texts to be bound or simply accumulated on a bookshelf, R.M. Wiles underscores that “one way of multiplying the number of cash sales was to bring the same customers back repeatedly by publishing a cumulative series of little books, each one low in price, but collectively amounting to something.”<sup>9</sup>

That “something” could take many material forms and impart many meanings, even polemical ones, as we saw with Norton’s treatises and as I show below with the Martin Marprelate tracts of 1589 and 1590.<sup>10</sup> From October 1588 to September 1589, a total of seven

---

<sup>6</sup> See Alexandra Gillespie, “Poets, Printers,” 206. See also Gillespie’s “Caxton’s Chaucer and Lydgate Quartos,” 1-25.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 208.

<sup>8</sup> Kewes, “Give Me the Sociable Pocket-books,” 5-10.

<sup>9</sup> R.W. Wiles, *Serial Publication in England*, 15. Wiles locates very few serial publications in the sixteenth century; however, his interests in numbered serials precludes examining other kinds of serials.

<sup>10</sup> Most critics who discuss the Marprelate tracts recognize them as a “series” or as “serially published.” See Joseph Laurence Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*, cxiii; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 27; Patrick Collinson, “English Reformation,” 38; William Pierce, *An Historical Introduction*, 286. However, the shifting definitions of “serial publication” in critical work (as well as in the period) makes it difficult to determine when the terms emerge in print or how they are used.

incendiary pamphlets written by the pseudonymous Martin Marprelate were printed from an unauthorized press roaming throughout the countryside of England. The libelous tracts supported radical reforms of England's church governance and lambasted England's bishops and ecclesiastical authorities with raucous rhymes, witty satires, and personal attacks. As Jesse Lander suggests, serial proliferation or the illusion of unceasing construction of polemic was the essential form of ammunition that Martin and his supporters used to call for the dissolution of Elizabeth's ecclesiastic government.<sup>11</sup>

A brief overview of the processes and agents producing and accumulating the eight illegally printed tracts illustrates Lander's point. From the private house of Mrs. Elizabeth Crane in East Moseley, Surrey, the first Marprelate tract known as *Oh read over D. John Bridges Epistle* was printed in quarto by Robert Waldegrave in October 1588.<sup>12</sup> In this tract, also known as *The Epistle*, Martin explains that he and his supporters wanted to see the current structure of the episcopacy eliminated and a new form of church governance, more appropriately based on scripture, instituted in England. Unlike his predecessors who had argued for the same reforms, Martin presented his contention in the form of cheaply printed pamphlets, illicitly printed and distributed, that targeted wide reading audiences with a simple, colloquial style, replicating that used in plays, jest books, and ballads. After issuing the first tract and escaping the hands of authorities seeking the Martinists and their renegade press, agents of the Marprelate affair issued a second work, the *Epitome*, which was printed by Waldegrave in quarto in November 1588 in Fawsley at the house of Sir Richard Knightley.<sup>13</sup> So that they could continue producing more libelous work, the Martinists were forced to change the location of their covert

---

<sup>11</sup> Jesse M. Lander, *Inventing Polemic*, 91-92.

<sup>12</sup> *Martin Marprelate, Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges*. ([1588], STC 17453). See Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*, 3.

<sup>13</sup> *Marprelate, Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges*. ([1588], STC 17454). See Black, *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*, 49.

press; thus, a third tract in broadsheet, *Certaine minerall, and metaphisicall schoolpoints* published by Waldegrave in February 1589 in Coventry at the residence of John Hales.<sup>14</sup> Also in Coventry, *Hay Any Worke for Cooper*<sup>15</sup> was printed in quarto in March 1589 and answered the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Cooper's *An Admonition to the People of England*, which defended the Church of England and its prelates from Martin's attacks.<sup>16</sup> Six months after issuing their first pamphlet, the Martinists were still uncaptured although in July 1589, their primary printer, Robert Waldegrave, had fled to Scotland. *Theses Martinianae* was printed in octavo by a new set of printers in Wolston at the home of Roger Wigston and his wife, Mrs. Wigston.<sup>17</sup> The new press workers, John Hodgskins, Valentine Symmes, and Arthur Thomlin published another octavo *Just Censure* in July 1589 from the Wigston's home.<sup>18</sup> Only on August 14, 1589 was the press captured and Hodgskins, Symmes, and Thomlin arrested in Manchester while printing *More Worke for Cooper*, which was seemingly destroyed by authorities, for it is not extant. The final Marprelate tract, *The Protestatyon* was printed in octavo in September 1589 in Wolston, with the voice of a still jovial but defiant Martin urging reformers to unify and fight for the dissolution of the current church government.<sup>19</sup>

Although scholars have examined the threat of proliferation that Martin's consecutive publications posed to the crown, little critical work has been done on the Martinists' use of serial publishing strategies to draw a wide readership—and prevent arrest.<sup>20</sup> Inherent in the form of the series was the allure of the next issue or the next installment, and the agents writing and

---

<sup>14</sup> Marprelate, *Certaine minerall, and metaphisicall schoolpoints* ([1589], STC 17455).

<sup>15</sup> Marprelate, *Hay Any Worke for Cooper* ([1589], STC 17456).

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Cooper, *An Admonition* (1589, STC 5682).

<sup>17</sup> Marprelate, *Theses Martinianae* (1589, STC 17457).

<sup>18</sup> Marprelate, *Just Censure* (1589, STC 17458).

<sup>19</sup> Marprelate, *The Protestatyon* (1589, STC 17459).

<sup>20</sup> See Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*, 108; Lander, *Inventing Polemic*, 91-2. Both Tribble and Lander cite proliferation as an outcome of serial publication of the Marprelate tracts. For example, Martin promises that little Martins will be born to further report the corruption of the church. The appearance of Martin Senior and Martin Junior as authorial voices in subsequent tracts partly fulfill the promise that Martin's legacy is unending.

producing the Marprelate texts used this appeal to their advantage. On the title page of the very first pamphlet, Martin announces that his *Epistle* is just the first blow or “fyrste booke” against the English church leaders (Figure 4.2). In fact, he forecasts the publication of his next work in the series, explaining that the “Epistome is not yet published, but it shall be when the bishops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned epistle” (title page). Within the text, Martin teases church authorities with and alerts readers to the whole series of disputations he intends to publish, their order, and their titles: “First my *Paradoxes*, 2. my *Dialogues*, 3. My *Miscellanea*, 4. My *Variae lectiones*, 5. *Martin’s Dream*, 6. *Of the Lives and Doings of the English Popes*, 7. My *Itinerrarium, or Visitations*, 8. My *Lambethisms*” (36).<sup>21</sup> And, in the margin, Martin forewarns, “Mine *Epitome* is ready,” (36) bringing the total to nine more illicit publications for readers and church authorities to anticipate (or dread). Martin’s *Epitome* was published just one month after *The Epistle*, but the other eight titles were never actually printed as Martin described them. In light of the pamphleteer’s scurrilous writing style and slanderous maligning of the Dean of Salisbury, John Bridges, throughout *The Epistle*, the list is likely a parody of the titles of the books constituting Bridge’s expensive 1400-page tome, *A defence of the gouernment established in the Church of Englande for ecclesiasticall matters* (1587).<sup>22</sup> Bridge’s single quarto volume was divided into sixteen separately titled books, each of which attacks the reformist movement Martin was advocating. Either way, the list of eight ordinally numbered titles alerted readers to be on the lookout for more Marprelate tracts.

---

<sup>21</sup> All quotes from the Marprelate tracts are from Black’s *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*.

<sup>22</sup> In *The Epistle*, below his list of proposed titles, Martin describes the content of his future pamphlets. While his descriptions resemble extant Marprelate tracts issued in 1588 and 1589, Martin was most likely using the fake threat of regular and unceasing publication of seditious material to excite readers and incense authorities. Martin taunts the bishops, “All of the books that I have in store already of your doings shall be published . . . . Why my masters of the clergy, did you never hear of my books indeed? Foh, thenyou never heard of good sport in your life” (36).

Positioning himself in opposition to Bridge's ideologies of church governance, Martin likewise rejects his chosen medium for print presentation. Martin prioritizes portability and size, price and utility in his own serial tracts. The bishop's bulky quarto with hundreds of pages of ornate prose on theology was seen by the Martinists as a ridiculous attempt at print communication. In *The Epitome*, Martin scolds the dean for his Latinate writing style, consisting of long sentences and infrequent punctuation, which made the work difficult for English readers to grasp, as did the physical size of the book, which was, as Martin muses, "portable . . . if your horse be not too weak" (56). Martin further mocks the dis-functionality of such a large edition:

The whole volume of Master Dean's containeth in it sixteen books, besides a large preface, and an Epistle to the reader. The Epistle and the Preface are not above eight sheets of paper, and very little under seven. You may see when men have a gift in writing, how easy it is for them to daub paper. The complete work (very briefly comprehended in a portable book, if your horse be not too weak, of an hundred threescore and twelve sheets of good demy paper) is a confutation of *The Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Governement*. (56)

While Bridges' book cost approximately 7 shillings and used high quality demy paper, Martin's pamphlets could be purchased as they were released from booksellers for 2 to 9 pence in cheap rag paper.<sup>23</sup> The goal was not to have readers create lasting bound volumes of the tracts in uniform volumes; instead, the small formats, released in installments, were designed to be widely accessible to English readers and surreptitiously passed from coat pocket to satchel or secretly stowed away in spaces where nosy neighbors or agents from the crown would not uncover them. In fact, serial publication also functioned to protect the Martinists from arrest. By producing the pamphlets serially in small tracts, agents were able to keep themselves and their press mobile.

---

<sup>23</sup> Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 39.

Because they were issued serially, the Marprelate tracts emerged as timely responses to their opponents and gauged readers' responses to their agenda. For instance, when the Bishop of York, Thomas Cooper, excoriated the "slanderous Pamphlets fresh from the Presse, against the best of the Church of Englande" (34) in his *Admonition to the People of England* (1589), Martin immediately responded with *Hay any work for Cooper* (1589). In his railing style, Martin calls the clergy man "an vnskil-full and a deceytfull tubtrimmer" on the title page, and then revels in Cooper's inadvertent advertisement of the subversive pamphlets. Martin taunts church leaders, "My worship's books were unknown to many before you allowed *T.C.* [Thomas Cooper] to admonish the people of England to take heed. . . . Now many seek after my books more then ever they did" (101). In *Theses Martiniae*, serial publishing allows the Martinists to acknowledge and respond quickly to supporters of the Puritan cause who found Martin's style distasteful: "The Bishops, and their train . . . mislike my manner of writing. Those whom foolishly men call Puritans, like of the matter I have handled, but the form they cannot brook" (147).<sup>24</sup> Therefore, *Theses Martiniae* appears to remedy the issue: "But now what if I should take the course in certain Theses or conclusions, without inveighing against either person or cause? Might I not then hope my doings would be altogether approved of the one, and not so greatly scorned at by the other?" (147). While Martin still tosses in a few pointed barbs at the bishops, *Theses* is more tempered than Martin's previous works.

Furthermore, serial publication allowed the Martinists to accumulate and reinforce arguments tract-by-tract on the necessity of restructuring the English church whether or not Elizabeth I approved of the modifications. While Martin vowed allegiance to the Queen of England, he and his supporters claimed that the current church hierarchy was a vestige of

---

<sup>24</sup> Martin Junior, the youngest son of Martin Marprelate, claims to have found the *Theses* and published it in his father's absence.

Catholicism and unlawful under God. In *The Epitome*, Martin blames not the queen but her evil clergy who deceive their magistrate and hide from her the sinful nature of their hierarchy: “Seeing our impudent, shameless, and wainscot-faced bishops, like beasts, contrary to the knowledge of all men and against their own consciences dare, in the ears of her Majesty, affirm all to be well, where there is nothing but sores and blisters, yea, where the grief is even deadly at the heart” (30). In *Hay Any Work*, Martin prompts readers to question whether the queen has the authority to determine what is lawful in God’s church: “But do you think our Church government, to be good and lawful, because her Majesty and the state, who maintain the reformed religion allows the same? Why, the Lord do[es] not allow it, therefore it cannot be lawful” (108). By echoing the assertions voiced in previous tracts, *Theses Martinae* challenges the monarch’s power over affairs of the church. The Puritans argue that God has already ordained the true and lawful system of church governance in the scriptures: “the platform of government by pastors, doctors, elders and deacons, was not devised by man, but by our Savior Christ himself, the only head, and alone universal Bishop of his church; as it is set down, Rom. 12:4,5, Ephes. 4:12, and I Cor. 12:8,28” (150). He continues, “And therefore. . . no lawful church government is changeable at the pleasure of the magistrate” and “no magistrate may lawfully maim or deform the body of Christ, which is the church” (150). All the pamphlets ultimately claim to support “the crown and dignity of their dread sovereign lady Elizabeth,” (184) but the cumulative message of the series was to grant the Presbyterian polity the freedom to govern the English church without interference from the crown.

Because the Martinists sought to limit the crown’s authority and presented their agenda in such an accessible, although illicit, manner, the multiplicity of agents contributing to their production provoked swift retaliation from the queen and her church leaders. In November 1588,

just weeks after *The Epistle* was printed, the crown ordered the Archbishop of Canturbury, John Whitgift, to “vse all privy meanes, by force of your Commission ecclesiasticall or otherwise, to serch out the authors hereof and the[i]r Complices, and ye pryntors and ye secret dispersers of ye same; and to cause them to be apprehended and committed.”<sup>25</sup> In February 1589, the crown again expressed the severity of the crimes of all those involved in the creation and dissemination of seditious text. First, Elizabeth’s *A Proclomation against certain seditious and Schismatical Bookes and Libels* declares the writers of “schismatical and seditious bookes, diffamatorie Libels, and other fantasticall writings” (108) enemies to her, the state, and the supremacy of the monarch of England.<sup>26</sup> The Proclamation also reiterated that “no person whatsoever, be so hardie, as to write, contriue, print or cause to be published or distributed, or to keepe any of the same, or any other Books, Libels, or Writings of like nature and qualitie, contrary to the true meaning and intent of this her Maiesties Procloamation” (108-9). By law, just reading, collecting, or simply storing the Marprelate tracts was treasonous, but by the time that Marprelate press had been caught and the final *Protestation* published, the crown had undergone what we might call “serial humiliation.”

## II

When Broome’s *Endymion* (1591) hit London bookstalls a little more than a year after the last Marprelate pamphlet was printed, it marked the end of a chapter in the history of the children’s companies in England but also the beginning of the Paul’s Boys’ comedies as a series—a series that was constituted by processes similar to those implemented by agents in the Marprelate controversy.

---

<sup>25</sup> Arber, *Introductory Sketch*, 108.

<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth and her advisors reasoned that the libelous writings sought the “overthrowe of her Highnesse lawfull Prerogatiue, allowed by Gods lawe, and established by the Lawes of the Realme . . .” (108). See Arber, *Introductory Sketch*.

The Children of Paul's involvement in the Marprelate scandal brought about their downfall.<sup>27</sup> In 1589 and 1590, the caricature of Martin Marprelate proved to be irresistible fodder for the London theater companies, even though a statute from 1559 charged all companies to desist from performing plays addressing matters of "Divinitie and State."<sup>28</sup> In defiance of this statute, the Children of Paul's, under the direction of John Lyly, allegedly presented anti-Martinist material without license that explicitly touched on very sensitive matters of Church and State. In his anti-Martinist pamphlet *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* published in October 1589, Lyly mentions the suppression of plays that mocked Marprelate on the stage and suggests that "Would those Comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure he would be decyphered, and so perhaps discouraged" (D2v).<sup>29</sup> Lyly then offers a vivid description of how an actor in his company would depict Martin, as if the playwright had already deeply considered (or directed) the performance: "He shall not bee brought in as whilom he was, and yet verie well, with a cocks combe, an apes face, a wolfs bellie, cats clawes, &c. but in a cap'de cloake, and all the best apparel he ware the highest day in the yeare. . ." (D2v). Lyly further suggests that Martin's attempts to undermine the authority of church authorities will bring about a theatrical event for all to see—Martin's execution. He writes, "Would it not bee a fine Tragedie, when . . . he that seekes to pull downe those that are set in authoritie about him, should be hoysted vpon a tree about other" (D2v). Lyly here even announces the location and admission prices if the mock-tragedy or Martin's real hanging were staged: "If it be shewed at Paules, it will cost you foure pence: at the Theater two pence: at Sainct Thomas a Watrings nothing" (D2v).<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Critics still debate, however, just what offense the troupe made against the crown. See Harold Newcomb Hillebrand, *The Child Actors*, 143-50, Reavley Gair, 110-112; Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, 74-77.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, 77.

<sup>29</sup> Lyly, *Pappe with an hatchet* ([1589] STC 17463).

<sup>30</sup> Other descriptions of stage productions starring the character of Martin appear in 1589 and 1590, mostly in anti-Marprelate publications. The author of *Martin's Months Minde* (1589, STC 17452) writes that "euerie stage Plaier made a iest of him, and put him cleane out of countenance, yea his owne familiars disained to acknowledge

As Richard Dutton suggests, the crown deemed dangerous even the anti-Marprelate stage performances because they engaged sensitive issues of church and state without license from the authorities.<sup>31</sup> On November 12, 1589, the Privy Council met to discuss measures to eliminate the unlicensed playing for good. The minutes from a Privy Council meeting mention letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Whitgift), the Lord Mayor of London (Sir John Harte), and the Master of the Revels (Edward Tilney) in which these three men would be responsible for calling

before them the severall companies of players (whose servauntes soever they be) and require them, by authorytie hereof to deliver unto them their bookes, that they maye consider of the matters of their comedyes and tragedyes, and thereupon to stryke out or reforme suche partes and matters as they shall fynde unfytt and undescent to be handled in played, both for Divinitie and State, comaunding the said companies of players, in her Majesties name, that they forbear to present and playe publickly anie comedy or tragedy other then suche as they three shall have seene and allowed, which if they shall not observe, they shall then knowe from their Lordships that they shallbe not onely sevearley punished, but made [in]capable of the exercise of their pression forever hereafter.<sup>32</sup>

The Paul's Boys were one of many companies shut down in 1589 and now subject to stronger licensing restrictions. But unlike other companies, the Children of Paul's would not resume

---

him" (E4r). In a pamphlet called *A Whip for an Ape: of Martin Displaied* ([1589?], STC 17464) (sometimes attributed to John Lyly), a stage parody of Martin is described as thus:

A Dizard late skipt out vpon our Stage;  
But in a sacke, that no man might him see:  
And though we knowe not yet the paltrie page,  
Himself hath Martin made his name to bee. (A2r-v)

<sup>31</sup> Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, 77-78. Also see Tribble, *Margins and Marginality*, 129. Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship*, 73-5.

<sup>32</sup> See in Dutton, *Mastering the Revels*, 77.

playing at their theatre in Paul's Cathedral after the suppression. They were "made [in]capable of the exercise of their profession forever," or at least until 1600 when the troupe was reassembled under new leadership.

Approximately one year later, in 1591, three scripts—*Endymion*, *Galatea*, and *Midas*—from the Paul's Boys repertoire became available for print publication, but the processes of collecting the company's plays started years earlier and by agents other than Joan Broome. In 1584, two plays, *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe*, were published in single quarto editions by Thomas Cadman from the press of London printer, Thomas Dawson.<sup>33</sup> The two playbooks sold well, for one more edition of *Sapho and Phao* (1584) and two more editions of *Campaspe* (1584) appeared in that same year.<sup>34</sup> The two plays were marketed in similar ways on the title pages (Figures 4.3 & 4.4). Both listed the name of the play and its performance details, including its venue, "beefore the Queenes Maiestie," the date of performance, and the theatre company, "by her Maiesties children, and the children of Poules," followed by the place of publication, the publisher, and the date of publication.<sup>35</sup> Sonia Massai suggests that in 1591, Thomas Cadman may have brokered the deal with Lyly and unofficially transferred the rights to William and Joan Broome so that they had in their possession the rights to copy not only *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe* but also the unpublished manuscripts of *Endymion*, *Galatea*, and *Midas*.<sup>36</sup> Whether or not Cadman served as an intermediary between author and publishers, we know that William Broome hired Thomas Orwin to print new editions of *Sapho and Phao* (1591) and *Campaspe*

---

<sup>33</sup> Lyly, *Sapho and Phao* (1584, STC 17086); *Campaspe* (1584, STC 17048).

<sup>34</sup> *Sapho and Phao* (STC 17086.5); *Campaspe* (STC 17048a, 17047.5). STC 17047.5 has a different title page design that advertises the play as *A moste excellent comedie of Alexander, Campaspe, and Diogenes played beefore the Queenes Maiestie on twelfe day at night, by her Maiesties children, and the children of Poules.*, Imprinted at London: [By Thomas Dawson] for Thomas Cadman, 1584.

<sup>35</sup> The Children of the Chapel Royal was a separate successful theater troupe, but in 1584, the company merged with the Children of Paul's and together they choristers performed Lyly's plays at court and at Blackfriars. When the Blackfriars was closed later in 1584, the theater at St. Paul's Cathedral provided a venue for Lyly's company's plays. See Gair, *The Children of Paul's*, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise*, 99-100.

(1591) (Figures 4.5 & 4.6).<sup>37</sup> These new editions also shared similarities in textual and visual design on their title pages. Both listed the name of the plays and their performance details, including venues, performance “before the Queenes Maiestie,” the dates of performance, the companies, “by her Maiesties children, and the children of Poules,” followed by the imprint. The wording on William Broome’s 1591 title pages also closely resembled that on Cadman’s editions in 1584 (Figures 4.3-4.6). *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe* were the last texts attributed to William Broome as a publisher, for he died in January or February of 1591, leaving his wife, Joan Broome the publishing and bookselling business.<sup>38</sup> As the wife of a deceased London stationer, Joan Broome inherited William’s rights to print numerous texts, including *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe*.<sup>39</sup> Joan Broome also either inherited *Endymion*, *Galatea*, and *Midas* in manuscript form, as Massai suggests, or acquired the three scripts on her own.<sup>40</sup> On October 4, 1591, Broome secured her right to publish the three new Paul’s Boys plays, and as the Stationers’ Register entry indicates, she considered the plays as parts of a set that capitalized on likeness in genre, court performance, and company attribution: “Three / Comedies plaid before her maiestie / by the Children of Pauls / th[e o]ne / called. Endimion. Th[e o]ther. Galathea / and th[e] other Midas.” To begin marketing the plays serially, Joan Broome hired James Charlewood to print *Endymion* in 1591.

---

<sup>37</sup> John Lyly, *Campaspe* (1591, STC 17049); *Sapho and Phao* (1591, STC 17087).

<sup>38</sup> William Broome died intestate. The Act Book indicates that the letters of administration were granted to Joan Broome on March 1, 1591. See Guildhall Library, MS 9050/2,59<sup>v</sup>. I want to thank Peter Blayney for sharing with me his archival research on the Broomes.

<sup>39</sup> For more on female publishers in early modern England, see Helen Smith, “Print[ing] your royal father off.”, 163-86; Maureen Bell, “Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700.”

<sup>40</sup> Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise*, 99-100. It is possible Broome might have initiated the publication of all five plays. William Broome’s last publication before *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe* was in 1588. Because he died so early in the year in 1591, it is possible that Joan Broome just left her husband’s name on the imprint rather than putting her own on the two early play publications, which was not uncommon for widow publishers.

Like the first Marprelate pamphlet (*The Epistle*), which was used to announce soon-to-be published tracts, Broome positioned *Endymion* as the first play in the series of Paul's Boys' comedies in her "Note to the Reader":

Since the Plaies in Paules were dissolved, there are certaine Commedies come to my handes by chaunce, which were presented before her Majestie at seuerall times by the children of Paules. This is the first, and if in any place it shall dysplease, I will take more paines to perfect the next. I referre it to thy indifferent iudgement to peruse, whom I woulde willinglie please. And if this may passe with good lyking, I will then goe forwarde to publish the rest. In the meane time, let this haue thy good worde for my bettere encouragement. (A2r)

Broome here explains that her acquisition of the comedies was an effect of the suspension of performances at the theater at St. Paul's Cathedral, which was the Paul's Boys' primary venue for public staging. If readers wanted a souvenir of the performances or a record of the successful troupe, they could get one from Broome—starting with *Endymion*. Like Marprelate, Broome explicitly labels this comedy "the first" in the series and tells readers that "if this may passe with good lyking, I will then goe forwarde to publish the rest." *Endymion* was a publication trial; only if readers liked the playbook would she continue with the series. Whether or not Broome meant what she said, she was employing a savvy marketing strategy, for her "coming soon" advertisement alerted book buyers to return to her stall to inquire about the other comedies by the children's company.

However, if book buyers found faults with the play, she pledges to rectify the problem before she releases the other comedies. By promising to respond to readers' reactions to *Endymion*, Broome implements a feedback loop akin to that used by the agents of the Marprelate

tracts who revised the style and form of the pamphlets mid-series when it served their cause. While Broome's motives may have been more financially driven than politically so, she overtly promises to revise or edit the comedies after gauging readers' reactions to the first. She writes, "if in any place it [*Endymion*] shall dysplease, I will take more paines to perfect the next" (A2r). As Sonia Massai notes, the word "perfect" referred to the process of continually improving a printed text through adjustments to lines, phrasing, and spelling.<sup>41</sup> Even though Broome was one of many publishers whom Massai cites as enacting substantive editorial changes on printed plays, Broome stands apart because she explicitly explains how her publication strategy of selling the comedies over time would influence her editorial approach. She writes, "I referre it [*Endymion*] to thy indifferent judgement to peruse, whom I woulde willinglie please. . . . In the meane time, let this have thy good worde for my bettere encouragement." The *humilitas topus* was conventional in early modern notes to the reader. Nonetheless, Broome still presents herself as a receptive publisher eager to please her readers and likely a profit-driven one as well. By using *Endymion* to bid for customer's patronage, Broome was securing a market for future publications of *Gallatea* and *Midas*. And, apparently, the response to *Endymion* was positive, for Broome hired James Charlewood to print *Gallatea* in 1592 and sought out another printer, Thomas Scarlet, to print *Midas* in the same year. Thus, multiple agents including readers, publishers, and printers were invited to contribute to the making of the serial collection.

---

<sup>41</sup> Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise*, 5. Massai also discusses the possibility that in 1591 William and Joan Broome intended to publish a collection of John Lyly's plays, seemingly based on his authorship. It is likely that the Broomes knew of Lyly as the manager of the Paul's Boys, the theatre troupe that rehearsed in or near Paul's Cathedral, near St. Paul's Churchyard where Joan's bookstall would appear in 1592 "under the North Door." It is also more than likely that Joan and William Broome knew Lyly's fame as the author of *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* and *Euphues and His England*, both London bestsellers and touted for their popularity at court. While Massai's assumption that Cadman or the Broomes may have had direct or indirect contact with the Lyly to acquire the plays is reasonable, it does not appear that William or Joan Broome thought Lyly's authorship was a significant unifying strategy for the plays, for his name does not appear in the Stationers' Register entry or anywhere on the actual playbooks.

Broome's serial publication prompted readers to anticipate the release of more new plays, but also it gave them some flexibility in their purchase. First, by releasing single editions, Broome offered customers the opportunity to pay for the plays one at a time in installments—in cheap pamphlets, approximately the same size and length as a number of the Marprelate tracts.<sup>42</sup> Apparently, the Martinists and Broome shared a similar understanding of what sizes and prices made political pamphlets and plays accessible to a wide English readership. Just as the Martinist knew better than to try to write and print a 1400-page quarto tome in fine-quality paper to disseminate religious arguments, Broome knew better than to try to issue a 300-page collected edition of plays from the English stage. Instead, Broome could lure readers into her bookshop with one play and then urge readers to purchase the others. After 1592, Broome could sell to readers not just *Endymion* (1591), *Galatea* (1592) and *Midas* (1592), but also *Sapho and Phao* (1591) and *Campaspe* (1591). If Broome was selling copies wholesale to other retailers she also could have offered them the same series of five playbooks in any arrangement.<sup>43</sup>

Uniformity in format among all five of the plays made them particularly amenable to collection. All five of the playbooks were issued in the same size quarto format, which would have allowed an agent to simply sew the texts together for resale in tract volumes, or readers could have taken the texts to a binder and had them secured in their choice of a protective covering. But, this is where Broome's serial publishing strategies begin to divert from those used in the Marprelate series. The polemical tracts appeared in multiple formats from octavo to broadside. Of course, a binder could still have easily sewn the texts together, but the text block

---

<sup>42</sup> At 74 pages in quarto, *Endymion* was the longest of the plays and longer than any of the Marprelate tracts. *Galatea* was 56 pages, *Midas* was 60 pages, *Campaspe* was 56 pages, and *Sapho and Phao* 52 pages. The Marprelate tracts ranged from the one-page broadside for *Certaine mineral and metaphisicall schoolpoints* to 54 quarto pages in *The Epistle*. See *STC*. As Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier have argued, playbooks in quarto were materially similar to other cheaply printed ephemera, like news pamphlets or sermons. See "Reading and Authorship," 40.

<sup>43</sup> For more on publishers as wholesalers, see Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks," 390.

on certain works would have been far larger than on others, leaving readers with a collection of texts in different sizes.<sup>44</sup> But, considering that Elizabeth's proclamation of 1589 made possession of the pamphlets treasonous, readers would have been hesitant to bring the pamphlets to their local binder. The Marprelate pamphlets were best left tucked into secret pockets or closets as individual pamphlets, although evidence does indicate that readers had some of the tracts bound together and with other pamphlets on similar issues, years or decades after the controversy.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to uniformity in format, the Paul's Boys' Quartos were designed to appear aesthetically as a set. Each individual play in this collection was introduced by a detailed title page, and all five of these title pages resembled the others so as to produce the illusion of a preassembled set. Consistency was key. For instance, the title pages of *Endymion*, *Gallatea*, and *Midas* all list the relevant performance and publication details, keeping with the standard that William Broome set in his publications of *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe*. As we can see in Figure 4.7, the title page of *Endymion* showcases the title and subtitle of the play at the top center

---

<sup>44</sup> Even Samuel Pepys, known for paying particular attention to the visual appearance of the volumes in his library, had works of various formats bound together in single volumes. See Pepys Consutilia 1434(4). In 1926, the Bodleian Library had sammelbände containing texts in different formats from the Malone collection broken apart and rebound individually. Library records relate that "[a] large number of volumes in the original Malone collection are composed of tracts [. . .] of different sizes bound together with the edges of the larger overlapping those of the smaller. This causes serious damage to the individual tracts, [...] imposes a great strain on the joints of the present bindings, especially as these volumes are in frequent use. It is proposed to break up the volumes [and] compound and rebind each tract separately; this would mean dealing with 254 vols. Containing 1781 tracts." See "Rebinding of the Malone Volumes 1926" from Bodleian Library Records d. 1205. I want to thank Colin Harris at the Bodleian Library for his assistance in locating this document.

<sup>45</sup> See Folger Shakespeare Library, Call Number STC 25443 Copy 2. A manuscript note on front paste-down indicates that "This Volume was Archbishop Sancroft's, who has written in it a table of [the] contents." The sammelband contains nine works addressing the Presbyterian movement on the continent and in England: 1) W. Whittingham's *A brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Francford* [Heidelberg], 1575; 2) *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges* ([1588], STC 17453); 3) *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges* ([1588], STC 17454); 4) *Hay any worke for Cooper* ([1589], STC 17456); 5) Robert Some's *A godly treatise containing and deciding certaine questions*, (1588, STC 22908); 6) Mar-phoreus's *Martins Months minde* (1589, STC 17452); 7) *An Almond for a Parrat* (1590, STC 534); 8) *The First parte of Pasquils Apologie* (1590, STC 19450). For more on Sancroft's library, see Helen Carron, "William Sancroft (1617-1693)," 290-307. Also see Bodleian Shelfmark 4° C 25 Th. Seld., which contains four works: 1) Roger Ascham's *A report and discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the affaires and state of Germany and the Emperour Charles* (1570, STC 830) 2) Job Throckmorton's *A petition directed to her most excellent majestie wherein is delivered I. a meane howe to compound the civill dissention in the Church of England* (1592, STC 1522a); 3) Marprelate's *Hay any worke for Cooper* ([1589], STC 17456); 4) Marprelate's *Hay any worke for Cooper* ([1589], STC 17456);

of the page in capital letters and highlights the queen as audience: “Playd before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenewich on Candlemas day at night, by the Chyldren of Paules.”<sup>46</sup> Broome’s *Galatea* and *Midas* followed suit by providing the same details on their title pages in similar format, type, and syntax as *Endymion* (Figures 4.8 & 4.9).

A reader who accumulated all of the plays or compiled the playbooks into one volume would have possessed a well-designed serially issued collection of dramatic texts. After the title pages, each play begins with a prologue, either from performances at the Blackfriars Theatre, Paul’s Theatre, and/or the Court. A decorative woodcut appears at the very top of each page, followed by the heading “The Prologue” and a decorative preliminary initial (Figures 4.10-4.14).<sup>47</sup> A number of the Epilogues are also ornamented with woodcuts above or below the final speeches (Figures 4.15- 4.18).<sup>48</sup> Running headers announcing the title of the play on both recto and verso leaves are displayed throughout each of the five playbooks in similar size and style of font. Act and scene demarcations in Latin (eg. “Actus primus, Scaena prima”) are also clearly and consistently marked in each play in the same size and style of font. Furthermore, all five of the playbooks regularly use massed entrances at the beginnings of scenes. Characters’ names appear in italic print above the scene’s first line of dialogue. Similarly, speech prefixes throughout the play are typically abbreviated in italic font and are indented approximately two spaces from the left margin. Even some seventeenth-century play collections issued by publishers as unified volumes did not maintain such uniformity and consistency, including Shakespeare’s First Folio.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Unlike Cadman’s and William Broome’s playbook title pages, *Endymion*’s title page has no border illustration. Joan Broome’s *Galatea* (Figure 4.8) and *Midas* (Figure 4.9) are also printed with woodcut borders.

<sup>47</sup> The Prologue page for *Endymion* varies, for the decorative initial woodcut appears on the opposite page where the play begins.

<sup>48</sup> *Midas* is printed without an epilogue.

<sup>49</sup> The accuracy of the five quartos indicates that much care and attention was devoted to the publication of the plays as a set. G.K. Hunter and David Bevington offer that the plays Joan Broome published (*Endymion*, *Midas*, and

For the Martinists, ensuring financial profit was less of a priority than promulgating an agenda, but the less paper, type, and labor required, the better, especially because the press needed to be moved quickly and frequently to avoid capture. For Joan Broome, ensuring financial profit was essential to her survival as a bookseller, and issuing a serial collection was one way to cautiously proceed with the project. While we only have records of her payment of 18d to enter the comedies in the Stationers' Register, the average investment to produce the standard 800 copies of a playbook would have been about £8 19s 10d.<sup>50</sup> When preparing to issue new books, publishers needed significant capital to purchase the manuscript texts, register them with the Stationers' Company, purchase paper, hire a printer to materially produce copies, and pay agents to fold, assemble, and stitch the quires together.<sup>51</sup> Publishing *Endymion*, *Gallatea*, and *Midas* at one time whether or not they were unified in a collection would have tripled the initial investment price.

By publishing only one play in 1591, Broome could monitor its sale and make a much more informed decision about whether to "goe forwarde to publish the rest." That Broome was a cautious investor is evidenced throughout her publishing career from 1591-1603. Most of the books she published before 1596 were previously owned by stationer, Thomas Cadman, who apparently granted Broome the right to reprint them.<sup>52</sup> However, she did not reprint just any texts

---

*Galathea*) contain a much smaller number of printing errors than usually found in plays of the period. William Broome's *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe* are similarly praised for their impressive editing and consistency. Bevington reasons that the regularity and uniformity of these editions from 1591 and 1592 suggest that Lyly's manuscripts were "highly polished." (*Endymion*, 3). While this might very well be the case, the superior quality and consistency of design should not automatically be assumed as authorial when Broome tells us directly that it was she who aimed to "perfect" this series of texts for her readers. Moreover, three different printers were used in 1591 and 1592. Thomas Orwin, James Charlewood, and Thomas Scarlet were accomplished printers, but it seems an unlikely that the three men were responsible for the playbooks' regularities. Broome was the common denominator in the project, the agent whose investment was on the line.

<sup>50</sup> Blayney, "The Publication of Playbooks," 409.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 389-410. Blayney offers in more detail the processes of financing a playbook's production.

<sup>52</sup> Broome apparently acquired these titles from Cadman and published them in the following years: William Clowe's *A prooued practise for all young chirurgians* (1591, STC 5445); Robert Green's *Pandosto* in 1592 & 1595

from Cadman; she only sought texts that had proven especially profitable for her colleague, such as William Warner's *Albion's England*, William Clowe's books of medicine and surgery, and a few of Robert Greene's works, including *Pandosto*.<sup>53</sup> Broome's activity in the first five years of her career as a bookseller shows her care and initiative in publishing only texts that had gone through at least one successful edition. Even Broome's husband William had chosen to publish *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe* after their very successful reception in 1584. Still, Joan Broome was taking more of a risk with *Endymion*, *Galatea*, and *Midas*, as they had not been previously published, which may have increased Broome's reluctance to set out three of the same kinds of plays at one time and/or in one costly collection—both costly for customers to buy in one volume and costly for her to produce all at once.

That risk was also elevated because by 1592, Broome had to advertise not only her three comedies, but also *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe*, bringing the total to five court comedies, played by the children's companies at court before Elizabeth. Serial publication was one way to generate excitement over collecting sets of playbooks unified by principles such as playing company, genre, or theatrical venue, and it had precedents in the period. While by 1592, no other London publisher had attempted to produce a collection or series of three or more English stage plays so clearly connected by genre, theater troupe, and venue, the publisher Richard Jones published six plays before 1592 that announced their genres (comedy, tragicomedy, or tragical discourses) on the title pages. Half of these resemble Broome's title pages in announcing the company and performance space: Richard Edward's *Damon and Pithias* (1571, 1582) displays on the title page that it "was shewed before the Queenes Maiestie, by the Children of her Graces

---

(STC 12286 & 12287); Philippe de Mornay's *A vvorke concerning the trevvnnesse of Christian religion* (1592, STC 18150); William Warner's *Albions England* in 1592 & 1596 (STC 25081 & 25082).

<sup>53</sup> See Warner's *Albions England. Or historிக்கall map of the same island* ([1586], (STC 25079); *The first and second parts of Albions England*. ([1589], (STC 25080).

Chappell”<sup>54</sup> while Christopher Marlowe’s two-part *Tamburlaine the Great* (1590) shows that it was “sundrie times shewed vpon Stages in the Citie of London. By the right honorable the Lord Admirall, his seruantes.”<sup>55</sup> Publisher Henry Bynneman also focused on dramatic texts of the same genre or kind, for he issued three entertainments,<sup>56</sup> two in collection, with title pages announcing a performance before the queen and court, while publishers Robert Robertson and Richard Jones did so with just two playbooks each.<sup>57</sup> As for publishers who invested in publishing groups of plays by one company, Thomas Cadman’s *Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao* and William Broome’s publications of the same in 1591 paved the way for Joan Broome’s three *Children of Paul*’s publications in 1591 and 1592.<sup>58</sup>

While the five *Paul’s Boys* plays were also unified by author, neither Cadman’s nor the Broome’s playbooks attribute the texts to John Lyly, even though by 1591, Lyly had proven to be a profitable writer for the London book trade, and his prose texts were marketed as collectable with his name clearly on their title pages. Lyly’s *Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit*, first published by Thomas Caewood in 1578, went through three separate editions before 1580, when Caewood also issued Lyly’s *Euphues and his England*, a loose sequel to the first work. In fact, Lyly likely

---

<sup>54</sup> *The excellent comedie of two the moste faithfullest freendes, Damon and Pithias* (1571 & 1582, STC 7514 & 7515).

<sup>55</sup> Richard Jone’s comedies, tragicomedies, comical discourses, and tragical discourses include W. Wager’s *A very mery and Pythie Comedie, called The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art* (1569, STC 24935); Richard Edward’s *The excellent Comedie of two the moste faithfullest Freendes, Damon and Pithias* 1571 & 1582, STC 7514 & 7515); *A new Tragicall Comedie of Apius and Virginia* (1575, STC 1059); George Whetstone’s *The Right Excellent and famous Historye, of Promos and Cassandra* (1578, STC 25347); Christopher Marlowe’s two-part *Tamburlaine the Great* (1590, STC 17425). See DEEP.

<sup>56</sup> Henry Bynneman published *The Joyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (1578, STC 11628) and *A Discourse of The Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk* (1578, STC 13032).

<sup>57</sup> Richard Jones published *The Princely pleasures, at the Courte of Kenelwoorth* (1576) and *The excellent Comedie of two the moste faithfullest Freendes, Damon and Pithia* (1571 & 1582). Robert Robertson published Thomas Hughe’s *Certaine Deu[is]es and shewes presented to her Maiestie* (1587, STC 13921) and *The Tragedies of Tancred and Gismund* (1591, STC 25764).

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Cadman also published *The Queenes Maiesties entertainment at VWoodstock* (1585, STC 7596), indicating that he may have found plays (including *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe*) performed before royal audiences to be lucrative investments.

wrote the sequel because demand for *The Anatomy of Wit* was so high. Throughout the next three years, Caewood continued to issue the texts in separate quarto editions although it was clear that he was encouraging readers to buy the prose narratives together by formatting the title pages in matching designs. Extant sammelbände or tract volumes in period bindings prove that at least some readers were pleased to have the series joined together in a volume and Lyly as a collected author.<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless, advertising a vernacular play by an English “author” or playwright on a title page was not yet a common marketing technique, especially for plays written for the public or private stage.<sup>60</sup> Publishers in general found it more effective to advertise on title pages the theatre company and/or performance venue rather than playwright although a trend toward the latter was occurring throughout the 1590s. In 1591, publishers were still experimenting with ways to develop readerships for English stage plays. The increasing number of scripts being produced in the theaters allowed some stationers like Broome to amass playtexts with similar attributes and to appropriate publishing strategies, such as those used in an incendiary pamphlet war, to sell plays as books in a collectable series.<sup>61</sup>

### III

When Joan Broome published the three comedies in a series, she employed a marketing strategy previously (and successfully) used just two years earlier in the Marprelate affair but to very different ends. Whereas the Martinists used the successive publication of tracts to critique

---

<sup>59</sup> See Folger Shakespeare Library, Call Number STC 17053. For volumes that bind the series together but apparently not in period bindings are Bodleian Library, Shelfmark Mal. 713; Bodleian Library, Shelfmark Antiq.e.E.1580.1; Huntington Library, Call Number 34014.

<sup>60</sup> See Lucas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, 41.

<sup>61</sup> In addition to appropriating publication and marketing strategies used in the Marprelate pamphlet war, Broome released the Children of Paul’s plays in a moment when she could best exploit the company’s ruin. For a bookseller, a scandalous pamphlet war that excited the crown enough to force it to disband one of the queen’s favorite playing companies was in itself news worthy of readers’ interests in 1591. But, to have nearly the entire repertoire of that company, which had previously proven successful before both London audiences and the queen, was a potentially valuable commodity, for these plays served as both records and souvenirs. Readers, including Joan Broome herself, likely would have read the Paul’s Boys plays in light of the company’s forced retirement from court and commercial performances.

the English church and its head, the queen, Broome's comedies can be interpreted as a pro-crown, pro-ecclesiastical set. Especially in the wake of the Marprelate affair, the Paul's Boys' plays together can be read as glorifying the monarch's divine right, which included the authority to dictate the terms of subjects' relationships with a higher spiritual power. Simultaneously, as a series of plays recording past performances before the queen on religious holidays, *Endymion*, *Galatea*, and *Midas* advertised their support for the queen and her church through their principles of collection and material features. In addition, the serial collection of comedies served as a memorial to the Children of Paul's—their fame and dissolution—in London throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century. The plays as an accumulated sequence allowed readers to re-collect a theatre troupe that symbolized harmony between the queen, her church, and her subjects, a concord that after 1590 may have been only a thing of the past.

As many critics have shown, the Paul's Boys' plays were written to venerate Elizabeth I; while they performed for public audiences at the Cathedral's theater, the queen and her court existed as the premier viewing audience for which the plays were intended.<sup>62</sup> Hence, the courtly ritual of deference to the monarch was built into the structure of the plays, especially in the prologues and epilogues, which Broome so carefully had ornamented to offset the speeches from the rest of the text. For example, the Prologue to *Endymion* addresses the "Most high and happy princess" (78) and defends the play against those who would misread it while the Epilogue praises the queen and her power to grant favor upon the troupe: "But if your Highness vouchsafe with your favourable beams to glance upon us, we shall not only stoop, but with all humility lay both our hands and heart at Your Majesty's feet" (196).<sup>63</sup> The Prologue to *Galatea* amplifies the rhetorical praise for Elizabeth using similar celestial metaphors: "Your Majesty's judgement and

---

<sup>62</sup> See Shapiro, *Children of the Revels*, 15-17.

<sup>63</sup> All quotes from the play are taken from David Bevington's edition of *Endymion*.

favour are our sun and shadow, the one coming of your deep wisdom, the other of your wanted grace. We in all humility desire that by the former receiving our first breath we may in the latter take our rest” (30).<sup>64</sup>

While each of the three plays offers lavish praise of Elizabeth and expressions of subservience to her rule, representing the “real” queen of England on a stage was forbidden, as was any direct engagement with affairs of church or state. Therefore, none of the plots were set in Elizabethan England but creatively altered mythic tales fashioned to resonate with the queen’s court without making overt critiques of any specific persons or events (although interpretation of the play’s meaning was surely part of the fun for a sixteenth-century audience).<sup>65</sup> The Prologue to *Endymion* warns the audience, perhaps tongue-in-cheek, that “We hope in our times none will apply pastimes, because they are fancies” (78). But, the plays do have much to say about the monarchy and the divine right to govern over subjects’ religious practices and rituals. In *Endymion*, for instance, the goddess/monarch Cynthia is constructed as a divine entity who “governeth all things” and “commandeth all creatures” (I.ii.29-30). When her authority is challenged by her subjects through “that detested wickedness of witchcraft,” Cynthia accuses the spellbinder Dipsas, “Thou hast threatened to turn my course awry and alter by thy damnable art the government that I now possess by the eternal gods” (V.iv.6-8). Critics have previously interpreted Dipsas’ magic in light of Catholic conspiracies in the late 1580s when the old faith was commonly deemed a religion of superstition and idolatrous rituals.<sup>66</sup> After the Marprelate affair, however, the Martinists and Catholics were linked together as enemies of Elizabeth’s

---

<sup>64</sup> All quotes from *Galatea* are taken from George K. Hunter’s “Galatea.”

<sup>65</sup> As Bevington writes, “Lyly had a reputation for writing plays that could be subjected to topical interpretation.” See “Lyly’s *Endymion* and *Midas*,” 30. Also See Hunter on the use of court mythology and topical application in *John Lyly*, 143-145; Bevington, *Endymion*, 27-37; Hunter, “Galatea,” 132-138.

<sup>66</sup> See Bevington, “Lyly’s *Endymion* and *Midas*” for political allegories in the play linking Tellus to Mary Queen of Scots and Midas to Philip II of Spain. Also, see Christine M. Neufeld, “Lyly’s Chimerical Vision,” 364 and note 57.

church. As Joseph Black writes, “Antireform polemic associated Catholics and Presbyterians as types of the bad subject. Both, it was argued, owed primary allegiance to a power other than the monarch—the pope on the one hand, a self-serving individual conscience on the other.”<sup>67</sup>

Furthermore, Martin’s pamphlets were thought most dangerous because they folded anti-monarchical sentiments into lively, libelous banter, luring unsuspecting and uneducated readers into committing treason.<sup>68</sup> That the Marprelate tracts used songs, rhymes, and jests to enchant readers aligned their linguistic play with the spells of witchcraft and Popery.<sup>69</sup> Within this new context, *Endymion* reiterates the supreme power of the magistrate over those who practice such arts:

let all enchanters know, that Cynthia, being placed for light on earth, is also protected by the power of heaven. Breathe out thou mayst words, gather thou mayst herbs, find out thou mayst stones agreeable to thine art, yet of no force to appal my heart, in which courage is so rooted, and constant persuasion of the mercy of the gods so grounded, that all thy witchcraft I esteem as weak as the world doth thy case wretched.” (V.iv.9-16)

The play’s response is to validate the monarch’s place as god’s chosen ruler, a role that makes her not only invulnerable to the spells of traitors, but also a ruthless punisher of those who would ensnare her faithful subjects through such means.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Joseph Black, “The Rhetoric of Reaction,” 718.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 707-710.

<sup>69</sup> Richard Harvey presents the connection in the title of his anit-Martinist tract, *Plaine Perceull the peace-maker of England. Sweetly indeuoring with his blunt persuasions to botch vp a reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother. Compiled by lawfull art, that is to say, without witch craft, or sorcery* (1589, STC 12914).

<sup>70</sup> After the Marprelate affair, the crown’s efforts to silence the Puritan dissent through imprisonment, corporeal punishment, and executions was in full swing, and Lyly’s *Endymion*, as if in response, showcases the authority of a monarch who maintains order in her kingdom by removing those members who speak out against her will. When her subjects throw verbal jibes at another in her presence, Cynthia threatens, ‘I will tame your tongues and your thoughts, and make your speeches answerable to your duties and your conceits fit for my dignity; else will I banish

*Galatea* reinforces this representation of the monarch as goddess, this time Diana, a strict governor of her lands, her nymphs, and their virginity. Because Elizabeth I's supremacy was similarly bound up in the conflation of divine and monarchical power, the figure of Diana became symbolic of the queen's virgin rule. *Galatea* lightly toys with the potential for threats to a female monarch's supremacy when the mischievous Cupid sneaks into her forest and overthrows her cult. Diana questions her nymphs' allegiance, "are your holy vows turned to hollow thoughts?" (III.iii. 60-1) and "how willing are you to follow that which you should fly" (III.iii.68-69). Disobedience to Diana parallels an even more threatening tale of religious insubordination in the play. Act 1 begins with Tityrus relaying to his daughter Galatea the curse on their land and its history: "for the land, being oppressed by Danes who instead of sacrifice committed sacrilege, instead of religion rebellion, and made a prey of that in which they should have made their prayers, tearing down the temple even with the earth, being almost equal with the skies, enraged so the god who binds the winds in the hollows" (I.i.24-29). To remain upon the lands, the people must offer a sacrifice to the god, Neptune, a demand that drives the plot of the play. By conflating god with ruler in both the case of Diana and Neptune, *Galatea* suggests that the civility of a nation depends upon its subjects' deference to the rituals and structures established by a higher power. However, as *Galatea* also implies, those structures can be altered by the ruler at his or her will. Neptune out of love for Venus agrees to release the subjects from their bond to him. Rituals and past structures of governance are not determined by the people, but by monarchical rulers and gods.

Written after the defeat of the Armada and in the midst of the Marprelate controversy, *Midas* confirms that the divinely ordained monarch is the only figure to rule his or her subjects.

---

you both my person and the world" (III.i.16-20). A lady in waiting, Tellus is imprisoned for speaking boldly before the queen, and another lady at court, Semele, is sentenced to a year of silence, else she lose her tongue.

Figuring King Midas as a buffoonish foil for Philip II of Spain, the play exposes the ruler's confessions after his gold-sickness and his failed attempt to conquer "that island where all my navy could not make breach" (III.i.53).<sup>71</sup> Midas laments, "I have written my laws in blood and made my gods of gold. I have caused the mothers' wombs to be their children's tombs, cradles to swim in blood like boats, and the temples of the gods a stews for strumpets" (III.i.31-25). Painted as a tyrant with little regard for life or religion, Midas asks, "To what kingdom have not I pretended claim, as though I had been by the gods created heir apparent to the world" (III.i.46-8). Rather than a greedy monarch who favored wealth and conquest over good government, Midas realizes that that the "petty prince" of that small island has been chosen by the gods to rule. This prince, thinly veiled as Queen Elizabeth, "is protected by the gods, by nature, by his own virtue, and his subjects' obedience" (III.i.59-60). Midas even takes the blame for attempting to sew sedition in the prince's country: "Have not I enticed the subjects of my neighbor princes to destroy their natural kings, like moths that eat the cloth in which they were born, and like worms that consume the wood in which they were engendered?" (III.i.39-44). But, such underhanded practices did not triumph, for treasonous behavior was "discovered by miracle" with help from the gods, not by any "counsel" of mortals (III.i.61-62). Without even bringing this prince onto the stage, *Midas* calls attention to and reinforces that England's queen, as the rightful monarch chosen by a higher power, led England to defeat Spain and will continue to lead the country to peace. Neither counselors, nor any subjects, should even attempt to dictate the limits of her rule. Those who do so and challenge her authority commit not only treason against their monarch but also their god.

When viewed in contrast to the illicit Marprelate tracts, Broome's three-play series appears as a blatant tribute to Elizabeth I and her divine rule of all in England, including the

---

<sup>71</sup> All quotes from *Midas* are taken from David Bevington's "Midas."

church. Not only had Broome secured license for publishing these comedies “under the hand of the B[ishop] of London” as the queen’s injunction required, but also the title pages for *Endymion*, *Galatea*, and *Midas* presented the playbooks as sanctioned and recommended by the queen herself: every single playbook had the queen’s stamp of approval on its title page. Moreover, Broome’s note to the reader in *Endymion* emphasizes Elizabeth’s fondness for the multi-talented boy players and highlights the frequency with which they were “presented before her Maiestie at seuerall times by the children of Paules” (my emphasis). As Michael Shapiro notes, the Children of Paul’s dominated Queen Elizabeth’s court festival agenda, “appearing at court more often than any other boy or adult company during the first half of her reign.”<sup>72</sup>

As a set then, Broome’s comedies represented a communion between Elizabeth and her church, as St. Paul’s Cathedral was an institution supported by the crown and subject to the queen’s authority.<sup>73</sup> The boy choristers at St. Paul’s were trained to provide music for church services and to entertain the queen during the church holiday celebrations in exchange for schooling, musical training, room, and board.<sup>74</sup> Ecclesiastic authorities were in charge of evaluating the physical and material conditions of the choristers and responsible for their religious education.<sup>75</sup> While the Paul’s Boys rehearsed and performed plays for profit for wider audiences at the Blackfriar’s Theater and St. Paul’s Theater, the troupe was primarily a product

---

<sup>72</sup> Shapiro, *Children of the Revels*, 11.

<sup>73</sup> While it seems clear that the Children of Paul’s and other chorister groups like the Children of the Chapel were to serve their queen through entertainments, Jeanne H McCarthy proposes that they also functioned as a political tool for the queen. McCarthy writes that Elizabeth “asserted her prerogative of patronage to bring companies of boy actors into cultural prominence and then used those companies, in turn, as rhetorical instruments furthering her efforts to legitimate her political authority” (426). See “Elizabeth I’s ‘picture in little.’”

<sup>74</sup> Hunter, *John Lyly*, 89. As Hunter explains, “Drama did not appear at court only at irregular intervals—when the Queen felt like a play. It was the function of a season, which took its place in a procession of the seasons of yearly ritual—Revels, Lent, Maying, Garterfeast, Progress, Thanksgiving, etc.—which made up the Tudor court calendar” (89).

<sup>75</sup> For more on the schooling and training of the Children of Paul’s see, Reavely Gair, *The Children of Paul’s*, 34-39; Joy Leslie Gibson, *Squeaking Cleopatras*, 148-152.

of the church and the queen's magnanimity.<sup>76</sup> The troupe's masters received payment from the crown for court performances, but less as remuneration for a theatrical production and more as a reward for the troupe's loyalty and service.<sup>77</sup> Each of the three plays published in 1591 and 1592 recorded these acts of service and the religious holidays, based on an ecclesiastic calendar, that called for such celebrations. Broome designed the title pages, for instance, to clearly announce the dates of the court performance, as had Cadman and William Broome. If readers were curious about the queen's activities and entertainments on holidays such as "Candlemas day at night," readers could learn this from printed copies of *Endymion*, *Galatea*, and *Midas*.

The exact years that the plays were performed are not identified on Broome's editions, but the general order and grouping of the performances for the Queen on church holidays were retained and reconstructed in the serial order of publication. George K. Hunter claims that *Campase* and *Sapho and Phao* were both presented and printed in the same year, 1584, and *Galathea* and *Endymion*, were later performed in 1588, and *Midas* in 1590.<sup>78</sup> Court records indicate that in November 1584, John Lyly was paid for two court performances, presumably for *Campaspe* on New Year's Day, January 1, 1584, and *Sapho and Phao*, on Shrove Tuesday, March 3, 1584. Bevington confirms that *Galatea* was performed on New Year's Day 1588; *Endymion* on Candlemas, February 2, 1588; and *Midas* on Twelfth Night, January 6, 1590.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, William Broome's publications of *Sapho and Phao* (1591) and *Campaspe* (1591)

---

<sup>76</sup> See Shapiro, "Early (pre-1590) Boy Companies."

<sup>77</sup> In "Early (pre-1590) Boy Companies," Michael Shapiro posits that the Paul's Boys were intricately woven into the fabric of ritual gift exchange with the queen. He explains that court entertainments were ceremonial encomiums, likened to gifts that courtiers might lavish on their queen to display their loyalty and service. Reciprocity, however, was central to this system. The queen, out of respect for her subject's service and financial sacrifice, would grant an appropriate reward, and further perpetuate the cycle of back-and-forth gift-giving and gift-receiving. Shapiro admits that masters of the boys companies exploited children's talents for their own private profits, but he also argues the need for understanding the children's "theatrical activities within a broader framework of court entertainment, a framework in which profit and patronage, commodification and court ritual, were often inseparably intertwined" (120-122).

<sup>78</sup> Hunter, "Galatea," 4-6.

<sup>79</sup> Bevington, *Endymion*, 8.

followed by the serial release of Joan Broome's *Endymion* (1591), *Galatea* (1591), and *Midas* (1592) reproduced the approximate chronological order and groupings in which the queen and her court experienced them. The Broomes, perhaps not coincidentally, even hired printers to produce the plays according to these groupings. William Broome had Thomas Orwin print *Sapho and Phao* (1591) and *Campaspe* (1591), while Joan Broome had John Charlewoode print both *Endymion* (1591) and *Galatea* (1592). *Midas* as a play performed early in 1590 existed chronologically apart from either pair, and was issued by a different printer, Thomas Scarlet in 1592.

Not only then did the Children of Paul's plays record these performances before the queen and document their presentation dates, but also the plays in a collected series constructed a history of the theatre troupe. This performance history had a finite ending as well, which Broome used to promote the series. In her note to the reader in *Endymion*, Broome warned readers that "the Plaies in Paules were dissolved," indicating that these comedies were now only available in print. If audiences wanted to experience the wit and humor of the famed children's company that Elizabeth so loved, this series of playbooks was a chance to do so, and collecting all three or all five playbooks produced a more complete picture of the troupe's style and antics than any single playbook could provide. By constructing the playbooks as printed memorials of the Children of Paul's, Broome was responding to readers' nostalgia for a company that was uniquely popular in the period but missing from the London theatre scene at the time of her publications.

Although Broome considered the troupe's disappearance from the stage (whatever the circumstances) as an opportunity for investment and profit, none of the five comedies justified second editions, indicating that perhaps the demand for the playbooks was not as high as she had anticipated. And yet, it is clear that Broome continued to consider the plays a worthy investment

years later. On April 12, 1597, she paid to transfer *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe* in the Stationers' Register to her name.<sup>80</sup> These two plays had been published by William but never officially transferred to him from Thomas Cadman, and thus Broome seemingly wanted more security over her right to publish these two texts. Perhaps she intended to reissue *Sapho and Phao* and *Campaspe* or even publish all five plays in one volume under one title page. In any case, paying for the transfer of the two plays (as two separate books) in 1597 strongly suggests that she was not finished with this collection of plays and chose to formally and financially secure her right to do what she pleased with them in the future.

Even after Joan Broome's death in August of 1601, the Paul's Boys' plays were still treated as a potentially lucrative investment as a five-play set.<sup>81</sup> When her rights to copy fourteen different texts were transferred to her former apprentice, George Potter, the record in the Stationers' Register shows two vertical columns of texts. At the very top of the first column are the five Lyly plays performed by the Children of Paul's: *Sapho and Phao*, *Campaspe*, *Endimion*, *Mydas*, and *Galathea* (Figure 4.19). It seems that even the clerk who entered the plays understood them as some sort of unit, for he drew a bracket next to the list of plays setting them off from the other titles in the list.

#### IV

Later readers also saw the value in bringing this set of texts together, particularly John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater (1579-1649). Egerton was an avid book collector, and he left his trace on a number of printed title pages where he drew small three-sided boxes with a single number inside.<sup>82</sup> These numbers denoted the order of texts in the collection. For example, in a copy of John Marston's collected edition of *Works* (1633), Egerton created his own table of

---

<sup>80</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 3:82.

<sup>81</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 3:191.

<sup>82</sup> See Stephen Tabor, "The Bridgewater Library," 50.

contents (Figure 4.20) and inscribed each play's order on its title page. For example, as Figure 4.21 shows, *Antonio and Mellida* was the first play in the collection. The five plays in the Huntington Copy of Marston's *Works* still remain together in their original order; however, some plays from the Bridgewater collection suffered a different fate. Today, we find many of the collector's playbooks individually bound—although many of these title pages retain traces of their past in collection. In fact, if we look to the title pages of the Paul's Boys plays from the Bridgewater collection, we find that a sammelbänd of their plays had likely been assembled and numbered in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. A copy of *Sapho and Phao* is labeled number one (Figure 4.22 or 4.3); *Campaspe* is number two (4.23); *Midas* is three (4.24); *Mother Bombie* is four; *Love's Metamorphosis* is five; *The Woman in the Moon* is six; and *Endymion* is seven (4.5). If *Galatea* were included, the volume would have been a complete collection of the plays written by John Lyly.<sup>83</sup> Authorship may very well have been the guiding principle of this previous compilation, although the similarities among the plays' companies, venues, and presentation before the queen were also unifying principles—as was the chronological order of performance. At some point in the sammelbänd's transmission, the seven plays were taken out of their binding and can be found now in a set of similarly-bound individual editions that imply a connection among the texts but leave it unstated (Figure 4.25).

Another reader and publisher, Edward Blount was seemingly satisfied with an even less complete collection of Lyly's plays than Egerton. In 1632, Blount published *Sixe court comedies* (1632). In this collected edition were joined the five Broomes quartos and *Mother Bombie* (1597). Blount's volume was printed in duodecimo by William Stansby, and both publisher and printer had previous experience in issuing collections unified by authorship. In 1616, Stansby printed Benjamin Jonson's *Works* (1616), and in 1623, Blount was part of the publishing

---

<sup>83</sup> A quarto edition of *Galatea* (1592) with the number "8" could still be extant, but I've been unable to locate it.

syndicate that issued Shakespeare's First Folio. In fact, in 1632, Blount was publishing the Lyly collection at the same time as he was preparing to release Shakespeare's Second Folio (1632).

While many of the marketing techniques Blount used in the 1632 volume of Lyly's plays were influenced by his other collection ventures, Joan Broome's strategies in advertising the comedies as a serial set in 1591 and 1592 largely shaped the material and conceptual focus of the collected edition. Blount's *Six Court Comedies* is deeply inscribed by Broome's processes of unifying and marketing the serial collection in the 1590s. First, the arrangement of words on the 1632 general title page reproduces that on Broome's title pages, first announcing the main title, the performance venue, and then the playing company. While Blount added John Lyly's name and status to the title page, overall, the 1632 title is remarkably similar to the one entered by Joan Broome on October 4, 1591. Blount chose *Six court comedies. Often presented and acted before Queene Elizabeth, by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell, and the Children of Paules* while Broome had entered *Three Comedies plaid before her maiestie by the Children Pauls th[e o]ne called. Endimion. Th[e o]ther. Galathea and th[e] other Midas*. Few English vernacular collections of drama displayed a title that announced the number of works in one genre. *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581) is perhaps the closest model.

Critics have debated why Blount decided to publish a collection of Lyly's plays in 1632, especially in light of what appeared to be a drastic decline in the playwright's popularity after the 1580s and 1590s.<sup>84</sup> G.K. Hunter indicates that the volume had less to do with Lyly and more to do with the "factitious revival of 'Elizabethan' tastes in Stuart times."<sup>85</sup> Blount implies this is the

---

<sup>84</sup> Leah Scragg largely interprets Blount's *Six Court Comedies* as a commemorative volume of John Lyly's plays, a testament to the national poet. She proffers that Blount was a literary connoisseur and understood the significance of Lyly as a linguistic influence in England. See "Edward Blount and the History of Lylian Criticism." In contrast, Hunter proposes that due to Lyly's decline in popularity by the early-seventeenth century, the collection was marketed less as an authorial monument and more as a collection of polite comedies in the Elizabethan style, which were popular at the time. See *John Lyly*, 286.

<sup>85</sup> Hunter, *John Lyly*, 286

case in his dedication to Viscount of Waterford, Richard Lumley when he writes that court comedies were currently in vogue: “Light Ayres are now in fashion; And these being not sad, fit the season.” (A3v).<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, Blount uses Lyly’s favor with Elizabeth to justify the poet’s talents—and his decision to publish the plays in collection: “It can be no dishonor, to listen to this Poets Musike, whose Tunes alighted in the Eares of a great and euer-famous Queene: his Inuention, was so curiously strung, that Elizaes Court held his notes in Admition.” (A3r). Just as Broome had used the Queen’s name to promote her series of playbooks, Blount markets the plays even to Lumley as preferred by Elizabeth I. The title page also clearly emphasizes the “COVRT” in the largest and clearest font on the title page, placing Lyly’s name in smaller type than other elements, such as number, genre, and performance venue (Figure 4.26). But, as a publisher, Blount would not have had to choose one unifying or advertising strategy over another.

Similar to Broome’s style of marketing plays with multiple principles of collection, Blount’s approach seemed inclusive, especially in positioning Lyly and his plays within the cultural milieu from which they were first written and performed. On one hand, Blount presents John Lyly as a transhistorical “Author,” like Jonson or Shakespeare, who “sat at the Sunnes Table: Apollo gave him a wreath of his owne Bayes[ . . . ] without snatching[.] The Lyre he played on had no borrowed strings” (A3v). On the other hand, Blount localizes the author and his works, as plays that offered a historical taste of the court’s cultural preferences and manners. In

---

<sup>86</sup> While the publisher corrected minor errors from the 1591-2 playbooks, the texts and act and scene divisions are retained. Blount also added the lyrics of the boys’ songs to the plays where they had been absent from Broome’s earlier publications, making the collection even more of an accurate record of the plays as they had been performed by the children’s companies. See Tiffany Stern, *Documents in Performance*, 121-122. Yet, Blount did not arrange the plays in the *Sixe Court Comedies* according to their sequence of performance, if he was even aware of their chronology on the stage. Instead, he used Joan Broome’s note to the reader, which declared *Endymion* as “the first,” and he organized the rest by approximate publication date: *Campaspe*, *Sapho and Phao*, *Galatea*, *Midas*, and *Mother Bombie*. Introducing Lyly’s name and status in the title was one of Blount’s new additions, but the author’s name is listed below the other unifying principles on the collection’s title page.

the address to the reader, Blount presents Lyly as a “Rare and Excellent poet, whom Queene Elizabeth then heard, Graced, and Rewarded” (A5r). For Blount, Lyly’s name is not to be divided from his court context nor the monarch he praised, for he and his works are a product of the times.

Ultimately, Blount frames the *Sixe Court Comedies* in 1632 as an explicit act of textual accumulation and conservation—an effort that seemingly aimed to take the plays published and collected by Broome and re-release them as a new, collected edition. He claims in his dedicatory epistle to have saved the plays from material decay: “Reader, I haue (for the loue I beare to Posteritie) dig’d vp the Graue of a Rare and Excellent Poet. . . These Papers of his, lay like dead Lawrelse in a Churchyard . . . covered in Dust . . . only Acted by . . . wormes” (A5r). The publisher here highlights the very physical nature of discovering, accumulating, and reintroducing the comedies as a set. Likely influenced by the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios, which were constructed as single-author collected volumes that would supplant the dispersed and “maimed” quartos that preceded them, Blount asks us to see Lyly’s plays in a similar light: “I haue gathered the scattered branches up, and by a Charme (gotten from Apollo) made them greene again, and set them up as Epitaphes to his memory” (A5r). To see the unity of the *Sixe Court Comedies*, Blount asks us to look away from the collected forms imagined by agents before him—although as we have seen with Broome’s serial collection, they too constitute an essential part in the genealogy of the collection.

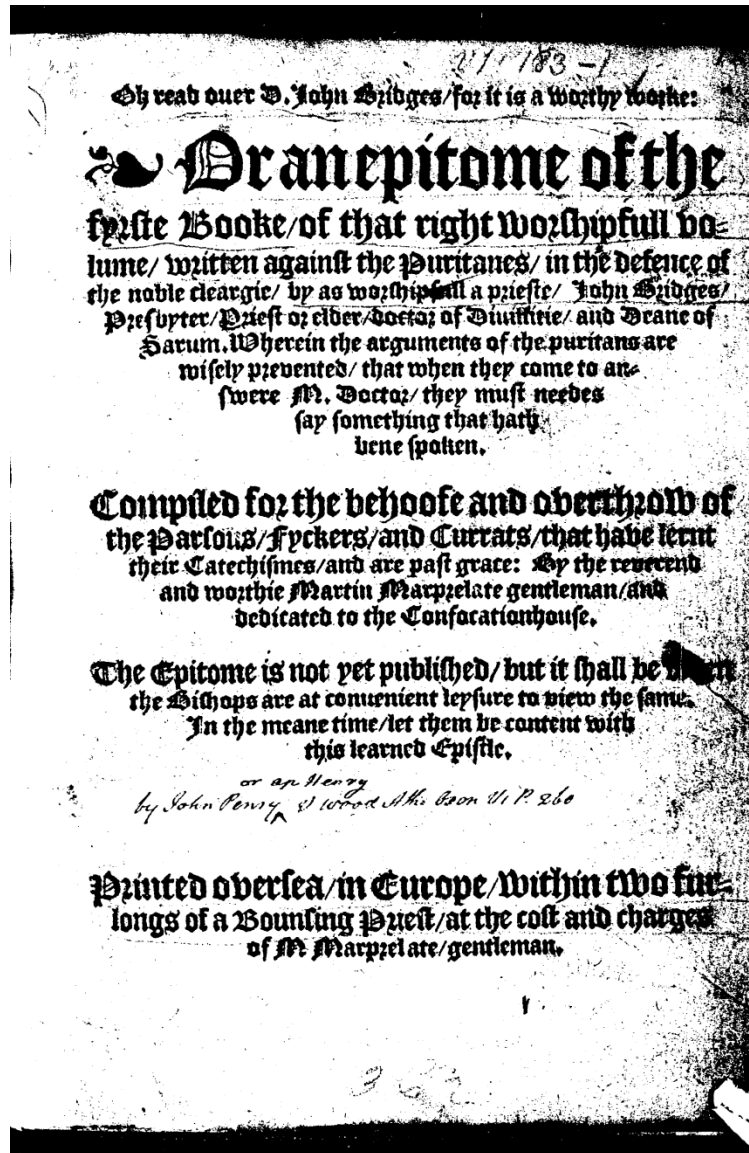
Figure 4.1: Stationer's Register Entry from October 4, 1591

Widow Lafe of the City of London: Free.  
Entered for the copies of the play of the death of Thomas the first  
by the order of the court of the Admiralty. The play of Galathea  
and the play of Midas. J.  
12. October

With the permission of the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers (Volume 1, Reel 1).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1554-1920*.

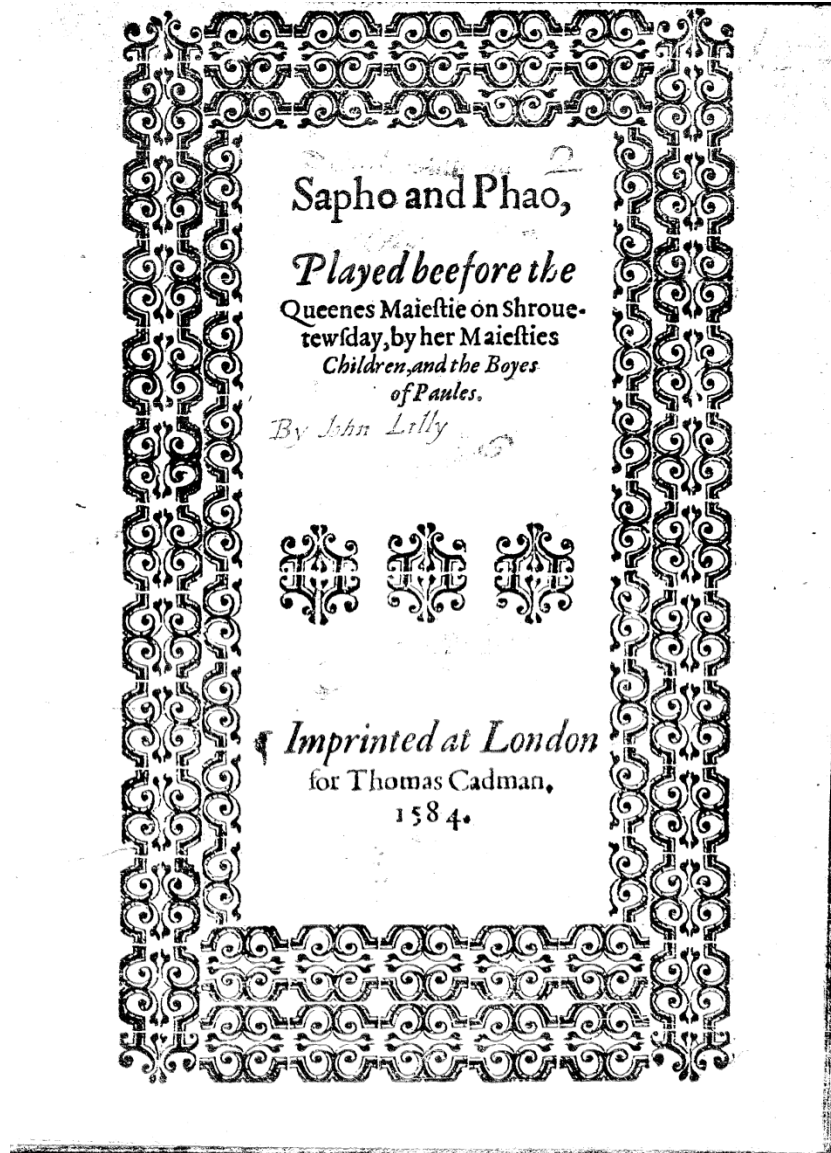
Figure 4.2: Marprelate's *The Epistle* (1589)



Courtesy of the British Library (c) British Library Board (Shelfmark 224.b.8)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

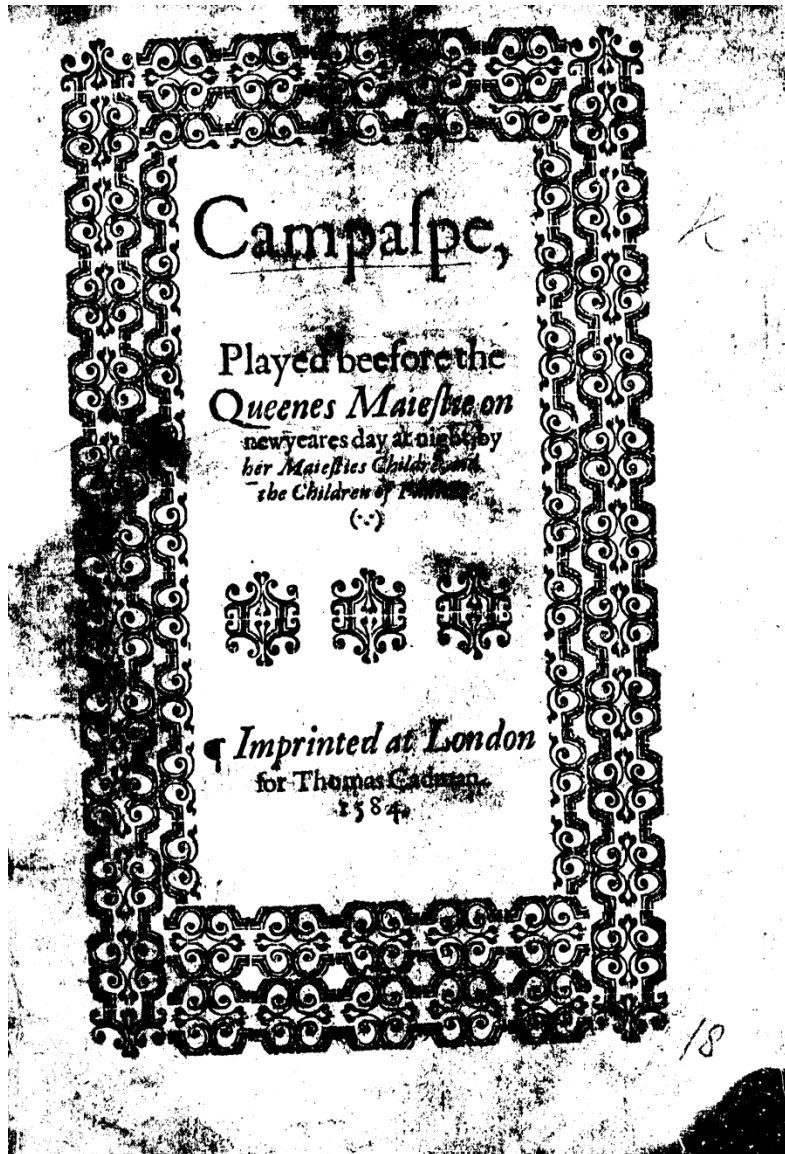
Figure 4.3: Title Page from *Sapho and Phao* (1584)



Courtesy of the British Library (c) British Library Board (Shelfmark C.34.d.17)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 4.4: Title Page from *Campaspe* (1584)



Courtesy of the British Library (c) British Library Board (Shelfmark C.34.b.8)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

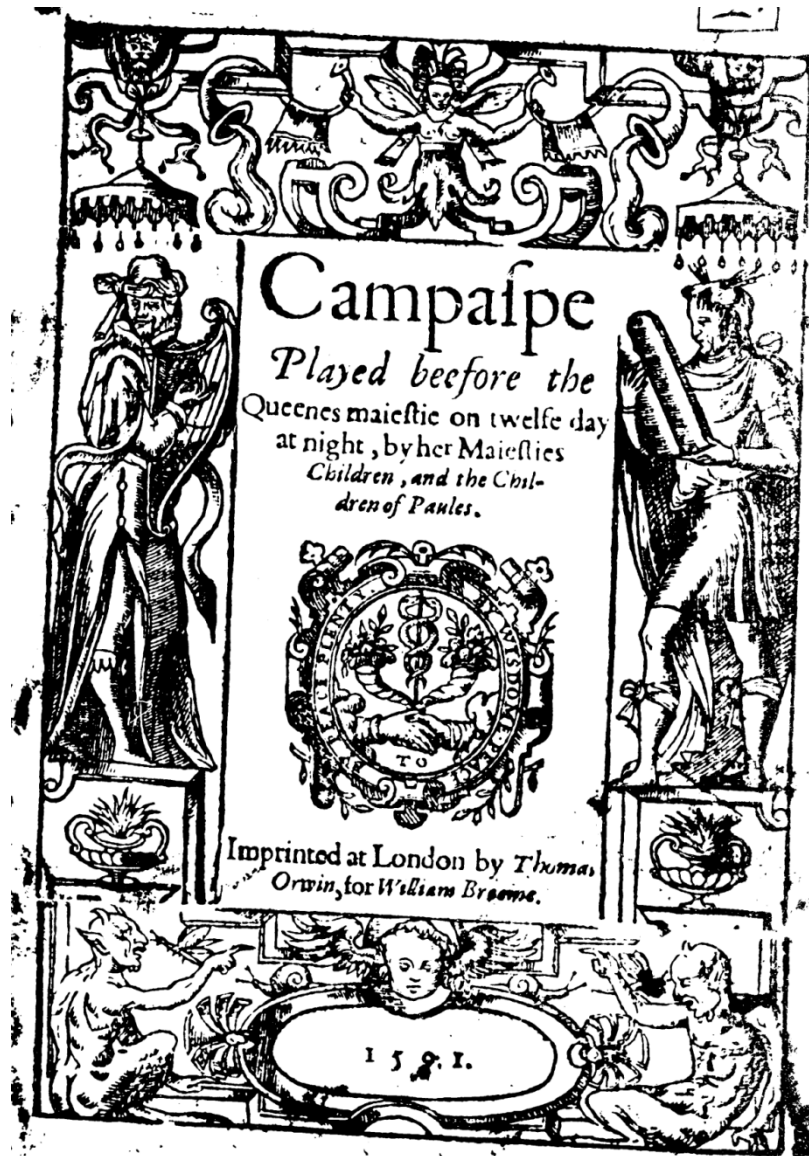
Figure 4.5: Title Page from *Sapho and Phao* (1591)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62383).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

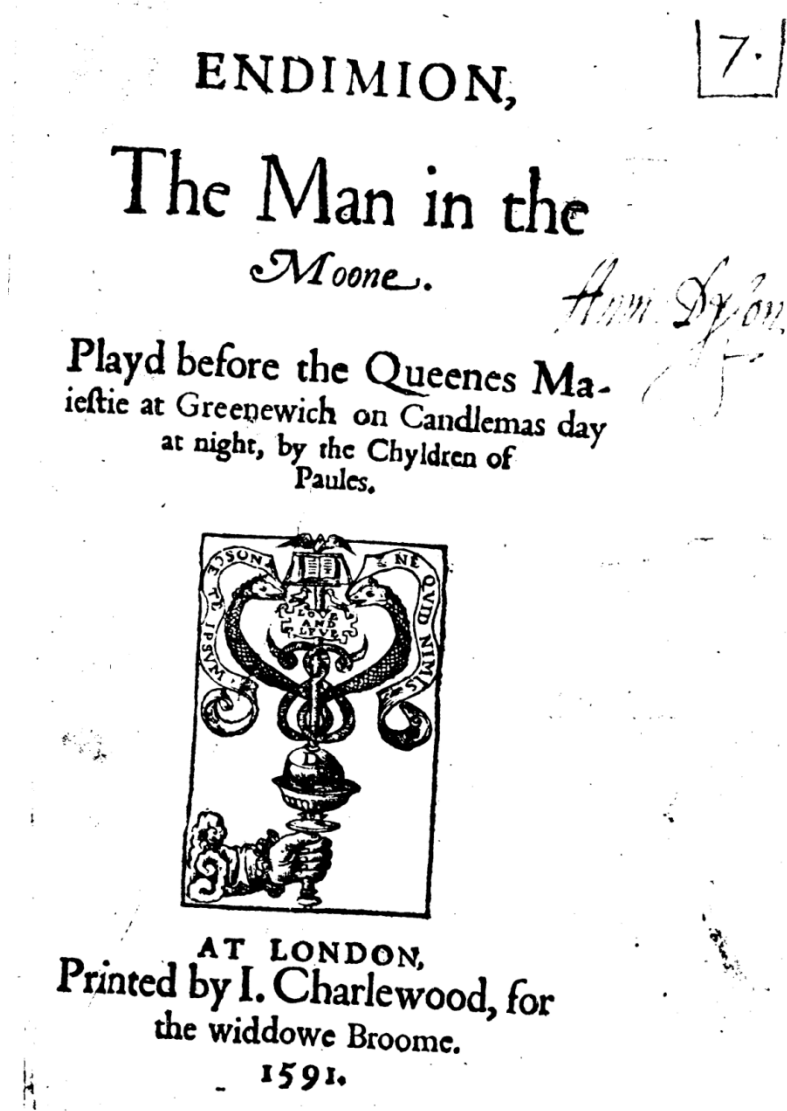
Figure 4.6: Title Page from *Campaspe* (1591)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62387).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

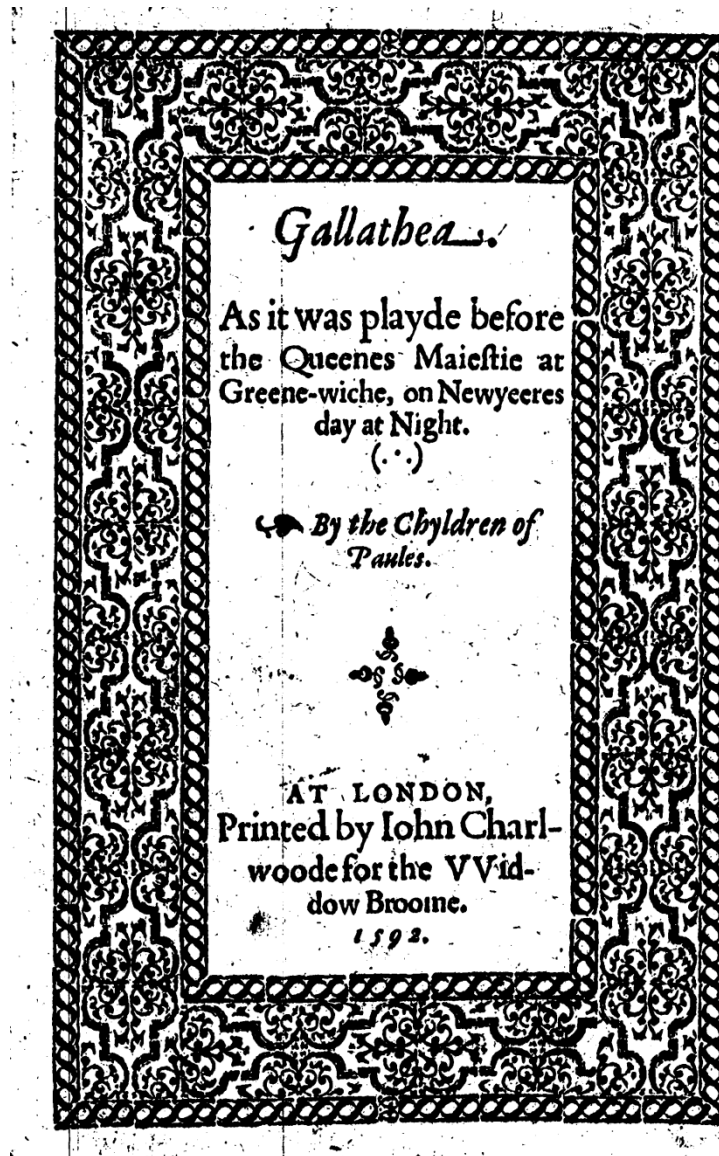
Figure 4.7: Title Page from *Endymion* (1591)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62388).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

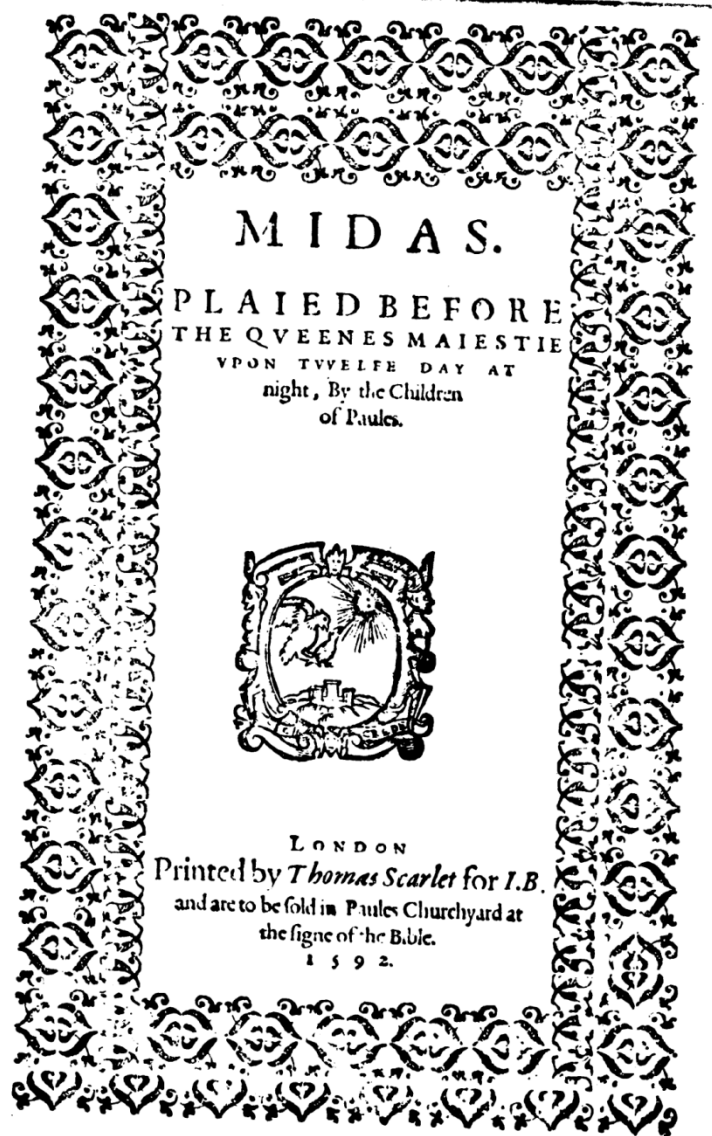
Figure 4.8: Title Page from *Galatea* (1592)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 136103).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.


Figure 4.9: Title Page from *Midas* (1592)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62385).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 4.10: Prologue to *Endymion* and First Page of Play (1591)



The Prologue.

**M**OST high and happy Princesse, we must tell you a tale of the Man in the Moone, which if it seeme ridiculous for the method, or superfluous for the matter, or for the meanes incredible; for three faultes wee can make but one excuse. It is a tale of the Man in the Moone.

It was forbidden in olde time to dispute of Chymera, because it was a fiction, we hope in our times some will apply pastimes, because they are fancies; for there liueth none vnder the Sunne, that knowes what to make of the Man in the Moone: VVee present neither Comedie, nor Tragedie, nor storie, nor anie thing, but what whosoeuer beareth may say this, VVhy heere is a tale of the Man in the Moone.

Actus

Actus primus. Scæna prima.

*Endimion. Eumenides.*

*End.*



Finde *Eumenides* in all things both varietie to content, & satietie to glut, sauing onelie in my affections, which are so stayed, and withall so starelke, that I can neither satisfie my hart with loue, nor mine eyes

with wonder. My thoughts *Eumenides* are stretched to the starres, which beeing as high as I can see; thou maist imagin how much higher they are then I can reach.

*Eume.* If you be enamored of any thing about the Moone, your thoughts are ridiculous, for that things immortall are not subiect to affections, if allured or enchanted with these transitory things vnder the Moone, you shew your selfe senselesse, to attribute such lofty titles, to such loue trifles.

*End.* My loue is placed neither vnder the Moone nor aboue.

*Eume.* I hope you be not sorted vpon the man in the Moone.

*End.* No but settled, eyther to die, or possesse the Moone herselfe.

*Eume.* Is *Endimion* mad, or doe I mistake? doe you loue the Moone *Endimion*?

*End.* *Eumenides* the Moone.

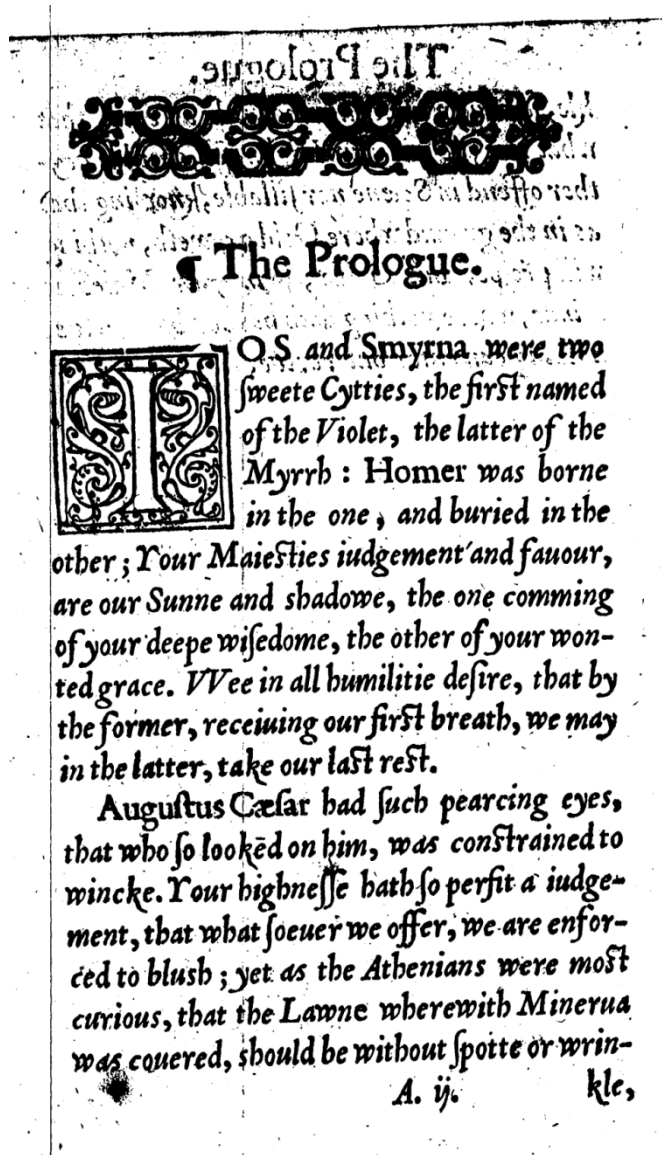
*Eume.* There was neuer any so peenish to imagin the Moone eyther capable of affection, or shape of a Mistress: for as impossible it is to make loue fit to her humor which no man knoweth, as a coate to her forme, which continueth not in one bignesse whilst she is measuring. Cease of *Endimion* to feede so much vpon fancies. That melancholy blood must be purged, which draweth you

B to

This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62388).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

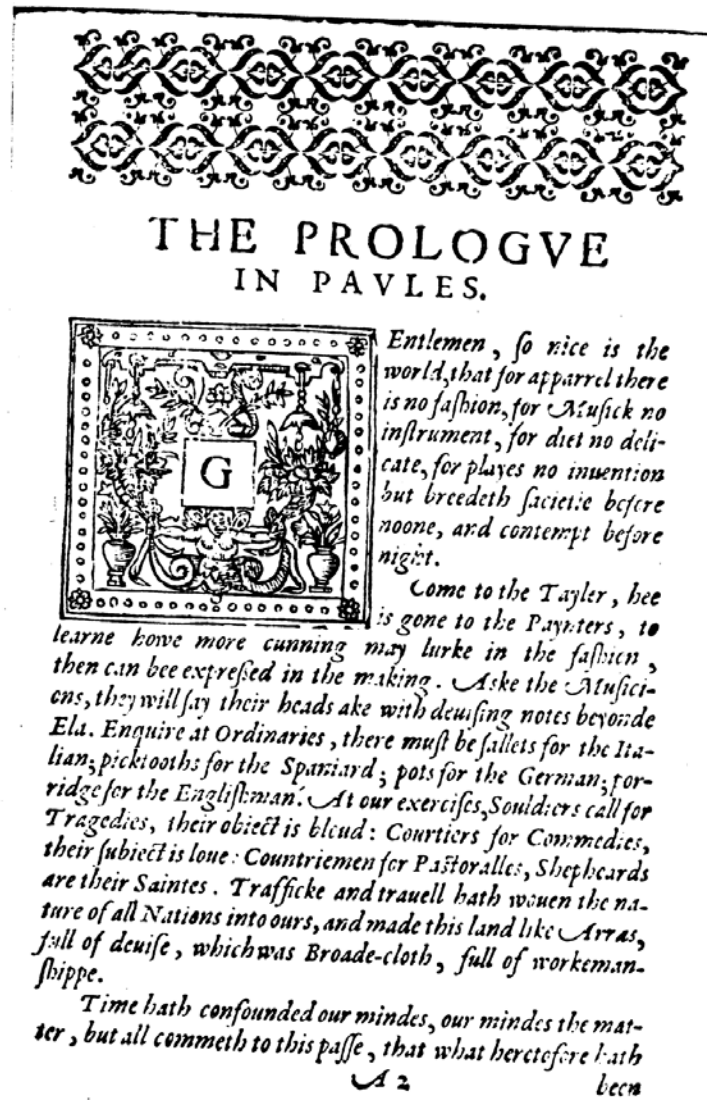
Figure 4.11: Prologue to *Galatea* (1592)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 136103).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 4.12 Prologue to *Midas* (1592)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62385).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.



Figure 4.14: Prologue to *Campaspe* (1591)



The Prologue at the  
*black Friers.*

**T**hey that feare the stinging of Waspes make fannes of Peacocks tailes, whose spots are like eyes. And *Lepidus*, which could not sleep for the chattrig of birds, set vp a beast, whose head was like a Dragon: and we which stand in awe of re-  
porte, are compelled to set before our owle, *Pallas* shield, thinking by her vertue to couer the others deformitie. It was a signe of famine to Aegipt, when *Nylus* flowed lesse than twelue Cubites, or more than eighteene: and it may threaten dispaire vnto vs, if we be lesse curteous than you look for, or more cumbersome. But as *Theseus* being promised to bee brought to an Eagles nest, and traouiling all the day, found but a wrenne in a hedge, yet saide this is a birde: so wee hope, if the shower of our swelling mounta-in seeme to bring forth some Elephant, performe but a mouse, you will gently say, this is a beast? Basill softly touched, yeeldeth a sweete sent, but chafed in the hand, a ranck fauour. We feare euen so that our labours slielic glaunced on, will breede some content, but examined to the prooffe, small commendation. The haste in performing shall bee our excuse. There wente  
A 3 two

This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62387).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 4.15: Epilogue to *Endymion* (1591)

## ¶ The Epilogue.

**A** Man walking abroad, the wind and  
Sunne strove for souerainty, the one  
with his blast, the other with his beames.  
The wind blew hard, the man wrapped his  
garmēt about him harder: it blustred more  
strongly, he then girt it fast to him: I cannot  
preuaile sayd the wind. The Sunne casting  
her Christall beames, began to warme the  
man: he vnlofed his gowne. yet it shined  
brighter: he then put it off. I yeelde sayd  
the winde, for if thou continue shining, he  
will also put off his cote.

Dread Soueraigne, the malicious that  
seeke to overthrow vs with threats, do but  
stiffen our thoughts, and make them stur-  
dier in stormes: but if your Highnes vouch  
safe with your fauorable beames to glaunce  
vpon vs, we shall not onlie stoope, but with  
all humilitie, lay both our handes and  
hearts, at your Maiesties feete.

This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62388).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 4.16: Epilogue to *Galathea* (1592)

---

*Galathea.*

*Rafe* Content? neuer better content, for there we shall be sure to fill our bellies with Capons rumpes, or some such daintie dishes.

*Venus* Then follow vs.

*Exeunt.*

*The Epilogue.*

*Galla.* **G**OE all, tis I onely that conclude al. You Ladies may see, that Venus can make constancie ficklenes, courage cowardice, modellie lightnesse, working things impossible in your Sexe, and tempering hardest harts like softest wooll. Yeelde Ladies, yeeld to loue Ladies, which lurketh vnder your eye-lids whilst you sleepe, and plaieth with your hart strings whilst you wake: whose sweetnes neuer breedeth fatietie, labour wearinesse, nor greefe bitternesse, Cupid was begotten in a miste, nursed in Clowdes, and sucking onelie vpon conceits. Confesse him a Conquerer, whom yee ought to regarde, sith it is vnpossible to resist, for this is infallible, that Loue conquereth all things but it selfe, and Ladies all harts but their owne.

*FINIS.*

H. 2.



---

This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 136103).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 4.17: Epilogue to *Sapho and Phao* (1591)

*Sapho and Phao.*

*The Epilogue.*



Hey that tread in a maze, walke oftentimes in one path, and at the last come out where they entered in. We feare we haue lead you at this while in a Labyrinth of conceites diuerse times hearing one deuice, and haue now brought you to an end, where we first began. Which wearisome trauaile you must impute to the necessitie of the historie, as *Theseus* did his labor to the art of the Labyrinth. There is nothing causeth such giddines, as going in a wheele, neither can there any thing breede such tediousnes, as hearing many words vttered in a small compasse. But if you accept this daunce of a Farie in a circle, we will hereafter at your willes frame our fingers to all formes. And so we wish euery one of you a thread to lead you out of the doubtres, wherewith we leaue you intangled, that nothing be mistaken by our rashouerights, nor misconstrued by your deepe insightes.

*FINIS.*



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62383).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 4.18: Epilogue to *Campaspe* (1591)

*A tragicall Comedie of*

*The Epilogue at the Court.*

WE cannot tell whether we are fallen among *Dionides* birds or his horses, the one receiued some men with sweet notes, the other bitte al men with sharpe teeth. But as *Homers* Gods conueied them into cloudes, whom they would haue kept from curses, and as *Venus*, least *Adonis* should be pricked with the stings of Adders, couered his face with the wings of Swans: so wee hope, being shielded with your highnes countenance, wee shal, though heare the neighing, yet not feele the kicking of thole iades, and receiue, though no praise ( which we cannot deserue ) yet a pardon, which in all humilitie we desire. As yet we cannot tell what we should tearme our labours, yron or bullyon, only it belongeth to your maiestie to make thē fit either for the forge or the mynt, currant by the stamp, or counterfeit by the anuill: For as nothing is to be called white, vnlesse it had bin named white by the first creature, so can there bee nothing thought good in the opinion of others, vnlesse it bee christened good by the iudgement of your selve. For our felues againe, we are like these torches waxe, of which being in your highnes hands, you may make Doues or Vultures, Roses or Nettles, Laurell for a garland, or Elder for a disgrace.

FINIS.



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62387).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 4.19: Stationers' Register Transfer from Broome to George Potter on August 23, 1601

4

23

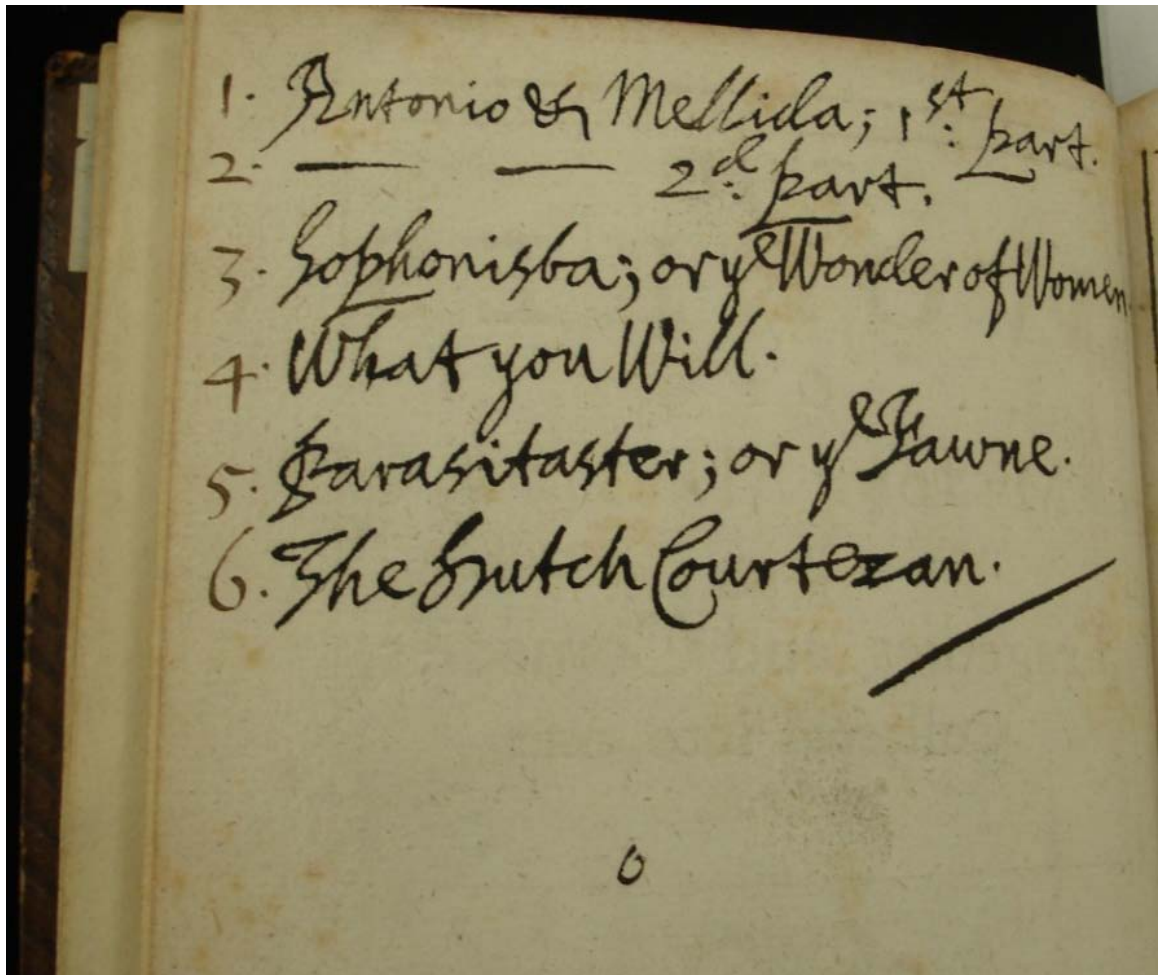
Sappho and Apollon  
Campaspe  
Endimion  
Mydas  
Blarutgea  
Phobos

albion England  
pandosto  
Sappho of formentis  
70. Coniortis  
Spanisfornis  
Charles furdery  
Arrangement of Potter  
man of warf

With the permission of the Worshipful Company of Stationers and Newspaper Makers (Volume 2, Reel 2).

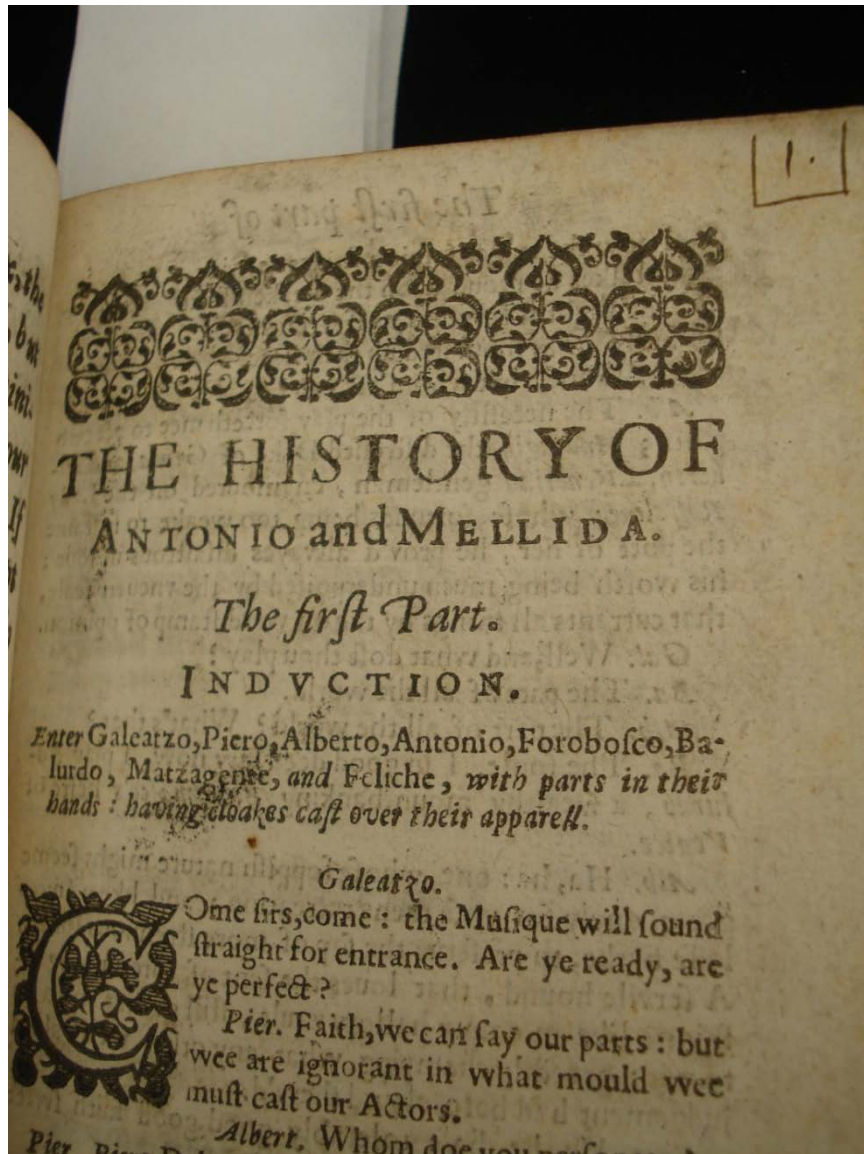
Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1554-1920*.

Figure 4.20: Earle of Bridgewater's Table of Contents in Marston's *Works* (1633)



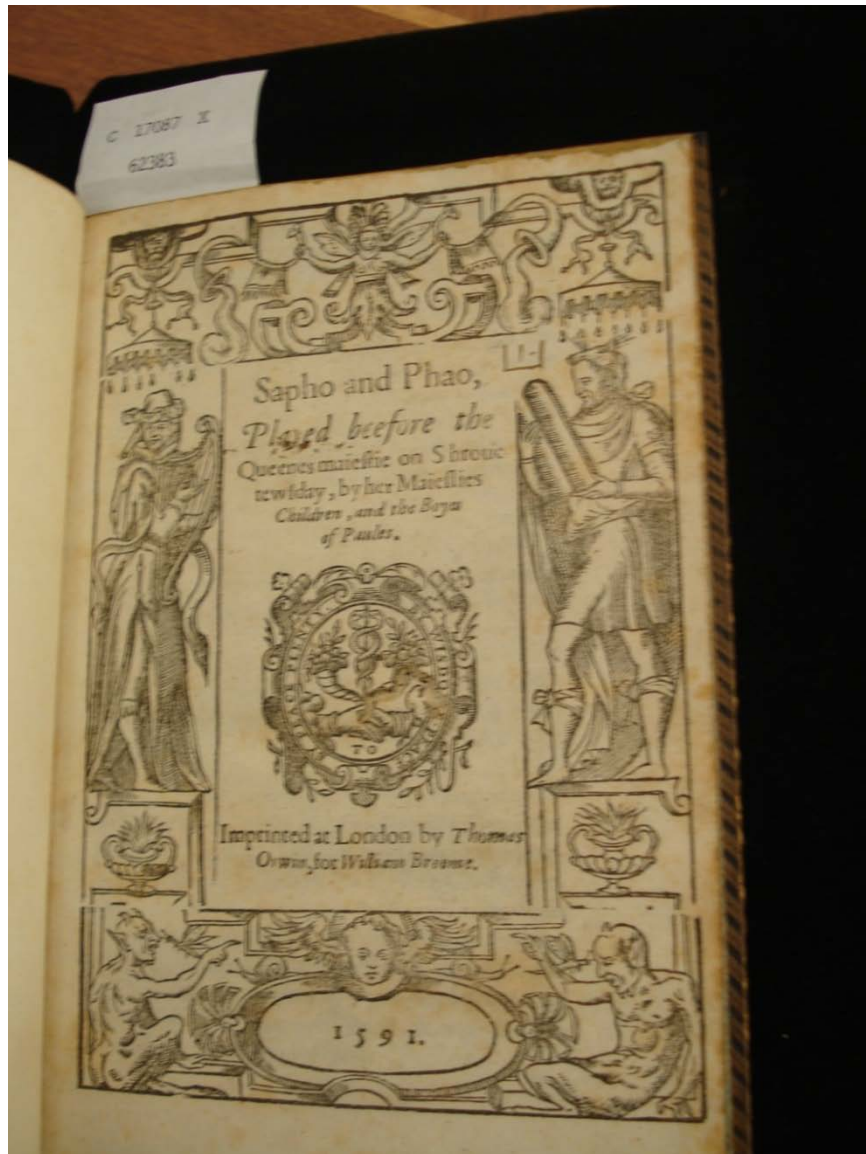
This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62465).

Figure 4.21: *Antonio and Mellida* as “1”



This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62465).

Figure 4.22: *Sapho and Phao* as “1” (Also see Figure 4.3)



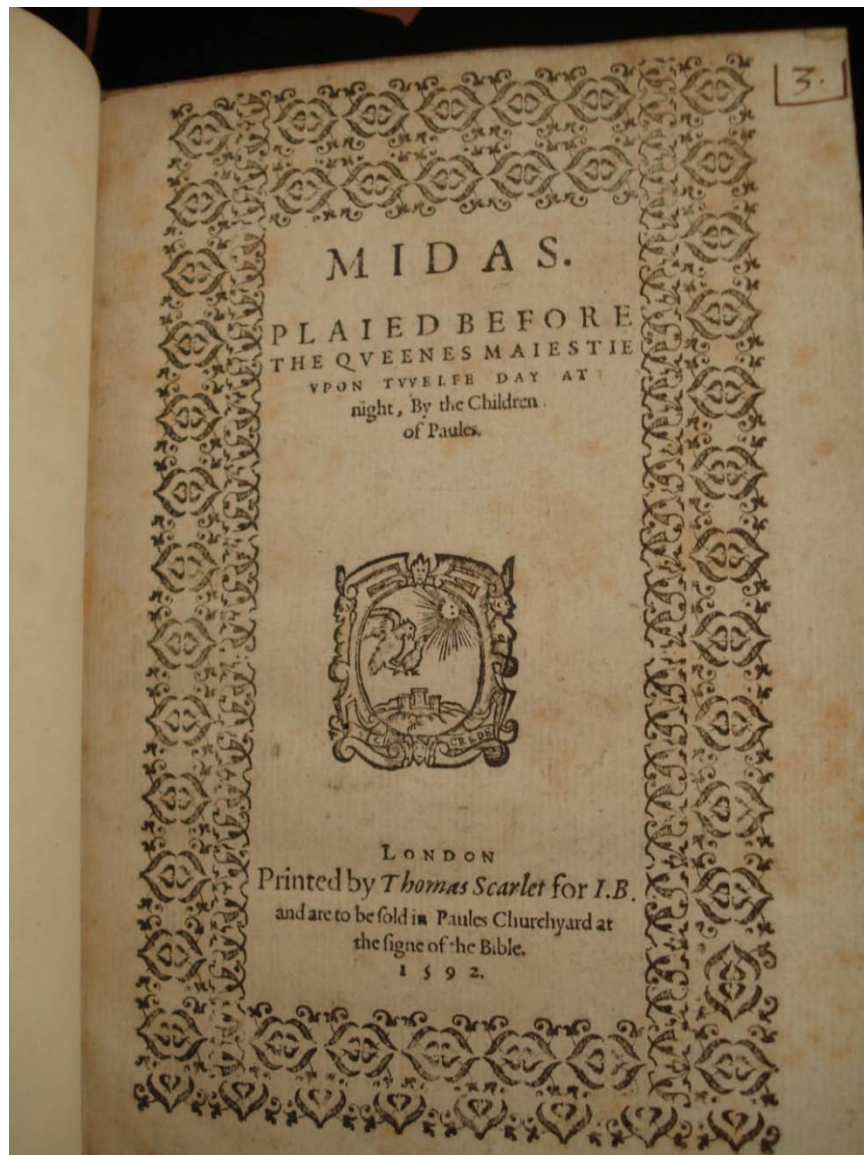
This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62383).

Figure 4.23: *Campaspe* as “2”



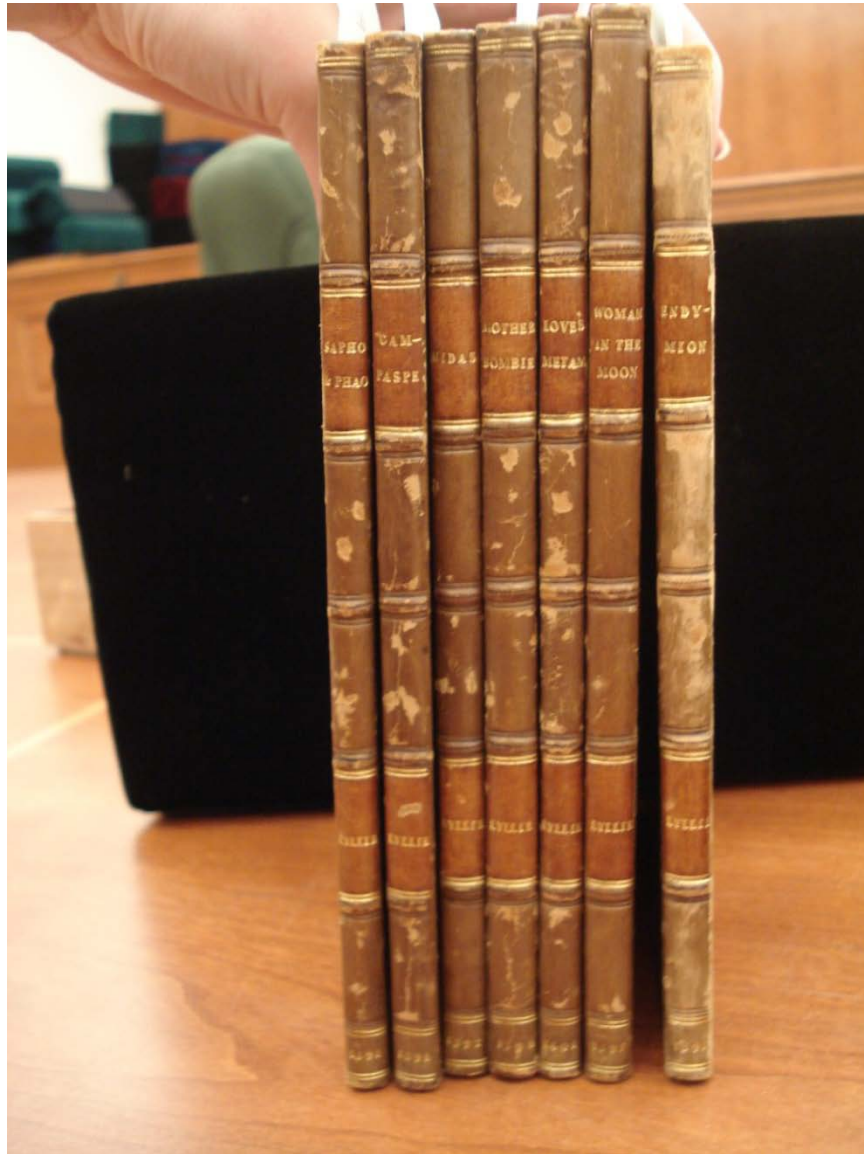
This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62387).

Figure 4.24: *Midas* as “3”



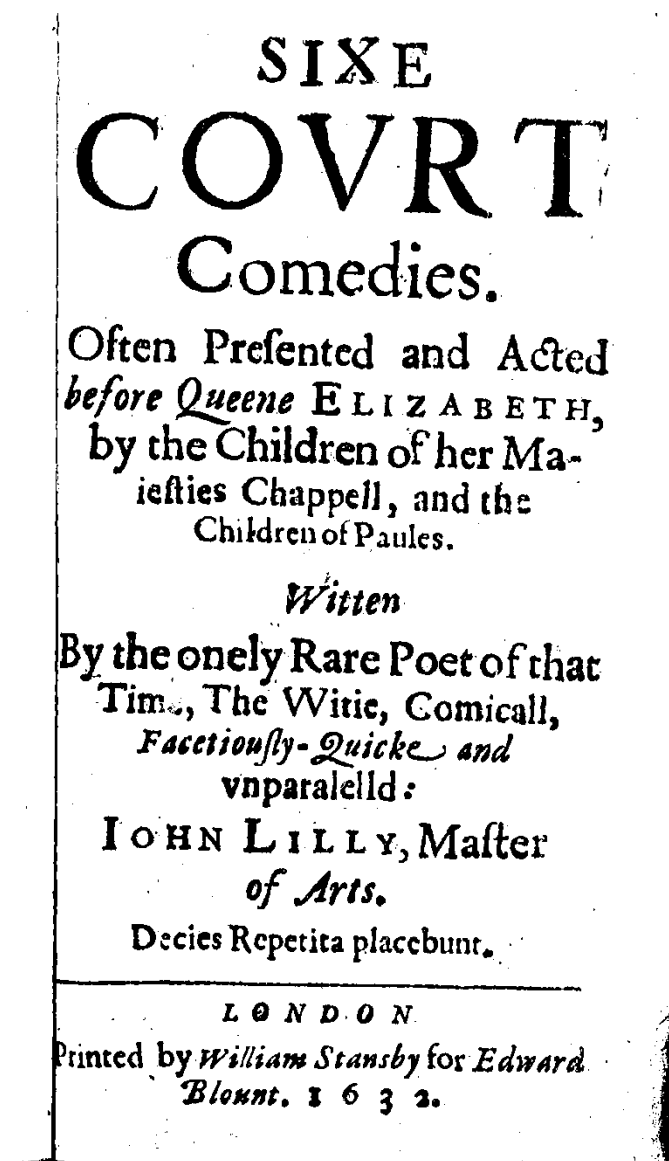
This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62385).

Figure 4.25: Seven volumes of Lyly's Plays from Bridgewater Collection



This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library.

Figure 4.26: Title Page from *Six Court Comedies* (1632)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 62465).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

## Chapter 5

### Negotiating Alternative Principles of Authorial Collections: The “Whole” Monument in Parts in Jonson’s *Works* (1616) and Shakespeare’s *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1623)

The Jonson and Shakespeare Folios have overwhelmingly dominated studies on the printed drama collection. By positioning the famous Folios as budding moments in the tautological development of the English printed drama in collection, critics have overlooked the Folios’ indebtedness to earlier collected forms and regarded the volumes as paradigms for how collections materialized and signified in the period.<sup>1</sup> In the previous four chapters of this dissertation, I have demonstrated that not only were dramatic texts presented in collections before 1616, but also that collections—such as *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), *All Such Treatises* (1570), and the Paul’s Boys’ quartos (1591-2) — were produced over time, through different material processes, by a variety of agents, and according to different principles of collection. Collected editions that unified plays by genre and pedagogical aims, nonce collections that presented prose tracts and a play as argumentative treatises, and serial collections that commemorated a theatrical company and its queen were the material forms and principles that introduced many early modern readers to the assortment of printed drama in the period. Not only were these collected forms constructed chronologically before the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios; they were also “before” Jonson and Shakespeare (perhaps even treated as paradigms of drama in collection) as these playwrights composed their texts for London stages and as agents shaped collections in their honor. These agents, including readers, editors, publishers, printers, and booksellers, were likewise educated by the multiplicity of forms available for compiling

---

<sup>1</sup> See Andrew Nash “Introduction: The Culture of Collected Editions,” 3; Ian Donaldson, “Collecting Ben Jonson,” 2; John W. Velz, “From Authorization to Authorship, Orality to Literature,” 204; Peter Thomson, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Theatre*, 194.

dramatic texts. But, whether or not these directly influenced Jonson and Shakespeare's approaches to reading and writing drama, the forms were inscribed on the volumes that gathered each of the playwrights' works in print in 1616 and 1623 respectively.

A scholarly investment in the novelty of Jonson's *Works* and Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* has often caused us to overlook the rich lineage of the collection. Indeed, the volumes' own prefatory addresses urge readers to look past this genealogy—to disavow the collections' affinities with previously printed editions and their makers so that each folio could be constructed as a shining monument to the Author and his corpus—like the fantasy volume of Seneca's tragedies that dropped from the heavens in its first and only material form: perfect, complete, and whole.<sup>2</sup> In Jonson's *Works*, for instance, John Selden's commendatory poem chastises the stationers who have broken up Jonson's texts among multiple single editions when readers desire “[v]olumen vnum” that would supplant the scattered pieces and serve as a lasting testament to the author's literary acumen: “*novum[que] librum, / Qui nullo sacer haut petatur æno, / Qui nullo sacer exolescat æno, / Qui curis niteat tuis secundis*” (sig. ¶ 4v).<sup>3</sup> By naming the volume “Works” and adorning it with an architectural frontispiece on its title page, agents fashioned the collection so that it could share a shelf with other respected books in folio, a format which was often reserved for scholarly works or texts associated with high culture and

---

<sup>2</sup> Douglas Brooks claims that Jonson “takes even great advantage of this power by using the folio to excise collaborative works such as *Hot Anger Soon Cold*, *Page of Plymouth*, *The Scot's Tragedy*, *Eastward Hoe*, and the *Isle of the Dogs* from his authorial canon.” *From Playhouse*, 121.

<sup>3</sup> The lines translate as “a new book, a sacred one which will not be assailed in any age; will not grow old in any age; it will be a splendid Second Edition.” See D.H. Craig, *Ben Jonson*, 99. John Selden's “Carmen Protrepticon” appears in *The Workes of Benjamin*. Earlier in the poem, Selden writes, “*Sed, tot delicias, minus placebat, / Sparsis distraherent tot in libellis Cerdoi caculæ. Volumen unum, Quod seri Britonum terant nepotes.*” D.H. Craig translates: “But among so many pleasures, one thing is not pleasing the fact that the book-binders board has separated them among so many volumes. I wanted one volume, which future generations of Englishmen would read and reread.” Selden's poem seems to have been written before 1616, for he indicates that he hopes a single volume will one day be published. Herford and Simpson speculate that the poem was written for Jonson's revised play *Every Man in His Humor* in the folio, but there is very little evidence to support their assertion. See C.H. Herford, P. Simpson, and E. Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 9:45.

heavy use, such as bibles, chronicles, law books, and important religious works.<sup>4</sup> In addition to flaunting on the title page the classical figures of comedy, tragedy, tragicomedy, and pastoral on a triumphal arch, agents located the title “Works” in the very center of the portico to highlight that the contents within were not trifles— not just Jonson’s early texts in an expanding and mutable corpus— but the literary labors of a prolific Author whose texts were herein preserved, fixed and frozen in time in the form of an authorial tome.

The agents of Shakespeare’s First Folio (1623) similarly constructed the volume as a tome/tomb in memory of the deceased playwright and his literary works by denying the Folio’s considerable affinity with previous collected forms.<sup>5</sup> John Heminges and Henry Condell, for instance, clarify that the plays in the First Folio are not based on “diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors” but that of “True Originall Copies” set forth by the author himself whose “mind and hand went together” leaving “scarce. . . a blot in his papers” (A2v). While Heminges and Condell do call attention to their function as collecting agents, they downplay this role, claiming “We haue but collected them [Shakespeare’s plays], and done an office to the dead. . . only to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow aliue, as was our Shakespeare” (A2v).<sup>6</sup> Shakespeare’s collected texts are not presented as the products of process and collaboration nor are they deemed malleable works previously subject to agents’ acts of compilation or revision. Instead,

---

<sup>4</sup> See Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 112; Grace Ioppola, “The Transmission of an English Renaissance Play Text,” 163-179. The amount of paper used in a folio typically increased its price, and hence often limited the kinds of readers that were able to purchase the book for their own private use. Jonson’s Folio, for example, is reported to have cost 9 shillings unbound when it was sold in 1616. See Mark Bland, “William Stansby,” 23.

<sup>5</sup> Hence, the multi-authored *Eastward Ho* was excluded from Jonson’s folio and the co-written *Pericles* and *Two Noble Kinsman* from Shakespeare’s volume. Herford and Simpson assert, “*Eastward Ho* has, in strictness, no title to be included, as a whole, in an edition of the works of Jonson.” See *Ben Jonson*, 2: 31. Also see Laurie Maguire, “Composition/decomposition,” 142-3. For the exclusion of *Pericles* and *Two Noble Kinsman*, see David Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book*, 64-5.

<sup>6</sup> Also in their address “To the great Variety of Readers,” Heminges and Condeel claims that they are the ones “who onely gather his works, and giue them to you, to praise him.”

like Shakespeare, his Folio is “not of an age, but for all time!” (A4v). Adorned with the portrait of the bard on its title page, the First Folio was to function as the author’s literary shrine, preserving a gem from the past in a durable, immutable form. As Leonard Digges contends in the preliminaries to the volume, “This Booke, / When Brasse and Marble fade, shall make thee looke / Fresh to all Ages” (A7r).

Nevertheless, while both Folios were marketed to look like fixed, permanent monuments extolling their respective authors, they were both collections in process, shaped by many agents and unified by alternative principles of collection. By analyzing the scenes of collection for the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios, I turn attention here to the context of their earlier collected forms and agents’ visions of each volume as a whole and a compilation of parts. Like the *Tenne Tragedies*, *All Such Treatises*, and the Paul’s Boys’ quartos, the folios of 1616 and 1623 bear the traces of earlier collected forms, agents, and processes that call our attention first to the volumes’ unifying principles other than authorship and second to their fluidity and expandability as texts in an ongoing process of collection and recollection.

I begin in the first section by charting the genealogy of Jonson’s 1616 Folio, which began with two of the author’s earliest printed collections, *His Parte of the King’s Entertainment* (1604) and *Royall Masques* (1608). I demonstrate how agents over time compiled the author’s occasional works into topical and generically unified volumes were open to expansion. The second section shows that in the 1616 Folio, generic categorizations established in earlier collections became a defining feature of the volume as new agents negotiated how to market Jonson’s oeuvre as both complete and diverse, befitting the title of “Works,” while remaining open to expansion in parts, and thus marketable as a book in process. The third part of the chapter turns to the scenes of collection that make up the genealogy of Shakespeare’s First Folio

(1623), including Andrew Wise's and Thomas Pavier's editions of Shakespeare's plays that were serialized on English stages and/or marketed by genre as historical plays. This section illustrates that Shakespeare's authorship was one feature among many that motivated agents to advertise his works as collectable in a variety of forms. The fourth and final section then turns to the 1623 scene of collection and examines how agents negotiated previous generic categorization and serialization (remnants of Wise and Pavier) to create a Folio that could function in parts or as a whole, remaining open to additions and excisions—even the erasure of “Shakespeare” as Author. Ultimately, by exploring how the genealogy of the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios appropriated collected forms from the past, I show how they became collections of the future.

## I

While 1616 is often assumed to be the first time Jonson's works were printed in collection, two quarto volumes of Jonson's occasional drama preceded the Folio: *His Parte of the King's Entertainment* (1604)<sup>7</sup> and *Royall Masques* (1608).<sup>8</sup> Both of these volumes represent pivotal scenes of collection of a single playwright's dramatic works, but they also highlight agents who prior to 1616 compiled and arranged Jonson's texts according to authorship as well as other principles. By tracing how the 1604 and 1608 volumes came into being, I show that these collections are marked by their processes of production and by the agents who sought to 1) unify and organize texts by “kind” and 2) fashion open-ended and malleable archives, attributes which were later appropriated and reformulated in the 1616 Folio.<sup>9</sup>

The first Jonson collection, *His Parte of the King's Entertainment* (1604), was published in quarto by Edward Blount and printed by George Eld and Valentine Simmes to profit from the

---

<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Jonson, *B. Ion: his part of King Iames his royall and magnificent entertainement* (1604, STC 14756).

<sup>8</sup> Jonson, *The characters of two royall masques*. ([1608], STC 14756).

<sup>9</sup> See Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 106-7.

recent pageants and celebrations performed for England's new royal family in 1603 and 1604.<sup>10</sup> With "B. Jon." printed on the first line of the title page (Figure 5.1) and with the book's margins overflowing with Jonson's printed explications of his texts, authorship appears as the primary principle of the collection. Scholars propose that Jonson played a role in designing the volume to serve his own purposes, arguing that it "embodies a bid [for Jonson] to become Poet Laureate,"<sup>11</sup> or assert that *His Parte of the King's Entertainments* was "more a 'Jonson' volume than a coronation book."<sup>12</sup> And although critics have persuasively argued why Jonson made available his dramatic texts for print, their narratives often subordinate Edward Blount's own investment in the volume and overlook his aims for cohering the volume over time by genre and recent performance, two leading principles of the 1604 collection.<sup>13</sup>

When we look closely at Blount's processes of publishing *His Parte of the King's Entertainment*, we see that in addition to authorship, the contents of the collection are linked by kind or genre: all had been royal entry entertainments performed for James I and/or Queen Anne and Prince Henry during the first year of their reign. On March 15, 1604,<sup>14</sup> King James I celebrated his royal entry with his wife and son by progressing through the cities of London and Westminster, hearing celebratory speeches, songs, and pageants at various stops along the way

---

<sup>10</sup> The STC also indicates that "Simmes pr[inted] only 1st A-B; Eld the rest."

<sup>11</sup> See James Knowles, "'Tied to rules of flattery?'" 109. James D. Mardock writes that the volume was "bound together . . . by Jonson's authorship and his growing role as a poet to the royal family." See *Our Scene is London*, 37. Mark Bland writes, "The publication of the *Workes* was also political in the same way that the publication of Daniel's *Works* was political: it was a claim to pre-eminence, a claim to be the poet of his generation." See "William Stansby and the Production," 29.

<sup>12</sup> Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson*, 172. Also rather than coinciding with James I's coronation on July 25, 1603 as had been intended, the city-wide pageants were postponed due to an outbreak of plague.

<sup>13</sup> Bland contends, "all discussions of Jonson's *Workes* have assumed that the initial impetus for publication came not from the trade, but the author. That may be true, but it is by no means evident." See Bland, "William Stansby and the Production," 15.

<sup>14</sup> See Martin Butler on the use of legal dating (rather than calendrical dating) on some of Jonson's title pages, including *His Parte of the King's Entertainment*. The legal system began its new year on March 25; hence, "1603" was recorded as the year of performance on the general title page of the 1604 collection. See "The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology Revisited," 49, 52.

including the locations of seven royal arches constructed for the occasion.<sup>15</sup> The day's entertainments were collaboratively prepared by Benjamin Jonson, Thomas Dekker, and Stephen Harrison, but it was Jonson's part of the royal entry that was first entered by Blount in the Stationers' Register and was then quickly published in quarto with two other entertainments. The title page of the volume precisely lists which events the collection would include and emphasizes their occasional nature. For example, the title page (Figure 5.1) first announces Jonson's "Parte of the King's Entertainment" or more specifically "the first and last of their triumphall archs" and "his speach made to the last presentation, in the Strand." The date of performance, including day of the week—"Thursday the 15. day of March"—appears below the event's description. The *Royal Entry* appears first in the volume and is followed by Jonson's *Pangyere* performed for the king on March 19, 1604 to commemorate his first entrance into Parliament. The general title page for the collection presented *Panegyre* as if it were a continuation of the royal entry festivities for the new king. In the same size roman and italic typeface, the general title announces, "Also, a briefe Panegyre of his Maiesties first and well auspicated entrance to his high Court of Parliament, on Monday, the 19. Of the same Moneth." *Panegyre* was also published with its own divisional title page (Figure 5.2) and was set off from the *Royal Entry* in the collection; however, it was simultaneously presented as closely linked to the *Royal Entry* ceremonies. The phrasing on *Panegyre's* divisional title, for example, mirrors that on the general title page. The title's syntax, "B.I. His Panegyre," derives from the title of the first text, "B. Ion: His Parte of King James his Royal Entertainment." Both title pages also specify the date, including day, month, and year (using legal dating) and display Latin epigraphs by Martial. Blount's decision to have the pages designed as such indicates that the *Royal Entry* and *Panegyre* were to be treated and read as two texts that were related generically and temporally.

---

<sup>15</sup> Malcolm Smuts, "The Whole Royale and Magnificent Entertainment," 219-220.

The addition of a third text, *Entertainment at Althorp*, made *His Parte of the King's Entertainments* a “Royal Entry” volume as much as it was a “Jonson” volume. The *Entertainment at Althorp* was written by Jonson and presented for Queen Anne and Prince Henry on June 25, 1603 when they stopped in the northern English town of Althorp during their travels south from Scotland to join the king in London. James had travelled to London earlier in the summer, so he did not attend the performance. However, like the king’s anticipated royal entry, *Althorp* was an occasional drama consisting of songs and speeches performed for royal figures. The title page for *Althorp* (Figure 5.3) first emphasizes the genre—“Particular Entertainment”—and the royal guests for whom the pageants were performed (Queen Anne and Prince Henry) as “they came first into the Kingdome.” This third work annexed to the *Royal Entry* and *Panegyre* commemorated another important moment in the beginning of James and Anne’s reign in England.

While unified by author, genre, and newsworthy events relating to the ascension of the new royal family, the collection was not a collected edition but a nonce volume—a flexible option for readers interested in their new king. As noted above, *Panegyre* is visually separate from the *Royal Entry* in print because of the divisional title page, but the two works appear to have been issued as one edition;<sup>16</sup> *Panegyre*’s divisional title begins on signature E2r and has signatures (E2r-F1v) continuous with the *Royal Entry* (A-E1v).<sup>17</sup> Some copies even have a blank page after *Panegyre* (sig. F2), indicating that it was the last work in the book and issued with a protective blank final page. The addition of *Althorp* created another partition in the 1604 collection, for *Althorp* had its own title page and was printed separately with its own signatures

---

<sup>16</sup> While W.W. Greg considers that *Panegyre* may have been printed to circulate individually as a souvenir copy, he confirms that the speech appears not to have printed as its own independent edition

<sup>17</sup> Greg, *Bibliography*, 1:318, note 6. W.W. Greg suggests that the *Panegyre* may have been printed to be distributed as a souvenir copy for the March 19<sup>th</sup> festivity.

(A-B) and pagination (1-13).<sup>18</sup> In some extant copies, *Althorp* is further divided from the previous works by two blank pages (sigs. F2 & <sup>2</sup>A1), indicating that it was printed with its own blank cover page and could have even been sold separately from the collection.<sup>19</sup> Likely, Blount decided to make the last-minute addition of *Althorp* because it was an entry entertainment and topically relevant to the others—but not as recent as the *Royal Entry* and *Panegyre*. If readers wanted only the latest performed works for the king and his family, the two-text collection would suffice; but the collection could also easily be expanded by adding *Althorp*, if readers so wished.

Even though *Althorp* was printed separately from the first two works, Blount and agents made efforts to present the three-entertainments as unified in collection, efforts that are inscribed on the volume's pages. First, after advertising the *Royal Entry* and *Panegyre*, the general title page also announces "With Additions." W.W. Greg supposes that this title page was newly printed for the collection after the decision was made to annex *Althorp* to the two-text volume.<sup>20</sup> *Althorp* then was the "addition," and its own title page design was based on the divisional title for *Panegyre*. Both share the same woodcut ornament and fonts. The visual similarities suggest that *Althorp* was to be more than just an appended text, but an integral part of the collection. Second, *Althorp*'s title page announces that it "was written by the same Author," thereby revealing that it too was Jonson's text and designed with the collection in mind. Even more explicit evidence of the collection's uniformity appears within its pages. On the final page of the collection in a note from "the author," Jonson anticipates that readers would question why *Althorp* was annexed to the previous entertainments surrounding James' entry into the city and parliament. He reasons that the Althorp pageant was "not here unnecessarily adioyned, being

---

<sup>18</sup> Additionally, some extant copies have a blank page at the start of the pamphlet (<sup>2</sup>A1) and reveal a blank page (F2) after the *Panegyre*, as if it were the end of one volume and as if the stationer did not first anticipate adding *Althorp* to the collection. See Greg, *Bibliography*, 1:318.

<sup>19</sup> See examples in Greg, *Bibliography*, 1: 317-18, notes 4 &5.

<sup>20</sup> Greg, *Bibliography*, 1: 318, note 5.

performed to the same Queene & Prince; who were no little part of these more labored and Triumphall shewes” (B4r). According to the author then, his labors in writing these works was not the primary reason for joining them together, but it was the presence of Queen Anne and Prince Henry at all three events. Even for Jonson, the monarchial family as audience of occasional performances becomes the centrifugal force of the collection.

The separate printing but careful integration of *Althorp* into the 1604 collection cannot be fully explained, but Blount’s other investments in collections and parts of collections indicate that he was exploiting the recent ascension of James I to sell sets of books concerning the king and his family. In 1603, Blount published Samuel Daniel’s *A panegyrike congratulatory deliuered to the Kings most excellent maiesty at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire* in three different editions.<sup>21</sup> Daniel’s panegyre had been presented to James I in manuscript during the king’s progress to London, and when Blount issued the book in folio, he was offering readers the option of annexing the edition to copies of Daniel’s recently published *Works* (1601).<sup>22</sup> When designing the title page for *A panegyrike congratulatory*, Blount even used the same elaborate frontispiece that was printed on Daniel’s 1601 Folio, so that this single text could be appended to the collected edition and visually integrated as well. In 1604, the publisher also had printed four works by Sir William Alexander, the Scottish poet and courtier to the new king. Blount published Alexander’s *Monarchick Tragedies* (1604) containing two closet dramas, *Darius* and *Croesus*, which were dedicated to James when he took the English throne and a poem, *A Paraenesis to the Prince* (1604), which was addressed to the young Prince Henry.<sup>23</sup> While Blount printed Alexander’s works in individual quartos, they were a proposed collection and

---

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Samuel, *A panegyrike congratulatory* ([1603], STC 6258, 6259, & 6260).

<sup>22</sup> *The Works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented* (1601, STC 6236). Knowles indicates that Jonson’s *Panegyre* was written in response to Daniel’s *A panegyrike congratulatory*. See Knowles, “‘Tied to Rules of Flattery?’” 2:107.

<sup>23</sup> *The monarchick tragedies* (1604, STC 343).

could easily have been gathered into tract volumes or sammelbände.<sup>24</sup> Like Jonson's 1604 entertainments collection, Daniel's and Alexander's texts could be unified by author, respectively, but also like the *His Parte of the King's Entertainments*, their collection and publication was very much a product of their historical moments and their publisher's hope to profit from their topicality, generic unity, and collectability.

The scenes of collection for Jonson's *Royall Masques* (1608) tell a similar story, for like the *His Parte of the King's Entertainments*, the *Masques* were a generically unified collection of recently-performed pageantry for the king and queen of England. Scholars frequently situate the *Masques*, which were heavily annotated with Jonson's marginal notes, as evidence of the author's desire to control the print presentation of his performance texts and to construct the masques as "objects of study and private meditation."<sup>25</sup> But, a genealogy of the collection also shows that the publisher Thomas Thorpe, close friend of Edward Blount, had motivations of his own for issuing the *Masques* as a collection. Thorpe's processes of compilation also reveal his interest in the texts' generic unity and topicality in 1608 and the stationer's own goals for keeping the collection open to expansion.

Each of the three masques compiled in the 1608 volume, *Masque of Blackness*, *Masque of Beauty*, and *Haddington Marriage Masque* had been performed at King James and Queen Anne's court and not without ostentation. *Masque of Blackness*, performed on January 5, 1605, was a sensational event, particularly because of the queen's role in devising and dancing in the

---

<sup>24</sup> Gabriel Heaton cites a sammelbänd containing pamphlets that were published and likely gathered together in 1604 celebrating James I as the new monarch. The volume was recorded in the holdings of the Earl of Macclesfield in Shirburn Castle and contained: Daniel's *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses*, Mulcaster's *Royall Passage of her Majesty*, B. Jon: *His Part of the King's Entertainment*, Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment*, Gilbert Dugdale's *Time Triumphant*, and *The King's Maesties Speech*. See Heaton, *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments*, 267.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Newton writes, "Insisting that his texts are artifacts, as opposed to say song books or play books for future performances or aides memoires for recalling performances past, he offers them, as we all know, as objects of criticism—that is, as objects of study and private meditation." See "Jonson and the (Re-)Invention," 35.

masque with her ladies in blackface.<sup>26</sup> *Blackness* was already three years old when published in *Masques* (1608), but the *Masque of Beauty* was its long-awaited sequel.<sup>27</sup> *Beauty* was also commissioned by Anne and featured her and her ladies as masquers for the performance on January 10, 1608. Another masque followed one month later on February 9<sup>th</sup>, which celebrated the marriage of Viscount Haddington to his bride, Elizabeth Ratcliffe. Both James and Anne were present, and this performance received its fair share of attention at court, securing praise afterwards for its architectural designs, scenic feats, and allegorical significance.<sup>28</sup> Both *Beauty* and *Haddington* had just been performed in the newly renovated Whitehall, which had been torn down in 1607 by James' order and rebuilt for the Christmas season of 1608. *Beauty* and *Haddington* were the first works performed in the new space.<sup>29</sup>

In print, Jonson's *Masques* (1608) provided an opportunity for readers to satisfy their curiosities about three much-talked-about performances at the royal court. Lauren Shohet writes that in the early-seventeenth century, "Masque texts . . . were among the information reported throughout the networks of interested readers who consumed the court gossip, political information, and opinions that in the Stuart era were just taking the form we might recognize as 'news.'"<sup>30</sup> In addition to the scripts, the texts described costumes, jewels, scenery, machines, and performers. Each of the masque texts included a list of the masquers, and when appropriate, their corresponding parts in the show. For *Blackness* and *Beauty*, the names of the dancers were a "who's-who" of Queen Anne's privy chamber including the Countesses of Bedford and Derby, among other favorites of the queen.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, in Thorpe's collection, "Whitehall" was

---

<sup>26</sup> Rosalind Miles, *Ben Jonson*, 92-4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 112-113.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 114-115.

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, 164.

<sup>30</sup> Lauren Shohet, "The Masque in/as Print," 179.

<sup>31</sup> For the list of ladies in Anne's chambers and those in her masques, see John Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England*, 41- 49.

advertised on the main title page, another element that located these entertainments in recent time and would have appealed to readers seeking any details about the new construction.

Like *His Parte of the King's Entertainments* (1604), the *Masques* bears the traces of agents bringing together a set of related texts of occasional performances for not only the king but also and more importantly for Queen Anne. Thorpe entered the work on April 21, 1608, just a few months after *Beauty* and *Haddington* had been performed.<sup>32</sup> The publisher hired George Eld, one of the printers for the 1604 entertainments volume, to print the three-part collection in quarto. The general title page, however, only announces the titles and dates of *Blackness* and *Beauty* (Figure 5.4). It seems that when the collection first went to press, the agents planned for a collection unified by genre and Anne's involvement. As we can see from the emphasis on her name on the general title page, it was Anne's participation in and preparation of the masques that established *Blackness* and *Beauty* as a unified pair. After the general title page, readers would have turned the page to see a new joint title that again referred to the works as "The Queene's Masques." On their head-titles, the "Masque of Blackness" was called "The first" while the "Masque of Beauty" was labeled "The second." As in Seneca's tragedies, the *Masques* used ordinal numbering for these first two works, indicating their sequence in the volume but also their chronology of performance.

At some point in the printing process, Thorpe and his agents decided to add another masque to the collection, an addition that disrupted the neat pairing of "Queenes Masques," but reinforced that the volume was designed to appeal to curious readers in 1608 as a topical masques collection. The *Haddington Masque*, the most recently performed work, was printed with its own divisional title page (Figure 5.5), which, like many general title pages—including

---

<sup>32</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 3: 375. When Thorpe entered the *Masques* collection in the Stationers' Register, the entrance states "The. Characters of Twooy Royall Maskes. Invented by Ben. Johnson."

that for *His Parte of the King's Entertainments*— displays a small woodcut decoration and Latin epigram. The *Haddington* title page makes its primary purpose clear; it is “The Description of the Masque,” and like the general title page, it too recorded its date of performance: “Shove-Tuesday at Night. 1608.” While *Haddington* could have been produced as its own separate edition, this is unlikely. Its signatures are continuous with *Blackness* and *Beauty*, and the work begins mid-quire on E2v. Still, the traces of its annexation to *Blackness and Beauty* are apparent; the masque lacks running headers, which had been printed throughout the previous two masques, reinforcing that they were “The Queenes Masques” and, in effect, clarifying that *Haddington* did not fall into the same category. Nevertheless, by adding the most recently performed masque to the volume, Thorpe could advertise the volume’s contents as particularly newsworthy in 1608.

*Haddington* was likely included in the volume because of its timeliness in the spring of 1608, but by presenting the text as an appendage to *Blackness and Beauty*, Thorpe also invited further masque additions, which he would have been able to sell to readers. In 1606, Thorpe published Jonson’s masque, *Hymenaei* (Figure 5.6), in quarto and apparently used its title page as a model when designing the divisional title page for *Haddington* two years later (Figure 5.5).<sup>33</sup> The similarities in layout and font between the two marriage masques’ titles imply that Thorpe treated the works as a kind of set; both were written by Jonson and celebrated important marriages at James and Anne’s court. Jonson’s *Haddington Masque* even directs readers to consult *Hymenaei* in a marginal note. When the character Hymen is introduced in *Haddington*, Jonson cites the previously performed masque: “Here *Hymen*, the god of *marriage*, entred; and was so induc’d here, as you haue him describ’d in my *Hymenaei*” (F3v).<sup>34</sup> Thorpe might have

---

<sup>33</sup> Jonson, *Hymenaei* (1606, STC 14774).

<sup>34</sup> For those at court who saw or heard about Jonson’s previous marriage masque, the note would make immediate sense, but for other readers, they would have to consult Jonson’s *Hymenaei*, which also had been published by Thorpe. In the first, the character of Venus seeks her son Cupid and comments that “For here (as I am

even stitched *Hymenaei* to the *Masques* to create a four-part commemorative compilation of Jonson's court masques from 1605 to 1608 or perhaps just *Hymenaei* and *Haddington* were marketed as a pair. Clearly, Jonson anticipated writing more dramatic works for his royal patrons, and the 1608 collection may have been designed as a flexible archive so that later printed masques could also be appended to the volume, a feature that will be adopted in Jonson's third and most famous printed collection, the *Works* of 1616.

## II

When *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (1616) was printed from William Stansby's press, nine plays, 133 epigrams, fifteen poems, six entertainments, and thirteen masques were joined together under a single title page that announced the author as the overarching principle of the collection (Figure 5.7).<sup>35</sup> Beginning with an elaborately engraved frontispiece, a catalogue of his works, commendatory verses praising his literary talents, and dedications from the author to his friends and patrons preceding each of the first ten texts, the 1616 Folio was carefully constructed as an authorial monument to Ben Jonson—perhaps even by Jonson.<sup>36</sup> While scholars still debate the dramatist's involvement in the printing of his *Works*, evidence suggests that he or another editorial agent corrected proofs of the plays and may have joined Stansby, or others in the

---

told) he late hath beene, / With \* diverse of his brethren, lending light / From their best flames, to guild a glorious night." The marginal note indicates that Venus is "Alluding to the loues in the Queens Masque before" (F1r). If we take this as evidence that the *Masque of Beauty*, which features the Loves, is materially "before" the *Haddington Masque*, then the note indicates a reference to the previous masque in collection. However, as it appears in the Folio, the Queen's masque appeared chronologically "before," which makes sense because *Haddington Masque* was performed just four weeks after the *Masque of Beauty*.

<sup>35</sup> Jonson, *The workes of Beniamin Ionson* (1616, STC 14751). Another general title page on STC 14752 was issued, indicating that volume would be sold by "Rich: Meighen."

<sup>36</sup> Placing Jonson at the scene of not only the composition but also material production has made it difficult to interpret the Folio as anything other than Jonson's collection. As Richard C. Newton reiterates, "Jonson, as our first textual poet, as the (re-)inventor of the book, is, in a way new to English literature, possessed of his text. That is to say, he possesses his text, and he is possessed by them [sic]. He lives in his texts in a way unprecedented because the texts themselves have an unprecedented existence." See "Jonson and the (Re-)Invention, 44.

publishing syndicate, in designing the layout of the volume.<sup>37</sup> Whether or not Jonson was an influential agent in designing and overseeing the 1616 Folio, authorship still remains the primary framework through which most scholars approach the *Works*, and “the author” as a lens still largely shapes the kinds of questions that are asked about the volume. Nonetheless, by analyzing the genealogy of Jonson’s *Works* and focusing on the agents who materially constructed the 1028-page volume, I show that agents integrated previous principles of collection—such as generic unity and expandability—so that the Folio could be marketed as a whole “Works” while simultaneously existing as an open-ended archive of a living author’s corpus.<sup>38</sup>

Contrary to many critical narratives, Jonson’s Folio was not the first English collection to call dramatic texts “Works.” George Gascoigne’s quarto *The Whole Works* (1587) contained four dramatic texts, two of which were stage plays, while Samuel Daniel’s *Works* (1601) and *Certain Small Works* (1607, 1611) contained closet dramas. However, by joining twenty-eight dramatic pieces in one book, Jonson’s Folio far exceeded the numbers in both Gascoigne’s and Daniel’s collections and even in *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies* (1581), which contained the most dramatic

---

<sup>37</sup> Other critics have argued against assertions like this, claiming that they grant far too much authority to Jonson as the maker of his own book and concomitantly the progenitor and executor of his own authorial identity in print. I align myself with Douglas Brooks and others who cites a “critical reluctance to acknowledge the inconsistent and unstable authorial status of Jonson’s folio” and proposes that “textual analysis of the 1616 Workes reveals a significant fissure in the monument to Jonsonian authorship that the folio has come to represent.” Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House*, 107; See also Butler, “Jonson’s Folio and the politics of patronage,” 377+; Richmond Barbour, “Jonson and the Motives of Print,” 499–528. Moreover, whether or not Jonson was involved in the Folio’s production, he was not the only agent invested in the project. The general title page of STC 14752 shows that in addition to William Stansby, Richard Meighen was a publisher/financial investor in the project. John Smethwick, Mathew Law, and perhaps Thomas Thorpe and Walter Burre also owned part of the shares in its production. See David Gants, “Patterns of Paper Use,” 127-53; Bland, “William Stansby,” 1-34.

<sup>38</sup> Without an already established demand for Jonson in print in 1616, it seems that the publishers were taking on a risky project in creating a book. Considering that none of Jonson’s previously printed texts had called for second editions within the decade before the Folio, we might question why a publisher would even take the risk of investing in such a volume. While Jonson’s *Every Man Out His Humour* had gone through three editions in 1600 and the collaboratively written *Eastward Ho* had gone through three in 1605, twelve of Jonson’s previous publications did not call for second editions: *Every Man in His Humor* (1601), *Cynthia’s Revels* (1601), *Poetaster* (1602), *His Parte of the King’s Entertainment* collection (1604), *Sejanus* (1605), *Hymenaei* (1606), *Volpone* (1607), *Royall Masques* collection (1608), *Masque of Queens* (1609), *The Case is Altered* (1609), *Catiline his Conspiracy* (1611), and *The Alchemist* (1612). In sharp contrast are William Shakespeare’s plays, many of which by 1616 had multiple editions, as I will discuss in the next section.

texts in a collected edition prior to 1616. Jonson's Folio was also unique for the amount of professional drama that it gathered into one textual space. But also like Gascoigne's and Daniel's volumes, Jonson's displayed a variety of titles and genres, and this diversity was crucial in a collected Works or *opera*, for it testified to the poet's range of literary talents. As the *OED* sets out, "works" signified "(a person's) writings or compositions as a whole,"<sup>39</sup> and like the classical *operas* of Horace, Virgil, Seneca, Tacitus, Plato, Ovid, and Aristotle, "Works" were imagined to comprise the major writings of an author throughout his or her lifetime.

To create Jonson's *Works* in 1616, the publisher and printer William Stansby and other agents shaping the collection emphasized the range of Jonson's abilities as an author while still providing readers with a unified, organized volume. The Catalogue page shows how agents negotiated the task by grouping texts by genre to highlight diversity in Jonson's oeuvre. Organizing texts by genre was a principle of Jonson's previous two drama collections in 1604 and 1608, and we see a clear continuation of this process in 1616. Immediately following the title page, even before the pages of commendatory verses in Jonson's honor, a Catalogue displays and organizes the volume's contents (Figure 5.8). In a vertical column on the left side of the page, the Catalogue first lists the titles of the nine stage plays and groups them together in the volume: *Every Man in His Humour*, *Every Man Out of His Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, *Poetaster*, *Sejanus His Fall*, *Volpone*, *Epicene*, *The Alchemist*, *Catiline His Conspiracy*. Each of these works is assigned a dedicatee whose name appears to the right of each title, forming a separate vertical column of personal names and institutions on the right side of the page. By gathering Jonson's stage plays together in the volume, but then listing each play by title and dedicatee on the Catalogue, agents emphasized the diversity of audiences for whom he wrote, including Mr. Camden, the Inns of Court, the Court, Mr. Richard Martin, Lord Esme Aubigny, the Universities

---

<sup>39</sup> "Works. n." *Oxford English Dictionary*.

of Cambridge and Oxford, Sir Francis Stuart, Lady Mary Wroth, and the Earl of Pembroke.<sup>40</sup>

The remaining texts on the Catalogue were also grouped by genre. Listed below the stage plays on the Catalogue is the *Epigrammes*, a title which delineated a break from the previous dramatic texts, although it shared a dedicatee with *Catiline*. *The Forest* follows the *Epigrammes* in the volume, and together the two works form their own kind of poetry grouping, which is sandwiched between the stage plays and the occasional drama. After *The Forest*, which is listed first in a third column on the Catalogue, another four content items appear, each of which represents different kinds or genres of occasional drama: *Entertaynements*, *Panegyre*, *Masques*, and *Barriers*. These items are offset from the previous ten titles as they are centered on the page and have no corresponding dedicatees. Ultimately, the result was that the Folio appeared from its Catalogue page to present a vast array of stage plays, poetry, and occasional dramas—in that order.

Even though it was presented as a list of the volume's works, the Catalogue is not a simple map of the contents but a one-page advertisement of the multiple kinds of genres that readers would find in the collection. First, the nine plays and the *Epigrammes* (running from page 1 to 818) comprise eighty-percent of the 1028-page volume, but on the Catalogue, their titles only take up a little more than half of the page. The bottom half of the page is dedicated to listing the title of a collection of poems (*The Forest*) and four dramatic genres (*Entertaynements*, *Panegyre*, *Masques*, and *Barriers*). While the works after the *Epigrammes* may seem to some

---

<sup>40</sup> In "Jonson's Folio and the Politics of Patronage," Butler also makes a similar argument about the *Epigrammes* and the Folio as a whole. He emphasizes that "though the Folio makes Jonson's genius seem monumental and self-contained, it cannot in fact decisively extricate itself from the politics of patronage relationships in 1616. For all that the book seizes on the power of print to authorize its producer, it remains implicitly embedded in that patronage economy which its publication appears to transcend." Also see Barbour "Jonson and the Motives of Print," 517. Barbour writes, "The Folio's Catalogue page . . . illuminates my claim that the Jonsonian text-in-print, for all its stability and self-containment, nevertheless valorizes, and exploits, worldly social relations and their discursive engagements."

critics to be more of an “appendix” than an integral part of Jonson’s oeuvre,<sup>41</sup> a volume of nine professional plays and epigrams was not enough to make for a diverse display of “Works.” To advertise the array of literary genres on the Catalogue page, the occasional drama had to be included. Even if it only took up 197 pages (819 to 1015), it contributed significantly to the number of different titles in the collection and diversity of kinds of performances and audiences for which Jonson wrote. Indeed, the center column of titles on the Catalogue page seems precisely designed to highlight this variety of genres. *The Forest*, in name alone, announces its mixed nature. Compiled within this section are a variety of poetic forms, from the country house poem to odes and epodes. *The Entertainments* contains six royal shows while the *Masques* consists of thirteen different masques performed at court.

Furthermore, the emphasis on the variety of kinds of drama trumped spatial accuracy in the Catalogue’s design. If readers searched within the volume for *Panegyre* and *Barriers* according to the ordering of texts on the Catalogue, they would have come up short. *Panegyre* did not follow the *Entertainments* section, as suggested on the Catalogue, but was positioned as the second “entertainment” of six. Similarly, the *Barriers* were not gathered together at the end of the collection as a generic grouping, as implied by the Catalogue. Rather, one can find barriers in two masques, some in *Hymenaei*, the third masque in the group, and more in *Prince Henry’s Barriers*, the sixth “masque” of thirteen. To remove *Panegyre* and the *Barriers* as genres from the Catalogue, subsuming them into the *Entertainments* and *Masques* groupings respectively, may have been a better representation of the order of the contents in the actual collection; but the

---

<sup>41</sup> Bibliographers have even noted that when the Folio was in press, the “Entertainments and Masques, constitute the portion of the Folio that received the least attention by Jonson and by the printer’s men as well.” See James A. Riddell, “Ben Jonson’s Folio of 1616,” 155. Also see Bland, “William Stansby and the Production of The Workes,” 19. As noted above, the titles of *The Forest*, *Entertainments*, *Panegyre*, *Masques*, and *Barriers* are divided from the other texts on the Catalogue page both because they are centered in their own column and lacking dedicatees.

Folio's Catalogue, lacking corresponding page numbers for each listed title, was designed not as a map of the volume's contents but more as an advertisement of the many literary forms contained within the book's pages and constituting the author's life works.

When arranging the contents of the *Works*, agents also constructed chronologies of Jonson's labors as a dramatist by dating and sequencing texts within generic categories. In doing so, agents further organized the texts within each genre while also emphasizing Jonson's growth as a dramatist who was writing a diversity of texts. A brief perusal of the contents of the 1616 Folio would lead readers to believe that the dramatic texts within each genre were ordered by chronology of first performance. For the nine stage plays, agents advertised a year of performance on divisional title pages and then chronologically organized the texts based on those assigned dates: *Every Man in His Humor* in 1598, *Every Man Out of His Humor* in 1599, *Cynthia's Revels* in 1600, *Poetaster* in 1601, *Sejanus* in 1603, *Volpone* in 1605, *Epicene* in 1609, *The Alchemist* in 1610, and *Catiline His Conspiracy* in 1611. Most of the entertainments and masques also were printed with their dates of performance; the *Entertainments* section included texts appearing to have been performed from 1603 to 1607, the *Masques* ordering texts from 1604 to 1615.<sup>42</sup> However, as Martin Butler has shown, the sequence of texts within genre reflects the order of publication more than the order of first performance.<sup>43</sup> Agents arranging the Folio relied upon the dates of publication to order the texts but then portrayed the year of publication as the year of first performance. The stage plays which had been performed by theater companies in repertories were presented in print much like occasional drama, which could be specifically assigned to a single date and time of performance.<sup>44</sup> To distill the sometimes

---

<sup>42</sup> Butler, "The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology Revisited," 52-4.

<sup>43</sup> Butler writes, "The plays are arranged in chronological order of first publication (though with the revised *Every Man In* silently substituted for the original version). "The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology Revisited," 50.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 50.

extensive performance histories of Jonson's nine stage plays, agents used the occasional drama as a model to further cohere the genres and highlight a timeline of performance and Jonson's labors.

However, for the *Entertainments* and *Masques* sections, agents reproduced the order of texts within the 1604 and 1608 collections, inscribing the 1616 Folio with the principles of organization used decades before when Jonson's texts were marketed in relation to the ascension of King James. First, the three entertainments in Blount's 1604 volume were reprinted in the Folio in the exact same order, the *Royal Entry* first, the *Panegyre* second, the *Entertainment at Althorp* third. Just as the 1604 volume granted each occasional entertainment its own divisional or general title page, the Folio assigned just these three entertainments (of six) their own divisional title pages, which visually highlighted these previously collected texts within the genre. According to the Folio's apparent strategy of organizing dramatic works within genres in chronological order of performance, the *Althorp Entertainment*, occurring in June of 1603, should have been placed before the others. Nonetheless, retaining *Althorp's* position as a later addition to the book of spectacles for James I took precedence as Stansby and agents abandoned chronological ordering and instead adopted the arrangement of the texts as they were compiled more than a decade before in 1604.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, just as Blount's volume advertised James' *Royal Entry* as the collection's highlight, Stansby's introduced the text as the highlight of the entire section of "Entertainments" in the Folio and actually represented the royal entry as though it had taken place during James I's coronation in the summer of 1603 (rather than on March 15, 1604). The divisional title page, announcing "Part of the King's Entertainment in Passing to his Coronation," even foregoes displaying a date for the entertainment, which Butler has argued,

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 52.

“demonstrates some discrete tinkering with the past.”<sup>46</sup> Moreover, as Brooks suggest, it reveals an attempt to represent the entertainment as Jonson’s first performed entertainment, aligning Jonson’s beginnings as an occasional dramatist with the commencement of James’ reign.<sup>47</sup>

In the group of “Masques at Court,” chronology of performance again was subordinated to the order of text as previously published in collection; in effect, Queen Anne’s relationship to the genre was highlighted within the Folio’s pages. The three masques published in Thorpe’s 1608 volume were reprinted in the Folio, and *Blackness* and *Beauty* were reprinted together, again labeled the first and second of the “Queene’s Masques.” This arrangement in the “Masques at Court” section of the Jonson Folio interfered with the chronological ordering of masques by performance date. Having been performed in 1606, Jonson’s *Hymenaei* should have been sandwiched between *Blackness* (performed 1605) and *Beauty* (performed 1608), followed by the *Haddington Masque*.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, in 1616, agents left *Blackness* and *Beauty* in the pairing that was established in 1608. Hence, the *Masques* section began by emphasizing the queen’s collaborations with Jonson, but then resumed the chronological ordering thereafter, placing *Hymenaei* next and the *Haddington Masque* after, continuing the chronological sequence for the remaining nine masques.<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting that agents of the Folio joined *Hymenaei* with the texts that previously constituted the 1608 volume, thereby crystallizing in print Thorpe’s proposed collection which would have rendered *Hymenaei* a possible addition to the three-masque edition.

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>47</sup> Brooks, *From Playhouse*, 122.

<sup>48</sup> For more on the masques arrangements, see Butler, “The Riddle of Jonson’s Chronology Revisited,” 52-54.

<sup>49</sup> There is still some debate about the dates of performance of *The Golden Age Restored*. See Butler, “The Riddle of Jonson’s Chronology Revisited,” 53-54; Riddell, “Ben Jonson’s Folio of 1616,” 153; Riddell “The Concluding Pages of the Jonson Folio of 1616,” 147-54; Stephen Orgel, *Ben Jonson*, 41-2.

The divisional titles throughout the *Works* likewise assisted in advertising the multiple genres in Jonson's oeuvre and shaping the generic categories in the volume into unified groups. With fourteen divisional title pages in the Folio, each displaying the date of publication and imprint, the effect was a collection separated into parts that were organized by genre. In some editions, the divisional title pages for the nine commercial plays appeared like the others, creating a consistency and unity among the genre. As one can see in Figure 5.9, the divisional title page for *Every Man in His Humour* begins with the title, followed by dramatic genre, date of performance, playing company, and Jonson's authorial attribution "The Author B.I." centered above a Latin motto (p. 1, sig. A2r). The imprint information appears near the bottom quarter of the page, identifying the place of publication, "London," the stationer or stationers responsible for the publication of the work, "Printed by William Stansby," and ending with the date of publication in Roman numerals. The divisional title page for *Every Man Out of His Humour* follows suit (Figure 5.10). The *Epigrammes* (Figure 5.11) also was similarly presented as a separate genre of texts with its divisional title page as was *Masques at Court* (Figure 5.12), under which appeared the thirteen different masque texts, all of which were introduced with simple head-titles.

The uniformity of design on the divisional title pages created consistency within the collection. The repetition of "The Author B.I." on nearly all divisional titles clearly reiterated Jonson's presence throughout the Folio's pages, and if inserted in the volume as ornaments, they reinforced that these "Works" were a monument of high honor to the poet. The additional paper needed for such pages would have added to the cost of a volume's production, especially for folio volumes, which Stansby was becoming well known for printing by 1616.<sup>50</sup> Prior to Jonson's Folio, Stansby had not used divisional title pages in any of his folio publications, thus

---

<sup>50</sup> J.K. Bracken, "Books from William Stansby's Printing House," 20-26.

the *Works* is unique in this respect and likely reflected an aim to market the volume as an authoritative tome in Jonson's honor.

The divisional title page also fashioned the Folio to appear like a nonce collection, a compilation of separately published parts—like the 1604 volume—and a volume that was fashioned for expansion—like the 1608 volume. While most of the uniformity of the divisional title pages created unity in the Folio, pages were not used consistently for each genre. *The Forest* (Figure 5.13), for example, is introduced with only a head-title. Additionally, divisional titles were used for just three of the entertainments—the *Magnificent Entertainment*, *Panegyre*, *Entertainment at Althorp*—the same three texts that were published in Blount's 1604 collection with their own divisional title pages. Brooks proposes that the sporadic use of divisional titles after the *Epigrammes* affirms critical assumptions that Jonson oversaw only the printing of the nine plays and *Epigrammes*, leaving the rest of the Folio to Stansby and his agents to edit due to time constraints.<sup>51</sup> But whether or not the use of divisional titles reflects Jonson's or Stansby's interference, the effect was a highly partitioned collection—not unlike the nonce collection of 1604.

Indeed, to a reader quickly browsing through Jonson's *Works*, the Folio might have appeared as a nonce collection—a compilation of books published in 1616 under a general title page. The divisional title pages for the 1616 Folio were even designed to appear like any other *general* title page for a book on sale at a seller's stall. If we compare the divisional title page for *Every Man Out of His Humor* (Figure 5.10) or for the *Masques at Court* (Figure 5.12) with the general title page from John Selden's *Titles of Honor* (1614) (Figure 5.14), a folio printed by

---

<sup>51</sup> Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House*, 112-119. Also, see Gants, "Patterns of Paper Use," 134.

Stansby that Jonson surely saw and read, the resemblance is striking.<sup>52</sup> The simplicity of the page absent of woodcut ornaments, the roman capital typeface, even the Latin motto under the author's name—all of these details suggest that the *Works* divisional title pages were modeled upon general title pages issued from Stansby's press—titles issued to introduce and advertise a single book to prospective customers.

However, in some extant editions of the Folio, the consistency in the layout of the divisional title page design vanishes so that the agents who invested in the collection could be recognized for their contributions. Some copies of Jonson's *Works* use a variant divisional title for *Every Man Out of His Humor*, which shows that it was printed by William Stansby “for Smethwick,” and a variant for *Poetaster*, shows that the play was printed by Stansby for “Lownes” (Figure 5.15).<sup>53</sup> Extant editions of the Folio reveal more variant divisional title pages, some framed by elaborate woodcut border compartments (Figure 5.16). For instance, a copy at the British Library uses the standard, unornamented divisional titles for six of the nine plays while using the ornamental frame for *Every Man Out of His Humor*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and *Poetaster*.<sup>54</sup> As critics have proposed, multiple agents were involved in publishing the Jonson Folio, including Richard Meighen, John Smethwick, and Matthew Lownes, all of whom have their names printed on variants of the Folio.<sup>55</sup> Not only were they marking their own rights to parts of the volume, but they were indicating to other booksellers their contribution in the volume—that the Folio could likely be found at their bookstalls as well.

---

<sup>52</sup> John Selden, *Titles of honor by John Selden* ([1614], STC 22177). David S. Berkowitz discusses the friendship between Selden and Jonson, noting that Jonson wrote a verse epistle for *Titles of Honor* that reveals he had read the book. See *John Selden's Formative Years*, 24.

<sup>53</sup> See Greg, *Bibliography*, 3:1072, note 5. Bland, “William Stansby,” 17.

<sup>54</sup> STC 14752. British Library Shelfmark C.39.h.9. See ESTC for other extant copies in library holdings.

<sup>55</sup> See Greg, *Bibliography*, 3:1072, note 5. Bland, “William Stansby,” 17; Gants, “Patterns of Paper Use,” 129.

The variance in stationer's imprint and page ornamentation would have even further created the impression that Jonson's collection was a nonce volume, a gathering of separately published books from 1616 brought together under a general title page. I say the "impression" of a nonce collection because strong evidence indicates that Jonson's Folio was not issued in parts for readers to buy separately and compile together. Jonson's volume was printed with continuous signatures and pagination—making it inconvenient for stationers to issue the book in parts, by text, or by genre.<sup>56</sup> As David Gants has confirmed, the divisional title pages in the *Works* do not correspond with breaks between quires.<sup>57</sup> In this folio in sixes (twelve leaves per quire), most divisional titles are printed within the middle leaves of the quires (2-11). If Stansby had intended to sell titles or sections individually, the divisional titles would have likely been printed on the first leaves in quires. Of course, stationers, binders, and later collectors could have simply cut the folio into pieces and distributed individual plays or parts separately. Some editions now extant in rare book libraries show this fate, but Jonson's Folio's continuous pagination and printing indicate a desire to keep the parts of the volume together, as Selden intimated in his commendatory address, to have a "*Volumen unum, Quod seri Britonum terant nepotes*" (sig. ¶ 4v).

At the same time, however, agents created Jonson's Folio to appear like a nonce collection in order to emphasize that it was an unfinished product in 1616.<sup>58</sup> Like all of the collections analyzed in this dissertation, including the 1604 and 1608 Jonson collections, the Jonson Folio was a process, a volume that could have new parts of Jonson's corpus printed in a

---

<sup>56</sup> This does not mean that the Folio was printed continuously, however. Gants has persuasively shown through analysis of paper stock that different sections of the folio were printed over time, with *Every Man in His Humor*, the first play in the volume, being one of the last items printed. See Gants, "Patterns of Paper Use," 134.

<sup>57</sup> David Gants, e-mail message to author, July 20, 2010.

<sup>58</sup> For more on the Jonson Folio's self-representation as a final monument to the author, see David Weil Baker's "Master of the Monuments," 267-287.

similar format and appended, as was the *Entertainment at Althorp* to the 1604 *His Parte of the King's Entertainment* and perhaps *Hymenaei* to the 1608 *Masques*. Or if the 1616 Folio sold well enough, a second or third volume could be issued with new matter appended, as was the case in 1631 and 1641. If additions were formatted in folio at a later date with separate title pages, the 1616 Folio's use of divisional title pages would have created some consistency among the old and new parts. In fact, readers might already have thought that the process of collecting the individual parts of the *Works* had taken place, for the Folio could have passed for such an assemblage.

This strategy for drama collections was not unprecedented, especially for authors who were still alive and adding to their *opera*. As we saw particularly with Norton's *All Such Treatises*, the separately published tracts under a new general title page urged further collection of pamphlets relating to the topics addressed in the 1570 collection. We see a similar use of divisional title pages encouraging nonce-style compilation in the many literary collections of Samuel Daniel published in the period by Simon Waterson.<sup>59</sup> The 1592 quarto, 1594 sixteenmo, 1595 octavo, and 1598 duodecimo of *Delia and Rosamond Augmented Cleopatra* clearly indicate that the play (*Cleopatra*) was a supplemental text, and the separately dated divisional title for *Cleopatra* confirmed it, even though all three editions were printed with continuous signatures, like Jonson's Folio.<sup>60</sup> Daniel's quarto publication *Poeticall Essays* (1599) was such an expanded collection, which compiled a reissue of the author's *Civil Wars* with a newly dated divisional title page (books 1-5); "Musophilus" with a separate dated title page and signatures; "A letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius" with a separate dated title page and signatures; "The

---

<sup>59</sup> Stephen K. Galbraith, "Spenser's First Folio," 37-39.

<sup>60</sup> STC 6243.3, 6243.4, 6243.5, and 6243.6.

tragedie of Cleopatra" with a separate dated title page and signatures; and "The complaint of Rosamond" without a separate title page but with signatures continuous with "Cleopatra."<sup>61</sup>

Daniel's Folio of *Works* (1601-1602) was designed, however, to appear internally unified, even though it too was produced with separately signed parts.<sup>62</sup> In one sense, Danile's Folio was designed to appear like a "finished" edition, for an elaborate frontispiece was commissioned for the volume, but other publishers surely saw an opportunity to add more onto the collection as more works by the author became available. Particularly for a volume entitled "Works," Daniel's volume urged booksellers and readers alike to "complete" the collection by adding new texts as they became available. As discussed above, Blount issued Daniel's *A panegyrike congratulatory* (1603) in two different folio editions, using the same elaborate frontispiece that was printed on the general title page of Daniel's *Works*. Extant copies show that booksellers and/or readers added on the extra folio book to create a more complete compilation of the author's literary output.<sup>63</sup> That same year, Blount also issued a third edition of Daniel's *A panegyrike congratulatory* (1603) in octavo, which we find bound to Daniel's 1605 edition of *Certaine Small Poems* in a contemporary sammelbänd at the University of Illinois Rare Book and Manuscript Library.<sup>64</sup> The addition and reformulation of Daniel's texts continued until 1623 when *The Whole Workes* was once again published, and the author was no longer alive to continue expanding his oeuvre.<sup>65</sup>

Within the context of genealogies of other collections in the period, we can see how Jonson's 1616 Folio would have signaled to readers that as a living author's "Works" collection,

---

<sup>61</sup> STC 6261.

<sup>62</sup> *The Civil Wars Books 1-6* (A<sup>2</sup> B-O<sup>6</sup> P-T<sup>4</sup>); another set of signatures through *Musophilus, A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius, The Tragedies of Cleopatra, and The Complaint of Rosamond* (A-N<sup>6</sup>); and a third set of signatures through *To Delia* (A-B<sup>6</sup> C<sup>4</sup>). Separate divisional head-titles were printed.

<sup>63</sup> See Oxford University, Bodleian Library, Shelfmarks Arch. G d.47 (2) & Buxton 27 (1).

<sup>64</sup> University of Illinois Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Call Number IUA03639.

<sup>65</sup> STC 6238.

it was amenable to reformulation and annexation. For publishers and booksellers, a “finished” book was a bad investment, for profits could be made by selling revised editions, reissues with additions, or supplements. Moreover, evidence points towards the notion that a second volume was already anticipated when the 1616 Folio was being printed. First, the divisional title page for the *Epigrammes* (Figure 5.11) states that it is “I. Booke,” an anomaly that raises the question of whether Jonson had a second book of epigrams planned.<sup>66</sup> Critics also note that Jonson first intended to include *Bartholomew Fair* but could not for lack of space in the folio, a situation that was remedied in 1631 when *Bartholomew Fayre*, *The Devil is an Asse*, and *The Staple of News* were printed in folio as supplements to Jonson’s 1616 *Works*.<sup>67</sup>

As the agents of the Folio anticipated, Jonson’s authorial corpus grew, and throughout the 1630s and 1640s, agents appropriated open-ended features as they constructed new scenes of collection. In 1631, the three Jonson plays mentioned above were printed in folio so they could be joined to the 1616 *Works* or sold on their own as single editions.<sup>68</sup> Each had its own divisional title page with imprint and date, although continuous signatures and page numbers run through *Bartholomew Fayre* and *The Devil is an Asse*.<sup>69</sup> In 1641, Richard Meighen repackaged the 1631 plays under a newly printed general title page that advertised, “*The Workes of Benjamin Jonson. The second volume. Containing these playes, viz. 1 Bartholomew Fayre. 2 The staple of newes. 3 The Divell is an asse.*”<sup>70</sup> Critics refer to this nonce collection as Volume 2 of Jonson’s *Works*.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Butler, “Jonson’s Folio and the politics of patronage,” 377-390.

<sup>67</sup> Ben Jonson, [Volume 2 containing *Bartholomew Fayre*, *The Devil is an Asse*, and *The Staple of News*] (1631, STC 14753.5). Dutton proposes that *Bartholomew Fair* was excluded from the folio for lack of space while Teague proposes that Jonson intended to rewrite it. See Dutton, *Ben Jonson*, 156-7; Teague, *The Curious History*, 59.

<sup>68</sup> Evidence indicates that the three plays were sold independently and as a set, perhaps even stitched to the 1616 volume. See Greg, *Bibliography*, 3:1077-8.

<sup>69</sup> See Greg, *Bibliography*, 3:1077. In 1640, a second edition of Jonson’s *Works* was published by Richard Bishop, a reprint of the 1616 Folio, so the three plays might just as well have been appended to this 1640 reprint.

<sup>70</sup> Ben Jonson, *The vvorkes of Benjamin Jonson. The second volume. Containing these playes, viz. 1 Bartholomew Fayre. 2 The staple of newes. 3 The Divell is an asse* ([1641], STC 14754).

Also in 1641, a new Jonson Folio (Volume 3) containing all previously unprinted works was published but without a general title page.<sup>72</sup> This third volume contained fourteen masques; two entertainments; five plays, the poem collection *Underwood*; a verse translation, *Horace, his Art of Poetrie*; and two prose pieces, *The English Grammar* and *Timber: or, Discoveries*.<sup>73</sup> The contents of this volume were not all continuously printed and can be found in various arrangements in extant copies. For example, a copy in seventeenth-century binding at the Houghton Library begins with Volume 2 (*Bartholomew Fayre, The staple of newes, and The Diuell is an asse*) and follows with *New Inn, Magnetick Lady, Tale of a tub, Sad Shepherd, Mortimer his fall*, fourteen masques, two entertainments, *Underwood, Horace his Art of Poetrie, The English Grammar, and Timber*.<sup>74</sup> Another copy in contemporary binding contains the following works in this order: *Bartholomew Fayre, The staple of newes, The Diuell is an asse, Masques, Underwood, Mortimer his fall, Horace his art, The English grammar, Timber, The magnetic lady, A tale of a tub, and The sad shepherd*.<sup>75</sup> However, it is interesting to note that within the 1641 compilations, the new masques and the entertainments each retained their own continuously paginated parts and thus remained as coherent generic units. Decades after Blount and Thorpe created generically unified volumes of Jonson's occasional dramas, we find "Entertainments" and "Masques" repurposed again as categorizing principles in editions of Jonson's *Works*. While W.W. Greg warns that "the second and third volumes of Jonson's works, those namely that were first printed or collected between 1631 and 1641, are so complicated that

---

<sup>71</sup> Apparently though, not enough copies of *Devil is an Asse* from 1631 were available, so this play alone was reprinted with a 1641 imprint and inserted in some editions of the three-play *Works* STC 14754a. For more of the printing and publication of volumes 2 and 3 see W.P. William, "Chetwin, Crooke."

<sup>72</sup> STC 14754.

<sup>73</sup> William, "Chetwin, Crooke," 76-96.

<sup>74</sup> Houghton Library, Harvard University, Call Number 4172793. The volume is in seventeenth-century binding and was once in the holdings of the Bridgewater Collection.

<sup>75</sup> Oxford University, Brasenose College Library, Shelfmark *Lath R 3.28*.

no formal treatment can be altogether satisfactory,”<sup>76</sup> within genealogies of collections, the complexities merely demonstrate that the collection is not a compilation of objects brought together to make a whole but instead an ongoing process, an action of collecting and gathering parts together.

### III

The scenes of collection for Shakespeare’s First Folio (1623) chart a similar process. Like Jonson’s volume, the *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* bear the marks of agents who previously gathered, published, and sold the bard’s plays in collection. While most critics identify 1623 as the year when the playwright’s works were first collected, earlier serial collections were issued by Andrew Wise from 1597 to 1600 and by Thomas Pavier in 1619. Like Jonson’s Folio, Shakespeare’s was preceded by and shaped by these pivotal moments of collection that show agents gathering plays by authorship and other principles. By tracing the agents and the processes that brought Shakespeare’s plays together in collected forms, I demonstrate that Wise and Pavier were investing in and marketing Shakespeare’s plays in serial collections based on their serialization in performance, and for Pavier, according also to their kind or genre. A genealogy of the First Folio reveals that the agents who brought the 1623 volume into being reformulated and highlighted the serialized content and generic categories of earlier collections to construct an edition that was neatly divided into three separately paginated sections—comedies, histories, and tragedies— and thus amenable to additions and saleable in parts, with or without Shakespeare’s name as the overriding principle.

Andrew Wise likely invested in plays between 1597 and 1602 for their author, theater venue, and serialized historical content, producing a scene of collection in the process leading to

---

<sup>76</sup> Greg, *Bibliography*, 3: 1074.

the Folio.<sup>77</sup> Wise hired Valentine Simmes to print the first quartos of *Richard II* and *Richard III* in 1597, and he clearly made a nice profit from the investment, for both plays would be reprinted the following year, *Richard II* going through two editions in 1598 and *Richard III* calling for a second edition in 1598 and a third in 1602.<sup>78</sup> Also in 1598, Wise hired Peter Short to print *I Henry IV*, which sold well enough for a second edition within the year and a third in 1599.<sup>79</sup> The “second part” of *Henry IV* (*2 Henry IV*) and *Much Ado About Nothing* were published by both Wise and William Aspley in 1600 and printed by Valentine Simms.<sup>80</sup> In 1598, Wise began to add Shakespeare’s name to the title pages of the plays, so that the second and third editions of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *I Henry IV* announced his authorship as did the first quartos of *2 Henry IV* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. That he found these the plays marketable based on their performance context is also apparent on the title pages. Like Broome’s Paul’s Boys’ plays, the Wise quartos, except for the two editions of *I Henry IV*, advertise the theater company on the title page: “As it hath beene . . . acted by the right Honourable the Lorde Chamberlaine his Seruants.” By the end of 1600 then, readers could visit Wise’s bookstall at the sign of the Angel and buy a number of Shakespeare’s plays performed by the Chamberlain’s Men, and even compile their own quarto collections if they so chose. Sir John Harrington apparently found the quartos amenable to collection, for his booklist from 1610 shows that he had compiled a sammelbänd consisting of thirteen different plays. The seventh, eighth, and ninth texts in the

---

<sup>77</sup> Wise did not publish any other plays during his short six-year career as a London stationer. Lukas Erne and Sonia Massai have argued that it was likely an agent from the Chamberlain’s Men who facilitated the sale of manuscripts to Wise for print. See Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary*, 83-85; Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise*, 100-102.

<sup>78</sup> *Richard II* (1597, STC 22307 & STC 22314; 1598, STC 22308, 22309). *Richard III* (STC 22315, 22316).

<sup>79</sup> *Henry IV* (1599, STC 22279a, 22280, 22281).

<sup>80</sup> *The second part of Henrie the fourth* (1600, STC 22288); *Much adoe about nothing* (1600, STC 22304).

volume were three Wise quartos recorded as “Henry the fourth.I:”, “Henry the fourth: 2,” and “Richard ye. 3<sup>rd</sup>:. tragedie.”<sup>81</sup>

The seriality of the plots in four of the five Wise quartos, later grouped together as “Histories” in the Folio, was an important element of the publisher’s investment and marketing strategy. Rather than larger generic unity, however, Wise emphasized the plays’ particular relationship to one another as parts in a series whose order was based on the sequence of English rulers. Except for *Much Ado About Nothing*, the quartos that Wise published had already been marketed in the theaters as parts of historical cycle plays.<sup>82</sup> Nicholas Greene and Rosalyn Knutson discuss the frequency with which London theater companies played texts with shared subject matter and offshoots of popular characters.<sup>83</sup> Henslowe’s records from the Admiral’s Men show that companies even staged two-part plays like *Tamburlaine I and II* and *Hercules I and II* on consecutive nights.<sup>84</sup> By purchasing the manuscripts for and publishing *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*, *2 Henry IV*, and *Richard III*, Wise could rely upon the pre-established relationship between the plays presented in performances as well as offer readers something that the theaters could not: the chance to experience the sequence in one sitting, to bring the plays together in

---

<sup>81</sup> Harrington might have been referring to either the 1598 (Wise) or 1608 (Law) edition of *1 Henry IV*, and the 1597 (Wise) or 1605 (Law) editions of *Richard III*. His edition of *2 Henry IV* had to be the Wise edition from 1600. Greg, *Bibliography*, 3:1311.

<sup>82</sup> The Pembroke’s Men also produced part-plays that dramatized moments in English chronicle history, starting with *2 Henry VI* and *3 Henry VI* in 1594-5, a series which the Chamberlain’s Men quickly exploited with their sequel *Richard III* (performed 1594-6). The Chamberlain’s Men began another historical cycle of plays with *Richard II* (performed 1595-6) and continued producing its sequels, *1 Henry IV* (performed 1596-7), *2 Henry IV* (performed 1597-8), and *Henry V* (performed 1598-9). See Knutson, *Repertory*, 186-7, 200-201. In *William Shakespeare*, Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor provide different performance years for *2 Henry VI* and *3 Henry VI* (1591-2), *Richard III* (performed 1592-3), *Richard II* (performed 1595), but the plays’ performances in consecutive years is still apparent (111-112, 115).

<sup>83</sup> Nicholas Grene writes that “The principle of sequels and series, the marketing strategy of selling people more of what they liked the first time” became a common practice for London theater companies, especially after the great stage success of Christopher Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine Part I* and *Part II* in 1587-8. Grene estimates that there were over forty-one part-plays in performance before 1616. See *Shakespeare’s Serial History*, 9-10. Roslyn Knutson has shown that a popular play initially written as a stand-alone work quickly became the “first part” or part of a series when newer plays adopted similar topics or revived crowd-pleasing characters; thus, it was successful plays in the London theaters that precipitated series, sequels, or offshoots. See also Knutson, *Playing Companies*, 57, 60. Also, see Knutson, *Repertory*, 74-5.

<sup>84</sup> See Knutson, *Playing Companies*, 60.

both time and space. For instance, a set of *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*, and *2 Henry IV* would have provided three plays addressing two consecutive monarchies, charting the progression of events that led to the downfall of Richard II and the later rise of Henry V as well as introducing characters that would grow and develop across texts. By adding on *Richard III* to the end, Wise could provide readers with four plays similarly focused on English monarchs and their struggles in ruling realms, even if parts of what we call the second tetralogy were missing. For Wise, serial plays were good business decisions, especially when marketing plays in sets was an already established practice in theatrical venues. In a sense, these plays were “pre-collected” for him by the Chamberlain’s Men and in the minds of audiences as he issued the first playbooks in 1597 and 1598.

The Pavier Quartos, a group of nine playbooks attributed to Shakespeare, published by Thomas Pavier and printed by William Jaggard in 1619, also record the significance of serialization and historical plots in bringing together the playwright’s works. Pavier’s serial collection and investment strategies indicate that more than Shakespeare’s authorship was behind the production of the ten-play set in 1619.<sup>85</sup> When the Pavier Quartos first went to press, they were conceived of by their material producers as a single, uniform volume.<sup>86</sup> The quartos that we now call *2 Henry VI*, *3 Henry VI*, and *Pericles* were issued with continuous signatures and published under a joint title, *The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and York. With the Tragical ends of the good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, and King*

---

<sup>85</sup> Ten plays were published nine quartos. *The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and York* was two-play collection, containing versions of *2 Henry VI* and *3 Henry VI* under a general title page and with continuous signatures.

<sup>86</sup> For some of the preliminary work done on the Pavier quartos and the fake title page dates, see Greg, “On Certain False Dates,” 113–131, 381–409; Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 81-107; William Kable, *The Pavier Quartos*; Blayney, ““Compositor B,”” 181–206. For more recent work, see Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*, 106-135; Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary*, 255-258.

*Henrie the sixt. Diuided into two Parts: And newly corrected and enlarged.*<sup>87</sup> As the third text in the quarto collection, *Pericles* was at first not printed with its own divisional title page, but part-way through the printing Pavier apparently decided not to issue the plays as a unified collection, but instead (for one reason or another) found the single playbooks more marketable and thus shaped the remaining quartos as single editions. A divisional title page for *Pericles* was newly printed with an imprint date of 1619.<sup>88</sup> Thereafter, separate signatures and individually dated title pages were used for the remaining seven quartos, which Carter Hailey has argued were simultaneously printed using two different presses in Jaggard's shop in this approximate order: *The Yorkshire Tragedy* (correctly dated 1619), now considered part of the Shakespeare apocrypha; *Merchant of Venice* (falsely dated 1600); *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1619); *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (falsely dated 1600); *King Lear* (falsely dated 1608); *Henry V* (falsely dated 1608); and *Sir John Oldcastle Part I* (falsely dated 1600) also now considered apocryphal.<sup>89</sup> From Pavier and other booksellers, readers could buy the individual plays or bind them together with any other assortment of books. The single editions might also have been stitched and sold together as tract volumes, as Sonia Massai has recently argued was Pavier and Jaggard's aim.<sup>90</sup> Clearly, readers found the tract volume an attractive format, as two period bindings containing these ten plays are located in the Folger Shakespeare Library and Mary

---

<sup>87</sup> *The vvhole contention betveene the tvvo famous houses* ([1619], STC 26101).

<sup>88</sup> *The late, and much admired play, called, Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (1619), STC 26101).

<sup>89</sup> Hailey, "The Shakespearian Pavier Quartos Revisited" 195, note 1. *A Yorkshire tragedie* (1619, STC 22341); *The excellent history of the merchant of Venice* ([1619], STC 22297); *A most pleasant and excellent conceited comedy, of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and the merry vviues of VVindsor* (1619, STC 22300); *A midsommer nights dreame* ([1619], STC 22303); *M. VVilliam Shake-speare, his true chronicle history of the life and death of King Lear* ([i.e. 1619], STC 22293); *The chronicle history of Henry the fift* ([1619], STC 22291); *The first part of the true & honorable history, of the life of Sir Iohn Old-castle* ([1619], STC 18796).

<sup>90</sup> Sonia Massai has proposed that the nine quartos were issued to appear like a volume of old and new plays to whet readers' appetite for the First Folio, for which Issac Jaggard would take a leading role in printing. Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*, 119-121. When A.W. Pollard first noted in 1906 that the same group of nine Shakespeare plays bound together in sammelbände, he conjectured that the plays were "remainders" or left-over stock bundled together for resale once the 1623 First Folio made the 1619 quartos obsolete. See "Shakespeare in the Remainder Market," 528-9.

Couts Burnett Library, and fragments containing Pavier Quartos once previously bound together are also extant.<sup>91</sup>

Although scholars have largely focused on the Pavier Quartos for what they can reveal about dramatic authorship in the early-seventeenth century, a look at the publisher's own investment and publishing strategies reveal that seriality was a central part of his approach to play publication, perhaps even the underlying thread motivating the publisher's investments in these plays in the first place.<sup>92</sup> Evidence from Pavier's publishing history shows that he found part-plays an especially worthy investment. Of the thirteen drama editions he published before 1619, ten were prequels, sequels, or were offshoots from previously performed plays.<sup>93</sup> A number of these serial plays were acquired by Pavier in 1600. On August 11, Pavier entered both "The first pte" and "the second & last pte" of "Sr Iohn Oldcastell lord Cobham."<sup>94</sup> While he refrained from publishing the second part, we can assume that he at least considered the possibility when he issued the first with a title highlighting its serial status: *The first part of the true and honorable historie, of the life of Sir Iohn Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham As it hath been lately acted by the right honorable the Earle of Notingham Lord high Admirall of England his seruants* (1600). A few days later on August 14, Pavier also entered copies of "The historye of Henrye the vth with the battell of Agencourt," "A Spanish Tragedie," having paid for their transfer from William White.<sup>95</sup> Pavier would go on to publish *Henry V* (1602), which followed

---

<sup>91</sup> Folger Shakespeare Library, Call Number STC 26101 copy 3. Mary Coutts Burnett Library, Texas Christian University. For more on the Pavier quartos that were disassembled, see William Jonathan Neidig, "The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619", 146-147; Knight, "Making Shakespeare's Books," 326.

<sup>92</sup> Gerald D. Johnson provides a detailed analysis of Thomas Pavier's publishing patterns throughout his career, but he does not discuss the serial nature of the stationer's plays. See "Thomas Pavier."

<sup>93</sup> The ten editions that were serial plays were *Oldcastle Part I* (1600), *Captain Stuckley* (1605), *Spanish Tragedy* (1602, 1603, 1610), *Henry V* (1602), *Jeronimo Part I* (1605), *The Yorkshire Tragedy* (1608), *If you Know Not Me Part I* (1608, 1610). Those that were apparently not serial plays were *Jack Straw* (1604), *Looking Glass for London and England* (1602), *Fair Maid of Bristow* (1605).

<sup>94</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 3:169.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 3:169.

editions of the two *Henry IV* plays published by Wise and two *Henry VI* plays published by Thomas Millington, the latter two of which Pavier paid to have transferred to himself in April 1602.<sup>96</sup> Pavier also issued Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (1602, 1603, 1610), which motivated the publisher's later edition of *The First Part of Jeronimo* (1605).<sup>97</sup> Moreover, Pavier also was involved in the publication of Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, or The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth Part I* (1608, 1610), which was followed by a quarto sequel in 1606 published and printed by Nathaniel Butter.<sup>98</sup> *The Yorkshire Tragedy* (1608), which was "one of the foure plaies in one" (A2r) as noted on the head-title, was a special type of serial play, having been performed in the theatres as one play in a series of four.<sup>99</sup>

What distinguishes Pavier from other stationers like Andrew Wise who invested in serial plays is that Pavier seemed quite content with publishing just the first parts of series or plays that precipitated offshoots. As mentioned above, Pavier owned the rights to print both *Oldcastle Parts 1 and 2*, but he only had the first part published. Pavier was also seemingly satisfied to have just *Jeronimo Part 1* and *If you know not me Part 1* printed without their second parts. A number of forces in the theater and book trade might have affected his acquisition of manuscripts and rights to print; however, Pavier's decision was likely financially driven. If the stationer was paying to print "first part" plays, he was investing in texts that were "hits" on the London stage—plays that left audiences (and potentially readers too) wanting more. But, as we well know, sequels and offshoots do not always meet expectations. If the subsequent parts in a series

---

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. 3:204.

<sup>97</sup> Thomas Kyde, *Spanish Tragedie* (1602, STC 15089. 15089a)

Anonymous, *The First Part of Ieronimo* (1605, STC 15085). See Erne for complexities of reading Henslowe's diary entries on *The Spanish Tragedy* and its prequels or offshoots in *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy*, 14-15.

<sup>98</sup> *If you know not me, You know no bodie Part I* (STC 13330) was performed by Queen Anne's Men in 1604-5 along with its sequel, *Part II*, and likely in tandem with the Prince's Men's 1604 offshoot/prequel, *When You See Me, You Know Me*. See Knutson, *Repertory*, 169. . Heywood's *The second part of Queene Elizabeths troubles* ([1606], STC 13336.5).

<sup>99</sup> The full head-title states, "All's One, Or, One of the foure Plaies in one, called a *York-shire* Tragedy: as it was plaid by the Kings Maiesties Plaiers."

flopped in the theaters, Pavier may not have bothered with them in print. Completion of a series was less important than acquiring plays with proven success on the stage—and first-part plays or the plays at the source of a series fit the bill.

Therefore, when Pavier issued the nine quartos in 1619, he was making a compilation not only of Shakespeare's plays, but also a compilation of the decade's dramatic works that were successful enough in theatres to become parts of series. We can see that Pavier started the collection project with two of these serialized texts, pairing *2 Henry VI* and *3 Henry VI* together under *The Whole Contention*. Although the two plays had been published by Thomas Millington in separate but matching editions prior to 1619, Pavier's volume was the first time that the two plays had been issued under a joint title and with continuous signatures.<sup>100</sup> Their order followed the chronology of the monarch's reign, and had been performed by Pembroke's Men over the 1590-1591 season to be followed up by *Richard III* (performed 1592-3), which concluded the cycle.<sup>101</sup> Pavier also issued *Henry V*, which had been performed in 1598-99 as part of a series of plays beginning with *Richard II* (performed in 1595), followed by Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* (performed 1597-1598) and *2 Henry IV* (performed 1597-1598).<sup>102</sup> While Pavier only issued one play from this tetralogy (*Henry V*) in the ten-play set, two of his other quartos were offshoots of this cycle and featured a popular character, Falstaff also known as Oldcastle, who was first introduced in the *Henry IV* plays. The full title of *Merry Wives* in Pavier's edition highlighted Falstaff's role: *A Most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedy: of Sir John Falstaffe, and the merry Wives of Windsor*. As James Marino has argued, "the question of 'Falstaff's relationship to 'Oldcastle' should not be limited to a single play . . . part of Oldcastle/Falstaff's theatrical

---

<sup>100</sup> Millington published *The First Part of the Contention* (a variant of *2 Henry VI*) (1594, STC 26099) and *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* (a variant of *3 Henry VI*) (1595, STC 21006).

<sup>101</sup> Wells and Taylor, *William Shakespeare*, 111-112, 115.

<sup>102</sup> Wells and Taylor, *William Shakespeare*, 121, 117, 120.

power is the persistence of his recognized identity from play to play, an identity which presents itself as extratextual to some degree because confined to no single script, nor indeed to any single chronology or genre.”<sup>103</sup> Pavier’s decision then to include *Sir John Oldcastle Part I* in the Pavier collection—and as a Shakespeare play—solidified its connection with *Merry Wives* and *Henry V* as spinoffs of the *Henry IV* plays. With *The Yorkshire Tragedy* also as a play previously performed in parts and published as one of a group of four dramas, more than half of the plays included in Pavier’s set were serial plays.

For Pavier, these part-plays were also explicitly and implicitly historical in nature.<sup>104</sup> Because part-plays commonly were based on historical narratives, we find a number of these plays advertised as “histories” on title pages.<sup>105</sup> *Henry V* is advertised as a “Chronicle History”; *Oldcastle I* is called a “true & honorable history”; *Merchant of Venice* is titled “The Excellent Historie”; *King Lear* is labeled a “True Chronicle History”; and *Pericles* consists of “the true Relation of the whole History, aduentures, and fortunes of the saide Prince.” The remaining four 1619 plays are linked to historical narratives. The two parts of the *Whole Contention* were not advertised as histories on title pages, but their subject matter derives from English chronicles, specifically sources on the War of the Roses or struggles between the “two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke,” as the title sets out. *Merry Wives of Windsor* was clearly labeled a “pleasant and excellent conceited Comedy,” but the list of characters on the title page, including “Sir Iohn Falstaffe”, “Ancient Pistoll”, and “Corporall Nym”, connected the work to history plays whose plots were based on chronicle history, such as *Henry V* and *1 & 2 Henry IV*.

---

<sup>103</sup> James Marino, “William Shakespeare’s *Sir John Olcastle*,” 123-4.

<sup>104</sup> As Ivo Kamp writes, “History could mean a lot of different things in the period: poems, plays, memorials, biographies, narratives of current events, political narratives, annals, chronicles, surveys, antiquarian accounts—all could bear the name of ‘history’ in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.” See “The Writing of History in Shakespeare’s England,” 8.

<sup>105</sup> Andrew Murphy briefly notes that a number of Pavier’s quartos were histories. See *Shakespeare in Print*, 41.

Similarly, the *Yorkshire Tragedy* was not advertised as a history on its title page; however, the play was based on past events, the murders committed by the Englishman Walter Calverley who was executed in August of 1605 for killing his wife and two children. Pavier describes the *Yorkshire Tragedy* as “Not so New as Lamentable and true” on the title page to ensure that readers recognized that the play was not fictionally based. Even *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, one of the most fantastical of Shakespeare’s plays and of those published by Pavier in 1619, dramatized the relationships between figures from classical histories, Theseus and Hyppolyta as well as Pyramus and Thisbe.<sup>106</sup>

Seriality and the genre then conflate as interconnected principles that motivated Pavier’s investment and publication of the nine quartos of 1619. With a variety of principles linking parts of the collection as well as the whole, the Pavier Quartos could appeal to a variety of readers and budgets. By publishing each of the nine quartos with a separate title page, the books could be sold individually or together, so that customers who wanted to purchase only a few plays or perhaps only one at a time could do so. While scholars have been tempted to consider the Pavier Quartos a failed attempt to create a single-author collection of Shakespeare’s plays—even referring to the playbooks as “The False Folio”—Pavier, Jaggard, and other booksellers could have marketed these nine playbooks based on a number of alternative principles of collection.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, the 1623 First Folio shows that the successful marketing of the Pavier Quartos relied on appropriating past principles of serialization, introducing unity through genre and content, and leaving further collecting processes open to readers. As with Jonson’s *Works*, these principles, deployed by several agents, leave their traces on the later Folio collection.

---

<sup>106</sup> I need to thank Alan Farmer for this insight at the 2011 Shakespeare Association of America Seminar on “Shakespeare for Sale,” led by Adam Hooks.

<sup>107</sup> See Paul W. Miller, “The 1619 Pavier Quartos,” 95.

#### IV

When *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1623) was published by William Blount and Isaac Jaggard, thirty-six stage plays attributed to the author were unified in one large folio.<sup>108</sup> From perusing the collection's title page with Martin Doeshout's portrait of Shakespeare, readers would have immediately recognized authorship as a primary principle of the volume (Figure 5.17). Beginning with Jonson's note to the reader, John Heminges and Henry Condell's dedication to William and Philip Herbert and their note "To the great Variety of Readers" in addition to four commendatory verses, the Catalogue, and "Names of the Principall Actors," the First Folio adopted the bibliographical conventions of an authorial monument. Nonetheless, for its publishers William and Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, the other investors in the syndicate, William Aspley and John Smethwick, and the compilers John Heminges and Henry Condell, the First Folio remained a book-in-process, and the volume is inscribed by agents' negotiating when arranging and cohering thirty-six separately performed dramas, some previously printed in quartos, others apparently in different qualities of manuscript, with a range of titles and dramatic genres. As Margreta de Grazia poses, "With such diverse and complex backgrounds, the plays collected by Heminges and Condell needed a strong principle of unification to authorize their enclosure in one massive book."<sup>109</sup> Shakespeare's authorship was just one such principle.

By tracing the processes of collection and the agents who shaped the First Folio, I show that other principles served as alternative strategies for unifying and marketing this large group of stage plays. For Andrew Wise and Thomas Pavier, serialization (and for Pavier also genre) guided their collection and sale of plays attributed to Shakespeare and in a multiplicity of

---

<sup>108</sup> Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies* (1623, STC 22273).

<sup>109</sup> deGrazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim*, 31.

collected forms. When Blount, the Jaggards, and others constructed the First Folio, they adopted and reformulated these principles to divide the plays into three tidy generic categories—comedies, histories, and tragedies. Organizing plays by dramatic genre and then using seriality to arrange the “Histories” allowed agents to 1) construct unity within categories, 2) keep the collection amenable to expansion, and 3) grant readers flexibility in purchasing the whole book or its parts. Inscribed by past collections and its own processes of coming into being, the First Folio emerges as a versatile volume that could function as a vendible product with or without Shakespeare as a unifying principle.

While arranging the plays into three dramatic genres may seem to be the most natural choice for the plays we have come to know as the *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*, the publishers and editors of the volume had a number of options for ordering Shakespeare’s works—options realized in previous English drama collections. For instance, the makers of the Folio might have constructed or even adopted an ordinal sequence for the plays, as had Newton for *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies*, or have numbered the plays within each of the generic categories. The plays could have been arranged to promote a political end, as in Norton’s *All Such Treatises*, or unified by theater company or venue similar to Broome’s collection of five Lyly plays. If the Folio was to serve as a record of Shakespeare’s career in the theaters, his plays could have been placed in chronological order of composition, first performance, or publication, as had Jonson’s plays in 1616. Perhaps the easiest and most convenient option would have been to lump all thirty-six works together without any clear governing principle at all, leaving readers to classify each play’s genre on their own. Even if the makers wanted to advertise that the collection contained plays in three primary generic categories, the plays did not have to be grouped by genre within the volume.

Nonetheless, the First Folio illustrates that agents were committed to establishing the volume's three-part structure. In addition to including the three genres in the collection's title, Jaggard and Blount designed a "Catalogue" page to display the precise arrangement of plays in the volume. Between the commendatory verses of Hugh Holland and Leonard Digges is "A CATALOGVE of the seuerall Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume" (Figure 5.18). The two-columned table presents headings for each of the genres in capital typeface. Visually, there is no slippage or overlap between genres—no plays that might be considered historical tragedies or comical histories. The vertical and horizontal lines on the page represent what Stanley Wells calls a "straight-jacket of three categories."<sup>110</sup> Readers needed to grasp this organizational method before maneuvering through the collection. To locate a specific play, they needed to note not only the page number but also the genre, for each genre was separately paginated. The Comedies appeared with pages running from 1 to 304.<sup>111</sup> The Histories were similarly printed, running from pages 1 to 232, and the Tragedies from page 1 to 399.<sup>112</sup> Thus, every play within the Folio was to be identified as part of a generic grouping.

As with the other collections examined, establishing unity among plays within genres was also a primary strategy in fashioning the Folio. While Pavier created connections between serial plays by naming popular characters and familiar historical plots, the makers of the Folio made efforts to condense titles and erase plot details and supporting characters to create more coherent generic units.<sup>113</sup> Indeed, a comparison of the Folio play titles with their corresponding quarto titles reveals just how much editorial effort went into establishing uniformity among the

---

<sup>110</sup> Wells, "The First Folio," 30.

<sup>111</sup> See Greg's Collation of the First Folio for more on errors in pagination, signatures, and printing. *Bibliography*, 3:1109.

<sup>112</sup> The pages 67 to 100 appear twice in this section. See Greg, *Bibliography*, 3, 1109.

<sup>113</sup> Also see Kastan, "'A Rarity Most Beloved'," 5-7; Jean Howard, "Shakespeare, Geography," 299-322; Benjamin Griffin, *Playing the Past*, 1-21.

plays in each genre. For example, Pavier's 1619 quarto titled *The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreame crueltie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound of his flesh: and the obtayning of Portia by the choyse of three chests* became a "Comedie" in the Folio and simply titled, *The Merchant of Venice*. While Pavier likely used the expanded title for *Merchant* to advertise the play's noteworthy characters and narratives, linking it with previously performed plays like the *Jew of Malta*, the aim in the Folio was to fix the play within its assigned genre. *Merchant* was no longer a single quarto requiring multiple points of intrigue to entice readers. It functioned in the Folio as one of fourteen plays in the Comedies category, and by highlighting "The Merchant" as the figure of note in the simplified title, the play contrasted with the Histories, which only included titles naming kings of England. Likewise, Pavier's quarto title— *A Most pleasant and excellent conceited Comedy, of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and the merry Wiues of Windsor. With the swaggering vaine of Ancient Pistoll, and Corporall Nym*— became simply *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in the Folio. Again, for Pavier, drawing connections between *Merry Wives* and other Falstaff plays in 1619 was part of a strategy to sell multiple plays based on a cross-textual character. But, in the Folio, Falstaff was extricated from the title, so as to suppress the play's associations with the *Henry IV* "History" plays. Hence, the play served not as an offshoot of a historical series, but as another example of Shakespeare's comedic genius, starring not a merchant or gentlemen in Venice or Verona, but the witty "Merry Wives" in Windsor.

To create consistency as well as variety within the category, the titles of the Folio's Histories were also heavily revised from their previous manifestations in quarto. As we can see in the "Catalogue," all of the History plays were assigned the name of an English monarch featured in the play. Wise's quarto title for *The Tragedie of King Richard the third. Containing*

*his treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: the pittifull murder of his innocent Nephewes: his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death* was changed to *The Life and Death of Richard the Third* on the Catalogue.<sup>114</sup> The quarto announcing *The Chronicle History of Henry the fift, with his battell fought at Agin Court in France. Together with ancient Pistoll* became in the Folio, *The Life of King Henry the Fift.*” Condensing titles to focus on English monarchs required that sub-plots and supporting characters went unmentioned, but this process created greater uniformity among the Histories and made the emphasis of each play the king of England and his life and/or death.<sup>115</sup> While Emma Smith has suggested that the Folio’s agents were the first to alter the Histories titles to emphasize their seriality and sequentiality, previous publishers as well as readers had already begun to do so in Stationers’ Register entries and book catalogues.<sup>116</sup> When Wise transferred *Richard III*, *Richard II*, and *I Henry IV* to Matthew Law in 1603, the plays were simply titled “Richard the .3.,” “Richard the 2.,” and “Henry the .4 the first parte.”<sup>117</sup> Likewise, when Pavier acquired the two *Henry VI* plays in 1602, the titles were listed as the “the first and Second parte of Henry the vj<sup>th</sup> ij bookes.”<sup>118</sup> Granted, titles in the Stationers’ Register were often abbreviated, but it seems that by using the monarch’s name for the title, publishers could secure their right to print that work and have it recognized by others in the company. In his own 1610 catalogue of books, Sir John Harrington also abbreviated titles of plays by naming the ruling monarchs for

---

<sup>114</sup> The play’s head-titles, however, retained some enticing details. *Richard III* was called “The Tragedy of Richard the Third: with the Landing of Earle Richmond, and the Battell as Boswroth Field.” *I Henry IV* also had a longer head-title: “The First Part of Henry the Fourth, with the Life and Death of Henry Surnamed Hot-sprre”; *2 Henry VI*’s head title states, “The second Part of Henry the Sixt, with the death of the Good Duke Humphrey.” The head-title for *Henry VIII* states, “The Famous History of the Life of King HENRY the Eight.”

<sup>115</sup> These new titles, like the others in the Folio catalogue,” Emma Smith argues, “focus attention on the monarch as the organizing principle of historical narrative: the titles of the quarto texts suggest, rather as the plays themselves do, that the king must always share top billing with the historical events of his reign and the dramatic effectiveness of rival characters.” See Smith, “Shakespeare Serialized,” 144.

<sup>116</sup> Smith, “Shakespeare Serialized,” 144

<sup>117</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 3:239.

<sup>118</sup> Arber, *Transcripts*, 3:204.

“Henry the fourth. I”, “Henry the fourth: 2” Richard y<sup>e</sup>. 3<sup>rd</sup>:.tragedy.”, “Henry the viiiij”, and “Richard the 2.”<sup>119</sup> Also in Francis Mere’s *Palladis Tamia* (1598), titles were compressed into forms very much like those later used in the Folio. Meres praises Shakespeare’s excellence with Comedy and Tragedy, noting specifically “his *Richard the 2. Richard the 3. Henry the 4. King John*,” among others.<sup>120</sup> Each of the plays Meres mentions were printed in quartos, all with extended titles. Hence, when the makers of the Folio reduced the titles of the Histories, they were adopting an already established practice and one that suited their aims to first condense and in effect, unify the ten-play group.

Further organizing the History plays based on a chronology of monarchs served as another unifying strategy in the Folio, and it also hearkened back to an already ongoing process of collection and serialization. The four plays in Sir William Alexander’s *Monarchick Tragedies* (1616), for instance, were arranged in chronological order by monarch, beginning with the *Tragedy of King Darius* and ending with the *Tragedy of Julius Caesar*. The agents of the Folio did the same for the ten History plays by starting with *King John*, followed by *Richard the second*, *Henry the fourth*, *Henry the Fift*, *Henry the Sixt*, *Richard the Third*, and ending with *Henry the Eight*. To further unify this ordered group, plays with multiple parts such as *Henry IV* and *Henry VI* were presented in a consistent manner on the Catalogue and within the volume. The two *Henry IV* plays were labeled “The First part” and “The Second part” while the three *Henry VI* plays were presented as “The First part”, “The Second part”, “The Third Part.” Only the Histories in the Folio contained plays labeled as “parts,” and the titling clarified that each of the part-plays in the generic grouping belonged to a larger narrative about a single monarch but

---

<sup>119</sup> Greg, *Bibliography*, 3:1311.

<sup>120</sup> Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (1598, STC 17834).

also were part of a larger narrative relating to England's chronicle history, ending with Henry VIII.<sup>121</sup>

While bringing all ten monarch plays and their ordinal parts together into one material volume was the innovation of the First Folio, readers would have been groomed for consuming serialized plays about English kings in ordered parts long before 1623 both in performance and in print. In fact, every previously printed History play in the Folio was a serialized text before 1623. The Histories begin with *The Life and Death of King John*, which was a revised and expanded version of *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, published in two parts in 1591, 1611, and 1622. The second, third, and fourth Histories in the Folio were all previously Wise quartos, now positioned in a chronology that set out *The Life and death of Richard the second*, followed by *The First part of King Henry the Fourth* and *The Second part of K. Henry the fourth*. Next were the serial plays that had been previously issued by Pavier in 1619 although a number of revisions and expansions had been made to the texts. For example, after *Henry the Fift*, a new play was added to the series, *The First part of King Henry the Sixt*, which then transformed Pavier's *Whole Contention* plays into *The Second part of King Hen. the Sixt* and *The Third part of King Henry the Sixt* when revised and reprinted in the Folio. *Richard the third*, as it had for Wise, completed the cycle of plays, although one more text, *The Life of King Henry the Eight*, previously unpublished, would conclude the Histories section in the Folio. Thus, it seems that serial publication by multiple agents significantly influenced the presentation of the ten History

---

<sup>121</sup> In his 1964 work *Shakespeare's History Plays*, E.M. W. Tillyard interpreted the Histories in the Folio as a unified narrative that set forth a providential scheme for England, culminating with the god-appointed reign of Henry VIII and the birth of Elizabeth I. Although it is unlikely that Shakespeare constructed these plays as parts of a larger narrative celebrating the Tudor dynasty, these ten history plays did chart the reigns of seven English kings over a period of three-hundred years, with the middle seven plays covering four consecutive monarchies (Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI).

plays in the First Folio. Wise's and Pavier's interests in part plays and historical plays crystallized in 1623.

The titles of the Tragedies also underwent significant trimming and formatting from their previous manifestation in quartos, so as to appear as a unified group in the Folio. *King Lear* (as titled in the Folio's Catalogue) had been labeled a history play in its quarto manifestation. Likewise, *Hamlet* in its 1603 first quarto was called a "Tragicall Historie" and became "The Tragedie of Hamlet" in the Folio Catalogue. Similarly, *Troilus and Cressida*, which was called a "Historie" on its 1609 quarto, became in the Folio *The Tragedy of Troylus and Cressida*. Because this play was a late addition to the Folio, it does not appear in the Catalogue and thus is not assigned a genre until its actual appearance in the collection. The head-title ensures that readers will not miss the play's genre, for the words "The Tragedie of" appear in large capital letters above the smaller roman regularized typeface, stating "Troylus and Cressida" (Figure 5.19).

Agents used repetition and typographic cues to ensure that these eleven plays did not deviate from their generic assignment. The addition of a generic tag, such as the word "Tragedy," to nearly every title in the grouping, if not on the Catalogue then on the plays' head-titles and running titles, further linked the tragedies visually.<sup>122</sup> Of the eleven tragedies on the Catalogue, three are prefaced with "The Tragedy Of": *Coriolanus*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*. The roman play *Julius Caesar* is awkwardly if not erroneously called *The Life and death of Julius Caesar* on the Catalogue, a detail that is corrected when the play appears in the volume in both head-title and running titles as *The Tragedie of Iulius Caesar*. The remaining five plays are listed in the Catalogue without a generic tag; however, the heading above the eleven plays makes

---

<sup>122</sup> *Titus* was titled "The Lamentable Tragedy of Titus Andronicus", *Hamlet* was titled "The Tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke" (152), and *Othello* was "The Tragedie of Othello, the Moore of Venice".

it quite clear that all are grouped as “Tragedies.” Even more heavy-handed are the head-titles. For ten of the eleven plays, the head-titles begin with “The Tragedie of.” The running titles for these ten plays also contain the word “Tragedie.”<sup>123</sup> Only *Timon of Athens*, as it is called on the Catalogue, lacks the addition of “Tragedie” to its title, instead being named “The Life of Tymon of Athens” on its head-title (Figure 5.20) and simply “Timon of Athens” on running titles. *Timon* was placed in the Folio to fill the space left by *Troilus and Cressida* when the latter was removed during the printing process due to problems acquiring rights to copy, a circumstance which might have resulted in *Timon’s* variant design.<sup>124</sup> W.W. Greg proposes that the uniformity in the running titles, especially those of the tragedies, had more to do with compositors’ methods than aesthetic design: “The running-titles of successive plays were often partly the same—for instance those of the tragedies mostly begin with the words ‘*The Tragedies of*’—and when this was so the compositor left as much as he could of the headline stand.”<sup>125</sup> Perhaps to save time or for the sake of convenience then, the compositors throughout the tragedies simply changed out the latter part of the titles. However, considering the efforts and negotiations agents made in creating consistency with the titles and presentation of plays within each generic grouping, we might reasonably conclude that leaving the Tragedies the most visibly unified of the three genres in the Folio was a carefully executed design choice to serve agents’ larger aims.

Indeed, by structuring the Shakespeare Folio as a collection of three independently unified and separately paginated parts, agents left the collection open to reformulations and expansion at various points in the processes of collection. Charlton Hinman’s work on the order of printing in the Folio shows that the thirty-six plays were not printed consecutively from start

---

<sup>123</sup> The running titles for *Troilus and Cressida* begin with “Tragedy of” but the general tag drops out on page 81.

<sup>124</sup> Blayney, *The First Folio*, 17-18.

<sup>125</sup> Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, 435.

to finish. The first twelve Comedies were printed one after another, but the printer then skipped over *Twelfth Night* and *The Winter's Tale* to begin the Histories section with *King John*.<sup>126</sup>

Hinman proposes that delays in printing *Twelfth Night* and the *Winter's Tale* forced Jaggard to start printing the Histories before he knew just how many quires were needed to complete the Comedies: “it *may* be that the decision to begin the Histories with a new sequence of signatures was made at this juncture—before it was clear just how many more signatures the Comedies would ultimately require (two, if *Twelfth Night* only was to be added; five if *The Winter's Tale* was to be printed as well; but only one leaf, for the still incomplete *All's Well*, if neither of the other two plays could be included).”<sup>127</sup> Hinman admits that any number of circumstances could have influenced the decision to use individual pagination for the Histories and then again with the Tragedies; nevertheless, if we consider the construction of the Folio in relation to nonce collections and tract volumes published or compiled before 1623, we see that the separately signed works issued as parts allowed and invited both publishers and readers to add more texts to the volume. For the printer of the Shakespeare Folio, leaving the Comedies unfinished and starting with the Histories made easy the integration of *Twelfth Night* and *Winter's Tale*.

The three-part structure also made the careful extraction and addition of plays a possibility even after the final plays in the volume were printed. Evidence suggests that even after the Folio was “completed” and being sold to customers, it was still in process. While printing the Tragedies, Blount and Jaggard encountered complications with securing rights to *Troilus and Cressida* from publisher Henry Walley. Even though three pages of *Troilus* had been printed to follow *Romeo and Juliet*, the publishers completely removed the play from the

---

<sup>126</sup> Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading*, 2:504.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* 1:31.

Folio and replaced it with *Timon of Athens*.<sup>128</sup> The printing of the Tragedies then continued, with *Cymbeline* as the last play in the collection. When the Catalogue was printed, *Troilus and Cressida* was not included in the list of Tragedies. In fact, Peter Blayney argues that issues of the First Folio were sold to customers *sans Troilus*.<sup>129</sup> Soon after, *Troilus and Cressida* became available for printing, and agents had to decide whether the play should be appended to the end or inserted into the Folio. Unlike *The Winter's Tale*, which was tacked onto the end of the *Comedies*, *Troilus* was not annexed to the end of the Tragedies because *Cymbeline* was marked as the final play in the volume by the colophon. Rather than bury their record of publication and disrupt the pagination of the Tragedies, agents inserted the play at the least intrusive location: the beginning of the Tragedies. A Prologue page to the play was later added as well, meaning that a number of issues of the Folio were disseminating among customers in 1623: 1) issues without *Troilus*, 2) issues with *Troilus*, and 3) issues with *Troilus* and the Prologue to the play.<sup>130</sup>

And, these only represent a few of the ways the collection may have been encountered by readers throughout the seventeenth century, for the three-part structure made available an array of potential configurations. As discussed above, the Folio consisted of three separately paginated parts, which when stitched together with a general title page and prefatory materials became a collected edition in honor of Shakespeare. For readers who wanted to purchase a bound copy of the thirty-six plays from Blount and Jaggard, the parts comprised a neatly organized volume with commendatory verses, the names of actors, a Catalogue, and plays in three genres. But, just as the three-part structure made convenient the volume's expansion, the structure also invited booksellers and readers to break up or split the book into volumes according to their own

---

<sup>128</sup> See Blayney for detailed explanations of how *Troilus* was removed and then integrated back into the Folio. *The First Folio*, 17-8, 21-24.

<sup>129</sup> Blayney, *The First Folio*, 24.

<sup>130</sup> Blayney discusses reasons for the addition of the Prologue page. See *The First Folio*, 24.

preferences. Like Jonson's Folio, Shakespeare's was printed as a folio in sixes, but unlike Jonson's Folio, the start of each generic group began on its own quire. So, readers would not have found the end of the Comedies within the same quire as the start of the Histories—or have found the Tragedies within the same quire as the Histories. With three separately paginated sections of comedies, histories, and tragedies, each genre of plays could even have functioned as its own self-contained book. Customers then could have purchased the three parts of the Folio over time in installments or perhaps have chosen one grouping of plays over another. Even without a general title page, the Comedies still consisted of fourteen plays and would have resembled the comedy collections by classical authors such as Terence and Plautus. The Tragedies likewise could have served as a collection of Shakespeare's Eleven Tragedies, an enlargement of *Seneca's Tenne*. Large collections of plays in the historical genre were less common, but Pavier's Quartos brought together a number of "Histories" in collection. In fact, Pavier's Quartos might very well have proved the marketability of solely a Histories volume of plays to Blount and Jaggard, initiating the Folio project.

Of course, Shakespeare's authorship provided a principle of the collection that constructed the comedies, histories, and tragedies as parts of a monument through which the bard's plays would be preserved. Still, for the makers of the Folio, using "Shakespeare" as a unifying principle seems to have posed some risks. In his painstaking analysis of *The Printing and Proof-reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, Charlton Hinman explains,

it is perhaps more likely that the different signature-sequences of the Folio were contemplated from the beginning, or at any rate that the eventual use of independent series represents first of all a kind of precautionary *economic* measure; for thus the three major sections of the book could be sold separately—

as parts of other books sometimes were—if it proved that they could not all be sold together (‘all in one [very expensive] volume’) within a reasonable time.”<sup>131</sup>

Like Pavier’s strategy of publishing individual editions of Shakespeare’s plays in 1619 rather than tying up all of his investment in a collected edition of a single author’s plays, the agents of the Folio fashioned the volume with multiple principles of collection, which meant flexibility in marketing, selling, and collecting. Just as “Shakespeare” did not have to serve as the only principle of the nine Pavier Quartos, it also did not have to function as the sole principle of the First Folio, that is, if his authorship failed to appeal to a “great variety of readers.” If Blount and Jaggard were struggling to sell the volume as a whole or in installments, stripping “Shakespeare” from the Folio was as simple as removing a title page and eight leaves at the start of the collection, for his name does not appear on any of the plays, head-titles, or running headers within the book. In fact, a tract volume of the nine Pavier’s Quartos, with Shakespeare’s name on the title pages of each playbook, would have reinforced the bard’s authorship more than the texts of the thirty-six plays.

A “whole” authorial monument was only one way to interpret the Shakespeare First Folio. But this interpretation was apparently appealing to readers. Within nine years, the 1623 Folio sold out and a second edition of *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* was published in 1632. To this second edition were added two more commendatory verses that further bolstered Shakespeare’s reputation as a dramatist *par excellence*. And, in 1664, a Third Folio in honor of Shakespeare was published and seven new plays added to his corpus in a separately printed supplement.<sup>132</sup> The Third Folios that had this supplement annexed to them became nonce collections and reinstated organizational principles used in 1623, adopting

---

<sup>131</sup> Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading*, 1:31.

<sup>132</sup> See Greg, *Bibliography*, 3:1117, note 3. Greg suggests that the supplement was also sold separately.

the three-part structure of comedies, histories, and tragedies. Furthermore, three of the seven plays in the supplement were Pavier Quartos— *Pericles*, *Sir John Oldcastle Part 1*, and *The Yorkshire Tragedy*. As always in processes of collecting, the scene changed and new formulations of Shakespeare in collection were negotiated. A genealogy of the Shakespeare Folio suggests that as long as collections both adopted previous collected forms and remained open to revisions and expansions, this Folio collection would continue to thrive.

And indeed it has. Current editions of Shakespeare’s “Complete Works” demonstrate that the principles of authorship and genre continue to unify and organize plays in the Shakespearean canon. Longman’s *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* edited by David Bevington retains the same three generic categories as the First Folio—comedies, histories, and tragedies—and the plays are grouped in that order, with the “Romances,” following behind. The Norton Shakespeare editions currently offer readers the option of buying the complete works in one volume, or just the “Comedies” or “Histories” or “Tragedies” in separate volumes. Readers in search of just one genre of plays need not purchase the whole; even current publishers recognize that readers want their Shakespeare in a variety of arrangements and material compilations. While Shakespeare’s corpus has grown since 1623, publishers and booksellers still find reason to offer readers some flexibility in their purchase of these centuries-old plays. And, this flexibility has in part guaranteed that Shakespeare and his comedies, histories, and tragedies remain on the bookshelves of a great variety of contemporary readers and continue to be central to the English literary canon.

Agents’ negotiation of principles, precise organization of texts, and inclinations to look to the future of the collection were not limited to the volumes of 1616 or 1623. In fact, genealogies of collections like *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies*, Norton’s *Treatises*, and Lyly’s quartos show that

similar kinds of processes were required to create volumes that would serve a multiplicity of agents' aims. All of the above-mentioned collections were unified by authorship, but they also relied upon a number of other principles of collection. As I have shown in this chapter, the Jonson Folio is inscribed by agents' attempts to unify texts within genres, display a wide authorial oeuvre befitting the title of *Works*, and shape an open-ended compilation of a living author's texts that could be expanded in the future. While the Jonson Folio surely appeared to some as a lasting shrine, evidence simultaneously suggests that others saw the volume as a work(s)-in-process. Likewise, as much as agents set forth the 1623 Shakespeare Folio as a final testament to the bard's theatrical texts in prefatory materials, the book was flexible enough to function in parts. Even if stripped of its authorial apparatus, the First Folio would still have been a finely assembled three-genre volume, bearing the traces of previous collecting based on serial performance and genre and agents' aims to allow readers multiple possibilities in shaping their own collected forms. A genealogy of Jonson's *Works* and Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* together reveal that both Folios were made amenable to the preferences of readers who were accustomed to treating the collection not only as "objects collected or gathered together viewed as a whole" but also and always an "action of collecting or gathering together."

Figure 5.1: Title Page from *Part of King James his Royall and Magnificent* (1604)

B. 70 N:  
HIS PART OF  
*King James his Royall and Magnifi-  
cent Entertainement through his*  
Honorable Cittie of London,  
Thurseday the 15. of  
*March. 1603.*

So much as was presented in the first and last of  
their Triumphall Arch's.

With his speech made to the last Presentation, in the  
*Strand, crected by the inhabitants of the Dutchy,*  
and *Westminster.*

Also, a briefe *Panegyre* of his Maiesties first and well  
*auspicated entrance to his high Court of Parlsamens,*  
on Monday, the 19. of the same  
Moneth.

With other Additions.

Mart. *Quando magis dignos licuit spectare triumphos.*

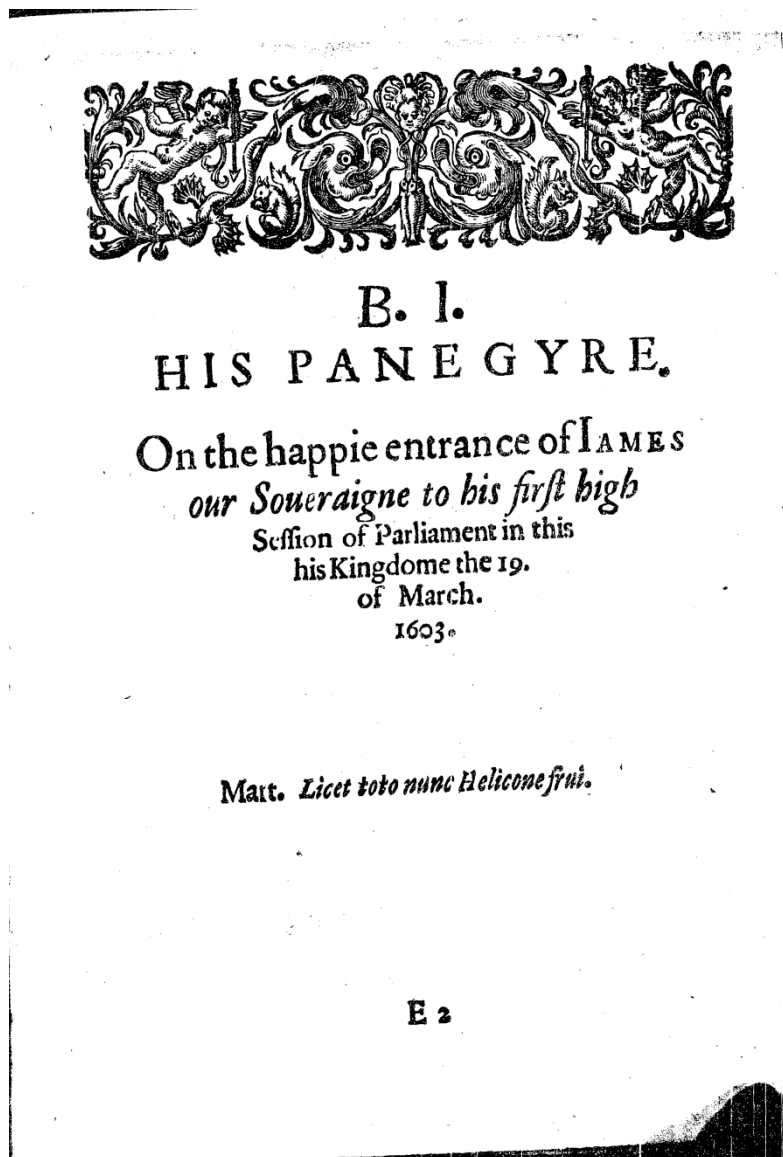


Printed at London by V.S. for  
Edward Blount, 1604.

Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (C.39.d.1)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

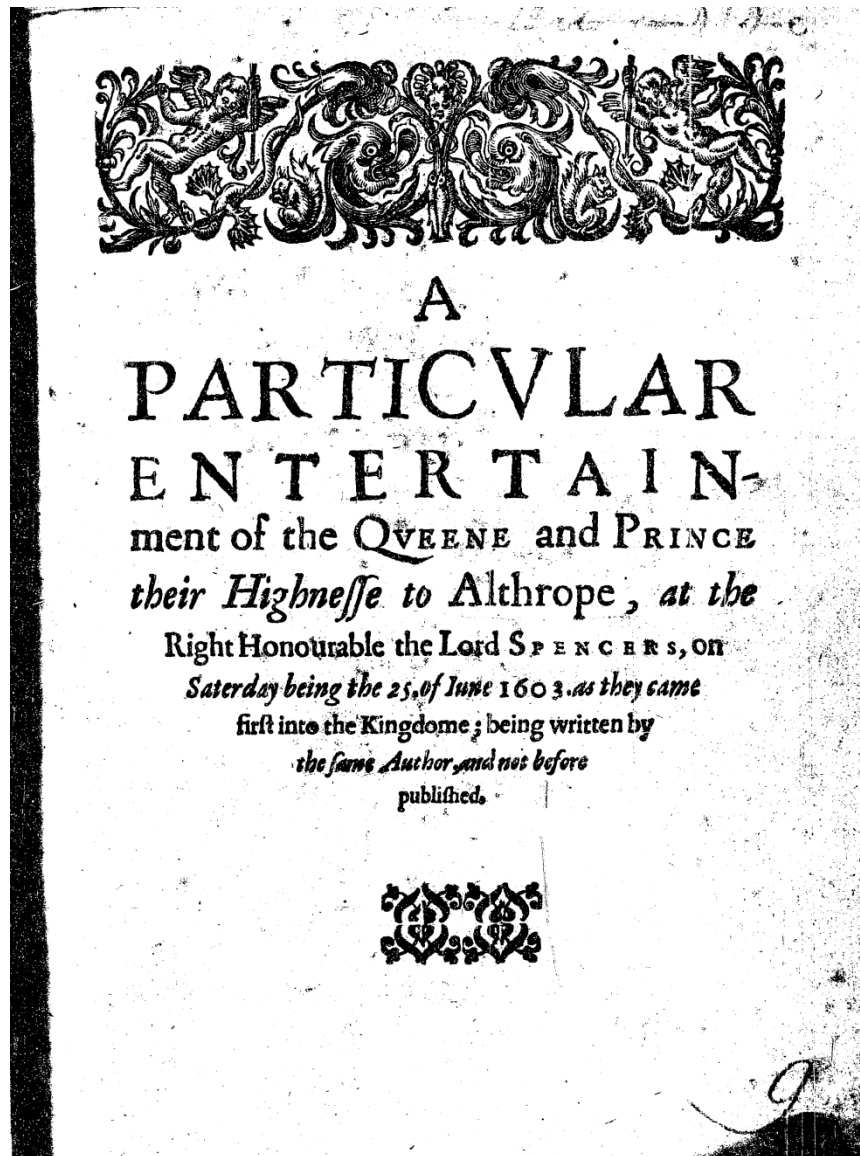
Figure 5.2: Divisional Title Page for *Panegyre* (1604)



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (C.39.d.1)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.3: Title Page for *Althorp* (1604)



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (C.39.d.1)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.4: Title Page for *The Characters of Two Royall Masques*

# THE CHARACTERS

of

Two royall Masques.

The one of BLACKNESSE,

The other of BEAVTIE,

*personated*

By the most magnificent of Queenes

ANNE

Queene of great Britaine, &c.

*With her honorable Ladyes,*

1605. and 1608.

*at White-hall:*

and

Inuented by BEN: IONSON.

Ouid. — *Salus festis dies, melior q̄ reuertere semper.*

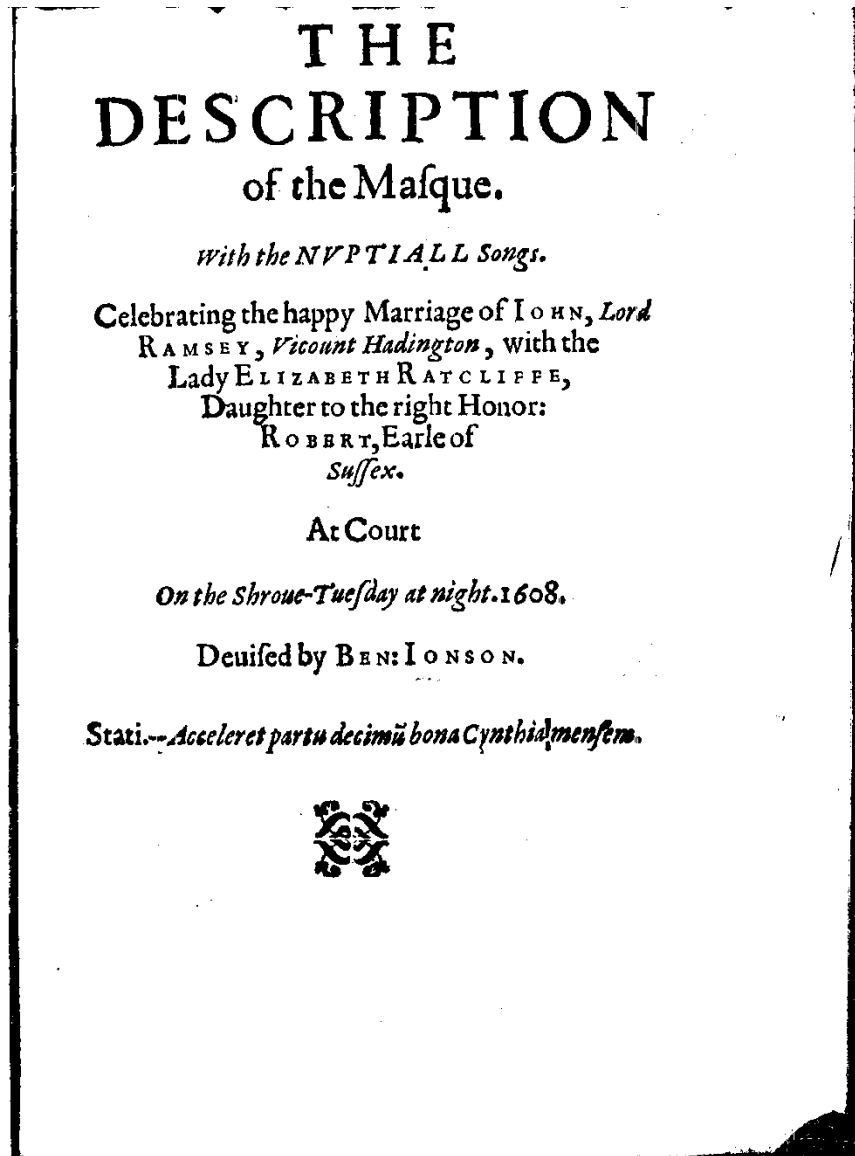
---

Imprinted at London for *Thomas Thorp*, and are to  
be sold at the signe of the **Tigers head**  
in **Paules Church-yard.**

Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (C.34.d.4)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.5: Divisional Title Page for *Haddington Masque*



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (C.34.d.4)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.6: Title Page for *Hymenaei*

# HYMENAEI:

OR

## The Solemnities of

*Masque, and Barriers,*

Magnificently performed on the eleventh,  
and twelfth Nights, from Christmas;

At Court:

To the auspicious celebrating of the Marriage-  
*union*, betweene *Robert*, Earle of *Essex*, and  
the Lady *Frances*, second Daughter to  
the most noble Earle of  
*Suffolke*.

By BEN: IONSON.

*Iam veniet Virgo, iam dicitur Hymeneus.*

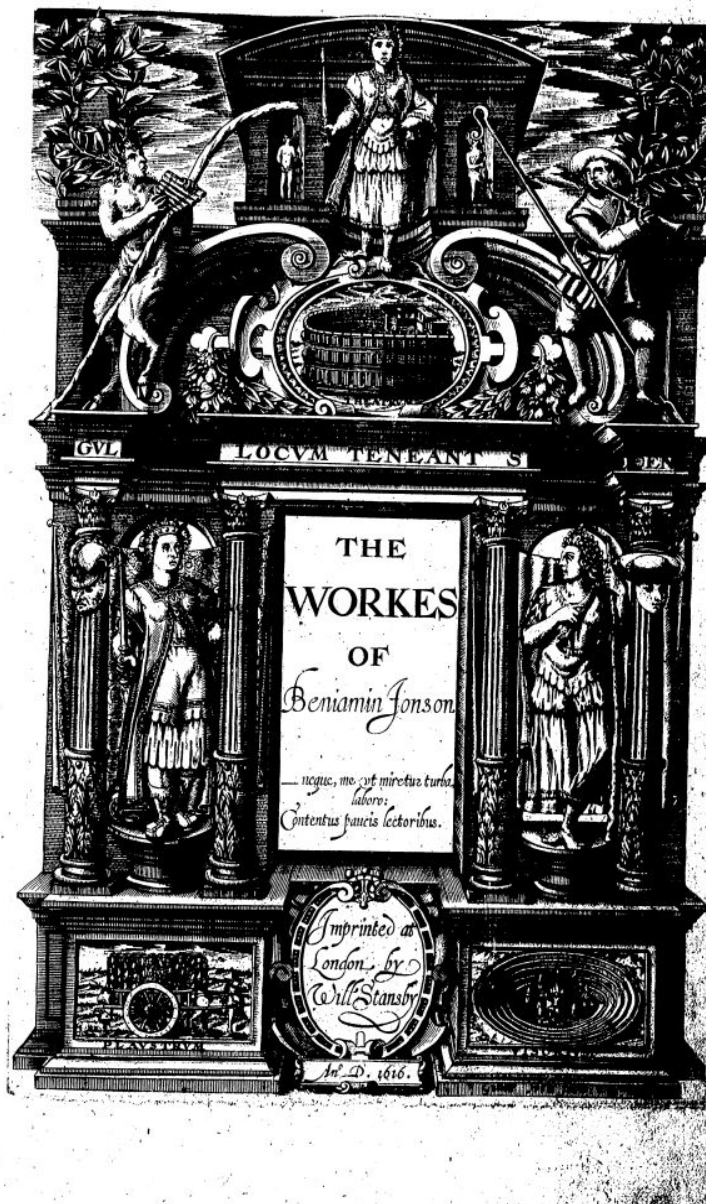


AT LONDON  
Printed by *Valentine Sims* for *Thomas Thorp*.  
1606.

Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (C.34.d.3)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

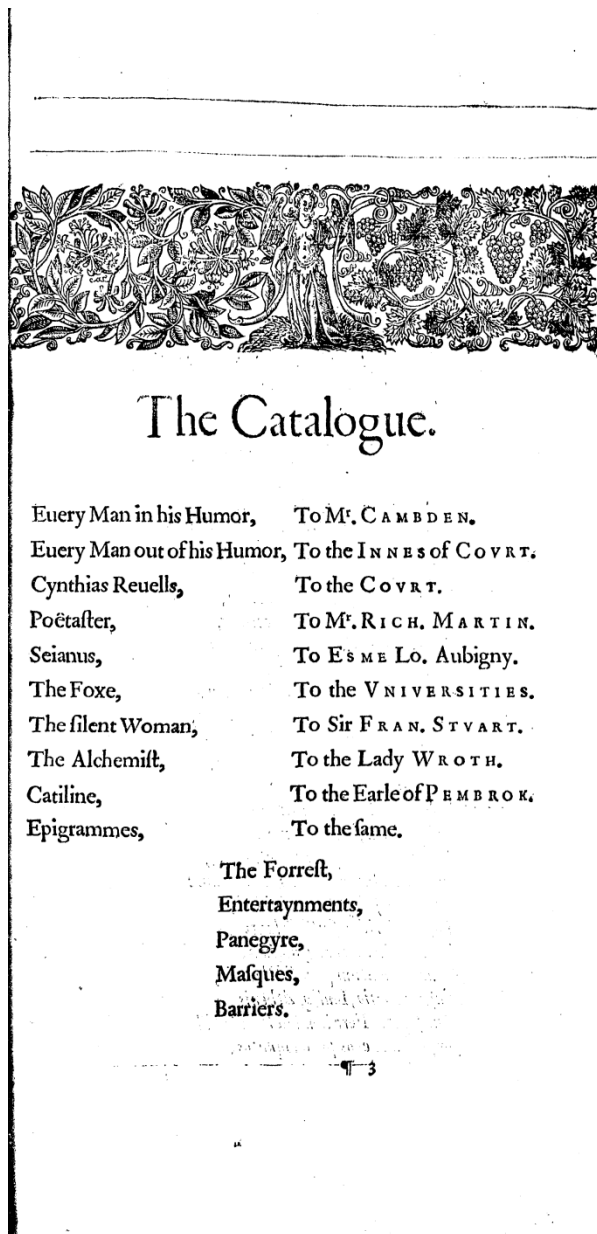
Figure 5.7: Title Page from Jonson's *Works* (1616)



Courtesy of the British Library. (c) British Library Board (G.11630)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

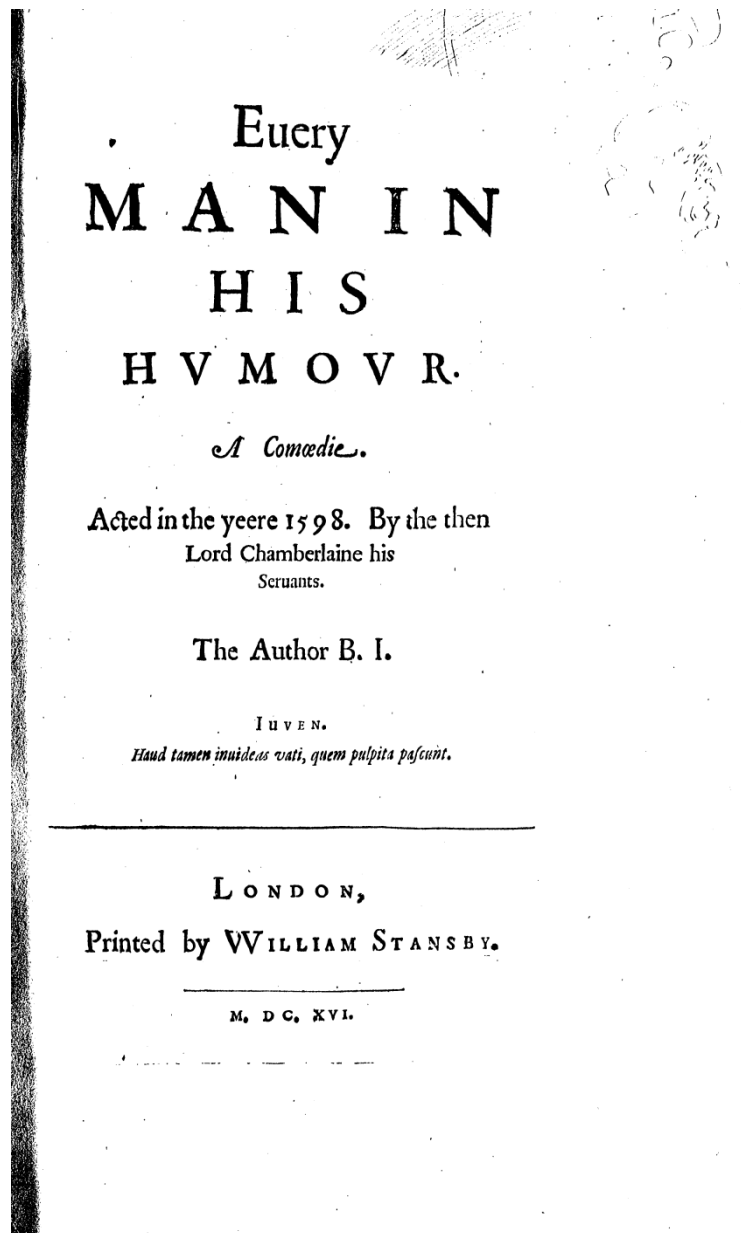
Figure 5.8: Catalogue for Jonson's *Works* (1616)



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (G.11630)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

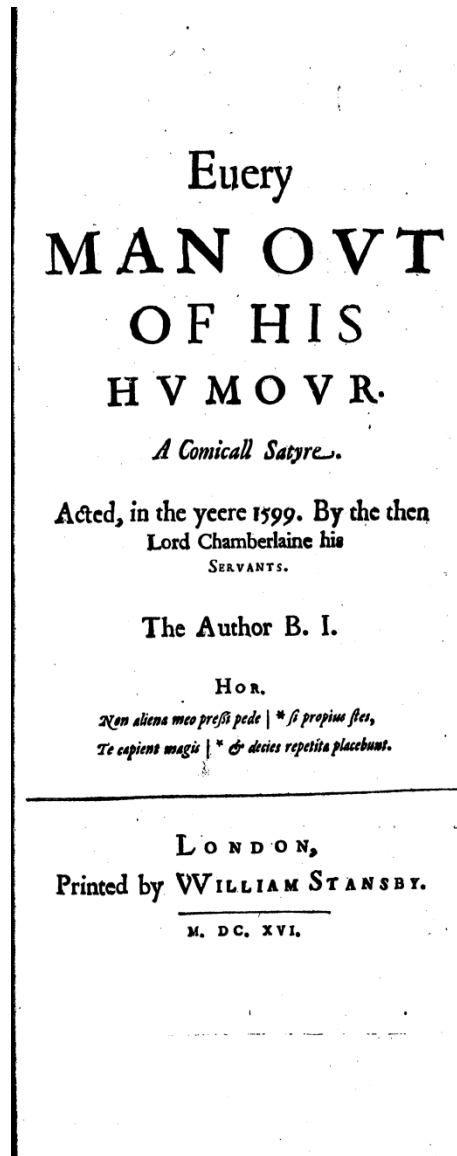
Figure 5.9: Divisional Title Page for *Every Man in His Humour*



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (G.11630)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.10: Divisional Title Page for *Every Man out of His Humour*



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (G.11630)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.11: Divisional Title Page for *Epigrammes*

EPIGRAMMES.

I.

BOOKE.

The Author B. I.

---

L O N D O N,

---

M. DC. XVI.

Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (G.11630)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.12: Divisional Title Page for *Masques*

M A S Q V E S  
A T  
C O U R T.

The Author B. I.

OVID.

*Salve festa dies, meliorq̄, reuertere semper.*

---

L O N D O N,

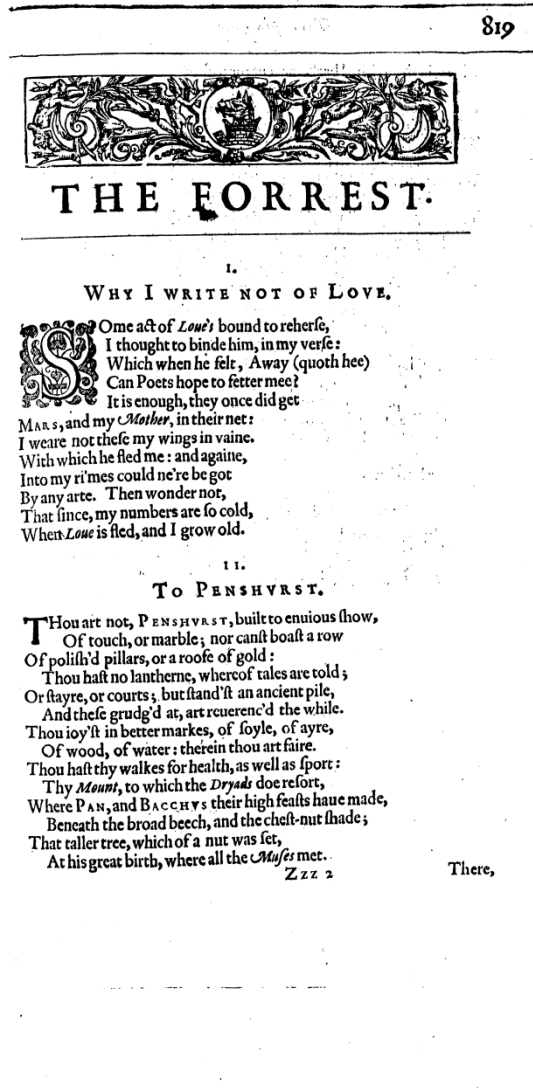
---

M. DC. XVI.

Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (G.11630)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

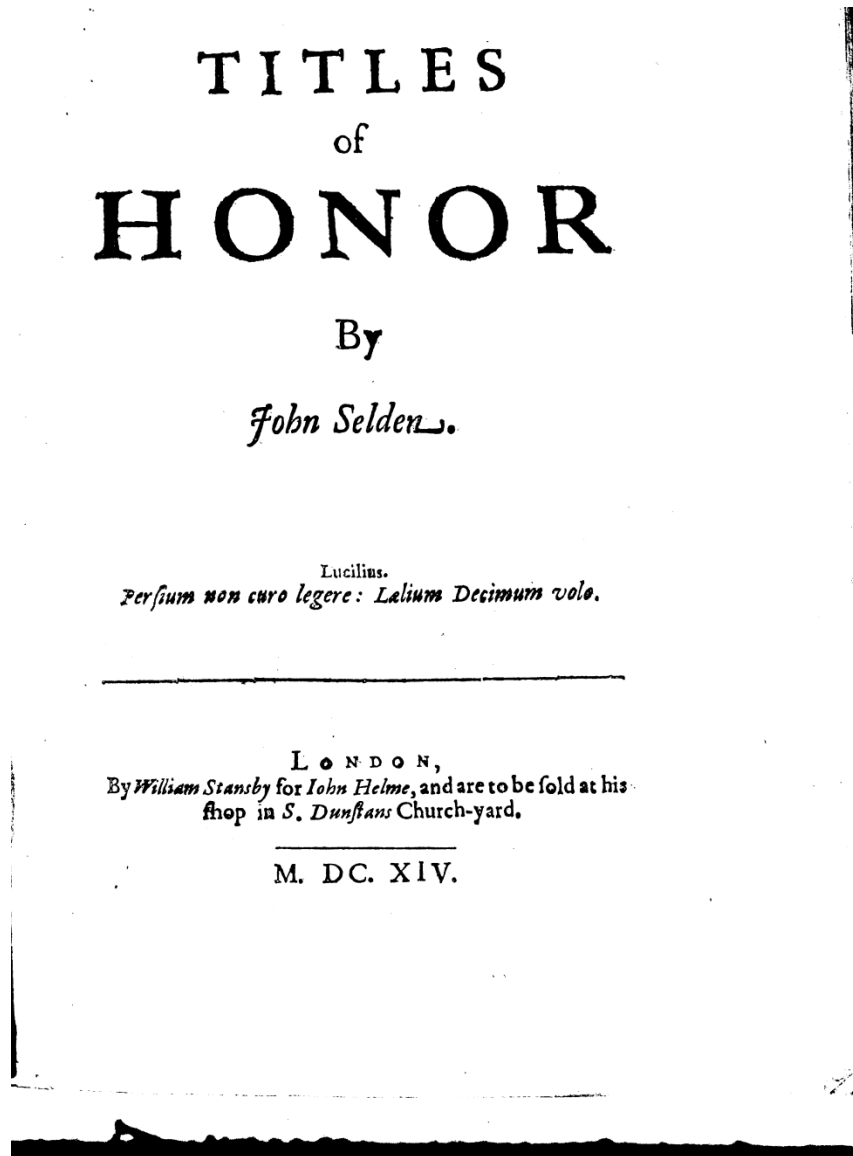
Figure 5.13: Head-Title for *The Forest*



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (G.11630.)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

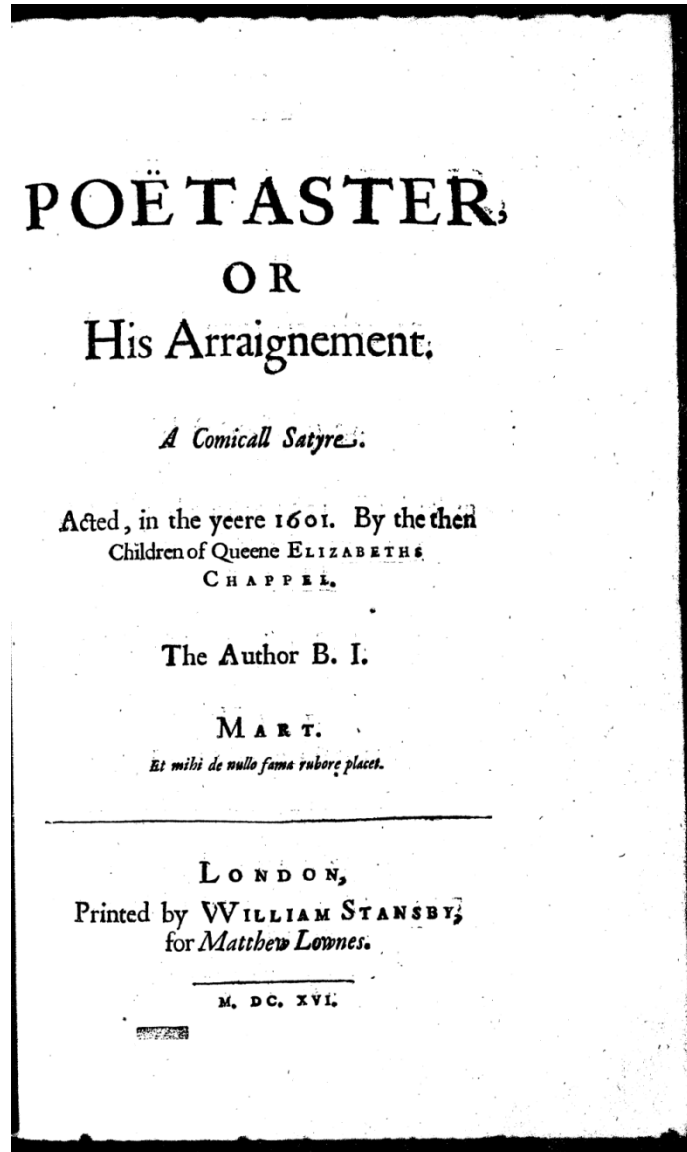
Figure 5.14: Title Page of *Titles of Honor* (1614)



This item is reproduced by The Huntington Library (Call Number RB 69398).

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

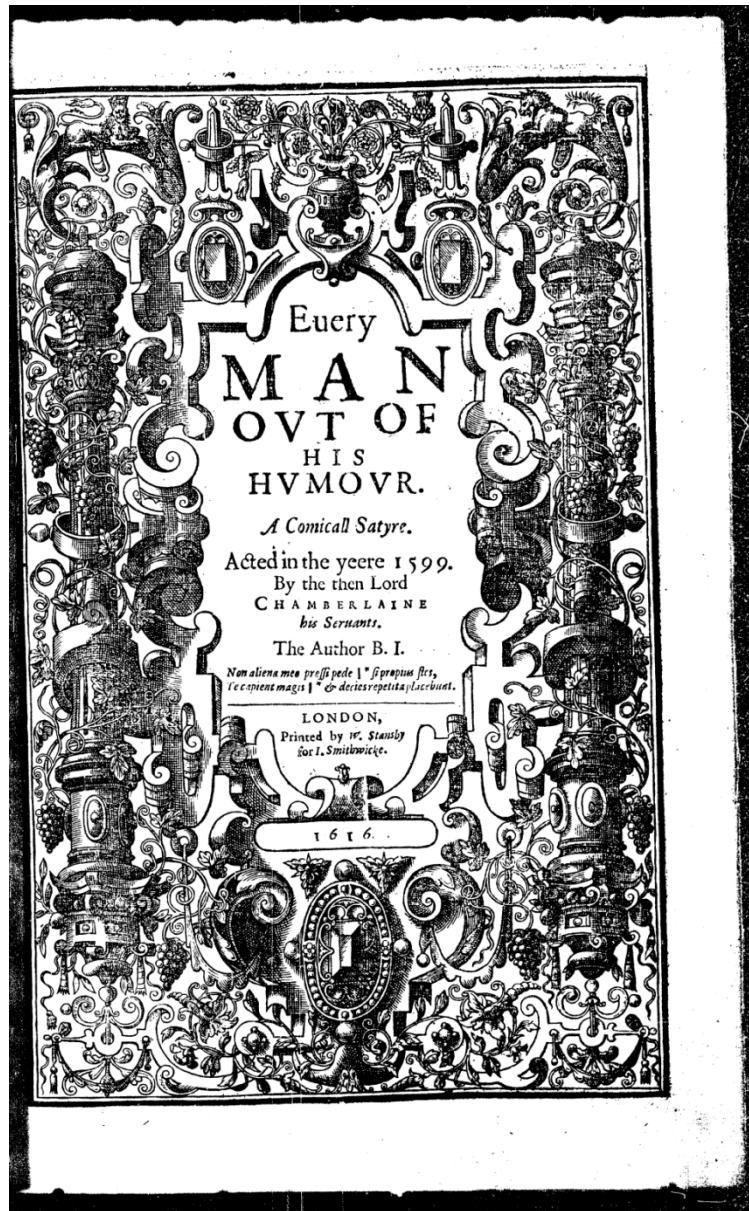
Figure 5.15: Variant Divisional Title for *Poetaster*



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (C.39.h.9)

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

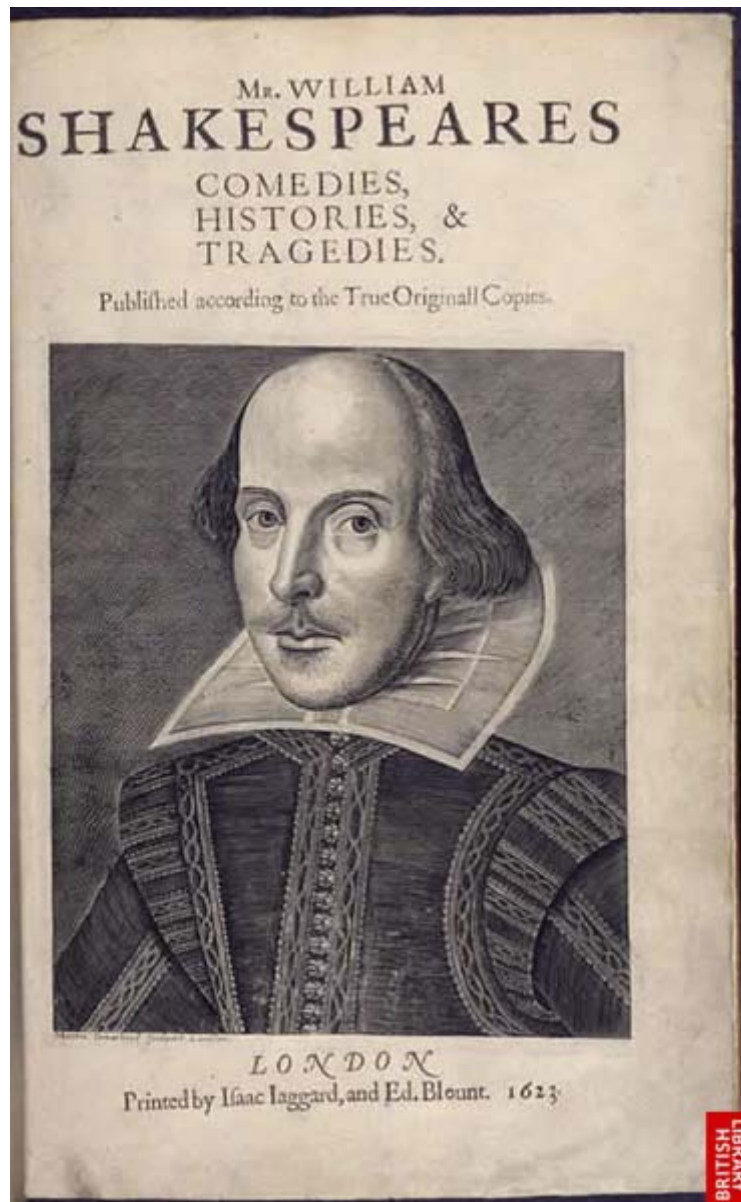
Figure 5.16: Variant Divisional Title for *Everyman Out of His Humour*



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (C.39.h.9)


Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.17: Title Page for Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623)



Courtesy of the British Library, (c) British Library Board (G.11631)

Figure 5.18: Catalogue for Shakespeare's Folio (1623)



# A C A T A L O G V E

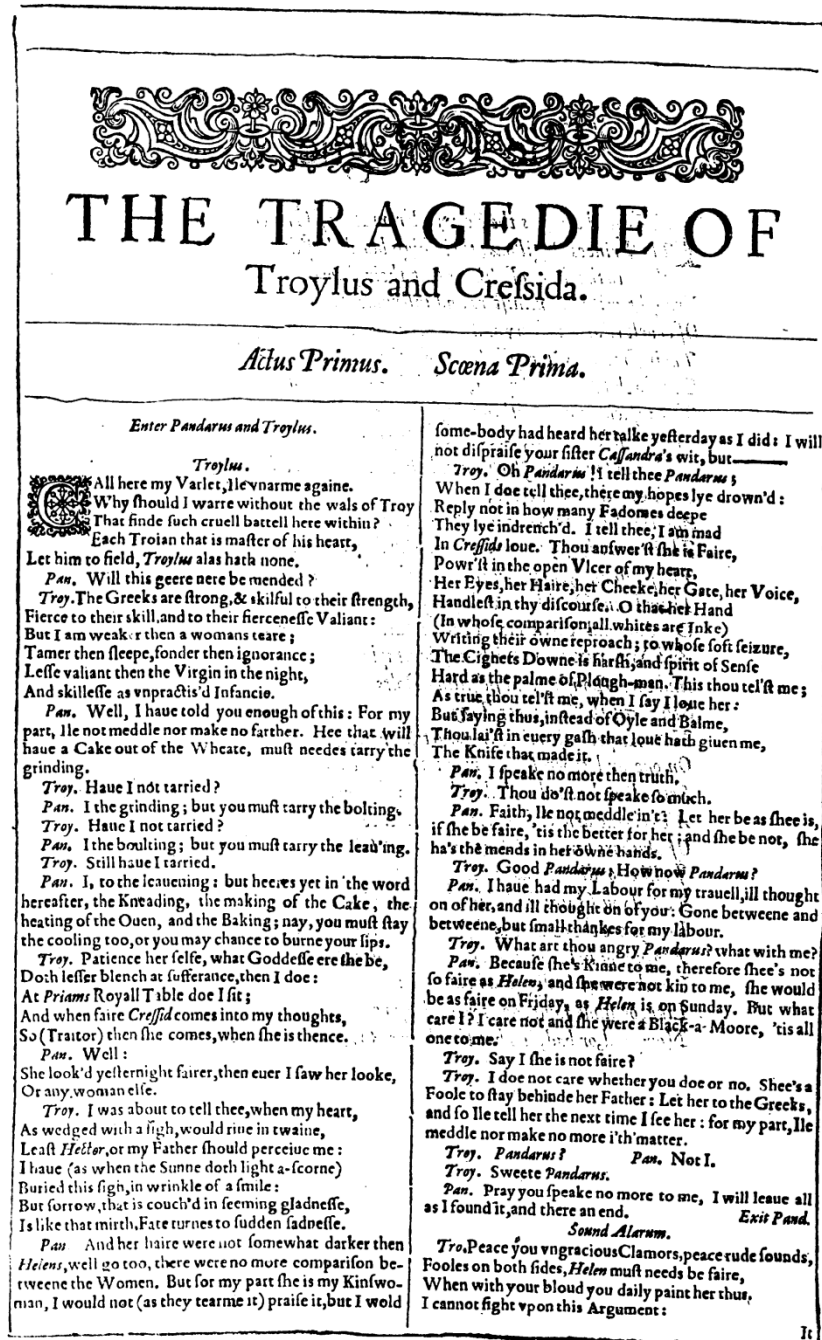
of the feuerall Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume.

COMEDIES.	
<i>The Tempest.</i>	Folio 1.
<i>The two Gentlemen of Verona.</i>	20
<i>The Merry Wines of Windsor.</i>	38
<i>Measure for Measure.</i>	61
<i>The Comedy of Errours.</i>	85
<i>Much adoo about Nothing.</i>	101
<i>Loues Labour lost.</i>	122
<i>Midsommer Nights Dreame.</i>	145
<i>The Merchant of Venice.</i>	163
<i>As you Like it.</i>	185
<i>The Taming of the Shrew.</i>	208
<i>All is well, that Ends well.</i>	230
<i>Twelfe-Night, or what you will.</i>	255
<i>The Winters Tale.</i>	304
HISTORIES.	
<i>The Life and Death of King John.</i>	Fol. 1.
<i>The Life &amp; death of Richard the second.</i>	23
TRAGEDIES.	
<i>The Tragedy of Coriolanus.</i>	Fol. 1.
<i>Titus Andronicus.</i>	31
<i>Romeo and Juliet.</i>	53
<i>Timon of Athens.</i>	80
<i>The Life and death of Julius Caesar.</i>	109
<i>The Tragedy of Macbeth.</i>	131
<i>The Tragedy of Hamlet.</i>	152
<i>King Lear.</i>	283
<i>Othello, the Moore of Venice.</i>	310
<i>Anthony and Cleopater.</i>	346
<i>Cymbeline King of Britaine.</i>	369

By Permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

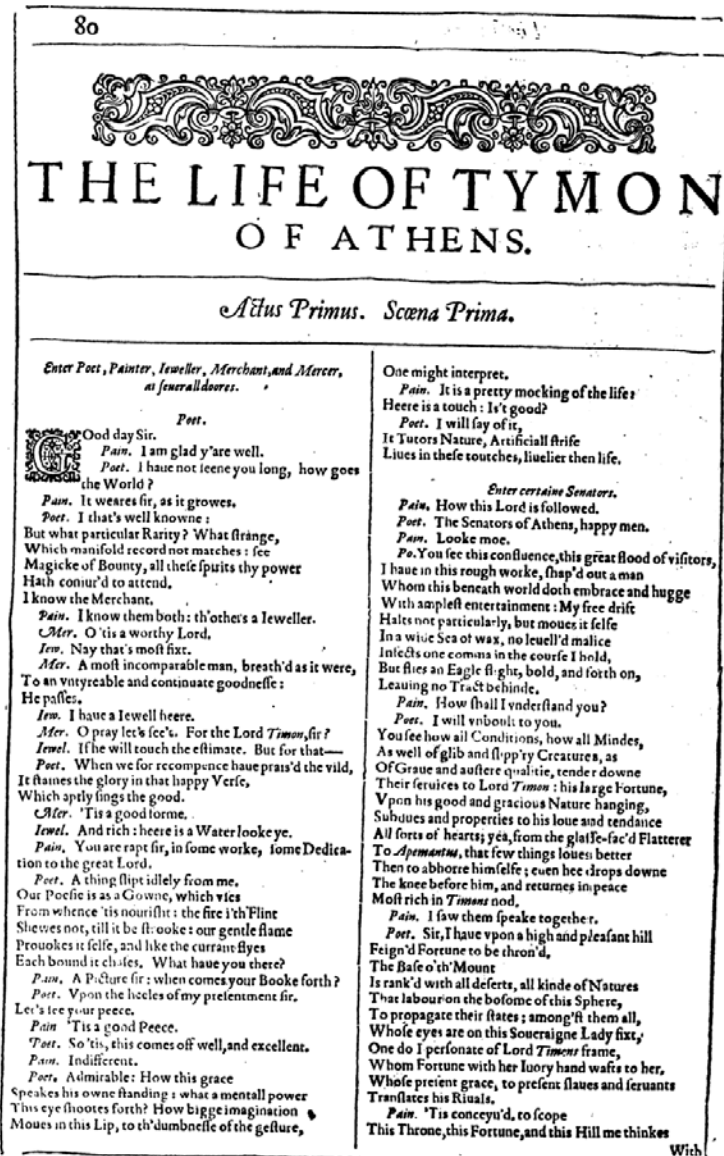
Figure 5.19: Head-title for *Troilus and Cressida*



By Permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

Figure 5.20: Head-Title for *Timon of Athens*



By Permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Images produced by ProQuest as part of *Early English Books Online*.

## Epilogue

That the Jonson and Shakespeare Folios are so often located as the inauguration of the drama collection in early modern England, making possible the production of volumes like Lyly's *Six Court Comedies* (1632), Marston's *Tragedies and Comedies* (1633), and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647), shows how we already partly approach the early modern collection through a genealogical lens. These later collections adapt the principles, design elements, and even titles from 1616 and 1623 Folios. However, I argue here and throughout this dissertation that by beginning in 1616 or 1623, we miss nearly an entire century of the printed drama collection's past and overlook how the famous volumes were still in the process of being collected. Indeed, a genealogy of the English drama collection invites us to see the collection as a process, one that is always adapting previous manifestations of collections while formulating new ones. This constant shifting of what "collection" signifies is integral to genealogical analysis, and it vividly captures why an early modern culture found itself using the form in such a variety of ways, for multiple purposes, to meet the needs of a number of agents. From a genealogical perspective, we can begin to see how understudied formulations of collections—such as fantasy collections, serially published sets, and tract volumes—become central to our understanding of the form, for the dramatic texts that now lie at the foundation of the English Renaissance canon passed through these collected forms, and perhaps owe their very existence to them.

We should be careful, however, in assuming that a genealogy of the collection is just for the purposes of better understanding these canonical works or re-inscribing a teleological perspective on pre-1616 collections to claim that were always developing towards the

culmination of Jonson's *Works* and Shakespeare's *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*. Nor is a genealogy just a recovery effort, attempting to highlight some of the lesser-known material collections eclipsed by the Folios or some of the unifying principles other than authorship. Instead, it is a shift in perspective, one that asks us to see English printed collections sharing a similar, non-linear history as material and imagined forms. In this sense, then, the collection already does this recovery work for us. We just need to look to the material books, their agents, and the processes that brought them into being, for here, their genealogies are ready to be read.

## Bibliography

### WORKS PUBLISHED BEFORE 1700

- Anon. *[The] troublesome raigne of Iohn King of England, with the discoverie of King Richard Cordelions base sonne (vulgarly named, the bastard Fawconbridge): also the death of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players, in the honourable citie of London.* London: [T. Orwin] for Sampson Clarke, 1591. STC 14644.
- . *An aunswere to the proclamation of the rebels in the north.* London: By Willyam Seres, [1569]. STC 22234.
- . *A vvhip for an ape: or Martin displaied.* [London? : Printed by T. Orwin?, 1589?]. STC 17464.
- Alexander, Sir William, Earl of Stirling. *Aurora. Containing the first fancies of the authors youth, William Alexander of Menstrie.* London: Richard Field for Edward Blount, 1604. STC 337.
- . *The monarchick tragedies. By William Alexander of Menstrie.* London: V[alentine] S[immes]. [and George Elde] for Edward Blount, 1604. STC 343.
- . *The monarchicke tragedies. Crosus, Darius, The Alexandræan, Iulius Cæsar. Newly enlarged by William Alexander, Gentleman of the Princes priuie chamber.* London: Valentine Simmes for Ed[ward] Blount, 1607. STC 344.
- . *A paraenesis to the Prince by William Alexander of Menstrie.* London: Richard Field for Edward Blount, 1604. STC 346.
- Bandello, Matteo. *Straunge, lamentable, and tragicall Hystories.* London: Hugh Jackson, 1577.

- Barker, John. *The plagues of Northumberland. To the tune of appelles*. London: Thomas Colwell, [1570?]. STC 1421.
- Becon, Thomas. *The reliques of Rome contayning all such matters of religion, as haue in times past bene brought into the Church by the Pope and his adherentes: faithfully gathered out of the moste faithful writers of chronicles and histories, and nowe newly both diligently corrected & greatly augmented, to the singuler profit of the readers, by Thomas Becon*. London: John Day, [1563]. STC 1755.
- Berners, Juliana. *This present boke shewyth the manere of hawkyng [and] huntyng: and also of diuysynge of cote armours. It shewyth also a good matere belongynge to horses: wyth other co[m]mendable treatyses. And ferdermore of the blasynge of armys: as here after it maye appere*. Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496. STC 3309.
- Bodenham, John and Anthony Munday. *Bel-vedére or The garden of the Mvses*. London: F[elix] K[ingston] for Hugh Astley, 1600. STC 3189.
- Buchanan, George. *Ane admonition direct to the trew Lordis mantenaris of the Kingis graces autoritie*. London: John Day, [1571]. STC 3967.
- . *Ane detectioun of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes thouchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretended mariage with the Erle Bothwell*. [London: John Day, 1571]. STC 3981.
- Calvin, Jean. *The institution of Christian religion, vvrytten in Latine by maister Ihon Caluin, and translated into Englysh according to the authors last edition. Seen and allowed according to the order appointed in the Quenes maiesties iniunctions*. London: by Reinolde Wolfe & Richarde Harison, 1561. STC 4415.
- Cecil, William. Lord Burghley, *The copie of a letter written by one in London to his frend*

*concernyng the credit of the late published detection of the doynges of the Ladie Marie of Scotland.* [London: Printed by John Day, 1572]. STC 17565.

Chapman, George. *Al fooles a comedy, presented at the Black Fryers, and lately before his Maiestie. Written by George Chapman.* London: [George Eld] for Thomas Thorpe, 1605. STC 4963.

———. *The conspiracie, and tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron, Marshall of France. Acted lately in two playes, at the Black-Friers. Writted by George Chapman.* [London]: G. Eld for Thomas Thorpe and [by Laurence Lisle], 1608. STC 4968.

Cheke, Sir John. *The hurt of sedition, how grieuous it is to a common welth. Set out by Sir Iohn Cheeke Knight. 1549. And now newly perused and printed the. 14. of December. 1569.* London: By Willyam Seres, [1569]. STC 5110.

Church of England. *A fourme to be vsed in common prayer twyse a weke, and also an order of publique fast, to be vsed euery Wednesday in the weeke, duryng this tyme of mortalitie and other afflictions wherewith the realme at this present is visited set forth by the Quenes Maiesties speciall co[m]maundement, expressed in her letters hereafter folowyng in the next page.* London: Richard Iugge and Iohn Cavwood, 1563. STC 16506.7.

———. *A short fourme of thankesgeuyng to God for ceassyng the contagious sicknes of the plague to be vsed in common prayer on Sundayes, Wednesdayes and Frydayes in steade of the co[m]mon prayers vsed in the time of mortalitie.* London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1563. STC 16507.

Churchyard, Thomas. *Come bring in Maye with me, my Maye is fresh and greene: (a subiectes harte, an humble mind) to serue a mayden Queene. A discourse of rebellion, drawne*

- forth for to warne the wanton wittes how to kepe their heads on their shoulders.* London: Wylliam Griffith, 1570. STC 5224.
- . *The firste parte of Churchyardes chippes, contayning twelue seuerall labours. Devised and published, only by Thomas Churchyard Gentilman.* London: Thomas Marsh, 1575. STC 5232.
- Cooper, Thomas. *An admonition to the people of England: vvherein are ansvvered, not onely the slaunderous vntruethes, reprochfully vttered by Martin the libeller, but also many other crimes by some of his broode, obiected generally against all bishops, and the chiefe of the cleargie, purposely to deface and discredite the present state of the Church. Seene and allowed by authoritie.* London: Christopher Barker, 1589. STC 5682.
- Daniel, Samuel. *Certaine small poems lately printed: with the tragedie of Philotas. Written by Samuel Daniel.* London: Printed by G. Eld for Simon Waterson [and Edward Blount], 1605. STC 6239.
- . *Certaine small vvorkes heretofore divulged by Samuel Daniel one of the groomes of the Queenes Maiesties priuie Chamber, & now againe by him corrected and augmented.* London: Printed by J[ohn] W[indet] for Simon Waterson, 1607. STC 6240.
- . *Certaine small workes heretofore divulged by Samuel Daniell ... and now againe by him corrected and augmented.* London: J[ohn]L[egat] for Simon Waterson, 1611. STC 6242 & 6243.
- . *Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra by Samuel Daniel.* London: [James Roberts and Edward Allde] for Simon Waterson, [1594]. STC 6243.4.
- . *Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra. By Samuel Daniell.* London: [James Roberts] for S. Waterson], 1595. STC 6243.5.

- . [*Delia and Rosamond augmented. Cleopatra. By Samuel Daniell.*] [London: Peter Short for Simon Waterson, 1598]. STC 6243.6.
- . *A panegyrike congratulatory deliuered to the Kings most excellent maiesty at Burleigh Harrington in Rutlandshire. By Samuel Daniel. Also certaine epistles. With a defence of ryme, heeretofore written, and now published by the author.* London: by V[alentine]. S[immes]. for Edward Blount, [1603]). STC 6258, 6259, & 6260.
- . *The Poeticall Essayes of Sam. Danyel. Newly corrected and augmented.* London: P[eter] Short for Simon Waterson, 1599. STC 6261.
- . *The Works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented.* London: [Valentine Simmes and W. White] for Simon Waterson, 1601. STC 6236.
- . *The whole Workes of Samuel Daniel Esquire in poetrie.* London: Nicholas Okes, for Simon Waterson, 1623. STC 6238.
- Dekker, Thomas. *The Whole magnificent entertainment giuen to King Iames, Queene Anne his wife, and Henry Frederick the Prince; vpon the day of his Maiesties tryumphant passage (from the Tower) through his honorable citie (and chamber) of London, the 15. of March. 1603.* London: By E. Alde [, Humphrey Lownes, and others] for Thomas Man, 1604. STC 6513.
- Elderton, William. *A ballat intituled Northomberland newes, vwherin you maye see what rebelles do vse. Come tomblinge downe come tomblinge downe. That will not yet be trewe to the crowne.* London: Thomas Purfoote, [1570]. STC 7554.
- Elizabeth I. *By the Quene. Whereas thinfection of the plague and pestilence doth at this present remayne and continue within the cities of London and Westminster.* London: Rycharde Jugge and John Cawood, 1563. STC 7962.5.

——. *A Proclomation against certain seditious and Schismatical Bookes and Libels*. London: Christopher Barker, 1588 [i.e. 1589].

England and Wales. *A proclamation set forth by Therle of Sussex, the Queenes Maiesties Lieuetenaunt generall in the North, declaring truely the falsehodes and vayne delusions vherby Therles of Northumberlande and VWestmerlande, and their confederates, do abuse the Queenes Maiesties subiectes, to mayntayne their rebellious enterprises, the .xxviii. of Nouember 1569*. London: Richarde Jugge and John Cawood, 1569. STC 8022.

Erasmus, Desiderius. *The seconde tome or volume of the paraphrase of Erasmus vpon the newe testament: conteynyng the Epistles of S. Paul, and other the Apostles. Wherunto is added a paraphrase vpon the Reuelacion of S. Iohn*. London: Edwarde Whitchurche, 1549. STC 2854.7.

Fleetwood, William. *The effect of the declaratio[n] made in the Guildhall by M. Recorder of London, concerning the late attemptes of the Quenes Maiesties euill, seditious, and disobedient subiectes*. London: John Day, [1571]. STC 11036.

Fraunce, Abraham. *The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel: Conteyning the natiuity, passion, buriall, and resurrection of Christ: togeather with certaine Psalmes of Dauid. All in English hexameters by Abraham Fraunce*. London: [Thomas Orwyn] for William Ponsonby, 1591. STC 11339.

——. *The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch: Conteyning the affectionate life, and vnfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas: that in a pastorall; this in a funerall; both in English hexameters by Abraham Fraunce*. London: Thomas Orwyn for William Ponsonby, 1591. STC 11340.

- Fuchs, Leonhart. *A worthy practise of the moste learned phisition Maister Leonerd Fuchsius, Doctor in phisicke, moste necessary in this needfull tyme of our visitation, for the comforte of all good and faythfull people, both olde and yonge, bothe for the sicke and for them that woulde auoyde the daunger of the contagion.* London: Rouland Hall for Michell Lobley, 1563. STC 11408.
- Gower, John. *This book is intituled confessio amantis, that is to saye in englysshe the confessyon of the loue maad and compyled by Iohan Gower squyer.* London: [William Caxton, 1483]. STC 12142 .
- Grafton, Richard. *Salutem in Christo.* [London : Printed by John Day, 1571]. STC 11505.
- Harrison, Stephen. *The arch's of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince. Iames. the first of that name. King, of England. and the sixt of Scotland at his Maiesties entrance and passage through his honorable citty & chamber of London. vpon the 15th. day of march 1603.*[London: John Windet, 1604]. STC 12863.
- Harvey, Richard. *Plaine Percevall the peace-maker of England. Sweetly indeuoring with his blunt persuasions to botch vp a reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mar-tother. Compiled by lawfull art, that is to say, without witch craft, or sorcery: and referred specially to the meridian and pole artichoke of Nomans Land.* [London]: [i.e. Eliot's Court Press for G. Seton, 1589]. STC 12914.
- Jasper Heywood, trans. *The first tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca, intituled Hercules furens, newly perved and of all faultes whereof it did before abound diligently corrected, and for the profit of young schollers so faithfully translated into English metre.* [London: Henrye Sutton, [1561]]. STC 22223.

- . trans. *The seconde tragedie of Seneca entituled Thyestes faithfully Englished by Iasper Heywood fellowe of Alsolne College in Oxforde*. London, Thomas Berthelettes, 1560.
- . trans. *Lucii Annei Senecae tragedia prima quae inscribitur Hercules furens . . . . The first tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca, intituled Hercules furens*. London: Henry Sutton, 1561. STC 22226.
- . trans. *The sixt tragedie of the most graue and prudent author Lucius, Anneus, Seneca, entituled Troas, with diuers and sundrye addicions to the same. Newly set forth in Englishe by Jasper Heywood student in Oxenforde. Anno domini. 1559. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum*. [London: Richard Tottyll, [1559]]. STC 22227.
- Heywood, John. *A mery play betwene Iohan Iohan the husbände, Tyb his wyfe, [and] syr Iha[n]n the preest*. London: William Rastell, 1533. STC 13298.
- Heywood, Thomas. *The first and second parts of King Edward the fourth. Containing. [sic] His merie pastime with the tanner of Tamsworth, as also his loue to faire Mistrisse Shore, her great promotion, fall and miserie, and lastly the lamentable death of both her and her husband. Likewise the besieging of London, by the Bastard Falconbridge*. London: J. W[indet]. for John Oxenbridge, 1599. STC 13341.
- . *The first and second parts of King Edward the fourth*. London: F[elix] K[ingston] for Humfrey Lownes and Iohn Oxenbridge, 1600. STC 13342.
- . *The first and second parts of King Edward the fourth*. London: H. L[ownes]. for Nathaniell Fosbrooke, 1605. STC 13343.
- Jonson, Benjamin. *B. Ion: his part of King Iames his royall and magnificent entertainment through his honorable cittie of London, . . . . Also, a briefe panegyre of his Maiesties first and well auspicated entrance to his high Court of Parliament, on Monday, the 19. of the*

- same moneth. With other additions.* London: V[alentine] S[immes and George Eld] for Edward Blount, 1604. STC 14756.
- . *The characters of two royall masques. The one of blacknesse, the other of beautie. personated by the most magnificent of queenes Anne Queene of great Britaine, &c. With her honorable ladyes, 1605. and 1608. at White-hall: and inuented by Ben: Ionson.* London: [G. Eld] for Thomas Thorpe, [by L. Lisle], [1608]). STC 14756.
- . *Hymenaei: or The solemnities of masque, and barriers, magnificently performed on the eleventh, and twelfth nights, from Christmas; at court: to the auspicious celebrating of the marriage-vnion, betweene Robert, Earle of Essex, and the Lady Frances, second daughter to the most noble Earle of Suffolke. By Ben: Ionson.* London: Valentine Sims for Thomas Thorpe, 1606. STC 14774.
- . *The workes of Beniamin Jonson.* London: William Stansby, 1616. STC 14751 & 14752.
- Lydgate, John. *The serpent of deuision. VVherein is conteined the true history of mappe of Romes ouerthrowe, gouerned by auarice, enuye, and pride, the decaye of empires be they neuer so sure. Whereunto is annexed the tragedye of Gorboduc.* London: Edward Allde for John Perrin 1590. STC 17029.
- Lyly, John. *Campaspe, played beefore the Queenes Maiestie on newyeares day at night, by her Maiesties Childre[n], and the Children of Paules.* London: [Thomas Dawson] for Thomas Cadman, 1584. STC 17048.
- . *Campaspe played beefore the Queenes maiestie on twelfe day at night, by her Maiesties Children, and the Children of Paules.* London: Thomas Orwin for William Broome, 1591. STC 17049.

- . *Endimion, the man in the moone. Playd before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenewich on Candlemas day at night, by the Chyldren of Paules.* London: [John] Charlewood for Widdowe [Joan] Broome, 1591. STC 17050.
- . *Gallathea. As it was playde before the Queenes Maiestie at Greene-wiche, on Newyeeres day at night. By the Chyldren of Paules.* London: Thomas Scarlet for J[oa]n B[roome], 1592. STC 17080.
- . *Midas. Plaied before the Queenes Maiestie vpon Tvvelve day at night, by the Children of Paules.* London: Thomas Scarlet for J[oa]n B[roome], 1592. STC 17083.
- . *Pappe with an hatchet. Alias, A figge for my God sonne. Or Cracke me this nut. Or A countrie cuffe, that is, a sound boxe of the eare, for the idiot Martin to hold his peace, seeing the patch will take no warning. VVritten by one that dares call a dog, a dog, and made to preuent Martins dog daies.* [London]: John Anoke, and John Astile, for [i.e. T. Orwin], [1589]. STC 17463.
- . *Sapho and Phao, played beefore the Queenes Maiestie on Shroue-tewsdays, by her Maiesties Children, and the Boyes of Paules.* London: [Thomas Dawson] for Thomas Cadman, 1584. STC 17086.
- . *Sapho and Phao, played beefore the Queenes maiestie on Shroue-tewsdays, by her Maiesties Children, and the Boyes of Paules.* London: Thomas Orwin for William Broome, 1591. STC 17087.
- . *Six court comedies. Often presented and acted before Queene Elizabeth, by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell, and the Children of Paules. Written by the onely rare poet of that time, the wittie, comicall, facetiously-quick and vnparalleld Iohn Lilly, Master of Arts.* London: William Stansby for Edward Blount, 1632. STC 17088 & 17089.

Marlowe, Christopher. *The famous tragedie of the rich Ievv of Malta. As it vvvas playd before the King and Queene, in his Majesties theatre at White-hall, by her Majesties Servants at the Cock-pit. Written by Christopher Marlo.* London: J[ohn]. B[eale]. for Nicholas Vavasour, 1633. STC 17412.

———. *Tamburlaine the Great. Who, from a Scythian shepherde, by his rare and woonderfull conquests, became a most puissant and mightye monarque. And (for his tyranny, and terrour in warre) was tearmed, the scourge of God. Deuided into two tragicall discourses, as they were sundrie times shewed vpon stages in the citie of London.* London: Richard Jones, 1590. STC 17425.

Mar-phoreus. pseud., *Martins months minde, that is, a certaine report, and true description of the death, and funeralls, of olde Martin Marreprelate, the great makebate of England, and father of the factious. Contayning the cause of his death, the manner of his buriall, and the right copies both of his will, and of such epitaphs, as by sundrie his dearest friends, and other of his well willers, were framed for him.* [London: printed by Thomas Orwin], 1589. STC 17452.

———. *Certaine minerall, and metaphisicall schoolpoints, to be defended by the reuerende bishops, and the rest of my cleargie masters of the conuocation house, against both the vniuersities, and al the reformed churches in Christendome. Wherin is layd open, the very quintessence of all catercorner diuinitie. . .* [Coventry: Robert Waldegrave, 1589]. STC 17455.

———. *Hay any worke for Cooper: or a briefe pistle directed by waye of an hublication to the reuerende byshopps, counselling them, if they will needs be barrellled vp, for feare of smelling in the nostrrels of her Maiestie [and] the state, that they would vse the aduise of*

- reuerend Martin, for the prouiding of their cooper. . .* [Coventry: Robert Waldegrave], [1589]. STC 17456.
- . *The iust censure and reproofe of Martin Iunior. Wherein the rash and vndiscreete headines of the foolish youth, is sharply mette with, and the boy hath his lesson taught him, I warrant you, by his reuerend and elder brother, Martin Senior, sonne and heire vnto the renowned Martin Mar-prelate the Great. . .* [Wolston, Warks: John Hodgkins, 1589]. STC 17458.
- . *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges, for it is a worthy worke: or an epitome of the fyrste booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, Iohn Bridges, presbyter, priest or elder, doctor of diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum . . . The Epitome is not yet published.* [East Molesey, Surrey: By Robert Waldegrave], [Oct. 1588]. STC 17453.
- . *Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges, for it is worthy worke: or an epitome of the fyrste booke, of that right worshipfull volume, written against the puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, Iohn Bridges, presbyter, priest or elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and Deane of Sarum. . . . In this epitome, the foresaide fickers.* [Fawsley, Northants]: [Robert Waldegrave, Nov. 1588]. STC 17454.
- . *The protestatyon of Martin Marprelat wherin not wih [sic] standing the surprizing of the printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that he feareth, neither proud priest, antichristian pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap: but defieth all the race of them by these presents and offereth conditionally.* [Wolston, Warks.?: Robert Waldegrave?, 1589]. STC 17459.

- . *Theses Martinianae: that is, certaine demonstratiue conclusions, sette downe and collected (as it should seeme) by that famous and renowned clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great.* [Wolston, Warks]: [by John Hodgkins], [1589]. STC 17457.
- Medwall, Henry. *Here is co[n]teyned a godely interlude of Fulgens Cenatoure of Rome. Luces his doughter. Gayus flaminus. [and] Publi[us]. Corneli[us]. of the disputacyon of noblenes. [And] is deuyded in two p[er]tyes, to be played at ii. tymes. Co[m]pyled by mayster Henry medwall. late chapelayne to ye ryght reuerent fader in god Iohan Morton cardynall [and] Archebysshop of Cau[n]terbury.* London: John Rastell, 1512-6. STC 17778.
- Meres, Francis. *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasvry Being the Second Part of Wits Common Wealth.* London: P[eter] Short for Cuthbert Burby, 1598. STC 17834.
- Morwyng, Peter. *A new booke of destillatyon of waters, called the Treasure of Euonymus containing the wonderful hid secrets of nature, touching the most apt formes to prepare & destill medicines, for the conservation of helth ... / translated (with great diligence & labour) out of Latin, by Peter Morwyng felowe of Magdaline Colledge in Oxforde ; whereunto is added a* London: John Day, 1565. STC 11801.
- Neville, Alexander. trans. *The lamentable tragedie of Oedipus the sonne of Laius Kyng of Thebes out of Seneca. By Alexander Neuytle.* London, Thomas Colwell, 1563. STC 22225.
- Newton, Thomas. trans. *Fowre seuerall treatises of M. Tullius Cicero conteyninge his most learned and eloquente discourses of frendshippe: oldage: paradoxes: and Scipio his dreame. All turned out of Latine into English, by Thomas Newton.* London: Thomas Marsh, 1577.

- . trans. *Seneca His Tenne Tragedies, Translated into English*. London: Thomas Marsh, 1581. STC 22221.
- Norton, Thomas. *All such treatises as haue been lately published by Thomas Norton: the titles whereof appeare in the next side. Seen and allowed according to the order of the Queenes iniunctions*. London: John Day, [1570]. STC 18677.
- . *An addition declaratorie to the bulles, with a searching of the maze. Scene [sic] and allowed*. London: John Day [1570]. STC 18678a.
- . *A bull graunted by the Pope to Doctor Harding & other, by reconcilement and assoyling of English Papistes, to vndermyne faith and allegiance to the Quene. With a true declaration of the intention and frutes thereof, and a warning of perils therby imminent, not to be neglected*. London: John Day, [1570]. STC 18678.
- . *A disclosing of the great bull, and certain calues that he hath gotten, and specially the monster bull that roared at my Lord Byshops gate*. London: John Day, [1570]. STC 18679.
- . *A discourse touching the pretended match betwene the Duke of Norfolke and the Queene of Scottes*. London: John Day, (1569?). STC 13870.
- . *Orations of Arsanes agaynst Philip the trecherous kyng of Macedone: of the Embassadors of Venice against the prince that vnder crafty league with Scanderbeg, layed snares for Christendome : and of Scanderbeg prayeng ayde of Christian Princes against periurous murderying Mahumet and agaynst the old false Christian Duke Mahumetes confederate : with a notable example of Gods vengeance vppon a faithlesse Kyng, Quene, and her children*. London: John Daye, 1560?. STC 785.

- . *To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived subjectes of the northe contreye, drawen into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland.* [London: Henrie Bynneman, for Lucas Harrison, 1569]. STC 18680.
- . *To the Quenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiects of the northe countrey, drawen into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland. Written by Thomas Norton. Seen and allowed according to the Queenes iniunctions.* [London: Henrie Bynneman, for Lucas Harrison, 1569]. STC 18681.
- . *To the Quenes Maiesties poore deceiued subiectes of the north countrey, drawen into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland. Written by Thomas Norton. And newly perused and encreased. Seen and allowed according to the Queenes iniunctions.* [London: Henrie Bynneman, for Lucas Harrison. 1569]. STC 18682.
- . *A view of valyaunce Describing the famous feates, and martiall exploitcs of two most mightie nations, the Romains and the Carthaginians, for the conquest and possession of Spayne.* London: Thomas East, 1580. STC 21469.
- . *A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes, and specially the parteners of the late rebellion. Gathered out of the common feare and speche of good subiectes.* [London : By John Day, 1569?]. STC 18685.3.
- . *A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes, and specially the parteners of the late rebellion. Gathered out of the common feare and speche of good subiectes. Sene and allowed.* [London: John Day, [1569]]. STC 18685.7.
- . *A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes, and specially the parteners of the late rebellion. Gathered out of the common feare and speche of good subiectes. Written by Thomas Norton, and newly perused and encreasced [sic]. Seen and allowed,*

- according to the order of the Queenes iniunctions.* [London: John Day, [1570]]. STC 18686.
- Norton, Thomas and Thomas Sackville. *The tragidie of Ferrex and Porrex, set forth without addition or alteration but altogether as the same was shewed on stage before the Queenes Maiestie, about nine yeares past, vz. the xviiij. day of Ianuarie. 1561. by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. Seen and allowed.* London: John Day, [1570]. STC 18685.
- Nuce, Thomas trans. *The ninth tragedie of Lucius Anneus Seneca called Octauia. Translated out of Latine into English, by T.N. student in Cambridge.* London: Henry Denham, [1566]. STC 22229.
- Osiander, Andreas. *How and whither a Chrysten man ought to flye the horryble plague of the pestilence A sermon out of the Psalme. Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi. Translated out of hie Almaine into Englishe.* London: Leonarde Askeell for Thomas Purfoot, 1563. STC 18879.
- Pasquier, Etienne. *Monophylo, Drawne into English by Geffray Fenton. A philosophicall discourse, and diuision of loue.* [London: Henry Denham for William Seres], 1572. STC 10797.
- Pilkington, James. *The burnynge of Paules church in London in the yeare of oure Lord 1561. and the iiii. day of Iune by lyghtnyng, at three of the clocke, at after noone, which continued terrible and helplesse vnto nyght.* London: Willyam Seres, 1563. STC 19931.
- Rastell, John. *Nature. A goodly interlude of nature co[m]pylyd by mayster Henry Medwall chapleyn to the ryght reuerent father in god Iohan Morton somtyme cardynall and*

- archebishop of Canterbury*. [London : Printed by William Rastell, between 1529 and 1535]. STC 17779.
- . *Of gentylnes and nobylte. A dyaloge betwen the marchaut the knyght and the plowman dysputyng who is a verey gentylman [et] who is a noble man and how men shuld come to auctoryte, compiled in maner of an enterlude with diuers toys [et] gestis addyd therto to make mery pastyme and disport*. [[London]: Joh[ann]es Rastell [ca. 1525]]. STC 20723.
- Selden, John. *Titles of honor by John Selden*. London: William Stansby for John Helme, [1614]. STC 22177.
- Seneca, Lucius Annaes. *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis*. Lyon: Sebastian Gryphium, 1541, 1548.
- . *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis tragoediae*. Paris: Hieronymum de Marnes, 1563.
- . *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis poetae grauissimi Tragoedias decem*. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1576.
- . *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae X*. Basel: Henricus Petrus, 1529, 1550.
- . *L. Annaei Senec[a]e Tragoediae*. Paris: Josse Bade Ascensius, 1514.
- . *Senecae Cordubensis Tragoediae*. Lyon: Antonivm Gryphiuvm, 1574, 1581.
- . *Senecae Tragoediae*. Florence: Philippi de Giunta, 1506.
- . *Scenecae Tragoediae*. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1517.
- . *Tragoediae*. Venice: Philippo Pincio Mantuano, 1510.
- . *Tragoediae Senecae cum duobus commentariis: uidelicet*. Venice: Joannes Tacuinus, 1498.
- Shakespeare, William. *The history of Henrie the Fourth; vvith the battell at Shrewsburie, betweene the King and Lord Henry Percy, surnamed Henrie Hotspur of the north. With the humorous conceits of Sir Iohn Falstalffe*. London: Printed by P[eter]. S[hort]. for Andrew Wise, 1598. STC 22280.

- . *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies. Published according to the true originall copies.* London: William Jaggard, Edward Blount, John Smithwicke, and William Aspley, 1623. STC 22273.
- . *The tragedie of King Richard the second. As it hath beene publikely acted by the right Honourable the Lorde Chamberlaine his Seruants.* London: Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, 1597. STC 22307.
- . *The tragedy of King Richard the third. Containing, his treacherous plots against his brother Clarence: the pittiefull murther of his iunocent [sic] nephewes: his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course of his detested life, and most deserued death. As it hath beene lately acted by the Right honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.* London: Valentine Sims [and Peter Short], for Andrew Wise, 1597. STC 22314.
- . *The vvhole contention betveene the tvvo famous houses, Lancaster and Yorke. With the tragicall ends of the good Duke Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke, and King Henrie the sixt. Diuided into two parts: and newly corrected and enlarged. Written by William Shakespeare, Gent.* London: [William Jaggard] for T[homas]. P[avier], [1619]). STC 26101.
- Sidney, Phillip. *The defence of poesie. By Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight.* London: [Thomas Creede] for William Ponsonby, 1595. STC 22535.
- . *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight.* London: [R. Field] for William Ponsonbie, 1598. STC 22541.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The shepherds calender. Conteining twelue aeglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes.* London: John Windet, for John Harrison, 1591. STC 23092.

Sternhold, Thomas and John Hopkins. *The whole booke of Psalmes collected into Englishe metre by Thom. Sternh., Iohn Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue with apt notes to sing them withall ; newly set forth and allowed to be song in all churches, of all the people together before and after mornynge and euenynge prayer.* London: John Daye, [1569]. STC 26101.

Studley, John. trans. *The eyght tragedie of Seneca. Entituled Agamemnon. Translated out of Latin in to English, by Iohn Studley, student in Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge.* London, Thomas Colwell, [1566]. STC 22222.

———. trans. *The seuenth tragedie of Seneca, entituled Medea: translated out of Latin into English, by Iohn Studley, student in Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge.* London, Thomas Colwell, [1566]. STC 22224.

Terence. *Comædiæ sex: Andria, Eunuchus, Heauton timorumenos, Adelphoe, Phormio, Hecyra.* London: Richard Pynson, 1497. STC 23885.

Udall, Nicholas. trans. *The first tome or volume of the Paraphrases of Erasmus vpon the newe testament, conteinyng the fower Euangelistes, with the Actes of the Apostles: eftsones conferred with the latine and thoroughly corrected as it is by the kinges highnes iniunccions commaunded to be had in euerie churche of this royalme.* [London: Edward Whitchurch], 1551. STC 2866.

Watson, Thomas. *The lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis. Paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English hexameters, by Abraham Fraunce.* London: Robert Robinson for Thomas Newman and Thomas Gubbin, 1589. STC 25118.6.

Whetstone, George. *The right excellent and famous historye, of Promos and Cassandra deuided into two commicall discourses. In the fyrste parte is showne, the vnsufferable abuse, of a*

*lewde magistrate: the vertuous behaiours of a chaste ladye: the vncontrowled leawdenes of a fauoured curtisan.* London: John Charlewood for Richard Jones, 1578. STC 25347.

Whitney, Isabella. *A sweet nosgay, or pleasant posye contayning a hundred and ten phylosophicall flowers &c.* London: Richard Jones, 1573. STC

#### WORKS PUBLISHED AFTER 1700

Alford, Stephen. *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Arber, Edward. *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy, 1588-1590.* New York: B. Franklin, [1967].

———.ed. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640.* 5 vols. Reprint, New York: Peter Smith, 1950.

Austen, Gillian. *George Gascoigne.* Suffolk & Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2008.

———. *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession.* London: Royal Historical Society, 1977.

Barbour, Richmond. "Jonson and the Motives of Print." *Criticism* 40 (1998): 499–528.

Baker, David Weil. "'Master of the Monuments: ' Memory and Erasure in Jonson's Bartholomew Fair." *English Literary Renaissance* 31, no. 2 (2001): 266–287.

Barroll, John Leeds. *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author." In *Image-Music-Text*, translated by Stephen Heath, 142-154. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.

- Bell, Maureen. "Women in the English Book Trade 1557-1700." *Leipziger Jahrbuch zur Buchgeschichte* 6 (1996): 13-45.
- Bennett, Stuart. *Trade bookbinding in the British Isles, 1660-1800*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2004.
- Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*. Edited by Jennifer Brady and W.H. Herendeen. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991.
- Berkowitz, David S. *John Selden's Formative Years: Politics and Society in Early 17th Century England*. Washington D.C.: Folger Books, 1988.
- Bergeron, David Moore. *Textual Patronage in English Drama, 1570-1640*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Press, 2006.
- Bevington, David, ed. *Endymion: John Lyly*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- . "Lyly's *Endymion* and *Midas*: The Catholic Question in England." *Comparative Drama* 32 (1998): 26-46.
- Black, Joseph. "The Rhetoric of Reaction: The Martin Marprelate Tracts (1588-89), Anti-Martinism, and the Uses of Print in Early Modern England." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 707-725.
- . ed. *The Martin Marprelate Tracts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Bland, Mark. *A Guide to Early Modern Printed Books and Manuscripts*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- . "William Stansby and the Production of *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson, 1615-1616*." *The Library* 20 (1998): 1-34.
- Blayney, Peter. "'Compositor B' and the Pavier Quartos." *The Library*, 5th ser., 27.3 (Sept. 1972): 181-206.

- . *The First Folio of Shakespeare*. Washington D.C.: Folger Library Publication, 1991.
- . "The Publication of Playbooks." In *A New History of Early English Drama*, edited by John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, 383-422. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Books and Readers in Early Modern England*. Edited by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.
- Bond, R. Warwick, ed. *The Complete Works of John Lyly*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Bowers, Fredson. "Functions of Bibliography." *Library Trends* 7, no. 4 (1959): 497-510.
- . *Principles of Bibliographical Description*, With an introduction by G. Thomas Tanselle. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Bracken, J. K. "Books from William Stansby's Printing House, and Jonson's Folio of 1616." *The Library* 6, no. 10 (1988): 18-29.
- . *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Brady, Jennifer. "'Noe fault, but Life:': Jonson's Folio as Monument and Barrier." In *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, edited by Jennifer Brady and W.H. Herendeen, 192-216. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991.
- Brannigan, John. *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Brayman Hackel, Heidi. *Reading Material in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Brooks, Douglas. *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

- Butler, Martin. "Jonson's Folio and the politics of patronage." *Criticism* 35, no. 3 (1993): 377-90.
- . "The Riddle of Jonson's Chronology Revisited." *Library* 4 no.1 (2003): 49-63.
- Carron, Helen. "William Sancroft (1617-93): A Seventeenth-Century Collector and his Library." *The Library*, 7th ser., 1, no. 3 (2000): 290-307.
- Carter, John and Nicholas Barker. *ABC for Book Collectors*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2006.
- Cauthen, Irby B. Jr. ed. *Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton: Gorboduc or Ferrex & Porrex*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.
- Chartier, Roger. *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences From Codex to Computer*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Chartier, Roger and Peter Stallybrass. "Reading and Authorship: The Circulation of Shakespeare 1590–1619." In *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text*, edited by Andrew Murphy, 35–56. Oxford: Blackwell Press, 2007.
- Clegg, Cyndia Susan. *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Collins, Paul. *The Book of William: How Shakespeare's First Folio Conquered the World*. New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2009.
- Collinson, Patrick. "English Reformation." In *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, edited by Michael Hattaway, 27-43. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2003.
- Conley, H. *The First English Translators of the Classics*. Reprint, Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1967.
- Craig, D.H. ed. *Ben Jonson: The Critical Heritage*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

- The Culture of Collected Editions*. Edited by Andrew Nash. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Cunliffe, John W. *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*. New York: G.E. Stechert & Co., 1925.
- Cunningham, Karen J. "'So Many Books, So Many Rolls of Ancient Time:' The Inns of Court and *Gorboduc*." In *Solon and Thespis: Law and Theater in the English Renaissance*, edited by Dennis Kezar, 197-217. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.
- Curran, John E. Jr. "Geoffrey of Monmouth in Renaissance Drama: Imagining Non-History." *Modern Philology* 97, no. 1 (Aug. 1999): 1-20.
- Darnton, Robert. "What Is the History of Books?" In *Books and Society in History*, edited by Kenneth Carpenter, 3-26. New York and London: Bowker, 1983.
- Davis, Joel. "Multiple *Arcadias* and the Literary Quarrel between Fulke Greville and the Countess of Pembroke." *Studies in Philology* 101, no. 4 (Fall 2004): 401-430.
- de Grazia, Margreta. *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- de Grazia, Margreta and Peter Stallybrass. "Materiality of the Shakespearean Text." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (Autumn 1993): 255-283.
- deVocht, H. ed. *Jasper Heywood and His Translations of Seneca's Troas, Thyestes and Hercules Furens. Edited from the Octavos of 1559, 1560, and 1561*. Reprint, Vaduz: Liechtenstein, 1963.
- Dobranski, Stephen B. *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

- Donaldson, Ian. "Collecting Ben Jonson." In *The Culture of Collected Editions*, edited by Andrew Nash, 19-31. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Donovan, Kevin J. "Jonson's Texts in the First Folio." In *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, edited by Jennifer Brady and W.H. Herendeen, 23-37. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991.
- Dutton, Richard. *Ben Jonson: To the First Folio*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- . *Mastering the Revels. The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama*. London: Macmillan, 1991.
- Erne, Lukas. *Beyond the Spanish Tragedy: A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- . *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Evenden, Elizabeth. *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade*. Aldersgate: Ashgate, 2008.
- Farmer, Alan B. and Zachary Lesser. *DEEP: Database of Early English Playbooks*, <http://deep.sas.upenn.edu> (accessed April 10, 2011).
- Finkelstein, David and Alistair McCleery. *An Introduction to Book History*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Flynn, Dennis. "The English Mission of Jasper Heywood, S.J." *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 54 (1985): 45-76.
- Foote, Mirjam M. *Bookbinders at Work: Their Roles and Methods*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2006.
- Foucault, Michel. "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." In *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow, 76-100. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.

- . “What is an Author?” In *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow, 101-120. New York: Pantheon, 1984.
- Fowler, Alastair. *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to Theory of Genres and Modes*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Freemen, Thomas S. “*The Reformation of the Church in this Parliament*”: Thomas Norton, John Foxe and the Parliament of 1571.” *Parliamentary History* 16 (1997): 131-147.
- Gaggero, Christopher. “Pleasure Unreconciled to Virtue: George Gascoigne and Didactic Drama.” In *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485-1590: New Directions for Research, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, edited by Lloyd Edward Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren, and Martine Van Elk, 167- 194. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Gair, Reavley. *The Children of Paul's: The Story of a Theatre Company, 1553-1608*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Galbraith, Stephen K. “Spenser’s First Folio: The Build-It-Yourself Edition.” *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 21 (2006): 21-50.
- Gants, David. “Patterns of Paper Use in the *Workes of Beniamin Jonson*.” *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* 51 (1998): 127-53.
- Gaskell, Phillip. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1995.
- Gerritsen, Johan. “Stansby and Jonson Produce a Folio: A Preliminary Account.” *English Studies* 40 (1959): 52-65.
- Gibson, Joy Leslie. *Squeaking Cleopatras the Elizabethan boy player*. Gloucestershire, England: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2000.
- Gillespie, Alexandra. “Caxton’s Chaucer and Lydgate Quartos: Miscellanies from

- Manuscript to Print.” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 12 (2000): 1–25.
- . “Poets, Printers, and Early English Sammelbände.” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67 (2004): 189–214.
- Gollancz, Sir Israel. “General Introduction.” *Studies in the First Folio written for the Shakespeare association in celebration of the First folio tercentenary and read at meetings of the association held at King's college*. London: Oxford University Press, 1924.
- Graves, Michael A.R. *Thomas Norton: Parliament Man*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Greg, W.W. *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 4 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1970.
- . “On Certain False Dates in Shakespearian Quartos.” *The Library* 9 (1908): 113–131.
- . *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Greene, Nicholas. *Shakespeare's Serial History Plays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Griffin, Benjamin. *Playing the Past: Approaches to English historical drama, 1385-1600*. Rochester, New York: Boydell & Brewer Limited, 2001.
- Gurr, Andrew. *The Shakespearean Stage 1574-1642*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Guy, John. *Queen of Scots: The True Life of Mary Stuart*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004.

- Hailey, Carter. R. "The Shakespearian Pavier Quartos Revisited." *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* 57 (2004-2005): 151-195.
- Hazel Smith, John. "Seneca's Tragedies: A Tentative Checklist of Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Century Printings." *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 18 (1967): 49-50.
- Hamlin, William M. *Early Modern English Library Catalogues: A Working Bibliography*, <http://www.wsu.edu/~whamlin>, (accessed April 20, 2011).
- Heaton, Gabriel. *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments From George Gascoigne to Ben Jonson*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Helgerson, Richard. *Self-crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983.
- Herendeen, Wyman H. "A New Way to Pay Old Debts: Pre-texts to the 1616 Folio." In *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, edited by Jennifer Brady and W.H. Herendeen, 38-63. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991.
- Herford, C.H., P. Simpson, and E. Simpson, eds. *Ben Jonson*. 9 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925-1952.
- Hinman, Charlton. *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Hoe, Robert, James Osborne Wright, and Carolyn Shipman. *A Catalogue of Early English Books forming a portion of the Library of Robert Hoe New York 1903*. 5 vols. New York: George H. Richmond, 1903.

- Howard, Jean E. "Shakespeare, Geography, and the Work of Genre on the Early Modern Stage." *Modern Language Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2003): 299-322.
- Howard-Hill, T.H. "The Evolution of the Form of Plays in English during the Renaissance." *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990): 112-45.
- Horne, Philip. "Henry James and the Cultural Frame of the New York Edition." In *The Culture of Collected Editions*. Edited by Andrew Nash, 95-110. Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2003.
- Hunter, G. K. *John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier*. London: Routledge, 1962.
- . ed., "Galatea." In *John Lyly: Galatea & Midas*, edited by George K. Hunter and David Bevington, 2-108. Manchester and New York: Manchester UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1996.
- Ioppolo, Grace. "The Transmission of an English Renaissance Play Text." In *A Companion to Renaissance Drama*, edited by Arthur F. Kinney, 63-179. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.
- Jackson, H.J. *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*. Harrisonburg, VA: R.R. Donnelly & Sons, 2001.
- James, Henry and Greg Walker. "'The Politics of Gorboduc.'" *English Historical Review* 110 (1995): 109-21.
- Johnson, Gerald D. "Thomas Pavier, Publisher, 1600–1625." *Library*, 6th series, 14 (1992):12-48.
- Jones, Norman and Paul Whitfield White. "'Gorboduc and Royal Marriage Politics: An Elizabethan Playgoer's Report of the Premiere Performance.'" *English Literary Renaissance* 26 (1996): 3-16.
- Jonson, Benjamin. *Ben Jonson: Epigrams and The Forest*. Edited by Richard Dutton. New York: Routledge, 2003.

- John Jowett. ed. *The Tragedy of Richard III*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Kable, William S. *The Pavier Quartos and the First Folio of Shakespeare*. Dubuque, IA: W. C. Brown Co., 1970.
- Kastan, David Scott. "'A Rarity Most Beloved': Shakespeare and the Idea of Tragedy." In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works: The Tragedies*. Edited by Richard Dutton and Jean Elizabeth Howard, 4-22. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- . *Shakespeare and the Book*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Keen, Paul. "Book Worlds." *Underhill Review* (Fall 2008): 1-5.
- Keifer, Frederick. "Seneca Speaks in English: What the Elizabethan Translators Wrought." *Comparative Literature Studies* 15, no. 4 (1978): 372-87.
- Kamps, Ivo. "The Writing of History in Shakespeare's England." In *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, edited by Michael Hattaway and Jean Howard, 4-25. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- Kewes, Paulina. "The Elizabethan History Play: A True Genre?" In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works: The Histories*, edited by Richard Dutton and Jean Elizabeth Howard, 170-193. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- . "'Give Me the Sociable Pocket-books...': Humphrey Moseley's Serial Publication of Octavo Play Collections." *Publishing History* 38 (1995): 5-21.
- Kiessling, Nicolas K. *The Library of Anthony Wood*. Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2002.
- King, John N. *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

- Kesselring, K.J. *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics, and Protest in Elizabethan England*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2007.
- Knapp, Jeffrey. "Shakespeare as Co-Author." *Shakespeare Studies* 36 (2008): 49-59.
- . "What is a Co-Author?" *Representations* 89 (2005): 1-29.
- Knight, Jeffrey Todd. "Fast Bind, Fast Find: The History of the Book and the Modern Collection." *Criticism* 51, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 70-104.
- . "Making Shakespeare's Books: Assembly and Intertextuality in the Archives." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60, no.3 (2009): 304-340.
- Knowles, James. "'Tied to rules of flattery'? Court Drama and the Masque." In *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, edited by Michael Hattaway, Vol. 1, 105-122. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Knutson, Roslyn Lander. *Playing Companies and Commerce in Shakespeare's Time*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . *The Repertory of Shakespeare's Company, 1594-1613*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991.
- Leigh, John. ed. *The Tenne Tragedies of Seneca, Translated into English. Parts I and II*. Reprint, New York, AMS Press, 1967.
- Lander, Jesse M. *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Lesser, Zachary. *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Booktrade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Lesser, Zachary and Peter Stallybrass. "The First Literary *Hamlet* and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (2008): 371-420.

- Levine, Mortimer. *The Early Elizabethan Succession Questions 1558-1568*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- Loades, D.M. *Politics and Nation: England, 1450-1660*, 5th ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1999.
- Loewenstein, Joseph. *The Author's Due: Printing and Prehistory of Copyright*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- . *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- . "Printing and 'The Multitudinous Presse': The Contentious Texts of Jonson's Masques." In *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*, edited by W.H. Brady and Jennifer Herendeen, 168-191. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991.
- Maguire, Laurie E. "Composition/decomposition: Singular Shakespeare and the Death of the Author." In *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, edited by Andrew Murphy, 142-3. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Marcus, Leah. *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Mardock, James D. *Our Scene is London: Ben Jonson's City and the Space of the Author*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Marsalek, Karen Sawyer. "'Doctrine Evangelicall' and Erasmus's *Paraphrases* in *The Resurrection of our Lord*." In *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare, 1485-1590: New Directions for Research, Criticism, and Pedagogy*, edited by Lloyd Edward Kermode, Jason Scott-Warren, and Martine Van Elk, 35-66. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Marino, James. "William Shakespeare's *Sir John Oldcastle*." *Renaissance Drama: Institutions of the Text*, n.s., 30 (2001): 93-114.

- Massai, Sonia. *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Masten, Jeffrey. *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- McCarthy, Jeanne H. "Elizabeth I's 'picture in little': Boy Company Representations of the Queen's Authority." *Studies in Philology* 100, no. 4 (2003): 425-62.
- McKenzie, D.F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- McKerrow, Ronald B. *The Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*. Introduction by David McKitterick. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1994.
- McLaren, Anne. "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism." *The American Historical Review*, - 107, no. 3 (2002): 739-767.
- Miles, Rosalind. *Ben Jonson: His Life and Work*. New York: Routledge, 1986.
- Miller, Paul W. "The 1619 Pavier Quartos of Shakespeare: A Recapitulation." *Michigan Academician* 3, no.1 (1970): 95-99.
- Moeslein, M.E. ed. *The Plays of Henry Medwall: A Critical Edition*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1981.
- Montrose, Louis A. "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture." In *The New Historicism*, edited by H. Aram Vesser, 15-36. New York and London: Routledge, 1989.
- Morini, Massimiliano. *Tudor Translation Theory and Practice*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006.

- Morrissey, Bernard Delbert. "Thomas Newton of Cheshire: A Literary Study." PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1957.
- Moss, Ann. *Printed Commonplace-books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Murphy, Andrew. "'Came error here by mysse of man': Editing and the Metaphysics of Presence." *Yearbook of English Studies* 29 (1999): 118-137.
- . *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Nash, Andrew. "Introduction: The Culture of Collected Editions, Authorship, Reputation, and the Canon." In *The Culture of Collected Editions*, edited by Andrew Nash, 1-15. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Needham, Paul. *The Printer and the Pardoner: An Unrecorded Indulgence Printed by William Caxton for the Hospital of St. Mary Rounceval, Charing Cross*. Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1986.
- Niedig, William Jonathan. "The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619." *Modern Philology* 8, no.2 (1910): 145-164.
- Nelson, Alan H. ed. *Tudor Interludes: The Plays of Henry Medwall*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer & Boydell, 1980.
- Neufeld, Christine M. "Lylys Chimerical Vision: Witchcraft in *Endymion*." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 43, no. 4 (Oct. 2007): 351-369.
- Newcomb, Lori Humphrey. *Reading Romance in Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia Press, 2002.

- Newton, Richard. "Jonson and the (Re-)Invention of the Book." In *Classic and Cavalier: Essays on Jonson and the Sons of Ben*, edited by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, 31-58. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982.
- Nichols, Stephen G. and Siegfried Wenzel, eds. *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Niedig, William J. "The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619." *Modern Philology* 8, no. 2 (1910): 145-163.
- Norland, Howard B. *Neoclassical Tragedy in Elizabethan England*. Newark, Delaware: Rosemont Publishing and Printing, 2009.
- O'Keefe, Jack. "Innovative Diction in the First English Translations of Seneca." *English Language Notes* 18 (1980): 90-8.
- Orgel, Stephen. "The Authentic Shakespeare." In *Shakespeare: The Critical Complex*, edited by Stephen Orgel & Sean Keilen, 91-116. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1999.
- . ed. *Ben Jonson: Selected Masques*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1970.
- . "Marginal Jonson." In *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, edited by David M. Bevington & Peter Holbrook, 144-175. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . "Textual Icons: Reading Early Modern Illustrations." In *The Renaissance Computer: Knowledge Technology in the First Age of Print*, edited by Neil Rhodes and Jonathan Sawday, 57-92. New York & London: Routledge, 2000.
- Osborn, James M. "Edmond Malone: Scholar-Collector," *The Library* 19 (1964): 11-13.
- Oastler, Christopher Lewis. *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer*. Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975.
- Pearson, David. *English Bookbinding Styles 1450-1800*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2005.

- Pierce, William. *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts: A Chapter in the Evolution of Religious and Civil Liberty in England*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1909.
- Pollard, Alfred W. "Shakespeare in the Remainder Market." *The Academy* 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 9 (June 1906): 113-131.
- . *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594-1685*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1970.
- Pollard, A.W. and G.R. Redgrave. *A Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*. Edited by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Panzer, 2nd ed., 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976.
- Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*. Edited by Robert J. Fehrenbach and Elisabeth S. Leedham-Green. 6 vols. Binghamton, NY and Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies; Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1992-2004.
- Private Libraries in Renaissance England Folger Database*. Edited by R.J. Fehrenbach, Joseph L. Black, & E.S. Leedham-Green, <http://wmpeople.wm.edu/site/page/rjfehr/home>, (accessed 20 April 2011).
- Proal, Louis. *Passion and Criminality*. Translated by A.R. Allinson. Paris: Charles Carrington, 1901.
- Raymond, Joad. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

- Riddell, James A. "Ben Jonson's Folio of 1616." In *Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, edited by Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart, 152-62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- . "The Concluding Pages of the Jonson Folio of 1616." *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* 47 (1994): 147-54.
- Ringler, W. A. Jr., "Sir Philip Sidney: The Myth and the Man." In *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, edited by Jan van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith and Arthur F. Kinne, 3-15. Leiden: Sir Thomas Browne Institute [by] E.J. Brill/Leiden University Press, 1986.
- Robinson, Benedict Scott. "Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections." *Studies in English Literature* 42, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 361-380.
- Scragg, Leah. "Edward Blount and the History of Lylian Criticism." *Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language* 46, no. 181 (1995): 1-10.
- . "Edward Blount and the Prefatory Material to the First Folio of Shakespeare." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 79, no. 1 (1997): 117-26.
- Shapiro, Michael. *Children of the Revels*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.
- . "Early (pre-1590) Boy Companies & their Acting Venues." *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre*, edited by Richard Dutton, 120-135. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Sherman, William. *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

- Shohet, Lauren. "The Masque in/as Print." In *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationer, and Readers in Early modern England*, edited by Marta Straznicky, 176-202. University of Massachusetts Press, 2006.
- Slack, Peter. *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.
- Smith, Emma. "Shakespeare Serialized: *An Age of Kings*." In *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture*, edited by Robert Shaughnessy, 134-149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Smith, Helen. "'Print[ing] your royal father off:' early modern female stationers and the gendering of the British book trades." *TEXT: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies* 15 (2003): 163-86.
- Smuts, Malcolm. "The Whole Royal and Magnificent Entertainment." In *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, edited by Gary Taylor and John Lavignino, 219-223. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.
- Spearing, Elizabeth. *Elizabethan Translations of Seneca*. Cambridge: Heffer, 1912.
- . *Studley's Translations of Seneca's Agamemnon and Medea. Edited from the Octavos of 1566*. Reprint, Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1963.
- Stallybrass, Peter. "Against Thinking." *PMLA* 122, no. 5 (2007): 1580-7.
- Stapleton, M.L. *Fated Sky: The Femina Furens in Shakespeare*. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2000.
- Stationers' Company. *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1554-1920*. Edited by Robin Myers. Cambridge, UK ; Chadwyck-Healey, 1985.

- Stern, Tiffany. *Documents of Performance in early modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Stoddard, Roger E. *Marks in Books*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Straznicky, Marta. *Privacy, Playreading, and Women's Closet Drama, 1550-1700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Swann, Marjorie. *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Stephen, Tabor. "The Bridgewater Library." *Dictionary of Literary Biography in Pre-Nineteenth-Century British Book Collectors and Bibliographers*, edited by William Baker and Kenneth Womack, Vol. 213, 40-50. Detroit: Gale Group, 1999.
- Taunton, Nina. "Time's Whirligig: Images of Old Age in Coriolanus, Francis Bacon and Thomas Newton." In *Growing Old in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Erin Campbell, 218-38. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006.
- Teague, Francis. *The Curious History of Bartholomew Fair*. Toronto: Associated University Presses. 1985.
- Thomson, Peter. "English Renaissance and Restoration Theatre." In *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Theatre*, edited by John Russell Brown, 173-219. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Tillyard, E.M.W. *Shakespeare's History Plays*. Penguin Book Limited, 1964.
- Tribble, Evelyn B. *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993.
- Vanhoutte, Jacqueline. "Community, Authority, and the Motherland in Sackville and Norton's "Gorboduc." *Studies in English Literature* 40, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 227-239.

- Velz, John W. "From Authorization to Authorship, Orality to Literature: The Case of Medieval and Renaissance Drama." *TEXT: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies* 6 (1994): 197-211.
- . *Shakespeare and the Classical Tradition*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1968.
- Walker, Greg. *The Politics of Performance in Early Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Wall, Wendy. *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Weil Baker, David. "'Master of the Monuments': Memory and Erasure in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*." *English Literary Renaissance* 31, no. 2 (2008): 267-287.
- Wells, Stanley. "The First Folio: Where Would We Be Without It?" In *Shakespeare, Text, and Theatre. Essays in Honor of Jay L. Halio*, edited by Lois Potter and Arthur F. Kinney, 17-32. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1999.
- Wells, Stanley and Gary Taylor. *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Wiles, R.W. *Serial Publication in England before 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957.
- William, W. P., "Chetwin, Crooke, and the Jonson Folios." *Studies in Bibliography* 30 (1977): 76-96.
- Williams, Gordon. *Shakespeare, Sex and the Print Revolution*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Athlone, 1996.
- Neville, Williams. *The Life and Times of Elizabeth I*. London: Book Club Associates, 1972.

- Winston, Jessica. "Seneca in Early Elizabethan England," *Renaissance Quarterly* 59, no.1 (2006): 29-58.
- Wilson, J. Dover. "The Task of Heminge and Condell." In *Studies in the First Folio Written for the Shakespeare Association in Celebration of the First Folio Tercentenary and Read at Meetings of the Association held at King's College*. London: Oxford University Press, 1924.
- Wood, Andy. *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Woodbridge, Linda. *English Revenge Drama: Money, Resistance, Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Worden, Blair. *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.