

Gabriel Harvey and the History of Reading

Essays by Lisa Jardine
and others

Edited by
Anthony Grafton,
Nicholas Popper
and William Sherman

UCLPRESS



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 **UCL**PRESS

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List of contributors

Robyn Adams is Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters at University College London. She is responsible for delivering the core research skills module to the UCL MA in Early Modern Studies programme, in order to equip the next generation of students for archival research. Her own research interests lie in the textual output of the early modern period, particularly manuscript letters and book collections. She is currently leading ‘Shaping Scholarship: Early donations to the Bodleian Library’, an AHRC-funded project to analyse the donations to the Bodleian Library in the first 20 years of its refurbishment in the seventeenth century.

Frederic Clark is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Southern California. He is a cultural and intellectual historian who specialises in the afterlife of classical antiquity in mediaeval and early modern Europe. He is the author of *The First Pagan Historian: The fortunes of a fraud from Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (2020) and co-editor of *Thinking in the Past Tense: Eight conversations* (2019). He is currently completing a book on the history of historical periodisation, titled *Dividing Time: The invention of historical periods in early modern Europe* (forthcoming).

Anthony Grafton is Henry Putnam University Professor of History at Princeton University. He received his BA in History at the University of Chicago (1971), his MA in History at the University of Chicago (1972) and – after a year as an occasional student at the University of London (1973–74) – his PhD in History from the University of Chicago (1975). He has taught since then at Princeton. He is the author or co-author of over 20 books and editor or co-editor of over 20 more, most recently *Inky Fingers: The making of books in early modern Europe* (2020) and, with Maren Elisabeth Schwab, *The Art of Discovery: Digging into the past in Renaissance Europe* (2022).

Earle Havens is the Nancy H. Hall Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts and inaugural Director of the Virginia Fox Stern Center for the History of the Book in the Renaissance at Johns Hopkins University.

He was the Principal Investigator with Lisa Jardine, Anthony Grafton and Matthew Symonds of the Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe digital initiative and has published widely on scribal evidence of historical reading practices. He is currently co-editing a volume with Jennifer Rampling on Richard Eden's annotated copy text for his influential translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades of the newe worlde* (1555).

Lisa Jardine (d. 2015) was founding Director of the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters, first at Queen Mary University of London and then, from 2012, at UCL. A prolific writer, an active broadcaster and an engaged public servant, she left her mark on many areas of life. Her books included influential studies of Shakespeare and Erasmus, landmark biographies of Bacon, Wren and Hooke, popular surveys of Renaissance culture and prize-winning accounts of Anglo-Dutch relations – as well as the pioneering work on Gabriel Harvey's marginalia that is featured in this volume. A regular presenter of the BBC's arts and current affairs programmes (including *Night Waves* and *A Point of View*), Jardine served as judge for most of Britain's literary prizes and, from 2008 to 2014, chaired the UK government's Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority.

Sara Miglietti is Senior Lecturer in Cultural and Intellectual History at London's Warburg Institute. She specialises in European intellectual history (1500–1700), with a focus on political philosophy, book history and translation and reception studies. She is the editor of *Reading Publics in Renaissance Europe* (2016), *Climates Past and Present* (2017) and *Governing the Environment in the Early Modern World* (2017). She has edited and translated into Italian Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (2013), also exploring its early reception through annotated editions. Her current project is a study of Renaissance self-translations from and into Latin.

Nicholas Popper is Associate Professor of History at William & Mary and Editor of Books at the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. He earned his PhD from Princeton under the supervision of Anthony Grafton. He was a Mellon Postdoctoral Instructor at the California Institute of Technology in 2008–9 and since then has taught at William & Mary. He is the author of *Walter Raleigh's 'History of the World' and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (2012) and *The Specter of the Archive: Political practice and the information state in early modern*

Britain (2024), and co-editor, with Ann Blair, of *New Horizons for Early Modern Scholarship* (2021).

William Sherman is Director of the Warburg Institute and Professor of Cultural History in the University of London's School of Advanced Study. He earned his BA at Columbia University and his MPhil and PhD at Cambridge University where he worked under the supervision of Lisa Jardine. In addition to editing anthologies, special issues and textual editions, he is the author of *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (1995) and *Used Books: Marking readers in Renaissance England* (2008). He is currently finishing a study of visual marginalia called *The Reader's Eye* (forthcoming) and a history of codes and ciphers called *The Cryptographic Renaissance* (forthcoming).

Matthew Symonds is Senior Research Associate at UCL's Centre for Editing Lives and Letters. As CELL's technical director, he is responsible for the digital infrastructure for the Centre's research projects, including David Pearson's *Book Owners Online*. He acted as Co-PI on CELL's project, *The Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe*, a collaboration with scholars, librarians and software engineers at Johns Hopkins University and Princeton. He is currently working on 'Shaping Scholarship', CELL's AHRC-funded project examining the donation of money, manuscripts and books to the Bodleian Library at Oxford on its refoundation in 1600.

Arnoud Visser is Professor of Textual Culture in the Renaissance at Utrecht University. His research has focused on early modern intellectual culture, with particular attention to the history of reading and to classical and patristic traditions in Reformation Europe. He is the author of *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The flexibility of intellectual authority in Europe, 1500–1620* (2011). He is currently working on a history of pedantry as an intellectual vice from antiquity to the present and editing the Renaissance volume in the forthcoming Cultural History of Fame (forthcoming). He also directs Annotated Books Online, a digital platform for the study of early modern reading practices (a collaborative venture together with partners at Gent, University College London, York and Princeton).

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This book has been even longer than most scholarly works in the making. One version of it was promised in the original 1990 article by Jardine and Grafton that serves as its point of departure, and other iterations were planned, pitched and partly executed over the ensuing decades. It gives the editors great pleasure at last to thank all those who have helped transform an overoptimistic footnote not simply into a reality but into a posthumous tribute to Lisa Jardine, the scholar who first set the project in motion. It is especially gratifying to add the book to the impressive list at UCL Press – not least because Lisa Jardine’s *Temptation in the Archives* (2015) was the first monograph published by the then-new press of her final employer.

We are more grateful than we can say to Lisa’s husband, John Hare, for his enthusiastic support and unflagging cooperation over the years; to Alan Stewart for his institutional and intellectual collaboration; to the many librarians who have helped us in ways that go far beyond the traditional role of providing access, especially Stephen Ferguson and Eric White of the Princeton University Library and Winston Tabb of the Johns Hopkins University Libraries and Museums; to the Folger Shakespeare Library for granting space to write at a critical moment for the project; to Pat Gordon-Smith and her colleagues at UCL Press, who have skilfully steered our book through the process of publication; to Christopher Lu for expert editing of the draft chapters; to the publishers who have kindly allowed us to reprint earlier publications; to the Archaeologists of Reading (including Lisa), whose pioneering digital editions of 14 of Harvey’s books, with full transcriptions of the marginalia, have revolutionised the conditions of research on all components of Harvey’s library; and to the contributors to this book, who have demonstrated in vivid, complementary ways the continuing vitality of Jardine’s original insights and research. Above all, we are grateful to Lisa herself, *sine qua non*, for the richness and originality of her scholarship, the brilliance of her writing and the unique generosity with which she made us and so many others her collaborators.

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Chapter 11 was previously published as Lisa Jardine, “‘Studied for action’ revisited”, in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in honor of Anthony Grafton*, edited by Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 997–1017. Thanks to Brill for permission to republish.

Note on translations

Unless otherwise specified, all translations have been done by the chapter author(s). Some translations in previously published material have been very slightly modified to improve sense in the versions published here.

Foreword: Lisa Jardine and UCL's Centre for Editing Lives and Letters

Robyn Adams and Matthew Symonds

In 2001, with generous funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB) (now Council, or AHRC), Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart established the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters (CELL). It was one of several AHRB centres created to 'facilitate research of the highest quality in areas of demonstrably strategic importance across the arts and humanities'. Many of the rest of these centres have since been wound up, their activities logged only on rather old-fashioned-looking corners of university websites or, sadly, victims of web rot as links to dead-end '404 Not Found' error pages.¹

Lisa's intellectual interests were marked at this point by a turn towards intellectual biography: Lisa and Alan had already co-authored *Hostage to Fortune: The troubled life of Francis Bacon*.² Other biographical studies would follow, principally those of Robert Hooke and Christopher Wren.³ These were books built on extensive ('scrupulous', Lisa would have said) original archival research, particularly into their subjects' correspondence.

'The Centre', the paperwork promised, 'will provide a new and unique facility for large and small-scale projects engaged in print and electronic editing of historical biography, diaries and correspondence.' The core staff would include, in addition to its founders, an in-house

¹ Arts and Humanities Research Council, 'Research Centres', accessed 17 September 2021, <https://ahrc.ukri.org/research/fundedthemesandprogrammes/pastinitiatives/researchcentres/>.

² Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The troubled life of Francis Bacon 1561–1626* (London: Hill and Wang, 1998).

³ Lisa Jardine, *On a Grand Scale: The outstanding career of Sir Christopher Wren* (London: HarperCollins, 2002); Lisa Jardine, *The Curious Life of Robert Hooke: The man who measured London* (London: HarperCollins, 2003).

palaeographer, a classicist, textual bibliographers and, vitally, an expert in the use of computers.

CELL – the name itself a nod to the nineteenth-century antiquarian James Spedding’s monumental (and still not entirely superseded) *Letters and Life of Francis Bacon* – would not only be an engine to produce more of these biographies, but it would also establish best practices in methodology and train others in the skills necessary for such archival ‘encounters with the dead’. It was Lisa’s great insight that these skills were not restricted to the traditional tools of the archival scholar, but that she also recognised the importance of technology: the computer on the desk was to be something more vital to a scholar’s activity than simply an electronic typewriter.

In addition to being a centre for best practice for archival and scholarly research – producing digital and printed output which, in Lisa’s words, sought to ‘make archives matter’ – CELL was to be a place for conversation, collaboration and collegiality. It was also committed to an interdisciplinary method of working, and under its auspices the teaching term was punctuated with guest lectures and seminars from external scholars and by a continual flow of fellow staff from the departments of English, History and Geography at Queen Mary University of London (QMUL), CELL’s original home, all contributing to teaching the Master of Research qualification which attracted students from around the globe. Often, these visitors would stay for hours after the seminar, warmly received in the open-plan CELL office, caught up in the wide-ranging discussion of academic news and current affairs and in the infectious energy with which Lisa approached all areas of her life. In these informal sessions, eminent scholars were joined by visiting scholars from home and overseas, often accompanied by a handful of early career scholars or PhD students, to whom Lisa offered constant and inclusive support and guidance.

Lisa was adamant that cutting-edge scholarly research had relevance outside the academy. This was manifest in her rigorously researched and critically acclaimed books for the general public, by her several series of *A Point of View* on BBC Radio 4, and by the countless invitations she received for platform talks and appearances in the media. Before ‘public engagement’ was a fundamental requirement of academic endeavours, Lisa organised an annual public Biography Lecture and event dinner sponsored by publisher HarperCollins. Speakers at the events included Amanda Foreman, Simon Schama, Stephen Fry, Jung Chang and Grayson Perry. It was an opportunity for Lisa to invite her friends from public life to the People’s Palace at QMUL on London’s

Mile End Road, and later to the Royal Institute of British Architects in Central London, where they could gain a glimpse of scholarship in action. Equally, it was a chance for local residents, students and early career staff to mingle with the intellectual élite and perceive how the boundaries between academic endeavour and wider engagement could and should be blurred (Lisa would spend a long time on the seating plan ensuring that the dinner tables were an interesting admixture of students and VIP guests, and that there would be a shared exchange of knowledge).

This blurring of the boundaries defined Lisa's approach to academic and pedagogical activity. The doors of CELL revolved with visits from and to libraries, collections and institutions, which contributed to a deeper understanding of how individual archives were constituted (and therefore how to search and find items within them effectively). Lisa advocated finding a 'trusted informant' within a particular archive – seeking the advice and expertise of members of staff within a particular collection in order to understand it better and to optimise research. Colleagues from the Libraries and Information Studies sector were thus familiar and significant figures at CELL, and Lisa's example of explicitly giving credit to the specialised knowledge of these staff has influenced the last two decades of CELL students and staff. This emphasis on the professional side of archive studies – coupled with the advancing role of computational technologies in the sector – meant that the CELL environment was a dynamic hub of complementary perspectives, innately and fiercely interdisciplinary ('pan-disciplinary', as Lisa used to joke), and a fertile locus for the various projects to develop.

The 'digital humanities' – by which can be understood a huge complex of methods and intellectual responses to doing scholarly research with computers – did not really exist as a concept in 2001.⁴ It was still more common at that time to talk of 'humanities computing', a phrase that conjures up images of social historians building huge spreadsheets of births and deaths gleaned from parish registers. However, Lisa saw – not least thanks to witnessing her son Sam's early development as a professional coder – that computers could be used to help answer questions scholars had long asked of their archives but that were out of reach to the traditional model of a lone researcher at their desk in the reading rooms, with as many manuscripts or books as could be delivered to their table at one time, armed with pencil, paper and lever-arch file.

⁴ Melissa Terras, Julianne Nyhan and Edward Vanhoutte, eds, *Defining Digital Humanities: A reader* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

The most important appointment to the new Centre was Dr Jan Broadway as Technical Director. Jan is an early modern historian, among other things an authority on the seventeenth-century herald Sir William Dugdale, but she is also a professional software engineer who had previously worked in both the private and public sectors. It was this combination of skills, of ways of thinking, that was to become the hallmark of CELL's approach to the digital.

CELL's early digital projects revolved around the construction of databases of historical correspondence. A new census of Bacon's correspondence was undertaken, identifying over 200 'new' letters: this census was made available online as a MySQL database. Later *The Letters of William Herle* was published as a digital edition, a complete text – searchable by keyword – of the surviving corpus of the Elizabethan intelligencer's letters, whose correspondence had been for many years hidden behind his notoriously obscure hand.

That approach to the digital – and to CELL's research agenda – was transformed by the discovery of the so-called Hooke Folio, 'surely the most important manuscript discovery connected with the Royal Society of the past 50 years'.⁵ Lisa had been central to the rediscovery and return to the Royal Society of this compilation of Hooke's own notes of meetings and proceedings of the earliest days of the Society, including minutes taken during his five-year stint as its Secretary from 1678–83. CELL was invited to transcribe and digitise the folio, at that point the most ambitious of the Centre's projects. It remains available online and – if the number of complaints received when the CELL website briefly went offline in 2018 are anything to go by – still heavily used by researchers.⁶ The project's combination of transcribing the manuscript and marking it up in XML to make the text suitable for computational analysis, while also rendering transcriptions on web pages alongside the relevant images of the pages of the folio itself, now looks a lot like a prototype of the Archaeology of Reading, one of the Centre's most recent projects and certainly the most technically ambitious.⁷

While the Archaeology of Reading was to be Lisa's final project of research, the idea of using digital techniques to animate research into marginalia – and more specifically those of Gabriel Harvey, the major subject of Lisa and Anthony Grafton's classic article "Studied for action":

⁵ Robyn Adams and Lisa Jardine, 'The return of the Hooke folio', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 60, no. 3 (2006): 239.

⁶ Centre for Editing Lives and Letters, 'The Hooke Folio online', accessed 17 September 2021, <http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/cell/Hooke/Hooke.html>.

⁷ The Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe, accessed 6 December 2021, <https://archaeologyofreading.org/>.

How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy' – was a constant of Lisa's plans for the Centre.⁸ Lisa considered printed collections of marginalia, such as G. C. Moore-Smith's *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, to be effectively useless.⁹ Such compilations, by merely transcribing the marginal note, ripped it away from its physical relationship to the material text of the reader's copy of the printed book, actively hampering the scholar who wished to understand the intellectual relationship between the text and its reader.

It is one thing to have the sensation that the digital humanities could do something; it is another to know what that might be. One early idea was to animate the pages using photo-editing software, to move from a seemingly pristine printed page and slowly revealing more and more of the marginalia as Harvey read and reread the text at different points in time. The idea was to demonstrate the layering of notes on a page, the white space around the printed matter filling as Harvey returned to the text, perhaps demonstrating the changing purposes for which he employed his books. This, of course, relied on knowing with some confidence precisely when and in what order Harvey made his notes. While arguments can be made with greater (Harvey dates some comments) or lesser (Harvey uses a particular ink, or a particular hand, at one point but not others) certainty, it would have been impossible to present this with consistent authority.

Not much of this idea remained by the time Lisa learned of the one thing that made all her subsequent efforts to experiment with digitising Harvey's marginalia possible: Firestone Library at Princeton University's digital scanning of Harvey's copy of Livy's history of Rome. Since the appearance of 'Studied for action' publicised the existence of the book, increased use of it in the reading room at Princeton had unfortunately worn at the fabric of the book: pages were tearing and the binding was increasingly precarious. Conservation of rare material has long been a powerful impulse to digitisation and, along with several other volumes annotated by Harvey in their collections, the library photographed the Livy as a first step towards its conservation for future generations of scholars. Firestone Library agreed to supply CELL with the images for the purposes of research.

Lisa now had access to the images of the pages of the book. However, putting those online simply as a series of images from front cover to back, following the model of something like Early English

⁸ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action": How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78.

⁹ G. C. Moore-Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913).

Books Online – the behemoth of digitised early printing – would not have achieved much. Increasing access to rare materials is good in itself, but Lisa thought that successful digitisations ought to ‘add scholarly value’ as well. Harvey’s notes were mostly in Latin – something that *Past & Present*’s insistence that ‘Studied for action’ use English translation throughout its many quotations had obscured from many would-be readers of the printed book – and the simplest step to take would be to transcribe and translate all the annotations. The task of building on the translations prepared for ‘Studied for action’ was taken on by the Dutch scholar Arnoud Visser following their meeting during a period when she was on research leave in the Netherlands. This was typical of Lisa’s approach to collaboration: a project’s purpose was to bring together a network of researchers, ideally from multiple disciplines, each gaining something from its successful completion (and from Lisa’s perspective, if they were at the early stages of their career and would benefit from her mentorship, so much the better).

Arnoud’s involvement also allowed for a collaboration with the University of Utrecht: Annotated Books Online (ABO).¹⁰ This was CELL’s first project to digitise the Harvey marginalia, transcribed and translated and presented online. The website was initially built by computer science students at Utrecht as part of their degree course (the site architecture has subsequently been revised, but it continues to operate in essentially the same manner as when first launched, and all students are acknowledged by name on every page of the site).

ABO acts essentially as a platform for individual libraries to upload digitised annotated books from their collections. These books themselves may then be annotated by drawing polygons around the part of the image that contains the marginal note, associating that shape with a plain-text transcription of the note supplied by a volunteer. There are currently 110 books on the site printed and annotated in several languages, Dutch and English, Latin and Greek, Hebrew and Arabic. It is a treasure trove.

Lisa, though, was unconvinced ABO really served her purpose of digitally revitalising the study of Harvey’s marginalia. Her thinking was twofold: firstly, a platform for uploading individual books was too arbitrary to supply the sort of coherent story about books and their readers – their purposes, their intellectual aims – that Lisa wanted to show was possible using the digital humanities. It would be a resource, not an argument. Secondly, Lisa believed strongly that that argument had to

¹⁰ Annotated Books Online, accessed 6 December 2021, <https://www.annotatedbooks.com>.

focus on Harvey himself. We knew enough about Harvey and his books to be able to link his marginalia to their historical contexts, and from that to attempt to reconstruct the intellectual project that determined which books he should consult and how they in turn linked to reading other books, and what ends and what conclusions that reading serviced.

Lisa wished to create a digital bookwheel, like the beautiful wooden bookwheel kept at the Bibliotheca Thysiana in Leiden. This digital version would allow users not only to see rendered high-definition images of the underlying physical book and its web of print and manuscript notes, but also to place one book alongside others, so that they could chart their way through the books Harvey used. CELL at that point had recently relocated across London to UCL from QMUL: one of our new colleagues, Chris Stamatakis, had just published a timely demonstration of this interconnectedness of Harvey's books in a study of Harvey's copy of *Il cortegiano* (1541), now in UCL Library's Special Collections.¹¹ Here he had found a note, cross-referring to Harvey's copy of Quintilian's *Institutionum oratoriarum libri XII* (1542), located close by in the British Library. The notes in both were identical in form, save only the page references that pointed to one another. For Lisa, this was a neat demonstration that the true question was not how did Harvey read his Livy, or his *Courtier*, or his Quintilian, but rather how did Harvey read his library?

It was at this point that Lisa was asked by Earle Havens to become involved in the project that would become the Archaeology of Reading (AOR). This collaboration between three scholars (Earle, Lisa and Tony Grafton), three universities (the Johns Hopkins University, UCL and Princeton), but most importantly three types of intellectual stakeholder in the digitisation of this kind of rare books material (scholars, librarians and software engineers) was funded by the Andrew Mellon Foundation. A team of scholars laboured to translate, transcribe and mark up in XML a dozen of Harvey's books, reunited online from across a number of European and American libraries. A team of software engineers based in Johns Hopkins' Sheridan Libraries created the infrastructure by which these transcriptions could be displayed, browsed and searched.

So much work was done over the course of that first year, with meetings in Baltimore, Princeton and London (the last taking place inside the library of St Paul's Cathedral and followed by cocktails at the Guildhall, much to the delight of the participants). These meetings

¹¹ Chris Stamatakis, "With diligent studie, but sportingly": How Gabriel Harvey read his Castiglione', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 5 (2013), accessed 17 September 2021, <https://jnr2.hcommons.org/2013/2688/>

set out the intellectual and conceptual frameworks of the project – not just in terms of the scholarly concerns of academic researchers, but also how those concerns spoke to the needs and best practices of our librarian colleagues, and the pragmatic realities of the technologies available to the software engineers. Over the course of the project, this common concern for sharing our disciplinary knowledge, for necessary compromise, for getting it right, deepened our fascination with and understanding of these unique books.

It is our deepest sadness that Lisa was not able to see this digital bookwheel made public. She did, however, see the very first working prototype of the site and knew that her belief that digital innovation could support scholarship of the traditional humanist rigour exemplified by her own work had been beautifully realised. The Archaeology of Reading's success can be measured not only in the number of hits the website receives and the awards it has garnered, but most gratifyingly in the project's appearance in the footnotes of new research. The commitment of the CELL staff over the years since her passing to 'making archives matter' has resulted in numerous projects which are still true to that original CELL mandate: marrying scrupulous archival research to new technologies to produce a resource which adds scholarly value. Recent projects exemplify this; the Book Owners Online resource, a collaboration with David Pearson funded by the Bibliographical Society, indexes historical book owners, and the AHRC-funded 'Shaping Scholarship' project examines the network of donors who gave books to the Bodleian Library in the first two decades of its refounding in the seventeenth century.

Lisa's energy, joy and scholarly vigour left a lasting impression on the people who moved within her orbit. Her vision stimulated her CELL colleagues to imaginatively employ digital techniques to pioneer innovative methods of scholarly research and to sustain the welcoming, congenial atmosphere which still attracts scholars from across the world. With the support of UCL, CELL continues to attempt to honour that legacy in her memory.

Preface: Lisa Jardine and the History of Reading

Anthony Grafton

On 28 March 2015, Lisa Jardine took the stage at the Renaissance Society of America conference in Berlin. She read a statement by early career scholars, who objected to the fact that all the plenary speakers in Berlin were male. Lisa relayed their arguments to a large audience with eloquence, humour and the passion that never left her when she was defending others less fortunate or powerful than she was. Like so many of her other performances, it was unforgettable – all the more so in retrospect since it turned out to be one of her final public appearances before her death less than seven months later.

Lisa liked to give her female students a badge reading ‘Behave Badly’, and she herself wore a brooch inscribed ‘Multum in parvo’ [a lot in a little] – her joke about her height, or lack of it. But she dominated every theatre she entered, from the crowded seminar rooms where she argued about technical points in the history of scholarship and the sciences to the BBC studios where she informed vast publics about literature, art and the historical dimensions of current events. The world set her task after task, from creating and administering academic institutions such as the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters (CELL) to chairing the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority (HFEA), England’s fertility regulator. She was equal to them all. At once a great scholar – erudite, iconoclastic and original – and England’s leading public intellectual, she lived her dauntingly demanding public life with grace, panache and a taste for red garments (which, she insisted, gave her confidence).

Yet Lisa always saw herself – as she saw many of her historical subjects – in another, very different light, as well: as someone who loved to create families, natural and artificial, and she sustained and was sustained by them in multiple ways. ‘Erasmus’, she wrote in her pioneering book

on the Dutch humanist, ‘had his own *familia*, and I have mine.’¹ This was anything but a conventional acknowledgement. The daughter of the mathematician Jacob Bronowski, whose pioneering television programme *The Ascent of Man* made him a household name on both sides of the Atlantic, Lisa had grown up in a passionately intellectual home. As a child she met Aldous Huxley and other celebrated thinkers at the family dinner table. Her father encouraged her to study mathematics at Cambridge. When that did not take, he suggested that she read Part II of English – advice and support that were essential to her finding her life’s work.²

Lisa set out almost from the start of her career to build her own family. She had the first of her three children before she found a permanent post at Cambridge, and she never shrank from having her status as a mother made known in public. When she had to miss the opening lecture of a course in order to give birth, her then husband, Nick Jardine, read the text in her place after introducing himself – ‘I am Dr Jardine. Not the real Dr Jardine, of course’ – and then explaining the circumstances. Like her parents, she created a warm household where children’s talents and interests were encouraged. So was argument.

The family circle rapidly expanded. Her house on Maids Causeway and her rooms in Jesus College became the bases at which she combined intellectual with social hospitality. Her years of feeding and welofaring students, which ended only with her death, began there. So did her years of collaboration. For all the personal brilliance and deep learning that gave her such a distinctive voice – which found expression in a stream of articles as well as in her monographs on Francis Bacon and William Shakespeare and her major works on seventeenth-century English and Dutch culture – she discovered again and again that she could attack many of the subjects that appealed to her most in partnership with another scholar. While at Cornell in 1974–5 she began to work with Tony Grafton on what became first an article, and then a book, on humanist education.³ Political causes in Cambridge led to new collaborators,

¹ Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The construction of charisma in print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), ix.

² Jardine’s richest descriptions of her early life and career are in an interview with Nicholas Tredell, *PN Review* 96 20, no. 4 (March–April 1994) (https://www.pnreview.co.uk/cgi-bin/scribe?item_id=3028), and in her June 2015 episode of BBC Radio 4’s *Desert Island Discs* (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b05xcsms>). For her lifelong commitment to crossing the art/science divide, see also Michael Hunter’s detailed obituary in the *Biographical Memoirs of the Fellows of the Royal Society* 63 (2017): 363–75.

³ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, ‘Humanism and the school of Guarino: A problem of evaluation’, *Past & Present* 96 (August 1982): 51–80; Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the liberal arts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986).

including Homerton's Julia Swindells, with whom she wrote *What's Left?: Women in culture and the labour movement* (1990). A campaign to save a historic neighbourhood called The Kite also introduced her to the architect John Hare, who became her second husband.

At Princeton and Johns Hopkins, where Lisa spent long periods as a visiting scholar, she expanded her artificial family. Here she found groups that offered her new ways to live and work. True, she always stood out: to watch her dance the Cheltenham Ladies College Stomp with another iconoclast, the medievalist Val Flint, at Princeton parties was not an everyday experience. But her scholarly work flourished in new ways, which she connected directly to the local intellectual atmosphere. In American universities, discussion was and is less specialised than in British ones. Specialists in the history of early modern Europe – notably Lawrence Stone, Robert Darnton and Natalie Zemon Davis – gave her work close critical attention. But colleagues in other fields – Peter Brown, Inga Clendinnen and Lucette Valensi among them – did the same. So did Princeton's intrepid and talented graduate students. It was also at Princeton, and at other American universities, that she began to form tight, powerful networks with other women and to see herself as a feminist. Natalie Zemon Davis became an especially close friend and mentor.

As Lisa's reputation and authority grew, research students and early career scholars found their way to Maids Causeway. Lisa fed them, read and commented on their work, and opened doors to wider intellectual and professional possibilities. Some became her research and writing partners. Bill Sherman, one of the first to learn about the work Lisa had done on Gabriel Harvey while in Princeton, was soon working with her on joint studies of Harvey's readings in that favourite Cambridge genre, political theory. Another student, Warren Boutcher, integrated the new ways of studying the history of reading that Lisa was devising into what became his own grand-scale project on the reception of Montaigne. When Lisa moved to Queen Mary University of London (QMUL), in 1990, she built another *familia* – one based both in her college in the Mile End Road and in the flat that she shared with John Hare in Bloomsbury. There she became a mentor and model on a grander scale (to borrow the title of her 2002 biography of Sir Christopher Wren)⁴ for undergraduates from the wonderfully diverse student body at QMUL, whom she greatly enjoyed teaching, as well as for graduates from across the University

⁴ Lisa Jardine, *On a Grand Scale: The outstanding life of Sir Christopher Wren* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002).

of London – and, increasingly, the world. She lectured with wit and engagement, mentored brilliant scholars with immense generosity, and always found a way to look after one more research student than the budget allowed.

As before, new collaborations took shape. Alan Stewart, who followed Lisa from Cambridge to London to write his dissertation, soon began to work with her on what would become a massive biography, *The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon*, which appeared in 1998. Jerry Brotton, who took his PhD at QMUL, worked with her on *Global Interests: Renaissance art between East and West* (2000), a groundbreaking effort to reorient the traditional histories of Renaissance culture by setting them into a global context. Lisa's own writing developed in new directions. From *Worldly Goods* (1996) and *Ingenious Pursuits* (1999) to her books on Wren and Hooke and her Cundill Prize-winning *Going Dutch* (2008), she cut new paths into the cultural and intellectual histories of Europe – especially those of England and the Netherlands. Always delighted to yield to what she called 'the temptation of the archive',⁵ Lisa continued to carve her scholarship from the original documents. She now combined her formidable skills at standard historical research with equally effective direct exploration of the places where her protagonists had worked. She followed Hooke and Wren and Huygens out of the archive into gardens, churches and even up the Monument, which Hooke and Wren tried to use as a zenith observatory. In this phase too, she found new scholarly collaborators: with Jim Bennett, Michael Cooper and Michael Hunter, she produced a volume of essays to mark the three hundredth anniversary of Hooke's death in 2003, and in 2006 CELL launched an edition of the so-called Hooke Folio (a long-lost manuscript from the period of Hooke's secretaryship of the Royal Society) with Robyn Adams as Project Lead.⁶

In London, Lisa's public career unfolded and took on a new shape. She hosted the arts programme *Night Waves* for BBC Radio 3 and was a regular presenter for the BBC Radio 4 programme *A Point of View*. She acted as a judge for a number of literary prizes, including what was then the Booker Prize – she not only chaired but fed the jury – as well as the Whitbread Prize and the Orange Prize for women's fiction. She reviewed books, performances and exhibits for London newspapers: one journalistic commission out of many that she particularly enjoyed was a study,

⁵ Jardine's *Temptation in the Archives: Essays in Golden Age Dutch culture* helped to launch the new UCL Press in 2015.

⁶ The Hooke Folio Online (<http://www.livesandletters.ac.uk/cell/Hooke/Hooke.html>).

commissioned by the *Evening Standard*, of what riders were reading in the London Underground.

Through her years in London, first at QMUL and then at UCL, Lisa continued to engage with institutions and communities of every kind. At QMUL she served as Head of the English Department and Dean. By astute management and recruitment she played a major part in Queen Mary's rise to being an international centre of scholarship on early modern Europe. When she moved to UCL, she became the founding director of its Centre for Humanities Interdisciplinary Research Projects (CHIRP). She also served as a trustee of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) and the Royal Institution as well as a governor of an inner London school.

For all her public service and celebrity, Lisa never stopped engaging with the work of scholarship. In fact, with time, the nature of scholarly work fascinated her more and more, and she came to see as one of her tasks the illumination of its texture and meaning to a larger public. In her later books and in the marvellous documentary that she made about her father's work during the Second World War, estimating the damage that bombs of different kinds would do to enemy cities, she highlighted again and again the dramas and the disappointments of historical research.⁷ No one thought harder, or wrote and spoke more eloquently, about what historians do when they read sources, with or against the grain, or worked harder to expand the possibilities and objects of research on early modern Europe.

Lisa's work on Gabriel Harvey engaged all of her favourite pursuits. It called for new approaches to the sources, which she devised as she worked. It revealed a forgotten sixteenth-century world of collaborative reading, in which professional 'facilitators' or 'discourers' worked through ancient and modern classics in history and politics with rising statesmen. As she saw more and more clearly over time, it also called for new kinds of research collaboration in the modern university. And ultimately, it required the new tools afforded by digital technology: the Mellon Foundation-funded Archaeology of Reading (AOR) project, which she directed with Tony Grafton at Princeton and Earle Havens at Johns Hopkins, took Harvey's annotated books online, connecting the now-classic marginalia in the *Livy* to a limitless library of sources and creating new networks of scholars from very different fields.

⁷ *My Father, the Bomb, and Me*, first broadcast on BBC4 in 2010 (<https://vimeo.com/127275445>).

Lisa – and Harvey – had come a long way from the fellowship at Princeton that led to the *Past & Present* article which gave rise to the chapters in this book (and so many other studies of marginalia). While Lisa's fellowship in 1988 at the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies would become associated with Harvey, the project for which she was funded was what would become *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The construction of charisma in print*, an exuberantly original investigation of the mores of the print culture in which the humanists of the early sixteenth century made their careers.

That book, like the article on Harvey, has enjoyed a long afterlife: it was finally published in a new paperback edition by Princeton in 2015 – more than two decades after its initial publication. A new preface allowed Lisa to look back at the initial reception of the book (which had been far more positive than she had feared) and to pay fresh tribute to the achievements of Erasmus (for whom her admiration had only grown in the intervening years). In a sense, she herself had by then successfully, if tacitly, followed in Erasmus's footsteps. She had founded an academic centre whose pedagogical and public programmes were modelled on the example of Erasmus: the great 12-volume edition of Erasmus's letters edited by P. S. and H. M. Allen was never far from her mind or hand.⁸ She had become a celebrity author in both England and the Netherlands, one who constructed her own charisma in part through print. And, like a modern-day civic humanist, she tirelessly applied her learning to public service. But her most Erasmian achievement of all, in retrospect, was the gradual cultivation of an extended *familia*.

Here is how she put it in the preface, in a passage written about Erasmus but with one eye (at least) on her own career:

'Erasmus had his *familia* and I have mine,' I had written in my original acknowledgements. At that time I was referring to my circle of students, colleagues, and friends, who have always supported me in my intellectual pursuits. The appearance of *Erasmus, Man of Letters* enlarged that *familia*, and deepened my sense of awe at Erasmus's enduring ability to humanize a circle. The ripples of his influence, on humane learning and conduct, continue to spread, like those on the limpid surface of a large pond.⁹

⁸ *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, edited by Percy Stafford Allen, Helen Mary Allen and Heathcote William Garrod (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906–58).

⁹ Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The construction of charisma in print*, rev. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), ix.

‘To humanize a circle’: there is no better way to describe Lisa’s own rare gift for galvanising a group – in the classroom, in the boardroom and on the airwaves, all in the service of humane learning and conduct. We hope that, through this volume, the ripples of her influence will continue to spread.

Introduction

Anthony Grafton, Nicholas Popper and
William Sherman

How Jardine and Grafton read Gabriel Harvey

The origins of this book – and, for that matter, much of the current interest in marginalia – can be traced back to Princeton in the late 1980s.¹ Lisa Jardine spent the spring semester of 1988 as a visiting fellow at the Shelby Cullom Davis Center in Princeton’s History Department. Then as now, the fellows of the Center worked on a common theme, and that year’s subject was the transmission of culture.² Lisa formally applied to do research for the book that would later be published as *Erasmus, Man of Letters*.³ But the most immediate and enduring outcome of her fellowship was the research and writing she carried out with Anthony Grafton on Gabriel Harvey (c. 1552–1631) – soon to be published as “‘Studied for action’: How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy”, the now classic article that opens this volume.⁴

This was not the first time Lisa had turned her attention to Harvey, and he was, by then, what Germans like to call ‘*ein bekannter Unbekannter*’ – a figure well known to specialists but forgotten by everyone else. Literary historians knew him as a friend of Edmund

¹ For an earlier telling of this story, which this one both draws on and revises, see Anthony Grafton, ‘Lisa Jardine: A life in the margins’, in *Testimonies: States of mind and states of the body in the early modern period*, ed. Gideon Manning (Cham: Springer, 2020), 7–18. Warm thanks to Gideon Manning for permission to reprint substantial parts of that text.

² For a selection of essays by the fellows on this theme see Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair, eds, *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

³ Lisa Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters: The construction of charisma in print* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993; new ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

⁴ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for action’: How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy”, *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990), 30–78.

Spenser and the earliest witness to comment in writing on the qualities of Shakespeare's works. But they also remembered his unfortunate role as the loser in a series of polemical exchanges with Thomas Nashe, in which Nashe travestied Harvey as a sort of Malvolio *avant la lettre* – cross-gartered, pedantic and in love with himself.⁵

What interested Lisa, however, was something completely different: Harvey's deep engagement with the humanist arts of logic and language. Though not a prolific writer of scholarly works, Harvey was perhaps his period's most energetic annotator of books, which were subsequently scattered across libraries in Great Britain and the United States. His notes shed considerable light on his assumptions and practices as a humanist, and they were already the subject of a significant body of scholarly work.⁶ By the mid-1970s, Lisa had begun to study Harvey's marginalia in texts on dialectic and rhetoric, especially those in his copy of Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae*.⁷ During a brief visit to Princeton in 1974, she had learned that a bibliophilic family living in the town, the Wilmerdings, had deposited a number of Harvey's annotated books in the university's Firestone Library. As she planned her return to Princeton in early 1988, she hoped to study them as well as the works of Erasmus.

The natural partner for her forays into Harvey's margins was Anthony Grafton, a member of Princeton's History Department. Jardine and Grafton had met at the Warburg Institute in 1973, and the following year found them both at Cornell where they started the study of humanist education published in 1986 as *From Humanism to the Humanities*.⁸ That book used the evidence of marginalia – especially notes taken by

⁵ The best available accounts of Harvey's life and reputation are Jason Scott-Warren, 'Gabriel Harvey (1552/3–1631), scholar and writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); and Henry Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', in *The Oxford Handbook to English Prose, c.1500–1640*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 611–30. Accounts of the Harvey–Nashe pamphlets include Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁶ See esp. G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913). Another pioneer in the reassessment of Harvey's marginalia was Harold S. Wilson, who published two essays on the subject in 1948 ('The humanism of Gabriel Harvey', in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), 707–21; and 'Gabriel Harvey's method of annotating his books', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 2 (1948): 244–61). By the 1970s, Walter Colman had embarked on an effort to produce a complete edition of Harvey's marginalia, to replace Moore Smith's careful but selective edition. Virginia Stern also called attention to Harvey's practices as a reader in her *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

⁷ Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae libri XII* (Paris: Estienne, 1542); British Library C.60.I.11.

⁸ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the liberal arts in Renaissance Europe* (London: Duckworth; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

students – to reconstruct the practices of the early modern classroom. The study shocked traditionalists for its willingness to acknowledge that everyday learning in the Renaissance was not always the garden of earthly delights that humanist pedagogues advertised in their lectures. And if marginalia provided new perspectives on pedagogy, they had also played a role in Grafton's earlier work on philology, particularly the sixteenth-century scholar Joseph Scaliger. By comparing Scaliger's manuscript annotations in working copies of key texts with those of other scholars in the same works, Grafton found powerful tools to put his scholarship in context. Moreover, notes in Scaliger's books by other readers helped him to identify their novel elements and striking arguments.⁹

When Jardine and Grafton sat down to study Harvey's marginalia in Princeton, they did so in the same department where Robert Darnton was opening up new approaches to the history of books and readers. In 1988, Darnton was the youngest, and one of the most original, of Princeton's group of influential European historians.¹⁰ His special interests lay in books and their socio-political impact – especially books published in French in the eighteenth century. Earlier scholars – including Daniel Mornet and Lucien Febvre in France and Ira Wade at Princeton – had pioneered the investigation of these subjects. From the 1950s onwards, French historians mounted a massive and intensive investigation of what they came to call *l'histoire du livre*.¹¹ In the 1960s, this new field also began to gather momentum in the English-speaking world. Charlton Hinman, D. F. McKenzie and others began to craft a new form of bibliography, based on deep archival research as well as close examination of early books and other material evidence, which starkly revealed the messiness and disorder of the practice of hand-press printing. Darnton saw the potential of these inquiries and pursued them into French and Swiss archives, with extraordinary results. His monumental study of *The Business of Enlightenment* had established him as a master historian of printers and their world, and his more recent set of microstudies, *The Great Cat Massacre*, had reached an enormous public.¹²

⁹ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A study in the history of classical scholarship*. Vol. 1: *Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

¹⁰ See Mark Silk, 'The hot history department', *New York Times*, 19 April 1987.

¹¹ For an introduction to the literature and development of book history see James Raven, *What Is the History of the Book?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2018).

¹² Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A publishing history of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); and Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

Darnton saw the history of books, above all, as a new and potent way to trace the impact of ideas. Through the late 1960s and early 1970s, he had waged war against what he described as the ‘armchair’ methods of intellectual historians such as Peter Gay.¹³ Such scholars had devoted themselves to reading the texts of writers acknowledged to be the intellectual leaders of their time: Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau. But what did general recognition of their leading position actually mean? How, Darnton asked, could historians know if these writers had in fact met with any response from their contemporaries? Did they really subvert the *ancien régime*, as Gay argued? Their own books and letters, however self-assured and masterful, could not answer this question to a historian’s satisfaction.

Instead of simply reading canonical works entombed in massive leather-bound editions, Darnton argued, historians must treat the French culture of the Enlightenment as a system that had existed in three dimensions and in living colour. They must recreate the complex publishing world of the time and identify those texts, and those editions, that actually reached a large public. Few records were complete; hence, only multiple voyages into the dust of archives and multiple angles of historical analysis could yield a complete picture. Historians must investigate every conceivably relevant source from the notes of censors and police spies in Paris, which gave a vivid sense of intellectual fashions and writers’ careers, to the archives of a Swiss publishing house, the Société typographique de Neuchâtel, which became Darnton’s single richest lode of material, and which identified the texts that booksellers actually ordered and that customers actually responded to. Darnton’s programme of research provided both a new vision of Enlightenment culture as a working system of communication and a set of models and provocations for others.

Yet by Darnton’s own admission, his programme for reconstructing the system of textual production and consumption fell short at one crucial point. His analysis of printers’ records showed him that – as he would explain in due course – pornographic novels travelling under the banner of Philosophy had outsold most other literary products of the Enlightenment.¹⁴ But as he admitted, he did not know how to recreate the experience of reading: how to find out what his subjects thought

¹³ See Robert Darnton, ‘In search of the Enlightenment: Recent attempts to create a social history of ideas’, *The Journal of Modern History* 43, no. 1 (1971): 113–32, and the other studies collected in Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

¹⁴ Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York: Norton, 1995).

and felt as they went through these novels, much less the polemics and fictions of Voltaire and Diderot. Reading seemed obscure, opaque, hard to access. Darnton's methodological articles on the nature and impact of publishing were sharply formulated and polemical. By contrast, his first discussion of how books were consumed bore an uncharacteristically tentative title, 'First steps towards a history of reading', and posed an uncharacteristically tentative question: 'Reading has a history. How can we recover it?'¹⁵

Grafton had suggested there might be some answers in a characteristically exhaustive article he had published in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, in which he traced how Scaliger had responded to a learned contemporary book about papyrus.¹⁶ Reading with pen in hand, Scaliger had filled its margins not only with marks and summaries, but also with fully formulated Latin remarks and criticisms, which he then worked up into a formal critique. Here, Grafton proposed, seemed to be a reader's direct response to a text, recorded by him, as he went through it, in detailed marginalia. No, Darnton replied, this was not reading; it was something else, more formal and elaborate.

As soon as Lisa Jardine arrived in Princeton, she eagerly joined Grafton in these debates, and they formed the intellectual matrix within which the pair would set out to study Harvey's books. An interview with Lucius Wilmerding ended with his granting access to his family's books. Jardine and Grafton turned first to the grandest of them, Harvey's copy of the Roman historian Livy, and they immediately discovered there the ancient jungles and ruined labyrinths of a lost continent. The book itself was an extraordinary document, so wreathed in annotation that it seemed at first impossible to navigate, much less decrypt. But as they learned how to make sense of the inscriptions, page after page yielded revelations. Every spare moment went to copying Harvey's notes, in pencil, on legal pads, to reading the other one's transcripts, and to chasing down the many books that Harvey referred to. Some of his favourite texts, bindings battered but texts fresh and legible, still belonged to Princeton's circulating collection. Most were available only in microfilm, in the form of the STC Wing Microforms Library, more recently engorged by EEBO and that, in turn, by ProQuest, or in microfilms and microfiches of early printed books drawn from the

¹⁵ Robert Darnton, 'First steps towards a history of reading', *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23 (1986): 5–30, at 5.

¹⁶ Anthony Grafton, 'Rhetoric, philology and Egyptomania in the 1570s: J.J. Scaliger's invective against M. Guilandinus's *Papyrus*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 167–94.

Vatican and other continental libraries. Afternoons in Special Collections were followed by periods of turning handles and printing copyflows in the library's Microfilm Room. During a semester of continuous work and high excitement, Jardine and Grafton's constant companionship earned them the nicknames Piglet and Pooh – though their constant arguments worried colleagues unused to seeing collaboration of any sort, much less cross-gender collaborations punctuated by loud, arm-waving debates, rapidly succeeded by nice cups of tea. Gradually it became clear that Harvey's Livy would enable them to take more steps than anyone else had towards a history of reading in the early modern world.

It became immediately clear that Harvey was a highly reflexive reader, and a summary note on the first three books – the story of Rome's founding – showed that he had approached the task of reading in a highly self-conscious way:

The courtier Sir Philip Sidney and I privately discussed these three books of Livy, scrutinising them so far as we could from all points of view, applying a political analysis Our consideration was chiefly directed at the forms of states, the conditions of persons, and the qualities of actions. We paid little attention to the annotations of Glareanus and others.¹⁷

Harvey, in other words, was not only a deeply engaged reader, who recorded as much as possible of what he found in some of his books, but also one who could be surprisingly articulate about the process of reading itself. He knew multiple ways of using texts, which he could identify and characterise, deploying a precise, well-developed terminology. In this case, he made clear that he had decided to read Livy for political lessons – general ones, that would apply to other times and places, including his own, as well as to ancient Rome. At the same time, he showed that he was aware of the historical and philological issues raised in the commentary by the Swiss humanist Henricus

¹⁷ Livy, *Romanae historiae principis, decades tres, cum dimidia* [...] (Basel: Herwagen, 1555), Princeton University Library Ex Oversize PA6452.A2 1555q, 93r: 'Hos tres Liuuij libros, Philippus Sidneius aulicus, et ego intime contuleramus, qua potuimus politica analysi ultro, citroq[ue] excussos: paulò ante suam Legationem ad Imperatorem, Rodolphum II. Cui profectus est regineo nomine honorificè congratulatum; iam tum creato Imperatori. Summus noster respectus erat ad rerumpublicaru[m] speties; et personaru[m] conditiones, actionumq[ue] qualitates. De Glareani, alioru[m]q[ue] annotationibus parùm curabamus.' Available online with transcription and translation at Archaeology of Reading, accessed 26 April 2018, <https://archaeologyofreading.org/>.

Glareanus, which appeared in his copy of Livy.¹⁸ He simply chose not to pursue these. Reading in Harvey's world was evidently a complex craft, with rules and protocols, which skilled practitioners could acquire and display. A strikingly precise terminology enabled them to identify the techniques they chose to apply in a given case. Here, for example, Harvey described how he and Sidney had applied a 'political analysis' that ignored grammatical and philological questions to concentrate on 'the forms of states, the conditions of persons, and the qualities of actions' – training for an active life.

The same note went on to reveal much more. Harvey recorded that his reading of Books 1–3 with Sidney took place 'just before his [Sidney's] embassy to the emperor Rudolf II. He went to offer him congratulations in the queen's name just after he had been named emperor.'¹⁹ From this remark Jardine and Grafton gleaned two more points. Firstly, reading, in Harvey's style, was often social. Secondly, it was goal-oriented. As they would eventually write,

it was conducted under conditions of strenuous attentiveness; it employed job-related equipment (both machinery and techniques) designed for efficient absorption and processing of the matter read; it was normally carried out in the company of a colleague or student; and was a public performance rather than a private meditation, in its aims and character.²⁰

Harvey's testimony showed that he did not see reading as an individual activity, to be carried out in silence and isolation. He read with others: men of higher birth and position than he, to whom he could offer political counsel based on his command of texts. Harvey went through Books 1–3 with Sidney, who had studied the classics and their modern applications long before with Hubert Languet. In this case, Harvey's teaching must have amounted to a kind of touch-up, an intensive review of lessons already familiar to his associate. But he also read the ten books on Hannibal and Rome, a model history of brutal conquest, with a younger man, Thomas Smith Jr. Thomas's father – Sir Thomas Smith, one of Harvey's patrons and Elizabeth's ambassador to France – sent his

¹⁸ On Glareanus see Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote, eds, *Heinrich Glareanus's Books: The intellectual world of a sixteenth-century musical humanist* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Anthony Grafton and Urs Leu, eds, *Henricus Glareanus's (1488–1563) Chronologia of the Ancient World: A facsimile edition of a heavily annotated copy held in Princeton University Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

¹⁹ Livy, *Decades*, 55r.

²⁰ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 30–1, above pp. 21–2.

unhappy son to the Ards, in northern Ireland, to carry out his plans for pacifying the Irish, where he would be killed by one of his own men. In his case, the preparatory reading with Harvey must have been something like an advanced tutorial. Social reading, in other words, took more than one form.

Studying Roman history in any company meant reading the past with an eye on the present. At times, the Livy's margins showed, reading broadened out into the ceremonial performance of policy discussions, based on classical texts and precedents. In 1570–1 Harvey visited Hill Hall, Theydon Mount, the country house of the elder Thomas Smith, which was decorated with full-scale paintings of subjects from Roman myth and biblical history.²¹ In that most appropriate of settings, he and others staged a public debate on Roman history:

Thomas Smith junior and Sir Humphrey Gilbert [debated] for Marcellus, Thomas Smith senior and Doctor Walter Haddon for Fabius Maximus, before an audience at Hill Hall consisting at that time of myself, John Wood, and several others of gentle birth. At length the son and Sir Humphrey yielded to the gentle secretary: perhaps Marcellus yielded to Fabius.²²

Evidently these grandees retained a taste for formal disputation long after they left the universities behind them. The patrons and friends that Harvey identified in this and other notes belonged to the Elizabethan party headed by the earl of Leicester, a group that pushed for an aggressive policy of war-making on the continent in the interests of European Protestantism. The evidence suggests that they accepted him as a political counsellor. Harvey's ability to read ancient history, with others, in an insightful and informative way won him a position, the very existence of which had not been suspected by modern scholars. Contemporaries called this sort of person a 'discourser' but for Jardine and Grafton the term 'facilitator' was proposed, and it stuck, suggesting as it does someone who negotiated the complex interaction of ancient texts and a dangerous present, and believed that reading was a tool

²¹ Paul Drury and Richard Simpson, *Hill Hall: A singular house devised by a Tudor intellectual*, 2 vols (London: Society of Antiquaries, 2009). Smith's approach to annotating books is contrasted with that of Isaac Casaubon in Anthony Grafton and William Sherman, 'In the margins of Josephus: Two ways of reading', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 23, no. 3 (October 2016): 213–38.

²² Livy, *Decades*, 222v.

to be used both to influence high affairs and to win high position – which Harvey did with more success than other historical records had suggested.

Though Harvey claimed to pay no attention to scholarly commentaries on Livy, he cited books of many other kinds – especially when working with Thomas Smith Jr. The two of them were not purists. Anthony Cope’s translation proved a useful complement to the original Latin: as Harvey noted, ‘M. Thomas Smith & I reading this decade of Liuię together, found verie good vse of M. Antonie Copes English historie of the two most noble Captaines of the World, Annibal, & Scipio’. Thomas Jr ‘much commended’ Cope to his father. Yet Harvey insisted, in the traditional humanist way, that ‘one who drinks water from the very fount will find it sweeter’ and declared that he could never grow tired of Livy’s marvellous style.²³

More important than Cope, though, was the battery of other texts that Harvey, the expert reader, brought to bear on Livy’s narrative. Writing about his work with Smith, he commented that ‘Ludovicus Regius’ Commentary on Aristotle’s *Politica* is really very clarifying, as is Bodin’s work on the republic and on historical method. Chevalier Poncet’s Turkish mysteries at the French court; Sansovino’s political maxims; the very recent political treatises of Althusius and Lipsius.²⁴ This and many other marginalia made clear that, for all the time and energy Harvey invested in Livy, he saw the Roman historian not as an absolute authority but as one writer among many, ancient and modern, whom he continually compared and contrasted. The names of authors and the titles of books – political treatises, travel accounts, modern histories – spilled down and across the margins of the Livy. Often, Harvey seemed as concerned to compile a bibliography of further reading as to produce an interpretation of Livy’s own words.

Harvey’s attempts to muster so much comparative material were at first baffling, since they seemed so superfluous to the immediate context of a specific reading and looked so different from the received model of ‘intensive reading’ which, Rolf Engelsing had argued in an influential book, dominated in the European Renaissance before yielding to ‘extensive reading’.²⁵ But the discovery of an image in a late sixteenth-century book of ingenious machines offered a different model: Ramelli’s

²³ Livy, *Decades*, 143r. On Cope’s translation and Harvey’s use of it see Fred Schurink, ‘How Gabriel Harvey read Anthony Cope’s Livy: Translation, humanism and war in Tudor England’, in *Tudor Translation*, ed. Fred Schurink (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 58–78.

²⁴ Livy, *Decades*, 147r.

²⁵ Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973).

bookwheel, a kind of Ferris wheel for books whose shape allowed a reader to move quickly between many texts and whose hidden gears (shown in the illustration's cut-away details) meant that each book would remain level as it moved around the wheel. Renaissance readers faced an unparalleled range of texts that claimed some sort of authority – ancient and modern, Latin and vernacular – and called for comparative techniques of various kinds. The new bibliographies of the time, such as Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* (Zurich, 1545), offered basic information about authors and editions. But the bookwheel was meant as a practical device for organising and coping with all this material: a period tool that embodied a period style of reading – one that cut right across the categories of 'intensive' and 'extensive'. Though there is no surviving evidence that Harvey himself had such a wheel, Jardine and Grafton could see that he set up his reading in the form that it symbolised – as a ring of interconnected texts, each of which helped to explicate the text, conversation or issue at their centre.

Working through the thickets of annotation in the *Livy*, in other words, brought Jardine and Grafton to open places and new light. The process revealed practices – such as Harvey's obsessive flaunting of bibliographical references – that had been all but forgotten. But it also illuminated the conditions within which he worked and traced connections between them and the intellectual work that he did as a maker of useful knowledge – a form of intellectual history relatively new at the time, though Peter Burke, Noel Malcolm, Ann Blair, Martin Mulrow and others have carried it much further in the intervening decades, and one that speaks to all of us who have lived through the recent transformation in our own working conditions.

Harvey's *Livy* and Ramelli's bookwheel, then, seemed to offer a fresh approach to both established and emerging forms of historical inquiry (intellectual biography, intellectual history, classical philology, social history, the history of education, the history of political thought and the history of the book): reading the ancients with a learned companion not only formed the core of elite education but continued to form part of elite homosociality in the later Renaissance. Here indeed was extensive evidence for an experience of reading: oral, collaborative and goal-oriented, based on wide study of texts from antiquity to the present.

Jardine and Grafton – wearing identical neckties made by Louise Grafton – first presented these and other arguments about Harvey at a special meeting of the Davis Center seminar. Bob Darnton, Natalie Zemon Davis, Peter Brown and the formidable director of the Center, Lawrence Stone, as well as Rachel Weil and other colleagues and friends, commented

on a first draft of their work. These colleagues did not agree with all the arguments, but even Darnton expressed new enthusiasm for what marginalia could teach – as if one form of book history, based on critical bibliography and what it had revealed about the internal worlds of printing houses, was lending its support to another one. When the article on ‘How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy’ appeared in *Past & Present*, two years later, it intrigued, provoked and enraged readers, much as Harvey himself did.

The best forms of discovery resemble nothing so much as Alice’s fall down the rabbit hole. Opening the covers of Harvey’s Livy presented a world in which everything looked different and where it was easy, at first, to get lost. But the journey eventually generated the evidence needed to ask new questions, suggest new answers and produce new tools (both conceptual and technological). Over time, Jardine and Grafton’s pioneering essay did much to inspire the creation of a new scholarly literature. The extent to which it has influenced several decades of work on marginalia can be instantly grasped by a quick glance at Box 0.1, a preliminary list of published essays that follow the formula ‘How X read Y’ established by Jardine and Grafton. The bookwheel, too, has been regularly borrowed by subsequent book historians and a recent article on the afterlife of Ramelli’s invention has gone so far as to acknowledge its role as ‘an icon of early modern techniques of reading’.²⁶

The Renaissance of reading

The *Past & Present* article marked not a culmination but a beginning. The very first footnote referred to a forthcoming book by ‘A. Grafton, L. Jardine and W. Sherman’ called *Reading in the Renaissance*, at once broadening the cast of characters and acknowledging that Harvey’s Livy was only the tip of an annotational iceberg. Sherman had arrived in Cambridge in 1988, just as Jardine returned from her fellowship in Princeton, and ended up completing his MPhil (1989) and PhD (1992) under her supervision: directly inspired by discussions of the still-fresh work on Harvey, he would take a similar approach to the polymath John Dee (1527–1609), creator of Elizabethan England’s largest library.²⁷ Like Harvey, Dee was in danger of being marginalised

²⁶ John Considine, ‘The Ramellian bookwheel’, *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 1, no. 4 (2016): 381–411.

²⁷ Sherman’s 1992 Cambridge PhD dissertation on John Dee was called ‘A living library: The readings and writings of John Dee’. It was published in revised and expanded form as *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

Box 0.1 A selection of titles inspired by 'How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy'

- Andrews, Meghan C. 'How Marston read his *Merchant*: Ruled women and structures of circulation in *The Dutch Courtesan*'. *Early Theatre: A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama* 23, no. 1 (2020): 127–44.
- Augustine, Matthew C. 'How John Dryden read his Milton: The State of Innocence reconsidered'. In *Texts and Readers in the Age of Marvell*, edited by Christopher D'Addario and Matthew C. Augustine, 224–42. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.
- Brigden, Susan. 'Epic romance: How the duchess of Richmond read her Ariosto'. *The Review of English Studies* 69, no. 291 (2018): 632–60.
- Burman, T. E. 'How an Italian friar read his Arabic Qur'an'. In *Dante and Islam*, edited by Jan M. Ziolkowski, 93–109. New York: Fordham University Press, 2015.
- Champion, Justin. 'An intent and careful reading: How John Locke read his Bible'. In *Locke and Biblical Hermeneutics*, edited by L. Simonutti, 143–60. Cham: Springer, 2019.
- Cook, Megan. 'How Francis Thynne read his Chaucer'. *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscripts and Printing History* 15 (2012): 215–43.
- Crawford, Julie. 'How Margaret Hoby read her De Mornay'. In *Mediatix: Women, Politics, and Literary Production in Early Modern England*, 86–120. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Demetriou, Tania. 'How Gabriel Harvey read tragedy'. *Renaissance Studies* 35, no. 5 (2021): 757–87.
- Dodds, Lara. 'Reading and writing in sociable letters; or, how Margaret Cavendish read her Plutarch'. In *The Literary Invention of Margaret Cavendish*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2013.
- Dover, Paul. 'How Henrich Bullinger read his Solinus: Reading ancient geography in 16th-century Switzerland'. In *Solinus: New Studies*, edited by Kai Brodersen, 171–95. Heidelberg: Verlag Antike, 2014.
- Goulding, Robert. 'Henry Savile reads his Euclid'. In *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in honor of Anthony Grafton*, edited by Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing, 2 vols, 780–97. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

- Groetsch, Ulrich. 'How Reimarus read his Bible'. In *Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768): Classicist, Hebraist, Enlightenment radical in disguise*, 224–84. Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Hardy, John Christopher. 'How Joseph Fowler read his Hebrew Bible'. *Postscripts: The Journal of Sacred Texts, Cultural Histories, and Contemporary Contexts* 11, no. 1 (2020): 55–79.
- Hessler, John W. 'Cartography in the margins: How Johannes Schöner read his maps'. In *A Renaissance Globemaker's Toolbox: Johannes Schöner and the revolution of modern science, 1475–1550*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress; London: In association with D. Giles, 2013.
- Holmes, John. "'The poet of science": How scientists read their Tennyson'. *Victorian Studies* 54, no. 4 (2012): 655–78.
- James, Kathryn. 'How Cleanth Brooks read his seventeenth century news letter: James Marshall Osborn, Joseph Milton French, and the organization of English as a profession in mid-century America'. *The Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 65 (2012): 35–53.
- Maguire, Laurie, and Emma Smith. 'What is a Source? Or, how Shakespeare read his Marlowe'. *Shakespeare Survey* 68 (2015): 15–31.
- Mason, Roger A. 'How Andrew Melville read his George Buchanan'. In *Andrew Melville (1545–1622): Writings, reception, and reputation*, edited by Roger A. Mason and Steven J. Reid, 11–46. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014.
- McDowell, Nicholas. 'Family politics; Or, how John Phillips read his uncle's satirical sonnets (with transcription from Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 30)'. *Milton Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (2008): 1–21.
- McManus, Stuart M. 'How a Jesuit missionary read his *Mahābhārata*'. In *Empire of Eloquence: The classical rhetorical tradition in colonial Latin America and the Iberian world, 164–9*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Pettegree, Andrew. 'How Samuel Sewall read his paper'. In *The Invention of News: How the world came to know about itself*, 346–61. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Popper, Nicholas. 'The English *Polydaedali*: How Gabriel Harvey read late Tudor London'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66, no. 3 (2005): 351–81.
- Redding, Patrick. 'How Stevens read his Emerson: Marginalia and the spirit of the age'. *Wallace Stevens Journal* 44, no. 1 (2020): 6–27.

- Roose, Alexander. “Perlege Totum Librum”: How Montaigne read his Lucretius’. *Bijdragen* 65, no. 3 (2004): 323–44.
- Schurink, Fred. ‘How Gabriel Harvey read Anthony Cope’s Livy: Translation, humanism, and war in Tudor England’. In *Tudor Translation*, edited by F. Schurink, 58–78. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Sherman, William H. “Nota Bembe”: How Bembo the Elder read his Pliny the Younger’. In *Pietro Bembo e le arti*, edited by Guido Beltramini, Howard Burns and Davide Gasparotto, 119–33. Venice: Marsilio, 2013.
- Stamatakis, Chris. “With diligent studie, but sportingly”: How Gabriel Harvey read his Castiglione’. *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 5 (2013).
- Sutherland, Bobbi. ‘How the Goodman read his Bible’. *Journal of the Bible and Its Reception* 2, no. 1 (2015): 25–50.
- Van der Laan, Sarah. ‘Poetics in practice: How Orazio Lombardelli read his Homer’. In *The Reception of Aristotle’s Poetics in the Italian Renaissance and Beyond: New directions in criticism*, edited by Bryan Brazeau, 157–80. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.
- Visser, Arnoud. ‘How readers read their Augustines’. In *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The flexibility of intellectual authority in Europe, 1500–1620*, 95–113. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Williams, Wes. “Well said/well thought”: How Montaigne read his Lucretius’. In *Lucretius and the Early Modern*, edited by David Norbrook, Stephen Harrison and Philip Hardie, 134–60. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

by received narratives that dismissed him as an isolated wizard whose hopes for high-level employment ended in delusion and disappointment. By examining the surviving books from Dee’s collection and connecting them to his manuscript treatises on a wide range of subjects, Sherman was able to show that Dee’s textual mastery – a systematic campaign that produced an even larger body of marginal evidence than that left behind by Harvey – gave him a surprisingly prominent role in the business of court and city alike.

Jardine, Grafton and Sherman quickly realised that an account of *Reading in the Renaissance* would need to attend to a far greater range of readers than that represented by Harvey and Dee (both products, as it happens, of Tudor Cambridge). Grafton’s interest in Renaissance

readers would extend to the annotated books of Leon Battista Alberti, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Guillaume Budé and Johannes Kepler – the subjects of his 1992 lectures at the University of Michigan, published in 1997 as *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient books and Renaissance readers*.²⁸ Sherman, for his part, would use a comprehensive survey of marginalia at the Huntington Library to map the full range of readerly response – across the spread of Renaissance disciplines and the social spectrum of early modern readers – in *Used Books*.²⁹ Sherman’s preface acknowledged how far the field had come since his work on Dee in the early 1990s:

My project on Dee has taken its place in what is now a substantial series of case studies: these have been devoted either to the marginalia and related notes produced by individual readers (including Gabriel Harvey, Ben Jonson, Inigo Jones, William Blount, William Drake, [and] Michel de Montaigne ...) or to the notes by different readers in the multiple copies of a single text (Heidi Brayman Hackel has devoted a chapter to the readers’ marks in 151 copies of Sidney’s *Arcadia*, and Heather Jackson to the marginalia in 386 copies of Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, while Owen Gingerich has published a best-selling book on his thirty-year hunt for annotations in all of the 600 surviving copies of Copernicus’s *De Revolutionibus*).³⁰

Even this capacious list now looks woefully partial. There are now several general collections on marginalia in early modern England alone;³¹ a number of heavily illustrated books offer field guides to

²⁸ Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient books and Renaissance readers* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997). The subtitle of this book echoed Ch.1 – ‘Renaissance readers and ancient texts’ – of Grafton’s 1991 collection, *Defenders of the Text: The traditions of scholarship in an age of science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991). Marginalia would also be at the heart of Grafton’s subsequent work on engagements with Hebrew in Renaissance Europe, including his book with Joanna Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue: Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a forgotten chapter in Renaissance scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

²⁹ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

³⁰ Sherman, *Used Books*, xi.

³¹ Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, eds, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); John N. King, ed., *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the construction of meaning* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Katherine Acheson, ed., *Early Modern English Marginalia* (London: Routledge, 2018); Rosamund Oates and Jessica G. Purdy, eds, *Communities of Print: Books and their readers in early modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021); Patrick Spedding and Paul Tankard, eds, *Marginal Notes: Social reading and the literal margins* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

readers' marks;³² Bernard M. Rosenthal's great collection of Renaissance marginalia has received the catalogue (and home) it deserves;³³ and Stephen Orgel, as both scholar and collector, has done much to raise the profile of annotated books.³⁴ Special attention has been paid to the active engagements of religious readers: Eamon Duffy's meticulous account of marked-up prayer books before and after the Protestant Reformation has been followed up in work by Femke Molekamp, Rosalind Smith and others on female Bible-reading,³⁵ while Andrew Cambers and Dunstan Roberts have used marginalia to recover what 'godly reading' looked like in post-Reformation England.³⁶ The role of annotations in scientific culture has also been studied to great effect.³⁷ And thanks to the work of Heidi Brayman Hackel, Julie Crawford and others, female readers are no longer marginalised.³⁸ Leaving the Renaissance altogether, Heather Jackson has examined the reading culture of the Romantics and found that the evidence of marginalia can be used to tell very different stories, while the annotated books of several major American writers (including Whitman and Melville) are being published as digital facsimiles.³⁹ And

³² The first and still indispensable volume was Roger Stoddard's *Marks in Books, Illustrated and Explained* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, 1985). See also Sabrina Alcorn Baron, ed., *The Reader Revealed* (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001); Sylvia Brown and John Considine, eds, *Marginated: Seventeenth-century printed books and the traces of their readers* (Alberta: Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, 2010); Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio, eds, *Book Use, Book Theory, 1500–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2005).

³³ Bernard M. Rosenthal, *The Rosenthal Collection of Printed Books with Manuscript Annotations* (New Haven: The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 1997).

³⁴ Stephen Orgel, *The Reader in the Book: A study of spaces and traces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

³⁵ Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English people and their prayers 1240–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Femke Molekamp, *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious reading and writing* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Rosalind Smith, 'Narrow confines: Marginalia, devotional books and the prison in early modern women's writing', *Women's Writing* 26 (2019): 35–52.

³⁶ Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Dunstan Roberts, 'Readers' annotations in sixteenth-century religious books', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012.

³⁷ Danielle Jacquart and Charles Burnett, eds, *Scientia in Margine: Études sur les Marginalia dans les Manuscrits Scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 2005); Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine, eds, *Books and the Sciences in History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); René Raphael, *Reading Galileo: Scribal technologies and the 'Two New Sciences'* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017).

³⁸ Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, gender, and literacy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Julie Crawford, 'How Margaret Hoby read her De Mornay', in *Mediatrix: Women, politics, and literary production in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 86–120.

³⁹ H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers writing in books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); H. J. Jackson, *Romantic Readers: The evidence of marginalia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); <https://whitmanarchive.org/manuscripts/marginalia/>; <http://melvillemarginalia.org>.

Ann Blair and others have ultimately urged us to put the category of marginalia itself into a broader context, moving beyond the margins to a surprisingly sophisticated arsenal of note-taking practices involving loose slips, blank sheets, bound notebooks, and manuscript and printed commonplace books.⁴⁰

But Lisa Jardine, on her own and in collaboration with other scholars – including Nicholas Popper, whose graduate studies under Tony Grafton took place during the field’s flourishing in the first decade of the 2000s and was one of CELL’s first visiting scholars – continued to dig deeper into the marginalia of Gabriel Harvey, bringing an ever-wider circle of books onto the bookwheel and using Harvey’s peculiar practices to recover textual, political and intellectual episodes that had become unfamiliar or illegible. This volume finally makes good on the promise of footnote 1 from the 1990 article, using Harvey as the guide to Renaissance culture that Jardine always knew he could be.

The book is at once a detailed case study of an exceptional early modern reader and a reception history of one of the foundational essays in the history of reading. It gathers together all the original writings on Harvey’s annotations in which Jardine and Grafton (along with their early collaborators) were directly involved – some of which were published and some left in draft form at the time of Lisa’s death. In order to preserve Lisa’s hand and voice and to provide as full a historical record as possible for those interested in how the reading of Harvey’s reading has evolved, we have resisted the temptation to update individual chapters to create a more uniform tone or to reflect changes in, for example, gendered language that has transformed scholarly writing since the 1980s.

We have also used the opportunity to invite some fresh reflections by those whose collaborations began late in Lisa’s life. The last few chapters in the book offer a glimpse of the remarkable resurgence of interest in the Jardine/Grafton model during the final years of work on the Archaeology of Reading (AOR). The chapter by the AOR’s lead scholar/librarian, Earle Havens, examining what the AOR project has allowed us to learn about Harvey’s use of his library, is joined by a

⁴⁰ Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing scholarly information before the modern age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Richard Yeo, ed., *Note-Taking in Early Modern Europe*, a special issue of *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010); Richard Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Martin Mulrow, *Prekäres Wissen: eine andere Ideengeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2012), now available in English as *Knowledge Lost: A new view of early modern intellectual history* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2022); Helmut Zedelmaier, *Werkstätten des Wissens zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

complete, authoritative and up-to-date list of books known to have been owned and annotated by Harvey. If Earle's essay offers a state of the art for students of Harvey, the chapters of Sara Miglietti and Frederic Clark reflect more broadly on where Harvey's marginalia fit into current and future trends for histories of reading.

Revisiting the bookwheel

In the more than 30 years it has taken to write the chapters in this volume, two problems have become apparent in the now iconic image of the bookwheel. Firstly, the figure seated at Ramelli's wheel is alone, in a closed room devoted only to books. What the history of work on Harvey has made clear is that Renaissance readers rarely worked in isolation and that much of the privacy we now associate with reading is an architectural and intellectual back-projection. And if reading books in the Renaissance often involved more than one person, it has become increasingly clear that doing justice to Renaissance readers requires the collaboration of multiple scholars. The conviction that social readers such as Harvey are best approached by groups rather than individuals has also been borne out in another essay co-authored by Grafton in *Past & Present* (devoted to the members of the Winthrop family), as well as a cluster of essays in the *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes* on William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*.⁴¹ Secondly, the study of marginalia has (like the history of reading more broadly) come of age during the development of digital tools. As the representation of a machine for accessing a network of textual information, Ramelli's bookwheel might be better described as an icon of the modern approach to early modern reading, a time machine for connecting the first age of print with the new age of the world wide web.

Lisa Jardine saw early on that this technology might be exactly right for Harvey's marginalia – and here too she was not alone. Arnoud Visser took some important first steps with his Annotated Books Online (ABO), whose digitised treasures include Harvey's Livy alongside Luther's copy of Erasmus's New Testament, Erasmus's annotated Lucian and Plutarch,

⁴¹ Richard Calis, Frederic Clark, Christian Flow, Anthony Grafton, Madeline McMahon and Jennifer M. Rampling, 'Passing the book: Cultures of reading in the Winthrop family, 1580–1730', *Past & Present* 241, no. 1 (November 2018): 69–141; Anthony Grafton, Neil Weijer, Madeline McMahon and Frederic Clark, 'William Lambarde's reading, revision and reception: The life cycle of the *Perambulation of Kent*', *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes* 81 (2018): 127–210.

Scaliger's Vitruvius, and Newton's annotated copy of his own *Principia*.⁴² At Queen Mary University of London, Lisa created CELL – the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters – as a collaborative research laboratory in the digital humanities, which eventually moved with her to University College London. When Earle Havens of Johns Hopkins suggested a practical plan to create a powerful new digital interface for Harvey's marginalia, Lisa enthusiastically joined forces with him in a successful application to the Andrew Mellon Foundation. Working in close collaboration with computer scientists, humanists and librarians at Johns Hopkins and at Princeton, the scholars whom Lisa recruited to CELL transcribed, translated and digitised the annotations in Harvey's *Livy* as part of a much larger project, the AOR, which gradually extended to John Dee's annotated books as well as Harvey's.⁴³ It is the measure of Lisa's energy and creativity that these endlessly fascinating notes are now available for interpretation and reinterpretation around the world. Literary scholars and historians have already begun to deploy them to new ends.⁴⁴

The work that Jardine began continues. In this book, her articles on Harvey are digitally reborn, accompanied by studies by her former collaborators, students and others, which raise new questions and tell new stories. It is a project in her spirit, one that offers new publics free access to her work, the conversations it sparked and the projects it continues to inspire.

⁴² <https://www.annotatedbooksonline.com>.

⁴³ <https://archaeologyofreading.org>.

⁴⁴ See, for example, David Norbrook, 'Rehearsing the Plebeians: Coriolanus and the reading of Roman history', in *Shakespeare and the Politics of Commoners: Digesting the new social history*, ed. Chris Fitter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 124–45; Tania Demetriou, 'Tendre cropps and flourishing metricians: Gabriel Harvey's Chaucer', *The Review of English Studies* 71, no. 298 (2020): 19–43.

1

'Studied for action': How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy*

Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton

Prologue: 'The activity of reading'

This chapter forms part of a larger, book-length project, which is intended to contribute to the historical understanding of the ways in which humanistically trained readers assimilated and responded to the classical heritage.¹ But it seeks to go beyond the traditional, textual definition of this field to reconstruct the social, professional and personal contexts in which reading took place.² Although the present study deals with a topic historians tend to label as 'high culture', it will be clear that we also intend it to be in dialogue with a body of recent publications on the history of reading and of the book. That work, although by no means homogeneous, broadly concerns itself with the production and circulation of printed texts, and with setting the activity of reading in its historical and cultural contexts, as well as with some of the social implications that result from a particular locating of reading in history.

All historians of early modern culture now acknowledge that early modern readers did not passively receive but rather actively reinterpreted their texts, and so do we. But we intend to take that notion of

* Originally published in *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78.

¹ A. Grafton, L. Jardine and W. Sherman, *Reading in the Renaissance* (provisional title). [This project was never completed in the form originally planned, though the present volume realises some of its goals.]

² Although the project is a significantly new one, treating Renaissance texts as the basis for transactions among designated groups of readers, we recognise that individual studies of humanistic influence provide important precedents for our own work. See, for example, M. Lowry, 'The arrival and use of continental printed books in Yorkist England', in *Le Livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes du XXVIII^e colloque international d'études humanistes de Tours*, ed. P. Aquilon and H.-J. Martin (Paris: Promodis, 1988), 456–7. We are grateful to Warren Butcher of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, for this reference.

activity in a strong sense: not just the energy which must be acknowledged as accompanying the intervention of the scholar/reader with his text, nor the cerebral effort involved in making the text the reader's own, but reading as intended to *give rise to something else*. We argue that scholarly reading (the kind of reading we are concerned with here) was always goal-orientated – an active, rather than a passive pursuit. It was conducted under conditions of strenuous attentiveness; it employed job-related equipment (both machinery and techniques) designed for efficient absorption and processing of the matter read; it was normally carried out in the company of a colleague or student; and it was a public performance, rather than a private meditation, in its aims and character.³

Above all, as we shall see, this 'activity of reading' characteristically envisaged some other outcome of reading beyond accumulation of information; and that envisaged outcome then shaped the relationship between reader and text. In consequence, a single text could give rise to a variety of goal-directed readings, depending on the initial brief.⁴ Inevitably this has consequences for specific readings of given texts by a reader briefed (by himself or others) in particular ways, which mean that the modern historian cannot afford to prejudge what will constitute its focus or central theme. Indeed, we would argue that, if we use our own understanding of the salient features of the text of Livy (say) to identify the

³ See, for example, a suggestive passage in Henry Wotton's commonplace-book: 'In reading of history, a soldier should draw the platform of battles he meets with, plant the squadrons and order the whole frame as he finds it written, so he shall print it firmly in his mind and apt his mind for actions. A politique should find the characters of personages and apply them to some of the Court he lives in, which will likewise confirm his memory and give scope and matter for conjecture and invention. A friend to confer readings together most necessary.' L. P. Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), vol. 2, 494.

⁴ A fine example of this is the reading which John Dee offered Sir Edward Dyer, in 1597, of Dee's own *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* of 20 years earlier (1577). Dyer had written requesting Dee's advice on 'Her Ma^{ties} Title Royall and Sea Soveraignty in S^t Georges Chanell; and in all the Brytish Ocean; any man[er] of way next envyrninge, or next adioyning vnto, England, Ireland and Scotland, or any of the lesser Iles to them apperteyning'. British Library (hereafter BL), London, Harleian MS 249, fol. 95. What Dee gives Dyer is a route through *General and Rare Memorials* which will yield a 'reading' which answers his question, and he does this with great textual precision: 'In the 20th page of that boke, (against the figure, 9 in the margent) begynneth matter, inducing the consideration of her Ma^{ties} Royall Sealimits, and her peculiar Iurisdiction, in all the Seas, next, vnto her Ma^{ties} kingdomes, dominions and Territories. {Note this worde, [NEXT] for it will haue diuerse vses in the Consideration, De Confinio in Mari statuendo, vt in Terra} And here vppon, in the 21 page, both in the Text, and also in the Margent, is pregnant matter conteyned: and the same confirmed by the lawes Ciuile: and the great Ciuilien doctors Iudgm[en]t, there alledged', etc. BL, Harleian MS 249, fol. 95. William Sherman is currently working in the Cambridge University English Faculty on this and other of Dee's manuscript writings, in the context of Dee's own role as a political facilitator (or 'intelligencer', as Sherman prefers to term him). This work will form part of our collaborative book, *Reading in the Renaissance*.

points of crucial importance to an Elizabethan reader, we are very likely to miss or to confuse the methods and objects at which reading was directed.

We believe that our study will significantly enrich what has recently come to be called 'the history of reading'. Students of this burgeoning discipline, above all Robert Darnton and Roger Chartier, have done much to focus scholars' attention on the process of reading and the ways in which this has changed over time. They have shown that factors as diverse as the typographical layout of a text, the physical circumstances under which it is read and the process by which the reader obtains it have a powerful effect on the reader's experience of the text itself. They have turned up rich information about authors' and readers' expectations within early modern novels and treatises. They have sometimes been able to discover readers in the process of response, explaining to booksellers or authors themselves exactly how they were struck by a given text.⁵ But this new historiography has yet to show an interest in the kind of material we tackle here.

One reason for this may be that the transactional model of reading which we use assumes that a single text may give rise to a plurality of possible responses, not a tidily univocal interpretation. Historians of reading have been inclined to settle for rather simple models for the reading practices of definable social groups and to locate sharp moments of transition when one set of practices yields to another: when reading passes from speech to silence, from public to private settings, from intensive to extensive or passive to active. But, even in the realm of popular culture, a variety of kinds of reading were understood to take place, and such readings were not sealed off from more 'serious' and 'educated' encounters with the written word.⁶ Aspects of the leisured reading of the élite and of the urban consumption of *bibliothèque bleue* volumes undoubtedly also shape the reading which takes place in the scholarly study or the university classroom.⁷

⁵ See, for example, R. C. Darnton, 'Readers respond to Rousseau', ch. 6 in his *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); R. Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, trans. L. G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). A classic study of reading by someone not primarily identified as a student of this field is C. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, trans. J. Tedeschi and A. Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

⁶ As symptoms of the plurality of possibilities for the use of texts at a specified historical moment see the preface to John Lyly, *Euphues* (London, 1578); introductory epistle to Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveller* (London, 1594); preface to Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (London, 1631).

⁷ Chartier, *Cultural Uses of Print*, ch. 5, 'Publishing strategies and what the people read, 1530–1660'; ch. 7, 'The *Bibliothèque bleue* and popular reading'; R. Chartier, 'Texts, printing, readings', in *The New Cultural History*, ed. L. Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 154–75.

What we attempt here is to show one kind of purposeful reading in process. We have chosen to focus on directed reading conducted in the circle (and under the auspices) of prominent Elizabethan political figures, because we ourselves find the interaction between politics and scholarship here particularly exciting for the light it can cast *both* on political affiliation (who shared what political beliefs) *and* on the activity of the scholars these figures retained more or less formally in their service. At one level, of course, the discovery of close connections between political theory as contained in classical texts and Tudor political practice is not unexpected; it is the *nature* of the connection which is surprising (its methodical character, its persistence as an emphasis in scholarly reading, the seriousness with which ‘reading’ was treated by those active in the political arena). Elsewhere, in work we are currently engaged in on other readings in other contexts (medical, astronomical, philosophical and dialectical), where the modern reader is less prepared for it, we are finding equally unexpected, related conjunctions of reading practice and application to specified goals.

‘A word will suffice for the wise’: Scholars and martialists

On 18 February 1601 Sir Thomas Arundel wrote a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, defending himself against any implication in the Essex rising, and urging clemency for the earl of Southampton.⁸ With this letter was enclosed an unsigned paper in the same hand, which contains the following passage:

I can not but wrighte what I think may avayle you so dothe my love manyfest my follye. Theare is one Cuff a certayne purytane skoller one of the whottest heades of my lo: of Essex his followers. This Cuff was sente by my lo: of Essex to reade to my lo: of Southampton in Paris where hee redd Aristotles polyticks to hym wth sutch exposytions as, I doubt, did hym but lyttle good: afterwards hee redd to my lo: of Rutlande. I protest I owe hym no mallyce, but yf hee showd [?] faultye heerein, w^{ch} I greatlye doubtte, I can not

⁸ Sir Thomas Arundel to Sir Robert Cecil, 18 February 1601, Ashmolean MS 1729, fol. 189, Bodleian Library, Oxford. We are extremely grateful to Paul Hammer for bringing this letter and its enclosure to our attention, and for his unerring ability, in the course of his own work, to pick up from the political correspondence of the 1590s items which confirm our intuitions about the relationship in that period between ‘arms and letters’.

but wish his punishment. [In Latin] A word will suffice for the wise (*verbum sapienti*).⁹

Henry Cuffe, one-time professor of Greek at Oxford, and secretary to the earl of Essex, had as one of his duties (according to Arundel) that of professional reader: 'to reade to my lo: of Southampton', and to provide his own expositions of the text (Aristotle's *Politics*).¹⁰ The note suggests that there was a specific category of employee in a noble household such as Essex's: the scholar, retained to 'read' with his employer and his employer's associates. And there is a strong suggestion that this reading is politically aware, that it serves a political purpose, of which the scholar/secretary is apprised, and in which he is actively involved ('hee redd Aristotles polyticks to hym wth sutch exposytions as, I doubt, did hym [Southampton] but lyttle good'). This might lead us to reassess the accusation levelled at Cuffe by Essex after his arrest (according to Camden; proof, according to Mervyn James, of Essex's violation of 'all the canons of honour'): 'you were the principal man that moved me to this perfidiousness'.¹¹ Was it to Cuffe's line in 'exposytions' that Essex was attributing blame, on the grounds that these had led him to believe that his political activities were sanctioned by the authority of classical political texts?¹²

⁹ Bodleian, Ashmolean MS 1729, fol. 190. In a personal communication, 21 July 1989, Paul Hammer comments: 'In enclosing this note on a separate piece of paper and unsigned, it seems very probable Arundel was following a common procedure for dealing with sensitive information.'

¹⁰ Henry Cuffe was in the end hanged for his part in the abortive rebellion (Southampton got life imprisonment). Here, however, we set on one side the emotive 'conspiracy' testimonies of the state papers and Camden's *Annales*, and concentrate on Cuffe's *profession*. The state papers (but not Camden) contain a version of Cuffe's scaffold speech which is entirely appropriate to the profession of scholar in service to the man of arms: 'Schollars and Martiallists (though learning and vallour should have the p[re]hemynence yet) in England must dye like dogges and be hanged: To mislike this, were but folly; to dispute of it, but tyme lost; to alter it impossible; but to endure it manlye, and to scorne it magnanimity.' Public Record Office, London (hereafter PRO), SP12/279, no. 26. See also the document containing Cuffe's final confession, in which he tried to maintain a distinction between the guidance he gave on policy (which he admitted) and the use to which that advice was put (for which, he tried to maintain, he could not be held responsible). The document records, 'My Lord Graye saide, this is no time for Logicke'. PRO, SP12/279, no. 25.

¹¹ William Camden, *Historie of Elizabeth Queene of England* (London, 1630), 187; cited in Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in early modern England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 458: 'Particularly discreditable was his betrayal of a dependant, his secretary Henry Cuffe, and his ascription to him of such a high politic act as his revolt, which his status required him to take upon himself. When the earl taxed Cuffe that "you were the principal man that moved me to this perfidiousness", the latter in his turn "taxed briefly and sharply the earl's inconstancy, in that he betrayed those most devoted to him".'

¹² See also Henry Wotton, *Of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex: And George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham: Some observations by way of parallel, in the time of their estates of favour*, ed. Sir Egerton Brydges (Lee Priory: Johnson and Warwick, 1816), 32–4.

A second letter from the Essex circle further supports the idea of scholar-secretaries employed for 'reading' – providing interpretations of textual material on pragmatic political themes. An undated letter to Fulke Greville, attributed to Essex, advises Greville as follows:

Cosin Foulke: you tell me you are going to Cambridge and that the Ends of yo^r going are, to get a Scholar to yo^r liking, to liue wth you, and some 2, or 3 others to remain in the Uniuersitie, and gather for you; and you require my Opinion, what Instruction, you shall giue those Gatherers. to w^{ch} I will, more out of Affection for yo^r Satisfaction, to do what I can, then out of Confidence that I can doo any thing: and though you get nothing ells by this idle discourse; yet you shall learn this, that, if you will haue yo^r Friend pe[r]form what you require, you must require nothing about his Strength. Hee that shall out of his own Reading gather for the use of another, must (as I think) do it by Epitome, or Abridgment, or under Heads, and common places.¹³

In our earlier work on humanist education we noted, tentatively, that some humanist teachers suggested that a nobleman or prince might employ a poor but gifted young man to read and excerpt the classics for him. Here we suggest that some Elizabethan great houses supported a recognisable class of scholar who performed exactly this function, acting less as advisers in the modern sense than as facilitators easing the difficult negotiations between modern needs and ancient texts. Such readers read, either alone or in company, on their employers' rather than on their own behalf, for purposes and with methods that varied dramatically from occasion to occasion. We propose to show how one such individual actually used his skills to derive counsel from the texts. Our facilitator is Gabriel Harvey; his employment was in the household of the earl of Leicester.¹⁴

¹³ Bodleian, Tanner MS 79, 29r–30v. We are grateful to Paul Hammer for this reference also, and to William Sherman for making a preliminary transcription for us. The remainder of the letter details methods for making epitomes and commonplace collections, and the kinds of work usefully to be epitomised.

¹⁴ We owe the term 'facilitator' here to Rachel Weil of the University of Georgia.

Reading 'in the trade of our lives': The Philip Sidney reading

Gabriel Harvey was born in 1550 of a prominent Saffron Walden burgher family and died there a highly respected local public figure in 1630. He took his BA at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1569–70, was a fellow of first Pembroke Hall (where he took his MA, against some internal college opposition), and then Trinity Hall (of which he made an unsuccessful attempt to become master). He occupied a number of university posts, including university praelector of rhetoric (1573–5) and university proctor (1583). He obtained his LL.B. in 1584 and was incepted Doctor of Civil Law at Oxford in 1585. In the late 1580s he practised in the Court of Arches in London. He held a secretarial post with the earl of Leicester briefly in 1580 and appears to have had other official connections with members of the court circle (in particular members of the so-called war party – Low Church opponents of Elizabeth's policy of political appeasement in Europe). He published both 'high' educational works and popular works (including several exchanges of letters with his friend Edmund Spenser, and some 'low' pamphlet material). His publishing career was terminated after a rancorous series of pamphlet exchanges with Thomas Nashe, at the end of which, in 1599, both men's works were banned from publication.¹⁵

Harvey's *Livy* is a grand and heavy folio in sixes, printed in Basel in 1555.¹⁶ In this edition, the text of *Livy* appears flanked by both critics and supporters. Two elaborate commentaries, one by Ioannes Velcurio and one by Henricus Glareanus, follow the text and explicate it, often phrase by phrase. Instructions for reading history, by Simon Grynaeus, precede it. Lorenzo Valla's iconoclastic demonstration that *Livy* had committed a genealogical error also appears, lest the reader feel more reverence than a Roman classic properly demands. The entire book is densely annotated

¹⁵ This summary is based on V. F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913). For some recent remarks on Harvey's relationship with Andrew Perne at Cambridge see Patrick Collinson, 'Andrew Perne and his times' (unpublished paper, now available in *Andrew Perne: Quatercentenary studies*, ed. Patrick Collinson, David McKitterick and Elisabeth Leedham-Green [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 1991, 1–34]).

¹⁶ Princeton University Library, Deposit of Lucius Wilmerding Jr, *T. Livii Patavini, Romanae historiae principis, decades tres, cum dimidia* (Basel, 1555) (hereafter *Harvey's Livy*). The volume is inscribed 'ex dono D^{ris} Henrici Harveij. A. 1568' and contains notes made during the period 1568–90. We are extremely grateful to the owner and to Princeton University Library for allowing us access to this volume.

by Harvey, indicating successive readings over a period of more than 20 years.¹⁷

At the end of Book 3 of the first decade of Harvey's Livy there is the following note:

The courtier Philip Sidney and I had privately discussed these three books of Livy, scrutinising them so far as we could from all points of view, applying a political analysis, just before his embassy to the emperor Rudolf II. He went to offer him congratulations in the queen's name just after he had been made emperor. Our consideration was chiefly directed at the forms of states, the conditions of persons, and the qualities of actions. We paid little attention to the annotations of Glareanus and others.¹⁸

Here is an extremely precise reference. Just these three books, read through by Harvey and Sidney, *tête-à-tête*, with an eye to political analysis, and 'shortly before his embassy to Emperor Rudolph II'. They were particularly interested in types of republic, in the protagonists' character and circumstances, and in the types of action. They deliberately ignored – as men of action perhaps should – the humanist commentaries.

In October 1576 Sidney returned from Ireland, probably escorting the body of the earl of Essex, who had died there on 22 September.¹⁹ While in Ireland he had accompanied his father, Sir Henry Sidney (governor-general in Ireland), with the task of dealing (apparently pretty unsuccessfully) with bands of rebels.

This was Sidney's first active service. He set out on his embassy to Rudolph in February 1577. Between Ireland and this first diplomatic

¹⁷ On Harvey's habits of annotating see Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*; C. Brown Bourland, 'Gabriel Harvey and the modern languages', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 4 (1940–1): 85–106; H. S. Wilson, 'Gabriel Harvey's method of annotating his books', *Huntington Library Bulletin* 2 (1948): 344–61; J.-C. Margolin, 'Gabriel Harvey, lecteur d'Érasme', *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Portugues* 4 (1972): 37–92; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey* (and her bibliography, 272–3).

¹⁸ Harvey's Livy, 93: 'Hos tres Liuji libros, Philippus Sidneius aulicus, et ego intimè contuleramus, qua potuimus politica analysi ultro, citroq[ue] excussos: paulò ante suam Legationem ad Imperatorem, Rodolphum II. Cui profectus est regineo nomine honorificè congratulatum; iam tum creato Imperatori. Summus noster respectus erat ad rerumpublicaru[m] speties; et personaru[m] conditiones, actionumq[ue] qualitates. De Glareani, alioru[m]q[ue] annotationibus parùm curabamus.'

¹⁹ See H. Hore, 'Sir Henry Sidney's memoir of his government', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1857): 299–323: 'Here [Galway] heard we first of the extreame and hopelesse sickness of the earl of Essex, by whom Sir Philip being often most lovingly and earnestly wished and written for, he with all the speed he could make went to him, but found him dead before his coming, in the castle at Dublin' (314). We are grateful to William Maley for this reference.

service Sidney was in England; he visited John Dee on 16 January 1577 and sent a letter from Leicester House on 8 February.²⁰ It seems reasonable to infer that he and Harvey read Livy at Leicester House between October 1576 and February 1577.²¹

In Book 1 of the third decade Harvey once again links a ‘reading’ of Livy with members of Sidney’s circle or associates:²²

Each decade is fine, but this one should be studied by the best actors. The quality of the content, and its great power; where the virtue of the Romans suffers so much. Certainly some light can be shed by Louis le Roy’s Commentaries on Aristotle’s Politics; Bodin’s Republic and Methodus; du Poncet’s Turkish Secrets in the Gallic Court; Sansovino’s Political Maxims; the recent works on politics by Althusius and Lipsius; a few others. And it is fitting for prudent men to make strenuous efforts to use whatever sheds light on politics: and to increase it as much as they can. Two outstanding courtiers thanked me for this political and historical inquiry: Sir Edward Dyer and Sir Edward Denny. But let the project itself – once fully tried – be my reward. All I want is a lively and effective political

²⁰ The Dee visit included Leicester, Philip Sidney and ‘the latter’s close friend, Edward Dyer’. James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney, 1572–1577* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 449, 451.

²¹ An additional clue is that on sig. F2r of Gabriel Harvey, *Gratulationes Valdinenses* (London, 1578), ‘a poem is described as having been presented to Leicester in 1576’. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 39. There is one further piece of tantalising circumstantial evidence suggesting that Harvey may have been in some way associated with Sidney even earlier. In Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*, 402–3, there is a series of three letters from the biographer of Ramus, Théophile de Banos, concerning his edition of Ramus’s *Commentaries*, preceded by a biography of Ramus, which the printer Wechel (also a friend of Sidney’s) had just produced. The first letter promises that ‘if I cannot find a friend to take them [Ramus’s *Commentaries*], I will send a man specially to Master Harvey in Antwerp, so that you will safely receive them’. ‘Master Harvey’ must have been returning to England, thus a carrier for the book. In the event, de Banos sends two further anxious letters, because the book has apparently not arrived, and in March he receives word from Sidney that he has still not received it. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*, 408–9, 416–17. From January to the beginning of the Cambridge Easter term (April?), Harvey was inexplicably out of Cambridge, and nothing is known of his whereabouts. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 30–1. Harvey was a dedicated Ramist, and in any case the Sidney/Ramus/Wechel connection – Sidney exchanges letters with Wechel authorising him to buy him the latest books at the Frankfurt book fair, for which he will reimburse him – is intriguing.

²² On fol. 53r of BL, Sloane MS 93 (the so-called Harvey letter-book), somewhat cryptically inserted in the narrative, is a fragment of a letter from ‘Immerito’ (Spenser) at court which reads: ‘The twoe worthy gentlemen, Mr Sidney and Mr Dyer, have me, I thanke them, in sum use of familiaritye; of whom and to whome what speache passith for your credde and estimation, I leave yourselfe to conceyve, havinge allwayes so well conceyvid of my unfainid affection and good will towardses yow. And nowe they have proclaymid in there ἀρεῖω παγῶ.’ Stern mistakenly makes this a letter from Harvey. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 39.

analysis of the chief histories: especially when Hannibal and Scipio, Marius and Sylla, Pompey and Caesar flourished.²³

Other evidence complements these notes, enabling us to reconstruct Harvey's role in full. In Harvey's *Sacrobosco* (now in the British Library), which carries the inscription 'Arte, et virtute, 1580' on its title page,²⁴ a note on sig. aii^r reads: 'Sacrobosco & Valerius, Sir Philip Sidneis two bookes for the Spheare. Bie him specially commended to the Earl of Essex, Sir Edward Dennie, & divers gentlemen of the Court. To be read with diligent Studie, but sportingly, as he termed it.'²⁵

So Sidney, by 1580, apparently had his own views on 'reading' for those in the political arena. Or did he? Osborn prints a letter from Sidney to Edward Denny which came to light in a 'near-contemporary transcript' in 1971. It is dated 22 May 1580, on the eve of Denny's departure (like Spenser) in the train of Lord Grey, the new governor of Ireland, appointed to put down Irish disturbances more single-mindedly than had Henry Sidney.²⁶ It apparently answers an inquiry from Denny as to what he should read to improve his mind (and presumably his prospects) and is something of a set piece. It also makes clear, as Sidney does elsewhere in his letters, that in the face of Elizabeth's determined resistance to military engagement aspiring men of action like himself and Denny have a good deal of time on their hands, and that 'reading' and 'study' are the approved, character-forming way of relieving boredom:

You will me to tell you my minde of the directinge your studyes.
I will doe it as well as the hast of your boy [the waiting messenger],
and my little judgement will habile me. But first let me reioyse with
you, th^t since the vnnoble constitution of our tyme, doth keepe vs

²³ Harvey's *Livy*, 277: 'Certè non nihil lucis à Lodouici Regij Commentarijs in Aristotelis Politica; Bodini libris de Republica, et Methodo historica; Equitis Poncetti arcanis in Gallica aula Turcicis; Politicis Sansouini maximis; nouissimis Althusij, Lipsijq[ue] politicis; paucis aliis. Et prudentes decet, eo quod est politica[e] lucis, enixè vti. Extendere etiam, quoàd licet. Pro hac politica, historicaq[ue] animaduersione, magnas mihi gratias egerunt duo pra[e]clari aulici; eques Eduardus Dierus, et eques Eduardus Denneius. Sed res ipsa agat gratias, penitè probata: nec quicq[uam] vehementiùs opto, quàm viuam, efficacemq[ue] summarum historiarum politicam analysin. Pra[e]sertim, cum Annibal, et Scipio; Marius, et Sylla; Pompeius, et Ca[e]sar in flore.'

²⁴ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 233–4.

²⁵ Transcribed in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 79.

²⁶ See L. Jardine, "Mastering the uncouth": Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser and the English experience in Ireland', in *New Perspectives on Renaissance Thought: Essays in the history of science, education and philosophy in memory of C. B. Schmitt*, ed. John Henry and Sarah Hutton (London: Duckworth, 1990), 68–82.

from fitte employments, you doe yet keepe your selfe awake, w^t the delight of knowledge.²⁷

For the foundation of study Sidney naturally prescribes scriptural reading. But when he comes to ‘the trade of our lives’, he specifies reading which is (we would argue) quite clearly based on that ‘reading’ with Gabriel Harvey three years earlier:

The second parte consists as it were in the trade of our lives. For a physician must studdy one thinge, and a Lawyer an other, but to you th^t with good reason bend your seife to souldiery, what bookes can deliver, stands in the books th^t profess the arte, & in historyes. The first shewes what should be done, and the other what hath bene done. Of the first sorte is Langeai in french, and Machiavell in Italian, and many other wherof I will not take vpon me to iudge, but this I thinke if you will studdy them, it shall be necessary for you to exercise your hande in setting downe what you reed, as in descriptions of battaillons, camps, and marches, with some practise of Arithmetike, which sportingly you may exercise. Of them I will say noe further, for I am witness of myne owne ignoraunce. For historicall maters, I woold wish you before you began to reed a little of Sacroboscus Sphaere, & the Geography of some moderne writer, wherof there are many & is a very easy and delightful studdy. You have allready very good judgement of the Sea mappes, which will make the other much easier; and provide your seife of an Ortelius, th^t when you reed of any place, you may finde it out, & have it, as it were before your eyes.²⁸

‘Some practise of Arithmetike, which sportingly you may exercise’ – echoed in Harvey’s ‘to be read with diligent studie, but sportingly, as [Sidney] termed it’ in his copy of Sacrobosco – indicates that Harvey saw this letter (it is even possible he wrote it).²⁹ It seems clear to us that we do indeed have here an agreed ‘reading’ of history for the ‘trade of our lives’ – politics and ‘souldiery’. And the source of that reading, since, as we shall see, the copiousness and consistency of Harvey’s annotations must establish him as its originating influence, is that ‘armchair’ politician (as he used to be characterised) Gabriel Harvey.

²⁷ Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*, appendix 5, 535–40; quote at 537.

²⁸ Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney*, 539.

²⁹ Or Spenser, with Denny in Ireland, saw it. At any rate, there is a direct connection between Harvey and the letter.

We begin here because the Denny letter/Harvey marginalia connection establishes at the outset some real-life events and outcomes for Harvey's reading of Livy. It will be an important part of our argument to maintain that Renaissance readers (and annotators) persistently envisage action as the *outcome* of reading – not simply reading as active, but reading as trigger for action. Here we may note how the chance opportunity to collate the marginal notes of an individual known only as a reader (and thus labelled politically non-participant by later scholars) with a 'letter of advice' from an individual known to be politically and diplomatically active seems to sharpen up 'reading' into potential 'advice' and provide a link between the absorption of information (as we would tend to judge reading) and public practice.

'I ran over this decade on Hannibal in a week': The Colonel Thomas Smith reading

At the bottom of page 428 of the Livy Harvey records a debate he participated in at Hill House, Theydon Mount, home of his patron Sir Thomas Smith, in which Livy's historical commentary stimulated a lively topical discussion of Elizabethan military strategy:

Thomas Smith junior and Sir Humphrey Gilbert [debated] for Marcellus, Thomas Smith senior and Doctor Walter Haddon for Fabius Maximus, before an audience at Hill Hall consisting at that very time of myself, John Wood, and several others of gentle birth. At length the son and Sir Humphrey yielded to the distinguished secretary: perhaps Marcellus yielded to Fabius. Both of them worthy men, and judicious. Marcellus the more powerful; Fabius the more cunning. Neither was the latter unprepared [weak], nor the former imprudent: each as indispensable as the other in his place. There are times when I would rather be Marcellus, times when Fabius.³⁰

We can date the event to which this note refers with some accuracy. Between 1566 and 1570 Sir Humphrey Gilbert was on active service

³⁰ Harvey's Livy, 428: 'Thomas Smithus filius, et Eques Humfredus Gilbertus pro Marcello: Thomas Smithus pater, et doctor Gualterus Haddonus pro Fabio Maximo. Auscultantibus iam tum in Montis aula me, Joanne Vuddo, nonnullis alijs generosis. Cedebant tandem filius, et Eques honorato Secretario: haud scio an cesserit Marcellus Fabio. Boni ambo, et cordati: Marcellus validior: Fabius astutior: nec hic inermis: nec ille imprudens: vterq[ue] suo loco necessarius. Est, vbi malim esse Marcellus: est, vbi Fabius.'

in Ireland.³¹ He was knighted for his services on 1 January 1570, and returned to England at the end of that month, remaining there until July 1572, when he was sent to the Netherlands against the Spanish.³² From summer 1571 he was certainly involved with Sir Thomas Smith in a speculative project to obtain a monopoly on a supposed procedure for transmuting iron into copper.³³ Sir Thomas Smith was in France from December 1571.³⁴ Harvey knew John Wood in 1569, when he noted in his copy of Smith's *De recta et emendata linguae anglicae scriptione dialogus* (London, 1567), that the book was a gift from Smith's nephew, his 'special friend'.³⁵ The Hill House debate, then, took place sometime in 1570, or early 1571.

In 1571 three of the four participants in the debate were actively involved in military and diplomatic affairs. Specifically, Sir Thomas Smith, his son and Sir Humphrey Gilbert were all actively engaged in the Elizabethan conquest and settlement of Ireland. Gilbert (the ruthless suppressor by force of the Fitzmaurice rebellion) and Smith junior (shortly to head the military campaign for the Smith family settlement venture in the Ards) argue the case for Marcellus, whose unscrupulousness and ruthlessness Livy contrasts with Fabius's measured strategy. Sir Thomas Smith and the elderly diplomat Haddon win the debate with their case for the rule of law and policy.³⁶ These distinguished Elizabethans used Livy – and Harvey – to work out anew in debate the Roman relationship between morals and action – law and military engagement.

At the bottom of page 518 Harvey writes in the margin:

I ran over this decade on Hannibal in a week, no less speedily than eagerly and sharply, with Thomas Smith, son of Thomas Smith

³¹ D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), vol. 1, 12.

³² Quinn, *Voyages and Enterprises*, vol. 1, 17–18, 22–3.

³³ Mary Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith: A Tudor intellectual in office* (London: Athlone Press, 1964), 149–55; Quinn, *Voyages and Enterprises*, vol. 1, 20–1.

³⁴ See p. 34.

³⁵ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 14–15. The book is now in the Wilmerding deposit, Princeton [now Princeton University Library PE1137.A2 S53 1568, available on The Archaeology of Reading]; another inscription identifies it as 'John Wood's book, a gift from the author himself' (Johannis Woddi liber ex ipso Authoris dono).

³⁶ Haddon (1516–72) wrote Elizabeth's answer to Osorius in 1563, published in Paris 'through the agency of Sir Thomas Smith, the English ambassador'. *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*), s.v. 'Walter Haddon'. In 1567 Thomas Hatcher published a collection of Haddon's works, *Lucubrationes passim collectae et editae: studio et labore Thomae Hatcheri Cantabrigiensis*; Hatcher also published *In Commendation of Carr and Wilson's Demosthenes* (*DNB*, s.v. 'Hatcher'). Hatcher and Harvey were apparently friends, and Harvey's copy of Demosthenes' *Gnomologiae* had previously belonged to Hatcher; Harvey acquired it in 1570.

the royal secretary, who was [Smith junior] shortly afterwards royal deputy in the Irish Ards – a young man as prudent as spirited and vigorous. We were freer and sometimes sharper critics of the Carthaginians and the Romans than was fitting for men of our fortune, virtue or even learning, and at least we learnt not to trust any of the ancients or the moderns sycophantically, and to examine the deeds of others, if not with solid judgement, at least with our whole attention. We put much trust in Aristotle's and Xenophon's politics, in Vegetius's book *Of Military Affairs* and Frontinus's *Stratagems*. And we chose not always to agree with either Hannibal, or Marcellus, or Fabius Maximus; nor even with Scipio himself.³⁷

Evidently the Hill House debate emerged from or accompanied a full-scale reading of the text. This can be dated: the letters patent authorising the Smiths to embark on a private venture to colonise the Ards region of Ireland were issued on 16 November 1571; Sir Thomas Smith was appointed principal secretary in July 1572, but 'long before that' (any time after spring 1571) Burghley and others were referring to him as 'secretary'; he left for France on an ambassadorial assignment on 15 December 1571.³⁸ Thomas Smith junior, Sir Thomas's natural and only son, was recruiting volunteers in Liverpool early in 1572, and was killed in Ireland, during the unsuccessful first attempt to establish the Smith venture, in October 1573.³⁹ So the reading referred to also took place sometime early in 1571. This date is corroborated by a remark in Harvey's *Four Letters* (London, 1592), in which he records that the earl of Oxford 'bestowed Angels upon mee in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise voutsafed me many gracious favours at the affectionate commendation of my Cosen, M. Thomas Smith, the sonne of Sir Thomas, shortly after Colonel of the Ards in Ireland'.⁴⁰ Harvey was elected to a fellowship at Pembroke Hall at the end of 1570 and presumably left Christ's (the college at which he took his BA) shortly thereafter – that is, early in 1571.

³⁷ Harvey's *Livy*, 518: 'Hanc Annibalis decadem vna hebdomade non magis raptim, quàm auide, acriterq[ue] percucurri cum Thoma Smitho, honoratissimi Secretarij regij, Thoma[e] Smithi filio; paulo post Ardiu[m] Hybernicarum prorege; tam prudenti, quàm animoso, validoq[ue] iuvene. Cum eramus liberiores, et aliquando asperiores Carthaginensium, et Romanorum Censores, quàm decuerat homines nostra[e] fortuna[e], virtutis, aut etiam scientia[e]. Tantùm didiceramus nemini ueteru[m], aut nouorum adulari; et aliorum facta si non solido iudicio, at integro arbitrio examinare. Aristotelis, Xenophontisq[ue] politicis; et Vegetij Libris de re militari, Frontiniq[ue] strategematis multùm confidebamus. Nec semper aut Annibali, aut Marcello, aut Fabio assentabamur, aut etiam ipsi Scipionj.'

³⁸ Dewar, *Sir Thomas Smith*, 123, 131.

³⁹ D. B. Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577) and the beginnings of English colonial theory', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89 (1945): 548–9.

⁴⁰ Cited in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 65–6.

So while Thomas Smith prepared himself for his crucial military expedition to Ireland (the expedition which was supposed to make his career politically, as well as his own and his father's fortunes), he read Livy with his intellectual companion and close friend ('cosen') Gabriel Harvey. We shall see later what form that reading took (using the copious notes to Book 3 and their repeated references to Thomas Smith's opinions as our guide).

'Owr special notes & particular observations wee committed to writing': The Thomas Preston reading

In 1584 (probably), Harvey read the first decade intensively again, with apparently more academic intent. This time he read with Thomas Preston, newly appointed master of Trinity Hall (a post which Harvey had hoped to win himself).⁴¹ That this reading was a 'theoretical' one is made explicit by the fact that its key text was Machiavelli's commentary/discourse on the same decade:

I had reason to take the greater paines in reading the first decad of Liuie, bie meanes of mie dailie & almost howerlie conference with M. Thomas Preston a fine discourser, & the Queenes onlie pensionar scholler:⁴² when in owre chambers in Trinitie hall with mutch delight, & more profit wee read together in Italian, which the Florentine secretarie writeth with an elegant & sweet grace: *Discorsi di Niccolo Machiaueli, sopra la prima deca di Tito Liuio*. Which politique discourses wee thorowghly redd-ouer: with diligent & curious obseruations of the notable actions of the Romans, accomplished at home, & abrode, bie publique, & priuate counsell: at home in the first booke: abrode in the 2; both bie publique counsell: at home & abrode bie priuate counsell, in the 3. Which Method in Machiauels discourses wee soone discovered: & the more easely distinguished his politique positions. Supposing his Councils of state, very fitt to be annexed to owr principall counsels, & souerain decisions in Lawe. Wee then had studied Hotomans Lawe-booke

⁴¹ But, as throughout this piece, the marginal notes contradict the conventional account of this failure to achieve office, leaving Harvey a broken and disappointed man (based largely on Nashe).

⁴² The *Dictionary of National Biography* tells us that in 1564, in Cambridge, Preston 'addressed the queen in a Latin oration on her departure, when she invited him to kiss her hand, and gave him a pension of 20l. a year, with the title of "her scholar"' (s.v. 'Preston').

Quaestionum illustrium. And were in hand with Marantas ten disputations *Quaestionum legalium*.⁴³

Harvey makes this note at the end of the first decade. At the top of the same page, he writes ‘Prestons, and Harueys familiar conference concerning the first decad of Liuie: & of Machiauels politique discourses upon this decad. Owre cheife autours for direction and resolution, were not manie, but essentiall, & for the most part iudicious.’ To which he had added, at some other time:

Especially Aristotle & Bodine for groundes of pollicie: Sansauino & Danaeus for aphorismes: Patritius & Plutarch for discourse: Hotoman & Maranta for lawe: sumtime Vigelius & excellent Hopperus. Thowgh otherwhiles wee had the Censures of Danaeus & Hotoman in suspicion: the one for sum irregular rules, rather Ephorismes, then Aphorismes: the other for his peramptorie & almost seditious Francogallia. Dangerous [the note continues down the right margin] panflets in a monarchie or politique kingdom; & flat opposite to the imperiall ciuill lawe of the prudent, valorous, & reputed iust Romans. Such were owr resolutions vpon Liuie, & Machiauel. Owr special notes & particular obseruations, both moral, politique, militarie, stratagematical, & other of anie worth or importance, wee committed to writing.

At the close of the text of the first decade, on the page facing the one on which the above remarks are inscribed, Harvey adds a further note on his and Preston’s reading of Danaeus:

We have come this far with Daneau’s Aphorisms and Machiavelli’s Discourses on Livy. But one should note that: ‘The aphorisms that could be drawn from the third decade were more or less copied from Polybius and can be found there too: those that could have been selected from the fourth decade clearly agree with the earlier ones’. Therefore Daneau thought he had satisfied his readers fully when he finished his aphorism collection with the first decade. Machiavelli uses much the same method, save in a few details.⁴⁴

⁴³ Harvey’s *Livy*, 266.

⁴⁴ Harvey’s *Livy*, 267.

We shall return to these comments on Livy/Danaeus/Machiavelli. For now the point to note is that these remarks specify a close and informed reading, with a diplomatic or political end in mind, evidently with the appropriate books open on the table before them (as was the case when Harvey worked on his dialectic books in this intellectually probing way).⁴⁵

Augustine on Livy: What is exemplary reading?

Around 1590 Harvey left Cambridge permanently in order to practise as a lawyer in the London (ecclesiastical) Court of Arches.⁴⁶ And in 1590 Harvey read Livy from still another point of view – one which for the first time heavily focused on the morality of the Livy. ‘I haue seene’, he wrote,

few, or none fitter obseruations, or pithier discoursers upon diuers notable particulars in Liuie, then sum special chapters in Augustines excellent bookes *De Ciuitate Dei*. Where he examines, & resolues manie famous actions of the Romans, with as sharp wilt, deep iudgment, & pregnant application, as anie of those politicians, discoursers, or other notaries, which I haue read vpon Livie.⁴⁷

As this quotation continues, it is evident that Harvey now has in mind the forensic pleading of cases, and the problem of grafting theology and morality on to the patently pagan heroism of his text – a task for which Augustine’s comments on Livy are peculiarly helpful: ‘Therefore I still saye: [In Latin] Hand me Augustine in those cases which Augustine discusses and settles perceptively and reliably. I know no theologian or dialectician or philosopher or politician, nor even scholar, philologist or critic who is more acute than he.’⁴⁸ Here, finally, Harvey’s engagement with Livy ends, with a rejection of pagan values, and the pagan exemplary figures who go with them, in favour of the Christian ethic:

Certainly here for observations on Livy I prefer Augustine to any other theologian of the highest quality. This is one reader’s opinion,

⁴⁵ See L. Jardine, ‘Gabriel Harvey: Exemplary Ramist and pragmatic humanist’, *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986): 36–48 (chapter 2 below).

⁴⁶ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 80–1.

⁴⁷ Harvey’s Livy, Z5r.

⁴⁸ Harvey’s Livy, Z5r: ‘Da mihi Augustinum in illis casibus, quos acutè solideq[ue] disputat, et decidit Augustinus. Quo nullum Theologum noui, vel dialecticum, vel philosophum, vel politicum, vel etiam polyhistorem, philologum, criticum acriorem.’

that there is hardly a competent judge of Roman history who did not previously have knowledge of Augustine's wise doctrine on the City of God. I am delighted that I have added this at last to the political philosophy of Aristotle and Plato. And I confess that the ideal state of philosophers or heroes is as a shadow by comparison with the City of God.

Gabriel Harvey. 1590.⁴⁹

Harvey did not read *The City of God* on its own, but together with its almost equally vast Renaissance companion, the commentary by Juan Luis Vives, famous for its learning, penetrating inquiries into Augustine's lost sources and exuberant excursions. In the course of this reading Harvey often found that subjects touched on by Augustine had been studied 'a little more precisely' by the modern scholar.⁵⁰ At the end of 20 or more years of political reading, here at last we find a kind of reading which the modern student of humanism would recognise: the personal, moralised, ruminative reading to be adduced tellingly to defend a course of action, or to enhance a specifically Anglican point of view.

The setting for reading

Harvey's marginal annotations enable us to build up a picture of consecutive, detailed readings of Livy, given point and direction by a specified occasion for reading and (sometimes) companion with whom to read. At this point, as part of our historical reconstruction, we need a digression on equipment. For it should be apparent from the examples of 'readings' of Livy cited that Harvey did not give his attention to one book at a time, even when reading in company. Even from among the comparatively small number of his annotated books which survive (or have been traced) his marginal notes make it clear that he annotated groups of books together on any one occasion, always in the same regular hand, with an even pen-pressure which does not suggest any awkwardness in writing or reading (he rarely blots or

⁴⁹ Harvey's Livy, Z5r: 'Certè hîc pro Liuianis animaduersionibus Augustinum malim, quàm vllum alium de selectissima nota Theologum. Vniusq[ue] ha[ec] opinio Lectoris est, vix quenq[ue] esse Romana[e] historia[e] competentem iudicem, cui non penitus fuerit pra[cognita] Augustini de ciuitate Dei sapientia. Quam me tandem Aristotelica[e]-, Platonica[e]-q[ue] Politeia[e] addidisse, vehementer gaudeo. Fateorque, vmbra[m] esse philosophorum, aut heroum optimam Rempubicam, pra[cognita] Ciuitate Dei. Gabriel haruejus, 1590.'

⁵⁰ Harvey's Livy, 310; see below, pp. 46-7, for a fuller treatment.

erases a single word). In the case of the Livy, there is at least the sense that the Livy text is, so to speak, *central* – that it sits at the centre of the reading. In other cases, such as the annotations of groups of dialectic books and associated classical works (Cicero’s *Topica*, Quintilian’s *Institutiones oratoriae*, Demosthenes’ *Gnomologiae*), it is by no means clear which text sits at the centre of the reader’s field of vision and attention.⁵¹

How did Harvey read a large number of volumes systematically? The sheer practical problems of keeping from five to 15 parallel texts and reference works constantly at hand seem daunting. So does that of entering notes in all of them, as Harvey did, in a handwriting more elaborate than that of ‘many a copyholder or magistral scribe that holds all his living by setting schoolboys copies’ (as Nashe, his enemy, described it).⁵² How did he muster the vast amount of uncluttered flat surface that this exercise in close reading and fine penmanship required?

Roger Chartier has recently called attention to the many changes that our devices for storing books have undergone. He illustrates one of the most strikingly alien of these to be produced in early modern Europe: the bookwheel (Fig. 1.1). This splendid combination of cabinetry and cog-wheels was new in the sixteenth century. As Ramelli’s illustration shows, it enabled its user to lay out on flat surfaces as many books as he might choose, to move them as he needed them without losing his places, and to stop at any selected text – thanks to the cog-wheels.⁵³ Jacopo Corbinelli saw such a wheel in the library of the great jurist Cujas at Valence. It could hold

60 or 70 portions out of large volumes, open, not counting the tiny ones. You sit and with your hand you bring portions of these large volumes before you three at a time. To put it in a nutshell,

⁵¹ It was Robert Darnton who first asked us why we believed that in a reading of a group of texts any single text *necessarily* had to be at the centre of the reading. We express our gratitude to him for launching us on a train of thought which led us eventually, after a certain amount of detective work, to the bookwheel.

⁵² Thomas Nashe, *Selected Writings*, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 285.

⁵³ Bill Saslaw has brought to our attention a modern version of the rotating desk, in which the outer and central sections of a circular desk rotated independently, horizontally: it was owned by Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard College Observatory in the 1930s, and remained in the office he had occupied until the 1960s. For a photograph, see Harlow Shapley, *Ad astra per aspera: Through rugged ways to the stars* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1969).

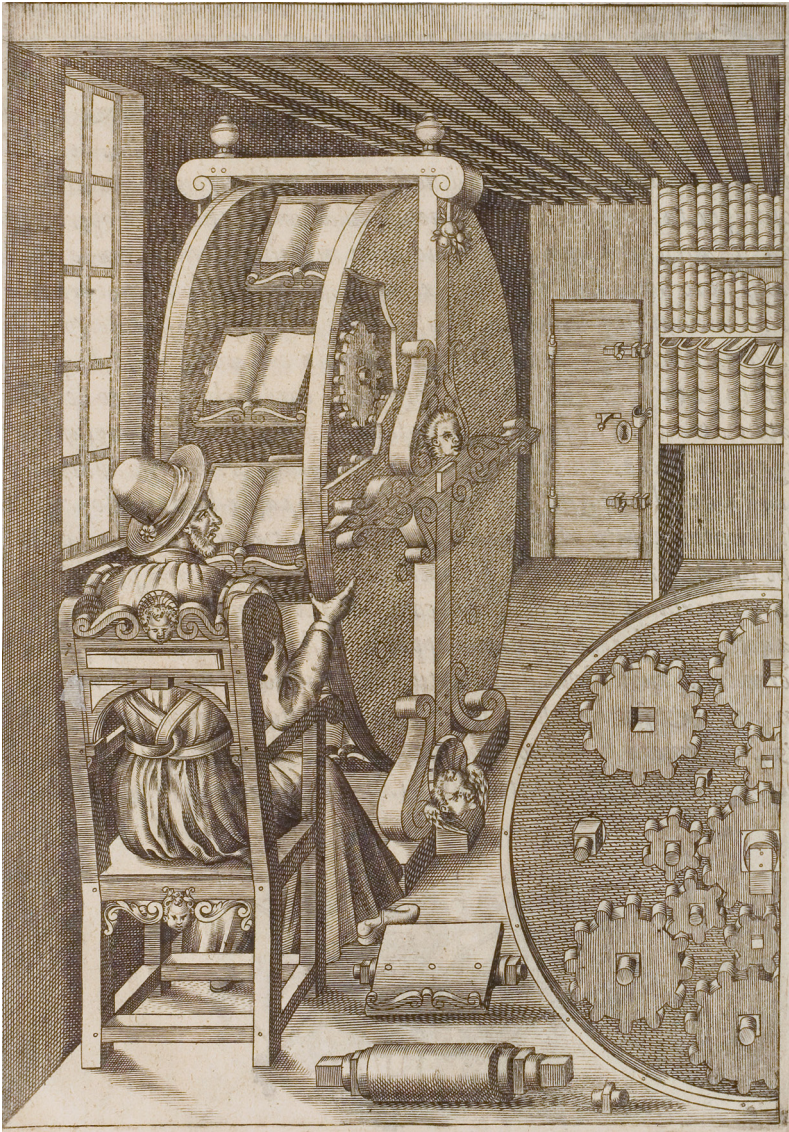


Fig. 1.1 The bookwheel from Agostino Ramelli, *Le Diverse et artificiose machine* (Paris, 1588), 317. (TJ144 R2 1588 Cage). Courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and reproduced under the Creative Commons licence CC BY-NC 3.0.

you can make a whole study revolve, and so easily that it is a delightful exercise.⁵⁴

Harvey's method of reading requires something like the bookwheel to be physically feasible. And the bookwheel, when seen in the new light cast on it by Harvey's practices, is more than a device for neat storage of momentarily interesting texts. It belongs to Harvey's cultural moment, in which collation and parallel citation were an essential, constructive part of a particular kind of reading; it allowed the imbedding of text in context, after the fashion that Harvey and (we would argue) many of his professional academic contemporaries practised. The bookwheel and the centrifugal mode of reading it made possible amounted to an effective form of information retrieval – and that in a society where books were seen as offering powerful knowledge, and the reader who could focus the largest number of books on a problem or an opportunity would therefore appear to have the advantage.⁵⁵

We suggest that it was people who did accumulate volumes who conceived of themselves as 'readers' in the sense in which we are excavating the term and provided themselves with the modern machinery for making such reading possible. In other words, the bookwheel suggests a social perception of certain individuals as skilled readers, as other men might be skilled woodworkers or leatherworkers.⁵⁶ We imagine Harvey using the bookwheel – or a rival device – in London, during the periods in which we know he was employed for his reading skills, in some kind of advisory, secretarial position (notably 1577–8, 1580 and 1590; dated readings in surviving volumes cluster closely round these dates).

The reader at the bookwheel is an unfamiliar *type*: the reader as facilitator. The reader, himself immobile and attentive to his books, is the agent to another's action, employed in the activity of reading in such a way that his own selfhood as a reader is not at issue. Ramelli, describing his 'artful machine', suggests that it might well serve a man with gout – who found movement difficult and painful – and this captures the

⁵⁴ Rita Calderini de Marchi, *Jacopo Corbinelli et les érudits français d'après la correspondance inédite Corbinelli-Pinelli (1566–1587)* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1914), 176. Ramelli's plate had already been reproduced, together with a photograph of a surviving bookwheel in Wolfenbüttel and useful remarks, in Anthony Hobson, *Great Libraries* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 206–7. Another working example is to be found in the Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden.

⁵⁵ We suggest that this adds a point to Chartier's evidence in *Cultural Uses of Print* that remarkably few readers owned quantities of books (rather than one or two culturally key texts like the Bible and the Golden Legend).

⁵⁶ Categories of persons who Chartier shows to have been familiar with print, but who were not 'expert' readers.

intermediary quality of the bookwheel reading. It is not the scholar-reader who acts, but it is he who facilitates action.⁵⁷

We propose the bookwheel as a kind of emblem – it (or something like it, allowing consultation and annotation of multiple volumes simultaneously) represents the professional reader or facilitator’s ‘tools of his trade’. And we suggest that in spite of the fact that history has apparently left little trace of this activity outside the as yet under-explored marginal notes in contemporary volumes, Harvey’s was not an unusual activity for a sixteenth-century intellectual but was consistent with the kind of professional service that Henry Cuffe performed for the earl of Essex, and John Dee for Edward Dyer.⁵⁸ As Harvey wrote to Leicester in 1579: ‘I speake it without vanity that a poore litle schollar would do your Lordshippe more honour in his speciall respects then sum of your gallants and courtlyest servants.’⁵⁹

Some books on the wheel in 1580

In August 1580 Edmund Spenser, secretary in Leicester’s service, left for Ireland with Lord Grey, and Gabriel Harvey entered Leicester’s employment in his place.⁶⁰ A striking group of historical and political texts belonging to Harvey are inscribed with the date ‘1580’, either on their title page, or somewhere in the marginalia. We may take these as a sample of what was ‘on the wheel’ during Harvey’s first known period of public service. The works are as follows:

T. Livii Patavini, Romanae historiae principis, decades tres, cum dimidia ... (Basel, 1555);⁶¹

⁵⁷ See, for instance, Roger Ascham’s 1541 letter to Archbishop Edward Lee, offering him his services as just such a reader, in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. John A. Giles (London: J. R. Smith, 1865), vol. 1, 19.

⁵⁸ See above, pp. 22, 24–5). As Nicholas Clulee suggests, Dee’s involvement in the various projects of the Sidney/Dyer group was not that of an initiator but a seeker of documentary precedents for policy – in our terms a facilitator. See Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee’s Natural Philosophy: Between science and religion* (London: Routledge, 1988), 188: ‘In summary, Dee’s major role in these projects for exploration was in the definition of the ideological context of ideas of a British Empire in which they took place and not that of a technical advisor let alone that of a leader in the movement.’ Linda Levy Peck gives an account of Sir Robert Cotton’s work as an advisor to the earl of Northampton between 1603 and 1614 which closely matches our model of reading for policy-making. Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and policy at the court of James I* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1982), 103–4.

⁵⁹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Marquess of Bath MSS.* (London, 1904–80), vol. 5, *Talbot, Dudley and Devereux Papers, 1533–1659*, 199. We owe this reference to Paul Hammer.

⁶⁰ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 68.

⁶¹ ‘G. H. 1580’ at end of first long note.

The Arte of Warre: Written in Italian by Nicholas Machiuel: And Set Foorth in English by Peter Withorne ... (London, 1573);⁶²

Florio his First Fruites: A Perfect Induction to the Italian and English Tongues (London, 1578);⁶³

William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1561);⁶⁴

The Strategemes, Sleyghtes, and Policies of Warre, Gathered Together, by S. Julius Frontinus, and Translated into Englyshe, by Richard Morysine (London, 1539);⁶⁵

Paulus Jovius, *Libellus de legatione Basilii magni principis Moschovia ad Clementem VII: pontificem max. in quo situs regionis antiquis incognitus, religio gentis, mores, & causae legationis fidelissime referuntur ...* (Basel, 1527);⁶⁶

T. Livii Patavini conciones, cum argumentis et annotationibus Ioachimi Perionij ... (Paris, 1532);⁶⁷

Politique Discourses, Treating of the Differences and Inequalities of Vocations, as well Publique, as Priuate: With the Scopes or Endes Wherevnto They are Directed: Translated out of French by Aegremont Ratcliffe Esquire (London, 1578);⁶⁸

⁶² '1580. ♂' on the title page. Now in Princeton University Library, Lucius Wilmerding Jr deposit [now Princeton University Library U101. M16 1573 ex, available on The Archaeology of Reading]. For location of the other volumes in this list, see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*.

⁶³ Dated 1580 at end of text, just above 'finis'. At end of text, above 'finis', at top of sig. Ee1v, Harvey writes: 'Florio, & Eliot mie new London Companions for Italian, & French[e?]. Two of the best for both.' And lower down the page (later): 'Now to the 4. books of Guazzo [1581], the sweetest & daintiest of Italian Dialogues. Then to Eliots French Dialogues: as fine, as those Italian, & more pleasant ...' Harvey's copy of John Eliot, *Orthoepia Gallica: Eliots First Fruits for the French* (London, 1593), survives. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 211.

⁶⁴ Title page missing, no date. But marginal annotations contemporary with other 1580 volumes, for example (cited in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 237): 'Excellent Histories, & notable Discourses for everie politician, pragmatician, negotiatour, or anie skillfull man. A necessarie Introduction to Machiavel, Guicciardin, Jovius.' And complete passages of Thomas are transcribed in the margins of Harvey's Florio.

⁶⁵ (Hereafter Harvey's Frontinus.) Dated 1580 on first blank page.

⁶⁶ Title page missing, but annotations contemporary with 1580 volumes.

⁶⁷ Dated 1578 on title page and last page but contains marginal notes contemporary with Harvey's Livy. In assembling this list we noted that a good number of these works (and some others) were acquired and/or read thoroughly for the first time in 1578. Another large set of books can be identified for 1590.

⁶⁸ 'Gabriel Harvey, et amicorum'. Not dated, but notes contemporary with 1580 volumes.

Ioannes de Sacrobosco, *Textus de sphaera ... introductoria additione ... commentarioque, ad utilitatem studentium philosophiae Parisiensis Academiae illustratus ...* (Paris, 1527);⁶⁹

P. Du Ploiche, *A Treatise in Englishe and Frenche, Right Necessarye and Profitable for all Young Children ...* (London, 1578);⁷⁰

Detti et fatti piacevoli, et gravi: di diversi principi, filosofi, et cortigiani: raccolti dal Guicciardini: et ridotti a moralita (Venice, 1571);⁷¹

Lucae Gaurici geophonensis, episcopi civitatensis, tractatus astrologicus (Venice, 1552);⁷²

Ioachim Hopperus, *In veram iurisprudentiam Isagoges ad filium libri octo ...* (Cologne, 1580);⁷³

Iuris civilis totius absolutissima methodus: in qua, bone lector, non solum omnes totius iuris ciuilis titulos, sed & singulas singulorum titulorum leges, singulos singularum legum paragraphos, miro ordine ad suos locos habes redactos & dispositos: opus multis retro annis, a multis doctissimis uiris exoptatum, a multis tentatum, tandem autoris sumptibus perfectum: autore Nicolao Vigelio iurisconsulto (Basel, J. Oporinus, 1561).⁷⁴

These volumes and their annotations give a vivid, concrete sense of what it meant to engage in the activity of reading as Harvey did in 1580 (in preparing this paper we have had the annotations for the first eight volumes on this list before us, and six volumes before us simultaneously, either physically – the first two on the list – or in photographic reproduction – the next four). In addition to the richness and density of

⁶⁹ Not yet seen. 'gabrielis harvejus', 'Plus in recessu, quam in fronte', 'Arte et virtute. 1580' on title page: Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 233–4.

⁷⁰ Not seen. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 210.

⁷¹ Not seen. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 218: 'gabriel harvejo. Ratione, et diligentia. 1580'.

⁷² Not seen, 'gabriel harvejus. 1580' on title page; 'gabrielis harveij, et amicorum. 1580' at end. Discussion of Harvey's use of astrology must wait for another time and place. We have omitted a couple more '1580' volumes whose topics are not relevant to the discussion as currently framed: Pindar (see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 230); Rowlands, *The Post of the World* (see 233); and Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie* (see 237–8).

⁷³ 'Gabrielis Harveij, 1580' on title page: Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 175–87; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 221.

⁷⁴ Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, H.6.12. Title page: 'GabrielisHarueij. 1580. Mense Aprile.', 'Arte, et Virtute'. (Not in Stern.)

annotation throughout them, there is persistent echoing of sentiments from one book to another; cross-referencing of one of these authors in the margins of another; recognisable continuity of handwriting, to the extent that we can sometimes hazard a guess as to which book succeeded which other in the circulating process of reading and annotation; narrative notes about contemporary or near contemporary affairs continued from the margins of one volume to another (notably, from the back of the Frontinus to the margins of the Florio; and from the Thomas to the margins of Florio). Cumulatively, the effect is one of unexpected cohesiveness – a sense of the grouped volumes as cohering around a project which Harvey (the reader) keeps constantly before him.⁷⁵

Positioning the reading: Choosing your occasion

The Sidney, Smith junior, Preston and ‘Arches’ readings by Harvey of his Livy (to which we can assign fairly precise dates) give us distinctive contexts for reading (and therefore, we shall argue, distinctive ‘ways of reading’, which need have little in common with one another). The first (chronologically, with Smith junior) we, like Harvey, might term ‘pragmatic’ – or ‘militarie, stratagematical’. This reading is addressed by the prior agreement of the readers to a specific Elizabethan political context, and in particular, to the demands of impending military campaigns. The version of strategy which it yielded turned out in the event to be of limited relevance to the task in hand, and we might want to argue that this is intrinsic to the sources: Livy was never very strong on campaigns.⁷⁶ This was also, one might add, Harvey’s earliest engagement with ‘politics’ via history, and therefore arguably the most ambitious in terms of the pay-off he hoped for.

The second reading (with Sidney) we might term ‘moral, politique’. This, we would argue, is a careerist reading – one designed to promote the career of a courtier, and at the same time to bring the hopeful facilitator to the notice of a court circle. This side of Harvey (and of his reading) has been repeatedly invoked by those who have encountered his marginalia, but it needs to be looked at again, as we shall do here. The appropriate context is provided by the closing passages of a familiar letter from Harvey to John Wood.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Unexpected, because a twentieth-century reader would not anticipate volumes with this range of topics and subject matter converging on anything.

⁷⁶ See Jardine, ‘Mastering the uncouth’.

⁷⁷ We have used Walter Colman’s transcription, which we gratefully acknowledge.

The salient point is that Harvey treats the relationship between university political theory and court political practice as reciprocal: 'you must needs acknowledge us your Masters in all generall poyntes of Gouernment, and ye greate Archepollycyes of all aoulde, and newe Commo[n] welthes'. 'Particular matters of counsell, and pollicye, besides daylye freshe newes, and A thousande both ordinary, and extraordinary occurrents, and accidents in ye worlde' are provided by those actively engaged in law and politics: but these nevertheless must be assessed against the general theory that only university men can provide.⁷⁸

The third reading with Preston is the one which historians of political thought might want to take most seriously. It solidly exemplifies the aspiration generally stated in the letter to Wood: that university men should be able to provide political theory to match contemporary political requirements.⁷⁹ It is a reading which the marginal notes 'position' rather carefully. As we have seen, Harvey and Preston took care to note that while Holman's *Francogallia* was relevant to their discussion, its Tacitean argument that the king's right to rule depended upon the favour of the people rather than on right of inheritance was seditious.⁸⁰

Harvey's reading of Livy with Augustine, though perhaps solitary in execution, had at least two distinct purposes. On the one hand, Augustine was himself a rich source for the early history of Rome. As Vives pointed out, he had read the lost books of Livy and the lost works of the great Roman scholar Varro; accordingly, even in his opposition to Roman values, he filled in many details tantalisingly omitted or left vague in Livy. Read with Vives's commentary – which tried to use

⁷⁸ One might want to observe that the somewhat insistent note in Harvey's remarks about the usefulness of university men to the court has less to do with pushiness than with the need to earn a living. There are a number of points in Harvey's biography, starting with the Pembroke quarrel with Neville, where it is obvious that Harvey's career is suffering from his not being a man of means and therefore financially self-sufficient *before* any earnings from the various posts he sought. See, for example, the letter to the master of Pembroke, John Young, on the disputed Greek lectureship in 1574: 'For the bestowing of the lecture, do in it as you shal think best for the behoof of the Collidg. For mi part I am the more desirus of it, I must needs confes, bicaus of the stipend, which notwithstanding is not great': BL, Sloane MS 93, 27r–34v, cited in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 26–7. Contrast Sir Thomas Smith's earnings, as itemised in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷⁹ The letter to Fulke Greville which we cited earlier takes an almost identical position (even down to the 'tags' used): 'The ... hardest point is y^e Choice of the Notes themselues: w^{ch} must be naturall, morall, Politick, or Military. Of the 2 first your Gatherers may haue good Iudgment; but you shall haue little use: of the 2 later, yo^r use is greatest, and their Iudgement least. I doubt not, but in the Universitie you shall find Choice of many excellent Witts, and in things, wherein they haue waded, manie of good Understanding. But they that haue the best Eyes, are not alwaies the best Lapidaries and according to the Proverb, The greatest Clarks are not euer the wisest men. A meer Scholar in State, or Military Matters will no more satisfie you, then Phormio did Han[n]ibal': Bodleian, Tanner MS 79, 29r–30v; quote at 30r–v.

⁸⁰ On Hotman's 'red Tacitism' see Peter Burke, 'Tacitism', in *Tacitus*, ed. Thomas Alan Dorey (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 149–72.

all available information to dot every i of fact, date or place-name that Augustine had left incomplete – *The City of God* made a splendid reference book. And it was thus that Harvey used it when, for example, he referred to Augustine’s ‘extremely important chapter’ (*caput valde notabile* – v.22) on the duration of Rome’s wars with the Carthaginians, Mithridates and the pirates, and remarked ‘see also Vives’s commentary’ (*observandis etiam L. Vivis animadversionibus*). Augustine’s chapter lists the durations of these wars to show that they depend on God’s decision; Vives’s commentary emphasises historical details, locations of battles and alternate values for the durations found in other classical sources.⁸¹

On the other hand, Harvey also makes many references, direct and implicit, to Augustine’s historical doctrines. Unlike Augustine’s contemporary, Orosius, and many of his own contemporaries, he grasped Augustine’s view of Roman virtue and the moral use of examples from Roman history. He picked out key chapters – like 1.15, the long treatment of the Roman hero Regulus – for recording in his margins. And he made clear that he understood Augustine’s fundamental insistence, in this and similar passages, that even in shared virtues – like those that animated Regulus to sacrifice his life for Rome – the Christians outdid the pagans.⁸² This reading was genuinely Augustinian in tone and content – and we are currently undecided as to how Harvey reconciled it with his other readings.⁸³

At the end of the Livy are two Harvey notes which we may take as our own ‘positioning’. Both relate the reading of history to Harvey’s own mentors and patrons, and thus to the immediate social and political context of his study of Livy. The first (after the ‘Finis’) relates to Sir Thomas Smith, Harvey’s hero on at least three grounds: for his personal support of Harvey’s own university studies and encouragement of his political career aspirations; for his own exemplary progress via political theory and university office to the diplomatic service and high government office; and for his uncompromising intellectual and publishing career:

Sir Thomas Smyth, the Queenes principal secretane; in his trauals in Fraunce, Italie, Spaine, & Germanie; but especially in

⁸¹ Harvey’s Livy, 268; Augustine, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. L. Vives (Lyon, 1580), 325–6; on Augustine’s use of lost sources see 208–9, where Vives comments on 5.1.

⁸² Harvey’s Livy, 268.

⁸³ Harvey manages to reconcile Livy and Augustine at least once, in an interesting note on the beginning of Book 31 (Harvey’s Livy, 519), where he has Livy and Augustine agree unproblematically about the forces that propelled Rome to world empire. But we still cannot reconcile these remarks with the others quoted in our exposition. Our thanks to Jill Kraye for comment on this and other points.

his ambassages in Scotland, Fraunce, & Netherlande; found no sutch use of anie autours, as I heard himself say, as of Liuie, Plutarch, & Iustinian. He much commended Sallust, Suetonius, Tacitus, & sum other of the best: but his classical and statarie historians were Liuie, Plutarch, Halicarnasseus; & verie fewe other. Of the new, Cominaeus, Guicciardine, Jouius, Paulus AEmilius, Egnatius, & but fewe other. Not the most, but the Best; was his rule. And I am for Geometrical, not Arithmetical Proportion. An other of owre cunningest, & shrewdest ambassadours in Fraunce, Sir Nicholas Throgmarton, was altogether for Cesar, & Liuie; Liuie & Cesar. Not a more resolute man in England: & few deeper heds: as Mie Lord Burgley will still saye.⁸⁴

The second note, at the end of the *elenchus* of Glareanus, sets up the relationship between the various reading contexts just described, and the Livy:

The notablest men, that first commended the often & aduised reading of Liuie vnto mee, were theise fiue, Doctor Henrie Haruey, M. Roger Ascham, Sir Thomas Smyth, Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Philip Sidney: all learned, expert, & verie iudicious in the greatest matters of priuate, or publique qualitie. Once I heard M. Secretarie Wilson, & Doctor Binge preferre the Romane historie before the Greek, or other: and Liuie before anie other Romane historie. But of all other Sir Philip Sidney, Colonel Smyth [i.e. Smith junior], and Monsieur Bodin wunne mie hart to Liuie. Sir Philip Sidney esteemes no general Historie, like Iustines abridgment of Trogus: nor anie special Roman historie like Liuie: nor anie particular historie, Roman, or other, like the singular life, & actions of Cesar: Whome he values aboue all other, & reputes the greatest actour, that euer the World did afforde. And therefore makes exceeding account of Sallust, Velleius, Suetonius in Latin; Plutarch, Dion, Iulian in Greek: Who as effectually, as briefly display him in his liuelie colours. But of none makes so high reckoning as of Cesars owne Commentaries, peerles & inualuable works. Where his frends, & enimies beholde a most worthie man; modest in profession; pithie in discourse; discreet in iudgment; sound in resolution; quiet in

⁸⁴ Harvey's Livy, 829. This seems to be the only reference to Throckmorton in the marginalia. Throckmorton and Smith were ambassadors together in France in 1562–4: according to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (s.v. 'Sir Thomas Smith'), Smith junior – aged 15 – was in France with his father on this embassy. Throckmorton died in February 1571.

expedition; constant in industrie; most uigorous in most daunger; surmounting the wisest in pollicie, the brauest in valour, the terriblest in execution, the cunningest in huge artificial works; allwaies inuincible, often incomparable, sumtime admirable in the accomplishment of the weightiest affaires, dowtiest exploits, & finest designes, that could be plotted bie himself in the profunditie of his surprising conceit. The onlie Mirroure of most excellent valour, & more excellent Witt: to this day vnmatchable, in so manie reuolutions of high, & deepe spirits; aspiring to the greatest things vpon Earth; & leauing no possibilitie vnextended. Yet amongst so manie valorous minds, & euen amongst so many puissant Cesars, still but one Cesar. He, that brauely gaue it owt for his resolute word, Aut Caesar, aut nihil: howsoeuer exceedingly beholden to Machiauel, was indeed nihil in comparison of Cesar.⁸⁵

On the one hand we have Henry Harvey, Roger Ascham, Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Walter Mildmay, ‘all learned, expert, & verie iudicious in the greatest matters of priuate, or publique qualitie’ – significant men with one foot in the university world, the other in diplomacy. On the other we have Smith junior and Bodin (of whom more shortly), distinctively in the world of politics, strategy and opportunity. In the middle we have Sir Philip Sidney, symbol, even before his death, of both camps – the man of cultivation and learning, court figure and literary darling, but whose achievements were cemented by his exemplary performances in active military engagement (and in the first place, in Ireland).⁸⁶

If this is reading, what was political thought?

There seems no reason not to take seriously Harvey’s aspiration to read Roman history in a way directly applicable to contemporary affairs of state. We take Bodin, Machiavelli, Daneau and Hotman seriously because they published (thus demonstrating a persisting academic preference for the treatise as ‘authentic’ intellectual history). It might, however, be

⁸⁵ Harvey’s *Livy*, [PIr]. This note can be dated before 1586, since Sidney’s views are recorded in the present tense.

⁸⁶ See the verses written by Harvey for the Cambridge volume *Academiae Cantabrigiensis lachrymae tumulo nobilissimi equitis: d. Philippi Sidneij* (1587). The second poem is headed ‘De subito & praemature interitu nobilis viri, Philippi Sydneij, utriusque militiae, tam armatae, quam togatae, clarissimi equitis’ (Concerning the sudden and premature death of that noble man, Philip Sidney, the most celebrated knight of both kinds of office, as much of arms as of civil affairs).

argued that Harvey is a better source for understanding of Elizabethan political thought, precisely because his observations are juxtaposed with the text of Livy itself, and because, as he indicates, contemporary politicians valued the readings he gave. As to whether Harvey's claims to have the ear of the politically influential are genuine: the claims of individuals are often, in intellectual history, our only guide to contact and influence. And although the pamphleteering Nashe has seen to it that posterity disparages Gabriel Harvey's achievements, it is interesting to note how often Nashe's jibes may equally be read as confirming Harvey's own claims.⁸⁷

Harvey's methods and concerns were clearly shared with those members of the political élite with whom he claimed connections. Thomas Smith, his patron – and an eminently respectable figure in modern histories of political thought – lived in a world as steeped in classical texts and modern technical writers as Harvey's own. Smith's friend Walter Haddon once wrote to ask his opinion of a recent dinner-table conversation where the French ambassador had denied that Cicero was a competent lawyer (an argument that 'became so heated that it was very hard to find a way to end it'). Smith replied at length from Paris, where he was serving as English ambassador, with appropriate diplomatic tact, that Cicero had been a splendid lawyer, *given the condition of the law of his day*. The scholar-diplomat's mature grasp on such issues, which enabled him to reply so deftly to a difficult question, came from the circle of 'facilitators' he frequented in Paris. He had been discussing such issues – though less frequently than he would have liked – with Petrus Ramus and Louis le Roy, as he had discussed them years before with their predecessor at the Collège Royal, Jean Strazel.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ See, for example, Nashe's remarks about Harvey's legal practice in the Court of Arches, cited in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 81–2. Or we may choose to accept Harvey's own word (as set out in a 1598 letter to Sir Robert Cecil) that given the opportunity, in the form of reliable financial support and secure employment, he would have published 'manie other mie Traicts & Discourses, sum in Latin, sum in English, sum in verse according to the circumstance of the occasion, but much more in prose; sum in Humanitie, Historie, Pollicy, Lawe, & the sowle of the whole Boddie of Law, Reason; sum in Mathematiques, in Cosmographie, in the Art of Navigation, in the Art of Warr, in the tru Chymique without imposture (which I learned of your most learned predecessour, Sir Thomas Smith, not to contemne) & other effectual practible knowlage, in part hetherto unrevealed, in part unskillfully handeled for the matter, or obscurely for the forme; with more speculative conceit, then industrious practis, or Method, the two discovering eies of this age'. For, says Harvey: 'I had ever an earnest & curious care of sound knowledg, & esteemed no reading, or writing without matter of effectual use in esse: as I hope shoold soone appeare, if I were settled in a place of competent maintenance, or had but a foundation to build upon'. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 125.

⁸⁸ Walter Haddon, *Lucubrations* (London, 1567), 280–1, 284–7. See also above, pp. 33–4.

And he would soon produce a spectacularly successful adaptation of his own of an ancient model for political writing: a brilliant account of England's institutions, modelled on his 'conjectural reconstruction of the form used by Aristotle in his lost books on many of the Greek states'.⁸⁹ Very likely it was Smith who introduced Harvey to the thought of Bodin – whose innovative ideas on inflation Smith accepted.⁹⁰

In at least one case we can watch Harvey and the Smiths, father and son, responding to a single supplementary reading of a sharply 'political' kind. Harvey remarks on his reading of the third decade that:

M. Thomas Smith, & I reading this decade of Liuie together, found verie good vse of M. Antonie Copes English historie of the two most noble Captaines of the World, Annibal, & Scipio. Which sumtime giues a notable light to Liuie; & was worthie to be dedicated to King Henrie the VIII. in the opinion of Sir Thomas Smith, who much commended it to his sonne. [In Latin] However, it is sweeter to drink the waters from the very source. And I am one of those who will never have had their fill of Livy's wise and lively style.⁹¹

The introduction to Cope's *Historye of the Two Most Noble Captaynes of the World, Anniball and Scipio* (London, 1548) specifies in an introductory letter (to which Harvey here refers) that Cope writes as a scholar (he was chamberlain to Queen Katherine Parr), to make his own scholarly contribution to knowledge useful for warfare and conquest. Among the military achievements which Cope maintains contribute to Henry VIII's international political standing he includes 'the wyse and woorthy conquest of the realme of Irelande, wher of at this present your maiestee weareth the Diademe'.⁹² An appropriate volume for Sir Thomas Smith to draw to the attention of his son as part of his 'political' preparation for the Ards campaign. Harvey's racily pragmatic annotations in English to this decade do indeed appear to take their tone from the Cope. For example, at the top of the page following the inscription above: 'Annibal, a laborious & hardie; a valiant & a terrible Youth. A ventrous & redowted Captain in the Prime of his age. [In Latin] He acted accordingly.'⁹³ And at the top of the next: 'The Romanes neuer so matched & tamed, as bie

⁸⁹ Haddon, *Lucubrationes*, 306.

⁹⁰ See Thomas Smith, *A Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of England*, ed. Mary Dewar (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), xvii, xxvi.

⁹¹ Harvey's *Livy*, 269.

⁹² Anthony Cope, *Historye of the Two Most Noble Captaynes of the World, Anniball and Scipio* (London, 1548), aivr.

⁹³ Harvey's *Livy*, 270, ending 'Hoc agit'.

Annibal a long lime. And therefore his Historie the more notable in manie weightie respects.⁹⁴ In his copy of Frontinus – which we have on our bookwheel, and which elsewhere in the Livy Harvey notes he and Smith included in their reading – Harvey heads the discussion of Hannibal’s tactics ‘in Aphrike agaynste Scipio’: ‘Ye order of Annibal, & Scipio, in that most famous battel betwene them. These orders, more particularly analyzed in ye English History of Annibal, & Scipio: owt of Liuy, &c.’⁹⁵

Observations such as these (which in Harvey’s Livy form a series of running heads to the third decade) represent Hannibal as a freebooting buccaneer. They culminate in a marginal note to the speech of Hannibal’s which closes the decade. In this speech Hannibal, who has been recalled to Carthage after 16 years’ sustained combat against the Romans, philosophically comes to terms with his situation, sues for peace as instructed and warns Scipio not to trust in fortune, but only in reason. At the top of the page Harvey records Thomas Smith’s enthusiasm for such lofty thoughts from the great captain of the world:

M. Smith, Colonel of the Ardes in Ireland, did maruell at nothing more in all Liuie, then at this discreete, & respectiue oration of Annibal, after so manie braue resolutions, impetuous aduentures, & maine battels. [In Latin] A wise oration of Hannibal’s.

Full of sagacity, tried and tested, and maturely reflected upon.⁹⁶

These last two sentences are from an earlier reading, possibly actually contemporary with the Smith reading, as opposed to retrospective (the first note). At the bottom of the page Harvey writes:

Here at last we see Hannibal as more a cautious counsellor than a fierce general. It is not surprising that Hannibal made Fabius a politician and a pragmatic:⁹⁷ for Scipio makes Hannibal himself orator and philosopher. The spirit of youthful courage is one thing;

⁹⁴ Harvey’s Livy, 271.

⁹⁵ Harvey’s Frontinus, E4v–E5r. See above, p. 43.

⁹⁶ Harvey’s Livy, 511, ending: ‘Sapiens Annibalis oratjo. ^ plena considerata[e], et veterana[e] prudentia[e]’.

⁹⁷ Harvey’s Livy, 511. We translate Harvey’s ‘*pragmaticus*’ as ‘pragmatic’ throughout, for want of a more appropriate word. Harvey takes the term directly from Cicero, *De oratore*, where Antonius advises the orator not to fill his head with legal detail but to employ someone to get it up for him: ‘This is why, in the lawcourts, those who are the most accomplished practitioners retain advisors who are expert in the law (even though they are very expert themselves), and who are called “pragmatics”’ (Itaque illi disertissimi homines ministros habent in causis iuris peritos, cum ipsi sint peritissimi, et qui ... pragmatici vocantur). See also Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae*, 12.3.4.

that of mature prudence, another; that of old age's temperance, yet another. Each has its own diction, its own style, more or less temperate and, as it were, bridled.⁹⁸

Affective style: An effective force for action

There seems to be an interesting tension here, between the *aspiration* to find advice on tactics and stratagems in such episodes, and Harvey's very evident attraction to the stylistic and affective in such a speech. Once again, this contributes to our sense of the reader, Harvey, as intermediary between text and its effect in practice: style and affectiveness are textual catalysts; the occasions for their recall may be those on which oratory does indeed provoke, and alters the course of events. There is clearly a strong sense in which Harvey sees the cut and thrust of political debate – particularly in the pointed exchange between military adversaries – as a serious and important part of 'gaining the upper hand' in political and military affairs. Near the beginning of the Livy he has a long note on Livy's style and its importance:

Livy's style, especially in the speeches. No Latin or Greek speeches deserve more careful reading or meticulous selection than Livy's; Périón assembled them into a sort of technical order. Hence, when I have time to read, or to imitate, or even to emulate speeches, I prefer no others to these, or others of Livy's, which are both sharp in sense and polished in expression. Nothing, in general, is either more toughly concise, or more vividly expressed. Atticism itself seems to be outdone here. [Later] The style is meticulously polished here: now splendidly ample, now brilliantly concise, now expertly modulated, often adamantine. It is always budding or flowering. Had he not known Caesar, Sallust, Virgil intimately, I would find his method of composition amazing. It is at once so brilliant and so solid; no more brilliant than grave, no less subtle than ornate. [Later] Certain well-rounded and clever sayings – like Spartan apophthegms – are also most delightful. His variety almost never fails, and his strength almost never flags. This judgement is

⁹⁸ Harvey's Livy, 511: 'Ecce tandem Annibal, cautior consiliarius, quam ferocior Dux. Quid mirum, si Annibal Fabium fecerit politicum, et pragmaticum; cum Scipio Annibalem ipsum faciat Oratorem, et Philosophum? Alius est iuuenilis Fortitudinis spiritus: alius virilis prudentia[e]: alius senilis Temperantia[e]. Et sua cuiq[ue] phrasis, suus stilus; magis, minusue temperatus, ac quodammodo froenatus.'

still mine; nor could I be easily induced or desperately coerced to adopt another view.⁹⁹

When we turn to Harvey's copy of Livy's *Conciones* we do indeed find them annotated confidently as politically effective (not simply exercises in speech-making):

Anyone must be delighted by that vividly varied style. Relevant here are the political letters of Mehmet II to popes, emperors, kings, princes, states, with the answers. Also some very prudent and sharp opinions in the letters of the rulers of the world. What is more spirited, more skilful, more concise, more penetrating than either of these? What is more appropriate to a judicious orator, especially an ambassador or a royal counsellor? Every excellent pragmatic must become thoroughly conversant with them.¹⁰⁰

These notes give a vivid sense of how Harvey treats virtuoso oratory as an integral part of strategy, comparable with military tactics in its ability to influence the outcome of political confrontation (even though elsewhere, as we shall see, he made serious efforts to master Roman writings on warfare tactics and battle formation). We should not find this surprising. Livy and Machiavelli had both stressed the vital importance of effective rhetoric to generals as well as to statesmen; and Harvey had given much of his career to the study of oratory.

Between these two extremes, Harvey appears ultimately to settle for *aphoristic* history, as crucially policy-forming for the politician; and

⁹⁹ Harvey's Livy, [a8r]: 'Liuij Stylus: pra[e]sertim in Concionibus. Nulla[e] Latina[e], Gra[e]ca[e]ue orationes, vel accurata lectione, vel exquisito delectu digniores, quàm Liuianae conciones; à Perionio in artificiosum quendam ordinem redacta[e]. Undè, cum orationibus vacat aut Legendis, aut imitandis, aut etiam a[e]mulandis, nullas iam malim, quàm has, aut illas Liuianas; tam sententia acres, quàm elocutione limatas. Nihil pla[e]runq[ue] vel neruosius pressum, vel viuidius expressum. Vt sa[e]pè ipse Atticismus hïc superari videatur. Tam prudenter politus hic stylus: modò fusus splendide; modò strictus argutè; modò scitè temperatus: sa[e]pè adamantinus; semper gemmans, aut florens. Ni Ca[e]sarem, Sallustium, Virgilium intimè nosset, mirarer tam nitidam pariter, solidamq[ue] componendi formulam: non magis illuminatam, quàm seriam; nec minùs subtilem, quàm ornatam. Valdè etiam placent qua[e]dam rotunda, et arguta dicta: quasi Laconica apophthegmata. Nec unq[uam] fermè deficit varietas: nec vigor ferè uspiam flaccescit. Mea adhuc ha[e]c Censura: nec in aliam sum, uel facilè ducendus, uel sollicitè trahendus sententiam.'

¹⁰⁰ Transcription by Walter Colman. Copy in Worcester College, Oxford. See also Sir Thomas Smith's library list, Queen's College, Cambridge. Richard Simpson, *Sir Thomas Smith's Booklists, 1566 and 1576*, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 15 (London: Warburg Institute, 1988). This copy of Livy's *Conciones* has Thomas Smith's signature on its title page ('Thomas Smyth'), that is, Smith junior, which suggests that the two might well have had the two Livy texts together (on the bookwheel!) during their reading.

this is consistent with his commitment to Bodin, Daneau, Hotman and others, associated with contemporary moves to reform the legal systems and political structures of modern states using ancient models. It is in a book of aphoristic sayings from Demosthenes that Harvey quotes Bodin on history; and it is at the end of that work that he cross-refers (evidently for something like the first time) to ‘Daneau’s very new aphorisms’ as appropriate reading at this point.¹⁰¹ Annotating the introductory letter (addressed to Henry VIII) in his copy of Morison’s translation of Frontinus’s *Stratagems*, Harvey writes: ‘Aphorisms and examples will speedily make you great and admirable. Of longer discourses and histories there is no end. They tire the body and confuse the intellect and the memory.’¹⁰² The passage against which this is written is also marked with Harvey’s ‘martial’ sign (♂), and the ‘aphorisms’ in question are pointedly triggering to action (and peculiarly appropriate as usual to the ‘war party’ among whom Harvey sought his patrons):

Whan tyme byddeth spende, sparynge is great waste. Loue is lewdenesse, whan tyme biddeth hate. Peace is to be refused, wha[n] tyme forceth men to warre. Wherefore, I haue besydes this my translation [of Frontinus], in an other tryfle of myn, exhorted al my contrey me[n], peace laid aside, to prepare for warre.

At the bottom of page 271 of the Livy, on a page which Harvey heads in his ‘military’ vein, ‘The Romanes neuer so matched & tamed, as bie Annibal a long time’, we find a marginal note in his diplomatic mode: ‘No repose or delay here. No notes can equal the author himself, not even the sharpest discourses or aphorisms. He is still sharper himself, and deeper.’ Over the page this allusion to Daneau and Machiavelli is filled out as follows:

One who wants political axioms here should read Daneau’s political axioms from Polybius, or rather should himself collect more prudent ones, and more appropriate to civil and military discipline, from political principles. For example: Justinian’s rules of law, Vegetius’s rules of war, Isocrates’ rules of civilised life. Or like the political principles of Aristotle, which come from Herodotus,

¹⁰¹ Transcription by Walter Colman; Harvey’s copy of Demosthenes, *Gnomologiae*, o3r (now in the BL).

¹⁰² Harvey’s Frontinus, at present in the Houghton Library, Harvard [and available on *The Archaeology of Reading*], a6r. Another marginal note here refers the reader to Aphonius’s *Progymnasmata* for similar aphorisms.

Thucydides, Xenophon, Homer and others. There is no specialist in political, or economic, or ethical axioms drawn from histories and poems to match Aristotle in his *Politics*, *Oeconomics*, *Ethics*. But how much greater would he have been had he known histories that were so much greater – especially Roman history? Machiavelli certainly outdid Aristotle in observation of this above all, though he had a weaker foundation in technical rules and philosophical principles. Hence I generally prefer Aristotle’s rules, Machiavelli’s examples.¹⁰³

Harvey’s search for first principles of politics – at once derived from the Aristotelian belief that the highest form of science consists in the provision of such principles, and connected with the effort of so many of his contemporaries to crystallise the most powerful ideas they had about law, morality and politics into adages, emblems and *regulae iuris* – is not surprising.¹⁰⁴ What may surprise us, though – and here the need to study the habits of actual readers emerges – is the nature of the source where he looks for them. Harvey boasts of his knowledge of Aristotle and Machiavelli. But he finds actual guidance in formulating aphorisms in the much humbler little collection of political axioms by the Calvinist pastor and theologian Lambert Daneau.

The political aphorisms in Daneau appropriate to this episode in Livy (the fall of Saguntum and the subsequent Roman embassy to Carthage) are indeed to be found among those drawn from Polybius (since we recall that Daneau only collects aphorisms from Livy’s first decade). There we find aphorisms like the following, succinctly drawing the lessons from the events:

Those who must wage a great war at a long distance must leave no hostile position that threatens them to the rear (that is why Hannibal took Saguntum)

¹⁰³ Harvey’s Livy, 273: ‘Qui politica axiomata hīc velit, aut legat Dana[e]i ex Polybio aphorismos politicos; aut potiūs ipse colligat ex Principijs Politicis, quos potest, prudentiores, et ciuili, militariq[ue] disciplina[e] accommodatiores. Quales Iustiniani regula[e] iuris; Vegetij, bellorum; Isocratis, morata[e] vita[e]. Aut qualia potiūs ipsa Aristotelis Principia Politica ex Herodoto, Thucydide, Xenophonte, Homero, nonnullis alijs. Neq[ue] enim vllus adhuc tantus artifex uel politicoru[m], uel oeconomicoru[m], uel ethicorum ex historijs, poetisq[ue] axiomatum, quantus est Aristoteles in suis politicis, oeconomicis, ethicis. Qui tamen quantò maior fuisset, si historias nosset tantò maiores, praesertim Romanam? Cuius potissimū obseruatione, non dubium est Machiauellum praestitisse Aristoteli: tametsi artificiosis regulis, principijs philosophicis minū fundatum. Vndē est, quòd Aristotelis praecepto; Machiaueli exempla pla[e]runq[ue] malim.’

¹⁰⁴ See Peter Stein, *Regulae iuris* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966).

Those who break public treaties first are starting wars in a hateful way (that is why Polybius condemns the Carthaginians)

In an empire consisting of several diverse peoples and provinces it is wisest to entrust the defence of one province to soldiers from another province, and vice versa. Thus they may be linked to one another by the performance of these reciprocal duties (thus Hannibal sent Spaniards to Africa, and moved Africans across to Spain).¹⁰⁵

The focus of Harvey's (and presumably Preston's) interest in this episode, however, is the conduct of the legation sent by the Romans to Carthage after the fall of Saguntum, ostensibly to ask 'whether Hannibal had attacked Saguntum with the authority of the government', but actually authorised formally to declare war on the Carthaginians. At the top and bottom of the page in which the Roman ambassadors and their Carthaginian hosts exchange speeches, Harvey writes:

The first bloom and vigour of Roman history, in the opinion of a couple of readers. Virtue regains strength after being wounded; it is the adamantine basis for generous rivalry and excellence. Had Carthage not been Rome's bitter enemy, Rome would never have become the powerful mistress of the world. The harsher the ill fortune, the greater the favourable fortune in the end, where unvanquished virtue, the splendid contestant for victory, serves.

[Bottom of page] I want a politician who fixes the adamantine basis on deeper foundations, and illustrates the best precepts with the best examples – and thus outdoes Aristotle himself in weight of principles, Machiavelli in choice of histories. I would like to begin where Machiavelli and Daneau leave off, and use the later counsels, laws, arms, judgements, magistracies, enterprises, industries and public directives of the Romans to correct the earlier ones skilfully and enlarge them diligently. Also to add the most supremely excellent ones from the other successful empires, kingdoms, republics of the world. Then to leave nothing unexamined or unexplained in the subtlest school doctors or deepest worldly pragmatics, which could improve or enlarge the principles.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Lambert Daneau, *Politicorum aphorismorum silua, ex optimis ... scriptoribus ... collecta* (Leiden, 1620; first published 1591), 132–3.

¹⁰⁶ Harvey's Livy, 275: 'Romana[e] historia[e] primus flos, et vigor: vnus alteriusq[ue] lectoris opinione. Virescit vulnere virtus: adamantinum generosa[e] a[e]mulacionis, pra[e]stantia[e]q[ue] fundamentum. Ni Carthago fuisset Roma[e] asperrima hostis;

In the middle of this page appears a virtuoso exchange between Quintus Fabius and the Carthaginians. The Carthaginian speaker elegantly finds Roman precedent for Carthage's and Hannibal's actions. Fabius's reply is blunt. He gathers his toga into a pouch and says: 'Here we have for you either war or peace; take whichever you wish.'

To this the senate shouted angrily that he might give them whichever he wished. Dropping the pouch of his toga as if to pour out its contents, he said that he gave them war. To this they answered that they accepted, and would wage it with the same courage as they had accepted it.

This straightforward declaration of war seemed more befitting the dignity of the Roman people than wrangling about the validity of the two treaties.¹⁰⁷

In the margin Harvey has written: 'The extraordinarily honourable embassies of the Romans: to the Carthaginians, Spaniards, Gauls. No historian plays the ambassador or jurisconsult so vividly as Livy, here, above, below. It is most useful to a pragmatic to examine all these legations thoroughly.'¹⁰⁸ And on the following page: 'Roman ambassadors are grave and decisive; also more ready or prepared than the Spartans.'¹⁰⁹

This emphasis on ambassadorial virtuosity is supported by another group of notes which link performances by protagonists in the Livy

nunq[ua]m Roma fuisset Orbis potentissima domina. Quò aduersa fortuna infestior, eò tandem prospera fortuna ingentior: vbi militat virtus indomita; palma[e] praeclara a[e]mula'; 'Politicum desidero, qui vtrunq[ue] adamantinum fundamentum altioribus radicibus figens, et optima pra[e]cepta optimis exemplis illustrans, Aristotelem ipsum Principiorum pondere; Machiauellum historiarum delectu superauerit. Mihi placeret, ibi incipere, vbi Machiauellus, Dana[e]usq[ue] desinunt: et posterioribus Romanorum consilijs, legibus, armis, iudicijs, magistratibus, negotijs, industrijs, imperijs, priora solerter corrigere, nauiterq[ue] extendere. Nec non alia superaddere, qua[e] in alijs florentissimis mundi imperijs, regnis, rebuspublicis eminentissima pra[e]celluerunt. Tum nihil in subtilissimis scholae doctoribus, aut profundissimis mundi pragmaticis inexcussum relinquere, aut inexploratum, vndè ipsis principijs aliquid accedat reformationis, aut incrementi.'

¹⁰⁷ Livy, 21.18.13–19.1: 'Tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto, "hic" inquit, "vobis bellum et pacem portamus; utrum placet sumite." sub hanc vocem haud minus ferociter, daret utrum vellet, succlamatum est; et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et quibus acciperent animis iisdem se gesturos. Haec directa percontatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare.'

¹⁰⁸ Harvey's Livy, 275: 'Honoratissima[e] Romanorum Legationes: ad Carthaginenses: Hispanos: Gallos. Nullus historicus tam vividè legatu[m] agit, aut Iurisc[onsultum] quàm Liuius. h[ic] s[upr]a, i[n]fr[ra]. Valdè conducit pragmatico, tales omnes legationes penitus excutere.'

¹⁰⁹ Harvey's Livy, p. 276: 'Romani legati, serij et peremptorij: etiam magis succincti, aut expediti, quàm Lacones.'

with real-life stories of Elizabethan ambassadors ‘winning the day’ with their feats of words.¹¹⁰ By juxtaposing the vivid recent example with his printed text, Harvey stresses the ‘relevance’ of the Livy reading to court diplomacy. The most vivid example comes in two marginal notes concerning ‘Doctor Dale’.¹¹¹ On page 813 we find the story of Popilius’s legation to Antiochus:

When Antiochus was four miles from Alexandria he was met by the Roman commissioners. He saluted them and held his hand out to Popilius. Popilius asked him first to read a document which he handed him. He did so, and said he would call and consult his ministers, whereupon Popilius with customary directness drew a circle around the king with the staff in his hand and said: ‘Give me your answer to the senate before you step out of this circle.’ The king was stunned by this peremptory order, but after hesitating a moment replied, ‘I will do as the senate bids’. Popilius then deigned to give him his right hand, as a friend and ally.

Antiochus evacuated Egypt by the prescribed date, and the Romans sailed to Cyprus. From this base they expelled Antiochus’s fleet, which already had conquered the Egyptian ships in battle. This embassy became renowned throughout the world. For it was obviously responsible for Antiochus’s withdrawal from Egypt after the country already was in his power (45.12).

This story has all the right ingredients: a crucial point in the war and a vital legation. Events turn on ‘customary directness’ incisively mastering the situation and gaining the required response. It even has an unlikely outcome in military terms – gaining the verbal upper hand when in fact your adversary had the upper hand in terms of the battle, and *thus* beating him. In the right margin Harvey writes: ‘Popilius was an earnest and effective ambassador: having comparable authority even with the ruling house. [Later in English] One of doctor Dales great Examples: when he was Lord Ambassadour in Fraunce, & in Netherland.’¹¹² At the bottom of the page Harvey relates Dale’s preference for this story to his own success as an ambassador (also dealing with an adversary with ‘customary directness’):

¹¹⁰ The reference to Harvey’s discussions of diplomatic and political issues with the courtiers Edward Dyer and Edward Denny (BL, Sloane MS 93, 53r) comes on the page following this discussion of Roman diplomacy.

¹¹¹ See *DNB*.

¹¹² Harvey’s Livy, 813: ‘Popilius, Legatus serius, et efficax: tanq[uam] auctoritatem habens, etiam in Reges.’

Doctor Dale, Lord Ambassadour in Fraunce, & the Lowe Countries, was as resolute after his fashion, as Popilius himself: and stood upon as peremptorie termes with the French Kinge, the duke of Parma, & other mightie Princes, as the stowtest Romane euer did in the like cases. When the Earle of Darbie, & other Ambassadours respectiue quailed, he was allwaies in harte, absolute, & inuincible. The Prince of Parma was neuer so berded to his face, bie anie Ambassadour.¹¹³

At the very end of the Livy (after ‘finis indicis’) we find out more about this bearding of the prince of Parma on the eve of the Armada:

Doctor Dale – the great pragmatic, and the most judicious ambassador I have known – used to say ‘Give me no. 1’ when he wanted Justinian; ‘Give me no. 2’ when he wanted his *Speculum iuris*;¹¹⁴ ‘Give me no. 3’ when he wanted Livy. For he made more of these three authors than of all the rest, and he supplied himself with a manuscript notebook of secrets. William Spite [Speight?], procurator of the Court of Arches, and Dr Dale’s secretary in the Belgian legation to the duke of Parma, often told me this among other memorable doings of his. When the well-equipped Spanish fleet, commanded by the duke of Medina, was preparing to invade England in the near future, Dale was the only ambassador who dared to claim precedence over the duke of Parma when out walking, as the representative of a higher prince, his mistress; and wanted to precede, or refused to follow. When the duke of Parma fiercely uttered terrible threats, as though already thinking of the invasion of England, he laughed, and contemptuously replied with a non-verbal noise, as of lips smacking[!]. No other legate ventured anything like this against the brave Parma, in the midst of his fierce army. But the fearless doctor never showed dismay. In fact he showed open contempt for the vast army, mindful both of Livy’s examples and of his kingdom, his fatherland, his rank. I have known few such readers of Livy, but the rarer, the more remarkable. Doctor Haddon and Doctor Wilson preferred Cicero and Caesar. But as ambassadors they were more elegant than effective; they were stiff in carrying out orders, and flaccid in grave transactions involving the queen’s interest – compared with those two sharp

¹¹³ Harvey’s Livy, 813.

¹¹⁴ See Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 266–7.

pragmatics, Doctor Smith, the knight, and Doctor Wotton, the queen's counsellor. They applied themselves to Livy and Tacitus.¹¹⁵

Here indeed is Livy's lesson of the highly wrought speech as crux and fulcrum on which events turn, in action.

Harvey's view of Livy's style – and his belief in its peculiar transparency as narrative – emerges most clearly from his note on the commentator Velcurio's effort to define the historical style. Velcurio writes for students learning to imitate. He explains Livy's style as 'copious' and 'grave' and emphasises Livy's trick of weaving a special form of 'period' 'from several clauses or members, in such a way that it both expresses a given matter copiously and embraces and connects several matters in the same sentence'.¹¹⁶ This quality sets Livy off from other historians like Sallust and Caesar. Velcurio advises the student to cut Livy's 'periods into their constituent parts' to see the historical style in detail and gives rules for producing it in one's own prose (for example, 'Very often in the historical period several nominatives and other cases are referred to a single verb, as if predicated'). And he makes clear that Livy's periodic prose makes him second only to Cicero as a teacher and model of eloquent Latin.¹¹⁷

Harvey disagrees. His comment reads:

Second to Cicero. Yet he is often ahead of him in the force of his aphorisms. Often, too, he describes persons, places, actions and

¹¹⁵ Harvey's Livy, Z5r: 'Doctor Dalus, magnus pragmaticus, et Legatorum, quos noui, cordatissimus; cum Justinianum vellet, solebat dicere, Da Primum: cum Speculatorem, Da secundum: cum Liuium, Da tertium. Nam hos tres auctores, maximi omnium faciebat: et vnum arcanorum manuscriptum codicem sibi ipse suppeditabat. Hoc inter alia illius Mnemosyna, mihi sa[e]pius narrauit Gulielmus Spitus, curia[e] Arcuum procurator, et Doctoris Dali in Belgica ad Parmensem Principem Legatione secretarius: tum, cum instructissima classis Hispanica, conducenti duce Medina[e], parabat Angliam hostili incursione mox inuadere. Qua tempestate ausus est solus Legatorum Dalus, ipsi Parmensi duci locum in ambulando superiorem pra[e]occupare, superioris Principis vice, sua[e] hera[e]; et volebat pra[e]cedere, aut nolebat sequi. Qua[e]dam etiam terribilia ferociter iactanti Parmensi, tanq[uam] Anglicam etiam irruptionem iam tum cogitanti, ridens, spernensq[ue] respondebat inarticulata voce quasi scloppum emittentium Laborum. Nemo Legatorum talia audebat in magnanimum Parmensem; sa[e]uo iam tum diroq[ue] exercitu circumunitum. Sed interritus Doctor nusq[uam] pauebat: imò apertum pra[e] se ferebat contemptum immanissimi apparatus: cum Liuianoru[m] exemplariu[m] semper memor; tum verò regia[e], patria[e], sua[e] dignitatis. Tales Liuij lectores paucos noui: sed quò rariores, eò insigniores. Doctor Haddonus, et Doctor Vilsonus Ciceronem, et Ca[e]sarem malebant: sed Legati erant elegantes magis, quàm efficaces: et frigebant in exequendo mandata, inq[ue] seria regiarum causaru[m] negotiatione tepescebant, pra[e] duobus acribus pragmaticis, Doctore Smitho equestris ordinis, et Doctore Vuttono, regio etiam consiliario; qui Liuiu, Tacitoq[ue] incumbabant.'

¹¹⁶ Harvey's Livy, H6v.

¹¹⁷ Harvey's Livy, Ir.

things of great beauty more vividly. I have often found Quintilian a sort of composite of Cicero and Livy. Nor did any later Roman have a more florid style, more splendid aphorisms, or a more profound intellect, or a freer judgment, or finally more faith in his own intellect. Had there been no Livy there would have been no Fabius [Quintilian]; and had there been no Fabius, there would have been no Lorenzo Valla, whom I have felt to be the leader of so many modern critics.¹¹⁸

Harvey sees Livy as a master in a different sense than Velcurio does. Livy's prose presents people and events concretely, in three dimensions, offering an experience more cinematic than literary in our terms. Yet at the same time he offers exactly the sort of tuition one would expect to find in a master of rhetoric: invention, judgement and elocution, the basic parts of rhetoric, appear in the less explicit categories Harvey applies.¹¹⁹ Livy offers both explicit and implicit lessons: both the immediate vision of war *in actu* and the considered formulations needed by the statesman *in potentia*.

'No one depicts so graphically': Sharpening the images by repeated readings

The best way to enhance our sense of how Harvey made Livy meaningful is to proceed from principles to applications. As Harvey notes approvingly: 'Livy is certainly the best in Roman history. Each book is outstanding, in its kind. The variety of appealing facts is amazing. No historian either observes more seriously or depicts so graphically.'¹²⁰ But the graphic description requires insistent excavation: for how are the lessons of the ancient Roman Republic to be made applicable to a sixteenth-century monarchy?

¹¹⁸ Harvey's Livy, Ir: 'secundus Ciceronj. Quo tamen ipso est sententiaru[m] vi, et uigore pla[e]runq[ue] prior. Sa[e]pè etiam viuudior personaru[m], locoru[m], actionum, pulcherrimarumq[ue] rerum descriptor. Mihi Quinctilianus sa[e]pè est visus quasi ex Cicerone, et Liuiio compositus. Nec sequentium vllus Romanorum aut stylo floridior, aut sententijs splendidior, aut ingenio altior, aut iudicio liberior, aut animo deniq[ue] confidentior. Ni fuisset Liuius, non esset Fabius: et ni fuisset Fabius, non esset Laurentius Valla: quem ego sensi tot nouorum Criticorum antesignanum.'

¹¹⁹ See Harvey's annotations in his copy of Livy, *Conciones*.

¹²⁰ Harvey's Livy, a3r (at end of preface): 'Liuius, Romana[e] historia[e] facillè princeps. Singuli libri[que], in suo genere pra[e]stantissimi. Pulcherrimorum mnemosynoru[m] mira varietas. Nemo historicorum aut magis seriò obseruat, aut tam graphicè pingit. Hunc nesciunt, qui uel Gra[e]cos historicos nimium admirantur, vel alios Romanos immoderatè efferunt. Mihi cordi est, omne elocutionis, prudentia[e]q[ue] punctum in Liuiio peruestigare. De stylo Liuiano, pra[e]sertim in concionibus, meam infra sententiam attexui.'

In histories, the sayings and deeds of those considered wisest, strongest, most just by their fellows are praised. But what sort of politician speaks and acts, and to what end, and in what sort of state, and in what specific circumstances – these are vital too. Each acts in accordance with his estate, public or private, and no one binds his own hands. Many things were said and done with the greatest prudence in the Roman Republic, which it would be absurd to do in a kingdom and nowadays. Nothing is good that lacks the salt of judgement. Whatever is praiseworthy should also be appropriate.¹²¹

How did Livy's early Rome change contours, shadows and colours as Harvey inspected its crucially vivid narrative on successive occasions? Tackling the dense body of notes, with their persistent challenging of and intervention into the text, presents a daunting and unmanageable task. But two selective analyses of his ways of reading will give some idea of how the reading altered according to the type of analysis he was using.

Towards the middle of Book 1 Livy tells the story of the Horatii and the Curiatii. Romans and Albans, both descendants of the Trojans, have both stolen one another's cattle, refused restitution and levelled ultimatums. They confront one another in order of battle but decide, given the danger posed by the Etruscans to both parties, to avoid a full-scale combat and arrange a trial by battle in its place. Each army has a set of triplets, the Roman Horatii and the Alban Curiatii, that can represent it. A treaty is made and solemnised with elaborate ritual. The brothers fight. Two Romans fall, but the third, unhurt, runs away, separates the three Albans and kills them one by one. Horatius, returning in triumph to the city, meets his sister, who had been engaged to one of the Curiatii. She cries out with sorrow on learning of her lover's death. Horatius promptly kills her, is found guilty of treason – and is then freed because of his popularity and his sister's lack of patriotism. Peace is made; but it does not last long.

¹²¹ Harvey's Livy, flyleaf: 'Laudantur in Historijs dicta, factaq[ue] eorum, qui sunt habiti apud suos sapientissimi, fortissimi, iustissimi. Sed multu[m] interest, cuiusmodi p[ol]iticus dicat, faciatue, et quem ad finem, et in quo / genere Reipublica[e] et in quo singulari casu. Pro suo quisq[ue] Statu, vel publico, vel [p]rivato: et nemo ligat sibi manus. Multa in Rep[ublica] Romana dicta actaq[ue] prudentissimè, qua[e] in Regno, et in hac a[e]tate dicerentur, fo[r]rentq[ue] absurdè. Sine Iudicio nihil sapit: et Aptum / esse conveni[t] quicquid est laudabile. Gh. 1580.' This is part of a long note on the first blank page of the volume. The note ends (immediately after the passage quoted): 'G.H. 1580'. We may therefore take this to be the sentiment behind the 'reading' of Livy which Harvey undertook at the beginning of his period of serious political employment (when he was publicly appointed to serve Leicester, whatever his status thereafter).

The story has everything. Livy gives the details of disagreements among ancient scholars (over which set of triplets, the Roman or the Alban, had which family name). He lovingly describes Roman institutions, showing the *'fetial'* (priest) pluck and use the holy herb needed for making treaties and describing how the king and duumvirs declared and staged a trial for treason. Horatius provides an example of courage, patriotism and athletic prowess – but also of the errors to which too much zeal and courage can lead. Mettius the Alban provides an example of statesmanlike prudence and eloquent oratory. And Horatius's nameless sister makes a fine subject for a cautionary tale about the eternal female conflict between love and duty.

Harvey had ample exegetical resources on hand as he attacked this passage. The commentators in his Livy, Glareanus and Velcurio, both discussed Book 1, and though Glareanus left the Horatii alone, Velcurio treated them at length. He paraphrased every phrase or sentence that could possibly pose a difficulty. After the first two Horatii die, Livy describes the situation of the third: *'Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox'* (The young man, though alone, was unhurt. No match for his three opponents together, he was yet confident of his ability to face them singly).¹²² Velcurio found a surprising amount of grist for his mill here, and he ground it slow and small: *'(Is) that is Horace. Integer) that is, not wounded. Vniversis) that is, by the three together.'*¹²³ And he went into technical detail of a more refined sort as well when it came to the legal aspects of Horatius's murder case, explaining at length why the taking of private revenge amounted to treason as well as parricide: *'He punished his sister by private vengeance, when she should have been punished by the magistrate.'*

Harvey's notes on the passage show no interest whatsoever either in elementary problems of construing or in deeper ones of law and antiquities. Instead, he draws a political lesson:

A splendid example of single combat. But this was a rash rather than a politically prudent way to reach a decision. It is in fact not politically prudent to entrust the general welfare to the virtue or fortune of so few. But this custom derived from the heroic virtue of a few of the ancients, by which, it seemed, all great questions should be decided.¹²⁴

¹²² Livy, 1.25.7.

¹²³ Harvey's Livy, K1r.

¹²⁴ Harvey's Livy, 13: *'Monomachia[e] Exemplum nobile. sed decisio pra[e]iceps magis, quà[m] politica. Nec vero politicum est, rei Vniuersa[e] summam committere tam paucorum*

Harvey was hardly eccentric to suggest that this trial by combat had been imprudent and was not an example to emulate. Daneau also derived a similar axiom from the same passage: 'It is always dangerous and often useless to entrust the general welfare (*summa rerum*) to a duel of two or more in a war. For the vanquished do not keep faith, and they do not suffer a great loss because of it.'¹²⁵ And Machiavelli – who no doubt lurks, here as elsewhere, behind Daneau – had devoted three chapters of his *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* to the story. He made it the pretext for a long and general argument that 'one must never risk one's entire fortune with part of one's forces' (i.22). He drew from it the specific recommendation that one should not try to stop an enemy at one's border by confronting him with a small force (i.23). And he found in it food for reflection on the corruption of republics, arguing that while good citizens must be rewarded, it had been wrong simply to let Horatius go free after he had been fairly condemned for killing his sister (i.24).

Harvey begins from the prudential, 'political' reading of Daneau and Machiavelli. Like them – and like his contemporary Justus Lipsius, whom he much admired – he wanted to extract and shrink to durable, concise, axiomatic form the pragmatic lessons of the text. But unlike them, he wanted to speculate about other matters as well. What captivated his imagination was less the imprudence of the custom Livy described than the reasons why it had been practised. He locates these in the ancients' belief in individual heroism, which made them think single combat an appropriate way to solve such problems. He may deplore the early Romans' heedlessness, but he applauds their chivalry. And his other notes show that what he – and Sidney – most appreciated in Livy was less the pragmatic maxims he could inspire than the heroic feats of arms that he so vividly described. Harvey's further notes on the passage include a Mars symbol; the exclamation 'Vnicus Horatius' (Peerless Horatius); and, most revealing of all, a reflection on the feigned flight by which Horatius tricked his opponents into separating: 'A strategic flight. Not even Hercules could handle three, or even two of the most outstanding opponents in a fight.'¹²⁶

Here we see Harvey making clear what Livy meant to him: a treasury of military devices to be imitated and heroic battles to be

Virtuti, aut Fortuna[e]. Sed hic vsus manuit à paucoru[m] Antiquoru[m] Heroica virtute: quâ omnia magna videbantur decernenda.'

¹²⁵ Daneau, *Politicorum aphorismorum silua*, 234.

¹²⁶ Harvey's Livy, 13.

savoured. This was what Harvey found in Roman history as he read about it elsewhere as well: for example, in his copy of Machiavelli's *Arte of Warre* (also now in Princeton) where one battle scene more than a page long is decorated with a Mars symbol at the end of every line. Harvey read not simply to reflect, boil down and imitate, but also to savour, speculate and admire. No wonder that the pleasures of the naked text outweighed the more refined rewards of learned commentary when he and Sidney did their reading. And they were not alone in their desire to view the Roman past as highly coloured and in three dimensions.¹²⁷

A further note on the slaying of Horatius's sister, however, takes quite a different tack:

See Augustine, *City of God*, iii.14, on the impiety of the war that the Romans waged against the Albans, and the victory that resulted from desire to rule; there he skilfully treats the Horatii and the Curiatii. [In darker ink] Cf. the biblical duel of David and Goliath. Also the heroic ones of Hercules and Cygnus in Hesiod, Achilles and Hector in Homer, Aeneas and Turnus in Virgil.¹²⁸

Here Harvey, reading by himself and later in life, refers to the eloquent chapter (iii.14) of *The City of God* in which Augustine ponders the Horatii and the Curiatii, condemns the murder of Horatius's sister and insists that the war itself deserved not honour but condemnation, like a gladiatorial combat. Harvey knew that Augustine's account amounted to an attack on the whole Roman heroic scheme of values: 'See how, and how often, the divine wisdom of Augustine refutes the human prudence of Livy', he wrote early in Book 1.¹²⁹ He concluded that while each city had its virtues, the divine one was both 'more securely built' and 'more fortunate'. The application of Augustine in the 1590s seems to undermine the 'heroic' reading of Livy with Sidney in the mid-1570s,

¹²⁷ George Gascoyne, in the fourth dumb show of his *Iocasta* – a play performed at the Inner Temple – gives a re-enactment of the episode. In his version, Horatius is a 'politique' of his own day; and by treating his retreat as tactical, Gascoyne produces a vivid and convincing version of the scene as a whole: 'The third perceiuing, that he only remayned to withstand the force of iii. enimies, did politiquely runne aside: wherewith immediatly one of the iii. followed after him, and when he had drawn his enimie thus from his companie, hee turned against and slewe him' (We are grateful to Mac Pigman for this reference.) Harvey owned a copy of *Iocasta*, now in the Bodleian Library; he does not comment on the interlude.

¹²⁸ Harvey's *Livy*, 13: 'De impietate belli, quod Albanis Romani intulerunt; et de victoria dominandi libidine / adepta. August. l. 3. c. 14. de Ciuit. Vbi de Horatij, et Curiatij scitè. Ecce biblica Golia[e], et Daudis monomachia. Heroica etiam Herculis, et Cygni apud Hesiodum; Achillis, et Hectoris apud Homerum: A[e]nea[e], et Turni apud Virgilium.'

¹²⁹ Harvey's *Livy*, 6: 'Ecce quoties et quomodo humanam Livij prudentiam, divina redarguit Augustini Sapientia.'

as if the older and wiser Harvey – his career expectations curtailed by the deaths of first Sidney and then Leicester, and the downfall of the aggressive Protestantism Sidney symbolised – had repented. Yet this simple (and sentimental) account does violence to the form and content of Harvey’s note. He does not stop with Augustine. His final lines on the passage list heroic duels from Hesiod, Homer, Virgil – and the Old Testament – offering David and Goliath, perhaps, as an example of a vivid heroism that even Augustine could not condemn.

A second specific form of reading is exemplified in the third decade. When Velcurio tries to explain the use of history as the student should study it in Livy, he emphasises the traditional virtue of providing worked examples of ethical and unethical conduct:

Examples of virtue and probity to be imitated, and of vices to be avoided, can easily be derived from Livy and from other historians. Thus hypotheses – that is, good, or bad, or intermediate examples of individuals – can properly be drawn from history; these are then considered and assigned to theses, that is, to their commonplaces (*loci communes*), and to the general principles of morality and other things.¹³⁰

Harvey, by contrast, annotating this passage, sticks to practicalities. Livy offers laws being made and institutions being created, not moral principles being tested:

No historian is as appropriate to a jurisconsult, or pragmatic, or legate, or royal counsellor, or finally a politician, as Livy, especially when accompanied by Tacitus, Suetonius, Frontinus; not to mention Valerius Maximus ... When reading Livy, I often feel that I am reading the jurisconsults themselves – especially the Scaevolae, Sulpitii, Trebatii, Papiniani, that sort of very prudent ones.¹³¹

Harvey’s summary references through the third decade to Hannibal and the Romans consistently reveal these interests. They are single-minded in their concentration on leadership:

¹³⁰ Harvey’s Livy, Ii.

¹³¹ Harvey’s Livy, I1r: ‘Nullus historicus Jurisconsulto, aut pragmatico, aut legato, aut regio consiliario, aut deniq[ue] politico tam accommodatus, quam Liuius: pra[e]sertim Tacito, Suetonio, Frontino comitatus. Nec non etiam Ualerio Maximo: qui Liuij ferè simius, ut Solinus Plinij. Sa[e]pè Liuium legens, ipsos mihi uideor legere Iureconsultos. Pra[e]sertim Sca[e]uolas, Sulpitios, Trebatios, Papinianos, id genus prudentissimos.’

Fabius Max[imus] bie Warie, & cautelous proceeding, sumwhat cooled his [Hannibal's] heate: but liker slie Saturne, then gallant Jupiter, or braue Mars. Onlie Marcellus, & Scipio beat him at handstrokes the One in Italie, the other in Afrique.¹³²

Braue & redowted young Scipio: full of mightie courage, & valour.¹³³

[In Latin] Flavius, a shrewd pragmatic.¹³⁴

Martius, a most braue & terrible knight, at a pinch. Which of the Heroical Worthyes cowlde haue dun more in the time?¹³⁵

[In Latin] Fabius, more adept in war; Martius in combat; Martius in action; Nero in forced marches; Scipio the most outstanding in all glorious military enterprises.¹³⁶

[Scipio] As peerles fine, as matchles braue: a Mirroure of sweetest courtesie, & terriblest valour.¹³⁷

The purpose of these checklists of heroic virtue is plain. Harvey saw – and no doubt took part in – debates about Carthaginian and Roman leaders. These lists of deeds and adjectives were the substantive preparation for such debate. Much as Erasmus compiled as his distinctive aid to eloquence a matchless list of two hundred and fifty ways to say ‘Thank you for the letter’ in classical Latin, Harvey and Smith junior devoted much of their private effort to assembling material to be used in public.

But the third decade has a strong narrative line as well as individual stories of heroism. At the outset Hannibal’s march on Rome seems irresistible, his victory inevitable. By the end his army is in disarray and Hannibal himself in despair, while Scipio returns to Rome in triumph. Harvey’s marginal notes show how eagerly he followed Hannibal’s progress and appreciated the Carthaginian general’s ‘industry, and appalling vigilance’.¹³⁸ Hannibal stalks onward, apparently implacable and unbeatable. But Harvey found more than virtue in Hannibal’s feats of arms. He saw the seeds of Hannibal’s eventual failure planted early in his campaign. In Book 22 he fails to take the opportunity afforded by Cannae

¹³² Harvey’s *Livy*, 294; *Livy*, bk. 22.

¹³³ Harvey’s *Livy*, 318; *Livy*, 22.53.

¹³⁴ Harvey’s *Livy*, 379; *Livy*, 25.16: ‘Flavius, uersutus pragmaticus.’

¹³⁵ Harvey’s *Livy*, 391; *Livy*, 25.37–9.

¹³⁶ Harvey’s *Livy*, 404: ‘Fabius, bello melior: Marcellus pra[e]lio: Martius facinore: Nero itinere: Scipio omni bellica laude excellentissimus, id est, arte militari, et singulari Virtute; domina singularis Fortuna[e]. Ex omnibus Romanis, solo Ca[e]sare minor: quanto difficilior erat magnum Pompeium, et sapientissimos Romanos vincere, quam Annibalem, et barbaros. Ecce Romana[e] Industria[e], virtutisq[ue] miracula.’ *Livy*, 26.20.

¹³⁷ Harvey’s *Livy*, 460; *Livy*, 28.18.

¹³⁸ Harvey’s *Livy*, 296.

and attack Rome at once; in Book 23 Hannibal winters in Capua, letting his army lose cohesion and morale; in Book 30 he has become pitiable. Harvey remorselessly tracks each error of judgement. At Book 30 he reflects: ‘Hannibal was beaten first in spirit; it is no surprise, then, that he was immediately beaten in the flesh as well. One’s fortune corresponds to one’s strength of mind and body.’¹³⁹

Harvey finds a simple explanation for Hannibal’s many related failures: he lacked the indomitable will needed to make the most of each opportunity as it occurred. ‘Occasion is only a point: now or never.’ ‘The sole essential for a great man is to seize the instant with great possibilities forcefully, with shocking power, and to play the powerful leader, when it is important to do so, with terrifying power.’¹⁴⁰ Indecision, Machiavelli had long ago shown, was the most destructive of all errors in a ruler. Now Harvey read indecision into Livy’s Hannibal.

The motives for this reading are not far to seek. In a sense it was over-determined since it was inspired at least in part by Livy’s own clues as well as by Harvey’s immediate needs. But Harvey read the Carthaginian and Roman past above all in the terms of the English present. A rising member of the rising war party, he ached for action, like his patrons. In his copy of Withorne’s translation of Machiavelli’s *The Arte of Warre* (also annotated in 1580), against a passage in which Machiavelli advises the military leader not to make war in winter because

All the industrie that is vsed in the discipline of warre, is vsed for to be prepared to fighte a fielde with thy enemye, because this is the ende, whereunto a Capitayne oughte to go or endeuour him selfe: For that the foughten field, geueth thee the warre wonne of loste.¹⁴¹

Harvey has marked the word ‘ende’ and writes exasperatedly in the margin: ‘This Ende, allmost at an ende, now a dais’. By finding the reason for Hannibal’s failure not in want of resources but in failure of will, he taught exactly the historical lesson that Walsingham and Leicester would

¹³⁹ Harvey’s Livy, 510: ‘Annibal, prius Animo victus; quid mirum, si statim Corpore vinceretur? Qualis Animi, Corporis[ue] vis, talis Fortuna. Bello forsan vincere potuisset Annibal, callidior, atq[ue] patientior: pra[e]lio vicit animosior: nec tam ideò confidentior, quia validior, quam ideò validior, quia confidentior. Quod satis est virium, sufficit: ca[er]tera rerum momenta Arte militari, et Fidutia geruntur.’

¹⁴⁰ Harvey’s Livy, 317. On Harvey’s obsession with action see Napoleone Orsini, *Studi sul Rinascimento italiano in Inghilterra* (Florence: Sansoni, 1937), 101–20; Mario Praz, *The Flaming Heart* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1958), 101–2.

¹⁴¹ Harvey’s copy of Machiavelli, *Arte of Warre*, 93r. Underlinings Harvey’s.

have most liked Elizabeth – anxious always to avoid ‘the foughten field’, and ‘the warre’ (whether won or lost) – to learn. The alchemy of present needs turned Hannibal from a determined Fortinbras into a wavering Hamlet, in the margins if not in the text.

Harvey’s transformation of Hannibal involved not only the explanation of a failure but the development of sympathy for it. Harvey seems, as the third decade proceeds, to feel increasingly sorry for the fact that Hannibal did not carry out his aims. If he had only acted when he should have ... ‘Maharbal’s excellent advice [to march on Rome immediately after Cannae] could have made Hannibal as great as Alexander. But Hannibal, intent on lesser goods, lost his one chance for the greatest success. Now or never.’¹⁴² To find the moral he needed in the third decade, Harvey had to feel sympathy for the devil; to find in Livy’s glorification of Rome the possibility of a counter-history that glorified Carthage. This he did with an ease and dexterity that one might not expect from a humanist.

How well did Harvey read?

Harvey’s reading of Livy would not earn the admiration of most modern classicists. He accepts Livy’s accounts even when they are certainly erroneous – as in the case of Hannibal’s disastrous delay at Capua, which the parallel account in Polybius shows to be Livy’s own moralising invention. But he also read Livy as Livy meant to be read – as a master rhetorician offering the history Cicero had called for in *De oratore*, a ‘work for orators’ – and in doing so he praised exactly those qualities in Livy that had impressed his own classical model of the good rhetorician, Quintilian. Often he did pick up and work with small but important clues in Livy’s text, clues that reveal Livy’s own ambivalent assumptions. At one point, for example, reading Velcurio’s comment on Romulus’s and Numa’s efforts to establish a religion at Rome, Harvey remarks that ‘there are many things that I think in passing as I read, which I hardly dare to write down’.¹⁴³ Surely he referred here to Livy’s own sense that the ancient Roman religion was literally false but socially useful, a tool

¹⁴² Harvey’s Livy, 317: ‘Maharbalis absolutum consilium, Annibalem reddere potuisset magnum: vt erat Alexander magnus. Sed minoribus commodis intentus Annibal, maximarum rerum amittit occasionem vnicam. Vel nunc, vel nunq[uam].’

¹⁴³ Harvey’s Livy, I3r: ‘Multa uix audeo scribere, qua[e] obiter cogito legens: eademq[ue] ex intimis politicorum penatibus; qua[e]dam pro, qua[e]dam contra ha[e]c nouorum Regum instituta.’

to create social discipline – a sense that conflicts clearly, most modern readers would think, with Livy's efforts to proclaim his piety. Here and elsewhere Harvey's sheer skill and penetration are impressive.¹⁴⁴

Was Harvey deluded to think that flexible reading could take him to the top? Not necessarily. Another surviving piece of political 'ephemera' suggests how much a part of a contemporary agenda his aspirations to annotate the margins of contemporary political practice may have been. A memorandum prepared by Robert Beale in 1592 for the private use of Edward Wotton, it explains in severely practical terms 'The Office of a Councillor and Principall Secretarie to Her Majestie'. It offers sage advice about how to define the privy council's agenda, avoid cabinet council 'which does but cause iealousie and envie', and abbreviate the letters submitted to the council so that its members will at least have read a summary of the matters they must decide on. It also offers readings of many ancient historians: 'Remember what Arrian saith in the life of Alexander ... So likewise towards your fellow councillors behave yourself as Maecenas counselled Augustus ... Be diligent. Remember the saying of Salust.' Beale is quite unapologetic in his provision of these humanist axioms. Indeed he stresses in his conclusion that a good principal secretary must be a good reader of the classics: 'By the readinge of histories you may observe the examples of times past, judging of their successe.'¹⁴⁵

In his copy of *The Arte of Warre* Harvey summarises the authors he would wish to have to hand in designing his own spurs to action in the field of war, including contemporary advisers after the manner of Beale's to Wotton:

Mie principal Autors for Warr, after much reading, & long consideration: Caesar, & Vegetius: Machiauel, & Gandino: Ranzouius, & Tetti: with owr Sutcliff, Sir Roger Williams, & Digges Stratioticos: all sharp, & sound masters of Warr. For y^e Art, Vegetius, Machiauel, & Sutcliff: for Stratagemes, Gandino, & Ranzouius: for Fortification, Pyrotechnie, & engins, Tetti, & Digges: for y^e old Roman most worthie Discipline & Action, Caesar: for y^e new Spanish, & Inglish excellent Discipline & Action, Sir Ro: Williams. Autors enowgh; with y^e most cunning, & valorous practis in Esse. [Another time]

¹⁴⁴ For Livy's intentions and reception in antiquity see Patrick Walsh, *Livy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

¹⁴⁵ Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), vol. 1, 423–43. Wotton also failed to achieve the office he expected, either in 1592 or three years later, when the matter was broached again (vol. 1, 423).

Owr English militar Discipline, vnder General Norris, in y^e Dialogue, intituled, The Castle of Pollicy: Vnder y^e Earle of Leicester, In his owne Lawes, & Ordinances. The Spanish Discipline, vnder y^e Duke d'Alua, & y^e Prince of Parma, y^e best Discipline now in Esse, newly discoouerid by Sir Roger Williams.¹⁴⁶

We suggest that Harvey hoped his skills could win him a position exactly like Beale's, as a valued political adviser who combined practical experience and legal expertise with detailed study of the ancients. Harvey's mode of reading, in fact, was precisely the sort of serious political discourse that his authoritative contemporaries esteemed (and employed university men for). And we suggest that though Harvey did not succeed as completely as he hoped, his humanism was not at fault.¹⁴⁷ Harvey's ability to read was perhaps his one uncontested asset; it took him far and yielded fascinating and contradictory visions of the Roman past.¹⁴⁸

If Harvey was ultimately proved wrong, and the fashion for employing this type of erudite facilitator in policy-making was short-lived, this may have more to do with political events than with the individual practitioners. Isaac Casaubon came to England in 1610. Although he shared Harvey's intense interest in reading history, and even his belief that the lessons of history could be reduced usefully to succinct axioms, he had no patience with learned advisors in the political arena.

Note [he wrote in one miscellany] that just as the 'book-trained doctor' whom we read about in Galen and Aristotle and the 'book-trained ship's pilot' are very dangerous, so absolutely is the 'book-trained politician'

¹⁴⁶ Harvey's *Arte of Warre*, C9^r. The 'newly discoouerid by Sir Roger Williams' dates this to 1590–1.

¹⁴⁷ In spite of Nashe's exuberant fantasies about Harvey's being chased back to Cambridge after an ignominiously brief employment with Leicester, these marginalia suggest a much more continuous toing-and-froing on Harvey's part between Cambridge and London, and constant contact with the political circle he claimed to advise in London. Spenser praises Harvey as a 'looker-on' who 'Ne fawnest for the fauour of the great ... But freely doest', in a 1586 sonnet, written from his own minor-official post in Dublin (Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 57), which confirms that Harvey held no official post but nevertheless suggests that Harvey is intellectually active, in a desirably unconstrained fashion, in the circles of 'onlookers' outside the immediate court circle.

¹⁴⁸ Possibly by 1590 the more 'topical' works on the technology of war and military tactics were making Harvey's humanistic approach appear a little dated. See G. Parker's citation of Sir Roger Williams, also writing in 1590, saying that Alexander, Caesar, Scipio and Hannibal were doubtless 'the worthiest and famoust warriors that ever were', but that their example had little relevance to the modern age. Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

(*politicus e libro*). The count of Essex's case is a tragic example of this. When this man, noble in other respects, was at a loss, a scholar who was later hanged gave him advice in Lucan's words. The tag was to this effect: you who have found no friends as a private individual will find many once you take arms. That verse doomed Essex.¹⁴⁹

So much for Henry Cuffe, one of the learned readers with whom we began. To Casaubon – who translated and commented on Polybius but nourished no personal hope of advancement in court and political circles – the world of the late Elizabethan facilitator already belonged to a lost past which seemed alien and a little absurd, as well as tragic.

'Read what you can then rightly call your own': Harvey's programme

Harvey's *Livy* and its companions on the wheel seem to show, when considered together, a coherent programme to master the whole world of learning and make it readily usable in political action. This is no coincidence or aberration; Harvey's intellectual ambitions in fact embraced the mapping of the whole intellectual landscape of his time. No single book offered more data between two covers than that great information-retrieval tool of the sixteenth century, Simler's epitome of Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca*. This vast, alphabetically ordered compendium gave brief notices, bibliographies and judgements of the writings of all serious authors, ancient and modern alike, from Aaron Bataleus to Zyzymus. Harvey read it with care, marking the margins continuously with *signes de renvoi* and occasionally calling attention to his special favourites among the authors listed: notably Rudolph Agricola and Lorenzo Valla. After the preface he entered a programmatic note that reveals as explicitly as anything he ever wrote the contours of his intellectual enterprise as a whole:

One needs Gesner's great *Bibliotheca*, especially for summaries and critiques of different authors. These are most important in reading classic and many other authors thoroughly and with the

¹⁴⁹ Bodleian, MS Casaubon 28, 127r. For Casaubon's instructions on deriving axioms from classical historians (specifically Tacitus) see MS Casaubon 24, 125r–v. For Casaubon and Polybius, see Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Polybius' reappearance in Western Europe', in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977), 79–98.

proper attentiveness and utility. Certainly any philologist must find it helpful to have at hand succinct summaries and intelligent critiques of all outstanding writers, and especially those who are classics or of outstanding importance in their field. This is the most important skill of modern criticism, and the highest vocation of the knowledgeable discourses. This is how important it is to be a suggestive summariser and a sharp critic. But note, I use Hesiod's distinction: 'half is more than the whole'. One must select the best material from the best writers; the most appropriate material from individuals; the most active, from the best and most appropriate writers ... Read what you can then rightly call your own. The sum of Socrates' wisdom is this: 'Think and act.' 'Experience outdoes inexperience.' Everything rests on art and virtue.

Gabriel Harvey. 1584.¹⁵⁰

Thus critical reading, skilful annotation and active appropriation emerge as the central skills, not just of the student of history, but of the intellectual *tout court*. Reading always leads to action – but only proper reading, methodical reading – reading in the manner of a Gabriel Harvey.

And here we must emphasise again that Harvey's ideals and methods were not idiosyncratic or whimsical. No text by Philip Sidney has provoked more debate than his letter to his brother of 15 October 1580 on the reading of history. Some have seen this as a manifesto of Sidney's commitment to the modern, continental style of reading history – a reasonable inference given his praise of Tacitus and emphasis on the technical study of chronology. Others have taken it as a criticism of contemporary over-emphasis on the theory of historiography – also a reasonable inference given his remark that 'for the method of writing Historie, Bodin hath written al large, yow may reade him and gather out of many wordes some matter'. In fact, however, a comparison between this document and Harvey's Livy makes clear that Sidney was purveying not his own wit, but Harvey's method, to his brother. As Harvey had insisted in practice, Sidney insisted in theory on the variety of roles each historian plays – and in which he must be appreciated by the competent reader: 'An Orator in making excellent orations *out of the substance of the matter* [e re nata] which are to be marked, but marked with the

¹⁵⁰ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 125–6; our thanks to the Houghton Library, Harvard, for letting us inspect the Gesner (now in that collection).

note of rhetorical remembrances; a Poet in painting forth the effects, the motions, the whisperings of the people.’ Like Harvey, Sidney saw the chief task of the intellectual, ancient or modern, as serving as ‘a Discourser, which name I give to who soever speaks *not just concerning what happened, but about the qualities and circumstances of what happened* [non simpliciter de facto, sed de qualitatibus et circumstantiis facti]’¹⁵¹ – a definition that embraces both what Harvey saw in Livy and what he hoped himself to become. And even in taking an independent attitude towards Bodin, Sidney did not deviate from, but continued, Harvey’s brand of humanist scholarship. Harvey’s tactics as a reader, in short, yield us a general insight into the ways in which some late sixteenth-century intellectuals tried to cope with the flood of information that the presses poured over them.

Just occasionally, the carefully weighed political inferences in which Harvey took such pride are interrupted by a more emotional response of the kind we tend to like now – though even then the emotion was directed not at the book he read, but at the act of reading it. ‘Why am I delaying so?’ he exclaims at the beginning of Book 6, where he thought that Livy’s detailed account of antiquities left off and a more strictly political narrative began. He urged himself simply to read, and not to write anything down:

This vulgar bad habit of writing often makes readers dilatory and usually makes actors cowardly. The followers of Socrates were wiser: they preferred teachings that were unwritten, spoken, preserved by memorisation. ‘Take your hand from the picture’, runs the old saying. ‘Take the pen from your hand’, so runs my saying now.¹⁵²

Here, for once, Harvey, as reader, offers a response of the intensity the modern reader hopes for. Our challenge in the present exploration of Renaissance reading has been to find a position which will allow us

¹⁵¹ See above, p. 28, for Harvey’s record of precisely such a concern on Sidney’s part when reading Livy’s third decade: ‘[In reading,] our consideration was chiefly directed at the forms of states, the conditions of persons, and the qualities of actions.’ On Sidney’s letter see E. Story Donno, ‘Old mouse-eaten records: History in Sidney’s *Apology*’, *Studies in Philology* 72 (1975): 275–98.

¹⁵² Harvey’s Livy, 149: ‘Sed scribendi hoc vulgare cacoethes, lectores facit saepè pigros, actores, pla[e]runq[ue] ignavos. Sapientiores Socratici, qui maluerunt ἀγραφα ῥητὰ μνημονικῶ. Manum de tabula, inquit ille. Pennam de manu, inq[uam] ego.’

not to prefer such occasional exclamations to Harvey's self-consciously measured aphorisms, but to make both together a part of the reconstruction of an entirely unfamiliar brand of engagement with experience and intellectual history.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Here as in other areas the methods used by early modern historians are more primitive than those that have long been used by students of earlier periods. The need to study literature, reading, the making of books and the interpretation of texts in conjunction was understood by biblical and classical scholars of the eighteenth century; see Friedrich August Wolf, *Prolegomena to Homer (1795)*, trans. A. Grafton et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). Medievalists have assimilated the same lesson without undue difficulty or resistance; see, for example, Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), with its significant subtitle: *Written language and models of interpretation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries*. Even the best-informed historians of the book in the early modern period have taken a narrower view of their task; see Roger Chartier, 'Intellectual history or sociocultural history? The French trajectories', in *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and new perspectives*, ed. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 38–9, for a programmatic statement exemplary in both its strengths and its limitations.

2

Gabriel Harvey: Exemplary Ramist and pragmatic humanist*

Lisa Jardine

This paper arises out of work I have been doing in the context of a larger enterprise – a forthcoming book entitled: *From Humanism to the Humanities: The Institutionalising of the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*.¹ The book traces the metamorphosis of the intellectual ideals of fifteenth-century Italian humanism into what in England we call ‘the humanities’ – a teaching programme in the liberal arts, tailored to the needs of individual civic communities, and constrained by a set of pragmatic requirements dictated by the close relationship between arts education and government. The case of Gabriel Harvey is a particularly vivid surviving example (for reasons I shall come to shortly) of an individual tailoring his own use of a humanistic education – and specifically a Ramist programme of education – to his requirements as an aspiring member of the Tudor ruling élite.

Gabriel Harvey was born in 1550 at Saffron Walden, near Cambridge, the eldest son of a prosperous burgher family.² He died in 1631, having become, apparently, a pillar of the Saffron Walden community. But in the 1570s Gabriel Harvey appeared to have more prestigious, gentrified prospects as a senior academic member of the University of Cambridge: a member of the Tudor Establishment, and a social cut above his Saffron Walden origins. The social mobility which

* Originally published in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986): 36–48.

¹ Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: The institutionalising of the liberal arts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986).

² For Harvey’s biography see Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), which replaces earlier sources. See, however, W. G. Colman’s review article, *English Studies* 64 (1983): 169–74, for serious reservations about the accuracy of Stern’s study of Harvey’s marginalia.

Harvey's successful academic career promised has been all too vividly captured by his adversary in print, Thomas Nashe, in his polemical pamphlet *Have with you to Saffron-walden*.³ All too vividly, because it is difficult for the modern reader (difficult, indeed, even for Harvey's twentieth-century editors) not to be distracted by Nashe's lively portrayal of the posturing 'upstart' courtier from the Elizabethan class conservatism which motivates it.⁴ But Nashe's attack, and the attempts of a number of Harvey's colleagues at Cambridge to block his rise up the academic promotion ladder, should alert us to the fact that excelling in the liberal arts or *bonae artes* in sixteenth-century England signifies more than simply academic distinction.⁵ It is recognised as a means of access to prominent civic position, to the Elizabethan court, to power and to influence.⁶ In other words, the equivalence between humanistic learning and suitability for public office which was maintained as an ideal in fifteenth-century Italy (according to recent versions of the thesis originally propounded by Hans Baron) has apparently become an official reality in sixteenth-century England. Harvey believes (as we shall see) that by excelling in the Arts he will become a member of the Tudor ruling élite; opponents like Thomas Neville, who tried to block his academic promotion, clearly express their social and political prejudices in their objections.⁷

Harvey wrote extensive, detailed notes on his reading in the margins and blank pages of each volume he owned, as he read. It is therefore possible to give an extraordinarily clear picture of the way he went about his studies. Where he worked on a number of volumes together, he cross-referenced one work in the pages of the other (in the process of which he was not above filling the margins of books he had borrowed with notes). Studied with care, these annotations are a rich and vivid source of information on the way in which an ambitious

³ For an excellent account of the Harvey–Nashe quarrel, as well as the printed text of *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (1596), see *Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 5 vols (London: A. H. Bullen, 1904–10; reprinted New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966).

⁴ Grosart, who edited Harvey's works, both assents to Nashe's version of Harvey's personality and makes it clear that he himself is out of sympathy with it. Alexander Grosart, *Works*, 3 vols (London, 1884–5). See also G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *Pedantius: A Latin comedy formerly acted in Trinity College, Cambridge* (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1905).

⁵ On the attempts made first to prevent Harvey from taking his MA degree, then to block his fellowship at Pembroke, his appointment to the Greek lectureship at Pembroke, to the Professorship of Rhetoric, and finally to a college Mastership, see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*.

⁶ For a short while it looked as if Harvey's academic successes would gain him a coveted secretaryship to the earl of Leicester. On Harvey's limited successes in the court sphere see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*.

⁷ For the details of Neville's opposition to the award of Harvey's MA see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 16–25.

arts student (and subsequently teacher) approached his education.⁸ Specifically, these annotations turn out to provide us with a remarkable opportunity to watch the way in which Ramus's and Talaeus's pedagogic works were used in practice (in private study, and as a preparation for university teaching in Cambridge), and to draw some tentative conclusions about what one might call the 'impact' of those works, as opposed to any internal reading one might choose to give of individual texts like the *Dialectica* in isolation.

Let me begin by describing the 'package' of books which Harvey worked on together, at various times in his career, which I have reconstructed for the present study. I start from Harvey's copy of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, now in the British Library in London (*M. Fabii Quintiliani oratoris eloquentissimi, Institutionum oratoriarum libri XII. Parisiis. Ex officina Rob. Stephani Typographi Regii. M. D. XLII. class mark C. 60.1.11*; hereafter 'Harvey's Quintilian' in footnotes), together with Harvey's copy of Cicero's *Topica*, with Talaeus's *praelectiones*, now in All Souls' College Library, Oxford (*M. Tul. Ciceronis ad C. Trebatium Iurisconsultum Topica; Audomari Talaei praelectionibus explicata ... Parisiis. Ex typographia Matthaei Daudis ... 1550. class mark a-11-4(3)*; hereafter 'Harvey's *Topica*' in footnotes).⁹ I take these two volumes and their marginalia together in the first instance because Harvey cross-refers between them and refers in both volumes to other reading in common.

A number of inscriptions in these volumes give us information about when Harvey read them, and what else he read alongside them. On the title page of the handsome Quintilian we have Harvey's signature twice, and two dates: 'mense Martio. 1567. precium iij^s vj^d' and '1579'. At the end of Book 10 (fol. M8r)¹⁰ we have a further signature and

⁸ On the Harvey marginalia see the following: G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913); 'Printed books with Gabriel Harvey's autograph or MS. notes', *Modern Language Review* 28 (1933): 78–81; 29 (1934): 68–70 and 321–2; 30 (1935): 209; H. S. Wilson, 'Gabriel Harvey's method of annotating his books', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 2 (1948): 344–61; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*; 'The Bibliotheca of Gabriel Harvey', *Renaissance Quarterly* 25 (1972): 1–62; W. G. Colman, 'Gabriel Harvey's holograph notes in his copy of *Gnomologiae*', *Renaissance Quarterly* (in press) [subsequently published as 'Gabriel Harvey's holograph notes in his copy of *Gnomologiae*', in *Elizabethan and Modern Studies*, edited by J. P. Vander Motten (Ghent: Seminarie voor Engelse en Amerikaanse Literatuur (1985), 57–65)]; J.-C. Margolin, 'Gabriel Harvey, lecteur d'Érasme', *Archivos dos Centro Cultural Portugues* 4 (1972): 37–92 (with plates).

⁹ W. G. Colman, University of Ghent, has transcribed all the marginalia which have currently come to light in British libraries and intends to publish a complete edition in due course. I am extremely grateful to Mr Colman for having generously made his transcripts of selected marginalia available to me.

¹⁰ I give folio numbers for the Quintilian because Harvey's copy (hereafter Harvey's Quintilian) is wrongly paginated at the top of the pages.

'Rhetoricus Professor Cantabrig. 1573. 1574. 1575'. After the printed 'FINIS' (fol. T7r) we have a further signature, and the following:

Relegi ab jnitio: Mense Septembri. Anno. 1579. unaq[ue] Ciceronis Oratorem ad M. Brutum, cum Quintiliani Oratore comparavi: et utrumq[ue] ita collatum, Ramaeis demu[m] Rhetoricarum scholarum ponderibus examinaui.¹¹

(I reread [this work] from the beginning in September 1579, and I compared Cicero's *Orator* with Quintilian's *Orator*. And when I had thus compared both of them, I weighed each of them up against Ramus's *Scholae rhetoricae*.)

At the end of the dedicatory epistle in the *Topica* volume Harvey writes:

Ad ciuilem Topicorum vsum, forensemq[ue] argumentoru[m] praxim, malim Ciceronem topicum doctorem, quam ipsum Aristotelem, aut alium aliquem illius temporis magistrum, seu Graecum philosophum, seu Latinum scholasticum. ... Gabriel harueius, 1579.¹²

(For civil use of Topics, and for public application [praxis] of arguments, I prefer Cicero's instruction in the *Topica* to that of Aristotle, or of any other master of that period, whether Greek philosopher or Latin scholastic. ... Gabriel Harvey, 1579.)

At the end of the volume, Harvey writes after his signature:

Calendis Februar. 1570. Multo etia[m] diligentius, 1579. jamtum aliquanto studiosius iuri Ciuili incumbens.¹³

(First of February 1570. Much more thoroughly in 1579, already at that time exerting myself somewhat more studiously in the Civil Law.)

What this establishes is the following: Harvey acquired the Quintilian in 1567, read it for the first time in 1567 and 'releg[it] ab initio' in 1579. In between he probably used Book 10 for his public lectures as Professor of Rhetoric in the three years in which he held that office (1573, 1574

¹¹ Harvey's Quintilian, T7r.

¹² Harvey's *Topica*, 5 (A3v).

¹³ Harvey's *Topica*, 74 (E5v).

and 1575).¹⁴ He read the Cicero in 1570, but this work he also read ‘much more thoroughly’ in 1579. Since there are extensive collations and cross references between the two volumes I am going to suggest that the bulk of the marginal annotations (certainly the ones we shall be interested in) date from the 1579 reading, and that Harvey had the two books before him for study together.¹⁵

Information about what else he had on the table in front of him (as it were) can be derived from the marginalia within the text themselves. From fol. b3v onwards in the Quintilian we have copious paginated cross references to two further works, of which I give here the first example as it occurs in the text. Quintilian’s text at the beginning of 1.5 (in this edition) reads:

Primus in eo qui scribendi legendique adeptus erit facultatem grammaticus est locus. Nec refert de Graeco an de Latino loquar, quanquam Graecum esse priorem placet: utrique eadem uia est. Haec igitur professio, cum breuissime in duas partes diuidatur, recte loquendi scientiam et poetarum enarrationem, plus habet in recessu quam fronte promittit.¹⁶

(As soon as the boy has learned to read and write without difficulty, it is the *grammaticus*’s turn. My words apply equally to Greek and Latin masters though I prefer that a start should be made with a Greek: in either case the method is the same. The subject may be most succinctly considered under two heads, the art of speaking correctly and the interpretation of the poets; but there is more beneath the surface than meets the eye.)

¹⁴ The character of some of the notes to Book 10 tends to confirm the view (suggested by the inscription at the end of the book) that these notes are preparatory to lecturing on it as a set text. The notes are characteristically complete sentences rather than jottings or page references, and they are highly ‘occasional’ (suitable for a lecture to a Tudor audience). They include allusions to (and suggestions of comparison with) a wide range of humanistic works which a good student might be expected to consult, from Rudolph Agricola’s *De inventione dialectica* and his translation of Aphthonius’s *Progymnasmata* (several times) to Angelus Decembrius’s *De politia literaria*, Lorenzo Valla’s *Elegantiae* and *Dialecticae disputationes*, Paulus Manutius’s commentaries (?) and Erasmus’s *Ciceronianus*. There are also ‘local’ references in the form of laudatory references to commentaries by eminent English pedagogues: Cheke, Carr and Ascham.

¹⁵ Other corroborating evidence can be derived from the fact that Harvey is using an edition of Ramus’s *Dialectica* from after 1569 (I have checked all earlier editions, and the page numbers of Harvey’s citations fail to match the appropriate passages in these editions).

¹⁶ Text of the Oxford edition: *M. Fabii Quintiliani Institutionis oratoriae libri duodecim*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970).

Against this passage Harvey makes two marginal notes (in addition to underlinings). To the left of the text, keyed to ‘in duas partes diuidatur’ (as Harvey’s text reads [his underlining]) we have:

quaru[m] alteram methodicen, alteram historicen nominat. c. 15.1.
huius. lege T. in dial. R[am]j. 300.

(of which one is called ‘methodical’, the other ‘historical’ [chapter 15 of this book]. See Talaeus on Ramus’s *Dialectica*, page 300.)

To the right, keyed to ‘poetarum enarrationem, plus habet in recessu, quam fronte promittit’ (again, as Harvey’s text reads [his underlining]) we have:

vide P. R. de optimo genere orat. 4.

(See Petrus Ramus on Cicero’s *De optimo genere oratorum*, page 4.)

Precisely comparable marginal notes are to be found in the Cicero volume. I should perhaps add that one further Cicero work, the *De oratore*, once again with Talaeus’s *praelectiones*, occurs with great regularity in the marginalia (as we might well expect).¹⁷

Harvey’s annotations show that in 1579 he had beside him Talaeus’s *praelectiones* on Ramus’s *Dialectica* (*Petri Rami ... Dialectica libri duo, A. Talaei praelectionibus illustrati*, probably in the 1569 Basel edition, or one of its reprintings)¹⁸ and on Cicero’s *De oratore* (*M. Tullii Ciceronis De oratore ad Quintum fratrem dialogi tres, Audomari Talaei explanationibus illustrati*. Paris: Carolus Stephanus, 1553), and Ramus’s own *praelectiones* on Cicero’s *De optime genere oratorum* (*M. T. Ciceronis De optimo genere oratorum praefatio in contrarias Aeschinis et Demosthenis orationes, P. Rami, regii eloquentiae et philosophiae professoris, praelectionibus illustrata*. Paris, 1557). The nature of the annotations in both the Quintilian and the Cicero suggests that it was the sixteenth-century works

¹⁷ Transcriptions of entire passages of the text and gloss of this work at the end of the Quintilian make it possible to narrow down the editions Harvey might have been using: the most likely is the 1553 Paris one.

¹⁸ For a clear description of the various versions of these *Praelectiones* see Nelly Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique dans l’œuvre de La Ramée* (Paris: Vrin, 1984), 19–22. The editions which it is possible Harvey used all date from 1569 or later; see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 190–3, entries 245–9. These are the only editions substantial enough (i.e. with enough pages) to match Harvey’s pagination. They are all extremely rare (see Ong, although W. Risse has found a number of editions of the *Praelectiones* not listed in Ong or Bruyère [personal communication, Paris, December 1985]). Since I was not able to consult any of them I have used the 1566 Paris edition in Trinity Hall Library, Cambridge, and the 1583 Frankfurt edition in the University Library, Cambridge.

which Harvey was engaged in perusing in depth, and that he turned to the classical texts to elucidate technical or polemical points in Ramus (and Talaeus). This is a crucial point, and I shall pause here to explore it further.

Precise page references in Ramus's *Dialectica libri duo*, A. Talaei *praelectionibus illustrati* appear in the margins throughout both the Quintilian and the Cicero *Topica*. I have been able to collate the majority of these citations with the Ramus text, and on the basis of my reading I can make the following general remarks. The vast majority of marginal references link a passage in the Quintilian or Cicero with a verbatim quotation of that passage in the Ramus *Dialectica*. In my view, the only way in which Harvey could have picked up these cross references was by pausing in his reading of the *Dialectica* as he encountered them, turning up the passage in the original text (usually accurately cited in Talaeus's commentary) and marking the appropriate *Dialectica* reference there. A further set of cross references similarly picks up technical terms in the *praelectiones* (often Greek ones), attributed to Quintilian by Talaeus, which can be found in the index to the Paris edition of Quintilian. Again, I think that as Harvey encountered the term in the Talaeus commentary, he turned up the index in his Quintilian, found the appropriate passage, and marked the *Dialectica* reference.

What this tells us is that Harvey's intensive study of Quintilian and Cicero takes place *via* – that is, literally *by way of* – Ramus and (particularly) Talaeus. And this in turn gives us an important insight into Harvey's study of 'the classics' or *studia humanitatis*. He absorbs Quintilian and Cicero as they agree with, or differ from, Ramist dialectic. Dialectic is certainly the focus of Harvey's reading attention: Book 5 of Quintilian and the technical sections of the Cicero *Topica* are the most closely annotated, and the most thoroughly collated with the Ramus *Dialectica*. It is, however, a study of dialectic enriched to the point of unrecognisability (for a historian of Renaissance dialectic like myself, for instance) by the wide-ranging and imaginative Greek and Latin classical material which Talaeus brings to bear on Ramus's rather meagre text in his *praelectiones*, and which absorb some of the key themes concerning ancient eloquence which are to be found in Talaeus's commentaries on Cicero.

Throughout his marginal jottings Harvey is also deeply involved in characterising a particular type of 'perfect orator': the Elizabethan lawyer or diplomat – a pragmatic version of the Roman orator.¹⁹ Book 12

¹⁹ 'Pragmaticus' is a term taken from the Greek and used by Quintilian to refer to the person who provides the concrete facts which are the orator's ammunition when arguing any case. See, for example, 12.3.4: 'Neque ego sum nostri moris ignarus oblitusve eorum, qui velut ad arculas sedent et tela agentibus subministrant, neque idem Graecos quoque nescio factitasse,

of Quintilian (the book summing up and describing the qualities of such a perfect orator) is also heavily annotated. Above the key chapter (titled in Harvey's edition 'Non posse Oratorem esse nisi virum bonum') Harvey writes 'Quintiliani ORATOR' (Quintilian's definitive Orator),²⁰ and at the end of this book Harvey transcribes large extracts from Cicero's *Orator* and *De oratore* for comparison. These passages pick out particularly vivid descriptions of the practical qualities the orator must display if he is to be a successful public figure and 'man of action'. I want to draw together the marginal notes in these volumes, together with the Ramist passages to which they refer, to suggest that Harvey's reading produces a highly idiosyncratic version of humanism – *pragmatic* humanism. And I shall argue that a centrally subversive feature of Ramus's approach to the arts, whose implications Harvey fully draws out, is that it offers just this possibility of separating oratorical practice from any moral underpinning. In other words, a committed Ramist finds himself free to pursue the *ars disserendi* simply as a route to high governmental office, without concerning himself with being 'vir bonus' (a good man).

To pursue this theme of the 'perfectly pragmatic orator' we need to return to the inscription at the end of the Quintilian, to pick up a crucial work by Ramus which Harvey had before him. That inscription tells us that Harvey returned to this text in 1579 equipped with Ramus's *Scholae rhetoricae* and Cicero's *Orator*. This was an eminently sensible thing for a committed Ramist to do. Ramus's *Scholae rhetoricae* appeared under that title for the first time in 1569, published in Basel as part of the collection of works Ramus himself saw through the Basel press.²¹ It consists of the eight books of the *Brutinae quaestiones* (Ramus's *praelectiones* on Cicero's

unde nomen his pragmaticorum datum est.' (See also 2.21.3; 3.6.35, 57–9; 3.7.1.) Harvey's emphasis on this facet of the 'perfect orator' shows clearly his practical, law-court bias.

²⁰ Harvey's Quintilian, Q8v.

²¹ On Ramus's stay at Basel, supervising Basel printings of his works, see P. G. Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century: The Basle humanists and printers in their contacts with francophone culture* (Geneva: Droz, 1971), 153–63, 304–7. For details of Ramus's career see Peter Sharratt, 'Nicolaus Nancelius, *Petri Rami vita*, edited with an English translation', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 24 (1975): 161–277. The essential works for any study of Ramus are Charles Waddington, *Ramus: sa vie, ses écrits et ses opinions* (Paris: C. Meyrueis, 1855); Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958; reprinted New York: Octagon, 1972); R. Hooykaas, *Humanisme, Science et Reforme: Pierre de La Ramée (1515–1572)* (Leiden: Brill, 1958); J. J. Verdonk, *Petrus Ramus en de wiskunde* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1966). See also Cesare Vasoli, *La dialettica e la retorica dell'Umanesimo: 'Invenzione' e 'metodo' nella cultura del XV e XVI secolo* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1968), 333–601; Wilhelm Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Frommann, 1964), ch. 3; Wilhelm Risse, 'Die Entwicklung der Dialektik bei P. Ramus', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 42 (1960): 36–72. For recent bibliography on Ramus see Peter Sharratt, 'The present state of studies on Ramus', *Studi Francesi* 47–8 (1972): 201–13.

Orator), together with the 12 books of the *Rhetoricae distinctiones in Quintilianum*. In other words, the obvious way to study the *Scholae rhetoricae* is to read it together with Cicero's and Quintilian's primary texts.

The notes which refer directly to this comparison of Cicero with Quintilian occur largely in Books 11 and 12 of the Quintilian (there are further, obviously contemporary notes comparing the two in the margins of Cicero's *Topica*). On Quintilian 11.3 ('De pronuntiatione'), for instance, Harvey writes:

Vide 65. Confer, quae breuiter, et summatim Cicero, in Oratore ad Brutu[m]; de singulari Actionis Vsu in Oratore. 231. 232.²²

(See page 65 [1.11 in the Loeb]. Compare what Cicero says briefly and compendiously, in the *Orator*, concerning the singular use of action by the orator. p. 231 and 232 [*Orator* 17.55–18.60 in the Loeb].)

In addition, in available spaces within the Quintilian text, and on the blank pages at the end of the volume, Harvey copies out complete passages from Cicero's *Orator*, and even more substantial passages from the *De Oratore*. On fol. S6r, for instance, in the section of 12.10 on varieties of oratorical style, Harvey copies out a substantial part of *Orator* 29.100–30.106. This passage describes the styles employed by the 'perfect orator' in extremely succinct and practical terms – in stark contrast to the stylistic niceties with which Quintilian is concerning himself at this point in Harvey's text. Furthermore, Harvey omits a passage from the Cicero which suggests that such a practical or pragmatic orator is not a reality but an ideal ('Ego enim quid desiderem, non quid viderim disputo, redeoque ad illam Platonis de qua dixeram rei formam et speciem, quam etsi non cernimus tamen animo tenere possumus'). And he generally tidies up his passage to provide a forceful, down-to-earth version of the man who 'can discuss trivial matters in a plain style, matters of moderate significance in a tempered style, and weighty affairs weightily'. In other words, Harvey here counteracts the 'preciousness' (as we might consider it) of the Quintilian by juxtaposing the passage from the *Orator*.²³ The result is an extremely positive, and

²² Harvey's Quintilian, O5v.

²³ The lengthy passages from the *De oratore* which Harvey transcribes on the blank end pages of his Quintilian are (with one exception) Antonius's and describe the practical ways in which a forensic orator will sway the emotions of his audience to achieve agreement to a desired conclusion in arguing a difficult case. He also transcribes the appropriate sections of Talaeus's commentary on the text.

extremely practical, version of the ‘perfect orator’, which entirely supports the endnote in the *Topica* which tells us that Harvey was ‘already inclined towards’ the Civil Law (in which he subsequently took his Doctorate) at the time of reading.

It must already be apparent that in his enthusiastic and practical response to Cicero and Quintilian as exemplifying Ramus’s dialectical precepts in the ‘perfectly pragmatic orator’ Harvey is heavily indebted to Talaeus. All his significant marginal comments are to the *commentary* on the *Dialectica* – his notes rarely refer to Ramus’s actual text.²⁴ In his marginal response to Ramus’s *Scholae rhetoricae*, by contrast, which he notes that he used extensively in his 1579 reading of Quintilian (and in which there is no collaboration with Talaeus), Harvey is clearly uneasy with Ramus’s intransigence. There are in fact only two direct references to Ramus’s *Scholae rhetoricae* itself in Harvey’s Quintilian (there are actually rather more page references to it and the companion *Scholae dialecticae* from the same volume in the margins of his copy of the Cicero *Topica*). The most striking of these is the one which I quoted from earlier, but which I gave only in part. The complete note after the ‘FINIS’ in the Quintilian runs as follows:

Relegi ab jnitio: Mense Septembri. Anno. 1579. unaq[ue] Ciceronis Oratorem ad M. Brutum, cum Quintiliani Oratore comparavi: et utrumq[ue] ita collatum, Ramaeis demu[m] Rhetoricarum scholarum ponderibus examinaui: Acute quidem Ramus, atq[ue] uere artes distinguit: quas tamen oratorius, et forensis iste vsus coniungit: nec vero Oratorem suu[m] Cicero, et Quintilianus, vnus facultatis professorem, sed tanq[ua]m Artificu[m] Artificem esse uoluere; plurimis, maximisq[ue] Artibus; ijs praesertim, quarum summus esset in foro, inq[ue] Ciuium causis perorandis vsus; vndiquaq[ue] instructum, et armatum.²⁵

(I reread [this work] from the beginning in September 1579, and I compared Cicero’s *Orator* with Quintilian’s *Orator*. And when I had thus compared both of them, I weighed each of them up against Ramus’s *Scholae rhetoricae*. Ramus discriminates acutely and rightly between the arts, which, however, oratorical and civic practice run together. Nor indeed do Cicero and Quintilian wish

²⁴ Though Ramus did apparently have a large hand in Talaeus’s commentary. On Ramus’s close involvement in the preparation of the later editions of Talaeus’s *praelectiones* on his *Dialectica* see Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory*, 189–91 and Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique dans l’œuvre de La Ramée*, 19–22.

²⁵ Harvey’s Quintilian, T7r.

their Orator to be a professor of any one faculty, but rather a Master Craftsman, fully trained in and armed with many of the Arts, and the most important of them: above all in those which rank highest for use in public life, and in pleading state cases.)

And he continues in English:

A perfit Orator: A most excellent Pleader, and singular Discourser in any Civil Court, or otherwise: not A bare Professo[u]r of any one certain faculty, or A simple Artist in any one kynde: howbeit his principall Instrumentes ar Rhetorique, for Elocutio[n], and Pronunciation; and Logique, for Invention, Disposition, and Memory.²⁶

Harvey here takes issue with Ramus's flamboyantly destructive *Scholae rhetoricae*, which launches a systematic attack on Cicero and Quintilian for having failed to keep clear the essential Ramist distinction between the scope and function of the various individual arts. Harvey accepts that it is desirable to make clear distinctions for teaching purposes, but he maintains that Quintilian and Cicero have in mind an individual who is to be equipped for the legal and diplomatic duties of civic life, and that such an individual must indeed be skilled in a whole range of arts and sciences. In the only other explicit reference in the Quintilian to the *Scholae rhetoricae* Harvey again loyally cites Ramus, in spite of the fact that Ramus's negative treatment in that (in fact early) work contradicts the judgement which he has derived from Talaueus's largely enthusiastic citations of Quintilian in the *praelectiones* to Ramus's *Dialectica*:

Liber istorum omnium maxime singularis. Consulendus tamen scholarum rhetoricarum liber etiam 18^{us}. Ne asper aliorum Criticus, sine sui arguto Critico, nimis insolenter exsultet. Iuuat acerrima vtrin[ue] Censura, sed maturima [sic].²⁷

(This book is the most singular of this entire work. However, one ought also to consult the 18th book [i.e. the commentary on Quintilian 10] of the *Scholae rhetoricae*. No one should be a severe Critic of others without being an outspoken Critic of himself, lest he vaunt himself excessively and unacceptably. The most abrasive Critique is acceptable, as long as it is fully ripe.)

²⁶ Harvey's Quintilian, T7r.

²⁷ Harvey's Quintilian, K1r.

Two pages later, against Quintilian 10.1 ('De copia verborum'), Harvey cites Talaueus's *praelectiones* on Ramus's *Dialectica* where 'hic locus laudatus ab A. T^o'.²⁸

Yet in crucial respects, I would argue, Harvey's 'pragmatic orator' would be impossible without Ramus at his most extreme. At the beginning of Book 9 of the *Scholae rhetoricae* (the first book of the commentary on Quintilian), Ramus takes up the crucial definition of the 'perfect orator': 'Orator est vir bonus dicendi peritus', and he argues abrasively for a total separation of the ethical from the linguistic in any definition of an orator:

Hunc oratorem Quintilianus nobis instituit, quem postea libro duodecimo viru[m] bonum bene dicendi peritum, similiter definit, et illas animi virtutes exponit, justitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam, prudentiam: item philosophiam totam, legu[m] scie[n]tiam, et cognitionem historiarum, et alia pleraq[ue] laudum ornamenta. Quid igitur contra istam oratoris finitionem dici potest? Ego vero talem oratoris definitionem vitiosam mihi videri confirmo: quamobre[m]? quia supervacanea cujusvis artificis est definitio, quae plus complectitur, qua[m] est artis institutis co[m]prehensum.²⁹

(Such is the orator as Quintilian instructs us, whom afterwards in Book 12 he defines similarly as 'a good man, who excels in the art of discourse', and he sets out the virtues of his soul as justice, fortitude, temperance, and prudence: as also the whole of philosophy, of the legal sciences, and a knowledge of history, and other and various praiseworthy ornaments. What then can be said against this definition? I maintain that such a definition of the orator seems to me entirely defective. Why? Because the definition of any craftsman whatever is redundant which involves more than is contained within the framework of the craft.)

Accordingly, Ramus rejects any definition of the 'perfect orator' which in any way implies ethical understanding or moral integrity on the part of the orator. And he claims that it is only because the orator is ultimately to play a prominent part in civic affairs that Quintilian feels that his training ought to have an ethical dimension. In other words, Ramus severs the '*ars disserendi*' from the ethical underpinning which for early humanists had justified the claim that the *studia humanitatis* were a training for civic life.

²⁸ Harvey's Quintilian, K2r.

²⁹ Petrus Ramus, *P. Rami Scholae in liberales artes* (Basel, 1569), O2v.

The copious marginal annotations to Book 12 of his Quintilian reveal the emphatically civic – and above all the emphatically *Tudor* – context within which Harvey locates his Orator. Severing the virtuous man from the accomplished public speaker (just as Ramus did, if less flamboyantly), Harvey makes it clear in his annotations that *his* version of the ‘vir bonus’ is a ‘great man’ (not the same thing at all). Where Quintilian’s text runs:

Dicet idem graviter, severe, acriter, vehementer, concitate, copiose, amare, comiter, remisse, subtiliter, blande, leniter, dulciter, breviter, urbane, non ubique similis, sed ubique par sibi. Sic fiet cum id, propter quod maxime repertus est usus orationis, ut dicat utiliter et ad efficiendum quod intendit potenter, tum laudem quoque nec doctorum modo sed etiam vulgi consequatur.³⁰

([The Orator] will speak gravely, severely, sharply, with vehemence, energy, fullness, bitterness, or geniality, quietly, simply, flatteringly, gently, sweetly, briefly or wittily; he will not always be like himself, but he will never be unworthy of himself. Thus the purpose for which oratory was above all designed will be secured, that is to say, he will speak with profit and with power to effect his aim, while he will also win the praise not merely of the learned but of the multitude as well.)

Harvey reflects:

Omnes fere Megalandri, egregij erant vel natura, vel arte Oratores. Quales sub rege Henrico 8^o. Cardinalis Volsaeus: Prorex Cromuellus: Cancellarius Morus: pragmaticus Gardinerus: quatuor heroici Consiliarij. Sub principe Edouardo 6^{to}. Dux Northumbrius; archiepiscopus Cranmerus; secretarius Smithus; Checus paedagogus. Sub regina Elizabetha, Smithus Cineas; Cecilius Nestor; Baconus Scaevola; Essexius Achilles. Quot aulici, urbiciq[ue], Cicerones, et Virgilij: Columbi et Sfortiae!³¹

(Well-nigh all the greatest men were outstanding Orators either by nature or by art. As under King Henry VIII: Cardinal Wolsey; royal deputy Cromwell; Chancellor More; pragmatic Gardiner;

³⁰ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 12.10.71–3, Loeb edition, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler. The Loeb translation tends to make the high moral tone of the Quintilian a good deal more obvious than it is in the original Latin.

³¹ Harvey’s Quintilian, T3^v; cited in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 153.

four heroic counsellors. Under Prince Edward VI: the Duke of Northumberland; Archbishop Cranmer; Secretary Smith; teacher Cheke. Under Queen Elizabeth: Cineas-like Smith; Nestor-like Cecil; Scaevola-like Bacon; Achilles-like Essex. How many courtiers and civic figures, Ciceros and Virgils, Columbuses and Sforzas!)

The implication here is that the perfect Orator is the Great Statesman, a view confirmed by a marginal note to 10.1. In Harvey's edition this chapter is headed 'De copia verborum', firmly anchoring the text in Erasmian pedagogy with its assumptions of the moral worth of eloquence.³² But at the point in the text at which Quintilian eulogises Cicero and prefers him to Demosthenes as an outstanding individual, over and above a great stylist, Harvey notes:

Nunquis haec aetate floret uel orator, uel aduocatus, uel aulicus concionator, uel politicus logodaedalus, vel regius consilarius, vel legatus, vel ullius deniq[ue] facultatis professor, his eloquentior eloquentiss[im]is viris?³³

(Was there ever in our age a distinguished orator, or lawyer, or court preacher, or political speaker with finesse, or royal counsellor, or ambassador, or, finally, any professor of any faculty whatsoever more eloquent than these most eloquent men [the Roman orators]?)

The categories Harvey selects for possible success as an orator are those of public office within the Tudor élite: orator as public servant, rather than orator as intellectual, let alone orator as 'vir bonus'. This is the goal which Harvey sees as the *real* object of higher education in the arts – the purpose for which that initiation into classical culture is intended.

Harvey's attitude towards the acquisition of eloquence – the becoming a 'perfect orator' – bears a family resemblance to Lorenzo Valla's or Rudolph Agricola's extolling of the benefits of true Latinity, but mediated *via* Ramus, it is in important respects distinctively Ramist. Elsewhere in his Quintilian, for instance, we find Harvey unconsciously using intellectual sleight of hand to make Valla's notion of *eloquentia* as 'philosophical understanding' or 'learnedness' into a much more banal kind of 'fluency' – in our modern sense of 'public speaking ability'. Against Quintilian's final eulogy of the Orator, Harvey has written:

³² See Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, ch. 6.

³³ Harvey's Quintilian, L3r.

Oratorum esse virum sapientem, quantum in hominem cadit: hoc est, plus esse, quam philosophum, et sophon. Vallae assertio in sua ad Pontificem Max. apologia: et in praefatione 1. 2. [actually 1] dialecticarum disputationum. vbi magnificum Oratoris praeconium.³⁴

(An orator's task is to be a wise man, so far as human nature allows: that is, to be more than a lover of wisdom, and wise. As Valla maintains [in his *apologia* to the Pope] and in the Preface to Book 2 [actually Book 1] of his *Dialecticae disputationes*, where there is a magnificent celebration of the Orator.)

Harvey here quotes a crucial passage from the *Dialecticae disputationes* in which Valla prefaces his treatment of dialectic with a meticulous exploration of his attitude towards the acquisition of knowledge in general. For Harvey, Valla's logical and philosophical treatise is 'a magnificent celebration of the Orator', a study of the art of speaking, rather than of knowing.

Harvey is open and ostentatious in his Ramism. His published works are as fulsome in praise of the controversial French Protestant and humanist as a French Ramist like Claude Mignault's are discreet.³⁵ It is probably fair to say that in the 1570s and 1580s in England, it was a just-permissible sign of intellectual radicalism to profess Ramism – a somewhat vogueish stance in keeping with Harvey's reputation for affecting Italianate dress and manners.³⁶ More tellingly, for our purposes, Harvey's marginal notes evidence conscientious and meticulous use of Ramist texts to provide intellectual guidelines as he reads, and then to shape the preparation of his lectures. In other words, Harvey is a Ramist in his reading practice, as much as in his proclaimed affiliations. And Harvey's Ramism manifests itself in a confident and self-conscious refocusing of the liberal arts training as a *pragmatic* training, a training for material success and public position. To return to the annotated Quintilian: in 12.11, where Quintilian writes:

His dicendi virtutibus usus orator in iudiciis, consiliis, contionibus, senatu, in omni denique officio boni civis finem quoque dignum et optimo viro et opere sanctissimo faciet.³⁷

³⁴ Harvey's Quintilian, T6v.

³⁵ See, for example, Harvey's three published orations, in his *Ciceronianus* and *Rhetor* (London, 1577), and *A New Letter of Notable Contents* (London, 1593). On Mignault's Ramism see Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, ch. 7.

³⁶ Harvey's own marginal annotations regularly affect Italian views; see also Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden* and the contemporary satirical play, *Pedantius*.

³⁷ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 12.11.1.

(After employing these gifts of eloquence in the courts, in councils, in public assemblies and the debates of the senate, and, in a word, in the performance of all the duties of a good citizen, the orator will bring his activities to a close in a manner worthy of a blameless life spent in the pursuit of the noblest of professions.)

Harvey adds:

Valde interest optimi Oratoris, maximum esse Pragmaticum. Vt apprime refert summi Pragmatici, praecellentissimum esse Oratorem.³⁸

(It is of the greatest importance to the best of Orators to be exceedingly 'Pragmatic'. As it especially profits the most distinguished 'Pragmatic' to be a superlative Orator.)

Or as Harvey writes, in another marginal note, this time in his copy of *Ciceronianus Ioan. Thomae Freigii, in quo, ex Ciceronis monumentis, ratio instituendi locos communes demonstrata: et eloquentia cum philosophia coniuncta, descripta est libris decem* (whose very title may be read as a Ramist manifesto):

Cicero iamprimum methodicus, mnemonicus, pragmaticus. dignus, qui ad vnguem ediscatur. Nullum fere ulla aetate vel ingeniu[m] capacius, vel iudicium maturius, vel dicendi, agendiq[ue] facultas praestantiur, vel efficacior in orbe Romano Experientia.³⁹

(Cicero above all is methodical, memorisable, pragmatic. Worthy to be studied to perfection. For no one in any age has been more rich in ability, more mature in judgement, more outstanding in practice of action or of speech, nor more effective within the sphere of Roman practical affairs.)

Ramism, as exemplified by this case study of Elizabethan Ramist practice, appears to lead us in the direction of 'the humanities', first as a programme of education in the arts which no longer carries with it

³⁸ Harvey's Quintilian, T3v.

³⁹ Marginal note in *Ciceronianus Ioan. Thomae Freigii, in quo, ex Ciceronis monumentis, ratio instituendi locos communes demonstrata: et eloquentia cum philosophia coniuncta, descripta est libris decem* (Basel, [1575]), (3v).

its own guarantee that its products will of necessity be good and pious men, and then as an initiation rite for the Tudor administration.

But this is not, in fact, the end of the story. It remains to point out, as an important piece in the historical jigsaw, that Harvey's aspirations to high office *failed*. He failed to follow in the footsteps of his patron Sir Thomas Smith, from academic brilliance in Latin, Greek and the higher faculty of Jurisprudence, to Senior Ministry in Elizabeth's government. Harvey was Greek lecturer at Pembroke College Cambridge in 1573, Professor of Rhetoric from 1573 to 1575, and he obtained his Doctor of Civil Law degree at Oxford in 1585.⁴⁰ His academic credentials were, on the face of it, impeccable. Nevertheless, the Professorship of Rhetoric turned out to be the peak of his career. He failed in his bid to become Master of Trinity Hall in 1584; having qualified in Law, he apparently failed to make any impact on eminent legal circles in London, or on the closely linked diplomatic service. In 1593 he returned to Saffron Walden and the life of a prosperous country burgher – where in Elizabethan terms he belonged. If outstanding ability in the humanities was a ticket to preferment, it was only so, evidently, for those born within easy reach of office, those of gentle or noble birth.

⁴⁰ Three of Harvey's lectures are printed in his *Rhetor* (London, 1577) and *Ciceronianus* (London, 1577). On his LL.B. and Doctorship of Law see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 75–7.

3

Purpose-specific political reading with the Leicester circle*

Lisa Jardine and William Sherman

We have only two fixed points around which to make a case that Gabriel Harvey had a seriously engaged career in public life.¹ And in trying to reconstruct what happened during, between and beyond those fixed points, Thomas Nashe – scurrilous pamphleteer and opponent of Harvey’s – has a lot to answer for in muddying the historical waters. Nashe’s version of the key incidents is that Harvey failed in his two presumptuous bids to insinuate himself into the service of those around Queen Elizabeth I. This chapter takes another look at the evidence, and combines it with fresh clues to be gleaned from Harvey’s marginalia, to argue that, *pace* Nashe, Harvey was continuously employed for a period as a professional reader and drafter of advice papers in the entourage of Robert Dudley, first earl of Leicester (1532–88).² In other words, we will here claim that marginal annotations provide neglected evidence for Harvey’s direct involvement with a powerful group united by political ambitions in and beyond England. Insofar as these engagements aligned

* This essay was drafted in the mid-1990s and intended for our emerging book on Gabriel Harvey and Renaissance reading practices. It was revised for seminar presentations given by both authors. Left unpublished when Lisa Jardine died, the essay has been significantly reworked for inclusion in this volume.

¹ We would like to thank Alex Samson for drawing the Stephen Gardiner Machiavellian treatise to our attention, thus providing the crucial piece of evidence for the detective story which follows.

² Paul Hammer asked how we know that it is Leicester, rather than Walsingham, that Harvey was working for. The best answer we can give is that the reading ‘career’ we shall be tracing focuses on issues extremely close to Leicester’s known preoccupations (specifically, his own ambitions in the Low Countries), that Harvey recorded his distress when Leicester died (‘1588. Revolutio meae Reformationis, seu Annus Assuetudinis’ – in his copy of Frontinus’ *Strategemes*), and that there is a noticeable gap in his marginal annotations between 1588 and the early 1590s. Harvey’s notes in his Frontinus include one direct reference to ‘My L. of Leicester now in the Low Countries’.

with the central texts in early modern political thought, moreover, Harvey's marginalia also help us to reconsider the historical significance of those texts themselves.

On Sunday, 27 July 1578, Harvey took part in a formal debate – conducted by a small group of eminent academics specially assembled by Lord Burghley – before Queen Elizabeth at Audley End in Hertfordshire, during the queen's summer progress of that year.³ The debate took place in the quarters assigned for the duration of the visit to the earl of Leicester, and at the end of it, Leicester presented Harvey to the queen. She graciously received from him four pages of manuscript verses, addressed to herself, Leicester and Burghley.⁴ Two months later, Harvey appeared before the queen for a second time during the progress and presented a printed, expanded version of his verses to her at Hadham (home of the Capell family). The volume now included additional poems, making direct reference to the occasion of the previous audience, including Harvey's having been introduced by Leicester, and his having been permitted to kiss the queen's hand.⁵ In this published version of the original presentation verses, three poems addressed to Leicester take Machiavelli and the Medici princes as their theme. These poems celebrate Machiavelli's (and, by implication, Leicester's) political pragmatism and *realpolitik*, but especially his unwavering commitment to sustaining the prince he served in power. Between these two occasions, in August 1578, Leicester intervened directly to try to get Harvey's expiring fellowship at Pembroke College in Cambridge extended, but without success. Instead an alternative fellowship was secured for him at Trinity Hall.⁶

This, then, is the first fixed date in Harvey's career for a possible association with the Leicester household, in some capacity.⁷ Nashe's version of the occasion, based on the snippets of satirical material contained in his published polemics, has coloured scholars' reading of

³ For the fullest account of this progress see Zillah Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: The queen's journey into East Anglia, 1578* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1996), 33–4.

⁴ Evidently Harvey already had some association with the courtiers present; before the University party left, he joined a group of courtiers who visited Margaret, Lady Derby, at nearby Littlebury.

⁵ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 132.

⁶ 'Whereas my lorde, the Earle of Leycester hath made earnest request for the continuance of Mr Harveyes fellowship for one yeare, and that the tyme of the expiringe thereof is very neere, this is to certify you, that I [the Master, William Fulke] am not only well contente as much as lyeth in me, to dispense with him for one yeare longer, but also am becum an earnest suter for him unto you.' Cited in Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 48.

⁷ From internal evidence in the volume of poems we can, in fact, push that date back to 1576, since the printed version of the Saffron Walden poems refers to one of them as having been presented to Leicester two years earlier.

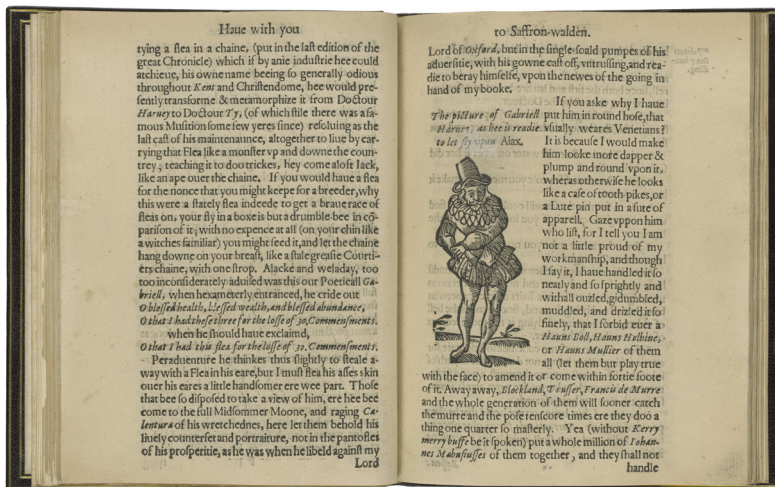


Fig. 3.1 Image of Harvey from Thomas Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (London, 1596), fol. 4r. (STC 18369 copy 2). Courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library and reproduced under the Creative Commons licence CC BY-NC 3.0.

the archival and printed evidence surrounding the episode. Nashe was only 11 years old when the events at Audley End occurred, but that did not prevent him from painting a vivid picture of Harvey's deportment in his *Have with you to Saffron-walden*, published in 1596 (Fig. 3.1). In Nashe's account, Harvey's performance was pitched 'betwixt a kinde of carelesse rude rustianisme, and curious sinicall complement'. When it was finished,

he was brought to kisse the Queenes hand, and it pleased her Highnes to say ... that he lookt something like an Italian. No other incitement he needed to rouze his plumes, pricke vp his eares, and run away with the bridle betwixt his teeth, and take it vpon him; (of his owne originall ingrafted disposition theretoo he wanting no aptnes) but now he was an insulting Monarch about *Monarcha* the Italian, that ware crownes on his shooes; and quite renounst his naturall English accents & gestures, & wrestled himself wholly to the Italian *punttilios*, speaking our homely Iland tongue strangely, as if he were but a raw practitioner in it, & but ten daies before had entertained a schoole-master to teach him to pronounce it.

Seen through Nashe's eyes, Harvey becomes a pushy outsider with an affected Italianate manner, who wildly overestimated his own

importance in the court circle, who had no serious links with Leicester and whose attempt to get court attention was a dismal – if somewhat comic – failure.⁸

The second reliable point (or at least fixed period) in the story of Harvey's association with the Leicester household comes two years later. In late 1580 Harvey was appointed as a secretary in Leicester's service, after Edmund Spenser's departure for Ireland in the train of the notorious Lord Grey.⁹ We do not know how long Harvey resided at Leicester House, but as a consequence of Nashe's dismissive remarks on the topic even Harvey's most ardent defender, Virginia Stern, was forced to conclude that 'Harvey's sojourn at Court was not a success and Leicester soon dispensed with his services'.¹⁰ That Harvey returned to Cambridge is clear; but whether he was no longer retained by Leicester (in some capacity) is far less certain.

The kind of evidence generally assembled by historians, then, gives us a picture of Gabriel Harvey as an upwardly mobile scholar from a modest (that is, insufficiently gentlemanly) background, with a Marlovian 'aspiring mind' and a good deal of personal vanity, being firmly put back in his place by the public figure he courted. In Sydney Anglo's eyes, for instance, Harvey is one of Machiavelli's most serious readers in Elizabethan England, but he is also one of those 'people whose impracticality, prickly disposition, preposterous behaviour, and delusions of grandeur make them uncomfortable colleagues'.¹¹ For the remainder of this chapter we will show how different the picture looks if we take seriously the marginalia liberally scattered through a body of books Harvey acquired around 1580, and which he annotated on a number of separate occasions between 1580 and 1590. As part of the general project in sixteenth-century reading which is the focus of attention for this book as a whole, we will also show how

⁸ Thomas Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (London: John Danter, 1596), M2r–v. For the full story of Harvey's performance and Nashe's version of the story see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 44–5.

⁹ Stern gives Moore Smith as her source for this appointment. Here again, the secondary literature perpetuates a fiction that Spenser procured the appointment for Harvey, since Spenser is the more prominent figure in literary history.

¹⁰ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 68.

¹¹ Anglo discusses Harvey alongside Barnabe Barnes in a section titled 'A pair of eccentrics' and dismisses him as somewhat 'ridiculous', offering a career summary that could have come straight from the pen of Nashe: 'Harvey's ambitions were blocked by his own acute sense of social inferiority, mocked by his modest practical achievements, and thwarted by the rejection of those whose favour he sought.' Sydney Anglo, *Machiavelli – The First Century: Studies in enthusiasm, hostility, and irrelevance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 446–7.

combining those marginalia and their reading advice with other kinds of contemporary material leads us to modify significantly our view of sixteenth-century political thought – in particular, Tudor responses to Machiavelli.

Four books are at the centre of the annotations we shall look at here:¹²

Florio his First Fruites: A Perfect Induction to the Italian and English Tongues (London, 1578)

William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie* (London, 1561)

The Strategemes, Sleyghtes, and Policies of Warre, Gathered Togyther, by S. Julius Frontinus, and Translated into Englyshe, by Richard Morysine (London, 1539)¹³

A collection of political treatises including Machiavelli's *Prince*, Beza's *De iure* and 'Stephanus Iunius', *Vindiciae contra tyrannos: sive de principis in populum, populi in principem, legitima potestate* ('Edinburgh' [Basel], 1579)¹⁴

Also in play, once again, is the Livy volume which was the focus of "Studied for action" (see [Chapter 1](#), this volume), and to which we will return at the end of this chapter. In addition to the volumes just

¹² For the way Harvey grouped books for reading see Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action': How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy", *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 31–78. The selection discussed in the present chapter is a subset of that assembled for scrutiny in "'Studied for action'", with the addition of the recently rediscovered *Vindiciae* volume.

¹³ The first three of these works also formed part of the 'books on the wheel' featured in the early essay on Harvey that opens this book. These three were part of the 'political reading' texts among the repeated and distinctive manners of reading we identified. In the present piece of work we are taking that 'politic' reading a good deal further.

¹⁴ The *Vindiciae* is part of a composite volume of politically sensitive works now in Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/The National Library of Wales, b80 B2(3): Machiavelli, *The Prince*; Agrippa, *Pro et contra Monarchiam; Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*; Beza, *De iure magistratum in subditos, et officio subditorum erga Magistratus*. There are red chalkmarks and underlinings in the other works, but no substantial annotations except in the *Vindiciae* volume. Harvey certainly already owned a text of *The Prince*, which could explain its lack of annotation here. On the title page of *The Prince* is: '1580. Gabriellis harueij. ijs.'. Unaware of our unpublished work on the volume in the 1990s, P. B. Roberts has recently published an interpretation and partial transcription of Harvey's marginalia in what he describes as 'a book discovered recently'. See his "'A Lawful Alarme against y^e Prynce": Gabriel Harvey and *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*' and 'A partial transcription of Gabriel Harvey's annotations of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* and *De iure magistratum*', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 82, no. 2 (2019): 175–92 and S1–S15.

specified, annotations within them show that Harvey had before him a number of other identifiable volumes, out of which he copied passages (sometimes substantial ones) onto end papers and into blank spaces in the text. The ones that interest us particularly in this case are Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Stephen Gardiner's *De vera obedientia* in an English translation published during the reign of Mary Tudor, and Machiavelli's *Discorsi*.¹⁵

There are a number of 'reading routes' open to us via the marginalia in these volumes. It is possible to select from among them a sequence of 'personal' notes which refer, in particular, to the desirability of a courtier/diplomat's acquiring fluency in modern languages, particularly Italian and French, and the opportunities for employment which eloquence in general provides – in other words, to support the 'aspiring mind' version of Harvey. According to this version, Harvey takes the opportunity of close reading intellectually 'improving' works to groom himself for possible public service. Traditionally such a version has implied that this grooming was vain and self-indulgent, and that it did not correspond to any real possibilities to be employed in (in this case) foreign language embassies overseas, or the processing of foreign language correspondence in a great house. Recent work has shown, however, that Harvey was entirely typical of those in the secretarial entourage of the nobility in acquiring a sound grasp of a range of modern languages with the use of textbooks like Florio's.¹⁶

The vast majority of the marginal notes in these volumes, however, are directed at strategic reading of the texts together. They group around a single topic, explored in various aspects: whether, and under what

¹⁵ One more book clearly belongs on Harvey's Machiavellian bookwheel but was identified too late to be used in this chapter: *A mervaylous discourse vpon the lyfe, deedes, and behaviours of Katherine de Medicis ...* ('At Heydelberge' [i.e. London]: H. Middleton?, 1575). This anonymous account of recent French politics was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in 2019 and added to its so-called Adv[ersaria] collection as Adv.e.8.1. At least some of the annotations date from 1578, the year of the Machiavellian poems presented by Harvey to the earl of Leicester. As Jason Scott-Warren explains in the introduction to the digital facsimile (published in the 'Treasures of the Library' section in the University of Cambridge Digital Library): 'The indexed notes on the verso of the title-page offer a preliminary guide to the nature of his interests. He saw Catherine as an embodiment of amoral modernity, embodying precepts from "Machiavels pragmatistical Politiques" and "Aretinos licentious Ethiques," all of which were put in the shade by "Her own private, and publique Experience in all ambitious, covetous, and voluptuous Practices of the world"' [<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-ADV-E-00008-00001/1>].

¹⁶ See Warren Boutcher's use of the annotations in Florio's *First Fruites* in his discussion of sixteenth-century language teaching (in 'Florio's Montaigne: Translation and pragmatic humanism in the sixteenth century', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1991); cf. Boutcher, 'Vernacular humanism in the sixteenth century', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 189–202; John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

circumstances, it is admissible for a prince's subjects to replace one ruler with another. Specifically, they ask whether the prince's subjects are ever entitled to call in another prince to depose a 'tyrant' who has explicitly failed to serve the interests of his people.

It is not immediately evident that this is what Harvey's marginal notes are doing, particularly in a text like Florio's – ostensibly a handbook of Italian usage and customs. What such marginal notes are driving at can only be ascertained by looking at the *interaction* between text and note, and then reconstructing a 'reading context' – often a job in hand at the time of writing.

Let us begin with the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, since this pseudonymous work (sometimes attributed to Hubert Languet) addresses the question we have just posed directly: its very subtitle reads 'Concerning the legitimate power of a Prince over the People, and of the People over a Prince'. The authoritative edition of the text describes it as:

the most infamous of the monarchomach treatises produced during the French wars of religion, [which] continued to be revered (or execrated) as a key part of the radical canon for well over a century after its publication. It is one of the first attempts to advance a systematic justification, with interlocking secular and religious arguments, of resistance against legitimately constituted political authority.¹⁷

Harvey's annotations are concentrated in the third section or 'question': 'Whether, and to what extent, it may be lawful to resist a prince who is oppressing or ruining the commonwealth; also by whom, how, and by what right it may be allowed.' Against the title, Harvey has written in the margin, 'The handling of this Question far passith the rest'.¹⁸ A few pages further on, Harvey picks out for emphasis with his customary 'Nota' the observation:

But lest we should be deceived by a continuous series of several successions in these very kingdoms, the estates of the realm have often preferred the agnate to the son, and the second- to the first-born. Thus in France, Louis was preferred to his brother Robert, count of Dreux; and likewise Henry, the second-born

¹⁷ Stephanus Junius Brutus [pseud.], *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, ed. and trans. George Garnett (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁸ *Vindiciae*, 65.

brother, to Robert Capet, the nephew; and similarly in other cases. What is more, that same kingdom has been transferred from dynasty to dynasty by the authority of the people even when legitimate heirs survived.¹⁹

He places the same emphasis against the passage:

Consequently, whatever a king gains either by war or when he annexes neighbouring territory by right of war; or whatever he gains by jurisdiction, as when returns are made to the fisc, he acquires not for himself, but for the kingdom – just like a servant [*servus*] for his master. Nor can a binding agreement be contracted with him except by authority of the people.²⁰

‘Rex, servus’, he adds at the top of the page – ‘the king is a servant’. A similarly approving ‘Nota’ and the additional comment, ‘Gallus non potuit donare Anglum regno Franciae’ (The French [King] could not grant France to the English King), signals the passage in which the author denies that it is possible for one prince to give a territory in gift to another.²¹ He marks the entire section entitled ‘The covenant or contract between king and people’ (which assembles a series of examples from the past and the present of how such a contract was drawn up and ratified), and comments in the margin:

Ab unguibus ferè incipiens, hîc pedem confert, et rei ipsius punctu[m] tanq[uam] acu attingit.²²

(Starting from the claws, he compares the foot, and touches the very point of the matter, as it were, with his needle.)

And finally, Harvey asks his reader to take particular notice of the following:

The Brabanters above all articulated [an explicit covenant between Prince and people] so that there should be no room for ambiguity. At the inauguration of their duke, after reading out in his presence the ancient agreement ... they openly and clearly state to him that unless he observes all of these their capacity to elect anyone

¹⁹ *Vindiciae*, 72–3.

²⁰ *Vindiciae*, 75.

²¹ Garnett, 123–4; *Vindiciae*, 128.

²² Garnett, 129–30; *Vindiciae*, 136–7.

else they choose remains unimpaired. ... This was even recently observed at the inauguration of Philip II.²³

At the top of the page he writes: 'How far ye Low Cuntrye[n] subjects to ye Spanyard. Nota.' He then encloses this section within inverted commas, and adds 'Summa summar[u]m'.

Compared with notes in most of Harvey's surviving books, both the text and annotations here are unusually helpful in identifying the project to which the reader's professional energies are directed. And these annotations tend to confirm a context for Harvey's reading activities in which he is engaged in some kind of reading 'career' with the earl of Leicester. The issue of whether Philip II had, through his alleged tyranny over the population of the Low Countries, forfeited his right to reign there – in spite of the people's having formally consented (and in spite of hereditary rights by marriage, and rights by conquest) – was one with which Leicester was greatly concerned in the late 1570s and early 1580s (both on the queen's behalf, and on his own, as her designated governor-general).²⁴ From 1577 onwards there is plenty of evidence among diplomatic and state papers, as well as in the correspondence between Protestant intelligence-coordinators in the Low Countries, France and England, that justifying the invitation of a foreign sovereign to take over control of the Low Countries and eject Philip II was a central concern. This scenario developed from a theoretical argument around 1577 into the justifying pretext for Leicester's eventual embarkment on his infamous military and diplomatic progress into the Low Countries in 1585.²⁵ What is intriguing, then, is to find that once we settle on such an interest (and such an employer for whom concentrated reading over a wide range of texts can be undertaken) then a significant number of Harvey's marginal annotations in the Florio *First Fruites* and the William Thomas *History of Italie* volumes can be seen to address the same issue. It is only once the context is known that the lines linking these notes become clear.

Throughout the *First Fruites* text, but particularly, and densely, on the blank end pages of the volume, Harvey relates the text of his Italian handbook to Archbishop Stephen Gardiner, the notoriously 'trimming' prelate who as principal secretary advised Henry VIII prominently on his divorce from Katharine of Aragon and the break with Rome, but who as Lord Chancellor under Mary Tudor became a zealous persecutor

²³ Garnett, 137–8; *Vindiciae*, 143–4.

²⁴ See particularly, in the present context, R. C. Strong and J. A. van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1964).

²⁵ Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, passim.

of Protestants and lynch-pin of the Catholic Church in England.²⁶ The clearest of these annotations (in sense and legibility) is the following:

Cardinal Poole [Pole] had then bin published an Archtraitour bie bishop Tonal. But who? & bie whome?

As for Cardinal Poole, bie report, nether Tonal, nor Gardiner, the best of them, is worthie to wipe his shooes: neither for learning, nor iudgment, nor sobrietie of life. The testimonie of a learned protestant (supposed to be Secretarie Cecil) in a preface before the translation of Gardiners booke *de Vera Obedientia*.

Then newly printed at Roome [Roane] in Queen Maries reigne.²⁷

Harvey is here citing a curious piece of anti-Catholic publishing by one of the Marian exiles (unidentified, though Harvey thinks it was William Cecil, Lord Burghley). Gardiner's *De vera obedientia* was a text written and published in 1535 in support of Henry VIII's divorce, and it argues strenuously that the first obligation of any people is to their prince, their second to the head of the Church. Henry having severed his links with Rome, the people are bound to follow him. This classic exposition of the doctrine of non-resistance and the sacredness of kingship (as Donaldson calls it) was reissued in English translation in 1553 with a scandalous Protestant introduction and conclusion drawing attention to Gardiner's apparently dramatic shift in position once Mary Tudor came to the throne. As the introduction puts it:

Marke now in reading this Oratio[n], how Winchester ru[n]neth as it were a rash bethle[m] brained hou[n]d, mindyng more his dinner than his game, and rushi[n]g he careth not Which Wai, so he be yelpyng, and beholde how freshly (besides the before mencioned chiefe specialties) he aduouchetd, that the king might not put awaye the supremacie from him, because it is geuen him of god, and se how hotely he foloweth the counter sute now. Tha[t] he affirmed, that al true subiectes wer detbounden to defende, maintaine & vpholde the supremacie of the crowne: Nowe it semeth he would thanke the maineteiners of the contrarie part.²⁸

²⁶ On Gardiner's place in Tudor politics see Peter S. Donaldson, *Machiavelli and Mystery of State* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), ch. 2.

²⁷ Harvey's *First Fruites*, 159v (Harvard, Houghton Library *70-80), bottom of page, beneath text 'FINIS', preceding section 'Regole necessarie per indurre gli 'taliani. a proferir la Lingua Inglese'.

²⁸ Facsimile: Stephen Gardiner, *De vera obedientia 1553* (Leeds: Scolar Press Limited, 1966), A4v-5r.

Across the top of this opening of the Florio, Harvey writes:

Novum Tuscanismi Speculum. (A new mirror of Florentine [style].)
The politike historie of Doctor Stephen Gardiner, bishop of
Winchester, & afterward L. Chancelour of England. Dr. Gardiner of
manie surnamed the Foxe: Dr. Wootton the Ape. Wootton had the
text, & glosse of the Lawe bie hart verbatim: Gardiner the matter, &
substance. Two pregnant aduocates in anie dowlfull, or subtile case
of whatsoever importance.

And at the bottom of the page: ‘Exemplarie patterns for imitation, or
obseruation. J.C.’ Sideways along the bound edge of the page (and
all around the following opening) are further studied expressions of
admiration for Gardiner’s ‘cunning’ and statecraft – particularly his
ability to argue cogently on either side of the question, his eloquence, his
command of languages and his legal and diplomatic skills.

On the following pages Harvey has copied out, in the distinctive
small hand which in our view belongs to his period at Leicester House, a
collection of passages extracted from John Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments*.²⁹
Foxe had reason to consider Gardiner his particular enemy (since his
agents had pursued him into exile and almost added him to his own
collection of Protestant martyrs during Mary’s reign); consequently his
treatment of Gardiner is ruthlessly negative. In the passages Harvey has
copied out, Foxe characterises Gardiner as a wicked and utterly unscrupulous
liar and turncoat – in striking contrast with Harvey’s own synopses
of Gardiner’s linguistic and diplomatic talents (added later), which
are juxtaposed with those of Foxe. At the centre of these transcribed
and embellished marginal passages is the series of depositions from
Gardiner’s trial in Edward VI’s reign, at which a succession of Henry’s old
ministers testify that Gardiner was used in key ambassadorial enterprises
not so much because he was trusted but rather because of his superlative
language skills in French and Italian.

At this point we have to stand back from the *First Fruites* and ask
what these marginalia are doing. What is Gardiner himself up to? That
clear comment on the Protestant edition of the *De vera obedientia* gives
us a starting point. The sense in which Gardiner ‘changed sides’, as that
text clearly shows, is in using his formidable intellect in support of the
Prince’s claim to rule England with absolute authority, first on behalf

²⁹ All the other marginalia can be shown to be later than these annotations, and quite often they continue, or answer their arguments.

of Henry VIII, and then on behalf of Mary. Furthermore, the notes on Gardiner's linguistic abilities (appropriately located in a handbook of Italian language and culture) stress the way in which he was used as a key political figure because his skills made him indispensable. Gardiner is a 'Foxye'³⁰ because he can skilfully adapt his diplomatic and political arguments to support the right to rule of whichever Prince he is called upon to serve. That makes him, in Harvey's terms, a 'politic', a 'pragmatic' and a Machiavellian.

Harvey was certainly reading through a Machiavellian lens about the Low Countries question as he read Florio's *First Fruites*. On fol. 89r, against an aphorism taken from Stephen Guazzo:

It litle auayleth vnto a prince, if he haue with hym a great number of wise men, for to gouerne, if his subiects be armed with naugtinesse, and wyl not obey.

Poco gioua a vn prencipe, se ha seco gran copia de huomini sani, per gouernare, se i suoi sugetti sono armati di maluagita, per non vbidire.

Harvey has written: 'Good gouerneme[n]t in P[rinces]. Loyal obedience in Subie[cts]' – the nub of the *Vindiciae's* argument.³¹ So we are suggesting that Harvey's notes on Gardiner are directed at developing an argument which supports a) a public servant's entitlement to argue 'pro' or 'contra' on any case in the interests of supporting his Prince and b) an argument which entitles a Prince to take over the sovereignty of a foreign territory if invited to do so by a population whose contract of obedience has been rendered null and void by the tyrannical behaviour of the reigning Prince. Both arguments take strong support from Machiavelli. Remember that the *Vindiciae* volume already contained Machiavelli's *Prince*. As far as the annotations in the *First Fruites* are concerned, the connection with Machiavelli is also straightforward since the annotations cite the *Discorsi* easily and in Italian (as does Harvey elsewhere throughout his marginalia).

On fol. 70r, against the section headed 'Of the manners of certayne Nations' (getting to know how to conduct yourself abroad), Harvey writes:

³⁰ The term is used by Protestants to designate a crypto-Catholic, or doctrinal and political turncoat. However, it is used affirmatively by Machiavelli for the astute political theorist who advises his Prince to order. See now Erica Benner, *Be Like the Fox: Machiavelli in his world* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2018).

³¹ Margin cropped.

Hùc vtilissimi, ualdeq[ue] Politici Tractatus Leonis Afri[cani], et h. freig[ius] De Natura Populorum. quò etia[m] spectat Machiavaelli cap. 43. lib. 3. gli Discorsi. Che gli huomini, ch[i] nascono in vna prouincia, osserva[no] per tutti i tempi quelli medesim[i] costumi, et i med[e]simi termini.

(Here put the very useful and highly political treatises of Leo Africanus and Freigius *De natura populorum*. Also relevant is Machiavaelli, *Discorsi* 3.43. That the men who are born in a single province observe for all time, more or less those same customs and conditions.)

At the bottom of the same page he returns to Gardiner:

Winchester to ye Lord Protector: Euery cuntry hath his peculiar inclination to nawghtines: Ingland, & Germany to ye belly; the on in liquor, th'other in meate: France alyttle beneath ye belly: Italy to vanity, & pleasures deuised.

Let an English belly haye A further aduancement, & nothing can stay it. [Last line cropped]

The crucial connection here, however, comes on that page of notes with the *De vera obedientia* reference. At the top of the page is the note 'Novum Tuscanismi speculum. The Politique historie of Doctor Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and afterward L. Chancelour of Ingland'. And here we have to offer a corrective to the way this note has been read. This is not (as Stern and others have surmised) Harvey's own 'running head' for his Gardiner notes, which are the beginnings of his own 'Biography of a turncoat'; it is a reference, in Harvey's customary form, to another text. The text is Gardiner's 'Politique history' of England, written in 1555 for Philip II – a text of advice to Queen Mary's husband (who had just become sovereign head of the Low Countries on the abdication of his father Charles V) on how to win the hearts and minds of the English people so as to become their 'true sovereign' by general consent. This work exists in manuscript only, and in Italian (Philip did not speak English).³² It is a thoroughlygoingly Machiavellian document, in the sense that it incorporates verbatim whole passages from *The Prince* and the *Discorsi* – approximately 3,000 words, according to Donaldson (who

³² Quentin Skinner tells us that a number of copies circulated at the time (though the work was too seditious ever to be published), and that it is not unlikely that Harvey would have had access to a copy at Leicester House.

edited the text in 1975).³³ And it uses precisely the two arguments we have just teased out of Harvey's other notes in the volume, as well as compiling a substantial body of instruction in the customs and manners of England (of the kind which Harvey was doing for Italy, by transcribing material copied from William Thomas's *Historie of Italie*).

If this 'Advice' document *is* indicated in Harvey's note, it makes sense of Gardiner's prominence in the *First Fruites* marginalia. It was written, as noted, in Italian.³⁴ Although Harvey shows himself well able to read and quote in Italian from 1580 onwards, he still believed in keeping a reference work beside him whenever he worked on a book which required specialist knowledge.

Where does all this leave us as far as Harvey's 'career' is concerned? To answer this question we need to return to our opening chapter. From the annotations in Harvey's *Livy* we identified two highly specific occasions on which Harvey read the text 'politically'. The first was in the spring of 1577, at Leicester House, with Sir Philip Sidney. At the end of Book 3 of the first decade of Harvey's *Livy* there is the following note:

The courtier Philip Sidney and I had privately discussed these three books of *Livy*, scrutinising them so far as we could from all points of view, applying a political analysis, just before his embassy to the emperor Rudolf II. He went to offer him congratulations in the queen's name just after he had been made emperor. Our consideration was chiefly directed at the forms of states, the conditions of persons, and the qualities of actions.³⁵

The date of this reading matches a critical moment in strategic relations between England and the States General in the Low Countries, where resistance was ongoing against the occupying forces of Philip II of Spain, under the leadership of William of Orange. For more than ten years Elizabeth had expressed support for the Dutch Revolt, while refusing to become involved. At the end of 1576, however, she apparently came to believe that the new governor-general of the Netherlands, Don John, intended to invade England from Zeeland, once he had pacified the Low Countries.³⁶

³³ P. S. Donaldson, ed., *A Machiavellian Treatise by Stephen Gardiner* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 16–21.

³⁴ We suspect Gardiner wrote it in Italian (in which he was fluent) and George Rainsford tidied it up.

³⁵ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 36 (above p. 28).

³⁶ K. W. Swart, *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1572–84*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 130.

In January 1577 we have the first references to the suggestion that the earl of Leicester should lead a military expedition into the Low Countries in support of William.³⁷ Thomas Wilson, the queen's ambassador and ardent supporter of the Leicester-led war party, wrote from Brussels on 24 January that 'it shall not need to send any man of quality hither to appease things, if the Prince [of Orange] be once received, except it be to send a general over an army of our nation in aid of the States, which I wish were my Lord of Leicester'.³⁸

On 7 March 1577, Leicester told William of Orange in a letter that he had never stood so high in Queen Elizabeth's estimation. For the first time she declared her willingness to give financial and military support to the Protestant rebels, who for more than ten years had been resisting Philip II's presence, under the leadership of the prince. 'In December 1576 she promised the States-General a loan of £100,000 on condition that they broke off their negotiations with [the French], and in the very next month part of this sum, £20,000, was delivered by the English ambassador in Brussels'.³⁹ Here was support in earnest.

As a sign of his gratitude, William of Orange named his new daughter, born on 26 March 1577, Elizabeth. Leicester was invited to stand as godfather to the princess, and it was on his behalf that Sidney attended the baptism ceremony. In July Walsingham sent word to William of Orange that the queen was now minded to give him 'any help that may seem suitable, whenever he may ask for it', and specified her willingness to send 500 to 600 soldiers who were already in London, with several Scots detachments following soon after.⁴⁰ The prince immediately proposed that the States General should send an ambassador to London to ask the queen to send a force commanded by Leicester.

The agreement concluded between the Marquis d'Havr , the States' envoy to London, and the English government at the end of September took it for granted that 4,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry would leave for the Netherlands as soon as possible. The queen herself appeared to agree entirely with the despatch of troops.⁴¹ The States-General, however, balked at the idea of more foreign troops arriving on Dutch soil, just as Philip II's Spanish soldiers were finally being withdrawn. On 11 October they told Elizabeth that for the moment they had no need of English troops. Nevertheless, when Harvey and Sidney

³⁷ Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, 7.

³⁸ Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, 7.

³⁹ Swart, *William of Orange*, 129.

⁴⁰ Swart, *William of Orange*, 131.

⁴¹ Swart, *William of Orange*, 131.

were reading Livy together, the expectation was that the mission on which Sidney was about to be sent on behalf of Leicester would result in English military engagement on Dutch soil. We are now suggesting, then, that Harvey was already, in 1577, a 'politic reader' for Leicester in the cause of the Low Countries.⁴²

These developments in Anglo-Dutch relations took place during the spring and early summer of 1577. Sidney left England in February. The official instructions for his embassy, dated 7 February 1577, tell us only that Philip was 'being sent ambassador to Rudolf the second, emperor & his mother the empress, to condole the death of the emperor Maximilian his father: and withal he was directed to take in his way the two count Palatines, & to condole also the death of their father, then lately dead'.⁴³

Philip was to use the embassy for diplomatic information-gathering:

And during the time of your being there, you shall inform yourself of the young emperor's disposition and his brethren, whether he be martially inclined or otherwise, by whose advice he is directed: when it is likely he shall marry: what princes in Germany are most affected towards him: in what state he is left for revenues: what good agreement there is between him and his brethren: what partage [division of territory] they have, and how they are inclined.⁴⁴

It was for this kind of intelligence-collecting that Sidney and Harvey were preparing with their reading of Livy.⁴⁵ The form of words used by Harvey at the end of the Sidney marginal note – 'Our consideration was chiefly directed at the forms of states, the conditions of persons, and the qualities of actions' – is the one used in the *First Fruites* and *Historie of Italie* volumes for information-gathering on manners and practices in a territory to be visited for diplomatic purposes.

On 8 May, Leicester deputed Sidney to stand in for him at the christening of William and his wife Charlotte of Bourbon's daughter Elizabeth at Middleburg. Sidney arrived there on 27 May. This was Sidney's first meeting with the hero of the Dutch Revolt, whom he had longed to meet. 'I saw you burning with the desire to speak to Orange,

⁴² For the argument that the *Vindicae contra tyrannos* was closely associated with developing political thought in the Low Countries see Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 269–76.

⁴³ Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000), 169–70.

⁴⁴ Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, 170.

⁴⁵ Now see Nicholas Popper, 'An information state for Elizabethan England', *Journal of Modern History* 90, no. 3 (2018): 503–35.

and form a friendship with him', wrote Languet.⁴⁶ Sidney was not disappointed. 'I love that Prince', Sidney wrote to Languet in reply. For Roy Strong and Jan van Dorsten, Sidney's visit 'may well be said to be a nodal point in the history of the connexion between the Leicestrian circle in England and the circle around the Prince. From then on their relationship was animated by a new intimacy.'⁴⁷

The second politic 'occasion' of reading signalled in Harvey's *Livy* is that which he conducted at Trinity Hall with Thomas Preston, which can be dated to 1585:

I had reason to take the greater paines in reading the first decad of Liuie, bie meanes of mie dailie & almost howerlie conference with M. Thomas Preston a fine discourser, & the Queenes onlie pensionar scholler: when in owre chambers in Trinitie hall with mutch delight, & more profit wee read together in Italian, which the Florentine secretarie writeth with an elegant & sweet grace: *Discorsi di Niccolo Machiauelli, sopra la prima deca di Tito Liuio*. Which politique discourses wee thorowghly redd-ouer: with diligent & curious obseruations of the notable actions of the Romans, accomplished at home, & abrode, bie publique, & priuate counsell: at home in the first booke: abrode in the 2; both bie publique counsell: at home & abrode bie priuate counsell, in the 3. Which Method in Machiauels discourses wee soone discovered: & the more easily distiguated his politique positions.⁴⁸

Here again we find Harvey reading with an eye to the Low Countries matter, which came to a head with the assassination in 1584 of William of Orange, precipitating Leicester's abortive attempt to follow through the kind of instruction which we are suggesting Harvey is putting together from his reading. At the end of the Preston note he writes:

Prestons, and Harveys familiar conference concerning the first decad of Liuie: & of Machiauels politique discourses upon this decad. Owr cheife autours for direction and resolution, were non manie, but essentiall, and for the most part iudicious. Especially Aristotle & Bodine for groundes of policie: Sansavino & Danaeus for aphorismes: Patritius & Plutarch for discourse: Hotoman & Maranta for lawe; sumtime Vigelius & excellent Hopper[us] Though

⁴⁶ Stewart, *Philip Sidney*, 183.

⁴⁷ Strong and van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*, 8–9.

⁴⁸ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 43 (above p. 35).

otherwhiles wee had the Censures of Danaeus & Hotoman in suspicion: the one for sum irregular rules, [illegible] Ephorismes, then Aphorismes: the other for his peremptorie & almost seditious Francogallia. Dange[rous] [illegible ...] & flatt opposite to the imperiall ciuil lawe of the prudent, ualorous, & reputed, iust Romans. Such were owr resolutions upon Liuie, owre special notes, & particular obseruations, both moral, politique, militarie, stratagematical, & other of anie worth or importance, wee committed to writing.⁴⁹

Our suggestion is that Preston and Harvey are here preparing position papers for Leicester at this crucial juncture in English political involvement in the Low Countries. In other words, Harvey is evidently working in Leicester's service, which does not depend on sustained residence in the Leicester household but is nonetheless continuous and acknowledged.⁵⁰

So to our final comment on Machiavellianism. Harvey's notes on Gardiner are (given Harvey's own Protestantism) curiously affirmative. We suggest that for Harvey, Gardiner is the quintessential Machiavellian.⁵¹ The key 'positions' which Harvey is exploring for Leicester are perfectly exemplified in Gardiner's two (ideologically opposed and theoretically contradictory) treatises. That is what being a 'politic counsellor' and 'pragmatist' means – that is, of the nature of scholarly service of the kind performed by Harvey during the crisis of authority in the Low Countries. In his inaugural lecture as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, Patrick Collinson forcefully called for attention to figures like Harvey who worked in the margins of the Elizabethan government, providing counsel to privy councillors such as Sir Francis Walsingham:

Of somewhat greater interest are the experts outside the Council and of inferior rank who were the think-tanks (if only one-man think-tanks) of the age, the writers of position papers which survive and (we must assume) prolific in verbal advice which has usually

⁴⁹ This transcription of the note is on image 266 (fol. 141v) of the facsimile found on the Archaeology of Reading [Accessed 11 April 2022, <https://archaeologyofreading.org/viewer/#aor/PrincetonPA6452/141v/image>]. It expands on the version originally provided in "Studied for action".

⁵⁰ Payment may have been a problem (it always was with court positions). See the various letters from Harvey to Leicester asking for financial support, in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*.

⁵¹ Along with William Thomas, Pole and Wolsey, but that's another story, which includes the publisher John Wolfe. We now think that after the death of Leicester in 1588 – a personal catastrophe for Harvey as he notes in one of his marginalia – he moved his Machiavellian position of advising to Wolfe's office, for financial support beyond that afforded by his legal offices.

not survived. The true significance of these well-informed and often very self-possessed men is not fully conveyed in the phrase ‘men-of-business’ which it is now the fashion to apply to them ... For these too were political animals, using their own initiatives to draw attention to their talents and ideas, operating freely and resourcefully within the constraints of a code of public decorum which they overstepped at some personal risk ...⁵²

Accounts that focus only on Nashe’s satirical portrait serve only to expose the vulnerability of figures like Harvey. The marginalia examined in this chapter not only provide unusual evidence for political service that sits somewhere between verbal advice and formal position papers but also help us to recover a class of political animal that still features far too rarely in historical narratives.

If this gives us a different lens on what J. G. A. Pocock called ‘the Machiavellian moment’, it also forces us to look afresh at the relationship between political thought in England, France and the Netherlands, since Harvey’s marginalia in his copy of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* show how lessons drawn from Huguenot theorists were being directly applied to the situation in the Low Countries by English intellectual facilitators working for the European Protestant cause.⁵³ And above all, it suggests that Harvey’s mastery and deployment of Machiavellian discourse – and the hopes it gave him of high-level intellectual service – cannot be so easily laughed out of court.

⁵² Patrick Collinson, *De republica anglorum, or, History with the Politics Put Back* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 26–7.

⁵³ On the Protestant project in northern Europe, led by Sidney and Leicester, see Stewart, *Philip Sidney*.

The English *Polydaedali*: How Gabriel Harvey read late Tudor London*

Nicholas Popper

Harvey and Gaurico

In 1590 Gabriel Harvey read his copy of Luca Gaurico's 1552 *Tractatus astrologicus*, a collection of genitures and commentaries for cities and individuals.¹ Harvey had spent the previous 25 years at Oxford and Cambridge, mastering Greek and Latin, earning renown as a rhetorician and promoting English letters. He was a well-known partisan of the French Calvinist Peter Ramus, whose works on curriculum reform had sparked vicious controversies in the English universities. But Harvey read

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¹ Luca Gaurico, *Lucae Gaurici Geophonensis, Episcopi Civitatensis, Tractatus Astrologicus* (Venice, 1552), 6r. Harvey's copy is Bodleian.4° Rawl.61, hereafter referenced as Harvey's Gaurico. Genitures are formal diagrams providing the astrological information necessary to produce a horoscope. Gaurico was a curial insider under Pope Paul III, and the work contains gossip commentaries on contemporary politics, learning and religion. The first book provided genitures for cities; following books examined churchmen, secular rulers, scholars and men of learning, and military men. For Gaurico, see Don Cameron Allen, *The Star-Crossed Renaissance: The quarrel about astrology and its influence in England* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1941), 51–5; Paola Zambelli, 'Many ends of the world: Luca Gaurico instigator of the debate in Italy and Germany', in *'Astrologi Hallucinati': Stars and the end of the world in Luther's time*, ed. Paola Zambelli (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 239–63; Robert S. Westman, 'Proof, poetics, and patronage: Copernicus' preface to *De revolutionibus*', in *Reappraisals of the Scientific Revolution*, ed. David C. Lindberg and Robert S. Westman (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 167–206; Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos: The worlds and works of a Renaissance astrologer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 97–106; and Anthony Grafton, 'Geniture collections, origins and uses of a genre', in *Books and the Sciences in History*, ed. Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 49–68. See footnote 16 for the evidence that the marginalia were produced in 1590; previous studies assume that the annotations were penned in 1580. See Virginia Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 168; Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos*, 104; and Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship: Science, universities and society in England, 1560–1640* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 79.

Gaurico far removed from the schools where he had acquired fame and notoriety as an orator and poet. He had recently relocated to London, where he daily faced a dense, active city unlike his native Saffron Walden and the university towns. Nevertheless he read as he always had, carefully recording his reactions in the margins of the printed text, filling blank spaces with his own commentaries on the subjects presented by Gaurico. The notes disclose an experience of reading that intervened in contemporary debates regarding technology, astrology and utility.² They also place Harvey among a group of scholars in London in the 1590s, such as Francis Bacon and Hugh Plat, who were examining the benefits local artisans might offer the commonwealth and reconsidering the intellectual status of craft knowledge.

Harvey read and annotated Gaurico on several occasions, but the particular strain of notes that I will follow, united by a common ink and hand, engages the learning and erudition of Gaurico's subjects.³ Concentrated almost exclusively in Book 4, which discussed learned

² A selection of Harvey's marginalia has been published as G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913) and his English works were compiled by Alexander Grosart: *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. Alexander Grosart (New York: AMS Press, 1966). Stern's *Gabriel Harvey* is the only biography and is riddled with problems. See H. S. Wilson, 'Gabriel Harvey's orations on rhetoric', *ELH* 12, no. 3 (1945): 167–82; Harold S. Wilson, 'Gabriel Harvey's method of annotating his books', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 2 (1948): 344–61; Lisa Jardine, 'Gabriel Harvey: Exemplary Ramist and pragmatic humanist', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986): 36–48; Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and liberal arts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 184–96; Joseph M. Levine, *Humanism and History: Origins of modern English historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 123–54; Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action": How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78; Eugene Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 46–9, 58–76; Warren Boutcher's excellent "'A French Dexterity, & an Italian Confidence": New documents on John Florio, learned strangers and protestant humanist study of modern languages in Renaissance England from c. 1547 to c. 1625', *Reformations* 2 (1997): 39–109; and Jessica Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery, and Renaissance Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), ch. 4.

³ Harvey's practice of reading was within the spectrum of modes of reading prescribed and performed by early modern learned readers. The experience of reading was goal-directed; readers brought certain expectations and questions to bear, seeking answers and invention in the text. Reading was accompanied by writing, and reading strategies were also strategies of marginal annotation. Readers read with pen in hand and recorded their reactions and discoveries in marginalia for future reference by themselves or fellow readers. The practice of reading was structured to generate the discovery of new beliefs, principles or facts, and towards the preservation of each reading event. See James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 3–26; Carol E. Quillen, *Rereading the Renaissance: Petrarch, Augustine, and the language of humanism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Anthony Grafton, 'The humanist as reader', in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 197–212; and William Sherman, 'What did Renaissance readers write in their books?', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material studies*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 119–37.

men, these annotations evaluate the poets, philosophers, philologists and others whom Gaurico had canonised as especially learned.

There are only spare annotations prior to Book 4. On the title page of Book 2, devoted to churchmen, Harvey observes the quality of the individuals Gaurico presented and details his own method of evaluation:

The most excellent Exemplars of this century [are] in Gaurico, and Cardano: Giovio, and Guicciardini. There are as many of the wisest men as of the greatest actors. Still others live, whether inferior, equal, or superior. And it is of interest to every skilful artificer, to know those most outstanding in their class, and the most celebrated professors of all. Certainly it is very profitable to observe exquisitely the most perfect artificers either of the world or of neighbouring nations, or at least of your own people, and to consider with most cunning reason what it is, where it comes from, and what is most excellent. But seriously, and solidly, and always to the point, seeing that singular things are efficacious and are useful to polytechnoscopy. It is judicious to avoid all trivial detail, and to consider only the most pregnant theorists and practitioners of operating.⁴

The notion of a sophisticated form of active knowledge labelled 'polytechnoscopy' is the most striking element of this passage. This term seems to have been Harvey's own invention, with no direct precedents; nor was it adopted or used by others after him.

Harvey repeatedly referred to polytechnoscopy in his notes. A carefully designed triptych annotation on the title page of Book 4 clarifies it as a category uniting practice and knowledge. To the left Harvey wrote, 'it is my task to observe the most excellent examples of this age which are useful for polytechnoscopy'. On the right, 'a polytechnic, polymechanic, polydaedalic, and almost panepistemic book; and likewise sufficiently polychristian. For philologists should be skimmed through; while polytechnics should be examined closely; as I did not only in the *Lives* of

⁴ Harvey's Gaurico, 15v: 'Excellentissima huius saeculi Exemplaria apud Gauricum, et Cardanu[m]: Jovium, et Guicciardinum: idque in omni genere tam optimaru[m] scientiarum, et maximaru[m] actionum. Reliqua adhuc vivunt, seu inferiora, seu aequalia, seu etiam superiora: et cuiusque interest peritissimi artificis, quosque nosse praestantissimos in sua classe, omniumque celeberrimos professores. Certe plurimu[m] conducit, absolutissimos vel mundi, vel vicinarum nationum, vel tuae saltem gentis artifices, ac forisque exquisitissime observare: et acutissime ratione perpendere, quid sit, et unde, quod potissimum excellit. Sed serio, et solide, semper ad rem: quatenus efficacia sunt singula et polytechnoscopo energetice conducunt. Scitum est enim, parerga omnia circumcidere, et solis incumbere praegnantissimis operandi theoreticis, atque practicis.'

Giovio, but also in those of Laertius, Philostratus, Eunapius, and others.⁵ The related Greek descriptors ‘polymechanic’ and ‘polydaedalic’ shed further light on polytechnoscopy. This constellation of terms refers to a method of garnering information by deploying technical knowledge. While not a systematic discipline, its practices – active applicability, craft expertise, observation of experience – constitute a significant realm of learning.

In the central panel of the triptych, Harvey notes:

[I] compared [this] to Giovio’s *Elegies of Learned Men*. Give me the best man outdoors, and his image at home. For even the best is not very useful without a live portrait. In Giovio’s *Elegies*, there are many philologists, and too few polytechnics. In the vein of Albertus Magnus are Petrus Leonius, Antiochus Tibertus: Bartholomeo Cocles: Cornelius Agrippa, and also in Giovio’s *Elegies of Warriors* the Magus Ciccus Asculanus. Great Mathematicians, and Polytechnics: A. Campano, Leon Alberti, Francesco Grapaldi, Pomponio and Luca Gaurico; Albert Pighius: Giorgio Valla. Raphael Volaterranus: Jacque Lefèvre d’Étaples: Jacobus Angelus: Polydore Vergil: Joannes Regiomontanus: Copernicus: Melanchthon: Daniel Barbaro, Philander. Medics and Chemists: Theodore Gaza, Ficino, Marcus Turrianus, Linacre, Augurelles, Leonicens, Pomponio Gaurico: Monardes, Ruellius. The only polyhistorian of the king: Castellanus.⁶

Harvey has examined Gaurico alongside Paolo Giovio’s *Elegies of Learned Men*. The above list represents the fruit of the comparison. That he sat with his volume of Giovio next to his Gaurico, moving the names of appropriately polytechnic writers into the list, can be inferred from the

⁵ Harvey’s Gaurico, 57r: ‘Mea refert, illa huius saeculi excellentissima Exempla potissimum observare, quae polytechnoscopy conducunt maxime. Idemque etiam in Vivis Exemplis curiosissime praestare. [Other side] Liber polytechnus, polymechanus, polydaedalus, et fere panepistemon: ideoque etiam affatim polychristus. Nam philologi obiter percurrendi: polytechni intime examandi: ut ego feci non modo in Jovii vitis; sed Laertii, Philostrati, Eunapii, aliorum.’

⁶ Harvey’s Gaurico, 57r: ‘Huc Jovii Doctorum Virorum Elogia. Da mihi foris optimum: et domi effigiem. Nam parum prodest ipsum optimum sine viva effigie. In Jovii Elogiis plurimi philologi, pauci polytechni. In Alberti Magni vena, Petrus Leonius, Antiochus Tybertus: Bartholomeus Cocles: Cornelius Agrippa, In bellicis etiam Elogiis Ciccus Asculanus Magus, Mathematici egregii, et Polytechni: A Campanus, Leo Albertus, Fransiscus Grapaldus, Pomponius, et Lucas Gaurici: Albertus Pighius: Georgius Valla: Raphael Volaterranus: Jacobus Faber: Jacobus Angelus: Polydoris Virgilius: Joannes de monte regio: Copernicus: Melanchthon: Daniel Barbarus, Philander. Medici, et Chymici: Theodorus Gaza: Ficinus: Marcus Turrianus: Linacrus: Augurelles: Leonicens: Pomponius Gauricus: Manardus: Ruellius. Unicus Regis Polyhistor: Castellanus.’

names' correspondence to their order in the *Elegies*.⁷ Harvey would refer often to Giovio throughout his annotations.

The vast majority of annotations affirm the centrality of polytechnoscopy to Harvey's reading. Throughout the fourth book, Harvey ignores the miscellany of information within Gaurico's commentaries and single-mindedly evaluates the individuals by their possession of polytechnoscopic knowledge. He annotates the geniture for the Paduan Aristotelian Pomponazzi: 'An excellent philosopher, his *On the Causes of Natural Effects, or On Incantations* is very useful to the polytechnic for exploring the causes of very many and great secrets.'⁸ Albrecht Dürer is highly commended as 'a mathematical painter and skilled professor of geometry. Such are the architects Alberti, Grapaldi, Serlio, Pomponio Gaurico, Volaterrano, and Philander, the New Vitruvius. Polydaedalists of geometry, optics, and mechanics. Such indeed are some sculptors, carpenters, goldsmiths and ironsmiths.'⁹ The German astronomer and scholar Regiomontanus receives the highest accolades. Gaurico had noted that Regiomontanus died from the plague in Rome – a fate predictable from his horoscope – and that he was 'most eminent in astronomy and astrology, since he published many books and an epitome on Ptolemy's *Almagest*. His Latin speech was in no way barbaric.'¹⁰ Harvey's praise was less measured. In the corner above the geniture, Harvey notes, 'best of the polytechnics in this work'. Below he writes, 'a Polydaedalist, and Polymechanist. Regiomontanus, a great artificer, and he who did what Archytas and Archimedes had done before. Worthy of a most eminent and clearly unique elegy in Giovio. A most scrupulous Mathematician, and the most skilled Geometer, surveyor, Optician,

⁷ The *Elegies* have an alphabetical, not chronological, table of contents. For Giovio, see T. C. Price Zimmermann's biography, *Paolo Giovio: The historian and the crisis of sixteenth-century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); and Zimmermann's 'Paolo Giovio and the rhetoric of individuality', in *Rhetorics of Life-Writing in the Renaissance: Forms of biography from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV*, ed. Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 39–62.

⁸ Harvey's Gaurico, 57v: 'Petrus Pomponatius, Mantuanus, summus philosophus, de Naturalium Effectuum Causis, sive de Incantationibus: polytechno ad indagandas secretorum plurimorum, maximorumque causas perutilis.'

⁹ Harvey's Gaurico, 84v: 'Durerus, pictor mathematicus, et peritus Geometriae professor. Tales architecti, Leo Albertus, Grapaldus, Serlius, Pomponius Gauricus, Volaterranus etiam, et Philander Neovitruvius. Geometrae, Optici, Mechanici Polydaedali. Tales etiam non nulli Sculptores, fabrii lignarii, aurarii, ferrarii.'

¹⁰ Harvey's Gaurico, 62v: 'Obiit diem suu[m] in Urbe Romulea ex febre pestifera, sive epydimia in Xenodochio sancti Spiritus, anno aetatis sue 51. cum mensibus 5. diebus 12. vel circiter, ex directione horoscopi ad tetragonum Saturni; quod etia[m] Mars a luminibus circumdatus in epycataphora horoscopi Ecodespotes denuntiare videbatur, fuit in Astronomia, & Astrologia eminentissimus; quippe qui multos edidit libellos, & Epythoma super *Almagesto* Ptol. In Latino sermone neutiq[ua]m barbarus.'

Astronomer, Meteoroscooper, Geographer, and Hydrographer of all. Indeed an admirable mechanic.¹¹ The other scholars judged favourably characterise polytechnoscopy as combining theoretical with practical knowledge, bookishness with technical skills.

Harvey expresses disappointment in those who failed to achieve his ideal. Venetian humanist Ermolao Barbaro ‘was nearly a panepistemon; however he was more of a philologist than a polytechnic, and more skilled of books than of works. Otherwise, how great a man, and what an outstanding actor could he have been?’¹² For the Milanese humanist Filelfo: ‘All, and nothing. He could have been a singular artificer, and a famous man, if only he had striven to be a Polytechnic, or a serious professor.’¹³ This exactitude becomes nearly comic in his response to Petrarch: ‘A praiseworthy poet, and famous philologist, but not very useful to the efficacious polytechnic.’¹⁴ Technical proficiency, and the ability to operate outside the linguistic and textual realm of the *respublica literarum*, were the qualities by which Harvey judged this catalogue of scholars.

The last geniture in Book 4 is for Joannes Antonius de Rubeis of Milan. Gaurico’s commentary reads: ‘He is most known for engraving concave and projecting figures, or elevated figures in stone, which are commonly called “cameos”, and in other precious stones, and in various irons or other metals; but he is more famous for making cameos.’¹⁵ De Rubeis’s social position is unique within the work; neither a pope, nor king, nor scholar, nor warrior, de Rubeis is a craftsman, a mechanic. And his appearance signals a change in the annotations. Following de Rubeis’s geniture, Harvey inscribed an extensive list of Englishmen, beginning with London craftsmen and including renowned contemporary English scholars. In an unusual English annotation, Harvey notes:

¹¹ Harvey’s Gaurico, 62v: ‘Polydaedalus, et Polymechanus. Regiomontanus, egregius artifex, et qui hoc agebat; ut olim Archytas, et Archimedes. Dignus eminentissimo apud Joviu[m], et plane singulari Elogio. Scrupulissimus Logista, Geometra, geodaetes. Opticus, Astronomus, Meteoroscopus, Geographus, Hydrographus omnium peritissimus; Mechanicus etiam admirabilis.’

¹² Harvey’s Gaurico, 64r: ‘Quidam fere panepistemon: sed tamen magis philologus, quam polytechnus et librorum, quam operum peritior. Alioqui, quantus vir, et quam egregius actor esse potuisset?’

¹³ Harvey’s Gaurico, 62r: ‘Omnia, et nihil. Potuisset esse artifex singularis, et vir eximius, siquidem esse studuisset polytechnus, aut serius professor.’

¹⁴ Harvey’s Gaurico, 61r: ‘Lautus poeta, et eximius philologus, sed parum utilis efficaci polytechno.’

¹⁵ Harvey’s Gaurico, 87v: ‘Insculpendo figuras concavas & emine[n]tes, sive elementas in lapidibus, quos vulgo cameas vocitant, aliosque lapides preciosos: necnon in ferro, calibe & quolibet metallo eminentissimus; sed in sculpendis cameis praeclarior.’

Astronomical instruments made, & sold in London bie Humfrie Cole, & M. Kynvin, artificial workmen. Geometrical tables bie Jon Read, Jon Reyhnolds, & Christopher Paine, fine artificers. Jon Shute a skillful architect. Matthew Baker a cunning shipwright. William Bourne, & Robert Norman, artificial Navigators. Bourne, also an excellent gunner, like or beyond Tartalea. M. Keymis, & Jon Hester, fine Chymists. Sum other cunning, & subtill Empiriques of less fame.

Mr Benese, M. Digges, M. Blagrove, M. Lucar & Valentine Leigh, artificial & expert Surveiours. But most of these fine Geometricians, & greater artists: Especially Digges, Blagrove, Lucar. As notable mathematicall practitioners, & polymechnists, as the most commended beyond the sea.

But for cunning points, profound conclusions, & subtill experiments in Geometrie, Astronomie, Perspective, Geographie, Navigatio[n], & all finest Mathematical operations, I knowe none like unto M. Dee of Murclake, M. Hariot of Durham Howse, & M. Wright of Caius College in Cambridge. For Arithmetique, & Geometrie M. Alderman Billingesly, as singular, as the best. For artificial navigation, M. William Borough, controller of her Maiesties Navie, esteemed exquisite. Now for the Mathematiques, divers other begin to carrie credit, M. Christopher Heydon, M. Blundevil, M. Hood, M. Norton, M. Fletcher,¹⁶

¹⁶ Harvey's Gaurico, 87v–88r. The passage ends with a comma. I am unable to confidently identify M. Keymis. Harvey mentions a M. Keymis at the bottom of Hester's broadsheet: 'Now, M. Keymis, the great Alchymist of London. 1588' (*These Oiles, waters, Extractions, or Essences, Salts, and other Compositions* ... [London: Date unknown], British Library C.60.0.6). Lawrence Keymis, the don and sea captain in the employ of Sir Walter Raleigh, entered Balliol College, Oxford, in 1579, received his MA in 1586 and resigned his fellowship in 1591. There is also evidence of a Kemech in London in 1576; George Baker recommended: 'one mayster Kemech an Englishe man dwelling in Lothbury' (George Baker, *The newe Iewell of Health* ... [London, 1576], iiiir). Harvey could be referring to either, though the latter is more likely.

The list provides the best way of dating the notes. 1585 is the earliest possible date, when Henry Billingsley became the alderman of Tower Ward, London. The first public notice of Christopher Paine is from 1590, when Cyprian Lucar mentions him in *A Treatise named Lucarsolace* (London, 1590). Thomas Blundeville first appears in a polytechnoscopic context with his 1589 *A Briefe Description of Universal Mappes and Cardes*. Though Edward Wright's enormously successful works on navigation were published after 1599, he had been a fellow at Caius College since 1587. These dates suggest that the notes were produced in 1590 or perhaps 1591, a likelihood reinforced by marginalia in other volumes. On the title page of his copy of John Blagrove's *The Mathematicall Jewel*, Harvey notes: 'His familiar staff, newly published this 1590. The Instrument itself, made & sold by M. Kynvin, of London, neere Powles. A fine workman, & mie kinde friend: first commended unto me bie M. Digges, & M. Blagrove himself. Meaner artificers much praised bie Cardan, Gauricus, & other, then He, & old Humfrie Cole, mie mathematicall mechanicians. As M. Lucar newly commends Jon Reynolds, Jon Read, Christopher Paine, Londoners, for making Geometrical tables, with their

In this annotation Harvey inverts reading strategies. He had previously imported polytechnoscopy as a category to assess humanist colleagues. Now de Rubeis serves as an exemplary figure, a *locus* introducing practitioners of polytechnoscopy.¹⁷ The local context of polytechnoscopy emerges from this shift. For Harvey, this practice is not a distant ideal of worldly behaviour opposed to his cloistered linguistic world of philologists. Instead it thrives in the nearby workshops, homes and books of these familiar mathematicians, surveyors, craftsmen, astronomers, chemists, navigators and shipwrights. That they are predominantly English, contemporary and commercially centred in London reflects Harvey's recent move to the city, where an unfamiliar environment had forced him to reorganise his own intellectual tools.¹⁸

Harvey in London

Harvey's move to London from Cambridge in 1590 altered a life that had been almost wholly scholarly. Born to a wealthy ropemaker's family in 1550, he was raised in Saffron Walden. He matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1566. Disliked by his peers, he was not elected a fellow despite academic success. Through the intervention of his long-time patron Sir Thomas Smith, he was elected to a fellowship at Pembroke Hall. Battling the personality conflicts recurrent throughout his life, he received the Greek lectorship and in 1574 became the

feet, frames, rulers, compasses, & squares. M. Blagrove also in his Familiar Staff, commendes Jon Read, for a verie artificial workman.' (Title page of Harvey's copy of John Blagrove, *The Mathematical Jewel* ... [London, 1585], British Library C.60.0.7.) The continuity between the notes suggests that he annotated both books in a short period of time. This proposed dating is strengthened by the likelihood that Harvey learned of Reynolds, Read and Paine through a prompt reading of Lucar's 1590 work.

¹⁷ A *locus* is an appropriate heading or category for reading, such as would form headings for contemporary commonplace books. See Ann Blair, 'Annotating and indexing in natural philosophy', in *Books and the Sciences in History*, ed. Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 69–89; and Ann Moss, *Printed Common-Place Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

¹⁸ Harvey explicitly invokes polytechnoscopy in several other annotations, all of which date from 1590 or later. For example, in his copy of Sacrobosco's *De Sphaera*, Harvey noted, 'Many philologists detract by adding: even now there are too few pregnant polytechnics' (Multi philologi addendo detrahunt: pauci adhuc praegnantes polytechni). Joannes de Sacrobosco, *Textus de Sphaera* ... (Paris, 1527), 1r; Harvey's copy is British Library 533.k.1. Later he writes, '[Agrippa] is one of my polytechnics, and I would rather be Jacque Lefèvre d'Étaples than Erasmus, or such philologists' (Agrippa ... Meorum est unus polytechnoru[m]: et malim Faber esse, quam Erasmus, aut tales philologi). Harvey's Sacrobosco, 4r. Euclid's *Liber Primus Geometrie* (Paris, 1527) was published with this volume. Harvey noted here that 'the principles of Geometry are necessary for Polymechany' (Polymechano necessaria, Geometriae Principia). Harvey's Euclid, 35v.

University Praelector in Rhetoric. By 1578 he had become intent on receiving court patronage and developed relationships with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser and others. His enemies opposed his re-election to his Pembroke fellowship, and he was instead elected to a fellowship at Trinity Hall, where he studied Civil Law. After an unhappy stint as Leicester's secretary in 1580, he completed his legal studies, briefly studied medicine, and in 1585 became a Doctor of Civil Law at Oxford. He split his time after 1588 between Cambridge and London, where he practised in the Court of Arches. For the first time in 1590 he was permanently installed in London, where he hoped to become a major civic figure.¹⁹

London thrived after the Armada, emerging as the administrative and financial centre of an increasingly centralised kingdom. During Elizabeth's reign, the city and crown provided reciprocal support to mutual benefit. She renewed liberties, bestowed privileges and granted monopolies readily to the city's ruling mercantile elite. In turn, the city allowed its assets to be held against crown credit, provided political support, enforced religious orthodoxy and funded trade and exploration missions. The 1570 Papal Bull excommunicating Elizabeth reduced English trade with Catholic states, encouraging English merchants to trade beyond Europe and providing another diversifying push to a centre that had sought markets alternative to Antwerp and new networks for imports since the 1550s.²⁰ Provincial Englishmen flocked to the city

¹⁹ The information from this section comes predominantly from Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 3–134. Despite this text's myriad problems, it is the only serviceable biography of Harvey.

Harvey's recent reputation derives from Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine's exploration of the reading practices evidenced by annotations in his copy of Livy (see Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action"). Rather than the luckless politico or foolish pedant of previous characterisations, they unearthed an individual of moderate success who based his hopes for patronage on the offer of scholarly services. His desired role, which they call the 'facilitator', entailed the subtle teasing out of counsel from texts read with or for patrons. Where others had seen Harvey's extensive counsel-oriented marginalia as haughty pedantry and unsolicited advice, Grafton and Jardine saw rooms filled with people engaging and comparing multiple texts in a complex process of generating ideas.

Harvey's annotations in his *Gaurico* differ from those in the *Livy*. While in the *Livy*, Harvey often records the names of those present during the reading, his annotations in the *Gaurico* provide no indication of an audience (Grafton and Jardine show that he also read his *Livy* alone in 1590; see "Studied for action", 44–5, above pp. 37–8.). While there was possibly an audience for the annotations in his *Gaurico*, there is no evidence to identify constituent members, and he was not in the service of any patron at that time. His reading of *Gaurico* seems to be one of two types of reading distinct from that typically ascribed to Grafton and Jardine's study: either a reading performed to mediate a change in personal circumstance; or a statement proclaiming his knowledge of London and his suitability to operate as a mediator between patrons and practitioners. These two readings are neither mutually exclusive nor dependent on an audience, and I believe that both helped organise his reading strategy.

²⁰ See Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial change, political conflict and London's overseas trades, 1550–1653* (London: Verso, 1993).

and along with a continuous influx of continental exiles helped double London's population within Harvey's generation. The existing city structure could not contain the mushrooming population, necessitating extensive rebuilding within the city and construction in the swelling suburbs and liberties. Rapidly inundated with novelty, London offered an imposing, labyrinthine landscape bristling and metamorphosing daily with new people, structures and commodities.²¹

Interest in mathematical practice was growing in London, as evidenced by Thomas Hood's unspectacular mathematical lectureship from 1588 to 1592 and by the more lasting foundation of Gresham College in 1597.²² Many of the practitioners Harvey listed enjoyed lofty patronage, as great lords and civil servants alike appreciated the utility of mathematical practice for military, navigational and infrastructural matters. Harvey's lifetime witnessed the first generation of English practitioners capable of making mathematical instruments, writing mathematical texts and performing technological services. Harvey's enthusiasm for polytechnoscopy reflects a specific reaction to his relocation from the university towns to the burgeoning metropolis.²³

Ramus in London

Though Harvey arrived in London experienced in nearly every field available at the universities, he was most widely known for his rhetorical

²¹ For London in this period, see A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds, *London, 1500–1700: The making of the metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986); Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade guilds, identity, and change in early modern London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998); and Lena Cowen Orlin, ed., *Material London, ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

²² Hood began his 1590 *The Use of the Celestial Globe* by stating: 'You know that it is but late since the Mathematicall Sciences began to be in request within this Citie, so that every thing touching those Sciences, cannot be as yet familiar, and readie to euerie one'. Thomas Hood, *The Use of the Celestial Globe ...* (London: 1590), B1r. For examinations of the roots of seventeenth-century science in 1590s London see Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*; and Mordechai Feingold, 'Gresham College and London practitioners: The nature of the English mathematical community', in *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College: Studies in the intellectual history of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1999), 174–88.

²³ Before Thomas Gemini moved to London from Flanders in the 1540s, there were no craftsmen in the realm capable of manufacturing the instruments for mensuration, navigation and other practices performed by the practitioners. Instead, they would have to be borrowed from visiting strangers or acquired on continental visits.

and poetic learning. He responded to London by re-evaluating his criteria for useful knowledge, shifting his focus to the appreciation of mathematical practice. This move was guided by the intellectual framework he had cultivated in his prior studies.

At both Cambridge and Oxford, Harvey had conspicuously and self-consciously advertised his allegiance to the teachings of Peter Ramus.²⁴ Ramus had promoted a radical reclassification of the arts and a reformation of the university curriculum, both designed to train students for public life. His interest in practical knowledge had spurred him to criticise the curricular emphasis on logic and to structure his proposed arts course around rhetoric. Harvey was powerfully struck by his reading of Ramus's *Ciceronianus* in 1569, and by 1577 he was modelling his rhetorical teaching and study on Ramist prescriptions.²⁵

Ramus had stressed the need for the restitution of the quadrivium and written three mathematical textbooks.²⁶ But he offered Harvey more than simply a recommendation for mathematical study. In the *Scholae mathematicae*, he offered Harvey a vision of urban life bustling with mathematics. Ramus wrote:

Let us ignore Rome and all antiquity, and above all other cities let us look around Paris, by far the greatest and richest of cities, and produce a witness of the utility of mathematics. The Boulevard Saint Denis is the royal street of the city most thronged with very wealthy merchants. This sort of man conducts daily commerce not only with all provinces of this great kingdom, but with Italian, Hispanic, German, Flemish and British merchants, operating easily with a great variety and diversity of coins, weights and measures. Ask therefore by what art they disentangle these difficulties, and you will find the first and best subtleties of Arithmetic to be exercised and applied in those exchanges and comparisons.

²⁴ For Ramus's standing within English universities see Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970). Margo Todd's *Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987) presents important modifications.

²⁵ See Jardine, 'Gabriel Harvey: Exemplary Ramist' and Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 21; and Harold Wilson, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Ciceronianus* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1945).

²⁶ For Ramus's mathematical achievements see Michael Mahoney's entry in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles C. Gillespie and Frederic L. Holmes, 18 vols (New York: Scribner, 1970), vol. 11, 286–90, s.v. 'Ramus, Peter'; and Jean-Claude Margolin, 'L'Enseignement des mathématiques en France (1540–70): Charles de Bovelles, Fine, Peletier, Ramus', in *French Renaissance Studies, 1540–70*, ed. Peter Sharratt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), 109–55.

The entire trade in which the coin dealings of the moneychangers and the treasury are occupied consists of arithmetic. Go then from the royal street to the Palace, and the goldsmiths' bridge is there, not so solid from beams of wood as heavy from the weight of gold and silver. Ask either sort of rich men with what form of knowledge they mix and temper gold and silver, either with copper or with another metal, or how they separate the mixed or tempered metals. You would say that they are Archimedes' disciples [weighing] golden Crowns, thus they subtly and acutely preserve the proportion of the bond. Then ascend nearer into the citadel of the palace itself, and contemplate that honoured and fortunate college of the queen of the sciences, and examine the counters and abaci of the court: you will recognise nothing except Arithmetic in all its splendour, nothing except Arithmetic teachers. And if you enter completely into the treasury of the king, and in it attentively consider the distributors, quaestors, and judges as they fairly assess the taxes for the provinces, collecting and comparing, estimating and judging all kinds of computations, you'll be amazed that the marvellous art of Arithmetic possesses such utility and commodity.²⁷

²⁷ Though Harvey's copy of this text has not survived, his brother John Harvey thanked Gabriel for a reference from this text in 1583: 'Athelstane ... a noble king of England, whose Astrological worke, as you do best remember, is mentioned by Ramus in his Scholae Mathematicae.' John Harvey, *An Astrologicall Addition, or supplement to be annexed to the late Discourse upon the great Coniunction of Saturne, and Iupiter* (London, 1583), B2r. Petrus Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri unus et triginta* (Basel, 1569), 54–5: 'Romam, inquam et antiquitatem omnem missam faciamus, et pro urbibus omnibus Lutetiam unam urbium omnium longe maximam et opulentissimam urbem circumspicimus, et mathematicae utilitatis testem producimus. Dionysiaca via est urbis illa regalis ditissimis mercatoribus frequentissima. Hoc hominum genus non modo cum provinciis amplissimi regni commercia exercet, sed cum mercatoribus Italis, Hispanis, Germanis, Flandris, Britannis quotidiana commercet exercet, varietate magna prorsus et dissimilitudine numismatum, ponderum, mensurarum. Interroga igitur quam arte freti difficultatis istas explicant: reperies Arithmeticae primas et summas subtilitates in commutationibus et comparationibus illis adhiberi et exerceri, mercaturamque totam Arithmetica esse, quo in genere trapesitarum nummatio, gazaque penitus occupatur. Progredere vero a regali illa via Palatium versus, occurret pons aurificum non tam tignis et trabibus solidus, quam auri atque argenti pondere gravis: Interroga alterum hoc divitum hominum genus, qua scientia aurum cum argento, utrumque cum aere metallo alio misceant et temperent, aut iam mistum ac temperatum explorent ac separent: Archimedis discipulos in coronis aureis esse dices: sic alligationis proportio ab illis subtiliter et acute tractatur. Iam propius in ipsam Palatii arcem ascendito, et honoratum illud fortunatumque regiarum rationum collegium considerato, curiaeque abacos et calculos intropicio, nil nisi Arithmeticae quandam in toto illo splendore, nil nisi Arithmeticos magistros recognosces. Verum si in regis aerarium penitus introieris, in eoque divisores, quaestores, iudices attente animadverteris, in constituendis per provincias aequa ratione vectigalibus, in colligendis et comparandis, in aestimandis generibus rationum omnium et dijudicandis, mirabere Arithmeticae artificii tantas utilitates et commoditates in hominum vita comprehendi.'

After discussing the utility of mathematics to law, Ramus concluded: 'However many uses of arithmetic we note in one city, it is absolutely true that they are in all cities, and in all societies of men.'²⁸

Harvey adopted a reading strategy for this passage radically different from either of those brought to Gaurico. Harvey had engaged Gaurico by importing either the category of polytechnoscopy or its practitioners. But Harvey read Ramus as prescriptive, offering a mobile model useful for assimilating the activities and trades within cities and explicitly linking mathematical practice with urban spaces.

Nor was Harvey unique in applying Ramist method to the practice of travel.²⁹ In the 1570s, several prominent Ramist authors wrote texts within the genre of *ars apodemica* (the art of travel) teaching travellers to make observations according to the Ramist method. Harvey had quickly become familiar with this genre. He received a copy of Jerome Turler's *The Traveler* (1575) in English translation as a gift from Spenser in 1577. He also knew Theodor Zwinger's 1577 *Methodus apodemica*, and Albrecht Meyer's *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions* in translation.³⁰ Like Ramus, these authors recommended the observation of mathematical practice during travel. Two of Zwinger's primary categories for analysis of travel were the mathematical and the mechanical, and he noted that Greek mythology swarmed with 'those who had travelled for the cause of gaining mathematical knowledge, such as the Greeks [travelling] to the Chaldeans; Hercules to Atlas, and Ulysses to the daughter of Atlas, Calypso'.³¹ Other travellers similarly acquired mechanical knowledge. This was exemplified by 'those who change the skies over them to grasp the mechanical arts, in which it seems that the youth of the Germans are better than all other peoples'.³² A parallel type of traveller sought

²⁸ Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri*, 55: 'Quot igitur in una urbe arithmeticae utilitates animadvertimus, tot in omnibus urbibus, in omnibus hominum societatibus verissimum sit intelligere.'

²⁹ For the following section see Manley, *Literature and Culture*, 139; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The theory of travel 1550–1800* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), esp. 47–94; and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for travellers: Teaching the eye to see', *History and Anthropology* 9, nos 2–3 (1996): 139–90. Ramus's description of Paris mobilises his method, moving from the particular instances of mathematical activity to a general axiom stating the universal permeation of cities by mathematical knowledge.

³⁰ See Harvey's copy of Jerome Turler, *The Traveler of Jerome Turler* (London, 1575), a8v. Harvey's copy is in the Rosenbach Library.

³¹ Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica: in eorum gratia, qui cum fructu in quocunq[ue] tandem vitae genere peregrinari cupiunt* (Basel, 1577), 4: 'Cognitionis, ut qui peregrinantur causa scientiae comparandae Mathematicae. Sic Graeci olim ad Chaldeos, ad Aegyptios: Hercules ad Atlantem, Ulysses ad Calypso eiusdem filiam.'

³² Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, 4: 'Qui artis mechanicae percipiendae ergo coelum mutant. Qua in re Germanorum iuventum omnibus aliis gentibus antecellere videtur. Benedictus Biscopius Brita[n]nus monachus, quinque Romam venit, et inde vitrarios, pictores & architectos primus secum in patria[m] advexit, obiit an[no] 703 septuagenarius.'

to develop an active understanding of mechanical action. Under this heading Zwinger classified ‘those who came to Syracuse for the purpose of seeing the work of Archimedes, and those who went to Memphis in order to see that much-praised miracle of the Pyramids’.³³ Zwinger entitled the ninth chapter of Book 2 ‘The precepts of mechanical travel’ and equipped it with a diagram dividing the precepts into the subcategories of the material, formal and efficient. The material cause of mechanical travel consisted in the arts and their practitioners, both of which varied from country to country. Its formal cause lay in the traveller’s method of journey. The efficient cause of mechanical travel was to be found in the varying ages, abilities and conditions of the travellers and their interlocutors. Travellers should register the age and skill of teachers in addition to the customs of teaching and place of instruction. They were to identify the essentials of local mechanical arts, and to record noteworthy examples.³⁴

Harvey took from Ramus and Zwinger a method for travel that commanded the observation of mathematical practice. Through the disciplined implementation of the method to the bustling landscape of London, Harvey located and observed mathematical practitioners and conjured the category of polytechnoscopy. His appreciation of his fellow Englishmen’s accomplishments thus represented a migration from a rhetorical Ramism to an empirical and mathematical Ramism, motivating his contact with the practitioners of London and defining his experience of the city itself.

Harvey and lists

Harvey often produced lists recommending authors and works. These lists claim to establish a canon of authorities indispensable for acquiring a body of knowledge. Most famous are his remarks in his 1598 copy of Chaucer, including “not manie Chawcers, or Lidgates, or Gowers, or Occlueus, Surries, or Heywoods in those dayes: & how few Aschams, or Phaers, Sidneys, or Spensers, Warners or Daniels, Siluesters, or Chapmans in this pregnant age’.³⁵ This list catalogues the poets most admired by Harvey for their English verse, proposing a canonical corpus

³³ Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, 6: ‘Ut qui ad Archimedis opera spectanda Syracusas veniebant: ut qui decantata illa Pyramidum miracula visuri Memphim adibant.’

³⁴ Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, 104.

³⁵ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia*, 231. Other examples of such lists can be found throughout Moore Smith’s selection, as well as in Jardine and Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”, esp. 43, 54–5 and 61, above pp. 36, 47–9, 55–6.

of English authors. Elsewhere he provides lists for oratory, rhetoric, military strategy, political theory and other genres. While the Gaurico annotation posits a canon for polytechnoscopy, the works he read alongside Gaurico illuminate his habitual practice of list-making.

Harvey's inveterate list-making can be understood as an exercise in humanist *copia*, the Erasmian tradition of providing exhaustive examples of a phenomenon to demonstrate mastery of a particular problem or form. But the works that he read with Gaurico demonstrate how such lists utilise *copia* to define a category of learning and bring prestige to the categoriser. These works are commonly structured as 'theatres', as collections of exemplary individuals that instruct, please and, according to Ann Blair, 'represent a vast and edifying subject in such a way that underscores its harmonious interconnections'.³⁶ These theatres functioned as sites of copious exhibition.

Giovio was a historian of contemporary Italy. A consummate insider, he insinuated himself in all the major courts of Italy, interviewed participants of battles and councils, and compiled his research into his vast *Histories*. His *Elegies of Learned Men* printed the inscriptions from Giovio's famous Como gallery, which contained portraits of famous contemporaries. Zimmermann has noted that the *Elegies* were divided into four categories: 'deceased men of letters; living men of letters; makers of great works of art and renowned wits; and popes, kings and generals'.³⁷ The *Elegies* triumphantly presented his knowledge of the upper echelons and inner workings of European intellectual and political life. Like Gaurico's commentaries, his inscriptions did not shy away from critical evaluations and discussion of subjects' deficiencies. Harvey knew the *Elegies* by 1577, when he referenced Giovio's elegy to Linacre in a letter to Thomas Hatcher.³⁸

The first three books of Ramus's *Scholae mathematicae* showcase the author's familiarity with the lives and works of ancient and contemporary mathematicians. The *Scholae*, however, was less unified as a theatre of great men than Giovio's work. Ramus also incorporated arguments for the value of mathematics and pleas to Catherine de' Medici for the establishment of a Regius Professorship of Mathematics at Paris, to be filled by Ramus himself. Like Giovio and Gaurico, he critiqued the contributions of his subjects and felt that these failings did not disqualify them from

³⁶ Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 179 and 153–79 *passim*.

³⁷ Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio*, 207–8.

³⁸ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 218.

the canon. Rather, recognising weakness in his subjects produced a more refined theatre of virtue, he wrote:

Let us consider the excellent virtues, praiseworthy for different reasons, of these men. For if the erection and design of a mathematical institution is considered, Leo, Theudius, Hermotimus, Euclid and Theon bear the fruit of praise. If the nobility and breadth of mathematical demonstration is considered, then the authority will belong to Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle. If, which is best, mathematics is estimated to be not only scholastic truth and demonstration from books, but is judged by popular use and utility, then Archytas, Eudoxes, Erasthenes, but above all, Archimedes must be borne to the sky.³⁹

For Ramus, the great men form an exemplary theatre of mathematical learning while exhibiting the gradations internal to mathematics.

Reading these texts together, Harvey ignored Gaurico's technical astrology and the pedagogical books of the *Scholae*. Instead, he saw what united these texts: the common deployment of a theatre of great men to constitute a canon. Harvey's list functioned precisely in this way, and in assigning different specialties to his practitioners, Harvey exhibited how subtly he understood the breadth of polytechnoscopy. He also saw that Gaurico, Giovio and Ramus provided these theatres to display lofty sources of patronage or to substantiate their suitability for desired future preferment. His access to the polytechnics allowed him to claim a wide range of expertise, and his skill in evaluating their relative merits advertised his reliability. Harvey's list may well have functioned as a patronage plea, his list of polytechnoscopies accrediting his copious mastery of English mathematical practice and exhibiting his intricate knowledge of artisanal London.

³⁹ Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri*, 40: 'Quoru[m] excellentes & dissimili genere laudabiles virtutes animadvertimus. Nam si mathematicae institutionis compositio & conformatio specte[n]tur, Hippocrates, Leo, Theudius, Hermotimus, Euclides, Theon principem fructu[m] laudis ferent, si nobilitas mathematicae scholae & amplitudo perpendatur, mathematicum autoritas ad Pythagoram, Platonem, Aristotelem, pertinebit: si, quo summum est, mathematicum non solum scholastica veritas & e libris demonstratio, sed popularis usu atque utilitatis aestimetur, Archytas, Eudoxos, Erasthenes, sed maxime atque altissime supra omnes unus Archimedes in caelum ferendus erit.'

The English *Polydaedali*

A review of those listed by Harvey maps the practices he saw as organising polytechnoscopy and highlights his proclaimed familiarity with the London landscape.⁴⁰ It also shows that the list was loosely structured according to a hierarchy rising up the contemporary social scale. He started with artisans and craftsmen. Humfrey Cole was the first native-born Englishman capable of manufacturing astrolabes, theodolites, compasses and other mathematical instruments, skills he likely learned as an employee of the mint. He engraved a Map of the Holy Land for the second edition of the Bishops Bible.⁴¹ Cole and James Kynvin both had shops near St Paul's.⁴² Kynvin was a master craftsman by 1569 and lived in London by 1582. He made instruments in the 1590s for Sir Robert Dudley, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and

⁴⁰ The literature on mathematical practitioners is slowly growing, although not yet satisfactory. See E. G. R. Taylor's masterful *Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1954). Some of the recent work has been excellent, and the field should greatly benefit from Deborah Harkness's forthcoming *Social Foundations of the Scientific Revolution: Science, medicine, and technology in Elizabethan London*. [Published as *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the scientific revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).] See Harkness's excellent "'Strange' ideas and 'English' knowledge: Natural science exchange in Elizabethan London", in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, science and art in early modern Europe*, ed. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2002), 137–62; J. A. Bennett, 'The mechanics' philosophy and the mechanical philosophy', *History of Science* 24 (1986): 1–28; J. A. Bennett, 'The challenge of practical mathematics', in *Science, Culture and Popular Belief in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Stephen Pumfrey, Paolo Rossi and Maurice Slawinski (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 176–90; Stephen Johnston, 'Mathematical practitioners and instruments in Elizabethan England', *Annals of Science* 48 (1991): 319–44; Stephen Johnston, 'The identity of the mathematical practitioner in 16th-century England', in *Der Mathematicus: Zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung einer neuen Berufsgruppe in der Zeit Gerhard Mercators*, ed. Irmgard Hantsche (Bochum: Duisburger Mercator-Studien: Band 4, 1995), 93–120; Stephen Johnston, 'Making mathematical practice', unpublished dissertation, Cambridge University, 1994; and Eric Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). For mathematics see Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*. For the makers of scientific instruments and the instruments themselves see Gerard L'E. Turner, *Scientific Instruments and Experimental Philosophy, 1550–1830* (London: Variorum, 1990), esp. 4.93–106; R. G. W. Anderson, J. A. Bennett and W. F. Ryan, eds, *Making Instruments Count: Essays on historical scientific instruments presented to Gerard L'Estrange Turner* (London: Variorum, 1993), esp. 191–200, 313–64; Silke Ackermann, *Humphrey Cole: Mint, measurement and maps in Elizabethan England* (London: The British Museum, 1998); and Gerard L'E. Turner, *Elizabethan Instrument Makers: The origins of the London trade in precision instrument making* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁴¹ See James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *A Collection of Letters Illustrative of the Progress of Science in England* (London: Camden Society, 1841), 18–20.

⁴² In a popular surveying tract of 1582 Edward Worsop wrote: 'Scales, compasses and sundry sorts of Geometricall instruments in metal, are to be had in the house of Humfrey Cole, neere unto the North dore of Pauls, and at the house of John Bull at the Exchange Gate.' Edward Worsop, *A Discoverie of sundrie errors and faults daily committed by landemeater ...* (London, 1582), A4r. See also Ackermann, *Humphrey Cole*, 29–96; and Turner, *Elizabethan Instrument Makers*, 20–5.

later Prince Henry.⁴³ Less is known about Jon Read, Jon Reynolds and Christopher Paine. Read and Reynolds flourished in 1582, Paine around 1590.⁴⁴ After noting Cole's location, Edward Worsop wrote: '[Instruments] in wood [are to be had] at John Reades in Hoosier Lane, at James Lockersons dwelling neere the Conduite at Dowsegate, and at John Reynolds at Tower Hill.'⁴⁵ In 1590 the surveyor Cyprian Lucar wrote: '[G]eometrical tables with their feet, frames, rulers, compasses, and squires are made and sold by *John Reynolds*, dwelling right against the southwest end of Barkin churchyard in tower street within London, and by John Reade and Christopher Paine, dwelling in Hosier lane neere unto West smithfield in the suburbs of London.'⁴⁶ Harvey's map thus begins with a scattering of craftsmen capable of making mathematical instruments, spread throughout London.

Harvey moves next to those individuals accorded a social status above the craftsmen. John Shute had been sent to Italy by the duke of Northumberland in the 1550s to study antiquities, the mission from which he produced the first English treatise on architecture, his 1563 *The First & Chief Groundes of Architecture*. Matthew Baker was a famous ship-maker, whose family of shipwrights rivalled the Pett family.⁴⁷ Between 1567 and his death in 1583 William Bourne was often consulted by William Cecil, and he wrote texts on inventions, devises, almanacs, navigation, mathematical sciences, shooting, optics and mensuration. His *A Regiment for the Sea* was first published in 1573 and passed through five more editions before 1596; Harvey owned the 1592 edition.⁴⁸ Robert Norman was a sailor and compass-maker. In his famous 1581 *The Newe Attractive* he first reported the magnetic dip of the compass and provided charts for its correction. It was commonly bound with William Borough's *A Discours on the Variation* and went through four more editions before 1614.⁴⁹

⁴³ Turner, *Elizabethan Instrument Makers*, 25–7. For more on Kynvin see Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 187; and Harkness, "'Strange" ideas', 148–9.

⁴⁴ Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 186–9.

⁴⁵ Worsop, *A Discoverie*, a4v.

⁴⁶ Lucar, *A Treatise named Lucarsolace*, 10.

⁴⁷ See Johnston, 'Making mathematical practice', 107–66.

⁴⁸ The best available resources for Bourne are still David Watkin Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1958); and E. G. R. Taylor's introduction in William Bourne, *A Regiment for the Sea and Other Writings on Navigation* (Cambridge, UK: Hakluyt Society, 1963); see also Henry J. Webb, 'The science of gunnery in Elizabethan England', *Isis* 45, no. 1 (1954): 10–21; and Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 176. See also James Orchard Halliwell, ed., *Mathematica: A collection of treatises on the mathematics and subjects connected with them* (London: James William Parker, 1839), 32–47.

⁴⁹ See *DNB*, s.v. 'Norman, Robert'; Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 173–4; and Waters, *Art of Navigation*, 153–6. See also J. A. Bennett, 'The mechanics' philosophy', 12–4; Bennett, 'The challenge of practical mathematics', 186–8; Lesley B. Cormack, "'Good fences make

John Hester translated works by Paracelsus, Fioravanti and Quercetanus. According to a surviving broadsheet annotated by Harvey, he both made and taught chemical medicines.⁵⁰ Harvey also claimed to know ‘sum other cunning, & substill Empiriques of less fame’.

Harvey next listed surveyors of slightly higher standing.⁵¹ Richard Benese and Valentine Leigh wrote early surveying tracts in English.⁵² Thomas Digges, John Blagrave and Cyprian Lucar were better known. Lucar was from a prominent London family, and he wrote and translated works on shooting and mensuration.⁵³ Blagrave published texts concerning instruments useful for navigation, astronomy and mensuration. A Reading gentleman, he was a client of Sir Francis Knollys and sold his instruments in London.⁵⁴

Thomas Digges was widely acknowledged as one of the three great contemporary English mathematicians, along with John Dee and Thomas Harriot. Harvey praises him – and his father the mathematician and almanac-maker Leonard Digges – in other annotations.⁵⁵ Thomas published extensively on military matters and surveying. He was a crucial liaison between Privy Council and local authorities in the rebuilding of Dover Harbour, served as an MP and was employed by the earl of Leicester as Muster Master of the Army in the Low Countries.⁵⁶

Harvey then catalogued more scholarly polytechnics. Dee yoked his thorough humanist training to a practical knowledge of instruments

good neighbours”: Geography as self-definition in Early Modern England’, *Isis* 82, no. 4 (1991): 639–61.

⁵⁰ See footnote 16 above. Baker, *The new lewell of Health*, iiiir. For Hester see William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of secrets in medieval and modern culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 254–5; and Harkness, “‘Strange’ ideas”, 146.

⁵¹ E. G. R. Taylor, ‘The surveyor’, *The Economic History Review* 17, no. 2 (1947): 121–33, examines the surveying skills and techniques of those listed.

⁵² See Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 168, for Benese; and Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 174, for Leigh.

⁵³ Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 175–6. For Lucar see also Webb, ‘The science of gunnery’.

⁵⁴ Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 181.

⁵⁵ For example, in Harvey’s Quintilian Digges is compared to Blundeville and Hakluyt as ‘illustriora Anglorum ingenia’, though not at the level of Chaucer, More and Jewell, or Smith, Ascham and Wilson. See Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia*, 122. He is mentioned several times in Harvey’s annotations to Dionysus Periegetes (Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia*, 161), and in his copy of Machiavelli’s *Arte of Warre*. For more on Blagrave see Robert Goulding, ‘Humanism and science in the Elizabethan universities’, in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (London: Palgrave, 2002), 223–5.

⁵⁶ Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 175. For Digges see Francis R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937), 161–211, which is almost exclusively concerned with Digges’s Copernicanism. Eric H. Ash’s description of Digges in his “‘A perfect and an absolute work’: Expertise, authority, and the rebuilding of Dover Harbor, 1579–1583”, *Technology and Culture* 41, no. 2 (2000): 239–68, provides an extensive look at the range of skills Digges offered. See also Johnston, ‘Making mathematical practice’, 50–106.

and mathematics garnered during time studying under Cornelius Gemma Frisius and Gerald Mercator. His famous preface to Billingsley's 1570 translation of Euclid allots a compendious scope to mathematics, extending from surveying and navigation to painting, architecture and justice. Firmly entrenched in Elizabethan civic life, his resources and knowledge of instruments, maps, astronomy and alchemy were available to interested parties.⁵⁷

J. A. Bennett has described Harriot 'as mathematician, as navigational theorist, as practical astronomer, navigator and surveyor, as experimental and instrumental investigator of aspects of the physical world, as geometric modeler of physical phenomena'.⁵⁸ Harriot too was valued for the ability to use instruments and texts to provide patrons – such as Walter Raleigh and Henry Percy, Duke of Northumberland – with military, commercial and political advantage. Edward Wright was a fellow at Caius College, Cambridge, from 1587 to 1596 and tutored Prince Henry in the 1600s. He mainly examined problems of mensuration and produced navigational and astronomical instruments and charts. His best-known works – 1599's *Certaine Errors in Navigation* and his translation of Simon Stevin's *The Haven-Finding Arte* – helped navigators for a century.⁵⁹

The next group of polytechnics were deeply insinuated into Elizabethan governance. Henry Billingsley, who translated Euclid's *Elements of Geometry* into English, was an Alderman of London.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ See Peter J. French, *John Dee: The world of an Elizabethan magus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); Nicholas Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between science and religion* (London: Routledge, 1988); William H. Sherman, 'John Dee's *Brytannicae Reipublicae Synopsis*: A reader's guide to the Elizabethan Commonwealth', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 20 (1990): 293–315; William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995); and Deborah Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, alchemy, and the end of nature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁵⁸ J. A. Bennett, 'Instruments, mathematics, and natural knowledge: Thomas Harriot's place on the map of learning', in *Thomas Harriot: An Elizabethan man of science*, ed. Robert Fox (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 151. Bennett compares Harriot with Norman and William Borough as practitioners of a type that nicely fits Harvey's model. The other outstanding article in Fox's volume is Stephen Clucas's 'Thomas Harriot and the field of knowledge in the English Renaissance', 93–136. See also David B. Quinn and John W. Shirley, 'A contemporary list of Harriot references', *Renaissance Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (1969): 9–26; John Shirley, *Thomas Harriot: A biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978); and John Shirley, ed., *Thomas Harriot: Renaissance scientist* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

⁵⁹ For Wright see Waters, *Art of Navigation*, *passim*; Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 181–2; Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, *passim*; Bennett, 'The mechanics' philosophy', 17–19; Norman A. E. Smith, 'Edward Wright and his perspective glass: A surveying puzzle of the early seventeenth century', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society* 70 (1998–9): 109–22.

⁶⁰ *DNB*, s.v. 'Billingsley, Henry'. As one of the 26 aldermen of London, he would have been one of the most powerful men in London.

William Borough was Comptroller of the Royal Navy.⁶¹ In the Parliament of 1588 Christopher Heydon represented the county of Norfolk. He was educated at Cambridge, where Harvey probably became aware of his mathematical propensity.⁶²

The final group comprised less successful polytechnics. Between 1589 and 1602 Thomas Blundeville wrote several works useful for navigation.⁶³ John Fletcher was a Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, between 1581 and 1613.⁶⁴ In 1588 Thomas Hood was made Mathematicall Lecturer to the City of London. He was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and like Harvey a devoted Ramist. He published works on mathematics, the use of globes and staffs and navigational treatises.⁶⁵ Samuel Norton was a London city alchemist.⁶⁶

Harvey's polytechnics performed a consistent range of activities. They used mathematical instruments, translated texts, examined navigational, astronomical or mensuration problems, participated in military affairs, and shared physical or publication proximity to London. Most importantly, the individuals listed by Harvey fostered instrumental and mathematical literacy among English craftsmen, navigators and soldiers. Their texts uniformly strove to instil basic mathematical knowledge to facilitate the reliable usage of maps, instruments, cards, dials, rings and other devices. The authors debated the practicality and ease of use of various instruments, suggested alterations to equipment in common usage and designed new instruments capable of more precise measure and different functions. And they often lamented the woeful ineptitude of English practitioners: Dee wrote in 1570,

The Herald, Purseuant, Sergeant Royall, Capitaine, or who soever is carefull to come nere the truth herein, besides the Iudgment of his expert eye, his skill of Ordering *Tacticall*, the helpe of his

⁶¹ For Borough see Bennett, 'The mechanics' philosophy', 12–17; Bennett, 'The challenge of practical mathematics', 187–9; Ash, 'Expertise, authority, and the rebuilding of Dover Harbor'; Johnston, 'Making mathematical practice'; Waters, *Art of Navigation*, *passim*; and Cormack, 'Geography as self-definition'.

⁶² *DNB*, s.v. 'Heydon, Christopher'.

⁶³ See Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners*, 173. Blundeville was mentioned in Harvey's Quintillian (Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 122). On the back page of Harvey's Blagrave, he wrote, 'Blundevills breife description & use of Blagraves Astrolabe'.

⁶⁴ Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, 78–9. Feingold notes that Stern mistakenly claims the attribution is to Giles Fletcher but errs in assuming the marginalia are from 1580, which would have been before he received his MA in 1583.

⁶⁵ *DNB*, s.v. 'Hood, Thomas'. See Stephen Johnston, 'Mathematical practitioners and instruments in Elizabethan England', *Annals of Science* 48 (1991): 319–44; and Waters, *Art of Navigation*, *passim*.

⁶⁶ *DNB*, s.v. 'Norton, Thomas'.

Geometricall instrument. Ring, or Staffe Astronomicall: (commodiously framed carriage and use) He may wonderfully helpe him selfe, by perspective Glasses. In which, (I trust) our posterity will proue more skillful and expert, and to greater purposes, then in these dayes, can (almost) be credited to be possible.⁶⁷

Bourne agreed in 1574: 'I know the nature and qualitie of some that take charge: they will haue instruments & other things therunto apperteyning, & yet the the[m]selves do not know the use of the[m], yet they will seeme to be cunning, & yet in respect know nothing.'⁶⁸ In Borough's 1581 preface to *A Discours of the Variation of the Cumpass*, he claims that 'the whole worlde maie bee traveled, discouered, & described' using only the instrument he has introduced in the work, an astrolabe, 'the Topographical Instrument ... and the saylyng Cumpasse and Marine plat'. However,

But to haue all these instruments, and not to understande the groundes how to use them, were a great vanitie. Therefore I wishe all Seamen & Trauelers, that desire to bee cunning in their profession, firste to seeke knowledge in Arithmetik & Geometrie ... whereby he maie not only iudge of Instrumentes, Rules, and preceptes given by other, but also bee able to correcte them, and to devise new of hym self. And this not only in Navigation, but in all Mechanicall Sciences.⁶⁹

The polytechnoscopies canonised by Harvey were not only designers and innovators of instruments, but also polemicists for their use.

Harvey's group includes craftsmen and authors, unlettered artisans alongside university men, prominent gentry with barely known youths. Nevertheless, they share a common concern. Promoting instrumental literacy to increase technological productivity characterises polytechnoscopy.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ John Dee, 'Mathematicall praeface', b1r.

⁶⁸ Bourne, *A Regiment for the Sea*, 267.

⁶⁹ William Borough, *A Discours of the Variation of the Cumpass* (London, 1581), iiii–v.

⁷⁰ For polemicists depicting mathematics as a contemplative and theoretical science – such as Henry Savile and Thomas Allen – see Robert Goulding, 'Testimonia humanitatis: The early lecture of Henry Savile', in *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College: Studies in the intellectual history of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, ed. Francis Ames-Lewis (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1999), 125–45; and Goulding, 'Humanism and science'.

Harvey and astrology

Harvey's annotations in his *Gaurico* are the trace of his reading of London on Ramist terms. While we cannot identify the audience for his reading, it is possible to trace how he personally utilised his concept of polytechnoscopy.

Armed with a heightened appreciation of technological learning, he was prepared to salve a wound to his family's reputation. Gabriel's brother Richard had become a controversial public figure after his 1583 *An Astrological Discourse*. This prognostication foretold widespread catastrophe and upheaval following an exceedingly rare and ominous astrological conjunction.⁷¹ Amongst other dire forecasts, Richard predicted:

Great aboundance of waters, and much cold weather, much unwonted mischief & sorow, much enuie, debate, quarrelling, hatred and strife, many grievous and bitter contentions, much going to lawe one with another for dead mans goodes, and olde reckonings, manifold trouble, and sodaine uproares, much violent oppression, extreame pouertie, hunger and miserie to the needie and impotent sort of people, great persecutions of Ecclesiastical persons.⁷²

Gabriel Harvey was the dedicatee of the *Discourse*. He was not, however, an enthusiastic beneficiary; Richard reports Gabriel's scepticism: 'You aduertise mee either not so much to addict my selfe to contemplation of Judiciall Astrologie, or else by some euident and sensible demonstration, to make certain & infallible proof what general good I can do my countrie thereby, or what speciall fruite I can reap thereof unto myself.'⁷³

⁷¹ The prophecy was based on the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 1583, which marked the passage of the conjunctions of the two planets into the fiery trigon of Aries, Leo and Sagittarius, completing an 800-year cycle. This conjunction marked the full progress of the planets through all four trigons, an earth-shattering event that had happened only six previous times in the history of the world, and that had marked the appearance of Enoch, Noah, Moses, the ten tribes of Israel, the Roman Empire at the birth of Christ, and Charlemagne. The best account of this event is Margaret Aston, 'The fiery trigon conjunction: An Elizabethan astrological prediction', *Isis* 61–2 (1970): 159–87; see also Allen, *Star-Crossed Renaissance*, 121–5; and Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 379.

⁷² Richard Harvey, *An Astrological Discourse upon the great and notable Coniunction of the two superiour Planets, SATURN & JUPITER, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583* (London, 1583), 16.

⁷³ Richard Harvey, *An Astrological Discourse*, 3.

The publication intends to address Gabriel's doubt: 'But that you may not co[n]ceive, I haue altogether mispent my time this way, I will endeouour my selfe to make prooffe in some sorte, how I haue profitted in the Studie.'⁷⁴

The prognostication inspired fear and ridicule, and in its aftermath the Harveys warded off numerous detractors. Youngest brother John Harvey dedicated his 1583 *An Astrological Addition* to Gabriel. This text bulwarks Richard's position by detailing precise technical information for calibrating genitures. As John explained, 'hauing sundry times perused the Astrological discourse ... therein noting by the way some wante of certain necessarie and profitable *Iudicials* ... not so narrowly, and precisely examined, as they might have been ... I resolued in the end to ease of him of that labour.'⁷⁵ Providing technical astrological explanations for how Richard had derived his prophesy, John supported his brother.

After the prophecy failed to materialise, the Harveys faced widespread public scorn. Nevertheless, they continued to defend Richard. In his less assured 1588 *A Discoursiue Probleme Concerning Prophetes*, John Harvey eschewed technical astrology for a historical apologetic. After devoting considerable space to past examples of mistaken predictions, he insists on the possibility of prophesy guided by accurate knowledge of causes:

Who in learning can denie the lawful and warrantable use of philosophie, the mathematiques, astrologie and physique, euen in such prenotions and premonitions, so far, as with modest discretion, and without curious search about their naturall, artificiall, or practicable reach, they may providently and reasonably foresee the consequence of the Naturall or Morall effects by deepe and due consideration of the antecedent causes, or apparent signes, either Naturall or Moral?⁷⁶

He catalogues numerous instances of successful prophesy from antiquity through the present, referencing Roger Bacon, John Dee and Robert Recorde. He proposes that they were accomplished by a 'sharpe insight in physicall causes, effects, subjects, appurtenances, and other agreeable or disagreeable simple, or comparative Arguments and instruments of nature'.⁷⁷ Rather than providing technical explanation, John uses

⁷⁴ Richard Harvey, *An Astrological Discourse*, 4.

⁷⁵ John Harvey, *An Astrological Addition, or supplement to be annexed to the late Discourse upon the great Coniunction of Saturne, and Iupiter* (London, 1583), A2r–v.

⁷⁶ John Harvey, *A Discoursiue probleme concerning prophetes ...* (London, 1588), 77.

⁷⁷ John Harvey, *A Discoursiue probleme*, 78.

historical examples of responsible inquiry to prove the possibility of efficacious astrological prediction. Astrology was thus sustained within legitimate natural philosophy.

Gabriel Harvey's annotations in his *Gaurico* adopt a similar position on astrology.⁷⁸ In Book 2, *Gaurico* retails an anecdote of chiromancy used to foretell the outcome of an impending battle. Harvey responds in the ink of the polytechnic reading with an extensive defence of astrology:

But how much more true, and more certain, does the divination of Sosipatra and the Chaldeans seem, that is Astrology and Physiognomy, miraculously accomplished by unknown Cabalistic principles and experiments. Who today is similar to Apollonius of Tyana, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Maximus, and the disciples of these, unless Philostratus, Eunapius, Julian, and many others were shamelessly lying? *The best way remaining to us of proceeding is the choice of the most skilled of art, and the most curious observation of the most profound principles which exist – that is, the most subtle theories of the schools and practice of the world.* In the *Elegies* of Giovio, Albertus Magnus ... Agrippa ... the two Guarici, Regiomontanus [and others] merit the most consideration ... He is ignorant and unjust who spurns astrological judgments in so far as they proceed artfully from physical causes to physical effects, from ethical causes to ethical effects, and from political causes, finally, to political effects. [my emphasis]⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Earlier annotations had demonstrated a technical interest in astrological methods used by *Gaurico*. For example, on the back blank leaf, he notes: 'At first, the 12 Illustrious Genitures of Cardano. Likewise the other hundred genitures of him, including the admirable geniture of the Nativity of Christ. Concerning his Astrological Analysis, see expressly above 65.6. The briefest apology of Cardano, in his work *On his own books*', before inserting passages from Cardano, *De libris propriis*. Cardano, 'De libris propriis', in *Opera quaedam lectu digna* (Basel, 1562), 57: "L. Gaurico argued with me about the division of the houses: but he did not understand my mind. In support of which the senator Antonius Alphanasius wrote to me": [space] Not another word more. Garcaeus is for the computation of Cardano and Schoner. Stadius is for the rational mode of Regiomontanus. They support Stadius, who follow the tables of Ephemerides. Which is the normal manner for erecting figures of the sky [genitures].' Harvey's *Gaurico*, back leaf.

'In primis etiam Cardani duodecim Illustres Geniturae. Item aliae centum Cardani Geniturae. Ipsius etiam Christi Nativitatis admirabilis. De cuius Astrologica Analysis, ecce nominatim supra 65.6. Cardani autem brevissima apologia, de libris propriis: L. Gauricus de divisione domorum me arguit: sed non intellexit mentem nostram: pro qua etiam scripsit Antonius Alphanasius senator ad me: Nec ullum amplius verbum. / Pro Cardani, et Schoneri supputatione, Garcaeus. / Pro Regiomontani rationali modo. Stadius. / Pro Stadio faciunt, qui sequuntur Ephemeridum tabulas / Qui est ordinarius figurae coelestis erigendae modus.'

⁷⁹ Harvey's *Gaurico*, 19v–20r: 'Sed quanto adhuc verior, certiorque. Sosipatrae divinatio, e[t] Chaldeoru[m] ut videtur, Astrologia, et Physiognomia: Cabalisticis nescio quibus

Like his model Ramus, Harvey frames the revitalisation of mathematical arts as a return to classical models. Contemporary polytechnics strive to equal the achievements of classical examples, such as Apollonius and Sosipatra.

Amid the polytechnic focus of this reading, Harvey invoked historical criteria similar to those used by John Harvey to prove the efficacy of astrology. The technological emphasis of the Gaurico reading strengthens Gabriel's defence. By making astrology dependent on the proper usage of precise instruments, Gabriel shifts the basis of prognostication from horoscopic interpretation to mathematical polytechnoscopy. He thus defends his brother by yoking the restoration of astrology to the restoration of worldly practices underway among the mathematical practitioners of London.

Harvey and Nashe

Harvey's commitment to technological practice did not disappear after 1590. His argument for the value of the knowledge enabled by polytechnoscopy began at the periphery of debates involving Richard Harvey and became more central in his notoriously vicious pamphlet feud with Thomas Nashe. This dispute's diverse disagreements include a quarrel over the value of mathematical practice.⁸⁰

Literary scholars have examined the Nashe–Harvey quarrel within the context of the Martin Marprelate affair. Marprelate was the pseudonymous author of a series of pamphlets illegally published between 1588

principiis, et experimentis mirabiliter expedita? Quis hodie similes Apollonio Tyaneo, Plotino, Porphyrio, Iamblico, Maximo, et nonnullis illorum discipulis; nisi impudentissime mentiantur Philostratus, Eunapius, Julianus, alii complures? Nostra quae superest, optima procedendi ratio, peritissimae artis delectus, et curiosissima quotidie observatio profundissimorum, quae extant principiorum. Id est, scholae theoricæ et mundi practica subtilissima. In Jovii Elogiis acerrimam merueru[n]t considerationem Albertus Magnus, Leonius, Tybertus, Cocles, Agrippa, Ciccus, duo Gaurici: Regiomontanus: Augurelles. Mea tandem physica divinatio exquisite rectificata, tam Stoicheologia, in primisque Physiognomia constat, quam Planetologia, aut Horoscopographia. Quarum accurate coniunctio credibilem mihi exhibet, minimeque fallacem physicam divinationem. Qua tum demum sit, absolute, cum ex altera philosophiae parte. Ethica etiam educatio, reliquaeque vitae consuetudo, intime examinatur. Praesertim, si civilium etiam causarum ea habeatur ratio, quae in quaque politica gubernatione invalescit. Unde ignarus improbusque est, qui Astrologica iudicia spernit, quatenus artificiose procedunt a physicis causis ad physicos effectus, ab ethicis ad ethicos; a politicis denique ad politicos. Gabriel harveius, quicquid alii contra.'

⁸⁰ For the Nashe–Harvey quarrel see Thomas Nashe, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow (London: A. H. Bullen, 1904–10), 65–109. For Nashe see Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News: The life of Thomas Nashe* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984); Stephen S. Hilliard, *The Singularity of Thomas Nashe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); and Lorna Hutson, *Thomas Nashe in Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

and 1589 which candidly articulated Puritan dissatisfaction with recent developments in the English church. Marprelate attacked Elizabethan orthodoxy with biting humour and scabrous wit. In response the church sponsored writers, including Nashe, to rebuke Marprelate in the same jesting idiom. Even after the Marprelate texts ceased, Nashe and other London city writers poured forth railing pamphlets. As Lorna Hutson and others have shown, the Harvey–Nashe quarrel centred around an argument about print politics. While Nashe made his living producing humorous satires of civic leaders and sordid tales of London life, Harvey argued that such texts fundamentally misused printing technology, an organ that should be devoted to promoting good learning and responsible civic behaviour.⁸¹

Previous commentators, however, have not diagnosed the debate regarding the utility of mathematical technology that permeates the quarrel. Harvey repeatedly invokes technological achievement to index the thriving state of English learning. Nashe, in turn, mocks Harvey's predilection for tools and instruments, depicting knowledge founded on such principles as useless. The extent to which Nashe targets this aspect of Harvey's thinking suggests that Harvey publicly advertised his polytechnic affinities and presented himself as someone whose intimate connection to the world of the craftsmen comprised a deep understanding of London itself.

Richard Harvey's dispute with Nashe began with the epistle to the reader in Harvey's 1590 *Theological Discourse of the Lamb of God and his Enemies*. Richard Harvey had taken offense at Nashe's introduction to Robert Greene's 1589 *Menaphon* in which Nashe had criticised canonical English humanists. Harvey responded by attacking the then-unknown Nashe's presumptuous, brazen critique of authority and publication of unsanctioned personal opinions. In the heat of the Marprelate controversy, this was no trivial complaint. Richard wrote,

It becummeth me not to play that part in Diuinitie, that one *Thomas Nash* hath done lately in humanitie, who taketh upon him in ciuill learning, as *Martin* doth in religion, peremptorily censuring his betters at pleasure, Poets, Orators, Polihistors, Lawyers, and whome not? ... This *Thomas Nash*, one whome I never heard of before ... sheweth himselfe none of the meetest men, to censure Sir *Thomas Moore*, Sir *John Cheeke*, Doctor *Watson*, Doctor *Haddon*, Maister *Ascham*, Doctor *Car*, my brother Doctor *Harvey* and such like.⁸²

⁸¹ See esp. Hutson, *Thomas Nashe in Context*.

⁸² Nashe, *Works*, vol. 5, 179–80.

Richard presents himself as defending English letters, upbraiding an unlearned hack for criticising the leading lights of English learning.

In 1592 the Harveys perceived themselves as under attack from a column of opponents led by Nashe and Greene. Though they may have seen a section of Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier* considered directly insulting to the Harveys that was removed before publication, Greene's satirical review of 'all estates and trades' would still have inspired their opprobrium. Concurrently Nashe published the work that initiated his quarrel directly with Gabriel Harvey, *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Divell*. Nashe resented Richard Harvey's jabs in *The Lamb of God*, and in *Pierce Penniless* he attacked the ropemaker John Harvey and his sons Richard, Gabriel and John for feigning social airs. In hectoring Richard for his mistaken astrological prediction of 1583, Nashe made comic fodder of the instruments required by polytechnics:

I am sure you haue hearde of a ridiculous Asse that many yeares since sold lyes by the great, and wrote an absurd *Astrologicall Discourse* of the terrible Coniunction of *Saturne* and *Jupiter*, wherein (as if hee had lately cast the Heauens water, or beene at the anatomising of the Skies intrales in Surgeons hall) hee prophecieth of such strange wonders to ensue from stars destemperature and the vnusuall adulterie of Planets, as none but he that is Bawd to those celestiall bodies could euer discry. What expectation there was of it both in towne and country, the amazement of those times may testifie: and the rather, because he pawned his credit upon it, in these expresse tearmes: *If these things fall not out in every point as I haue wrote, let me for euer hereafter loose the credit of my Astronimie*. Well, so it happened, that he happened not to be a man of his word; his Astronomie broke his day with his creditors, and *Saturne* and *Jupiter* prou'd honest men then all the World tooke them for: whereupon the poore Prognosticator was ready to runne himself through with his *Jacobs Staffe*, and cast himselfe headlong from the top of a Globe (as a mountaine) and break his necke.⁸³

⁸³ Nashe, *Works*, vol. 1, 196–7. Earlier in the text Nashe had invoked contemporary fears over the reputedly diabolical nature of mathematical practice, writing: 'I heare say there be Mathematicitions abroad that will prooue men before *Adam*; and they are harboured in high places, who will maintaine it to the death, that there are no diuels.' Nashe, *Works*, vol. 1, 172. This is clearly a reference to the discussions between Harriot and Marlowe recorded by the informer Richard Baines. See Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, 107.

The equipment native to the practitioners of polytechnoscopy – the globe and the Jacob's staff – are implied as central to Richard Harvey's error. Indeed, the tools of his trade are the instruments of his demise.⁸⁴

Gabriel Harvey responded with *Four Letters and Certain Sonnets*. He reproved Nashe's and Greene's destructive attacks on English letters and proclaimed the benefits of technological learning. In his fourth letter, Harvey describes the optimal technique for gaining practical knowledge, a technique balancing the worldly activity of practice and the bookish knowledge of method:

As in other things, so in Artes, formality doth well, but materiality worketh the feat. Were artists as skillfull, as Artes powerfull, wonders might be atchieued by Art emprooued: but they that vnderstand little, write much: and they that know much, write little ... Rodolph Agricola, Philip Melancthon, Ludouike Viues, Peter Ramus, and diuers excellent schollers, haue earnestly complained of Artes corrupted, and notably reformed many absurdities: and still corruption ingendreth one vermine or other ... how commeth it to passe, that much more is professed, but much less perfourmed, then in former ages? Especially in the Mathematikes and natural Magie; which being cunningly and extensiuely imployed (after the manner of Archimedes, Archytas, Appollonius, Regiomontanus, Bacon, Cardan, and such like industrious Philosophers, the Secretaries of Art, and Nature,) might wonderfully bestead the Commonwealth: with many puissant engins, and other commodious devises, for warre, and peace. In actual Experiments, and polymechny, nothing too profound: a superficial slightness, may seem fine for sheetes, but proueth good for nothinge: as in other businnesse, so in learninge, as good neuer a whit, according to the proverbe, as neuer the better: one perfect Mechanician worth ten unperfect Philosophers.⁸⁵

Harvey crystallises in prose the themes that structure his annotations. The emphasis on utility unites the physical activity of practice and the intellectual acquisition of art. Humanist exegetical tools can be directed to the world of practice, a world that has decayed parallel to the degradation of ancient texts. Harvey pursues the restoration of vilified genres of knowledge concerned with the natural world, demonstrating

⁸⁴ Nashe habitually lampooned mathematicians, alchemists, astrologers and Paracelsians. Nicholl, *A Cup of News*, 111.

⁸⁵ Harvey, *Works*, vol. 1, 228–30. Note the public reference to polymechny.

the advantages these arts offer the Elizabethan polity. Both the argument and the examples of 'industrious philosophers' from ancients like Archytas to Regiomontanus, moreover, are culled from Ramus's *Scholae Mathematicae*. Harvey exemplifies useful knowledge by technological feats drawn from his urban mathematical master.⁸⁶

Unconvinced, Nashe responded later in 1592 with his *Strange Newes, Of the intercepting of Certaine Letters*. Responding snippet to Harvey's letters, he picked at the claim that puissant engines might 'bestead' the commonwealth. Nashe finished the thought glibly:

As, for example, *Bacons* brazen nose, *Architas* wodden doue, dancing bals, fire breathing gourdes, artificiall flies to hang in the aire by themselues, an egshell that shall run up to the toppe of a speare. *Archimedes* made a heau'n of brasse, but we haue nothing to do with olde brasse and iron. *Appollonius Regiomontanus* did manie pretie iugling tricks, but wee had rather drinke out of a glasse than a Jugge; use a little brittle wit of our owne, than borrow any miracle mettall of Deuils. Amongst all other stratagemes and puissant engines, what say you to *Mates Pumpe* in Cheapeside, to pumpe ouer mutton and porridge into Fraunce? This colde weather our souldiours, I can tell you, haue need of it, and, poor field mise, they haue almost got the colicke and stone with eating of prouant.⁸⁷

Though unfamiliar with Ramus's examples, Nashe dismisses Harvey's claims. Harvey's exemplary polytechnics are Nashe's fashioners of baubles, their tools fanciful, lacking practical utility, and conducive to no public advantage.⁸⁸

Later that year, Harvey responded with *Pierces Supererogation, or A New Prayse of the Olde Asse*. This tract celebrates the unappreciated value of various socially degraded beliefs and practices. Between extended ripostes at Nashe, Harvey commends certain traditionally reviled figures. The practitioner is broached several times to attack Nashe's archaic conceptions of utility and to evince English learning.

⁸⁶ For the relationship between mathematical technology and magic see William Eamon, 'Technology as magic in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance', *Janus* 70 (1983): 171–212; and Otto Mayr, 'Automatenlegenden in der Spätrenaissance', *Technikgeschichte* 41 (1974): 20–32.

⁸⁷ Nashe, *Works*, vol. 1, 331.

⁸⁸ Nashe elsewhere displayed his disdain for Harvey's appreciation of mathematical practice. In a list of words and concepts used by Harvey that he considers 'over-rackt absonisme', Nashe culls 'materiallitie', 'artificiallitie', 'mechanician' and, most importantly, 'polimechany'. Nashe, *Works*, vol. 1, 316. Such passages, otherwise consisting of mockable neologisms such as 'effectuate', 'addoulce' and the like, reduce listed components to the absurd.

Harvey criticises Nashe for 'his derision of the most profitable, and valorous *Mathematical Arts* (whose industrie have atcheeued woonders of mightier puissance, then the labours of Hercules)'.⁸⁹ Several of Harvey's polytechnics appear as proof of a dynamic and sophisticated English intellectual culture. Their contributions are introduced by the claim that 'England, since it was Ingla[n]d, neuer bred more honorable mindes, more aduenturous hartes, more valorous handes, or more excellent wittes, then of late'.⁹⁰ He writes: 'If I be an Asse, I haue company enough: and if I be no Asse, I haue faouere to be enstalled in such companye ... Poules wharfe honour the memorye of oulde Iohn Hester, that ... would often tell me of *A Magistral Vnguent* for all sores. Who knoweth not that Magistral unguent, knoweth nothing.'⁹¹ Harvey praises Digges, Blundeville, Borough and Norman.⁹² The distinct accomplishments of the mathematical practitioners have catapulted the intellectual life of Harvey's age beyond previous generations and directly contradict Nashe's slights of English learning.

Harvey later re-evaluates the forms of knowledge despised by Nashe. Forgiving Richard Harvey, Gabriel expostulates lengthily on human fallibility and proposes that true virtue and vital learning can often be found in unexpected places. He writes,

He that will diligently seeke, may assuredly finde treasure in merle, corne in straw, gold in drosse, pearles in shell-fishes, precious-stones in the dunghill of Esope, riche jewels of learning and wisdome, in some poore boxes. He that remembreth Humfrey Cole, a Mathematical Mechanicia[n], Matthew Baker a ship-wright, Iohn Shute an Architect, Robert Norman a Nauigator, William Bourne a Gunner, Iohn Hester a Chimist, or any like cunning and subtile Empirique, (Cole, Baker, Shute, Norman, Bourne, Hester, will be remembred, when greater Clarkes shalbe forgotten) is a prowd man, if he contemne expert artisans, or any sensible industrious Practitioner, howsoever Unlectured in Schools, or Vnlettered in bookes. Euen the Lord Vulcan himselfe, the supposed God of the forge, and thunder-smith of the great king Iupiter, took the repulse at the handes of the Lady Minerua whom he would in ardent looue haue taken to wife. Yet what witt, or Pollicy honoreth not Vulcan? And what profounde Mathematician, like Digges, Hariot, or Dee,

⁸⁹ Harvey, *Works*, vol. 2, 74.

⁹⁰ Harvey, *Works*, vol. 2, 95.

⁹¹ Harvey, *Works*, vol. 2, 80.

⁹² Harvey, *Works*, vol. 2, 97–8.

esteemeth not the pregnant Mechanician? Let euery man in his degree enioy his due: and let the braue engineer, fine Daedalist, skillfull Neptunist, maruelous Vulcanist, and every Mercuriall occupationer, that is, euery Master of his craft, and euery Doctour of his mystery, be respected according to the uttermost extent of his publique service, or priuate industry.⁹³

Harvey draws attention to the social distance between craft-practitioners such as Cole and scholarly practitioners like Dee solely in order to elide it. The 'profound mathematician' and the 'pregnant mechanician' both merit approbation. The traditional stigma attached to the craft practices is re-examined and dissolved. Nashe asserted that Harvey's interest in the practitioner is absurd. Harvey countered by demonstrating that Nashe's system of value is irresponsible and corrosive. In fact, the very technological achievements ridiculed by Nashe animate London itself.

In this rebuttal of Nashe's critique, Harvey has again shifted strategies. Rather than referencing the historical examples drawn from Ramus, Harvey appeals to his Ramist-prescribed experience of present-day London. To find examples of worldly practice, though, he looks in an unexpected place. Each of these individuals was listed on the first page of the Gaurico list, and he repeats the phrase 'cunning, and subtile empiriques'. It is likely that Harvey was looking at his Gaurico while writing *Pierces Supererogation*. In his quest to find evidence for a thriving London intellectual landscape, he knew where to find his own canonical list of practitioners. His notes not only recorded his reactions to the new urban world, but also served as resources when he found himself under attack from another London writer three years later.⁹⁴

⁹³ Harvey, *Works*, vol. 2, 289–90.

⁹⁴ The dispute over the value of mathematical practice persisted into Nashe's final salvo in the dispute, his 1596 *Have with you to Saffron-walden*. McKerrow notes that in preparing to write this text, he read Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, and that Nashe borrows from this work nearly 20 times in *Have with you* (Nashe, *Works*, vol. 5, 125). Nashe now seems more willing to admit the utility of mathematical practice. He writes: 'He chargeth mee to have denied and abused the most valorous Mathematicall Arts; let him shewe me wherein, and I will answer' (Nashe, *Works*, vol. 3, 126). But he denies Harvey's ability to accurately identify or evaluate such practices. Amongst other jests, Nashe writes: 'If hee had a thousand pound, hee hath vovd to consume it eueric doyt, to discouer and search foorth certaine rare Mathematicall Experimentes; as for example, that of tying a flea in a chaine, (put in the last edition of the great Chronicle,) which if by anie industrie he could atchieve ... he would ... resolv[e], at the last cast to his maintenaunce, altogether to live by caryng that Flea, like a monster, up and downe the countrey, teaching it to doo trickes, hey, come aloft, lack, like an ape ouer the chaine' (Nashe, *Works*, vol. 3, 37).

Conclusion

Harvey's move to London inspired a powerful appreciation of mathematical practice, and a corresponding association of these practices with London life. Facilitated by a shift within his devoutly Ramist framework, his lists of polytechnoscopies proclaim his understanding of the city and appreciation of their utility.

Gabriel Harvey did not read his Gaurico on Gaurico's terms; rather, his extensive annotations testify that he read to make sense of his new-found surroundings. Within London's juggernaut of imported goods and services he discovered a distinct practice exemplary of his ideal of useful knowledge, an activity readily perceptible through Ramus's model of urban experience. This practice, which he saw as distinctly characteristic of the London environment, rested upon the utilisation of mathematical knowledge and was embodied by the usage of instruments and craft knowledge to garner reliable and useful information. Nor was he alone in his excitement. As is evident from its prominent place within his philosophy, this experience of London in the 1590s was shared by a fellow enthusiast of technological knowledge, Francis Bacon.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ The author would like to thank Amy Haley, Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine for providing invaluable critiques of earlier drafts of this chapter; the anonymous reviewers of the *Journal of the History of Ideas* for their helpful suggestions; and the Princeton Renaissance Colloquium for its critical feedback.

Generative genealogies, reading practices and the transformation of late Renaissance mathematics

Nicholas Popper with Anthony Grafton

Introduction

Gabriel Harvey's reading was often intensely goal-directed, focused on the fulfilment of pre-selected aims. One of the most consistent objectives of his communion with texts was determining how to model his relationship to life outside the walls of his study. Though Harvey's experience was book-driven, it was not book-bound, and he viewed his cherished volumes not only as worlds in themselves, but also as instruments that opened vistas into hidden dimensions of the world around him.

Harvey's reading methods enabled him to deploy texts as resources to reveal types of knowledge beyond the parameters of English humanistic culture that had previously shaped his studies. This chapter outlines how Harvey came to articulate challenges to traditional hierarchies of learning, prompted by readings and orchestrated experiences that uncovered the power of what contemporaries called 'mixed mathematics'. This term referred to practices that used arithmetic and geometry to observe, describe or change material phenomena, and its scope extended from practical arts like surveying and gunnery to more controversial ones like astrology and the making of automata. Harvey's trumpeting of the virtues of mixed mathematics in the 1580s and 1590s marks him as an early acolyte of the sea change looming in Europe's intellectual culture – the rise in the authority granted to disciplines that relied on mathematical and mechanical expertise to produce knowledge about the natural world.

This chapter builds on 'The English *Polydaedali*: How Gabriel Harvey read late Tudor London', published in 2005 in the *Journal of the*

History of Ideas and reprinted above as [Chapter 4](#).¹ While that article focused on a distinct reading from 1590 which revealed the dynamic underlying Harvey's exaltation of contemporary mixed mathematics, this chapter takes advantage of dateable evidence to follow the longer development of his orientation towards those arts. This expanded view reveals how Harvey's path differed radically from those taken by contemporaries like John Dee and Francis Bacon whom historians often identify as heralds of this transformation. Above all, Harvey's story is of a shift in perspective and perception, articulated through reading strategies rather than experimental innovation or the creation of new philosophical models. Harvey did not come to reconsider his landscape of knowledge by observing or manipulating naturalia, compiling astronomical observations, crossing mountain ranges and recording what he saw, or attempting a philosophical coup, but rather by wending his way through his library to construct new histories for different productive aspects of human labour. The catalyst spurring this shift in perception was the analysis of deliberately chosen texts in the intertwined pursuit of expertise, patronage and family honour. And though the authoritative sources he consulted structured the ways in which Harvey witnessed the world and rooted the meaning he ascribed to his experience, they did not further entrench his previous assumptions. Instead, his practice of reading was exploratory and generative, enabling him to assemble distinct observations and unfamiliar sources into an altered perspective on knowledge.

The notes on mixed mathematics that Harvey inscribed in his sources are unusual both for their richness and for the precision with which many can be dated.² They offer an unparalleled glimpse at a protracted trajectory of intellectual transformation. As they reveal, his sustained engagement with mixed mathematics first took shape in the early 1580s, during a campaign to ward off attacks directed at his family after his brother Richard published a controversial astrological prediction. This reading took the shape of a genealogical inquiry establishing how the movements of individuals and peoples had disseminated

¹ Because the article is reproduced in this volume, numerous sections of this chapter distil its broader analyses, with footnotes as appropriate. See Nicholas Popper, 'The English *Polydaedali*: How Gabriel Harvey read late Tudor London', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66 (2005): 351–81 (hereafter *TEP*). This chapter, when initially approved by Jardine for the volume, was initially drafted in 2004 as a co-authored expansion of that article with equal authorship; the current authorial formulation balances this original vision with how work on it subsequently developed.

² In this chapter, we have relied on notes that can be assigned dates with high probability and avoided notes on mixed mathematics in his books that can be assigned only more conjectural dates. As with so many of his notes, their anticipated audience remains unclear.

divine mathematical knowledge in antiquity. When Harvey prepared to move to London in 1590, the association between travel and mathematics resurfaced as he applied the practice of knowledge diffusion that he had previously analysed. His observations of mixed mathematics in London persuaded him that the city's skilled craftsmen were leading an unnoticed revival of ancient wisdom. Guided by awareness of the international channels by which the English had learned such skills, Harvey saw this development as a reformation of knowledge that mirrored Protestantism, and that lacked only scholarly ambassadors to grant mixed mathematics their proper prestige. That narrative of British Reformation structured his next shift, for in the late 1590s, he reconfigured his history of mixed mathematics to fit the altered preferences of the Elizabethan regime by replacing his earlier Evangelical model with one that resembled the vision of an autonomous and exalted British past ascendant within late Elizabethan Anglicanism.

Harvey's interactions with mixed mathematics took place across a range of contexts, each of which prompted him to delineate anew past iterations of its constituent arts, the mechanisms by which they had circulated and their efficacy for the present. Each time he revisited mixed mathematics, he returned to his library, and the associations he had forged earlier served as conceptual hinges, flexible resources that could be adapted to his new circumstances. Harvey's case reveals how enthusiasm for natural knowledge in early modern Europe might arise from convergences between polemical imperatives, deep traditions of learning and long-ignored craft practices. Promoters of such knowledge traversed wildly different paths, and Harvey's wound from continental philosophy to contemporary ship wharves to the conjectured poetry of ancient Druids. The rise of natural knowledge, in Harvey's case, constituted less the ascendancy of a philosophical, experimental or experiential orientation than a concatenation of readings – the harvest of a dynamic perspective on learning and practice which emerged out of his investigations of world history in the service of understanding and operating in his present.

1583: The cataclysmic conjunction

Harvey's sustained consideration of the mathematical arts originated in a campaign to save his family's reputation. Gabriel's brother Richard Harvey had become a controversial public figure in January 1583 with the publication of his *An Astrologicall Discourse*, which warned that an

ominous astrological conjunction between Jupiter and Saturn portended imminent catastrophe and widespread upheaval. The cataclysm was predicted to begin at noon on 28 April that same year and reach its peak in 1588.³

Richard's was the most celebrated English version of many similar prognostications published throughout Europe in these years foretelling catastrophe from this astral configuration. The immediate reactions to its publication ranged from fear to ridicule. Most notably, in his scalding *A Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies*, Henry Howard, 1st Earl of Northampton, recited the influential argument of Pico della Mirandola that the ancient Babylonian or Chaldean origins of mathematical arts like astrology revealed not that they were venerable and profound – the traditional assessment – but that they were ridden with superstition and error. These pagan communities, Pico had explained, used these arts to worship a false god, seduced by their own faith in mathematical prediction to believe that these could unlock all the secrets of the universe. The specific community whose members had first thought they could know and control the world through mathematics, Pico and others argued, were in fact deluded, as – according to Aristotle – were the later followers of Pythagoras.⁴ In Northampton's view, Richard's prognostication transported Babylon to London.⁵

Up to this point in his career, Gabriel's notes reveal only occasional curiosity about such predictive arts, mostly concerning their technical elements.⁶ Moreover, in an exchange of letters concerning earthquakes with Edmund Spenser that was printed in 1580 – his lone public statement concerning them – he had endorsed the scepticism towards divination articulated by Pico and expanded in his nephew Gianfrancesco's

³ Richard Harvey, *An Astrological Discourse upon the great and notable Coniunction of the two superiour Planets, SATURN & JUPITER* (London, 1583). The best account remains Margaret Aston, 'The fiery trigon conjunction: An Elizabethan astrological prediction', *Isis* 61/2 (1970): 159–87. See *TEP*, 372, esp. fns 71 and 72 (above p. 137).

⁴ Pico advanced this argument in Book 12 of his *Disputationes in astrologiam divinatricem*, ed. Eugenio Garin, 2 vols (Florence: Vallecchi, 1946–52); for the analysis given here see Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), ch. 3, with bibliography; and Albano Biondi's introduction to his edition of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Conclusiones Nongentae: Le Novecento Tesi dell'anno 1486* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1995). For the larger meaning and reception of Pico's work see esp. Paola Zambelli, *L'ambigua natura della magia*, 2nd ed. (Venice: Marsilio, 1996).

⁵ Nicholas Popper, "'Abraham, planter of mathematics': Histories of magic and astrology in early modern Europe', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 67 (2006): 98–102.

⁶ For examples of these technical discussions see *TEP*, fn. 78., above p. 139. Similar examples of occasional technical notes can be found in, for example, his copy of Firminus, *De Mutatione aeris* (Paris, 1539), BL shelfmark C.60.o.9; and his copy of Saa (see fn. 30 below).

famous *De rerum praenotione*.⁷ But once his brother was embroiled in controversy, Gabriel's stance changed. In some sense, he had little choice, for in the *Discourse's* dedication to Gabriel, Richard reported that Gabriel had warned him not 'to addicte my self to the studie, and contemplation of Iudiciall Astrologie', but that he was nonetheless certain that Gabriel would 'testifie' on his behalf 'that Iudiciall Astrologie is neither any vaine and idle studie, nor forbidden and unlawful Arte ... being able to say so much in the defence thereof, out of many olde and new histories of approved authoritie and credit'.⁸ The most prominent of the authorities Richard named was the Lutheran pedagogue Philip Melanchthon, whose *Declamations* Gabriel annotated at some undetermined point with brief favourable references to astrology – including an account attributing its origins to ancient empirical observation of meteorological patterns occurring during conjunctions between the sun and other planets.⁹

Gabriel's initial response did not fully bear out Richard's confidence, as unlike their other brother John, he did not issue a public defence. But in July 1583 Gabriel larded his copy of Northampton's text with aphoristic notes counselling another tack – that of patience. Next to a passage where Northampton condemned Richard's 'follies', for example, Gabriel noted: 'The guilt of challenge is great, but so much greater is the moderation of those who do not respond. To have the ability, and decline, is noble.

⁷ Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey, *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed betweene two vniuersitie men: touching the earthquake in Aprill last, and our English reformed versifying* (London, 1580), 24–6. See also Gerard Passannante, 'The art of reading earthquakes: On Harvey's wit, Ramus's method, and the Renaissance of Lucretius', *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2008): 792–832.

⁸ Richard Harvey, *An Astrological Discourse upon the great and notable Coniunction of the two superiour Planets, SATURN & JUPITER, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583* (London, 1583), A2r–v.

⁹ Harvey's copy (now in Rare Books and Special Collections, Firestone Library, Princeton University, EX PA8550 .D43 1564; for a digital facsimile with transcriptions and translations of Harvey's notes see the Archaeology of Reading, accessed 12 April 2022, <https://archaeologyofreading.org/>) of *Selectarum declamationum Philippi Melanchthonis, quas conscripsit; et partim ipse in schola Vuitebergensi recitavit, partim aliis recitandas exhibuit, tomus primus* (Strasbourg, 1564), which contains the following notes on the inside flap of the rear jacket: 'Omnes penè philosophi, et Astronomi consentiunt diversas qualitates elementorum, quae in planetis sunt, causam fuisse, cur hunc situm, et ordinem haberent, quem nunc habent; ut Stella Jovis, quae temperata est, poneretur inter Saturnum frigidiorum, et Martem calidiorum, quam par est: Mars calidus, et siccus inter Jovem, et Venerem, iuxta Platonicos: ut quod nocere possit nimium in una stella, tardetur contraria qualitate in alia.' And below: 'Antiqui Astrologi, cum scirent Solem in Cancro terram adurere, viderentque nihilominus in aliquo anno hoc parum contingere; intelligentes hoc ex natura solis non esse, quaesiverunt quanam stella planetarum esset in eodem signo cum sole, reperientesque Saturnum, statuerunt eius frigiditatem causam fuisse: quod postea semper notatum est, semel primo observatum animadversum.' John Harvey also described Melanchthon as an important certifier of the truth of astrology in a tract later that year defending his brother (John Harvey, *An Astrological Addition or Supplement to be Annexed to the Late Discourse vpon the Great Coniunction of Saturne and Iupiter* [London: Watkins, 1583], A5v–A6r). For Melanchthon and astrology see Claudia Brosseder, *Im Bann der Sterne* (Berlin:

All misfortune must be overcome with patience. He who endures, triumphs.¹⁰ Moreover, Gabriel's goals were more ambitious than simply refuting Northampton. Parrying Northampton's derision, Harvey mused that 'the same weedes, nettles, and thornes might be returned home with advantage: in sum mennes conceyt'. But he continued, 'but what is this victory, to chastise someone but not help oneself. I have neither so much leisure, nor hatred.'¹¹ Rather than springing to his brother's defence, Gabriel plotted a protracted campaign of convincing Northampton and astrology's critics. And below this comment, he expressed suspicion that Northampton's critique was obliquely directed at Gabriel and the Leicester circle more generally:

it is not the Astrological Discourse, but A more secret Mark, whereat he shooteth. The snake is concealed in the grass, and will remain hidden by me. Patience, the best remedy in such booteles conflicts. God give me, and my frends, Caesars memory, to forgett only iniuries, offerid by other; and to remember especially such requisites, as especially concerne, and apperteine owrselves. An Oestridges stomock can digest harder iron, than this.¹²

In such delicate circumstances, a deliberate and robust strategy was preferable to rushing headlong into a nasty public quarrel with the earl.

1583-4: Reading the ancient history of mathematics

The programme that Gabriel Harvey devised over the following year derived from the defence of astrology elaborated by the Milanese medical man Girolamo Cardano, another of the mid-sixteenth-century authorities

Akademie Verlag, 2004); and Barbara Bauer, *Melanchthon und die Marburger Professoren (1527-1627): Katalog und Aufsätze*, 2 vols (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek Marburg, 2000).

¹⁰ Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, *A Defensative Against the Poyson of Supposed Prophetes* (London, 1583). Harvey's copy is at Houghton Library, Harvard University, STC 13858 (B), Gg4v: 'Atrocior quidem est culpa provocantis: sed tanto maior non respondentium moderatio. Posse, et nolle, nobile. Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo. Vincit, qui patitur.' For the tract see D. C. Anderson, *Lord Henry Howard (1560-1614): An Elizabethan life* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2009), ch. 6.

¹¹ Harvey's Northampton, Hh1r: 'sed quae haec victoria, alium affligere, seipsum non juvare? Mihi vero nec ta[n]tum ocii est, nec tantum odii.'

¹² Harvey's Northampton, Hh1r: 'Twis it is not the Astrological Discourse, but A more secret Mark, whereat he shooteth. Latet Anguis in herba: et per me latebit, etiam adhuc. Patience, the best remedy in such booteles conflicts. God give me, and my frends, Caesars memory, to forgett only iniuries, offerid by other; and to remember especially such requisites, as especially concerne, and apperteine owrselves. An Oestridges stomock can digest harder iron, than this. Qui seipso confirmant, alios abunde confutant. Dabit Deus his quoque finem. Julii 1583. GH.'

he had recommended to Richard. Cardano had argued that Ptolemy was the first to systematise ancient astrology, and that the art was improving in his own time.¹³ In Richard's prognostication, he noted that Gabriel used this sense of the historical fluctuations of astrological knowledge to explain the failures of older practitioners without suggesting that the art itself was fatally flawed.¹⁴ And Gabriel's notes responding to the Harveys' critics in the mid-1580s enhanced Cardano's argument by delineating a more complex historical map of astrology's tributaries and branches throughout antiquity than had Cardano.¹⁵ This history, furthermore, was shaped by the scripturalism characteristic of Harvey's occasional patron Leicester, Francis Walsingham, and the other foremost members of the Elizabethan regime in the early 1580s.¹⁶ The result was a more suitable past for astrology's present than Cardano had asserted.

Harvey's strategy emerged most clearly in the notes with which he wreathed the text of the Ramist Johann Thomas Freigius's 1583 *Mosaicus* the following year. Freigius's universal history did not directly discuss astrology but rather examined the transformations of empires and peoples in the ancient world. Many of Harvey's notes focused on human movements. For example, Harvey summarised Freigius's categories for the causes of ancient travel and migration before providing his own examples:

The sundry peregrinations of sundry nations. Apodemic Industry.
The Migrations of nations have many causes. Some are voluntary,
because of greater profit, pleasure or honour; some are forced

¹³ For Cardano's argument see Germana Ernst, "'Veritas amor dulcissimus": Aspects of Cardano's astrology', in *Secrets of Nature: Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, ed. William Newman and Anthony Grafton (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 157–84; Anthony Grafton, *Cardano's Cosmos* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

¹⁴ Richard wrote that Gabriel had assured him that 'the arte it self was then verve imperfect, and uncertaine, as it continued to the age of Ptolomey, who florished but in the time of the Emperour Antoninus Pius, which succeeded Traian and Adrian: yet may ours neuerthelesse lawfully stand, the arte being nowe generally of the most and best acknowledged to be much more perfectly reformed, and a right arte in deede: or if that seeme more, a right science in deede.' Richard Harvey, *An Astrological Discourse*, dedicatory epistle, fol. ¶5v.

¹⁵ For works examining the authority of historical study in early modern Europe see Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The art of history in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Nicholas Popper, *Walter Raleigh's History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

¹⁶ See the works of Patrick Collinson, esp. 'The monarchical republic of Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 69 (1987): 394–424; 'The Elizabeth exclusion crisis and the Elizabethan polity', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 84 (1994): 51–92; and Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

by the heavens, the sun, invaders, or enemies. Such as this were the Argonautic and Heroic Expeditions; the Odyssey; the famous migrations of the noble Trojans, chiefly Aeneas and Antenor.¹⁷

As this note indicates, Harvey saw classical heroes as sophisticated travellers. But he did not believe that they had invented the art of travel nor attained its highest standard; rather, he explained, 'Travels and expeditions are very old indeed, they go back all the way to the time of Noah. Later the children of Abraham and the Hebrews were great travellers. More recently, the Apostles and early Christians were the greatest travellers. The chosen people were always the travellers par excellence.'¹⁸ Repeatedly Harvey stressed the Hebrews' skill in travel, noting that during the Exodus, for example, Moses had sent 12 'explorators' from the Israelite camps to survey the surrounding regions, observe the quality of the land and note whether the inhabitants were well fortified or vulnerable. For Harvey, this showed that Moses conceived of travel as a methodical art worth teaching his subordinates: 'Moses Travayler, & Exploratur. His Instructions, & directions, to his Espies, & Messengers.'¹⁹ Scriptural, rather than classical, figures were methodical travel's originators and most diligent practitioners.

Expanding on Freigius's text, moreover, Harvey described travel not as mere movement, but as a type of mindful practice essential to the lives and philosophies of a wide range of ancient figures. He noted that, 'For Plato, life was travel; for Pliny, wakefulness, since sleep is the image

¹⁷ J. T. Freigius, *Mosaicus: Continens Historiam Ecclesiasticam. 2494 annorum, ab orbe condito usque ad Mosis mortem* (Basel, 1575), 107: 'Causam igitur, migrationis gentium & varietatis linguarum haec historia primam & antiquissimam explicat. Accesserunt autem postea & aliae. Omnes enim populorum migrationes, praeter abundantiam multitudinis, & inopiam agrorum, aut ob coeli intemperiem, aut ob hostium viribus superiorum expulsionem contigerunt.' Harvey's Freigius is British Library c.60.f.4. Harvey's Freigius, 107: 'The sundry peregrinations of sundry nations. Apodemica Industria. Causae complures Migrationis Gentium. Partim voluntaria, causa maioris Utilitatis, Voluptatis, honoris: partim coactae, Coeli, Soli, hostiu[m], Inimicoru[m] Vi. Hinc Argonauticae et Heroicae Expeditiones: Odyssea: famosae migrationes nobilium Troianorum, praesertim Aeneae et Antenoris; unde plaeriq[ue] Europaei populi se oriundos tradiderunt: (Ipse hostis, Teucros insigni laude ferebat, seq[ue] ortu[m] antiqua Teucroru[m] a stirpe volebat.) Ne foeminae quide[m] hac Apodemica laude privandae: (cum ecce Carthaginensium Imperium Dido, Tyria regit urbe profecta, Germanu[m] fugiens). Unde portantur avari Pygmalionis opes pelago: Dux foemina facti.' Printed in G. C. Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), 206.

¹⁸ Harvey's Freigius, 83. 'Antiquissima Apodemica, et Odyssea; á Noacheis usq[ue] Temporibus. Postea Abrahamidae, et Hebraei. Magni Apodemici. Novissimis etia[m] temporibus, Apostoli, et primitivi Christiani, summi Apodemici. Divinus semper populus, maxime omnium Apodemicus.' Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 205.

¹⁹ Harvey's Freigius, 280; Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 210. Harvey and Freigius based their vision of Moses as founder of the *ars apodemica* on passages such as Numbers 13 and 21:1–3.

of death. Therefore a living man should be above all an alert traveller, like Alexander, Caesar and many Heroes, not only the Patriarchs.²⁰ In Harvey's notes, travel emerged not as a neutral act of movement, but as a methodical framework for all aspects of experience.

Harvey's perspective on ancient travel reflected the imprint of the *artes apodemicae* (the arts of travel), a Ramist genre that had crystallised in the mid-1570s.²¹ Harvey became familiar with this genre soon after it took shape; in 1577 Edmund Spenser gifted him a copy of the 1575 English translation of Jerome Turler's *The Traveiler*, which he bound with a collection of geographical texts that he had purchased in York in 1576, and he was also familiar with Theodore Zwinger's 1577 *Methodus Apodemica*.²² Experts on travel viewed it as an art demanding a rigorous method which learned ancients had implemented with great skill. Zwinger relied heavily on Plato as he produced intricate taxonomies enumerating the types of travellers, logic of travel and things to observe when travelling, and the examples for each of his categories came predominantly from classical sources.²³ Turler's work similarly abounded with methodical ancient explorers; for example, his seventh chapter, entitled 'Examples of Notable men that have travelled', described the journeys of ancient philosophers, physicians, orators, poets, lawmakers, noblemen, princes and Apostles, only briefly referring to modern examples.²⁴ At the height of Europe's first age of global encounter, these scholars sought models of migration among classical Greek sages.

These texts insisted that methodical travel extended beyond observation of foreign landscapes, for it also facilitated judicious imitation of the best customs and learning of other cultures. In fact, though Harvey's notes in 1584 praised the practice of travel, they were

²⁰ Harvey's Freigius, 185: 'Vita, Platoni, Apodemia; Plinio, Vigilia: siquidem Somnus, Imago Mortis. Homo igitur Vivus, maxime Apodemus, et Vigilans: ut Alexander, Caesar, plariq[ue] Heroes, non m[od]o Patriarchae.' Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 209.

²¹ For the *ars apodemica*, see Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The theory of travel, 1550–1800* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), esp. 47–94; and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for travellers: Teaching the eye to see', *History and Anthropology* 9, nos 2–3 (1996): 139–90.

²² Harvey's *Sammelband*, including his copy of Turler's *The Traveiler*, is in the Rosenbach Collection Library, Philadelphia. See below, fn. 27. On the original work, Hieronymus Turler, *De peregrinatione et agro napolitano libri ii* (Strasbourg, 1574), see Francesco Pisano, *Le ossa dei Giganti della Rocca di Pozzuoli* (Bacoli: Punto di Partenza, 2003). See Harvey's copy of John Florio, *Florio his First Fruites* (London, 1578), 163v, now in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for material drawn from Zwinger's book.

²³ Theodor Zwinger, *Methodus Apodemica: in eorum gratiam, qui cum fructu in quocunq[ue] tandem vitae genere peregrinari cupiunt* (Basel, 1577), a1r.

²⁴ *The traueiler of Ierome Turler* (London: William How for Abraham Veale, 1575), 81.

part of a project using the movements of people to decode the genealogies and transmissions of ideas, learning and customs. As he explained, ‘The migrations of people, and the mutations of places, languages, religion, laws and customs have to do not only with migrations and travels, but are eminently historical and political subjects; and likewise worthy of close observation’.²⁵ And in these readings, Harvey paid particular attention to tracing the origin and history of the mathematical arts as they moved from land to land and people to people.²⁶ For example, above Turler’s account of how Pythagoras learned geometry from the Egyptians and astronomy from the Babylonians, Harvey noted: ‘Pythagoras: a singular philosopher’; and below it he listed the ‘Pythagoricae Artes: Arithm. Geomet. Astronomia. Leges. Temperantiae’.²⁷ Pythagoras’s wisdom, Harvey agreed, derived from synthesising learned traditions as he travelled across the ancient Near East.

That Pythagoras had learned mathematics from travel also demonstrated that the Greeks had absorbed this knowledge belatedly. Harvey portrayed mathematical expertise, like travel, as originating with the ancient Hebrews. In fact, Harvey saw the wisdom of all the learned castes of the ancient world as stemming from the scriptural patriarchs:

Whatever either the Magi among the Persians discovered, or the Chaldaeans among the Babylonians or the Assyrians, or the Gymnosophists among the Indians, or the Druids and Semnothei among the Gauls, they received it from the Jews. For the Jews were

²⁵ Harvey’s Freigius, 105: ‘Gentium migrationes: et mutationes Locoru[m], Linguaru[m], Religionum; Legum, morum. Materia, no[n] modo insigniter Apodemica, et Odyssea, sed etia[m] praecipue historica, et politica; ideoq[ue] digna singulari Observatione.’

²⁶ For Ramus’s own history of the origins and early development of the exact sciences, which differed considerably from Harvey’s, see Nick Jardine, *The Birth of History and Philosophy of Science: Kepler’s A defence of Tycho against Ursus, with essays on its provenance and significance* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Anthony Grafton, ‘From apotheosis to analysis: Some late Renaissance histories of classical astronomy’, in *History and Its Disciplines: The reclassification of knowledge in early modern Europe*, ed. Donald Kelley (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 261–76; Popper, ‘Abraham, planter’; and Robert Goulding, *Defending Hypatia: Ramus, Savile, and the Renaissance rediscovery of mathematical history* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2010). See also Dennis Danielson, ‘Ramus, Rhetoric, and the Copernican connection’, in *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the wider world*, ed. Steven Reid and Emma Watson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 153–70.

²⁷ Harvey’s copy of Turler is in the Rosenbach Collection Library, Philadelphia, shelfmark EL1.A2e (hereafter cited as Harvey’s Rosenbach Volume); these notes are on 71–2. Note also Harvey’s underlining of the relevant passage: ‘It is well know, yt Pythagoras went first into Egipt, there to learne of the priestes of that cuntry the vertu of numbers, & the most exquisite figures of Geometrie, from thence to Babilon, where of the Chaldes hee learned the course of the Planets.’ A facsimile, not wholly legible, of Harvey’s copy of Turler was published, with an introduction by Denver Ewing Baughan, by Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints (Gainesville, 1951).

the first philosophers of all, and Egypt held those Jewish prophets, or I should say our Jews, for some time.²⁸

In annotation after annotation to his copy of Freigius, Harvey used brief references to ancient travellers in the text to reconstruct a broad array of mathematical arts whose origins could be traced to Abraham. In his view, moreover, Hebrew mathematics was not restricted to abstract calculation, nor the quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. As he explained, ‘Abraham was the first to introduce Mathematics into Egypt, and from him came, not much later, all those mathematical and physical miracles. This was also the origin of almost all natural magic.’²⁹ Abrahamite mathematics thus included what Harvey’s contemporaries called ‘mixed mathematics’: technological productions dependent on practical arithmetical or geometrical knowledge and that were often considered part of learned, operational magic.

Harvey’s sense of the scope of mathematical arts likely built on his reading of Peter Ramus’s 1569 *Scholarum mathematicarum libri*, to which he referred numerous times in his notes in Freigius and elsewhere.³⁰ Ramus held considerable authority amongst English scholars of Harvey’s generation, especially for those like Harvey who shared his fervent Calvinism. In this tract, Ramus insisted that Plato had been wrong to characterise mathematics as a model of pure intellection, for it had multiple applications in everyday life. The area of it that created automata – devices that moved under their own power, without human or animal agency – provided the most dramatic proof that mathematical techniques could affect the natural world. To reinforce this point, Ramus listed ancient and modern examples.³¹ While he enthused

²⁸ Harvey’s Freigius, b7v: ‘Quaecunq[ue] vel ex Persis Magi; vel e Babiloniis, et Assyriis Chaldaei; vel ex Indis Gymnosophistae; vel e Gallis Druidae, et Semnothei, invenerunt: ea ipsi a Judaeis acceperunt. Nam Judaei, primi omnium Philosophi fuerunt: et Aegyptus, Judaeos prophetas illos, nostros inquam illos, aliquandiu habuit.’ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia*, 204.

²⁹ Harvey’s Freigius, 140: ‘Abrahamus, primus Mathematicarum plantator in Aegypto: Unde, nec ita multo post, tot Mathematica, et Physica Miracula. Hinc fere Magia omnis Naturalis.’

³⁰ For Harvey’s references to Ramus’s mathematical works, see *TEP*, fn. 27; fn. 39 below; and Harvey’s Freigius, 11, 70 and 115; see also his copy of Jacobo à Saa, *De navigatione* (Paris, 1549), Scheide Library, Princeton University, 7r. Note also that Harvey tried to use both Ramus and Freigius to build a mode of analysis in which mathematical regularities determined the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires. See Nicholas Popper, ‘The knowledge of early modernity: New histories of science and the humanities’, in *New Horizons for Early Modern European Scholarship*, ed. Ann Blair and Nicholas Popper (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021), 143–4.

³¹ Petrus Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri* (Basel, 1569), 15–16. On the background to Ramus’s genealogy of automata see esp. Otto Mayr, ‘Automatenlegenden in der

over the creations of Archytas and Archimedes, iron versions of whose rotating glass spheres he had admired in two friends' collections at Paris, he reserved his warmest appreciation for the moderns who rivalled their achievements. Above all, the fifteenth-century German astronomer and scholar Joannes Regiomontanus – a master of classical mathematics and astronomy, a proficient expert on calendar reform and comets, and a pioneer of print culture who established his own press in Nuremberg – taught the craftsmen of Nuremberg to use his principles and devised astonishing feats that rivalled those of the ancients:

Among their delights is an iron fly that seemed to leave the craftsman's hand to fly around the guests, and finally, as if it were exhausted, returned to the hand of its master. And there is an eagle that flew out, very high up, to meet the emperor as he approached the city, while he was very far away, and accompanied him as he reached the city gate. Let us no longer marvel at the dove of Archytas, since Nuremberg can show us a fly and an eagle that are winged with the wings of geometry.³²

Ramus further praised the astronomical automaton of the Landgraf of Hesse and the great clocks of his own day. Both ancient and modern automata proved that mathematics could be useful as well as rigorous and that mathematics had seemingly magical powers.

Harvey did not simply adopt Ramus's view, however. While Ramus had emphasised the classical achievement in these arts, Harvey's notes again emphasised their Hebrew origins. On the page after his note on Abraham, Harvey observed, following Freigius, that 'The arithmetic and astronomy of the Egyptians came from Abraham, a noble professor of

Spätrenaissance', *Technikgeschichte* 41 (1974), 20–32; William Eamon, 'Technology as magic in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance', *Janus* 70 (1983): 171–212; Minsoo Kang, 'Wonders of mathematical magic: Lists of automata in the transition from magic to science', *Comitatus* 33 (2002): 113–39; Minsoo Kang, *Sublime Dreams of Living Machines: The automaton in the European imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), chs 1–2; Alexander Marr and R. J. W. Evans, eds, *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); E. R. Truitt, *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, magic, nature and art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

³² Ramus, *Scholarum mathematicarum libri*, 65: 'Extinctis enim mathematicis Archyta, Archimede, Proclo, Ctesibio mathesis tarentina, syracusana, bysantia, alexandrina extincta est. At inter artificum noribergensium Regiomontani mathematicis eruditorum delitias est, muscam ferream ex artificis manu velut egressam convivas circumvolitare, tandemque veluti defessam in domini manu reverti: Aquilam ex urbe adventanti imperatori longissime obviam sublimi aere procedere, atque adventantem ad urbis portam comitari. Desinamus igitur Archytae columbam mirari, cum muscam, cum aquilam geometricis alis alatam Noriberga exhibeat.'

the mathematical arts'.³³ Moreover, this Hebrew mathematical wisdom included the instruments fundamental to mathematical observation, as next to Freigius's brief discussion of Jacob, Harvey quoted from Ramus: 'The Radius, a very old instrument, most excellent and commodious of all geometric instruments. It is commonly called the Jacobs Staff, as if it was invented then by that sacred patriarch. See Ramus's Geometry, book 9.' Ignoring Ramus's unmistakable scepticism towards this provenance, Harvey continued: 'Doubtless it seemed necessary to add this mathematical invention of Jacob's to the earlier mathematical inventions of his grandfather Abraham.'³⁴ For Harvey, the Jacob's staff or cross-staff – a standard medieval device for measuring the altitudes of the positions of the planets, which took the form of a long pole marked off in degrees, with a crosspiece – revealed the importance of mechanical technologies to Hebrew mathematical arts.

The mixed mathematics transmitted to the Egyptians from the Hebrews, Harvey continued, included arts even more controversial than the creation of automata, as he summarised: 'The Hebrew Arts, especially Law, Arithmetic, Astronomy, Medicine, and if the Rabbis are to be believed, Cabala.'³⁵ This last form of occult knowledge was the source of Harvey's particular interest, and he devoted close attention to the divine Egyptian polymath 'Hermes Trismegistus, the grandson of Abraham', a figure unmentioned in Freigius's text but who was reputed to have been one of the greatest practitioners of magical arts such as astrology and alchemy.³⁶ Harvey's link between the father of the Jews and Hermes derived from the erudite magus Henry Cornelius Agrippa. In the years around 1500, Agrippa had revised earlier works by Florentine Neo-Platonists like Marsilio Ficino in an effort to restore magic to the status of a learned discipline – what Agrippa called 'occult philosophy'. Following Augustine, Ficino had made Atlas the grandfather of the elder Hermes, whom he identified in turn as the grandfather of Hermes Trismegistus.³⁷ This chronology made Hermes both venerably

³³ Harvey's Freigius, 141: 'Aegiptiorum Arithmetica, et Astronomia, ab Abrahamo: Mathematicaru[m] artium nobili professore.'

³⁴ Harvey's Freigius, 166: 'Radius, Instrumentum, Perantiquu[m], omniu[m] Geometricoru[m] Instrumentoru[m] praestantissimum; vulgo Baculus Jacobi dicitur, tanq[uam] a sancto patriarcha illo iam olim inventus sit. Ram. Geometriae lib.9. Nimirum hoc Jacobi, mathematicu[m] inventu[m], superioribus avi Abrahami inventis Mathematicis addendu[m] videbat[ur].'

³⁵ Harvey's Freigius, 141: 'Artes Hebraeorum, praesertim, Lex; Arithmetica, Astronomia, Medicina: et si Rabinis credendum, Cabala.'

³⁶ Harvey's Freigius, 158: 'Hermes Trismegistus, Nepos Abrahami: quo credibilis, illum nonnulla divinitatis mysteria attigisse divinitus: Ut alioqui philosophus, et mathematicus erat, mirifice singularis.'

³⁷ Augustine, *City of God*, 18.29.

ancient and safely younger than Moses.³⁸ Agrippa, however, attributed to Hermes far greater antiquity. As he explained,

We read in Moses' book of Genesis that after Abraham's wife Sarah died, he had a number of children from his concubines. One of them was named Mydan. He had a son named Enoch who, thanks to his skill in interpretation, for which he became famous, was called Hermes or Mercurius, both of which mean 'interpreter'. He then is our Hermes, whom the Hebrews call Enoch, the grandson of Abraham by his son Mydan.³⁹

Harvey's notes repeated this version of Hermes's genealogy, which made him far more ancient than Moses. And as Harvey noted in his Freigius, 'Because of this fact it is more credible that he [Hermes] divinely attained some mysteries of divinity: as he was always a miraculously unique philosopher and mathematician. Agrippa, in his oration on the Pimander of Hermes Trismegistus, proves that Hermes ... was Abraham's grandson.'⁴⁰ Harvey thus followed Agrippa by closely associating the ancient magical tradition with the Chosen People, portraying controversial occult arts as part of the mixed mathematical Judaic wisdom.

As these notes reveal, Harvey's readings in ancient travel in 1584 aimed not to understand how to travel for himself, nor to instruct a client or student, nor even primarily to bestow a glorious lineage upon travel as his Ramist sources did. Nor did he use technical evidence, as Dee did, to reconstruct the history of particular branches of mathematics in the

³⁸ Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 11–12; Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A study in the history of classical scholarship*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983–93), vol. 2, 68, with bibliography. Note that John Harvey included a translation of Hermes's *Pimander* with his *Astrological Addition*.

³⁹ See Charles Nauert, *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965). Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, 'Oratio, habita Papiae in praelectione Hermetis Trismegisti, de potestate et sapientia Dei, anno M.D.XV', *Opera* (Lyon, 1570), vol. 2, 405: 'Legimus itaque apud Mosen magnum illum Hebraeorum legislatorem atque principem, in suo Geneseos libro, Abrahamum ipsum Iudaeorum patriarcham mortua uxore sua Sara, plures ex pellicibus filios suscepisse: inter quos unus erat nomine Mydan. Is genuit filium Enoch nomine, qui ob interpretandi scientiam, qua clarus habebatur, appellatus est Hermes sive Mercurius, quod utrunque interpretem sonat. Is itaque noster est Hermes, qui apud Hebraeos Enoch vocatus, Abrahae ex Mydan filio nepos. Cuius rei gravis iuxta ac fidus testis est autorque peregrinus, Rab Abraham Avenazre in volumine suo astrologico.'

⁴⁰ Harvey's Freigius, 158: 'Hermes Trismegistus, nepos Abrahami: quo credibilis, illum nonnulla divinitatis mysteria attigisse divinitus; Ut alioqui philosophus, et mathematicus erat, mirifice singularis. Agrippa, in oratione sua ad Hermetis Trismegisti Pimandru[m]; probat Hermetem illu[m] seu Mercuriam, (post Osyridem, Aegiptorum Regem,) fuisse Abrahami nepotem.'

Hellenistic period.⁴¹ Rather, he used ancient and modern sources as evidence of the transmission of mathematical knowledge from Abraham to the Egyptians, to the Greeks via Pythagoras, and at last to the Romans. By adapting Cardano's claim in the same way that he recalibrated Ramus's history of mathematics – exalting the Hebrew origins of arts that they had depicted as having classical peaks – Harvey created a genealogy that defended the power and orthodoxy of astrology and learned magic. Through these means, he blessed mathematics – even that practised by ancient pagans – with Abrahamic foundations, fixing Richard Harvey's prognostication within a divine tradition of mathematical and astrological prophecy and representing his brother as an ancient sage whose prophecy rested on the solid foundations of mixed mathematical expertise.

1590: Reading the present state of mathematics

In 1590 Gabriel Harvey permanently departed the world of the universities and moved to London. Having tried his hand as don, secretary, poet and facilitator, he now sought to re-make himself as a Londoner, enrolling at the Inns of Court and collaborating with the City printer John Wolfe.⁴² Characteristically, Harvey consulted his *artes apodemicae* to prepare for this move. These readings again wove together mathematics and travel, but his consultation of more recent English *artes* revealed new relationships between the two. From these more local sources, he came to see mathematics as an instrumental knowledge that abetted methodical travel. And more strikingly, upon arrival in London, he increasingly saw mathematical expertise as a distinctive feature of the city.⁴³

⁴¹ While in Louvain in 1549, Dee obtained a copy of the first edition of Books 1–4 of the *Conics* of Apollonius of Perga, in a Latin translation by the Venetian patrician and mathematician Giovanni Battista Memo. This book belonged to John Winthrop, Jr, the alchemist governor of Connecticut, and other Winthrops. It currently belongs to Sophia Rare Books (<https://www.sophiararebooks.com/pages/books/5650/apollonius-of-perga-giovanni-battista-memo-ed/opera-per-doctissimum-philosophum-ioannem-baptistam-memum-patritium-venetum>). On the verso of the flyleaf he inscribed a detailed study of the relative chronology of Hellenistic mathematicians, based on technical evidence and close reading of many works of mathematics and cast in spare series of propositions, without rhetoric, for example: 'Eutocyus dicit Apollonium tractasse tetragonismum Archimedis. Eutocyus. pag. 57. ergo Archimedes antiquior.' (Eutocius says that Apollonius dealt with Archimedes' quadrature. Eutocius pag. 57. Therefore Archimedes was older [than Apollonius].) None of Harvey's histories resemble this one in style or content.

⁴² For this period in Harvey's life see Jessica Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery and Renaissance Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 125–60; and Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes From Fraunce: French Anti-League propaganda in late Elizabethan England* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1996), 46–50.

⁴³ For the importance of London and urban environments to the mixed mathematical community see Deborah Harkness, *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the scientific revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

As he readied himself to leave the university culture that had so long been his home, Harvey augmented his library of *artes apodemicae*. In notes at the end of Turler's table of contents, Harvey commended Philip Jones's 1589 epitome translation of Albrecht Meyer's *Methodus describendi regiones*.⁴⁴ At the end of the introductory matter, he also listed 'The Treasure for Travelers. Containing necessarie matters for all Travelers bie Sea, or bie Land. bie William Bourne. 1578. A Mirrour for Mathematicques: or the Travelers felicitie. bie Robert Tanner. 1587'. These English texts possessed a distinctive orientation: 'Both', he commented, were 'for ye Mathematicques more competet then either Turler, or Zuinger, or Meier himself'.⁴⁵ Harvey's praise did not refer to how these texts illuminated the genealogy of mathematics, for Tanner's and Bourne's texts contained little or no such information. They instead taught mathematical techniques; while Meier, for example, instructed the traveller to locate longitudes and latitudes and to measure distances between cities, Bourne and Tanner elevated precise measurement as a means of description alongside – and even in preference to – observation of customs and buildings. Their texts were thick with directions for making and using astrolabes, quadrants and other mathematical instruments and came equipped with tables to aid in calculation.⁴⁶ Evidently Harvey imagined himself taking sun sights and checking distances between the milestones as he approached the metropolis.

Harvey's annotations upon arriving in London were deeply attentive to mixed mathematics, likely reflecting his apprehension of the distinctive emphases of the English *artes apodemicae*. But he focused less on developing technical mastery and more on the contrasts between mathematical arts and other forms of learning. The notes he inscribed shortly after arriving in the city in his copy of Luca Gaurico's 1554

⁴⁴ Harvey's Turler A6v: 'The excellent Tract of Albert Meier; intituled, Special Instructions for gentlemen travelers, marchant venturers, students, soldiours, mariners, &c. employed in services abroad, or anieway occasioned to converse in the governments of foren princes.' Meier's 1587 Latin original was *Methodus describendi regiones, urbes et arces* (Helmstadt, 1587).

⁴⁵ Harvey's Turler, A8v.

⁴⁶ For English *artes apodemicae* see Eric Ash, "A note and a caveat for the merchant": Mercantile advisors in Elizabeth England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33 (2002): 1–31; Daniel Carey, 'Hakluyt's instructions: The *Principal Navigations* and sixteenth-century travel advice', *Studies in Travel Writing* 13 (2009): 167–85; Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, eds, *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Elizabeth Williamson, "Fishing after news" and the *ars apodemica*: The intelligencing role of the educational traveller in the late sixteenth century', in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 542–62; Nicholas Popper, 'An information state for early modern England', *Journal of Modern History* 90, no. 3 (2018): 503–35; and Popper, 'Spenser's *View* and the production of political knowledge in Elizabethan England', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 47 (2021): 73–91.

Tractatus astrologicus, a collection of genitures (astrological horoscopes with commentaries) for cities and individuals, illuminates the rationale underlying this comparative exercise.⁴⁷

Harvey's goal in these readings was to identify a sophisticated form of active knowledge that he most frequently called 'polytechnoscopy'.⁴⁸ This term, its repeated usages indicated, distinguished the technical knowledge of artificers and other masters of applied arts from the bookish and theoretical knowledge characteristic of his earlier career. Accordingly, as he read Gaurico's work alongside other biographical collections – including Paolo Giovio's *Eulogies of Learned Men*, Cardano's *Liber geniturarum*, and the late antique collections of biographies by Diogenes Laertius, Eunapius and Philostratus, of whom the latter two had told marvellous stories about ancient magicians' ability to locate the missing, alter the course of nature and even disappear – he looked for evidence of mixed mathematical knowledge. For example, on the title page of Book 2 of his Gaurico he wrote, 'But seriously, and solidly, and always to the point, in so far as these particular things are efficacious and powerfully conducive to the practices of polytechnoscopy'.⁴⁹ Later, on the title page of Book 4, he insisted that 'philologists should be skimmed through; while polytechnics should be examined closely; as I did not only in the *Lives* of Giovio, but also in those of Laertius, Philostratus, Eunapius, and others'.⁵⁰

Harvey found few modern figures worth commending for their mixed mathematical expertise. He observed, 'In Giovio's *Elegies*, there are many philologists, and few polytechnics', before enumerating the scholars who met his ideal, including Agrippa, Leon Battista Alberti, Regiomontanus, Copernicus, Melanchthon, Ficino, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Gaurico himself.⁵¹ Regiomontanus earned Harvey's greatest plaudits, as in the corner above his geniture, Harvey noted, 'Best of the polytechnics in this work'.⁵² Regiomontanus, furthermore, was one of few modern scholars whom Harvey praised as replicating the astrological and polytechnoscopic achievements testified by his late antique sources; he responded to an instance of successful divinatory chiromancy

⁴⁷ Luca Gaurico, *Tractatus Astrologicus* (Venice, 1552). Harvey's copy is Bodleian 4^o Rawl.61. See *TEP*, fn. 1, above p. 115.

⁴⁸ See Wolfe, *Humanism Machinery and Renaissance Literature*, for how Harvey invented similar Greek epithets to describe the cunning pragmatism of his contemporaries.

⁴⁹ Harvey's Gaurico, 15v. For the full quote see *TEP*, fn. 4, above p. 117.

⁵⁰ Harvey's Gaurico, 57r. See *TEP*, fn. 5, above p. 118.

⁵¹ That Gaurico qualified suggests that Harvey saw the calculation of genitures as evidence of polytechnoscopy. Harvey's Gaurico, 57r. See *TEP*, fn. 6, above p. 118.

⁵² Harvey's Gaurico, 62v. See *TEP*, fn. 11, above p. 120.

by linking the achievements Giovio ascribed to Agrippa, Gaurico and Regiomontanus to 'the Astrology and Physiognomy of the Chaldeans, miraculously equipped with Cabalistic principles and experiments' and the polytechnoscopic achievements of Sosipatra, Apollonius of Tyana, Plotinus, Porphyry and other wonder-workers described in the late antique works of Philostratus and Eunapius.⁵³ Harvey, then, continued to assert an ancient lineage for mixed mathematical learning as he sought to identify its recent representatives.

There was, however, another class of practitioner beyond the scholarly that Harvey saw as resurrecting the wisdom of the ancients. Below the geniture for Giovanni Antonio de Rossi of Milan, the sole craftsman included in Gaurico's catalogue, Harvey inscribed an extensive list – in English – of contemporary English craftsmen and scholars with known mathematical interests, as well as two technical authors from several decades earlier.⁵⁴ Those Harvey listed performed a wide, but consistent, range of activities: fabricating mathematical instruments; studying applied mathematics, especially navigation, astronomy or mensuration; and translating technical works into English. Most importantly, they all shared physical or publication proximity to London. Polytechnoscopy thrived in the lives, workshops, homes and books of these mathematicians, surveyors, craftsmen, gunners, astronomers, chemists, navigators and shipwrights, as well as the learned men like John Dee and Edward Wright who operated both in this world and in the more traditional scholarly settings of court and university.⁵⁵

The figures on Harvey's list possessed a distinct contemporary identity, moreover, as intermediaries for continental expertise. They and others acknowledged that England in the middle years of the sixteenth

⁵³ Harvey's Gaurico, 19v–20r. See *TEP*, fn. 79, above pp. 139–40.

⁵⁴ For the list see *TEP*, 357, fn. 16, above pp. 121–2. Benese and Leigh were the older authors; note that the British Library holds editions of works of John Hester, William Bourne and Thomas Blundeville with annotations by Harvey, in addition to relevant volumes noted below.

⁵⁵ For the mixed mathematical community in early modern England see *TEP*, 366–71 (above pp. 131–6), esp. bibliography at fn. 40, above p. 131. See also Eric Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Stephen Clucas, ed., *John Dee: Interdisciplinary studies in English Renaissance thought* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006); Harkness, *The Jewel House*; Robert Fox, ed., *Thomas Harriot and His World: Mathematics, exploration, and natural philosophy in early modern England* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012); 'John Dee and the sciences: Early modern networks of knowledge', ed. Jennifer Rampling, special issue, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* (2012); Lesley Cormack, 'Mathematics for sale: Mathematical practitioners, instrument makers, and communities of scholars in sixteenth-century London', in *Mathematical Practitioners and the Transformation of Natural Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Lesley Cormack, Steven Walton and John Schuster (Cham: Springer, 2017), 68–85; and Boris Jardine, 'Instruments of statecraft: Humphrey Cole, Elizabethan economic policy, and the rise of practical mathematics', *Annals of Science* 75 (2018): 304–29.

century had been a mathematical backwater, for before Thomas Gemini moved to London from Flanders in the 1540s, there were no craftsmen in the realm capable of manufacturing the instruments for their services. Accordingly, they depicted the importation of foreign instruments and works as the best means to foster instrumental and mathematical literacy amongst English craftsmen. Like contemporary English theologians, many produced translations of continental mathematical and technological works, and they referred to Dutch practitioners Abraham Ortelius, Cornelius Gemma Frisius and Gerald Mercator as the modern masters in navigation, astronomy and cosmography.⁵⁶

The channels through which technological knowledge flowed into London likely reinforced Harvey's conviction that this knowledge formed part of the Hebrews' sacred inheritance, for in his narrative mixed mathematical learning had arrived through similar conduits as Reformed theology.⁵⁷ The practitioners on this list, moreover, reflected the place within mixed mathematics Harvey allotted to divination, for while many of these figures emphasised military, maritime or surveying practices, others such as Dee and Christopher Heydon devoted close attention to predictive arts. Harvey saw London's artisans, hived away in workshops in the city's obscure lanes and alleys, as restoring ancient Hebraic practical technologies like surveying alongside divine predictive arts like astrology.⁵⁸

Harvey's familiarity with these men, furthermore, suggested that upon arrival in London he implemented a specific mode of observation in the manner of the *artes apodemicae*, for his attention hewed closely to

⁵⁶ In 1570, for example, Dee justified the English translation of Euclid in exactly these terms: 'By means whereof, our Englishe tounge shall no lesse be enriched, then are other straunge tounes, as the Dutch, French, Italian, and Spanishe: in which are red all good authors in a maner, found amongst the Grekes or Latines. Which is the chiefest cause, that amongst them do florishe so many cunning and skilfull men, in the inventions of straunge and wonderful things, as in these our daies we see there do.' John Dee, 'Mathematicall Praeface.' Published with Euclid, *Elements of Geometrie*, trans. Henry Billingsley (London: 1570), iir. For this culture see Deborah Harkness, "'Strange' ideas and 'English' knowledge: Natural science exchange in Elizabethan London", in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, science, and art in early modern Europe*, ed. Paula Findlen and Pamela Smith (New York: Routledge, 2001), 137–60.

⁵⁷ For the Elizabethan debates over the presence of strangers see Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, perceptions and the presence of aliens in Elizabethan England* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1996); and Warren Boutcher, "'A French dexterity, & an Italian confidence": New documents on John Florio, learned strangers and Protestant humanist study of modern languages in Renaissance England from c. 1547 to c. 1625', *Reformations* 2 (1997): 39–109.

⁵⁸ Harvey's notes in his copy of Frontinus's *Strategemes*, it should be noted, suggest a similar Abrahamic origin for the military arts. See Nicholas Popper, 'Virtue and providence: Perceptions of ancient Roman warfare in early modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 83, no. 3 (2020): 531–4.

Zwinger's prescription that travellers closely observe the mathematical and mechanical arts of the towns they visited. Zwinger portrayed this practice as driving the circulation of such knowledge between communities, cataloguing instances of it from antiquity up to the present; for example, he noted, Greek history swarmed with 'those who had travelled for the cause of obtaining mathematical knowledge, as when the Greeks [journeyed] to the Chaldeans and Egyptians; Hercules to Atlas, and Ulysses to the daughter of Atlas, Calypso'.⁵⁹ Similarly, other travellers had acquired mechanical knowledge, as exemplified by 'those who came to Syracuse for the purpose of seeing the works of Archimedes, and those who went to Memphis in order to see that much-praised miracle of the Pyramids'.⁶⁰ In these cases, travellers voyaged to observe and master alien wisdom. In comparable fashion, others methodically disseminated their own knowledge; as Zwinger noted, Osiris, Ceres, Triptolemus and Bacchus travelled to communicate the discovery of fermentation and the invention of wine, and more recently, Germans had brought the arts of printing and gunnery to the Venetians.⁶¹

Zwinger also stressed the flexibility of his method. In a chapter entitled 'The Precepts of Mechanical Travel', he insisted that the specific phenomena that travellers should observe varied from place to place, 'since all lands do not bear all things'.⁶² While travellers should observe with methodical completeness, he also encouraged travellers to recognise the uniqueness of all cities rather than constraining themselves with an overly strict method: 'True, all headings cannot be examined always or everywhere, but all things ought to be subjected to reason, lest when something is not found in one place, it is not observed in another either'.⁶³ Practitioners of this sort of travel, Zwinger insisted, should accordingly identify the essentials of local mechanical arts and record

⁵⁹ Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, 4. See *TEP*, fn. 31, above p. 127.

⁶⁰ Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, 6. See *TEP*, fn. 33, above p. 128.

⁶¹ Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, 12. 'Mechanice, ut Osyridis, Cereris, Triptolemi, Bacchi, ad frumenti atq[ue] vini inventa co[m]municanda. Germanoru[m] item ad Venetos, in typographica & bombardaria arte amplianda: ad Polonos similiter in agricultura & architectura erudiendos, sub Casimiro 11. teste Cromero.' On euhemerism in antiquity and its Renaissance revival see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The mythological tradition and its place in Renaissance humanism and art*, trans. Barbara Sessions (New York: Pantheon, 1953); and Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The rediscovery of pagan symbolism and allegorical interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970).

⁶² Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, 104: 'Mechanicae peregrinationis praecepta'; 'No[n] omnis fert omnia tellus.'

⁶³ Zwinger, *Methodus apodemica*, 159: 'Licet enim nec semper nec ubique capita omnia vel debeant vel possint observari: sub rationis tamen examen omnia venire debent, ne quod in uno non reperitur, in altero non observetur.'

noteworthy examples.⁶⁴ For example, sculptors, architects, painters and weavers could learn a great deal in Italy, while in Germany potters and smiths should pay close attention. Harvey's recognition of the mathematical bent of Bourne's and Tanner's *artes apodemicae* likely directed him to the broader community of London's polytechnoscopes.

Arriving in London in 1590, Harvey thus began a project of observation that drew on Zwinger's method and his awareness of the distinctive mathematical emphasis of English works on travel. Harvey's conjuring of the category of polytechnoscopy stemmed from application of this reading to the cityscape, for his consultation of the *artes apodemicae* directed his attention to the expert mathematical and mechanical craftwork performed in the vibrant, unfamiliar capital. This focus on types of labour and knowledge that had previously not warranted his appreciation in turn stimulated a new category of mechanical mathematics and an insistence that practical, applied knowledge set on learned footing could challenge the value of any other species of knowledge. While this revaluation of knowledge offered fundamental practical benefits, it also supported controversial prophetic arts, enabling the faithful implementation of purified predictive arts possessed by the Hebrews. The reformation marching forward in the workshops of contemporary polytechnoscopes would enable the creation of technologies for producing astonishing magical effects and anticipating earthly phenomena from celestial effects, for the mathematical practitioners represented a lay priesthood distinct in their ability to use reformed technologies to work the miraculous.

1590: Reading the Renaissance of English mathematics

Many of Harvey's annotations in other books from this period further trumpet the utility of mathematical knowledge and express an ambition to gain expertise in its constituent fields. His interest, however, would come to assume a distinct shape. Though he did not gain technical mastery, his notes suggest that he perceived himself within a glorious lineage of university-trained scholars restoring the prestige of higher

⁶⁴ Note that Harvey's underlining in his copy of Richard Verstegan's *The Post for diver partes of the world* (London, 1576), 1–2, which he bound with his Turler in his Rosenbach Collection Volume, exhibited sensitivity to the artisanal expertise characteristic of specific cities: 'The cite of Nurnberge, is replenyshed with cunning Artificers, in all kindes of Sciences, by which the Marchaunts thereof, and the whole citie, is chiefly maintained: conveying the said worke into all landes ...' Under the entry for Milan, Harvey wrote, 'Like Noriberg, for cunning & woonderful artisans, in iron, wood, stone, &c.' (49).

mathematical knowledge embedded in craft techniques and artisanal labour.

Harvey certainly hoped to develop a stronger grasp of mixed mathematics. His annotations to John Blagrave's *Mathematicall Jewel* hint at efforts to insinuate himself in the community he so admired.⁶⁵ On the title page, along with apposite references to other authors, Harvey wrote:

His familiar staff, newly published this 1590. The Instrument itself, made & sold by M. Kynvin, of London, neere Powles. A fine workman, & mie kinde friend: first commended unto me bie M. Digges, & M. Blagrave himself. Meaner artificers much praised bie Cardan, Gauricus, & other, then He, & old Humfrie Cole, mie mathematicall mechanicians. As M. Lucar newly commends Jon Reynolds, Jon Read, Christopher Paine, Londoners, for making Geometrical tables, with their feet, frames, rulers, compasses, & squires. M. Blagrave also in his Familiar Staff, commendes Jon Read, for a verie artificial workman.⁶⁶

While setting Harvey's reading of Blagrave in the larger milieu of his polytechnoscopic reading of Gaurico, this note also reflects Harvey's vision of himself as participating in the community of skilled English artificers. And he filled the margins of his Blagrave with expressions of enthusiasm at the possibility of deepening his education in polytechnoscopy: 'Give to me ocular and fundamental demonstrations of any geometrical, astronomical, cosmographical, horological, geographical, hydrographical and indeed any mathematical principle, experience or instrument.'⁶⁷

⁶⁵ For Harvey's annotations in Blagrave see also Robert Goulding, 'Humanism and science in the Elizabethan universities', in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed Jonathan Woolfson (London: Palgrave, 2002), 223–5; and Boris Jardine, 'The book as instrument: Craft and technique in early modern practical mathematics', *BJHS Themes* 5 (2020): 111–29; for Blagrave see also Katie Taylor, 'A pratique discipline? Mathematical arts in John Blagrave's *The Mathematical Jewel* (1585)', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 41 (2010): 329–53. Though he or someone else interleaved a paper version of Blagrave's proposed instrument into his copy, Harvey's mastery of modern practical mathematics remained, so far as we can tell, more in the realm of aspiration than that of achievement.

⁶⁶ Title page of Harvey's copy of John Blagrave, *The Mathematical Jewel* (London, 1585); Harvey's copy is Brit Lib.C.60.0.7. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 211–12.

⁶⁷ Harvey's Blagrave, 1r: 'Omnes artes fundatae super Sensu, et Ratione, plane constant ratione, et Sensu. Ratio, anima cuiusque principii. Experientia, anima animae, firmissima demonstratio, et irrefutabile kriterion. Da mihi ocularem, et radicalem demonstrationem cuiusque principii, experimenti, instrumenti Geometrici, Astronomici, Cosmographici, Horologigraphici, Geographici, Hydrographici, et omnino cuiusvis Mathematici.' Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 212.

Harvey attributed his belated introduction to mixed mathematics to its disappointing absence from the universities. Blagrave's marvellous skill exemplified this gap; next to an introductory poem in which Blagrave stated that he had not attended university, Harvey noted: 'An Youth, & no University Man the more shame for sum Doctors of Universities, that may learn of him.' Where Blagrave remarked that he had consulted the *Catholicon* of Gemma Frisius and other authors, Harvey responded: 'Schollars have the books: & Practitioners the Learning.' As in his annotations to his Gaurico – and likely reflecting his absorption of Ramus's view – Harvey criticised Oxford and Cambridge for ignoring practical mathematics and useful mechanical knowledge, and he intimated enormous distance between the vibrant practice of urban artisans and the sterile learning of universities.

The negligence of mixed mathematics by the universities, Harvey made clear, did not stem from incompatible or distinct principles. As he stated repeatedly, only the basic rules of mathematics were required to develop powerful knowledge of how to interpret and control the world:

After the principles of Geometry and Astronomy are learned from rules and experience, there is nothing difficult in mathematics, mechanical instruments, or experiments. But everything will be very useful and honourable; and also very easy and pleasurable. It is also most remarkable that even the most powerful principles derive from so few rules, especially the readily accessible ones; nor is anything more powerful in its outside effects, or sweeter in its internal being, than such trials.

Moreover, his description of his own education suggested that the existing university curriculum contained the appropriate sources for developing mathematical knowledge. As he wrote, he had begun his efforts to learn mathematics with

The *Principles of Geometry* of [Sebastian] Münster, and his *Horologigraphy*, with the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco illustrated by Faber [Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples]: my onetime pregnant Isagoge to all such things, except for what aid and assistance other greater and lesser mathematicians, ancient and modern, offered on the path, with nothing tedious, or laborious. Afterwards I made a selection of the most excellent artificers: and I approve most highly of those

who can do the greatest things. The empirical world is interested only in things empirical.⁶⁸

Though he completed his education with observation of craftsmen, the texts which provided the essentials of his mathematical education – like the early thirteenth-century introduction to astronomy by John of Sacrobosco – were standards across European universities.

In fact, Harvey's copy of Sacrobosco was bound in a collection of 1527 student editions that contained other publications of Sacrobosco, Guido Bonatti and Euclid, all edited and with commentaries by Lefèvre.⁶⁹ While these had likely served as textbooks for his undergraduate courses, many of Harvey's notes in them were generated by his enthusiasm upon observing polytechnoscopes in London in 1590 and reflect his disappointment with the universities. Sacrobosco's *Sphere* began the collection, and it inspired Harvey to formulate a sharp critique of scholarly mathematical knowledge:

The greatest disgrace of today's Academies is ignorance of mathematics. How great a shame is it for the Masters and Doctors of the schools, that they are excelled in mathematical skill by many mechanic artificers, merchants, sailors, and other such illiterates whom they despise as unlearned? And how learned, and how rude are they, when they are summoned to the most skilful experiments of the learned faculties? It is a great shame to them that they don't know these experiments, since they are the most useful of all fields of learning ... Nor is there a greater honor for men of letters, than to teach the most skilled mechanics, and to direct them in their most curious works. Especially architects, carpenters, metalsmiths, stonemasons, painters, surveyors,

⁶⁸ Harvey's Blagrove, 11r: 'Post Principia Geometrica, et Astronomica, Canonice, et Empirice cognita: nihil difficile in Mathematicis, aut Mechanicis Instrumentis, aut Experimentis: sed maxime quaeque, ut utilissima, et honoratissima; ita certe facillima, et jucundissima. Etiam admirabilia maxime, et valentissima; e paucis illis canonibus, expedita maxime, et promptissima: nec talibus Experimentis quicquid, aut extrinsecus efficacius, aut intrinsecus dulcius. Munsteri Principia Geometriae, et Horologiographiae; cum Sphaera Sacrobosci, a Fabro illustrata: mea olim praegnans Isagoge ad talia omnia: nisi quatenus alii maiores, minoresque Mathematici, Veteres, novi, suum obiter offerrent praesidium, subsidium: nullo taedio, aut labore. Delectum postea feci excellentissimoru[m] Artificu[m]: et quidem eos probo maxime, qui possunt maxima. Empiricus Mundus sola curat Empirica.' Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 212–13.

⁶⁹ For the reading of Sacrobosco in early modern universities see Richard Oosterhoff, 'A book, a pen, and the sphere: Reading Sacrobosco in the Renaissance', *History of Universities* 28, no. 2 (2015): 1–54.

sailors and everyone else who practices some mathematical skill.
[underlining his]⁷⁰

Even as Harvey read textbooks that had been used in universities for centuries to teach the elements of the quadrivium, he insisted that the most effective truths of applied mathematics could only be learned in shops and ateliers.

At the same time, in the margins of his Euclid, Harvey recommended reading Charles Bovelles, Johannes Caesarius, Robert Recorde and others for the fundamentals of mathematics, also commending Münster for instilling the mathematical understanding of mechanical works: 'The principles of geometry are necessary to the polymechanic: Münster entitled them *The Rudiments of Mathematics*. These can be readily applied to the design of clocks, to surveying; for various instruments of astronomy, and for all forms of architecture.'⁷¹ Harvey thus saw this set of introductory works as reaching their fulfilment in practical applications. For Harvey – again likely following Ramus – the problem with traditional mathematical education was that it did not recognise the full potential of its subject and therefore failed to instruct its pupils to appreciate mathematics' use for understanding and operating in the world.

With this sense of the present vitality of mixed mathematics, Harvey returned to its history. Rather than focusing on the ancient world, however, in this reading he looked for more recent scholars who had promoted practical mathematical learning, leading him to create a genealogy of university men like himself who appreciated the applied knowledge of mixed mathematics found in contemporary urban workshops and ancient texts.

The reintroduction of mathematics into astronomical knowledge Harvey considered to be particularly illuminating for, he explained, its

⁷⁰ Harvey's copy of Joannes de Sacrobosco, *Textus de Sphaera* (Paris, 1527), 1r; this text is British Library shelfmark 533.k.1: 'Maxima hodiernarum etiam Accademiarum infamia, Mathematicaru[m] ignoratio. Quantum vero scholasticoru[m] Magistrorum, Doctorumque, dedecus, iis mathematica peritia antecellere plerosque mechanicos artifices, mercatores, nautas, et id genus illiteratos, quos contemnunt ut indoctos? At quanto ipsi doctiores, atque rudiores, cum ad peritissima vocantur experimenta doctissimarum facultatum? Quos tum nescire, cum maxime omnium literarum sunt ex usu, ipsos etiam vehementer pudet. Unde in primis cavendum, a tam crassae absurdaeque imperitiae tam iusta ignominia. Nec fere maior literatorum honor, quam dexterrimis praecipere mechanicis, eosdemque dirigere in curiosissimis suis opificiis. Maxime architectos, fabros lignarios, et metallicos, lapidas, pictores, mensores, nautas, et quicumque mathematicum aliquod exercent artificium.'

⁷¹ Harvey's Euclid, 35v: 'Polymechano necessaria, Geometriae Principia; a Munstero inscripta Rudimenta Mathematica. Dexterrime inservientia Horologioru[m] confectionibus; reru[m] mensurationibus; variis astronomiae instrumentis; atque omni architecturae fabricae.'

most accomplished modern commentators recovered ancient wisdom. ‘On modern astronomy, and reformed geography’, he recommended,

see the subtle and exquisite observations of Jean Bodin in the *Methodus historica* and *De republica*. And also the same and other Ptolemaic considerations in Regiomontanus, Cardano, Copernicus ... Gemma Frisius ... Tycho Brahe, and many others. Ptolemy is still the chief of astronomers by his own merit ... and it is the part of a prudent man to use Ptolemaic principles.⁷²

In Harvey’s interpretation of sixteenth-century astronomy, the ancients supplied a foundation that Copernicus and others like Cardano and Bodin – who disagreed on fundamental points – deepened, rather than challenged.

As Harvey sought to identify the initial spur of astronomy’s restoration, he recognised that his sources granted Regiomontanus pride of place in stimulating the Renaissance of mathematical arts, and his notes in his *Sacrobosco* include Giovio’s effusive elegy. But Harvey also chastised Giovio for exaggerating Regiomontanus’s significance.⁷³ Instead, throughout his notes to *Sacrobosco*, Harvey identified Lefèvre d’Étaples – the commentator and editor of the volume – as the polymath most responsible for restoring all mathematics to their proper glory.⁷⁴ He exulted, ‘The highest praise of Lefèvre, that no professor of his time was able to teach so lucidly and distinctly, completely, and exactly, faithfully

⁷² Harvey’s *Sacrobosco*, 3v: ‘De hodierna Astronomia, et Geographia correcta, ecce Bodini subtiles, et exquisitae Observationes cap 7. methodi historicae: item cap 2. libri 4. de Republica. Et eadem, et plures animadversiones Ptolomaicae apud Regiomontanum, Cardanum, Copernicum, Reinholdum, Apianum, Joachimum Rheticum, Gemmam Frisium, Jofrancum Offusium, Stadium, Maestlinum, Tichonem Braheum, complures alios. Adhuc Ptolomaeus Astronomorum suo merito princeps, et dignus immortalis honore Mathematicus: ut erat Adriani, quo floruit, imperio maxime omnium admirabilis. Mihi optima, quae iusta demonstratione, et observatione, probantur verissima et efficacissima. Prudentis est, uti Ptolemaei principiis.’

⁷³ ‘This invention of Peurbach’s, the tenth sphere, Giovio attributes to his disciple Regiomontanus: whom he accordingly adorns with a singular and most eminent Elegy: as if of all astronomers who have ever flourished, he was the one who stood out the most, and as if ‘because of this glorious prize for knowledge, he was more noble than Thales, Eudoxus, Calippus, Ptolemy himself – the founder of this great discipline – and Alfraganus’. Harvey’s *Sacrobosco*, 4v: ‘Hoc Purbachii inventum decimae Sphaerae, Jovius tribuit discipulo suo Joanni Regiomontano; quem propterea singulari ornat, omniumque eminentissimo Elogio: tanquam Astronomorum omnium, qui hactenus floruerunt praestantissimum: et hac ipsa gloriosa sapientiae palma, Thalete, Eudoxo, Calippo, Ptolemaeoque ipso, tantae scientiae conditore, ac Alfragano nobiliorem.’

⁷⁴ For Lefèvre see Guy Bedouelle, *Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples et l’intelligence des écritures* (Geneva: Droz, 1976); and Richard Oosterhoff, *Making Mathematical Culture: University and print in the circle of Lefèvre d’Étaples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

and absolutely, and therefore as usefully and happily: whatever he taught or wrote: especially mathematics'. But as he continued, he also lavished admiration on the circle of Lefèvre's students, who applied his work in other fields:

Almost as much praise to some of his disciples: firstly to Caesarius for his *Dialectic* and *Epitome of Geometry*: to Clichtove in the *Practical Art of Computing*, and in philosophy: to Charles de Bovelles in the *Geometrical Introduction*, and the *Introduction to the Science of Perspective*. Hence they have rightly been considered the most famous professors of the age, and most suitable to the teaching of noble youths.

And he finished this paean with a grand flourish identifying this Parisian circle as the cutting edge of his new favoured practice of knowledge: 'I still like the *Sphere* of Lefèvre, the *Mathematics* of Clichtove, the *Geometry* of Caesarius, and the *Optics* of Bovelles: and although some are more subtle, many more are less useful. Many philologists subtract by adding; but even now there are few pregnant polytechnics.'⁷⁵ Harvey saw mathematics' rebirth in the early sixteenth century Parisian university reformers' blizzard of calls for the reform of universities, proposals for new curricula and revised textbooks for all fields, including mathematics.

In another similar note several pages later, Harvey praised Lefèvre precisely for adhering to the commentary tradition so central to university training: 'Give me interpreters who teach that the glosses are more important than the text.' And after listing the works of Lefèvre's that he owned, Harvey contrasted Lefèvre's technical skill favourably with the contemporary gains in philological humanism advanced by Erasmus: 'He is one of my polytechnics, and I would rather be Lefèvre than Erasmus, or some such philologist. Certainly mathematicians find it useful to know Lefèvre, Regiomontanus, Reinhold and Apian.'⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Harvey's Sacrobosco, 1r: 'Fabri summa laus, nullum suo temporum professorem docuisse tam dilucide, et distincte; penite, et exacte; fideliter, et absolute; ideoque etiam utiliter, et foeliciter; quaequ[er]ue docuit aut scripsit: praesertim Mathematica. Eadem fere laus suoru[m] aliquot discipulorum: in primisque Caesarii in dialectica, et Geometrica Epitome: Clitovei in arte supputandi practica, et in philosophia; Caroli Bovilli in Geometrico introductorio, et scientiae perspectivae introductione. Unde habiti sunt clarissimi id aetatis professores, et generosis adolescentibus erudiendis omnium accomodatissimi. Mihi adhuc placent Fabri Sphaerica: Clitovei Logistica: Caesarii Geometrica: Bovilli Optica: et quamvis nonnulla magis exquisita, tamen plurima minus utilia. Multi philologi addendo detrahunt: pauci adhuc praegnantates polytechni.'

⁷⁶ Harvey's Sacrobosco, 4r: 'Da mihi tales interpretes, qui docent glossam superare textum. Praeter hos Fabri commentarios, quos Jovius agnoscit iuventuti perutiles, et scholia in moralem philosophiam: sunt mihi etiam haec eiusdem opera. Introductio in arithmetica[m]

As in so many other instances, Harvey's valuations of scholars took the shape of comparisons and endorsements compiled from learned observers, and he concluded by returning to the praise directed at Lefèvre, inscribing Giovio's elegy and referring to compliments from Agrippa.⁷⁷ Similarly, in his copy of Gaurico, Harvey traced a direct lineage from Lefèvre and his disciples to Ramus next to his complimentary comment on Regiomontanus: 'The Polytechnoscopic man is always practical, and a miracle worker. The three mathematical lights of the Parisian school: Jacobus Lefèvre, Charles de Bovelles, Oronce Fine. Before Peter Ramus, and the Moderns.'⁷⁸ This note crystallised the trajectory Harvey saw as underlying mathematics' Renaissance: the revitalisation may have been kindled by Regiomontanus, but it was sparked in the French colleges of the 1500s and inflamed by the circulation of Ramism after the 1540s.

Harvey's notes in his student primers constructed a new lineage for the recent history of mathematics, one whose most important representatives were not the practitioners themselves, but the university scholars who recognised the possibilities of mathematical learning and who elevated the status of such knowledge. This Renaissance of mathematics did not culminate only in the workshops of London, but also in Harvey's appreciation of the knowledge their practices engendered, in his restoration of them to the status and prestige they had been allotted in the ancient world.

Boetii, et Jordani. Rythmomachie, le tresexcellent jeu Pythagorique. In Aristotelis Politica, et Oeconomica Commentarii. Hecatonomiarum Platoniarum Libri 7. Aliquot ad Agrippam theologicae fere Epistolae. Meorum est unus polytechnoru[m]: et malim Faber esse, quam Erasmus, aut tales philologi. Certe expedit Mathematicis, scire Fabru[m] et Regiomontanu[m]; Reinholdum, et Apianum.'

⁷⁷ Harvey's Sacrobosco, 5r: 'Lefèvre deserved his notable elegy in Giovio: 'He wanted to be called the maker [*faber*] of intellects, because he was considered the ablest teacher of almost all kinds of learning. He wrote commentaries very useful to youth on Astronomy, and scholia on moral philosophy which are handy for students.' Giovio noted this, and many other things. Agrippa attributed much to him in his Epistles; he knew him and Charles de Bovelles at Paris as men whose wisdom had been made public, devotees of Raymond Lull, as he himself said in [his commentary on the] brief art of the same Lull'. Harvey's Sacrobosco, 5r: 'Meruit etiam Faber insigne apud Jovium Elogium. "Qui faber ingeniorum appellari volebat: cum in omni fere doctrinae genere ad docendum aptissimus haberetur. Scripsit commentarios in Astronomica, iuventuti peritiles: et scholia in moralem philosophiam perdiscitentibus opportuna." Haec Jovius, et ibi plura. Multum etiam illi tribuit Agrippa in Epistolis: eumque scivit, et Carolum Bovillum, apud Parisios divulgatae sapientiae viros, Raymondo Lullio devotissimos, ut ait ipse in artem brevem eiusdem Lullii.'

⁷⁸ Harvey's Gaurico, 62v: 'Polytechnoscopus semper practicus, et *thaumatopoi*a. Tria Parisiensis Academiae mathematica lumina: Jacobus Faber: Carolus Bovillus: Orontius Finaeus. Ante Petrum Ramus, et Neotericos.'

1592–3: Publicising the Reformation of mathematics

Harvey's sense of his role in the restoration of mixed mathematics became an important part of his public persona in the early 1590s as he engaged in a series of print disputes concerning the state of learning in England. His stances in these debates were again governed by the need to protect his family reputation, to project expertise and to appeal to patrons – in this case, the radical new commercial market of urbane London readers.⁷⁹ To meet these imperatives, Harvey praised the city's mixed mathematical practitioners as exemplars of the reformation of learning he saw in his time, while also asserting his participation in their world.

In the early 1590s, Harvey's predilection for mixed mathematical knowledge became more widely recognised. This did not mean his contemporaries were impressed or sympathetic.⁸⁰ Most notably, Harvey's arguments for the value of the knowledge enabled by polytechnoscopy played a central role in his vicious pamphlet feud with Thomas Nashe.⁸¹ To Nashe, Harvey embodied the donnish, joyless learning he reviled in Puritans, a hostility exacerbated in this case by Harvey's encroachment on the London scene where Nashe first achieved literary success. Harvey, in this case, did not embrace the dictum of patience which had shaped his response to Northumberland, and in a series of publications he derided Nashe as sophistic and fractious, dismissive of precise scholarship, hostile to the continuing reformation of learning, and surprisingly ignorant of some of London's most distinctive features. Their bitter quarrel over the value of mathematical practice was a microcosm of this dispute, as Nashe repeatedly ridiculed Harvey for invoking technological achievements to praise the advancement of English learning, while Harvey further used his connoisseurship of London's craft boutiques to challenge Nashe's metropolitan expertise.⁸²

Gabriel's debate with Nashe was, again, instigated by a publication by his brother Richard. In his 1590 *Theological Discourse of the Lamb of God and his Enemies*, Richard expressed offence at the criticism of English humanists that Nashe had voiced in his introduction to

⁷⁹ For this sphere in the 1590s see Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁸⁰ For example, Abraham Fraunce, who shared Harvey's Ramism, lampooned Harvey as a tiresome pedant in cosmography, astronomy, astrology, chorography and geography in his 1592 *The Third part of the Countesse of Pembroke's Yvychurch*. Abraham Fraunce, *The Third parte of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yvychurch* (London, 1592), 55r–56r.

⁸¹ *TEP*, 375–81, above pp. 140–6.

⁸² For Nashe, see Lorna Hutson, *Thomas Nashe in Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

Robert Greene's 1589 *Menaphon*.⁸³ Nashe replied in his *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Divell* by hectoring Richard for his prediction of 1583 and lampooning the globe and Jacob's staff as instruments of Richard's downfall.⁸⁴ Gabriel Harvey responded shortly after with *Four Letters and Certain Sonnets*, which praised what he saw as the ongoing restoration of learning in England. He commended as especially noteworthy the reformation 'in the Mathematickes and natural Magie; which being cunningly and extensively employed (after the manner of Archimedes, Archytas, Apollonius, Regiomontanus, Bacon, Cardan, and such like industrious Philosophers, the Secretaries of Art, and Nature,) might wonderfully bestead the Commonwealth'.⁸⁵ When Nashe replied by deriding this passage, Harvey returned to his list of practitioners in Gaurico as evidence of the worth of polytechnoscopy.⁸⁶ In his 1592 *Pierce's Supererogation*, he noted the achievements of virtually every one of his London polytechnoscopies as evidence that 'England, since it was England, never bred more honorable mindes, more adventurous hartes, more valorous handes, or more excellent wittes, then of late'.⁸⁷ Again and again he cited these practitioners and granted special praise to Dee, Thomas Harriot and Thomas Digges as learned men who, like Harvey and unlike Nashe, recognised the possibility of finding 'riche jewels of learning and wisdom, in some poore boxes'.⁸⁸ His appreciation of polytechnoscopy served to contrast Harvey's familiarity with London's hidden marvels to Nashe's superficial tourism.

Though Harvey downplayed the predictive abilities of mathematical arts in the debate, Nashe caustically mocked Harvey's praise of the 'miracle mettall of Devils'.⁸⁹ And at the end of the quarrel, Harvey revealed his own faith in astrological prophecy. In a sonnet entitled 'Gorgon, or the Wonderfull yeare' that he included at the end of his last burst in the dispute, his 1593 *A New Letter of Notable Contents*, Harvey reinterpreted an astrological prediction that was widely attributed to – though almost certainly not by – Regiomontanus.⁹⁰ This German-language verse was

⁸³ *TEP*, 376, above p. 141.

⁸⁴ Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1958), vol. 1, 196–7; *TEP*, 377, above p. 142.

⁸⁵ Gabriel Harvey, *Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (New York: AMS Press, 1966), vol. 1, 228–30; *TEP* 377–8, above pp. 143–4.

⁸⁶ For Nashe's derision see *TEP*, 378–9, above p. 144.

⁸⁷ Harvey, *Works*, vol. 2, 95; *TEP*, 379–81, above pp. 144–6.

⁸⁸ Harvey, *Works*, vol. 2, 290.

⁸⁹ Nashe, *Works*, vol. 1, 331.

⁹⁰ Gaspar Bruschi claimed to have found the prophecy, which predicted apocalyptic turmoil in 1588, in a monastery somewhere between the Alps and the Danube in 1553. Walter B. Stone, 'Shakespeare and the sad augurs', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*

widely debated in England after John Securis's 1569 almanac and Sheltoe à Geveren's 1577 *Of the ende of the world* gave it prominent exposure, and it was included in Richard Harvey's 1583 prognostication.⁹¹ 'This is that Coniunction', Richard had written, 'whiche Iohannes Molitor surnamed of his country Regiomontanus, a man in my opinion, little inferior in worthinesse, or same to the former more auncient Astrologers, doth report to threaten continuall overflowses of waters, & particular deluges in some Countries.'⁹² As Richard further explained before reprinting the prophecy, 'My self dare not bee overbold, with Textes of scripture, which are so reverently, and religiously to be handled, & therefore take I best to stand rather upon the probabilitie of Astrologically predictions, and namelie, upon that olde and common prophesie, touching the year 1588 which is now to rise in every mans mouth'.⁹³ This comment revealed that he perceived Regiomontanus as a prophet whose instruments and astronomical expertise enabled him to divine providential effects, much as the miracle-working ancients had.⁹⁴

While most commentators sneered at Richard Harvey's and Regiomontanus's prophecy when it failed to materialise in 1583, it was revived after the ruination of the Armada in 1588. Some again invoked Regiomontanus's verses to describe the downfall of the Spanish empire as providentially determined while pointing to the Armada as the lynchpin supporting the prediction's legitimacy. As his sonnet revealed, Gabriel Harvey was one such proponent. Prognosticators like his brother,

52 (1953): 457–79; Robin Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 163–4, 234, 241, 295–6n81, 302n65. For this culture more broadly see Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis*; Paola Zambelli, ed., *'Astrologi hallucinati': Stars and the end of the world in Luther's time* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1986); Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

⁹¹ Richard Harvey, *Astrological Discourse*, 45. Harvey translated it as: 'After a thousand yeres from Virgins childbed overgone,/ And five hundred more from the Incarnation of Christ:/ The eightie eight yere ensuing will bring forth manie woonders,/ Tragically outcries, spitefull villanies, and pitifull deaths./ Albeit this worlde then for sinne shall not be repressed./ Although Land and seas (perchance) be not annihilated,/ Yet nathelesse all states shall arise & fall very strangelie,/ And great sorrowes with many mischiefes wil runne among men.'

⁹² Richard Harvey, *Astrological Discourse*, 7. Note that even within the Harvey family Regiomontanus was not unanimously considered to be a prophet. In his 1588 *A Discursive Problem Concerning Prophecies*, John Harvey also dealt with Regiomontanus's prophecy. John, however, claimed that Regiomontanus was not its author. He printed English, German and Latin versions, introduced as 'The famous Prophesie of 88, vulgarly fathered upon Iohannes Regiomontanus; but woorthily suspected by some learned men, never to have proceeded from that excellent Mathematician, or any like notable scholar.' John Harvey, *A Discursive Probleme concerning prophecies* (London, 1588), 89.

⁹³ Harvey, *Astrological Discourse*, 43–4.

⁹⁴ Note that John Harvey, by contrast, did not think the prophecy was by Regiomontanus. John Harvey, *Discursive Probleme*, 89.

he claimed, had erred in determining that all the conjunction's catastrophes would fall in 1583 when, in fact, its effects began in 1588 and were mounting towards a culmination in 1593 itself. The Armada, Harvey claimed, marked only the first movement in a thunderous celestial symphony crashing down upon the world. As he wrote, 'St. Fame *dispos'd to cunnycatch the world,/ Uprear'd a wonderment of Eighty Eight:/ The Earth, addreading to be overwhurld,/ What now availles, quoth She, my balance weight?/ The Circle smyl'd to see the Center feare:/ The wonder was, no wonder fell that yeare.*'⁹⁵ Indeed, the celestial influence was only growing more potent; he continued, '*Wonders enhaunse their powre in numbers odd:// The fatall yeare of yeares in Ninety Three*'. To substantiate the claim that the year drawing to a close had in fact been *terribilis*, he catalogued current events that had shaken his contemporaries: 'Parma hath kist; De-maine *entreats the rodd:// Warre wondreth, Peace and Spaine in Fraunce to see.// Brave Eckenberg, the dowty Bassa shames:// The Christian Neptune Turkish Vulcane tames.// Navarre wooes Roome: Charlmaine gives Guise the Phy; Weepe Powles, thy Tamburlaine voutsafes to dye.*' England's providential salvation from the Armada was a mere precursor to the wasting of the Low Countries, Henry IV's abjuring Protestantism, the Turkish looting of the Calabrian coast and the murder of Marlowe. While many around him praised the prophecy as a sign of divine support in the apocalyptic battle with the Spanish Antichrist, Harvey insisted that it presaged calamity and pain.

Harvey thus publicised the revival of polytechnoscopy in two ways in his dispute with Nashe. For one, he contrasted his appreciation for unjustly criticised mixed mathematical arts to Nashe's cynicism, emphasising that his own explorations of London's alleys and obscure numerate texts had revealed to him a thriving but underappreciated dimension of English learning. Moreover, by reinterpreting Regiomontanus's prophecy, he explicitly and publicly stressed the value of such arts for reckoning with the chaos engulfing Christendom, while simultaneously projecting his own expertise in them. Both strategies celebrated modern practitioners as reforming an esteemed form of ancient learning, while also emphasising Harvey's recognition of these arts. As he sought to publicly humiliate and vanquish Nashe in the London press, Harvey staked his own reputation on the wide-ranging powers of mixed mathematics.

⁹⁵ Harvey, *Works*, vol. 1, 295.

1598: Reading the bardic antiquity of mathematics

The Harvey–Nashe debate was eventually shut down by the authorities. As his career stagnated in the 1590s, Harvey produced occasional notes concerning mathematics but no majestic paeans to their virtues.⁹⁶ But in 1598, he wrote to Principal Secretary Robert Cecil seeking patronage, emphasising his expertise in mathematics.⁹⁷ Among his offers, he suggested that Cecil's support would allow him 'to bestow a little time in the transcribing and reforming' his many 'tracts and discourses', including several 'in Mathematics, Cosmography, the Art of Navigation, the Art of War, the true Chymique without imposture ... and other effectual practicable knowledge'.⁹⁸ While there is no evidence of Harvey's composition of such tracts, he likely intended to consolidate them from notes he had already taken, much as his notes on polytechnoscopes had flowed into his diatribes against Nashe.

At this time, Harvey again resumed his studies of the history of mathematics. But though Cecil did not accept Harvey's offer, the past Harvey delineated through this reading responded to the increasing authority that Cecil and Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift placed throughout the 1590s on beliefs and practice deemed historically specific to the British, most prominently within Anglican ecclesiology.⁹⁹ As hostility to continental Calvinism and its Puritan advocates intensified, figures like Richard Hooker, Henry Savile, Richard Hakluyt and William Camden returned to the earlier tradition of Matthew Parker and John Caius, which emphasised histories that illuminated the achievements of ancient and medieval England before its subjection to Rome's tyrannical impositions, rather than the pure emulation of scriptural forms. Though Harvey seems to have demonstrated little inclination for such scholarship during his years at Cambridge, with his career drifting he used its principles to reconfigure his history of mixed mathematics. And this framework prompted him to devise a vision of the mathematical tradition that closely resembled the emerging Anglican perspective on

⁹⁶ Note, for example, the references to Thomas Blundeville's 1594 *Exercises* on the back matter of his copy of Thomas Hood's appendix to the 1592 edition of Bourne's *A Regiment for the Sea* (BL C.60.f.8) and in Richard Grafton's *A brief treatise conteyning many proper Tables* (London, 1576), in Harvey's Rosenbach Volume, A1v, which contains a sustained consideration of chronological calculations from this time.

⁹⁷ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 73.

⁹⁸ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 74.

⁹⁹ See Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The rise of English Arminianism, c. 1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); John Guy, 'The 1590s: The second reign of Elizabeth I?', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and culture in the last decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–20.

the British past in its discernment of an impressive tradition of high and late medieval knowledge.¹⁰⁰

Numerous readings recorded by Harvey in 1598 testify to his effort to construct a vivid history of British mathematics. Most strikingly, notes in his copy of Thomas Speght's edition of Chaucer from that year reveal that he saw Chaucer as a significant repository of mixed mathematical wisdom. For example, in his annotations to the summaries of *The Canterbury Tales* at the beginning of Speght's volume, he focused on marvellous works and ingenious devices recited by Chaucer. On the Squire's tale, for example, he observed 'Heroical, & magical feates'.¹⁰¹ On the Franklin's tale, he noted, 'A generous Emulation. Magical feates bie the way.' The Manciple's tale provoked a similar reaction: 'No Tales like the Tales of cunning Experiments, or straung exploits, or queint surprises, or stratagems, or miracles, or sum such rare singularities.'¹⁰² And throughout his reading, Harvey looked for polytechnoscopic forms of knowledge and ingenious inventions. He glossed the Miller as 'A student of Astrologie'.¹⁰³ He read the Squire's tale as 'Cunning Compositions bie Natural Magique', and later reflected, 'Bacons perspectiue'.¹⁰⁴ The Franklin's tale impressed him as the story of 'A cunning man, & arch-magician'.¹⁰⁵ Concerning the tale of the Canon's Yeoman, he observed 'Alchymie', and then, 'The Great Alchymist'.¹⁰⁶ Lidgate's Story of Thebes, within the Parson's tale, inspired him to muse over 'The scrupulous calculation of Oedipus his nativities'. And the second Nun's tale brought him back to the world of divine mathematical magic, as practised by late antique magi: 'An Ecclesiastical Legend. The life of S. Crispin, in honour of the gentle Craft, for varietie. The lives of Eunapius, Philostratus, or such like.'¹⁰⁷ Harvey characterised Chaucer's tales as stories about a troupe of polytechnoscopic miracle workers.

A similar examination of British poets appears in an eight-page compendium that Harvey inscribed in 1598 at the beginning of a

¹⁰⁰ English alchemists were engaged in the same sort of rehabilitation at precisely this time, also relying on the same technique of reading-for-practice to which Harvey aspired; see Jennifer Rampling, *The Experimental Fire: Inventing English alchemy, 1300–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020).

¹⁰¹ Harvey's copy of *The Workes of our Antient and lerned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer* (London, 1598), British Library Add. MS 42518, c4v. See the discussion of these notes in Wolfe, *Humanism, Machinery and Renaissance Literature*; and Alison Wiggins, 'What did Renaissance readers write in their Chaucer?', *The Library* 9 (2008): 3–36.

¹⁰² Harvey's Chaucer, c4v.

¹⁰³ Harvey's Chaucer, 12r.

¹⁰⁴ Harvey's Chaucer, 24v.

¹⁰⁵ Harvey's Chaucer, 52r.

¹⁰⁶ Harvey's Chaucer, 58r, 59r.

¹⁰⁷ Harvey's Chaucer, c4v.

collection of geographical pamphlets, including his copy of Turler. At the start of this text he praised the astronomical content of Chaucer and other poets: ‘Notable Astronomical descriptions in Chawcer, & Lidgate; fine artists in manie kinds, & much better learned then owre modern poets.’ Strikingly, he commended ‘Chawcers conclusions of the Astrolabie, still excellent, unempeachable: especially for the Horizon of Oxford. A worthie man, that initiated his little sonne Lewis with such cunning & subtile conclusions, as sensibly, & plainly expressed, as he could devise.’¹⁰⁸ Chaucer was thus presented as a skilled observer of the skies. These general considerations prefaced a list of instances of magic or astrology culled from medieval English poetry. The first was ‘The artificial description of a cunning man, or Magician, or Astrologer, in the Franklin’s tale’. Also included were episodes from the Squire’s Tale, the Canon’s Yeoman’s Tale and ‘The nativitie of Oedipus, artificially calculated in the first part of Lidgats storie of Thebes: bie the cunningest Astronomers, & Philosophers of Thebes’.¹⁰⁹ More strikingly still, Harvey stated his programme for reading these poets:

Others commend Chawcer, & Lidgate for their witt, pleasant veine, variety of poetical discourse, & all humanitie: I specially note their Astronomie, philosophie, & other parts of profound or cunning art. Wherein few of their time were more exactly learned. It is not sufficient for poets, to be superficial humanists: but they must be exquisite artists, & curious universal schollers.¹¹⁰

The criteria of mixed mathematical learning shaped his assessment of poets, much as it had his criticism of Gaurico’s philologists.

Harvey maintained that this technique was not unique to him, but rather that many of his contemporaries benefitted from reading poetic works in the same way:

M. Digges hath the whole Aquarius of Palingenius bie hart: & takes much delight to repeate it often. M. Spenser conceives of the like pleasure in the fourth day of the first Weeke of Bartas ... Axiophilus makes the like account of the Columnes, and the

¹⁰⁸ Harvey’s Rosenbach Volume, 1r. For Chaucer’s treatise on the astrolabe and astronomical expertise see J. D. North, *Chaucer’s Universe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

¹⁰⁹ Harvey’s Rosenbach Volume, 2r–2v. On Lydgate’s treatment of the geniture of Oedipus, which was not a precise horoscope, see Johnstone Parr, ‘The horoscope of Edippus in Lydgate’s *Siege of Thebes*’, in *Essays in Honor of Walter Clyde Curry* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1954), 117–22.

¹¹⁰ Harvey’s Rosenbach Volume, 2v.

Colonies of Bartas. Which he commo[n]ly addes to the Spheare of Buchanan. Divine, & heroicall works: and excellent Cantiques for a mathematicall witt.// Excellent Doctor Gesner made as singular account of the most learned Zodiacus of Palingenius Stellatus, as owre worthie Mr Thomas Digges. Who esteemes him above all modern poets, for a pregnant introduction into Astronomie, & both philosophies.¹¹¹

In his account, Digges, Spenser and Harvey himself developed astrological expertise through verse descriptions of the natural world. Similarly, he continued by identifying those classical and modern poets that met his standards: 'Very few excel in this astronomical kind of poetry: beyond Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Manilius; Pontanus, Fracastoro, Palingenius, Mizaldus, Buchanan and, in French, du Bartas, who is a divine astronomer in the fourth day of the first Week, in his Columns, and in passing in other places. A heavenly bard, like [Hermes] Trismegistus and the Sybils.'¹¹² Guillaume Du Bartas's *Weeks*, in Harvey's estimation, had achieved the highest modern form of poetry, comparable to that of the learned magi and ancient Delphic oracles who had first devised it. But while Du Bartas may have achieved extraordinary heights, recent Italian and French poets including Petrarch, Aretino, Ariosto, Tasso and Ronsard also merited commendation. Echoing the ecstatic enthusiasm for polytechnoscopy that he earlier had inscribed in his Blgrave, Harvey gushed: 'Give mee the astrological descriptions in anie language, that from the pictures of the heavens appeare most visible, livelie, flourishing, & admirable.'¹¹³

Despite these achievements, contemporary poets had not fully revived this type of poetry and – drawing on the template of renovation underlying his studies of the arts of mathematics and travel – Harvey wrote, 'I still desire the spring [rebirth] of that most beautiful and flourishing style'.¹¹⁴ And his anticipation of a reformation of poetry properly steeped in astronomical knowledge had parallels to other dimensions of learning. As had been the case with polytechnoscopy, Harvey perceived England as lagging behind the continent, for

¹¹¹ Harvey's Rosenbach Volume, 3r–3v.

¹¹² Harvey's Rosenbach Volume, 4r: 'Excellunt in hoc astronomico genere poetae perpauci, praeter Ovidiu[m], Senecam, Lucanum, Manilium; Pontanum, Fracastorium, Palingenium, Mizaldum, Buchananum: Gallice etiam Bartasium. Qui divinus est astronomus in die quarto primae hebdomadis: in Columnis: alibi obiter. Coelestis Vates, ut Trismegistus, et Sibyllae.'

¹¹³ Harvey's Rosenbach Volume, 4v.

¹¹⁴ Harvey's Rosenbach Volume, 4v: 'Nemo poeta satis divinitus, aut coelitus poeta.' Also, 'Ver illud pulcherrimi, florentissimiq[ue] styli adhuc desydero.'

contemporary English poets did not give him the satisfaction he received from Du Bartas and other moderns. As he wrote,

I have often marvelled that Chaucer and Lidgate were such good astronomers in those days, and that today's poets are so ignorant of astronomy: aside from Buckley, Astrophilus, Blagrave: and a few other sons of Uranus. It is a source of shame to Spenser himself, even if he was not entirely ignorant of the Sphere and astrolabe, that he is unskilled in astronomical canons, tables and instruments. Especially since he saw the *Mathematical Jewel* of our Blagrave, whose exquisite knowledge of both sorts of Globe, the astrolabe, and the familiar staff does not yield to Pontanus, or Palingenius, or even du Bartas. Why, he seems another Digges, or Hariot, or even Dee.¹¹⁵

Harvey's juxtaposition in this note exposed an unexpected history. Britain's medieval poets, in this account, possessed astronomical knowledge that surpassed that of their modern inheritors – with the unlikely exception of Blagrave, who was presented as equalling both continental poets and English polytechnoscopes. This comparison redounded to the discredit of contemporary English poets since they failed to fulfil the demands of this form of verse. But it also reflected his understanding of the appropriate vehicles for communicating mathematical knowledge: poetry here constituted a form for its transmission equal to ephemerides, textbooks or formal tracts.

Harvey's vision of poetry marked an adaptation of contemporary theorists' notions of poetry's past. Philip Sidney, most notably, had described a primitive type of poetry concerned with moral and natural philosophy, astronomy and history. Many disparaged this sort of poetry, Sidney explained, because it was driven by discipline-specific requirements rather than metre, and he dismissed it as inferior to the metrical fireworks of the Greeks and Romans that developed after rudimentary verse.¹¹⁶ Similarly, George Puttenham agreed that this sort of poetry

¹¹⁵ Harvey's Rosenbach Volume, 5r: 'Saepe miratus sum, Chauceru[m], et Lidgatu[m] tantos fuisse in diebus illis astronomos. Hodiernos poetas tam esse ignaros astronomiae: praeter Buclaeum, Astrophilum, Blagravum: alios perpaucos, Uraniae filios. Pudet ipsum Spenserum, etsi Sphaerae, astrolabiiq[ue] non plane ignarum, suae in astronomicis Canonibus, tabulis, instrumentisq[ue] imperitiae. Praesertim, ex quo vidit Blagravi nostri Margaritam Mathematicam. Qui ne Pontano quidem, aut Palingenio, aut Buchanano, aut etiam Bartasio cedit, exquisita utruisq[ue] Globi, astrolabii, baculiq[ue] familiaris scientia. Ut alter iam Diggesius, vel Hariotus, vel etiam Deus videatur.'

¹¹⁶ Philip Sidney, *An apology for poetry; or, The defence of poesy* (London: T. Nelson, 1965), 102. For 'scientific poetry' in the early modern period see Albert-Marie Schmitt, *La Poésie scientifique en France au 16e siècle* (Lausanne: Éditions Rencontre, 1970); Dudley Wilson, ed.,

had come into existence as the best vessel for transmitting knowledge prior to the invention of writing because its rhyming verse made it easier to remember than prose.¹¹⁷ In fact, Puttenham insisted that the first priests and prophets who crystallised knowledge in this way based their standing on their astronomical knowledge.¹¹⁸ Both he and Sidney thus suggested that barbaric ancients had transmitted the best of their knowledge – as limited as that might be – through rhyming verse.

Sidney's account of the ancient communities that deployed this type of verse, moreover, offered Harvey important clues to the specific geography of astronomical poetry. There were still poets 'in Wales', Sidney wrote,

the true remnant of ancient Britons, as there are good authorities to show the long time they had poets, which they called *bards*, so through all the conquests of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, some of whom did seek to ruin all the memory of learning from among them, yet do their poets even to this day last.¹¹⁹

Prior to the many conquests of Britannia, its original inhabitants included poets whose oral messages had been transmitted, if in corrupt form, over generations, providing a fragmentary but indispensable record of ancient times.¹²⁰

French Renaissance Scientific Poetry (London: Athlone Press, 1974); Guy Demerson, 'Météorologie et poésie française de la Renaissance', in *French Renaissance Studies, 1540–70: Humanism and the encyclopaedia*, ed. Peter Sharratt (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), 81–94; Robert Schuler, 'Theory and criticism of the scientific poem in Elizabethan England', *English Literary Renaissance* 15, no. 1 (1985): 3–41; Robert Schuler, 'Francis Bacon and scientific poetry', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 82, no. 2 (1992): i–65; and Isabelle Pantin, *La poésie du ciel en France dans la seconde moitié du seizième siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1995).

¹¹⁷ George Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), C2v.

¹¹⁸ 'Then forasmuch as they were the first that entended to the observation of nature and her works, and specially the Celestiall courses, by reason of the continuall motion of the heavens, searching after the first mover ... and so were the first Priests and ministers of the holy misteries.' Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, C2v.

¹¹⁹ Sidney, *An apology*, 98. For more on the historical referents for English poetry see Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), esp. ch. 1; John E. Curran, Jr, 'The history never written: Bards, Druids and the problem of antiquarianism in *Poly Olbion*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 498–525; Carlo Ginzburg, *No Island Is an Island: Four glances at English literature in a world perspective*, trans. John Tedeschi (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), ch. 2; and Angus Vine, *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian writing in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹²⁰ Note that Sidney could be read as placing the Roman poets squarely within Puttenham's tradition of astronomical prophets. Sidney, though more sympathetic to the Greeks, similarly claimed that the first transmitters of powerful knowledge were poets: Orpheus and Linus before writing, Hesiod, Musaeus and Homer after. See also Sidney, *An apology*, 98. 'Among the Romans a poet was called a *vates*, which is as much as diviner, foreseer, or prophet.'

Harvey saw in these accounts vital evidence for the historical lineage of ancient mathematical verse. But rather than accept Sidney's disparagement, he revised Sidney's claims by turning to another source that insisted that the astronomical poetry of ancient barbarians contained far more sophisticated mathematical knowledge than Sidney or Puttenham had suggested: Ramus's *De moribus veterum Gallorum*.¹²¹ This history of the ancient Gauls, who had inhabited terrain stretching from the British Isles to the eastern German principalities before the Roman conquests, absorbed a tradition of histories of ancient European peoples galvanised by the Dominican Annius of Viterbo's 1498 publication of an elaborate set of forged histories of the ancient world.¹²² Annius presented ancient Europe as deeply pious, insisting that the diffusion of properly divine belief stemming from Noah had later been obfuscated by self-serving Latin and Greek sources. French writers absorbed from Annius that the Gauls, ancestors of the French, descended from a line that began with Samothés Dis, grandson of Noah through Japheth. Ramus's 1559 text was only one of many sixteenth-century attempts to unearth Gallic culture as it had flourished before the Roman invasions.

Like many of his contemporaries, Ramus ignored the horrified accounts of bigamy, human sacrifice and belief in the transmigration of souls retailed by the ancient Greek and Latin authors who discussed them, and instead presented the Gauls as models of learning. To praise these figures, Ramus seized on the similarities between the beliefs of the Druids and Bards – priests of the Gauls – and the Pythagoreans (along with Chaldeans, Gymnosophists, Oracles and other ancient mystical priestly orders) which Harvey had granted Hebrew origins in his notes

¹²¹ For his familiarity with this text see Harvey's Freigius, 239: 'Theologia, pars prudentiae, Ramo de Moribus veteru[m] Galloru[m]: et Martinio, in Vita Juliani Imp.' Harvey here cites Ramus, *Liber de moribus veterum Gallorum* (Paris: A. Wechel, 1559). For French treatments of the ancient Gauls in the ancient world see Claude-Gilbert Dubois, *Celtes et Gaulois au XVIe siècle; le développement littéraire d'un mythe nationaliste* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1972); and R. E. Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance France: Francus, Samothés and the Druids* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993). For the English context see A. L. Owen, *The Famous Druids: A survey of three centuries of English literature on the Druids* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); for the learning of the Druids see esp. D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century* (London: Duckworth, 1972).

¹²² See in general Walter Stephens, *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, ancient history, and nationalism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and moderns in sixteenth-century Rome* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Brian Curran, "De sacrarum litterarum Aegyptiorum interpretatione." Reticence and hubris in hieroglyphic studies of the Renaissance: Pierio Valeriano and Annius of Viterbo', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 43–4 (1998/9): 139–82.

in his Freigius.¹²³ This intellectual class, Ramus claimed, had achieved mastery in ‘grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, physic and theology’, but Ramus dwelt particularly on their mathematical knowledge.¹²⁴ Caesar, he noted,

spoke in passing of the mathematical arts when he wrote, ‘They have many disputes over the stars and their movement, the size of the world and of the earth, and the nature of things.’ Certainly, these were the ancient disciplines that [Samothes] Dis, [and ancient Druids] Sarron, and Dryius passed from father to son, the ones that they themselves preserved, after receiving them directly from their ancestors.¹²⁵

This long tradition of astrology, according to Ramus, implied that the Druids had also mastered the arithmetic and geometry needed to measure the magnitudes, distances and intervals between the planets.¹²⁶ Gaul had been the first seat of ancient mathematics; as he huffed,

Greece and Italy are puffed up with pride for having had mathematicians: but this past glory was ours, these praises flowed from our fountains, which themselves are dried up, because they did not want to protect them through writing: Because Gaul would have Gallic Euclids, Ptolomies, Platos, Aristotles, or others far more excellent than all of them.¹²⁷

Druidic methods of transmitting this art, moreover, explained to Ramus both its sophistication and its subsequent occlusion. As most ancient

¹²³ Petrus Ramus, *Traicté des Façons & Coustvmes des anciens Gavlloys*, trans. [from Latin] Michel de Castelnau (Paris, 1559), 58r–61r.

¹²⁴ Ramus, *Traicté des anciens Gavlloys*, 52v.

¹²⁵ Ramus, *Traicté des anciens Gavlloys*, 62r: ‘Veno[n]s aux arts Mathematiques, des quelles Cesar parle en passant, quand il escrit, Ilz font beaucoup de disputes des estoyeles & de leur moueueme[n]t, de la grandeur du mo[n]de & de la terre & de la nature des choses. Certaineme[n]t c’estoient les anciennes disciplines laissées de pere à filz de Dis, Sarron, & Druye, les quelles eux mesmes avoient contregardées, les aians receü de main en main de leurs ancestres.’ Ramus relied here on Caesar, *De bello gallico*, 6.14; Owen, *The Famous Druids*, 18–19, 33.

¹²⁶ Ramus, *Traicté des anciens Gavlloys*, 62v: ‘Therefore’, Ramus wrote, ‘the Druids took it upon themselves to teach arithmetic and geometry, the arts which aid in the understanding of astrology.’ (Donques les Druydes faisans profession de donner à entendre l’Arithmetique & la Geometrie, qui sont arts qui aident à entendre l’Astrologie.)

¹²⁷ Ramus, *Traicté des anciens Gavlloys*, 64r: ‘La Grece & l’Italie se tiennent fieres pour avoyr eu des Mathematiciens & Philosophes: mais ceste gloire autrefois a esté nostre, ces loua[n]-ges sont coulées de noz fontaines, les quelles se sont taries, pour n’estre voule remparer & garder par l’escriture: Car la Gaulle auroit des Euclides Gaulloys, & de Ptolomées, Platos, Aristotes, ou dautres beaucoup plus excellents que tous ceux cy.’

and modern commentators agreed, the ancient Gauls had transmitted their knowledge in oral, poetic forms. For Ramus, this suggested the strength of their intellectual powers for, as Plato's *Phaedrus* maintained, reliance on written communication corrupted the memory. Arts could be more easily learned orally than through books, he insisted, and setting their rules down in writing unprofitably restricted expertise to the learned.¹²⁸ That Druids encased their mathematical expertise in poetry, Ramus pressed further, revealed its lineage to be a particular tributary from a divine source. As he explained, all mathematical knowledge originated with the progeny of Seth, who had recorded the wisdom of the patriarchs on two pillars, one of brick and one of stone (the former capable of resisting destruction by fire and the latter by water).¹²⁹ But while Abraham learned his mathematical knowledge from the pillar of stone that survived the flood, many generations before him, Samoths had transmitted this expertise orally to his descendants. Long before Abraham, Ramus insisted, postdiluvian Druids used the sacred art of mathematics to cultivate a divine understanding of the universe.

In the late 1590s, at his family's home in Saffron Walden, Harvey conflated Ramus's Druids and Sidney's bards, depicting Britain's ancient seers as one community of many exercising Gallic poetic polytechnoscopy. But his rehabilitation of tradition extended beyond the ancient Britons to medieval Englishmen. In particular, he linked Chaucer with the Irish *fili* and other bards at the British fringes, enabling him to present Gallic knowledge as polluted but not destroyed through centuries of oral transmission. This lineage – one separate from the Judaic genealogy he had mapped previously – traced a distinct British trajectory that originated with the lost polytechnoscopic poetry of the Druids, lingered tenuously in Chaucer and now was reborn in Blagrave's verses. The London mechanics now revived the wisdom not of the ancient Hebrews, but of divine British bards.

Harvey was not the only such scholar to make Ramus's Gallic Euclids wing their way across the Channel to Britain; almost 30 years earlier Henry Savile had asserted the same genealogy in his lectures at Oxford. In October 1570, when he began lecturing on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, he offered his students a detailed 'Prooemium mathematicum' which, as its title suggested, derived from the recent work of Ramus.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Ramus, *Traicté des anciens Gavlloys*, 58r–61r.

¹²⁹ Ramus and others followed Josephus's *Antiquities*, 1.68–71, in describing these pillars. For the place of this story in Hellenistic Jewish and later Christian world histories see William Adler, *Time Immemorial* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989), 52–53 n. 42, 59.

¹³⁰ See Goulding, *Defending Hypatia*.

Savile's lectures spurred a brief vogue of declamations in defence of astrology that explored the art's origins. For example, for his MA oration the moderate Puritan John Rainolds constructed a genealogy that both relied upon and praised Homer, Virgil and other classical poets as the originators and stewards of the art.¹³¹

Like Ramus and Harvey – and unlike Rainolds – Savile too traced knowledge of mathematics back almost to the origins of human history. To do so, Savile followed Ramus in emphasising the significance of the Pillars of Seth: 'The first known mathematicians were either the sons or the grandsons of Seth. My source for this point, and in my view a suitable one, is Josephus – especially since he himself saw one of the monuments.'¹³² He also argued that the ancient Gauls had harboured a thriving mathematical community, but he located its seat in Britain and insisted that it had eventually crossed the Channel: 'Samothes, the son of Japhet, taught astronomy in our Britain. He created, in my view, the learning of the Druids or Samotheans, whom Diogenes Laertius calls the Semnotheans. It is believed that this was rediscovered in Britain and transported from there into Gaul.'¹³³ In support of this last claim, Savile cited Caesar's assertion that the ancient Gauls who inhabited France had first settled in England and eventually migrated to the continent.

Savile's genealogy further diverged from both Ramus's and Harvey's in its characterisation of the centuries after the Romans had laid waste to the indigenous communities of Northern Europe. While Harvey saw Chaucer as the foremost medieval representative of English mathematics, Savile located the flourishing of the tradition in his own university, in the fourteenth-century heyday of the nominalist Merton school: 'We will claim for ourselves not Oronces [Fine], such as France boasts, or Münsters, as Germany does, but our own Archimedes and Ptolemies, just as Greece has, or our own Swinsheads, Bacons, and

¹³¹ Jeremy Robin Schneider, 'Scripting speech: A manuscript declamation in sixteenth-century humanism', *History of Universities* 35, no. 2 (2022): 16–83.

¹³² Bodleian Library MS Savile 29, 29r: 'Quos extet et de quibus sit memoriae proditum mathematicos primi sunt Sethi sive filii sive nepotes. Cuius rei autor est, et idoneus quidem mea sententia, Flavius Josephus: praesertim cum et ipse monumentum alterum viderit, et in commentariis Iudaeorum antiquissimis ad eos autores referri nominatim invenerit [Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.4].'

¹³³ Bodleian Library MS Savile 29, 29r: 'Et Samothes Japheti filius docuit in nostra Britannia non multo post tempore motus et cursus astrorum, a quo est, ut opinor, auctore Druidum seu Samotheorum, quos Laertius σεμνοθεος appellat, disciplina profecta. Iterum ea in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur. Et nunc, ait Caesar, ex Gallia, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt plerunque illo discendi causa profisciscuntur. Atque ii rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Multa praeterea de sideribus et eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura disputant et iuventuti tradunt.'

Richards of Wallingford, as that Oxford, so unlike our own, could claim.¹³⁴ Savile was well equipped to assert the achievements of these medieval Englishmen, for he eagerly collected the manuscript remains of the Merton ‘calculators’ and other scholastics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These men, he thought, had anticipated the effort to apply mathematics to such practical enterprises as the building of clocks and had pioneered work in areas Savile saw as of the first importance, above all optics, astronomy and natural philosophy.

Like Harvey, then, Savile used the thread of mathematical proficiency to knit together the learning of ancient Israel, Druidic Britain and medieval England. Yet Harvey’s emphasis was distinctive to his own expertise, for he lacked the access to manuscripts and the technical skill to erect Savile’s genealogy, and accordingly instead he concentrated on the poetry and London connoisseurship central to his own experience. And though Harvey’s invocation of mathematical savants among the Druids appears out of step with growing scepticism towards Annius’s fantasies, his faith that Chaucer’s verses represented the first inscriptions of age-old oral myths adapted the euhemerist analysis emerging amongst antiquarian communities throughout Europe at this time, which insisted that songs and poems from antiquity contained vital historical evidence of the deeper past.¹³⁵

The enthusiasm for the artisans observed in London thus spurred Harvey to devise another branch of mathematics’ past, one that extended from the ancient Druids to poets of the later Middle Ages and into his present. In this genealogy, Roman conquest had not eradicated Druidic mathematical expertise, much as some contemporaries believed that England’s distinctive political institutions had survived, if in altered form, from pre-Roman antiquity. Though irrevocably fractured, in his account the tradition had remained dimly present among British bards, who had orally transmitted what remained of it until the first inscription of vernacular poems by Chaucer and Lidgate. This lineage defined mathematics as part of a native constellation of wisdom and

¹³⁴ Bodleian Library MS Savile 29, 3r: ‘Nae per nostros habebimus non Orontios quales Gallia, non Munsteros quales Germania, sed Archimedes, Ptolemaeos, quales Graecia, vel quales illud Oxonium huic nostro dissimillimum Suithetos Bacones Wallingfordos ...’

¹³⁵ See George Huppert, ‘The Trojan Franks and their critics’, *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965): 227–41, reworked in his *The Idea of Perfect History: Historical erudition and historical philosophy in Renaissance France* (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 72–87; Claude-Gilbert Dubois, *La conception de l’histoire en France au XVIe siècle, 1560–1610* (Paris: Nizet, 1977); R. E. Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance France: Francus, Samothés and the Druids* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993); and Stephens, *Giants in Those Days*. For euhemerist analysis see H. J. Erasmus, *The Origins of Rome in Historiography from Petrarch to Perizonius* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962) and fn. 61 above.

poetry apotheosised by its indigenous ancient priesthood and the most celebrated of its poets, whose revival in Harvey's time was spurred by the mathematical knowledge of its artisans. By tutoring Spenser in the tools Blagrave fashioned, Harvey envisaged himself helping resurrect awe-inspiring operational power and divine knowledge of the Book of Nature, bringing to England godly favour comparable to that enjoyed by the ancient Hebrews who had been the original stewards of mixed mathematical wisdom.

Conclusion

Harvey did not see all vernacular mathematical knowledge as sacred. The hordes of unlearned healers, swindlers and seers conspicuous in London, Harvey bristled, practised a corrupted version of the genuine arts of his revered polytechnoscopes. Harvey closed his notes in the blank sheets of his geographical compendium by depicting the degraded libraries of such charlatans: 'The A.B.C. of our vulgar Astrologers, especially such, as are commonly termed Cunning men or Artsmen.' These perversions included several almanacs and pamphlets, the 'Compost of Ptolemy', and both Aristotle's and Albertus's apocryphal *Secrets*.¹³⁶ This class of diviners, whose practices were characterised by ill-chosen authorities and unreformed evidence, was exemplified by the mid-fifteenth-century German Carthusian Joannes de Indagine, whose *Chiromanteia*, a textbook on divination from signs on the body, received its third English edition in 1598.¹³⁷ For Harvey, vernacular poetry might be a proper form for mathematical wisdom, and mathematical knowledge might achieve its pinnacle only with the absorption of craft knowledge pioneered by unheralded practitioners, but the streets of London also teemed with pretended oracles, false prophets, bogus astrologers and quack seers no less than those of Babylon had.

Harvey delineated clear boundaries – in his mind at least – between those whose knowledge derived from the mathematical manipulation of

¹³⁶ Harvey's Rosenbach Volume, 6r.

¹³⁷ Harvey sneered: 'I have heard sum of them name Jon de Indagine. These be their great masters: & this in a manner their whole librarie: with su[m] old parchment-roules, tables, & instruments.' On the wide realm of discussion of the secrets of nature see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone, 1998); and William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of secrets in medieval and early modern Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). For the scope of such practitioners in London see Lauren Kassell, *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London: Simon Forman, astrologer, alchemist, and physician* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

the order of nature and impostors whose exaggerations betrayed their deceits. The reformed practices of these arts relied on elemental mathematical teaching, and in their perfection they constituted an autonomous form of knowledge fusing a theoretical grasp of worldly effects and a rigorous operational knowledge.

Harvey's methods of assigning value drew on some aspects characteristic of his earlier career. Most prominently, he made sense of his experience by seeking precedents, comparisons and guides in his study, and he staked his expertise on the ability to discern connections and establish hierarchies among his sources; his library was his laboratory. As with other fields, he remained certain that mathematical arts had reached their ideal state in ancient communities and had declined since antiquity, and he believed that in the previous century a select few commentators had been restoring them to their excellence. His own scholarly credentials, finally, were instrumental to this reformation; their expertise, he feared, would go unrecognised without his learned endorsement.

In other ways, however, these readings departed from Harvey's previous intellectual commitments. Above all, in these notes he prized material effects and operations made possible by mathematical knowledge and methodical attention to mechanics. Despite the bookishness that brought it to his attention, Harvey's notes contrasted mixed mathematics favourably to the rhetorical humanism that characterised his earlier career, and his enthusiasm for polytechnoscopy prompted criticism of narrowly textual learning. For this species of knowledge, neither the university nor the court served as the most vital site of contemporary learning; rather, the workshops of London's skilled craftsmen – beyond the gaze of most scholars – led the advancement of an unappreciated wisdom that he saw as distinctly local, even as he proclaimed its continuities with the miraculous works of ancient practitioners.

Harvey's reappraisal of useful knowledge overlaps with that formulated by contemporaries such as John Dee, Hugh Plat and Francis Bacon, who also promoted the reformation of operational knowledge. Harvey's path, though, was distinct from theirs – less philosophical and hierarchical than Bacon's, less occult and technical than Dee's, less empirical and experimental than Plat's. Above all, it was historical and humanist, and it was predicated upon a mode of reading his library in which he returned to familiar texts with new questions and concepts closely related though distinct from those that had animated prior readings. But it was not purely literary, as it stemmed from the

coordination of reading with methods of observation inherited from recent scholars, and it responded to local circumstances, family humiliations and patronage ambitions by conjuring pasts he hoped to see revived.¹³⁸

Harvey's elevation of mixed mathematics, no less than that of his contemporaries, illuminates the spectrum of forces that stimulated the reassessment of the value of natural knowledge in early modern Europe. Though Harvey's own writings did not challenge long-held verities, his notes reveal how contextual, generative acts of reading and travel observation could fuse disparate arguments into transformative convictions no less than technical practice or philosophical innovation. His debates with Nashe, moreover, indicate that at times Harvey used his marginalia, as so many other humanists did, as the sources for full-scale texts, which he polished and printed. Though the scientific revolution did not happen because of Harvey, it could not have happened without people like him, people who found in their own lives reasons to bond diffuse texts, technologies and methods into a new lens for observing and assessing knowledge. Defending his brother's implementation of the ancient art of astrology catalysed an exploration of the distinctive terrain of London, and out of the vibrant workshops of this city he conjured a prophetic mixed mathematical knowledge he saw as beckoning, a knowledge that would furnish to humanity untold future powers, only ever articulated previously in the dusky deserts of ancient Canaan and in sonorous murmurs echoing across Salisbury Plain.

¹³⁸ For a similar account of the significance of historicist reading to the scientific revolution – though a century after Harvey – see Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science: Histories of philosophy in England, c. 1640–1700* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015). For other accounts of the power of reading for epistemic transformation in the sciences see Anthony Grafton, 'Kepler as a reader', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no. 4 (1992): 561–72; Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics*, ch. 5; Popper, 'The sudden death of the burning salamander: Reading experiment and the transformation of natural historical practice in early modern Europe', *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 1, no. 4 (2016): 464–90.

6

How Harvey used his Augustine*

Arnoud Visser

In a rich, slightly meandering annotation at the beginning of his copy of Livy, Gabriel Harvey explains what it takes to study history. ‘One reads history’, he explains, ‘in order to learn what is most brilliant in human actions in peace and war, at home and abroad’. Such study is not an aim in itself, however, but a way to improve one’s political and military skills. ‘One learns in order to act’, according to Harvey, and ‘one acts best not through a study of the outcomes, but through an intimate understanding of the causes’. All this requires an ‘eagle eye’ and ‘very sharp analysis’, for without these, ‘reading historical accounts is futile and pointless’. Harvey concludes his note by listing other useful Roman historians and modern commentators that helped him in this pursuit, ending, intriguingly, with Augustine’s *City of God*:

Finally, I carefully compared the city of men with the City of God: the comparison was wonderfully pleasing and the evaluation, both political and theological, was equally beneficial. Certainly a pairing worthy of imitation.¹

* This chapter is the result of a memorable lunch conversation with Lisa Jardine in Wassenaar in autumn 2008, which set in motion a chain of events, ultimately leading to a scholarly networking project funded by the Dutch Research Council NWO, ‘A Collaboratory for the Study of Reading and the Circulation of Ideas in Early Modern Europe’. The research for this chapter was supported by research grants from the Friends of Princeton University Library (2009) and the Mellon Foundation, through a subaward generously given by Anthony Grafton. I remain grateful to Lisa Jardine and Tony Grafton for help, encouragement and critical comments.

¹ Harvey’s Livy, sig. [a8v]: ‘Tandem curiose contuli Civitatem hominum, cum Civitate Dei: et mirifice placuit collatio, profuitque syncrisis, tam politica, quam theologica. Certe axiozelus parallelismus.’

This comment about Augustine is intriguing on several levels. As a report of a reading experience, it suggests a formidable exercise in comparison, in which Augustine's massive *City of God* is apparently systematically paired with Livy's monumental history of Rome. In regard to reading goals, moreover, Harvey's enthusiastic recommendation of Augustine also raises more fundamental questions about the self-declared action-oriented nature of his reading.

Since the first publication of Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton's "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy" in 1990, Harvey's Livy has become emblematic of a dynamic understanding of early modern reading practices, in which the act of reading serves specific actions and concrete goals.² As Jardine and Grafton showed, Livy was read to prepare for immediate military and political action, going far beyond the respectably bookish learning that historians previously associated with humanist reading. The goal-oriented nature of Harvey's reading also implies that it could serve a variety of knowledge transactions. Harvey's detailed documentation of different reading occasions has amply illustrated how the scholar served as a professional reader, a 'facilitator' of ideas, who tailored his classically grounded advice to a small network of Elizabethan courtiers and diplomats. His marginal annotations evince how Harvey methodically mined the massive folio volume of Livy and his commentators for politically relevant lessons, linking the text to contemporary political theorists such as Niccolò Machiavelli and his discourse on Livy's first decade, or, in more critical ways, to George Buchanan, François Hotman and Lambert Daneau.

While this pragmatic approach is consistent with Harvey's use of other contemporary political writings, his reading of Augustine appeared more puzzling to Jardine and Grafton.³ How, they wondered, could Harvey pragmatically exploit Livy's stories of war and pagan virtues, and later in the same book support Augustine's rejection of pagan heroism? In this chapter, I hope to solve this paradox by assessing the nature and possible purposes of these marginal notes. I will argue that a closer look at Harvey's reading of Augustine reveals a highly versatile reading style, in which enriching Livy's text with useful references went hand in hand with demonstrating the opportunities and added value of his services as a skilled reader. As Harvey's references to Augustine suggest, his historical inquiry covered a wide range of interests and potential purposes, from

² Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action': How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy," *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78.

³ For Harvey's political reading, see [Chapter 3](#) in this volume.

religious and ethical reflection on virtue to political questions of rule and conflict, and from chronology and historical parallels to a more antiquarian orientation on the ancient past.

Comparing the city of men with the *City of God*

Harvey's combined study of Livy and Augustine is one of the four separate readings of Livy distinguished by Jardine and Grafton. This reading appears to have been a solitary undertaking carried out before and around 1590, when Harvey was working in London as a lawyer in the Court of Arches, the ecclesiastical court of appeal for the province of Canterbury. The reading is documented in approximately 60 notes throughout the margins of Livy's *Histories*.

All these annotations refer to *City of God*, Augustine's formidably expansive work, packed with classical literature, history and philosophy. Written in the wake of the sack of Rome by the Visigoths in 410, the work was originally conceived to defend the Christian faith against its pagan opponents.⁴ According to these critics, the catastrophe that had happened to Rome, traditionally considered an eternal city, was a direct consequence of the adoption of Christianity as the empire's official religion and the subsequent prohibition of the traditional Roman gods. Augustine sought to counter this argument by showing that Rome had always experienced hardship and suffering, and that the pagan gods were actually evil spirits, promoters of immorality, who had never secured a happy life.

The resulting work went far beyond this apologetic agenda and presented a grand vision of the world and its destiny. According to Augustine, humanity, inherently sinful, was divided into two categories, termed 'communities' or 'cities': the secular community of the damned, consisting of those who love themselves and do not recognise God, and the spiritual community of God, formed by those who love God. In the earthly world the two groups live together, to be separated by the final judgement. The members of the community of God stay on earth only as travellers, in transit to the eternal heavenly kingdom. A result of this polarised perspective on the world is a critical view of secular power and its ability to ensure true justice. Indeed, in making the notion of justice

⁴ Augustine, preface to Marcellinus, *De civitate Dei*, ed. B. Dombart (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955). For English translations I have used R. W. Dyson's version (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See also Gerard O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A reader's guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

conditional to worship of God, Augustine came to a view in which the secular state amounted to no more than ‘great bands of robbers’.⁵

In terms of scope, argument and tone, then, *City of God* differs considerably from Livy’s *Histories* and its chronicle of how Rome rose to prominence and power. Augustine did not mean to write history, as he himself emphasises, although historical accounts featured prominently as part of his argument.⁶ In its first half (Books 1–10) Augustine analysed the history of Roman civilisation and examined ancient philosophy to show the moral and political flaws of the pagan system. In the second part (Books 11–22) he aimed to present a positive counterexample explaining the origin, development and destiny of the Christian community as described in the Bible.

Proceeding from this integral, historically contextualised interpretation of *City of God*, it is understandable that Jardine and Grafton regarded Augustine as offering a perspective contrary to the military, moral and political lessons given by Livy. They suggested that Augustine enabled a more personal, contemplative form of reading that betrayed Harvey’s own religious outlook:

At the end of twenty or more years of political reading, here at last we find a kind of reading which the modern student of humanism would recognize: the personal, moralized, ruminative reading to be adduced tellingly to defend a course of action, or to enhance a specifically Anglican point of view.⁷

The Augustinian reading, in other words, did not anticipate political or military ‘action’, as did the other readings, but seemed to serve for reflection on past actions. According to Jardine and Grafton, Harvey used *City of God* as both a historical encyclopaedia and a moral compass, resulting in interpretations of Livy that were ‘genuinely Augustinian in tone and content’. Puzzled by this combination, Jardine and Grafton admitted they were ‘currently undecided as to how Harvey reconciled it to his other readings’.⁸

To untie these Augustinian knots, it is helpful first to take into account the variety of ways in which *City of God* was read since its publication. The size, richness and complexity of the work enabled readers to use the text in many ways and for diverging, even contrasting

⁵ *City of God* 4.4, trans. Dyson, p. 147; on the definition of ‘true justice’ see 2.21 and 19.21.

⁶ *City of God* 3.18.

⁷ Jardine and Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”, 45, above p. 28.

⁸ Jardine and Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”, 53–4, above p. 47.

purposes. As Bonnie Kent has recently shown, medieval theologians such as Peter Lombard and Aquinas do not seem to have read the work comprehensively, indicating that it did not yet have the canonical status it would acquire later, as a key work in the history of Western moral thought.⁹ Peter, in fact, had no direct access to the text. His *Sentences*, published in 1159, which became the standard scholastic textbook for theology students, makes relatively little use of the work, with fewer than 20 citations. Aquinas's interest in *City of God* in his *Summa theologiae* focuses on particular sections, especially Book 14, leaving large parts unmentioned. Indeed, the rise of the work's status in the fourteenth century, Kent argues, is partly due to a renewed appreciation for its richness as a source of knowledge of ancient history.¹⁰

A recent collection of studies tracing how Italian humanists read *City of God* has partly confirmed, but also complicated, Kent's argument.¹¹ Case studies of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Flavio Biondo have illuminated how they pursued an encyclopaedic approach to Augustine's work, mining it as a treasure house of information about the ancient world.¹² Other cases, such as Lorenzo Valla, reveal a critical, revisionist reading strategy aimed at emancipating Augustine's work from traditional, scholastic interpretations, for example regarding his argument on just war.¹³ The case of Coluccio Salutati, moreover, shows how the Florentine chancellor both promoted knowledge of the work through sponsoring public readings in the *Studium* by the Augustinians Luigi Marsili in 1391 and Grazia Castellani in 1392, and engaged critically with the church father's views, for example on Lucretia's suicide.¹⁴ Shifting attention to the heuristic problem of tracing and assessing direct reading, Eric Saak even provocatively argues that apart from Petrarch, 'the Italian humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did *not* read *De civitate Dei* consistently in any scholarly or academic way'.¹⁵

⁹ Bonnie Kent, 'Reinventing Augustine's ethics: The afterlife of City of God,' in *Augustine's City of God: A critical guide*, ed. James Wetzel (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 225–44, at 230–1.

¹⁰ Kent, 'Reinventing Augustine's ethics', 229–34.

¹¹ Guy Claessens and Fabio Della Schiava, eds, *Augustine and the Humanists: Reading the City of God from Petrarch to Poliziano* (Ghent: Lysa, 2021).

¹² See the chapters by Marco Petoletti (Petrarch), Carlo Delcorno (Boccaccio) and Fabio Della Schiava (Biondo), respectively, in *Augustine and the Humanists*, ed. Claessens and Della Schiava, 43–72, 73–97 and 139–75.

¹³ Clementina Marsico, 'Lorenzo Valla', in *Augustine and the Humanists*, 321–48.

¹⁴ Sam Urlings, 'Coluccio Salutati', in *Augustine and the Humanists*, 99–123.

¹⁵ Eric Saak, 'De civitate Dei in the Renaissance: The ignoring of Augustine?', in *Augustine and the Humanists*, 19–42, at 35.

Scattered evidence suggests that for sixteenth-century humanists it was not uncommon to distinguish between the theological import of the work and its rich learning about the classical world. Thomas More, for example, is known to have given a series of public lectures about *City of God* in London in 1501 as a young barrister. Among his audience were his own teacher William Grocyn and, according to his biographer William Roper, ‘all the cheif learned of the City of London’.¹⁶ His later hagiographer Thomas Stapleton claims, however, that these lectures focused on the philosophical and historical subject matter of its earlier books and ‘not on the theological contents of the work’.¹⁷ Even if Stapleton’s evidence for this claim cannot be checked, it shows at least that the Jesuit biographer believed such a distinction to be credible. A similar distinction can in fact be found in the extensive commentary to *City of God* by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1522), prepared for the edition of Augustine’s collected works initiated by Erasmus. In Vives’s eyes, his commentary would be especially interesting for humanists. This becomes clear in a letter to Erasmus, in which Vives asked him to take care to make *City of God* available in a separate edition, and not only as part of the collected works. ‘For you know’, Vives wrote, ‘that those devoted to the more elegant fields of study generally do not read any other work of this author except this one’.¹⁸ For the same reason, in his commentary Vives showed a preference for ancient history and classical philosophy over theological analysis. Indeed, emancipating Augustine from the institutional theological world was an important aim for him, which he sought to achieve by focusing his comments on the historical contexts and avoiding theological controversy.¹⁹

¹⁶ Dominic Baker-Smith, ‘Who went to Thomas More’s lectures on St Augustine’s *De civitate Dei?*’, *Church History and Religious Culture* 87 (2007): 145–60, at 146.

¹⁷ On More’s reception of Augustine see Ralph Keen, ‘More, Thomas’, in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), vol. 3, 1420–3; Thomas Stapleton, *Tres Thomae seu de S. Thomae apostoli rebus gestis* (Douai: Ex officina Ioannis Bogardi, 1588), 17: ‘Eodem etiam tempore Londini in Ecclesia D. Laurentij Augustinum de Ciuitate Dei publice docuit, non quidem eius operis Theologica discutiens, sed Philosophica tantum atque Historica, qualia sunt priorum eius operis librorum sola fere argumenta.’

¹⁸ Letter from Vives to Erasmus, 19 January 1522, in *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen et al., vol. 5 (Oxford: In Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1924), vol. 12, Ep. 1256, lines 137–42: ‘Cura, rogo te, ut excudantur aliquot centena exemplarium istius operis a reliquo Augustini corpore separata: nam multi erunt studiosi homines, qui Augustinum totum emere vel nolent vel non poterunt, quia non egebunt, seu quia tantum pecuniae non habebunt. Scis enim fere a deditis studiis istis elegantioribus praeter hoc Augustini opus nullum fere aliud legi eiusdem authoris.’

¹⁹ Arnoud Visser, ‘Juan Luis Vives and the organisation of patristic knowledge’, in *Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe: An episode in the history of the humanities*, ed. Nicholas Hardy and Dmitri Levitin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 95–115.

A final, particularly remarkable example of the varied ways in which *City of God* was read can be found in the poet and preacher John Donne, a contemporary of Harvey, who felt a strong attachment to the Bishop of Hippo. 'I am loath to part from this father', he declared in one of his sermons, 'and he is loath to be parted from'.²⁰ Donne's reading practices confirm his deep, sustained, theological engagement with the church father's work. As Katrin Ettenhuber has shown, Donne studied Augustine's writings more intensely and with greater care than those of any other theological authority, consulting them not so much for 'technical details of patristic theology' as for 'global principles and interpretive fundamentals'.²¹ Donne had strong views about proper forms of reading and citing, criticising readers who displayed 'others wits fruits' as their own and comparing it to human 'excrement' produced by ill-digested food.²² And still, his own knowledge of Augustine was based not only on a direct, attentive reading of the original sources, but also on a variety of intertexts and reference tools, such as medieval and early modern anthologies, indexes and commonplace books. Moreover, while he showed intimate knowledge of *City of God*, Donne did not hesitate to criticise and even misrepresent Augustine's argument when his views clashed with his own, as can be seen in Donne's treatise on suicide, *Biathanatos*.²³ In a remarkable attack on Augustine's character, he accuses the church father of compensating 'his former Licentiousnes, as it falls out often in such Convertites, to be extremely zealous' with an overly strict moralism. Although Augustine had shown 'sharp insight, and conclusiue Iudgement' in his biblical exegesis, for moral guidance, he believed, 'St. Hierome, and some others may be thought sometymes fitter to adhere unto'.²⁴

These varied examples illustrate how Harvey's systematic reading of Augustine's *City of God*, if patterned after those of his contemporaries, could reflect a wide range of interests. Indeed, if we take a closer look at Harvey's annotations, there are several indications that his approach is not confined to an 'Augustinian' evaluation of Livy, despite Harvey's own claims to offer a divine perspective next to the secular one. Firstly, a systematic analysis of the annotations reveals the prominence of

²⁰ *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953–62), vol. 9, 102. Cited by Katrin Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine: Renaissance cultures of interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1 and 226.

²¹ Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, 230.

²² Satire 2, l. 30, cited in Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, 47.

²³ See Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, 137–62.

²⁴ Cited by Ettenhuber, *Donne's Augustine*, 149.

reference use. Almost all his notes to Augustine refer to the chapter headings that made manifest the structure of *City of God*.²⁵ For example, at the close of Livy's first book dealing with the end of royal rule, the historian recounts the anti-monarchical revolt following the rape of Lucretia by a son of King Tarquin the Proud. This prompts Harvey to add a reference to Augustine: 'How the Roman kings lived and died: see Augustine's memorable chapter 15, in Book 3 of *City of God*, including also the remarkable comments of [Juan] Luis Vives.'²⁶ Although in most of these cases Harvey does not reflect in detail on specific passages within these chapters, his annotations demonstrate thorough knowledge.²⁷

As Harvey indicates, he used a version of Augustine's text accompanied by Vives's commentary. We do not know precisely which edition he used; Harvey's copy is not known to be preserved.²⁸ In these editions the chapter headings were printed in the main body of the text and also as indexes at the start of individual books.²⁹ Of ancient origin, probably dating back to Augustine himself, these headings were originally designed to function as index entries at the beginning of the text.³⁰ In Harvey's notes they fulfil this role again, in this case by enriching Livy's text with links to and brief summaries of Augustine's argument. They suggest these chapters as helpful further reading.

And yet one may wonder: in what way, precisely, were these Augustinian references meant to be helpful to Harvey? In the annotation to Livy's passage about the anti-monarchical revolt discussed above, the reader looking up that particular chapter of Augustine would find historical information and analysis that complements Livy's account.

²⁵ In two exceptional cases, Harvey provides a summary or paraphrase of a chapter; see Harvey's Livy, 5, last sentence in the note at the bottom of the page, and 25, again the last sentence in the note at the bottom of the page.

²⁶ Harvey's Livy, 30, note on the top of the page: 'Qualis Romanorum regum vita, atque exitus fuerit: ecce memorabile Augustini caput 15. libro 3. de Civitate Dei. Cum insignibus etiam notis Lodovici Vivis.'

²⁷ See, for example, Harvey's Livy, 19, where Harvey connects Livy's description of Tarquin the Elder's reign with *City of God* 18.25. Apart from giving the chapter heading, summarising how Augustine synchronised Roman history with biblical and Greek history, Harvey also points out Augustine's reliance on Eusebius (in Jerome's Latin translation) and goes beyond Vives's explanations about Eusebius to refer directly to the *Chronicles*.

²⁸ Collation of the transcribed headings suggests it was not the 1522 edition. Cf. Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 264.

²⁹ Vives's edition of *City of God* was first published in 1522 separately by the Froben press in Basel. It was later included many times in editions of Augustine's collected works. See also Charles Fantazzi, 'Vives' text of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch* 11 (2009): 19–33; and Visser, 'Juan Luis Vives and the organisation of patristic knowledge'.

³⁰ Michael M. Gorman, 'Chapter headings for Saint Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 26 (1980): 88–104, 99n31, reprinted in Gorman, *The Manuscript Traditions of the Works of St Augustine* (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2001).

The chapter discusses the deaths of the Roman kings, historicising the deification of the legendary figures Romulus and Tullus Hostilius, summarising the horrific deaths of most of the other kings and criticising the criminal reign of Tarquin the Proud. Vives's commentary provides mostly textual and historical clarification. He offers some nuances, for example, with regard to Augustine's critical remark about the superstitious interpretations of solar eclipses by ignorant commoners, adding that these were shared by 'learned people, such as the lyric poets Stesichorus and Pindar'.³¹

All this information of Augustine and Vives supplements Livy's account of the demise of the monarchy with historical detail and critical references to later classical sources. Clearly Augustine intended to demonstrate the powerlessness of the Roman gods, in line with the overarching argument of *City of God*. Yet Harvey's prime concern in this case seems to have been the collection of relevant information about the subject of kings. This is confirmed when he continues this marginal note with another reference to the subject:

On this point see also the brief characterisation of the most distinguished kings by Aemilius Probus,³² especially those of the Persians, Macedonians, the friends of Alexander the Great, the people of Epeiros, and the Sicilians. For the Spartan Agesilaus, he says, was king only in name, not in terms of authority; [but he was] just as the other Spartans. Of this sort were also the many titular kings, about whom elsewhere.³³

After the reference to Augustine's Christian perspective on the Roman kings, Harvey here adduces the biographies of Nepos to complement the subject with examples of Greek and Asian monarchs. This puts the reference to Augustine in an illuminating context.

³¹ Vives's comment to *City of God* 3.15 (*Imperita nesciens multitudo*): 'Antequam oste[n]sa esset vulgo a philosophis ratio defectuum solis et lunae homines quum illa sydera deficere viderent, aut scelus aliquod ingens, aut mortem eorum metuebant. Hic pavor non in rudi solum erat plebe, sed in eruditis quoq[ue], velut Stesichoro et Pindaro lyricis vatibus' (Basel: Froben, 1522), 87.

³² In reality the author was Cornelius Nepos. Aemilius Probus, a scholar who lived in the fifth century CE, was long believed to be the author of Nepos's collection of biographies. See C. Huelsen, 'Aemilius Probus', *Hermes* 38 (1903): 155–8.

³³ Harvey's Livy, 30, note on the top of the page: 'Huc etiam Aemilii Probi de excellentissimis Regibus brevis notatio: praesertim Persaru[m]; Macedonu[m]; amicu[m] Alexandri Magni; Epirotarum; Siculorum. Nam Lacedaemonius Agesilaus, inquit, nomine, non potestate fuit rex: sicut caeteri Spartani. [continues in left margin] Tales etiam multi titulares Reges: de quibus alias.'

Rather than a mark of theological contemplation, Harvey's reference to Augustine here reflects his desire to enrich Livy's account with additional historical information.

Another group of Augustinian marginalia links episodes in Livy's story to events in biblical, Judeo-Christian history. These references show Harvey's interest in placing the timelines of classical and Christian history side by side to detect meaningful parallels, or 'synchronisms'. Particularly suited for this practice was *City of God's* Book 18, where Augustine, after a separate treatment of biblical history, offered an account of pagan history to allow for a systematic comparison of the two epochs, making extensive use of the *Chronicle* by the 'father of church history', Eusebius of Caesarea.³⁴ As he announced in the opening paragraph of this book, his aim was to focus on the worldly city from the time of Abraham to that of the kings, 'so that those who read may compare both cities and observe the contrast between them'.³⁵ Harvey's keen interest is reflected in seven references to this book. For instance, Harvey marks with the keyword 'synchronism' Livy's account of the founding of Rome, noting chapters in *City of God* that aim to show 'That Rome was founded at the time when the kingdom of the Assyrians came to an end, and when Hezekiah reigned in Judah' (*City of God* 18.22), and 'That the Seven Sages lived during the reign of Romulus; and that, at the same time, the ten tribes called Israel were led away captive by the Chaldeans; and that the same Romulus was given divine honours at his death' (*City of God* 18.24).³⁶ In these chapters Augustine describes Rome's gradual rise as a world power, positioning Romulus's reign at the same time as those of the kings Ahaz and Hezekiah in Judah. He also places early Roman history in a wider cultural context by bringing in the example of the philosopher Thales of Milete, one of the Seven Sages, as another contemporary of Romulus. These marginalia thus connect Livy to an Augustinian narrative in which pagan history

³⁴ For Augustine's access to Eusebius's work, in Jerome's Latin translation, see Mark Vessey, 'Augustine among the writers of the Church', in *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. Mark Vessey and Shelley Reid (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 247. See also Matthew R. Crawford, 'The influence of Eusebius' Chronicle on the apologetic treatises of Cyril of Alexandria and Augustine of Hippo', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 71, no. 4 (2020): 693–711, esp. 701–3.

³⁵ *City of God* 18.1: 'Nunc ergo, quod inter miseram, uideo esse faciendum, ut ex Abrahae temporibus quo modo etiam illa cucurrerit, quantum satis uidetur, adtingam, ut ambae inter se possint consideratione legentium comparari.' English translation Dyson, p. 821.

³⁶ Harvey's Livy, 4, note on the bottom of the page: 'Quod eo tempore Roma sit condita, quo regnum Assyriorum intercidit, quo Ezechias regnavit in Judaea. l. 18. c. 22. Quod regnante Romulo, septem Sapientes claruerint; quo tempore decem tribus, quae Israel dicebantur, in captivitate[m] a Chaldaeis ductae sunt: idemque Romulus mortuus divino honore donatus est. l. eod[em] c[apite] 24. Synchronismus.' For similar examples see Harvey's Livy, 2, bottom of the page, referring to *City of God* 18.19; and 33, note on the top of the page, referring to *City of God* 18.26.

is purposefully embedded in a Christian context. But their focus on chronology suggests that *City of God* is being used as a versatile reference work that offered useful knowledge about a variety of fields in ancient history, including chronology, politics and ethics.

Apart from such references, however, there are also several examples that engage with Augustine's perspective on pagan morality. The episode about the rape of Lucretia offers a striking case in point. In a separate annotation preceding his reference about kings Harvey approvingly cites Augustine's critical view of Lucretia's suicide:

This case is perceptively discussed by Augustine, bk. 1, c. 19 of the *City of God*: 'If she was an adulteress, why is she praised? If she was pure, why was she slain? ... In that case, when she slew herself because she had endured an adultery even though she was not an adulteress herself, she did this not from love of purity, but because of a weakness arising from shame.' Expertly and sharp.³⁷

In Livy's account Lucretia served as an exemplary Roman matron whose 'beauty and proven chastity' had made her a victim of Sextus Tarquin's 'wicked desire'.³⁸ To Augustine, however, suicide was a crime and should never be seen as a heroic action. To deconstruct Lucretia's heroic status he presented the moral problem of her case in the form of a dilemma, offering two opposing premises (Lucretia was either chaste or not) that both resulted in a damning conclusion. In questioning Lucretia's intentions, moreover, he sought to defend the choice of Christian women who had chosen not to commit suicide to defend their honour during the sack of Rome.

By citing Augustine's argument directly (rather than referring to the chapter heading) and by expressing his approval, Harvey marks his critical distance to Livy's account. This is an interesting gesture, for although Augustine's shadow looms large in the rich reception of the Lucretia story, his critical perspective was not always shared. Many later authors, including Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, de Pizan and Salutati, presented Lucretia as a tragic victim of rape and a model of chastity.³⁹

³⁷ Harvey's Livy, 29: 'Cuius casus argute disputatus ab Augustino, l. 1 de civitate Dei, c. 19. Si adultera, cur laudata? si pudica, cur occisa? Quod seipsam, quoniam adulterium pertulit, non adultera occidit; non est pudicitiae charitas, sed pudoris infirmitas. Scite et punctim.'

³⁸ Livy, 1.57.10 (Harvey's Livy, 29): 'ibi Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit: cum forma, tum spectata castitas incitat.'

³⁹ There is a plethora of studies of the Lucretia motif. For helpful overviews and references to further literature see Ian Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia: A myth and its transformations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Eleanor Glendinning, 'Reinventing Lucretia: Rape, suicide and redemption from classical antiquity to the medieval era', *International*

Interestingly, Vives also repeatedly used Lucretia as a heroic model of female virtue in his other works, yet in his commentary to Augustine he kept his assessment limited to a note on the rhetorical form of the ‘dilemma’ that Augustine used.⁴⁰

Two other examples show how Harvey’s annotations combine admiration for Augustine’s critical assessment of classical heroism with an interest in assembling ancient examples of rule and conflict. The first concerns Livy’s episode about the Horatii and the Curiatii (1.24–26), also discussed by Jardine and Grafton.⁴¹ In telling the story of the heroic battle between the three brothers of Rome against the three brothers of Alba Longa, and its dramatic aftermath, Livy’s narrative provided rich information about political strategies, religious and legal procedures, as well as the intentions, virtues and flaws of the main protagonists. He explained how the battle was the result of a conscious decision of the rulers of both cities, the Roman king Tullus Hostilius and the Alban dictator Mettius Fufetius, to avoid open war, which would weaken their armies and benefit the neighbouring Etruscans. He presented the victorious Horatius as a fiercely courageous man driven by honour, noble ambition and patriotic pride. His subsequent killing of his own sister was an extreme act but was driven by anger for Horatia’s lack of respect for her family and country. Harvey marked this episode with several annotations reflecting different interests. He identified the story on the top of the page by the names of the rivals and offered a political evaluation in another note, classifying it as a ‘noble example of single combat’ but also ‘a rash, rather than a politically prudent way to reach a decision’. The fate of the state, he noted, should not depend on the virtue or fortune of a few individuals.⁴² The reference to Augustine follows in a separate marginal note on the bottom of the page, complemented by further historical examples of individual combat:

Journal of the Classical Tradition 20 (2013): 61–82; Paul Thoen and Gilbert Tournoy, ‘Lucretia Lovaniensis: The Louvain humanists and the motif of Lucretia’s suicide’, *Humanistica lovaniensia* 56 (2007): 87–119.

⁴⁰ Thoen and Tournoy, ‘Lucretia Lovaniensis,’ 90–2. Vives’s comment to *City of God* 1.19 (*Neque omnino invenitur exitus*), 21: ‘Dilemma est hoc: Si adultera, cur laudata? si pudica, cur occisa? Hoc genus argumenti veteres qui de rhetorica praeceperunt arte, vel infirmatione alterius partis solvi dicunt, vel conversione, quam ἀντιστροφὴν vocant. Exempla sunt apud Ciceronem in Rhetoricis. neutrum inveniri posse huic conclusioni exitum Augustinus dicit.’

⁴¹ Jardine and Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”, 66–70, above pp. 62–7.

⁴² Translation from Jardine and Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”, 68, above pp. 64–5. Harvey’s Livy, 13: ‘Monomachiae exemplum nobile. sed decisio praeceps magis, qua[m] politica. Nec vero politicum est, rei Universae summam committere tam paucorum Virtuti, aut Fortunae. Sed hic usus manavit a paucoru[m] Antiquoru[m] Heroica virtute: qua omnia magna videbantur decernenda.’

Of the impiety of the war which the Romans waged against the Albans, and of the victories gained through their lust for mastery: Augustine, *City of God*, bk. 3, c. 14, where [he writes] expertly about the Horatians and Curiatians. Consider the biblical duel between Goliath and David, and also the heroic one of Hercules and Cygnus in Hesiod, between Achilles and Hector in Homer, and between Aeneas and Turnus in Vergil.⁴³

With his positive mention of Augustine's treatment Harvey acknowledged the church father's critical perspective. In the chapter to which Harvey refers Augustine did not consider the battle a 'noble example' of a duel. On the contrary, he described the drama of the fight, the slaying of Horatia and Horatius's eventual acquittal in particularly damning terms, as part of a catalogue of violent episodes in Roman history. In this way Augustine sought to expose the honourable, heroic image of Rome's early history for what he believed it really was: a period marked by violent conflicts 'worse than civil war', and atrocious, evil deeds that were driven by a 'lust for mastery'.⁴⁴ Still, as Jardine and Grafton also noted, Augustine's judgement did not discourage Harvey in the same annotation from associating the episode with other historical and heroic examples of 'monomachia', including the biblical instance of David and Goliath.⁴⁵

The second example deals with Livy's discussion of Romulus's killing of his brother Remus as part of the story of the foundation of Rome (1.7). Livy described, with subtle scepticism, the mythical story of the twins' divine descent and situates their miraculous survival in a rustic setting. Growing up, the boys become skilled hunters whose catch includes bands of robbers, illustrating their physical strength and fearless determination. With these same qualities Romulus manages to liberate Remus, when his brother is held in captivity, and subsequently to kill the tyrannical king Amulius. To the Roman historian the later conflict between the two brothers started when they conceived the plan to found a new city. At that point competition triggered by the 'ancestral evil of their desire for kingly rule' caused a rift between them, culminating in

⁴³ Harvey's Livy, 13: 'De impietate belli, quod Albanis Romani intulerunt; et de victoria dominandi libidine adepta. August. l. 3. c. 14. de Civit. ubi de Horatiis, et Curiatiis scite. Ecce biblica Goliae, et Davidis monomachia. Heroica etiam Herculis, et Cygni apud Hesiodum: Achilles, et Hectoris apud Homerum: Aeneae, et Turni apud Virgilium.'

⁴⁴ Augustine, *City of God* 3.14, trans. Dyson, 110–11.

⁴⁵ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 70, above p. 67.

Romulus's killing of Remus.⁴⁶ Harvey filled the margins of this section with abundant annotations, including observations on the fairness of tyrannicide and the origins of looting, the political uses of augury and the importance of fortification in building a city. He also provided the following cluster of references to passages in Augustine, which offer a much bleaker perspective on Romulus's supposed heroism:

Of the fratricide of Romulus, which the gods did not avenge, Augustine, *City of God* bk. 3, c. 6. Of the first founder of the earthly city, Cain: the fratricide whose impiety was mirrored in the founder of Rome, who slew his own brother, *idem*, bk. 15, c. 5. That the Romans made Romulus a god because they loved him; whereas the Church loves Christ because she believes that He is God, *idem* bk. 22, c. 6 and 7. That Rome was founded at the time when the kingdom of the Assyrians came to an end, and when Hezekiah reigned in Judah. Bk. 18, c. 22. That the Seven Sages lived during the reign of Romulus; and that, at the same time, the ten tribes called Israel were led away captive by the Chaldeans; and that the same Romulus was given divine honours at his death. The same book, c. 24. Synchronism. Of the times of the prophets, who many times foretold the calling of the Gentiles at the time when the Roman Empire began and that of the Assyrians fell. The same book, c. 27.⁴⁷

To Augustine the episode was a striking example of the failure of the pagan gods to prevent or punish immoral human behaviour. In the first chapter mentioned by Harvey (3.6) the church father drew a parallel with the sack of Troy. If, on the one hand, the gods had allowed this to happen out of anger for Paris's adultery, surely they ought to have prevented Romulus's even more outrageous crime. If, on the other hand, they had simply been unable to stop it, it shows their incompetence

⁴⁶ Livy 1.6, Harvey's Livy, 4: 'Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido ...'.

⁴⁷ Harvey's Livy, 4: 'De parricidio Romuli, quod Dii non vindicarunt, Augustinus l. 3. c. 6. de Civitate Dei. De primo terranae Civitatis auctore fratricida Cain: cuius impietati, Romanae urbis conditor germani caede responderit. *Idem* l. 15. c. 5. Quod Roma conditorem suum Romulum diligendo Deum fecerit: Ecclesia autem Christum, deum credendo, dilexerit. l. 22. c. 6 et 7. Quod eo tempore Roma sit condita, quo regnum Assyriorum intercidit, quo Ezechias regnavit in Judaea. l. 18. c. 22. Quod regnante Romulo, septem Sapientes claruerint; quo tempore decem tribus, quae Israel dicebantur, in captivitate[m] a Chaldaeis ductae sunt: idemque Romulus mortuus divino honore donatus est. l. eod. c. 24. Synchronismus. De temporibus prophetaru[m], qui tunc de vocatione gentium multa cecinerunt, quando Romanorum regnum coepit, Assyriorumque defecit. l. eod. c. 27.'

as protectors. Apart from the gods, the city itself should have avenged Remus's death, Augustine argued, and by neglecting to do so they were in effect complicit in the killing of one of their founders, which amounted to parricide, a crime even worse than fratricide.

The second Augustinian reference on Harvey's list refers to a chapter (15.5) where the church father argued that Romulus's crime mirrored what he termed 'the archetype' of crime, the biblical story of Cain's slaying of his brother Abel. Thus, to Augustine Romulus was paradigmatic of Roman politics and indeed of the earthly city in general. Citing Lucan's *Pharsalia*, he noted how in Rome 'the first walls were wet with a brother's blood', a phrase that Harvey copied in a separate marginal note.⁴⁸ Yet, in Augustine's view, there was also an important difference between the two stories. While the Roman brothers were both representatives of the earthly city, whose search for glory had triggered envy and conflict, the biblical brothers represented the tensions between the city of men (Cain) and the city of God (Abel).

Turning to Romulus's later deification, the third Augustinian reference in Harvey's list (22.6–7) leads to two chapters where Augustine contrasts the religious cult of Romulus with Christianity. According to the Bishop of Hippo, only the small community of Rome in its early history had actually believed its founder to be a god. The later cult in the empire did not reflect widespread belief but arose out of respect for ancestral traditions by the Romans. As such, it represented a form of looking back, in contrast to the faith in Christ which was driven by real belief and hope for the heavenly city. In response to Cicero's argument that Romulus's deification was remarkable for its late date, at a time of relative cultural sophistication, suggesting that it was therefore more credible, Augustine argued that such a historical perspective actually revealed even more powerfully the truth of Christ's divinity. His resurrection and ascension had taken place in much more recent and enlightened times, and still they had met with the solid belief of many, despite opposition and violent persecutions. In this way, then, Harvey adds Augustine's sharply critical assessment to Livy's account, complementing his previous, political notes with a pointedly Christian perspective on ancient history. Yet, also in this case, Harvey does not stop with these references but adds three more to Augustine's synchronising perspective on history, as discussed above, based on Book 18 of *City of God*. In this way, his Augustinian reading once more shows a multifaceted interest.

⁴⁸ Harvey's Livy, 4: 'Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri. Lucanus l. 1.' English translation of Lucan's verse taken from Dyson, p. 640.

That Harvey himself did not regard Augustine's views as irreconcilable with Livy is also clear from several programmatic notes at the end of the book which confirm his statement at the beginning about the benefits of a comparative reading. In one comment on how to study the history of the Roman Republic, Harvey reports that 'finally' he came to believe it useful to consult Augustine, providing subsequently his longest continuous list of references to *City of God* in the volume, which comprised a recommendation of 15 chapters that he thought 'should be excerpted'. At the end of this list, Harvey notes in particular the breadth of Augustine's work:

After I had read in Sigonius, and other polyhistorians of this class, about the noblest commonwealths in the world, of the Romans, Athenians, Spartans and Israelites, I remember that a subsequent reading of Augustine shed a remarkably great light on the constitutions and achievements of not only the Romans, but also the Greeks and the Hebrews, especially the Hebrews. I greatly liked the extremely perceptive judgement of this Doctor [of the Church] about these and other great empires and kingdoms of the world. One will never regret in addition to so many outstanding and famous Republics, especially those of Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, Cicero – whatever remains –, also of Contarini, More, Patrizi, Bodin, and finally, Althusius, and an indefinite number of more recent political theorists, at last to have included also Augustine's Republic, that is, the City of God.⁴⁹

Harvey thus places Augustine squarely in the field of political history. In this vein the most elaborate and specific example, however, is a note, signed and dated 1590, in which Harvey expresses his appreciation for Augustine:

I haue seene few, or none fitter obseruations, or pithier discourses upon diuers notable particulars in Liuie, then sum special chapters

⁴⁹ Harvey's Livy, sig. AAA8v: 'Cumque apud Sigonium, et caeteros polyhistoros id genus, nobilissimas mundi Respublicas, Romanorum, Atheniensium, Lacedaemoniorum, Hebraeorum legissem: memini, lectum postmodo Augustinum, non modo Romanorum, sed etiam Graecorum, et Hebraeorum statibus, rebusque gestis mirificam lucem affudisse: praesertim Hebraeorum. Valdeque placuit, in illis, aliisque maximis mundi imperiis, atque regnis, acutissimi Doctoris iudicium. Nec unquam poenitebit, ad tot excellentes, celeberrimasque Respublicas, praesertim Aristotelis, Platonis, Xenophontis, Plutarchi, Ciceronis, quantum extat; Contareni etiam, Mori, Patritii, Bodini, postremo Althusii, et nescio quot recentium politicorum; tandem etiam Augustini Rempublicam aggregasse, id est Civitatem Dei.'

in Augustines excellent bookes De Ciuitate Dei. Where he examines, & resolues manie famous actions of the Romans, with as sharp witt, deep iudgment, & pregnant application, as anie of those politicians, discoursers, or other notaries, which I haue read vpon Livie, Halicarnasseus, Plutarch, or other of the worthiest Romane historians. Therefore I still saye: [*continues in Latin*] Hand me Augustine in those cases which Augustine discusses and settles perceptively and reliably. I know no theologian or dialectician or philosopher or politician, or even scholar, philologist or critic who is more acute than he. So great is Augustine, to my mind, in divine and secular literature. I acknowledge him as easily the most learned of Greek and Latin theologians, perhaps with the sole exception of Jerome, who is judged by the sharpest critics to beat all theologians with his varied, very rich teaching. I believe, however, that just as Livy's thought is sharper and livelier than Plutarch's, so Augustine's is generally sharper than that of Jerome, without detriment to the proper talent and dignity of either and of other most eminent theologians. Certainly here for observations on Livy I prefer Augustine to any other theologian of the highest quality. This is one reader's opinion, that there is hardly a competent judge of Roman history who did not previously have knowledge of Augustine's wise doctrine on the City of God. I am delighted that I have added this at last to the political philosophy of Aristotle and Plato. And I confess that the ideal state of philosophers or heroes is as a shadow by comparison with the City of God.⁵⁰

Harvey's enthusiasm is typical of his style of praise for many classical authors. These range widely, from inevitable names such as Caesar,

⁵⁰ Harvey's Livy, sig. Z5r (the part in Latin): 'Da mihi Augustinum in illis casibus, quos acute solideq[ue] disputat, et decedit Augustinus. Quo nullum theologum novi, vel dialecticum, vel philosophum, vel politicum, vel etiam polyhistorem, philologum, criticum acriorem. Tantus apud me in divinis, humanisque literis Augustinus. Quem agnosco Graecorum, Latinorumq[ue] theologorum facile doctissimu[m]: excepto fortassis uno Hieronymo. Qui a peritissimis Censoribus existimatus est varia, uberrimaque doctrina omnes theologos superare. Mihi tamen, ut Livii, quam Plutarchi acrior, argutior, vividior sententia: sic Augustini fere, quam Hierononymi: salva utriusque aliorumque praestantissimorum Theologorum propria, in sua cuiusque dote, dignitate. Certe hic pro Livianis animadversionibus Augustinum malim, quam ullum alium de selectissima nota Theologum. Uniusq[ue] haec opinio lectoris est, vix quenquam esse Romanae historiae competentem iudicem, cui non penitus fuerit praecognita Augustini de civitate Dei sapientia. Quam me tandem Aristotelicae, Platonicaeq[ue] Politeiae addidisse, vehementer gaudeo. Fateorque, umbram esse philosophorum, aut heroum optimam Rempubicam, prae Civitate Dei. Gabriel harvejus, 1590.' I followed and supplemented the translation of the Latin by Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 44-5, above pp. 37-8.

Cicero and Virgil, to the more unexpected figures given plaudits such as Eutropius and Tertullian. Yet in his enthusiastic review of Augustine's talents Harvey also shows an awareness of centuries-old humanist controversy over the relative merits of Augustine and Jerome, contrasting the philosophical intelligence and dialectical sophistication of the former with the linguistic talents and eloquence of the latter. Illustrious predecessors had chosen opposite sides: Petrarch and Filelfo had defended the superiority of Augustine, whereas Erasmus had passionately preferred Jerome. In the wake of the Reformation, confessional agendas increasingly affected such sympathies, with some of the Protestant reformers expressing strong reservations towards Jerome.⁵¹

Together, these retrospective descriptions point to two characteristics of Harvey's Augustinian reading. Firstly, Harvey situates such reading in his programme of studying Roman history. *City of God* enhances the understanding of the historical world described by Livy, as it provides additional information, not just about ancient Rome, but also about Greek and biblical history. Although its scope and perspective are different from other sources recommended by Harvey, reading *City of God* is not incompatible with the idea of learning about the past 'in order to act'. Even though he characterises Augustine as a theologian and suggests that he compared him with Livy from both a political and a theological perspective, Harvey does not specify Augustine's theological scope apart from noting his general distinction between pagan and Christian antiquity. For this reason, it is problematic to interpret Harvey's references to *City of God* as readings that were 'genuinely Augustinian in tone and content'. In fact, Harvey's use of Augustine is light on theology. Reflecting the interests of a historically oriented humanist, rather than a confessionalised theologian, he betrays no knowledge of the church father beyond *City of God*. This is precisely in line with the type of reading that the editor Vives had anticipated some 60 years before.

In addition, Harvey's programmatic notes present his reading of Augustine as an exercise in comparison. They suggest he is reading for reference, as confirmed by his practice of citing chapter headings. The terminology Harvey uses ('collatio', 'synchrisis', 'parallelismus') implies a systematic effort to place Livy and Augustine side by side by methodically excerpting *City of God* with the aim of finding passages useful for understanding Livy. In fact, however, the complete list of references shows that Harvey was rather selective in his execution in covering both

⁵¹ For this see Eugene F. Rice, Jr, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 137–72.

Livy's and Augustine's texts. Almost half the total annotations referring to Augustine, for instance, occur in Book 1 of Livy, while one-quarter are included in the extensive list of references at the end of the volume, as mentioned above. More than three-quarters of the references are drawn from the first part of *City of God*, especially from the books dealing with Roman history. In view of Harvey's historical agenda, it comes as no surprise that he refers most frequently to Book 3, on the hardship and disorder of Rome before Christ, where Augustine draws most frequently on Livian episodes. Put bluntly, there are significant gaps in Harvey's references to Augustine's work.⁵² Absent are important books dealing with ancient theology (Book 6) and philosophy (Book 8). Nor does Harvey's scope extend to prominent Augustinian themes such as demons (Books 8 and 9), redemption (Book 10), creation and original sin (Books 11–14), or eschatology (Books 20–1).

Both in form and content, then, Harvey's Augustinian reading shows that he had no difficulty reconciling Livy's Roman history with a Christian perspective. Harvey could unapologetically describe Livy's *Histories* sweepingly as 'the bible of Roman virtue' ('together', he added generously, 'with Caesar and Sallust, Tacitus and Suetonius') and extol its qualities with superlatives, so long as he added that it took its place 'after the divine miracles of the Bible'.⁵³ And yet by solving the issue of the two authors' compatibility, we immediately encounter another obstacle.

Augustine for Action?

Compared with the actions that drove Harvey's readings of Livy with Thomas Smith, Philip Sidney and Thomas Preston, the practical aim of the Augustinian reading is less easy to discern. There is no mention of immediate application to imminent battles, embassies or other topical political matters. The silence about concrete goals makes sense,

⁵² Harvey's references cover Books 1–5, 7, 15, 17–19 and 22; some of these books are only referred to once (4, 17, 22) or twice (7, 15, 19).

⁵³ Harvey's Livy, sig. AAA8r: 'Ecce Romanae Virtutis Biblia, Livius; cum Caesare, et Salustio; Tacito, et Suetonio. Egnatius, et Pomp. Laetus prope Laconici, aut potius Romani, in vena Flori, et Eutropii; Suetonii, et Frontini; Val. Maximi, et Justini'; and 123, as part of a list of the best authors: 'Post Homerum, Arma Virumq[ue] canit divinum ingenium Romanum; ex ipsius Julii, et Augusti vivida, praepotentiq[ue] praxe perpolitum. Post illud divinum, ecce Livius, tam profundus politicus, quam eloquens Historicus; et certe actionum humanarum in utroq[ue] genere, tam civili, quam militari singularis Auctor. ... Nullum efficacius, aut potentius magisterium; post divina Bibliorum miracula. Sed illa extraordinaria, et e caelo: haec ordinaria, et e mundo.'

considering that this reading was a solitary affair, but it does not imply that Harvey's Augustinian reading was not goal-oriented. The marginalia about collective reading sessions simply render Harvey's role as intelligencer or facilitator of interpretations more easily visible. It shows, however, that the concept of 'action' can sometimes be difficult to pinpoint.

In explaining 'the activity of reading', Jardine and Grafton emphasised purposefulness, the sense that reading was 'intended to give rise to something'. To this general idea they connected several characteristics: it was carried out 'with strenuous attentiveness', it made use of 'job-related equipment (both machinery and techniques)' that helped process the reading materials, and it was 'normally' a collective affair, 'carried out in the company of a colleague, or a student', making it 'a public performance, rather than private meditation in its aims and character'. 'Above all', they concluded, 'this "activity of reading" characteristically envisaged some other outcome of reading beyond accumulation of information, and that envisaged outcome then shaped the relationship between reader and text'.⁵⁴ Harvey's reading of Augustine would seem to be excluded from this definition.

And yet, after investigating the forms and functions of the Augustinian references, this is not a satisfying conclusion. It is clear that Harvey did not regard his comparative exercise as a mere accumulation of information. I would therefore like to slightly expand the notion of 'action', which could help us overcome what some have perceived as a limitation of the concept. Fred Schurink and Jennifer Richards, for example, adduced the example of the sixteenth-century physician Levinus Lemnius to show how a strictly utilitarian understanding of 'active reading' would obscure a very practical, if perhaps less tangible, purpose of contemplative reading: to serve the reader's well-being.⁵⁵ In the case of Harvey's Augustinian reading, another such aim could have been self-promotion, a more elusive goal. By displaying his erudition in the margins of his books, Harvey was advertising his skills as an expert reader.

This becomes evident when we examine more closely the communicative status of these notes. Although the annotations may appear straightforward and practical, on closer inspection they reveal traces of careful posing. Why, for example, would Harvey have devoted several

⁵⁴ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 30–1, above pp. 21–2.

⁵⁵ Jennifer Richards and Fred Schurink, "The textuality and materiality of reading in early modern England", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (2010): 345–61, at 350–1.

notes to explaining the rationale of his reading of Augustine, if it had been a purely solitary affair, aimed at spiritual contemplation? Harvey's neat handwriting, too, suggests that his notes were carefully prepared. Certain slips and corrections suggest that he had made a rough draft of his notes, which he copied in the margins in a more presentable form.⁵⁶ In fact, Harvey's tidy handwriting would later be publicly ridiculed as one of the signs of his pedantry: Thomas Nashe sarcastically described how Harvey had learned 'to write a faire capitall Romane hand' to surpass '[m]any a copy-holder or magistrall scribe', suggesting that he had seen Harvey's handwriting or else knew about its particulars from someone who had.⁵⁷

Harvey actually tried to hide his meticulous care by adding pseudo-spontaneous outbursts of impatience in the margins of his Livy. These are both fascinating and telling, as they address the act of annotation itself. In Book 35 he interrupts his praise for Livy and Plutarch by exclaiming: 'But meanwhile, how many golden moments have I lost! Back now to Livy himself.'⁵⁸ There are more examples of this theatrical pose. 'Continue while the mind is passionate', he urges elsewhere, 'and rigorously link together the remaining, closely related issues'.⁵⁹ At some places this impatience serves to highlight a dramatic event in Livy's narrative. 'Let there be no delay at this point, and no rest', he writes on the page that describes how Hannibal was seriously wounded during the siege of Saguntum. 'No annotations can match the author himself, not even the sharpest aphorisms, or discussions.'⁶⁰ Paradoxically, Harvey even adds notes to criticise the very activity of annotation:

Why am I delaying so? Stop the urge to write, not even the least trifle, but only desire to read. ... This vulgar bad habit of writing often makes readers dilatory and usually makes actors cowardly.

⁵⁶ For a transcription error that suggests the use of a rough version, see Harvey's Livy, 6, note on the top of the page, with the crossed-out 'durat' repeating a previous part of the sentence: 'Ecce quoties et quomodo humanam Livii prudentiam, divina redarguit Augustini sapientia. Singularis parallelismus: et perinsigne discrimen inter cives Romanae, divinaeque Civitatis. Utriusque Politismus egregius, et plaurumque fortunatus: sed divinus tandem et firmior durat et foelicio ~~durat~~ quam humanus.' See also the unfinished annotation, on the bottom of the first page of Glareanus's commentary.

⁵⁷ Thomas Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden, or Gabriell Harvey's Hunt is Up* (London, 1596); cited by Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 8–9.

⁵⁸ Harvey's Livy, 600, note at the bottom of the page: 'Sed quot interim perdidit momenta aurea? Nunc ad ipsum Livium.'

⁵⁹ Harvey's Livy, [831], note at the bottom of the page, in Florus's *Epitome*: 'Perge, dum fervet animus: et reliqua arcte cohaerentia, stricte connecte.'

⁶⁰ Harvey's Livy, 271: 'Nec mora hic: nec requies. Nullae notae ipsi auctori pares: ne aphorismi quidem, aut discursus acerrimi. Adeo est ipse acutior ad huc, atq[ue] profundior.'

The followers of Socrates were wiser: they preferred teachings that were unwritten, spoken, preserved by memorisation. ‘Take your hand from the picture,’ runs the old saying. ‘Take the pen from your hand,’ so runs my saying now. Now on to the Phoenician, but with the eye only.⁶¹

Not just the annotator but the reader, too, should avoid too many distractions, another note advises:

Let there be a limit to annotations, aphorisms and commentaries in some way. He who pays really close attention to Livy himself, generally has abundance of political, military, and ethical comments of any kind.⁶²

Still, Harvey decided to write these words down. In doing so, he was not encouraging his readers to take concrete political or military actions, or offering a specific interpretation. He was, however, advertising his own authority as a guide in reading, emphatically. And that may precisely have been Harvey’s goal.

At the time of his Augustinian reading, Harvey was not employed by a patron to offer scholarly services.⁶³ His previous patrons Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Mildmay, Philip Sydney and Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, had died. In the late 1580s, Harvey had changed his career path by moving to London, where he had been practising in the Court of Arches since 1586. After the scholarly environment of the colleges, he found himself living in the political heart of the country, a bustling metropolis with a booming economy and a fast-growing population: a perfect place, in short, to develop a career in government.⁶⁴ Yet Harvey’s hopes to improve his position were soon disappointed. His legal practice

⁶¹ Harvey’s Livy, 149: ‘Oh quid moror? Hoc age: nihil scripturiens, ne gry quidem: sed tantummodo lecturiens: quanta potes tam solerti sagacitate, quam avida, alacriq[ue] apprehensione. Nam penitus singula eruenda, confestimq[ue] expedienda ex istis Romanarum antiquitatum monumentis. Sed scribendi hoc vulgare cacoethes, lectores facit saepe pigros, actores, plaerunq[ue] ignavos. Sapientiores Socratici, qui maluerunt agrapha, rêta, mnèmonika. Manum de tabula, inquit ille. Pennam de manu, inq[ue] ego. Iam ad Phoenicem: sed solis [sic, instead of solum] oculo.’ Cited by Jardine and Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”, 77 (slightly adapted and supplemented), above p. 75.

⁶² Harvey’s Livy, 829: ‘Modus sit in scholiis, aphorismis, discursibus, commentationibus ullo modo. Qui Livium ipsum intime animadvertit, plaerunq[ue] habet abunde politicarum, militarium, ethicarumq[ue] in omni genere animadversionum.’

⁶³ For Harvey’s London period see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 80–129.

⁶⁴ For the impact of Harvey’s move to London on his ideas about useful knowledge combining bookish learning and technical skills, see Nick Popper’s contribution to this volume ([Chapter 4](#)), ‘The English *Polydaedali*: How Gabriel Harvey read late Tudor London’.

did not prove successful and to his own frustration he soon became involved in the lengthy, vicious and very public pamphlet war with Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe.

Harvey showed himself painfully aware of his misfortune. Yet he remained convinced that his scholarly skills and expertise were not only honourable but also politically useful assets and potential sources of patronage. He opens his pamphlet *Four letters, and certain sonnets*, meant to rebut the attacks of Greene and Nashe on him and his brother Richard, with a recommendation letter in which Harvey's friend and townsman Christopher Bird introduced him to the Dutch consul Emanuel van Meteren as 'a very excellent generall Scholler' who was not just interested in the Dutchman's 'antiquities & monuments' but also keen for a conversation 'touching the state of forraine countries'.⁶⁵ Van Meteren, whose renown rests mostly on his later success as a historian, was an active trader in diplomatic intelligence, as also reflected in Bird's grateful acknowledgement, in the same letter, of 'two letters of foreign news' that Van Meteren had sent him.⁶⁶ In his reply to Bird, the second letter in the pamphlet, Harvey ends by expressing his willingness to be of service to those in government.⁶⁷

In line with this ambition, Harvey could have regarded his Augustinian references as evidence of his skills in offering useful expert advice to potential patrons. Even though there is no mention of concrete political or military outcomes, as for instance in the pragmatic reading with Thomas Smith junior, Harvey's solitary Augustinian reading of Livy could have served at least two, connected goals. Firstly, it enriched Harvey's historical insight into Livy's history. As we have seen, Harvey was convinced that men of action would benefit from *City of God*, and that there was hardly any 'competent judge of Roman history' who did

⁶⁵ Harvey, *Four letters, and certaine Sonnets: Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused: But incidently of diuers excellent persons, and some matters of note* (London: John Wolfe, 1592), 3.

⁶⁶ Harvey, *Four letters*, 3. For Van Meteren as trader in intelligence see Helmer Helmers, 'History as diplomacy in early modern Europe: Emanuel van Meteren's *Historia Belgica* and international relations', *Renaissance Studies* 36, no. 1 (2022): 27–45, esp. 30–6.

⁶⁷ Harvey, *Four letters*, 14–15, where Harvey offers to collect and send political news to Bird: 'The next weeke, you may happily haue a letter of such French occurrences, and other intelligences, as the credible relation of inquisitiue frendes, or imployed straungers shall acquaint me withall' and imagines how honourable it would be to write a history himself: 'Were I of sufficient discourse, to record the valiauntest, and memorablist actes of the world; I would count it a felicity, to haue the oportunity of so egregious, and heroicall an argument: not pleaurably deuised in counterfaite names, but admirably represented to the eie of France, and the eare of the world, in the persons of royall, and most puissaunt knights: how singularlie worthy of most glorious, and immortal fame? Gallant wits, and braue pennes may honorably bethinke themselues: and euen ambitiouslye frame their stile to a noble emulation of Liuy, Homer, and the diuinest spirits of all ages: I returne to my priuate businesse.'

not rely on its wisdom.⁶⁸ His scholarly skills could thus also help others in gaining a deeper understanding of the subject matter. Secondly, the form of Harvey's reading, presented as a systematic comparison, using references, often ordered as lists, presented a model of a productive reading practice to approach Livy.⁶⁹ In this same way the Augustinian annotations could be regarded as a demonstration of his relevance as a versatile and conscientious facilitator. His comparative reading of Augustine and Livy was not just rewarding in itself but also useful and, to return to his own words, 'certainly worthy of imitation'.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Harvey's Livy, sig. Z5r: 'Vniusq[ue] haec opinio Lectoris est, vix quenq[uam] esse Romanae historiae competentem iudicem, cui non penitus fuerit praecognita Augustini de ciuitate Dei sapientia.' Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 44–5, above pp. 37–8.

⁶⁹ On Harvey's use of lists of examples, authors, experts and books, see Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 70–1, above pp. 67–8; Popper, "The English *Polydaedali*", 364–71, above pp. 128–36.

⁷⁰ Harvey's Livy, sig. [a8v] (as in fn. 2): 'Tandem curiose contuli Civitatem hominum, cum Civitate Dei: et mirifice placuit collatio, profuitque syncretis, tam politica, quam theologica. Certe axiozelus parallelismus.'

Pragmatic readers: Knowledge transactions and scholarly services in late Elizabethan England*

Lisa Jardine and William Sherman

In 1595, after his Oxford studies and continental travels, Henry Wotton entered the service of the earl of Essex.¹ Among the earliest tasks he undertook was an English synopsis and intellectual analysis of a Spanish work ‘the which was lately Imprinted and Written (as it is supposed) by *Antonio Peres* [Perez], sometimes Secretary to the King of *Spain*, and now residing in *London*’, the *Pedacos de Historia* (or *Relaciones*, as the work became known in its later editions).² This ‘scholarly service’ rendered to Wotton’s new master appropriately exploited his considerable intellectual talents – his fluent Spanish, his knowledge of European affairs, his training in methodical analysis. Together with his *The State of Christendom*, it established Wotton as the kind of scholar who could provide Essex with knowledge profitable to the enterprise of government. Pearsall Smith argues that *The State of Christendom* was written in 1594, and that, in the terms of the present chapter, it was designed to draw Wotton to the attention of Essex as a scholar with the kind of ‘intelligence’ which would be valuable in the service of a prominent political

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¹ On Wotton see L. Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907).

² G. Ungerer, *A Spaniard in Elizabethan England: The correspondence of Antonio Perez’s exile* (London: Tamesis Books, 1976), vol. 2, 280.

figure.³ This kind of activity, crossing as it clearly does both disciplinary and professional boundaries, and hovering between the private and the public realm, we call a 'knowledge transaction'; the working relationship established between noble employer and his professional reader is what we call in our title 'scholarly service'. In this chapter we shall argue that knowledge transactions and the private service relations they establish between scholars and those who employ them form a vital part of our understanding of the intellectual and political life of England in the 1580s and 1590s.⁴

Let us begin by looking a little further at our notion of 'scholarly service', still in the company of Henry Wotton. Five years before he successfully gained employment with the earl of Essex, Wotton sought to establish a similar service relationship with Lord Zouche. On 20 November 1590 he wrote to Zouche, who was then at Altdorf. At this date Wotton was resident in Vienna. He had, in fact, procured lodgings with the imperial librarian, Dr Hugo Blotius. His study there opened out on to the library itself, to whose treasures he enjoyed unrestricted access. Wotton begins his letter with a report on general political news, the kind of foreign intelligence which he calls his 'plain kind of service':

The Assembly at Franckfordt is dissolved without anything done, and much disagreement between the Palatine agent and the Bishop of Wirtzburg. I heard the Venice ambassador's secretary tell an Italian so much with wonderful joy. Other important matter we have none. As the times alter, this my plain kind of service shall be very ready to let your Honour know it.

At this point the focus of the information he has been compiling sharpens, and Wotton indicates that he is consciously in competition with other news gatherers:

The secretest debates about the Empire I have good means to learn by the gentleman with whom I live yet, and he hath given me promise of meeting in half way, for exchange of the like out of England. I will always take care to write that which I think is

³ It is interesting to note, therefore, that the semi-fictional context for the work is advice sought from a young exile abroad on the part of an English lord. See Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters*, vol. 1, 241–99.

⁴ On the particular resonances of the term 'private' in the period see W. Sherman, "'A living library': The readings and writings of John Dee", PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1991, published as *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

least known unto your Honour. What the Intelligentiary Letters of Augsburg, Lyons and Venice bring, Mr. Osborn I know fails not to advertise. My duty and best diligence shall be bestowed upon that which no money or charges can come unto.⁵

He proceeds to detail some of the varied kinds of material he has gathered:

Concerning the model of the Emperor's lust-house, your Honour may trust me with it.⁶ I hope to send withal a view of all the present Almaigne princes, their Courts, chief affinity, riches and strength, and their inclinations, as they lean to this or that extremity, not otherwise than they are found this year 1590. I have lighted upon a notable man, and good books in that kind of argument; what else I can with labour come unto that belongs to the state-life, or may any way delight your Honour, I am bound to be right willing and glad to perform. There are certain mathematical authors to be sold here, in my opinion wonderful good cheap, whose names and price I have thought good to set down *a basso delle lettere*. If it please your Honour to have them, upon conference with Pretorius, how he finds them priced elsewhere, I will upon word received lay out the money, and take order for the conveyance; if not, there is no harm done. The books rest till I hear from your Honour.⁷

What is of interest to us here is the combination which Wotton offers Zouche of both 'intelligence' (information about contemporary politics and events: the plat of the emperor's summer house; the political state of affairs in Frankfurt), and what we would term 'learning' – books and intellectual debates. The scholar, Wotton, offers these together as the knowledge transaction he negotiates with the person he regards as his potential patron. They apparently form a 'package' of skills which the young Wotton believes will enhance his prospects of service with Lord Zouche.⁸ The correspondence (of which we only have Wotton's side)

⁵ For Osborn, see Hammer, "The bright shininge sparke".

⁶ See L. R. Shelby, *John Rogers: Tudor military engineer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

⁷ Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters*, vol. 1, 245–6.

⁸ The package is remarkably similar to the following, by Francis Bacon: 'The sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge; wherein many things are reserved, which kings with their treasure cannot buy, nor with their force command; their spials and intelligencers can give no news of them, their seamen and discoverers cannot sail where they grow.' 'Mr. Bacon in praise of knowledge', British Library, Harleian MS 6797, fol. 47, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis and D. D. Heath (London: Longman, 1862), vol. 8, 125–6.

shows Wotton trying to construct a relationship of mutual obligation and indebtedness between himself and Lord Zouche, by contracting promises of future knowledge he can acquire for him, further books he can obtain, desirable pieces of information he might be able to lay his hands on.

A glimpse of the correspondence from three months later reveals that the close relationship between 'learning' and 'intelligence' had intensified and become a still more explicit part of what Wotton offered to Zouche in the way of service. Their exchange continues to deal primarily in books, with the two men acting as each other's agent in the continental book trade:

Your Honour's books which I delivered very safely, trussed up to the merchant, upon conference with him, I thought convenient to stay a while, till his next sending of certain wares upon the river towards Nuremburg ... The sum is not great, and if your Honour would allow me leave to be so bold, I would crave the employing of it in a better use for me there, because here (I thank God) I want no money for as far as my affairs go. At my being in Altorph, I remember myself to have dealt with Glasianus [Professor of Oratory at Altdorf] for a Polybius in Greek, which he signified unto me he could well help me unto: if by his means I might procure me a copy of that author ancienter than MDXXX (because I have Perot's edition of that year already), I should be very glad and most earnestly entreat your Honour at his visiting of you, to motion it unto him in my behalf. I desire the bare Greek without the Latin version, if it be possible.

But Wotton had at his disposal – and was able to offer – books and manuscripts with a much higher (specifically political) value:

We have here in his Majesty's library notable discourses of military matters, and in that sort a book of especial estimation, written in Italian, having many experiences of fortification and the like. If your Honour have a fancy to it, I will cause it to be written out, which I desire to hear in the next, because the book is in quarto and of a reasonable quantity. If in any other particular state-point you crave the like, no doubt whatsoever the argument be, amongst 9,000 volumes (whereof the most part are manuscript) we shall find some author to please your Honour. For my part my chief care and charges are bestowed in Greek and Dutch writers and secret letters of the Empire, of which, in my profession, I have some that

might make a great man beholding to me; but I will not flatter myself so far. Whatsoever it be, or can become unto by exchange of those I have, or gain otherwise, shall ever be, and most worthily are, only at your Honour's commandment.⁹

Here the focus sharpens to allow something close to barefaced bargaining for patronage: Wotton has access to 9,000 volumes, among which there is bound to be found information of political or tactical value to Zouche. Some of the manuscript material is possibly politically sensitive: 'I have some that might make a great man beholding to me.'

Wotton offers Zouche his service in a variety of related knowledge transactions: the providing of local knowledge; detail of the availability of scholarly books (a transaction in which he and his master participate more symmetrically, since each helps the other in book acquisition); the obtaining and organising of detailed textual material relevant to statecraft, including transcription, abridgement and compilation; and the processing of written material on secret matters of diplomatic or political interest. This kind of 'intelligence' plainly embraces both sensitive and innocuous, scholarly and political knowledge, and elides the functions of information gatherer and spy. As a version of 'scholarly service' – secret counsel from an informant with scholarly training in synthesising knowledge from a range of sources – it suggests the possibility of real scholarly influence in the political domain. It sets in a different light, for instance, that infamous and ill-fated liaison between scholar and political master in the Essex circle – between Essex and Henry Cuffe.¹⁰

By the 1590s, we are suggesting, scholarly readers are providing a highly specific (though not yet institutionally regularised) form of private service for politically involved public figures. Already in 1581, in his *Positions*, Richard Mulcaster emphasises the value of such service, in terms which take for granted its status as recognised *employment* for academics (we shall come in a moment to the question of 'hire' which Mulcaster raises):

For *readers* of yeares, of sufficiencie, of continuance, methinke I durst enter into some combat that it were beyonde all crie profitable, and necessarie, to haue whom to follow, and of whom to learn how to direct our studies ... They that haue bene acquainted with cunning *readers* any where will subscribe to this I know.

⁹ Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters*, vol. 1, 255–6.

¹⁰ See Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action": How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78, above pp. 24–6.

Priuate Studie tied to one booke led by one braine ... cannot compare for iudicial learning with the benefit of hearing one, nay of repeating to one vpon interrogatories after reading, to trie his judgement, his keeping, and remembrance: which one hath red, and digested all the best bookes, or at the least the best bookes in that kinde, whereof he maketh profession ... Whose seruice, for the benefit that comes from them will saue their whole hire in very bookes, which the student shall not so much neede, when his *reader* is his librarie ... And therefore that great sufficiencie doth still call for great recompence to be tyed a stake for it all ones life time.¹¹

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, efficient knowledge-gathering was an integral part of the activities of those jostling for power, and scholarly readers and their 'knowledge transactions' had become a recognised part of these bids for influence in political decision-making.¹² There is a nice example of the way this kind of service functioned from the *employer's* end, in the surviving correspondence of Francis Bacon. In a 1593 letter, the earl of Essex requests a specific research task from Bacon:

The Queen did require of me a draft of an Instruction for matter of intelligence, seeming willing now she hath sworn me one of her Council to use my service in that way ... The places are Rheims and Rome. Mr. Phillips hath known Mr. Secretary's courses in such matters; so as I may have counsel from you and precedents from him. I pray you, as your leisure may serve, send me your conceipt as soon as you can, for I know not how soon I shall be called on. I will draw some notes of mine own which I will reform and enlarge by yours.¹³

Wotton, in one of his commonplace books, describes scholarly reading of this kind suitable for responding to questions on military matters:

In reading of history, a soldier should draw the platform of battles he meets with, plant the squadrons and order the whole frame

¹¹ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherein those Primitive Circumstances be Examined, which are Necessarye for the Training vp of Children* ... (London, 1581), 254–5. We are extremely grateful to Warren Boutcher for providing us with this quotation at exactly the appropriate moment.

¹² See Hammer, "The bright shininge sparke".

¹³ *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding (London: Longman, 1861), vol. 1, 251.

as he finds it written, so he shall print it firmly in his mind and apt his mind for actions. A politike should find the characters of personages and apply them to some of the Court he lives in, which will likewise confirm his memory and give scope and matter for conjecture and invention. A friend to confer readings together most necessary.¹⁴

This, then, provides a context for looking at some surviving late sixteenth-century exercises in reading which might qualify as 'scholarly services'. These include Gabriel Harvey's famously copious marginal annotations, in his extensive library of books on subjects ranging from oratory to military battle formations.¹⁵ But before we turn to Harvey's marginal annotations, what were the financial and professional implications of this kind of scholarly reading? We need some kind of answer to this question, in order to account for the fact that traditional Tudor history has found no trace of this knowledge support system, which, we are suggesting, extended beyond the circle of officially retained (and publicly remunerated) secretaries residing at Leicester house (subsequently Essex house).

In the *Apology* he produced after the disgrace of the earl of Essex, Francis Bacon wrote of his service to Essex in the early 1590s:

I applied myself to him in a manner which I think happeneth rarely among men; ... neglecting the Queen's service, mine own fortune, and in a sort my vocation, I did nothing but advise and ruminate with myself to the best of my understanding, propositions and memorials of anything that might concern his Lordship's honour, fortune, or service.¹⁶

¹⁴ Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters*, vol. 2, 494.

¹⁵ The present piece of work on Harvey's annotations is a companion piece to one recently completed by Tony Grafton and Lisa Jardine on marginalia from the period 1580–90, in Harvey's copy of Livy's *Decades*. See Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action". There is actually evidence among the marginalia of a Harvey connection with Essex. Harvey's copy of Richard Davies, *A Funerall Sermon Preached the xxvi Day of November ... at the Buriall of the Right Honourable Walter Earle of Essex and Ewe* (London, 1577), now in the library of St John's College, Oxford, bears the following inscription on its title page: 'Ex dono nobilissimi domini, Robert Devereuxii, Comitis Essexii.' At the end of the volume are the initials 'R.E.'. see V. F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 208. But that connection is not necessary to the argument here, which suggests a type of activity, not a particular relationship with Essex.

¹⁶ *Letters and Life*, ed. Spedding, vol. 1, 106. Lady Bacon wrote to Anthony Bacon in 1594: 'Some do think that yo' Brother and yow make to great a note of the Earles favo'. Ungerer, *A Spaniard*, vol. 1, 221.

To the modern reader, the intensity of such an account of Bacon's devoted private service suggests an indecorous level of emotional involvement. But this is because the services thus rendered take place beyond the public domain, within the intimate space of the noble employer's household. Because of its 'private' nature, all reference to material reward is couched in a coded language of friendship and exchange, mutual obligation and indebtedness. The contractual bases of the service (who has contracted to offer what services to whom, in return for what) are all but invisible; they leave minimal traces in the sphere of 'business'.¹⁷ The question we need to ask here is, how were those who provided such services rewarded? In other words, if service lay somewhere between rank-equal friendship and servant's hire, how did the individual convert his 'credit' with his master into 'profit' (the means to survive materially)? How did he turn his credit with one master into the kind of 'worth' which would gain him further employment in other households?¹⁸

The well-documented case of Antonio Perez, the Spanish secretary who fled to England in the 1590s, offers the beginnings of an answer to this question. Throughout his period in England, during which he provided Elizabeth and her ministers with intelligence on Spanish affairs, Perez's upkeep appears to have been primarily the responsibility of the earl of Essex. When the support of Perez became an undue financial burden, Essex sought support from the queen, who (according to a report of Anthony Bacon's) agreed to make a contribution.¹⁹ But no direct settlement was made on Perez himself, either in land (which

¹⁷ Even in the period itself, private service could attract criticism from contemporaries precisely on grounds of a dangerous closeness between the parties. See the infamous letter from Lady Bacon to Francis concerning his relations with Perez, with whom he was linked by bonds of mutual service to Essex. Ungerer, *A Spaniard*, vol. 1, 219–20. According to Alan Bray, the relationship of *service* between a noble master and a servant of only slightly lesser rank, in the later sixteenth century, was regularly expressed as one of extreme intimacy. A. Bray, 'Homosexuality and the signs of male friendship in Elizabethan England', *History Workshop Journal* 29 (1990): 1–19. See also L. Jardine, 'Twins and travesties: Gender, dependency and sexual availability in *Twelfth Night*', in *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance stage*, ed. S. Zimmerman (New York: Routledge, 1992), 27–38; J. Barrell, 'Editing out: The discourse of patronage and Shakespeare's twenty-ninth sonnet', in J. Barrell, *Poetry and Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 18–43.

¹⁸ 'Debt', 'credit' and 'profit' are terms freely used in the period by those in exactly the kind of service relationship which we are describing. See, for instance, Wotton's letters to Zouche. That such services were paid for is confirmed by the Mulcaster passage above.

¹⁹ The arrangement is reported in a letter from Anthony Bacon to his brother Francis in December 1594: 'The occasion was verie fitlie ministred by my Lo. [Essex] himself by aduertysing to Sr Perez that the Queen had signed at ij of the clocke, and had giuen him a hundred poundes lande in fee simple and 30 li in parckes, which for her quietnes sake and in respecte of his frende he was content to accept without any further contestacion.' Ungerer, *A Spaniard*, vol. 1, 222–3, no. 109; see also *Letters and Life*, ed. Spedding, vol. 1, 324.

as a foreigner he could not, in any case, hold), or in terms of grants or pensions. Instead, settlements in land to precisely the amounts pledged by Elizabeth were settled on two of Essex's household servants (lesser gentlemen, quite suitably entitled to handle the earl's money, and one of whom Essex had put in charge of overseeing Perez's mobile household during his stay in England).²⁰ We have to presume that they passed the monies raised on the properties to Perez; but without Anthony Bacon's letter, this financial transaction between Essex and Perez would be invisible. In other words, the 'hire' did not necessitate exchange of money between master and 'friend' but passed indirectly through those whose service relationship was socially unambiguous.

Another curious document, this time relating to Francis Bacon, provides further evidence of there being an arrangement available, one that circumvented the awkwardness of supporting financially those whose service could not be publicly acknowledged without compromising the secrecy or intimacy of the bond. In the first 'Life and Letters' volume of the *Complete Works*, James Spedding transcribes a set of accounts for 1593–5, itemising 'Money paid by Mr. Anthony Bacon to his brother Francis and to Sir Anthony Standen'.²¹ Spedding identifies these sums as 'debts' apparently incurred by Francis Bacon with his brother Anthony, and he adds the following note:

²⁰ Ungerer, *A Spaniard*, vol. 1, 223. See also no. 199 for further details. On Meyricke's role as financial go-between for Essex and Perez see Ungerer, *A Spaniard*, vol. 1, 189.

²¹ *Letters and Life*, ed. Spedding, vol. 1, 322. The items in this set of accounts run: '1593 A part ce qui a este paye a Mons. Senhouse. / Le 21^{me} de Septembre, a Mons. Francois Bacon £5 / 11 de Septembre, 93, a Pierre pour Mr. Fr. Bacon £20 / 26 d'Octob. 1593, a Pierre £20 / 30 d'Octob. /93 a Mr. Fr. Bacon £1 / 31 d'Octob. /93, a Kellet pour Mons. Fr. Bacon £23 / 18 de Novem. 93, a Ashpoole pour Mr. Fr. Bacon £4 / 6 de May, /94, a Pierre pour Mr. Fr. Bacon £10 / 11 de Juillet, /94, a Mr. Fr. Bacon £60 / 31 de'Aoust, /94, a Mr Fr. Bacon £100 / 9 Septemb. /94, a Mr. Fr. Bacon £50 / 29 Janvier, /94, a Mr Trott pour Mr. Fr. Bacon £30 / 8 Mars, /94, a Rich. Grome pour Mr. Fr. Bacon £10 / 14 d'April, a Kellet pour Mr. Fr. Bacon £44 / 14 Juin, /95, a Mons. Sugden par son homme £50 / £373.' During the period between August 1593 to at least April 1594, Anthony Bacon was laid up with chronic gout, first at his home in Gorhambury and then at Redbourne. During this period Anthony Bacon continued to operate as 'controller' for the network of continental spies he operated on behalf of the earl of Essex. 'From [Gorhambury], [Anthony] Bacon could continue to receive the streams of intelligence which came to him from Scotland and the Continent. On the other hand, he needed someone whom he could trust to convey this sensitive information to the earl of Essex, who was generally resident at Court. It was precisely this function which [Anthony] Standen came to share with Francis Bacon during what proved to be Anthony Bacon's long sojourn in Hertfordshire. Receiving confidential dispatches from his friend, he conveyed them to Essex in private meetings in the earl's chambers at Court. [Standen] became, therefore, one of his patron's frequent and privileged companions, intimate at once with the earl's greatest secrets and his person.' Paul Hammer, 'An Elizabethan spy who came in from the cold: The return of Anthony Standen to England in 1593', *Historical Research* 65 (1992): 277–95. Anthony Standen was employed as an intelligencer on the continent, first by Burghley, and then by Essex – the changeover in patronage took place during the period of these accounts.

It is not often, I suppose, that a relation of debtor and creditor like this continues long even between the best of friends without making their intercourse more or less uncomfortable; especially when the lender has so good an excuse for objecting to fresh demands as that of not being able to lend more without embarrassing himself, and placing himself under fresh obligations to other acquaintance. It is worth recording therefore that in all this correspondence I find no trace of disagreement between these brothers. Not a word of reproof, expostulation, reluctance, or impatience drops from Anthony; ... and the fact deserves notice, ... as affording a strong presumption that *he* at least, who had the best means of judging and was every way so much interested, did not disapprove of the course which Francis was taking, or suspect him of prodigality or carelessness.²²

The reason for Anthony Bacon's uncharacteristic reasonableness over these 'debts', we suggest, is that the sums which passed from Anthony to Francis, via discreet intermediaries (who signed the papers acknowledging receipt of the money),²³ or occasionally in person, were actually payments for the delicate private services which we know from other sources he was conducting during this period – namely, the transmission of highly sensitive material between Anthony Bacon and the earl of Essex.²⁴ Since the concept of 'hire' is singularly inappropriate to a relationship not just of social peers but of brothers, the money is acknowledged in the form of an 'indebtedness' – a bond of obligation forged by the transaction.²⁵

²² *Letters and Life*, ed. Spedding, vol. 1, 322–3. In thinking about the implications of 'obligation', 'debt', 'hire' and bonds versus money transactions we have been given invaluable advice by Craig Muldrew.

²³ *Letters and Life*, ed. Spedding, vol. 1, 322.

²⁴ One might note that in Shakespeare's *King Lear* it is precisely such 'private service' which Kent offers Lear, when, in disguise, he re-contracts himself to the service of the king: 'Lear. What services canst thou do? Kent. I can keep honest counsel, ride, run, mar a / curious tale in telling it, and deliver a plain / message bluntly' (1.4.33–6).

²⁵ As we saw above, Francis Bacon was performing other 'private services' of a specifically knowledge transaction kind for Essex during exactly this period. So it is quite possible that the payment is *actually* made by the earl of Essex (whom both Standen and Francis Bacon regard as their 'Lord' in this period) but is made *via* Anthony Bacon. Since Anthony provides the money, there is really a debt to him, which represents an obligation between him and the earl of Essex. If Essex never paid up for such transactions (relying on more social kinds of credit and debt to bind Anthony Bacon to him), this might begin to explain the chronic and continuing money shortages of the Bacon brothers. On the proliferation of bonds and the absence of hard currency in England in the period see J. C. Muldrew, 'Credit, market relations and debt litigation in late seventeenth century England, with special reference to King's Lynn', PhD dissertation, Cambridge University, 1990.

Francis has use of the money (reward for his service), but it is registered as a debt to Anthony (a bond of mutual obligation between them).²⁶ The key concept, in other words, is the one of ‘obligation’, or ‘indebtedness’ in the *broad* sense of a mutual bond, on the basis of the exchange of service and reward.²⁷

Recent work on the scholar John Dee suggests that much of the mystery surrounding his role in Elizabethan intellectual and political life derives from the marginality – and often invisibility – of scholarly service relationships.²⁸ Although Dee was fastidious about recording in his diary the details of his transactions with prominent members of the government and court circles, the economics of these knowledge transactions are not presented in terms familiar to the modern reader. They are not expressed in terms of remuneration, but rather as future *expectations*, promises of friendship and pledges of support at times of need. This package of promises adds up to Dee’s ‘credit’ – what he is ‘worth’ in the public eye as a consequence not just of his cultivated intellectual credibility, but of his backing and connections. The tokens of reward through which services rendered can be traced within this kind of credit system are more often gifts of food or jewellery (notionally, ‘gifts’) than currency. Intellectual services of this kind, with which Wotton provided the Lord Zouche, or with which Harvey provided Edward Dyer, Philip Sidney and the younger Thomas Smith,²⁹ or Cuffe provided the earl of Southampton, or Anthony and Francis Bacon the earl of Essex, masquerade as exchanges under the rubric of male friendship but are covertly acknowledged as ‘knowledge transactions’, with a fee, a material benefit, attached to them. There was, apparently, a living (or part of a living) to be made, during the 1580s and 1590s, by providing intellectual service for members of an outer circle of Elizabeth’s government.

²⁶ Francis Bacon could, apparently, borrow further money on the basis of his ‘credit’ with Anthony and Essex. See, for example, Ungerer, *A Spaniard*, vol. 1, 222. The ‘debts’ will only be discharged, as far as we can judge, upon the death of one of the parties, or some unsatisfactory termination of their relationship. See the memorandum of October 1594, in which Francis totals his debt to Anthony on paper ‘after a fit of the stone’. *Letters and Life*, ed. Spedding, vol. 1, 322. When Lord Zouche was on the point of returning to England, Henry Wotton wrote to him acknowledging a ‘debt’ incurred towards him (i.e. monies received in exchange for the private services described in the correspondence): ‘I do most humbly crave to know ... when your determination is to draw towards England, that I may provide some convenient means to pay your Honour those thirty crowns, to whom I am besides in debt as much as my soul can compass.’ Pearsall Smith, *Life and Letters*, vol. 1, 292.

²⁷ For a legal version of ‘debt’ in this period which appears to square with the picture we have reconstructed, see J. H. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History* (London: Butterworths, 1979), 266–71, 282–7 (especially the discussion of ‘debt on an obligation’, 269–71).

²⁸ See Sherman, *John Dee*.

²⁹ See Jardine and Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”.

In 1597, John Dee presented Edward Dyer with a reading of his own *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* written 20 years earlier, in 1577. He did so in response to a specific request for advice on a political matter in a letter from Dyer (now lost). The reading Dee proposed adapted his existing printed text for a specific government-directed purpose. Dyer had requested Dee's scholarly advice on 'Her Ma.^{ties} Title Royall and Sea Soveraigntie in S^t Georges Chanell; and in all the Brytish Ocean; any man[er] or way next envyroninge, or next adioynng vnto, England, Ireland and Scotland, or any of the lesser Iles to them apperteyning'.³⁰ Dee responded by providing Dyer with a reading 'route' through his own work, designed to extract the information requested.³¹ Dee's reading instructions are prefaced by a direct announcement of an understood service relationship with Dyer: 'I thank yo^r Wurship highly, that you still contynue yo^r true love & good will toward me: and allso remayne firmly perswaded of my constant redines, to do any thing of service, or pleasure, unto yo^r Wurship, that doth, or shall lye in my power, to performe.'³² His response to Dyer's question, concerning 'Her Ma.^{ties} Title Royall and Sea Soveraigntie in S^t Georges Channell: and in all the Brytish Ocean', was pragmatic and precise, and took the form of what Dee termed a 'directed reading'. He was to look back at Dee's published discussion of territorial waters (and Dee courteously furnished a copy of the original book) and adapt it to the current question:

There, in the 20th page of that boke, (against the figure, 9, in the margent) begynneth matter, inducing the consideration of her

³⁰ British Library, Harleian MS 249, fols. 95–105.

³¹ Sherman, "A living library", 289–99. Early in their careers, both Gabriel Harvey and Edmund Spenser aspired to this kind of relationship with Dyer, or so the phrasing of remarks in the so-called Harvey letter-book, and among Harvey's marginalia, suggest. In a letter transcribed in the letter book, Spenser [Immerito] writes: 'The twoe worthy gentlemen, Mr. Sidney and Mr. Dyer, have me, I thanke them, in sum use of familiaritye; of whom and to whome what speache passith for your creddite and estimation, I leave yourselfe to conceyve, havinge allwayes so well conceyvid of my unfainid affection and good will towards you.' British Library, Sloane MS 93, 53r. See also Harvey's *Livy*, 277: 'Two outstanding courtiers thanked me for this political and historical inquiry: Sir Edward Dyer and Sir Edward Denny. But let the project itself – once fully tried – be my reward. All I want is a lively and effective political analysis of the chief histories: especially when Hannibal and Scipio, Marius and Sylla, Pompey and Caesar flourished' (Pro hac politica, historica[ue] animaduersione, magnas mihi gratias egerunt duo pra[e]clari aulici; eques Eduardus Dierus, et eques Eduardus Denneius. Sed res ipsa agat gratias, penitus probata: nec quicq[ue] vehementius opto, quàm viam, efficacemq[ue] summarum historiarum politicam analysin. Pra[e]sertim, cum Annibal, et Scipio; Marius, et Sylla; Pompeius, et Ca[es]ar in flore). There is further evidence of Harvey's personal contact with both Dyer and Essex on fol. 422v of Harvey's Chaucer, British Library, Additional MS 42518.

³² Sherman, "A living library", 289–90.

Ma:^{ties} Royall Sealimits ... And herevpon, in the 21[st] page, both in the Text, and also in the Margent, is pregnant matter conveyned ... Then, peradventure, the Consequences of the matter, will lead you on, to reade the 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and vnto the middle of the 27 page ... Afterward you may pass ou[er], to the 37 page: and there (in the .15th. lyne, from the ende of that page) you may begin againe, to reade ... and so you may hold on, till you haue attentifely, red ouer the 38[th] page, wholly, and so much of the 39th, as will bring you, to the Conclusion of that extraordinarie discourse: (almost abowte the middest of that page,) ending with this worde, *Opportuntie* ... Returning againe, to yo^r present purpose; Yt will not be impertinent to your Consideration, to procede consequently, in reading of the 54th, 55, 56, and 57 pages ... Yet, a little more, your paynes takinge, will gete you some more matter, here & there, till you co[m]me to the end of the boke. The Marginall Notes, sometimes, are of great moment.³³

In summer 1597 the Privy Council was engaged in the escalating conflict between the English Merchant Adventurers and the merchants of the Hanseatic League. During these months England's commercial relations with northern Europe had degenerated: the Merchant Adventurers were accused of monopolising trade and of harassing the Hanseatic merchants in England. In August 1597, Emperor Rudolph II issued a decree which effectively banned trade with the English merchants. During the next months the interested parties exchanged diplomats at a furious pace. To support the English negotiators and buttress the English claims, the government clearly consulted outside experts. Several of their reports survive in the State Papers: an anonymous paper offered 'reasons to prove the Merchant Adventurers cloth trade on the River Elbe', and Laurence Thompson produced a comprehensive treatise entitled 'Assertio veritatis de legitima interceptione Ansiaticarum Navium, contra anonymum calumniatorem'. Dee's advice to Dyer belongs alongside such advice – scholarly services rendered to the Elizabethan government.³⁴ The Dee–Dyer exchange offers a glimpse of the complicated workings of knowledge transactions along a submerged chain (from academic margins to political centre) of scholarly service.

A more fully documented example of scholarly services survives in the case of Gabriel Harvey, though the 'credit' arrangements are equally

³³ Sherman, "A living library", 290.

³⁴ Sherman, "A living library", 297–8.

obscure today. Harvey was a ‘reader’ (in something like Mulcaster’s sense) for a group of individuals which included Sir Philip Sidney, Thomas Preston and the younger Thomas Smith.³⁵ Jardine and Grafton recently reconstructed a possible context for a set of readings carried out in 1580, when Harvey was officially employed as a secretary by the earl of Leicester. Here we shall be looking at some further knowledge transactions of Harvey’s from around this period: readings of legal texts, centred on the years 1579–84. We suggest that in this period of comparative public visibility (for an academic!), Harvey’s services might well have been sought for ‘knowledge transactions’ of the kind we have been describing. He became a fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in late 1578, commenced study of the civil law and gained his Bachelor of Law degree in 1584. Harvey and Spenser’s joint publications date from 1579–80 – publications which in the present context look very like carefully judged samples of informed opinion, for the non-specialist reader, of the kind we showed Wotton offering Zouche at the beginning of this chapter.³⁶ In autumn 1580 Harvey entered the earl of Leicester’s official service, briefly, as a secretary.³⁷

The volumes from this period on whose marginalia our treatment of Harvey’s particular kind of reading, or ‘knowledge transaction’, is based are:

Ioachim Hopperus, *In veram Iurisprudentiam Isagoges ad filium Libri octo ...* (Cologne, 1580);³⁸

Nicolaus Vigelius, *Iuris civilis totius absolutissima Methodus ...* (Basel: J. Oporinus, 1561);³⁹

³⁵ Jardine and Grafton, “‘Studied for action’”.

³⁶ See the epistle dedicatory to Spenser, *The shepheardes calender conteyning twelue æglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes* (London, 1579), and Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey, *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed betweene tvvo vniuersitie men: touching the earthquake in Aprill last, and our English reformed versifying* (London, 1580), entered Stationers’ Register, 30 June 1580).

³⁷ Spenser was a confidential emissary in Leicester’s service in 1579; when he left for Ireland, as secretary to Lord Grey, in August 1580, Harvey apparently took his place. See Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 68. During his residence at Leicester House Harvey would have been a conventional secretary, presumably receiving a stipend; when *not* part of a noble household we argue that he becomes a ‘scholarly reader’ of the type we are discussing, and his employment enters the realm of ‘private service’.

³⁸ British Library, London c.60.e.14. ‘Gabrielis Harveij, 1580’ on title page. Contains the *Elementorum iuris, sive principiorum iusti et iniusti*. At the bottom of page 449, Harvey indicates that he reread the Hopper in 1581: ‘Bis in die. Aureum vnus diei pensum. 1581. gabriel haruejus. J.C.’

³⁹ Folio. Gonville and Caius Library, Cambridge H.6.12, title page: ‘Gabrielis Harueij. 1580. Mense Aprile.’ ‘Arte, et Virtute.’ Not in Stern. A note on the final endpaper indicates a 1581

Ioannis Freigius, *Paratitla seu synopsis Pandectarum iuris ciuilib*
(Basel, [1583]).⁴⁰

Within the ‘knowledge transaction’ context of service which we have been describing, Harvey’s annotations in these volumes signpost the text for two distinct stages of directed reading. The first provides a reading ‘route’ or ‘path’ through the text (of the Vigelius) to facilitate another reader’s speedy grasp of the contents. The second is ‘pragmatic’, in something like the specifically legal Ciceronian sense, in that its purpose is systematically to accumulate legal material to be produced (on behalf of someone else) to answer a particular legal question.⁴¹ But this second kind of reading also contains the possibility of something more like our modern understanding of ‘pragmatic’ – available for

reading for this volume also: ‘In Vigelij methodo iuris Pontificij, Lugduni apud Junctam excusa 1581’ (and a number of notes in the body of the text refer to Vigelius’s *Methodus iuris Pontificij*). We are grateful to the Master and Fellows of Caius College for permission to consult this volume.

⁴⁰ Private collection, deposited in the Princeton University Library, title page: ‘Gabrielis Harueij. 1583. Arte, et Virtute.’ We are grateful to the owner, and to Princeton University Library, for allowing us access to this volume. In a fuller version of this paper, a further group of volumes are obvious candidates for inclusion: Duarenus, *De sacris ecclesiae ministeris ac beneficiis libri VIII. In quibus quicquid ad plenam Iuris Pontificij cognitionem necessarium est, breuiter ac dilucide explicatum continetur* (Paris, 1564), where on sig. a6r Harvey writes: ‘Duarenus; Vigelius: Speculator [on ecclesiastical law]: all thre in 8^o; & worthy to be fayerly bouwnd together jn on volume.’ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 209–10, 271. This volume is dated ‘Mense Februario. 1580’. ‘Prima cursoria, et perfunctoria lectio’; Joachim Mynsinger, *Dn. Iochachimi Mynsingeri ... in tres libri II. Decretalibus ...* (Helmstadt, 1582), Caius library H.4.31(2), title page, ‘Pre. vj^s. Londini. Gabrjelis Harueij. 1582. GH.’; Justinian, *D. Iustiniani Imp. Institutionum libri IIII ...* (Lyon, 1577), Emmanuel College Library, Cambridge, 324.8.62, title page, ‘x lj Gabrielis Harueij. / 1579. G.H. mense Martjo CID ID LXXXIX.’; Joannis Oldendorpius, *Loci communes iuris ciuilib* ... (Lyon, 1551), British Library, Bagford 5991, title page inscribed ‘GH. Iuris regulae: pluribus locupletatae pragmaticis Sententijs J.C. Gabriel Haruejus. Gnomae, et Aphorismi Pragmatici’, and at end of index, ‘gabrielis harvey, et amicorum. 1579. Disce: doce: age’, in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 229 [not yet seen]; Cicero, *M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistolae ad Atticum ad M. Brutum, ad Quintum Fratrem* (Venice, 1563), British Library C.6o.f.9, at end of letters, sig. CC3v: ‘Relegi has politicas pragmaticasq[ue] epistolas in aula Trinitatis, multo, quam unq[uam] antea, accuratius; et plane, ut Liuij verbo utar, deliberabundus. Mense Julio, sole in Leonis corde flagrante. 1582. gabriel harueius, aulae Justinianae socius.’ Unfortunately a later owner has excised the entire text of the *ad Atticum* letters (presumably because they were already heavily annotated) and added his own notes to the *ad Brutum* and *ad Quintum Fratrem* letters, in which few Harvey notes occur. Cicero, *Topica* (Paris, 1550), All Souls, Oxford, 3-11-4(3), final page (E5v): ‘Gabriel Haruejus. Calendis Februar. 1570’, ‘Multo etiam diligentius, 1579 iamtum aliquanto studiosius iuri ciuili incumbens’. We are grateful to Walter Colman for providing us with a transcription of the marginalia in this volume.

⁴¹ In Cicero’s *De oratore* Antonius advises the orator not to fill his head with legal detail, but to employ someone to get it up for him: ‘Itaque illi disertissimi homines ministros habent in causis iuris peritos, cum ipsi sint pertissimi, et qui ... pragmatici vocantur.’ (This is why, in the lawcourts, those who are the most accomplished practitioners retain advisors who are expert in the law, even though they are very expert themselves, and who are called ‘pragmatics’.) See also Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae*, 12.3.4. Standard Renaissance Latin dictionaries give this technical definition of the ‘pragmaticus’. (We are grateful to Warren Boutcher for this observation.)

immediate application to practical action (in political life).⁴² Throughout his marginalia, Harvey plays on these competing senses of 'pragmatic' and refers to himself regularly as 'pragmaticus'.⁴³

'The civil law is written for the watchful' ('Jus Ciuile Vigilantibus scriptum est'), notes Harvey on the title page of Vigelius. The attentiveness of the compiler of civil law compendia facilitates access and provides the would-be practitioner with an invaluable tool. Harvey's legal annotations are above all preoccupied with this 'methodical' aspect of legal studies: knowledge of the law itself is evidently less important to him than a clear grasp of the most up-to-date retrieval processes. Vigelius's *Method* (as its title advertises) reduces the civil law to a set of key headings or 'places', systematically ordered, so as to provide just such an information retrieval system. Harvey pronounces on its effectiveness at the top of page 4: 'The use of this method is unparalleled, both for the most ready knowledge of universal law, and also for the fastest practical access in the lawcourt. And lawyers are much in need of a more ready instrument, both in study, and for action.'

To understand how such a method works, we can conveniently follow an example which Harvey himself picks out – bracketing it in the text and adding a marginal note. At the end of the first, general preface, against one of Vigelius's worked examples, Harvey writes: 'Hence the scope of any case whatsoever can be comprehended within its ready embrace. Which [case] otherwise might seem to be excessively broad, and in no way resolvable. And the judgement itself, regarding any doubtful legal question whatsoever, may hence readily be arrived at.'⁴⁴ Vigelius's example shows how a question arising from a legal nicety is satisfactorily and speedily resolved by referring it promptly to its appropriate heading, and scanning the entries under it. The problem is: a husband and wife make their wills in the same document, in which they jointly appoint their heirs. After the husband's death, the wife changes the will. The question is: does the wife's later will make the previous one, made with her husband, void? The substantial issue is: are there grounds on which the wife's will ought to be disallowed? The key distinction on which the case turns is whether the later will was an emended will made in the absence of the husband, or whether it was an entirely fresh will, superseding the previous one (the husband being deceased).

⁴² On the endpaper of the Vigelius volume Harvey identifies his use of 'pragmatic' with Vigelius's use of 'orator' ('quos plaerunque oratores uocat').

⁴³ See, for instance, Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action". Harvey plays similarly on the word 'action', which can be taken generally or in the more strict sense of a legal action.

⁴⁴ Vigelius, *Methodus*, 6.

According to Vigelius, the obvious appropriate head under which to pursue this distinction comes in chapter 12, Book 9 of his work: ‘Where immediately at the beginning occur the words: “Concerning alteration of the wishes of a testator, and posterior wills”.’ The crucial distinction is nowhere made, and ‘where the law makes no distinction we ought not to distinguish’, so that in the present case, the wife’s later will simply supersedes (and makes void) the earlier joint will.⁴⁵

When we turn to chapter 12, Book 9 of Vigelius, we find that the methodical presentation of material ‘immediately at the beginning, under the title, “De mutata uoluntate testatoris, testamento posteriore”’, is actually a reading route through Justinian’s *Institutes* and *Digest*, and the *Codex*. Here is the entry:

Inst. [II] tt. 17 posteriore quoque, usque ad alio autem, ex eo autem ff. [*Digest*] lib. 28. tt. 1. l. 21. j. tt. 2. l. 7. l. 9. in prin. fin. tt. 3. l. 1. l. 2. l. 3. sed etsi stante. [actually, sed et si sit ante.] l. 11. l. 12. fin. 1. 16. tt. 5. l. 45. in prin. l. 51. l. 52. 1. 90. tt. 6. 1. 14 si suo. lib. 29. tt. 1. l. 36. fin. lib. 34. tt. 44. l. 22. tt. 9. l. 12. lib. 36. tt. I. 1. 29. lib. 37. tt. II. 1. i. non autem omnes, si quis in duob. l. II. plane si. lib. 38. tt. 6. l. j. penult. c. [*Codex*] tt. 22. l. 6. tt. 23. l. 20. l. 21. si quis autem. l. 27. l. I. si haeres.

Taking the *Institutes* reference, for example, ‘Inst. [II] tt. 17 posteriore quoque. usque ad alio autem, ex eo autem ff.’ tells us to go to the second book of the *Institutes*, title 17, and begin reading at ‘posteriore quoque’ (‘Again, an earlier will is broken by a second will properly made’), down to ‘alio autem’. Then begin reading at ‘ex eo autem’ (‘But a will cannot be rendered ineffective merely because the testator later wishes it so’) and read to the end of the title. Sure enough, this gives us a running narrative of precisely those portions of the title relevant to this particular case concerning the validity of a later will.⁴⁶ Given a particular project, the *Methodus* provides a reading strategy which directly and purposefully addresses its solution.⁴⁷

At the end of the first preface, at the bottom of page 6, Harvey echoes Vigelius by providing his own methodical reading routes,

⁴⁵ Vigelius, *Methodus*, 5–6.

⁴⁶ See J. A. C. Thomas, *The Institutes of Justinian: Text, translation and commentary* (Amsterdam and Oxford: North Holland, 1975), 131–3.

⁴⁷ This kind of instruction for reading in response to a specific technical question uses the same general procedure as Dee gave to Dyer. In both cases a reading route is recommended by a combination of page or paragraph references and word cues.

to make the best possible use of the volume as a whole for a specified purpose:⁴⁸

In each part, look closely at its distinguished preface, below. These should be referred above all to the praise of the Law (this applies to the fifth preface and the third); or to the partition and summarising of the Law (this applies to the first preface, which also treats the topic of the academic practice of the Law); or to the interpretation of the Law (this applies to the preface to the reader, the fourth preface and the seventh); or finally to the juridical practice (the second preface and the sixth), together with the tractate concerning legal reasoning, and the paradoxes (which are above all directed at forensic practice, and ought to be linked with the practical prefaces by being read consecutively). These are all, indeed, distinguished prefaces, and particularly useful if read in this order.

The route to be taken depends on the question asked – the kind of knowledge transaction sought via Harvey as scholarly reader intermediary. Throughout the text, Harvey's marginal notes keep the reader's attention on the narrative possibilities which he has advocated. They effectively turn the book into a new work – part printed text, part manuscript – with Harvey as its co-author (in the absence of Harvey himself from the reading) or guide (if he sits at the shoulder of the participant in the knowledge transaction). At the top of page 17, for example, is a note reminding the reader of the preferred route for preparing a 'praise of the law': 'The reading of the civil law, as it is most useful, so it is most sweet; after the fashion of the most beautiful and most joyful spectacle. See especially below, in the vivid preface to the fifth book.' Sure enough, the preface to Book 5 begins: 'If someone could look down on the universal deeds and actions of men from some elevated place, without a doubt he would be seized with the greatest pleasure, on account of the marvellous diversity and accomplishment of human events. The reading of the civil law seems to me no less joyful than that spectacle.'⁴⁹ On the endpaper to the volume, Harvey reduces his reading route instructions to the two 'applied' objectives

⁴⁸ The body of Vigelius's *Methodus* is practically unmarked; the procedural prefaces, by contrast, are heavily annotated. Similarly, Harvey's octavo copy of Justinian's *Institutes* is entirely unmarked in the body of the text. We suggest that this is because all his scholarly reader's attention is focused on *preparatory* manoeuvres, before the task at issue (which is, indeed, gaining speedy access to the contents of the civil law).

⁴⁹ Vigelius, *Methodus*, 282. This example clearly shows that Harvey's notes for the reader's guidance are written *after* he has read through the volume, rather than (as we might expect)

(interpretation and practice) and expands these to include other works by Vigelius:

Vigelius's prefaces above all, partly on the interpretation of the law (the preface to the reader, the fourth preface and the seventh); partly on legal practice (the second and the sixth). Which if read together (along with the method of judging forensic cases) are worth more than anything else in directing judgement, whether for readier knowledge of the law, or for more expeditious legal practice. In either case, more certain. And it will be useful to join with the methodical prefaces the one to the method for legal controversies [*Methodus iuris controuersi* (1579)], and the one to the repertory of the law [*Repertorium iuris* (1581)]. To the methodical prefaces should be added the preface to the Method of ecclesiastical law [*Methodus universi iuris pontificij absolutissima* (1579)]. To both the methodical and the practical [routes], the preface to the Method for the rules of the law of either kind. Which three erudite, and intelligent prefaces are altogether pertinent to the most expeditious method of the law, and its practice.⁵⁰

Prominently placed in the volume, these instructions, we suggest, define the scholarly transaction, as the reader commences his reading.⁵¹ Handed to someone who wants a good grasp of the civil law (whether as a general theoretical grounding in politics and diplomacy, or for practice as a civilian advocate), Harvey's Vigelius offers a reading strategy which builds on the foundations of the scholarly reader's own expert mastery of Roman law – a ready route, or *methodus*, tailored to the needs of either a politician or a practitioner in the law courts – or simply the needs of someone who wishes to *know* about such activities. As Harvey writes at the end of part 1 of Vigelius: 'This first part is

as he reads. See also, at the top of page 101, where Harvey cross-references the preface to part 3 for its defence of private ownership against Plato's advocating of communality: 'For private ownership, against Socrates's communal ownership; see the elegant and intelligent preface to part 3' (Pro rerum proprietate, contra communionem Socratis; ecce elegans, et prudens praefatio in parte[m] 3). For this passage in the preface see Vigelius, *Methodus*, 153.

⁵⁰ This note indicates a date later than 1580. On the endpaper Harvey begins a note 'In Vigelij methodo iuris Pontificij, Lugduni apud Junctam excusa 1581...'. This note appears to be contemporary with notes in Harvey's copy of Duarenus, *De sacris ecclesiae ministeriis*. This volume is dated 'mense Februario. 1580'. 'Prima cursoria, et perfunctoria lectio'. If the date is old style, its reading comes after the Vigelius; if new (which seems likely, since the hands of the Vigelius date and the Duarenus match closely), the first 'perfunctory reading' precedes the Vigelius by two months.

⁵¹ Seasoned students of Harvey's marginalia always turn to title page and end sheets for their first 'taste' of a new volume.

above all useful and most essential to the politician or courtier. The remainder is more particular to lawyers or pragmatics, apart from Book 2 of part 1, which properly also belongs to the [practice of the] law.⁵² As this passage reminds us, Harvey's honed-down method for scanning contemporary legal handbooks offers a further service: that of providing prompt access to *matter* for pleading (a kind of advocate's handbook).⁵³ Armed with such systematised compendious knowledge, the reader becomes a 'pragmaticus' – one furnished with the kind of 'intelligence' which will allow him to serve as counsellor to a man in office. Hopperus's *Elementa iuris* and Freigius's *Synopsis pandectarum* are both works which assist the accumulation and classification of legal material. Harvey's annotations weave the contents of these volumes (and a number of others) together, creating a mesh, as it were, with which to trawl for material:

Give me your blessing, oh best and most prudent Hopperus, with those your renowned books, the golden foundations of the whole of the law. Which have been so solidly and illustriously built that who would not rejoice to apply their attention most sharply to this magnificent and distinguished study? There is nothing in the entire study of the law which draws me to it more happily, or instructs me copiously. Preserve me, most outstanding Hopperus, who has taught me the art of advancing in this most excellent profession with dexterity and maturity. Three analyses above all bring everything together in an outstanding fashion: Freigius's method of general logic; Hopperus's particular legal method; Vigelius's and Maranta's most special pragmatic method. Together, finally, with Bodin's strict political method.⁵⁴

In a later annotation, on the final endpaper, these running remarks on pragmatic reading are rendered crisply as advice to the reader: 'Hopperus expounds political method; Freigius logical method; by the most compelling strategy. The two to be conjoined for Analysis; together with the practical method of Genesis of Bucherellus's and Lancelottus's *Institutes*. Whose shortcomings Speculator will make up;

⁵² Vigelius, *Methodus*, 96.

⁵³ For some further annotations in Elizabethan law texts, showing the existing apparatus for those trained in or training for the legal profession, see L. A. Knafla, 'The law studies of an Elizabethan student', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 32 (1969): 221–40.

⁵⁴ Harvey's Hopperus, fol. *7r.

from the practice of the Court of Arches.⁵⁵ Elsewhere he is more precise in specifying an orderly way of collating the material from the various volumes in his inventory of essential sources:

[sideways down page] Vigelius's *Repertory of the Law*, a small book, but the best of all. After these *Elements of the Law*, and with the *Rules of the Law*, logically digested in Freigius's *Paratitla*. These three, Eudromus's handy weapon, above all when joined with Decius on distinctions, And the problems of Gribaldus greatly sharpen the intellect.

[sideways the other way] First and last, Gothofredus's *Institutes*, which are more full than the laws themselves. But these seem more probable and lively by this civil method, above all in the following order: after Gothofredus of persons, Hopperus of persons; after the former of things, the latter; after the former of actions, the latter of actions. Together with Freigius's rules in their place.⁵⁶

The reading technique which these notes suggest is one in which the would-be civilian sets a group of legal compilations on the table together and cross-refers among them under titles; this is a fairly obvious way of reading for a lawyer – witness the *Digest* itself – but one which Harvey extends to *contemporary* abridgements and epitomes.⁵⁷

One of the aims in the notes seems to be to graft the works of individual authors seamlessly into a purpose-built, composite volume. Hopperus, Vigelius and Freigius are verbally bound together in a series of notes such as the following (in the Vigelius):

Hopperus is half the soul of Justinian, and Vigelius is the other half. The one the Hercules of the law; the other its Theseus. Both my inseparable leaders and companions.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Harvey became Doctor of Law in 1586 and some time after this began to practise in the Court of Arches, the London court to which the civilian advocates were attached (see Baker, *Legal History*, 147).

⁵⁶ Harvey's Hopperus, 100. On the title page to the volume, Harvey singles out the Gothofredus: 'Colligenda Gothofredi Opuscula.'

⁵⁷ Many of the authors and titles he suggests in his annotations are obscure, and some we cannot as yet trace. They are presumably contemporary textbooks, some of which have not survived. A late note on fol. *5v suggests that Harvey's original aim was to become a legal professor, not a practitioner: 'Saepe rogare; rogata tenere; retenta docere; Hae tria discipulu[m] faciunt superare magistrum. Eheu, quam breuibus pereu[n]t ingentia causis?'

⁵⁸ Vigelius, *Methodus*, 13.

Hopperus and Vigelius, as it were the Theseus and Hercules of our [English] law. In spite of what is maintained to the contrary by ancient or modern jurists. Together with Freigius's logical analysis and Bodin's political analysis. Neither of which true Jurisprudence ought under any circumstances to be without.⁵⁹

Matching such notes, a note on the flyleaf before the title page of Harvey's copy of Freigius's *Paratitla seu synopsis Pandectarum iuris ciuilibis* (1583) brings the *Paratitla* together with the *Elementa Iuris*:

The logical and material method of these [texts] ought to be supplemented from the Justinian Questions, from the *Paratitla* of the Pandects, from the Analysis of Counsel of Zasius, and above all from the Logic for Lawyers itself. Which is above all essential, to the letter. Only Freigius's Dialectical Analysis of the Law takes on this task, as for Genesis does Vulteius above all; and now also finally Althusius [*Jurisprudentia Romana methodice digesta*].

The civilian method itself is more clearly set out by Hopperus, in book 4 of the *Elements*, and book 4 on the *Pandects*.

The pragmatic method is more subtly laid out by Nicasius on the *Institutes*, Decius and Dynus on the *Rules of either Law*, Bartholus on the *Digest*, Baldus on the *Codex*, Durandus in his *Speculum iuris*, Maranta in his golden *Practice*.⁶⁰

This note echoes precisely, in tone and content, notes in the Hopperus volume (and no doubt in the Vulteius, Althusius and Nicasius, if these survived), suggesting, indeed, that the volumes sit together before the scholarly reader and his advisee, on the table, to be compared and collated.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Vigelius, *Methodus*, sig. **4r. Some of these notes date from 1590, since they include references to Vigelius's *De uera Jurisprudentia* of that date. See 263: 'Hopperi Vera Iurisprudentia ad Regem. Extant tande[m]: et habeo.'

⁶⁰ Johannes Freigius, *Paratitla seu synopsis pandectarum iuris civilis* (Basel, 1583), Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, (Ex) K623.F745 1583, front matter, fol. 25v: 'Logica cuiusq[ue] Materia[e] ratio, supplenda ex Qua[e]stionibus Justinianeis: ex his Paratitlis Pandectarum: ex Analysis Consiliorum Zasij: maximeq[ue] ex ipsa Logica Jureconsultorum. Qua[e] in primis necessaria ad unguem. Solus adhuc Freigius Analysis Juris Dialectica[e] operam dedit: vt Genesi solus Vulteius primum; nunc etiam tandem Althusius. Ipsa Ciuilibis ratio enucleatiùs exposita ab Hoppero, libro 4. Elementorum; et libris 4. ad Pandectas. Pragmatica ratio subtiliùs distincta à Nicasio in Institutiones; Decio, et Dyno in regulas vtrisque Juris; Bartholo in Digesta; Baldo in Codicem; Durando in Speculo Juris; Maranta in aurea praxe.'

⁶¹ See Harvey's Hopperus, [502]: 'Juris periti no[n] multi: iuris subtiles pauci: iuris prudentes, vt Hopperus, et Vigelius, paucissi[m]i. Nemo argutus J.C. sine Nicasio in Institutiones: Decio, et Dyno in Regulae: Bartholo in Digesta: Baldo in Codicem: Vigelio in

For a reader of the 1580s, Roman Law is far more than an academic discipline. For Harvey and the circle he served, it was the essential background to those key texts for contemporary political thought – the letters and political writings of Cicero. And it is in this context that we find, scattered through the marginalia, notes with a good deal more vitality than those we have looked at so far.

Harvey first read and annotated his copy of Cicero's *Topica* in 1570, but in 1579 he went through it again, this time in the context of his studies of the civil law. His annotation at the end of the text reads:

Gabriel Harvey / February 1570/1.

Much more thoroughly, 1579.

when I was already leaning considerably more seriously towards the study of the civil law.⁶²

At the top of the same page he has written the instruction: 'Now turn to Agricola's golden places of dialectical invention, which I would always wish to be joined together with Cicero's *Topics*. Together with at least one of the most carefully selected logic texts for jurists, for perfect readiness.' Meanwhile, on the title page, below his customary monogram, he writes:

I.C. ☉.

No book on the Roman language more suitable, or more necessary to the acute dialectician, or to the fluent orator, or finally to the skilled jurist.⁶³

At the end of the dedicatory epistle to Harvey's (now much mutilated) copy of the *ad Atticum* letters he writes with the same kind of energy and enthusiasm: 'These letters are extremely political, and above all,

Jus cont[rauerium?] | co[n]uersum: Speculatore in forum. [sideways the other way] Vt hic summa Institutionu[m]: ita summa Pandectaru[m] in libris 4. de iure ciuili priuato. Quod meu[m] adamantinum fundamentu[m] totius iurispru[dentis] ciuilis.' See also, in Duarenus, *De sacris Ecclesiae ministeriis*, fol. 6v: 'Thre notable Abridgments, or Methods of y^e whole Canon Law: more effectual in this kind, then any on special Traict Syntaxewn Summaris: Duarenus: Vigelius: Speculator: all thre in 8^o; & worthy to be fayerly bownd together jn on volume: as also Lancelots Institutions, & y^e Alphabetical, or memoratiue Compendiu[m] of Petrus Rauennas, jn 4^o; woold hansomly be combined in on fayr book, *kath' avto*. My Art memoratiue of y^e Canon Law: y^e like of y^e Ciuil, jn on other booke, compiled of Sigonius, Hopperus, & Gothofred[us]: with Logica J.C. tanq[uam] Anima vtriusq[ue] corporis. The Two Soueraigne Titles, de verb[orum] sig[nificatione], et de Reg[ulis] Juris.'

⁶² Cicero, *Topica*, 74.

⁶³ And see also, once again contributing to the 'mesh' of linked volumes discussed above: 'Ad ciuilem Topicoru[m] vsum, forensemq[ue] argumentoru[m] praxim, malim Ciceronem topicum doctorem, quam ipsum Aristotelem, aut alium aliquem illius temporis

pragmatic. Nor indeed is anything else of Cicero's of so much importance to the Commonwealth.⁶⁴ At the end of the volume he notes: 'I reread these political and pragmatic letters in Trinity Hall, much more carefully than at any time before, and weighing them very carefully. July 1582. gabriel harvey, fellow of Justinian's Hall.'⁶⁵ It is notes such as these, we suggest, which recall us to the vital and intellectually invigorating political atmosphere of the 1580s and 1590s, in which the private services of scholarly readers were called upon by those moving like Harvey in the ambit of the earl of Essex, and those moving in other post-Leicester/Walsingham groups, like the competing Burghley circle. It is notes like these, also, we believe, which suggest that Harvey had considerable *expectations* of these knowledge transactions – that he expected that they would gain him office and influence. Such expectation comes through in a tone which the modern reader is bound to construe as personal vanity and 'vaunting ambition' – the undisguised bid for attention, the assumption that scholarly service will be followed by raised personal worth, stored up credit and, ultimately, entry into the household of someone who attaches value to such services. Harvey's obtrusively autobiographical 'readings' do contrast strongly with the more detached pragmatism of John Dee's reading instructions to Edward Dyer. One might want to suggest that Dee's success (at least in the short term – Dee too ended his life out of court favour) contrasts with Harvey's long-term lack of preferment – Harvey continually advertises the possibility of service, while Dee sometimes executes the required task for a political master.

On the heavily annotated flyleaf preceding the first title page of the Hopperus, Harvey has written: 'My Trinity Hall diet, and exercise. My Caesarian perambulation, G.H. A crucial text.' Between pages 449 and 502 of the volume he records the circumstances of his own first, exploratory reading more precisely:

magistrum, seu Graecum philosophum, seu Latinum scholasticum. Nec vero, quod permagni aestimandum arbitror, vllum exstat antiqui iuris ciuilis, et veteris illius prudentiae forensis vel certius testimoniu[m], vel locupletius monumentu[m], praesertim cum Ciceronis etiam libris de Legibus. Nullum turpius hodiernoru[m] Jurisconsultorum dedecus, quam quod tales ignorant iuris ciuilis fontes. Huc ad unguem recentioru[m] dialectica Jurisconsultorum, praesertim Freigij, Vigelij, et Hotomani. Nec Hegendorphinum aspersion, nec Cantianculam contemno, nec reijcio Oldendorphum, nec vllum despicio iurisprudenter dialecticum: cui cogniti etiam Euerardus, Apellus, Latomus, Omphalius, Bellonus, aliquot alij nouitij. Sed paucos malo perfecte digestos, quam multos imperfecte delibatos. Vnus, aut duo, tresue exquisitissimi, instar omnium. Eadem decies repetita placebunt optima. Nunq[uam] nimis, quod nunq[uam] satis. gabrielharueius, 1579' (5, after dedicatory epistle).

⁶⁴ Cicero, *ad Atticum*, A4r.

⁶⁵ Cicero, *ad Atticum*, CC3v.

Twice in one day. The golden task of a single day.

1581.

Gabriel Harvey, civilian advocate.⁶⁶

The golden task of a single summer's day: Gothofredus's *Institutes*, packed with legal information; and this fourth book of the *Elements* together with the *Rules of the Law*, reduced to the same order by Freigius.

On page 373 of the Hopperus, Harvey records an early application of his 'pragmatic' training. Against the title 'De usu supradictorum' he writes, 'a recent problem set at Trinity Hall'. And at the top of the page: 'The problem set for Peter Withipole, bachelor of laws and fellow of this Hall. Withipole respondent. I and Gardiner opposing. Great expectations; a competent outcome. Withipole himself somewhat more skilled in the law.' Here we glimpse Harvey for a moment acting as academic civilian himself, in strong contrast to the steadily directive marginal annotations which preserve for us Harvey, scholarly reader, reading the law for and on behalf of others.

We are arguing here that these last marginal notes of Harvey's, reviving the lively relationship between the Elizabethan scholar and his chosen field of expertise, are, in their autobiographical vigour, unusual. From the variety of marginal notes from the period we have begun to excavate a more directed use of dialogue between reader and text – one deliberately calculated to turn the text into a work co-authored by professional reader and original author for the use of another, to a particular purpose. We have begun to show here how attention to the mechanics of pragmatic reading makes visible new types of intellectual work, within social and political frameworks, which emerge during Elizabeth's reign. By focusing on varieties of textual mediation we gain insight not just into the intellectual productions of these readers as authors, but also into the social and professional economy of their textual transactions.

⁶⁶ Harvey's Hopperus, 449. This is written against a passage in Hopperus which reads, 'Ius ciuile est, quod maxime omnium contractum, cuiusque proprium est ciuitatis, vt supra probauimus; et ex quibus fontibus tota haec diuisio ortus sui principatum duxerit ostendimus.'

8

Studied for disputation: How Gabriel Harvey read his library

Earle Havens

There is no greater kind of happiness than that all people at all times should desire to know what kind of man a person was. At Rome this practice originated with Asinius Pollio who, first by founding a library, made works of genius the property of the public.

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.10–11

When Lisa Jardine, Anthony Grafton and I first began seriously to discuss what would become the ‘Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe’ (AOR) digital research project, the research opportunities seemed boundless.¹ It was finally possible to harness the technology and collaborative wherewithal needed to digitise dozens of Gabriel Harvey’s and John Dee’s annotated books from a range of rare book libraries. With the support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, we were able to build a team of younger scholars tasked with the hard work of transcribing, translating, encoding and making searchable tens of thousands of their

¹ The Archaeology of Reading (AOR) project, generously funded through several grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, constituted a five-year collaboration (2013–18) across our respective institutions: the Sheridan Libraries of Johns Hopkins University, the Princeton University Library and the Centre for Editing Lives and Letters (CELL) at University College London. The resulting resource provides digital access to three dozen books from Harvey’s and Dee’s libraries, with transcriptions and translations made searchable across the entire corpus: <https://archaeologyofreading.org/>. Much of the substance of this chapter would not have been possible without additional fellowship support from the Houghton Library of Harvard University and the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Considerable debts are owed throughout this chapter to the keen editorial assistance and scholarly expertise of the present volume’s editors. I am also indebted to my colleague at Johns Hopkins, Mackenzie Zalin, for his help checking my transcriptions and translations of particularly difficult, and sometimes only partially legible, manuscript marginalia.

marginal annotations within a dynamic digital research environment. We devised complex, faceted search tools that allow users to pinpoint particular keywords and phrases in multiple languages, even down to non-verbal marks, symbolic annotations and underlined printed texts. Research that formerly had proved so unwieldy in analogue formats, and that with a few notable exceptions had naturally resisted monographic study, had begun to unlock before our eyes.²

While it was physically and materially impossible for us to tackle entirely the hundreds of extant books from their once vast libraries, we resolved to facilitate the work of researchers, whether they were working from home or consulting other books from Dee's and Harvey's libraries in rare book reading rooms the world over. Our purpose was not to bypass the materiality of the artefacts themselves, but rather to celebrate their richness through the creation of complementary digital tools that might inspire new insights within the AOR digital corpus and well beyond. We aspired to expand upon the foundations presented in the seminal essay by Jardine and Grafton published decades earlier, "'Studied for action': How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy", and to begin imagining how we might broach the still more ambitious and comparative question of 'How Gabriel Harvey and John Dee read their libraries'.³ The resulting AOR digital resource – with its allied interpretive material on our methods and on the books in question, our richly supplied 'Bookwheel Blog' documenting the team's progress, and even preliminary quantitative data analysis – exceeded our wildest dreams.⁴

From the outset, Lisa Jardine helped guide the AOR team towards several collective ambitions, perhaps the most vital being a powerful 'data export' function that now allows the AOR researcher to capture her or his various adventures down the proverbial rabbit hole in order

² Despite the many challenges presented by the most famous annotators of the Elizabethan period, the meticulous and polyglot researches of G. C. Moore Smith, Virginia Fox Stern and William Sherman laid powerful foundations for the subsequent study of Dee's and Harvey's historical reading practices. See G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913); Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia, and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); William Sherman, *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

³ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action': How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy", *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78, which has also been reproduced in the present volume.

⁴ In 2020 the Renaissance Society of America granted AOR its inaugural Digital Innovation Award. These successes were entirely dependent on the considerable talents and dedication of over a dozen scholars, post-doctoral fellows, librarians and curators, graduate students, and technologists: www.archaeologyofreading.org/who-are-the-archaeologists/. These successes also inspired Jolyon Stern to create a permanent endowment in the Sheridan Libraries at Johns Hopkins, founding the Virginia Fox Stern Center for the History of the Book in the Renaissance in honour of his mother, the Harvey scholar Dr Virginia Fox Stern.

to ‘follow the breadcrumbs’ of Harvey’s and Dee’s seemingly endless marginal notes and cross references. She also provided us with an important caution: in the service of creating useable ‘digital editions’ of the three dozen annotated books in our corpus that might serve as a useful resource for studying the history of reading practices – regardless of who was doing the annotating – we would not ‘intervene’ or over-interpret what we were attempting with an elaborate apparatus of textual criticism. In her own re-evaluation of her work on Harvey with Grafton, Lisa noted of Harvey and his contemporaries that ‘[t]hose who mark the margins of their books are generally silent as to the immediate occasion of these annotations. This makes the project of trying to read below their surface over three hundred years later tantalizingly elusive.’ This was not to say that the scholar ought never to try to put her oar in, however, for ‘just occasionally the marginal annotator makes explicit, in the traces on the page, an active process of dialoguing around a chosen text with a specific purpose in mind, on a particular occasion’ – as was the case with Harvey’s collaborative reading of Livy with Sir Philip Sidney.⁵

Lisa concluded her more recent re-evaluation of Harvey’s marginalia with important caveats for future scholarship, most of all about the stubborn endurance of a certain contemporary prejudice towards Harvey as ‘an arrogant, upstart misfit’, so thoroughly cultivated by Thomas Nashe in his years-long, *sans merci* pamphlet war with Harvey.⁶ Once more, she cautioned against focusing overmuch on Harvey himself, instead underscoring the vast wealth of practical humanist thought and historical reading practices left to Renaissance historians in the margins of his books:

In the end Gabriel Harvey turns out to be rather ordinary, with a particular scholarly skill set that can greatly assist the historian in accessing, and providing a working context for, the works he assiduously studied. What singles him out for posterity are his marginalia. The most unusual thing about him is the survival of such an extraordinary amount of material evidence, so many annotated books in such varied categories, and some draft letters that clarify his reading habits. Gabriel Harvey’s methodical reading,

⁵ Lisa Jardine, “‘Studied for action’ revisited”, in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in honor of Anthony Grafton*, ed. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 999–1017, citation at 1000–1, below p. 327.

⁶ Ronald B. McKerrow, ed., *Works of Thomas Nashe*, 5 vols (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1910), vol. 1, 137–6, vol. 3, 1–140. The Nashe–Harvey quarrel is closely documented and analysed in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 85–124.

rather than Gabriel Harvey the man, deserves to be preserved and acclaimed.⁷

The chapter that follows will probe and test Jardine's final, mature reflection on Harvey's marginalia, particularly on the matter, and indeed the outer limits, of marginalia as a source of historical evidence. It does so not by treating Harvey's marginalia primarily as notes on, or purely ratiocinative brainstorming moments inspired by, his reading the particular printed text he was annotating. Rather, this analysis will attempt to press a bit harder on what we might be able to pry out of these notes about 'Gabriel Harvey the man'. The purpose here is not to challenge Jardine's thesis so much as to apply something of an acid test to AOR's original goal of helping scholars draw out common connections and associations that Harvey seems to have made across the many books in his library. By focusing on Harvey the man, such a reading can make ample use of external historical and textual evidence about what we do know of him both within and beyond his marginalia. This chapter uses the complex search functionalities of AOR as well as searchable digital forms of Harvey's own publications (in particular his often neglected neo-Latin works), in addition to years of personal research conducted with dozens of Harvey's annotated books *not* in the AOR digital corpus. It does so in order to address two questions: (1) 'Can these tools help us to build a more compelling picture of Harvey the man?'; and (2) 'Can these tools help us to better understand how Harvey read across the books in his library?'⁸ Much as did Asinius Pollio's projected foundation of a library in ancient Rome (quoted above in the epigraph from Pliny), the present analysis will test the extent to which Harvey's library might also help us 'to know what kind of man' he was through the patrimony of his books and the marginalia that have been preserved within their pages up to the present day.

Harvey's humanistic virtuosity and ostensible mastery of the contents of his vast library are self-evident to anyone who has explored

⁷ Jardine, "Studied for action" revisited', 1017, below p. 343.

⁸ Over the course of my research of Harvey's annotated books, beyond those included in the AOR corpus, I have accumulated many debts, including generous visiting research fellowship support from the Houghton Library at Harvard and the Princeton University Library, as well as ample time needed to synthesise those findings at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. For the fullest, updated list of the contents of Harvey's library see Kristof Smeyers and Jaap Geraerts, 'A history of Gabriel Harvey's library', <https://archaeologyofreading.org/gabriel-harvey-his-library-and-the-aor-corpus/>, with downloadable spreadsheet enumerating every known copy by location and/or through textual association; see also Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 198–241, and the [appendix](#) to the present volume.

even just a handful of annotated books from his endless trove of tens of thousands of annotations. These combine to form a quintessential ‘big data’ set that no one brain can possibly hold within its ken. While Harvey’s marginalia present a particularly candid instantiation of reading, and of writing in response to reading, they are rarely self-referential in any explicit way, let alone autobiographical.⁹ Indeed, for an annotator as sophisticated as Harvey, who populated his own marginalia with all manner of alter egos of himself, such as the hyper-articulate Eutrapelus, any attempt to pin down what was personally Harvey, and what was figuratively Harvey, is a tricky business indeed.¹⁰ And yet self-reference does nonetheless appear, whether through the fine flourishes of Harvey’s initials and elaborate signatures, which are sometimes even accompanied by specific dates, or through his personal reflections on his own friends and experiences. Though hardly diary entries, these occasionally revealing personal passages may at least suggest what James Nielson aptly described, in an allied study of Harvey’s manuscript letter-books, as Harvey’s ‘manuscript personality’.¹¹ For Nielson, moving past the ‘standardizing rectilinearity of print’ and consulting Harvey’s scribal commitments of paper, ink and pen makes ‘possible an overall transcendence of ... linear narrativity through a provisional location of the real personality *between* the lines. This kind of reading creates an effect of personality which need have little to do with the theoretically problematic category of autobiography’. ‘Even read in his own hand’, Nielson continues, ‘one only ever gets these glimpses of Harvey between

⁹ On the general question of the relationship between marginal annotation and autobiography see Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 1.

¹⁰ For a thorough overview of Harvey’s multiple marginal personae – Angelus Furius, Axiophilus, Chrysotechnus, Eudromus, Eutrapelus, Euscopus, and the less common Euhecticus and Eutuchus – see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 175–84, esp. 160–1, 180. Even just a search of the partial corpus of Harvey’s annotated books within the AOR digital repository yields nearly three hundred separate occurrences of Harvey’s Eutrapelus persona in just one volume, a *sammelband* containing Lodovico Guicciardini’s *Detti et fatti piacevoli, et gravi* (Venice, 1540), fol. 82v, and Lodovico Domenichi’s *Facetie, motti, et burle, de diversi signori et persone private* (Venice, 1570), Folger Shakespeare Library H.a.2.

¹¹ For Harvey’s manuscript letter-book miscellanies see E. J. L. Scott, ed., *Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573–1580*, Camden Society, new srs. 33 (Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1884). The potential fruitfulness of this line of inquiry is also suggested by Jardine’s and Grafton’s emphases on ample evidence of Harvey’s social reading with friends and colleagues, and also of his lending books to his friends, as is also suggested by his ‘Gabriel Harveii et amicorum’ marginalia in numerous of his books. In a c. 1573 letter to Arthur Capell, for example, Harvey demonstrates his generous loans of several books from his library to Capell as well as to at least one other unnamed friend. See British Library, Sloane MS 93, fol. 90v, quoted by Stern, ‘The bibliotheca of Gabriel Harvey’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 1–62, quotation at 10–11; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 251. For further associations see also Jardine, ‘“Studied for action” revisited’, 1000–7, below pp. 327–33.

the lines because of an elaborate textual striptease he was never *not* putting on'.¹²

Much like the miscellaneous contents of Harvey's manuscript letter-books, many of his annotations of printed texts also amount to allusive glimpses and seemingly free-floating particles of information rather than discursive expositions of fact or opinion – even where they are explicitly about himself. But the inherent elusive quality of marginalia need not put them entirely out of analytical reach either, particularly where Harvey's personal and contextual observations may authorise the reader to track particular themes across multiple annotated books in his library. Henry Woudhuysen, in another study of Harvey's manuscript letter-books, embraces Harvey's broader scribal enterprise as a special source of evidence that may be held as both literary and historical, particularly where Harvey 'appears most fully and willingly to have memorialized himself'. This is why, Woudhuysen continues, 'it has often been said [that] it is possible to get closer to Gabriel Harvey than to almost any other Englishman of the Renaissance. His manuscripts, especially his marginalia, present him, it would appear, as he really was: his mind, his hopes, and his thoughts, his very mental processes appear to be laid open.'¹³ Though nothing in Harvey's marginalia can simply be taken as explicit fact, or even as his fixed opinion, they nonetheless constitute a richly discursive form of historical evidence that, as Lisa Jardine argues continues to deserve 'to be preserved and acclaimed' rather than dismissed as an inherently limited, recondite or ephemeral mode of signification.

To focus this exploration, the present analysis will centre around a pivotal moment in Harvey's career, both as a scholar of rhetoric and as an aspiring advisor to the great and the good at the Elizabethan court: namely, the queen's summer progress and entertainment at Audley End, Essex, on 26–31 July 1578. Chosen as an honoured speaker in a planned academic disputation to be performed by Cambridge dons before the court, this opportunity also afforded Harvey a unique opportunity to present to the queen and her favourites his elegiac verses in praise of them – the *Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quatuor* – first in scribal form and, shortly thereafter, in print. Never before, nor ever again, did Harvey command the eyes, ears and personal attention of so many

¹² James Nielson, 'Reading between the lines: Manuscript personality and Gabriel Harvey's drafts', *Studies in English Literature* 33 (1993): 43–82, quotations at 57–8, 77.

¹³ Henry Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 611–30, quotation at 612.

members of the Elizabethan élite from which he so earnestly sought preferment and patronage as a man ‘studied for action’.

‘Immortalitatem’: Harvey, *Pedantius* and the *Gratulationes Valdinenses*

Men of every quality and quantity, Pedantius now asks you, does anybody today want to buy the most exact Greek and Latin authors of every kind, both the ancients and the neoterics? I have lavishly embellished these for contemplative use by my reading, writing, and annotating, gilding them with marginal notes like jewels or stars, and now I wish to put them to practical use.

[Edward Forsett,] *Pedantius* (1581), IV. iv, ll. 2194–2201

We have no faithful portrait of Harvey, either painted or engraved. We have only caricatures of him, both visual and textual. As Jardine advised, it is essential for scholars interested in Harvey’s thoughts and reading – all so richly, if haphazardly, woven together in the margins of his books – to confront and explicate the pejoratives left by his caricaturists. Although his later contretemps with Robert Greene and Thomas Nashe in the London presses have been well covered in the literary scholarship, Harvey’s satirical representation in the neo-Latin play *Pedantius*, acted in the hall at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 6 February 1581, just a few years after his Audley End disputation, has received comparatively little attention.¹⁴ As the quotation above suggests, to at least some of Harvey’s Cambridge pupils and academic colleagues, his tendency to gild his books ‘with marginal notes like jewels and stars’ may have seemed a miraculous enterprise; to others, the height of folly and conceit.

¹⁴ Most scholars are familiar with the woodcut of Harvey in Nashe’s *Have with you to Saffronwalden* (1596), sig. F4r, entitled ‘The picture of Gabriel Harvey, as he is ready to let fly upon Ajax’ (Fig. 3.1). There Harvey is presented as a shabbily dressed Venetian urgently reaching into his trunk to urinate in the jakes, terrified by the news that Nashe’s new pamphlet has just been printed. To this may be added the dandified image of Pedantius in the 1631 edition of *Pedantius*, described below. Less well known, and perhaps the only sympathetic engraved image of Harvey that we still possess, is that encompassed within a small woodcut initial ‘G’ in Richard Harvey’s dedication page, ‘To my very good, and most loving brother, master Gabriel Harvey, at his chamber in Trinity Hall’, in *An astrological discourse vpon the great and notable coniunction of the tvo superiour planets, Saturne & Iupiter, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1583), STC 12911, sig. A1r (Fig. 8.1). That initial – which appears to be a bespoke production made specifically for this edition by Harvey’s preferred London printer Bynneman – represents an Elizabethan scholar seated at a desk in front of a book, pen in hand, ostensibly writing in the margins of a printed book.

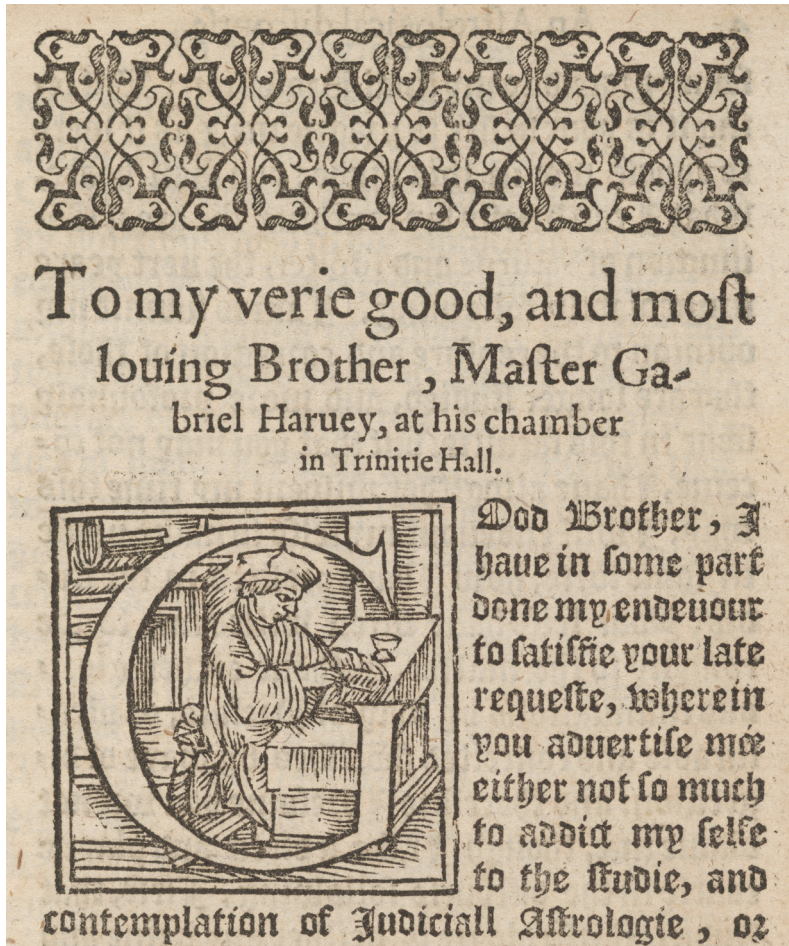


Fig. 8.1 Detail of initial 'G' woodcut and dedication to Gabriel in his brother Richard Harvey's *An astrological discourse vpon the great and notable coniunction of the two superiour planets, Saturne & Iupiter, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1583), STC 12910, sig. Aair. © Houghton Library, Harvard University, GEN STC 12910.

It is tempting to assume, if also impossible to prove, that this line was inspired by his friend Edmund Spenser's publication in the previous year of a letter he received from Harvey mentioning that 'all the books and writings in my study, which you know, I esteem of greater value than all the golde and silver in my purse'.¹⁵

¹⁵ Harvey's letter, dated 23 October 1579, appeared in Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey, *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed betweene two vniuersitie men: touching the earthquake in Aprill last, and our English reformed versifying* (London, 1580), 66.

While the attribution of this neo-Latin academic comedy to Edward Forsett may not be entirely settled, that the title character is Harvey, the quintessential Cambridge ‘Ciceronianus’, is beyond dispute.¹⁶ Nor was the association lost on his greatest detractor, the satirist Thomas Nashe, who wrote in *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (1596), the last of his painful invectives against the Cambridge ‘firking finicaldo fine schoolmaster’:

What will you giue mee when I bring him [i.e., Harvey] upon the Stage in one of the principalest colleges in *Cambridge*? ... I’ll fetch him aloft in *Pedantius*, that exquisite Comedy in Trinity College; where under the chief part, from which it took his name, as namely the concise and firking finicaldo fine schoolmaster, he was full drawn & delineated from the sole of the foot to the crown of his head. The just manner of his phrase in his orations and disputations they stuffed his mouth with and no buffianism throughout his whole books, but they bolstered out his part with ... innumerable other of his rabble-routs. (sig. M4)¹⁷

Taking a page from the trickster tropes of Plautus’s urbane comedies, *Pedantius*/Harvey is a caricature of the unworldly and self-absorbed academic who, improbably, takes the decision to sell all the books in his treasured library for ready money, noting in the process his presumption of the great value added to them by his many meticulously penned marginalia. Abandoning the *vita contemplativa*, the pedant liquidates his books in order to purchase the freedom of the beautiful slave girl Lydia and petition her hand in marriage, just as he appears to be en route to a glittering career at court as the private tutor of a prince. Of course, Harvey’s cognate, if also failed, ambitions for diplomatic or at least secretarial preferment at court are well known. *Pedantius*’s long-winded Latinate speeches, peppered with many fine commonplaces

¹⁶ [Edward Forsett,] *Pedantius. Comœdia, olim Cantabrig. acta in Coll. Trin. Nunquàm antehàc typis evulgata* (London, 1631), STC 19524. All English-language quotations from the play derive from Dana Sutton’s hypertext online edition and translation, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/forsett/>. See also G. C. Moore Smith’s Latin edition, *Pedantius: A Latin comedy formerly acted in Trinity College, Cambridge* (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1905). Orthography has been modernised throughout this chapter, except in bibliographical references.

¹⁷ Harvey and Forsett overlapped at Christ’s College, Cambridge, between 1564 and 1570, prior to the latter’s move to Trinity College. On the attribution to Forsett see Moore Smith, *Pedantius*, xii–xvi; H. S. Wilson, “The Cambridge comedy “*Pedantius*” and Gabriel Harvey’s “Ciceronianus”, *Studies in Philology* 45, no. 4 (October 1948): 578–91; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 54, 69–70, 134.

of Ciceronian oratory, were completely lost upon Lydia, as indeed was his suit, as he was tricked out of it by his younger, poorer rival Crobolus. Pedantius'/Harvey's colleague Dromodotus is, by contrast, an utterly unreformed Scholastic cipher and academic conservative surprised by the rumour that Pedantius may have fallen in love with a young woman. When challenged about the rumour, Pedantius's tongue-in-cheek answer literally reads as ventriloquised marginalia, the likes of which – commas and parentheses included – cover the pages of Harvey's annotated books:

Dromodotus: 'This is beside the point, Pedantius. Rumor has it you're in love'. *Pedantius*: 'Rumor, an evil swifter than any other (put a comma after "Rumor", the rest goes in parentheses). Me love? Ridiculous, as I shall refute with just this philosophical appearance of mine'. (I.iii, ll. 383–7)¹⁸

This effete duo of quasi-medieval Aristotelian and Ciceronian pedants were later immortalised in a fine engraving illustrating the first printed edition of the play published in 1631 (Fig. 8.2).¹⁹ There Dromodotus stands at stage left pointing at Pedantius, the words '*Videtur quod sic*' ('It seems thus') emanating from his lips in a banderole. This commonplace phrase of scholastic dialogue is also invoked, fittingly, within the play itself, just as Dromodotus puts the question to Pedantius: 'Pedantius my friend, are you not a fool? Are you not an irrational being? For it seems thus [Lat., *videtur quod sic*]' (V.vi, l. 2836). At the right stands a dandified Pedantius, flanked by two schoolboys, his schoolmaster's whip in hand. His corresponding banderole pronounces, tongue in cheek, '*As in praesenti*', invoking the infamous verse incipit for rules on preterites from William Lily's *Grammar*, which generations of Renaissance schoolboys would have recalled to the cadence of a cane on their backsides when

¹⁸ The Latin, 'Fama, malum quo aliud velocius ullum', quotes Vergil, *Aeneid*, IV.174; see Moore Smith, *Pedantius*, 108. These sorts of punctuation marks are so common in Harvey's marginalia that 45 different subcategories of 'Marks' are differentiated in the online faceted 'Advanced Search' tool within the Archaeology of Reading interface, <https://archaeologyofreading.org/viewer/#aor>.

¹⁹ The title was formally entered into the register of the Stationer's Company on 9 February 1630/1, within two days of Harvey's death. The timing of the publication is likely a complete coincidence, however, as Harvey lived out the final decades of his life in complete obscurity at Saffron Walden. Forsett had also died in the final months of 1629. It has been speculated that the 1631 publication of *Pedantius*, nearly a half-century from the time of its original authorship, may have been inspired by the recent revival in print of another Trinity comedy, George Ruggle's *Ignoramus comœdia coram Regia Maiestate Iacobi Regis Angliæ*. &c. (London, 1630), STC 21445, which had been first performed at Cambridge in 1615. See Moore Smith, *Pedantius*, xxiv–xxv; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 145.



Fig. 8.2 *Pedantius* engraving in [Edward Forsett,] *Pedantius. Comœdia, olim Cantabrig. acta in Coll. Trin. Nunquàm antehàc typis evulgata* (London: W[illiam] S[tansby], 1631), STC 19524, frontispiece. © Houghton Library, Harvard University, GEN STC 19524.

failing their rote memorisations: ‘*As in praesenti, perfectum format in – avi: Ut no nas navi, vocito vocitas vocitavi*’.²⁰

However absurd the play, this deft, closely studied and knowing illustration also puts Pedantius’s, and by extension Harvey’s, precious library once more into the frame. Above Pedantius’s head appear a dozen volumes on a bookshelf, half of them clearly identified: ‘Cato. Flores poet. Calepin. Nizolivs. Cicer 1. Cicer 2.’ Any rhetorician’s library would have included the ancient *Disticha* of Cato, pregnant with apposite Latin *sententiae* such as *libros lege* (‘read books’), *litteras disce* (‘learn to read’) and *quae legeris, memento* (‘remember what you read’). Just as invaluable

²⁰ See, for example, William Lily, *A shorte introduction of grammar generally to be vsed: compyled and set forth, for the bringing vp of all those that intende to attayne the knowledge of the Latine tongue* (London, 1574), STC 15620, sig. Giiiv. One such schoolroom scene is presented in John Marston, *VVhat you wvill* (London, 1607), STC 17487, sigs. Civr-Dir (Act 2, scene 2), leading up to the angry thrashing given to the impertinent schoolboy Holofernes Pippo by the officious character Pedant.

to the rhetorician were the often reprinted verse *loci communes* of Ottaviano Mirandola's *Illustrium poetarum flores*, and no Renaissance library was complete without Ambrosius Calepinus's polyglot Latin dictionary-thesaurus, the *Dictionarium* (1502), simply known among the English as one's 'Calepino'. Marius Nizolius's much-reprinted lexicon *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* (1535) was also an essential resource for study of Cicero's *Opera omnia*. These titles also make brief cameo appearances in the play itself, since Pedantius, much like Harvey, could never resist referring to the books in his library.²¹

Nonetheless, *Pedantius* is an academic satire, not a personal biography of Harvey. As a performative work of imaginative literature, it was designed for an élite, in-the-know Latinate academic audience of college fellows who eschewed marriage and were expected, ostensibly, to abandon active lives in the affairs of the world for the life of the mind, as well as for their students who themselves were nearing the choice between an active and a contemplative life.²² And yet the play remains deeply revealing of how keenly aware Harvey's contemporaries, even his enemies, were of just how inseparable Harvey's library, and his marginalia contained within its many volumes, were from his own personal identity.

Pedantius' author may well have learned of Harvey's crucial moment at Audley End, just miles from his childhood home of Saffron Walden, when, in July 1578, he had presented to the queen and court four folio manuscripts of Latin verses in praise of her and her principal courtiers: the earl of Leicester, Lord Burghley; the earl of Oxford; Sir Christopher Hatton; and the soon-to-be-knighted Philip Sidney with whom Harvey had recently read his Livy.²³ Star-struck, Harvey had

²¹ See Moore Smith, *Pedantius*, 102, for the specific citations. Moore Smith omits the direct quotation of Dromodotus's 'Videtur quod sic' banderole motto in the main body of the play at V.vi, l. 2836.

²² Harvey registered his own distinct consciousness of this subtlety on the title page of his Terence, *Le comedie di Terentio volgari* (Venice, 1546), Houghton Library, Harvard, *EC.2623 Zz546t, just under the iconic Aldine anchor-and-dolphin printer's device: 'Quasi synopsis omnium mundi comoediarum. Speculum mundi ^{vulgaris} ^{nobilis}'

²³ As Elizabeth Goldring and Jayne Archer note in their fine edition, with Victoria Moul's accompanying translation, of Harvey's Latin texts relating to the event, only one of these four manuscripts, vol. 3, is extant: British Library, Lansdowne MS 120, fols. 179–87. See Elizabeth Goldring, Jayne Archer et al., eds, *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A new edition of the early modern sources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), vol. 2, 575–708. Harvey and Sidney likely read from Livy between October 1576 and February 1577. For Harvey's several marginalia detailing communal readings with Sidney, Harvey's own Cambridge colleague Thomas Preston, and the eponymous son of his patron, Thomas Smith, see Livy, *T. Liuii Patauini Romanae historiae principis decades tres cum dimidia* (Basel, 1555), Princeton University Library, PA6452 .A2 1555q, pp. 93, 266, 518, respectively.

thrown himself into a frenzy of neo-Latin versifying over the ensuing weeks in order to immortalise in print a revised version of the manuscript poems he had presented to the court at Audley End, as well as to augment them with further praise poems recalling the favour shown to him on the occasion. The resulting work, *Harvey's Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quatuor* (London, 1578), appeared just in time for him to present the printed version personally to the queen in mid-September when she was staying at Hadham Hall in Hertfordshire, the family home of his Cambridge friend Arthur Capell, to whom Harvey had lent several of his books five years earlier.²⁴

Aware of this chance to capture the queen's attention a second time, Harvey had that August composed an over-the-top epilogue to Book 1, comprising over four hundred lines of neo-Latin verse emoting upon the queen's one and only direct exchange with him at Audley End. It was Harvey's moment in the sun, as he recalled it, when Elizabeth presented her commoner subject with her royal hand to kiss, presumably knowing of a design by Leicester to send Harvey abroad on an embassy to a planned conference of Protestant princes at Schmalkalden.²⁵ She asked if Harvey was that man (ll. 6–7, 'Hiccine quaeso, ille est, Leicesteri?'), cleverly adding that he already had the look of an Italian (ll. 196–7, 'habet ille vultum Itali, faciemque hominis').²⁶ The immoderateness, bordering on obsequiousness, of Harvey's verses, though conventional in this sort of courtly verse, is nevertheless a thing to behold. There he imagines the personification of Hope commanding him to 'return to the royal court, the house of Audley', and then of Leicester promising him 'soon, very soon,

²⁴ So momentous was this event that Harvey's college friend and literary collaborator Edmund Spenser, in the following year, glossed in print in the September eclogue of his *Shepherd's calendar* Harvey's royal presentation of both the manuscripts and, separately, the printed version: 'his late *Gratulationum Valdinensium* which book in the progress at Audley [End] in Essex, he dedicated in writing to her Majesty, afterward presenting the same in print unto her Highness at the worshipful Master Capell's in Hertfordshire'. Spenser's 'Master Capell' likely refers to Harvey's Cambridge friend Arthur Capell (1557–1632). Harvey's much-beloved annotated copy of Chaucer is supposed to have been acquired later by a relation of his friend, Henry Capell of Hadham Hall. See *The shepherd's calendar conteyning twelue æglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes* (London, 1579), fol. [38]v; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 251, 254.

²⁵ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 21n; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 39. Harvey may have been thought of in this connection by his personal friends John Still and Daniel Rogers, who were both selected as deputies for the conference at the behest of Duke Casimir, whom Sir Philip Sidney had recently visited during his three-years' travels to the continent. On the latter see Roger Kuin, 'Philip Sidney's travels in the Holy Roman Empire', *Renaissance Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (Fall 2021): 802–28.

²⁶ Harvey's poem upon this dramatic moment, 'De regiae manus osculatione; deque eo, quod vultum Italia habere, ab excellentissima Principe disceretur', is divided into two sections, 'De osculo' and 'De vultu Itali'. See Goldring and Archer, *John Nichols's Progresses*, vol. 2, 592, 596.

you shall see Elisa, and even now Elisa shall behold you and your elegies' and offer Harvey the opportunity of more 'sweet kisses on her ambrosial hand'.²⁷ Against such a prospect, it is perhaps not surprising that the title page of Harvey's inscribed copy of the *Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quatuor*, which he also corrected in meticulous detail, bears at the top the solitary comment 'Immortalitatem' (Fig. 8.3). This lofty, if presumptuous, aspiration echoes the sentiment of the volume's closing verse hexastichon: *tu dic Fama, oculata magis* ('speak, Fame – for your vision is clearer').²⁸

This event, too, seems not to have escaped the attention of the author of *Pedantius*. In a further passage Dromodotus offered an absurd caricature of the traits of a successful courtier – dissimulation, deference, approbation, self-contradiction, parasitism – that are the antitheses of Harvey's encomium of Sidney as the ideal courtier ('Aulicus') in the *Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quatuor*. Pedantius's response hardly seems a coincidence in light of Harvey's recently published epilogue on the 'Kissing of the Royal Hand; and On the Most Excellent Monarch's Remark that I Had the Appearance of an Italian':

There's something in what you say, but not everything lies in this something. You haven't taught me the art of kissing hands by way of greeting. Nor that of training those sparse hairs (and frequently, at that), to which I shall give over my face in a sublime manner, bidding heaven feast its eyes upon me as I raise my countenance to the stars. Then Proteus (who is mentioned everywhere in the poets) won't have transformed himself into more shapes than I my face (III.v, ll. 1455–60).²⁹

²⁷ Goldring and Archer, *John Nichols's Progresses*, vol. 2, 658–9. Thomas Nashe's corresponding caricature of Harvey's account of these Audley End events in the *Gratulationes* is unsparing. See Nashe, *Haue vvith you to Saffron-vvalden. Or, Gabriell Harueys hunt is vp* (London: Iohn Danter, 1596), STC 18369, sigs. M2r–v; and Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, 'Purpose-specific political reading with the Leicester circle', Chapter 3 in the present volume.

²⁸ *Gabrielis Harueij Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quatuor. Ad illustriss. augustissimámque principem, Elizabetam, Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæq[ue] Reginam longe serenissimam, atq[ue] optatissimam* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), STC 12901, British Library C.60.h.17(2), title page; bound together with copies of Harvey's *Ciceronianus* (1577) and *Smithus; vel Musarum lachrymæ* (1578). Another copy of the *Gratulationes*, similarly corrected by Harvey after printing, is bound together with the *Smithus* and preserved in the library at Hatfield House. See Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 219–20.

²⁹ The final words, 'quam ego vultum meum', echo the theme of part 2 of Harvey's epilogue to the queen in the *Gratulationes*, 'De vultu Itali'. Proteus also makes an appearance in Harvey's poem along with the other classical shape-shifters Janus and Vertumnus; see Goldring and Archer, *John Nichols's Progresses*, vol. 2, 596, 598, 639, 708.

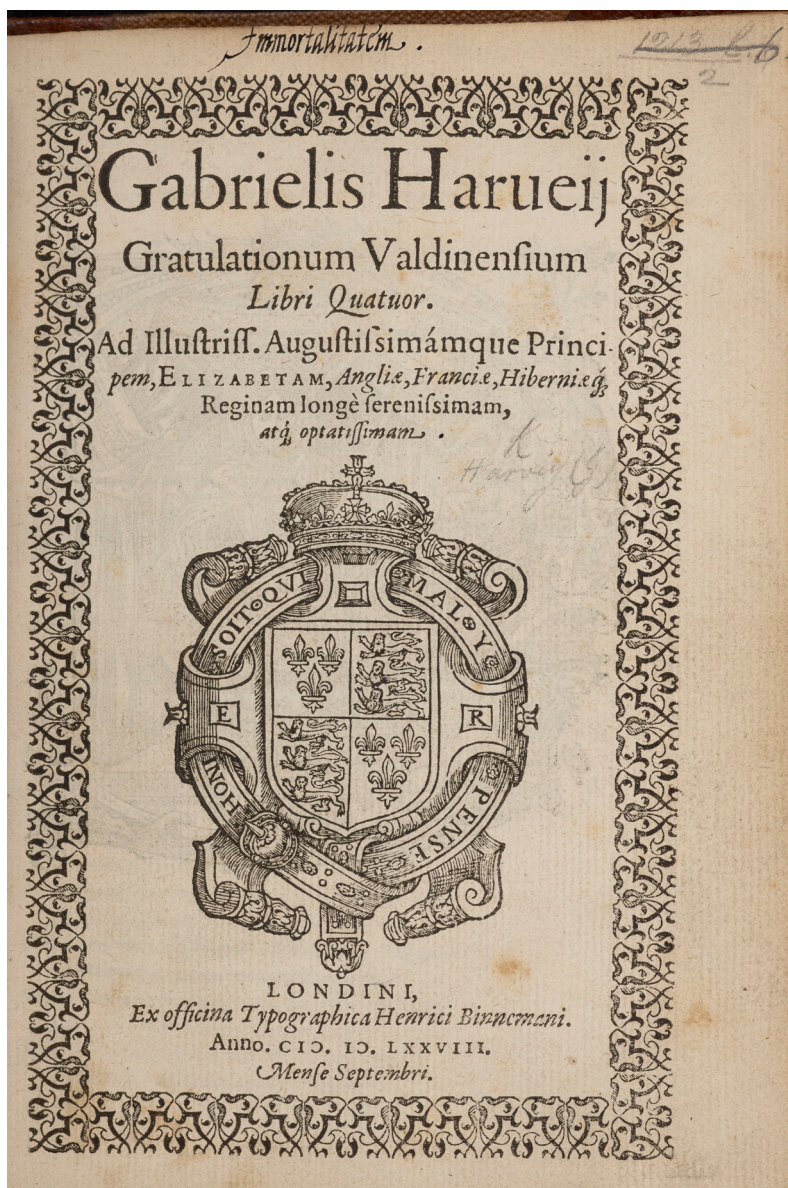


Fig. 8.3 Harvey's 'Immortalitatem' marginalia atop the title page of *Gabrielis Harueij Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quatuor. Ad illustriss. augustissimamque principem, Elizabetham, Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæq[ue] Reginam longe serenissimam, atq[ue] optatissimam* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1578), STC 12901. © The British Library Board, C.60.h.17(2).

Pedantius's speech concludes with the very words recalled by Harvey from his moment in the royal presence at Audley End: 'I shall comport myself so picturesquely that everyone shall say he perceives the very mirror of Tuscanism in this my Italianate countenance [i.e., in hoc *vultu Italia*]' (III.v, ll. 1468–70); notably, the words 'vultu Italia' were printed in italics.³⁰ G. C. Moore Smith and H. S. Wilson have suggested a host of other reverberations – some explicit, others rather faint echoes – between Harvey's Ciceronian works (*Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus*, both printed in 1577), bolstering the case for Harvey as the playwright's model for the title character of Pedantius.³¹

Can this same close method of careful collation – between this Trinity College comedy and distinct references to Harvey, indeed even to his own recently published works – be productively applied to his own scribal enterprise within the margins of his books? To what extent can his marginalia express historical evidence about 'Harvey the man'? Harvey was, if nothing else, slippery even about himself, particularly as he famously populated so many of the margins of the books in his library with a veritable *dramatis personae*, generating a colourful cast of characters, all of them presumably alter egos of himself. For one who so dedicated himself to verbal cleverness and ingenuity, it is not surprising, if still a little daunting, that the most common of these characters was Harvey's Eutrapelus. That silver-tongued, metamorphosing jester could, with the nonchalance of the perfect courtier, shapeshift 'great matters into small ones, small ones into great ones', and the 'serious matters of others ... converted into jests'.³² To what extent does the historian of

³⁰ *Pedantius* (1631), 83; Moore Smith, *Pedantius*, xlvii–xlviii. The popularisation of this passage from the *Gratulationes* was not limited to *Pedantius*. It has been suggested that Shakespeare derived his mysterious initials 'M.O.A.I.' in *Twelfth Night*, Act 2, scene 5 – ostensibly 'Manus Osculatione ... Aspectu Itali' – from this same episode in Harvey's *Gratulationes*, though the playwright had erroneously replaced Harvey's original 'Vultum' (i.e. M.O.V.I., 'Manus Osculatione ... Vultum Itali') with 'Aspectu'. The error has been attributed to Shakespeare's second-hand reliance on Thomas Nashe's caricature of the passage from the *Gratulationes* in his *Have with you to Saffron-walden, or, Gabriell Harveys hunt is up* (London, 1596), sigs. M2r, M3r. See Steve Sohmer, *Reading Shakespeare's Mind* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 127–32.

³¹ Moore Smith and Wilson both argue that the depiction of Pedantius as a Harveysque persona might not constitute a sharp lampoon or invective on the order of Thomas Nashe's caricatures of Harvey. Wilson in particular notes of Pedantius that he 'is fantastic, ludicrous, pathetic, by turns; the tone of the portrayal is always genially bantering, never vindictive or savage, and the mood of light and farcical gaiety prevails throughout. Sir John Harington best described the play when he said that it is "full of harmless mirth". One cannot imagine that Harvey himself took any serious offence at it. Certainly, he shows no sign of doing so anywhere in his writings, though he was quick to resent real injuries.' Wilson, 'The Cambridge comedy', 586; Moore Smith, *Pedantius*, xlvii–l.

³² Lodovico Guicciardini, *Detti et fatti piacevoli, et gravi* (Venice, 1540), fol. 82v, Folger Shakespeare Library H.a.2.

reading practices risk gilding the lily of Harvey's actual marginalia, much as the ludicrous Pedantius gilded the books in his library 'with marginal notes like jewels or stars'?

One of Harvey's closest readers, Virginia Fox Stern, approached these questions in careful and qualitative terms in a section of her book subtitled 'Philosophical outlook and personal observations'.³³ There Stern embraced as highly personal Harvey's elusive alter ego personae right alongside his direct invocations of himself in the first person in his notes. She observed, tellingly, that the reader of Harvey's marginalia often encounters such moments of explicit personalisation among his many 'declarations of his aspirations' and 'aides to self-improvement,' as well as in 'reports of praise from some he has esteemed' and other 'morale boosters'.³⁴ What follows will attempt to do much the same, but in a more focused exploration of Harvey's marginalia, one that seeks to collect still more intriguing breadcrumbs that he has left us from his great day at Audley End.

Falling down the rabbit hole: Harvey's annotated Quintilian, with preparatory notes for the Audley End disputation

We possess no substantive record of the precise arguments between the appointed Cambridge fellows, Harvey among them, during their disputation as part of the queen's entertainment at Audley End. We do know quite a lot more, however, about the preparations that went into them. These began with a preliminary exchange of letters between Lord Burghley and Richard Howland, then master of St John's College, Burghley's alma mater. Howland proposed that two theses be debated: *Clementia magis in Principe laudanda, quam severitas*, and *Astra non imponunt necessitatem* ('Clemency in a prince should be praised more than severity', and 'The stars do not impose destiny').³⁵ Of these Burghley

³³ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 175–90.

³⁴ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 175.

³⁵ This wording of the disputation topics comes from the 'official' account of the proceedings compiled by Matthew Stokys (1514–1591), Cambridge University Library, University Archives, Misc. Collect. 4, fols. 126v–134r. The two men appear to have been negotiating the precise wording between 15 and 25 July 1578. In his initial letter to Burghley, Howland suggested 'Clementia in principe magis quam severitas laudanda est', and 'Quae fortuna fieri dicuntur, fato fiunt'. In his reply, Burghley responded with 'An clementia magis sit laudanda in principe quam severitas', and 'De fortuna et fato'. See Goldring and Archer, *John Nichols's Progresses*, vol. 2, 567–71.

favoured the first and advised the use of care about the second, because 'this may yield many reasons impertinent to Christian ears, if it be not circumspectly used'.³⁶ Presumably, Burghley feared a contentious theological dispute either over the nature of free will, or perhaps over the politically sensitive matter of judicial astrology, particularly where it might be applied to the future fate of the monarch.³⁷

On the appointed day, Sunday, 27 July 1578, Vice-Chancellor Howland and the heads of the Cambridge colleges appeared before the court dressed in their hooded black academic gowns and presented the queen with a fine copy of the 'New Testament in Greek of Robert Stephanus, his first printing in folio bound in red velvet and limned with gold'.³⁸ The *dramatis personae* of the Audley End disputation fills out the picture, with Burghley playing a major role as chancellor of the university, and perhaps also to avoid the potential troubles he had considered in his preparatory correspondence with Howland:

The opponents were these, namely Mr. Harvey of Pembroke Hall, Mr. Palmer of St John's, Mr. Hawkins of Peterhouse, and Mr. Fletcher of the Kings College was Moderator of the disputation, but my Lord Treasurer our Chancellor did take upon him most to moderate the whole disputation, and would not suffer any repetitions ... saying *Loquor ut cancellarius, disputa dialectice, et syllogistice*. This disputation continued above three hours and when it was ended the Lord Treasurer required Mr. Thomas Byng, Master of Clare Hall to determine, who for a time modestly refused the same, but in fine learnedly and briefly concluded the said questions, and so the scholars, honorably dismissed, returned

³⁶ Goldring and Archer, *John Nichols's Progresses*, vol. 2, 569.

³⁷ See, in general, Richard Dunn, 'John Dee and astrology in Elizabethan England', in *John Dee: Interdisciplinary studies in English Renaissance thought*, special issue edited by Stephen Clucas, *International Archives of the History of Ideas/Archives internationales d'histoire des idées* 193 (2006): 85–94. On astrological study within the universities see Mordechai Feingold, 'The occult tradition in the English universities of the Renaissance: A reassessment', in *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 73–94.

³⁸ Robert Estienne (Lat., Robertus Stephanus), *Novum Iesu Christi D.N. testamentum* (Paris, 1550), his so-called *Biblia Regia*, produced in a magisterial edition of the Erasmusian Greek *textus receptus*. Though the account of the proceedings insists on the first edition, it is unclear which of the four major editions of Estienne's *Biblia Regia* was presented, whether the Paris 1546, 1549 or 1550, or the Geneva 1551. One copy of the 1550 edition in the British Library, General Reference Collection C.18.b.7, is bound in green velvet, each board bearing a small enamelled gold plate, one with the arms of Queen Elizabeth, the other a crowned Tudor rose.

home to Cambridge that night about midnight, for that in Walden they could get no lodging.³⁹

The disputants were a tightly knit group of Cambridge dons, several of whom went on to enjoy the very career paths to which Harvey had aspired. Henry Hawkyns served as a legal advisor to Sir Thomas Cecil in Brill before joining Lord Zouche in travels to the Holy Roman Empire and Italy. In addition to his participation in an embassy to Scotland, Hawkyns went on to serve as an intelligencer in Venice for the earl of Essex.⁴⁰ So, too, did Giles Fletcher, who travelled on far-flung diplomatic missions in connection with Sir Thomas Randolph to Edinburgh, Hamburg and Moscow, even publishing an account of the last, *Of the Russe commonwealth* (1591). In addition to their mutual role in the Audley End disputation, Harvey and Fletcher joined forces on yet another occasion in 1578, as contributors to a collection of neo-Latin funerary verses marking the untimely death of Sir Philip Sidney late in the previous year at Zutphen, with whom Harvey famously read his Livy, and whom he later singularly praised in his *Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quatuor*. It was hardly subtle that, interpolated between his two long verses in the Sidney portion of the *Gratulationes*, was ‘G. Harveij Castilio, sive Aulicus’, all but presenting Harvey’s self-nomination as the ideal Castiglione to the late Sir Philip Sidney’s ideal courtier.⁴¹ The orator and judge of the disputation, Thomas Byng, was, from 1574, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, a post notably held decades earlier by Harvey’s patron Sir Thomas Smith. Both were also mutual friends of Harvey’s tutor at Christ’s College, William Lewin. Byng, like Smith and Harvey, ultimately left Cambridge to take up a more worldly career, in his case ending up a civilian master in Chancery, a commission of the

³⁹ The Latin translates as ‘I call as Chancellor for debates to be conducted dialectically and syllogistically’. Goldring and Archer, *John Nichols’s Progresses*, vol. 2, 574–5. Presumably, Harvey would not have had to withdraw back to Cambridge after the Audley End proceedings, since his family home was close by Audley End in central Saffron Walden.

⁴⁰ Paul Hammer, ‘Henry Hawkyns (c. 1553–1630)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online version (January 2008), hereafter *ODNB*.

⁴¹ ‘Academiae Cantabrigiensis lachrymae, in obitum clarissimi equitis domini Philippi Sidneii’, and ‘Ad illustrissimum dominum comitem Leicestrensem protheoreticon’, are both signed ‘G.H.’ in Alexander Neville, ed., *Academiae Cantabrigiensis lachrymae tumulo nobilissimi equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij sacratæ* (London: John Windet, 1587), STC 4473, 1–3, 6–7. These have been attributed to Harvey along with the uninitialled intermediary verse ‘De subito & praemature interitu nobilis viri, Philippi Sydneii, utriusque militia’ on stylistic grounds, appearing at 5–6. ‘Aegidius Fletcher’ appears at 33–4. See Warren Austin, *Times Literary Supplement*, 22 March 1947, 127; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 79; Lucy Munro, ‘Giles Fletcher, the Elder (bap. 1546, d. 1611)’, *ODNB*.

peace for Cambridgeshire, and briefly dean of Arches.⁴² However dashed Harvey's hope to follow a similar trajectory may have been, he had every reason to derive confidence from the examples of his fellow Audley End disputants.

Although there is no recorded account of the substance of the arguments and rebuttals made at this disputation, it is clear that much was at stake for Harvey at Audley End. There was his presentation of manuscript verses in praise of the queen and her ministers while nearly all were physically present, and his brief audience at which he kissed the royal hand, later recounted in the printed *Gratulationes*. And, of course, his pride of place at centre stage in the debate over the two resolutions – whether princely mercy should exceed severity, and whether astrology might determine one's fate – during an hours-long academic disputation before the court. The latter was surely a dream scenario for any self-professed 'Ciceronianus' aspiring to prove his quality and merit of further preferments, and for this, too, Harvey had 'studied for action'. This he tells us in a single marginal note buried in the index of his deeply annotated copy of Quintilian, which, like the Greek *Biblia Regia* presented to the queen by the vice-chancellor, was printed by Robert Estienne. Harvey's Quintilian is as fine an edition as one might hope to have owned, not least by a Cambridge scholar of rhetoric. He bought it in March 1567 for the considerable sum of 3s 6d when he was still an undergraduate at Christ's College, Cambridge, and had been only recently taken under the wing of Sir Thomas Smith. Perhaps even then, as we shall see, Harvey had contemplated tracing Smith's own footsteps from the academic study of rhetoric to the civil law and onwards to affairs of state; in the very same month he bought his Quintilian Smith had been dispatched by the queen on an embassy to France to petition for the return of Calais.⁴³

Harvey was sufficiently invested in his ownership and annotation of this book that it is one of the few to bear no fewer than three separate nominal inscriptions on the title page: 'Gabrielis Harveij' beside the 1567 date and price, his 'GH' monogram at mid-page, and 'Gabriel Harvius'

⁴² Peter Stein, 'Thomas Byng (d. 1599)', *ODNB*; Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 11; Leonard Cowie, 'John Palmer (d. 1607)', *ODNB*. For Harvey's verses for Sidney see *Gratulationum Valdensium*, Book 4, 15–20; for an English-language prose translation see Goldring and Archer, *John Nichols's Progresses*, vol. 2, 699–706.

⁴³ Quintilian, *M. Fabii Quintiliani oratoris eloquentissimi, institutionum oratoriarum libri xiii* (Paris: Rob. Stephani, 1543), British Library C.60.I.II. Stern notes that Harvey's relationship with Smith flourished between April 1566 and March 1571 when, generally free of crown obligations, Smith kept mainly to his town house in Saffron Walden, nearby the Harvey family residence there, and otherwise was resident at his early neo-classical estate at Theydon Mount some 40 miles south of Saffron Walden. See Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 13.

beside the colophon below.⁴⁴ The last of these he dated 1579, suggesting a significant re-reading shortly after his Audley End experience, which is also indicated by numerous marginalia in his mature, confident and utterly legible roman hand, which contrast significantly with his earlier, thinner and more angular juvenile annotations.⁴⁵

These specific dated marginalia and paleographical indications are extremely useful in the case of Harvey's Quintilian, for they also provide, more than in most of Harvey's annotated books, opportunities for the reader to track and differentiate between his juvenile notes from his Christ's College days and his more mature observations as a fellow at Pembroke College and Trinity Hall.⁴⁶ Somewhat hidden in a densely annotated page bearing the book's index – thanks to a good deal of ample white space that Harvey was able to exploit – he inscribed a substantial list of specific paginary cross references to the main body of the printed text. These Harvey collectively bracketed, pointing to one further annotation: 'My notes, against my disputation at Audley End in the court, &c., before my Lord Treasurer [i.e., Lord Burghley,] my Lord Leicester, &c.' This same note is punctuated by a final and perhaps slightly later addition, suggested by a different ink colour and duller nib, stating further that the disputation was presented 'in the Queen's hearing, &c.' (Fig. 8.4).⁴⁷

⁴⁴ This may be the most frequently signed and dated of all Harvey's books, for a further note bearing Harvey's name, dated 'September 1579', also appears in the final pages of the index of his Quintilian, with a note calling for a comparison of Cicero's *Brutus*, Quintilian's *Institutes* and his beloved Ramus's *Rhetoricae distinctiones in Quintilianum* (1549). A fifth signature of Harvey's, more calligraphically eccentric than the others, appears among the free endpapers at the end of the volume. See also Harvey's heavily annotated *M. Tullii Ciceronis epistolae ad Atticum. Ad M. Brutum, Ad Quinctum Fratrem* (Venice: P. Manutius, 1563), British Library C.60.f.9, esp. fols. 335r–v, 387v, the latter dating at least some of his annotations there to July 1582.

⁴⁵ Stern, citing another of Harvey's frequently revisited volumes, Erasmus's *Parabola*, suggests this same period, c. late 1577 to 1580, as marking his final transition from a 'slanted, somewhat pinched, early form of Italic' to 'its mature and final form'. See Erasmus, *Parabola, sive similia* (1565), Folger Shakespeare Library J.a.i., title page, sig. L4v. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 139–40.

⁴⁶ Of the 159 or so books extant from Harvey's once vast library, it is perhaps unsurprising that less than half, 76 in all, bear a specific manuscript date, usually though not exclusively inscribed by Harvey on the title page. Stern has observed of the earlier, datable marginalia left us by Harvey that during 'the 1560s and the early 1570s his letter formations, whether in English Secretary, Humanist, or Italian (Italic) script, are far more angular and pinched; pen strokes are usually narrower, and there is less evenness of script and less judicious spacing than is subsequently found; a gradual development toward greater control takes place in the late 1570s'. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 138.

⁴⁷ Harvey's Quintilian, sig. T7r. Harvey's later addition to his note in the Index of his Quintilian, 'in the queen's hearing', runs counter to the official Cambridge account recorded by Matthew Stokys. There Stokys reported that, following the presentation of the university delegation's royal gifts and laudatory oration, the queen, 'alleging that she was very hot and faint after her journey departed out of the chamber of presence, into her inner Chamber' and that it was 'after the departure of the Queen's highness, and giving of the gloves' that 'the

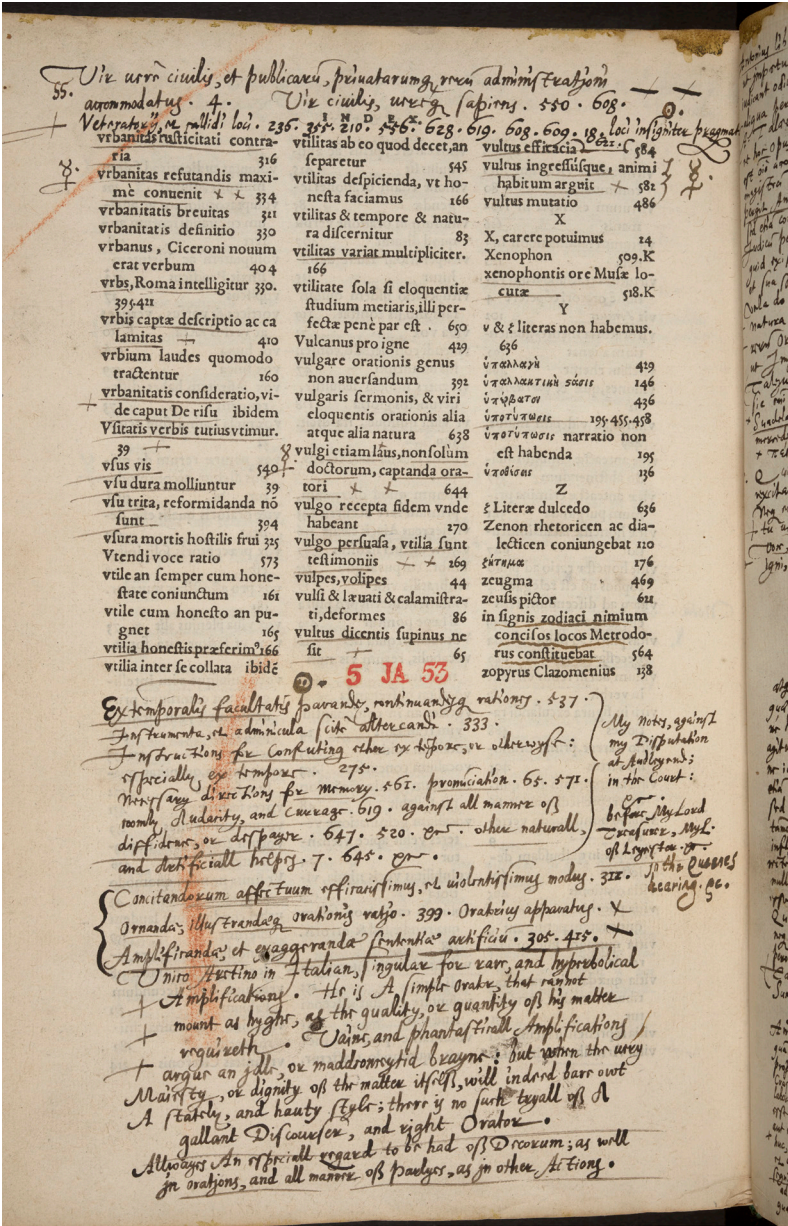


Fig. 8.4 Harvey's Audley End 'In the Queen's hearing' annotation, in Quintilian, *M. Fabii Quintiliani oratoris eloquentissimi, institutionum oratoriarum libri xiii* (Paris: Robertus Stephanus, 1543), sig. T7r. © The British Library Board, C.60.1.II.

This royal association is also carried by Harvey symbolically through his visual annotation of a sun just above his Audley End index, denoting monarchy. Though it is impossible to date precisely Harvey's annotations throughout a given book, particularly one so heavily annotated as his Quintilian, it is clear that many of the substantive notes, including those specifically cited in conjunction with his Audley End preparations, were written between summer 1578 and at least October 1579.⁴⁸ A careful collation of these notes demonstrates direct connections, both chronologically and thematically, to Harvey's important decision during that time to read civil law at Trinity Hall in pursuit of a more worldly career beyond the university.

Harvey was an inveterate cross-referencer, most notably through his ubiquitous 'supra' and 'infra' notes within a given book. But evidence of this sort of extensive manuscript indexing of his own readings and marginalia at the end of a book are far less common, thus presenting a rich, if not unique, entry point into the nature of these marginalia and their immediate contexts. So how precisely *did* Harvey prepare himself for his Audley End moment in the sun? The passage bears extensive quotation so that the particulars can be readily parsed:

Extemporalis facultatis parande, cotinuandique rationis. 537.

Instrumenta, et adminicula scite altercandi. 333.

Instructions for confuting either *ex tempore*, or otherwise:
especially *ex tempore*. 275.

Necessary directions for memory. 561.

Pronunciation. 65. 571.

Lords and the rest of the nobility, and scholars of the University went ... unto the chamber of my Lorde of Leicester where was handled a disputation in philosophy kept and had by certain of the University Masters of Art'. This would not preclude the queen remaining in earshot of the disputation, though presumably that detail regarding the royal presence would have been recorded as well. See Goldring and Archer, *John Nichols's Progresses*, vol. 2, 572–4.

⁴⁸ Near his c. 1578 Audley End preparation note (sig. T7r), Harvey also indicates that he had re-read his Quintilian in September 1579, at which time he compared Cicero's ideal *Orator* with Quintilian's, also collating these *comparanda* against his copy of Petrus Ramus's *Scholae rhetoricae*. A further note in his copy of Cicero's *Topica* confirms that a substantial number of these marginalia were directly related to a concentrated period of reading civil law between 1578 and 1579. See Harvey's copy of Cicero, *M. Tul. Ciceronis ad C. Trebatium Iurisconsultum topica* (Paris: M. David, 1550), All Souls College Library, Oxford, a-II-4(3), sig. E5v. See Lisa Jardine, 'Gabriel Harvey: Exemplary Ramist and pragmatic humanist', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70, no. 1 (January 1986): 36–48, citation at 38–9 (reprinted as [Chapter 2](#), this volume, see citation above pp. 80–1). Jardine concludes that Harvey read Quintilian in 1567, again between 1573 and 1575, and certainly in earnest by 1579. To these, I add 1578 on the strength of Harvey's time-bound reference to his Audley End preparations. These he would certainly have commenced around the time Burghley and Howland were settling the matter of the two disputation topics in the weeks immediately preceding the event, 15–25 July 1578.

Comely audacity and carriage. 619.
Against all manner of diffidence, or despair. 647. 520. &c.
Other natural and artificial helps. 7. 645. &c.⁴⁹

These Audley End disputation notes took Harvey almost exclusively to Books 10–12 of Quintilian in search of what he described, at the first of these listed page openings, as particularly instructive of ‘rhetoric for elocution and pronunciation, logic for memory, an accessory, and shadow of disposition. The last [i.e., Book 12], a supplement, and discourse of such appurtenances, as may otherwise concern an orator to know, and practice.’⁵⁰ Though his first indexical reference was to page 7, the note just quoted appears on page 6. Further examination of a number of these indexed pages suggests that the items in Harvey’s index may not have been intended to be precise, but rather to have functioned more as convenient pointers to thematic subsections of Quintilian’s text. Indeed, Harvey never denoted particular page ranges in the Audley End index, indicating only single page numbers. When the reader turns to the subject matter and marginalia in each of the corresponding openings, it begins to seem plausible that his page numbers functioned as midpoints between short ranges of three to four pages, or even slightly more. Thus at page 520, indexed by Harvey as useful ‘against all manner of diffidence, or despair’, there are no verbal annotations at all beyond simple underlinings of the printed text and a solitary symbolic Mercury annotation denoting eloquence.⁵¹ The more pregnant and thematically relevant textual passages within this subsection of Quintilian treating rhetorical *imitatio* appear just before and after page 520, at pages 518–19, and again at 523.⁵² At page 518, Harvey marks the beginning of Quintilian’s discourse on imitation with one of his characteristically pithy summaries:

⁴⁹ Harvey’s Quintilian, *Oratoris*, unpaginated final index page, opposite terminal Estienne colophon.

⁵⁰ Harvey’s Quintilian, *Oratoris*, 6.

⁵¹ Harvey’s Quintilian, *Oratoris*, 520, the Mercury symbol appearing beside 10.2.13 (‘the greatest qualities of an orator are inimitable: his talent, invention, force, fluency, everything in fact that is not taught in the textbooks’). Harold Wilson posited that this particular use of the Mercury symbol, conjoined above with the apparent number 3, may denote Hermes Trismegistus, though he also admits that it ‘may well have some other meaning’. Further analysis suggests this to be incorrect, for at page 620 of the Quintilian the same symbol has a fourth semicircular element and thus is clearly not the number 3. Harvey frequently deployed a more straightforward version of the Mercury symbol to invoke the concept of eloquence, including an instance at 519, the page immediately preceding this one. See Harold Wilson, ‘Gabriel Harvey’s method of annotating his books’, *Harvard Library Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (autumn 1948): 344–61, citation at 358.

⁵² A similar degree of imprecision obtains in a double cross reference on jokes and rhetorical humour across two separate books in Harvey’s library: his Quintilian and his Italian edition

‘the best imitation of the best authors is required, and the most exerted emulation, though cunningly concealed with affectation’.⁵³ Supporting this thesis of general rather than precise indexical referencing, at page 523 Harvey enters into one of his many robust catalogues of his most admired authors, assigning particular qualities worthy of emulation to each. In contrast to the wordless annotations on the indexed page 520, at 523 Harvey recommends for skilful imitation ‘against all manner of diffidence, or despair’ a host of potential sources:

Especially Caesar mighty in acts, and style; weighty and speedy Sallust; pithy and pregnant Livy; fine Velleius; rich Valerius; deep Tacitus; sharp Seneca; gallant Portius; more gallant Quintilian; industrious Pliny; worthy Celsus; compendious Justin; free Suetonius; trim and sweet Curtius; cunning Fontinus; brave Vegetius; sage Boethius; and whosoever deserve to be reputed of like worth, or of any special note.

The minutiae of Harvey’s seemingly imprecise indexical practices are hardly revealing, least of all in a book he had returned to multiple times over many years and annotated in several developing stages of paleographical sophistication. Nonetheless, if we accept that Harvey’s indexed page numbers actually denote approximate page ranges, a richer picture emerges. The passages that Harvey recommended for himself, and unknowingly for us, also more neatly reveal the personal aspirations and professional ambitions for courtly advancement that he so invested in that great occasion.

Following his reference to page 537 of the Quintilian, the latter-day reader of his marginalia is greeted with another Mercury symbol, and another of Harvey’s summary notes, this time for the consideration in Book 10 of ‘extemporalis facultas’, the art of improvisation: ‘An extemporal discourser upon every sudden occasion never unfurnished to plead his own, or his friend’s cause.’⁵⁴ He elaborates upon this same

of *The courtier*: Baldassare Castiglione, *Il cortegiano* (Venice, 1541), University College London Library, Castiglione 1541 (2). At page 315 of his Quintilian Harvey tags this note to ‘il secondo libro del Cortegiano de Castiglione’. Reference to Harvey’s Italian Castiglione, at fol. 75r, yields a corresponding note ‘Lib. 2 de Orator Quintilliani cap. 4. lib. 6 de risu’. In neither instance does Harvey provide a precise reference to a particular page.

⁵³ Harvey’s Quintilian, *Oratoris*, 518, ‘Optimorum auctorum optime requiritur imitatio, atque adeo exertissima emulatio, sed astute celata affectatione’.

⁵⁴ On either side of page 537, Harvey records still more cross references to 190, 222, 332, 392, 526 and 527; also a separate note ‘Confer ch. IX–X, Book XII’.

thought just several pages later, notably invoking ‘his Prince, his Lord’, denoting the very same courtly audience he was preparing himself to speak before at Audley End:

An extemporal discourser, always sufficiently provided, to undertake the defense of any matter, appertaining his Prince, his Lord, himself, or his friends. Never to seek in any cause, or plea, that concerneth him any way. A man is but a child to speak of, and a very cypher in comparison, until he hath perfectly attained this faculty it be of present ability to maintain, and justify his own, or his friend’s right.⁵⁵

Quintilian had designated extemporaneous eloquence among the highest offices of the rhetor, beginning this same final section of Book 10 in lofty tones: ‘The greatest fruit of our studies, the richest harvest of our long labors is the power of improvisation’.⁵⁶ It seems especially poignant and revealing that Harvey punctuated the final lines of the same chapter with a boldly written biographical note in large letters, marking perhaps his highest personal academic attainment – his appointment as university praelector of rhetoric at Cambridge in the years preceding his performance at Audley End: ‘Gabriel Harveius, Rhetoricus Professor Cantabrig. 1573. 1574. 1575’ (Fig. 8.5).⁵⁷ This note, taken together with his indexical notes for the Audley End disputation, reveals a deeply personal self-identification with years of close reading and engagement with his Quintilian – in preparation both for his formal academic career at Cambridge and later for his formal public performance before the Elizabethan court.

From rhetor to megalander: Branching out from Audley End

The last of Harvey’s indexed pages for his Audley End preparations, which he added to the section of Quintilian’s discourse dedicated to the various styles of speech – among the most heavily annotated sections in the entire volume – seem particularly revealing of Harvey’s courtly aspirations. Several reflect upon notable men of low birth who, despite their obscure origins, achieved great fame at court: the Tudor-era *novi*

⁵⁵ Harvey’s Quintilian, *Oratoris*, 542.

⁵⁶ Quintilian, *Orator*, 10.7.1. See Quintilian, *The Orator’s Education, Books 11–12*, ed. Jeffrey Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 372–3.

⁵⁷ Harvey’s Quintilian, *Oratoris*, 543.

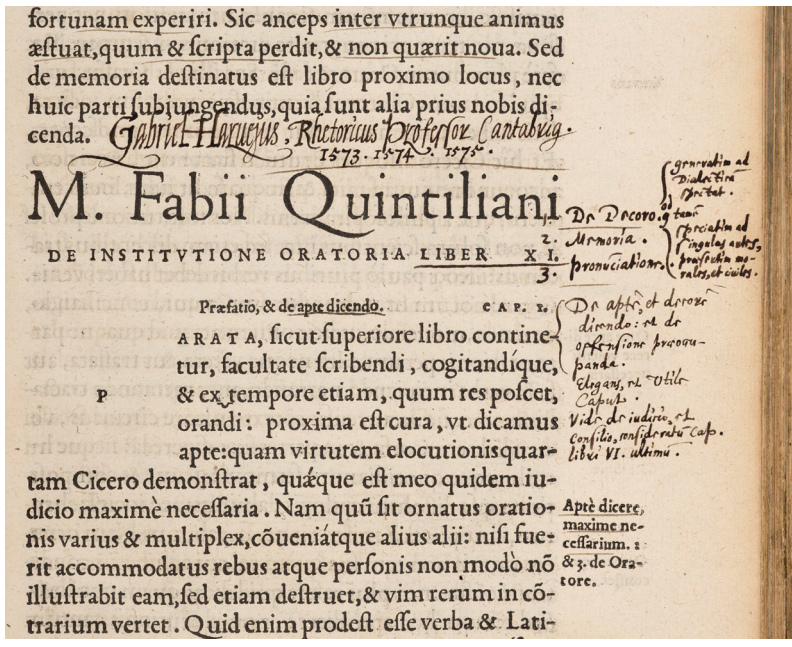


Fig. 8.5 'GH 1573. 1574. 1575' inscription in Quintilian, *M. Fabii Quintiliani oratoris eloquentissimi, institutionum oratoriarum libri xiii* (Paris: Robertus Stephanus, 1543), p. 543. © The British Library Board, C.60.I.II.

homines, or megalandri as he calls them in yet another of his classic Greco-Latin neologisms. Harvey's performance before the court in 1578, perhaps more than any other moment in his life, might have seemed to him the culmination of his ambition to emulate those who had begun to tread such a path at the Tudor courts of decades past.

Harvey's abiding interest in the emulation of Tudor megalanders, both in the Quintilian and in several other annotated books in his library, has likely received less attention than it otherwise might have because so many of those references are scattered and spread out across multiple volumes, and thus appear seemingly discrete from one another. At page 543, he begins with a general note just below a passage from Quintilian that instructs the rhetor to 'preserve the distinction between speeches in the Senate, addresses to the people and private consultations. He will make many changes of tone, to accord with differences of persons, places, and circumstance'. Harvey responds just below those lines with an elaborate enumeration of three different classes of literary Britons: the 'vividissima ingenia'. Chaucer, More, Jewel; the 'florentissimas indoles', Heywood, Sidney, Spenser and the 'illustriora ingenia' – illustrious

though born in obscurity – Smith, Ascham, Wilson, Digges, Blundeville.⁵⁸ The last five men of letters, with whom Harvey would likely have most closely identified, appear repeatedly in his marginalia. Though his great patron, the aforementioned Sir Thomas Smith, had died the year prior, Smith's colleague on the Privy Council, Thomas Wilson, was present at Harvey's Audley End performance, and Harvey's personal copies of Smith's *Linguae Anglicae* and Wilson's *Art of rhetorike* are both annotated. Upon the mathematician Leonard Digges, also born to a relatively obscure family, Harvey heaped great praise for his ingenious treatise of military mathematics, the *Statioticos* (1579), in multiple marginalia in his copies of Frontinus's *Stratagemes of warre* and in Machiavelli's *Art of warre*.⁵⁹ So, too, he praised Thomas Blundeville, whose treatise of horsemanship is among the most heavily annotated of all Harvey's books of practical knowledge and was frequently cross-referenced elsewhere.⁶⁰

Turning to page 644 of Harvey's Quintilian, his biographical catalogue of those worthy of emulation extends to the many self-made men who served earlier Tudor monarchs. 'Almost all of the Megalandri were distinguished either by nature or by art', he writes, beginning with the four 'heroici consiliiari' of Henry VIII: Cardinal Wolsey, son of a tavern keeper; Thomas Cromwell, son of a blacksmith; Thomas More, son of a baker-turned-barrister; and 'pragmaticus' Stephen Gardiner, son of a clothmaker.⁶¹ Edward VI's 'new men' were just as illustrious, including Thomas Cranmer, son of a penurious squire; John Cheke, son of a mid-level Cambridge administrator; and, once more, Harvey's patron Sir Thomas Smith, son of a small-scale sheep farmer. Finally, coming to the ranks of eminent Elizabethan megalanders whose number

⁵⁸ 'Tria vividissima Britannorum ingenia, Chaucerus, Morus, Juellus; Quibus addo tres florentissimas indoles, Heiuodum [Heywood], Sidneium, Spencerum. Qui quaerit illustrioria Anglorum ingenia, invenit obscuriora. Perpaucos excipio; eorumque primos, [Sir Thomas Smithum], Aschamum, Vilsomum, Diggesium, Blundevillum, Haclutium, mea Corcula.' Harvey's Quintilian, *Oratoris*, 643.

⁵⁹ Frontinus, *The stratagemes, sleyghtes, and policies of warre* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1539), STC 11402, Houghton Library, Lf.18.54.8*, sig. [Nviir]; Machiavelli, *The arte of warre* (London: n.p., 1573), STC 17165, Princeton University Library U101.M16 1573, fol. 109r. See also Castiglione, *The courtier of count Baldessar Castilio* (London: William Seres, 1561), STC 4778, Newberry Library ICN Case Y712 C27495, sig. [Zziv].

⁶⁰ Blundeville, *The foure chieftest offices belonging to horsemanship* (London: William Seres, 1580), STC 3154, British Library C.175.i.4. Additional references to Blundeville appear in Harvey's English Castiglione, sigs. Aiiiv, Zzir; Machiavelli, *Arte of warre*, verso of title page; and in the final fly leaves of Domenichi, *Facetie*.

⁶¹ More's long Latin tomb epitaph at Chelsea famously began, 'Thomas More, a Londoner born, of no noble family, but of an honest stock'. See William Rastell, *Workes of Sir Thomas More knyghte* (London: John Cawood, 1557), sigs. XX2r–XX3v. A variation on Harvey's quartet of Henrician megalanders, only replacing More with Burghley, appears in his copy of Joannes Foorth's *Synopsis politica*: 'But four politiques of late memory: Wolsey, Cromwell,

Harvey sorely wished to join, he adds the further accessory of ancient Greco-Roman personae to each of their names. Thus the low-born, long-lived Sir Thomas Smith becomes a second Cineas, invoking the sage advisor to King Pyrrhus and most eloquent student of Demosthenes. Lord Burghley, the scion of minor Welsh gentry, is a latter-day Nestor, famed by Homer as the wise, if boastful, king of Pylos. Nicholas Bacon, the son of a yeoman sheep-reeve, is the brave Scaevola, who earned his nickname after burning off his own hand in a show of patriotic valour.⁶² The only trueborn nobleman in any of these lists of megalanders, the earl of Essex, was a second Achilles, the puissant, if impetuous, warrior.⁶³ Of those from Edward's and Elizabeth's reigns, Smith, Cheke and Burghley had all risen to the office of secretary of the Privy Council, and Bacon to the Lord Keepership of the Great Seal. Flipping back to 639, the reader discovers Harvey's allied note that 'Great men [*megalandri*] are rare in any profession. And they proceed either alone or very reflectively and independently, giving precedence to all those things which are most worthy'.⁶⁴ However solitary and independent a megalander's path might be, Harvey greatly preferred their imagined company, even as much as he enjoyed his own in the space of his library with books, pen and inkpot all at the ready.

It is perhaps telling, considering Harvey's resolution to emulate and master all things Italian – after the queen's one 'look of an Italian' statement to him at Audley End – that this same notion of megalandry received perhaps its greatest expansion in his copy of John Florio's *First fruites* (1578). This classic Elizabethan Italian grammar Harvey acquired to teach himself Italian at around the same time, c. 1578–80.⁶⁵ Inscribed by him as 'the finest and sweetest form of English eloquence *in esse*', in a subsequent biographical note towards the end of the volume

Gardiner, and Cecil. All the rest, children in comparison. But novices, and pupils in policy. Incipients, not proficients.' Joannes Foorth, *Synopsis politica* (London: H. Bynneman, 1582), STC 11128, Saffron Walden Museum, SAFWM 1895.266, item 1, sig. A1v.

⁶² In a brief annotation towards the end of his copy of Florio's *First fruites*, written in the larger context of a longer manuscript prose narrative regarding Stephen Gardiner's political career, Harvey notes, 'Sir William Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon, now the two great politiques *in esse*'. See John Florio, *Florio his first fruites: A perfect induction to the Italian and English tongues* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1578), STC 11096, Houghton Library *70–80. fol. 162r.

⁶³ Harvey's Quintilian, *Oratoris*, 644. Harvey was likely referring here to Walter Devereux, Viscount of Hereford, who was later newly created 1st earl of Essex in 1572, and who was infamous for his cruel military exploits in Ireland. This marginalia could conceivably date from a much later reading, and thus constitute a reference to the 2nd earl of Essex, though his rise occurred well after the generation of Smith, Cheke, Bacon and Burghley.

⁶⁴ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 178.

⁶⁵ On Harvey's envy of the Italian proficiency of three principal Elizabethan courtiers – Leicester, Hatton and Sidney, each of whom received specific verses of praise in Harvey's

Harvey revealed that he had made ‘Florio and Eliot, my new London companions for Italian and French, two of the best for both’.⁶⁶ He clearly applied himself vigorously to the acquisition of Italian through this volume, for it is among his more heavily annotated books.⁶⁷ However, the sheer scale of these earlier marginalia pales in comparison with the densely inscribed pages that fill the final portion of his Florio. There Harvey focuses on a closely written account of the megalandry of ‘*pragmaticus*’ Stephen Gardiner, whom he clearly thought to emulate; this composition, whether Harvey’s own invention or that of another, he entitled ‘The politique history of Doctor Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and afterward L. Chancellor of England’. This he followed with the further explanatory note at the bottom of the page that carried over immediately from the corresponding megalander annotations, including his invocation of Gardiner, in Harvey’s Quintilian: ‘Exemplary patterns for imitation, or observation.’⁶⁸ The only clearly personal and contextual suggestion about why this otherwise odd-looking intervention of continuous prose surrounds the final pages of Florio’s grammar is the brief note: ‘Noble doctor Smith, worthy Sir Thomas Smith. A great adversary and friend of B[ishop] Gard[iner].’⁶⁹ Taken within the context of Harvey’s general interest in rhetorical eloquence, this slightly cryptic passage almost certainly refers to Smith’s passionate support for (his fellow megalander) John Cheke’s effort, begun at Cambridge in the early 1540s, to introduce the reformed Erasmian pronunciation of Greek. This Gardiner vehemently opposed, yet his opposition did not preclude Smith’s consistent latitudinarian approach to Gardiner’s

Gratulationum Valdinensium – and his efforts to remedy his own deficiency by studying Italian and French, see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 156–8.

⁶⁶ Florio, *Florio his first fruites*, sig. ***r, 105v. The earliest dated marginalia in Harvey’s Florio is 1580 (fol. 160v). The same is true of Harvey’s heavily annotated volume containing Domenichi’s *Facetie* and Guicciardini’s *Detti et fatti piacevoli, et gravi*, Folger Shakespeare Library MS H.a.2(3), as indicated on the title page of the latter, ‘Gabriel Harvey. Ratione, et diligentia 1580’, and several further references to megalandri at 163, 235 and 432. In one further tantalising, though badly trimmed, marginalia in Harvey’s Florio (fol. 57r), which appears beside a printed passage on the importance of wide reading to the cultivation of eloquence, Harvey refers back to his annotated index at the end of his Quintilian (illegible portions indicated by ellipses): ‘The wondrous effects of eloquence. Confer those exa ... and most notable ... at the end of my Quintilian: index very golden, and dia ... plans, if any plans deserve to be so termed’. The Eliot reference denotes Harvey’s annotated copy of John Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica; Eliots first fruits for the French* (London: John Wolfe, 1592), STC 7574, Huntington Library, RB 60231.

⁶⁷ Further evidence of Harvey’s efforts in this regard is given in his annotated Italian-language copy of Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1541), see fn. 52, above.

⁶⁸ Harvey’s Florio, *Florio his first fruites*, fol. 160r.

⁶⁹ Harvey’s Florio, *Florio his first fruites*, fol. [161]v. Also referenced by Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 254. Notably, in the context of these self-made megalanders, Harvey deploys ‘noble’

religious conservatism in matters of church and state in the years that followed.⁷⁰

Harvey was clearly aware of Smith's early contretemps with Gardiner and the fact that Smith had even personally presented Gardiner, then university chancellor of Cambridge, with a manuscript defence of Cheke's reformed system of ancient Greek eloquence, rooted in a growing body of scholarship that had been summarised years earlier in Erasmus's *De recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione* (1528). The archconservative Gardiner resisted and the *politique* Smith backed down, withholding his treatise from print for decades and waiting many years after Gardiner's death before permitting its appearance as *De recta & emendata linguae Graecae pronuntiatione* (1568). In the final page of Harvey's annotated copy of that book, just beside the printed name of 'Thomas Smith', he quietly noted Smith's reward for falling back in line with Gardiner in 1542, which was his own appointment as vice-chancellor of the university under Gardiner: 'Anno 1543 fuit Procancellarius Academiae.'⁷¹ Smith's and Cheke's humanist dedication to the pursuit and power of classical eloquence, and the conception of the humanist as one who may enjoin others to the improvement of expression and to the *vita activa*, presented a classic foundation for Harvey's own pragmatic enterprise of bookish self-cultivation, of becoming 'studied for action' through the books in his library.

As with Smith, so with Harvey. Gardiner's conservatism would hardly preclude Harvey's interest in studying and portraying Gardiner in the pages of his Florio as a quintessential megalander worthy of a skilful *imitatio*. He would not discount Gardiner any more than Smith had not, and it is all but impossible to imagine Harvey's interest in Gardiner as originating from any other source than his years of personal friendship with and patronage under Smith's wing. Indeed, Harvey praised Gardiner as much as he so often praised Smith: 'This Gardiner, the cunningest statesman, finest pragmatician, and currentest ambassador of his time.'⁷² The degree to which Harvey took Gardiner's example personally is also suggested by one of the most profoundly personal and inherently

as descriptive of Smith's natural self-cultivation of that characteristic, and not as a condition conferred upon him by high birth.

⁷⁰ The affair and the contributions of each of these interlocutors are amply described and documented in John McDiarmid, 'Recovering republican eloquence: John Cheke versus Stephen Gardiner on the pronunciation of Greek', *History of European Ideas* 38, no. 3 (September 2012): 338–51.

⁷¹ Sir Thomas Smith, *De recta & emendata linguae Graecae Pronuntiatione, Thomae Smithi Angli, tunc in Academia Cantabrigiensi publici praelectoris, at Vintoniensen Episcopum epistola* (Paris: Robert Stephanus, 1568), Princeton University Library, PE1137.A2 S53 1568, fol. [50v].

⁷² Harvey's Florio, *Florio his first fruites*, fol. [161]v.

autobiographical notes in all of Harvey's marginalia. That note appears just beside his invocation of the 'Noble doctor Smith, worthy Sir Thomas Smith', and just below Harvey's account of Gardiner's resistance to 'the surrendering of the College of Trinity Hall in Cambridge' (those words are specifically underlined by Harvey for emphasis). After taking his Doctor of Civil Law degree at Trinity Hall, Gardiner would serve from 1525 as that college's long-time Master. By 1578, Harvey had followed precisely the same course, taking up his own fellowship at Trinity Hall to read for his DCL in 1578, the same year of his Audley End disputation. Just as he admired and memorialised in these pages the considerable achievements of the humbly born Gardiner, so too did Harvey imagine how he would wish himself to be remembered by posterity, 'Ad mnemosyna Gabrielis Harveii'. As he himself tells it, his aspiration was to be remembered as 'regal, noble, generous, of the people, and pragmatic in every way. In many ways of the people, but not common.'⁷³

Conclusion

It remains impossible to construct a perfectly autobiographical exposition of Harvey's thoughts and ambitions, even from such compelling, tightly indexed, thematically interconnected marginalia as these. But the careful reader of this particular constellation of interwoven annotations may at least reasonably attain some closer sense of Harvey's 'manuscript personality', as it were, which was clearly rooted in his real-world experiences and aspirations, and so clearly linked to the events at Audley End. It was hardly unreasonable for Harvey to anticipate some measure of success, as the former protégé of a megalander like Sir Thomas Smith, as a collaborative reader with Sir Philip Sidney and as a literary companion of Edmund Spenser. These were all literary men who had achieved the kind of refined, popular memory that Harvey surely wished also to achieve for himself through the concourse of his own pen. As he followed the industry and successes over the ensuing decades of his fellow Audley End disputants and Cambridge colleagues Hawkyns, Fletcher and Byng – all trained, like Harvey, in civil law – he could well have imagined some similar measure of good fortune for himself.

⁷³ 'Ad mnemosyna Gabrielis Harveii regia, nobilia, generosa, popularia, omnique modo pragmatic. Multa popularia: nihil vulgare.' On the strength of contextual references across these pages on Gardiner in Harvey's Florio, Stern has suggested that these marginalia were likely written in the years following Harvey's Audley End disputation, between 1580 and 1585. See Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 154–6.

Much like the second of the theses debated by these men at their Audley End disputation – *astra non imponunt necessitatem* (‘the stars do not impose destiny’) – neither can the ‘jewels or stars’ of Harvey’s marginalia, as they were satirically described in *Pedantius*, predestine latter-day scholarly eureka moments of insight into Harvey the man, the practical humanist ‘studied for action’. With each seeming marginal expression of Harvey’s ‘manuscript personality’, the reader cannot help but wonder what of the man is present in his marginalia and what is absent, or at least elusive, if not altogether inscrutable. This, too, Harvey expressed among the pages of what is arguably the most utilitarian annotated book in his entire library: his copy of Josias Simler’s epitome of Conrad Gessner’s vast bibliography of Greek, Latin and Hebrew works.⁷⁴ Turning to the ‘Ga’ section, at the first mention of an author to share his

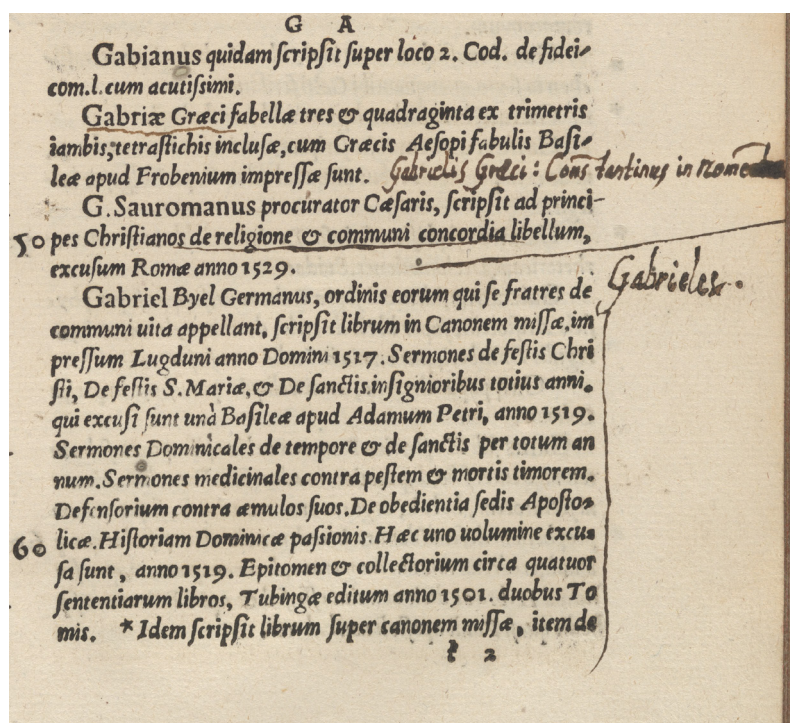


Fig. 8.6 Harvey’s personalised ‘Gabrielis’ annotations in Josias Simler, *Epitome bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (Zurich: C. Froschoverus, 1555), fol. 56 (recto). © Houghton Library, Harvard University *EC.H2623.Zz555g.

⁷⁴ Josias Simler, *Epitome bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (Zurich: C. Froschoverus, 1555), Houghton Library, A1447.3.100F.

own given name, 'Gabriel Biel', Harvey drew a clear line of demarcation. This was followed on the next page by a second wavy line drawn just at the end of the final 'Gabriel' entry, that of 'Gabriel Zerbi'.⁷⁵ Between these entries Harvey simply wrote 'Gabrieles', as if to join himself with this eponymous plurality of accomplished and well-remembered authors in a kind of unique fellowship, one in which, one day, he might see his own name recorded in that great roll call of honour (Fig. 8.6).

⁷⁵ Simler, *Epitome*, 56r–v. Just above Biel, Harvey reclaims from Simler one other Gabriel, expanding Simler's reference to the Greek fabulist 'Gabriae Graeci' to 'Gabrielis Graeci'.

What is an annotator? Renaissance marginalia as a textual form*

Sara Miglietti

The issue explored in this chapter is not whether we should study marginal annotations, nor what we can hope to gain from such a study. I consider these questions settled, following decades of seminal scholarship that has demonstrated the heuristic potential of marginalia in a range of different fields, from reception studies and the history of scholarship to the sociology of reading and cultural history more broadly. Some of this scholarship is gathered here together for the first time, allowing us to get a good sense of how the study of annotation, particularly Renaissance annotation, has developed over the years and how it has contributed to a better understanding of this historical period. And yet, big questions remain – questions that would have been unthinkable without this scholarship and that we can only now begin to probe.

In this chapter I will address only one of these questions, and even then just superficially, hoping more to prompt a conversation than to prove anything definitively. The problem in question is theoretical, and it regards the *status* that we should accord to annotation. I will show below that there is an entrenched tendency, even among scholars who take marginalia quite seriously, to consider them as a somewhat subsidiary, instrumental form of activity – one that is less creative, less autonomous, overall less ‘authorial’ than so-called original writing. My chapter seeks to challenge this idea, arguing that annotation should be understood

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not merely as a form of ‘active reading’ propaedeutic to future writing, but as a practice that has value on its own: it can be a form of original textual creation; a countercultural authorial gesture; in some cases, even an entire way of life. If we want to recover the wealth of meanings and functions that annotation had in the Renaissance, we need a new interpretive framework to make sense of it. This chapter will make a strong case for this need, clearing some potential roadblocks and tentatively suggesting a few avenues for future investigation.

Micro-historians teach us that there can be great value in exploring a phenomenon by looking at exceptions rather than at norms, to the extent that ‘exceptions include the norms, [but] not the other way around’.¹ In this spirit, I will take here as my main case studies two individuals who uniquely embody the Renaissance culture of annotation: the English scholars John Dee (1527–1609) and Gabriel Harvey (c. 1550–1630), whose richly annotated libraries have stimulated the development of marginalia studies from their earliest beginnings to magnificent recent projects such as the Archaeology of Reading (hereafter AOR). To be sure, Dee and Harvey cannot be taken as ordinary annotators, not just because they were scholars of great learning and prominent (if controversial) figures in their respective contexts, nor even because of the time and intentionality that went into their marginalia.² Rather, Dee and Harvey are somewhat special figures because a substantial portion of their libraries still exists, albeit scattered geographically. This provides us with an extensive and cohesive corpus of annotations that can be mined for many different purposes, offering crucial insights that we simply do not get from studying isolated marginalia by anonymous readers. Thus, while the findings of this chapter will hopefully be applicable beyond the cases of Dee and Harvey, the chapter itself could not have been written without access to a corpus of annotations like theirs; indeed, the very idea that a person’s annotations can be seen as forming a *corpus* – similar, in this sense, to published materials – is one of the central points that emerge from studying these authors and that I hope to demonstrate in what follows.

¹ Carlo Ginzburg with Lucio Biasiori, eds, *A Historical Approach to Casuistry: Norms and exceptions in a comparative perspective* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), xi.

² Virginia Stern, one of the first to examine Harvey’s marginalia in depth, has written of Harvey as an annotator: ‘Harvey seemed to me unique as a marginalist ... [though many others wrote marginalia,] none did so with the abundance, variety, the artistry, and the consistency of Harvey.’ Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), vii.

Is annotation ‘real writing’? Moving beyond a genetic approach to marginalia

‘The history of writing and the history of reading are intricately related’, it has been argued.³ This is perhaps truer for the Renaissance than for any other period. Renaissance reading was typically done ‘with pen in hand’, as Nicholas Popper reminds us: it was often ‘accompanied by writing, and reading strategies were also strategies of marginal annotation’.⁴ As readers scanned their books in search of useful information, pithy expressions and practical advice, they used their pens to underline, highlight, cross-reference and correct. They added keywords in the margins to help memorisation and facilitate future retrieval; they copied out the juiciest bits in separate notebooks, and jotted down comments and personal thoughts in whatever space was left on the page, thus turning books into precious records of their mental processes.

Some of these readers also happened to be published authors, and critics have long recognised the value of mining their marginal annotations for insights into how their works originated and developed. This ‘genetic’ approach to marginalia is perhaps more commonly applied to modern authors, and much of the theoretical discourse that surrounds it similarly has a modern focus. However, there have also been successful attempts at extending the same approach to Renaissance writers. Nicholas Clulee’s intellectual biography of John Dee, for instance, makes ample use of Dee’s library and marginalia as a source of information about his evolving ideas and interests.⁵ Montaigne’s annotated books (particularly his Lucretius) have been interrogated with a similar purpose; while Robert Burton’s extensive annotated library has offered important insights into the genesis of his monumental *Anatomy of Melancholy*.⁶ Studies such as these have shown that marginalia are not

³ Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical arts and the culture of knowledge from antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 4.

⁴ Nicholas Popper, ‘The English Polydaedali: How Gabriel Harvey read late Tudor London’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 66, no. 3 (2005): 351–81, at 352n3, reprinted as [Chapter 4](#) of the present volume, above p. 116.

⁵ Nicholas Clulee, *John Dee’s Natural Philosophy: Between science and religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988).

⁶ Michael A. Screech, *Montaigne’s Annotated Copy of Lucretius: A transcription and study of the manuscript, notes and pen-marks* (Geneva: Droz, 1998); Wes Williams, ‘“Well said/well thought”: How Montaigne read his Lucretius’, in *Lucretius and the Early Modern*, ed. David Norbrook, Stephen Harrison and Philip Hardie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 136–60; Nicolas K. Kiessling, *The Library of Robert Burton* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1988); Angus Gowland, ‘“As hunters find their game by the trace”: Reading to discover in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*’, *The Review of English Studies* 70 (2019): 437–66.

merely evidence of a reader's response to a text; they are, to some extent, a text in their own right – the embodiment of a creative act of *authorship*. But what kind of authorship exactly are we dealing with when we are dealing with marginalia?

As I have argued elsewhere, one limitation of a purely genetic approach is that it can encourage a teleological view of textual development, placing all the emphasis on the finished (published) text and presenting everything that came *before* – what some genetic critics call the *avant-texte* – as a mere stepping stone, a preparatory stage devoid of all intrinsic value.⁷ If we accept that the *avant-texte* matters only in function of the *texte*, then a genetic approach will almost inevitably lead to a view of marginalia as a lesser form of intellectual production, valuable insofar as it is instrumental to 'real writing', but not really worthy of study for its own sake. Such a perspective is problematic for two main reasons: firstly, because it paradoxically perpetuates the very conceptual binaries (reading/writing, passive/active, derivative/original, etc.) that the study of annotation has historically helped us challenge; and secondly, because it can blind us to the importance of annotation as a marker of genuine intellectual engagement.

The first problem is well exemplified in a recent piece by renowned marginalia scholar Heather J. Jackson. In 'Marginalia and authorship', Jackson establishes a strong distinction between simple annotators and 'real' writers – that is, 'authors'.⁸ While she concedes that 'all writers of marginalia are to that extent writers', she is keen to reserve terms such as 'writer' or 'author' for those 'whose occupation or aspiration is to write for publication'. This is despite her own admission that 'there are no intrinsic differences between the marginalia of writers *en masse* and those of other people': all marginalia, regardless of their origins and purpose, can be said to constitute a 'form of writing' – a 'genre', even, specifically 'designed for communication and governed by conventions'. This is an exceptionally insightful suggestion, but puzzling in the context of Jackson's own distinction between authorial and ordinary annotation. If marginalia truly are a textual form in their own right, then surely we should be able to study them for their own sake, without reference to a future published product that would give them their status or meaning? And if that is the case, should we not also avoid establishing rigid

⁷ Sara Miglietti, 'Meaning in a changing context: Towards an interdisciplinary approach to authorial revision', *History of European Ideas* 40, no. 4 (2014): 474–94.

⁸ Heather J. Jackson, 'Marginalia and authorship', *Oxford Handbooks Online*, published March 2016, last accessed 27 November 2021, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.013.149.

distinctions between different kinds of annotators, based solely on the fact that some of them were, or aspired to be, published authors, whereas others (to the best of our knowledge) were not?

When carried into the realm of intellectual history, such questions can have momentous implications for historical interpretation. A good example of this can be found in Clulee's aforementioned biography of John Dee, first published in 1988 but recently reprinted in 2012, and still an important reference in the field.⁹ In this study, annotation is simultaneously praised as a fundamental source of information on Dee's scholarly activity and dismissed as an imperfect form of intellectual engagement. Clulee's overall intention, in this book as in earlier studies, was to distance himself from then-dominant interpretations of Dee as a Neoplatonic thinker or Hermetic magus.¹⁰ What Clulee questioned was not so much the influence of Neoplatonism, Hermeticism or magic on Dee's thought, but rather the dubious method whereby some scholars had elevated these currents to the status of a 'unifying philosophy' underpinning Dee's thought throughout his entire career. According to Clulee,

the unifying philosophy thought to inform Dee's writings is derived either in an abstract and *a priori* fashion and then applied to Dee's particular works, or from some of Dee's later writings and then applied retrospectively to earlier material on the assumption that his basic ideas were already well formed by the time he completed his formal studies in 1548 and did not change thereafter.¹¹

Clulee raised several objections to this continuistic reading of Dee's intellectual life. He pointed first and foremost to the lack of any sound material evidence of Dee's engagement with Neoplatonism, Hermeticism or magic before the early 1560s – a conclusion he reached by examining Dee's reading lists and marginalia, which are our richest source of information about Dee's activities in this early phase of his career. Speaking of Dee's readings in the early 1560s, immediately after the

⁹ It is important to note that this study predates recent developments in marginalia studies that have laid the basis for this critique. My aim is obviously not to blame Clulee for not thinking ahead of his time; rather, I want to pinpoint specific problems in the approach that his work embodies, with the goal of moving towards a more effective methodology in the future.

¹⁰ These earlier studies include: I. R. F. Calder, 'John Dee Studied as an English Neoplatonist', PhD dissertation, University of London, 1952; Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964); Yates, *Theatre of the World* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969); Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

¹¹ Clulee, *John Dee*, 9.

publication of his *Propaedeumata aphoristica* (Dee's first work to appear in print, in 1558), Clulee writes:

The amount of material is scant, but what is there indicates a shift of interest away from mathematics and physics toward an active study of Hebrew, magic and occult works in the early 1560s.¹²

Before this period, Clulee argues, there is no demonstrable engagement of Dee with any of these subjects: in the 1540s and 1550s, Dee's 'interests' seem to have centred around different topics, such as mathematics, optics and astrology:

Although there is very little substantial material dealing with Dee's career before 1558, what does exist does contribute to clarifying what interests and ideas contributed to the making of the *Propaedeumata*. This evidence indicates that astrology was one if not the major focus of Dee's natural philosophy from as early as 1548.¹³

The language used in these two passages is revealing. Clulee's statement that the 'material' predating 1558 is 'scant' already suggests that marginalia and other physical traces of reading are for him subsidiary forms of evidence, to be invoked only in the absence of more 'substantial material' (presumably published works). This is indeed what he argues explicitly in another passage:

Although considerable material survives, it is frequently fragmentary and serves more to indicate the variety of Dee's interests than to bridge the gaps in Dee's intellectual career that separate one published work from the next.¹⁴

Marginalia, for Clulee, can serve at best as an indication of intellectual interests, broadly conceived; they do not really qualify as a genuine form

¹² Clulee, *John Dee*, 86.

¹³ Clulee, *John Dee*, 22.

¹⁴ Clulee, *John Dee*, 10. See also the following statement from an earlier essay: 'Prior to 1570, when materials become more abundant, the only major works that remain are the *Propaedeumata aphoristica* of 1558 and the *Monas* of 1564, and the gaps between 1558, 1564, and 1570 are not supplemented by any significant manuscript material'. Nicholas Clulee, 'Astrology, magic, and optics: Facets of John Dee's early natural philosophy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (1977): 634–5. This passage seems to suggest that annotations do not even count as 'significant manuscript material'.

of intellectual *activity*. In order to be ‘translated into active consideration’, interests need to move from the sphere of marginal annotations to that of extended, and ideally published, works:

From Dee’s own works dating from 1557 and 1558 it is clear that the interests which were most strongly translated into active consideration on his part were astrology and optics. In these years he wrote three works on various subjects related to optics, one on astronomy, and the *Propaedeumata aphoristica* ... [On the other hand,] [a]lchemy does seem to have been an early interest of his, but not one that was under active consideration in this early period.¹⁵

Clulee’s distinction between mere research ‘interests’ and topics ‘under active consideration’ seems to relate entirely to the nature of the material that conveys Dee’s engagement with a particular subject. If this engagement was expressed in a published work, this provides proof that Dee was ‘actively considering’ the subject. But if expressed in a marginal annotation or in other ‘fragmentary’ manuscript material, then (Clulee concludes) Dee must have been ‘interested’ in the subject in a purely exploratory, non-committal fashion. The implication here is that marginalia are too fleeting, too scattered, too fragmented to represent a form of genuine intellectual engagement. Only ‘real writing’ – linear, coherent, ideally memorialised by the fixity of print – qualifies as ‘active consideration’. Had Dee been *seriously* investigating a problem (so goes Clulee’s reasoning), he surely would have committed his musings not to some passing notes, but to an extended text that could in due course be made public.

But this, I think, is an unwarranted conclusion, deriving from modern value systems and problematically applied to a textual culture that differed from ours in many respects. There is no real proof that Dee favoured his published works over his abundant notes and ‘fragments’, nor that he viewed the latter as somehow less important or less complete than other parts of his corpus. In fact, everything suggests the opposite. First of all, Dee seems to have embraced fragmentation as part of his writing style, no matter its site or purpose. His penchant for short, aphoristic forms is displayed in the very title of his first printed work, the *Propaedeumata aphoristica*, and is a recurrent trait across his production.¹⁶ Dee’s entire corpus is riddled with fragmentation, as

¹⁵ Clulee, *John Dee*, 37–8.

¹⁶ On the fragmentary character of Dee’s writing see William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of

Clulee himself occasionally admits: 'The texts that remain are just so many fragments'; 'His works present us with a broken mirror reflecting in different ways different fragments of creation, behind which we hear the continuous murmur of the voices in his library.'¹⁷ But – and this is the key point here – what is an obvious source of frustration and interpretive headaches for Clulee seems to have been a deliberate choice on Dee's part. It seems then that Clulee's distinction between 'fragmentary' notes and 'more substantial' materials would likely have made little sense in Dee's own eyes. Regardless of what we think about the fragmentary character of Dee's writing, this is a trait that unifies, rather than differentiates, his marginalia and the rest of his corpus.

What status Dee attached to his annotations can also be deduced anecdotally from his attitude towards his library. All available evidence suggests that he was protective towards his books, yet generous with friends and acquaintances who wished to access them. Dee's books – and, by extension, his annotations in them – were not meant for purely private consumption. Indeed, the very distinction between 'private' and 'public' can prove misleading in this context, as early modern collections (of books but also artworks, specimens, etc.) were intended for a sort of controlled communal enjoyment: they were neither fully private (as in 'inaccessible to anyone but the owner') nor fully public in a modern sense, to the extent that only a select group of people could normally gain access.¹⁸ This is why it is unhelpful to think of Renaissance marginalia as giving us access to a 'personal', 'intimate engagement' of a reader with a text, as is so often assumed.¹⁹ Though marginalia

Massachusetts Press, 1995), 115, 122–3. Sherman's remarks here lay the basis for viewing Dee's annotations as a fully legitimate part of his corpus.

¹⁷ Clulee, *John Dee*, 15, 17.

¹⁸ Sherman, *John Dee*, 38–50. Even libraries that were 'public' in principle, such as the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (which was run by the Republic's Chancery and was more institutionalised than most Renaissance libraries), were not really public in a modern sense. The term 'public library', Paul Nelles has noted, 'did not designate a library open to all comers' but rather 'a common library. Many libraries and colleges of the late medieval period had public libraries in this sense, usually meaning a collection for the collective use of the institutional community. Second was the notion of a library that served the public utility or was used for the public benefit, largely in a political sense; an archive, for example, or a library meant to support the jurisdictional and diplomatic activities of the ecclesiastical or secular political body it served.' Paul Nelles, 'Renaissance libraries', in *International Dictionary of Library History*, ed. David H. Stam (New York: Routledge, 2001), 151. For further details on access to the Marciana in the Renaissance see Ottavia Mazzon, 'Knocking on heaven's door: The loan registers of the Libreria di San Marco', in *Greeks, Books and Libraries in Renaissance Venice*, ed. Rosa Maria Piccione (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2021), 259–83.

¹⁹ These words are taken from Patrick Spedding and Paul Tankard's introduction to Spedding and Tankard, eds, *Marginal Notes: Social reading and the literal margins* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 1–20, at 4. As this (otherwise excellent) volume shows, views of annotation as a primarily private practice are still deeply engrained in scholarship.

clearly do emerge from a personal encounter between a reader and a text, in the Renaissance they were inscribed in a larger social context that gave them a markedly non-private status. Note-taking was learned, and sometimes practised, in a social context. Notes could be taken by multiple individuals together; they were often copied or exchanged, and the common practice of lending books to friends meant that annotations often circulated in a semi-public fashion among selected inner circles, following similar patterns as the phenomenon of scribal publication.²⁰ None of this suggests privacy or intimacy in a modern sense. And it all needs to be taken into account when reflecting about the place of Dee's annotations in his broader corpus.

So far I hope to have shown that a purely genetic approach to marginalia can lead to problematic outcomes, such as a purely instrumental view of annotation. When annotation is seen as the handmaid of future textual creation, rather than as a form of textual creation in its own right, we risk falling back into modern dichotomies that would not have made sense in the eyes of many Renaissance thinkers and writers. John Dee may not have considered his annotations as full-blown texts, but nor did he establish such a rigid demarcation between them and his published works as modern critics like Clulee would like us to think. Similarities in style (e.g., fragmentation and aphoristic brevity), combined with the semi-public nature of Dee's marginalia, suggest a different and more harmonious relationship between these two categories of writings: though marginalia may have occupied a special place in Dee's corpus, they nevertheless belonged to it in a way that requires our full attention.

Our next example will allow us to push this reflection even further and to consider what happens when annotation is understood not just as a form of textual creation among others, but in a sense as the *only* valid form of textual creation. Throughout the following discussion, I would like us to keep one question firmly at the back of our minds: if annotation is indeed a genuine, if peculiar, form of writing, what kind of writing exactly is it, and what kind of writer exactly is an annotator? The unusual case of Gabriel Harvey, explored in the next section, will help us dig deeper into these questions.

²⁰ On the social contexts of Renaissance annotation see Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for action": How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78 (Chapter 1 in this volume); Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing scholarly information before the modern age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Ann Blair, 'The rise of note-taking in early modern Europe', *Intellectual History Review* 20, no. 3 (2010): 303–16; Richard Yeo, *Notebooks, English Virtuosi, and Early Modern Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

'Necessary writing': Praxis and performance in Harvey's marginalia

'*Abijce pennam, et linguam acue*' ('Drop the pen and sharpen your tongue!').²¹ Ironically, the man who inscribed this note in the margins of a sixteenth-century legal handbook was one who hardly ever dropped his pen. Gabriel Harvey was already known to his contemporaries as a committed if compulsive annotator; and this reputation has followed him through the centuries, ensuring him continuing attention from scholars yet also sometimes obscuring his other literary undertakings.²² His fate, in this sense, has been the opposite of Dee's: it is not Harvey's marginalia that need rescuing from oblivion, but the rest of his corpus. With Harvey, we are dealing with the rather exceptional case of someone whose 'fragments of writing' (in Jennifer Richards's words) have attracted *more* attention than his published works.²³ This may be due in part to the fact that Harvey's writings that were printed during his lifetime were few and not particularly successful: these include some vernacular poetry, his Latin orations on rhetoric (*Rhetor* and *Ciceronianus*) and pieces of satirical prose connected to his famous diatribe with Thomas Nashe. But there may be deeper reasons as well.

One fact that is often overlooked about Harvey is his fraught relationship with writing. The terse memento recalled above – 'Drop the pen and sharpen your tongue!' – is only one of dozens of instances in which Harvey lashes out against the wastefulness of writing and urges himself (as well as potential readers of his notes) to use his time more profitably:

Auoyde all writing, but necessary: which consumith unreasonable much tyme, before you ar aware: you haue alreddy plaguid yourselfe this way: Two arts lernide, whilest two sheetes in writing.²⁴

²¹ Marginal note in Johannes Ramus, *OIKONOMIA, seu Dispositio Regularum utriusque iuris in locos Communes* (Cologne, 1570), transcribed in George C. Moore Smith, ed., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), 144. The annotations in this book are dated 1574, 1579, 1580.

²² See Henry R. Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 610–30, at 613: 'Harvey's library and his attachment to the notes he wrote in the books were sufficiently well known to be joked about in the Cambridge Latin comedy *Pedantius*, acted at Trinity College in 1581 and later to be referred to in his dispute with Nashe.'

²³ Jennifer Richards, 'Gabriel Harvey's choleric writing', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature: 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 655–70, at 655. For a similar opinion see Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', 612.

²⁴ From Harvey's commonplace book, transcribed in Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 113.

Lyttle or no writing will now serue, but only upon praesent necessary occasions, otherwise not dispatchable. All writing layd abedd, as taedious, & needles.²⁵

*Lycurgus, et Socrates, Graecorum sapientissimi, etiam maxima quaeque Agrapha esse uoluerunt. Christus ipse suum Evangelium non scribi, sed praedicari mandauit. Ite, et praedicate (non sedete, et scribite).*²⁶

*Lacedaemonij Leges, et omnia magna scribebant in animis: reliqua negligebant. Lycurgus, Socrates, Pythagoras, Druydes, sapientissimi homines, omnia agrapha esse uoluerunt.*²⁷

These remarks are often interpreted as proof of Harvey's pragmatic orientation towards reading and life. In her seminal biography of Harvey, Virginia Stern has argued that the 'sentiment' expressed in these notes – 'to act not to write' – came to Harvey from the study of texts such as Livy, which encouraged him 'to do more and more reading for their practical worldly wisdom and to forgo writing and bend his efforts toward becoming a man of action (not of letters)'.²⁸ Similarly, Lisa Jardine and Tony Grafton have suggested that Harvey's attitude towards books was fundamentally 'active', not only because it entailed a physical as well as intellectual engagement with the text, but also because its goal was the pursuit of practical wisdom and its effective application in real-life contexts. Harvey studied his books 'for action', not just abstract speculation: as he himself wrote in one of his notes, '*Il pensare non importa, ma il fare*' (It is not thinking but doing that matters).²⁹ As a

²⁵ Marginal note in Ramus, *OIKONOMIA*, transcribed in Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 144.

²⁶ 'Lycurgus and Socrates, the wisest of the Greeks, wanted even the most important things to remain unwritten. And Christ himself commissioned his Gospel to be not written but preached. He said, "Go and preach" – not "sit down and write".' Marginal note in Ramus, *OIKONOMIA*, transcribed in Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 148.

²⁷ 'The Spartans wrote their laws and all important things in people's hearts; and neglected everything else. Lycurgus, Socrates, Pythagoras, the Druids, all the wisest men wanted everything to remain unwritten.' From Harvey's commonplace book (BL, Add MS 32494), transcribed in Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 90. See also Arnoud Visser's contribution to this volume, esp. fn. 61.

²⁸ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 152–3. To the example offered here by Stern (153n12), one can add the following note scribbled at the bottom of a passage from Book 42 of *De urbe condita* (on page 755 of Harvey's 1555 Basel edition): 'Prudens rex Eumenes: et Curia, prudens iudex. Singula vtrinque subtilia: omnia profunda. Minus scriptionis: plus, plusque lectionis mihi conducit, expedit actori. Eccè Lilius ipse instar omnium notarum schola[e], aut obseruationum mundi' (Eumenes is a prudent king, and the Curia a prudent judge. The individual qualities are refined on both sides, all are profound. It would be proper for me and expedient for a man of action to do less writing, and much more reading. Look, Livy himself is equivalent to all comments of the academy, or observations in the world).

²⁹ Marginal note in Ramus, *OIKONOMIA*, transcribed in Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 141. Cf. Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action".

crucial component of his study techniques, his annotations are rightly said to partake of this general active orientation.

And yet, there is a paradoxical side to Harvey's calls to 'drop the pen' and 'avoyde all writing' that these interpretations do not quite seem to capture. Invitations such as these turn the act of writing against itself, thus operating as a strange form of authorial self-denial or self-critique. Counter-intuitively, they seem to have led not to the cessation of writing, but to its proliferation: 'Leave scribbling', we read on a thickly annotated page of Harvey's copy of Domenichi (Fig. 9.1); and later in the same book, similarly surrounded by countless other 'scribbles': 'no more scribbling: but enjoy the excellent, & diuine notes, which you haue allreddi written' (Fig. 9.2).

These notes were produced in periods of busy literary activity for Harvey. Indeed, following his first encounter with Livy in the early 1570s, Harvey did not at all 'forgo writing' as Stern seems to suggest, but instead inaugurated one of the most productive phases of his literary career. It is to this period in his life that we can trace back many of these self-invitations to stop writing. So it seems that the more Harvey was thinking about 'dropping the pen', the more invested in his writing he became – or vice versa, perhaps. What, then, are we to make of these notes? Should we interpret them as documents of a deeply divided mind? Should we explain them away as one of those inevitable self-contradictions that are a part of human existence? Or is there a way to reconcile them with Harvey's actual writing practices?

Henry R. Woudhuysen has recently argued that Harvey's 'contempt for writing' was not without qualifications: while he despised empty 'scribbling', he embraced what he called 'necessary writing' – writing that served some definite practical purpose. In this sense, his attitude towards writing was a continuation of his attitude towards reading: 'If Harvey's reading was only a means to an end, at worst a distraction from the real business of humanist life, writing was also largely a waste of time, a displacement activity.'³⁰ Writing derived its value, and its entire *raison d'être*, from its future application: 'Harvey commits nothing to paper without a purpose of some kind.'³¹ According to Woudhuysen, this principle of practical purpose applies equally to Harvey's marginalia – which are meant to record anything 'of anie worth or importance'³² encountered while reading – and to other manuscript writings such

³⁰ Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', 616.

³¹ Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', 617.

³² Marginal note to Livy, c. 1584, cited in Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', 617.

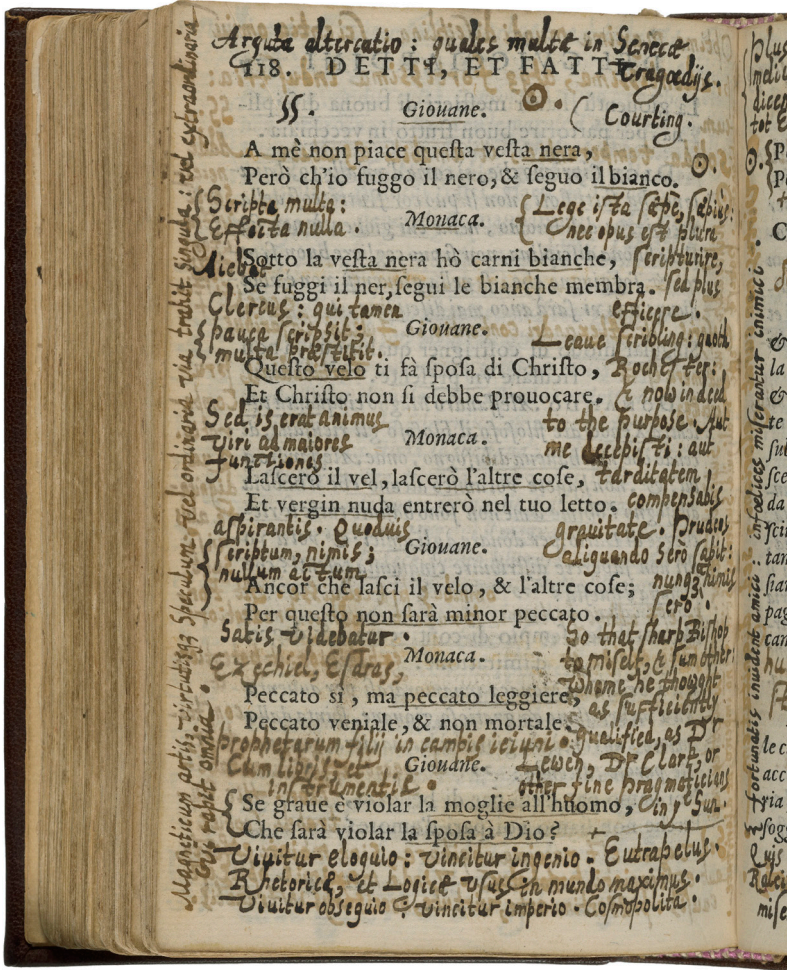


Fig. 9.1 Harvey's annotations in Lodovico Domenichi, *Facetie* (Venice, 1571), f. 147v. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library. (H.a.2). Reproduced under the Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC 3.0.

as Harvey's 'Letter-Book', a sort of draft book that 'provides a place – between marginalia and print – for his own designs and compositions'.³³ Woudhuysen then goes on to explore the 'Letter-Book' in some detail, mentioning its contents (which include drafts of Harvey's letters to Edmund Spenser as well as several compositions in verse and prose) and examining Harvey's complex authorial strategies in it. But he does not

³³ Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', 617.

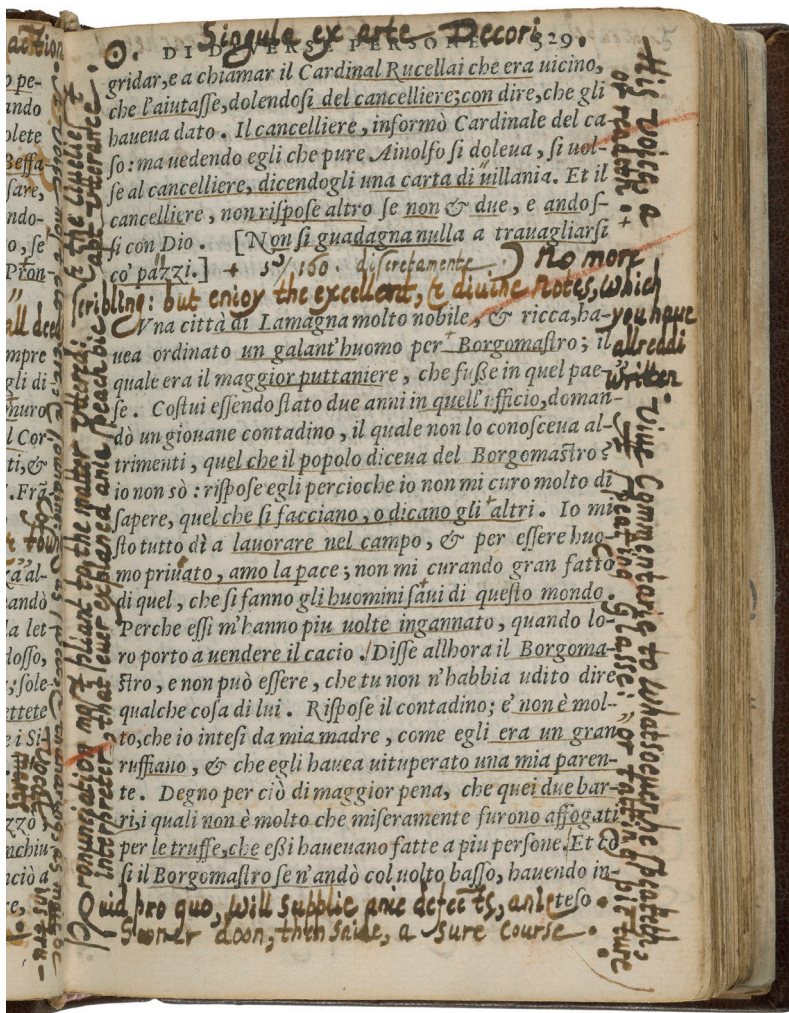


Fig. 9.2 Harvey's annotations in Lodovico Domenichi, *Facetie* (Venice, 1571), f. 5r. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library. (H.a.2). Reproduced under the Creative Commons Licence CC BY-NC 3.0.

actually explain how the principle of practical purpose would apply to the compositions contained in the 'Letter-Book', some of which, as we shall see, are playful literary experiments with little obvious connection to an active life. My own view is that there is indeed a fundamental link between Harvey's marginalia and other parts of his manuscript corpus, and herein lies the secret of Harvey's stance on writing; however, practical purpose is only one facet of a more complex picture, which I

will briefly try to sketch in what follows. Specifically, I will argue that the kind of writing in which Harvey himself indulged was meant to be exempt from his general critique because it displayed certain characteristics that ‘standard’ writing (particularly of the printed kind) tended to lack: nimble, mutable and context-driven, it resembled the spoken word far more than it did a ‘lifeless’ written text.³⁴ What Harvey was pushing for, in other words, was not the abandonment of writing but its complete recalibration.

Let us begin with a simple observation: most of Harvey’s reflections on writing are concentrated in the margins of three books – Domenichi’s *Facetie* (previously mentioned), Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria* and Thomas Hoby’s English translation of Castiglione’s *Cortegiano* – all of which provided him with abundant food for thought in this sense.³⁵ In all three cases Harvey systematically underlined passages that related to the art of writing, occasionally adding personal thoughts, such as: ‘The intention of Eutrapelus, to write, & speake better, then euer anie man did write, or speake. The final intention of Eudromus, to knowe, & do more in sound valu, then euer anie ma[n] knew, or did’ (Eutrapelus and Eudromus were two of the fictional personas that Harvey frequently adopted in writing).³⁶ What these notes and underlinings suggest is a very strong connection between writing and speaking – or, to put it differently, a specific understanding of writing as an extension of speaking via other means. That writing and speaking are somehow connected may perhaps seem obvious – both are arts that deal with words. But that the goal of good writing should be to imitate (good) speaking is a far less obvious point. At the very least it must not have been obvious for Harvey, judging from the insistence with which he dwelled on it in his notes.

³⁴ Harvey’s preference for the spoken word was likely shaped by emphasis on the value of ‘conference’ (oral conversation) in Elizabethan England. Paul E. J. Hammer draws attention to the cases of Francis Walsingham and Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, both of whom extolled the superiority of ‘conference’ over printed texts (‘dead letters’) as a source of knowledge. Paul E. J. Hammer, ‘The use of scholarship: The secretariat of Robert Devereux, 2nd earl of Essex, c. 1585–1601’, *English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 48–50. On ‘conference’ as a ‘discrete pedagogical method of learning, distinct from reading and characterised by structured oral communication with trusted experts’, see Nicholas Popper, ‘Spenser’s view and the production of political knowledge in Elizabethan England’, *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 47, no. 1 (2021): 73–91, at 83.

³⁵ A basic keyword search in the AOR viewer using the word ‘writing’ yields 131 hits, mainly from books in Harvey’s collection, and for the most part concentrated in the three volumes mentioned above. This search could be further refined for more targeted results.

³⁶ Marginal note in Lodovico Domenichi, *Facetie* (Venice, 1571), 57. On Eutrapelus and Eudromus (as well as other fictional personas used by Harvey), see Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 177–84.

What did good speaking (and, by extension, good writing) mean for Harvey? Three qualities seem to have mattered to him most of all: wittiness; an energetic persuasiveness; and a graceful effortless-ness that reminds us of that quintessential courtly virtue, Castiglione's *sprezzatura*. These are the qualities to which Harvey returns over and over in his notes, and from which he builds a sort of ideal type of the 'great man' ('Megalander') that he himself aspires to be.³⁷ It is clear from his portrait of the Megalander that Harvey's idea of greatness is at once scholarly and courtly: it requires a perfect balance of contemplation and action, thinking and doing, or – to put it in his own words – 'discouring' and 'coursing'. Another one of his fictional personas, 'Angelus Furius', is described as having reached perfection in both domains: he is 'the most eloquent Discourser, & most active Courser ... in all Christendome, yea even in the whole Universal Worlde'.³⁸ 'Persuasively eloquent' and 'incessantly industrious', Angelus Furius is a perfect combination of speaking and doing – and reading, too, if we recall that 'discourser' was the word used by Sir Philip Sidney (Harvey's reading companion in the mid-1570s) to describe his ideal reader: someone capable of deriving context-specific, action-oriented insights from the study of history.³⁹ We should then revisit Virginia Stern's statement that Harvey aspired to be a man of action not of letters. What he really aspired to be, it seems to me, was a *transformed* kind of man of letters, one for whom study and action were blended together in a seamless whole.

Given this context, it is now easier to appreciate a second point that emerges from a bird's-eye view of Harvey's marginalia: the tension between their spontaneous appearance and their deeply deliberate nature. Calling Harvey's annotations 'marginalia' is actually quite reductive, not only because they sometimes overshadow the printed text that is supposedly the 'centre',⁴⁰ but also because they are not technically confined to the

³⁷ Harvey's fictional personas often serve as aspirational figures, rather than as idealised self-descriptions: they either embody a standard of excellence that Harvey strives to realise but that always seems to elude him, or they reflect back to him his own perceived shortcomings – such as when he writes in the margins of his Quintilian: 'Rarissimi in ulla professione Megalandri [...]. Ah quando, Chrysotechnus, ille Megalander?' (Great men are rare in any profession. Ah when, Chrysotechnus, will you be such a great man?). Cited and translated in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 178. On Harvey and Tudor 'megalanders' see Earle Havens, [Chapter 8](#) in this volume, esp. pp. 270–6.

³⁸ Marginal annotation to Joannis Foorth's *Synopsis politica*, early 1580s, cited in Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 176.

³⁹ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 77, above p. 75.

⁴⁰ Cf. Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', 614: 'Harvey's marginalia raise the question of whether the print or the handwritten annotation is the text, whether what appears literally to be marginal is not in fact central: "the glosse oftentimes marreth the Text", as he noted in his copy of Erasmus's *Parabolae*, but what if the gloss is the text?'

margins of Harvey's books. Instead, they often extend to every inch of blank space on the pages and flyleaves, insinuating themselves between lines of text and proliferating on the page in every possible direction (see Fig. 9.2). This multidirectional exuberance may give an impression of spontaneity, and so does Harvey's conversational and 'familiar' style.⁴¹ But when one considers the thoughtful phrasing, the neat handwriting, the almost total absence of deletions, corrections or afterthoughts, it becomes clear that these notes are not impromptu responses to a text, but carefully rehearsed literary performances, perhaps copied in some cases from previous drafts into the margins of his books. The illusion of spontaneity is itself a product of this careful staging: a demonstration of literary prowess and a miracle of *sprezzatura* all at once.

For whom was this performance intended? What we know about the context and destination of Harvey's notes suggests that they were not meant solely for personal use, and in some cases at least they were shared, circulated and enjoyed with a group of friends, patrons and associates. Yet this is not true in all cases, as noted by Woudhuysen:

Printed books circulate, but Harvey's manuscripts (apart from presentation copies for patrons) tend towards the private and secret. Where he mentions manuscripts, he usually does so in terms suggesting private knowledge to be kept to oneself. For Harvey, manuscripts do not circulate, are not published, or made available for multiple copying ... The paper-book and the heavily annotated printed book are where secrets are hidden from public view and where ideas and dreams can be privately explored.⁴²

Granted, Woudhuysen's interpretation cannot be followed in all cases: many of Harvey's annotations were decidedly *not* private, and we know of several instances in which Harvey shared his manuscript compositions with his closest friends (although he did lose his temper when Spenser went on to publish some of his poems without his permission).⁴³

⁴¹ This conversational style is itself a deliberate choice on Harvey's part. He chooses to write his marginalia in the same kind of style one would use when chatting with or writing letters to friends ('familiar discourses and pleasurable conferences', as he calls them in his letter-book: BL, Sloane MS 93, fol. 41v). This 'familiar and good fellowly writing' seeks to avoid all affectation and stays clear of the 'overcurious and statey enditing' typical of much polished writing (BL, Sloane MS 93, fol. 41v). This obviously doesn't mean that it is *unpolished* or free from rhetoric, just that it makes use of a *different* kind of rhetoric: the rhetoric of intimate conversation.

⁴² Woudhuysen, 'Gabriel Harvey', 614.

⁴³ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 60.

Harvey's manuscript production, including his notes, may not have been quite as private and secret as Woudhuysen suggests; but it was clearly never intended for more than a very small and select public, if any at all.

The self-reflective and deeply personal tone of many of his notes does convey the impression that the primary audience of Harvey's writing is often Harvey himself. Yet even at his most self-reflective, Harvey is writing not in the mode of a personal journal, but in the performative mode of 'self-fashioning' so in vogue in the Renaissance. Harvey's marginalia often function as 'aids to self-improvement', as suggested by Stern.⁴⁴ They are a safe site in which alternative identities can be built and explored, while key social skills (such as telling jokes) are carefully rehearsed and brought to perfection. Page after page we see Harvey experimenting with witticisms, practising foreign languages, trying out different signatures and just generally projecting shards of his personality (real or aspirational) onto multiple fictional personas that are allowed to coexist despite their contradictions. Everything in Harvey's marginalia resists the linearity of 'traditional' writing: not just the multidirectional space they occupy on the page, nor even their multilingualism or their inherent fragmentation (which, as discussed above, is typical of all marginalia), but – crucially – the very absence of a single subject position corresponding to what we generally call 'the author'.

Behind Harvey's marginalia there is not one self, but many: a kaleidoscopic persona that can nimbly adapt to different circumstances, in the same way that the practical wisdom learned through 'active reading' can be made alive through application to different contexts. This sense of multiplicity comes across even more strongly in books that were annotated by Harvey on several consecutive occasions and that thus bear chronological layers of annotations. Such was Harvey's *Livy*, which – as Grafton and Jardine have shown – was read and annotated in at least three separate waves, each time in different settings and with a different intention in mind.⁴⁵ If marginalia constitute a distinct textual form, one of their main characteristics is bound to be this ability to let multiple authorial intentions live together on the page, in a way that would be difficult to imagine in other genres – except perhaps for dialogue and, to some extent, poetry.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 175.

⁴⁵ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action".

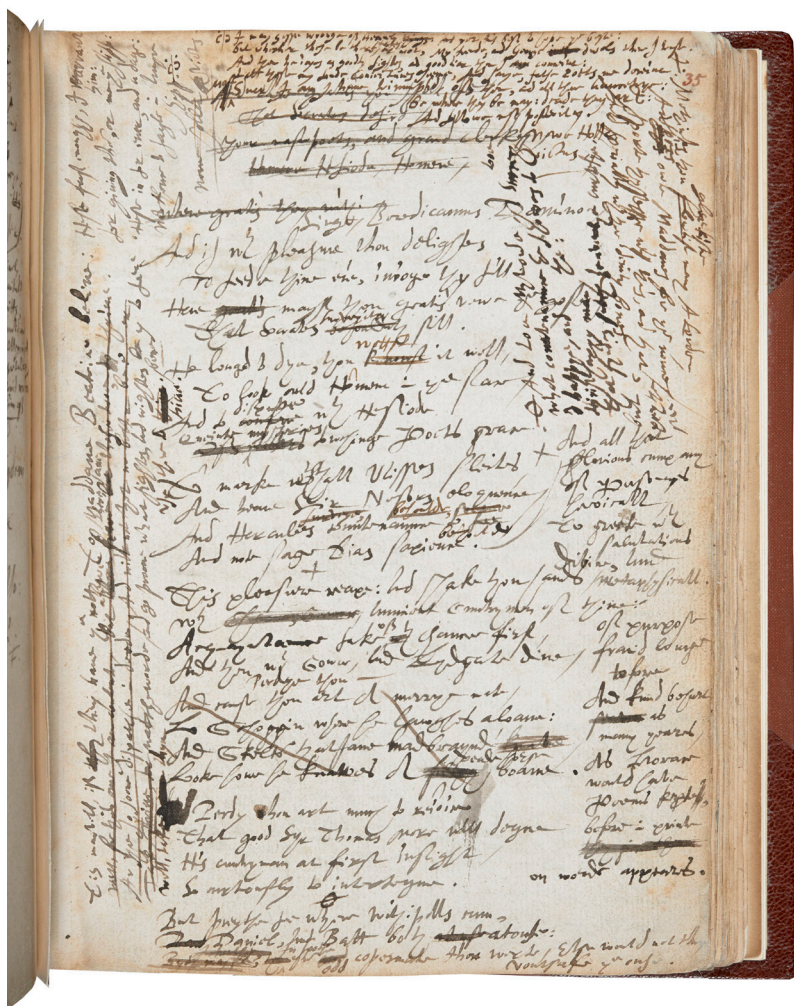
⁴⁶ There are obvious conceptual affinities between dialogue and annotation, but more could be done to explore them in greater depth. On the 'dialogic' (and intertextual) nature of annotation, see Remi Kalir and Antero Garcia, *Annotation* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2021), 22.

So far I have argued that Harvey's marginalia embody an experimental authorial gesture against the expectations of 'traditional' writing, and that in this sense they can be said to represent a *different* kind of writing from the one that Harvey was presumably chastising in his recurrent critiques.⁴⁷ Unlike Woudhuysen, I do not see practical purpose as the only, or even the most important, aspect distinguishing Harvey's marginalia from other types of writing. I have suggested that practical purpose is only a facet of Harvey's broader understanding of good writing as an extension of good speaking – a form of praxis and performance rather than a putting-things-in-print. In this sense, I have drawn attention to a series of formal features – including anti-linearity and the coexistence of multiple authorial personas and intentions – that characterise Harvey's marginalia as opposed to more traditional textual forms that he may have had in mind. In what follows, I would like to show that these characteristics can be mapped onto other areas of his textual production from around the same period as his comments against writing. Harvey's fascinating letter-book (Sloane MS 93), which we have already seen mentioned by Woudhuysen, is an especially important case in point. Dwelling briefly on the similarities between this manuscript and Harvey's corpus of annotations will reveal how much the writing that Harvey was doing in the 1570s and early 1580s partook of an 'experimental' character that set it apart from other types of writing that he criticised and discouraged.

Harvey's letter-book is a puzzling object. The first 33 leaves and the final 17 leaves in the manuscript contain fair copies of letters that Harvey wrote between 1573 and 1574; but the middle section (which occupies more than one-third of the manuscript) features drafts of early compositions by Harvey – some poetry, some short stories, some real and fictional letters. All are dated between 1573 and 1580, and many were never subsequently published. There is a certain messiness to this central section that creates a very odd contrast with the rest of the manuscript, written in the same neat and legible hand as Harvey's marginalia (Figs 9.3 and 9.4).

Yet the composition section in Harvey's letter-book does resemble his marginalia in some striking ways. Compare Figure 9.1 (an annotated page from Harvey's *Domenichi*) with Figure 9.4. This image represents a portion of a long poem by Harvey usually known as 'The Schollars Looove' – a fascinating mix of love poetry, cosmological poetry and

⁴⁷ This 'experimental' character of Harvey's writing has been noted by several scholars, including most recently by Jennifer Richards ('Gabriel Harvey's choleric writing').



These, of course, are all features that can also be encountered in Harvey's marginalia. But surely the case of 'The Schollars Looe' is different, because here the 'marginal' text was not meant to remain marginal forever? It is reasonable to assume that these insertions and additions would be incorporated into the main text – that they would become main text – at the point of producing a fair copy for publication. A fair copy was never produced, however, nor is there any firm evidence that Harvey ever had such plans for this particular poem. In fact, James Nielson has argued that Harvey never intended to publish this piece,

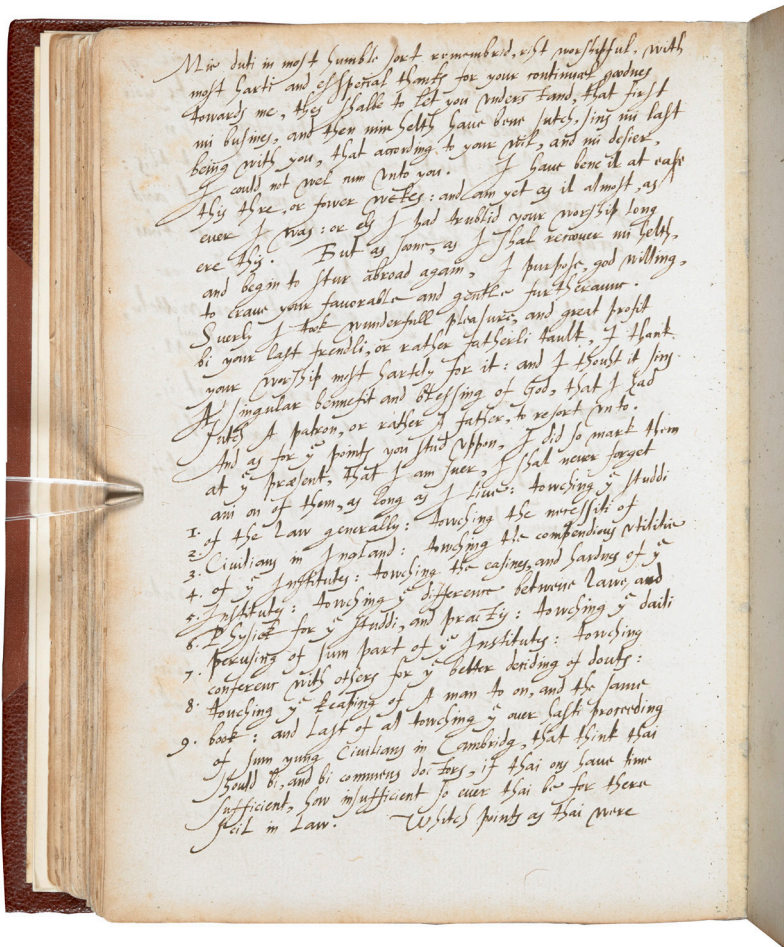
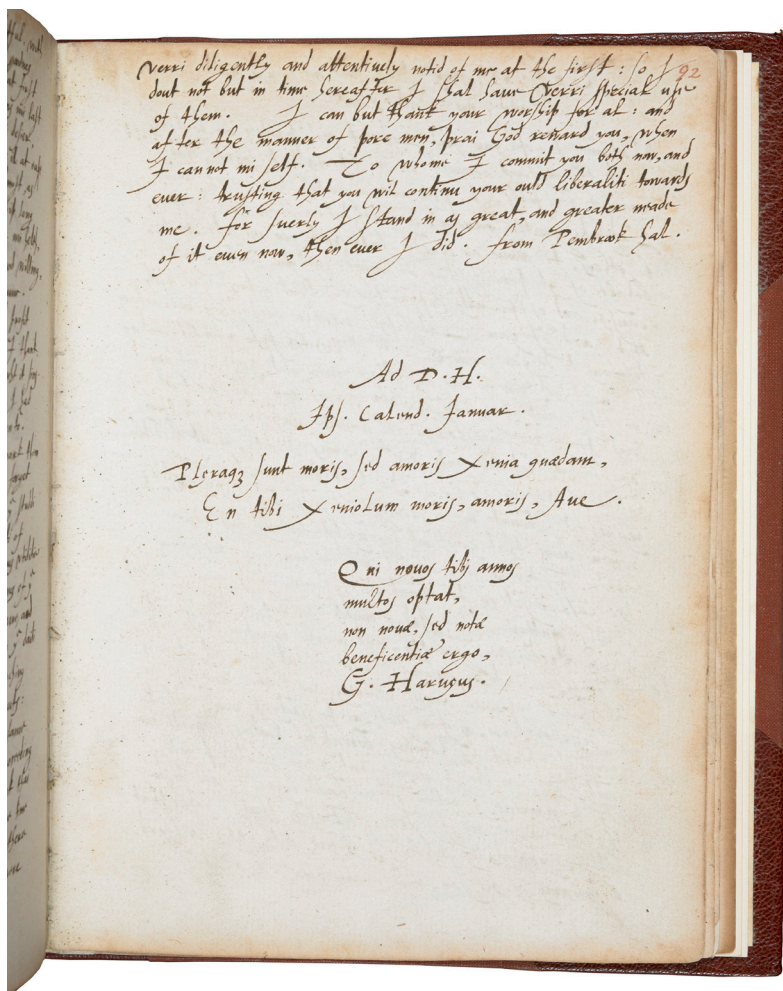


Fig. 9.4 (a) Harvey's letter-book. BL Sloane MS 93, f. 91v. © The British Library Board. Sloane MS 93, f. 91v. (b) Harvey's letter-book. BL Sloane MS 93, f. 92r. © The British Library Board. Sloane MS 93, f. 92r.

neither in manuscript nor in print, nor did he plan to polish it any further.⁴⁸ If this is true, then the poem in its current state is exactly how Harvey wanted it to look forever: 'shifting', 'meandering', 'philandering' – the visual embodiment of Harvey's multiplex 'manuscript personality' (in

⁴⁸ James Nielson, 'Reading between the lines: Manuscript personality and Gabriel Harvey's drafts', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 33, no. 1 (1993): 43–82. Stern believes instead that 'The Schollars Looove' was part of a planned (but unrealised) volume of English verse along with other compositions in the letter-book (Gabriel Harvey, 62ff.). Woudhuysen doesn't express a firm stance on the issue, simply stating that some of the pieces in the



Nielson's own words).⁴⁹ Here, as in Harvey's marginalia, letting multiple layers of texts coexist on the same page may also have served as a form of self-documentation, much in the same way that authors like Petrarch

letter-book 'may have been intended for some form of publication' and that 'among the publication plans is one for "Certayne younge Conceytes, and Poeticall deuises" that have been "copied owt of A schollars Paperbooke"'. It remains unclear if 'A Schollars Love' was one of the 'conceytes' in question ('Gabriel Harvey', 615).

⁴⁹ Nielson, 'Reading between the lines', 75-6.

and Montaigne used compositional strata (sometimes accompanied by potentially deceptive datings) to craft a story about themselves.⁵⁰

Whether we agree or not with Nielson's interpretation of 'The Schollars Looove', the 'shifting' nature of this text is undeniable. It relates in part to its non-linear layout, which forces the eye to shuttle back and forth between sections. Of course, this layout would be very difficult to preserve in a fair copy or printed publication. Such was the enormous challenge that Edward John Long Scott had to face when he went through the effort of transcribing Harvey's letter-book for print in 1884 (Fig. 9.5). The final product inevitably does little justice to the manuscript: the transcribed text is smooth and continuous, seamlessly stitched up to conceal its complicated genesis. The reading experience is also completely different: a steady ride, as opposed to the complicated scavenger's hunt that was the original manuscript. The same can be said of printed transcriptions of Harvey's marginalia such as those produced in 1913 by George C. Moore Smith, which in many ways represent the highest standard of what can be achieved via traditional (analogue) methods. There too the move from non-linear manuscript to linear

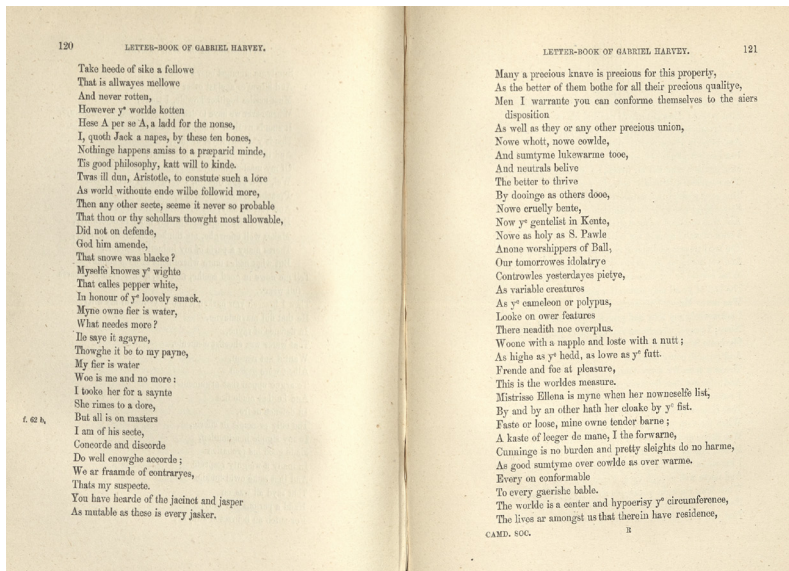


Fig. 9.5 Edward John Long Scott, ed., *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573–1580* (Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society [By Nichols and Sons]), 1884, 120–1. Courtesy of Warburg Institute Library.

⁵⁰ I owe this intriguing suggestion to Tony Grafton.

printed text brought about a considerable, if inevitable, loss of texture and information (now thankfully recoverable with the aid of the AOR viewer).

It is not just layout that makes ‘The Schollars Looove’ so ‘shifting’, however. In the letter-book, this poem comes with two different titles and four different inscriptions, written in different locations on two consecutive pages, both horizontally and vertically:

- (1) The Schollars Looove: or Reconcilement of Contraryes. The very first English meeter that ever I made.
- (2) The very first peece of English Ryme that ever the autor committed to wrytinge: and was in a rage devised and deliverid pro and contra according to the quality of his first and last humor. Anno 1573, mense septembri.
- (3) An amorous odious sonnet, intituled The Students Looove or Hatrid, or both or nether, or what shall please the looving or hating reader, ether in sport or ernest to make of such contrary passions as ar here discoursid. An owld newe cansion ffatherid uppon Sir Thomas More, and supposid to be on of his first youthfull exercices: but never before committed to prynte, nor ever heard of in Sir Thomas More dayes.
- (4) A Schollers Looove: or Reconcilement of Contraries (a few idles howers of a young Master of Art). A dayes correction woold sufficiently refine it. The meeter must be more regular, and the English elocution more elegant. Fine and flowing as in posthast. (It was scribled at the first in a hurlewind of conceit).⁵¹

Now, these four inscriptions seem to embody very different, and in some cases incompatible, authorial personas for this text: (3) jokingly (and surreally) presents the text as a ‘youthful exercise’ by Sir Thomas More; (1) vaguely refers to an unspecified ‘autor’; (4) attributes it to an unnamed ‘young Master of Art’, who could very well be Harvey himself; but it is only in (2) that Harvey explicitly claims it for himself through a powerful ‘I made’. Here as in his marginalia we see Harvey trying on different identities, shifting between self-exhibition and self-effacement, and exploring different possible positions towards his own writing. These four inscriptions represent four possible modes of existence for

⁵¹ The four inscriptions are located as follows in the original manuscript: (1) horizontally on top of fol. 58r; (2) vertically along the left margin of fol. 58r; (3) vertically along the left margin of fol. 58v; and (4) horizontally in the top right corner of fol. 58v.

this poem, all of them living together on the page in defiance of the principle of non-contradiction, as the poem's own subtitle ('The reconciliation of contraries') suggests.

So where does this all leave us? As we have seen, annotation for Harvey was not just a form of reading, nor even an intermediate activity between reading and writing, but a fully autonomous textual form. Annotation had its own style, its own poetics, and a set of formal possibilities that were quite different from those of other types of writing – and quite untranslatable into the printed medium.⁵² Even more importantly, annotation differed from other kinds of writing from a *practical* standpoint. By this I do not mean simply that it had practical utility, although certainly it did. Rather, annotation for Harvey was practical in and of itself, without reference to a future goal. It was *praxis* in the Aristotelian sense: a form of doing, an activity whose goal is achieved in the very process of practising it. Understanding Harvey's marginalia as *praxis* and performance allows us to see that what was being built in the margins of his books was not just a body of useful knowledge but Harvey's own *ethos* ('character' in Greek). In this sense, writing of this kind was acceptable and even 'necessary', insofar as character-building was central to the entire project of the Renaissance. Yet Harvey's aspirational *ethos* was shaped just as much by courtly culture as it was by humanist *paideia*. It was shifting, social, situated: it could dissimulate and elude, deflect and persuade, all through a perfect mastery of the spoken and written word. It is only fitting, then, that Harvey's favourite form of self-expression should be annotation, the most shifting, ambiguous and contextual of all textual forms.

Conclusions

At the beginning of this chapter, I set out to complicate common understandings of annotation as an intermediate practice between reading

⁵² Harvey undoubtedly recognised the advantages of print, and he even expressed ambitious publication plans on some occasions (see, e.g., his letter of 1598 to Robert Cecil, transcribed in Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 74), where Harvey speaks of his plans to publish certain 'tracts and discourses, some in Latin, some in English, some in verse, but much more in prose, some in Humanity, History, Policy Law, and the soul of the whole body of Law, Reason; some in Mathematics, Cosmography, the Art of Navigation, the Arts of War, the true Chymique without imposture (which I learned of Sir Thomas Smith not to contemn and other effectual practicable knowledge)'. Yet he always retained a privileged relationship with manuscript: as Woudhuysen eloquently puts it, 'He can only fully become himself in what is handwritten' ('Gabriel Harvey', 612).

and writing, either in the form of an ‘active reading’ propaedeutic to future writing (as in the genetic approach exemplified by Jackson and Clulee) or in that of a ‘useful reading’ oriented towards a future practical purpose (a widespread position among Harvey scholars). There is nothing inherently wrong in these interpretations. Both are valuable and true, but as I hope to have shown in this chapter, they can sometimes become an analytical straitjacket that blinds us to other possible forms and meanings of annotation. Dee and Harvey are useful case studies in this sense because the exceptional volume and character of their marginalia enables us to see more clearly all the multiple possibilities that lie at the heart of this practice. Hopefully future scholars will extend a similar investigation to other annotators and thus generate fruitful comparisons.

Much remains to be done, even with respect to Dee and Harvey. This chapter could only scratch the surface of a vast research field that we now have both the means and the duty to address. New tools such as the AOR viewer put us in a privileged position: for the first time since Dee’s and Harvey’s lifetimes, their collections (or at least a meaningful portion of them) are now back together in one place, if only in virtual form. This should encourage us to think more and more of these annotated books as forming a corpus, not just in a metaphorical but in a very real sense. In this chapter I have attempted to model what an approach of this kind might look like, as a point of departure and a springboard for future conversations. I have argued that Dee’s marginalia are not second-rate material but ‘real writing’ that should be taken seriously and treated as a fully legitimate part of his corpus, just as literary scholars have long done in Harvey’s case. Similarly, I have sought to clarify what kind of writing annotation was for Harvey, and why he could practise it so enthusiastically while criticising writing as a pure waste of time. Crucially, I have tried to broach some of the ‘big’ questions – theoretical and methodological – that are so rarely asked in the field of marginalia studies, perhaps due to its irreducible vocation for the singular and the concrete.⁵³ What is annotation? What is an annotator? And what place should annotation have in an expanded history of writing – one that does not elevate modern preferences and categories to the status of universals, but that instead leaves the door open to a wide range of individual and historical experiences? These are difficult questions, but there is value in

⁵³ On marginalia scholars’ traditional preference for case studies, and their resistance to ‘theorisation’, see Spedding and Tankard, introduction to *Marginal Notes*, 7.

asking them, even if (or precisely because) a definitive answer is unlikely to be found. ‘Thin, scattered, ambiguous, peculiarly difficult to locate, decipher, and interpret’,⁵⁴ annotation will continue to challenge us and surprise us, if we only let it.

⁵⁴ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), xiii.

Writing about reading: On early modern annotation practice and the future of book history*

Frederic Clark

Introduction: Gabriel Harvey and the pragmatics of reading for ‘something else’

Thanks to Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine’s “‘Studied for action’”, one of the best-known of manuscript notes in an early modern book is the one that Gabriel Harvey entered on page 93 of his copy of the 1555 Basel edition of Livy. This was at the end of the third book of Livy’s first decade, and here Harvey took stock of how he and Philip Sidney had read the preceding material:

The courtier Philip Sidney and I had privately discussed these three books of Livy, scrutinizing them so far as we could from all points of view, applying a political analysis, just before his embassy to the emperor Rudolf II. He went to offer him congratulations in the queen’s name just after he had been made emperor. Our consideration was chiefly directed at the forms of states, the conditions of persons, and the qualities of actions. We paid little attention to the annotations of Glareanus and others.¹

* I would like to thank Tony Grafton, Nick Popper and Bill Sherman for inviting me to contribute to this volume and for their erudite and insightful readings of this chapter. I am also very grateful to Earle Havens for his expertise on Dee and Harvey, and for sharing images of Harvey’s copy of Simler’s *Bibliotheca*.

¹ Livy, *Decades* (Basel, 1555), now Princeton University Library (Ex) PA6452 A2 1555q, 93. Translation taken from Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for action’: How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy”, *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78, at 36–7 (above p. 28).

In this note – which Grafton and Jardine dated to 1576–7 – Harvey distilled his pragmatic approach, predicated upon an exemplary theory of history, even if here he – not unlike Machiavelli – was more interested in the practicalities of statecraft than with exemplarity's traditional concern for virtues and vices.² He maintained that the records of ancient Rome were useful to a politically engaged courtier like Sidney. Political analysis, particularly investigation of the 'forms of states' (*rerumpublicarum speties*) as they existed in the ancient Roman world, could yield valuable lessons for a sixteenth-century ambassador heading off into the world of international diplomacy. As Grafton and Jardine showed, this was at its core 'reading as intended to give rise to something else'.³ Harvey promised to perform an act of transmutation: the product he sold, as it were, was the ability to translate ancient texts into modern counsel. Some might dismiss Harvey's methods as naïve, rooted in an idea of history that was profoundly ahistorical. Was a millennium-and-a-half-old historian like Livy really an essential item for Sidney's diplomatic 'briefing book' as he set off for the continent? Yet such critiques ignore that there was also something quite radical – or at least radical according to the categories of late-twentieth-century literary theory – about this hermeneutics. Harvey did not need to proclaim the death of the author because what the original Livy intended was in some sense immaterial to his project. He was busy producing that 'something else' instead.

However, what Harvey was up to was not an anticipation of the postmodern construct of author *versus* reader, or a kind of 'presentist' criticism *avant la lettre*. His was a hermeneutics not of suspicion but rather of extraction. And in Harvey's own milieu, there was nothing radical about his process. On the contrary, his methods belonged to a long tradition that – via acts of reading – blatantly severed a text from what we would understand as authorial intent. Yet this severance was predicated upon affirmation of the authority or worth that resided in the author – authors were *auctores* or authorities, after all. Indeed, Harvey repeatedly praised Livy for his sedulousness and elegance as a historian. These qualities made him worthy of extraction and reuse. This long tradition of readerly pragmatism stretched all the way back through late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Its most famous examples are not in politics but rather religion, beginning with Augustine's remark that, just as the Israelites in the book of Exodus had carted off the spoils of the

² For a classic treatment of exemplary history see George H. Nadel, 'Philosophy of history before historicism', *History and Theory* 3 (1964): 291–315.

³ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 30, above p. 22.

Egyptians, so Christians could capture the spoils of pagan literature for their own purposes.⁴

In the broadest of senses, Harvey's note – like so many others in his *Livy* – was more than just a methodological statement. He did not simply declare in prescriptive fashion that this was how one *should* read *Livy*. Rather, here he saw fit – as he did on so many other pages – to adorn his book with a biographical record of his own reading and that of his associates, from Philip Sidney to Thomas Smith. In other words, the text prompted the annotator to memorialise his own experience of reading. In the remainder of this chapter, I will focus on notes of this sort: that is, annotations in which readers reflect, in the first person, on their own lived experience, whether that experience was a simple record of when and how and where they read the text (or other texts), or a memorialisation of an event in their social reality outside the text. Notes of this sort are not just intriguing in and of themselves, but rather they can also offer historians of reading a window into how early moderns imagined the relationship between text and reader, and how they construed the activity of reading itself. As I will suggest, they offer a particularly fruitful avenue for future inquiries in book history, especially as the discipline seeks to understand just what past reading *was*. In addition to Harvey, the bulk of my examples will be drawn from another of early modern Europe's most famous of readers and annotators. This was Harvey's fellow Elizabethan scholar John Dee – likewise associated with a Cambridge milieu, similarly situated at the intersection of reading and politics, and today Harvey's comrade in the digital Archeology of Reading project.⁵

Annotations that recorded biography, particularly *readerly* biography, could take many forms. In some cases, they memorialised the circumstances of reading – thereby forming a readerly counterpart to those records of the *circumstantiae* of *writing* that populated academic commentaries (i.e. records of where, when and why a given author composed a text).⁶ And in many cases, they were connective: Grafton and Jardine showed the importance of bookwheels, both literal and metaphorical, to the processes of early modern reading. Via the logic of the cross reference, early modern readers often conceived of their

⁴ Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2.40.60–1.

⁵ See <https://archaeologyofreading.org>. On Dee's reading and annotating practices, see above all William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

⁶ Here see A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott with D. Wallace, eds, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–1375: The commentary tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

reading of a particular text as but one component of their reading of a larger network of books or even entire libraries. As I will discuss more fully below, these principles guided both Harvey's and Dee's interests in collections of bibliography, particularly the tradition inspired by Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* or *Universal Library*. Many of their notes were first-person mementos of their encounters with the books that these bibliographies recorded; in the margins, they observed – with curious formality and insistence – that 'I have read' (*legi*) or 'I possess' (*habeo*) a given volume.

Other notes were wordier and more elaborate, but they reflected a similar set of preoccupations. At page 64 in his *Livy*, Harvey offered some observations on the disordered nature of the Roman Republic. The first half of this note was purely evaluative, with no trace of the first person. But then midway through, he transitioned to a personal declaration, and in second-order fashion it explicitly concerned his prowess for reading. 'For this consideration, the eminent courtier Philip Sidney gave liberal thanks to me, and he openly confessed that he had read nothing of such importance in either historical or political works.'⁷ Provided that we can take this boast as a reliable recollection of Sidney's own reaction, this note constitutes a layered record of multiple acts of reading. First, of course, is Harvey's need to inscribe another instance of his and Sidney's shared perusal of *Livy*. And second is Sidney's supposed comparison of this reading with the sum total of his prior readings of historical and political works. Both suggest a self-consciousness and reflexivity about reading itself, and a sensitivity to its extension beyond the pages of any one single book. Put simply, reading was very often about other readings.

Reading and living: Making sense of methods past

According to some contemporary sensibilities, notes of this nature might seem performative, lacking in what passes under the label of authenticity. Though a twenty-first-century reader might not necessarily find these observations strange in and of themselves, they might wonder what they are doing physically inscribed in the margins of the very book whose contents generated them. But the situation was very different in

⁷ *Livy, Decades*, 64: 'Pro qua animaduersione, liberales mihi gratias egit Philippus Sidneius, insignis Aulicus: ingenueque fatebatur, se nihil tanti momenti vel in historiis, vel in Politicis legisse.' For Harvey's note on reading in his copy of *Ramus* see William H. Sherman, *Used books: Marking readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), xv.

Harvey's world. Part of this difference was due to practical considerations. After all, sixteenth-century books were scarcer and more expensive than our cheap paperbacks, and they were often lent out to others. And more importantly, reading – as Harvey's notes about Sidney richly attest – was often collective and collaborative. Evoking a community of readers with the same formula that the Italian humanist Angelo Poliziano had deployed to similar effect, Harvey signed some of his books 'of Gabriel Harvey and friends (*et amicorum*)'.⁸ Reading belonged to the texture of social life in ways that might be difficult for us twenty-first-century readers to comprehend; like so many other facets of social life, it prompted meta-level reflections that might strike us as out of place in the margins of a book. As Robert Darnton noted in an essay that helped launch the field of the history of reading in the closing decades of the last century, 'reading and living, construing texts and making sense of life, were much more closely related in the early modern period than they are today'.⁹ As I would like to suggest here, study of these meta-level reflections – that is, early modern readers annotating about reading – offer one productive avenue for future studies in the history of reading: a way of reconstructing how exactly past readers joined reading and living.

Readers sometimes used notes of this nature to highlight the selectivity with which they approached the contents of a book. In Harvey's note on page 93 of his Livy, quoted above, he made sure to emphasise that he and Sidney focused their readerly efforts on Livy himself, rather than the ancillary materials – including commentary – that appeared in the Basel edition. As he remarked, 'we paid little attention to the annotations of Glareanus and others'. The Swiss humanist Heinrich Glarean or Glareanus, an associate of Erasmus who also worked on musical theory, had produced notes on Livy's *Decades* and an accompanying set of chronological tables for ancient history.¹⁰ Harvey seemed to imply that he and Sidney, eager for pragmatic political wisdom, did not have time for the minutiae of humanist scholarship. And while Harvey

⁸ As discussed in Lisa Jardine, "'Studied for action" revisited', in *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in honor of Anthony Grafton*, vol. 2, ed. Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 999–1017, esp. 1005, below p. 331. See also William H. Sherman, 'The social life of books', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, vol. 1, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 164–71.

⁹ Robert Darnton, 'First steps toward a history of reading', *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23 (1986): 5–30.

¹⁰ On Glareanus see Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote, eds, *Heinrich Glarean's Books: The intellectual world of a sixteenth-century musical humanist* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Anthony Grafton and Urs B. Leu, eds, *Henricus Glareanus's (1488–1563) Chronologia of the Ancient World: A facsimile edition of a heavily annotated copy held in Princeton University Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

did not ignore Glareanus entirely – he placed a lengthy note on the relative merits of ancient and modern chronologers in Glareanus’s text on chronology – it is the case that he left Glareanus relatively blank, at least when compared with the volume of words with which he adorned the text of Livy himself.¹¹ Yet even if Glareanus’s technical scholarship was not here to Harvey’s taste, in another respect the two were similar: Glareanus was also an avid annotator of his books, who likewise shared his annotations with others.¹² Harvey may have been exceptional in the frequency and volume of his notes, but many others had pursued the same reading strategies he employed.

Glareanus also annotated with his own biography in mind. A single example from the Swiss scholar’s marginalia will illustrate the highly personal nature of early modern encounters with books. As befitted a scholar who worked on chronology, Glareanus owned and annotated a copy of Jerome’s translation of Eusebius’s world chronicle, complete with continuations that brought it up to the early sixteenth century. In most cases he annotated it as we might expect a learned humanist scholar to do; he noted everything from the fall of Troy to the invention of print. Yet when he reached the year 1488, he recorded an event of more dubious world-historical significance, jotting down *hoc anno Glareanus natus est*, or ‘in this year Glareanus was born’.¹³ For Glareanus, as much as for Harvey and Dee, reading, writing and living were all very much entwined.

Why ought notes of this sort matter to us, approximately half a millennium after they were jotted down? Today, the history of reading finds itself at something of an inflection point. Much has changed in the last several decades. Marginalia, once literally marginalised as at best irrelevant or at worst deleterious to the proper appreciation of a formal ‘set’ text, are now front and centre in literary and historical studies alike. They are veritable gold mines for reception studies of particular texts, authors or concepts, and reception has emerged as an increasingly favoured hermeneutic category. In addition, thanks to advances in digitisation, marginalia are accessible to us in ways they never were before. We no longer need travel to distant rare-books rooms to come face to face with past readers and their notes.

¹¹ Heinrich Glareanus, ‘Chronologia’, in Livy, *Decades*, sig. Pi^v.

¹² For the social nature and uses of Glareanus’s annotations see Grafton and Leu, eds, *Henricus Glareanus’s (1488–1563) Chronologia of the Ancient World*, esp. 32–7.

¹³ *Eusebii Caesariensis Episcopi Chronicon* (Paris, 1512), now Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 L. impr. c.n. mss. 55, fol. 170^r: in the right margin for the year 1488 Glareanus writes ‘Hoc anno Glareanus natus est’.

Yet amid this embarrassment of riches, lingering questions remain. Marginalia studies helped complicate and challenge older grand narratives – such as that which posited a sharp dichotomy between manuscript culture and print – but they do not easily lend themselves to new grand narratives in turn. Perhaps this is because of their very specificity; they belong almost by definition to microhistory. For instance, how might we extrapolate from Harvey’s habits to the methods of a ‘typical’ early modern reader, whatever that might mean? Plus, as William Sherman has noted in his study *Used Books*, modern categories of ‘reading’ or ‘literature’ often prove to be impediments to formulating generalisations about how or why early moderns marked up their books.¹⁴ Works that we might classify as ‘literary’, and imagine as therefore prone to the most involved or copious of annotations, often turn up relatively blank, at least when compared with technical works that lack narrative structure and hence seem either below or beyond our conception of literature (as we will see shortly when we turn to the example of early modern biobibliography). Finally, no matter how often we encounter early modern marginalia, it remains difficult to define what these markings are in their essence. Marginalia may have been constitutive of the act of reading for early moderns in ways that they are not for us, yet perusal of the many blank spaces in early modern books reminds us that not all readings, even very involved ones, bore fruit as annotations on the page.¹⁵ And as Lisa Jardine pointed out in 2015 when looking back across her decades of work on Harvey’s marginalia, even the many annotations that do survive remain ‘permanently opaque to us’. We become witnesses to a conversation, but all too often we are pushed to the limits of our understanding when trying to decipher its cadences or referents: ‘as we try to eavesdrop on the dialogue between annotator and printed page, we are left incomprehending for much of the time’.¹⁶ Indeed, the strangeness that we feel when encountering the above-mentioned notes of Harvey or Glareanus is difficult to categorise. Sometimes the best we can do is marvel at how alien their ways were from ours. After all, even if I – a twenty-first-century reader – might personalise my books with notes or other markings, I have never felt compelled to record my own birth when encountering mention of the

¹⁴ Sherman, *Used Books*, xvi. See also Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A new history of reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

¹⁵ I offer some preliminary thoughts on the significance of un-annotated text in Frederic Clark, ‘Reading the life cycle: History, antiquity and *fides* in Lambarde’s *Perambulation* and beyond’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 81 (2018): 191–208.

¹⁶ Jardine, “‘Studied for action’ revisited”, 1016, below p. 342.

year in which I was born in a textbook or similar historical work. To return to Jardine's point about marginalia as opaque dialogue, perhaps it is the very fact that this dialogue between text and reader is memorialised *within* the former that unsettles us.

If early modern reading presents these hermeneutic difficulties, what of early modern books? Recent work has also illustrated the extent to which the very units of analysis that early moderns used when reading differed from our own. That is, what constituted a text or book for them was very different from what those units mean for us. Books were often multi-text compilations, sometimes even *mélanges* of manuscript and printed sources assembled by individual readers. Or, in the minds of authors and readers alike, books were iterative enterprises that spanned multiple successive editions.¹⁷ At the start of his study of early modern compilation, *Bound to Read*, Jeffrey Todd Knight offered an anecdote that captures well how compilation and annotation could conspire to transform a plurality of texts into a new singular entity. As Knight recounts, the copy of William Thomas's *Historie of Italie* today at St John's College, Cambridge, is in fact anything but this single text by this single author; it is instead multiple works bound together, two others in print and one in manuscript. Moreover, the author of the manuscript work – an account of London churches – was also the compiler (and annotator) of this volume as a whole. And when this compiler – Myles Blomefylde, himself a Cambridge man like Harvey – annotated Thomas's *Histoire*, he had little to say about Italian history *per se*, but rather used the margins of the book to memorialise his own travels to Venice.¹⁸ While Blomefylde – or Harvey for that matter – might strike us as exceptionally interventionist in the things they did to their books, Knight points out that such interventionism was hardly rare. Instead, Blomefylde's construction and curation of the *Sammelband* now at St John's reflected a period tendency 'to transform existing works into new works'.¹⁹

As explored in the following section, annotation – especially of the reflexive, first-person or eyewitness variety – was a crucial means of effecting this transformation. It allowed Blomefylde to convert a political history into a tourist memoir, Glareanus to fix his birth in universal history, and Harvey to memorialise his colloquy with Sidney.

¹⁷ See, for example, Ann Blair, 'Errata lists and the reader as corrector', in *Agent of Change: Print culture studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Baron Alcorn, Eric Lindquist and Eleanor Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 21–40.

¹⁸ Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, collections, and the making of Renaissance literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 1–3.

¹⁹ Knight, *Bound to Read*, 2.

Taken together, these notes offer us glimpses of a world in which books were both more and less authoritative than they are today – or at least a world in which the relationship between authority and use was figured very differently. Venerating a text sometimes meant altering it quite radically, making it useful and relevant to the reader's world as opposed to the author's. Far from implying any oppositional or agonistic relationship to the original text, reuse of this nature often constituted a strange form of homage. As Sherman points out, one of the most surprising features of early modern annotations is just how tangential they are to the underlying contents of the books that spawned them: 'a large percentage of the notes produced by readers had no obvious connection with the text they accompanied – but nonetheless testified to the place of that book in the reader's social life, family history, professional practices, political commitments, and devotional rituals'.²⁰ In other words, the terms and topics of the dialogue between text and reader was not set by the former, but rather by the latter.

'I have' and 'I saw': The mechanics and vocabulary of readerly eyewitnessing

A few years before Harvey and Sidney read Livy in 1576–7, John Dee found himself engaged in a similarly massive annotation project, albeit in a very different genre. In 1574 he read and copiously marked up one of the several revised editions of Conrad Gessner's *Bibliotheca universalis* – a massive bibliography that had promised to catalogue every book ever written in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.²¹ His copy of the *Bibliotheca* – the 1574 printing edited and augmented by the Zurich scholar Josias Simler – is today at the Bodleian Library.²² Dee, who had earlier dreamed of establishing a national library for England, had volunteered to assist Simler in making this 'universal' record of texts and authors still more universal. Thus, he filled the hundreds of pages of Simler's volume with

²⁰ See Sherman, *Used Books*, esp. xiii–xvi.

²¹ On Gessner, see for instance Helmut Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Bibliotheca Selecta: Das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992), Paul Nelles, 'Reading and memory in the universal library: Conrad Gessner and the Renaissance book', in *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Donald Beecher and Grant Williams (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 147–69, and Ann Blair, 'The capacious bibliographical practice of Conrad Gessner', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 111 (2017): 445–68.

²² On Dee's connection with Simler and annotation of the *Bibliotheca* see R. J. Roberts, 'Notable accessions', *Bodleian Library Record* 14 (1994): 529–33; Sherman, *John Dee*, 48–9; and Blair, 'The capacious bibliographical practice of Conrad Gessner', esp. 458–64.

records of still more names, extracted from his own library and his own reading. On the very last page, he summed up his preceding activity: 'I began to read this book in passing (*obiter*), and to excerpt from it, on the 24th day of June, and I finished on the 29th day, in the year 1564.'²³ This final date was of course wrong, for he meant 1574 instead, the same year in which Simler had published this compendium. Perhaps Dee was tired from having combed through hundreds of pages of bibliography over the course of a mere five days, even though he claimed to have done so *obiter* or in passing! Was this a boast of his prodigious capacity for bibliographic digestion (and augmentation)? Was his use of *obiter* meant to convey a certain sprezzatura? Or was Dee simply trying to be as accurate as possible about the timing and duration of his reading habits? This was not the only time that Dee used the margins of his books to record the nature and intensity of how he read. For instance, in his copy of Theseus Ambrosius's guide to Near Eastern languages, including Syriac and Armenian, Dee wrote on the very last page '*perlegi festinus*' or 'I read through it swiftly'.²⁴

While Dee filled his copy of the *Bibliotheca* with a plethora of notes, sometimes including multiple bibliographical references per page, he did not enter all of them during this five-day sprint, since several mention materials from after 1574. Yet regardless of when exactly he jotted down these notes, the number of times he wrote in the first person is striking. Dee was not engaged in mere bibliographic digestion or expansion, but rather in what we might think of as bibliographic eyewitnessing. In doing so, he followed the lead of the bibliographers themselves: Gessner and Simler had augmented many of their entries with first-person testimonia, and Dee made clear that he was just as avid and meticulous a book hunter as they. For example, when Dee came across Simler's entry for the medieval English jurist Nicholas Upton, which included a reference to Upton's *Leges feciales*, he recorded in the margin that 'I saw (*vidi*) the *Leges feciales* of Upton in the year 1574, in the possession of John Stowe'.²⁵ Dee memorialised his encounter with a book in the collection

²³ Josias Simler, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero ...* (Basel, 1574), now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch.H.c.7, 691: near the bottom right corner of the page, Dee writes: 'Incepi hunc librum obiter percurrere, et quaedam excerptare: die Iunii 24: et perfecti die 29 A^o 1564.'

²⁴ Theseus Ambrosius, *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas* (Pavia, 1539), now Cambridge, St John's College, L.8.35, fol. 215^v: 'Perlegi festinus'.

²⁵ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 523: 'Vidi leges feciales Uptoni. A^o 1574 apud Io. Stow.' Dee did not confine his interests in the book collections of others to bibliographical works. See, for instance, his notes at Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Britanniae utriusque regum et principum origo et gesta insignia* (Paris, 1517), now Oxford, Christ Church, W.b.5.12, end matter 2^r.

of another avid bibliophile – the chronicler and antiquarian John Stowe. And when doing so, he dated this encounter much as he dated his reading of the *Bibliotheca* itself.²⁶

In other cases Dee proved less wordy and simply affirmed that he owned the book in question. When he got to Simler's entry for the eleventh-century monk Eilmer of Malmesbury, he underlined its reference to Eilmer's *Eulogium historiarum*, a world chronicle, and then declared simply 'I have the *Eulogium*'.²⁷ Sometimes he explained that the material in his own library was fragmentary. At the bottom of page 551, he added a reference to the medieval Jewish writer Petrus Anfulsus or Peter Alfonsi, declaring that 'Petrus Anfulsus translated from the Arabic, Persian, and Egyptian tongue into Latin certain canons on the chronology of the Arabs, Persians, Egyptians, etc. I have (*habeo*) a manuscript fragment of it.'²⁸ He also used these categories of possession and eyewitnessing to establish points in an author's transmission. Next to the *Bibliotheca*'s record for Orion, whom Simler identified as a Greek grammarian, Dee stated that 'an astrologer Orion is cited by Vettius Valens in the *Anthology*, which I have (*quae habeo*)'.²⁹ Vettius Valens was a Hellenistic astrologer, and this was one of several instances in which Dee quoted from his personal copy of Valens's *Anthology*. In this instance, he considered the note significant enough that he initialled it 'J.D.'. Finally, sometimes he saw fit to record the dates of particular editions he possessed. Next to Simler's entry for the Byzantine monk, scholar and translator Maximus Planudes, Dee proclaimed that 'I have (*habeo*) Boethius's books *On the Consolation of Philosophy* in the Greek version of Maximus Planudes', before adding the publication year of 1581.³⁰

Much as Harvey used his Livy to memorialise his connection to Sidney and others, so Dee used the *Bibliotheca* to record the location and circumstances of friendships and acquaintances across the Republic of Letters. When Dee encountered a name he knew personally, his pen was ready. For instance, when Simler – in another entry – mentioned in

²⁶ On annotation and forms of life-writing see Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²⁷ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 531: 'Eulogium habeo.'

²⁸ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 551: Dee writes in the bottom margin 'Petrus Anfulsus traduxit ex lingua Arabica, Persica, Aegyptica in Latinam, canones quosdam de Annis Arabum, Persarum, Aegyptiorum, etc. habeo eius fragmentum manuscriptum'.

²⁹ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 534: 'J.D. Orion astrologus citatur Vettio Valente in Anthologia quae habeo.'

³⁰ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 498: 'Boethii libros de Consolatione Philosophiae ex Maximi Planudis versione Graeca habeo 1581.' This note, with its invocation of the year 1581, is one of several to confirm that Dee continued to annotate his copy of the *Bibliotheca* after his initial reading sprint in June 1574.

passing the Polish historian and Protestant theologian Iohannes Lasicius or Jan Lasicki, Dee underlined this reference and then made sure to mention in the margin that Lasicius had visited him at Mortlake.³¹ And many of these notes were not just reminiscences, but rather records of possession in another sense: when applicable, Dee made clear that he had correspondence from the individual in question. Next to Simler's entry for the court poet Nicolas Grudius, Dee recorded that 'there are many letters of his to me'.³² The same went for the mathematician and astrologer Matthias Hacus: Dee jotted down that Hacus had been his friend (*familiaris*) at Louvain and had sent letters to him, while adding that he flourished in the year 1549.³³ At the entry for the Flemish poet Nicholas Stopius, Dee not only catalogued 'various epistles of his to me' but also recalled that 'I enjoyed his friendship in Venice in the year 1563'.³⁴ Finally, in the case of Simon Iacob, author of an *Arithmetica*, Dee recorded 'a letter of his to me', while recalling that he knew him at Frankfurt.³⁵ Hence, even in the case of someone from whom he had only one letter, Dee still felt the need to inscribe him – and his lone epistle – into the *Bibliotheca*. Records such as these seem to suggest that Dee viewed the epistles he exchanged with contemporary scholars as component parts of their biobibliographies, worthy of inclusion and tabulation alongside their published works. In other words, Simon Iacob did not just write an *Arithmetica*; he also wrote a letter to John Dee.

Gabriel Harvey also engaged with this bibliographical genre, even if he did not annotate it as voluminously as did Dee. He owned a copy of Simler's original revision of Gessner's *Bibliotheca*, published in 1555. In several instances, he used a language of bibliographical possession similar to Dee's. In Simler's entry for the German scholar and occultist Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, Harvey checked off many of the works that Simler enumerated, and then proclaimed 'I have read (*legi*) all these things, and I have (*habeo*) more by Agrippa, in particular seven books of letters, and several epigrams'.³⁶ In other cases, Harvey mixed such

³¹ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 228: Dee underlines Simler's reference to 'ornatissimus vir Ioannes Lasicius Polonus' and writes 'Invisit me iste Lasicius Mortlaci'.

³² Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 520: Dee underlines 'Nicolaus' and writes 'Huius plures sunt ad me Epistolae'.

³³ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 495: 'Hic mihi familiaris fuit Lovanii et varias ad me dedit literas.' Dee also writes 'Cl. a. 1549'.

³⁴ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 526: Dee writes 'Huius ad me variae epistolae. Quo familiariter Venetiis usus sum a^o 1563'.

³⁵ Simler, *Bibliotheca*, 629: 'Huius ad me epistola. familiariter mihi notus erat Frankfurti.'

³⁶ Josias Simler, *Epitome bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (Zurich, 1555), now Harvard Houghton Library, Hou f *EC.H2623.Zz555g, fol. 71^r: Harvey remarks 'Et haec omnia legi, et plura Agrippae habeo; septemque in primis epistolarum libros, et nonnulla epigrammata'.

readerly eyewitnessing with assessments of the work in question, a shade closer to the kind of evaluative work he did in the margins of his Livy. But whereas elsewhere in his vast reading Harvey often constructed canons of the 'best' authorities, here he acknowledged a measure of ambiguity. When he got to Simler's entry for the controversial Italian philosopher Pietro Pomponazzi, he underlined Simler's reference to Pomponazzi's *De incantatione* and remarked, 'I have it (*habeo*), I read it (*legi*), I do not disown it, nevertheless I do not assent to it'.³⁷ Even as Harvey hedged, he saw fit to inscribe this hedging – and the possession and reading that preceded it – in the margins of the *Bibliotheca*.

Annotations of this sort could transform books into memory palaces of sorts – structured records of readings past triggered by readings present. They also constituted reminders that reading and life could mimic one another, even when the book in question was very old. One's own eyewitnessing could confirm the claims of an author. When Dee read the *Res gestae* of the late Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus, which he encountered in a Froben compendium of Roman histories, he zeroed in on one of Ammianus's many geographic digressions: an account of the passes through the Alps. Ammianus described how the ice made the pass treacherous, and as a result, 'those expert [in the area] construct projecting wooden columns through the more secure places, so that the series of them might guide the traveler unharmed'. Dee underlined this passage, and then, writing in English, he drew a contemporary parallel – his own: 'I have sine such standing for our direction in the Alpes, when I passed by Splugen toward Chiavenna in the year 1563'.³⁸ Dee was an Alpine traveller who had managed this journey, and his own lived experience shed light on what Ammianus had encountered over a millennium before. By adding the year of his own Alpine crossing, Dee memorialised this event much as he had his encounter with Upton at John Stowe's or his initial perusal of Simler's *Bibliotheca*. He even initialled this note 'J.D.' as well, as he had his reference to Orion and Vettius Valens. However, this detail of readerly eyewitnessing was later effaced – as were so many instances of Dee's name in his books – by Nicholas Saunder, who pillaged many items in

³⁷ Simler, *Epitome*, fol. 148^v: Harvey writes 'Habeo, legi, nec inficior, nec tamen assentior'.

³⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* in *Omnia quam antehac emendatiora* (Basel, 1533), now Royal College of Physicians D128a/4, 10745, 575: 'ob quae callidi, eminentes ligneos stylos per cautiora loca defigunt, ut eorum series uiatorem ducat innoxium ...'. Dee underlines thus and then in English writes the note quoted above. The passage in question occurs at Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 15.10.5.

Dee's library. But while Saunder may have crossed through Dee's initials, he left the accompanying note unscathed.

Dee also used the margins of his books to bear witness to personal experiences that might strike us as more dubious. Yet he recorded such phenomena – particularly in the realm of the supernatural and occult – in the same format that he used for recounting his journey across the Alps. In his copy of the collected writings of the German theologian Johannes Rivius, he underlined a passage about how reciting prayers could ward off demons. And he then added a personal reminiscence in the margin, recording that 'this happened to me in January 1582, when I had set out to expel from my study a devil that was threatening me, because of Saul'. *Propter Saulum* or 'on account of Saul' was a reference to Barnabas Saul, one of Dee's sycrers with whom he claimed to have conversed with angels.³⁹ But what is perhaps most intriguing is what Dee added after matter-of-factly detailing this demonic visitation to his study. Dee then remarked '*vide historiam istam*' or 'see that history'. This was a simple cross reference, one of the most common and pedestrian forms of annotation in early modern books. Although he did not specify any further details here concerning the *historia* or history in question, it was presumably a reference to his so-called angel diaries, his personal account of his purported dealings in the spirit realm. Hence, as touchstones of his reading, Dee treated his private unpublished diaries much as he did the personal letters he added to the biobibliographies in Simler's compendium. They were as worthy of enumeration and citation as everything from an aged manuscript to a recently published treatise. And they were linked to datable nuggets of experience, whether that was an Alpine crossing in 1563 or an occult encounter in 1582.

Conclusion: Readings past and future

Dee's copy of Rivius – like so many of Dee's books – enjoyed an eventful posthumous history. It became part of the library of John Winthrop Jr, American colonist, governor of Connecticut, avid alchemist and

³⁹ Johannes Rivius, *Opera omnia theologia* (Basel, 1562), now New York Society Library, Win 210, 719: 'A^o 1582 Januario hoc mihi evenit dum Diabolum minitantem mihi, propter Saulum ex Musaeo meo exterminare aggressus eram. vide historiam istam.' For discussion of this note see Richard Calis, Frederic Clark, Christian Flow, Anthony Grafton, Madeline McMahon and Jennifer M. Rampling, 'Passing the book: Cultures of reading in the Winthrop family, 1580–1730', *Past & Present* 241 (2018): 69–141, esp. 122–4. For Dee's angel diaries see Deborah E. Harkness, *John Dee's Conversations with Angels: Cabala, alchemy, and the end of nature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

acquaintance of Dee's son, Arthur. It is not clear exactly how Winthrop acquired Dee's books, or how many, but in several copies of Paracelsus heavily annotated by Dee, Winthrop boasted (in a wonderfully 'meta' example of marginalia about marginalia) that he had 'divers books ... wherein he [i.e., Dee] hath written his name and many notes'.⁴⁰ Winthrop therefore valued this copy of Paracelsus not only for the text of Paracelsus the author, but also for the additional text inserted by Dee the reader. Unfortunately, Winthrop did not say anything similar in Dee's Rivius, so we do not know how he read Dee's account of January 1582 (Dee's account of his Alpine crossing in Ammianus, in contrast, did find a reader in Saunder, whose only response was to deface Dee's initials).

Yet in other cases, Winthrop inscribed his books with records of eyewitnessing in a manner remarkably akin to Dee's methods. He owned a copy of Michele Poccianti's *Catalog of Florentine Writers of Every Genre*, a more targeted and specific version of the biobibliographies that Simler and others had produced. And in it Winthrop catalogued his reading just as had Dee in the pages of Simler's *Bibliotheca*. When he reached Poccianti's entry for the Florentine Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino, he zeroed in on a volume of Ficino's works, which among other items included his treatises *De sole* and *De lumine*. In the margin, Winthrop jotted down that 'I saw (*vidi*) this volume when I read (*perlegi*) some things from the book *De sole* and *De lumine* in the library of the college of Edinburgh, while I was in Scotland in the year 1634'.⁴¹ Approximately half a century after Dee and Harvey had adorned their copies of Simler's *Bibliotheca* with testimonies of what they saw and read, Winthrop deployed an identical language of *vidi* and *legi*. And not unlike Dee recording his visit to John Stowe's, Winthrop also dated and localised his encounter with Ficino, fixing it in time and space in the Edinburgh of 1634. He even saw fit to sign this note, writing 'John Winthrop' below it.

This brings us to larger, and unfortunately unanswerable, questions of cause, effect and transmission. Was Winthrop, who collected Dee's books and explicitly praised what Dee had written in them, attempting in conscious fashion to mimic Dee's own style of annotation? Had he seen similar annotations, complete with dates, places and signatures,

⁴⁰ See Calis et al., 'Passing the book', 96–8. On Winthrop Jr and Dee see Walter W. Woodward, *Prospero's America: John Winthrop, Jr., alchemy, and the creation of New England culture, 1606–1676* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2010).

⁴¹ Michele Poccianti, *Catalogus scriptorum Florentinorum omnis generis* (Florence, 1589), now New York Society Library, Win 58, 122: 'Vidi hoc volumen ubi aliqua perlegi ex libro de sole et de lumine in Bibliotheca collegii Edinburgi dum in Scotia essem anno 1634. Joh: Winthrop.' See discussion in Calis et al., 'Passing the book', 95.

in one or more of the Dee books he encountered? Or was the process more complicated than one of straightforward genealogy? Were Dee and Winthrop members of a similar culture of reading, in which the penchant for such bibliographical eyewitnessing was transmitted in more tacit – though no less powerful – fashion? Do such commonalities get us closer to apprehending what that mythical ‘typical’ early modern reader would have done? Or are all of the above true to varying degrees?

Furthermore, regardless of how specifically Winthrop sought to emulate Dee’s annotation methods, perhaps his approach to the page was influenced by his encounter with Dee’s notes in still another way. Put simply, annotations were not just for one’s contemporary associates – those unnamed friends or *amici* of Harvey’s signatures – but also took on what we might think of as posthumously performative significance. Winthrop read and cherished Dee’s annotations long after Dee’s death. Perhaps Winthrop imagined – or hoped for – a similar audience when he painstakingly recorded the when and where and how of his reading of Ficino. Nor was Winthrop the only or the last of early modernity’s annotators to produce meta-marginalia and bear eyewitness testimony to Dee’s own annotations. As a case in point, consider the late seventeenth-/early eighteenth-century antiquarian Thomas Baker, who filled his own extensive book collection with copious biobibliographical notes. Not only did he transcribe some of Harvey’s marginalia, but he also took interest in Dee’s. He acquired a copy of John Bale’s catalogue of British writers that had once been owned and annotated by Dee, and he added a note reminiscent of Winthrop’s inscription in Dee’s Paracelsus. Situated just inches from Dee’s own signature and date, Baker’s note proclaimed something so self-evident that it might seem superfluous. At the bottom of the title page, Dee had written ‘*Joannes Dee 1555 28 Sept.*’. And next to his own signature, which he inserted in the right margin perpendicular to Dee’s, Baker added: ‘This book had belonged to Dr. Dee, as appears by his name, in his own hand. *Joannes Dee 1555 28 Sept.*’.⁴²

John Dee was hardly the only early modern reader to have his name and notes memorialised by subsequent readers. Indeed, the practice was common enough, and it – along with the larger question of how early moderns annotated pre-existing annotations – merits fuller and more systematic study. Sometimes these annotations were sought for their precise technical information: in philology, for instance, the annotated books of famous scholars became crucial sites of evidence

⁴² John Bale, *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae scriptorum ... summarium* (Wesel, 1549), now Cambridge, St John’s College, A.2.29, title page.

for emendations. Philologists did not always take the time to boast of past annotators in their books, but occasionally they did, in a manner reminiscent of Winthrop or Baker on Dee. To cite just one example, the seventeenth-century Dutch classical scholar G. J. Vossius acquired a number of books owned and annotated by one of his illustrious predecessors, Joseph Scaliger. At the front of what had once been Scaliger's copy of the Gallo-Roman poet Sidonius Apollinaris, Vossius not only signed his name but also commented on the book's provenance. As he explained, this Sidonius came 'from the library of Joseph Scaliger, who also restored many passages ... in his own hand (*manu sua*)'.⁴³ Like Baker extolling Dee's 'own hand', Vossius emphasised the direct material traces of Scaliger's engagement with his books, preserved in his very handwriting. Moreover, these interventions had quite literally improved the text, blotting out its corruptions and 'restoring' it to its pristine state.

Notes like Vossius's suggest the extent to which some early moderns appreciated marginalia much as we – that is, the 'we' of the last several decades – do. Yet what seems familiar in some respects is also alien in others. In sharp contrast to us, who exempt annotated books from further annotation through the elaborate protective rituals of libraries' 'special collections', early moderns sometimes responded to marginalia by creating still more marginalia. They read an act of reading by recording their own reading of it, not unlike how Dee and Harvey had responded to the multitude of books listed in Simler's bibliography. This was not just a hermeneutics of extraction – as when Winthrop zeroed in on Dee's notes to guide his reading of Paracelsus, or Vossius used Scaliger's notes to improve the text of Sidonius – but also a hermeneutics of repetition. Like Glareanus recording his own birthday, they wrote explicitly what we often leave unsaid.

It has perhaps become a commonplace to observe that the history of books and reading – especially early modern books and reading – interests us because we are grappling with fundamental changes in both the physicality of the written word and the nature of the reading experience. But we are by no means the first to invest the history of the reading experience with significance. How did early moderns theorise the activity that we historians of reading seek to theorise in turn? As I have tried to show with these brief case studies, in many respects they were also historians of acts of reading: their own. To them, *historia*

⁴³ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Opera* (Lyon, 1552), now Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek 765 F 16, front flyleaf: 'Ger. Vossii, e bibliotheca Ios. SCALIGERI, qui et loca multa, in CARMINE inprimis, manu sua restituit.'

included works such as Livy's account of ancient Rome, a canonical text by a vaunted author, but it also embraced – as Dee made clear with his note *vide historiam istam* – personal diaries of supernatural encounter. Despite their manifest differences, Livy and Dee's angel diaries alike were components of a vast network of cross references and eyewitness testimonies that could only be activated via reading; early moderns did not need a Roland Barthes or Wolfgang Iser to grasp what they did intuitively on the level of practice. Networks both literal and metaphorical are often invoked in discussions of reading and information flow today, but early modern practices offer us vivid examples of networked readers long before the rise of literary theory or digital technology. Readers such as Dee and Harvey, and many others who did not gain such posthumous fame, were highly adept at making books speak to one another. But what linked such books together – the device that turned the bookwheel, as it were – was often the memorialisation of reading itself, at once individual and social, synchronic and diachronic, fast and slow. These networks of reading experiences fused books and biographies alike, and they survived as testimonies to be repeated and emulated long after the annotators themselves had perished.

Where might we go from here? As the history of reading continues to shed new light on readers past, one way forward will be to delve more deeply and widely into these places where early moderns became their own historians of reading – where they seem to have broken the fourth wall and spoken to someone (themselves? their *amici*? their posthumous collectors? all of the above?) because they could not conceive of such a wall as existing in the first place. As Grafton and Jardine showed when they helped launch the field over 30 years ago, reading of this sort by definition gave rise to 'something else'. The link between reading and living, particularly among annotators such as Harvey and Dee but also among many other scribblers waiting to be discovered, is where method and content cohere, and reading itself becomes writing. The networked readers of the early modern world, at once strangely alien and eerily familiar to their twenty-first-century counterparts, await our own forms of readerly eyewitnessing.

'Studied for action' revisited*

Lisa Jardine

Usus libri, non lectio prudentes facit. (The use of books, not their reading, makes men wise.)

Geoffrey Whitney, *A choice of Emblemes and Other Devises*¹

A single, distinctive characteristic is responsible for moving Gabriel Harvey, scholar, civilian lawyer and would-be adviser to nobility, centre stage from the sidelines of history: his irrepressible urge to fill any available white space on the pages of his extensive library of printed books with marginal comments on the text as he read. The extent and density of these annotations is unusual, and idiosyncratic.² Even his contemporaries remarked on it as a particularly striking aspect of his activities as a learned reader. Thomas Nashe made a point of describing his italic handwriting – 'a faire capitall Romane hand' (he also reported the value

* Originally published in Ann Blair and Anja-Silvia Goeing, eds, *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in honor of Anthony Grafton*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 999–1017.

¹ Geoffrey Whitney, *A choice of emblemes. and other devises, for the most parte gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and moralized* (Leiden: Plantin, 1586), 171: 'The volumes great, who so doth still peruse, / And dailie turnes, and gazeth on the same, / If that the fruite thereof, he do not vse, / He reapes but toile, and neuer gaineth fame.' William Sherman uses this emblem to make the general point that reading is not an end in itself but a means to usefulness, in *Used Books: Marking readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 13–15, where his example of such a use-directed reader is also Harvey. For Harvey's own version of Whitney's sentiment see, for example, the annotation along the outer margin of page 18 of his copy of Lodovico Guicciardini, *Detti, et fatti piacevoli et gravi, di diversi principi filosofi, et cortigiani* (Venice: Christoforo de' Zanetti, 1571), Folger Shakespeare Library MS H. a. 2.: 'It is not bookes that makes the skillfull man, but the knowledg of bookes: & the memorie of knowledg: & the practis of memorie, both in words, & in deeds.'

² For some comparable annotators see W. H. Sherman, *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 80. See more fully, and on early modern marginalia in general, Sherman, *Used Books*.

of his library as £200).³ In the satirical university play *Pedantius* (whose target is Gabriel Harvey as a notable university pedant), the books in his magnificent library are described as being multiply enhanced in value because they are ‘gilded like gems or stars with marginal annotations’.⁴

The first scholar of a later generation to draw attention to Harvey’s annotations seems to have been the seventeenth-century antiquarian Thomas Baker (1656–1740), who was, as it happens, a copious annotator of his own books.⁵ In the nineteenth century the identification of Harvey as a friend of Edmund Spenser, and the discovery of a reference to Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* in the margins of Harvey’s copy of Speght’s *Chaucer* (1598), increased interest in this otherwise unremarkable historical figure.⁶ Today Harvey is the subject of critical attention almost entirely for the thicket of notes with which he decorated every book he read, in an intensive black ink, in his distinctive, legible italic hand.⁷

Those who mark the margins of their books are generally silent as to the immediate occasion of these annotations. This makes the project of trying to read below their surface over three hundred years later

³ ‘His education I will handle next, wherein he ... learned to write a fair capital Roman hand ... Many a copy-holder or magistral scribe, that holds all his living by setting schoolboys’ copies, comes short of the like gift.’ T. Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (1596), cited in H. S. Wilson, ‘Gabriel Harvey’s method of annotating his books’, *Harvard Library Bulletin* 2 (1948): 348.

⁴ ‘Trinity Hall hath borne with him more than that, he being (as one that was Fellow of the same house of his standing informed me) never able to pay his commons, but from time to time borne out in alms amongst the rest of the Fellows, however he tells some of his friends he hath an out-brothership or beadsman’s stipend of ten shillings a year there still coming to him, and a library worth 200 pound.’ T. Nashe, *Have with you to Saffron-walden* (1596), in *Pedantius: A Latin Comedy Formerly Acted in Trinity College, Cambridge*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1905), act 3, scene 4, p. 62: ‘Homines omnes quicunque qualescunque sint, interrogat nunc Pedantius, numquid autores omnis generis exactissimos, Graecos, Latinos, veteres, neotericos coemere velint hodie. His cum satis jam superque ad contemptativum usum legendo, scribendo, commentando ornaverim, & activum finem referre.’

⁵ See F. Korsten, ed., *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Baker* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), xxxi: ‘Finally, the often lavish notes and comments Baker used to put into his books deserve some attention. The remark he made in one of the front fly-leaves of Henricus Suso’s *Horologium Aeternae Sapientiae* that “I am forc’t to put notes upon my old books least they should be thrown away as useless” need not be taken all too seriously. The annotations, for the greater part biographical and bibliographical, form on the whole a decided enrichment of the books that contain them.’ See also G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), 216ff.

⁶ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia*, vii–xiii.

⁷ For the long-standing interest in Harvey because of his marginalia see D. McKitterick’s review of V. F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, marginalia and library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), in *Library* s6-III, no. 4 (December 1981): 348–53. For Harvey’s distinctive hand see P. J. Croft’s review of Stern in *Renaissance English Studies* 32 (1981): 443–6, at 443. Both these reviews, it should be noted, caution that for all its good intentions, Stern’s book is unreliable in its detail and does not appear to have benefited from peer review by scholars in the field.

tantalisingly elusive. But just occasionally the marginal annotator makes explicit, in the traces on the page, an active process of dialoguing around a chosen text with a specific purpose in mind, on a particular occasion.

It was such a set of explicit references that first decided Tony Grafton and me to direct our combined attention to Harvey's marginalia.⁸ In the margins of his copy of Livy's *Decades*, Harvey several times refers to reading sessions with the young Philip Sidney, in which the text was examined in detail, and comparative assessment made with other works of classical history. Opinions voiced by both Sidney and Harvey are recorded in these notes, capturing the faint echo of a conversation with the Livy at its heart:

Yet if [the Romans] had relied on that political basis and adapted their curias, laws, offices, customs and other bonds of government to the nature of the Republic and the secret principles of the state, they would undoubtedly have held the Roman state much more securely and strongly.

And for this consideration Philip Sidney, the prominent courtier, thanked me generously, and he openly acknowledged that he had never read anything of such importance either in historical or political works. That he had observed far and wide Romans who were too senatorial in a popular Republic and ones who were too popular in a Senatorial Republic, ones who were not royalist enough in a monarchy, citizens rather than subjects. And that he had no doubts whatsoever that if they had adapted themselves

⁸ I first encountered Harvey's marginalia while working on the study of sixteenth-century logic and dialectic in England. This work was published as 'Gabriel Harvey: Exemplary Ramist and pragmatic humanist', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986): 36–48, and subsequently incorporated in A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the liberal arts in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe* (London: Duckworth and Harvard University Press, 1986). I began working on the Livy while Davis Fellow at Princeton University, studying marginalia documenting Thomas Smith Jr's reading of Livy with Harvey, 'shortly afterwards royal deputy in the Irish Ards', for 'Mastering the uncouth: Gabriel Harvey, Edmund Spenser and the English experience in Ireland', in *New Perspectives on Renaissance Thought: Essays in the history of science, education and philosophy in memory of C. B. Schmitt*, ed. J. Henry and S. Hutton (London: Duckworth, 1990), 68–82, subsequently incorporated in "'Studied for action": How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy', *Past & Present* 129, no. 1 (1990): 30–78. It was the Sidney references, however, that drew Tony Grafton and me together to write "'Studied for action'". The Livy, then one of a group of books deposited in Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, by the Wilmerding family, is now part of the Library's permanent collection: *T. Liuii Patauini Romanae historiae principis decades tres [Ab urbe condita]*, Basel, 1555, shelf-mark (Ex) PA6452 .A2 1555q (hereafter 'Harvey's Livy'). It is available in digital form on the Archaeology of Reading website, where its annotations are transcribed and, where necessary, translated. Accessed 24 April 2022, <https://archaeologyofreading.org/viewer/#aor/PrincetonPA6452/binding.frontcover/image>.

to the constitution of the State, that they would have come out as the strongest nation, the most successful and powerful people in the world. And this was our most important observation about these three books. And for the rest I have not changed my opinion since.⁹

In the case of these annotations in his Livy, Harvey specifies elsewhere in the margins the occasion on which he sat down to read the first three books with Sidney, in 1577:

The courtier Philip Sidney and I had privately discussed these three books of Livy, scrutinizing them so far as we could from all points of view, applying a political analysis, just before his embassy to the emperor Rudolf II. He went to offer him congratulations in the queen's name just after he had been made emperor. Our consideration was chiefly directed at the forms of states, the conditions of persons, and the qualities of actions. We paid little attention to the annotations of Glareanus and others.¹⁰

Here Harvey – who appears to have written these annotations into his Livy copy sometime during the 1590s, possibly transcribing them from an earlier commonplace book, or from slips of paper inserted at appropriate points in the volume – gives a special piquancy to his annotations and readings, by attaching them to an occasion on which there was an anticipated goal (a judicious visit to a continental Protestant ally, pledging limited support) and a known outcome.¹¹

But the first marginal note quoted implies more extensive discussion than a simple briefing session for an embassy. It suggests reading over a

⁹ Harvey's Livy, 64: 'Quod si politico illo fundamento nixi, curias, leges, magistratus, mores, caetera gubernandi uinacula, Reip[ublicae] qualitati, statusq[ue] arcanis conformassent; haud dubie multo certius, stabiliusq[ue] rem Romanam tenuissent. Pro qua animaduersione, liberales mihi gratias egit Philippus Sidneius, insignis Aulicus: ingenueq[ue] fatebatur, se nihil tanti momenti uel in historiis, uel in Politicis legisse. Uidere se passim Romanos, in populari Rep[ublica]: nimis Senatorios; in Senatoria nimis populares; in regia non satis regios; ciues potius, quam subditos. Si Reipublicae statui fuissent conformes; minimè se dubitare, quin firmissimam in gentem, populumq[ue] mundi tam foelicissimum euassent, quam potentissimum. Quae nostra summa erat horum trium librorum obseruatio. Nec ego deinceps in reliquis mutauit sententiam.' I have used Arnoud Visser's translation.

¹⁰ Harvey's Livy, 93: 'Hos tres Livii libros, Philippus Sidneius aulicus, et ego intime contuleramus, qua potuimus politica analyst ultro, citroq[ue] excussos: paulo ante suam Legationem ad Imperatorem, Rodolphum II. Cui profectus est regineo nomine honorifice congratulatum; iam tum creato Imperatori. Summus noster respectus erat ad rerum plicarum[m] species; et personarum[m] conditiones, actionumq[ue] qualitates. De Glareani, aliorum[m]-q[ue] annotationibus parum curabamus.' Translation by Grafton and Jardine.

¹¹ Evidence survives of this practice of inserting annotations on slips, to be transcribed into the book later, in the case of Desiderius Erasmus.

period of time, and an exchange of ideas over lessons to be learned that will expand both men's competence as readers, addressing their reading to political reality:

Sir Philip Sidney esteemes no general Historie, like Justines abridgment of Trogus: nor anie special Roman historie like Liuie: nor anie particular historie, Roman, or other, like the singular life, & actions of Cesar: whome he values about all other, & reputes the greatest actour, that euer the World did afforde. And therefore makes exceeding account Sallust, Velleius, Suetonius in Latin; Plutarch, Dion, Julian in Greek: who as effectually, as briefly display him in his liuelie colours. But of none makes so high reckoning, as of Cesars owne Commentaries, peerles and inualuable works.¹²

By specifying the occasion for a shared reading of his Livy, Harvey encourages the readers to consider themselves to be eavesdropping on that cultural transaction – an intellectual conversation – via notes directed specifically towards the text. And this encourages us to expand the abbreviated marginal remarks into a considered point of view.

The printed page on which Harvey makes reference to the 'private discussion' with Sidney (page 93 of Harvey's edition) contains Livy's account of how the aged counsellor Scaptius tried to influence the outcome of a dispute about territorial boundaries:

When the consuls saw that Scaptius was listened to not only in silence but even with approval, they called gods and men to witness that a monstrous injustice was being perpetrated ... Even supposing it were permissible for a judge to look after his own interest, they would certainly never gain by appropriating the disputed territory as much as they would lose by estranging the feelings of their allies through their injustice. The damage done to their good name and credit would be incalculable. Were the envoys to carry back this to their home, was it to go out to the world, was it to reach the ears of their allies and of their enemies?¹³

Down the right-hand margin, in his confident, legible hand, Harvey has made three annotations that directly address this passage:

¹² Harvey's Livy, P1r.

¹³ Livy 3.72.

A pragmatic and perhaps adroit testimony of the old man.

The senators' wily, and even pretentious disagreement. The deep secrets of the pragmatic and courtly skills.

Emperor Tiberius excelled in this clever and sharp sort.¹⁴

Read in isolation these might be merely the lone reader's passing comment on the passage. 'Placed' in the context of a dialogic reading with Sidney, they identify points of value to the intending ambassador. These comments express grudging approval for the wily rhetoric of the old politician, as captured vividly in Livy's narrative account. But the respect for Scaptius's rhetorical virtuosity is counterbalanced by the reproachful response from the senators: even if effective, what will be the reputation of such a speech by an ambassador when it is received back home? It seems reasonable to suggest that this was the lesson Harvey and Sidney drew together from this episode.

Armed with the knowledge that together Harvey and Sidney explored the Livy in preparation for Sidney's diplomatic visit to the court of Rudolph II, these marginal comments may be read as observations on the need to weigh carefully strategic interventions during the embassy for their possible later repercussions ('Were the envoys to carry back [report of this conduct] to their home, was it to go out to the world, was it to reach the ears of their allies and of their enemies?'). In other words, these marginalia do not simply highlight points in the text worth tagging or commenting on – here we have the residual traces of a 'reading relationship' and an exercise undertaken in teaching appropriate ambassadorial conduct.

Would that more marginalia were of this clearly purposeful, directed kind. But even with a body of annotated books on the scale of Harvey's (close to two hundred surviving books identified to date), it turns out that such clear contextualising is extremely rare.

Different occasions (generally unknown and unspecified) may angle marginal interactions distinctively, according to the work in which they are inscribed. Notes in a textbook may focus on the key 'how-to' points Harvey wishes to retain or emphasise. Then there are the many occasions where maxims, or passages extending to whole paragraphs, are copied out of one book into the blank spaces of another – as Harvey transcribes two entire Latin poems with military subjects from Alciato's

¹⁴ Harvey's Livy, 93: 'Pragmaticu[m], et fortasse veteratorum Senis Testimonium.' 'Veteratorius, et quid ni hypocriticus patru[m] dissensus. Artium pragmaticarum, et Aulicarum profunda Arcana.' 'Tiberius Imp[erator] in hoc sophistico et astuto genere excelluit.'

Emblems onto early blank pages of his copy of Peter Withorne's English translation of Machiavelli's *The Arte of Warre*. In the end, the most arresting marginal note may give the least help in identifying its function.

Some of this difficulty is caused by a further question regarding marginalia in general and Harvey's in particular: for whom were the marginalia as they have come down to us intended? From the fact that both the appearance and the substance of these notes seem – from Nashe's precise lampooning of them, indeed, quoting from them, in his pamphlet attacks – have been common knowledge in the university and court community, we may judge that Harvey's books were regularly lent to others.

Sometimes this is attested to directly by Harvey: several of his books carry the inscription '*et amicorum*' at the end, indicating that they have been shared with others.¹⁵ A draft letter to Arthur Capell in Harvey's so-called letter-book makes Harvey's habitual book lending with didactic purpose explicit:

M. Capel, I dout not I, but you haue ere this sufficiently perusid, or rather thurroughly red ouer thos tragical pamflets of the Queen of Scots: as you did not long ago that pretti elegant treatis of M. Cheek against sedition: and verry lately good part of the Mirrur for Magistrates: three books iwis in mi judgment wurth the reading ouer, and ouer both for the stile, and the matter.

Now if your leisure wil seru you (for truly I præsume of your good wil) to run thurrough ani part of M. Ascham (for I suppose you haue canuissid him reasnably wel alreddi) or to hear the report of the furius outragies of Fraunc in English, or to read ouer the Courtier in lattin (whitch I would wish, and wil you to do for sundri causis) or to peruse ani pees of Osorius, Sturmius, or Ramus, or to see ani other book, ether English, or lattin, that I haue, and mai stand you in stead, do but cum your / self, or send on for it, and make your ful Account not to fail of it ...

There is A freend of mine, that spake vnto me yesterniht for mi book of ye Queen of Scots. If you haue dun withal, I prai you send me it præsently, otherwise he shal for me tarri your leisure. Or if you send it now, assure your self to haue it again at your pleasure. Iterum vale.¹⁶

¹⁵ For example, Andrea Alciati, *Ad rescripta principum commentarii, de summa trinitate*. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 199.

¹⁶ Walter Colman, unpublished transcript from Gabriel Harvey's Letter-Book, MS Sloane 93, fol. 90b, The British Museum, London. See also Gabriel Harvey, *Letter-Book*, ed. Edward John Long Scott (Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1884), 167–8.

Too few of these named volumes survive for us to be able to scrutinise their marginalia for signs that Harvey intended friends such as Capell to peruse and learn from them. But surely the knowledge that others would read annotations against the text, without their author being present, added to his self-consciousness as he decorated his margins.

A marginal note will sometimes consist of a remark or an idea whose pointed significance seems to be independent of the printed text against which it is written. Again Harvey's extensive marginalia provide us with a fine example of an arrestingly colourful note in relation to his acquaintance with Sidney; the motive for finding such a note on a particular page is altogether unclear, but it perhaps suggests that here is a strongly felt observation of Harvey's that he wants to share with other similarly inclined readers/borrowers.

Harvey's copy of Lodovico Guicciardini's *Detti, et fatti piacevoli et gravi, di diversi principi filosofi, et cortigiani* (1571), one of several compilations of pointed and witty observations on life that he owned, is exceptionally heavily annotated, even by his standards.¹⁷ For this 'revisiting' of Harvey's marginalia I have paid special attention to this volume, which was not part of our earlier study.

There is a striking note in it, apparently written not long after Sidney's death from wounds sustained at the Battle of Zutphen in 1586, which plainly has nothing to do with the two men's shared reading a decade earlier (aside from the fact that we know from those notes that Harvey knew Sidney personally). It is in English (most of the notes in this densely annotated Italian text are in Latin or Italian), and it has a directness the notes just discussed largely lack:

I may speake, or do reasonably well: you mie masters, notably well: they, whom I honour, excellently well: quoth modest Astrophil [Sidney] in the Court of his great Mistris. But you, nor they sufficiently well: nor anie liuing absolutely well. So He saide, who esteemed nothing singular, that was not incomparable: & in a noble disposition allwais aimed, & often arriued to a higher degree of perfection. ~~Though~~ With such a diligence He tawght the gallant spirits of the world to complement themselues, & to emprooue their

¹⁷ The Guicciardini is bound with another work of *facetiae*, Lodovico Domenichi, *Facetiae, motti, et burle di diversi signori et persone private* (Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1572), of which the first three hundred pages are lacking (the first surviving page is 321). Harvey treats these two works as a single volume, annotating consistently across both and heavily annotating the blank and ornamented pages where the two books join.

uttermost braueries in performing a charg[e] of weightie discourse, or worthie valour.

Though bie Roome [Rome], the Ladie of the world, a golden statu was not dedicated unto him, as to the King of Eloquence: yet Vienna of Austria honored Him with the Title of the best Speaker, that euer the Emperour heard, or that Court admired most. And in Netherland shortly after the Valorous Prince of Parma, Generall of the Spanish armie, woondred to see a young gentleman so excelle[n]tly complemented for [w]it, flowing discourse, & ouerflowing valour. Ô the flower of chiualrie, how seriously did he execute the greatest exploits: how vigorously did he essay huge impossibilities.

But I am non plussed, when I speak of Netherland. Speak his braue fellowes in the field: sum pithie one of you report his maine caualcade, his dowie aduentures, & terrible encounters: & ease me of this surcharging burden.¹⁸

Harvey's lines are woven around, across and down a page of familiar Italian proverbs, so densely that the original is almost obliterated. They break off wherever the printed text gets in the way, to be continued elsewhere on the page (the reader's eye is guided by a discreet mark at the end of the blocked passage that is repeated at its continuation). The intensity of the note is somehow underscored by the need of the reader to pursue it – in search of an ending marked by a bold full stop – across and around the page. And this annotation competes with several other more succinct ones, in differing inks and hands (Harvey varied his handwriting on different occasions), witnessing repeated attention paid to the book, and successive note-makings. The text becomes a palimpsest, the holograph eulogy of Sidney almost erasing its printed platitudes: “Chi troppo abbraccia, nulla stringe” (He that embraceth too much, bindeth nothyng); “A qual si voglia dolore, remedia la patienza” (Patience remedieth all kinde of sorrow); “Poco fa, chi a se non gioua” (He doth little, that helps not him selfe).⁷

¹⁸ Guicciardini, *Detti, et fatti*, 124–5. On the previous opening, in the same ink and hand, are two English notes that seem to refer directly to Nashe's scurrilous taunting of Harvey as a pedant in *Have with you to Saffron-walden*: ‘Scriblers, & Pen-& inkorne-men, that are noboddie without their men, & paperbooke. Memorises, & Practitioners the onlie men’ (across the top margin of page 122); ‘Inkhornists; paper-bookmen; bookmen, termes of scorne’ (across top margin of page 123); in which case the note may be as late as 1596, or later. The crossing-out that I have preserved makes it clear that Harvey is copying out a previously written note – his eye has slipped down a sentence – which could put the original sentiment any time between 1586 and 1596.

In this case, no amount of scrutiny has convinced me that we can recover a specific relationship between elegiac outpouring and the text with which it is juxtaposed. The context is broadly that of eloquent speech and its pragmatic use. Perhaps that has triggered Harvey's memory of the supremely silver-tongued Sidney (several briefer notes in the Guicciardini allude to this). It might be evidence of Harvey's own regret that he was unable to match Sidney in fluency and verbal brilliance – something he repeatedly notes in the *Detti, et fatti* margins as essential for the man whose goal is a career in diplomacy.¹⁹

Here is emotional evidence of Harvey's continued loyalty to Sidney's memory and cause, and 'Astrophil's' lasting reputation as an eloquent man of action – buried among the myriad marginalia that cram the pages of the *Detti, et fatti*. But there is nothing to help us understand what this passage is doing, on this page, nor why it was written at any particular moment, to what particular end.²⁰

It is 25 years since "Studied for action": How Gabriel Harvey read his Livy' first examined in detail Harvey's 'directed' reading of Livy with Sir Philip Sidney and helped put marginalia on the early modern intellectual map. Our essay has been widely emulated and used since it first appeared as a 'licence to read' significance into every trace of a reader's hand, from considered remarks to doodlings and manicules, in the margins of early modern books. There is now general agreement that marginalia do not sit inertly on the page, nor necessarily comment directly on the passage to which they attach, but are prompts beyond the text and its reading to action in public – even state – affairs.

In choosing the phrase *discitur, ut agatur* (studied for action), we placed our emphasis on Harvey's pragmatic engagement with the text of Livy's *Decades*. As we originally observed, Harvey returns repeatedly in his annotations to the idea that books and the skills learned from them (*artes*) are a means to an active end, not an end in themselves. I return to that theme here, as it runs through his copy of Guicciardini's *Detti, et fatti*.

The margins of Harvey's Guicciardini bristle with injunctions to break off from study and give one's attention to doing, conveying a clear

¹⁹ Harvey intimates in passing in his private notes that he failed twice himself when speaking formally in a public arena, once during his proctorship, and once 'at Oxford, in my Acts for my Doctorship'. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 107.

²⁰ Even where Harvey names contemporaries in his marginalia, these mentions tend to be too cryptic to give us any real sense of their relationship to his reading career. For example, at the bottom of page 119 of his copy of Guicciardini's *Detti, et fatti* it is impossible to judge the seriousness of the claim of 'enmity' when he writes: 'Quis putet? sed quibus hodiè inuidetur, Comiti Essexio, Equiti Raleio, alijs quibusdam in Aula gratosius; Meorum aliquando miserabuntur etiam inimici.'

sense that temperamentally Harvey himself finds this almost impossible to do.²¹ Reading is not simply an accumulation of information, making the reader wiser. It is a prelude to doing, to making something happen. The scholar's 'selling point' as a man of the world, and as suitable to hold a professional post beyond the universities (something Harvey makes it clear he aspires to), depends upon his capacity to convert years of study into pragmatic advice.

For example, along the side margin of a page of *bons mots* in his copy of *Detti, et fatti* that stress the need for ample preparation for action ('Un buon consiglio superare vn'esercito'), Harvey writes:

It is not bookes, that makes the skillfull man, but the knowledge of bookes: & the memorie of knowledg: & the practis of memorie, both in words, & in deeds. He deserues to be esteemed the most cunning man, that can best negotiate his Larning, viua voce, & viuo opere.²²

At the bottom of the same page, across the double opening:

Not authors, but skills: Study of that which is truly distinctive. Not books, but knowledge. Not doctrine, but ability. Not books, but works.²³

Along the gutter of the right-hand page (page 19):

I know as much as I can recollect: and I have it always ready for present use.

Thinking is worthless, only doing. There is a long way from saying to doing. [Italian]²⁴

²¹ For example: 'The Arts are worth nothing, unless insofar as they are pragmatic, and bring together works necessary to life, and most useful in the world of action. Whence all these kinds of pragmatic Arts are to be studied at once for serious use: the remainder of scholastic theory is to be lightly perused, with suave contempt.' 'Acts speak: not things to be done.' ('Nihil valent Artes, nisi quatenus pragmateiai conducere necessarijs vitae operibus, vtilissimisq[ue] Mundi actionibus. Vnde ipsae pragmateiai cuiusq[ue] Artes, statim discendae ad serium vsum: reliquae scholasticae theoriai, leuiter percurrendae, cum suauiter contemptu.' 'Acta loquantur: non agenda.')

²² Guicciardini, *Detti, et fatti*, Folger Shakespeare Library, H.a.2/Annotated Books Online, 18.

²³ 'Non autores, sed artes: Unici studiu[m]. Non Libri, sed scientiae. Non doctrinae, sed facultas. non Libri, sed opera.'

²⁴ 'Tantum scio, quantum recordor: et habeo semper paratum ad praesentem vsum. Il pensare non importa, ma il fare. Dal ditto al fatto, vi et un grantratto.'

Here too, such sentiments are sometimes attached to particular employment possibilities. Harvey quotes John Young, his senior colleague and one-time champion at Cambridge, for whom Spenser worked as secretary when he became bishop of Rochester in 1578. By the sound of it, one of the problems with employing scholars was their excessive zeal for a complete answer to the question set, and their poor understanding of the need for a quick response:

Read this again and again: the goal is not to have the desire to write more, but to accomplish more. [Latin]

Leaue scribling: quoth Rochester: & now indeed to the purpose.

Either you have misled me: or you will make up for your tardiness with gravitas. The discerning man sometimes reaches his judgment late: but never excessively late. [Latin]

So that sharp Bishop to miself, & sum other: whome he thought as sufficiently qualified, as D^r Lewen, D^r Clark, or other fine pragmaticians in y^e Sun.²⁵

In hoping to use his university training in the world of policy and politics, Harvey is very much a man – a scholar – of his times. The late 1580s and 1590s were the years of competition between the earl of Essex and the Cecils to recruit academically trained men, as part of an open power struggle to succeed Lord Burghley as senior adviser to Queen Elizabeth:

The period when Essex was equipping himself with a fully-fledged secretariat was also precisely the time when he attempted to establish himself as the natural successor to Burghley as Elizabeth's leading councillor. Above all, Essex sought to buttress his claims to be a budding statesman by cultivating a leading role in diplomacy and the gathering of foreign intelligence. Both of these spheres of activity were inevitably dependent upon prodigious amounts of paperwork. Essex's political ambitions therefore spawned a very pressing need for additional secretarial support in the mid-1590s.²⁶

²⁵ Guicciardini, *Detti, et fatti*, 118: 'Lege ista saepè, saepiùs: nec opus est plura scripturire, sed plus efficere.' 'Aut me decepisti: aut tarditatem compensabis grauitate. Prudens aliquando serò sapit: nunq[uam] nimis serò.'

²⁶ P. E. J. Hammer, 'The uses of scholarship: The secretariat of Robert Devereux, 2nd earl of Essex, c. 1585–1601', *English Historical Review* 109 (1994): 26–51, at 30; see also P. E. J. Hammer, 'The earl of Essex, Fulke Greville, and the employment of scholars', *Studies in Philology* 91 (1994): 167–80.

The question is, how is this transformation, from reading to doing, brought about? Harvey's answer is repeated and insistent in the margins of his books: 'arte et virtute' (by skill/learning and practical determination).

When we first engaged with the idea of 'reading for use' as the key to Harvey's marginalia, in "Studied for action", and linked it to specific career opportunities in the 1580s and 1590s, we took as our model the secretaries employed by the earl of Essex (emulating his stepfather, the earl of Leicester), in particular Henry Cuffe, formerly professor of Greek at Cambridge. According to a note from Sir Thomas Arundel to Sir Robert Cecil, written after the Essex rebellion, Cuffe's reading activities are referred to explicitly in the trials following the Essex rebellion, as playing an important part in the policy forming and decision-making leading up to it, and Cuffe went to the scaffold on the basis of his involvement:²⁷

This Cuff was sente by my lo: of Essex to reade to my lo: of Southampton in Paris where hee redd Aristotles polyticks to hym wth sutch exposytions as, I doubt, did hym but lyttle good: afterwards hee redd to my lo: of Rutlande.²⁸

The idea that a lone scholar might address his arcane academic training to the cut and thrust of daily political decision-making was an attractive one to us, as it evidently was to ambitious men of the period.²⁹ In 1990 we wrote:

The note suggests that there was a specific category of employee in a noble household such as Essex's: the scholar, retained to 'read' with his employer and his employer's associates ... Was it to Cuffe's line in 'exposytions' that Essex [subsequently attributed] blame, on the grounds that these had led him to believe that his political activities were sanctioned by the authority of classical political texts?³⁰

²⁷ On Cuffe's career see Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Cuffe, Henry (1562/3–1601)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., January 2008. Accessed 25 August 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6865>.

²⁸ Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ashmolean MS. 1729, fol. 190.

²⁹ As Hammer puts it: 'The most distinctive feature of Essex's secretariat was the scholarly nature of its members. All of Essex's secretaries had distinguished academic records. In part, this emphasis upon scholarship must be explained by the example of Essex's stepfather and mentor, the Earl of Leicester. Leicester himself always employed a conspicuously scholarly group of secretaries.' Hammer, 'Uses of scholarship', 42.

³⁰ Jardine and Grafton, "Studied for action", 34, above p. 25.

Using Harvey's *Livy* and its marginalia, we set out to show how a sixteenth-century scholar could deliver a reading that was 'politically aware, that [served] a political purpose, of which the scholar/secretary is apprised, and in which he is actively involved'. Twenty-five years on, when fascinating new documents have come to light concerning Cuffe's purposeful reading with Essex, a little more needs to be said.

In 2012 a bundle of documents in the hand of Henry Howard, who was himself heavily involved in the Essex rebellion, turned up, describing the period leading up to Essex's fall and execution.³¹ These documents add significantly to the picture of the scholarly reader Henry Cuffe's role in the Essex household. He was, Howard makes clear, a troublemaker, a 'seditious boutefeu [inciter of quarrels] whose ambition could not be satisfi[ed]'. Hired as a scholarly reader in 1595, he soon had extensive influence within the Essex circle, and 'his purse [was] never heavier'.³² The theme is familiar from the trial documents (Francis Bacon's *Declaration of the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert Late Earl of Essex* [1601] called Cuffe 'a base fellow by birth, but a great scholar, and indeed a notable traitor by the book, being otherwise of a turbulent and mutinous spirit against all superiors'),³³ but Howard's account dramatically sharpens our focus on 'reader' Cuffe.

During the early months of 1600, Howard recounts, when Essex's household had been disbanded, and Essex himself was held at the Lord Keeper's house, Cuffe inveigled himself into Essex's presence, 'using the colour of access to read' (in other words, using 'reading' as a pretext for gaining access). His purpose was to foster antagonism between Essex and Cecil and to convince Essex that only an armed uprising would allow him to achieve pre-eminence at court. Though the details of his factionalising need not concern us, Howard paints a picture of a man who meddled constantly and was determined to influence the course of political events:

Cuff, hauing in his mynde nothing more then a desir to ground
so desperat a quarrell between the Secretary [Cecil] & my Lord

³¹ Linda Levy Peck first correctly identified these in *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London: HarperCollins, 1982). However, Hammer is the first to have given them proper attention.

³² P. E. J. Hammer, "'Like dropes of cold water caste into the flame": Lord Henry Howard's notes on the fall of the Earl of Essex', in *In Praise of Writing: Early Modern Manuscript Studies*, ed. S. P. Cerasano and Steven W. May (London: British Library, 2012), 70–92, quote at 76.

³³ Francis Bacon, 'A declaration of the practices and treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earl of Essex and his complices, against Her Majesty and her kingdoms', in *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), vol. 2, 245–74, quote at 260.

[Essex] as ther might neuer be any possibilitie of reconsilemente, bicause this Jack Cade had procedid so farr both by opposition and inuectiue against the Secretary as whensoever they should faythfnlly embras he reputid himself absolutlie forlorne.³⁴

Cuffe used all kinds of underhand strategies, including possibly ventriloquising letters from Essex's sister Lady Rich to the queen: '[S]om of theas letter[s] Cuffe himself did penne, others he gave enstruptions and in all he was spiritus mundy to deceive the trewe prophetes.' This 'Jack Cade' – this peasant rebel, as Howard deems him – eventually persuaded the 'trusting' Essex to embark on armed revolt. Cuffe may have started his service as a distinguished professor acting as reader and 'special adviser' to a leading court figure, but he rapidly became deeply embroiled in the realpolitik that ultimately brought about Essex's downfall.³⁵

The repeated references in Harvey's marginal notes to his personal inability to abandon reading and writing for action suggest that when it came down to it, he was no Henry Cuffe. If Nashe's mischievous remarks have any truth at all to them, Harvey's scholarly abilities turned out not to be of the kind required by Leicester's war party: he had a talent neither for extemporising oratory (for diplomacy) nor for pragmatic politics. In the margins of his copy of Joannes Ramus's *Oikonomia, seu dispositio regularum utriusque iuris in locos communes* (Government, or the ordering of the rules of canon and civil law into commonplaces) (1570), which he read closely in 1580 and 1582, Harvey writes, with perhaps a note of bitterness:

Common Lerning, & ye name of A good schollar, was neuer so much contemn'd, and abiectid of princes, Pragmaticals, & common Gallants, as nowadayes; jnsomuch that it necessarily concernith, & importith ye lernid either presently to hate yr books; or actually to insinuate, & enforce themselues, by uery special, & singular propertyes of emploiable, & necessary vse, in all affaires, as well priuate, as publique, amounting to any commodity, ether oeconomical, or politique.³⁶

³⁴ Hammer, 'Like droppes', 78.

³⁵ As Hammer argues, even if Howard's narrative is in large part designed to exonerate himself from blame and reconcile himself with Cecil, the detailed account of Cuffe's direct intervention in Essex's affairs gives us a much clearer picture of him as an ambitious operator than we had previously.

³⁶ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 151. On the title page of Ramus's work Harvey has written: 'Il pensare non jmporta, ma jl fare' (Thinking is worth nothing, only doing).

Such disillusionment at the lack of regard for learning in court circles can surely only have increased in the last, politically toxic years of Elizabeth's reign.

For all his marginal protestations to the contrary, Gabriel Harvey was a man heavily invested in books, a highly talented reader and processor of book-sourced information, and a 'scribbler', committed to putting down on the page the fruits of his book-mediated thoughts. Despite the encouragement of patrons such as the bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas Smith, urging him to 'leauē scribling' and turn himself 'to the purpose', he evidently proved unsuitable as the kind of secretary Leicester and Essex were recruiting to their service.

But perhaps we are missing something. There was one genre to which Harvey was brilliantly qualified to contribute, and which qualified as a work for 'use' – the type of book labelled in the period as a storehouse of *facetiae* or witticisms and *bons mots*. These are, furthermore, the surviving books among Harvey's annotated volumes that he annotated most heavily and repeatedly. A book of aphorisms and witty anecdotes overlaid with its owner's own thoughts and stories, and above all experience, is within a tradition of usefulness with which Harvey was surely more comfortable.

Layer upon layer of polyglot concise observations add practical value (in Elizabethan terms) to Harvey's copies of such handbooks of 'advice for life'. And so it is that we find, finally, Harvey's own lessons added to the already overburdened pages of his Guicciardini. In a darker, more eye-catching ink, in a stronger, more arresting hand, earlier annotations are rendered almost (but not quite) illegible by Harvey's admonitions to trust only to himself, and to beware the cynical times in which he lives.

On page 51 of the *Detti, et fatti*, Harvey's reflections on friendship in public life surround an Italian couplet exhorting:

It is excusable to be deceived by one's friends; But it is reprehensible to let oneself be deceived by one's enemies.³⁷

Decorating the printed text are his own observations: No man will thank you for the knowledge you impart to him ('It is one of the new fashions: Teach him but halfe that you knowe: & he wilbe twice as good a man, as yourself'); those who call themselves your friends will do so only as

³⁷ Guicciardini, *Detti, et fatti*, 51: 'Scusabile lo essere ingannato da gli amici; / ma riprensibile, il lasciarsi ingannare da'nimici.'

long as they need you ('When they need you, excellent frends: when you need them, Ciphers, or shadowes. No performance but excuses, & words like emptie cloudes. Sum wind: but no effect'); it is a world of empty promises ('scitè. Piu Vento, che Valore: humore di questo mondo');³⁸ you can count on nobody but yourself ('Quisq[ue] à seipso dependeat: aut seipsu[m] suspendeat' [He that can not line upon himself, may go hange himself]).

A page earlier there are more friendship aphorisms:

Manie frends for their owne aduantage, or for a fashion. To do you good at your neede, not a frend in a world.

A brother in Law told me in good plaine earnest; when he sawe mee do such, & such things, he would beleuee it. Mie answer was; Bielike you meane to do mee no fauour: & when you ar a Judg, Ile prooue it vnto you. In the meane time Ile rather knowe it miself, then teach it to a frend for his owne aduantage.

On the same page Harvey gives the reader what is possibly his last word on the subject. He reminds us that the lack of support for a man from his background trying to make his way among the nobility extends to lack of financial support. Cuffe got rich from 'reading'; Harvey evidently did not:

It is flatly cum to this point in a prowde, & ingrate world: He that cannot do more shalbe lesse then other. And a base fellow with a little moonie [money], will think himself better man, then you (howsoeuer learned, wise, or valiant) without moonie. The rascalitie of this world.

Extraordinary numbers of books annotated by early readers survive in rare-books collections worldwide. In recent years – in part as a direct result of Tony Grafton's and my "Studied for action" – increasing amounts of attention have been given to these marginal records of reading.

But there are, I suggest in conclusion, clear limits on how close attention to texts and their interlocutory marginalia can inform our understanding of the past, just as there are obvious impediments to men of letters converting their knowledge into pragmatic advice to rulers. There is no unified, consistent individual reader's presence to which access can be gained, nor can we retrieve modes or terms of engagement.

³⁸ 'Most apt. More wind than value: the humour of today's world.'

So much of what happens in the encounter of an individual reader with a specified text happens off the page that most of what we need to know for a rounded and complete account is no longer available to us.

Reading took place in spaces that we cannot fully reconstruct, under visual and aural conditions that we cannot fully know, and to ends that often remain puzzling. It is a matter of not inventing what is between the lines, but of grounding ourselves in the debates to which a given work contributes and judging the likelihood of our annotating reader's comments reflecting more than his (or more rarely, her) limited understanding of its key elements. To a large extent what we discover from marginal annotations is what we knew already, from our conventionally assembled knowledge of sixteenth-century cultural and political contexts. Only rarely will reading marginalia yield genuinely new understanding of a field of early modern knowledge. *Caveat lector.*

It is also important to concede that within the large body of marginal material collected the major part is today permanently opaque to us. As we try to eavesdrop on the dialogue between annotator and printed page, we are left uncomprehending for much of the time, trying to decode comments in areas of knowledge about which we can glean little from surviving published works of the period. One of the tricks of the annotator's trade is to cross-refer from book to book, citing one work in the margins of another, transcribing whole passages from one onto the flyleaf or end pages of another. There is also the matter of the polyglot nature of the project: our scholarly annotators move effortlessly from Latin to the vernaculars, with some Greek thrown in, and the sleuthing students of marginalia have to do their best to follow.

The little that, by following clues such as these, we are able to retrieve and add to the story of historical understanding must be set clearly against the backdrop of what is irretrievably lost. This actually includes most of the period's marginalia – tens of thousands of pages of sixteenth-century writing that have been lost with the books that contained them, or chemically removed from their pages in the days when collectors and librarians wanted only fresh, pristine, unmarked copies.

However, marginalia, studied in depth, are an extraordinary resource, providing the history of reading and of the book with that 'thick description' so beloved of anthropologists. Excavating and explicating them is a task well worth pursuing, with enormous intellectual rewards.³⁹

³⁹ New technology that responds to the special difficulties of working with marginalia is opening up exciting new prospects for research. Already the present chapter has benefitted

I close with one final comment on my annotating hero, Gabriel Harvey. In spite of Harvey's modestly successful career, Thomas Nashe's print character assassination of him as an arrogant, upstart misfit has tended to be accepted as a true portrait by subsequent scholars. This adds a certain piquancy to any study of his marginal annotations. Harvey's marginalisation (so to speak) in the secondary literature, and his conventional characterisation as Spenser's stupider older colleague and an obnoxious social climber, have to be acknowledged. This in turn means that where Harvey crops up in the secondary literature on Elizabethan culture – and he does so remarkably often – this is his persona. We too were initially tempted to represent Harvey as idiosyncratic and atypical – a bit of a crank, and a more likeable version of Nashe's buffoon.

There is nothing buffoonish, however, about the thousands of words preserved in the margins of the surviving books from Harvey's extensive library. The more seriously they are studied, the richer as sources of understanding of the intellectual life of the times they become.

In the end Gabriel Harvey turns out to be rather ordinary, with a particular scholarly skill set that can greatly assist the historian in accessing, and providing a working context for, the works he assiduously studied. What singles him out for posterity is his marginalia. The most unusual thing about him is the survival of such an extraordinary amount of material evidence, so many annotated books in such varied categories, and some draft letters that clarify his reading habits.⁴⁰ Gabriel Harvey's methodical reading, rather than Gabriel Harvey the man, deserves to be preserved and acclaimed.

significantly from being able to make use of the Annotated Books Online project (<http://www.annotatedbooksonline.com>). In 2014 Earle Havens and I were awarded a substantial grant from the Andrew F. Mellon Foundation for a project entitled 'The Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe'. This new digital humanities research initiative is exploring historical reading practices through the lens of manuscript annotations preserved in early printed books, using specially designed digital software [The later history of this enterprise is discussed elsewhere in this volume].

⁴⁰ Although hundreds of volumes from Harvey's large library have certainly been destroyed – ironically because of their heavy annotation, in the days when 'clean' books were judged more valuable – more continue to appear. Most recently, a 'lost' Harvey copy of Castiglione's *The Courtier* in the original Italian has resurfaced in University College London Library. See C. Stamatakis, "'With diligent studie, but sportingly': How Gabriel Harvey read his Castiglione", *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* 5 (2013).

Epilogue: From Moore Smith's *Marginalia* to the archaeology of reading and back

Anthony Grafton

George Charles Moore Smith, who edited *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* in 1913, has not enjoyed a favourable press in recent decades. A century ago, by contrast, he was widely respected as one of the founders of the professional study of English literature in Great Britain. Educated at Tonbridge School and St John's College, Cambridge, where he took a first in the classical tripos in 1881, he studied English philology with Walter Skeat in Cambridge and Julius Zupitza in Berlin. Not finding a fellowship in Cambridge, he wound up as a teacher of English at the newly founded Firth College in Sheffield and remained there as it metamorphosed into Sheffield University College and then into the University of Sheffield. He lived with his sisters in Sheffield and taught until 1924, building up the library, publishing a stream of Latin plays written by members of Cambridge University, editing journals and producing dozens of articles on Elizabethan and Jacobean literature.¹ After his death in 1940, colleagues paid tribute to his energy and erudition, his dedication to his university and discipline and his generosity to his students.²

The preface to Moore Smith's Harvey edition reveals that much of his intellectual life took place in clubby and exclusive circles outside Sheffield. He warmly thanked 'the kind friends who have in different ways and at different times assisted me in my work' – a gallery of still renowned scholars that included R. B. McKerrow, Henry Jackson, J. E. Sandys and J. H. Hessels. His thanks to A. H. Bullen, who printed the

¹ The most up-to-date account appears in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter ODNB) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), s.v. 'Smith, George Charles Moore', by Richard Storer.

² See the notes by C. J. Sisson and G. R. Potter, 'Professor G.C. Moore Smith, F.B.A.' in *Modern Language Review* 36, no. 2 (1941): 244–6; and J. Dover Wilson, 'George Charles Moore Smith, 1858–1940', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 30 (1944): 361–77.

book, hand set on fine paper, at his Shakespeare Head Press in Stratford, were especially eloquent. Bullen, though he published books for a living, was an Oxford-educated classicist and an expert on Elizabethan and Jacobean literature in his own right, who helped McKerrow with his edition of Nashe and did the same for Moore Smith.³ Another friend, the autodidact and polymath Sir Ernest Clarke, former President of Ye Sette of Odd Volumes, gained permission for him to publish notes and facsimiles from Harvey's copy of Speght's *Chaucer* (1598), then in private hands. Bullen's generosity allowed him to add these exciting discoveries to his edition belatedly, even though most of the introduction and text had already been printed.⁴ Though confined to Sheffield in term time – Moore Smith evidently longed for Cambridge, where he spent every Long Vacation – he enjoyed both prestige and privilege in a wider world, as one of the charmed circle of scholars and bibliophiles who made new discoveries every year, so it seemed, about the dates and publications of the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

By the 1960s, however, Moore Smith looked like a clumsy old dinosaur to the young raptors who were entering departments of English. In the mid-1960s, the nature of research in the humanities and the future of the red-brick universities were highly controversial. Traditional English scholarship of the kind Moore Smith had practised served as fuel for the fire. The young critic Philip Hobsbaum encountered Moore Smith's books and papers when he came to Sheffield to write a dissertation under the supervision of William Empson.⁵ A product of Downing College, Cambridge, and the teaching of F. R. Leavis, he regarded Moore Smith as Lucky Jim, in Kingsley Amis's novel, regarded Professor Welch: as a nightmare figure, a monster of minutiae who had had no vision, no thesis, no argument to make about literature. Worse still, for all his productivity, Moore Smith had never attacked an important subject, had never edited the works or written the life of a major writer. In the mid-1960s Hobsbaum devoted an article to attacking Moore Smith as representative of such sterile pedantry, which he entitled, invoking Pope's *Dunciad*, 'Universall dullness: A case-history of marginal scholarship'. Though Hobsbaum did not mention the Harvey edition, it clearly annoyed him. In fact, he took it as emblematic of Moore Smith's work, using the term 'marginalia' as a synonym for trivia: 'There was no limit to the minuteness of the marginalia that engaged Moore Smith.'

³ ODNB, s.v. 'Bullen, Arthur Henry', by Richard Storer.

⁴ G. C. Moore Smith, preface to *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), xii–xiii, vii.

⁵ ODNB, s.v. 'Hobsbaum, Philip Dennis', by William Baker.

Work like his, Hobsbaum fumed, accounted for the dry, impoverished character of all too much traditional scholarship on the humanities: 'He himself, as one of the earliest professors of English, conferred respectability upon an essentially arid academic type; and, in other institutions, chairs were bestowed upon similar figures.'⁶ The master of English had become a warning example of all that Leavis, Empson and their varied disciples hoped to change.

Butchered by a Leavisite, Moore Smith has also angered more up-to-date specialists in those very granular studies that he preferred to pursue. My copy of the *Marginalia* – number 240 of the 750 printed – belonged to Mallie J. Murphy of Washington, DC, who submitted a dissertation on 'The pamphlet: Its development through the seventeenth century' to George Washington University in 1930 and published a note on number 191 of the Rambler in *PMLA* five years later.⁷ Despite her wanderings into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Murphy found Harvey intensely absorbing, as befitted a scholar who also published a query about Edmund Spenser's supposed wife Florence and a note on the sledded Polack in *Hamlet*, both in *Notes and Queries*.⁸ Like Moore Smith himself, she took a special interest in the dates, places and details of Harvey's and Spenser's careers. But she picked many bones with what she saw as his slapdash and disorganised scholarship. She adorned the margins of his long introduction with crisp, legible notes that chastised his vagueness about dates, his unjustified assumptions about Spenser's career ('no authority for this conclusion') and his disorganised presentation of the material: 'One essential of a biography is to give the basic facts. Try to find hurriedly in this sketch when Harvey's Trinity fellowship ended ... This author concluded there's no need to index a 76 p. life' (41). Despite these criticisms, Murphy seems to have made regular use of Moore Smith's book for some time. Evidently she took a serious interest in Harvey. A card labelled 'Tarif' from the Rose and Crown Hotel in Saffron Walden, Harvey's town, is preserved with her copy of the book. It records that a *table d'hôte* dinner cost four shillings and sixpence, and it bears a handwritten note recording that she visited Saffron Walden in

⁶ Philip Hobsbaum, 'Universal dullness: A case-history of marginal scholarship', *Universities Quarterly* 19 (1964–5): 33–40.

⁷ Mallie Murphy, 'The Rambler, No. 191', *PMLA* 50, no. 3 (1935): 926–8.

⁸ Mallie Murphy, 'Florence Spenser (1587)', *Notes and Queries* 196 (1951): 545; Mallie Murphy, 'Hamlet's Sledged Polack', *Notes and Queries*, n.s., 3, no. 12 (1956): 509, where she suggested emending the phrase to 'studded pollax'. See now Julia Maxwell, 'Counter-Reformation versions of Saxo: A new source for Hamlet?', *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004): 518–60.

August 1932, with ‘Nancy’ (Murphy’s quotation marks) and Rosalind.⁹ She was still entering notes in the margins in the 1950s.

True, Moore Smith provided almost two hundred pages of Harvey’s marginalia, letters and other unpublished materials, carefully and correctly transcribed. In his introduction he suggested, not wrongly, that these could ‘illustrate the life, character and opinions of Gabriel Harvey by help of hitherto unpublished material’.¹⁰ He used the marginalia to connect Harvey to the traditions of Renaissance humanism, to tease out his political ambitions and, by collating his reading notes with his other writings, published and unpublished, to establish details about his life – much as the scholars in this volume do. He traced the development of Harvey’s interests, as revealed by the kinds of books he bought: from humanism and rhetoric to learned travel, to mathematics and then to medicine and self-care. He even noted that his protagonist, though a graphomaniac’s graphomaniac, actively disparaged writing itself – a paradox with which more than one of these chapters wrestles.

Yet Moore Smith made no effort to describe, much less to explain, what might have been the central subject of his book: the multiple ways in which Harvey annotated his books. There was a model; decades before, Mark Pattison had included a pioneering history of sixteenth-century humanistic practices in his biography of Isaac Casaubon.¹¹ Moore Smith also showed less interest than one might expect in the content of the marginalia, except when they touched on points of importance for English literature and culture or for a writer’s biography. For example, he paid no attention to the immense impact of Petrus Ramus and his followers on Harvey. Worst of all, he seems never to have worried about the fact that he was tearing Harvey’s notes, often selectively, from their original contexts. In the years around 1900, readers had to consult most library catalogues, to say nothing of library holdings, *in situ*. Many of the richest collections of early modern books were tucked away in inaccessible country houses and almost equally inaccessible academic libraries. Moore Smith and his friends could always depend on their networks to supply information about the text that a set of marginalia came from. If one of them could not manage a trip to London, Oxford or Cambridge, another surely could – and might well provide new information about

⁹ Murphy was still a life member of the Modern Language Association in 1969, when she was thanked for giving \$20 or more to a fund to decorate the association’s new offices. ‘For Members Only’, *PMLA* 84, no. 1 (1969): 148. She died on 9 June 1974 (‘Professional notes and comment’, *PMLA* 90, no. 1 (1975): 146).

¹⁰ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey’s Marginalia*, 1.

¹¹ H. S. Jones, *Intellect and Character in Victorian England: Mark Pattison and the invention of the don* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

books in private hands or on the auction block at one and the same time. But not even a close friend would have transcribed the rich set of symbols and abbreviations that Harvey regularly used – the planetary sign of Mars for warfare, JC for sections about law and the like – or his underlinings, all of which formed meaningful parts of the apparatus that he laid down around so many printed texts. Given Moore Smith's interests, it is not surprising that he neglected these considerations. When Harvey's Chaucer came to light, he found two aspects of it most exciting: its notes proved Harvey's 'openness of mind and freedom from pedantry' and 'had a most important bearing on the date of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*'.¹² Ramus could hardly compete.

Lisa Jardine always saw Harvey's marginalia as the key to his political and cultural projects. She condemned Moore Smith's *Marginalia* and urged students and scholars not to use it. As Matt Symonds points out, she saw it as one of a set of 'compilations, which by merely transcribing the marginal note, ripping it away from its physical relationship to the material text of the reader's copy of the printed book, actively hampered the scholar who wished to understand the intellectual relationship between the text and its reader'. She also regretted Moore Smith's decision not to translate the many Latin notes, which made his edition useless for many readers, especially students who had not had the opportunity to master Latin in school. In some ways, correcting the technical and cultural limitations of this pioneering book did much to shape her whole approach to the subject – and, through the work that she and her Centre for Editing Lives and Letters (CELL) group contributed to the Archaeology of Reading, to the direct experience of Harvey's marginalia now available to readers around the world.

Still, the coin has another side. Historians of reading have drawn rich information about what Harvey found in books and what he did with them, when he bought them and how he made them his own, from close study of the marginalia and the texts they addressed. But we have not always reckoned with the large role of contingency in the survival of Harvey's books, and how larger patterns in the preservation of writing by early moderns have worked out in the realm of annotated books. What Moore Smith described as a volume of marginalia included other materials of a more conventional sort, which have, ironically, been downplayed by subsequent scholars – notably several of Harvey's letters

¹² Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, viii.

in English and Latin. And these shed a light of their own on Harvey's habits as a reader.

Specialists have always emphasised Harvey's classical, literary and scientific reading. In 1869, when Henry Morley began the revaluation of Harvey with an essay in the *Fortnightly Review*, he included a dazzling short account of the notes in Harvey's Quintilian.¹³ Other early editors published his marginalia on Gascoigne and Hoby's *Courtier*.¹⁴ Moore Smith cast his net more widely, though in the same directions. Yet he also published a Latin letter to Harvey from the antiquarian Thomas Hatcher, a learned product of Cambridge and friend of John Stowe.¹⁵ After criticising his friend's failure to appreciate the elegant Latinity of Walter Haddon, Hatcher moved to a new subject, always dear to an antiquarian's heart: a request for the return of one of his books. He put it in perfect antiquarian prose, facts and clauses running in every direction like small animals:

I recall that when you were a longed-for and delightful guest, for a short time, at my little manor at Careby, you asked for an ancient fragment – alas – of Alexander Neckam – for it is his, as I said from Bale – *On Various Questions*, especially [rhetorical ones], copied by me from a very ancient parchment. Now I would like to have it returned, if that will be acceptable to you.¹⁶

Scholars usually describe Harvey – unlike Dee, his companion in the *Archaeology of Reading* – as a reader of printed books. Yet here he appears as an eager student of a medieval English manuscript, interested in information about it provided by the English literary history drawn up by John Bale. We see him here, located not at court or in London but in the best provincial tradition of English antiquarian scholarship – the same tradition that supplied him with some of the genealogies of mixed mathematics discussed in [Chapter 5](#) of this volume.

Did Harvey borrow or buy other manuscripts? In *Pierces Supererogation* he told a revealing story about one of the great book

¹³ Henry Morley, 'Spenser's Hobbino!', *Fortnightly Review*, n.s., 5 (March 1869), repr. as 'Gabriel Harvey' in his *Clement Marot and Other Studies* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1871), vol. 2, 229–47; for Quintilian see 239–40.

¹⁴ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 2.

¹⁵ See *ODNB*, s.v. 'Hatcher, Thomas', by Barrett Beer.

¹⁶ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 217: 'Alexandri Nechamii (ejus enim est, vt ex Balaeo dixi) de variis Quaestionibus, praesertim [rhetoricis] heu vetustum fragmentum, ex antiquissima Membrana a me descriptum, cum esses in Praediolo Carbiensi, optatissimus inprimis et gratissimus Hospes, ad breve tempus, postulasse te memini. Jam illud cupio restitui, si videbitur.' In his reply (217–19), Harvey evaded the question of the Neckam MS.

collectors of his time, Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse. It took place in summer 1577 at the funeral of Sir Thomas Smith in summer:

He once in a scoldes policy, called me Foxe between iest, and earnest: (it was at the funeral of the honorable Sir Thomas Smith, where he preached, and where it pleased my Lady Smith and the co-executours to bestow certaine rare manuscript books vpon me, which he desired): I aunswered him between earnest & iest, I might haply be a Cubb, as I might be vsed: but was over-young to be a Fox, especially in his presence. He smiled, and replyed after his manner with a Chameleons gape, and a very emphaticall nodd of the head.¹⁷

If Harvey's reading was unbound by print, it also ranged over more topics than many scholars have recognised. As Moore Smith also showed, a miscellany in the British Library, Add. MS 36674, contains notes by Harvey on a collection of texts on magic and witchcraft:

This torne booke was found amongst the paper books, & secret writings of Doctor Caius: Master & founder of Caius Colledg. Doctor Legg gaued it to Mr Fletcher, fellowe of the same colledg, & a learned artist for his time.

The best skill, that Mr. Butler physician had in Nigromancie, with Agrippas occulta philosophia: as his coosen Ponder upon his Oathe repeated, seriously intimated vnto mee.¹⁸

Other notes recorded 'Certaine straung Visions, or apparitions, of memorable note. Anno 1567' and 'The visions of S^r Th. S. himself: as is credibly supposed'.¹⁹ Did Harvey know Caius, with his scandalous collection of Catholic church vessels and his belief, taken from Ficino, that drinking the milk of a young woman could restore him to health? Family loyalty, as is well known, compelled Harvey to take an interest in astrology. If his library catalogue survived, would it somewhat resemble that of John Dee? The marginalia alone will never provide all the relevant information that has survived. To gain this sort of information it will be necessary, in the end, not only to search every word transcribed and translated in *Archaeology of Reading*, and to compare the marginalia

¹⁷ Alexander Balloch Grosart, ed., *The Works of Gabriel Harvey, D.C.L.* (London, 1884), vol. 2, 313–14.

¹⁸ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 214–15.

¹⁹ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 215.

published there with the unpublished ones, but also to emulate Moore Smith and bring all of Harvey's materials together – a task for seven maids with seven mops, but also one that cannot be avoided in the long run.

Moore Smith's catholic collection of texts also inspired him to raise some questions that remain hard to answer, for example, that of Harvey's religious views. Common opinion held that Harvey had been a Puritan in a well-known Cambridge mould. Moore Smith thought this completely implausible. He noted that he had only found one 'little story' that indicated any religiousness at all in Harvey. But his own answer was both general and unhistorical. 'In his home', he concluded, 'Harvey used the language of an ordinary Christian ... More than that one cannot say. He was too much a man of the Italian Renaissance to be a very fervent Christian.'²⁰ In this case, a closer look at his own material might have suggested to Moore Smith that he was underestimating, if not Harvey's religiosity, at least his command of early Christian literature.²¹ Listing models for imitation in the margins of his Quintilian, Harvey named a number of exemplary Roman writers. He then mentioned some Christians, whom he described as 'reputed of like worth': 'elegant Lactantius: pithie Augustine: morall Gregorie: sententious Cassiodorus; quick Sidonius; & divers such'.²² Here Harvey showed his acquaintance not only with two of the most influential Latin fathers, Lactantius and Augustine, but also with some of those late antique writers whose strange, complex styles pleased such contemporaries of his as Isaac Casaubon.²³ If Moore Smith had encountered Harvey's copies of Florio and Livy, as Jardine, Sherman and Visser show in this volume, he would have learned from them that Harvey's religious reading included two large and demanding books that were dear to many of his contemporaries: Augustine's *City of God* and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. He referred at length to both of these works in his marginalia to surviving books, though his own copies of Augustine and Foxe, if he owned them, do not survive.²⁴

One annotation in his copy of Livy is particularly striking:

Tertullian is regarded as the most learned of the ancient writers of the church, and outstanding in his knowledge of all history

²⁰ Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 54.

²¹ For further evidence of Harvey's interest in English clerical thought see [Chapters 5 and 6](#) in this volume.

²² Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 117–18.

²³ See Frederic Clark, *The First Pagan Historian: The fortunes of a fraud from antiquity to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

²⁴ For Augustine see [Chapter 6](#) in this volume; for Foxe see [Chapter 3](#).

and antiquities. He often praises certain hidden archives of the Romans and declares that in these also are hidden many things that are essential for the history of the Christian church in particular. There are several memorable passages about those archives of the Romans and tools of supreme power, in the *Apologeticus* to the Romans, in the fourth book against Marcion and elsewhere.²⁵

Harvey's memory did not fail him. The Christian writer Tertullian (d. 220 CE) is no longer a household name, even in very erudite households. Harvey, however, knew his work well – well enough to recall that he had discussed Roman archives and their importance for the history of Christianity in *Apologeticus* 21 and *Adversus Marcionem* 4.7. The casual but precise wording of his textual citations is especially revealing. Evidently Harvey had read his way around the Latin Fathers as well as the classics, pen in hand, and moved from patristic text to text as easily as he moved from Livy to Cicero. Like some of the French jurists he prized – especially François Baudouin and Jean Bodin – he realized that a single Christian text could provide vital evidence for both the history of the Christian church and that of the Roman Empire. More evidence awaits sifting – for example, his copy of Hans Lützelburger's images from the Old Testament, after designs by Hans Holbein, at the Huntington Library.²⁶

The Archaeology of Reading, as Earle Havens and other authors in this volume make clear, is indispensable for any future study of Harvey's way with books and writing of marginalia. But it is necessary, not sufficient, and the same is true of the entire vast corpus of Harvey's marginalia. Annotation, as Sara Miglietti and Earle Havens teach us, was a literary and artistic form in its own right. It could surround a text with useful or provocative material from others, as Jardine showed and as she, Sherman and Visser confirm here. And it could serve as a place for experimentation: both for writing of a distinctive kind, as Miglietti reveals, and

²⁵ Livy, *Romanae historiae principis, decades tres, cum dimidia* [...] (Basel: Herwagen, 1555), Princeton University Library Ex Oversize PA6452.A2 1555q, S4^r: 'Tertullianus, veterum Ecclesiae scriptorium habitus doctissimus, et omnium historiarum antiquitatumque cognitione excellens, saepe laudat recondita quaedam Romanorum ἀρχαῖα, et in ijs latuisse multa quoque ad Ecclesiae Christianae historiam in primis necessaria. Loci sunt nonnulli memorabiles in Apologetico ad Romanos, libro quarto contra Marcionem, et alibi, de illis Romanorum archivis et imperij instrumentis. Notable records, & memorials of State.' Available online with transcription and translation at Archaeology of Reading. Accessed 4 April 2022, <https://archaeologyofreading.org/viewer/#aor/PrincetonPA6452/536r/image>.

²⁶ *The images of the Old Testament, lately expressed, set forthe in Ynglish and Frenche vuith a playn and brief exposition* (Lyon, 1549), Huntington Library 56974.

for drafting sections of future literary works, as Popper demonstrates. The margin was a free and largely private place where Harvey could take a line out for a spin without worrying that he might collapse in public, as he did once at Oxford. But if annotations illuminate Harvey's career and writings, so they in turn illuminate his annotations. Harvey's writing – his poems and his prose, his letter-book and his other letters, his marginalia and his commonplace book – form a magnificent *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a mountain which we may need new tools and techniques – not to mention old ones, like those provided by Moore Smith – to scale.

Somewhere, Lisa Jardine is disagreeing fiercely with every word of this epilogue. The contributors to this volume wish, more than anything, that we could debate this and other points with her.

Appendix: Gabriel Harvey's library of annotated books: An updated bibliography with known locations

Earle Havens

The following short-form bibliography updates, or otherwise confirms, details provided in the last published census of Harvey's annotated books, Virginia Fox Stern's 'Catalogue of Harvey's books', in her *Gabriel Harvey: A Study of His Life, Marginalia, and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 198–243, and her earlier discussion, 'The bibliotheca of Gabriel Harvey', *Renaissance Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 1–62. In addition to Stern's census, this inventory is indebted to the online Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1700 (CELM): <https://celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/HarveyGabriel.html>; and the spadework of Kristof Smeyers, which contributed to our spreadsheet hosted on the Archaeology of Reading in Early Modern Europe website: <https://archaeologyofreading.org/gabriel-harvey-his-library-and-the-aor-corpus/>.

The present census updates, corrects and revises available bibliographical information for each book, including restoration of the original orthography of the printed titles and current locations where they have changed since the appearance in print of Stern's 1979 inventory.

The present census is divided into four sections: (1) 140 imprints bearing Harvey's marginalia whose locations are or have been known; (2) 44 titles that have been associated with Harvey's library through cross references in his marginalia or other external evidence but whose whereabouts are unknown; (3) ten literary manuscripts written by Harvey or otherwise associated with Harvey's library; and (4) nine imprints with marginalia previously attributed to Harvey but that are now considered unlikely to bear Harvey's autograph annotations.

The third and fourth sections follow Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 242–4 and the CELM inventory, though the present census excludes individual autograph letters cited in CELM. The disattributions in section four

are based both on personal examinations of most of the ten volumes in question and on P. J. Croft's review of Stern's census in *Review of English Studies* 32, no. 128 (November 1981): 442–6. In section three, which details titles Harvey cross-referenced but whose locations are now unknown, editions likely to have been owned by Harvey are indicated; in the event of frequently reprinted titles, however, generally only the *editio princeps* is cited for convenience. Where Stern listed some titles under the names of their translators, the present census attributes them to their original authors where known; others insecurely attributed to one or more potential author candidates have been restored to anonymity. Where multiple titles within a single imprint have sometimes been listed as separate titles, they are restored here to a single imprint entry (e.g., Tomaso Porchacchi's *Motti diversi raccolti* appears in the entry for Lodovico Domenichi's *Facetie, motti, et burle*, with which it was originally printed in 1571). Where author names were frequently Latinised, the original vernacular spelling is also provided. As this is a hand-list, and not an exhaustive analytical bibliography, descriptive short titles have been provided; the small number of titles appearing in both Greek and Latin have also been shortened to their Latin titles only.

All titles whose locations are known are provided with specific shelf marks, with the exception of books from private collections and country-house libraries without online public catalogues. Several items in private collections are noted; those that have been sold or donated to institutions since 1979 are indicated either with a relevant auction record or with their current locations and shelf marks within permanent institutional libraries.¹ All available online catalogue records from the relevant holding institutions have been checked, and altered or updated shelf marks duly noted. However, not all institutional copies appear in publicly available catalogues, and those that do may not always mention their Harvey provenance. The far-flung disposition of Harvey's books across dozens of collections in multiple countries has prevented our physical examination of every copy. Privately held books annotated by Harvey not reflected in this census may well have escaped the published scholarship to date, though almost none have appeared in the antiquarian trade in the past century.

¹ Thanks are owed to many who offered generous support to this effort, including Mark Bainbridge, Robert Harding, Arthur and Janet Freeman, Petra Hofmann, Andrea Marzocchi, Seyla Martayan, Liam Sims, Jolyon Stern, Tim Pye, Scott Mandelbrote and Henry Woudhuysen. This research has been supported by research fellowships from All Souls College, Oxford; the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; the Houghton Library, Harvard; Huntington Library; and Princeton University Library.

New research made possible by the study of recently surfaced Harvey annotated books and the Archaeology of Reading online resource may well recommend further additions to section two of this census in the years to come. Although invariably a work in progress, it is hoped that what follows may support further scholarship and aid in the discovery of additional remnants from Harvey's library.

I. Surviving printed books from Gabriel Harvey's library

1. Anonymous. *A mervaylovs discourse vpon the lyfe, deedes and behaiours of Katherine de Medicis Queen Mother*. Heidelberg [i.e., London,] 1575. Cambridge University Library, Adv.e.8.1
2. Anonymous. *Calendarivm Gregorianvm perpetvum*. Antwerp, 1583. National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS 526
3. Anonymous. *De generibvs ebriosorvm, et ebrietate vitanda*. [Frankfurt am Main,] 1565. Balliol College, Oxford, 30 a 185 (2)
4. Anonymous. [Here beginneth a merye iest of a man that was called Howleglas]. London, [1565?]. Bodleian Library, 4° Z. 3 Art. Seld
5. Anonymous. *Institutions, or, principall groundes of the lawes, and statutes of England*. London, [1560]. Library of Congress, KD600. I57 1560
6. Alciato, Andrea. *D. Andreae Alciati iurecons. clariss. ad rescripta principum commentarii: de summa Trinitate*. Lyon, 1532. Bodleian Library, Douce A subt. 75(3)
7. Alciato, Andrea. *D. Andreae Alciati ivurecons. clarissimi de verborvm significatione libri qvatvor*. Lyon, 1530. Bodleian Library, Douce A subt. 75(2)
8. Alciato, Andrea. *D. Andreae Alciati Mediolanensis, ivrisconsvlti clariss. Paradoxorum, ad pratium*. Basel, 1531. Bodleian Library, Douce A subt. 75(1)
9. Alkindus, Jacobus (Al-Kindi). *Alkindvs de temporvm mvtation-ibvs, siue de imbribus*. Paris, 1540. British Library, C.60.o.8
10. Aphthonius of Antioch. *Aphthonii Sophistæ præludia*. Augsburg, 1543. St John's College, Cambridge, Aa.3.30
11. Aristotle. *Aristotelis de arte dicendi libri tres*. Paris, 1549. Holkham Hall, Norfolk
12. Aristotle. *Porphiry of Tyre. Organvm Aristotelis. Porphyrii isagoge*. Paris, 1562. University of Arizona Library, PA3893 .O7 1562

13. Barnaud, Nicholaus. Dialogvs quo mvlta exponvntvr qvæ Lvtheranis et Hvgonotis Gallis accidervnt. Heidelberg, 1573. All Souls College, Oxford, 8:SR63.c.2(1)
14. Beauval, Firmin de; Jollain, Philippe (Blereius). Firmini repertorium de mutatione aeris, tam via astrologica, quam methereologica. Paris, 1539. British Library, C.60.o.9
15. Billerbeg, Franciscus de. Most rare and straunge discourses, of Amurathe the Turkish emperor that nowe is. London, [1584]. Houghton Library, Harvard, EC.H2623.Zz584t
16. Blagrove, John. The mathematical iewel, shewing the making, and most excellent vse of a singuler instrument. London, [1585]. British Library, C.60.o.7
17. Blundeville, Thomas. The foure chiefest offices belonging to horsemanship, that is to saie, the office of the breeder; of the keeper; and of the ferrer. London, 1580. British Library, C.175.i.4
18. Bonetus de Lates (de Lattes). Boneti de Latis Hebraei, medici Provenzalis, annuli astronomici vtilitatum. Paris, 1527. British Library, 533.k.1(1)
19. Bourne, William. A regiment for the sea, containing verie necessarie matters for all sorts of men and trauailers, wherevnto is added an hydrographicall discourse. London, 1592. British Library, C.60.f.8
20. Braunschweig, Hieronymus. A most excellent and perfecte homish apothecarye or homely physic booke for all the grefes and diseases of the bodye. Cologne, 1561. British Library, C.60.o.10.(3)
21. Bruele, Gualtherus. Praxis medicinae theorica, et empirica familiarissima. Antwerp, 1585. British Library, C.60.o.11.(2)
22. B[uchanan], G[eorge]. Ane admonition, direct to the trew lordis mantenaris of the Kingis graces authoritie. London, 1571. British Library, G.5443.(1)
23. Buchanan, George. Ane detectiovn of the duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes, touchand the murder of hir husband, and hir conspiracie, adulterie, and pretended marriage with the erle Bothwell. [London, 1571]. Princeton University Library, 16th-12 RHT
24. Buchanan, George. De Maria Scotorum regina, totâque eius contra regem coniuratione; fœdo cum Bothuelio adulterio. [London, 1571]. Princeton University Library, 16th-11 RHT
25. Castiglione, Baldessare. Il cortegiano del conte Baltassar Castiglione. Venice, 1541. University College London, Castiglione 1541 (2)

26. Castiglione, Baldessare. *The covrtyer of covnt Baldessar Castilio; diuided into foure bookes*. London, 1561. Newberry Library, Vault case Y 712 .C27495
27. Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The workes of our antient and lerned English poet, Geffrey Chavcer*. London, 1598. British Library, Add. MS 42518
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133. Valerius Maximus. *Dictorum factorvmqve memorabilivm exempla*. Paris, 1544. Cambridge University Library, Adv.d.8.1
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143. Agricola, Rudolphus the Elder. *Rodolphi Agricolaë Phrisii, de inuentione dialectica libri tres.* Paris, 1533
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 162. Fills, Robert. The lavves and statutes of Geneua, as well concerning ecclesiastical discipline, as ciuill regiment, with certeine proclamations duly executed, whereby Gods religion is most purelie mainteined. London, 1562
 163. Frontinus, Sextus Julius; Gandini, Marco Antonio. *Strategemi militari di Sesto Giulio Frontino*. Venice, 1574
 164. Galenus, Claudius (Galen). *Liber Galeni de vrinis omnium medicorum facile principis*. Alcalá de Henares, 1553
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Few articles in the humanities have had the impact of Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton's seminal 'Studied for Action' (1990), a study of the reading practices of Elizabethan polymath and prolific annotator Gabriel Harvey. Their excavation of the setting, methods and ambitions of Harvey's encounters with his books ignited the History of Reading, an interdisciplinary field which quickly became one of the most exciting corners of the scholarly cosmos. A generation inspired by the model of Harvey fanned out across the world's libraries and archives, seeking to reveal the many creative, unexpected and curious ways that individuals throughout history responded to texts, and how these interpretations in turn illuminate past worlds.

Three decades on, Harvey's example and Jardine's work remain central to cutting-edge scholarship in the History of Reading. By uniting 'Studied for Action' with published and unpublished studies on Harvey by Jardine, Grafton and the scholars they have influenced, this collection provides a unique lens on the place of marginalia in textual, intellectual and cultural history. The chapters capture subsequent work on Harvey and map the fields opened by Jardine and Grafton's original article, collectively offering a posthumous tribute to Lisa Jardine and an authoritative overview of the History of Reading.

Anthony Grafton is Henry Putnam University Professor of History at Princeton University.

Nicholas Popper is Associate Professor of History at William & Mary, Williamsburg, VA, and Editor of Books at the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture.

William Sherman is Director of the Warburg Institute and Professor of Cultural History in the University of London's School of Advanced Study.

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