

.....

COMPARATIVE TEXTUAL MEDIA

.....

TRANSFORMING THE HUMANITIES IN THE POSTPRINT ERA

N. KATHERINE HAYLES AND JESSICA PRESSMAN, EDITORS

Electronic Mediations, Volume 42



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS
MINNEAPOLIS
LONDON

2013

10

Gilded Monuments: Shakespeare's
Sonnets, Donne's Letters,
and the Mediated Text

Thomas Fulton

TOM STOPPARD AND MARC NORMAN's screenplay *Shakespeare in Love* offers a splendid, though necessarily imaginary, contextualization of Shakespearean sonnetteering. On the stage of Philip Henslowe's Rose Theatre, in the year 1593, Shakespeare directs a rehearsal of an unfinished play that would become *Romeo and Juliet*. The part of Romeo is played by Thomas Kent, who, unbeknownst to Will Shakespeare, is actually the gentlewoman he had fallen for in disguise. Women were, of course, barred from acting on the Elizabethan stage, but Viola de Lesseps has found herself irresistibly smitten with the poetry of the theater, and soon with its greatest practitioner. Viola as Thomas stammers out Romeo's Petrarchan lines about Rosiline in a manner too impassioned for the author and director. Shakespeare interrupts: "No, no, no . . . Don't spend it all at once! *The rehearsal stops.* VIOLA AS THOMAS: Yes, sir. WILL: Do you understand me? VIOLA AS THOMAS: No, sir. WILL: He is speaking about a baggage we never even meet! What will be left in your purse when he meets his Juliet? . . . What will you do in Act Two when he meets the love of his life?" Ironically, Will has met the love of *his* life: she (as Kent as Romeo) is standing right in front of him. Although he remains unconscious of its source or proximity, Will's sudden recognition of this love stirs in him the untimely desire to write a sonnet. He turns to the actor Edward Alleyn, leaving the rehearsal to him: "Ned, I have a sonnet to write." Henslowe, anxious that the playwright finish his contracted work, calls after him, "A sonnet? You mean a play." But Shakespeare runs off to his writer's loft and, with ink-stained

hands, dips a quill into the well and starts writing: "For Lady Viola De Lesseps, by the hand of Thomas Kent." The text, as we learn by Viola-as-Kent's private reading of the unfolded epistle, is the poem now known as Sonnet 18, "Shall I compare thee to a summer's day" (Stoppard and Norman 1998, 56–58).¹

The scene succinctly captures both the complexities of cross-dressing on the Shakespearean stage and the uncertainty in the reception history of this and other sonnets regarding the gender of the addressee (Schoenfeldt 2007, 137; Atkins 2007, 69). As the play within the play wryly suggests, perhaps the poet himself was unsure whether he had been moved by a woman or a man. But the scene also captures a simple fact about literary production in Shakespearean England, which is my immediate interest here: where poetry was not performed orally on the stage, it appeared first and foremost as a handwritten object. Lyric poems often originated as private letters to a specific person, and the name of the addressee would in many cases disappear in subsequent circulation, either by manuscript or print. Sadly, not a single sonnet in Shakespeare's own hand has survived, and if it were not for Francis Meres's gossipy account of contemporary literary culture in 1598, there would be little evidentiary indication that Shakespeare circulated "his sugred Sonnets among his private friends, &c" (Meres 1598, fols. 281v–282r). While most of the sonnets—1–126, as it is generally agreed—appear to be addressed to a young man, we can hardly be certain how each of them originated or when and how the sequence was constructed. Sonnets inspired by one addressee may well be reused for another, as was the case in Spenser's sonnet sequence to his wife, Elizabeth, in the *Amoretti* (1595) (Spenser 1999, 666). Although some parts of Shakespeare's sequence may have been sent in clusters, others bear the marks of originating as singular epistolary sonnets, such as the poem that became Sonnet 26: "To thee I send this written ambassage."²

The integrity of the group is further complicated by the fact that efforts at constructing a coherent sequence fail after 126, after which new addressees, evidently female, emerge. Some of the poems seem to have circulated, though Meres's "private friends" suggest that the verses circulated in tight coterie circuits. This privacy is also supported by the extraordinary paucity of manuscripts: there

are no extant copies of Shakespeare's nondramatic poetry in manuscript that predate the pirated publication of two of his sonnets in 1599 or the edition of 154 sonnets in 1609, which may also have been pirated.³ The small collection of sonnets that appear in later manuscripts—eleven sonnets in twenty separate manuscripts and commonplace books (Marotti 2007, 185–203)—may in some cases have originated from lost Shakespearean copies, or the copies of those copies customarily made by the recipients of Renaissance verse, rather than from the printed text. By comparison, there are thousands of manuscript copies of poetry by Shakespeare's near-contemporary John Donne and over five hundred by Ben Jonson, though few of these in autograph.⁴

Weighing the incomplete evidence of manuscript and print circulation in this period, we are confronted with an unsettling sense of indeterminacy in the qualities of media for early modern writers. If authors wrote for both manuscript and print, what significance did this duality have on the meaning of the texts themselves? As John Guillory has acutely observed, those participating in the shift into print began to understand that “writers who compose for the medium of print will be compelled to argue—or write—*differently*” (Guillory 2010, 326). For those texts that originated as manuscripts, and may or may not have been destined for print, was there some understood change, either in loss or gain, in their eventual remediation? Fundamentally, what was their sense of each medium's capacity to preserve and convey meaning?

Focusing on examples from Shakespeare, Donne, Jonson, and Milton, among others, this chapter investigates ways in which early modern writers represented the efficacy of media in their texts, especially in permanently preserving memory. Texts that openly aspire to literary permanence are particularly interesting in relation to media consciousness because they are often self-conscious about the textual materiality. It is now an axiom often observed in media studies and book history that medium and meaning are inseparable and that the “literary text must be read as a physical object” (Kastan 2001, 4).⁵ What deserves more attention is how much authors relied on this inseparability in their construction of meaning. Literary passages that involve the

material of expression with its contents—what I am terming *mediated texts*—commonly occur when the text's meaning is paradoxically most vulnerable to loss, when the text concerns the preservation of the written word. Such texts also resist remediation, because the meaning attached to the material text cannot be transferred to a new medium without some loss.

Writers worked with a large number of material platforms in the Renaissance, both real and imagined: stone (in epitaphs and monumental inscriptions), glass (in Elizabeth's famous verses written with a diamond), the bark of trees (as in Orlando's carved poems), in the sand (in Spenser's sonnet 75 that claims his verse "shall eternize"), "Upon a pair of gloves" (in lines dubiously attributed to Shakespeare), on erasable writing "tables," such as those in *Hamlet*, and, of course, on the stage and on the page, in both manuscript and print.⁶ Only some of these forms qualify as "media" in the sense proposed by Lisa Gitelman, in which the material of communication conforms to an established system of "cultural practice" (Gitelman 2008, 7),⁷ though the other modes of writing—on bark, for example—could be thought of as sub-medial or even meta-medial because they seem at least partially constructed to reflect the ontological shiftiness of established forms. The near-preoccupation in early modernity with material forms and medial shiftiness seems to derive from the destabilizing shift from an established scribal medium to the mechanized reproduction of print.

In understanding this shift, it is vital to recognize, as many critics of Elizabeth Eisenstein's (1993) influential work have done, that the print revolution did not happen overnight. Even some 125 years after William Caxton introduced print in England in 1476, the scribal production and circulation of texts remained strong, and in certain textual genres, such as lyric poetry, it dominated. This was certainly true of what is arguably (next to the sermon) the "single most important genre of the Renaissance" (Stewart and Wolfe 2004, 10), the letter, because letters would be primarily in handwritten form until the advent of e-mail. In many additional cases, print was the primary medium in neither the text's conception nor its reception. Indeed, poetry frequently did not go into print—if at all—until after the death of the author, as was the

case for the vast majority of the poems by John Donne, Fulke Greville, Andrew Marvell, Katherine Philips, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney, John Suckling, and Thomas Traherne—to name a handful of poets of different genders and social backgrounds. Thus the printing of verse was frequently understood as the sort of thing that *might* be done by one's executors, as a record or memorial thrown together after the fact by someone other than the author—a practice that surely influenced the trope of the printed codex as a tomb. This trope seems to have originated in manuscript lyric verse—frequently playing, as Shakespeare does, on the once homonymic quality of *tome* and *tomb*, words that were sometimes spelled interchangeably (*OED*, s.v. "tome"; Herbert 1949, 235–41).⁸

The concept of being rendered immortal by words goes back to scrolls and perhaps beyond written media. Shakespeare's assertion that he will make his addressee immortal through verse—"Not marble nor the gilded monuments, / Of princes shall outlive this pow'rful rhyme"—echoes a classical and Petrarchan boast that the poem will immortalize its author. The concept in Sonnet 55 occurs in many other sonnets, such as 101, when the poet claims his addressee will "outlive a gilded tomb." Horace had claimed in the *Odes*, "I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze and loftier than the Pyramids' royal pile."⁹ Petrarch spoke in an oration in 1341 upon his coronation as poet laureate of a poet's achieving immortality as "twofold, for it includes both the immortality of the poet's own name, and the immortality of those whom he celebrates" (Petrarch 1955, 307). Although Shakespeare would probably not have known this text, he would have known Petrarch's practice, copied by English sonneteers, of immortalizing his addressee.¹⁰

One of the great puzzles in literary history, especially given Shakespeare's claims to immortality in his sonnets, is that almost half of his plays, with masterpieces like *The Tempest*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Macbeth* among them, might never have been preserved in print had it not been for the work of the publisher Thomas Pavier and the printer William Jaggard in 1623, seven years after the author's death (Kastan and James 2012, 19, 26–29).¹¹ Yet when the First Folio came out, its monumentality was heralded in

the very terms that Shakespeare had used in lyric verse. The use of immortalizing tropes in commemorating Shakespeare's posthumous achievement has had the falsifying effect of suggesting a kind of eternizing intentionality in the authorship tied to the medium of print. This is necessarily a back-formation, and one that might have been less influential had it not been perpetrated by such figures as Ben Jonson and John Milton. In a prefatory poem to Shakespeare's folio, Jonson praises the work of his deceased predecessor: "Thou art a Monument, without a tombe / And art alive still, while thy Booke doth live" (Shakespeare [1623] 1968, 9). Jonson's lines play not only on the terms in Shakespeare's eternizing sonnets but also on the idea that the addressee—here the author of the work—will "live" in the contents of the words: "You live in this" (Sonnet 55).

Milton's commendatory poem to Shakespeare, the poet's first appearance in print, appeared in the Second Folio of Shakespeare's dramatic works in 1632. Although it was an auspicious beginning, Milton's was paradoxically an anonymous entry into the world of print, which still bore something of the social "stigma" once more keenly associated with it (Saunders 1951; Coiro 1992). Playing on Jonson's and Shakespeare's metaphor of the tomb, Milton titled his poem "An Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke Poet, W. SHAKESPEARE," a conceit that draws on the meaning of epitaph as "words written over a tomb." Like other early poems of Milton that pretend to a material function or intervention—the Nativity Ode is to be sent to Jesus, for example, before the Magi get to him; "On Time" is to be set "Upon a Clocke Case, or Dyall"—this poem aspires to replace Shakespeare's actual epitaph, carved in stone over Shakespeare's grave in a church in Stratford-upon-Avon.¹² In seemingly conventional terms, given the frequent reuse of grave sites such as that depicted in *Hamlet*, Shakespeare's epitaph implores visitors in grave humor not to disturb his remains:¹³

GOOD FREND FOR IESUS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOSED HEARE.
BLESTE BE Y^e MAN Y^t SPARES THES STONES,
AND CVRST BE HE Y^t MOVES MY BONES.

Responding to this epitaph and, seemingly, to another epitaph thought to have been written by Shakespeare to Lord Stanley

(Campbell 1999, 96), Milton's epitaph picks up on Shakespeare's "stones" and "bones" in its first lines, which dismiss the value of such material remains and even the stone monuments used to present them:

What neede my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones,
The labour of an Age, in piled stones

Rather than bones or stones, Shakespeare's *book* is a far more lasting tribute: "Thou in our wonder and astonishment / Hast built thy selfe a lasting Monument," one that "make[s] us Marble with too much conceiving, / And so Sepulchur'd in such pompe dost lie / That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die" (Shakespeare 1632, A5r). Milton plays on the homonymic pun in "tomb" and "tome": kings would die to be so memorialized, as they would, perhaps, to have written such a tome. Shakespeare's achievement is so great as to turn an aspiring young poet to stone: it "makes us Marble." The "marble," "monument," and "kings" probably allude to Shakespeare's Sonnet 55: "Not marble nor the gilded monuments / Of princes shall outlive this."

Even when the sonnets appeared in 1609, the eternizing in the verse seemed retroactively reassured by the advent of their print publication. But it was not the author but the publisher who fittingly drew the association between the immortality tropes in the verse and their print remediation, in a famously enigmatic paratext. The dedicatory inscription appears in words that look cut in stone, with dots between the words in Roman lapidary style.¹⁴ It is thus presented as a monument in a different medium, and one, of course, that the book is not: stone. The inscription itself is expressed in a way that makes it seem both from the author and (really) from the publisher, Thomas Thorpe:

TO.THE.ONLIE.BEGETTER.OF.
THESE.INSVING.SONNETS.
M^r. W.H. ALL.HAPPINESS.
AND.THAT.ETERNITIE.
PROMISED.
BY.
OVR.EVER-LIVING.POET.

WISHETH.

THE.WELL-WISHING.

ADVENTVRER.IN.

SETTING.

FORTH.

T.T.

The lines have been the subject of much debate and speculation, mostly over the identity of “the only begetter,” Mr. W. H. The first three lines of this excerpt may, as Honigsmann has suggested, have been part of Shakespeare’s original manuscript dedication to W. H.—possibly William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke (Honigsmann 2010, 93). The next section, beginning “And that eternity promised by our ever-living poet,” would then have been added by T. T. If this is the case, then it seems possible that the abbreviated “Mr.” is part of Shakespeare’s private irreverence, or possibly misread or added by Thorpe. The improbability that the printer would address an Earl as “Mr.” gives some traction to Colin Burrow’s suggestion, “Who He” (Shakespeare 2002, 103). Yet if this gesture of exclusivity were at play, the volume would pay the dubious tribute of immortalizing Anonymous and take the tone of this odd inscription to a level of comic irreverence that seems too far out of line with the production as a whole. It is equally possible that Thorpe had no idea himself who W. H. was; that he merely appropriated the poet’s manuscript dedication and then added a few apologetic “well-wishing” lines as the adventurer riskily setting forth the volume. The strange lines about “our ever-living poet” reinforce the sense that Shakespeare is at some remove from the forces behind the sonnets’ publication. There is no dedicatory epistle by the author, in contrast to the only known authorized printings of Shakespeare’s work, *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), which contain an authorial dedication to the Earl of Southampton, Henrie Wriothesley. The texts of the sonnets are far more problematic than those of these long poems, suggesting the absence of authorial oversight. W. H. may not have wanted the sonnets printed either, because they were not printed again until 1640, when several pronouns are changed to alter the gender of the addressee, which also happened

in manuscript copies (Honigmann 2010, 943; Marotti 1995, 190; see also Orgel 2007, 140).¹⁵

It is easy to understand Shakespeare's sonnet "Not marble" in hindsight, especially with the aid of Milton's retrospective reframing, as a celebration of the printing press, a nod to mechanized print for making possible an author's wish for his subject's immortality. Until the recent advent of digital media, publication in the modern world has been synonymous with print. Few writers in the twentieth or twenty-first centuries would consider their written work to have meaningful circulation on a handwritten sheet of paper, and it has accordingly proven extremely hard to reconstruct the views of early modern writers and readers. In his superb edition of Shakespeare's poems, Burrow reads Shakespeare's claim to overcome mortality through literature as dependent on the media in which the poems are read: print for the author is "something approaching a monument," and manuscript is "an ephemeral epistle" (Shakespeare 2002, 122). In a still more definitive assertion, Lucas Erne (2007, 62) argues that "the hope for the immortality of his verse [is expressed] in ways which by Shakespeare's time had become closely associated with print," but gives no example. This assumption is seriously eroded by the fact that all of these ways of representing immortality derive from classical and Petrarchan antecedents. The assumption is further challenged by the simple fact that many of Shakespeare's contemporaries did not set their poetry into print. In addition, Elizabethan poets expressed the enduring monumentality of their verse on pages that circulated in manuscript.

Our assumptions about print's stability, shaped by five centuries of history, bear little relation to what Shakespeare would have seen or known about the medium. Many of his plays, such as the pirated "Bad Quartos" of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*, were crudely reproduced; some plays, such as *Pericles*, might be considered among the bad quartos if only a good quarto (or folio) had ever been produced. Except for a few debatable cases, such as the second quarto of *Hamlet* (1604), Shakespeare seems to have made little effort to shepherd his plays into print (see Kastan 1999, 33).¹⁶ Nor did he own what was printed in the modern sense that developed after copyright; the plays were not therefore "his" to

put out or to profit from or his to protect from textual corruption (Dutton 1997). The company's profit came from ticket sales, which must partially explain why plays were not printed. When they were printed in his lifetime, they appeared as pamphlets, stab-stitched along the side, without even the structure of the cheapest modern paperback. They were designed to be no less ephemeral than a manuscript, or no more permanent, and a great many have not survived. There exist only two copies of what we know as the first *Hamlet* (1603), on which so many scholarly positions have been staked. Many printed titles have been completely lost to posterity—a few may well be Shakespearean, such as a book called *Love's Labour's Won*, listed in a Stationer's book list from 1603.¹⁷ Bibliographers estimate the survival rate of books printed in the early modern period to be around 60 to 70 percent (McKenzie 2002, 129; Raymond 2003, 165; Willard 1942, 171–90).¹⁸ For printed playbooks, the situation might have been particularly unstable: in addition to their frail materiality, their contents were disparaged by such librarians as Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian, who decreed playbooks to be “riff-raff” and “Baggage books,” not worthy of library preservation, for even if “some little profit might be reaped (which God knows is very little) out of some of our playbooks, the benefit thereof will nothing near countervail the harm that the scandal will bring into the library” (Bodley 1926, 221).

The publication history of Shakespeare's sonnets drives home the degree to which an author had little control over the printing of his work. Two of Shakespeare's sonnets happened to appear in print in a pamphlet purportedly authored by him and titled *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1599), a title that capitalizes on the scene in *Romeo and Juliet* when the two lovers recite a sonnet together, in which Romeo likens himself to a pilgrim visiting a saint's shrine.¹⁹ The printer, William Jaggard, got possession of two of Shakespeare's circulated sonnets, later numbered 138 and 144. Jaggard, who would later help produce the 1623 folio, did not scruple to let merchandizing interests supersede authorial integrity, and Shakespeare's sonnets were highly vendible. He patched the two unprinted sonnets and a few sonnets recited in *Love's Labour's Lost* together with a motley assemblage of non-Shakespearean

poems and peddled them with great success: the first printing sold out, prompting a second in the same year (Shapiro 2005, 214). The two sonnets filched from scribal circulation demonstrate a striking number of textual variations from those published in 1609, especially in what becomes Sonnet 138, "When my love swears that she is made of truth," where some nineteen words in fourteen lines are different. These are essentially two different poems, provoking the question whether Shakespeare revised the text or whether revisions were introduced in the process of copying, a phenomenon of scribal culture that Walter Ong dubbed "participatory poetics" (Ong 1977, 274–79). Often anonymous in circulation, poems changed slightly with each new copyist, who might make aesthetic alterations or repurpose a poem to serve the particular function of its new context. This may also be true of the several versions of Sonnets 2 and 106 that exist in poetic commonplace books as well as a handful of other sonnets whose different wordings from those of the printed version may represent a Shakespearean revision process or the alteration of the author's text through scribal reproduction (see Marotti 2007; Burrow 2007, 147–48; Beal 1980, 452–55; Taylor 1985, 210–46).

Authorship was a loose category, liable not only to the whims of aspiring scribes but also to the vicissitudes of the print market. In addition to its providing shadowy evidence of Shakespeare's lost scribal circulation, the case of *The Passionate Pilgrime* provides an unusual record of authorial indignation against publishers. Thomas Heywood complained in *Apology for Actors* (1612) that his poetry was stolen as padding for the third printing of the volume and that he and Shakespeare were offended by the printer. As Heywood reports of Shakespeare: "the Author I know much offended with M. Iaggard (that altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name" (Heywood 1612, sig. G4v). As Marcy North suggests, the author may well have taken his complaint successfully to the printer, as there are two existing title pages for the third printing of the *Passionate Pilgrim*, one without Shakespeare's name (North 2003, 82–83). The success of this crude, scant, and inauthentic volume lends further credence to the idea that the 1609 edition of Shakespeare's sonnets was unauthorized in the first place and that it was assiduously prevented

from being reprinted (Honigmann 2010, 941–42).²⁰ The volume's success also challenges the common belief, based on the absence of known reprints, that Shakespeare's sonnets were not in demand. Only a handful of his actual sonnets, collected under a title that refers to sonnet making in *Romeo and Juliet*, were enough to sell three print editions.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, therefore, print remained stigmatic, largely ephemeral, and beyond the control of the author. When Shakespeare writes in Sonnet 55 of how his addressee will "pace forth" in the "living record of [his] memory," and that his "praise shall still finde room," he is not, as has been asserted, talking or thinking "of printed matter" (Forrest 1923, 44), nor can it be an expression of confidence about the medium that would eventually carry his words. The language within the sonnets about their materiality refers to them as "written ambassages" in pen on paper. Sonnet 55 is not dreaming about an eventual remediation; its point is that the words will *somehow* survive in cultural memory, despite the ephemerality of the physical medium, whatever medium that might be. The strength of this claim lies not in the technology of production but in the vitality of the expression; the more feeble the technology, the stronger the claim.

Like other expressions of extreme confidence in the sonnets, these lines also testify to the paradoxical coexistence of confidence's inverse. Stephen Booth comments that the lines "Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn / The living record of your memory" evoke just this lack of confidence: "Even as they assert the immortality of the poem these lines remind a reader of the flimsiness and vulnerability of anything written on paper" (Shakespeare 1977, 229; see also Engle 1989, 838). The poem's repeated key word "live," as Helen Vendler has pointed out, in "outLIVE," "LIVING," LIVE," is ingeniously ensconced in "obLIVIOUS" (Shakespeare 1997b, 268). The poem is oddly invested in medium—"marble," "gilded monument," "unswept stone," "masonry" are materials by which words and cultural memory are stored and conveyed. But the sonnet does not specify a medium for its own words—that is, there is no explicit comparison of stone with paper and ink, either from a quill or a press. Instead, it is "these contents"—the immaterial text—in which the addressee will "shine

more bright . . . Than unswept stone, besmeared with sluttish time."

A similar recognition of the instability of the medium, rather than its strength, occurs in Jonson's inscription on a printed book. Jonson inscribed a copy of *Sejanus* (1605) to a friend, "to my noble Friend S^r Robert Townsehend / W^{ch} I desire may remayne wth him, & / last beyond Marble" (Jonson 1947, 8:665). This is no doubt an exaggerated example but one that helps to show how the trope of monumentality is not to be taken too literally. Jonson's claim has little to do with the mechanized reproduction of his text—it might as well have been a unique manuscript text because he refers to a single object with his singular manuscript inscription. Rather sentimentally, monumentality here is used in defiance of the inevitable, to suggest that human memory—even the most fragile—triumphs over matter.

Guillory's (2010) essay on the genesis of the media concept points to a moment in the Renaissance when media awareness was heightened simply because the period was in the midst of a long shift from manuscript to print. "Remediation," he writes, "makes the medium as such *visible*" (324). At the same time, texts nervously took many forms, such as the trees and bark that supply a sort of medium for Orlando:

Hang there, my verse, in witness of my love:
And thou, thrice-crowned queen of night, survey
With thy chaste eye, from thy pale sphere above,
Thy huntress' name that my full life doth sway.
O Rosalind, these trees shall be my books,
And in their barks my thoughts I'll character,
That every eye which in this forest looks,
Shall see thy virtue witness'd every where.
Run, run, Orlando; carve on every tree
The fair, the chaste, and unexpressive she.
(*As You Like It*, 3.2.1–10)²¹

"Bark" recalls the Latin word for bark, *caudex*, or later, *codex*, which meant "bark," "writing tablet," and "book." Sonnets hung like leaves in trees or carved in bark possess a meaning that will last as long as such material does in the natural world: leaves,

like the "yellow leaves" of Sonnet 73, "or none, or few" which "hang / Upon those boughs" (3-4), poems hung in trees are prone to fall off and crumble; words carved in bark will die with the tree. This image occurs famously in Sidney's *Arcadia* and in Mary Wroth's *Urania*, which represents the material poetic text in a variety of states and locations, including verses held by a disembodied white hand within a fountain (Rodgers, forthcoming). The various material representations of lyric reinforce the degree to which a poem's expression may be as fragile, and as susceptible to corruption, as the stuff of which it is made.

Shakespeare's contemporary John Donne provides a useful comparison. Like most other early modern poetry, the vast majority of Donne's literary corpus circulated exclusively in manuscript: three of his poems were printed while he lived, while more than five thousand manuscript poems survive (Wolfe 2006, 121). Yet only one of his English poems survives in original holograph—providing one truly authentic text (Stringer 2011, 12-25). This astonishing statistic is even more astonishing in that the one autograph manuscript was among the most recent to surface: discovered in 1970, the poem now sits in the Bodleian Library (MS.eng.poet.d.197) (Barker 2003, 7-14).²² This unique poetic manuscript, the "Letter to the Lady Carey" (or Carew, as he writes it), reveals a great deal about the differences between the communicative function performed by the printed version and by the original, handwritten text. Like so many lyric poems in the Renaissance, it originates as a letter, probably bundled within a packet of other letters. It is written from Amiens, France, where Donne met his friend Sir Robert Rich, brother to Lady Carey and Mistress Essex Rich, the sisters addressed in the poem, and daughters of Robert Lord Rich and Penelope Devereaux (the "Stella" of Sir Philip Sidney). These are indeed rich people, and Donne's patronage poem, possibly solicited by Robert as a favor to his sisters back in England, is in the humanist vein of instruction through flattery mixed with Donne's edgy satiric trademark. As Herbert Grierson wrote of Donne's poems to noble ladies, "scholastic theology is made the instrument of courtly compliment and pious flirtation" (Donne 1912, I, xx). In this case, the tensions between Protestant and Catholic theology structure the poem's efforts at flattery and instruction.

Many of the crucial details of the poem's original performance are entirely lost when it is set in print—the lines separating stanzas; the unusual nature of the author's punctuation, far more extensive and more nuanced than the scribal or printed versions; and even the folding of the paper into a pinned and addressed enclosure that must be unwrapped before read. Indeed, Donne carefully designed the poem to fit on the page—presumably by drafting it on a folded sheet with the same dimensions—in such a way as to create the sense that he had to end the poem where he did, though he wanted to say more about Lady Carey's sister. Because of the way it is folded and addressed, the poem needed to end on the center fold, which it does precisely. As Peter Stallybrass observes,

this was presumably to give the complimentary impression that he wanted to go on forever—and indeed, when he turns to the second sister, Essex Rich, at line 48, the end of the poem is visibly present. But Donne imagines the effect of putting mirrors at the end of a long gallery so as to double its length: “So I should giue thys letter length, and say / That w[hi]ch I sayd of yow.” But this has to be “inough to testify / My true Deuotion” for the simple material reason that he has filled up all the available space, given that he needs the “fourth page,” made by his first fold, for the address and the outside of the package. (Stallybrass n.d.)

These paratextual details are lost even when the poem is copied and circulated because the punctuation and even the phrasing often changed. In this case, evidence suggests that Donne, rather than Lady Carey, circulated additional copies (Donne 2008, 713; Gardner 1972, 3).

Writers took great care in selecting the paper on which to compose a letter or a poem to another person. An expensive patron deserved expensive paper—perhaps even more expensive than the recommended “whitest, finest, and smoothest paper” ([Clement] 1587, D.ij.v; cited from Stewart 2008, 43) that was largely imported from France. The most startling of the unique features of this autograph poem are the gilded edges of the manuscript page, which prove important to the imagery of the text itself.

Donne has been praising the virtue and faith in his addressee in terms inflected by the religious differences between England and France. Although he writes from a place where many saints are invoked, Donne begins by directing his humble devotion only to her. Referring to the Catholic practice of selling indulgences, Donne writes that "Pardons are in thys Market cheaply sold" and that, unlike the Protestant stress on faith over works, "faith" is held "in too low degree" (9-10). He then turns to praise her "by faith alone" (12) in a long set of metaphors that contrast inward and outward value in more classical terms: she is "a firmament / Of virtues. . . . They're your materials, not your ornament" (13-15). This comparison of inward worth and outward value returns to the historic religious register, first criticizing the Roman Catholic monastic efforts at finding "virtue in melancholy," and then turns to extremists who find virtue in a form of zealous anger:

spirituall Cholerique Chriqs [critics], w^{ch} in all
Religions, find faults, and forgiue no fall,
Haue, though thys Zeale, vertu, but in theyr Gall.

These choleric religious critics finding fault in "all religions" perhaps refers to the zealous Puritans, who have virtue but in "gall"—a term connoting both the source of choler and ink.

Donne finds the right balance of virtue between these polarities of hermetic melancholy and austere zeal in the stanza that continues,

we're thus but parcel-gilt; To Gold we're growen
when vertu ys our Soules Complexione;
who knows hys virtues Name, or Place, hath none.

The "we" of "we're" connotes the "virtue" associated by contrast with the English Church and the poet and his addressee. The nature of their virtue is one metaphorically likened to a gold-edged object that can grow into solid "Gold." Several puns seem to be operating at once in the description of the speaker and his audience as "parcel-gilt": "guilt," which follows from "forgive no fall," or simply "partly gilded, esp. on the inner surface only" (*OED*). But

then there is the sense, deriving from the gilt edges of the paper on which it is written, that this meditation on virtue, which uses the metaphor of "gilt," is itself a "parcel-gilt" or a gilt parcel. Donne employs a complex intermedial pun in the original that would be obscured by the printed version and, indeed, by subsequent copies. Donne's "parcel-gilt" reinforces at once the ephemerality of the medium and the special, intimate singularity of his communication with Lady Carey—only she would understand the meaning of a poem written on this paper, because this poem *is* the gilt parcel, and the "we," therefore, connotes the singular relationship of a poet and his addressee. Preserved on a single, fragile quarto sheet of paper, there was little chance that this particular message in this form would reach posterity, to be found, as it was in 1970, among a pile of unrelated papers, the only poem actually written by Donne to have survived. Donne uses gilt paper in at least two other known cases: one, a letter written at about the same time as the verse poem to Carey that has the same watermark, and another, shown in Plate 10.1, that was written in August 1614.²³

TURNING BACK to the fictitious reconstruction that began this essay, let us indulge the possibility that manuscripts of one or two of Shakespeare's sonnets might someday be found, and furthermore, that these would be the eternizing sonnets now numbered 55 and 101. These sonnets use imagery similar to Donne's—"Gilded monuments" and "gilded tombs"—and like Donne's rediscovered gilt parcel, they, too, have gilded edges. Admittedly, this is on one level a preposterous indulgence of the imagination because we stand little chance of finding such a thing. Yet it is useful as a way of thinking through the realities of what we do and do not know about the meaning of a Renaissance text as it appeared in its original medium and how that medium controls its meaning. Whether Shakespeare was punning on the material qualities of the paper that held his "gilded monuments" (or "monument," as it first, presumably mistakenly, appears in print, since the rhyme is with "these contents") is for these purposes less important than what is easily alterable about a poem by a simple material, extratextual change. If Shakespeare, like Donne, is punning on the paper he uses to carry his message, this would reinforce a

sense, perhaps already in the printed version, of the fragility of its extraordinary claim. It also ironically reinforces the sense effected in Donne's use of the pun in his poem to Lady Carey that there is something singularly personal in their communication, which only they share, that cannot hope to transcend time even if the poem itself does in some form. Thus it is a performance, like that recounted metatheatrically in Prospero's speech in *The Tempest*, "our revels now are ended," in which the "great globe itself"—punning on the theater that holds the performance—will eventually, with all the other stage props recounted, vanish "into thin air" (4.1.148–153). This, too, is a self-referential moment, in which the artist calls attention to the temporality of the medium carrying the message it holds. As Samuel Johnson wrote of Shakespeare's propensity to pun, which he called "quibble," "he follows it at all adventures, it is sure to lead him out of his way, and sure to engulf him in the mire.... A quibble was to him the fatal *Cleopatra* for which he lost the world, and was content to lose it" (Johnson 1765, xxiii–xxiv).

The first step in indulging this question is to explode the well-established idea that Shakespeare necessarily was thinking of the permanence of print rather than the ephemerality of manuscript when he likened his poems to monuments and tombs. This is an understandable simplification, but one that does more damage than good in illuminating the complexly different qualities, both at times ephemeral, of these medial forms in the sixteenth century. It seems more correct to say that there is an ironic, even defiant interplay between "contents" and the "monuments" carrying them than an expression of confidence in any particular medial form. If anything, it was the print publication of Shakespeare's works in 1609, 1623, and 1632 that began to solidify, retroactively, this distinction, and it seems to have happened as much or more by way of printers (the most obvious proponents of print) than of writers. It is worth recalling that the classical writers who were Shakespeare's ultimate source for the eternizing use of "monument" wrote on scrolls, and Petrarch, the progenitor of this humanist art form, on manuscript leaves assembled into a codex. While the tropes on "tomb" and "monument" often appear in printed verse, they also appear in manuscript. Spenser uses the trope in a

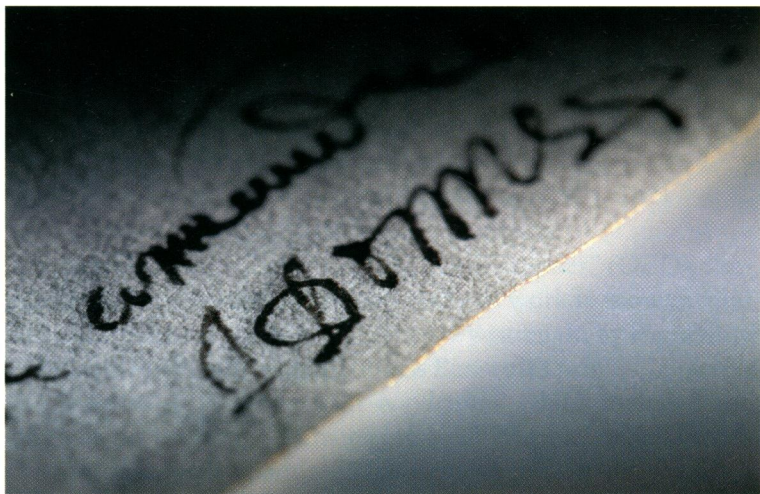


PLATE 10.1. Autograph letter signed from John Donne, London, to Sir Robert More, Loseley, 1614 August 10, showing Donne's signature and the gilt paper. Reproduced by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

patronage sonnet to Lord Charles Howard, member of the Privy Council, which is attached with many others to *The Faerie Queene*:

Thy praises euerlasting monument
Is in this verse engrauen semblably,
That it may liue to all posterity. (Spenser 1977, 742)

"Engraven semblably," or "similarly, in like manner" (*OED*), suggests that the verse strives metaphorically to work in monumental materials such as stone or metal that are written on by engraving. A similar effect is achieved in Thomas Bancroft's printed "Epitaph on Mistresse Anne Roberts of Naylston," which included the marginal gloss "White Characters in black Marble" to help readers imagine "*these Letters, which her worth containe*" as written on black marble: her life as "white, without black vices staine" (Bancroft 1639, B4v).

The material of the text is also alive in a poem attributed to Sir John Salusbury, poet and patron of poets (*Loves Martyr*, printed in 1601 and containing Shakespeare's "The Phoenix and the Turtle," is dedicated to him) (Erne 2007, 60). The poem records an argument in love that becomes memorialized in verse:

Then write thy Censure with thy prettie hand,
I will obay the sentence of thy minde,
And grave the same in table faire to stand;
So that, ensuing age the same may finde:
For monument in goulden letters wrought,
To whet with sight the accents of my thought.²⁴

Salusbury plays with a multiplicity of writing materials: the special erasable table or tablet such as that in *Hamlet*, perhaps the last of the materials that can be engraved. He refers also to "goulden letters," which would have been familiar from many monumental and manuscript contexts, though the image of a "monument in golden letters wrought" is tantalizingly close to that of Shakespeare's "gilded monument."²⁵

Donne uses eternizing tropes in his manuscript poem "A Valediction: Of the Book," in ways that reinforce the sense that these

tropes were not tied to mechanized print. The poem raises the question of how history of their love will live on through the written word. Donne asks how his beloved might “anger Destiny,” and “out-endure / Sibyl’s glory” (2, 5–6). His answer is to “Study our manuscripts” (10), and from these will come a book “as long-lived as the elements,” “an all-gravèd tome” (19–20). “Tome” is spelled “tomb” in at least four different manuscript witnesses and one print (Donne 2008, 270).

Donne’s most famous statement concerning the value of manuscript over print occurs in a Latin poem written to a friend whose children had torn apart a printed book he lent them, and the friend had the book copied by a scribe and returned to Donne. Donne reflects at considerable length at the superiority of the manuscript: “Those the presses give birth to in damp labour are accepted, / But those handwritten are more to be revered”:

The book which goes on shelves abandoned to book-worms
and ashes
If coloured only with the blood of the press,
Let it come written with a pen, is reverently received,
And flies to the principal bookcase of ancient fathers. (Donne
2008, 118–19; ll. 1–8)

But if images of “monuments” and “tombs” were used to speak of scribal as well as printed objects, how often were these objects gilded? Would this pun, in other words, have been readily available to Shakespeare? And would he have been prone to use such a pun? Certainly tropes that derive from the material of composition were common: to “write with gall” (Sharpe 1610, line 4), for example, from the oak gall used in making ink, seems to have been a particular favorite. Donne is surely punning on the “gall” of the ink of “choleric critics” (ll. 28–30). Shakespeare uses this pun on ink frequently, as when Sir Toby Belch urges Sir Andrew Aguecheek to have “gall enough in thy ink” (*Twelfth Night*, 3.2.47). Shakespeare also refers to and puns on the materiality of writing in other texts and sonnets (Stewart 2008, 48). In Sonnet 73, he writes of a withering expressive vitality:

That time of year thou mayst in me behold,
 When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
 Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,
 Bare ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang. (ll. 1-4.)

The imagery operates on several levels: a speaker in an autumnal mood, in which the bare ruined choirs, evocative in part of the monastic ruins that littered the English countryside after the Reformation, once possessed a voice that is now lost. Yet, especially with the original spelling, "quiers" (or "quires") also connotes the gathering of manuscript leaves that would comprise a writer's verses. The mixed metaphoric images of the ruined "quires" and the "yellow leaves" on boughs of trees where "sweet birds sang" work together to suggest that the poet is also talking about yellow "papers," as he had written in Sonnet 17, "yellowed with their age" (17.9).²⁶ (The ultimate source here is probably Petrarch's punning image of "scattered leaves" in Sonnet 333.) In Sonnet 78, Shakespeare puns on the materials of writing in "Feathers" (7), which builds on his comment on "every alien pen"—*pen* derives from the Latin *penna*, "feather."

How much might the edging of single manuscript leaves similarly inflect the meaning of the verse? Gilt paper seems to have been used with some frequency. It is figured in the opening scene of *Henry VIII*, in which Norfolk describes among the lavish accouterments of the ceremonial meeting of the French and English courts at the Field of Cloth and Gold, "their dwarfish pages were / As cherubims, all gilt" (1.1.22-23).²⁷ Henry Woudhuysen's study of scribal culture finds gilt paper among the records of raw materials. One bookseller's record book registers a "substantial trade in writing-materials" that includes "ink, three lots of ordinary paper and royal paper, [and] one lot of 'gilt paper.'" Another preserved record shows the purchase from a stationer of "a paire of vellum leaves... & gilding them" (Munby 1954, 302-6; Larmine 1990, 194, 231, 233, 252; quoted in Woudhuysen 1996, 47). Sir John Harrington created a presentation copy of *Orlando Furioso* with a gilt binding and gilded leaves (Woudhuysen 1996, 108). Donne also uses blue-edged paper, in a letter to his brother-in-law Sir Robert More of July 28, 1614, about the arrival of Christian

IV of Denmark. The letter recounts Donne's frustration with the court, and he seems to pun on the blue-edged paper in an offhand comment about the starched colors that were popular then in English ruffs: "Others think he [the Danish king] came to correct our enormity of yellow bands, by presentinge as many, as blew."²⁸ It is not clear—beyond perhaps Donne's pun on his own blue band—how blue functions, but "yellow bands" here signifies a sudden fashion of yellow-dyed ruffs, which soon became controversial when Anne Turner, the inventor of this fashion, was tried for involvement in the plot to murder Thomas Overbury. Letters also circulated on paper edged in green.²⁹ In addition to these papers edged in blue, green, and gold, black-edged paper was used in letters of mourning, and here the connection between the edging and the contents is most clear.

It seems possible that Shakespeare also wrote on gilt "dwarfish pages" (or quarto sheets) when he speaks of "gilded monuments" and "gilded tombs." These are both peculiar phrases because neither monuments nor tombs themselves would be entirely gilded. Part of the negative resonance of "gilt" is that it is merely a veneer, not gold through and through. Indeed, the history of the use of these phrases suggests that they are virtually always metaphorical and—in the case of "gilded monuments," at least—Shakespearean in origin. Keyword searches in two major databases, Literature Online (LION) and Early English Books Online (EEBO), suggest that the phrases are fairly rare. "Gilded tomb" or "tombs" first appears in print in a pirated work of Michael Drayton in 1594, which reappeared two years later as *The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy*, where it is used, as in Shakespeare, in a figurative sense describing not that which is real but that which the addressee and the poem are not: a grand something encasing a grim nothing.³⁰ Drayton, a fellow sonneteer, might have seen Shakespeare's sonnet before this date, and at around this date, the phrase occurs in *The Merchant of Venice*, where it is used in the short poem that accompanies the gold casket, in terms that recall the folding of paper: "gilded tombs do worms enfold." The handful of uses that follow—six in poetry, six in drama, and five in prose (including Heywood's [1612] *Apology for Actors*)—all come after Shakespeare and either plainly or likely bear his influence. The rarer combination "gilded"—or "gilded"—"monument" seems

entirely Shakespearean; it was borrowed once by John Webster for the "Funeral Elegy," written in 1613 for Henry, Prince of Wales, and then not used again until it reappeared in modern references to Shakespeare.³¹ The image of the monument itself being gilded, rather than the letters on the monument, seems to be original to Shakespeare.

Though we can only guess at the particular levels of punning in Shakespeare's gilt monuments and tombs, a pattern emerges in other similar poems where we do have the materials, or sufficient record of them, in which writers employ the matter of the medium to effect their meaning. This happens repeatedly in texts expressing literary immortality, in which they simultaneously pun on the text's own materiality or imagined materiality: engraved in stone, written on a table, written in gold letters, or written in the lapidary style used in stone. Always figurative, this medial self-referentiality tropes on the materiality of writing in ways that ironically reflect the immateriality of the message.

In the historical span covered by the lives of England's most prominent early modern writers, Shakespeare (1564–1616) and Milton (1608–74), the form of the material text underwent a shift from the manuscript toward the printed object as a viable, stable, and reputable medium for words. Yet the continued presence of two dominant media forms mandates a comparative, multimedia approach to the literature of this period. In Tudor England, print remained an untrusted medium, beyond the control of the author with regard to the text (books belonged to the printer and publisher and not to the author) and with regard to readership (there was still a discernible "stigma of print" in the seventeenth century). For much of the poetic and dramatic literature of the period, rather than being the principal medium of communication, print often represented an insufficient record of a once authentic communication. In addition to the social stigma of print, there was still a sense suggested by frequent practice that print was what dead people did rather than the living. Such was the case with the aristocratic poet John Suckling, whose poetry was published by Humphrey Moseley after his death in a memorial publication published "by a friend to perpetuate his memory" (Suckling 1945, title page). The volume includes a portrait of Suckling, which presents him as a bust on a plinth in a manner suggestive of his passing.

When Milton put his poems into print in the same year, he seems to have been motivated by a desire to counteract and even erase the stigma that pamphlet printing had already produced (Corns 1982; Coiro 1992). He also chose Humphrey Moseley, a reputable publisher, who used the same engraver to create a living bust (a rarer thing) of Milton (Milton 1645, a3r-a3v). Here Milton finally acknowledged "On Shakespeare" (as it would now be called), printed anonymously thirteen years before. In addition to the desire to reshape his public persona from a "divorcer" to a respected poet, Milton's motivation to publish his manuscript poems may have derived from the extraordinary claims for the possibilities of print in *Areopagitica*, printed in late November 1644 (Coiro 1992, 261-89). Though *Areopagitica* has often been read as a tract concerned with political and religious freedom, it is first and foremost about the liberty of printing, a "SPEECH," as the title page claims it, of "Mr. JOHN MILTON For the Liberty of UNLICENC'D PRINTING, To the PARLAMENT of ENGLAND" (Dobranski 1995, 131-52; Hoxby 2002, 25-52; Loewenstein 2002, 152-91).³² But it is also a defense, directed to authors, of the medium of print itself, a term that appears in different forms twenty-three times in some forty pages. In this context, Milton invokes the now well-worn trope of a text as tomb in a way that suggests that print is the medium by which the living spirit of an author might be preserved: "Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them. . . . They do preserve as in a violll the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. . . . A good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life" (Milton 1953, 2:492-93). Milton's description is not just of books as they are but as they ought to be seen: a repository of words composed by, and controlled by, living authors.

Fourteen years after Milton died, publisher Jacob Tonson put out a splendid folio edition of *Paradise Lost* (Milton 1688). Tonson, publisher of famous living English writers such as Addison, Pope, and Dryden, repackaged Milton's epic after it had been out of print for some ten years in a way that helped establish it permanently in the literary canon. Just as Jonson, and later Milton, had commemorated the immortal achievement of their elder contemporary in the folios of Shakespeare, here, under the portrait

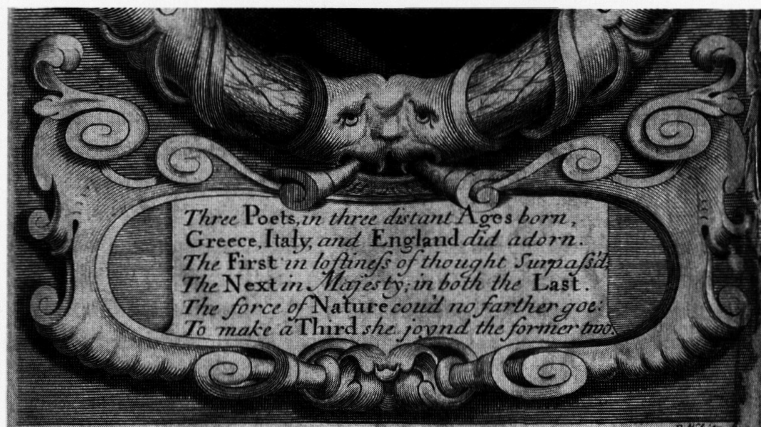


FIGURE 10.1. John Milton, *Paradise Lost: A Poem in Twelve Books*, the fourth edition, adorned with sculptures (London, 1688), detail of frontispiece portrait.

frontispiece, on what is made to look like a stone engraving (see Figure 10.1), lies a powerful endorsement from England's poet laureate, John Dryden:

Three Poets, in three distant Ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn

The conceit of Dryden's epitaphic poem is that the reader has come across this tome (or tomb) in a distant future age, distant enough as to place England in the same historical category as the Rome of Virgil and the Greece of Homer. In suggesting that Milton equals the combined strength of Homer and Virgil, Dryden is also claiming that England has earned a place as the third great civilization of the West: Greece, Italy, and now England. And yet, even while Dryden claims a permanence of this expression, he is doing so on a medium (stone) foreign to the poem itself and in a way that ironically depends on the survival of the material on which it is made. The meaning is mediated by the imagined material form. Dryden's poem is designed to convey its complete meaning only as appears on this imagined monumental inscription. Like Donne's gilt parcel, the poem defies remediation. Even as he gestures toward immortality, the poet registers his dependence on a medium that is temporal and impermanent.

NOTES

For timely and indispensable advice, I am grateful to Richard Brantley, Julie Eckerle, Margaretta Fulton, Thomas Herron, Daniel Starza Smith, and especially Peter Stallybrass and Heather Wolfe. I also thank Rosalind Diaz for outstanding research assistance and critical intervention.

- 1 The scene showing the disguised de Lesseps reading was added in the film.
- 2 All citations to Shakespeare's sonnets are to Booth's edition (Shakespeare 1977), which has a facsimile of the 1609 edition on the facing page.
- 3 The argument for the unauthorized printing of the sonnets is convincingly made by Honigmann (2010, 941–42; see also Marotti 2007, 187).
- 4 See the entries on Donne and Jonson in Beal (1980, 245, 250–58, 262–55; also Beal 1999, 122–26). On scribal culture, see Beal (1998), Ezell (1999, 1–60), Love (1998), Marotti (1995), Woudhuysen (1996), and Wolfe (2006).
- 5 See also Jessica Brantley, chapter 9 in this volume.
- 6 On erasable tables, see Stallybrass et al. (2004); for the attribution history of the glove poem, see Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen in Shakespeare (2007, 436–37). *Amoretti* 75.1, 11 is in Spenser (1993, 617). See also Fleming's (2001) work on graffiti.
- 7 See also Brantley (chapter 9) and Gitelman (chapter 8) in this volume.
- 8 As Herbert points out, Donne puns on *tome* as *tomb* in "Valediction: Of the Book," in "this all-graved tome," where "tome" appeared as "tomb" in the 1669 printed edition of his verse.
- 9 Horace, *Odes* III. xxx, ll. 1–8; quoted in Shakespeare (1977, 227). Booth also cites Ovid's *Metamorphoses* XV, 871–79. See Engle (1989, 832–43).
- 10 See esp. Sonnet 333 in the *Canzoniere*, which contains images of the stone tomb of Laura, the "scattered leaves" of the poet, and his claim that she lives in this: "alive, and now immortalized" (Petrarch 1985, 74).
- 11 For a thoughtful reconstruction of the work of Heminge and Condell, see Honigmann (2010, 937–51).
- 12 On Milton's poems and their manuscript circulation, see Fulton (2010, esp. 15–37). Milton's "On Time" appears with such instructions in Bodleian MS Ashmole 36/37, f. 22, and in Milton's own manuscript collection. See Milton (1945, 1:395).

- 13 For evidence of Shakespeare's authorship and notes on the epitaph, see Duncan-Jones and Woudhuysen in Shakespeare (2007, 462–65). The will of Dorothy Calthorpe specifies the creation of just such a gravestone: "I would have a marble stone of 10 pounds laid upon my grave with my Coat of Armes cutt upon it and buried where no body ever was either in Church or Chancell with my name on the stone and this engraven with it: I troubled no mans dust: Lett others be to me as just." Public Record Office National Archives, PROB 11/417. I am grateful to Julie Eckerle for drawing this to my attention.
- 14 For illustrated examples of this kind of inscription, see Keppie (1991).
- 15 For an argument that the 1609 printing was authorized, see Duncan-Jones (1983, 151–71).
- 16 For a discussion of the authorial status of the second quarto of *Hamlet* and other plays, see Erne (2003); see also the summary in Erne (2007, 54–69).
- 17 The title is also in Meres (1598). See Baldwin (1957, 21).
- 18 For further discussion, see Fulton (2010, 15–30).
- 19 The title page of the first edition is lost; it probably appeared in 1598 or 99; the date and title of the second printing are used here.
- 20 On the popularity of the printed sonnets, see Erne (2007, 60).
- 21 Unless otherwise noted, this and subsequent quotations from Shakespeare's plays are from Shakespeare (1997a).
- 22 On other patronage poems on single leaves that survive, see Woudhuysen (1996, 92).
- 23 The later letter is Folger L.b.539; it has a different watermark and originated from a different source than Folger L.b.535, which uses the same paper as Bodleian MS.eng.poet.d.197. Folger MS L.b.535 has now a virtually unrecognizable gilt edge, but there is earlier documentation of it. Laetitia Yeandle (2000, 81) wrote that "the paper is gilt-edged on all four sides but not now continuously, probably because the slightly wavy edges were trimmed when the letter was repaired." Earlier reports in the Folger files indicate a gilt edge.
- 24 On the attribution debate, see Brown (1914, xlii–xiv, 57); a version of the sonnet is found in Parry (1597); the sonnet may be a joint composition.
- 25 "An Epiphallamy" for James Fortery and Mary Forterie is written in different colored inks, among them gold. Beinecke Osborne MS 17867, New Haven, Conn.
- 26 As Burrow points out, "Q's 'quiens' may also distantly suggest 'quires' of paper, a sense activated both by 'yellow leaves' in l. 2 (cf. 17.9) and by the disparaging remarks on Shakespeare's own works with which

- the previous sonnet ends" (Shakespeare 2002, 526, note to 73.4).
- 27 As Gordon McMullan notes, this is "generally held to be a Shakespeare scene," rather than by Fletcher (Shakespeare 2000, 212; citation from this edition).
 - 28 John Donne to Robert More, July 28, 1614, Folger L.b.537, in Donne (2005, 97). Alistair Bellamy (2002, 159) has shown the explosion of the fashion of the yellow ruff. I am grateful to Jan Purnis for her insights on this passage.
 - 29 These are from Mr [George] Garrard to Conway, SP 16/329/45, SP 16/415/65 and SP 16/469/45. Here I benefit from conversation with Daniel Starza Smith and from the third chapter of his dissertation and forthcoming book (Smith 2011, forthcoming).
 - 30 "VVhat are the rest but painted Imagrie, / Domb Idols made to fill vp idle roomes, / But gaudie Anticks, sports of foolerie, / But fleshly Coffins, goodly gilded toombs" (Drayton 1596, Stanza 81, ll. 1-4).
 - 31 The search was conducted in April 2012, when LION claimed "350,000 literary works in the English language—343,000 works of poetry, 5000 dramatic works, and 2000 prose works." Both "gilded" and "guilded" were used, with alternate forms and spellings, with a LION count totaling six in poetry, six in drama, and one in prose, and in EEBO a few different hits added one play, one poem, and four prose works.
 - 32 On the significance of the title page, see Blum (1988, 85).

REFERENCES

- Atkins, Carl D., ed. 2007. *Shakespeare's Sonnets with Three Hundred Years of Commentary*. Danvers, Mass.: Rosemont.
- Baldwin, T. W. 1957. *Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Won*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Bancroft, Thomas. 1639. *Two Bookes of Epigrammes, and Epitaphs*. London: Printed by J. Okes, for Matthew Walbancke.
- Barker, Nicolas. 2003. "Donne's 'Letter to the Lady Carey and Mrs. Essex Riche,'" in *Form and Meaning in the History of the Book: Selected Essays*, 7-14. London: British Library.
- Beal, Peter. 1980. *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*. Vol. 1, 1450-1625, Part 1. London: Mansell.
- . 1998. *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and Their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1999. "John Donne and the Circulation of Manuscripts." In *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4, edited by

- John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, 122–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bellamy, Alistair. 2002. *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blum, Abbe. 1988. "The Author's Authority: *Areopagitica* and the Labor of Licensing." In *Re-membering Milton: Essays on the Texts and Traditions*, edited by Mary Nyquist and Margaret W. Ferguson, 74–96. London: Methuen.
- Bodley, Thomas. 1926. *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James First Keeper of the Bodleian Library*. Edited by G. W. Wheeler. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Brown, Carleton, ed. 1914. *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*. London: Early English Text Society/K. Paul, Trench, Trübner.
- Burrow, Colin. 2007. "Editing the Sonnets." In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets*, edited by Michael Schoenfeldt, 145–62. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Campbell, Gordon. 1999. "Shakespeare and the Youth of Milton." *Milton Quarterly* 33, no. 4: 95–105.
- [Clement, Francis]. 1587. *The Petie Schole with an English Orthographie*. London: Thomas Vautrollier.
- Coiro, Ann Baynes. 1992. "Milton and Class Identity." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 22:261–89.
- Corns, Thomas N. 1982. "Milton's Quest for Respectability." *Modern Language Review* 77, no. 4: 769–79.
- Dobranski, Stephen. 1995. "Letter and Spirit in Milton's *Areopagitica*." *Milton Studies* 32:131–52.
- Donne, John. 1912. *The Poems of John Donne*. 2 vols. Edited by Herbert Grierson. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 2005. *John Donne's Marriage Letters in the Folger Shakespeare Library*. Edited by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlieu, and Dennis Flynn. Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library.
- . 2008. *Complete Poems of John Donne*. Edited by Robin Robbins. London: Longman.
- Drayton, Michael. 1596. *The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy*. London: Ia. Roberts for N. L[ing].
- Duncan-Jones, Katherine. 1983. "Was the 1609 Shakespeare's Sonnets Really Unauthorized?" *Review of English Studies* 34:151–71.
- Dutton, Richard. 1997. "The Birth of the Author." In *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, edited by C. Brown and A. Marotti, 153–78. New York: Macmillan.

- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. 1993. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Engle, Lars. 1989. "Afloat in Thick Deeps: Shakespeare's Sonnets on Certainty." *PMLA* 104, no. 5: 832-43.
- Erne, Lucas. 2003. *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2007. "Print and Manuscript." In *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Poetry*, edited by Patrick Cheney, 54-71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ezell, Margaret. 1999. *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Fleming, Juliet. 2001. *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Forrest, H. T. S. 1923. *The Five Authors of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. London: Chapman and Dodd.
- Fulton, Thomas. 2010. *Historical Milton: Manuscript, Print, and Political Culture in Revolutionary England*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Gardner, Helen. 1972. *John Donne's Holograph of "A Letter to the Lady Carey and Mrs Essex Riche."* London: Scholar Mansell.
- Gitelman, Lisa. 2008. *Always Already New*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Guillory, John. 2010. "Genesis of the Media Concept." *Critical Inquiry* 36:321-62.
- Herbert, T. Walter. 1949. "Shakespeare's Word-Play on *Tombe*." *Modern Language Notes* 64, no. 4: 235-41.
- Heywood, Thomas. 1612. *Apology for Actors*. London: Printed by Nicholas Okes.
- Honigsmann, E. A. J. 2010. "How Happy Was Shakespeare with the Printed Versions of His Plays?" *Modern Language Review* 105, no. 4: 937-51.
- Hoxby, Blair. 2002. *Mammon's Music: Literature and Economics in the Age of Milton*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Johnson, Samuel. 1765. *Mr. Johnson's Preface to His Edition of Shakespeare's Plays*. London: printed for J. and R. Tonson et al.
- Jonson, Ben. 1925-53. *Ben Jonson*. 11 vols. Edited by C. H. Herford Percy and Evelyn Simpson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kastan, David Scott. 1999. *Shakespeare after Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- . 2001. *Shakespeare and the Book*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kastan, David Scott, and Kathryn James. 2012. *Remembering Shakespeare*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

- Keppie, Lawrence. 1991. *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*. London: B. T. Batsford.
- Larmine, V. M., ed. 1990. *The Undergraduate Account Book of John and Richard Newdigate, 1618–1621*, in Camden Society, *Camden Miscellany* 39, 149–269.
- Loewenstein, Joseph. 2002. *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Love, Harold. 1998. *The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. 2nd ed. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Marotti, Arthur F. 1995. *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- . 2007. "Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Manuscript Circulation of Texts in Early Modern England." In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets*, edited by Michael Schoenfeldt, 185–203. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- McKenzie, D. F. 2002. *Making Meaning: Printers of the Mind and Other Essays*. Edited by Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Meres, Francis. 1598. *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury*. London: printed by P. Short, for Cuthbert Burbie.
- Milton, John. 1645. *Poems of Mr. John Milton both English and Latin, compos'd at several times*. London: Humphrey Moseley.
- . 1688. *Paradise Lost*. London: Jacob Tonson.
- . 1945. *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile*. 4 vols. Edited by Harris Fletcher. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- . 1953–82. *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*. 8 vols. Edited by Don M. Wolfe et al. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Munby, A. N. L. 1954. "Fragment of a Bookseller's Day-Book of 1622." *The Book Collector* 3:302–6.
- North, Marcy L. 2003. *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor–Stuart England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ong, Walter. 1977. *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Orgel, Stephen. 2007. "Mr. Who He?" In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets*, edited by Michael Schoenfeldt, 137–44. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Parry, Robert. 1597. *Sinetes Passions*. London: printed by T[homas] P[urfoot] for William Holme.
- Petrarch, Francesco. 1955. "Coronation Oration." Translated by E. H.

- Wilkins. In *Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch*, 300–13. Cambridge, Mass: Mediaeval Academy of America.
- . 1985. *Selections from the Canzoniere and Other Works*. Edited by Mark Musa. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Raymond, Joad. 2003. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rodgers, Sarah. Forthcoming. "Embedded Poetry and Coterie Readers in Mary Wroth's *Urania*." *Studies in Philology*.
- Saunders, J. W. 1951. "The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry." *Essays in Criticism* 1:139–64.
- Schoenfeldt, Michael. 2007. "The Sonnets." In *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Poetry*, edited by Patrick Cheney, 125–43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shakespeare, William. 1632. *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*. London: printed by Tho. Cotes for Robert Allot.
- . (1623) 1968. *The First Folio of Shakespeare*. Facsimile edition prepared by Charlton Hinman. New York: W. W. Norton.
- . 1977. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Edited by Stephen Booth. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- . 1997a. *Riverside Shakespeare*. 2nd ed. Edited by G. Blakemore Evans et al. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- . 1997b. *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Edited by Helen Vendler. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- . 2000. *King Henry VIII (All Is True)*. Arden third series. Edited by Gordon McMullan. London: Thomson Learning.
- . 2002. *Complete Sonnets and Poems*. Edited by Colin Burrow. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2007. *Shakespeare's Poems*. Edited by Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen. London: Arden.
- Shapiro, James. 2005. *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Sharpe, Roger. 1610. "To the Reader." In *More Fooles Yet*. London: printed [by T. Purfoot] for Thomas Castleton.
- Smith, Daniel Starza. 2011. "John Donne and the Conway Papers." PhD diss., University College London.
- . Forthcoming. *John Donne and the Conway Papers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Spenser, Edmund. 1977. *The Faerie Queene*. Edited by A. C. Hamilton. London: Longman.
- . 1993. *Edmund Spenser's Poetry*. Edited by Hugh Maclean and Ann Lake Prescott. New York: W. W. Norton.

- . 1999. *The Shorter Poems*. Edited by Richard A. McCabe. London: Penguin.
- Stallybrass, Peter, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe. 2004. "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55, no. 4: 279–419.
- . n.d. "John Donne's Holograph Letter/Poem, 'A Letter to the Lady Carey.'" Unpublished manuscript.
- Stewart, Alan. 2008. *Shakespeare's Letters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stewart, Alan, and Heather Wolfe. 2004. *Letterwriting in Renaissance England*. Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library.
- Stoppard, Tom, and Marc Norman. 1998. *Shakespeare in Love*. New York: Hyperion.
- Stringer, Gary A. 2011. "The Composition and Dissemination of Donne's Writings." In *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne*, edited by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester, 13–25. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Suckling, John. 1945. *Fragmenta Aurea*. London: Humphrey Moseley.
- Taylor, Gary. 1985. "Some Manuscripts of Shakespeare's Sonnets." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 68:210–46.
- Willard, O. M. 1942. "The Survival of English Books Printed before 1640: A Theory and Some Illustrations." *The Library* 23, 4th series, no. 4: 171–90.
- Wolfe, Heather. 2006. "Manuscripts in Early Modern England." In *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature*, edited by Donna B. Hamilton, 114–35. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Woudhuysen, H. 1996. *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yeandle, Laetitia. 2000. "Watermarks as Evidence for Dating and Authenticity in John Donne and Ben Franklin." In *Puzzles in Paper: Concepts in Historical Watermarks*, edited by Daniel W. Mosser, Michael Saffle, and Ernest W. Sullivan II, 81–92. London: Oak Knoll Press.