



OXFORD

Liber amicorum
H. R. WOULDHUYSEN

A Bibliographical Tribute

EDITED BY
DANIEL STARZA SMITH & HAZEL WILKINSON

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
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Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2024937041

ISBN 9780192871855

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780192871855.001.0001

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Cover image: *Petworth House: The White Library, with Bookshelves and a Rococo Pier-Glass, and Several
Figures*, 1827, J. M. W. Turner. Gouache and watercolour on paper, 139 mm × 194 mm. Tate, accepted by the
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To be read with diligent studie, but sportingly.

Gabriel Harvey

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xvii
<i>Note on the Text</i>	xxi
<i>Foreword</i>	xxii
Introduction	1
<i>Daniel Starza Smith and Hazel Wilkinson</i>	
1. ‘Cum magna sollicitudine’: Passion, exegesis, and verse in John Grimestone’s notebook	16
<i>Ardis Butterfield</i>	
2. Reading and rhyming in the Black Friars	45
<i>Susan Brigden</i>	
3. Hermits and their meanings: Performing retirement at the Elizabethan court	81
<i>Helen Hackett</i>	
4. Porcupine or pig? Sidney’s role in the Nashe–Harvey quarrel	103
<i>Andrew Hadfield</i>	
5. ‘Now am I in Arden: the more fool I’: <i>Love’s Labour’s Won</i> and the Arden 3 Series	125
<i>Emma Smith</i>	
6. Mediating Shakespeare: Thirteen ways of looking at editorial agency	145
<i>Lukas Erne</i>	
7. Sir John Spilman and the London rag-gatherers	166
<i>Heather Wolfe</i>	
8. Foxe’s <i>Acts and Monuments</i> as pocket devotional: Clement Cotton’s <i>Mirror of Martyrs</i> (1613), a seventeenth-century bestseller	189
<i>Michael F. Suarez, S.J.</i>	

viii CONTENTS

9. Pope's Worms <i>Kate Bennett</i>	202
10. The assiduous reader: Thomas Green of Ipswich (1769–1825) <i>Stephen Clarke</i>	229
11. 'How I would alter things!': The manuscript of <i>The Ring and the Book</i> <i>Daniel Karlin</i>	249
12. Editing Boswell's <i>Life of Johnson</i> : A nineteenth-century case study <i>Rosemary Ashton</i>	272
<i>List of Works Cited</i>	290
<i>Index</i>	311

Acknowledgements

Publication of this volume was supported by a grant from Lincoln College, Oxford, which paid for image reproductions and permissions, and administrative and editorial assistance. We are grateful to Susan Harrison and Alex Spain for facilitating this grant, and to Patricia Cripps for helping us administer it. Rebekah Andrew worked tirelessly to secure and organize the volume's images, and provided invaluable help at various points in the editorial process.

In dedicating a book to Henry Woudhuysen, it is our privilege to thank Lincoln College, both as an institution of learning and a fellowship of people. We wish to name a select number of Henry's colleagues on behalf of the whole college, beginning with the Senior Tutor, Lydia Matthews, and her predecessor Louise Durning, on behalf of the college office. David Hills and Nigel Emptage both served as Sub-Rector during Henry's tenure, and represent the college's vibrant academic fellowship from senior professors and supernumerary fellows to junior research fellows and visiting scholars. In the college's beautiful library we thank Lucy Matheson and Sarah Cusk. Lincoln College is famed for its hospitality: on behalf of the college's outstanding catering staff, we thank Richard Malloy and Tony Daly. As college chaplain, the Rev. Dr Andrew Shamel welcomes people to Lincoln's chapel, a place of solace and inspiration, and home to the college's talented choir. Michelle McCartney, as Domestic Operations Manager, represents the domestic bursary and all those who ensure the day-to-day running of the college. As lodge manager, Joe Tripkovic manages the team of porters who ensure that any visitor to the college is warmly welcomed. For many years, generous funding from Michael Zilkha has enriched the college's intellectual life, allowing fellows to pursue their professional and cultural interests in ways that make them better scholars and teachers. At the heart of Lincoln College are its students, each of whom will have had their experience shaped by Henry's caring oversight of their progress. Lincoln's students retain strong ties to the institution after they graduate, and our volume reflects the vibrant community of alumni who represent the future of the college. We would like to thank Adrian and Donna Goddard for their support of this project.

Under Henry's Rectorship, Lincoln College fostered a number of professional connections that have become lasting personal relationships. The friendships of Geri Della Rocca de Candal, Stefan Enchelmaier, Eleanor Giraud, Barbara Havelkova, Peter McCullough, Timothy Michael, Jane Mitchell, and Otto Saumarez Smith underlie much of the thinking behind the volume, and we thank them and their families. The insightful intellectual advice and endless compassion of Melanie Marshall, college chaplain from 2014 to 2017, is well known to our dedicatee. We are grateful to Mel (with Mark, Clement, and Ursula) for her important interventions as the volume took form.

The other institution that lies firmly behind our volume is the English Department of University College London, where the editors met while pursuing PhD research under Henry's supervision. On behalf of the many friends and colleagues we all share there, past and present, we thank Stephen Cadywold, Paul Davis, Philip Horne, Susan Irvine, Eric Langley, Kathy Metzenthin, John Mullan, Alison Shell, and Chris Stamatakis. The scholarship of Peter Beal at the Institute of English Studies, University of London transformed the field of English manuscript studies with which Henry is so closely associated. We learned the sad news of his passing as this book went to press, and pay tribute here to his extraordinary learning and generosity.

The editors of and contributors to this volume have been repeated beneficiaries of the Woudhuysen family's intelligence, kindness, generosity, and friendship. This volume would never have gained momentum without Deborah Woudhuysen's approval and encouragement, and we have turned to her wisdom and good judgement at multiple points through the editorial process. The Woudhuysen family has also grown in this period: Isaac was born to George and Katie in 2021, and Daniel was born to Ed and Chloe in 2023.

The world moved at quite a pace between our first notions for this collection and its realization, creating a rather meandering path between its conception and completion. Most of our contributors wrote their essays during the Covid-19 pandemic and we are grateful to them for their determination as well as their brilliance—not to mention their forbearance when our own progress ground to a halt as we dealt with other important matters. Lara was born to Hazel and Will in 2020, and Theodora to Daniel and Emily in 2022.

Colleagues at Oxford University Press were quick to express their excitement about this volume, and we are delighted to be publishing with a press which has such long-standing associations with our dedicatee. Jacqueline Norton, Ellie Collins, Karen Wraith, Jamie Mortimer and, in the production

stages, Raja Dharmaraj have been unstintingly supportive. We thank the two anonymous peer reviewers for their thoughtful comments.

Our final thanks go to Henry Woudhuysen himself. We hope that this volume is a fitting tribute to the patient guidance and encouragement he has offered to its editors, contributors, and many others over the years. It is an honour to present him with this *liber amicorum*, a book of friends for a friend to books.

List of Illustrations

- Figures 1.1–1.13: *Preaching-book of John of Grimestone, a Franciscan friar from Norfolk*, National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.18.7.21, ff. 116^r–122^f. 24
- Figure 2.1: *A Map of Tudor London: England's Greatest City in 1520*, ed. Caroline Barron and Vanessa Harding, reproduced with permission from *Historic Towns Trust*. 46
- Figure 2.2: *The Vaux Passional*, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 482, f. ix^r. 57
- Figures 2.3a and 2.3b: *Thys prymer off salysburye vse* (Paris: Thylynd [Thielman] Kerver, 1533), British Library, C.35.a.13, ff. ccxlv–ccxli^f. 61
- Figure 2.4: Design for a Metalwork Cover and Casket, c. 1537. The British Museum, London, SL, 5308.8. 64
- Figure 2.5: 'Piers Plowman Governance of England; Proverbial collection', Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MS Digby 145, f. 1^v. Reproduced courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries. 68
- Figure 2.6: 'Roman d'Alexandre', Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, MS Bodley 264, f. 1^r. Reproduced courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries. 71
- Figure 2.7: *Book of Hours (Horae: ad Usum Sarum (Sailsbury))*, Cambridge University Library, Inc. 4. J. 1. 2, f. 86^f. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. 74
- Figure 2.8 *The Vaux Passional*, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 482, ff. lxxix^v–lxxx^f. 79
- Figure 3.1: Inscription on Sir Philip Sidney, extracts from the *Old Arcadia*, British Library, Additional MS 41498. 83
- Figure 4.1: 'The picture of Gabriell Harvey, as hee is readie to let fly upon Ajax', from Gabriel Harvey, *Have With You To Saffron Walden* (1596), Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 18369 copy 2 (F4^r). 110
- Figure 4.2a: Title page of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, Folger Shakespeare Library, H.b.1 (236) [online Digital Image File Name: 31842; Source Call Number: STC 22540 copy 1]. 122

- Figure 4.2b: Detail from the title page of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, Folger Shakespeare Library, H.b.1 (236) [online Digital Image File Name: 31842; Source Call Number: STC 22540 copy 1]. 123
- Figure 5.1: Title page of William Shakespeare, *A Pleasant Conceited Comedie Called, Loues labors lost* (Q1, 1598). The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, HM 69326. 134
- Figure 6.1: William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* (Q2, 1599), sig. E4^v. Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny, Geneva, Switzerland. Digitized by the Bodmer Lab, University of Geneva. Reproduced under Creative Commons License BY-NC 4.0. 151
- Figure 6.2: *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (First Folio, London, 1623), sig. aa6^r. Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny, Geneva, Switzerland. Digitized by the Bodmer Lab, University of Geneva. Reproduced under Creative Commons License BY-NC 4.0. 153
- Figures 7.1: Watermark attributed to John Spilman: large crowned gartered royal arms. British Library, Lansdowne MS 53, f. 201 168
- Figure 7.2: Watermark attributed to John Spilman: small crowned gartered royal arms. British Library, Lansdowne MS 158, f. 126. 169
- Figure 7.3: Watermark attributed to John Spilman: crowned ER cypher. British Library, Lansdowne MS 53, f. 74. 170
- Figure 7.4: Watermark attributed to John Spilman: crowned Tudor rose. British Library, Lansdowne MS 53, f. 193. 171
- Figure 7.5: Watermark attributed to John Spilman: crowned portcullis. British Library, Add MS 48027, f. 476. 172
- Figure 7.6: Moll Hackabout, dressed in fine clothes, is beating hemp, used for making rope, with a mallet, in a prison with other inmates who are mostly sex workers. Engraving by William Hogarth, 1732. The Wellcome Collection. Reference: 38227i. Part of *A Harlot's Progress*. 175
- Figure 9.1: Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad: An heroic poem. In three books* (1728), sig. B2^r. Bodleian Libraries, Dunston B 1463. Reproduced courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries. 203
- Figure 9.2: *Mr. Pope's worms: to the ingenious Mr. Moore*, author of the celebrated worm powder, n.d. Bodleian

- Libraries, (W) Harding Mus. G.O. 30 (4). Reproduced courtesy of the Bodleian Libraries. 221
- Figure 9.3: Richard Waller, illustration of the tapeworm dissected by Edward Tyson in 1683. Royal College of Physicians, London, Tyson album, MS 618, f. 9. © Royal College of Physicians. 226
- Figure 9.4: Michael Burgher’s engraving of *Lumbricus Latus* (the tapeworm), in Edward Tyson, ‘*Lumbricus Latus, or a Discourse read before the Royal Society of the Joynted Worm*’, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 146 (10 April 1683), Tabs. 1 and 2. 227
- Figure 10.1: Title page of Thomas Green, *Extracts from the Diary of a Lover of Literature* (Ipswich, 1810). Reproduced from copy in contributor’s collection. 232
- Figure 10.2. *Thomas Green, Esqr. of Ipswich*: frontispiece portrait to *A Memoir of Thomas Green, Esquire, of Ipswich* (Ipswich, 1825). Reproduced from copy in contributor’s collection. 233
- Figure 11.1: *The Ring and the Book*, vol. 2, British Library, Add. MS 43486, f. 230. 255
- Figure 11.2: *The Ring and the Book*, vol. 2, British Library, Add. MS 43486, f. 123. 257
- Figure 11.3: *The Ring and the Book*, vol. 2, British Library, Add. MS 43486, f. 124. 258

List of Abbreviations

Add.	Additional
Arden	The Arden Shakespeare: second series (Arden 2) and third series (Arden 3)
Bod.	The Bodleian Libraries, Oxford
BL	The British Library, London
<i>BLR</i>	<i>Bodleian Library Record</i>
BM	The British Museum, London
BMM	Bethlem Museum of the Mind, Beckenham
CELM	The Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts
CSPSp	Calendar of State Papers, Spain
CUL	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
<i>EBLJ</i>	<i>Electronic British Library Journal</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Essays in Criticism</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>EMLS</i>	<i>Early Modern Literary Studies</i>
<i>EMS</i>	<i>English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700</i>
ESRO	East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office, Brighton
Folger	The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC
<i>GM</i>	<i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i>
Huntington	The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, London
<i>LP</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547</i> , eds J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library, London
<i>MaRDIE</i>	<i>Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
MS	Manuscript
NCS	The New Cambridge Shakespeare
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
Norton	The Norton Shakespeare: third series (Norton 3)
NOS	The New Oxford Shakespeare
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes & Queries</i>
n.s.	new series
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>PBSA</i>	<i>Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America</i>
<i>PCC</i>	<i>Prerogative Court of Canterbury</i>
RSC	Royal Shakespeare Company

UTQ	<i>University of Toronto Quarterly</i>
REED	<i>Records of Early English Drama</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
SEL	<i>Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900</i>
SHC	Surrey History Centre, Woking
SQ	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
TLS	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
YES	<i>Yearbook of English Studies</i>
YWES	<i>The Year's Work in English Studies</i>

List of Contributors

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Kate Bennett has research interests in early modern biography, early modern collecting, Alexander Pope's correspondence, the work of John Aubrey, and the history of the anecdote. She read English at Merton College, Oxford, and took her DPhil in 1994. She held a Junior Research Fellowship and a British Academy Postdoctoral fellowship at Christ Church, after which she was a Fellow in English at Pembroke College, Cambridge. After a break she returned to Oxford and for nine years taught English at Magdalen College. She has been a member of the Centre for the Study of the Renaissance at Warwick University, a research fellow of New College, and she is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 2015 her two-volume edition of John Aubrey's *Brief Lives* was published, which was awarded the British Academy's Rose Mary Crawshay Prize, and was a *TLS* book of the year. She is currently writing a biography of John Aubrey.

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in the Later Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Alastair Minnis (Cambridge University Press, 2023). She is currently completing an edition of medieval English lyrics for Norton, and a book on medieval song: *Medieval Songlines*, along with work on untranslatability and medieval global multilingualism.

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Helen Hackett is Professor of English Literature at University College London, where she has taught for more than thirty years. She was previously at the University of Oxford. Helen has always been fascinated by how women were represented in early modern literature, with a particular interest in images of Elizabeth I. She was at the vanguard of the rediscovery of women writers of the period, especially Lady Mary Wroth, and has published extensively on Shakespeare, especially *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Her other interests include early modern Catholic writing (especially the Aston-Thimelby circle), intercultural exchanges, and intersections between the visual

arts and literature. Helen's seven books include *Shakespeare and Elizabeth: The Meeting of Two Myths* (2009), *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (2000), and *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (1995). Her most recent book, *The Elizabethan Mind* (2022), draws on a wide range of primary sources to investigate the many competing ideas about the mind that co-existed in the late sixteenth century. It argues that tempestuous debates about how the mind related to the body, the soul, and the self were catalysts for the extraordinary literary creativity of Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

Andrew Hadfield, FBA, is Professor of English at the University of Sussex, and a visiting professor at the University of Granada. His many works on Medieval and Renaissance literature and culture include, most recently: *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (2012); *Lying in Early Modern English Culture from the Oath of Supremacy to the Oath of Allegiance* (2017); *Literature and Class from the Peasants' Revolt to the French Revolution* (2021); and *Thomas Nashe and Late Elizabethan Writing* (2023). He has also edited a number of books, including *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose, 1500–1640* (2013) and, with Paul Hammond, *Words at War: The Contested Language of the English Civil War* (2024). He is one of the general editors of the *Complete Works of Thomas Nashe* and is currently working on a study of England and Empire in 1625 with Matthew Dimmock, and a second book on literature and class from Peterloo to the Present. He has been a regular reviewer for the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Irish Times*, and is an editor of the British Academy's *Journal*.

Daniel Karlin is Emeritus Professor of English Literature at the University of Bristol, where he was previously Winterstoke Professor. He was a Junior Research Fellow at Merton College, Oxford, and has held appointments at University College London, Boston University, and the University of Sheffield. He has published extensively on the poetry of Robert Browning, and is co-editor of the Longman Annotated English Poets edition of Browning's poems; volumes 5 and 6, comprising *The Ring and the Book*, appeared in 2022. In 2020 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy.

Daniel Starza Smith is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern English Literature at King's College London, having previously held roles at University College London, the University of Reading, and Lincoln College, Oxford, where he was British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow and Oakeshott Junior Research Fellow. His books include *John Donne and the Conway Papers* (based on a PhD supervised by Henry Woudhuysen), *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (edited with Joshua Eckhardt), and contributions to the *Verse Letters* volume of the *Donne Variorum*. He is General Editor of the Oxford edition of Donne's prose letters.

Emma Smith is Professor of Shakespeare Studies at Hertford College, Oxford. Her recent books include *Shakespeare's First Folio: Four Centuries of an Iconic Book* (Oxford University Press, second edition 2023) and *This Is Shakespeare* (Penguin, 2023). She is the General Editor for the New Oxford Shakespeare World's Classics series, and is completing an edition of *Twelfth Night* for the Arden Fourth Series.

Michael F. Suarez, S.J. is University Professor, Professor of English, and Director of Rare Book School at the University of Virginia. In 2015, he delivered the Lyell Lectures in Bibliography and Book History at Oxford University; in 2021, he gave the Rosenbach Lectures in Bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania. He was the inaugural Visiting Scholar in Paleography and Historical Book Studies at the University of Chicago. Suarez is Editor-in-Chief of Oxford Scholarly Editions Online (OSEO), and co-General Editor of both *The Collected Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, and *The Oxford Edition of the Writings of Alexander Pope*. He co-edited with Henry Woudhuysen *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (2010), a million-word reference work on the history of books and manuscripts from the invention of writing to the present day. *The Sunday Telegraph* in London called it ‘colossal’ and ‘a paradise for book lovers’; while *The Wall Street Journal* praised it as ‘a fount of knowledge where the Internet is but a slot machine’.

René Weis is Emeritus Professor of English Literature at University College London where he taught for thirty-nine years. His publications include a biography of Shakespeare (John Murray, Henry Holt & Co) and editions of *Henry IV Part 2* (Oxford University Press), a parallel text of *King Lear* (Longman), and *Romeo and Juliet* (The Arden Shakespeare). His book *The Yellow Cross* (Viking, Penguin, Knopf) has been translated into seven languages. He is a regular contributor to the Royal Opera House Covent Garden programmes and is the author of *The Real Traviata* (Oxford University Press).

Hazel Wilkinson is Associate Professor in English Literature at the University of Birmingham, where she teaches early modern and eighteenth-century literature. Her monograph *Edmund Spenser and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge University Press, 2017) was based on a PhD supervised by Henry Woudhuysen at UCL; the monograph won the International Spenser Society’s Isabel MacCaffrey Award for best book on Spenser (2017–18). She is a member of the editorial team of the *Oxford Edition of the Writings of Alexander Pope*, and the founder of the database of ornamental typography *Compositor*. She was awarded fellowship of the Alan Turing Centre in 2020–2 for her work on applying computer vision to the study of typography.

Heather Wolfe is curator of manuscripts at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC. In addition to writing about overlooked and unusual material features of early modern manuscripts, she teaches people how to read English secretary hand and has been organizing transcribathons since 2012. Her first book, *Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland: Life and Letters* (2000) received the first annual Josephine Roberts Scholarly Edition Award from the Society for the Study of Early Modern Women. She edited *The Trevelyon Miscellany of 1608* (2007), *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary* (2007), and *Letterwriting in Renaissance England* (2004; with Alan Stewart). Her essay ‘The Material Culture of Record-Keeping in Early Modern England’, co-written with Peter Stallybrass, received the 2019 Archival History Article Award from the Society of American Archivists. She is currently working on a book on writing paper in early modern England. She received her BA from Amherst College, her MLIS from UCLA, and her PhD from the University of Cambridge.

Note on the Text

The place of publication for all books published before 1800 is assumed to be London unless otherwise stated. Printer/publishers of pre-1800 works are not routinely given.

Foreword

René Weis

Henry Woudhuysen and I were appointed within an hour of each other in the UCL English Department by its then head, Karl Miller. It was in June 1982. Henry was twenty-seven, I was twenty-eight. We first met a few days later at the new staff party in Foster Court. As well as being already a brilliant scholar, Henry also had a great sense of humour. Many years later he dedicated his Arden Shakespeare edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* to his close friend, fellow editor, and maverick colleague, Keith Walker, with the words 'What is mine in this edition I dedicate—"Welcome, pure wit"—to him.' In Henry Woudhuysen, Shakespeare's iridescent *tour de force* of courtly rhetoric had found its perfect editor.

For the next thirty years Henry and I would be colleagues in the UCL English Department, teaching and convening the Shakespeare and Renaissance courses alongside our colleagues, working hand-in-glove on undergraduate and postgraduate admissions, on appointment committees, and eventually at Faculty level. It was a privilege working with him. His vast learning, his irrepressible sense of humour, and an instinctively literary turn of mind quickly endeared him to colleagues and students alike.

In lectures and seminars Henry had the gift of inspiring students, not by a barrage of secondary reading that might overwhelm them, but by close attention to the minutiae of the literary text, from pauses and punctuation to the sounds of words, the cadence of dramatic lines, and books as physical objects. A former student told me how Henry one day entertained a class with his accounts of entering libraries with a spring in his step at the anticipated thrill of the smell of thousands of books.

After completing his Oxford DPhil on the Earl of Leicester's patronage, with an emphasis on Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, and Gabriel Harvey, Henry's research evolved and over time he became the pre-eminent Renaissance literature palaeographer in Britain. His exceptional skills and expertise in this regard and in the history of the book are unchallenged. Over a career of forty-two years his reputation has grown to the point where he is today probably the most easily recognizable name in the field of rare books. For

many years he has reported on auctions of rare books in London and New York in the *Times Literary Supplement*. His judgement is trusted throughout the book trade. His passion for books and for the enduring integrity of libraries as guardians of the common cultural good is legendary among his peers.

Henry's monumental, widely acclaimed monograph *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640*, published by Oxford University Press (Clarendon) in 1996, instantly established itself as the gold standard in its field and confirmed him as Britain's foremost expert on the manuscript culture of Renaissance England. It is a constant work of reference for students of the period. The sheer intellectual brilliance of this ambitious and learned book—described by a distinguished reviewer as 'by any standards a magnificent anatomy of the sprawling body of early modern scribal practice'¹—is perhaps best captured by a disarming remark about the inevitable limitations of historical scholarship, with so much depending on informed guesswork. While marshalling an incomparable array of data about the written culture of the period and then applying its findings to Sidney, Elizabethan England's most revered courtier-writer, who did not live to see his work in print, Henry muses:

If only one could spend an hour or two in St Paul's Churchyard or near the Inns of Court in about 1600 most of the vexing questions about the commercial copying of manuscripts could probably be answered.²

This is the hallmark of a profoundly sceptical intelligence: if no-one knows more than Henry Woudhuysen does about this particular niche topic (niche by virtue of the skills needed credibly to engage with it), equally no-one is more aware of the sheer limitations of what can be known at this distance in time. And yet this huge book opens up new vistas on not just Sidney's canon but on the whole Renaissance culture of the period. How could it not when some of the greatest poetry of early modern England, including Sidney's, Donne's, and others', was in their lifetimes circulating only in manuscript? As indeed were many of Shakespeare's sonnets long before they appeared in print in 1609.

I cannot readily think of any scholar in our subject who possesses quite his bibliographical gifts, harnessed as they are to a love of literature and a sheer enjoyment of books for their content and as physical objects. Together with Michael F. Suarez, S.J., Henry edited two epic-scale collections about the

¹ Harold Love, 'The Feathery Scribe', *TLS*, 4873 (23 August 1996), p. 11.

² H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 175.

'book', again for Oxford University Press: *The Oxford Companion to the Book* (2010, 2 vols, pp. lxxv + 1327) and *The Book: A Global History* (2013, pp. xx + 748). They set new standards for reference works.

His voluntary tours of duties have included thirty-five-year spells on the councils of the Malone Society, the Bibliographical Society, and the Renaissance English Texts Society, with an eight-year tour of duty as a trustee of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, where I succeeded him as the University of London Trustee. From 2007 to 2017 he was on the board of the Curators of the University Libraries at the University of Oxford. In recognition of his services to English Literature and bibliography Henry was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 2010 and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 2011. Since then he has been Vice-President of the Bibliographical Society (2010–14), Lyell Reader in Bibliography at the University of Oxford (2013–14), and President of the Bibliographical Society (2014–16) and of the Oxford Bibliographical Society (2016–23).

For twenty-five years Henry served as one of the general editors of the Arden Shakespeare Third Series, all the time acting too as one of the three general editors of the prestigious Longman Annotated Texts series. For over a hundred years the Ardens have been the most ambitious and respected Shakespeare single-play editions. They are annotated and introduced to an exceptional degree and are used all over the world. His willingness to become one of the prestigious series' four general editors in addition to his other commitments bears witness to his selfless scholarship. General Editors of major series are the unsung heroes of our profession. They read, check, correct, and advise on everything that the individual editors produce. In the case of the Arden Shakespeare editions this amounts to around 100,000 words in each case, out of the thirty-eight or so plays that Henry and his fellow general editors oversaw. He will have read and checked at least a million words for the series; and in his case each one of these words will have been closely scrutinized. In addition to serving as one of the series' general editors, Henry also edited *Love's Labour's Lost* for Arden (1998), and together with his former Oxford tutor Katherine Duncan-Jones he edited *Shakespeare's Poems* for Arden (2007).

Henry Woudhuysen's impact on the wider scholarly community is of the very first order. He enjoys an exceptional international reputation for his scholarship and also, and perhaps above all, for his willingness to share it and allow others to benefit from his gifts. He combines intellectual brilliance with exceptional scholarly generosity. In the words of our distinguished colleague Rosemary Ashton, Emeritus Quain Professor of English at UCL:

A glance at the details of his activities on the councils of several literary and manuscript societies will indicate the unusual extent to which Henry has devoted time to supporting others. I have read, and heard him talk of, detailed reports he has written on work submitted by others, many of them PhD students or young academics seeking to make their mark in the world of academia. He takes all such voluntary services tremendously seriously. His reports are extraordinarily detailed, unsparingly critical, but at the same time supportive, helpful, and full of suggestions for improvements or additions. His own work, especially in the field of editing texts or collecting, arranging, and describing items in anthologies, is scrupulously researched.

In the thirty years that we worked together at UCL I have never known a colleague who was quite so generous with their time and their willingness to read others' work and provide feedback on it.

Like so many of his peers I owe him a huge personal scholarly debt: he commissioned and then oversaw my parallel-texts edition of *King Lear* in his role as one of the general editors of the Longman Annotated Texts series. He read right through the facing Quarto–Folio texts of the play, checked all my notes, and extensively annotated my Introduction. His textual comments and his extensive guidance on possible auditory and graphological mistakes arising from manuscript copy behind the 1608 quarto of *King Lear*, variously dictated and copied from foul papers, were of the very first order.

Arguably no one else in the country could muster Henry's kind of palaeographic expertise for the task of understanding the texts of *King Lear*. In this regard Henry's gifts are worthy of W. W. Greg, and of A. W. Pollard, the great bibliographer and editor of *The Library* who happens to be Henry's great-grandfather on his mother's side, and whose entry, by W. W. Greg in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Henry revised extensively. In addition to his exceptional bibliographical skills, Henry brought to *King Lear* the literary flair and ear for poetry of one of the play's greatest textual commentators, the poet-editor Madeleine Doran. In that respect too Henry's instinctive ability to hear the rhythms of Shakespeare's lines, to tell verse from prose in the 1608 quarto text of *King Lear*, was an asset that few possess or could share with the play's editors.

Like other colleagues in Britain, Europe, and the USA who were read and advised by Henry, I found it immensely reassuring to have his feedback. Twenty years later I was again privileged to work with him on another play, *Romeo and Juliet* for Arden. He was once more cast in the role of one of my general editors. He advised on the inclusion of the best Q1 facsimile, and he

saved me from myself on several occasions, and particularly when I had dared to rush into readings that I had wrongly assumed to be soundly grounded in palaeography when they were nothing of the sort.

Henry's research students over the years never ceased to marvel at the scale and scope of his knowledge. They include a former director of Sotheby's who discovered that his passion for John Masefield was matched by Henry Woudhuysen's knowledge of Masefield's work. Henry's peerless Renaissance publications and interests have not stopped him from ranging further afield, whether into Samuel Johnson, A. E. Housman, or Evelyn Waugh, whose *A Handful of Dust* he has just recently edited for Oxford University Press.

In his role as PhD supervisor at UCL he oversaw the first thoroughly researched study of the extant copies and distributions across the world of Shakespeare First Folios, Anthony James West's *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book: An Account of the First Folio Based on its Sales and Prices 1623–2000* (Oxford University Press, 2001). This seminal work, the standard reference work on the range and locations of the First Folio, owes a huge debt to Henry's sure-footed guidance.

For a scholar so multi-talented to engage willingly with a wide range of administrative tasks is rare. But not for Henry who viewed those jobs as his duty. Few people I know have a deeper sense of duty than Henry Woudhuysen. During our careers together at UCL he variously served as Department Tutor, Graduate Tutor, and then as Head of Department for five years. He progressed straight from the headship of English to Dean of Arts and Humanities at UCL. He brought to all those demanding jobs the same rigorous perfectionism that is the hallmark of his academic work. At various times, as a former UCL Vice-Dean, I sat on the same committees as Henry and never ceased to be impressed by his grasp of the finest detail of proposals put forward by colleagues, often at short notice. Above all, Henry was fiercely principled and not afraid to take tough decisions even if their very rightness and necessity at times rendered them unpopular. He let nothing pass, whether on promotions, faculty savings targets, restructuring, streamlining, or while overseeing onerous RAE submissions. For him, a job well done was having done the right thing without fear or favour.

As Dean he inevitably moved away from the English Department, his sole home for twenty-five years, with time spent teaching at Dartmouth College in the USA, as part of a UCL–Dartmouth summer-term exchange programme set by our former Head of Department Frank Kermodé.

When Henry was appointed at UCL, Karl Miller took him aside and urged him not to go chasing (the actual word used was less polite) after Oxford too

soon. But in the end, the call of Oxford could not be resisted. While Henry gave his all to his students and colleagues at UCL, an important part of him never quite left his beloved alma mater. It was always more than just a brilliant place in which to be a student. It was about being young, about living among dreaming spires and some of the most gifted young people anywhere in the world. I well remember how one day Henry and I reminisced about our student days and the books that shaped us. We both, it turned out, loved Alain-Fournier's *Le Grand Meaulnes*. Henry recalled reading it for the first time reclining on the lawn in his old college's Old Quad (Pembroke) in Oxford one summer's day. Could there be a more propitious place for reading the French equivalent (though rather more serene) of *Wuthering Heights*, with Cathy Earnshaw trading places with Yvonne de Galais, Pembroke College with the lost domain of Les Sablonnières? I don't believe so. I suggested to Henry that we might go on an Alain-Fournier walk in my own backyard of Chiswick where the young author sojourned briefly.

His loss was keenly felt in UCL when he moved to Oxford. To become Rector of a famous college was a tremendous accolade, a prestigious vote of confidence in both his academic standing and in his managerial abilities, honed over ten years as a senior office-bearer at UCL. I know from colleagues at Oxford that his commitment to Lincoln College on all fronts has been total, and that his vision for the institution has stood it in very good stead for the last ten years. On his appointment at Lincoln one of Henry's predecessors as Rector, the late Sir Eric Anderson, told me at a Shakespeare Birthplace Trustees' meeting (we were both trustees) how delighted he was that Lincoln now had one of the most brilliant scholars in the country at its helm.

The bedrock of Henry's life has always been his family, and over the years his wife Deborah and their sons George and Edward became part of an extended UCL English Department tribe. Henry and Deborah were the perfect hosts in their house in Putney in London and subsequently in the Rector's Lodgings at Lincoln. Deborah's cuisine was the finest any of us knew, a cross between Virginia Woolf's Ivy in West Street, London, and the Roux brothers, with her homemade bread, fresh daily, produced to perfection and without recourse to bread-making machines. The Woudhuysens were connoisseurs of fine wines and *digestifs*. After dinner their guests would regularly be treated to Calvados from Normandy, one of their favoured French holiday places. They also loved staying in Ruskin's place in Venice where one day, probably as friends of Henry's and Deborah's, my wife Jean and I were promptly upgraded to the top suite. More than most Henry and Deborah appreciated the bonding that comes from what used to be called breaking bread together. Henry is a past

master at carving a joint while talking learnedly about the latest rare books auction in New York. As might be expected, the Woudhuysens' home in London was itself a brilliant library and one of the treats of visiting this haven of hospitality was always a guided (annotated?) tour of some of its treasures and recent acquisitions.

Henry and Deborah took their hospitality with them to Oxford. One night Jean and I were guests in their spacious and comfortable college quarters, the Rector's Lodgings on Turl Street. Our hosts presided that evening over an impressive dinner party that only wound up in the early hours of the morning. We were given a beautiful suite to stay the night and were expressly forbidden to help with the washing up. The following morning the Rector of Lincoln took us on a tour of Lincoln College and its grounds. As we expected, he knew just about everything regarding the history of the buildings, its library and chapel, its pictures, its medieval kitchen (still feeding the college's students), and of the college's many distinguished alumni.

The sheer scale of his hands-on commitments at Oxford notwithstanding, Henry still found (or rather made) time to join us at UCL occasionally, including giving up an entire day to contribute to a conference on editing one wintry Saturday in 2019. His talk on editing Waugh was one of the highlights of that day, demonstrating again why he is one of the very best scholars in the country.

When Henry retires from Lincoln College Oxford in 2024, the College will bid farewell to a distinguished rector and an outstanding scholar. Ten years ago, Henry and I parted at UCL with 'au revoir', not goodbye. In that spirit, 'Fair winds and following seas' in the years ahead to my friend, colleague, and mentor Henry Woudhuysen.

Introduction

Daniel Starza Smith and Hazel Wilkinson

For Henry Woudhuysen, the physical text is central to any literary or historical enquiry. As a scholar who has pioneered and championed the now-ubiquitous study of book history, the materials, layout, orthography, transmission, exchange, transportation, and editorial reception of texts have been the subject of his exacting attention for decades. In this tribute to Henry—a tribute to his gifts not only as an editor, textual critic, and literary scholar, but as a bibliophile, biographer, historian, and friend—colleagues past and present turn their attention to the textual interests that Henry has shared with them. Spanning a range of periods and approaches that mirror Henry’s own work and extensive knowledge, this volume coheres around the question of the material text, asking what the detailed examination of physical copies of manuscripts and printed materials can tell us about their social and historical contexts—and how the physical texts themselves shape our understanding of the writings they contain.

Henry has been at the forefront of the study of books and texts for four decades. As well as writing, editing, and commissioning major scholarly works himself, he has supervised, peer-reviewed, and advised both large-scale and smaller research projects. In recent years, he has taken influential leadership roles in universities and international societies, supporting and facilitating the work of other scholars in his field, and far beyond. This volume brings together leading scholars with personal connections to Henry to speak to a wide range of interests spanning his career, from medieval note-takers and the Tudor court to eighteenth-century biography and nineteenth-century printing, and representing the institutions with which his career has been most associated. These original contributions to scholarship also stand as testimony to Henry’s extraordinary impact on the study of literature, history, and the bibliographical artefacts that preserve them.

Henry is a scholar whose gift for precision is matched by his sensitivity to the trends, great and small, that shaped the lives and ideas of authors, readers, and the many individuals who shepherd a text from one to the other. Each contributor to this volume aims to replicate these paired skills, drawing first on minute considerations in order to shed new light on aspects of the intellectual,

commercial, or social life of Britain and Europe from the fourteenth century to the twentieth. Above all, the volume is a paean to the place of books in the lives of literate people. From ownership and gifts to annotation and translation, reading material continues to play a role in the economic, familial, social, and philosophical stories of all kinds of communities, including the community represented in this volume, the one formed by Henry's own mentorship, guidance, collegiality, and example, not to mention his editorial eye.

Henry's first major intervention in the field was as editor of the *Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse: 1509–1649* (1993), with David Norbrook; this was one of the first popular collections of early modern poetry to be edited with reference to manuscript variants, an approach that Henry undertook himself. His work on archival materials led three years later to his monograph *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (1996), regularly cited as one of the most influential studies of literary manuscripts in early modern England. He has continued to publish on Sidney and early modern literary manuscripts, and managed the team behind Peter Beal's monumental *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (CELM), designed and constructed as an online resource by John Lavagnino.¹

Some of Henry's greatest achievements have been in the role of editor. He has served as general editor of the Arden Shakespeare third series, also publishing for Arden 3 single-volume editions of *Love's Labour's Lost* (1998) and, with his former DPhil supervisor, the late Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare's Poems* (2007). His unparalleled editorial expertise is not confined to Shakespeare alone: the same detailed attention characterizes Henry's editions of texts across a wide range of periods, including Rudyard Kipling's 1888 collection of short stories *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1987), *Samuel Johnson on Shakespeare* (1989) and, most recently, his acclaimed edition of Evelyn Waugh's 1934 classic *A Handful of Dust* (2021). He is a general editor of the *Oxford Edition of the Writings of Alexander Pope* (and editor of Pope's letters), and is on the editorial board of the Oxford edition of Thomas Nashe. Henry is a longstanding member of the Editorial Committee for the Malone

¹ H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996). His separate publications on Sidney include 'A crux in the text of Sidney's *A Letter to Queen Elizabeth*', *N&Q*, 31/2 (June 1984): 172–3; 'Astrophel and Stella 75: A "New" Text', *RES*, 37/147 (August 1986): 388–92; 'A "Lost" Sidney Document', *BLR* 13 (1990): 353–9; 'A New Manuscript Fragment of Sidney's *Old Arcadia*: The Huddleston Manuscript', *EMS*, 11 (2002), 5–69; 'Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* Abbreviated: A Note on Rowland Woodward', in '*In the Prayse of Writing*': *Early Modern Manuscript Studies: Essays in Honour of Peter Beal*, eds S. P. Cerasano and Steven W. May (London: British Library, 2012), 44–69; and 'Sidney's Manuscripts (again)', *Sidney Journal* 30/1 (2012): 117–25. Peter Beal, ed., *The Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts*, <https://celm-ms.org.uk/>.

Society, in which capacity his practical assistance in preparing final texts and his support for the work of early career colleagues is valued extremely highly. The Society is shortly to publish Henry's own work on Barnabe Barnes's *The Devil's Charter*, which he is preparing in collaboration with G. R. Proudfoot; this will be a double volume for 2023–4, reflecting the scale of the work and its importance.

Henry's impact as an editor is rivalled only by his reputation as a book historian. With Michael Suarez, he is co-editor of the monumental *Oxford Companion to the Book* (2010), a standard-setting two-volume reference work more than a million words long. This was released in a more condensed form as *The Book: A Global History* in 2013. In 2014, Henry was invited to give the Lyell Lectures in Bibliography in Oxford, and in 2023 delivered the Panizzi Lectures at the British Library, markers of great distinction. His many other intellectual interests include: women editors of Shakespeare (2014); Gabriel Harvey (2013); punctuation in Woolf and Waugh (2012); the move from manuscript to print (2010); the handwriting of Queen Elizabeth (2007); Elizabethan writing tables (2004); theories of editorship (2004); Shakespeare's texts (2003); and the friendship between A. E. Housman and A. W. Pollard (2006).² He has contributed forewords to topics of special interest including early Tudor writers and manuscript miscellanies.³ He has also written about the sale at auction of literary materials for the *Times Literary Supplement* since 1985.

Contents and structure

We invited our contributors to combine their own specializations with what they knew of our dedicatee's tastes and interests. Their responses

² H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Some Women Editors of Shakespeare: A Preliminary Sketch', in *Women Making Shakespeare: Text, Reception, Performance*, eds Gordon McMullan, Lena Cowen Orlin, and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London and New York: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2014); 'Gabriel Harvey', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose*, ed. Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); 'Punctuation and its Contents: Virginia Woolf and Evelyn Waugh', *EC*, 62.3 (2012): 221–47; 'The Queen's Own Hand: A Preliminary Account', in *Elizabeth I and the Culture of Writing*, eds Peter Beal and Grace Ioppolo (London: The British Library, 2007), 1–27; 'Writing-Tables and Table-Books', *EBLJ* (2004); "'Work of Permanent Utility': Editors and Texts, Authorities and Originals", in *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare's Drama*, eds Lukas Erne and Margaret Jane Kidnie (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 37–47; 'The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text', in *Proceedings of the British Academy 125: 2003 Lectures*, ed. P. J. Marshall (2005), 69–100; *AEH / AWP: A Classical Friendship—A. E. Housman and A. W. Pollard* (Tunbridge Wells: Foundling Press and Bernard Quaritch, 2006).

³ See *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67.2 (2004); Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith, eds, *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014).

cast light on the human stories and often eccentric personalities that lie behind the production, circulation, and reception of literary texts. Each essay demonstrates the meticulous attention to detail that is a hallmark of Henry's own approach, combined with occasional Woudhuysen wry humour and touches of the absurd: a porcupine, some maggots, haunted curtains, and a leg of mutton all make brief appearances.

Ardis Butterfield was for many years a colleague of Henry's in the English Department at UCL, a department that has always maintained a strong tradition of teaching Old and Middle English. Indeed, Henry's ability to read and teach Old English counted among the reasons for his appointment. Butterfield's contribution speaks to Henry's interests and expertise in literary history in the centuries before those periods with which he is more commonly associated. The fourteenth-century notebook of John Grimestone captures, as Butterfield puts it, 'a friar caught in mid-thought'. The volume is at once a diligent collection of sermon material and an exuberant compilation of verse, including many original compositions, a mixture that produces 'clashing cultural meanings'. The notebook contains a remarkable number of English items: 246 (including 200 unique to this text: 166 more than its nearest rival). Such a concentration immediately complicates a reader's sense of the notebook's purpose: ostensibly a resource for sermonizing, the manuscript increasingly comes to resemble a collection of verse. To what extent can we think of this notebook as the 'mental map' of this Franciscan preacher? By setting out first to understand its unusual nature among written documents, and then asking how we are supposed to read it, Butterfield considers Grimestone's complex understanding of genre and the broader questions about medieval distinctions of form, structure, exegesis, and devotion. A text where we can witness 'thought in transition', Grimestone's notebook 'burst[s] the bounds' of generic expectations, and reminds us that a book can be 'a work in progress, an extension of the habits and the physical work of an individual'.

In the volume's second essay, Susan Brigden guides the reader through Sir Thomas Wyatt's London neighbourhood, Black Friars. Growing around the priory church at its heart, this precinct was 'a little world set apart from the city', home not only to its Dominican household (the 'Black friars' themselves) but also 'an enclave of courtiers, royal servants, and lawyers'. Set outside the jurisdiction of any of London's parishes, Black Friars was a liberty with considerable independence. Some major names of the Tudor court, including Wyatt, Parr, Vaux, Fortescue, and Guildford, lived and worked in and around this central precinct, as leading figures were crushed 'in the presse of courtes' (to borrow Wyatt's words) following the friary's dissolution under

Henry VIII. Along with the surviving documentary evidence, the networks of reading set out in this essay testify bibliographically to the strenuous efforts made by readers to maintain friendship and kinship networks at a time of unprecedented political and religious strife. Drawing on volumes such as the exquisitely illuminated ‘Vaux Passional’ and the ‘Roman d’Alexandre’ (owned by Thomas Cromwell’s servant Jasper Fyloll), Brigden pursues the connections and communities behind a series of telling inscriptions. These individuals and families were collecting manuscripts and printed books as part of their efforts to understand and negotiate a changing world. The texts themselves, and the inscriptions they bear, can be read as a ‘currency’ of their readers’ devotion, ‘a microcosm of Reformation ambivalence and division.’ Sir Adrian Fortescue’s idiosyncratic transcription of *Piers Plowman*, for example, sharpens the text’s critiques of the church with marginal comments aimed at friars specifically, a striking addition for a neighbour of a Dominican friary.

Helen Hackett then takes us into the heart of the Elizabethan court, ranging across chivalric romance, the fifteenth-century ‘boorde’ genre, Robin Hood tales, lyric poetry, and entertainments staged for the royal progress, plus the major works of Sidney and Spenser. Her essay focuses on the figure of ‘the desert-knight or hermit whose devotion to the Queen is undiminished by his exile from court.’ As Hackett explains, ‘hermits inhabited realms of magic and fantasy, and their absence from real-life post-Reformation England intensified their association with a nostalgically idealised medieval world.’ Sidney himself picks up the trope in his *Arcadias*, where we meet the ‘melancholy outsider’ Philisides, while Sir Edward Dyer wrote poetry ‘espousing the melancholy of the solitary exile.’ The hermit was made a trope of retirement by a number of senior politicians, including Sir Henry Lee (the queen’s self-styled ‘champion’) and William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Issuing from such pens, the hermit figure activated ‘multiple, complex significances’ from Elizabethan literature, which did not always involve these figures resigning from their public duties. When Lee welcomed Elizabeth at Woodstock in the guise of ‘Hemetes the Hermit’, he was already styling himself as ‘Oulde . . . and wrynckled [and] cast into a corner’ at the sprightly age of forty-two. Clearly, self-presentation as a hermit had ramifications beyond one’s literal age. The exaggeration of a courtier’s age could be used to comment obliquely on that most unbroachable of subjects: succession planning for the ageing and childless Elizabeth, the one person who could not retire. For the man performing the role of hermit, the display of ‘solitude strengthened their constant devotion to their unsurpassable mistress’, and the queen, ‘the only force strong enough to induce their return to court.’ For some Elizabethan politicians—like some modern scholars,

perhaps—retirement becomes the only means by which one can get on with their work.

What will Henry Woudhuysen finally find time for in retirement? One topic of enduring interest has been the literary milieu around Sidney and Spenser, and particularly those duelling wits Thomas Nashe and Gabriel Harvey. Commenting on a passage by Nashe, Henry once wearily noted that, ‘As so often . . . it is hard to be precisely certain what he is saying.’⁴ Andrew Hadfield’s essay in this volume tackles this challenge head on, investigating Nashe’s attitude towards Sidney. Nashe helped to shape Sidney’s fame in print, most prominently in his preface to the edition of *Astrophil and Stella* published in 1591 by Thomas Newman, though soon retracted under conditions that remain mysterious. Hadfield explores a kind of ‘anxiety of influence’ peculiar to Nashe, an author of ‘complicated and intermittently fractious relationships.’ Capable of ‘an excellent and sustained insult,’ he would ‘satirise and ridicule even writers he liked as well as those he despised’ in attacks across his oeuvre ‘both sustained and relatively random.’ He mocked Spenser openly for the botched first edition of the *Faerie Queene*, for example, and described Harvey as ‘this mud-born bubble, this bile on the browe of the Vniversitie, this bladder of pride newe blowne.’ In his introduction to the short-lived first printing of *Astrophil and Stella*, Nashe seemed to portray a gloomy literary world darkened by ignorance and superstition before the rising of the Sidneyan sun, which dispelled a ‘Sceane of Idiots.’⁵ Yet these sentiments are qualified by ‘an intensely self-regarding quality to Nashe’s words,’ which ‘might be seen as drawing attention to Nashe’s own literary brio at the expense of the author he is ostensibly praising.’ This impression is enhanced by Nashe’s exposure of the theft of a manuscript of *Astrophil and Stella* from the Countess of Pembroke, and his pointed provocations at the Sidney family about their (failed) attempts to restrict the circulation of Sidney’s writings.⁶ But Nashe’s attacks cannot just be dismissed as personal poison. As Hadfield demonstrates, Nashe seeks to skewer ‘dangerous, lethally misleading ideals in a world in which violence and slaughter predominate,’ the kind of world where shows of ‘chivalry and courtesy’ might mask ‘self-serving lust,’ and one of the greatest men of the age may follow ‘misguided principles’ only to lose his life at Zutphen.

⁴ Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts*, p. 367.

⁵ ‘Somewhat to reade for them that list’, *Syr. P. S. His Astrophel and Stella* (1591; STC 22536), sig. A3^r.

⁶ ‘although it be oftentimes imprisoned in Ladyes casks, & the president bookes of such as cannot see without another mans spectacles, yet at length it breakes forth in spight of his keepers, and vseth some priuate penne (in steed of a picklock) to procure his violent enlargement’, *Syr. P. S. His Astrophel and Stella*, sig. A3^r.

Alongside Philip Sidney, the early modern author with whom Henry Woudhuysen's name is most associated is William Shakespeare. As well as notable editions of *Love's Labour's Lost* and, with Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare's Poems*, both for the Arden Shakespeare, Henry was a general editor of the Arden third series, working with Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson, and David Scott Kastan. In her essay for this volume, Emma Smith pays tribute both to Henry's dramatic interests and to his role in overseeing the completion of this landmark series. She focuses on *Love's Labour's Won*, the one play even an editor of Henry's experience would not be able to prepare for publication, since it either no longer exists or never existed in the first place. 'On the face of it,' Smith explains, 'this is a play that has disappeared.' Having lost *Won*, we must learn to read loss, absence, and ambiguity instead: from Francis Meres's earliest reference in *Palladis Tamia*, through the play's omission from the Stationers' Register, up to T. W. Baldwin's discovery of the play's name in a bookseller's accounts (themselves retrieved from the binding of another book, repurposed as waste)—and beyond into multiple literary fantasies about what the play contained. Considerable evidence, interpretation, and speculation attests to this play's enduring influence on critical notions of Shakespeare's canon. If references to the play record an alternative title—most obviously for *Much Ado* or perhaps *All's Well that Ends Well*—what does that tell us about historical attitudes towards the Shakespearean genre? Might a collection such as *The Passionate Pilgrim* or John Bodenham's *Bel-vedere, or The Garden of the Muses* preserve snippets of now-lost Shakespearean works? What, in the end, are the implications of such an insistently 'lost' play for our notions of a 'complete works' of an author?

Lukas Erne begins his contribution to this volume with a similarly fundamental (and related) question: What does an editor actually *do*? Erne devotes his essay to making the nature of editorial labour visible and appreciable. With an allusion (in the title of his essay) to Wallace Stevens's poem 'Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird,' he urges the reader to think of the editor as a mediator, both 'deciding what it is they edit' and 'guid[ing] the reader's interest by foregrounding some layers of meaning rather than others.' He proposes a (non-exhaustive) list of key editorial interventions: the preparation of new editions; choosing between existing versions of a text; composing an introduction; preparing line-by-line commentary; choosing whether to render lines as prose or verse and deciding how to lineate verse; deciding when and where to make emendations, or act-and-scene divisions; choosing how to present stage directions, speech headings, and character lists; and opting for either