

Chapter Title: Introduction

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Book Title: Gabriel Harvey and the History of Reading

Book Subtitle: Essays by Lisa Jardine and others

Book Editor(s): Anthony Grafton, Nicholas Popper, William Sherman

Published by: UCL Press. (2024)

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/jj.5699286.10>

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Introduction

Anthony Grafton, Nicholas Popper and
William Sherman

How Jardine and Grafton read Gabriel Harvey

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae libri XII* (Paris: Estienne, 1542); British Library C.60.1.11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ Livy, *Decades*, 55r.

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

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

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

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

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

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

²² Livy, *Decades*, 222v.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁴ Livy, *Decades*, 147r.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Renaissance of reading

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

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

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

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

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

- Groetsch, Ulrich. 'How Reimarus read his Bible'. In *Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768): Classicist, Hebraist, Enlightenment radical in disguise*, 224–84. Boston: Brill, 2015.
- Hardy, John Christopher. 'How Joseph Fowler read his Hebrew Bible'. *Postscripts: The Journal of Sacred Texts, Cultural Histories, and Contemporary Contexts* 11, no. 1 (2020): 55–79.
- Hessler, John W. 'Cartography in the margins: How Johannes Schöner read his maps'. In *A Renaissance Globemaker's Toolbox: Johannes Schöner and the revolution of modern science, 1475–1550*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress; London: In association with D. Giles, 2013.
- Holmes, John. "'The poet of science": How scientists read their Tennyson'. *Victorian Studies* 54, no. 4 (2012): 655–78.
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by received narratives that dismissed him as an isolated wizard whose hopes for high-level employment ended in delusion and disappointment. By examining the surviving books from Dee’s collection and connecting them to his manuscript treatises on a wide range of subjects, Sherman was able to show that Dee’s textual mastery – a systematic campaign that produced an even larger body of marginal evidence than that left behind by Harvey – gave him a surprisingly prominent role in the business of court and city alike.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁰ Sherman, *Used Books*, xi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Revisiting the bookwheel

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴³ <https://archaeologyofreading.org>.

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

