

TOTTEL'S SONGES AND SONETTES IN CONTEXT

Material Readings in Early Modern Culture

Series Editors: James Daybell, University of Plymouth Adam Smyth, University of London

Advisory Board:
Victoria Burke, University of Ottawa
Andrew Gordon, University of Aberdeen
Zachary Lesser, University of Pennsylvania
Jason Scott-Warren, University of Cambridge
William H. Sherman, University of York
Alan Stewart, Columbia University
Wendy Wall, Northwestern University

This series provides a forum for studies that consider the material forms of texts as part of an investigation into early modern culture. The editors invite proposals of a multi- or interdisciplinary nature, and particularly welcome proposals that combine archival research with an attention to the theoretical models that might illuminate the reading, writing, and making of texts, as well as projects that take innovative approaches to the study of material texts, both in terms the kinds of primary materials under investigation, and in terms of methodologies. What are the questions that have yet to be asked about writing in its various possible embodied forms? Are there varieties of materiality that are critically neglected? How does form mediate and negotiate content? In what ways do the physical features of texts inform how they are read, interpreted and situated?

Consideration will be given to both monographs and collections of essays. The range of topics covered in this series includes, but is not limited to: History of the book, publishing, the book trade, printing, typography (layout, type, typeface, blank/white space, paratextual apparatus); technologies of the written word: ink, paper, watermarks, pens, presses; surprising or neglected material forms of writing; print culture; manuscript studies; social space, context, location of writing; social signs, cues, codes imbued within the material forms of texts; ownership and the social practices of reading: marginalia, libraries, environments of reading and reception; codicology, palaeography and critical bibliography; production, transmission, distribution and circulation; archiving and the archaeology of knowledge; orality and oral culture; the material text as object or thing.

Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* in Context

Edited by STEPHEN HAMRICK Minnesota State University–Moorhead, USA



First published 2013 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 2013 Stephen Hamrick and contributors

Stephen Hamrick has asserted his right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the editor of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Tottel's Songes and Sonettes in context. – (Material readings in early modern culture)

- 1. Tottel, Richard, d. 1594. Songes and sonettes. 2. Tottel, Richard, d. 1594 Appreciation.
- I. Series II. Hamrick, Stephen.

821 2-dc23

The Library of Congress has cataloged the printed edition as follows:

Tottel's Songes and Sonettes in Context / edited by Stephen Hamrick.

pages cm.—(Material Readings in Early Modern Culture)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4094-6465-5 (hardcover:alk. paper)

1. Tottel, Richard, d. 1594. Tottel's miscellany. 2. Tottel, Richard, d. 1594—Criticism and interpretation. 3. English poetry—Early modern, 1500–1700. I. Hamrick, Stephen, editor of compilation.

PR1205.T638 2013 821'.208—dc23

2012041062

ISBN 9781409464655 (hbk) ISBN 9781315550800 (ebk)





Contents

Notes on Contributors Acknowledgements Introduction: Songes and Sonettes Reconsidered Stephen Hamrick		viii x
		1
1	Printing History and Editorial Design in the Elizabethan Version of Tottel's <i>Songes and Sonettes</i> Paul A. Marquis	13
2	Profit and Pleasure? The Real Economy of Tottel's <i>Songes and Sonettes Catherine Bates</i>	37
3	Tottel's Troy Alex Davis	63
4	Chaucer's Presence in Songes and Sonettes Amanda Holton	87
5	Songes and Sonettes, 1557 Peter C. Herman	111
6	Songes and Sonnettes and Shakespeare's Poetry Tom MacFaul	131
7	Cultivation and Inhumation: Some Thoughts on the Cultural Impact of Tottel's <i>Songes and Sonettes</i> Seth Lerer	147
8	"Their Gods in Verses": The Popular Reception of <i>Songes and Sonettes</i> 1557–1674 Stephen Hamrick	163
Вi	Bibliography	
In	Index	

Notes on Contributors

Catherine Bates is Professor and Head of Department, English and Comparative Literary Studies, Warwick University. Her publications include studies of Renaissance courtship, Shakespeare, and gender. Her current project is *Masculinity and the Hunt: Wyatt to Spenser*, due to be published in 2013.

Alex Davis is Lecturer in English at the University of St. Andrews. He is the author of *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (2003) and *Renaissance Historical Fiction* (2011).

Stephen Hamrick is Associate Professor, Department of English, Minnesota State University, Moorhead. His publications include studies on *Songes and Sonettes*, George Gascoigne, and Queen Elizabeth. His current publications include *The Catholic Imaginary and the Cults of Elizabeth*, 1558–1582 (2009).

Peter C. Herman is Professor, Department of English and Comparative Literature, San Diego State University. His publications include studies on Sidney, royal poetry, and antipoetic sentiment. His current publications include *Royal Poetrie: Monarchic Verse and the Political Imaginary of Early Modern England* (2010) and *The New Milton Criticism*, co-edited with Elizabeth Sauer.

Amanda Holton is Visiting Fellow, Faculty of Humanities, University of Southampton. Her publications include studies of the sonnet and of Chaucer's sources and poetics. Her recent publications include editing *Tottel's Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others* (2011) with Tom MacFaul.

Seth Lerer is Distinguished Professor of Literature and Dean of Arts and Humanities, University of California San Diego. His publications include studies on philology, courtly letters, and Anglo-Saxon language and literature. His current publications include *The Wind in the Willows: An Annotated Edition* (2009) with Kenneth Grahame.

Tom MacFaul is Fellow and Departmental Lecturer in English at Merton College, University of Oxford. He is the author of three books: *Male Friendship in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (2007), *Poetry and Paternity in Renaissance England: Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Donne and Jonson* (2010), and *Problem Fathers in Shakespeare and Renaissance* Drama (2012), and has co-edited *Tottel's Miscellany* (2011) with Amanda Holton.

Paul A. Marquis is Professor and Chair of the Department of English, St. Francis Xavier University. His publications include articles on Sidney, Spenser, Isabella Whitney, and Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes*. He is also editor of *Richard Tottel's* Songes and Sonettes: *The Elizabethan Version* (2007).

Acknowledgements

A project such as this requires many participants and I remain indebted to them all. I first thank the contributors for their excellent work and unwavering commitment to the collection. Thanks to the anonymous reader for the highly useful feedback. I thank Erika Gaffney, comissioning editor, for her astute guidance. As always, I thank Kara for her patience and love.

Introduction: Songes and Sonettes Reconsidered

Stephen Hamrick

Printer Richard Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557) remains the most influential poetic collection printed in the sixteenth century. Copied by a monarch, set to music, sung, carried overseas, studied, appropriated, rejected, edited by consumers, transfered to manuscript, and gifted by Shakespeare, this multi-author verse anthology of 280 poems transformed sixteenth-century English language and culture.¹ Immediately and immensely popular, the first two editions of the text emerged from the press in 1557 only a staggering two months apart. With at least 11 printings before the end of Elizabeth I's reign, Tottel's collection greatly influenced the poetic publications that followed, including individual and multi-author miscellanies.² Many of these later collections, moreover, lifted poems directly from *Songes and Sonettes*, further indicating the significant and early appeal of the landmark anthology. In addition to popularizing a new kind of English verse, the text, as the following chapters will demonstrate, engaged politics, friendship, religion, sexuality, gender, morality, and commerce in complex and, at times, contradictory ways.

Despite the collection's immense popular appeal, scholars continue to marginalize the text and fail to understand its complexities. As its earliest readers and the essays assembled in this volume attest, however, the impact of "Tottel's Miscellany," as it has been known since the nineteenth century, extends across early modern culture. W.A. Sessions, in fact, aptly dubs the text "the turning-point in English Petrarchism," marking a moment at which artistic, erotic, and political discourses converged and dramatically changed the roles of verse in England.³

Substantial developments in our understanding of sixteenth-century history, literature, and religion, as well as the recent publication of two editions of *Songes*

¹ Throughout the introduction, *Songes and Sonettes* refers to the second edition of the text; *Richard Tottel's Songes and Sonettes: The Elizabethan Version*, ed. Paul A. Marquis (Tempe, 2007). See also *Tottel's Miscellany: Songs and Sonnets of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt and Others*, ed. Amanda Holton and Tom Macfaul (London, 2011).

² Tottle's Miscellany, 1557–1587, ed. Hyder Rollins (2 vols, Cambridge, 1965), vol. 2, pp. 107–124. See also, Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, 1993), pp. 24–5. On the editions, see Marquis, *Richard Tottel's*, pp. xv–xvi. See also J. Christopher Warner, "'Sonnets en Anglois': A Hitherto Unknown Edition of Tottel's Miscellany (1559)", *Notes and Queries*, 58.2 (2011):204–6.

W.A. Sessions, Henry Howard, The Poet Earl of Surrey (Oxford, 1999), p. 188.

and Sonettes, edited by Paul Marquis in 2007 and Amanda Holton and Tom MacFaul in 2011, clearly indicate the need to reassess Tottel's ground-breaking text. Embracing a broad range of critical and historical perspectives, the eight essays within this volume offer the first sustained analysis of the many ways that consumers read and understood *Songes and Sonettes* as an anthology over the course of the early modern period.

Influenced unduly by C.S. Lewis and Harold Mason's negative evaluations of *Songes and Sonettes*, however, scholars have long ignored or misunderstood the collection. In discussing sixteenth-century literature, Lewis writes, "*drab* is not used as a dyslogistic term. It marks a period in which, for good or ill, poetry has little richness either of sound or images. The good work is neat and temperate, the bad flat and dry. There is more bad than good. Tottel's *Miscellany*, 'Sternhold and Hopkins', and *The Mirror for Magistrates* are typical Drab Age works." As such, Lewis reductively places early Tudor poetry within an evolutionary literary history: the collection remains both "unpromising" and simply preparatory for what would follow. "At its best," he continues, "it has a severity, a neatness, a precision, which bring it much closer to the work of the Augustans than to Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare." As scholars continue to find, Lewis's concept of a "post-Tottel wasteland" of bad verse followed by a "Golden Age" of poetry severely distorts our understanding of Tudor culture, including Tottel's groundbreaking collection.

Lewis's denigration of *Songes* as "drab" parallels Mason's dismissive critical burial of the text. Mason devalued the "significance of the collection," writing "that it marked a downward turn to sterility, and, though the first in time of the series of anthologies that became such a feature of the second half of the century, it is in fact the grave of Early Tudor poetry." Such a narrow evolutionary literary aesthetic or hermeneutic unwisely removes Tottel's from its actual material history, including the history of the book, political history, the history of gender, economic history, and others—to name but a few of the discourses in which *Songes and Sonettes* participates.

Seemingly obsessed with individual poems and/or poets included in the text—and not the text as a whole—previous criticism has disjointed, decontextualized, and cannibalized *Songes and Sonettes*. Further constructing an evolutionary literary history that decenters the anthology, scholars have examined individual poems in relation to continental precedents and have provided some generalized bibliographical and editorial analysis of the work. Literary historians, moreover, have almost exclusively examined how *individual* poems provide readers with

⁴ C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama (*London, 1954), p. 64.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 239–40.

⁶ Harold Mason, *Humanism and Poetry in The Early Tudor Period* (London, 1959), p. 253.

⁷ Elizabeth Bellamy, "The Sixteenth Century," in Frank Magill (ed.), *Critical Survey of Poetry. Revised Edition* (8 vols.; Pasadena, 1992), vol. 8, p. 3808.

didactic models of courtly performance, self-advertisement, and place seeking, thereby disregarding the anthological context created by Tottel.⁸

Simultaneously defined as the first embodiment of "modern" English verse and as the distortion of that verse, *Songes and Sonnets* receives some grudging acknowledgment even as scholars dismiss it. As the original editor of the text added titles to the poems and regularized the meter of much of the verse, scholars have derided Tottel for distorting the 'original' poems rather than understanding it as an integrated anthology. In jettisoning the containing context of *Songes and Sonettes*, however, critical readers themselves, ironically, have distorted the text. Paul Marquis establishes in Chapter 1, however, that such "reshaping" creates a substantive interpretive context. As such, a collection of contextual essays on *Songes and Sonettes*, considered as an anthology, provides a much needed corrective.

Even those scholars who address *Songes and Sonettes* and note its immense popularity devote little sustained critical attention to the text. Critics who ignore *Songes and Sonettes*, proceed so, in large part, because it failed to establish the sonnet as the Renaissance form *par excellence*, which, according to their readings, finds it apex in the sonnets of Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and, to a lesser degree, John Donne and Mary Wroth. A disconnect between such critical perceptions and early modern poetic practice emerges, however, in the fact that the term "sonnet" remained vague throughout the period.⁹

Although the prolific and influential writer George Gascoigne defines the sonnet as a 14-line poem with a concluding couplet in 1575, he also admits that "some thinke that all Poemes (being short) may be called Sonets." Further undermining modern and reductive formalist readings of early modern poetry, writers experimented widely with the form, altering length, rhyme scheme, and subject matter. Less than twenty percent of the poems included in *Songes and Sonettes*, moreover, fulfill Gascoigne's definition; Tottel's second edition of 1557—(Q2)—contains 54 sonnets out of the 280 poems. If the modern focus on the sonnet, as well as deference to Lewis and Mason's denigration of *Songes and Sonettes*, marginalizes Tottel's unfairly, the collection's popularity tells a different story.

⁸ For a bibliography of Tottel's see Paul Marquis, "Recent Studies in Richard Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes*," *English Literary Renaissance*, 28 (1998): 299–313. and Stephen Hamrick, "*Tottel's Miscellany* and the English Reformation," *Criticism*, 44.4 (2002): 329–61.

⁹ For example, Clement Robinson's *A Handful of Pleasant Delights: Containing Sundry New Sonnets* (London, 1584), contained no sonnets as defined in the modern period. See William Parker, "The Sonnets in *Tottel's Miscellany*," *PMLA*, 54.3 (1939): 672.

See, for example, Sunil Sarker, *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (New Delhi, 2006), Chapters 2–4. George Gascoigne, 'Certayne Notes of Instruction', in G. Smith (ed.), *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (2 vols., Oxford, 1904).

Parker, 'Sonnets in *Tottel's*', 669–77.

Scholars have usefully contextualized *Songes and Sonettes* within early modern book culture, tracing its role in altering the place, popularity, and circulation of verse within culture. Wendy Wall, for example, traces the roles played by Tottel's collection at the moment in which both manuscript and print culture operated and interacted. As she writes, Tottel's "tells us that the 'idea of the book' and the 'book commodity' were entities being negotiated and fashioned both through their material format and through the rhetoric that writers and publishers used to identify the social place of writing."12 As Hyder Rollins records, moreover, readers of Songes and Sonettes actively engaged the text, emending, changing, and editing their purchased copies extensively—literally writing on and/or erasing the printed texts: multiple hands and multiple copies within different editions of the popular text suggest that this practice enjoyed some appeal. The practice of physically editing the printed copies of *Songes and Sonettes* supports Wall's claim that "not only the foregrounding of the poetry's occasional status but also the work's very heterogeneous format aligns it with manuscript texts; for manuscript forms are deemed to be 'open' in that they inspire the reader to reassemble literary material rather than to admire its cohesion within a totality." Songes and Sonettes demonstrably retained its material form as an anthology—even as readers physically altered and edited the collection—and the text's "cohesion within a totality" arguably contributed to its popularity and growing cultural authority.

Arthur Marotti further establishes the centrality of Songes and Sonettes in redefining discourses of authority, focusing specifically on the institutionalization and transfer of lyric from manuscript circulation into print. He also establishes that the landmark anthology influenced the publication of multiple popular anthologies in the next two decades.¹⁴ By adding titles to each of the poems in the collection, asserts Marotti. Tottel created a distinctly literary document and culture. Cutting the poems out of their original and immediate contexts. Tottel initiated "a recontextualizing process ... in which the works lost their vivid particularity of meaning and began to speak a language whose general and abstract terms were a hybrid of poetic conventionality and culture-specific code words." Some critical work in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has sought to chart the abstract terms and codes deployed within Tottel's collection. This work has illuminated both individual poems and distinct codes, yet readers also encountered *Songes and* Sonettes as an interconnected package or totality, i.e., a collection, which indicates the need to analyze the text as an anthology of connected poems, cultural themes, and structures

Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, p. 29.

Rollins, *Tottel's Miscellany*, vol. 2, pp. 36, 100–101; see also Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Cornell, 1995), pp. 144–5.

Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, p. 212.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 218–19. Contrast this with Wall, *Imprint of Gender*, p. 25. See also, Elizabeth Heale, *Wyatt*, *Surrey and Early Tudor Poetry* (London, 1998).

Literary historians both overlook the complexity and fail to account for the popularity of Tottel's as a collection because, all too often, such an anthological context goes unheeded in the face of other overarching critical concerns. Steven May, for example, struggles to account for the success of Songes and Sonettes because, he asserts, it found little in common with Tudor courtly verse. Focusing on such a courtly context, May overlooks his own long-standing claim that the courtier poets were a "privileged few"; he counts 32.16 As trendsetters, 32 courtier poets (and their followers) created some demand for Songes and Sonettes, yet such a small group surely failed to create the need for the two editions printed inside of two months in the summer of 1557. While briefly entertaining other possibilities, May then rejects them, stating "but, in fact, we have no idea who bought these inaugural editions of the Miscellany or why." With the Tudor courts as his interpretive axis mundi, May necessarily overlooks significant elements that help explain the popularity of Songes and Sonettes. As the chapters in this collection indicate, the popularity of Tottel's anthology stems, in part, from its utility in amorous, religious, political, and other contexts.

To some considerable degree, the popularity of *Songes and Sonettes* stemmed from its ability to provide a coded language of political critique useable by a broad range of readers. Reconstructing the complex political, linguistic, and poetic discourses that constitute Tudor culture, scholars have established that Wyatt, Surrey, Tottel, and other humanists redefined the social and cultural roles of the English language for political and economic reasons. As the increasingly autocratic Tudor dynasty used language to redefine authority as originating primarily or only in the monarch rather than in the English church, in the Papacy, or in an independent aristocracy, Wyatt, Surrey, and others responded by redefining the concepts of "honor" and the "poet" in order to create alternative sources of cultural and moral authority. Writers and publishers based these alternate forms of authority in a shared linguistic excellence and in a humanist desire to reform society. Recognizing the place of *Songes and Sonettes* within such an oppositional discourse helps account for its popularity with some readers.

Modern scholars have also ignored and/or misunderstood the popularity of *Songes and Sonettes* because, using the aforementioned evolutionary model of literary history and/or a bias towards elite writers, they have focused on writers

Steven May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets* (Asheville, 1999), pp. 4, 19.

Steven May, "Popularizing Courtly Poetry: *Tottel's Miscellany* and its Progeny," in Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature 1485–1603* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 419–20.

¹⁸ See Davis' discussion in Chapter 3 , pp. 69–70. On poetry and the reign of Henry VIII, see Greg Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and the Henrician Reformation* (Oxford, 2005); Sessions, *Henry Howard*, chs. 8–10; W.A. Sessions, "Surrey's Wyatt: Autumn 1542 and the New Poet," in Peter Herman (ed.), *Rethinking the Henrician Era: Essays on Early Tudor Texts and Contexts* (Urbana, 1994), pp. 168–92; and Tom Betteridge, *Literature and Politics in the English Reformation* (Manchester, 2004), pp. 44–86.

rather than consumers, i.e., readers, of the anthology. Although Tottel begins his prefatorial "To the reder" discussing the writing of poetry, he ends with a discussion of reading. Permanently altering popular understanding of English verse, Tottel addresses potential naysayers, writing,

If perhappes some mislike the statelynesse of the style removed from the rude skil of common *eares*: I aske helpe of the learned to defende theyr lerned frendes, the authors of this woorke: and I exhort the unlearned, *by reading* to be more skilful, and to purge that swinelike grossenesse that maketh the sweete majerome not to smel to their delight. [My emphasis]

Rather than primarily writing, Tottel's encourages consumers to learn to appreciate *reading* and *hearing* the kind of English poetry he offers, as his reference to "the rud skil of comon eares" indicates. Again, Tottel focuses on consumers, exhorting them "*by reading*" to appreciate the new poetry he offers (my emphasis). "Smel" moreover serves as a metaphor of reception or consumption, not of production, which vehicle, again, focuses attention on reading and hearing. His exhortation, moreover, to "bee more skilful" refers to the aesthetic "skil of [their] comon eares," because he only uses the term "skill" in his prefatory comments in regards to "eares." In essence, previous scholarship has primarily focused on *Songes and Sonettes* through a writerly hermeneutic rather than, as Tottel stresses, through the experience of readers.

Reading aloud, in fact, remained the dominant popular practice in the early modern period, which, again, defines "skil of comon eares" as the material practice of reading and not as a metaphor for writing poetry. Although historians rightly analyze the practices of reading and writing in tandem, Tottel's letter focuses repeatedly on consumption of the written or spoken word; most consumers, moreover, would more easily read or hear than write poetry. In focusing on the stylistic and metrical differences between Tottel's and later poetry, scholars have largely ignored non-writing readers, certainly the largest group of consumers that purchased *Songes and Sonettes*.

Such critical misdirection notwithstanding, Tottel's paratextual efforts provide a historically resilient discursive context in which readers, writers, editors, and others engaged the anthology. Debating the editor's identity, analyzing the lack of courtly analogues, and asserting a lack of imitators, nevertheless, all avoid

On silent reading, see Andrew Cambers, Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720 (Cambridge, 2011); Elspeth Jajdelska, Silent Reading and the Birth of the Narrator (Toronto, 2007); Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier (eds.), A History of Reading in the West, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Amherst, 2003); Paul Saenger, Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading (Palo Alto, 2000); and David Cressy, Literarcy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge, 1980).

explaining why Tottel's achieved such rapid and widespread popularity.²⁰ In providing readers with a redolent lexicon of religious, political, and erotic terms and tropes, therein enabling them to address a broad range of period conflicts and concerns, *Songes and Sonettes* established the type of anthology popular with readers throughout the period.

In "Printing History and Editorial Design in the Elizabethan Version of Tottel's Songes and Sonettes." Paul Marquis begins the collection by demonstrating that the text indubitably functions as a complex anthology. Revising our understanding of Tottel's, normally dubbed a "miscellany," Marquis establishes that "what Tottel published in 1557, however, were anthologies, selections of the choicest verses available to him at the time, arranged and sequenced in a particular order." Although the term "miscellany" will, perhaps, continue to inhibit understanding of Tottel's achievement. Marquis' essay analyzes the great care that Tottel used in editing Q2—the second edition published in 1557—making it an integrated, complexly organized, and structured anthology far more accessible to the reader than its predecessor. Marguis's attention to the text's editing, moreover, leads him to conclude that Tottel remained a religious moderate rather than a Catholic or Protestant partisan. Expanding upon Marotti's understanding of manuscripts as "sites of contested ideologies," Marquis establishes that such a contest can also be read "in the dialogic interplay of verses in Songes and Sonettes" and, potentially, in other verse anthologies.

In addition to providing such a comprehensive analysis of the text's own editorial practice, Marquis also places Q2 within the contexts of classical, continental, and domestic traditions of editing in which authors and editors arranged poetry "not as random aggregations of unrelated verse but as carefully designed and orchestrated arrangements of private and public sentiments." Tottel thus responds well to the dominant "culture of coherence," which sought to understand the complex whole of a given text and its "dialogic interplay of verses." Since Q2 served as the copy text for every following edition of *Songes and Sonettes*, Q2's editorial arrangement provided readers with a resilient formal context that demonstrably shaped interpretation of that text. Reconstructing the "formal integrity of the anthology," Marquis brings a much-needed corrective to the critical practice of divorcing poems, themes, and authors from their place within the anthology.

In Chapter 2, "Profit and Pleasure? The Real Economy of Songes and Sonettes," Catherine Bates compares Tottel's prefatory "To the reder"—and its rhetoric of readerly "profit"—to the often abrasive economic imagery used consistently throughout the anthology. Adapting Pierre Bourdieu's findings concerning gift exchange, Bates offers a much-needed revision of critical practices that have simply read Tottel's preface at face value. Rather than a sure key to courtly preferment, Songes and Sonettes represents "a testament to the pitfalls of a capitalist economy." Instead of "the prospect of money in the bank or cash in

The identity of the editor of *Songes and Sonettes* remains uncertain. See Holton and Macfaul, *Tottel's Miscellany*, p. xxi.

hand," Tottel's anthology, measured against its ambitious prefatorial promises of profit, offers a commodity "arguably a whole lot more valuable: an elementary lesson in market economics."

In addition to economic loss, Tottel's text also diminishes the erotic profit ostensibly offered by the text. Tottel's anthology, in Bates's compelling reading, eviscerates such concepts of love and reward. Creating meaning through the linking, juxtaposition, and recollection of economic attitudes, ideas, and themes, *Songes and Sonettes* functions as an anthology that, for Bates, nevertheless fails to deliver its promised profit.

In Chapter 3, Alex Davis examines the use of the "matter of Troy" in Songes and Sonettes, demonstrating the fashion in which the anthology deploys this complex classical allusion as a connective theme and/or trope. Throughout the text, images and references to Troy, as Davis demonstrates, fashion a complex political discourse "marked by a puzzling rhetorical excess ... that has constant recourse to images of loss, betrayal and death; of dynastic ruin, and of a city on fire." Such symbolic "excess" provides readers with a "roadmap that can guide" them "through the various interests of the collection and the kinds of cultural work it performs." Like Marquis and other contributors, Davis establishes that the placement of a poem within the collection created contextual meanings that effected distinct "cultural work." Of particular interest, Davis finds that "Troy establishes a line of connection between zones of history (distant and proximate, real and imagined) that we might otherwise seek to keep conceptually distinct." Davis thus foregrounds the fact that Tottel's Songes and Sonettes-within and across poems-draws upon and engages important and disparate historical discourses to create holistic meaning.

Writing in Chapter 4, "Chaucer's Presence in *Songes and Sonettes*," that Tottel's anthology "interacts with Chaucer's work in a conscious and purposeful way," Amanda Holton demonstrates that the collection uses Chaucer's poetry to fashion a complex anthology that, nevertheless, dethrones Chaucer as the premiere English poet and, as a central part of that process, defames women and the female voice. Precisely because of the cultural dominance of Chaucer in the sixteenth century, the fact that Tottel included only one of his poems in *Songes and Sonettes* merits close analysis.

Tracing the complex ways in which the anthology will both "recall and resist" Chaucer, Holton provides a comprehensive and convincing analysis of the many ways that Chaucer's characteristic concerns, language use, and verse forms structure both erotic love and the characterization of female voices in *Songes and Sonettes*. "The kind of interest Chaucer shows in women and their suffering in love," writes Holton, "is effaced from the *Miscellany*." Language associated by Chaucer with "suffering vulnerable female lovers and predatory deceitful men" is "repeatedly usurped to describe female duplicity and male suffering and victimhood." Whether in the representations of the Petrarchan beloved or in the use of classical images of women, Tottel's verse comprehensively disregards Chaucer's skepticism concerning men and masculine dominance within erotic

discourse. As Holton indicates, although the one Chaucer poem in the collection appears anonymously, Chaucer's presence remains clear to readers throughout the collection. In editorial placement of contrasting poems, as well as in the treatment of traditional love tokens and amorous objects, the collection nevertheless relies heavily upon Chaucerian style and concerns while simultaneously working to reject or, at least, minimize them in favor of Wyatt and/or Surrey. In this, Holton advances our understanding of *Songes and Sonnets* within early modern gender discourse, engaging and extensively advancing the type of scholarship forwarded by Elizabeth Heale and others.

In a *tour de force* of historical recontextualization, Peter C. Herman provides a powerful reassessment of the religio-political contexts created in and by *Songes and Sonettes*. Seeking to uncover the "implicit religious and nationalist politics of this collection," Chapter 5, "*Songes and Sonettes*, 1557," works to establish "what the *Songes and Sonettes* may have meant at the time of its original publication in the summer of 1557 rather than viewing this text in the light of its subsequent meanings." Further participating in a revisionist reading of English Reformation literatures (with such writers as Tom Betteridge and Greg Walker), Herman argues, the text originally read as a pro-Catholic and anti-Henry VIII publication.

Even though "Richard Tottel seems to have been motivated by profits." Herman argues—in contrast to Marquis in Chapter 1—that he also published Songes and Sonettes in order to create a "distinctly English, distinctly Catholic culture intended to answer the Protestant nationalism arising in response to Mary I's attempt to bring England back into the Catholic fold." In examining the publication of pro-Catholic texts in the period, Herman argues that "Tottel's linguistic nationalism and his aesthetic vision form part of the more general project to forge a new English literary culture, one that is distinctly Catholic." Rather than corruptions of the poetry, Herman suggests that Tottel's editorial emendations allow him to distance his text from the Protestant plain style favored by English Protestant reformers. In centralizing the executed Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, moreover, Tottel also fashions Surrey as a true Henrician and Catholic martyr in order to powerfully contrast the "false martyrs" popularized by Protestant hagiographers like John Foxe. Herman's reading of Tottel as pro-Catholic provides a useful counterpart to Marquis's assertion that Tottel remained a religious moderate, hopefully evoking further discussion on the place of *Songes and Sonettes* in reformation cultures.

Focusing primarily upon the dramatist's sonnets, Tom MacFaul argues in Chapter 6, "Songes and Sonettes and Shakespeare's Poetry," that the Stratford playwright maintained a distinct reliance upon Songes and Sonettes throughout his career. Rather than serving as a graveyard of obsolete poetic forms, Tottel's anthology deeply informs Shakespeare's work in multiple ways. MacFaul argues, in fact, that Shakespeare "engages in a very various dialogue with the moral and erotic verse of the collection, creating complicated patterns of feeling out of the apparently simpler stances of early Tudor verse. In particular, he uses material from the Miscellany to focus his thoughts about poetic memory and immortalization."

For MacFaul, Shakespeare's respect for *Songes and Sonettes* results from treating it as a valued sourcebook of ideas and meditations. Building upon the

achievements of his forebears, "he treats Tottel's collection as an echo-chamber and source for variations, rather as jazz musician might use a song-book of standards." Favoring technical and ideational details and modes found in the anthology, Shakespeare fails to deploy its themes. As MacFaul writes, "a complex nostalgia, then, marks Shakespeare's use of the *Miscellany*. The fragile immortality that printed verse can provide informs his attitude to selfhood and its potential to make connections with the world." Far from an old and outdated text, *Songes and Sonettes* served Shakespeare well and, as MacFaul writes, "Shakespeare never lost touch with an older form of verse and its attitudes."

Chapter 7, Seth Lerer's "Cultivation and Inhumation: Some Thoughts on the Cultural Impact of Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes*," reads the text as an anthology structured by the contemporary and interconnected imagery of horticulture and decay, which also served a broad range of writers and genres throughout the period. For Lerer, "images of growth and death, of cultivation and inhumation, and of the textuality of desire, interlace throughout the volume's poems." As he indicates, it is precisely in Tottel's period that writers transferred horticultural concepts of "culture" to social and personal discourses. Lerer's highly original focus on such intertwined imagery reconstructs the fashion in which Tottel effectively yokes contemporary concerns over life, death, and renewal to the new modes of printing, editing, and reading texts. "To consider the book's cultural impact," writes Lerer, "is to consider how it traces a trajectory along the axes of death and didacticism."

For Lerer, *Songes and Sonettes* serves as a "guide to the perplexed" that, even as it offers new forms of poetry, inhumes an "earlier generation of literary performance," which then serves as a highly popular kind of discursive compost for cultural growth and personal development. Tottel achieved such popularity, in part, he argues, precisely because of its didactic value. "The volume's contents and its claims were posited and read ... as much a manual of cultivation as any handbook of good manners or guide to disciplinary instruction." Through the anthological arrangement of poems in Q2, Lerer demonstrates, Tottel fashions a "tale of textual recovery and publication told as a narrative of personal cultivation." Such "cultivation" readily aligns with Bates's understanding that the text functions as a didactic tool, regardless of any profit offered.

Chapter 8, "Their Gods in Verses': *Songes and Sonettes*, 1557–1674," provides a reception history of the anthology in its first century. Although scholars have repeatedly noted the publication of multiple editions of Tottel's anthology, in this chapter Hamrick argues that they have largely failed to consider the longevity of Tottel's text in their interpretations. Read and purchased alongside other so-called "Golden Age" texts, Tottel cannot simply be relegated to one moment in the sixteenth century. As the chapter demonstrates, much of the text's popularity over the span of the century resides in its applicability to different needs. Critical comments on *Songes and Sonettes* written in the first century after its initial publication identify such utility, yet they remain largely unstudied. To begin to understand Tottel's great popularity, Hamrick provides a history of its reception in the period 1557–1674.

As has already been demonstrated, the following chapters eschew monolithic interpretations and, instead, incorporate different and often contrary positions on *Songes and Sonettes*. Marquis's assertion that Tottel remained a religious moderate rather than partisan, for example, contrasts to Herman's reading of the anthology as pro-Catholic. Rather than privileging any one interpretation of the anthology *per se, Tottel's Songes and Sonettes in Context* preserves a broad range of critical reactions to the text not unlike the range of responses offered by the text's first readers. The chapters, nevertheless, each share a concern to balance close reading of texts with appropriate historical reconstruction.

If the predominant focus within *Tottel's Songes and Sonettes in Context* remains somewhat traditionally upon Wyatt and Surrey (whose poetry constitutes about half of Tottel's anthology), the findings presented here confirm that, in addition to being the two most popular (and taught) poets of the collection, they remain the most complex. Such analysis, moreover, will surely lead others to reconsider the remaining poems and poets from new perspectives. Arguably, however, the inclusion of chapters that focus on Tottel's influence upon Shakespeare and upon earlier, mid-century writers, expands our critical perspective greatly.

Reflecting the dominant theme of the anthology, the majority of contributors approach *Songes and Sonettes* as primarily a collection of amorous or erotic tales, but do so without simply reducing the text to a one-dimensional focus. Even as, for example, Bates examines erotic discourse, she focuses consistently on the (negative) economic lessons offered by the text. Marquis's bibliographical analysis, Herman's historical contextualization, Lerer's cultural focus, and Hamrick's reception history each approach the text recognizing that early modern erotic discourse functions, at times, as far more than a repository of conventional moral didacticism or a simple record of passion.

