



# Gabriel Harvey's method of annotating his books

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## Gabriel Harvey's Method of Annotating His Books

**I**N spite of considerable selective editing, the greater part of Gabriel Harvey's marginal comments in his surviving books and manuscripts is still unpublished. In 1913, Professor G. C. Moore Smith issued an admirably edited selection of Harvey marginalia from some twenty-eight sources, the usefulness of which has been attested by a generation of scholars;<sup>1</sup> and Harvey marginalia from thirteen other sources appeared in the learned journals both before and after the publication of Moore Smith's volume.<sup>2</sup> But more than one hundred books and manuscripts, allegedly containing Harvey's autograph notes, have been listed as still extant, besides several other annotated volumes mistakenly attributed to Harvey according to the opinion of good judges.<sup>3</sup> Of the unpublished Harvey marginalia, a large and important

<sup>1</sup> *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913). This work will be referred to hereafter as *Marg.* The present study follows Moore Smith's practice of printing the expanded forms of Harvey's manuscript contractions in italic, e.g., 'utriusque.'

<sup>2</sup> Caroline Rutz-Rees, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXV (1910), 608 (Hoby's translation of *The courtier*, 1561); Hale Moore, *Studies in Philology*, XXIII (1926), 337 (Morysine's translation of Frontinus' *Strategemes*, 1539); S. A. Tannenbaum, *Modern Language Review*, XXV (1930), 327 (Thomas Wilson, *Arte of rhetorique*, 1567, and *Rule of reason*, 1567); Carroll Camden, Jr., *Philological Quarterly*, XIII (1934), 214 (Thomas Hill, *Schoole of skil*, 1599); C. B. Bourland, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, IV (1940), 85 (eight volumes in the Huntington Library relating to the study of modern languages). Frank Marcham, *The Prototype of Shylock: Lopez the Jew, Executed 1594: An Opinion by Gabriel Harvey* (Harrow Weald, Middlesex, 1927), contains some bibliographical notes on Harvey marginalia which are not very dependable.

<sup>3</sup> *Marg.*, pp. 79-86, 311-312, and the supplementary lists published by G. C. Moore Smith with the assistance of William A. Jackson, *Modern Language Review*, XXVIII (1933), 78; XXIX (1934), 68; XXX (1935), 209. For the marginalia wrongly attributed to Harvey, see the critical notes in the articles just listed. Apparently, no one has yet attempted to forge Harvey's signature or his annotations, as a means of enhancing the sale price of a book, though several enthusiasts have tried to claim for him annotated books in which the hand is certainly not his. In one curious case, apparently a seventeenth-century owner of a copy of Harvey's *Pierces supererogation* (1593) has written on one of the pages 'Gabiell Haruey Esqe' (sig. \*\*4; the volume is now in the Harvard College Library). There is a copy of Harvey's *Ciceronianus* (1577) in the Newberry Library containing corrections of some of the misprints listed in the table of errata and a few other manuscript notes. This is not the copy

part is now on the western side of the Atlantic, notably in the Harvard College Library, in the Folger Shakespeare Library, and in a private collection.

To judge from surviving materials, Harvey appears to be the most copious and interesting marginalist among literary men of the English Renaissance. The surviving marginalia of Ben Jonson and of Milton are less extensive, and they consist chiefly of brief notations of learned parallels or marks of emphasis. A member of the Stanhope family, in the early seventeenth century, covered the margins of his books in a large sprawling hand with court gossip and miscellaneous reflections that are often pungent and amusing and should be of considerable interest to the student of social history; but the author was not a literary man, and his marginalia have little or no bearing upon the intellectual life of the time. Harvey is the only annotator of the reigns of Elizabeth and James, to this writer's knowledge, whose surviving marginalia are at once abundant and varied, reflecting not only the author's eager intellectual curiosity and far-ranging learning but something of the life of his contemporaries and, above all, the personal experience of their author, his intimate feelings, dreams, and aspirations.

It is clear that Harvey, who was born about 1550 and lived until 1631, was an industrious and careful annotator of his books throughout most of his long life. His copy of Erasmus' *Parabolae* (Basel, 1565) bears the date, in Harvey's autograph, 'mense Januario 1566.'<sup>4</sup> A volume published in 1607 that contains Harvey's characteristic annotations is now in the Harvard College Library,<sup>5</sup> and a copy of Napier's *Table of logarithmes* (London, 1618) is said to contain Harvey's autograph.<sup>6</sup> Among the unpublished Harvey marginalia examined by the present writer, there occurs the reference: 'Sic qui maximè dudum

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containing Harvey's manuscript additions once seen by Thomas Baker (see *Marg.*, pp. 216 ff.), nor does there appear to be any ground for attributing the annotations in the Newberry volume to Harvey. The Newberry Library has a copy of Harvey's *Smithus* (1578) containing Harvey's authentic monogram on the title-page. Two volumes containing Harvey's annotations the titles of which have not previously been recorded are as follows: *Ioan. Thomae Freigii paratitla seu synopsis pandectarum iuris civilis* (Basel, 1583), private collection; *Le piacevoli notti di M. Giovanfrancesco Straparola da Caravagio* (Venice, 1560), Folger Shakespeare Library. It is likely that other unrecorded volumes from Harvey's library will turn up. There are several volumes in England containing the annotations of Gabriel's brother Richard.

<sup>4</sup> *Marg.*, p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> *The Turkes secretorie* (London, 1607).

<sup>6</sup> *MLR*, XXVIII (1933), 81.

excellebat, Bacon Cancellarius,' which, if it refers to Francis Bacon, may be dated after 1618; the likelihood is, however, that it refers to Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, for whom Harvey wrote an epitaph which he headed 'Nicolai Baconis, Summi Angliæ Cancellarii.'<sup>7</sup>

From the beginning, Harvey made these annotations with care, usually in his beautiful Italian hand. It seems likely that his written comments in his books became more elaborate as he grew older and that he came to set greater and greater store by them. They were famous enough in 1581 to warrant a reference in *Pedantius*, the Cambridge Latin comedy written at Harvey's expense, where Pedantius-Harvey in a moment of pecuniary crisis declares that he will sell his books which, he says, he has 'enriched with marginal annotations like precious gems or stars.'<sup>8</sup>

Whether or not we agree with this estimate of their value, these marginalia are undeniably of remarkable historical interest today, and the best of them deserve to be made more fully available to students of Harvey and of his age. Professor Moore Smith, within the limits of the volume he edited, could present only a selection — sometimes a very small selection — of the available notes in the Harvey books that he used. Perhaps the finest volume in Harvey's library, his folio Livy, and the two works to be described below, Moore Smith never saw. Harvey's surviving volumes vary greatly in the amount of annotation they contain. Some of his books have only his monogram or signature on the title-page; in others, the notations are slight and insignificant; but in a number the annotations are extraordinarily rich and copious and are yet unpublished.

Among this last class of Harvey volumes are a considerable fragment of the *Facetie, motti, et burle, di diversi signori et persone private. Raccolte per M. Lodovico Domenichi, & da lui di nuouo del settimo libro ampliate. Con una nuoua aggiunta di motti, raccolti da M. Thomaso Porcacchi, & con vn discorso intorno a essi, con ogni dili-*

<sup>7</sup> See *Marg.*, p. 223. Harvey's marginal note is in Lodovico Domenichi, *Facetie* (Venice, 1571), sig. Ee4r (Folger Shakespeare Library). Other annotations in this volume were made after the accession of James I. to the English throne.

<sup>8</sup> *Pedantius*, IV, iv, 2194-2201, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Louvain, 1905), p. 62: 'Ped. Homines omnes quicumque qualescumque sint, interrogat nunc Pedantius, numquid authores omnis generis exactissimos, Græcos, Latinos, veteres, neotericos coemere velint hodie. Hos cum satis jam superque ad contemplativum usum legendo, scribendo, commentando ornaverim, & annotationibus marginalibus tanquam gemmis aut stellis deauraverim, placet nunc ad activum finem referre.'

162. Singula ad rem quibus terminis:  
 Omnia ad scopum recta linea.  
 Numero, forma, & natura: delle Gratie.

GLI antichi Greci fingevano le Gratie esser tre, Aglaia, Thalia, & Euprosine: & le dipingevano nude per dimostrare, che i beneficij deono esser puri, & semplici, senza insidie, o speranza di maggior profitto. Contrafacevan le giovani, perche la memoria del beneficio, de esser sempre fresca, & non invecchiare: apparivan ridenti, perche si dee dare, & beneficiare il prossimo allegramente. Dipingevan le tre, dicendo che l'una porge, l'altra riceve, & la terza rende. Due ne voltavano col viso verso di noi, & vna con la collottola: volendo significare che per vna gratia che si riceua, se ne deve rendere due. Congiungevanle insieme strettamente, dimostrando che le gratie deono essere indissolubili; & l'un beneficio l'altro preparare; & cosi fare la amicitia perpetua.

*Eufrasi Syrabus, mel, Mercuriale.*  
 La prontezza del rispondere, essere molto seria proficiendi salutifera. *Observantia.*

ANDANDO Esopo per comandamento del padrone, a veder se'l bagno era a ordine, riscotrò il Podestà della terra al quale domandandolo dou'egli andasse, Esopo rispose: io non lo so. Or parendo al Podestà d'esser vilipeso da vno schiavo, comandò che fusse menato in prigione. Però Esopo voltatosi a lui prontamente disse: oh buon Podestà, vedete voi come io vi risposi ben a proposito? perche io vò in prigione, & non sapena d'hauerui andare. Il Podestà maravigliatosi di tanta prontezza, vlcendo il fece rilasciare.

*Quædam sunt virtutes quibus quædam sunt vicia. Quædam sunt virtutes quibus quædam sunt vicia. Quædam sunt virtutes quibus quædam sunt vicia.*

*Stultici estis? Logui honorifice de feminis. Viri scilicet nolite tangere: nisi forte pollice estis? Pollice estis? Logui honorifice de feminis. Viri scilicet nolite tangere: nisi forte pollice estis?*

*Quædam sunt virtutes quibus quædam sunt vicia. Quædam sunt virtutes quibus quædam sunt vicia. Quædam sunt virtutes quibus quædam sunt vicia.*

PLATE I

GUICCIARDINI, Detti et fatti piacevoli (1571), SIG. LIV  
 (Folger Shakespeare Library)

L. R. 54  
 SSSS *Frontin. Callis.*  
*Rantus solubat eoto fanger, et sero ambular.*  
*Que optime Corporis, Animiq. Medicinē.*  
*Hred withouten hred, still choppis usser null chauce*  
*And Condu it is in Lay, that doth the charym aduance*  
*mo Barlandi Foci, and Gabriel Argall.*  
*Monsa philosophica; two*  
*contauit, & inseparabile Compositions of Frontin. & Argall.*  
*The greates felicity in y<sup>e</sup> world, to be merry, & wisest*  
*Omne tulle p. Philop. um. Stuerne; in amareto*  
*Stuerne ego, haud ulli uolarrum Virtute seruidus*  
*Conditus hic Domini munere, Vera rano.*  
*Ridiculus in Mus (dic tu quam turpe) norauit,*  
*Compuloram totius quem dare terga fugat.*  
*As Somni, Noctisq. dolis dorepū opara;*  
*Quorum etiam formis Regna superba ruunt.*  
*Disote Aues sapere, et nulla illa quāriar serē:*  
*Prudenti Tumulus sufficit unus tui.*  
*Ciridulitatem odi: nocuit sperare Columbis:*  
*Stuerus amat vigilis: tanta, fororia, Dra rē.*  
*Quisquis ades, Sturm miseratus Fata, memento*  
*Vitam ex morte tua consolidae tuam.*  
*Gabriel Haruejus. 1530.*  
*Nor nobilitas, nor opulencia, nor scientia, nor*  
*ulla qualitas, aut quantitas multum ualeat;*  
*Signa priuata uirtute, et publica reputatione.*  
*ex. in O. au. ep. 10. Nihil pariterq.*  
*Pamphili Eudromi Entelechia.*

No opportunity to be over-  
 looking of Argall. Oratio post Calua.

PLATE IIa  
 FRONTINUS, STRATEGEMES (1539), VERSO OF TITLE-PAGE  
 (Harvard College Library)

OYPANOMAXIA,  
 HOC EST,  
 ASTROLOGORVM  
 LV DV S,  
 Ad bonarum artium, & Astrologie in primis studiosorum  
 relaxationem comparatur, nunc primum illu-  
 stratus, ac in lucem editus, per  
 GVILIELMVM FVLCONEM  
 CANTABRIGIENSEM.  
 Abacus & Calculi uenerunt apud Guiliehmum Io-  
 nes, in longa officina, ad Occidentalem  
 Paulini templi portam.  
*Gabriel Haruejus*  
 LONDINI  
 Per Thomam Easton & Henricum Middeltonum,  
 impensis Guilielemi Iones.  
 1572 H Y  
 An. p. 335. 348. 399. W. p. 1007. 1317.

PLATE IIb  
 FULKE, OYPANOMAXIA (1572), TITLE-PAGE  
 (Harvard College Library)

Ecce sigillatim quædam libri dogmatici, et problemata

Vide Osiedram Bibliographi  
Pulicarium  
Recherches

Dehibens. Item Chirurgia, impressa Venetijs, 1502. apud  
Ottadonum Scotum.

Guilielmus Plancius, Cenomanus, medicus, Galeni com-  
pensationes in ophoristino Hip. Latine et donavit, et annotato  
libro illustravit: excusum Lugduni in B. Idem translati ex Pla-  
tarcha commentum 7. sapientium, item libellum de superstitione  
Gryphus excudit, anno D. 1552. in 8. Coniunctum etiam Græ-  
cæ aditum est innumeris locis emendatum. Item translati  
Io. Chryostomi libelli. Neminem ex iuvis aut mortis anathe-  
matæ ferendum. Libellus excusus est Lutetie. Emendatæ et-  
iam epistole Græcæ Budæi, et Græcæ præfatus est, Vurthe-  
lus excudit, anno 1540. Conuersit quoque easdem, verum non  
tum (quod sciam) editi. Præterea Synopsi homilias, et om-  
nia Philonis opera nunc translati dicuntur.

Guilielmus Postellus Barentonius, scripsit alphabetum,  
introducens in eum, et legendi modum, linguarum duodecim cha-  
racteribus differentiarum tempore Hebræicæ, Chaldæicæ, Chaldæ-  
icæ recensionis, quam à transitu fluminis iordanis; Samaritanæ,  
quæ præter Hebræicam est Arabicam, vel Punicam, cuius integra  
Grammatica sub compendio traditur. Indica, Græca, Græcise  
ne, Tæritana, Hieronymiana, vel Illyrica, Armenica, Lati-  
na. In singulis autem illis perscriptis Christianæ in dicitur  
si orbis partibus agerentur historias habet, quibus illa lingue  
(præter Arabicam, Hebræicam et Samaritanam) sunt in san-  
ctorum usum ac grammaticis communes. Excudit Parisijs Dio-  
nysius Lesquier, 1538. Scripsit etiam de Originibus, seu de  
Hebræicæ lingue et gentis antiquitate, de quo uariarum lingua-  
rum affinitate librum, ibidem impressum. Grammaticam Ara-  
bicam, Arabicis typis eodem loco excusam. De magistratu  
bus Atheniensium librum, excusum Basileæ apud Ioan. Opor-  
inum, anno 1543. Item de rebus Turcicis, ad Franciscum  
Callorum regem lib. 2. de Orbis terra concordia lib. 4. Ba-  
sileæ apud Oporinum, anno 1544. *Pythagoræ de composi-  
tione primarum dissidiorum, circa æternam ueritatem, aut ueri-  
similitudinem ueritatis. Vnde autem Tuba perpetua stri-  
dorem; et se Heliam Pandæum nominat; libellus excu-  
sus ab eodem. Candelabri typi in Moysi tabernaculo iussu  
diuino expressi, breuis ac dilucida interpretatio; Vnde: excu-  
sus, 1548. de Nativitate mediatoris ultimi, nunc futura, et tot  
et ibi rerarum in singulis ratione præditi manifestanda. Liber  
excusum Basileæ à Io. Oporino, anno D. 1547. quatern. 23.*

*Absconditum à constitutione mundi claudit, quæ mentis huma-  
ne tam in diuersis quam in humanis pertinet ad interiora uela-  
mentis æterna ueritate. Liber ab eodem excusus, charis 6. et  
dimid. in 26. Eiusdem operis iussu magnitudinis, quod inscribitur,  
Absconditum à constitutione mundi, De natura humane restitu-  
tionis, in eadem conditionem quam ante peccatum habebat, nunc  
ad futuram inferioribus cū magno favore in quo hæc continen-  
tur. Claudit scripturarum, quæ ad interiora itur uelaminis: Or-  
suum apertum æterni mysterij. Septem Sigillorum libri ab a-  
gro aperti referatio: Evangelion æternum, seu natura et gra-  
tia conjugium; ad Concilium diuinitus coactum abibit; liber  
notum editur, excusum apud Io. Oporinum, Basileæ; aliquando  
in lucem edendus, cum Deus uoluerit. Commentarium in histo-  
riam Ruth. Evangelium Iacobi fratris Iesu Christi, de admi-  
rabili natiuitate et inuocabili uirginitate marie Mariæ, et  
ipsius Iesu, à Græco uetustissimo codice translatum. Impres-  
sum Basileæ à Io. Oporino in 8. cum Theodori Bibliandri li-  
bro de uita Marci euangeliste. De originibus, seu de uaria,  
et positis, ubi Latine ad hæc diem incognitæ aut inconsidera-  
ta historia, cum totius orientis, tum præterea Tartarorum, Per-  
sitarum, Turcarum, et omnium Abrahami et Noachi alimo-  
rum originibus, et mysteria Brachmanum reterege: Quod ad*

gentium literarumque quibus utitur rationes atque, ex libris  
Noachi et Henochi, iussu quædam traditionis à Moysi luna  
ad nostra tempora seruate, et Chaldæicis literis conscriptæ,  
à Postello posteritati eruta, exposita, atque proposita. Liber ex-  
pressus ab Oporino charis 8. et dimid. in 8. cum tabula unius  
charis, anno D. 1553. De æterno Christi in interioribus, re 2no,  
et sacro Petri primatu, iam ab Adano per Noachum, Abra-  
hamum, Moysen et Christum ad nos usque deducto: ex Zoharis,  
seu illustrationis scripturarum sententiæ tam clara, ut sententi-  
æ Euangelij instar sit: 72. Seniorum Moysi scripturæ de notis  
et doctrinæ sancto Symone Iustis primam publicè expre-  
ssit. Admirabilis Iudæorum clausorum, seu 10. tribuum Ise-  
rael sub Turcarum et Persarum potentia reduti: cum hi-  
storia. Demonstratio, quod præcipua nra doctrina, que no-  
mine Aristotelis circumferitur, placita, sint contra simam et  
rationem tam in mente quam in ueritate et dignis literis expre-  
ssam, sola auctoritate maxima mundi ingenia obsecant: miran-  
da summis malis, id est, periculis, hactenus in ueritate pa-  
ris cause. Chæus, seu Eua matris omnium ueritatem admi-  
rabiles, et super omnes doctrinas mundi, secundum Euange-  
licam ueritatem et noui Testamenti ueritatem amplectendæ: præ-  
scripta à Razile, Adami primi patris angelorum  
ex libro Debiti id est lucis purissima, excerpta. Præfixa est A-  
pologia ad Christi ueritatem, ut ratio tantum exponatur my-  
sterij, etc. De admirandis numerorum Platoniorum secretis,  
et diuina uirtute intelligenda in illis abscondita: Ex Platonis  
Pythagoræque præceptorum commentarij. Scripsit præ-  
ter multa alia Postellus, quorum catalogum ad nos transtulit  
sic, à quo sequentia sermè omnia desumpta sunt. De fortitudi-  
da Eua aduentu nunc in spiritu futuro, sicut in Iosone eras in-  
uenit sua uirtute et spiritus. Opus est compitum ex postre-  
partum 72. Moysi auctoritatem doctrinis, ad docendam, quod u-  
nitas solius Mæsiæ hinc Christi opera necesse est restitui ea om-  
nia que Sæculari deservit in isto mundo inferiori. De æter-  
na rerum dispositione opus, complectens et pauca exponit uer-  
tibus historiam, ac demonstrat quomodo in figurata Gene-  
seos historia est expressum, non solum quicquid postea à Iuda-  
icæ et Christianæ repub. contigit, sed multo magis ubi expres-  
sum esse, quicquid in Gentili sine Eua, et quicquid in Iuda-  
lica politia contigisse uideatur, et unquam postea contigerit.  
Nam hoc est uerissimum, omnia in figuris commixta illis.  
Perso arboris diuina dispositionis, seu diuinitus nominum  
ex Hebræis ante mille annos manuscriptis, ubi ostenditur inu-  
nitas argumentorum fontibus, fore omnino exemplendam  
restitutionem omnium in uirtute decem nominum Dei, quod est  
Adonai, in quo deservit intellectus potissimus, seu possibile  
aut possibile uirtutis. Liber Gallicè scriptus de famine na-  
tura excellentis, in quo finaliter docet, inter ceteras ingenio et  
pietate singulari formæ, unquam necessario dari Christo instar  
sacris cum cetero consuetudinem, quæ sit super omnes fani-  
nas mundi post uirginem macram excelsa, salua diuinitate, seu  
eius Christus omnibus hominibus antecellit. De monarchia  
rationibus et iure, tam ex diuinitus quam ex humanis et ecclési-  
bus decretis constituto: Liber Gallicè scriptus, ostendens ad tol-  
lendam mundi tyrannidem nullum esse expeditum remedium,  
quod ut iuretur ad monarchiam in eius principis uerba, qui di-  
uino, caelesti et humano iure uirtutis electus, et iure in hæ-  
re cessator, præterea aut tercio loco futurum in ordine, et  
nam in manere successorem accipiat. Volumen prophetia-  
rum eodem Gallicè scriptum, et ab Arabum, Syrorum, Ar-  
meniorum, aliorumque populorum orientalium sectis, ab om-  
nibus receptis plerumque hoc ipsum de monarchia constitutum.  
De Gallicè originibus, Latine scriptum opus, ostendit hoc in

Ecce Gypsijs  
Gemijs  
Antiaris totalia  
Bellarion  
Fianus  
Jesuy Marty

*Multum valet Leo: sed Leo, et Vulpes, multo plus.*  
*Sylla, Plarisa, Fortis; Ciceroni Vohemans; ut etiam*  
*et at acer, Kynges hyghngs.*  
*batheinentes, layde for them. They that et are.*  
 also hereby perceyue, many swete baytes  
 to couer some hokes. They shall letne  
 there to escape danger, where gret adua-  
 tage is offered. The noble capitaynes of  
 England, haue oft declared, that they le-  
 tell nede any instructions, any bokes, to  
 teach them to towise their enemies: & yet  
 it can hurte no man, to see those thynges  
 practysed, by auncient capitaynes, whi-  
 che may gyue good occasiōs, both ware-  
 ly to inuente newe polycies; and wysely  
 to vse the olde. Noble hartes, vndoub-  
 tedly can not but desyre, to here of noble  
 feates, and take pleasure in seinge, howe  
 wytte with smalle force, ofte tymes wor-  
 keth wonders, where excedynge greatte  
 strength can nat auayle. If men be not  
 wepy, to playe a thousande tymes at one  
 game, where eyther fonde pleasure, or  
 vyle gayne, or (whan it is best) helthe of  
 body is sought: can any gentyll man be  
 lothesome, to refreshe his mynde, to help  
 his memoire, to kendele his courage with  
 honeste delyste, of redynge or herynge su-  
 che thynges, as appertayne to the safe-  
 Camillus furius. Papyrius Cursor. Garde  
 In Vro Casare, multi Maxy.  
 Vin Alexandri, potissimum emulabatur  
 Caesar: Vin Demosthenis, Cincas.

*Cum in Agenda, quem in Diendo, sempiternis virtutibus excellit, et fulminis vigor.*  
*Schillig, Alexander, Caesar, Vohemansissimi de Romis: periculis, Demosthenis, Cincas.*

*Omnes in  
 perinde fact,  
 ut agas, ut in  
 magnificas,  
 Spiritus  
 inbus alit.  
 Caesar, iudicio  
 fortis, et  
 fructus.*



*Vohemansissimi Ompomy: sic  
 in Qaud: sic Vohemans: sic amos,  
 in trua de heruica fortitudinis, aut  
 Eloquentia. Quibus furor, et numer.*

PLATE IV

FRONTINUS, *Strategemes* (1539), sig. avr  
 (Harvard College Library)



*gentia ricorrette, & ristampate* (Venice, 1571),<sup>9</sup> and the whole of the *Detti, et fatti piacevoli, et gravi, di diversi principi, filosofi, et cortigiani. Raccolti dal Guicciardini, et ridotti a moralità* (Venice, 1571), both now in the Folger Shakespeare Library at Washington, D. C.<sup>10</sup> Harvey's annotation of these volumes is indeed remarkable. He has covered every available margin throughout both books in his Italian hand and has even utilized the spaces between paragraphs (Plate I). The earliest dated entry in Harvey's hand (on the title-page of the Guicciardini volume) is 1580, and the Domenichi fragment contains the Bacon allusion given above.<sup>11</sup> Probably Harvey annotated the volume repeatedly over a long period of time, perhaps until near the end of his life. Still more remarkable is the extent to which he used the margins of these books for recording his private thoughts and aspirations. Though Harvey's dreams of greatness verged on megalomania at times, there is no sign of slackening intellectual vigor or senility in these marginalia. Here, side by side with an extensive record of his voluminous reading and some comment upon his contemporaries, Harvey has given a most revealing portrait of himself, especially in his later years.

Harvey's methods as an annotator of his books are complex and in some respects peculiar. It is impractical, as the present study will try to show, to attempt to represent these methods fully in an edition of Harvey's marginalia, and they have not hitherto been adequately studied. Yet an understanding of Harvey's methods of annotation is important for an understanding of his marginalia, whether they are studied in Harvey's books or in an editor's version of them. The present essay is designed to illustrate what an editor may feel obliged to omit in preparing an edition of Harvey's marginalia and to be of use to those who study Harvey's annotations from the books in which he made them.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Collation: X-Ff<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Collation of the Guicciardini: 2\*<sup>8</sup>, A-P<sup>8</sup>, plus two flyleaves and inside cover containing marginalia. This work is now bound with the Domenichi just mentioned, and the volume catalogued as MS 1764.1. It will be convenient, hereafter, to refer to these two works together as 'Domenichi-Guicciardini.'

<sup>11</sup> Note 7.

<sup>12</sup> The materials for this paper were collected while the writer held the Franklin and Orinda Johnson Travelling Fellowship from the University of Nebraska, 1945-46. The unpublished Harvey marginalia here discussed are in the Harvard College Library and the Folger Shakespeare Library. The writer is indebted to the officers of these libraries for their permission to use these materials.

Harvey's handwriting, apart from a section in his so-called *Letter-Book*, offers little difficulty to the student of it.<sup>13</sup> In his satirical account of Harvey's early upbringing, Nashe writes of Harvey as a schoolboy at Saffron Walden:

He . . . besides learnd to write a faire capitall Romane hand, that might well serue for a boone-grace to such men as ride with their face towards the horse taile, or set on the pillory for counsage or periurie. Many a copy-holder or magistrall scribe, that holds all his living by setting school-boies copies, comes short of the like gift. An old Doctor of Oxford shewd me Latine verses of his, in that flourishing flantitanting goutie *Omega* fist . . .<sup>14</sup>

The Italian hand was often called 'Roman' in the Elizabethan age,<sup>15</sup> and Nashe apparently refers here to Harvey's Italian hand, most familiar in the marginal annotations of his books, rather than to the simpler and less ornamental hand, approximating ordinary print, which the copybooks sometimes call 'Roman,' a hand that Harvey does not use in the examples of his autograph known to this writer. Strictly speaking, Harvey wrote only two distinct 'hands,' those described by Dr Greg in his preface to *English Literary Autographs* as English and Italian. But the examples reproduced by Dr Greg do not exhaust the varieties of Harvey's autograph, since he wrote both the major types with an extraordinary variety of cursiveness, rounding, and sloping, and a range from extreme care to extreme haste. Finally, in one section of his *Letter-Book* Harvey used an almost indecipherable scrawl, and F. J. L. Scott, who edited the manuscript for the Camden Society in 1884, displayed monumental patience in his attempt to decipher it.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, his readings have been extensively criticized and cor-

<sup>13</sup> Specimens of Harvey's autograph are reproduced in *English Literary Autographs 1550-1650*, ed. W. W. Greg (London, 1932), Pt. III, No. LXXI.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1910), III, 60.

<sup>15</sup> See H. C. Schulz, 'The Teaching of Handwriting in Tudor and Stuart Times,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, VI (1943), 381-425. Nashe's 'flourishing flantitanting goutie *Omega* fist' presumably refers to the graceful curves and flourishes observable especially in the signatures and capitals in his Italian hand. For examples of the Roman hand of the copybooks, see *A booke containing divers sortes of hands . . . by Iohn De Beav Chesne and M. Iohn Baildon* (London, 1615?).

<sup>16</sup> MS Sloane 93, in the British Museum; there is a photostatic copy in the Harvard College Library. Harvey used this book partly for copies of his correspondence and partly as a commonplace book or literary notebook. It is this latter part of the manuscript that is almost illegible (foll. 34v-53v); most of the correspondence, by contrast, has been copied with care. The manuscript is almost all in Harvey's English hand, with a varying admixture of Italian letter forms.

rected by Moore Smith<sup>17</sup> and Josephine Waters Bennett,<sup>18</sup> and parts of the manuscript will perhaps never be made out indisputably; however, it is no great matter.

In some of his books, Harvey used both his Italian hand — which is easily legible — and his more difficult English or secretary hand. Some years ago, the late Hale Moore argued that the annotations in secretary were made earlier and the Italian later in Harvey's copy of Sir Richard Morysine's English translation of Frontinus' *Strategemes* (1539).<sup>19</sup> The assumption is tempting, since most of the notes in secretary are summary and less interesting than many of the anecdotal and critical notes of the Italian hand, suggesting that the notes in the Italian hand represent Harvey's later, more thoughtful, and critical reading. The evidence of the *Letter-Book*, however, which contains both hands and which can be dated between 1573 and 1580, is against this assumption. So is the testimony of Nashe. The truth seems to be that Harvey used both hands at all periods of his career but preferred the Italian hand for formal and ornamental purposes. The notes in this hand which so largely prevail throughout his marginalia are an adornment of his volumes, as he well understood, and he always made them with care. Actually, there is no reliable means of dating an entry among Harvey's marginalia from the characteristics of the penmanship, the color or relative distinctness of the ink used, or other such external criteria. To determine the time limits of Harvey's annotations, wherever this is possible, we must rely upon the dates Harvey frequently gives on the title-page or at the end of a volume to indicate when he acquired it or read in it, and upon the datable allusions which his marginalia contain.

Harvey appears to have lent some of his books quite freely among his friends; several of his surviving volumes, including his fine folio

<sup>17</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 11th ser., III (1911), 262-263.

<sup>18</sup> 'Spenser and Gabriel Harvey's *Letter-Book*,' *Modern Philology*, XXIX (1931), 163-186.

<sup>19</sup> Hale Moore, 'Gabriel Harvey's References to Marlowe,' *Studies in Philology*, XXIII (1926), 347-348. The Frontinus volume is entitled *The strategemes, sleyghies, and policies of warre, gathered togyther, by S. Julius Frontinus, and translated into Englyshe, by Rycharde Morysine* (London, 1539). This volume is now in the Harvard College Library. It will be referred to hereafter as 'Morysine's Frontinus.' It is heavily annotated in Harvey's English and Italian hands and contains the dates '1578,' '1580,' '1588,' as well as Harvey's autograph signature. The entry on the title-page, 'precium xx<sup>s</sup>. 1578,' indicates pretty clearly when Harvey acquired the volume.

Livy, are inscribed in his own hand, 'Gabrielis Harueij et amicorum.'<sup>20</sup> One of these friends, perhaps, was the Gabriel Argall whose name appears on the verso of the title-page of Harvey's copy of Morysine's *Frontinus* (Plate IIa) associated with the verses inscribed just above it:

Hedd withowten heed, still choppes uppon euill chaunce:  
And Conduct is y<sup>e</sup> kay, that doth the charge aduaunce.

Harvey apparently thought it worth while thus to record the source from which he derived the aphorism.<sup>21</sup> The 'Gabriel Argall' signature is clearly in Harvey's secretary hand; one may compare it with an undoubted specimen of Harvey's signature on the title-page of William Fulke's *Ovpavopaxia* (Plate IIb), especially for the letter 'r' with its noticeable opening down the middle, for the curled 'c,' and for the similar sloping 'l's. But there are no indications that Harvey's friends added to Harvey's own comments in his volumes, though some of his books are the gifts of friends and in more than one volume the autograph of the donor appears, as well as Harvey's.<sup>22</sup>

A number of puzzles are presented by Harvey's methods of marking his books. The first thing one might notice is that a good many of Harvey's books contain copious scorings in faded red or green. In some books, even those which Harvey must have valued highly, to judge by the elaborateness of his annotations, there are bold red scorings down the center of many pages. In others, whole paragraphs have been scored through in green. The medium seems to be chalk.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Marg.*, pp. 175, 311.

<sup>21</sup> Gabriel Argall, whose name might suggest a play upon Harvey's own, coming as it does in one of Harvey's books, was a contemporary of Harvey at Cambridge. Argall was admitted B. A. at Oxford 18 March 1569-70 (C. W. Boase, *Register of the University of Oxford*, Oxford, 1885, I, 278), incorporated in the same degree at Cambridge, 17 January 1572-73, and admitted M.A. from Trinity Hall at Cambridge in 1573, the year Harvey was admitted to the same degree from Pembroke; Gabriel Argall's name stands thirty-seventh in the same *ordo senioritatis* in which Gabriel Harvey's stands first (*Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. J. Venn and J. A. Venn, Cambridge, 1922, I, 38; *Grace Book Δ*, ed. J. Venn, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 261-262).

<sup>22</sup> *Marg.*, pp. 164, 173, 311. Harvey himself used the Latin and English forms of his name indifferently, in the signatures of his marginalia, as well as the fanciful Italian form 'Gabriel Arvejo' (*Marg.*, p. 81).

<sup>23</sup> According to M. R. James (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1912, I, xsii), Archbishop Parker habitually used a red chalk in annotating his books, which sounds as if it might be the same medium as Harvey's. The green scorings are more faded than those in red.

Among the books the present writer has held in his hands, all but half a dozen, perhaps — among the exceptions, to be sure, Harvey's folio Livy — contain these colored markings, and sometimes they are quite disfiguring, as if a child had gone to work on the pages with a box of crayons. Yet these markings occur so uniformly in Harvey volumes in widely different repositories that they must be Harvey's own doing. Why Harvey made these markings, or at what stage of his reading, is anyone's guess. At all events, these colored markings are authentic, though not invariable, criteria of a Harvey volume.

The compiler of a sale catalogue which describes Harvey's copy of a curious version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*<sup>24</sup> appears to be the only previous commentator on this phenomenon. Since the Harvey marginalia in this volume are slight and inconsequential, he must have felt put to it in his attempt to enhance the value of the book by his description; but he was a man of resource, with a nice turn for conjecture. Drawing boldly upon his imagination, he starts out, in capitals:

THIS COPY ORIGINALLY BELONGED TO SHAKESPEARE'S FRIEND AND FELLOW POET GABRIEL HARVEY, AND CARRIES ON THE TITLE-PAGE HIS AUTOGRAPHIC SIGNATURE "GABRIELIS HARVEY," AND ALSO HIS INITIALS "G. H." HARVEY AS HE STUDIED THE VOLUME HAS SCORED IN RED EACH PAGE, BESIDES UNDERLINING MANY VERSES, AND ADDING ONE OR TWO NOTES.

"This volume is now in the Harvard College Library. The full title is *Metamorphoses Ovidii, argumentis quidem soluta oratione; enarrationibus autem & allegorijs elegiaco versu accuratissimè expositæ, summaq; diligentia ac studio illustratæ, per M. Iohan. Sprengium Augustan. Vnà cum huius singularium transformationum iconibus, à Vergilio Solis, eximio pictore, delineatis* (Frankfurt, 1563). As the title suggests, the volume must have been intended as a school text, designed to accompany or supplement the study of the Ovidian text, which is not printed in this edition. The order indicated in the title is followed throughout the volume: for each of the Ovidian poems there are (1) the illustration by Solis; (2) a prose summary of the poem; (3) a version of the story rendered in elegiacs; (4) an allegorical explanation of its underlying meaning, deriving a Christian moral from the tale. Some of these last are a little forced but invariably edifying. For the fable of Jupiter and Io, it is explained that Jupiter here represents the Serpent, who cloaks his insidious ways in clouds and shadows. Then Man, when he abandons reason and follows Satan, is like the cow Io became when she yielded to Jove. The volume would serve both as an example for the students' guidance in their own attempts at versifying and an indication of how they might read Ovid without harm to their characters. Harvey's failure to annotate the volume appreciably is sufficiently explained by its elementary nature; it could hardly have formed part of his serious studies. He might conceivably have used it to teach some of his nieces or nephews, or (who knows) he may have been reduced to teaching in the school of Saffron Walden in his old age and have checked off the daily lessons with his red chalk. But such an explanation

He continues, in smaller type, but with no diminution of fancy:

This volume is a decided link between Gabriel Harvey and William Shakespeare, and it may well be that when the latter was reading Ovid in the original, he borrowed this very copy from Harvey . . .

The scorings in red are indubitable, a broad slashing stroke down the middle of each page; the link with Shakespeare is, unfortunately, more tenuous.

Harvey's executors, it appears, disposed of this particular volume soon after Harvey's death. On the verso of the title-page is written, in a hand quite different from Harvey's:

Stephanus Jones

Jan. 14 1632

pr. 3s 8d.

Someone was willing to pay a good price for it, despite the colored markings, for the little book could hardly have cost more in the beginning. The illustrations it contains by Vergilio Solis, it may be noted, are very curious and interesting.

Anyone who has examined the pages of Harvey's annotated books knows that a transcript of Harvey's written comments gives a very incomplete impression of Harvey's methods as an annotator. Indeed, it would be impractical to try to reproduce all the characteristics of Harvey's annotations even photographically, for it would require some delicate process of color photography to take care of the colored markings. But Harvey likewise employed an elaborate system for marking his texts in ordinary ink, by underlinings, by small crosses placed above single words in the text, by cross-references, and by an apparatus of marginal signs and abbreviations.

The best volume in which to study Harvey's method of marking his texts, in this writer's experience, is Harvey's copy of the epitome of Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* made by Josias Simlerus and published at Zürich in 1555,<sup>25</sup> a volume in which Harvey has marked in some way the majority of the many bibliographical entries (Plate III). Moore Smith published Harvey's longer written com-

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will not account for the similar markings in volumes that he studied closely for his own purposes, like Morysine's Frontinus and the Folger Domenichi-Guicciardini.

<sup>25</sup> *Epitome bibliothecæ Conradi Gesneri . . . per Josiam Simlerum Tigurinum* (Zürich, 1555), folio. This volume, now in the Harvard College Library, will be referred to hereafter as 'Simlerus.'

ments in this work,<sup>26</sup> but he omitted many of the shorter comments and he did not attempt to indicate the system of signs Harvey used throughout the volume.<sup>27</sup> The markings that occur in this book also occur, in somewhat less profusion, in every annotated volume this writer has examined.

Harvey used his Italian hand for most, if not all, of the written comments that he made in the Simlerus volume.<sup>28</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century, however, the volume was owned by one Samuel Edgeley, according to the badly trimmed inscription on the title-page (which also contains Harvey's signature and monogram):

E Libris Sam: Ed. . .  
Cantab: Clare. . .  
Cestrensis.  
A.D: 1666<sup>29</sup>

Edgeley made several long marginal notes in the volume himself.<sup>30</sup> His hand, however, is easily distinguishable from Harvey's. That he is not responsible for the marking of the text seems clear from the fact that similar markings appear in other Harvey volumes.

Harvey underscored about half the entries in this work, which runs to 184 folios (exclusive of the index) in small type. Since the titles of many books which he knew or owned himself are not underscored,<sup>31</sup> his purpose in underlining clearly was not to make a catalogue

<sup>26</sup> *Marg.*, pp. 125-127.

<sup>27</sup> Moore Smith transcribed the planetary signs Harvey used in one place to plot his daily reading for a week (*Marg.*, p. 135); but he did not mention the frequent recurrence of some of these signs in other connections throughout Harvey's marginalia. It is clear that Harvey did not ordinarily employ the planetary signs to mark his daily reading elsewhere in his volumes. In his copy of *The Turkes secretorie* (1607), a number of these signs occur; yet the whole pamphlet can be read through in an hour or less. The following explanation will make clear the other ways in which he did use them.

<sup>28</sup> Two short annotations are so badly trimmed as to be practically indecipherable (foll. 63r, 76v). These are not in Harvey's Italian hand, but they may be the work of another owner of the volume.

<sup>29</sup> The *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (II, 86) satisfactorily identifies this owner. He was admitted a pensioner of Clare Hall 2 May 1651; B.A., 1654; M.A., 1659; chaplain to Sir Thomas Wilbraham till 1675; vicar of Acton, Cheshire, 1675-1721; died 18 December 1721, aged 89. Below and slightly to the right of the 'd' in what remains of Edgeley's signature is part of the loop of the 'g' in his name.

<sup>30</sup> Foll. 32r, 163r-v, 167v.

<sup>31</sup> E.g., nothing is underscored in the entry for Marcus Fabius Quintilianus (124v); readers of Moore Smith's edition of Harvey's marginalia will recall how copiously Harvey annotated his own copy of the *Institutes*. Similarly, there is no

of his own library. On the other hand, he does underline some titles of books which he knew very well and which he probably had in his own collection.<sup>32</sup> One can only say that he underlined titles which interested him 'for one reason or another.' He placed crosses before the names of a large proportion of the authors listed, and for the titles underscored he placed additional crosses in the margins and above keywords of titles in the text itself — as Plate III illustrates — as well as other signs, like the horizontal check-mark, the double comma, the double s, and the curved bracket, also observable in Plate III. The pages of his other books are similarly marked; and, in a work which he read with repeated care, like the Morysine translation of Frontinus, most of the text is underlined and the pages are peppered with crosses and other check-marks. These markings appear to be arbitrary symbols of emphasis, to draw attention to anything which Harvey wished to note or which he admired.<sup>33</sup> They have no significant relation to the written comments, so far as this writer has been able to discover, though they may sometimes have served as preliminary indication of matters concerning which Harvey intended eventually to make a written note.

Another class or group of Harvey's symbols can, however, be more certainly interpreted. It is clear that Harvey used certain signs and abbreviations throughout his books as an index of subject-matter. His system in doing so is particularly well illustrated in the Simlerus bibliography, where Harvey used these marks to classify the contents of the works that interested him. The signs occur sometimes at the top of a column for a long entry, but usually in the margins opposite particular titles. They are as follows:

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underscoring for the entries under Publius Ovidius Naso, Valerius Maximus, Olaus Magnus, Paulus Jovius Comensis, etc., though Harvey owned works by all these authors.

<sup>32</sup> There are many underlinings in the entry for Marcus Tullius Cicero, whom Harvey read devotedly. One motive of Harvey's annotation in this volume was to note omissions from the bibliography. After underlining many titles for Laurentius Valla, Harvey comments: 'legi plura Vallæ.' Similarly, after marking each title under Henricus Cornelius Agrippa ab Netesheim, he writes: 'Et hæc omnia legi, et plura Agrippæ habeo; Septemque in primis Epistolarum libros, et nonnulla Epigrammata.'

<sup>33</sup> In his copy (Harvard College Library) of *Hecuba, & Iphigenia in Aulide Euripidis tragediæ in latinum tractatæ Prasmo Roterodamo interprete* (Venice, 1507) Harvey has written: 'Eccè Gnomæ Selectæ, hæc notula insignitæ,' (sig. a1r). These marks are used simply arbitrarily, however, in the Simlerus volume.



J.C. This conventional abbreviation for *jurisconsultus* occurs in Simlerus opposite entries relating to law. Harvey used it a great deal throughout his books to mark legal references of all kinds, which he doubtless regarded as pertaining to his study of law.

LL. This sign is occasionally substituted for 'J. C.' It was a conventional abbreviation for *leges* or *legibus*.

♃. The astrological sign of Mercury commonly stands for eloquence: titles of that classification are so marked in Simlerus, and the sign is frequent in Harvey's copy of Erasmus' translation of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*<sup>24</sup> opposite passages describing an eloquent speaker (Ulysses, a3v), the effects of eloquence (a5v, a7r, b7r, etc.), or the art of persuasion (b6r, g7r).

Harvey does, however, use the same sign in the *Hecuba* to mark two passages in which Hecuba practises her guileful trickery upon Polyestor (b8v, c2v). One recalls this well-known characteristic of the god. Once in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* the sign is used opposite Achilles' reference to his education (f7r) — again a province over which Mercury, in his intellectual aspect, had some jurisdiction.

In Harvey's copy of *The Turkes secretorie* (1607), the sign is used opposite references to ambassadors (B4r, D2v), and also opposite a reference to trade and commerce (D3v: 'Your Merchants, which trafficke in Pontus and Galatia, sent to intreate vs at Thessalonica for freedome from tribute, and toul-takers, with free cariage and recariage').

One could similarly analyze the use of this sign in other Harvey volumes; but the evidence here presented seems sufficient to warrant the generalization that Harvey used the sign to mark titles or passages in which he perceived any obvious relation to the commonly assigned characteristics or jurisdiction of Hermes or Mercury, in mythology or astrology.

♂. The astrological sign of the planet Mars is used, as one would expect, to mark titles relating to warfare in Simlerus, and passages concerning war elsewhere in Harvey's books, notably in his copy of Morysine's Frontinus.

♂. ♃. Harvey used these two signs together to signify military craft or strategy: in Simlerus, opposite such an entry as 'Polyæni stratagematum ad DD. Antonium & Verum imperatores li. 8 . . .' (116v); in Frontinus, and elsewhere, opposite accounts of successful trickery in war.

♁. The astrological sign for the opposition of two planets is used in Simlerus to mark controversy (50v, 59v), and elsewhere to mark any kind of opposition, e.g., in Frontinus, to mark accounts of the placing in opposition of military forces (E4v, E5v).

<sup>24</sup> See note 33.

- ♀. The sign of Venus is used once in the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, opposite a reference to that goddess (h1r). The writer has not encountered this symbol elsewhere in Harvey's marginalia; but wherever it might occur its reference would be obvious enough.
- \* Harvey's star in Simlerus — to be distinguished from the printer's asterisks in the text, marking all titles added by Gesner's editor — occurs opposite titles dealing with astronomy (102r, 105r, 120r, etc.), and elsewhere in Harvey's marginalia opposite references to the stars.
- ☾. The sign of Luna appears in Simlerus and elsewhere opposite references to the Moon. It is used in Simlerus in conjunction with the sign for Sol ☉ opposite the title, in the entry under Philip Melanchthon: 'Eclipsium Solis & Lunæ annis iam aliquot uisarum, usque ad annum 1540 descriptiones' (150v).
- ☉. The sign for Sol occurs in Simlerus in its common astrological reference to emperors, kings, and lords (5r, 44r; cf. Frontinus, A2r; *The Turkes secretorie*, A4v). It is used opposite a reference to Sol in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* (i6v). It occurs on the title-page of Harvey's copy of the Sprengius Ovid (see note 24), opposite the name of the illustrator of the volume, Vergilio Solis.

An interesting example of the use of the sign for Sol in conjunction with that of Luna occurs in Harvey's written note on the verso of the title-page in his copy<sup>25</sup> of *Le comedie di Terentio volgari* (Venice, 1546):

Terentij Comœdiæ, post Plautum,  
editæ Romæ, et ex ingenio  
fori Romani.

Euripidis Tragœdiæ, post  
Sophoclem, editæ Athenis,  
et ex ingenio Atticæ Academicæ.

Specula utriusque status,  
{ Civilis, et popularis. ☽.  
{ Optimatis, et tyrannici. ☉.

Here, Luna evidently signifies the wavering multitude, inconstant as the Moon, in contrast with the rulers and their authority.

Harvey sometimes represented the sign for Sol as a rayed head, as in the example given in Plate IV, from Morysine's Frontinus, where the sign resembles a comic drawing. The sign is frequently so made, however, in the Folger Domenichi-Guicciardini, and without any apparent humorous intention. Harvey took his annotations too seriously to indulge in what is nowadays called 'doodling.'

- ☉ ⊕ Harvey used these two signs for the Earth very copiously in Simlerus, and apparently interchangeably — at least, each sign is applied to the

<sup>25</sup> Harvard College Library.

same class of works. The classification for works so marked seems to be natural history — in the elder Pliny's loose and inclusive sense — and especially works coming under the head of what the Elizabethans called physic. The signs occur opposite the names of many writers on medical subjects, and most notably opposite all those authorities listed from Pliny's *Natural History*, of whom there are dozens. He similarly marked some but not all of the authorities listed from Varro, Columella, Galen, Athenaeus, Suidas, and several Arabic writers upon medicine. The entry for Hippocrates, however, is marked ⊙ in accordance with his description in the text, 'medici vetustissimi, & omnium aliorum principis' (79r). Authors are marked with the Earth signs who variously discourse 'de agricultura' (50r, 115r, 167r), 'de arboribus syluestribus' (139v), 'de unguentis & Chymistica ratione' (35v — this author is no less a person than Cleopatra), 'de coloribus' (144v), 'de arte coquinaria' (128v); and two writers are so marked who are described as having written 'miracula et fabulas' and 'miraculosas historias & fabulas' respectively (140r-v). This classification, though illogical to a modern view, is more or less in keeping with Plinian precedent, especially the 'miracula et fabulas.'

Harvey's more particular application of these Earth signs might be explained by the fact that θ (for θάνατος) was used as a sign for the death penalty among the ancients<sup>36</sup> and ⊕ was equated with the 'caput mortuum' or death's-head;<sup>37</sup> these signs might therefore represent for Harvey the medical profession in its concern with mortality. Further, the association with medical lore in Pliny's *Natural History* might have led him to apply the signs to such a miscellany of matters as are treated in Pliny's work.

That the sign ⊕ had the association of 'mortality' for Harvey is strongly suggested by his use of it elsewhere in his marginalia. In the Harvard Euripides, for example, it occurs twice. The first instance appears opposite the passage in the argument of the *Hecuba* which describes the fate of Polymestor and his children: 'Erat autem illic abdita maxima mulierum turba. Quibus adiuta, Polymestorem introgressum exoculat, ac liberos occidit. ⊕.' (sig. π51r). Here the key-word that prompts the use of the sign seems to be the word 'occidit.' The second instance occurs with the dialogue between Clytemnestra and the old servant, in the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, where the 'senex' discloses Agamemnon's design to sacrifice Iphigenia:

Numinum responsa cogunt, sic enim Chalcas ait ⊕.  
Augur, ut Danaum phalanges classe sulcent æquora.  
(sig. f6r)

In astrology, however, the sign may stand for 'the part of Fortune,' which is explained in the astrological manuals as signifying 'land, prop-

<sup>36</sup> See Johann Nicolai, *Tractatus de siglis veterum* (Leiden, 1703), p. 61.

<sup>37</sup> See G. W. Gessmann, *Die Geheimsymbole der Chemie und Medicin des Mittelalters* (Graz, 1899), Tafel LXVI.

erty, or possessions'; and Harvey seems to use the sign with some such reference in his copy<sup>28</sup> of Erasmus' *Parabolae* (Basel, 1565), pp. 12, 20, 27, 33. The sign could hardly be used with this reference in Simlerus, but its use there may be arbitrary.

- This sign, which appears to be that of the quartile aspect in astrology, occurs in Simlerus only, to distinguish writers in the humanities, and especially writers on theology. It is applied to theologians as various as Saint Paul (142v), Origen (139v), Saint John Chrysostom (94r), Wycliffe (112r), Duns Scotus (96r), Reuchlin (93v), Luther (127v), Melancthon (150r); but also to such classical authors as Ovid (155v) and Plutarch (153r), and to Renaissance scholars and poets like Vives (103r), Quintianus Stoa (97v), Philippus Beroaldus (150r), and Valentinus Erythraeus (177r).

There is no obvious appropriateness in the application of this sign to such a group; perhaps the choice of the symbol is as arbitrary here as in the railway time-tables of today.

- 3) This most curious of Harvey's signs occurs twice in Simlerus: opposite the title of the pseudo-Aristotelian 'Secreta secretorum' (18r), and at the top of the page containing the long entry for Guilielmus Postellus (see Plate III). It also occurs in the Folger Domenichi-Guicciardini, in the note on alchemy reproduced in Plate I. It may be a '3' joined to a version of the sign for Mercury. If so, it might stand for Hermes Trismegistus and its reference would be appropriate enough in the contexts here cited. The writer has looked through a good deal of the literature that goes under the name of Hermes Trismegistus, however, as well as in various Renaissance manuals of symbols and their significances, without finding this particular sign; and it may well have some other meaning.

In addition to the signs that have been discussed, Harvey used the conventional abbreviations for cross-references:

j<sup>a</sup> = infra  
s<sup>a</sup> = supra

The 'a' is a secretary form of the letter and is often carelessly made; but the use of these cross-references is unmistakable.<sup>29</sup> They occur copiously in the Simlerus volume and elsewhere in Harvey's marginalia, and he frequently adds a page reference or other indication of the exact place referred to.

<sup>28</sup> Folger Shakespeare Library.

<sup>29</sup> S. A. Tannenbaum, 'Some Unpublished Harvey Marginalia,' *Modern Language Review*, XXV (1930), 327-331, makes some valuable observations on Harvey's handwriting and one or two rather misleading conjectures concerning Harvey's use of the above abbreviations. Moore Smith has properly expanded these abbreviations in his edition of the *Marginalia* (p. 229).

It is obvious that Harvey used his system of symbolic reference in lieu of a commonplace book; and very convenient it must have been. He could mark and classify several points of reference in a single line, and a dozen or more in a short passage. It is a device that must have recommended itself to other scholars in different times, and at no time more than during the Renaissance, that great age of *loci communes*. Parallel procedures are used by other Renaissance marginalists. Ben Jonson used the trefoil and the pointing hand to mark passages that particularly interested him, as did many others. A volume once owned by Roger Marbeck, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, contains several apparently arbitrary symbols which this writer has not encountered elsewhere.<sup>40</sup> But no Renaissance annotator whose books the writer has examined uses anything like so elaborate and ingenious a system as Harvey's. It must have been very convenient, for a scholar of Harvey's encyclopaedic reading, to have so complete an index of the learning of his time within arm's reach on his own library shelves. In his *Ciceronianus*, Harvey speaks somewhat slightly of the practice of keeping commonplace books; it was becoming the fashion to disparage them toward the end of the sixteenth century in England. But it is clear that Harvey, like almost all the learned men of his time, was addicted to the compiling and classifying of universal knowledge — though Harvey did it more economically than many, and never inflicted his compilations upon the public in print.

Harvey's verbal comments in his books served several different purposes. Often he wrote a single word to classify subject-matter, where no convenient symbol was available, like the word 'semeiotica' signifying medical diagnosis. More often he commented on the way a passage impressed him: 'scitè,' 'astutè,' 'lepidè,' 'argutè,' and so on. These are the least interesting of his comments.

The problem of transcribing Harvey's marginalia is not simple. Some selection on the part of an editor is advisable and indeed inevitable. First of all, his symbolic markings, described above, may well be omitted, since they can convey little or nothing of interest to a reader who has not access to the actual books Harvey used. Most comments

<sup>40</sup> *The tranquillitie of the minde. A verye excellent and most comfortable oration . . . compyled in Latine by Iohn Barnarde, student in the vniuersity of Cambridge, now lately translated into Englishe by Anthony Marten* (London, 1570). On the verso of the title-page is the signature: 'Rogerus Marbecius.' The volume is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

consisting merely of an impression of a given passage may also be dispensed with. Then there are many comments which are obvious glosses of the text. To reproduce a gloss requires also the quoting or summarizing of the corresponding text; and when this is done, it usually amounts to very little. Thus in his copy of Domenichi-Guicciardini, opposite the heading, 'Difficilissimo essere a conoscere la natura de i mortali,' Harvey writes: 'Analysis hominum difficillima.' On the other hand, some of Harvey's shorter comments are of interest. At the end of an anecdote in Domenichi-Guicciardini headed 'Cosa stolta & pericolosa, communicar alle donne segreti importanti,' he writes: 'Scoggins Crowe.' This comment reveals not merely Harvey's acquaintance with the *Jests of Scogin*,<sup>41</sup> but his interest in noting literary analogues and parallels, a trait in his character as literary scholar and critic which has not been adequately observed. An editor who does not have unlimited space at his command may prefer to omit the first of these comments and to transcribe the second.

Such a selective procedure would no doubt be too arbitrary if it were extended to exclude those comments which do not yield any sense to an editor. An editor must guard against the temptation to present a record of what interests him among Harvey's marginal notes rather than of Harvey's own way of thinking and writing. A considerable proportion of Harvey's comments, being private notes, are cryptic, and no one person is likely to find the clue of meaning to all of them. Nevertheless, some if not all of these comments will have significance for other readers, and they are worth printing. It is important also to preserve Harvey's spelling, punctuation, and accentuation of Greek and Latin words intact. Harvey was fastidious in these matters. He frequently corrected the pointing of his own books, and his system of punctuation in his marginal notes should be of particular interest to editors of sixteenth-century texts.

There can be no question of transcribing Harvey's comments in a chronological order. Harvey annotated some of his volumes over a long period, and it is certain that on many pages he added separate comments at widely different times. He often used the margins for reflections quite unrelated to the text; and there is no means of distinguishing, save by the accident of a datable allusion, which of these comments should precede or follow another. Since Harvey filled

<sup>41</sup> See 'How Scogin Told His Wife He Had Parbraked a Crow,' in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1864), II, 89-91.

every blank space in such a volume as the Folger Domenichi-Guicciardini with his notes, the best an editor of such marginalia can do is to transcribe these notes in what he takes to be their proper spatial order and connection. Harvey followed no invariable procedure in placing his comments — he was not thinking of posterity and the perplexities of his editors. One has to be guided, in transcribing, by the sense; by the inverted double commas Harvey sometimes uses to indicate the continuation of a comment from one margin to another; above all, by the study of the interrelation of the various comments throughout the volume. For the most part, each separate comment is to be regarded as an entity not necessarily connected in thought or in time with the comments that spatially precede or follow.

Finally, no transcription of Harvey's marginalia can take the place of a first-hand examination of his annotated books. A transcript is a convenience for those who are not familiar with Elizabethan hands, and the critical apparatus accompanying such a transcript, insofar as it is helpful, will always be welcome. But the elaborateness of Harvey's method in annotating his books can be described or represented only imperfectly; and anyone who wishes to observe his method in its full complexity must consult the originals.

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