Feathers

Scribes and Inky Fingerprints

7–9 May 2025

FEATHERS is a five-year research project (2020-25) investigating early modern manuscript culture and the mediation of authorship, concentrating on England between 1558 and 1642. It is funded by an ERC Consolidator Grant and led by Professor Nadine Akkerman.

Project Team

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In early modern England, the production of manuscript texts, whether literary, governmental or legal, was typically a collaborative or "socialized" enterprise, involving both professionals and amateurs. Indeed, the person a modern reader might automatically identify as "the author" rarely exerted sole influence over a text's production: scribes and manuscript users might repurpose and adjust extracts from earlier literary contexts, while others commissioned intermediaries, such as secretaries or lawyers, to commit their words to paper. At first glance these intermediaries appear either frustratingly anonymous or, as members of a royal secretariat or court of law, institutionalised and thus indistinguishable. Nevertheless, all these contributors leave inky, authorial fingerprints on the final text, fingerprints that may allow us to identify their discrete, individual voices.

Scribes and Inky Fingerprints

From all of us at FEATHERS, welcome to Leiden and to *Scribes and Inky Fingerprints*! Over the next three days, we'll be hearing from researchers working on all aspects of early modern scribal culture and manuscript production, as well as from those outside of the field who can help to shed light on the agency and influence of scribes, scribblers, secretaries, and a whole host of other manuscript users in the documents we all encounter in the archives. In particular, we're excited to see what interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary conversations can offer to the study of each of our three key areas of focus: literary texts, letters, and legal records.

What follows is the schedule, some information about the various locations (including the address of the restaurant where Thursday's conference dinner will be held), the abstracts, and a list of participants.

We're so looking forward to meeting you all and to thinking with you over the next three days.

The FEATHERS team

WEDNESDAY 7 MAY

10.00: Registration

11.00: Welcome (Room: Expo)

11.15 – 12.45: Panels 1 & 2

Panel 1 – Letters (Room: Expo)
Chair: Alison Wiggins

- James Daybell, 'Collective Epistolarity in Early Modern Correspondence'
- Emily Chambers, 'The Physicality of Handwriting and Elite Tudor Women's Approaches to Holograph Letters'
- Daniel Ellis, 'Authorship, Style, and Invention: The Correspondence of Ralph Rabbards and Sir Thomas and Lady Muriel Knyvett'

Panel 2 – Mediation and Collaboration in Legal Records (Room: Zagerij)
Chair: Lotte Fikkers

- Hannah Robb, 'Mediating Voices in Church Court Depositions in Early Modern England'
- Clare Egan, 'Deletions, Insertions and Marginal Notations in Early Seventeenth-Century Star Chamber Records'
- Lloyd Bowen, '"You Mouste Remember to Set Doune Where You Reseved Youre Woundes in Youre Petishon": Collaborative Authorship and Petitioning for Military Welfare in Seventeenth-Century England and Wales'

12.45 – 14.00: Lunch

14.00 – 15.30: Panels 3 & 4

Panel 3 – Miscellanous Networks (Room: Expo)
Chair: Sajed Chowdhury

- Kyle Dase, '"Conveying One's Own Disgrace": Pithy Poems, Thomas Hobson, and Edgerly's Wife, the Carrier in BL Additional MS 30982'

- Holly Lavergne, '"As Witness my Hand": MS Rawl. poet. 173 and Collaborative Verse Miscellany Production'
- Daniel Starza Smith, 'The Burley Manuscript: a Major Source for John Donne's Correspondence, Compiled at the English Embassy in Venice'

Panel 4 – Professionals across Borders (Room: Zagerij)
Chair: Jonathan Gibson

- Sam Brown, '"I have a letter sent unto the King [...] out of Barbary to translate": The Reception of Arabic Diplomatic Correspondence in Early Seventeenth-Century England'
- Alisa van de Haar, 'Migrants' Quills: Scribes, Secretaries, and Calligraphers from the Low Countries in Sixteenth-Century England'
- Serena Carlamaria Crespi & Ambra Stefanello, 'Voluntary and Involuntary Traces of a Calligrapher in Seventeenth-Century Florence: The Case of Valerio Spada'

15.30 – 16.00: Break (tea/coffee)

16.00 – 17.30: Panels 5 & 6

Panel 5 – Diplomatic Contexts (Room: Expo)
Chair: Jan van Dijkhuizen

- Helmer Helmers & Kerrewin van Blanken, 'Negotiating Propaganda in Early Modern Europe. Public Diplomacy and the Making of Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* (1649-1650)'
- Maxim Hoffman, 'Masters of the Quill: Unveiling Authorship in the Production of Letters at the Habsburg Courts during Charles V's Reign'
- James Loxley, 'The Epistemology of the King's Closet: Manuscript Letters, James VI and I, and the History of Sexuality'

Panel 6 – Co-writing in Government Contexts (Room: Zagerij)
Chair: Clodagh Murphy

- Blandine Demotz, 'Becoming the King's Man: Collaborative Writing in Thomas Cromwell's Documents (1532-1540)'

- Hsuan-Ying Tu, 'Dictation: The Secretarial Intimacy in Late Tudor Middling Politics'
- Lyndan Warner, 'William Cecil, scribbler'

17.30-18:30: Drinks Reception

THURSDAY 8 MAY

09.30 – 11.00: Panels 7 & 8

Panel 7 – Phantom Texts (Room: Expo)
Chair: Krista Milne

- Emily Whittingham, 'Newes from the Dead: Poetic Responses to the Case of Anne Greene'
- Owen Adams, 'The Contested Origins of the Forest of Dean "Miners Magna Carta"'
- Paulina Kewes, 'Mary Queen of Scots' Phantom Texts'

Panel 8 – Public Records: Memory, Misrepresentation, Malpractice (Room: Zagerij)
Chair: Jonathan Powell

- Zoë Jackson, '"To the best of this deponents remembrance": Memory and the Co-Production of Witness Depositions in Later Seventeenth-Century England'
- Tim Stretton, 'Perjury in the Archives'
- Cameron Whiteside, 'The Commission on Fees: Its "Recommendations" and "Regulation" of Manuscript Production'

11.00 – 11.30: Break (tea/coffee)

11.30 – 12.30: Keynote (Room: Expo)

Daniel Wakelin, '"Daily I wrote with mine own hands": The Earliest Everyday Creativity in English'

12.30 – 13.30: Lunch

13.30 – 14.30: Boat Tour (w/ De Leidse Rederij)

14.30 – 15.00: Tea/coffee

15.00 – 16.30: Panels 9 & 10

Panel 9 – Abroad and Adrift (Room: Expo)
Chair: Janet Dickinson

- Amber Hogan, 'Adrift Authorship in Early Modern Navigational Logs'
- Randolph Cock, 'The Voice of Elizabeth Sprigs, Bonded Labourer'
- Helen Watt, '"My freind who writes for me": Scribes and Scribal Relationships in the Letters of Seamen, 1793-1815'

Panel 10 – Problematizing Authorship (Room: Zagerij)
Chair: Marie-Louise Coolahan

- Jessica Edmondes, '"The text is old": Manufacturing Verse and Meaning in the Early Modern Manuscript Miscellany'
- Jean-Antoine Engel, 'From Conquest to Plantation: Collaborative Authorship in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (1634)'
- Helena Rutkowska, 'Collaboration in the Drafts of William Camden's *Annals*'

16.30 – 16.45: Break

16.45 – 17.45: Panels 11 & 12

Panel 11 – Scholarly Networks (Room: Expo)
Chair: Thijs Porck

- Laura Purcell, 'The Scribe and the Lady'
- Marika Keblusek, '"In amicitiae mnemosynon". English Hands in the Album Amicorum of Bernardus Paludanus, c.1600'

Panel 12 – Science and the (Co-)Production of Knowledge (Room: Zagerij)
Chair: Kirsty Rolfe

- Eric Jorink, 'Paper trials. Robert Hooke, Note-Taking and Microscopical Observations at the Royal Society'
- Scott Mandelbrote, 'Authorship and Authenticity: The Scribal Production and Dissemination of Isaac Newton's Writings'

18.30: Conference Dinner (Hotel Rumour)

FRIDAY 9 MAY

10.00 – 11.30: Panels 13 & 14

Panel 13 – Re-Combination (Room: Expo)
Chair: Holly Riach

- Angelika Zirker and Matthias Bauer, 'The Harmonies of Little Gidding: Communal and Co-Creative Text Production'
- Millie Randall, 'Flirting and Failure in Late Seventeenth-Century Miscellanies'
- Danielle Clarke, 'Scribal Culture and the Production of the Poetry of Lady Anne Southwell (1574-1636)'

Panel 14 – Materiality (Room: Zagerij)
Chair: Daniel Starza Smith

- Samuli Kaislaniemi, 'Layout & Letterlocking in Scribal Letters: Shared Practices or Material Differences?'
- Guillaume Coatalen, 'Folger ms X.d.393, Shedding Light on the Practice of an Unknown Popular Scribe'
- Dzemila Sero, 'Heritage Biometrics: The Study of Fingerprints on Artworks Using Computational Imaging, Forensics, and Biometrics'

11.30 – 12.00: Break (tea/coffee)

12.00 – 13.00: Plenary Roundtable (Room: Expo)
Chair: Nadine Akkerman

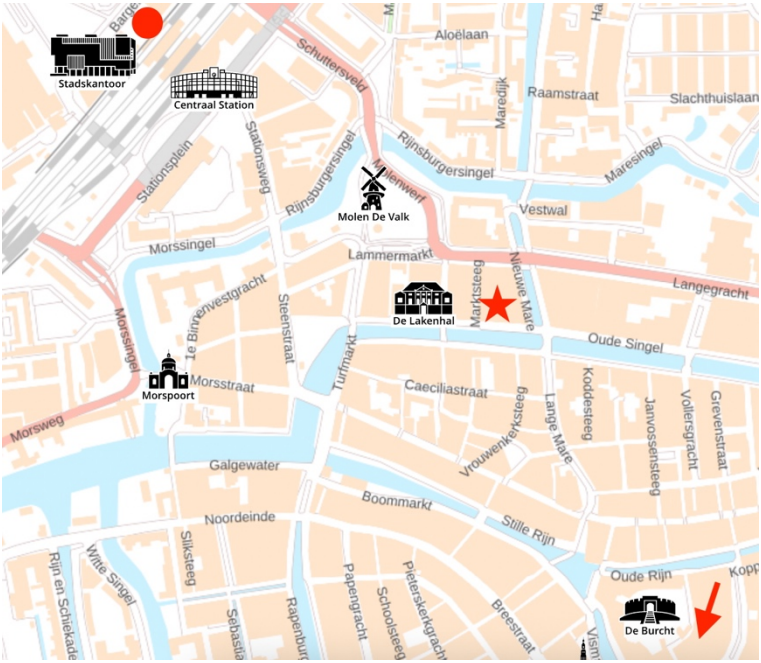
- Marie-Louise Coolahan
- Jonathan Gibson
- Tim Stretton
- Alison Wiggins

Scheltema (★) Marktsteeg 1, 2312 CS

All plenary sessions will be held in room Expo (upstairs). Panels will be either in Expo or De Zagerij (downstairs). Coffee and tea will be served in the Foyer (downstairs), where you can also find a bookstand from the academic publisher Brill, one of the leading international voices in early modern and renaissance studies. Lunch will be available in het Ketelhuis (downstairs). If the weather allows, you can also make use of the courtyard (accessible through het Ketelhuis). Need some quiet time for final paper preparations? Grab a seat in the Foyer, Ketelhuis or courtyard.

Hotel Rumour (→) Burgsteeg 13, 2312 JR

Fletcher Wellness-Hotel (•) Bargelaan 180, 2333 CW



PANEL 1

James Daybell, 'Collective Epistolarity in Early Modern Correspondence'

Over the past couple of decades or so, a number of important studies – not least, the 'FEATHERS' project among others – have emphasised early modern letter-writing practices as collaborative, multi-agent, material and haptic, which has disrupted our understanding of the letter form as private and singular. Such studies have uncovered the role of secretaries, scribes, scriveners, amanuenses, and penmen and penwomen in varying forms of espistolary composition in government and legal spheres. The concern of this paper is less with the role of scribes, individual or collective, and more with what might be described as collective epistolarity, correspondence that bears the inscriptions or influence of plural signatories or senders. In other words, individual items of correspondence produced by more than one letter-writer.

The paper aims to provide a broadbrush taxonomy of collective epistolarity by exploring three different forms. First, it looks at government correspondence with multiple signatories, such as Privy Council letters, Lord and Deputy Lieutenants, Mayors and Corporations, and Fellows of Oxbridge Colleges where power and authority is collective, defined by subscription. Secondly, it looks at family correspondence that was scribally collaborative, where letters were jointly signed, as in the case of married couples, or where the paper was crowded with postscripts and snippets of news penned in the hands of multiple family members. Finally, the paper moves from the scribal to the oral, and examines the ways in which oral residue in the form of greetings, messages and instructions from third parties is inscribed in letters. In the case of familial letters in particular such letters were produced communally, the product of many voices. By considering these three different forms of collective epistolary, this paper hopes to shed light on a range of different scribal and non-scribal epistolary practices, that transcend the political and governmental, the domestic and familial. In turn it aims further to complicate our understanding of letter-writing as collaborative and multi-authored, as well as offering new ways of thinking about how we conceptualise and define letter-writers.

Emily Chambers, 'The Physicality of Handwriting and Elite Tudor Women's Approaches to Holograph Letters'

Early modern English women's letters have been recognised as a valuable source of information on their relationships with others, their education and literacy, and their domestic and political engagement. This paper will consider the insight they provide on elite Tudor women's approaches to holograph and scribal letters. It will use the letters of two high-ranking women to leading bureaucrats: Lady Mary Tudor (later Mary I) wrote to Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s, and Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk wrote to William Cecil in 1549–52. Both Mary's and Katherine's letters are largely holograph. The decision of whether to write themselves, or to use a scribe, is often touched upon in the contents of these letters. These letters feature recurring themes around the mechanics of writing, namely the physical effort or difficulty to write, and apologies for poor handwriting. This paper will use Mary's and Katherine's letters to examine the value that elite Tudor women placed on holograph letter writing, by considering their asserted preference for the intimacy which holograph letters provided within the broader context of the physicality of handwriting such letters.

Daniel Ellis, 'Authorship, Style, and Invention: The Correspondence of Ralph Rabbards and Sir Thomas and Lady Muriel Knyvett'

In 1574, Ralph Rabbards sent to Queen Elizabeth a plan for a naval mine—arguably, the first such plan devised in what we now call Western Europe. At some point after 1591, he produced a manuscript which is now titled (by the Beineke Library at Yale's digitized collection) "Inventions of military machines." And in 1591 he "set foorth" *The Compound of Alchymy* by George Ripley, seemingly Rabbard's only entry into the print sphere.

Rabbards was also, at least from the late 1590s to the early 1600s, a frequent correspondent with the powerful Norfolk gentry couple Sir Thomas and Lady Muriel Knyvett, acting as an agent and a trusted friend. In this correspondence, Rabbards provided valuable news from the court, but perhaps more importantly discussed Sir Thomas's and Lady Muriel's affairs in London: arranging lodgings, meetings, and business transactions, and following up on correspondence and queries.

No doubt his mathematical and engineering skills and his connection to the court account in part for Rabbards's usefulness to and collaboration with the Knyvetts. Even more important, however, might have Rabbard's command of a shared set of rhetorical conventions that helped determine a particular writing style valued by the gentry. In this paper I discuss Rabbards's letters from the British Library's Egerton manuscripts (2713 and 2714), letters written primarily in a single hand. Whether that hand is Rabbards's or not is of course uncertain, but his editions cited above suggest that he considered himself an author, at least in more modern terms. Considering the letters through specific elements of grammatical and rhetorical education (energeia, synecdoche, and the topics of quantity and quality), I suggest that authorship in manuscripts can productively be discussed through the framework of writing education.

PANEL 2

Hannah Robb, 'Mediating Voices in Church Court Depositions in Early Modern England'

Recreating voices of the non-elite and marginalised in early modern England is heavily dependant on the rich troves of depositions produced in litigation. As historians we often use these unproblematically, citing debates about 'fiction in the archives' before proceeding to reconstruct the mundane day to day living of ordinary folk. But how were these documents constructed? Who wrote the depositions? Where were they recorded and how were they archived? This paper explores the layers of mediation in the processes of litigation and deposing with a focus on the scribe. Using qualitative evidence from research conducted on a large repository of early modern church court depositions this paper seeks to recreate the processes behind deposing. Deponents at times unwittingly revealed in their statement reflections on the court proceedings narrating their journey to court, the room in which they dictated their statement to the court scribe or recalling the moor on which they stood as they gave their reminiscences. Evidence in the depositions too points to the circulation of legal documents such as citations written in Latin by the court scribe or notary before being sent by person or papered across town walls. We may have reached consensus that the narratives constructed in depositions were agreed and shaped by social, cultural and legal norms but the role of the scribe is unclear and varied across regions

and courts. This paper goes some way to locating the scribe and their imprint on the voices of those left behind in the church court archives.

Clare Egan, 'Deletions, Insertions and Marginal Notations in Early Seventeenth-Century Star Chamber Records'

This paper will approach the interrogatory and examination documents included in early seventeenth century Star Chamber libel cases as co-created legal records that yield glimpses of their multiple and varied contributors. The paper will focus primarily on the case of Blundell v. Osbaldeston (1613), from Preston, Lancashire, in which Robert Blundell, esquire and a Justice of the Peace, complained that Sebastian Osbaldeston, gentleman, along with a group of local men devised and wrote a libellous rhyme with a caricature of Blundell drawn on it, which they placed on the rogue's post in Preston market place. The libel itself can be viewed as a collaborative document, however, the Star Chamber case records also draw our attention to the co-creation of legal records particularly during examinations, and especially where this could go wrong. The case unusually contains evidence that the defendants manipulated legal processes by drawing up a set of 'scandalous interrogatories' that they got into the commission for the examination of witnesses, which took place in Preston, whose depositions then had to be suppressed. The records reveal the collaborative production of the scandalous interrogatories by a Lancashire chapman, one of the defendants, and a clerk to John Breres, attorney of the common pleas. The case records also contain marginal notations indicating which materials were to be suppressed after the discovery of the scandalous interrogatories, including witness examination answers and the interrogatories themselves. This paper will further consider the larger questions that Blundell v. Osbaldeston raises as to the co-created nature of examination answers in Star Chamber records. Such examinations are materially different to the other formal records of the court – they read as notes taken during the oral examination process and frequently bear telling deletions and insertions that hint at the different contributors involved in their creation.

Lloyd Bowen, '"You Mouste Remember to Set Doune Where You Reseved Youre Woundes in Youre Petishon": Collaborative Authorship and Petitioning for Military Welfare in Seventeenth-Century England and Wales'

This paper will explore the nature of collaborative authorship through an examination of petitions for military welfare in the seventeenth century. Emerging out of work undertaken for the 'Civil War Petitions' Project, which brings together thousands of petitions for welfare relief during and following the civil wars, this paper will explore the means by which a diverse group of petitioners managed to collaborate to produce the required petition (and sometimes also a supporting certificate) for the local authorities. Traces in the archive provide some tantalising glimpses of the ways in which poor and desperate individuals went about the business of co-operating to produce written submissions that rehearsed evidence of civil war service, wounding, bereavement and loss, as well as narratives of moral and political worth and deservingness. The paper will discuss the anonymous (but also sometimes identifiable) scribes, clergymen, officers and neighbours in English and Welsh parishes who wrote and formulated these petitions on behalf of men, women and children who were often illiterate. In addition, the paper considers the collaborative authorship of many petitions which contained the signatures, marks and attestations of neighbours and supporters who worked together to craft an effective representation to the county bench.

PANEL 3

Kyle Dase, '"Conveying One's Own Disgrace": Pithy Poems, Thomas Hobson, and Edgerly's Wife, the Carrier in BL Additional MS 30982'

Compared to their counterparts, manuscript miscellanies often contain lesser-known works that literary studies traditionally overlook. BL Additional MS 30982 is one such miscellany, and contains over a dozen vocational poems on locksmiths, cobblers, and other occupations. Such vocational poems can hardly be taken at face value, but they nevertheless give modern readers a glimpse into perceptions surrounding vocations that might not otherwise receive literary attention, however exaggerated or cliché that characterization may be.

This paper is interested in two poems on letter carriers found in that manuscript. The first, an anonymous poem memorializing parcel carrier Thomas Hobson, playfully satirizes this early modern Cambridge fixture's death even as it honours his memory. Where Milton's epigrams on Hobson engage in metaphors of movement and rest, this poem instead establishes Hobson's social place. Hobson is "moungst his many betters / A man not learned, yet a man of letters," and, as a Cambridge carrier, he was "Embassaye twixt father and the sonne." The anonymous poem situates Hobson and other letter carriers as part of the social fabric: the speaker sees Hobson as integral to university society, but distinct from it.

The second poem, sometimes titled "Verses not upon Edgerly the Carrier's Wife but Edgerly's Wife the Carrier," is a rare instance of a poem that describes a woman carrier. The poem focuses on Edgerly's disgrace at allowing his wife to work as a carrier (which the speaker employs as an impish double entendre). Edgerly also carries his own disgrace, delivering letters that contain gossip about his carrier wife.

Both poems are cultural artifacts that depict the social standing and gendered expectations of the letter carrier as a vocation even as they reflect the importance of that role to the university society that frequently ridicules it. Through them we can better understand perspectives on one set of intermediaries in the larger networks of epistolary correspondence and manuscript production.

Holly Lavergne, '"As Witness my Hand": MS Rawl. poet. 173 and Collaborative Verse Miscellany Production'

MS Rawl. poet. 173 is a manuscript poetry miscellany that has been little studied, and even less so in terms of its collaborative production. My master's thesis provided the first in-depth study of this previously neglected manuscript, treating it as an example of Katherine Philips' manuscript reception. My research, however, also revealed the interplay of two bookseller-publishers throughout the manuscript: Thomas Corbett (*fl.* 1705-1743) and John Dunton (1659-1733). This paper focuses on the communal nature of Bodleian Libraries, MS Rawl. poet. 173, a folio verse miscellany entitled *The Muse's Magazine. or: Poeticall Miscelanies In Two Parts*. It investigates what this manuscript reveals about the connections between these two men, both of whom were active in the

bookselling milieu of early eighteenth-century London. The different hands in MS Rawl. poet. 173 – particularly on its inner flyleaf – provide insights into its communal production. The manuscript occupies a key intermediary position between manuscript and print miscellany culture, with specific poems illuminating the connections between these two bookseller-publishers. Thus, not only does this verse miscellany exhibit the reception of early modern poets, but the textual interactions between Corbett and Dunton reveal this manuscript to be a surprisingly collaborative document.

Daniel Starza Smith, 'The Burley Manuscript: a Major Source for John Donne's Correspondence, Compiled at the English Embassy in Venice'

In the first decade of the seventeenth century, the English poet John Donne (1573-1631) received permission to travel abroad, although his destination – or whether he went at all – has for many years been a mystery. The commentary editors of the Oxford edition of Donne's correspondence will argue that Donne travelled to Venice to visit the English ambassador Sir Henry Wotton. Our case relies to a great extent on the evidence of the Burley Manuscript (our siglum "LR1") at Leicester Record Office, a bibliographically and palaeographically complex manuscript miscellany which has vexed many researchers over the years and seriously slowed progress on the edition. This volume must have been compiled by diplomats and spies at the Venetian embassy, and contains a wide variety of material in a number of hands.

This paper will examine LR1 by thinking about some of the key methods of the FEATHERS project: the evidence of how these scribes worked; how we might conceive of Wotton's secretariat in Venice (or, as he called it 'my college'); and the importance of an embassy as a context of literary production and circulation. Scholars have become much more adept at working with manuscript miscellanies in recent decades but LR1 poses unique research challenges. We must try to understand the conditions under which these scribes were working, to what extent they were being directed by Wotton himself, and where they got their copy-texts of Donne's writings from. The promised rewards are significant: we believe that LR1, properly understood, will enable us to attribute more than 30 letters by or to Donne, the largest single expansion of the canon since his death.

This paper will be presented by Daniel Smith (as General Editor) on behalf of himself and three other commentary editors: Dennis Flynn, Donald R. Dickson, and Margaret Maurer.

PANEL 4

Sam Brown, '"I have a letter sent unto the King [...] out of Barbary to translate": The Reception of Arabic Diplomatic Correspondence in Early Seventeenth-Century England'

In June 1616, a letter arrived in London for James I from the Moroccan Sultan, Muley Zidan. There being no Arabic linguists in the secretariat, its translation had to be outsourced. The task fell to the vicar of Tottenham, William Bedwell (c.1563-1632) — the foremost English Arabist of the time — who shared news of his commission with an uncle: 'I have a letter which was sent unto the King out of Barbary to translate, which requireth all haste that possible may be: and it will not be done in a few daies'.

Four versions of the letter survive in a manuscript at the Bodleian: transcriptions of the original Arabic and the Spanish copy that accompanied it, an English translation from the Spanish, and a draft translation from the Arabic. Although Bedwell is not named in the documents, his distinctive handwriting, and skill in Arabic, single him out as their scribe. An English translation from the Spanish can also be found in the Cotton manuscripts, in a scribal hand.

The survival of multiple witnesses to foreign letters and their translations is not unusual in the early modern English state papers. Bedwell's involvement with Arabic correspondence is, however, noteworthy. Arabic letters were generally sent with a translation in Latin or Spanish, and these texts — linguistically accessible to the secretariat — have a large archival footprint. English translations from the Arabic are more unusual, a fact that is reflected in the non-typical material form taken by Bedwell's fair copy translations. Through discussion of key letters sent from the Arabic-speaking world between 1600-1615, this paper will reconstruct Bedwell's interventions as both translator and scribe, and demonstrate how a focus on materiality can shed light on such textual collaborations in the period.

Alisa van de Haar, 'Migrants' Quills: Scribes, Secretaries, and Calligraphers from the Low Countries in Sixteenth-Century England'

In the sixteenth century, thousands of inhabitants of the Low Countries crossed the Channel to build new lives in England. Quite a number of them managed to secure positions as scribes, secretaries, and calligraphers after their migration. This paper examines the professional trajectories of a selection of these writing masters to gain a deeper understanding of how they leveraged the growing demand for literate and multilingual individuals to create professional opportunities for themselves, in spite of–or thanks to–their migrant background. It explores the careers of lesser-known and prominent Netherlandish migrants who employed their expertise in writing to navigate these professional spaces. These include individuals like Nicasius Yetsweirt, who served as clerk of the signet and French secretary for four English monarchs, Levinus Munck, principal secretary to Robert Cecil, and Clément Paret, a calligrapher in service of English aristocratic circles–and potentially even Elizabeth I herself. These cases reveal how migrants could capitalise on their linguistic, cultural, and technical skills, from mastering a variety of scripts and languages to possessing knowledge of epistolary conventions. Their lives also show the importance of social networks and personal recommendations in securing positions, especially in a context of migration. By examining these cases, this paper sheds light on the contributions of Netherlandish migrants to the culture of handwriting related to administrative and literary text production in sixteenth-century England. Finally, it considers the broader implications of these migrants' successes and failures for our understanding of mobility and professionalization in the early modern period.

Serena Carlamaria Crespi and Ambra Stefanello, 'Voluntary and Involuntary Traces of a Calligrapher in Seventeenth-Century Florence: The Case of Valerio Spada'

Manuscripts are profoundly complex objects: in both their material construction and their graphic textuality, they preserve a multitude of traces, both voluntary and involuntary, that reveal the presence, practices, and agency of those who produced them. This paper focuses on the case of Valerio Spada (1613–1688), official calligrapher to the Medici court, through a study of the graphic traces he left behind in the manuscript culture of 17th century Florence.

It is above all the involuntary traces—graphic patterns, stylistic regularities, and recurring scribal habits—that have proved most revealing. These unintentional elements were first brought to light through a large-scale quantitative study of 17th-century manuscripts currently preserved in Florence. The systematic comparison of scribal features across multiple documents allowed us to identify Spada's hand in a corpus of manuscripts that had previously not been attributed to him. This initial discovery led to a more in-depth investigation, supported by archival and historical research, which enabled us to reconstruct Spada's presence within the scribal landscape of Florence and to reassess his role in the literary and bureaucratic production of the Medici court.

Beyond these quantitative markers, Spada's manuscripts also display voluntary traces— choices in handwriting style, layout, and decorative elements—that speak to his conscious effort to shape the visual identity of the documents he produced. Following in the footsteps of the practice, inaugurated by the great Italian copyists of the Renaissance, of often affixing one's name at the bottom of copied works to signal the identity of the writing hand, Spada also signed many of his graphic creations, from writing manuals to fly sheets as well as personal letters. Alongside the signature, however, the calligrapher also uses another special identifying mark, a rooster's head drawn in pen, which sometimes flanks and sometimes replaces the signature. This identifying mark is also found in written productions that should have remained anonymous as collective works of administrative management, such as chancery registers.

By analyzing both voluntary and involuntary traces, this paper reconstructs the professional practices and cultural role of Valerio Spada, and highlights the broader contribution of scribes to the creation, circulation, and preservation of knowledge in early modern Florence.

PANEL 5

Helmer Helmers & Kerrewin van Blanken, 'Negotiating Propaganda in Early Modern Europe. Public Diplomacy and the Making of Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* (1649-1650)'

This paper presents new archival evidence about the making of Claudius Salmasius' *Defensio Regia* (1649), a key text in English royalism. We will show that,

in contrast to what historians have hitherto claimed, this text was the initiative of a Dutch diplomatic agent, who also continued to manage the writing, the publication, and the dissemination of *Defensio Regia*. Catering to a variety of courts and interests, this agent was at the centre of what was in effect a collaborative project involving many key political and intellectual figures in The Hague and Leiden. In analysing *Defensio Regia* as a product of collaborative, public diplomacy, we argue for a reassessment of early modern international propaganda campaigns. When studied through the lens of multilingual diplomatic archives, texts such as *Defensio Regia* appear as products of a process of negotiation, in which scribal (pre)publication and co-creation were of central importance. This process, we suggest, problematizes current conceptions of the authorship and patronage of propaganda. In this particular case, moreover, the value of the campaign resided at least partly in the process itself, which formed an international community around Salmasius' text as it took shape.

Maxim Hoffman, 'Masters of the Quill: Unveiling Authorship in the Production of Letters at the Habsburg Courts during Charles V's Reign'

In the sixteenth-century composite empire of Charles V, letters served as the primary means of communication and policy coordination across its vast territories. These letters connected the emperor with his representatives, family members, and ambassadors. However, their content is often taken at face value, with little consideration of how they were produced. This paper questions the balance between the bureaucratised nature of these letters – shaped by political and socialised practices – and the sovereign's personal voice, influenced by his key ministers, through three case studies.

Firstly, the role of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, the emperor's first councillor and keeper of the seals, during his extended absences from court is analysed. Granvelle reviewed all imperial correspondence, even when thousands of kilometres away, often travelling with part of the chancery personnel. These absences (and the correspondence they generated) highlight the collaborative nature of imperial letter production and provide insights into the delegation of secretarial tasks, the strategic use of language at the Habsburg court, and the hidden administrative roles of particular scribes through handwriting analysis.

Secondly, the chancery under Mary of Hungary, governor-general of the Netherlands for her brother Charles V, is considered. The exceptional preservation of both originals and drafts allows for a deeper understanding of Mary's considerable personal influence on imperial governance (evident in holograph summaries, annotations, and notes), which often surpassed the administrative efforts of the emperor himself. Her strong relationship with Granvelle endured despite his complaints about the wide access her secretaries had to imperial correspondence.
Lastly, the letters of Eleanor of Austria, Queen of France and Charles's eldest sister, are examined. While her personal holograph correspondence was monitored by the French officials, uncensored, ciphered reports from imperial ambassadors in France reveal the messages she could not include in her letters.

As such, these three cases examine the question of authorship in the Habsburg family correspondence, which was critical for gathering political information and shaping policymaking in the sixteenth century, each from a different perspective and through a distinct approach to the surviving records.

James Loxley, 'The Epistemology of the King's Closet: Manuscript Letters, James VI and I, and the History of Sexuality'
* *Content warning: this paper includes brief discussion of a possible sexual assault.*

This paper will explore the ways in which historians have contributed to the process by which the sexuality of James VI and I became part of his apparently 'secret history'. It will focus on a diplomatic letter, partially in cipher, written by the French ambassador in the autumn of 1621, concerning events at the Marquess of Buckingham's house at Burley in August that year, when Ben Jonson's 'Mask of Gypsies', better known as The Gypsies Metamorphosed, was first performed. The king's visit to Burley and the entertainment he received generated ample rumour and talk, and were reported back to their masters by both the Venetian and the French ambassadors. James himself wrote a celebratory poem during the visit, while the surviving manuscript evidence indicates that Jonson's masque text, too, became quickly known beyond the circles for which it was written and performed.

One striking, not to say alarming, passage in a diplomatic letter written by the French ambassador has received very little treatment – mostly because the

details contained therein have proved too much for generations of scholars down the centuries, who have in effect made it a secret. Where it has been previously discussed, it has not been set in the context of the events at Burley. This paper will trace out this process of censorship and elision to recontextualise the anecdote in the ambassador's letter, with the aim both of shedding light on the style of behaviour on display at Burley, and showing how the historians' treatment of some of the documentary evidence from James's reign has continued to enforce the genre of 'secret history' which has long been used to frame understandings of the king and his court.

PANEL 6

Blandine Demotz, 'Becoming the King's Man: Collaborative Writing in Thomas Cromwell's Documents (1532-1540)'

Thomas Cromwell (1485?-1540) was a leading man in Tudor politics, whose particularity was not to have been educated in prestigious universities like many of Henry VIII's ministers. He first started as a lawyer and scrivener before Henry VIII noticed him and promoted him to the position of royal secretary (1532). From there, Cromwell soon became indispensable to the King and rose to the position of leading minister, which he remained until his beheading in 1540. Cromwell's career is therefore steeped in administrative documents, letters and remembrances, many of which have been retrieved. These documents and the use Cromwell made of his own hand testify to the evolution of his position in government but also of his posture, as a man of power. Cromwell, as he became more powerful, increasingly relied on secretaries, and hardly wrote anything himself, with the exception of co-written remembrances, signatures or corrections in letters too significant to send without a thorough proofreading. None of Cromwell's letters were intended for publication, as they remained administrative in nature. It would be a mistake, however, to consider them private: as often at the time, such letters were passed around and closely scrutinized, which may explain the process of co-writing between Cromwell and his secretaries. Cromwell's hand, however, reappears at the very end of his life, when he was imprisoned in the Tower and not allowed a secretary. These letters, interestingly, appear much more personal.

Cromwell thus inaugurated a new generation of state personnel who followed a trajectory similar to his own. Thomas Wriothesley, for example, his protégé, was a layman who started as secretary to Cromwell, before taking on Cromwell's succession as the King's secretary and, finally, much like his master, being part of the Privy Council. Scribal trajectories could thus launch careers, and the co-writing of documents echoes this process. In this regard, Cromwell's manuscript documents can very much be part of a broader reflection on the of co-writing and manuscript administrative practices in government hierarchy.

Hsuan-Ying Tu, 'Dictation: The Secretarial Intimacy in Late Tudor Middling Politics'

Any attempt to understand orality, a predominant intermediary in early modern information networks but limited by both space and time, is always hampered by the scarcity of records. Some evidence can be traced in various transit or interfaces between orality and literacy, which in the archives of Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary to Elizabeth I, appear as the précis used for verbal briefings or as dictation notes. The latter is evidenced by Walsingham's ledger book of 1583-1585 and the journal 1570-1583, the entries of which are in the first person but not all in his autograph, instead written by his secretaries including Francis Mylles, Robert Beale and Thomas Lake from his oral instructions. It implies that these amanuenses, identified as trustworthy, had privileged access to the master's private study or bedchamber, 'chiefly for Continuall attendant in the Chamber'. This intimacy in both physical and social terms labelled them as the inner ring of clientage, secretariat, and state information machinery. Dictation, together with a multitude of autographs, formats, marginal notes or symbols on Walsingham's papers, emerges a collaborative production of government information. More significantly, it demonstrates a hierarchy among secretaries and clients, each designated to perform different epistolary or confidential functions, in accordance with their professionalism and closeness to patrons. This alternative middling politics of intimacy, a duplication of that in Tudor Privy Chamber, constructed the Tudor polity into an amalgam of official bureaucracy and the leading ministers' household clientages. By analysing dictation, this research aims to reveal a layered but flexible and variable Tudor secretarial culture, illustrating a political dichotomy and interaction between formal institutions and informal social

relationships within the Tudor regime, as well as in the shaping of early modern states.

Lyndan Warner, 'William Cecil, scribbler'

Elizabeth I appointed William Cecil as her Principal Secretary at the beginning of her reign in 1558. He became Master of the Court of Wards in 1561and was later elevated to the position of Lord Treasurer serving the queen until his death in 1598. Throughout his service, Cecil (Lord Burghley after 1572) employed a small secretariat. The paper will explore how Cecil annotated and scribbled on the papers and reports prepared for him. Despite the secretaries who served him, Cecil wrote prodigiously in his own hand and reworked the reports of others to create his own manuscript reference works. His annotations and his creation of reference notebooks reveal a method of reasoning – the need to master both historical and current events as well as to gain an authoritative knowledge the kin networks of powerful families in England, Wales, Scotland and the continental dynasties.

PANEL 7

Emily Whittingham, 'Newes from the Dead: Poetic Responses to the Case of Anne Greene'

In 1650, the servant Anne Greene was found guilty of infanticide and sentenced to hanging and anatomisation. Following her execution, Anne's body was carried to a private house for dissection. However, upon discovering she was still alive, students from Oxford University's experimental medical scene restored Anne to full health instead. Anne's dramatic resurrection inspired a flurry of publications, including two editions of Newes from the Dead (1651). This pamphlet contained a medical record of Anne's treatment and was accompanied by an anthology of poetry written by Oxford scholars in response to Anne's case.

While the case of Anne Greene has attracted a great deal of scholarship, a thorough examination of this anthology remains notably absent. My paper aims to address this gap by using the poems to explore how the peculiarities of collegiate life shaped the University's response to Anne's case. I argue the poems evidence a particular culture of collaborative and recreational exchange within

and between colleges, allowing the anthology to articulate an identity of masculine sociability. Ultimately, I argue that Oxfordians used the co-authoring of a poetic miscellany to shape and express their collective identity at a time of particular crisis and upheaval.

The anthology evidences informal writing cultures in the 17th century. These poems were likely scribbled on paper scraps and exchanged in spoken and manuscript form before being collated into a printed anthology. No manuscript material survives. Thus, my paper aims to reconstruct the material history of manuscript sources that were deemed not precious enough to preserve. To do this, I examine how the anthology changed between its first and second edition, and trace contemporary disagreements over authorship. In consequence, this paper will contribute to the wider conversation of how archival absences and authorial unknowns can be of value to an historian.

Owen Adams, 'The Contested Origins of the Forest of Dean "Miners Magna Carta"'

In 1613, miners in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire were informed by James I's Court of Exchequer that they could dig for iron ore with the king's "charity and grace, but not right". So began a battle lasting more than two hundred years for Westminster governments to recognise the so-called "miners' magna carta". It was eventually modified and encoded in a Parliamentary Act of 1838.

The miners' legal code was republished numerous times in the late seventeenth to twentieth centuries - it was reportedly known as *The Book of Dennis* in the nineteenth century. The earliest extant version is a handwritten document on what appears to be scrap paper dated 1610, but miners claimed in numerous legal challenges, royal commissions and parliamentary inquiries that their charter was an ancient document recording their "time out of mind" customs, variously dated from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. They are recorded as showing an ancient document in exchequer depositions but the Mine Law Court was discontinued by the Crown after the chest purportedly containing the ancient charter and other court records of orders was emptied, its contents stolen, in 1777.

The most pervasive popular legend holds that Edward I granted miners the charter after 1296 as a reward for their decisive role as sappers in a siege at Berwick-on-Tweed, but there is no record of any royal charter. This paper argues for ancient provenance with the written code emanating from the body of miners themselves in association with Crown officials, recognised and upheld by medieval and Tudor monarchs. This paper explores how, while other free mining codes across England and Europe fell by the wayside and miners' autonomy was replaced by capitalist working practices, Forest of Dean miners tenaciously upheld their code of laws and privileges despite successive Crowns' refusal to recognise them.

Paulina Kewes, 'Mary Queen of Scots' Phantom Texts'

This paper will trace the story of two quasi-legal texts associated with Mary Queen of Scots: 1. the articles of the so-called Association (joint sovereignty) of the Catholic Mary and her Protestant son James in the crown of Scotland dating from *c.* 1581; and 2. Mary's will of February 1587 supposedly bequeathing to Philip II of Spain her putative title to the English throne. Neither of these documents survives and only one, the Association, definitely existed; the will's existence is doubtful. Even so, both were fiercely disputed at the time, with governments, diplomats, and spies hunting for copies and frantically seeking testimonies from alleged witnesses.

While modern scholars have mostly ignored these 'phantom texts', we believe that there is sufficient evidence, both archival and circumstantial, to reconstruct the contents of one of them, the Association, and to elucidate the furore surrounding the other one – Mary's will. Our aim is to illuminate the circumstances in which the Scottish queen was thought to have authored the two texts, and to explain why so many political actors at home and abroad became so exercised by them, in the process generating hundreds more texts designed to cross and double cross perceived enemies or rivals. The principal reason, we argue, was the unresolved Elizabethan succession, to which both the Stewart *mère et fils* laid claim. Arousing conflicting expectations among Protestants and Catholics in England and Scotland, the prospect of a rapprochement between Mary and James and, latterly, reports that, facing execution for treason, Mary disinherited her son in favour of the Spanish king, exacerbated the rivalry between France and Spain. By tracking the brouhaha over the two 'phantom

texts', we hope to shed new light not only on the politics of the Elizabethan succession, but also to provide a new angle on the textual culture of late sixteenth-century diplomacy.

PANEL 8

Zoë Jackson, '"To the best of this deponents remembrance": Memory and the Co-Production of Witness Depositions in Later Seventeenth-Century England'

In witness depositions related to perjury from both the secular and religious courts of the later seventeenth century, witnesses frequently made direct references to their memories. These phrases might manifest as a claim that some information shared was 'to his/her remembrance' or 'to the best of his/her remembrance', while other witnesses might claim not to remember whatever details they were being interrogated about. What do these memory phrases reveal about the input of witnesses, and the collaborative process of producing depositions and other legal records more broadly, in early modern England?

Witness depositions are a key source for social historians of early modern England seeking to illuminate the lives of ordinary people who otherwise are scarce in the records. At the same time, scholars have recognised that these statements are not the verbatim records of the witness's speech, and were shaped by the scribe, the structures and officials of the particular court, and other factors. Though less explicitly recognised, these depositions might also be considered as the interface between memory and writing. How much do these memory phrases reveal witness concerns about the limits of their memory? And how much do they reflect scribal input? This paper will explore these questions in the context of the later seventeenth century, a period which saw changing requirements for and expectations of legal evidence, at least in part related to infamous cases of suspected perjury. Overall, this paper will propose memory as an important and understudied mediating factor in the production of witness depositions, and memory more broadly as a method for examining the co-production of legal records.

Tim Stretton, 'Perjury in the Archives'

Social, Cultural, Gender, Economic and Legal Historians have all come to prize depositions as a source of historical evidence, despite debating their accuracy and the extent to which they preserve the authentic thoughts and expressions of testifying deponents. Scholars have devoted considerable attention to the distorting influence of legal requirements, jurisdictional conventions, lawyers' training in rhetoric, and the scribal practices of notaries, clerks and court recorders. Everyone is also aware that lying was a possibility, but until recently the subject of perjured testimony remained relatively unexplored. Yet accusations of perjury were common in the 16th and 17th centuries, whether explicit–in formal allegations–or implicit, given the frequency with which witnesses for opposing parties disagreed with each other. The subject of how participants understood perjury and how they dealt with anomalies in deponents' recollections is only now receiving sustained attention, with Zoë Jackson's recently completed PhD thesis, 'Perjury and Memory in the English Law Courts, 1660–1688', building on the work of Shuger, Hadfield, Dolan and Knights.

Legal actions fought between a wife and husband in England in the 1690s provide opportunities to explore two aspects of the subject: Firstly, "Collaborative and Mediated Authorship" in the curation of supposedly perjured testimony, as parties gathered corrupt witnesses and fabricated plausible and consistent narratives. And secondly, the scribal practices involved in taking down or recording perjured testimony. A lawyer in the litigation in question gave extensive answers to interrogatories in an Ecclesiastical court in August 1698 and then equally elaborate answers in Chancery in January 1699. Comparing his depositions, as well as those of the witnesses he was accused of bribing to give false testimony, raises questions about the use of written texts in oral proceedings.

Cameron Whiteside, 'The Commission on Fees: Its "Recommendations" and "Regulation" of Manuscript Production'

The Commission on Fees (1622-1640) was the most important inquisition into public offices before the 18th century. Established by Charles I, on the back of parliamentary pressure to tackle the exploitative fees of officeholders, the

Commission offers a unique opportunity to assess the prevalence of malpractice within the creation of public documents and to reappraise the influence of executive institutions over the production of state manuscripts. Having been empowered with important aspects of the crown's prerogative, including the right to examine under oath, subpoena documents and pursue prosecution at Star Chamber, the Commission amassed a copious amount of evidence on the workings and transgressions of public offices. The documents of the Commission, which constitute the material basis of my paper, showcased the common shortcomings of state offices and facilitated the 'regulation' of manuscript production throughout England, with the commissioners enforcing a number of administrative 'recommendations' upon public officeholders - such as the prohibition of wasteful writing; the standardisation of margins, line length and templates within state documents; the publication of fees before services were completed; the use of cheaper writing materials; the mandating of sufficient wages for subordinates; the banning of superfluous copies. By imposing these 'recommendations' upon the increasingly professional classes of England, the Commission established standards and procedures regarding the quantity, writing, enrolling and accessibility of those manuscripts which historians now use when assessing the workings of public institutions, the activities of officeholders or the history of authorship. In so doing, the Commission limited the personal authority of officeholders over the documents they produced, being influential to the adoption of impersonal forms of administration. My proposed paper on the Commission on Fees, therefore, offers insight into the wider influence of executive institutions over the standards and procedures of manuscript production across the emerging nation-state of early modern England.

PANEL 9

Amber Hogan, 'Adrift Authorship in Early Modern Navigational Logs'

Early Modern seafarers kept handwritten manuscripts documenting daily weather observations, ship conditions, land proximity, and other details relevant to navigation. Oftentimes, these logs were subsequently circulated amongst other sailors as guidance for future voyages. Rapid maritime expansion led to hundreds, possibly thousands, of these navigational logs being written in English between 1500 and 1800.

As I compile a catalogue of these manuscripts, I have noticed inconsistencies and insecurity regarding the author's role as understood by the manuscript writers themselves. For this paper, I'm examining whether consistent approaches to playing the part of the author emerge and how the concept of authorship intersects with the duty of the navigating writer. I will discuss Charles Wylde's handwritten 1675 *Journal of a Voyage* and his struggle against adding his perspective into a text that is experience-based and, in a sense, a diary. This contrasts with other authors who used their scribal role to beg for legacy. Additionally, I will discuss the progress I have made towards defining and locating this genre and its patterns of authorship, contextualised within histories of navigation, material reading, blue humanities, and diary-writing.

The authorship of these texts has been used to identify who was travelling where and when. However, the literary significance remains underexplored, particularly since, within the text's own entries, many early modern writers display an unmoored understanding of authorship. Shipboard hierarchies and duty intersect with the power of the author, who must somehow withdraw from their own directional remarks, whilst the observation needed to make these records demands an awareness of and engagement with one's own presence and environment.

Randolph Cock, 'The Voice of Elizabeth Sprigs, Bonded Labourer'

In 1756, a female indentured servant in the English colony of Maryland made a desperate appeal to the father back home in England from whom she had been estranged by some unspecified wrong-doing: dreadfully mistreated, over-worked, tied up and whipped, malnourished and neglected, 'almost naked', she begged him to send her some clothes. The letter shows all the signs of having been written for her by a third party, and it has been possible to identify and name the anonymous scribe from the evidence of other letters he wrote for other people. It is for the most part formal, formulaic, polite and unremittingly respectful; but here and there, in brief snatches, another voice bursts through — the furious aggrieved voice of Elizabeth Sprigs herself, surely taken down verbatim as she poured out her invective against her oppressors, and vividly illustrating something of the process of negotiation and collaboration between scribe and author.

Helen Watt, '"My freind who writes for me": Scribes and Scribal Relationships in the Letters of Seamen, 1793-1815'

Richard Greenhalgh joined the British Royal Navy as a volunteer in 1793 early in the French Revolutionary Wars, serving as Landsman, then Able Seaman, for nine years until deserting in 1802. Unable to return home during that time, he, like many of his fellow seamen, was anxious to keep in contact with family and friends by letter. The son of a Lancashire weaver who also had a smallholding, Greenhalgh could write, but preferred to have a shipmate write for him. He struck up a friendship with Thomas Brown, an Irishman who had been living in Manchester, and it was Brown who wrote most of Greenhalgh's letters to his parents until they were sent to serve on different ships in 1800. From the letters, we sense the relationship between them and we feel Greenhalgh's loss when he and Brown were parted. After that, Greenhalgh was forced to write for himself and we can see that his letters were then more stilted in expression and less informative.

The aim of this paper is to explore the few surviving letters of seamen, 1793-1815, showing their desire to write to family and friends while hundreds of miles from home for long periods. It will also emphasise how, if seamen did not write for themselves or for other shipmates, their need to communicate led to the use of a scribe, a friend or a more senior shipmate, such as the chaplain or a lieutenant. This need tended to overcome any lack of skill in writing and this paper will also mention another closely-allied aspect of the letters, the wide range of facility of writing and expression on a scale between literacy and illiteracy, that they display. It will therefore hope to give a voice to a section of society of the period rarely heard.

PANEL 10

Jessica Edmondes, '"The text is old": Manufacturing Verse and Meaning in the Early Modern Manuscript Miscellany'

An enormous quantity of unique, unpublished, and unstudied verse is preserved in early modern English manuscript sources. These usually anonymous pieces are for the most part invisible in literary histories concentrating on major and minor canonical authors. The collaborative project "Rare or Unique Poems in

Manuscript, 1500-1660 (RUP)" aims to create a full-text electronic edition of verse outside the conventional literary canon and will challenge received ideas about authorship and the role of non-elites in the circulation of manuscript verse. Drawing on the literarily and socially broad field of writing of the RUP corpus, my paper argues that the heterogeneity of texts and intermixture of periods (classical, medieval, contemporary), typically found in the personal miscellany, shows the tremendous opportunity that existed for copyists to act dynamically through selecting and recombining material. This paper will focus on two kinds of ubiquitous practice where compilers of manuscript miscellanies actively contribute meaning: (1) "manufactured epigrams" (pieces newly created by excerpting from a larger text); and (2) "intertextuality" (where the juxtaposing of texts is key to how it is read). Both practices constitute a creative act, material that functions within a given manuscript summarizing a particular point or perspective which is that of the compiler. The paper concludes by drawing a parallel between the practices of miscellany compilers and taught composition methods of the period, described as 'creative imitation', involving selecting and recombining material and models.

Jean-Antoine Engel, 'From Conquest to Plantation: Collaborative Authorship in *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* (1634)'

Foras Feasa ar Éirinn, or the 'Foundation of Knowledge about Ireland', is a handwritten collection of mythological, historical and pseudo-historical stories tracing the history of Ireland from the creation of the world to the arrival of the Normans in the 12th century. Completed by Geoffrey Keating around 1634-5, this work is considered to be one of the founding texts of the Irish national narrative. In 1635, the text was translated into English by Michael Kearney. While many manuscript copies in Irish have survived to the present day, only one copy of this first translation is extant. However, no autograph original is known to exist, either for the Irish text or the English translation.

This paper will focus on the role of the copyists and the translator in the collaborative authorship of *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* by comparing the Irish and English versions of an excerpt from the Preface. The comparison of this extract in different manuscripts of the Irish text, followed by the presentation of the only manuscript of the English translation, will highlight the role of the copyist in the authorship of the text. Studying the differences between the Irish extract

and the English translation will show how, on the one hand, the nuances present in the Irish text are blurred by the passage into English and the utilitarian logic of the translation, but on the other hand, how the translation brings new nuances to the text. This will highlight the translator's role as co-author of the text, demonstrating how the text is the product of its various handwritten incarnations, including its English translation.

Helena Rutkowska, 'Collaboration in the Drafts of William Camden's *Annals*'

William Camden's *Annals*, the first ever history of Elizabeth I's reign, has often been described as a "pioneer work" in modern English historiography due to Camden's use of primary sources and professed impartiality. Published in Latin in 1615 and 1625 before becoming popular through an English translation in 1630, it also earned Camden wide acclaim with his contemporaries. Yet, considering that Camden thanked his former pupil and close friend, Sir Robert Cotton, in the production of his work, it is interesting how scholars have not yet been able to establish to what extent Cotton actually contributed to the *Annals*. While previous scholars who have aimed to tackle this question have predominantly focused on the correspondence left behind regarding the *Annals*' composition, this paper will focus on a hitherto neglected piece of material evidence: the original draft manuscripts of the *Annals*, which survive and are kept at the British Library. Bound in ten volumes, the drafts contain at least three different versions of the history prior to its publication and are written by several hands, including Camden's and Cotton's. Consequently, through an in-depth palaeographical and literary analysis, this paper will shed more light on where Camden's, Cotton's and other scribes' contributions (including Francis Bacon's) to the *Annals* can exactly be found. It will argue that while Camden had a clear editorial role throughout the history's production, Cotton's fewer physical interventions came at particularly important points of the narrative, problematising the notion that Camden had full authorial control. The *Annals*, therefore, might have to be the considered the "pioneer work" of a collective, rather than just of Camden himself.

PANEL 11

Laura Purcell, 'The Scribe and the Lady'

This paper, entitled *The Scribe and the Lady*, will examine the scribal publication of the *Manuscript compendium of statutes, orders and decrees relating to Emmanuel College, Cambridge*, MS IE 2135 P86, c. 1700. In doing so, this paper will discuss the scribal culture of Cambridge University, the role of class within Emmanuel College, the way in which the scribe chose to order the later orders and decrees in the latter half of the manuscript and how the manuscript was used after publication by Emmanuel College's students. Additionaly, the inclusion of the bookplate of Charlotte Villiers, Countess of Clarendon, on the front pastedown of the manuscript will be discussed. As female students were not admitted to any university during her lifetime (1721-1790) and with much of her male family members attending St. John's College, Cambridge, her connection to MS IE 2135 P86 and its scribe may provide a previously unknown link to the puritan network of those associated with Emmanuel College.

Marika Keblusek, '"In amicitiae mnemosynon". English Hands in the Album Amicorum of Bernardus Paludanus, c.1600'

The early modern friendship album (*album amicorum*), containing autograph inscriptions, mottoes and names, as well as a diversity of visual materials, can rightly be perceived as a form of communal manuscript production. Despite its popularity on the Continent, foremost in the northern, protestant parts of Europe, from the 1560s onwards, album practice never gained much traction in England - with a few notable exceptions. This paper will focus on the "English" contributions to the album of Bernardus Paludanus (1550-1633), who met several English students during his college years in Padua, travelled to London and Oxford in the 1590s, and received various English visitors to his private museum in Enkhuizen. I will consider the friendship album within the wider context of early modern secular scribal culture, and show how the friendship album's particular materiality can reveal much about the nature, context and production of this specific form of scribal publication.

PANEL 12

Eric Jorink, 'Paper trials. Robert Hooke, Note-Taking and Microscopical Observations at the Royal Society'

The initial two pillars of the Royal Society (est. 1660) were secretary Henri Oldenburg and the omnivorous 'curator of experiments', Robert Hooke. With some justice, Hooke suspected Oldenburg of downplaying his role within the official records of the Society. When the latter died in 1677, Hooke was able to gain control over the minutes, notes and records, resulting in a shadow-bookkeeping, only rediscovered in 2006. Focusing on Hooke's duplication of Leeuwenhoek's microscopical observations, I will present some new insights on the textual and practical procedures in the early scientific world.

Scott Mandelbrote, 'Authorship and Authenticity: The Scribal Production and Dissemination of Isaac Newton's Writings'

This talk will consider the relationship between the Cambridge natural philosopher and mathematician, Isaac Newton (1642-1727) and other important makers of natural knowledge (for example, Christiaan Huygens) through the lens of communications undertaken via the auspices of the Royal Society. Newton's relationship with that body in the 1670s has been the focus of much scholarly attention, principally directed at the issue of establishing scientific priority. This talk will take into account for the first time the role of scribes in producing and disseminating Newton's correspondence and consider the implications of such collaboration for how we should understand contemporary production of natural knowledge. Almost all of Newton's most important communications with the Royal Society were mediated by scribal hands (most of which can be identified), either in terms of the production of original drafts, or of retained copies, or of fair copies being sent for publication. Identifying the scribes and bringing forward the contexts of their collaboration with Newton reformulates the setting in which some of the most historiographically significant debates in the production of knowledge should be understood.

PANEL 13

Angelika Zirker and Matthias Bauer, 'The Harmonies of Little Gidding: Communal and Co-Creative Text Production'

The community of Little Gidding, founded in 1625 by Nicholas Ferrar, was not only a religious lay society of some 30 family members, it was also one of the most remarkable sites of aesthetic collaboration in early modern England. One may even go so far as to say that their co-creative work helped to constitute the community itself. Besides dialogues, in which the members assumed allegorical roles, the family created a number of biblical harmonies, i.e. combinations of biblical texts which served to establish thematic coherence in a memorable form. The creation of these harmonies was, as Paul Dyck puts it, a combination of "hand-work and mind-work" (79), the mind-work consisting in the selection and arrangement of passages, and the hand-work in cutting out those passages from printed Bibles and pasting them on carefully prepared sheets of paper which were then bound into volumes. In other words, they turned printed books into unique manuscripts. The selecting, cutting and pasting even went beyond textual passages, as the community also cut out biblical illustrations and emblems from printed books and loose-leaf series of printed images and arranged them to create complex text-image combinations. In our paper, we will analyse several of these creations and establish relationships and analogies between the various kinds of communal text production and of the kinds of co-creation involved: text and image, texts from different biblical authors, juxtapositions of the Old and the New Testament, the collaboration of uncle and nieces, a unity of matter and concept, as well as of re-use and invention. We thus wish to show that the Harmonies of Little Gidding are an excellent case in point for reflecting on collaborative authorship in early modern English manuscripts in a wider context of co-creativity.

Reference: Dyck, Paul. "'So rare a use': Scissors, Reading, and Devotion at Little Gidding." *George Herbert Journal* 27 (2004): 67-81.

Millie Randall, 'Flirting and Failure in Late Seventeenth-Century Miscellanies'

Miscellany culture thrived in the early modern period because it facilitated both collaboration and personal reflection, as texts authored by manuscripts'

compilers were placed in conversation with those by other authors. Collaboration, self-reflection and careful reading are also essential when it comes to successful flirting. This paper focusses on manuscript collectors who failed to use texts copied from or influenced by printed miscellanies to flirt.

Like many seventeenth-century manuscript miscellanies, *The Academy of Complements*, the most popular printed miscellany of the period, contains a mixture of 'useful' phrases, letters and verses. This collection and its late seventeenth-century spin-offs include both serious and satirical material with the potential to improve or sabotage readers' love lives. I will discuss two manuscript miscellanies that contain a combination of compiler-authored texts and texts copied from printed books about failed flirtations. BL Add MS 28758 charts George Sacheverell's ill-fated romance through copies of his letters interspersed with poems, whilst Bodleian MS Malone 9 contains fictitious love letters and verses thought to have been partly composed and partly copied by William Walsh that the library's catalogue describes as 'carelessly written and of no value'. In these manuscripts, the combination of letters complaining of female indifference and failed poems by the likes of William Davenant highlight how compilers became collaborators with authors whose works related to their own romantic predicaments. I will then compare these miscellanies with BL Sloane MS 161, a miscellany which draws attention to the connection between successful flirting and skillful reading, highlighting how the judicious selection of textual material could lead to a successful courtship. I will argue these collections demonstrate the hitherto overlooked influence of collaboratively authored collections such as *The Academy of Complements* over contemporaneous manuscript miscellanies and their compilers' love lives.

Danielle Clarke, 'Scribal Culture and the Production of the Poetry of Lady Anne Southwell (1574-1636)'

Existing scholarship on the writings of Lady Anne Southwell has been pre-occupied with the materiality of the two extant manuscripts associated with her: Folger Ms V.b.198, and British Library Ms Lansdowne 740. A significant feature of Southwell's manuscripts (produced in the 1620s and 1630s, although some verse pre-dates this) is her extensive use of scribes to record her poems: the bulk of the Folger manuscript is not in her hand, and Lansdowne is produced by a scribe with corrections in at least one other hand. Her own hand is a rough –

and often illegible – italic and features in some "draft" poems and corrections. This paper will attempt to analyse how and why Southwell uses scribes (mostly household servants) in the production of her texts – there are at least seven identifiable scribes in V.b.198, and several unidentified hands. This model of household scribal production – at least on this scale – is rare in female-authored texts, and Southwell provides a uniquely complex example of scribal authorship and textual co-production. Criticism to date has focussed on questions of order, arrangement, compilation and chronology rather than on form, meaning and style. One notable feature of Southwell's body of work is her consistent re-use and recycling not just of words and phrases, but of couplets, stanzas, and longer passages of verse, all of which are highly mobile in her texts. Some internal and formal evidence points to the use of dictation, and to collaborative editing. This testifies to the significance of copying and scribal practice in the material production of her poetry: this also necessitates a recursive process of revision, correction and re-writing manifested in the multiple hands in play in both manuscripts, and the adaptation of key ideas to different readers and audiences.

PANEL 14

Samuli Kaislaniemi, 'Layout & Letterlocking in Scribal Letters: Shared Practices or Material Differences?'

This paper compares autograph and scribal letters from 17th-century England, to look at how amanuenses treated visual and material aspects of letter-writing.

Previous research has shown that letters are complex multimodal messages, in and by which correspondents negotiate social relationships. For instance, it was common practice to make use of significant space (Gibson 1997) – adjusting the distance between the body text of the letter and the subscription (or signature) to metaphorically signify deference or humility. Similarly, a letter folded into a small packet and tied with silk string could signify intimacy (Wolfe 2012). There is indication of at least some of these practices having been universally understood. For instance, letters addressed to the monarch usually leave as much space as possible before the subscription, which often is crammed into the bottom right corner of the page. But the overall 'grammar' of epistolary materiality, the social meaning carried and conveyed by each practice and feature, remains largely unsurveyed.

The aim of this paper is to see if letter-writers and their amanuenses followed the same or similar visual and material practices, particularly in letters directed to the same recipients. Letters are personal messages between the correspondents – but is the personal relationship of the sender with the recipient reflected in the letter's visual and material features when the scribe is an amanuensis? Or does the scribe's practices reflect the relationship between *them* and the recipient, even when they are writing from dictation? Further, are the visual and material practices in scribal letters consistent? And what about in letters from a sender written by several different amanuenses?

My dataset for this study spans the 17th century, being some two hundred letters from senders including Walter Ralegh, Robert Cecil, Samuel Pepys, William Petty, and Thomas Wentworth.

Guillaume Coatalen, 'Folger ms X.d.393, Shedding Light on the Practice of an Unknown Popular Scribe'

Folger ms X.d.393 contains historical extracts, notably from Camden, gathered in a crude hand which seems to be a professional one. The scribe has taken great pains to pen certain capital letters in red and to decorate the manuscript. While scribal copies in fluid cursive hands for the court and the higher echelons of society, by the Feathery scribe for example, have been well documented, this type of popular copy has not. The Irish context of this particular manuscript has been studied but little attention has been paid to the type of popular copy, which is strongly reminiscent of almanacs with their nouns written in red. Even if relatively few copies of the sort have survived, they must have been ubiquitous in the early seventeenth century among the middling sort. This paper looks into the rationale behind the particular aesthetics of such copies. One interesting feature consists in the absence of margins which suggests the book was not meant to be annotated but simply read and kept as a strong expression of one's identity.

Dzemila Sero, 'Heritage Biometrics: The Study of Fingerprints on Artworks Using Computational Imaging, Forensics, and Biometrics'

In the context of decorative arts, fingerprints have never received sufficient attention even though these are often observed on different types of materials.

In general, human impressions detected on works of arts are too readily labelled as 'fingerprints' even though a thorough and scientific investigation is missing, thus leading to incorrect or incomplete analyses of such traces. In the context of forensic archaeology, however, experts have started addressing the challenge of sex and age estimation from partial and degraded marks for many years now, thus leading to a more nuanced understanding of past potting communities. Moreover, advances in biometrics offer a plenitude of imaging devices to capture latent marks and methods on how to study them. Additionally, the assistance of forensic fingerprint examiners is of paramount importance when cross-comparing images of marks. During this talk, I will discuss how biometrics and computer vision, combined with expertise in conservation, art history and forensic science, are essential to analyze human impressions on works of art in order to delineate the profile of the maker(s). A few case studies will be discussed to showcase the presented methods

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