Recherches anglaises et nord-américaines

56 | 2022
Transmission, transposition, transformation dans l'Angleterre de la première modernité

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Electronic version
URL: https://journals.openedition.org/ranam/646
DOI: 10.4000/ranam.646
ISSN: 3000-4411

Publisher
Presses universitaires de Strasbourg

Printed version
Date of publication: December 1, 2022
Number of pages: 170-186
ISBN: 9791034401444
ISSN: 0557-6989

Electronic reference
Stefanie Lethbridge, "From Miscellany to Cultural Memory: The Long-Term Transmission of Poems from Sixteenth-Century Poetry Anthologies", *Recherches anglaises et nord-américaines* [Online], 56 | 2022, Online since 01 February 2024, connection on 08 February 2024. URL: http://journals.openedition.org/ranam/646 ; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/ranam.646

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From Miscellany to Cultural Memory: The Long-Term Transmission of Poems from Sixteenth-Century Poetry Anthologies

Stefanie Lethbridge♦

Scholars tend to reach for superlatives when they talk about Richard Tottel's poetry collection *Songes and Sonettes*, first published in 1557. It has been described as "the most important poetic collection published in the mid-sixteenth century" (Hamrick, 2002: 329) and as "the most popular printed anthology of secular Tudor verse" (May, 2009: 418). Its twentieth-century editor Hyder E. Rollins claims that it "is hardly possible to overestimate [its] influence" (Rollins, 1965: II, 107). Wendy Wall characterizes it "*the* handbook for Elizabethan poets" (Wall, 1993: 24) and Megan Heffernan sees in it "a foundation for the future development of verse in early modern England." Tottel's collection sparked a plethora of further experiments in miscellany-making in the second half of the sixteenth century and Elizabethan miscellanies generally have been described not only as "popular" and "abundant" but also as "influential […] on wider poetic practice" (Pomeroy, 1973: vii). However, scholars tend to be a little less sanguine when assessing the long-term cultural impact of these collections. Harold A. Mason, for instance, asserts that *Songes and Sonettes* had no long-term influence on the development of poetry: "The poets who owe anything to the verse of Tottel's anthology constitute the backwater of the Elizabethan-Jacobean stream" (Mason, 1959: 256). Rollins concedes that much of the interest in Tottel is historical and that the miscellany's reputation "has gone on increasing because it has had few readers" (Rollins, 1965: II, 124). Steven May claims that as early as the 1590s Tottel "had made its contribution to English letters" and was outdated

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(May, 2009: 432) and Stephen Hamrick remarks that "by the Restoration… the text had all but been forgotten" (Hamrick, 2013: 198).

While extensive scholarly work has been done on the origins, contemporary impact and media context of Elizabethan poetry collections (such as Warner, 2013; Hamrick, 2013, Zarnowiecki, 2014, O'Callaghan, 2020; Heffernan 2021), the long-term paths of transmission are rarely traced. This paper offers a reassessment of the *lasting* cultural presence of four well-known Elizabethan anthologies: *Songes and Sonettes* (1557), *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuices* (1576), *The Phoenix Nest* (1593) and *Englands Helicon* (1600). What use did later anthologists of English poetry make of these sixteenth-century collections? And, more precisely, to what extent are the contents of sixteenth-century poetry anthologies transmitted and incorporated into national cultural memory in Jan Assmann's sense as the institutionalized, publicly enacted and group relevant part of collective memory (Assmann 2008: 109-118)? To assess this, I traced the presence of poems from these sixteenth-century anthologies in 81 survey anthologies of English poetry from the late seventeenth to the early twenty-first century.

Following previous work on the genre, I define 'poetry anthology' as a collection of poems by at least three different authors (Benedict, 1996: 3; Ferry, 2001: 31; Korte, 2000: 2-3). For the purpose of this paper I also follow Barbara Benedict in treating anthologies and miscellanies as "not fundamentally different" (Benedict, 1996: 3). I focus on anthologies that present themselves as surveys of national poetry, rather than of any particular subcategories of poetry (like cat poems) or specific time periods (like Elizabethan poetry), for the reason that such anthologies catering for a specialized market are less likely to be thought "typical" of an entire cultural group. Used as teaching tools in schools or university, as reference works or for private reading when individual editions are not affordable or available, survey anthologies can be said to have the broadest distribution of all poetry publications and poems from survey anthologies are most likely to enter cultural memory. Sixteenth-century anthologies certainly make their presence felt in later survey anthologies, though perhaps not overwhelmingly so.[1] More interesting, however, than the sheer numbers of poems represented, is the continued influence of Elizabethan anthologies on the *type* of relation that the English (or even the British) cultivate to their national poetic heritage. Sixteenth-century poetry anthologies explicitly co-opt the lyrical, and that is to say the private, to the national. This conflation of the personal and the national continues as a defining element of national poetry anthologies still today. In this sense, the Elizabethan anthologies contributed fundamentally to the formation of national cultural memory.

1 Randall Anderson pursues a similar comparison in his unpublished dissertation, (Anderson, 1997). Anderson considers only specialist anthologies of Elizabethan or Renaissance poetry, however, which leads to a very different focus.

Renaissance Cultural Presence

There can be little doubt that *Songes and Sonettes* was a sales success at the time. It had two editions in the first year of its appearance, and at least 9 further printings until the end of the sixteenth century (Marquis, 2013: 13). Poetry anthologies generally were so popular under Elizabeth, that, according to Elizabeth Pomeroy, "one was being printed or reprinted in almost every year of the reign" (Pomeroy, 1973: 1). With Francis Davison's last edition of *Poetical Rhapsody* in 1621, the fashion seems to have died down. Seventeenth-century miscellanies tended to offer lyrics mainly among other things, such as jokes, riddles, or advice in matters of speech, letter writing and manners (Smyth, 2004).

Songes and Sonettes was not only sold but also read, judging from the influence it seems to have exerted on poets and writers. It has been described as the foundation of the English sonnet craze, which had its height in the 1580s and 90s (Heninger Jr., 1986: 66). It has also been credited with an influential part in the development of English metrics from medieval accentual meter to the more modern syllabic meter and the use of verbal figures that came to be prominent in later poetry (May, 2009: 425).[2] Poets like Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser drew inspiration from its pages, and educators like Roger Ascham and George Puttenham relied on it for examples.[3] Shakespeare jokes about the miscellany when Slender in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* wishes "I had rather than forty shillings I had my Book of Songs and Sonnets here" (I, 1, 179-80). In *Hamlet* the gravedigger sings a song from *Songes* (#212 in Rollins' edition) and a number of broadsheet ballad makers seem to have relied on it: Rollins lists twelve texts from the miscellany that were registered as ballads until 1569.[4] *Songes and Sonettes* also became the model for further sixteenth-century poetry anthologies,[5] such as *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuices* (1576), *The Phoenix Nest* (1593) or *Englands Helicon* (1600), in their turn considerable sales successes with several editions

2 Pomeroy qualifies the claim: "As Douglas Peterson points out, it is a mistake to describe the rhetorical patterns of the volume as new or as an original gift to future poets. The early Tudor poets did not reinvent verbal techniques wholesale, but their abundant, often obvious, use of figures, plus the large audience attracted by the miscellany, gave them considerable influence" (Pomeroy, 1973: 48, referring to Peterson, 1967: 51).

3 For the influence of *Tottel's Miscellany* on Philip Sidney, see Warkentin, 1984: 17-33, on Edmund Spenser, see Child, 1964: 168. George Puttenham used *Tottel's Miscellany* as source for his *The Art of English Poesy* (Whigham & Rebhorn, 2007: 41 and O'Callaghan 2020: 64). For Ascham as reader of Tottel, see May, 2009: 242. Rollins traces Tottel's influence on Thomas Sackville, Barnabe Googe, George Turbervile, Thomas Howell, George Gascoigne, Thomas Churchyard and others (Rollins, 1965: II, 110-119).

4 Rollins lists the entries #3, #16 (three times, also as parody), #18, #180, #181, #199 (twice), #211, #212 (twice), #251, #265 and as a possibility #172 and #286 (Rollins, 1965: II, 109).

5 Elizabeth Heale also describes Tottel as the originator of misogyny in the production and publication of verse (Heale, 2003: 233-247). Michelle O'Callaghan queries this assessment (O'Callaghan, 2020: 104-105).

each to their name (Heninger, 1986: 66, 68).[6] Beyond print, the entries of these collections also circulated widely in manuscript, both before and after they found their way into print,[7] and Michelle O'Callaghan traces the transmission of these poems into contemporary practices of recreation like singing, dancing and domestic gatherings (O'Callaghan, 2020: passim).

From the available evidence we can conclude that the cultural presence of these miscellanies at their time of production was considerable and across different social levels.[8] What is more, this cultural presence was explicitly linked to the endeavour to forge a national tradition. In his frequently cited "Printer to the Reader" Tottel claims that the English lyric can vie with the works of "diuers Latines, Italians, and other" and he expresses the hope that his collection will be serviceable "to the honor of the Englishe tong, and for profit of the studious of Englishe eloquence" (Rollins, 1965: I, 2).[9] Other Renaissance collections, like *Brittons Bowre of Delight* (1591, 1597) and *Englands Helicon* announce the connection to the national in their very titles. In this context, Renaissance anthologies assumed a cultural importance that encompassed much more than the development of poetry; these poetry collections were invested with social and cultural capital that was linked to national standing as well as practical use value that brought "the cultural domain of the bookshop and printing house into conversation with other sites for textual production and transmission—the court, universities, Inns of Court, and households in all their variety" (O'Callaghan, 2020: 11).

Long-Term Cultural Presence

The cultural presence of Renaissance anthologies is less obvious when one adopts a longer-term perspective. With the beginning of the seventeenth century, the popularity of the Elizabethan poetry anthologies seems to have died down fairly abruptly. The miscellanies that follow in the next century are mixtures of satire, translations, political verse and general instruction, and thus quite

6 *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuices* saw ten known editions in the Elizabethan age (Pomeroy, 1973: 53). *The Phoenix Nest* appeared only once, *Englands Helicon* had three editions (1600, 1614, 1621), *The Poetical Rhapsody* had four (1602, 1608, 1611, 1621; Rollins, 1931/32: II, 4–24).

7 Anderson traces 25 poems (15.72 per cent) from *England's Helicon* and 16.25 per cent from *Phoenix* in contemporary manuscripts, s. Anderson, p. 213. Peter Beal identifies an overlap between *Tottel* and contemporary manuscripts of 76 poems by Wyatt and 26 by Surrey, s. *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*, ed. by Peter Beal (London: Mansell, 1980), vol. 1, pt. 2.

8 Mary Crane discusses *Tottel's Miscellany* as a handbook for social emulation and imagines a greengrocer to be reading it (Crane, 1993: 170).

9 For a detailed development of this argument see Lethbridge, 2014: 99-104.

different in nature from the Elizabethan lyric collections.[10] *Songes and Sonettes* was republished in the early eighteenth century in incomplete editions,[11] and all miscellanies under discussion here were republished in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by then for a largely specialist audience with a scholarly interest in Renaissance poetry. My aim is to decide to what extent the texts from sixteenth-century poetry anthologies continue their presence in later survey anthologies of English or British poetry designed for a *general* public.

The immediate result of a simple counting exercise is that in the long run, there is a marked, though not an overwhelming presence of poems from Elizabethan miscellanies in the (easily accessible) national poetic canon. In particular, *Songes and Sonettes* and *Helicon* prove to have a notable longevity. Before I proceed to detail the results I need to add a caveat: the presence of any one text in widely used survey anthologies is no proof of this text's cultural presence. Not all texts in anthologies are read and I present no empirical evidence that the poems from Elizabethan anthologies were indeed among those that were read. Alistair Fowler has made a useful distinction between "official" and "accessible" canon (Fowler, 1982: 214-215).[12] While teaching and survey anthologies are frequently taken, in their entirety, to represent an officially sanctioned and institutionalized canon (Herrnstein Smith, 1984: 10), only parts of anthologies are usually read or taught. Anthologies have, however, at all times represented an economical access to poetry for those who are either short of funds or short of time: "paperback publication and anthologizing still limit the accessible canon for some social groups" (Fowler, 1982: 215). Making certain poetic texts thus accessible in collections that in their titles proclaim to be a representation of national heritage activates these poems for cultural memory, even if they are not activated for every individual reader. A second caveat needs to be added: numbers give a reassuring sense of empirical accuracy that is potentially misleading. The 81 poetry anthologies under consideration here only represent a fraction of the available material, though some care has been taken to include all well-known collections. The following figures can thus only be taken to indicate tendencies, not absolutes. I define at least three occurrences in later anthologies as a "significant" repetition.

10 Lyric poetry continued largely in songbooks (Pomeroy, 1973: 119). For seventeenth-century miscellanies, see Smyth 2004.

11 Edmund Curll republished the "Preface to the reader" and the poems by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey in 1717. In the same year, George Sewell edited a complete edition of *Tottel's Miscellany* for W. Meares and John Brown, according to Rollins "the most corrupt text issued since 1557" (Rollins, 1965: vol. 2, 41). Henry Curll reissued his father's 1717 edition in 1728 with a recommendation by Pope and extended it by the Wyatt poems (ibid. 42-43). Neither of these editions makes an explicit connection to the original title *Songes and Sonettes* in their own titles.

12 Fowler in fact offers six subcategories of the canon: potential (all available literature), official (institutionally validated), personal (based on personal preferences), accessible (easily available), selective (actually chosen for teaching in institutional contexts) and critical canon (current focus of critical attention).

This number is a largely arbitrary choice—Anderson, for instance, considers five repetitions as noteworthy—which aims, however, to take into account that in the much larger number of available anthologies a poem that occurs in three collections is likely to occur in other collections not included in the count. Less than three repetitions are more likely to be idiosyncratic choices of an editor. At best, this system is imprecise, but it goes some way to overcoming the limits of counting.

Of the 310 poems in the first two editions of *Songes and Sonettes*, I have found 67 reprinted in later survey anthologies between the eighteenth and the twenty-first centuries (see Table 1). 24 of these are reprinted at least three more times.[13] That is to say 7.7 per cent of the poems from *Songes and Sonettes* continue to have what I called a significant presence in later survey anthologies. They are reprinted in 31 later anthologies (not counting other Tudor anthologies like *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuices* and *Englands Helicon* which both include poems from *Songes*). Poems from Tottel are thus represented in anthologies from the first half of the eighteenth century (starting with Elizabeth Cooper, *The Muses Library*, 1737, 14 poems) up until the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in anthologies such as Christopher Ricks' *Oxford Book of English Verse* (1999, nine poems) or more popular (or populist) collections like *Poems on the Underground* (ed. Gerard Benson et al., 2003, one poem) or *England's Favourite Poems* (ed. George Courtauld, 2007, one poem). In other words, since the eighteenth century, more than one in three survey anthologies I looked at includes one or more poems from *Songes and Sonettes*.

Englands Helicon shows similar rates of long-term transmission. Of the 159 entries in *Helicon*, 65 appear in later survey anthologies. 19 of these occur at least three times. In terms of actual *number* of poems slightly fewer survive from *Helicon* (19) than from *Songes* (24), but in terms of percentage *Helicon* has the higher long-term success rate of nearly 12 per cent significant repetition. Poems from *Helicon* survive in 37 later anthologies between Cooper's *Muses Library* (1737, nine poems) and the *Nation's Favourite Poems* (1996, one poem).

Though *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuices* achieved ten reprintings in the Elizabethan age, its longevity proved rather less than that of *Songes* or *Helicon*. Of the 99 entries in the original collection I found only nine poems with later occurrences and only two that occur at least three more times. The anonymous poem beginning "The sturdy Rock, for all its strength" had four later entries, though none after the nineteenth century, and Richard Edwards' elegy "Amantium Irae" comes to nine later entries of which four are in twentieth-century anthologies.[14] This amounts to a long-term survival rate of two per

13 This counts "The Shepheard's Dumpe," which appears twice in *Englands Helicon*, as one poem.

14 Anderson also identifies "'Amantium Irae' as 'the most anthologized poem of the miscellany'" (Anderson, 1997: 144).

cent—if we include the "Sturdy Rock"—and only one per cent overall if we count into the twentieth century.

The count for *The Phoenix Nest* is even lower. While seven of its 79 entries were obviously popular enough at the time to be taken into *Englands Helicon*, (one of them actually appears twice there)[15] only two of its poems have a noteworthy rate of transmission into later survey anthologies. Raleigh's "Sweet Violets, Love's paradise" makes two further appearances after *Englands Helicon* in nineteenth-century anthologies and the anonymous "Shepheard's Praise of His Sacred Diana" occurs in *Helicon* as well as in Archbishop Trench's *Household Book of English Poetry* (1879) and in Paul Keegan's *New Penguin Book of English Verse* (2001). Neither of these two later occurrences justifies an argument for any extensive cultural presence. Indeed, we might suspect that the survival rate that was achieved is not owing to *The Phoenix Nest* itself but to the reprinting of these poems in the long-term much more popular *Helicon*. This conclusion is also suggested by the fact that the alterations made in *Helicon* in order to "pastoralize" some of the *Phoenix* poems are repeated in later anthologies: "What cunning can expresse" turns into "What Sheepheard can expresse" (assigned to the Earl of Oxford in *Helicon*) and "A Description of Loue" has a career as "The Sheepheards description of Loue".

	Songes	*Phoenix*	*Paradyse*	*Helicon*
Number of poems in anthology	310	79	99	159
reprinted in later (post-16th c) survey anthologies	67 (*21.6%*)	11 (*13.9%*)	9 (*9.1%*)	65 (*40.8%*)
reprinted at least three times	24 (*7.7%*)	1 (*1.3%*)	2 (*2%*)	19 (*11.9%*)
number of later survey anthologies including poems from this anthology	31	11	15	37

Table 1: Frequency of reappearance in later anthologies

This simple counting exercise suggests that while all four of these anthologies leave traces in later survey anthologies, two of them (*Songes and Sonettes* and *Englands Helicon*) have a noteworthy long-term survival rate into post-sixteenth-century anthologies of 21 (*Songes*) or even 41 (*Helicon*) per cent, and a rate of at least three repetitions of around ten per cent (7.7% for *Songes* and 11.9% for

15 Thomas Lodge's "The Shepheard's Dumpe" ("Like desart woods, with darksome shades obscured") is first presented as a poem by S.E.D. [Sir Edward Dyer] and later as "Thirsis the Shepheard, to His Pipe" as an anonymous poem with a slightly different setting. In both cases the final line varies from the *Phoenix* entry.

Helicon).[16] I described this survival rate earlier as a moderately high one. This assessment merits a brief explanation. It has become a commonplace in criticism to associate anthologies with canon formation and in this context it is sometimes assumed that a poem's inclusion in an influential anthology is more or less identical with the canonization of this particular poem (Korte, 2000: 10). In actual fact, and taking a long-term perspective, the majority of anthologized poems do not enter any kind of canon. In the 85 anthologies which I examined, over two thirds (70 per cent) of the poems occur only once; roughly sixteen per cent of poems occur at least three times; about two and a half per cent occur ten or more times (Lethbridge 2014: 33). In this sense, the re-occurrence of about twenty poems each from *Songes* and *Helicon*, which amounts to roughly ten per cent of the poems contained in those two anthologies, is in fact a performance that is not dramatically below average. Very influential anthologies, like F.T. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* (1861), it must be said, achieve a considerably higher rate of overlap with other anthologies: Over 50 per cent of the *Golden Treasury* poems occur in at least three other anthologies, either before or afterwards.[17]

Compared to Palgrave, of course, Elizabethan miscellanies have a notably worse starting position, for two reasons: first, as it is in the nature of survey anthologies to cover all periods of poetry, any one period, in this case the Elizabethan period, will receive an increasingly smaller proportion of the whole as time goes on. Since the *Golden Treasury* covers the Elizabethan through to the Romantic period, its chances of overlap with earlier or later anthologies is obviously much higher. The second reason for the disadvantageous starting point of the Elizabethan miscellanies is likely to lie in the development of copyright legislation. Around 1600 came what William StClair has termed the "clamp-

16 Anderson's results roughly coincide with these findings for *Englands Helicon*, *The Phoenix Nest* and *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuices*. He does not actually present any figures for *Songes and Sonettes*. While Anderson's figures for individual representations are noticeably higher, which is to be expected in specialist Elizabethan poetry collections, in terms of proportion he comes to similar results. Thus, all nine poems from Anderson's "hit-list" for *Helicon* are also represented in survey anthologies, though not in the same distribution, f.ex. Sidney's "Onely ioy, now here you are," according to Anderson "the second most 'popular' anthology piece from the *Helicon*" (p. 217) is only represented twice. While Anderson finds that "Beautie sat bathing by a Spring" "has not been printed in any anthology since 1952" (in his corpus), it does appear in Gardner's *New Oxford Book* (1972) and Herbert's *Evergreen Verse* (1981), and Vere's "What Sheepheard's can expresse" is reprinted in Hall's *Book of Gems* (1836) against Anderson's claim that it is unavailable in anthologies since the eighteenth century (p. 230). While three of the many contributions by Bartholomew Yong survive in Anderson's count, none of them appear in survey anthologies. Anderson also agrees with the poor survival rate of *The Phoenix Nest*: "We can certainly see *The Phoenix Nest* has not […] enjoyed great favor among the most recent gardeners of Elizabethan verse" (Anderson, 1997: 181).

17 For a detailed account of *The Golden Treasury*'s relation to other anthologies see Lethbridge 2014: 327-29.

down" on anthologies, abridgements and quotations (StClair, 2004: 482).[18] With the growing commercial importance of the literary print market, there seems to have come a shift in the awareness and defense of copyright which discouraged the gathering of flowers "from other people's private gardens" as StClair puts it (StClair, 2004: 69). The circumstances of the civil war and a retreat of elite circles into forms of manuscript transmission might also have contributed to the decline in printed collections. Whatever the reason, the type of publication that offered collections of poetry and song during the seventeenth century offered relatively few Elizabethan poets (see Smyth, 2004: 6-7).

In consequence of this hiatus in transmission, by the early eighteenth century Renaissance poetry had come to sound alien and crude, because it was unfamiliar. William Oldys explains in the preface to Cooper's *Muses Library* of 1741 that this is owing to the "rude and barbarous" nature of the English language (viii). Given this supposed crudeness of Elizabethan English, eighteenth-century poetry anthologies that included Renaissance verse tended to address an audience with specialized antiquarian interests in this barbarous past, rather than a general audience that focused on aesthetic pleasures according to eighteenth-century taste. Cooper's anthology is the only eighteenth-century anthology that includes a noteworthy number of poems from Elizabethan miscellanies (see Table 2). On the whole, eighteenth-century anthologies showed little interest in Elizabethan poetry.

Nor did the change in copyright law in 1774 which released large quantities of literature into the public domain cause an immediate change in the transmission process of sixteenth-century lyrics. It was only in the early nineteenth century, when a number of Romantic poets turned editors of national survey anthologies, that the poems from Renaissance anthologies were able to stage a notable reappearance. The romantic anthology that seems to have had the most marked influence on the nineteenth-century rediscovery of Elizabethan anthologies was George Ellis' *Specimens of Early English Poets* (1790 and 1811) which contained 37 poems from *Songes* and 22 from *Helicon*.[19] With the enthusiasm of the Romantics for the vernacular and pre-Enlightenment past, national survey anthologies began to represent Renaissance verse, starting notably with William Hazlitt's 1825 anthology *Select British Poets*[20] and S.C. Hall's three-volume *Book of Gems* in the 1830s, both of which included large sections of Renaissance lyrics,

18 StClair's claim has been questioned by O'Callaghan (2020: 160) who sees no evidence for proceedings against copyright infringements. O'Callaghan does not offer an alternative explanation for the significant drop in the production of elite national poetry collections.

19 Ellis also included three poems from *The Phoenix Nest* and six from *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuices*. Bishop Percy's famous *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, often credited with the start of the revival of ancient English verse, by comparison, only has five poems from *Helicon* and one from *Songes* (which is also in *Helicon*).

20 Hazlitt had published a first version of his anthology in 1824, but was forced to withdraw it for copyright reasons.

mostly Shakespeare sonnets, but there are also seven poems from *Songes and Sonettes* and six from *Englands Helicon* in *The Book of Gems*. After that, poems from *Songes* and *Helicon* maintained a fairly stable presence in major nineteenth-century anthologies such as T.H. Ward's *English Poets* (1880) or Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Oxford Book of English Verse* (1900). While Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* included six poems from *Helicon*, it did not include anything from *Songes*. In contrast, both *Songes* and *Helicon* put in a notable appearance in *Beeton's Great Book of Poetry*, an anthology that was published in monthly shilling numbers in 1869-70 and in sixpenny installments in 1881, thus making this particular Renaissance heritage available also to those with leaner budgets. In the twentieth century it is largely establishment anthologies like the *Oxford Books of English Verse* by Helen Gardner and Christopher Ricks, the Everyman *New Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics* by Ernest Rhys or the *Norton Anthology of Poetry* that maintain the cultural presence of these Renaissance texts.

	Tottel	*Phoenix*	*Paradyse*	*Helicon*
E. Cooper, *The Muses Library* (1741)	14	--	--	9
G. Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Poets* (1790 and 1811)	37	3	6	22
S.C. Hall, *The Book of Gems* (1836-38)	7	3	1	6
F.T. Palgrave, *The Golden Treasury* (1861)	–	–	–	6
T.H. Ward, *The English Poets* (1880)	7	1	–	12
Beeton's Great Book of Poetry (1881)	9	2	1	12
A. Quiller-Couch, *The Oxford Book of English Verse* (1900)	8	–	1	11
E. Rhys, *New Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics* (1914)	5	1	2	12
H. Gardner, *The New Oxford Book of English Verse* (1972)	5	–	–	–
Ch. Ricks, *The Oxford Book of English Verse* (1999)	9	–	1	2
P. Keegan, *The New Penguin Book of English Verse* (2001)	7	3	–	5
M. Ferguson et al., *The Norton Anthology of Poetry* (2005)	9	–	–	7

Table 2: Number of poems from Renaissance anthologies in individual modern anthologies (sample)

The all-time favourite from these Elizabethan anthologies is Christopher Marlowe's "Passionate Shepherd to his Love," one of the most successful anthology poems ever, with no less than 30 occurrences in later anthologies from this sample, including such popular twentieth- and twenty-first-century

collections as *The Nation's Favourite Poems* (1996) or *Poems on the Underground* (2003). The *Helicon* version of the poem was the first complete printing (Rollins, 1935: vol. 2, 186-187).[21] In terms of number of reprints, Marlowe's is followed after a significant gap by Raleigh's answer poem "The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd" (19 later occurrences). Both poems appeared in *Helicon*, though Raleigh is not given as author there.[22] The most popular reprints from *Songes* are Surrey's "The soote season" (16) and "Prisoned in Windsor" (13) and Wyatt's "My lute awake perform the last" (19) and "They flee from me" (12). The four poems are represented in later anthologies throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries and are still to be found in the latest edition of the *Norton Anthology of English Literature* (10th ed., 2018). All these poems celebrate love relationships and can be linked to an author's name. The more openly didactic and frequently anonymous poems in *Songes* do not have a long life in terms of cultural presence, a thematic preference which also explains the meagre survival rate of poems from *Paradyse*, which focus largely on didactic topics and proverbial wisdom.

It is Shakespeare, Sidney and Spenser who dominate the Elizabethan sections of nineteenth- as well as twentieth-century anthologies and these poets do not dominate the four Tudor verse miscellanies examined here to a similar degree, though Sidney served as a focus of interest and dedicatee for *Paradyse* and *Phoenix Nest*. Nonetheless, it is safe to conclude from the evidence presented so far that after a hiatus in the seventeenth century, poems from *Songes and Sonettes* and *Englands Helicon* are more or less continuously represented in national survey anthologies and thus can be said to have inscribed themselves successfully into national cultural memory. In this sense, at least two of the Elizabethan miscellanies cannot justifiably be described as "outdated" once they had helped to create the "new poets" of the Elizabethan era.

Merging the Private and the National

More significant, however, than the long-term cultural survival of individual poems in my view is the combination of private and public spheres and their explicit connection to or even conflation with a national experience that Tottel was among the first to offer. In fact, pushing the significance of this conflation of the discourses of private elite, public benefit and national fervour one step

21 Shakespeare's *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599, had printed the poem without title and without stanzas 4 and 6. A Ballad version dating ca. 1620 is reprinted in *The Roxburghe Ballads* (1874). The poem also occurs frequently in manuscript miscellanies, though not as frequently as others (Anderson, 1997: 219).

22 Isaac Walton's *Compleat Angler* (1653) is the first to give Raleigh as author (Rollins, 1935: II, 190).

further, I should like to claim that Tottel's achievement is precisely to validate the private experience of the reader of lyric verse *as* nationally relevant. He posits the private as a personal instantiation of the national and in this sense invites buyers and readers, as Sara Lodge has put it for a nineteenth-century context, "to construct their 'private memories' upon the foundational "public memories" (literal or figurative)" which the collection purveys (Lodge, 2004: 28). Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, probably the most influential poetry anthology of the nineteenth century, has repeatedly been credited with establishing the lyric as the essence of the English poetic heritage (Clausen, 1981: 67; Lewis, 1962: 23-24). Palgrave's particular achievement was that he managed to invest lyrical poetry with sufficient public consecration to make it a representative expression of, and for, the imagined community of the English, or even the British nation.[23] I would contend, however, that Palgrave merely completes an already present process of combining private and public poetic experience into national significance, a process that was in fact initiated by Tottel's collection.

Arthur Marotti and Wendy Wall, among others, have identified *Songes and Sonettes* as one of the most significant publishing events of the sixteenth century for the establishment of lyric poetry as publishable format. Two of the factors that, according to Marotti, inhibited the publication of lyrical poetry in mid-sixteenth-century England were its association with privacy and its association with the ephemeral (Marotti, 1995: 209-210). As private and ephemeral literary product, the lyric had a secure place in an elite manuscript culture, but was considered ill-suited for publication, partly because print made the socio-cultural routines of an elite widely available, thus exposing the private to an inappropriate public gaze. In order to justify his publication—and to clear himself from the accusation of indulging in this kind of voyeurism for the mere sake of profit—Tottel uses two main strategies in his address to the reader to invest his collection with cultural status: first, he reverses the common alignment of social elite with private manuscript circulation, describing those people who keep poetic texts to themselves as "*vngentle* horders vp of […] treasure". Instead, he addresses the reader of the printed text as "*gentle* reder," investing the general consumer with "gentility" rather than an elite that keeps its "treasure" private (Rollins, 1965: vol. 1, 2, my emphasis). Wendy Wall observes (and this is the second strategy) that "[t]his restructuring of the typical coding—common print and noble handwriting—is done within a nationalist project that set out to redeem English verse by validating the means by which the vernacular could be publicized" (Wall,

23 Anthologies like F.T. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* or A. Quiller-Couch's *Oxford Book of English Verse* famously accompanied the British into the far corners of the Empire and soldiers to the trenches in the First World War (see Fussell, 1975: 159-160; Rose, 2001: 43), which demonstrates this merge between private reading and a sense of national community. For further detail of this development in the nineteenth century, see Lethbridge, 2014: 310-39.

1993: 26-27). In this Tottel joined other Englishmen of high social standing who, according to Richard Helgerson, recruited poetry in the service of the nation in order to improve poetry's socio-cultural status (Helgerson, 1992). Tapping into the values of Renaissance humanism, Tottel advocates "a model of healthful and morally improving reading" (O'Callaghan, 2020: 25) that is profitable for the individual, for the cultural group and, incidentally, also for the printer. The effect of the strategy was to invest the lyrical experience, whether in silent reading or public performance, with a national significance.

Later anthologies repeat Tottel's connection between the lyrical and the national. Thus Palgrave presents his collection of lyrical poetry as evidence that the British nation is the one "which, after the Greeks in their glory, may fairly claim that during six centuries it has proved itself the most richly gifted of all nations for Poetry" (Palgrave, 1861: 239). In fact, the conflation of the lyrical with the national becomes a fairly regular topos in the prefatory rhetoric of survey anthologies. In this sense Rollins' claim that "it is hardly possible to overestimate" the influence of *Songes and Sonettes* needs to be extended from the influence on the development of lyrical poetry to its influence on the *conflation* between the lyrical, which remains essentially a private experience, and the national, that is, public experience.

Used as teaching anthologies and repository for cultural memory, national poetry anthologies not only contribute to the canonization of specific texts, they also canonize emotional responses. Inscribed unto a narrative of national development in national anthologies, such emotional responses came to be connected to group-specific experiences, they help group members to give shape to and articulate private experiences within a shared setting of widely known poetic texts. While *Songes and Sonettes* and *Englands Helicon* provide poetic texts that maintain a presence in national survey anthologies into the twenty-first century, their most significant contribution is the forging of a connection between private and public experiences. Tudor anthologies, imitating Tottel's ploy, "introduced powerful modes of discourse readily usable by a broad range of readers and writers" (Hamrick, 2013: 199); they continue in cultural memory not only through the survival of individual poems which were first published in their pages, but in the realignment of the private *as* public.

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Appendix: Frequently reprinted poems from *Songes and Sonettes* and *Englands Helicon*

Songes and Sonettes (1st and 2nd ed.)			
Author	**Title**	**Incipit**	**No. of later occurrences**
Wyatt, T.	The louer complayneth the vnkindnes of his loue	My lute awake performe the last	19
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	Description of Spring, wherin eche thing renewes, saue onelie the louer	The soote season, that bud and blome furth bringes	16
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	Prisoned in windsor, he recounteth his pleasure there passed	So cruell prison how coulde betide, alas	13
Wyatt, T.	The louer sheweth how he is forsaken of such as he somtime enioyed	They flee from me, that somtime did me seke	12
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	A praise of his loue: wherin he reproueth them that compare their ladies with his	Geue place ye louers, here before	9
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	A complaint by night of the louer not beloued	Alas so all thinges nowe doe holde their peace	8
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	The meanes to attain happy life	Martiall, the thinges that do attain	8
Wyatt, T.	Of the Courtiers life written to Iohn Poins	Myne owne Iohn Poyns: sins ye delite to know	7

Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	Vow to loue faithfully howsoeuer he be rewarded	Set me wheras the sunne doth parche the grene	5
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	Complaint of the absence of her louer being vpon the sea	O happy dames, that may embrace	5
Wyatt, T.	A description of such a one as he would loue	A face that should content me wonderous well	5
Wyatt, T.	Of his returne from Spaine	Tagus farewel that westward with thy stremes	5
uncertain author [in *Helicon* assigned to Surrey]	Harpelus complaynt of Phillidaes loue bestowed on Corin, who loued her not and denied him, that loued her	Phylida was a fayer mayde	5
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	Description and praise of his loue Geraldine	From Tuskane came my Ladies worthy race	4
Wyatt, T.	To a ladie to answere directly with yea or nay	Madame, withouten many words	4
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	How no age is content with his own estate, & how the age of children is the happiest, if they had skill to vnderstand it	Layd in my quiet bed, in study as I were	4
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	Descripcion of the restlesse state of a louer, with sute to his ladie, to rue on his diyng hart	The sonne hath twise brought furth his tender grene	3
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	The louer comforteth himself with the worthinesse of his loue	When ragyng loue with extreme payne	3
Wyatt, T.	The louer for shamefastnesse hideth his desire within his faithfull hart	The longe loue, that in my thought I harber	3
Wyatt, T.	A renouncing of loue	Farewell, Loue, and all thy lawes for euer	3
Wyatt, T.	The louer determineth to serue faithfully	Synce loue wyll nedes, that I shall loue	3
Wyatt, T.	Of the meane and sure estate	Stond who so list vpon the slipper whele	3
uncertain author	A praise of his Ladye	Geue place you Ladies and be gon	3
uncertain author	That all thing sometime finde ease of their paine, saue onely the louer	I see there is no sort	3

Englands Helicon			
Author	**Title**	**First line**	**No. of later occurrences**
Marlowe, C.	The passionate Sheepheard to his loue	Come liue with mee, and be my loue	30
Ignoto [Raleigh]	The Nimphs reply to the Sheepheard	If all the world and loue were young	19
Breton, N.	Phillida and Coridon	In the merry moneth of May	14
Anonymous	Another of the same Sheepheards	As it fell vpon a day	11
Greene, R.	Dorons description of his faire Sheepheardesse Samela	Like to Diana in her Sommer weede	10
Sidney, P.	Another of Astrophell	The Nightingale so soone as Aprill bringeth	8
Constable, H.	Damelus Song to his Diaphenia	Diaphenia like the Daffadown-dillie	8
Ignoto	The Sheepheards description of Loue	Sheepheard, what's Loue, I pray thee tell?	7
Breton, N.	A Sweete Pastorall	Good Muse rock me a sleepe	7
Shakespeare, W.	The passionate Sheepheards Song	On a day, (alack the day,)	7
Sidney, P.	Astrophels Love is dead	Ring out your belles, let mourning shewes be spread	5
Shepherd Tonie [A. Munday]	To Colin Cloute	Beautie sate bathing by a Spring	5
Howard, H. (Earl of Surrey)	Harpalus complaynt on Phillidaes loue bestowed on Corin, who loued her not, and denyed him that loued her	Phillida was a faire mayde	5
Breton, N.	A Pastorall of Phillis and Coridon	On a hill there growes a flower	4
Drayton, M.	The Sheepheards Daffadill	Gorbo, as thou cam'st this way	4
Dyer, E.	To Phillis the faire Sheepheardesse	My Phillis hath the morning Sunne	4
Byrd, W.	Philon the Sheepheard, his Song	While that the Sunne with his beames hot	4
Dowland, J.	To his Loue	Come away, come sweet Loue	3
Ignoto	Another of the same nature, made since	Come liue with mee, and be my deere	3