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Rediscovering John Donne's *Catalogus librorum satyricus*

Daniel Starza Smith and Matthew Payne
with a translation by Melanie Marshall

ABSTRACT

This article introduces a previously unknown manuscript copy of a satirical book-list in Latin by John Donne, known as the *Catalogus librorum satyricus* or *The Courtier's Library*. The manuscript (which we call WA2) was discovered at Westminster Abbey in autumn 2016, and is the earliest surviving witness of the *Catalogus*. A transcription of the new copy is supplied, with textual and bibliographical observations, an examination of its provenance, and the history of the work's publication in print and manuscript; we also speculate on WA2's arrival into the Abbey. The article argues for an original composition date of late summer 1603 to late autumn 1604, the most precise yet proposed for this work. It includes a new translation of Donne's only surviving Latin letter, to Sir Henry Goodere, which refers directly to the *Catalogus*. This letter is used to explicate the place of the *Catalogus* in Donne's life and writing, and to clarify issues of dating and circulation. The discovery of WA2 also provokes the reappraisal of another *Catalogus* manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge (CT2). Previous scholars have identified this as an authorial revision and linked it to Donne's association with the Drury family in 1610–1611. The textual and circumstantial evidence of WA2 is marshalled to reject not only this later date and the Drury association, but the notion that Donne himself made the revision recorded in CT2.

In autumn 2016, while working through a tin trunk of unsorted manuscript fragments, Matthew Payne, Keeper of the Muniments at Westminster Abbey, came

We are deeply grateful to a number of individuals. With characteristic generosity, Henry Woudhuysen and Peter McCullough gave vital support to this research from the start, and both sent thorough comments on early drafts. Gary Stringer's extensive advice and rigorous critiques profoundly strengthened the sections on textual matters, including both the collation and the publishing history of the *Catalogus*. Dennis Flynn shared a wealth of information from the forthcoming Oxford edition of Donne's prose letters and, over a series of conversations, helped us understand this discovery in the context of Donne's biography. As well as translating Donne's sole Latin letter, Melanie Marshall tested every aspect of our argument with enormous patience, humour, and critical acumen. Piers Brown, Jana Dambrogio, Joshua Eckhardt, Arthur Marotti, and Anne Lake Prescott all commented incisively on full drafts. Anonymous readers gave us astute critical feedback and MA students at King's College London, though unaware of the discovery, gamely discussed Donne's unusual satire in class, contributing many intelligent insights about its contents and genre. Greg Kneidel, Jeffrey Johnson, Gordon McMullan, Brent Nelson, and Jeanne Shami have all offered very welcome support. The individuals thanked here do not necessarily agree with all of our conclusions, and any mistakes and inaccuracies which remain are entirely our own. The transcript and images of MS 63 are reproduced courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. This article was published open access thanks to funding from the English Department and the London Challenge Fund at King's College London, and from the John Donne Society.

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upon a previously unknown scribal copy of a satirical library catalogue by John Donne. The work is known to Donne scholars by its Latin title, *Catalogus Librorum aulicorum incomparabilium et non vendibilium* ('Catalogue of incomparable courtly books, not for sale'¹), or more commonly by its title in English, *The Courtier's Library*. Donne himself refers to it in a prose letter as his *Catalogus librorum satyricus*, and it is hereafter called *Catalogus*. The catalogue ostensibly lists a series of book-titles that an ambitious courtier can introduce into conversation to seem more learned than he really is. For reasons explained below, we think the original work was probably completed by Donne some time between late summer 1603 and late autumn 1604. The manuscript witness at Westminster Abbey dates to the early seventeenth century, and thus pre-dates the first printing of the work in 1650. Both textual collation and bibliographical evidence suggest that this discovery constitutes the earliest known surviving copy of the *Catalogus*. Donne's satirical catalogue remains one of his most critically neglected works, so the new manuscript prompts a reconsideration of several hitherto unanswered or partially answered questions.

The manuscript, now Westminster Abbey Library, MS 63, consists of two unbound bifolia, neatly prepared and loosely quired into an eight-page fascicle. Henceforth we refer to it as WA2, to integrate it into the system of sigla used by the *Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (8 vols, 5 to date).² The text runs over six pages in a single seventeenth-century hand—elegant and formally trained, but not Donne's (see Figure 1). It features thirty-four numbered entries, each describing fictional books in the putative courtier's library. WA2 thus records the same number of entries as the 1650 printed version. One other contemporary manuscript copy of the *Catalogus* survives, at Trinity College, Cambridge—henceforth CT2—recording a text with significant differences: foremost among them, it omits two entries present in the printed and Westminster versions, and contains three additional entries not recorded in those two witnesses.³ The text of WA2 is thus essentially the same as that of the printed 1650 version, but notably different from that of CT2.

Despite the barriers to understanding that the *Catalogus* presents modern readers—including its idiosyncratic genre, the Latin, and the profusion of topical references—this discovery speaks to scholarship beyond specialists in early modern manuscript culture. The Westminster Abbey manuscript has exposed significant gaps in critical understanding of Donne's biography and intellectual activity. Furthermore, pushed into the spotlight, the little-read *Catalogus* is revealed to be a far more radical piece of political and religious commentary than has been previously acknowledged. The wealth of information it contains about Donne's thinking and reading requires extensive further study, and its literary qualities deserve much more credit and

1 The phrase *non vendibilium* carries a comic ambiguity about the books being 'unsaleable', 'not fit for public inspection', or simply 'non-existent'. Similarly *incomparabilium* implies both that the books are incomparable because of their high quality or else, quite literally, because they do not exist.

2 The Abbey also owns a small miscellany containing Donne's verse, the Morley Manuscript (MS 41), *Donne Variorum* siglum WA1. This manuscript is named after its former owner George Morley (1598–1684), Bishop of Winchester. The new find is not in the same hand as any of the contents of this volume, which was compiled over a period of time between the 1620s and '40s, and there is no reason to think they share a similar provenance.

3 *Donne Variorum* siglum CT1 refers to the Puckering Manuscript, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.12 (James 592).

attention. As a carefully crafted piece of literary writing, Donne's *Catalogus* combines the sharp satirical edge of his verse *Satyres* with the powerfully compressed rhetoric of his epigrams. A unique formal experiment in the Donne canon, the highly suggestive medium of a library catalogue enables him to pull the full weight of his prodigious reading down on to the pettiness, hypocrisy, and intellectual and ethical failures that he saw in the worst excesses of humanism, the law, and contemporary religious debate.

From a biographical perspective, the Westminster Abbey discovery apparently confirms the *Catalogus* as a text of Donne's intriguing but opaque middle years. We hope that further work on the *Catalogus* will be prompted by our article, relating it more closely to that part of Donne's corpus written immediately after his marriage in 1601 to Anne, née More (1584–1617). This marriage famously ended Donne's time at the household of her uncle Thomas Egerton (1540–1617), Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and later Lord Ellesmere, and curtailed the professional opportunities which that association seemed to promise. The dense aesthetic of the *Catalogus* affords multiple opportunities to explore Donne's attitudes and literary preoccupations during this period of his life.

In particular, the *Catalogus* points to attitudes Donne thought important enough to share with a trusted inner circle, but which, had they ended up in the wrong hands, posed a risk to his reputation and perhaps even his person. Its satirical tone and attacks on contemporaries could have seriously imperilled his hopes of future rehabilitation and the financial stability of his growing family. More importantly, its extreme scepticism about matters of religion, particularly Protestant thinkers and institutions, would have placed Donne—then at his lowest social ebb—under deep suspicion by church and state authorities. Probably composed in the months immediately after Elizabeth I's death, the *Catalogus* is one of the very earliest works of Jacobean literature in England, and thus dates to a key transitional period in British political history. The eventual smoothness of James's accession retrospectively masks the potential it posed for social upheaval. Before Elizabeth's death, some Catholics had hoped for the succession of Mary, Queen of Scots, the Spanish Infanta Isabella, or (believing her sympathetic to Catholicism) Arbella Stuart. Furthermore, James's position on the throne was by no means safe. Two Catholic conspiracies—the Bye Plot to kidnap the king, and the Main Plot to replace him with Arbella Stuart—were both suppressed as early as 1603, and Catholics were placed under increasing pressure from February 1604. Although Donne's work almost certainly pre-dates the Gunpowder Plot of November 1605, he would have well comprehended the religious tensions felt throughout court and country at this time. To write and circulate the *Catalogus* at all was an extremely daring act.

Few if any readers of Donne would single out this odd, obscure, and difficult work as their favourite of his writings, or the one they would most hope to recover from a forgotten box in an archive.⁴ Yet the discovery of this manuscript confronts

4 Other Donne discoveries in recent years include a manuscript sermon corrected in Donne's own hand (London, British Library, MS Royal 17.BXX) and Donne's copy of Horace's works (1562), featuring his signature and ownership inscription (Wadham College, Oxford). See Jeanne Shami, *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1997), and Hugh Adlington, 'Close reader: John Donne's Horace', *TLS* (16 January 2015), 14–15.

scholars with particularly suggestive—even urgent—opportunities for new research and critical reassessment. More research is required to explain the *Catalogus*'s jokes, both the jests and the barbs, and to make its contents more accessible to a wider readership. An analysis of it as a piece of Latin writing would greatly expand our understanding of Donne's literary skill in this language. The present article confines itself to an examination of the text and an analysis of its early circulation. We begin with a summary of the work's publication history to date, since these facts can be fixed with some certainty; the article then turns to the more opaque story of its prior circulation in manuscript, particularly in relation to the work's earliest identifiable reader, Sir Henry Goodere (1571–1627). We investigate the provenance of WA2, then provide a diplomatic transcription alongside a sample photographic reproduction of the manuscript (Appendix I), and a textual analysis with conjectural stemmata (Appendix II). The stemmata suggest that either WA2 is the text from which 1650 was set, or both derive from the same manuscript source. Donne's only known reference to the *Catalogus* in his correspondence is in a Latin letter to Goodere, which we examine in detail, and a new translation of this letter by Melanie Marshall has also been supplied (Appendix III).⁵

I. CONTENTS AND CRITICAL CONTEXT

The *Catalogus* first appeared in print in the 1650 octavo publication of *Poems, By J. D. with Elegies on the Authors Death* (London: John Marriot; Wing D1869), 371–5, where it is given the shorter title *Catalogus Librorum*. The 1650 volume was the second issue of the fourth edition of this work, which contained new material added by John Donne Junior (1604–1663), the poet's son.⁶ It consists of a list of imaginary books, and a short introduction of fewer than 300 words, all in Latin apart from six English words in entry 2, and fifteen in entry 9. The contents record satirical responses to contemporary legal, political, theological, and literary debates and events. A number of real figures are mentioned by name, including major scholars and religious figures (e.g. Luther and Erasmus), but many more contemporary figures, for example: John Pory (1572–1633), an author and professional intelligencer, later a colonial administrator; Sir Walter Cope (1553?–1614), a civil servant and Pory's patron; the lawyer and poet Sir John Davies (1569–1626); and Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626), later Viscount St Albans and Lord Chancellor. The book-titles in the *Catalogus* often rely for their humour on the disparity between author and title, and in this respect some jokes are easy to understand: the privileges of parliament, for example, as described by a famous clown, Richard Tarlton (34). Convincing interpretations of others have so far eluded scholars: why is the torturer Richard Topcliffe associated with *clothes*, specifically (2)? The precise targets of the *Catalogus*'s satire are sometimes obscure, therefore, but broadly speaking they include reformation zeal, religious persecution, the insincerities of courtiership, and scholarly pedantry.

5 The translation draws on the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2012), henceforth *OLD*.

6 The *Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* calls this volume 'E', and it is no. 82 in the fourth edition of Sir Geoffrey Keynes's *Bibliography of the Works of Dr. John Donne* (Oxford, 1973). The previous editions were printed in 1633 (A), 1635 (B), 1639 (C), and 1649 (D).

The list is divided into thirty-four entries, but those entries collectively record many more than thirty-four titles. In fact, part of the satirical joke resides in the catalogue's own tendency towards textual excess. When read carefully, it becomes clear that at least 141 individual volumes are mentioned in the list, referring to some 60,047 authors, co-authors, dictators, amanuenses, editors, translators, recipients, and patrons—plus an unknown number of servants who supply copy-texts in the form of used toilet paper (21). The author implies that the library includes many more volumes than those specified, and testifies to many more hands at work.⁷ Some texts are broken down into their constituent parts (paratexts, headings, commentary, encomia); others are grouped together, perhaps indicating that they are 'printed' continuously in the same volume, or combined into *Sammelbände*. One book (24) has a title which begins to list non-existent things (*chimaeris*), and itself threatens never to end: '. . . etc'. Another (8) is designed to be spun around and around indefinitely to show that 66 and 99 look the same when inverted. Paradoxically, Donne's *copia* is fantastically compact: however we look at it, this short book-list seems to be growing endlessly, even as its contents persist in their non-existence.

Only a small number of scholars have written on Donne's *Catalogus*.⁸ Writing in 1930, Evelyn Simpson categorized it as 'an elaborate jest in the manner of Rabelais', whose *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1534) included a mock catalogue of 139 books supposedly held at the Abbey of St Victor.⁹ Simpson thought the book-list's primary interest or use to modern scholars was as evidence of 'Jacobean literary society and its reflection of Donne's personal tastes'.¹⁰ Also connecting the work explicitly to Rabelais, Anne Lake Prescott (in 1998 and 2011) contemplates it in relation to early modern Menippean satire, a 'very erudite genre . . . particularly given to laughter at pretentious erudition'. Prescott identifies Menippean satire as 'salty, jumbled, cynical, and proud of it'; it 'loves to collect, attract, heap up, include, stuff, toss in'.¹¹

7 The number is considerably swelled by entry 15, which is in at least 98 volumes, but surely many more. This work contains 60,000 letters from the dictionary-maker John Florio (1553–1625) to noblemen of every nation on earth, in every known language; bathetically, all are on the subject of toothpicks and hangnails. Each recipient is also a patron of the collected edition. Volume one is said to contain a 70-page contents list, followed by 107 pages of *Diplomata Regum* (official documents pertaining to the kings of all those nations) and publication licences for all the contents. The next 97 volumes contain poems in praise of Florio, by an unknown, but clearly enormous, number of authors. Only then, presumably, do the 60,000 letters begin, doubtless occupying hundreds of volumes. The book has four titles, underlining both its sprawling nature and Florio's own attraction to rhetorical *copia*, or rhetorical abundance, a key feature of Renaissance rhetorical training which had been popularized by Erasmus's *De Utraque Verborum ac Rerum Copia* (1512).

8 The late John R. Roberts produced four thorough bibliographies of critical writing on Donne, covering the periods 1912–1967, 1968–1978, 1979–1995, and 1996–2012. These are freely available at *DigitalDonne: The Online Variorum* <<http://donnevariorum.tamu.edu/html/resources/index.html>> accessed 19 December 2017, and they confirm that only a handful of scholars have touched on the *Catalogus* between 1912 and 2012.

9 See *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, 2.vii. John Donne, *The Courtier's Library, or Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum incomparabilium et non vendibilium*, ed. by E. M. Simpson (London, 1930). Barbara C. Bowen points out that at least four of the 139 books are actually real in 'Rabelais and the Library of Saint-Victor', in Barbara C. Bowen and Jerry C. Nash (eds), *Lapidary Inscriptions: Renaissance Essays for Donald A. Stone, Jr* (Lexington, KY, 1991), 159–70.

10 Evelyn M. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford, 1924), 150.

11 The quotations are taken from Anne Lake Prescott, 'Menippean Donne', in Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (Oxford, 2011), 158–79 (158–9).

In a significant 2008 article, Piers Brown uses the *Catalogus* instead as a prompt to explore the role of the secretary in contemporary humanist education. For Brown, Donne

uses the form of the library catalogue to make a series of jokes at the expense of learned culture. However, where Rabelais satirizes the scholastic learning associated with monasteries, Donne takes aim at the humanist methods adapted by secretaries to produce knowledge for courtly display. The *Catalogus* provides a parodic image of the Republic of Letters seen from the contemporary English perspective.¹²

One of the most important recent publications on this author, *The Oxford Handbook of John Donne* (2011), edited by Jeanne Shami, Dennis Flynn, and M. Thomas Hester, includes several articles which touch on the *Catalogus*, some of which we draw on below.¹³ Simpson, Brown, and (in unpublished notes) I. A. Shapiro have all called the *Catalogus* a '*jeu d'esprit*', a term it clearly evokes, but which may unintentionally downplay the work's serious intent, dangerous ramifications, and revealing role in the Donne canon.¹⁴

II. DATE AND PUBLICATION HISTORY

As explained in more detail below, three proposed dates of completion can be associated with the *Catalogus*: 1) 1603–1604, by which time it was in a state fit to be circulated; 2) May 1604 to early 1605, when Donne attempted to restrict its circulation and may have planned to revise or destroy it; and 3) 1610–1611, when, according to Simpson, new revisions were made.¹⁵ This article will contest the last claim. Certainly some entries could only have been written after the execution in 1601 of

This volume henceforth *Oxford Handbook*. Prescott's earlier consideration of the *Catalogus* was in her full-length study *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven, CT, 1998).

- 12 Piers Brown, "Hac ex consilio meo via progredieris": courtly reading and secretarial mediation in Donne's *The Courtier's Library*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61 (2008), 833–66 (834).
- 13 Among the few other scholars to have mentioned the work, we should mention Louis Knafla and Alison Shell, who each touch on it in their respective articles in *John Donne's Professional Lives*, ed. David Colclough (Cambridge, 2003). In his biography, John Carey draws on the *Catalogus* only briefly, in a passage concluding his first chapter, on 'Apostasy': 'though he forsook the Roman Church he never, in a sense, escaped its grasp. . . . his sympathies remained with the persecuted Catholics, though he had joined their persecutors. The thought of government spies and butchers like Topcliffe and Philips never failed to turn his stomach. They are still among his targets in *The Courtier's Library*, which probably received its final form as late as 1611. This bitter little satire, spraying its fire about like a rusty Sten gun, and disguised as a catalogue of rare Latin books, was, needless to say, never published in Donne's lifetime, and it is remarkably anti-Protestant in tone', *John Donne: Life, Mind and Art* (London, 1981), 35–6. Edmund Gosse's *Life and Letters of John Donne* (London, 1899) did not mention the *Catalogus*, and it is not indexed in John Stubbs, *John Donne: The Reformed Soul* (London, 1996).
- 14 Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Shapiro Papers, US79/S16. The Shapiro Papers are currently on deposit at Bentley University, and were kindly made available to us by Dennis Flynn.
- 15 Since the tone of the book-list 'is more anti-Protestant than any of Donne's works except the *Satires*', Simpson also considered that the work might date to a period between 1594 and 1600, being subsequently updated with a few topical entries in the early seventeenth century. Simpson much preferred a later date since the catalogue's first entry riffs on a book published in 1601, meaning that the whole list would have to be rewritten to accommodate it. A later date, she noted, would imply that 'Donne's sympathies remained Catholic for a number of years after he ceased to be a member of the Roman Church'. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne* (Oxford, 1924), 152.

Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, whose fall is alluded to more than once. The reference to the royal hounds (*canes Regios*) in the introduction apparently indicates that some time had passed since James had taken the throne, in May 1603, and established his love of hunting—although this might not be a correct assumption, since Elizabeth I also hunted and the adjective *regios* simply means ‘royal’ rather than pertaining to a king alone.¹⁶ A more secure dating can be derived by focusing on a letter in which Donne explicitly mentions the catalogue to his friend Goodere.¹⁷ This letter identifies the *Catalogus* as having been circulated before January 1605: not much earlier since it mentions Donne’s children, plural, and his second child was born in May 1604; and not much later for reasons explained below. Even if Donne had toyed with some satirical titles before James’s accession or continued to tinker with the text for years afterwards, the *Catalogus* substantially came together as a complete unit soon after Elizabeth’s death. Basing our argument on the surviving textual and circumstantial evidence, we propose a completion date-range of late summer 1603 to late autumn 1604. Whether the *Catalogus* was subsequently revised by Donne remains a point of contention; we argue below that he was probably not responsible for the surviving revised text.

The *Catalogus* did not reach a wide readership until it was printed in the 1650 *Poems*. Regarding his additions to this volume, Donne Jr added a telling subtitle: *To which Is added divers Copies under his own hand never before in print*. The volume contains thirteen new texts (five in Latin), and perhaps Donne Jr did indeed set them from his father’s autograph copies; certainly around this time he seems to have gained the ability to print from a significant archive of his father’s manuscripts.¹⁸ The *Catalogus* was reprinted in the 1654, 1669, and 1719 publications of *Poems, by J. D.*, but removed from subsequent editions. Henry Alford’s *Works of John Donne* (1839) omitted it, and the major Donne collections thereafter tended to concentrate on his poetry, so the work fell into neglect for around 100 years. Alexander Grosart’s *Poems of Donne* (1872) passed over it in a few words (‘a quaint fantastique’, 2.liv), as did E. K. Chambers in his *Poems of Donne* (1896). In 1929, Simpson discovered CT2, which she concluded was an authorial revision made around 1611. She was prompted by her find to re-edit the *Catalogus* for publication in 1930, with an English translation by her husband Percy. It is CT2 which gives the full title

16 *Regis* would refer to king alone, *reginae* to a queen alone. Strictly speaking there is no need to associate the word with a real king or queen: in context, *regios* could simply refer to a generic monarch of either gender, the fictional figurehead of the satirical court for which Donne’s catalogue was intended as preparation. Simpson first extrapolated a date from King James’s hunting habits in her edition (7).

17 Unpublished commentary shared with us by the editors of the Oxford *Letters of John Donne* has been enormously helpful in our understanding of this letter.

18 The years either side of 1650 saw a flurry of editorial activity for Donne Jr, who published his father’s *Biathanatos*, probably in autumn 1647, with John Dawson, and a second edition in December with Humphrey Moseley; *Fifty sermons. Preached by that Learned and Reverend Divine, John Donne in 1649*, with John Marriot and Richard Royston; *Letters to Severall Persons of Honour and the Essayes in Divinity; By the Late Dr Donne, Dean of St Paul’s* in 1651 with John Marriot’s son Richard; and *Paradoxes, Problemes, Essayes, Characters* in 1653, both with Moseley. See Daniel Starza Smith, ‘Busy young fool, unruly son? New light on John Donne junior’, *Review of English Studies*, 61 (2011), 538–61 (541). Nevertheless, despite this privileged access, the erroneous inclusion of Nicholas Hare’s poem ‘Variety’ in 1650 has suggested to some scholars (Gary Stringer, private communication) that Donne Jr was not entirely knowledgeable about his father’s corpus.

Catalogus Librorum aulicorum incomparabilium et non vendibilium; CT2's title appears at the very head of the text, whereas WA2 and the printed versions place their equivalent shorter title between the introduction and the list itself. Simpson's edition contains her own introduction and biographical notes about the real people and books to which Donne alludes. Most recently, Brown has published a new parallel-text English translation as part of his 2008 article.¹⁹

III. THE MANUSCRIPT CIRCULATION OF DONNE'S PROSE

Before 1650, who had access to the *Catalogus*? Two manuscript copies were previously known to exist; the new discovery makes a third. None is in Donne's own hand, but each constitutes revealing evidence about the text's early life. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, more handwritten transcriptions were made of Donne's poetry than of any other literary author's verse. Donne is thus pre-eminently associated with an energetic contemporary culture of scribal publication and manuscript reading habits, even in an age when print was readily available as a medium.²⁰ Some of his verse was printed, but most was restricted to private circulation among friends and patrons, leading Arthur Marotti, in an influential study, to term Donne a 'coterie poet'.²¹ Once these texts escaped Donne's control, though, they had a tendency to spread far and wide: Peter Beal's *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* (CELM) lists more than 4,000 entries for individual copies of Donne's poems.²² Donne's verse proliferated in single sheets, gatherings, and booklets, and larger volumes such as miscellanies and commonplace books; some surviving manuscripts constitute attempts to create dedicated collections of Donne's writing.

In contrast, Donne's prose writing did not circulate so widely in manuscript. Some of the prose corpus was printed, making transcription by hand less necessary; some, such as the letters, was especially private and restricted; some is weighty, lengthy, academic, difficult, and specialist. Known manuscript letters—a small fraction of those he composed—now survive in only thirty-eight autograph texts, with others copied into the mysterious Burley Manuscript (*Variorum siglum* LR1).²³ Ten sermon manuscripts

19 Ernest W. Sullivan, II, has found neither Simpson or Brown's editions sufficient by modern standards to be called a full critical edition; 'Modern scholarly editions of the prose of John Donne', in *Oxford Handbook*, 65–80 (75–6). At the time of writing, the John Donne Society Digital Prose Project <<http://donneprose.blogspot.co.uk/>> accessed 19 December 2017, had not produced a collated text of the *Catalogus*, nor had it been assigned an editor, but the website does provide transcriptions of the 1650, 1669, 1719, and 2008 texts: <<http://donneprose.blogspot.co.uk/p/courtiers-library.html>> accessed 19 December 2017. At the 2013 meeting of the John Donne Society, Brent Nelson presented a collation of the 1669 printed text and CT2, using Brown's translation. We are grateful to Professor Nelson for sharing some unpublished materials with us.

20 See e.g. Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY, 1995), H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1559–1640* (Oxford, 1996), Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes* (Oxford, 1998), Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers* (Oxford, 2014).

21 Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison, WI, 1986).

22 <<http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/authors/donnejohn.html>> accessed 19 December 2017. NB although no poem is given a DnJ number higher than 4000, many entries are listed with decimals, which takes the total over 4000. DnJ entries 3997.8–4184 deal with prose, annotated printed copies, related documents, and miscellaneous extracts.

23 Leicester, Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester, and Rutland, DG. 7/Lit. 2. Peter Redford's edition has recently been published as *The Burley Manuscript* (Manchester, 2016). Some of his findings are also

survive, representing a tiny portion of the 160 extant sermons, plus another document recently discovered by Sebastiaan Verweij at Woburn Abbey, which records notes taken while Donne preached.²⁴ Two manuscript copies survive of his second longest work, *Biathanatos*, a treatise on suicide probably finished around 1608–1610, and not printed in Donne's lifetime.²⁵ His longest work, *Pseudo-Martyr*, was printed in 1610, and its only known manuscript appearances are in extract form. *Conclave Ignati*, Donne's Latin satire on Jesuits printed in 1611, exists in one early seventeenth-century manuscript, but only because an anonymous translator attempted to render it in English.²⁶ Shorter prose works are a little more numerous, such as the *Characters* or the *Essay of Valour*; Donne's epitaph for his wife, which may be in verse or prose, survives in six copies. The *Paradoxes and Problems* tended to travel in groups, and *CELM* lists 429 witnesses to individual *Paradoxes and Problems*, in twenty-six manuscript sources. A new manuscript recording Donne's prose is thus particularly exciting to scholars seeking information about his early readership and reception, and helps focus attention on Donne the prose author, a reputation which these days mostly rests on his post-ordination sermons and meditations.

IV. THE TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE MANUSCRIPT (CT2)

The *Catalogus* is not known to have had an extensive circulation history in manuscript—in fact, quite the opposite. Two handwritten copies were previously known to survive, and one of them cannot strictly be said to show evidence of 'circulation'. The latter is a late-seventeenth-century witness contained within a transcription of the first edition of the 1633 *Poems*, known as the Mapletoft Volume. It was one of two-dozen texts copied by an unknown hand out of the 1669 printed edition of Donne's *Poems* (Wing D1871).²⁷ The transcription was entitled 'Additions to D^r. Donne in y^e Edition, 1669 8^{vo}' and bound with a copy of the 1633 first edition (STC 7045). All the signs point to an early collector supplementing his first edition with texts which only appeared in the later editions. The Mapletoft Volume's distinctive hand is not at all like that of WA2 and, given the date disparity, we would not expect it to be.²⁸

recorded in 'Correspondence in the Burley Manuscript: a conjecture', *John Donne Journal*, 23 (2004), 249–56, and 'Intercepting the Burley Letters', *Lives and Letters*, 2 (2010), <<http://journal.xmera.org/volume-2-no-1-summer-2010>> accessed 19 December 2017. Many of Donne's letters were printed in the *Letters* of 1651 published by Donne Jr, and a few made their way into *A collection of letters, made by Sr Tobie Mathews, Kt* (London, 1659; Wing M1319). Many of the surviving autograph letters survive at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and have been edited by M. Thomas Hester, Robert Parker Sorlien, and Dennis Flynn, as *John Donne's Marriage Letters in The Folger Shakespeare Library* (Washington, DC, 2005).

- 24 'Sermons in Manuscript', *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne* <http://www.cems-oxford.org/Donne/Sermons_in_Manuscript> accessed 19 December 2017. Donne wrote 160 extant sermons, which are currently being edited in 16 volumes for Oxford University Press, gen. ed. Peter McCullough (vols 1, 3, 5, and 12 published to date).
- 25 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS è Mus. 131; Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral, U210/2/2. The Bodleian MS was prepared under Donne's supervision. See Beal, *In Praise of Scribes*, chapter 2.
- 26 London, British Library, Harley MS 1019, entitled 'Ignatius his Closet'. Donne printed the work in 1611 in two editions, one Latin and one English.
- 27 This manuscript now survives in the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, CO, shelfmark PR 2245.A5 M35. It is cited in *CELM* as DnJ 4065.1, and in the *Donne Variorum* as AF1.
- 28 The book arrived at the Academy library in 1970 with the bequest of Col. Richard Gimbel (1898–1970), some 20,000 volumes mainly concerned with aeronautical history. Col. Gimbel was stationed in London

The other manuscript, CT2—Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B. 14. 22 (James 307), or DnJ 4065 in *CELM*—does offer further evidence about the early circulation of this work.²⁹ It survives on fols 83r–85v of a quarto volume containing a range of ecclesiastical tracts and sermons, in a number of hands. The text features a heading with ‘JD.’ written alongside, and there are three new entries not present in the printed text or WA2; Simpson observed that one of them, *Agrippa de vanitate Scientiarum*, referred to a real contemporary book, before R. E. Bennett clarified in 1933 that, in fact, all three entries actually existed.³⁰ The volume can be associated with Lancelot Andrewes, since it contains an inscription dated to 1616, by his secretary Samuel Wright (fol. 98v). Beal dates the completion of the miscellany to the 1620s, though individual works within it may have been inscribed earlier.³¹ The letters ‘D. D’ appear at the end of the *Catalogus* transcript (fol. 85v), indicating the scribe’s awareness of Donne’s honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Cambridge in March 1615. The ‘D. D’ may represent a scribe interpolating his own knowledge about the author, or it may derive from an intermediary transcription to which these letters had already been added. If the ‘D. D’ was added after 1615, the rest of the manuscript may have been inscribed weeks, months, or years earlier, but given the similarity of hand and ink there is no reason to think this is the case. The scribe probably made the transcription in or after 1615, then, but the text behind this witness could date from much earlier.

Simpson thought the text recorded in CT2, if not necessarily its transcription, dated to 1610 or 1611, and that it represented a revision by Donne himself, although

during World War II and may have acquired the book at this time. We are grateful to Mary Elizabeth Ruwell at USAFA for answering our queries and supplying an image of this manuscript. Cf. William E. McCarron and Jack M. Shuttleworth, ‘A newly recovered Donne first edition’, *Seventeenth Century News*, 37 (1979), 72; Ernest W. Sullivan, II, ‘Updating the Donne listings in Peter Beal’s *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*’, *John Donne Journal*, 6 (1987), 219–34.

- 29 The manuscript, which contains sermons, tracts, and poetry, has been digitized as part of the Wren Digital Library, <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/B_14_22/manuscript.php?fullpage=1&startingpage=1> accessed 19 December 2017. The *Catalogus* appears on fols 83r–85v. Katrin Ettenhuber makes a strong case for the manuscript as a memorial Laudian volume. She notes that the manuscript ‘links two generations of anti-Calvinist thinking, spanning the avant-garde conformity of Lancelot Andrewes, for whom the volume was initially compiled around 1620, and the uncompromising ceremonialism of the Bishop of Norwich and Ely, Matthew Wren, to whose needs it was adjusted in the late 1630s (and in whose possession it probably remained until the 1660s).’ Ettenhuber, ‘“The best help God’s people have”: manuscript culture and the construction of anti-Calvinist communities in seventeenth-century England’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 22 (2007), 260–82 (263). Some items in the volume are in the hand of Samuel Wright, ‘Andrewes’s secretary, Pembroke College librarian and Wren’s registrar’ (Ettenhuber, ‘“The best help”’, 263). It includes copies of two of Andrewes’s sermons, at least one of which has authorial corrections and emendations, and two poems misattributed to Donne, Ben Jonson’s ‘Come with our voices, let us war’, and ‘Care-charming sleep’ from John Fletcher’s *Valentinian* (5.2.13–22), the latter ascribed here to ‘D’ Donn’. The misattribution may indicate that the volume’s compilers did not have privileged knowledge of the Donne canon.
- 30 The additional entries are *Baldus in laudem Calvitie* (Baldus, *In Praise of Baldness*), *Agrippa de vanitate Scientiarum* (Agrippa, *On the Vanity of the Sciences*), and *Encomiū Asini per eundem* (*The Praise of the Ass*, by the same). Bennett observes that ‘Chapter cii of Cornelius Agrippa’s *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* is in praise of the ass. “Baldus” is Huebald, a monk of St Amand, who was born about 840, and who wrote a Latin poem, *Ecloga de calvis*.’ R. E. Bennett, ‘The addition to Donne’s *Catalogus Librorum*’, *Modern Language Notes*, 48 (1933), 167–8 (167).
- 31 Cf. P. J. Klemp, ‘“Betwixt the Hammer and the Anvill”: Lancelot Andrewes’s revision techniques in the manuscript of his 1620 Easter Sermon’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 89 (1995), 149–82.

she acknowledged that CT2 is not in his hand and does not feature any autograph corrections. She observed that entries 26 and 27 in the printed version, which mentioned by name William Butler and Francis Bacon respectively, were omitted. Item 28, which also refers to Bacon (albeit not by name) was retained—but with the removal of 26 and 27, it became attributed, illogically, to Stephen Egerton (1555–1622), a puritan preacher.³² Simpson concluded that Donne had meant to remove items 27 and 28, the two attacks on Bacon, but that the scribe misread his instructions. If the text of CT2 dated to around 1611, she conjectured, Donne's new relationship with the Drury family might have prompted him to suppress his attacks on Bacon, since Lady Drury was, by birth, a Bacon. We wish to challenge Simpson's interpretation of this evidence on both textual and circumstantial grounds.

In order to make Simpson's case, one would have to believe that Donne himself removed the offending items. Yet had he done so, he would surely have removed the correct ones: if the matter was important enough to necessitate a complete rewrite, seven to eight years after composition, Donne could have transcribed this short piece again in full, or scored through the offending material unambiguously. In Simpson's proposed scenario, either a scribe was told verbally about the changes and confused the numbers, or Donne made marginal notes alongside the Bacon entries which were vague enough to be misunderstood. If Donne did not order these omissions himself, perhaps someone else made them in an attempt to protect him—yet we have no evidence on which to base such an argument. What we do have, rather, is clear evidence that CT2's scribe was frequently inexact and made several substantial mistakes (see Appendix II). More tellingly, the scribe of CT2 accidentally omitted entry 5, only realizing the error and inserting it after writing entries 6 and 7; furthermore, he copied in the last line of the introduction (*Hunc ergo . . . subito prosilias*) only after finishing the catalogue. We propose, therefore, that entries 26 and 27 were simply skipped mistakenly. Their omission cannot be used to argue that Donne intended entries 27 and 28 to be left out.

The textual evidence of CT2 can thus be used to refute Simpson's own claim, since one of the Bacon entries is left *in*, not removed, and it would not take long for a member of Bacon's family to identify the target of entry 28, *The Lawyers' Onion*, or *the Art of Weeping during trials*, even long after Bacon prosecuted Essex. Our reading of the textual evidence threatens to unmoor CT2—or rather, the source-text behind it—from the Drury family, and to render the date-range of 1610–1611 arbitrary. Clinching this interpretation is new evidence, presented later in this article, about a Latin prose letter from Donne which mentions the *Catalogus*. This letter has been incorrectly dated to 1611, skewing interpretation of the other facts by linking the work to Donne's travels with the Drurys. The Drurys and the years 1610–1611 can be discounted from future discussions of the *Catalogus*. The fact remains, though, that CT2 represents a later version of the work, and thus raises important questions about its genesis and early life. We now turn to the provenance of the newly

32 The author of 28 is listed as 'the same', meaning the same as the previous entry, except that the previous entry listing Bacon was now omitted. Stephen Egerton's first name is not explicitly given by Donne, and was supplied by Simpson in her biographical notes to authors mentioned by Donne. This fact may have interpretive ramifications—see below, 'The *Catalogus* and revision'.

discovered manuscript, before returning to the complicated issue of the *Catalogus's* early circulation and revision.

V. THE WESTMINSTER ABBEY MANUSCRIPT (WA2)

How did this new document find its way into Westminster Abbey? The answer is unclear, but the material and circumstantial evidence offers some leads. The box in which WA2 was found is a large standard 'solicitor's' black tin trunk, dating to the early twentieth or perhaps late nineteenth century, and measuring 61cm wide x 63cm deep x 46cm high. On the box itself, a late-twentieth-century handwritten label (front top) reads 'Unsorted Muniment Fragments', in the hand of Christine Reynolds, the current Assistant Keeper of the Muniments, who has worked at the Abbey since 1972. There is also a typed label (front centre): 'To Boughton House, nr Kettering, Northants', which indicates that the trunk was used to store Library and Muniment items evacuated in World War II. Given that the more valuable items would have had priority for evacuation, the fragments must have been transferred into it at some point between the late 1940s and, we think, the 1980s. The contents cover medieval to twentieth-century, with the majority being late medieval. These comprise mainly pieces of archival material, account rolls, manorial documents and the like.³³ There is no reason to believe that these items were gathered into the trunk with a collective sense of purpose beyond their miscellaneous, as-yet-unsorted nature.

The label 'Muniment Fragments' therefore confirms where the manuscript was by the mid-to-late twentieth century, but is misleading about its earlier storage within the Abbey. WA2 features a red stamp on fol. 3v which tells us that it came originally from the Library (WAL), not the Muniments Room (WAM) in which it was found. Until the 1930s, both Library and Muniment (i.e. title-deed-related) items were consulted in the Library. As marks of ownership, the Abbey used two stamps in the early twentieth century: one reads 'Westminster Chapter Muniments', the other, 'Westminster Chapter Library'. Although the precise dates when these stamps were applied are unknown, 1891–1923 seems a likely range.³⁴ We are unable at present to reconstruct the route the manuscript took from the Library into the tin trunk in which it was found, but we can surmise that it was mislaid at some point, or deliberately moved from the Library. It is tempting to wonder whether it was stored separately from other Library items because of its inflammatory nature, or whether its unusual nature led to it becoming a 'stray' with no obvious abode, since one can imagine a librarian acquiring this unusual work and not really understanding its nature. This matter remains obscure at present.

What, then, can we learn about the *Catalogus* from examination of WA2 itself? The hand of WA2 is educated and evidently dates from the early seventeenth

33 Notable items include a bifolium from a 1488 merchant's account book, with a previously unknown reference to Caxton; see M. T. W. Payne, 'Caxton the businessman: a new glimpse', *The Library*, 17 (2016), 103–14.

34 The process of stamping some 50,000 muniment documents was begun in 1891 by Edward J. L. Scott and continued after his death by H. Francis Westlake, who had grown sufficiently familiar with the material to complete his book *Westminster Abbey* in 1923. Lawrence E. Tanner, 'The nature and use of the Westminster Abbey Muniments', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 19 (1936), 43–80 (49).

century. It is certainly not the hand of Donne Jr nor of Henry Goodere, the only two men known from external evidence to have handled manuscripts of the *Catalogus*; neither does the hand match that of any other known copyist of Donne's work.³⁵ Consequently, the hand offers us neither a detailed dating nor any kind of identification. The staining on fols 1r and 4v implies it was kept loose, and there are no visible sewing holes to suggest it was bound within a larger volume. As for its original entry into the Library, this could have happened at almost any point since its composition, so any route of transmission is necessarily speculative, but WA2 was probably not added to the Library before its major reorganization in 1623. In the following paragraphs, we restrict our observations to possibilities where some evidence survives.³⁶

Some manuscript evidence exists to connect Westminster Abbey with the Cathedral during the period when Donne was Dean of St Paul's. However, it is minimal and purely administrative in nature: two acquittances recording a half-year's rent from the prebendal manor of Chiswick, 1625–1626 (WAM 16652–3).³⁷ The absence of substantial documentary connections between the Abbey and Donne in this period makes it unlikely that the appearance of WA2 in the Abbey is part of any systematic transmission of Donne's works. Neither is his personal intervention probable by the 1620s: it is difficult to imagine Dean Donne, in respectable late middle age, deliberately circulating among colleagues in the church a satirical library catalogue containing anti-Protestant sentiments.

The wider history of the Abbey library, too, offers only slender leads as to the provenance of WA2. The Abbey had been building up a library since the 1570s, but it was only after 1591, when it was moved into its current location, that serious acquisitions began. Its substantial formation was in 1623, when it was refounded by John Williams (1582–1650), Dean of Westminster between 1620 and 1644. He had the bookshelves constructed, gave £2,000 for books, and himself donated a huge number to stock the new library. Since the Abbey's seventeenth-century collections are formed around Williams's interventions, it would be natural to investigate his benefactions for further evidence about WA2. One suggestive connection is that Williams also funded a number of scholarships for pupils of the Abbey School to attend Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge—the latter, of course,

35 The editors of the *Donne Variorum* have created an image gallery of hands known to have transcribed Donne's verse, comprising 190 of the 248 manuscripts currently recorded by the *Variorum*. 'A Gallery of Manuscript Images', comp. Nazenin Ozkan Carpenter with Tracy McLawhorne, *DigitalDonne* <<http://donnevariorum.tamu.edu/html/resources/imagegallery.html>> accessed 19 December 2017. The Westminster hand is not identical with any of them, or with the other Donne manuscripts we have seen; Gary Stringer, general editor emeritus of the *Donne Variorum*, is in agreement with us.

36 A couple of items in the trunk do bear the Library stamp, so could conceivably have travelled with the *Catalogus* at some point, and might have been stored near WA2. The first, now fragment 206, comprises a single sheet in a clear seventeenth-century hand, with satirical verses on one side aimed at a succession of doctors (e.g. 'but doctor foster / you are but an imposter / for all your great games / But doctor Poe / the world doth knowe / is best for the running [?] of the reimes'). The other item, now fragment 205, is a large bifolium witnessing a copy of 'To the Comedians of Cambridge', also in an early/mid-seventeenth-century hand. These items could suggest a small collection of satirical writing from the seventeenth century, or the remains of a larger collection—or they could be entirely unconnected to WA2.

37 Westminster Abbey owned a building in Chiswick which was often used in times of sickness, especially by the school, and both the Abbey and St Paul's had some interest in this manor. John Field, *The King's Nurseries* (London, 1987), 24–5.

now the location of CT2. However, the evidence for Williams as a donor of Donne's work is thin. Among his bequests, as listed in the Abbey's Benefactors' Book, we find only the 1610 printed 'Pseudo Martyr of Dr Donne': no other works of Donne's, and none at all in manuscript.³⁸ The Library now contains a number of early editions of the poems and sermons of Donne, but none of them contains any provenance information, so we cannot know how early they arrived.

In addition to printed books, Dean Williams also donated many manuscripts, around 230 in number, all from his own personal library. Unfortunately, we cannot draw on Williams's benefaction more substantively because the manuscripts—almost all of them more substantial than the quired bifolia of WA2—were destroyed in a fire in 1695.³⁹ The *Catalogus* manuscript may imaginably be a stray survival, fortuitously miscatalogued, or loaned before the fire then returned, or stored apart because of its scurrilous content. But this is speculation: there is nothing, either evidentially or circumstantially, to implicate Williams in the circulation of the *Catalogus* before 1650, just as there is nothing to exclude the possibility that he had access to it in manuscript.

We might thus turn to Donne Jr. His handling of the *Catalogus* in manuscript is certain, since it was he who introduced it into print. This touches on the WA2 discovery in two ways. First, as regards the text itself. Donne Jr is notorious as an unreliable editor: the 1650 printing of *Catalogus* contains, as Simpson puts it, 'some elementary blunders in Latin . . . and a few more serious errors which obscure the meaning of the text'.⁴⁰ However, these faults may derive from a combination of difficulties, and not only or necessarily from Donne Jr's incompetence: misreadings of a manuscript copy-text, scribal errors in the line of transmission, or another person's carelessness are all possibilities.⁴¹ Be that as it may, these errors do not undermine the clear evidence of the textual collation: either that WA2 and 1650 derive from the same source, or that 1650 was set from WA2 (see Appendix II). The many small differences between the two can all be attributed to differences between the scribe's habits and those of the compositor. Donne Jr's dubious gifts as a Latinist do not need to enter the picture.

38 The copy of *Pseudo-Martyr*, which is still in the library (WAL CE 20.A), was given c.1626. Westminster Abbey, Benefactors' Book (WAL MS 46), fol. 8v. Other benefactors, including William Camden and John Selden, gave smaller numbers of books.

39 See J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge, 1909), for lists of these manuscripts, and a history of the Library at this point.

40 Simpson, *Prose Works*, 150.

41 Attempts have been made to recover his reputation to some extent; see Smith, 'Busy Young Fool', and 'Attempting to censor John Donne', *The Collation* <<http://collation.folger.edu/2013/11/attempting-to-censor-john-donne>> accessed 19 December 2017. Donne Jr's role in the publication of his father's sermons is discussed in individual volumes of the new Oxford *Sermons*, and will be treated in the accompanying textual companion, eds Peter McCullough and Sebastiaan Verweij. There is debatable evidence that he may have been his father's chosen publisher (Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne*, 2.310) and his role in the publication of his father's verse was certainly known to contemporaries. One manuscript copy of the Problem 'Why was S^r Walter Raleigh thought y^e fittest Man to write y^e Historie of these Times?' was docketed with a note by William Sancroft (1617–1693), that "'Tis one of D^r Donne's problems (but so bitter, y^f his son Jacke Donne LL. D. thought not fitt to print it with y^e Rest'. See *CELM*; sic no final parenthesis. The younger Donne was not involved with the *Poems* until 1650. The 1649 edition begins with an epistle from 'The printer to the understanders'; with Donne's involvement in 1650, this was replaced by a dedication to Lord Craven.

The second way in which Donne Jr may shed light on WA2 relates to its provenance. Quite when the younger Donne acquired his father's manuscripts, and to what extent he was allowed access to them, has not yet been ascertained. There is, however, the intriguing detail that the younger Donne was himself a student at Westminster School. He was admitted to Christ Church, Oxford in 1622, after becoming a King's Scholar by 1619, and presumably had been at the school for some time before that.⁴² Notionally, this might make him a conduit between his father and the Westminster archive, and hence the source of WA2. Two considerations should be borne in mind, though. First, it does not appear that any great quantity of Donne's work found its way to the Abbey during this period (the limitations imposed by the fire notwithstanding). Secondly, the evidence presented below suggests that the *Catalogus* was not a text the elder Donne wanted widely disseminated, especially soon after taking orders. It seems unlikely, then, that he would have entrusted it to a fifteen-year-old schoolboy of a mischievous bent. Of course, it might have arrived there by foul means rather than fair: the possibility of the son making away surreptitiously with an inflammatory text from his father's study is as appealing to imagine as it is impossible to prove. A further possibility is that WA2 arrived into the Abbey's possession after it had been used by the printer, who received it from Donne Jr. If so, its route of transmission after leaving the print-shop remains unclear, like so much else about it.⁴³

VI. SIR HENRY GOODERE AND THE EARLY TEXTUAL CIRCULATION OF THE CATALOGUS

The discovery of the new manuscript is important and interesting in itself, but it also calls for a reconsideration of the text's origins. Although the provenance information about WA2 is inconclusive at present, much can be said about the *Catalogus* as first circulated, and this evidence in turn illuminates the nature of WA2 and CT2. The relative paucity of critical attention to the *Catalogus* means it still has much to reveal, both regarding Donne's own life and in terms of genre and contents. Despite a corpus of hundreds of individual works by Donne, evidence about their composition is scarce, as are the author's surviving comments about them. The *Catalogus* is a rare exception, since not only do we have evidence about its contemporary circulation, but surviving correspondence affords an insight into Donne's own attitudes towards it. Although we cannot yet ascertain the provenance of WA2, other aspects of the *Catalogus*'s circulation can now be fixed with greater accuracy.

In a Latin prose letter to his close friend and confidant Sir Henry Goodere, beginning *Etiam vulgari* (see Appendix III for a full translation), Donne asks to have some autograph writings returned to him, identifying among them Latin epigrams (*epigrammata mea Latina*) and a *Catalogus librorum satyricus*, almost certainly a version

42 G. F. Russell Barker and A. H. Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters*, 2 vols (London, 1928), 1.277.

43 The manuscript contains none of the kinds of printers' marks supplied by J. K. Moore, *Primary Materials Relating to Copy and Print in English Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1992). As Gary Stringer has pointed out to us, however, neither Harvard University Library, MS Eng. 966.5 (H6) nor Cambridge University Library, Add. MS 5778 (c) (C2), which were used in setting the first (1633) and second (1635) editions of *Poems*, by J. D., show such signs.

of the text discussed in the present article.⁴⁴ Donne claims he was intending to subject them to a severe editorial process—an *extremum iudicium*, or Last Judgment. In Dennis Flynn's paraphrase of the rest of the letter:

Some of the holographs, Donne wrote, he planned to send to purgatory, to come forth chastised through revision; others that had been copied without his knowledge would witness that they had been condemned to hell by his burning their originals; finally, the remainder, either virgins (except that many had had their hands on them) or so unfortunately barren that no copies of them had been engendered, were to be burned and to pass away into complete annihilation.⁴⁵

In the past, this letter has been taken as evidence of Donne's wish, around 1611, to gather and sift his writings for a mooted publication. R. C. Bald suggested so in his 1970 biography, still the most reliable full-length treatment of Donne.⁴⁶ But Bald—like all critics and biographers of Donne to date—wrote without access to a scholarly edition of Donne's letters. Nearly 400 years after Donne's death, these have still not been edited, meaning that matters of text and dating remain confused. The late I. A. Shapiro dedicated most of his scholarly life to this project but died before its completion. A team of editors led by Dennis Flynn has taken over this project for Oxford University Press, and some early findings have been published. Crucially, Flynn has revealed that the Oxford edition, following suggestions in Shapiro's unpublished commentary, will reject the dating of Donne's Latin letter to Goodere to 1611. We make the case that the letter instead dates to early 1605.

Donne's letter refers to a proposed trip abroad, which scholars long identified as a journey he took to the Continent with Sir Robert and Lady Anne Drury between 1611 and 1612. Bald believed that Donne 'was in the course of revising some of his writings for the press' in 1611, perhaps intending to print 'a selection of his poems and shorter prose pieces'.⁴⁷ If the letter dated to 1611, then it would be logical to link CT2 with Donne's plans for revision, and to accept more readily Simpson's argument about the removal of two entries which reflected on Lady Drury's Bacon heritage. Donne's concerns about the *Catalogus's* circulation might then connect explicitly to the desire not

44 Donne to Goodere, from London; letter beginning *Etiam vulgari linguâ scriptæ*. This prose letter was printed in *Poems* (1633), 351–2, and can be read on the open access *DigitalDonne* website: <<http://digitaldonne.tamu.edu/00A-biblio.html>> accessed 19 December 2017. The Oxford editors provisionally date this letter between December 1604 and January 1605 for reasons explained below. We thank Dennis Flynn for sharing some advance conclusions from the Oxford edition, on the understanding that they may be subject to change. There is no evidence to suggest that Donne wrote more than one satirical library catalogue. Donne's Latin epigrams have survived only in an English translation by Jasper Mayne. See Dennis Flynn, 'Jasper Mayne's translation of Donne's Latin Epigrams', *John Donne Journal*, 3 (1984), 121–30, and Flynn, 'Jasper Mayne', *ODNB*.

45 Dennis Flynn, 'Donne's travels and earliest publications', in *Oxford Handbook*, 506–22 (512).

46 R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (1970), 241–2.

47 Bald, *John Donne*, 242. Donne did in fact face pressure to publish a volume of his own writings, apparently as part of his negotiations with prominent courtiers as he sought to take orders. He asked Goodere to return an 'old book' of Donne's writings, and worried openly about the 'many interpretations' such a publication would provoke (*Letters*, 197). However, this was not until 1614, not only later than 1611, but much later than 1605. See Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, 206, 244, 300.

to offend new friends and potential patrons.⁴⁸ In fact, there are two reasons why the letter probably does not date to 1611. First, Donne is asking Goodere for advice. In 1604–1605, only five years since they were first acquainted, Donne looked up to Goodere, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, as a man of honour and as a rising courtier. But by 1611, after a number of setbacks, missteps, indiscretions, and disasters, Goodere's ineptitude in courtly matters had been cruelly exposed, and Donne could not seriously have sought his counsel.⁴⁹ Secondly, and more definitively, we have the matter of the two London landlords named in the letter: Goodere was staying with Sir Thomas Bartlett; Donne, living in Peckham with his young family, rented London lodgings from Walter Tincomb when he visited the city.⁵⁰ In the letter, Donne wishes to avoid meeting at Bartlett's house, conscious that he may have taken too many liberties with Bartlett's hospitality, and specifying that he is staying with Tincomb. But by 1611, Donne was himself lodging with Bartlett, having moved into those rooms after Goodere moved out. (Only after the trip abroad with the Drurys would he take lodgings at their property in Drury Lane.⁵¹)

Working from this evidence, Shapiro concluded that Donne's references were to a possible journey with Sir Walter Chute in 1605; the two men were licensed to travel in this year, and Bald offers evidence that Donne travelled to Venice late in 1605.⁵² If we accept this dating then the picture changes somewhat. In 1604–1605, Donne was living with his wife Anne, whom he had married in secret in 1601 to the fury of her father Sir George More, and the disappointment of his employer (and Anne's uncle) Thomas Egerton. Egerton promptly suspended Donne's service, and the Donnes were left without benefit of Anne's dowry. Donne faced an uncertain professional future, and the family had begun to grow: their daughter Constance was born in 1603, John Jr in 1604, and George in 1605. Apparently cut off from employment and opportunities for patronage, Donne faced a period of 'social exile', in Arthur Marotti's words, before turning his efforts to the church in the second decade of the century.⁵³ An invitation to travel abroad and make some money could thus have offered an attractive alternative to impecunious suburban living, even if it was 'a

48 There is no evidence to suggest that Donne was ever in the paid employ of the Drury family; in fact, he paid them for his lodgings during his stay in Drury Lane.

49 See Dennis Flynn, M. Thomas Hester, and Margaret Maurer, 'Goodere at Court, 1603–1610: the early Jacobean decline of a Catholic sympathizer and its bearing on Donne's letters', *John Donne Journal*, 31 (2012), 61–98, and Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers*, *passim*.

50 Bald mentions these men on pages 159 and 241 of his biography. Bartlett was imprisoned in the Tower of London from early 1611 until December 1614. Donne mentions Lady Bartlett (Mary, née Dauntsey) elsewhere in his correspondence; *Letters*, 216 (8 March 1608), 92 (16/26 July 1612), 252 (8/18 August 1612), and 181 (a letter sealed in her presence). Flynn identified Tincomb as Walter Tincomb (or 'Tinkham' or 'Tinckcombe'), christened at Bridford, Devon, on 13 August 1552 and buried in Lansallos, Cornwall on 9 April 1618, where he and his son Philip served as rectors. (Flynn, personal communication.) Shapiro investigated Tincomb and, in his unpublished notes on Donne's letters, noted that Tincomb and Goodere may have become acquainted because of Goodere's election as MP for West Looe, Cornwall, in March 1604. He concluded: 'It seems possible that it was through Goodere that Donne came to know, and to lodge with Tincomb' (Shapiro Papers, US79/S16).

51 R. C. Bald, *Donne and the Drurys* (Cambridge, 1959), 104.

52 Flynn, 'Donne's travels and earliest publications', 509–10, 513–14. Bald, *John Donne*, 148–50. Donne's passport is preserved at London, The National Archives, Kew, SP 38/8.

53 Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet*, 152. For a convincing recent evaluation of Donne's path towards the church, see Jeanne Shami, 'Donne's decision to take orders', in *Oxford Handbook*, 523–36.

shade more inglorious' (Donne's words in *Etiam vulgari*) than what Donne might once have hoped for.

Donne's work is notoriously difficult to date, but several of the datable writings finished by 1604–1605 were explicitly or implicitly satirical, including the five verse *Satyres* (1593–1597), and the dark, troubling *Metempsychosis* (1601). Other early works, including the Epigrams in English and at least some of the Elegies, revel in the kind of paradoxical thinking that underpins so much of the *Catalogus's* humour. His major pre-ordination prose works, *Biathanatos* (finished c.1608, circulating only in manuscript during his lifetime), *Conclave Ignati* (1610; English edition 1611), and *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610) were yet to be completed, but to finish three such learned books in close succession Donne must have been working through a huge pile of sources and notes for years beforehand.⁵⁴ What more suitable vehicle for his wit than a never-ending list of books? The more definitive identification of the *Catalogus* as a work from the earliest years of the seventeenth century thus offers considerable interpretive opportunities for the study of Donne's life and writings in this opaque period.

VII. ETIAM VULGARI AND THE CATALOGUS

What else do we learn from Donne's letter to Goodere? The letter is the only surviving prose letter of Donne's in Latin, a fitting vehicle to request the return of Donne's Latin epigrams and book-list. Donne spends some time discussing his linguistic choice, claiming that writings in a foreign tongue last longer in the mind than those in the vernacular. Whereas 'the common tongue' gives rise to transient thoughts, a language such as Latin demands more deliberative meditation. The language itself thus embodies the nature of true friendship, since it strives for a more lasting nature. Goodere is to interpret the linguistic medium as evidence that Donne is 'thinking about' him, rather than simply 'remembering' him. Donne then announces that he is writing to ask Goodere's advice, although he does not immediately reveal the matter under question. First, he insists that his request for advice is not a flippant one. Goodere is reminded about Donne's discretion regarding his (Donne's) personal affairs. Furthermore, Donne says he is perfectly capable of thinking an issue through with the same care as another man; he is not seeking Goodere's help because of any personal inability. If Goodere advises him, Donne will be indebted to him, and advice makes a man even more indebted to another than financial obligation. Donne expresses this belief in two sententious sentences ('And indeed . . . advice' and 'To be sure . . . favours'), but breaks them up with a complex and convoluted sentence about friendship as understood by the Bible but corrupted by church disputations ('Yet what . . . themselves'). Not only does this complex sentence avoid the stylistic infelicity of two immediately adjacent *sententiae*, its placement implies that Goodere is not the kind of friend who would fall for, or desire, a friendship based on easily consumable clichés.⁵⁵

54 Indeed, A. E. Malloch notes a close thematic and linguistic overlap between the *Catalogus's* entry 9 and a passage in *Pseudo-Martyr*: 'in a ielous, and obnoxious state, a Decipherer can pick out Plots, and Treason, in any familiar letter which is intercepted' (sig. ¶2 in the 1610 edition, STC 7048). 'Donne's *Pseudo-Martyr* and *Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum*', *Modern Language Notes*, 70 (1955), 174–5.

55 We are grateful to Melanie Marshall for this insight and for her extensive suggestions about the contents, tone, and structure of the entire letter. *Etiam vulgari* was first printed in the 1633 edition of Donne's *Poems*, then in every edition until 1669, but was not included in the 1651 *Letters*.

Donne's words on friendship lead to his request for advice about travel, discussed above. Once arrangements for a meeting have been dealt with, roughly two-thirds of the letter have been written. At this point, with an allusion to the fifth-century author Apollinaris, himself an important letter-writer, Donne wittily requests the return of his *chartulas*, 'little writings' (or, using one of Donne's own favourite words as in the translation below, 'rags'). Donne wants to have these papers in preparation for an editorial purge, signified by 'Last Judgment'. Goodere had been sent an unspecified number of Donne's works, and had promised to return them speedily, a promise that had evidently lapsed. Two kinds of work are specifically mentioned that might be 'among these writings'—the Latin epigrams and the *Catalogus*—but Donne adds, mysteriously, that if these latter genres 'are not, then they are not' (*si . . . non sunt, non sunt*). Three things are unclear here: precisely where Donne thinks these manuscripts are, how urgently he desires their return, and what he means by *si . . . non sunt, non sunt*.

By 'among these writings', does Donne mean 'among the items currently in Goodere's possession' or 'among the items Goodere will choose to send back to him'? In other words, is he saying 'if you do not send them back to me among the works you return, then so be it; you are free to hold on to them'? This is unlikely: Donne is forcing himself to ask for the return of his writings despite acknowledging that the request is unseemly ('crassly put; but. . .'). Their return must therefore be important to him. Perhaps, then, he means that his writings may never have reached Goodere in the first place: 'if they are not in your collection then maybe you never had them, don't worry about it'. This too feels unsatisfactory, given the elaborate nature of the request: Donne knows full well that he sent them to Goodere. So maybe Goodere had them, but has destroyed them: 'oh well, that's an understandable fate for such ephemeral things'. Donne may imply that any material escaping the impending 'Last Judgment' might as well not exist anyway, because it would not be validated by the authorial judgment process. Or perhaps Goodere no longer owned them because he had already circulated them onwards: 'well, that's regrettable, but there's not much I can do about it now'. There is a hint of accusation to this last paraphrase, albeit softened by the generous discourse on friendship that preceded it and the humorous allusion to Apollinaris that introduces it. The multiple meanings of *si . . . non sunt, non sunt* may allow potentially offensive criticism to operate under a cloak of gentlemanly deniability. As a result, the modern reader is left unsure about the whereabouts of the *Catalogus* manuscript at this stage. What unites each of these interpretations is Donne's desire to regain possession of his writings. The question remains: what did he intend to do with them once safely back in his hands?

VIII. THE CATALOGUS AND REVISION

Let us proceed on the assumption that Donne was reunited with the *Catalogus* in 1605, but that other copies remained in circulation. Did Donne revise the work to produce the text behind CT2? This is an attractive proposition, since CT2 records a version notably different from that in WA2, so the *Catalogus* was certainly revised. As *Etiam vulgari* shows, Donne was collecting his works around 1604–1605, with a severe editing and purging process in mind. It would make sense for Donne to

consider the revision or destruction of the *Catalogus* at this time, with many of its satirical targets still living, and Donne's own social position by no means secure. The stemmata reproduced in Appendix II below represent the simplest possible models of the *Catalogus*'s textual transmission. Whether directly or via textual intermediaries, the 1650 and WA2 texts derive from a lost original holograph. They differ in only one substantive variant, an interlineated addition in WA2—*artibusque* \. *Liberalibus et / mechanicis* (ll. 151–2)—which is missing in 1650. One possibility is that both texts were made from the same original, which had some kind of defect or unclear orthography at this point; both WA2's scribe and the compositor who set 1650 missed it, but the scribe of WA2 realized and subsequently corrected his mistake. Alternatively, 1650 was set from WA2, but the compositor missed the interlineation. Either way, 1650 and WA2 can be traced back to the same source. Unless new evidence is found to the contrary, the textual evidence points to single revision, witnessed by CT2, and for the reasons supplied above, we can no longer tie this revision to 1610–1611. Could Donne, then, have made it in 1605?

We should be cautious about drawing conclusions from the slender textual evidence of two manuscripts and one printed text. We simply do not know when this revision was made—or, indeed, whether Donne himself made the changes. The fictional library catalogue is a minor, specialized literary genre without a developed critical tradition, so we are relatively unable to point to recognized tropes, techniques, or traditions. Other genres certainly seem to have attracted additions and innovations once released into the channels of manuscript circulation, and the *Catalogus* contains a number of features which might have invited literary innovation had it circulated more widely.⁵⁶ These include its numbered-list format, which can be easily dismantled, reordered, added to, or subtracted from; the emphasis on *copia* and continual expansion; and witticisms based on current controversies and recent publications. Multiple copies may have existed, depending on what Donne meant when he says that *Alia quorum me inscio in mundum ereperunt exempla* ('Others of them have crept out into the world without my knowledge'). Neither the other readers or the texts have been identified, but we can certainly speculate, since the phrase implies that unauthorized copies of some works were in circulation. If these 'others' included the *Catalogus*—a text Donne was making a special effort to restrict—then its readers could conceivably have tried their own hand at a few new entries.

We should not take it for granted, then, that CT2 records an authorial revision; indeed, there are good reasons for rejecting this proposal outright. Donne wrote to Goodere within three years of his social disgrace, and on the threshold of an opportunity for some kind of professional rehabilitation. The last thing he needed at this precise moment was the emergence of some of his most scathing satirical writing. If Donne's impetus to restrict circulation was one of self-censorship and self-preservation at this crucial juncture, the safest option would be to destroy the *Catalogus* entirely; the next safest would be to retrieve it but ensure it circulated no

56 Michelle O'Callaghan has shown, for example, how collectors of 'The Parliament Fart' contributed their own witty couplets as the poem circulated. 'Tavern societies, the Inns of Court, and the culture of conviviality in early seventeenth-century London', in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne* (Cambridge, 2004), 37–51.

further, or that it was stored with trusted safekeepers.⁵⁷ If a revision really was contemplated, we would expect it to proceed along similarly cautious lines. Yet the differences recorded in CT2 hardly make the text more safe politically, or more socially palatable: most jokes about contemporaries remain, and the religious satire has not been sanitized or diluted.

Most alterations, although there are a good number of them, make very little substantive difference to the text (see Appendix II). Some would seem to be straightforward scribal errors (37–40, 115, 128, 137–9, 140); others can be attributed to a scribe essentially grasping the meaning while reading the copy-text but writing out different words (21–2, 27, 28). Some minor differences cause only negligible stylistic effects (18, 22, 32), for example the addition or removal of 'therefore' (3, 6, 27–8), while others actively diminish the style or joke of the WA2/1650 text (25, 47, 48, 95, 100–01, 107).⁵⁸ Only one change in CT2 corrects a mistake in the earlier text, *Pory* for *Povy* (a mistake repeated in WA2, l. 77, and in 1633). A scholar wishing to build a case against this argument could point to the loss of Walter Cope's surname in entry 11 (WA2: *Walt: Copo*; CT2: *Waltero: :*), or of *Egertoni* in entry 25, or the truncation of Sir John Davies's surname to "D." in entry 16. One could certainly imagine Donne, or a scribe who wished to protect him, removing (Stephen) Egerton's surname during a revision since, by virtue of the pun on (Thomas) Egerton's name, the entry apparently makes light of Donne's recent sexual impropriety in the house of his former employer, the Lord Chancellor. Equally, a wise reviser in or after 1615 might well obscure Davies's presence, since he was by then at the height of his legal career. The Cope omission, though, is more tentative, since space has clearly been left for a possible later addition: perhaps the scribe was awaiting permission to enter the name, or maybe he simply could not read his copy-text, as elsewhere in CT2. The presence of Gregorius in the introduction's list of authorities (9–10) and the longer title (adding: *aulicorum incomparabilium et non vendibilium*) are the two significant additions. The loss of & *Hermaphroditate* in entry 1, might conceivably point to some delicacy on behalf of the scribe or his patron; one would think that even a careless scribe would remember this unusual image. The alteration of *vestimenta* (48; a pun on clothing/religious clothing) to *vestes* (clothing) admittedly softens a satirical attack on Topcliffe, but since it thus also destroys a joke made at the expense of a famous persecutor of priests, why not simply remove the entry entirely? It feels illogical that Donne would retain a joke that no longer worked as a joke. If there is a case to be made that Donne revised CT2, it will have to rest on very little evidence: the loss of *Egertoni*, *Copo*, and & *Hermaphroditate*, the change of *Davis* to *D.*, the addition of *Gregorius*, and perhaps the change from *vestimenta* to *vestes*. In the midst of such extensive, scathing satire, it is hard to see why an authorial overhaul would see these elements of the *Catalogus* changed and not others.

One matter remains to be discussed: the three new entries which constitute the most substantial additions to CT2. Are these not evidence of authorial revision? In fact, we believe the opposite, that they are entirely out of keeping with the contents and stated aims

57 Donne famously asked Edward Herbert to preserve his manuscript copy of *Biathanatos* somewhere between publication and outright destruction: 'I only forbid it the Presse, and the Fire: publish it not, but yet burn it not; and between those, do what you will with it', *Letters* (1651), 22.

58 CT2's 'St. quintarbarus' for WA2's 'sesqui=barbarus' must relate to a difficulty in a common source, since neither reading makes much sense. See Appendix II for further discussion.

of the original. As Bennett pointed out (see footnote 30 above), all three new entries refer to *real* books, whereas the catalogue as preserved in WA2 is a satirical fiction. In order to claim CT2 as an authorial revision, opponents of our interpretation would need to build a case for Donne radically altering his own satirical method in this way. What we have in CT2, then, may well be a manuscript which records, somewhere in the line of transmission, additions by a later reader who did not quite get the joke, plus omissions and ordering problems caused by a careless scribe. It is possible that the interpolator and the careless scribe were the same person, producers of a source-text which CT2 records faithfully. If we are right, CT2's ascription to 'J. D.' is only partially accurate, and scholars would have to explore, *inter alia*, the possibility that the longer title *Catalogus Librorum aulicorum incomparabilium et non vendibilium* was not authorial. These suggestions make the discovery and further study of WA2 all the more important.

With regard to the composition, revision, and early circulation of Donne's satirical library catalogue, we propose the following narrative:

1. The *Catalogus* was finished by 1603–1604, and Donne copied out the Lost Original Holograph text (LOH), which was substantially the same as that now preserved in WA2 and 1650.
2. The LOH was lent to Sir Henry Goodere shortly after composition.
3. Donne retrieved the LOH from Goodere after sending him the letter *Etiam vulgari* in early 1605.
4. Three possibilities then arise:
 - a. The LOH was used by Donne Jr for his 1650 print edition, and was also transcribed as a manuscript fascicle, which later ended up at Westminster Abbey (WA2), where it was subsequently treated as a miscellaneous fragment.
 - b. The LOH was transcribed at some point, and this transcription was used as the copy-text for both WA2 and 1650.
 - c. The LOH was transcribed as WA2, which was used to set 1650, and then made its way into Westminster Abbey.
5. Whatever the conditions of step 4, we must account for the fate of the LOH. Either:
 - a. The LOH continued to circulate; or,
 - b. The LOH was destroyed or taken out of circulation, but one or more copies of it continued to circulate.
6. A text of the *Catalogus* (5a or 5b) attracted revisions after 1605. This revision ultimately provided the source-text of CT2. We cannot be sure when or by whom it was made.
7. A copy of the revised version was transcribed into a larger manuscript volume, now Trinity College, Cambridge, MS B. 14. 22 (James 307). Its scribe either knew, or later learned, of Donne's 1615 Cambridge Doctorate of Divinity.

Two main conclusions arise from this study. Since WA2 appears to date to the first half of the seventeenth century, and its printed sibling or child only emerged in 1650,

the new manuscript constitutes the earliest known witness of Donne's satirical library catalogue. Indeed, if CT2 really does show another author at work, then WA2 is the only contemporary manuscript witness of the work as Donne himself intended it. Secondly, since we can now tie the *Catalogus's* composition much more closely to the years 1603–1605, scholars need no longer puzzle themselves why Donne, readying himself for a bid to enter the Church of England in the second decade of the century, should still be toying with a work so insistently and openly sceptical of Protestant thought. We might instead turn our attention to the circle of Lancelot Andrewes, and pursue the reasons why this group might have taken an interest in the work around this time.

Donne never intended his Latin letter of 1605 to be published; it appeared in print only two years after his death, in 1633. Although it would be another seventeen years before the *Catalogus* itself was published, and Donne's first print editors had not themselves seen the work, the 1633 edition nevertheless managed to offer readers a tantalizing glimpse of it in this letter—a satire too dangerous to print, perhaps composed in the days when the famous Dean of St Paul's was still a writer of daring erotic poetry. Curiously, then, for contemporary readers of the 1633 *Poems*, the *Catalogus* was, like the books it described, a title without a physical reality, able to convey meaning without necessarily existing. Now that this ephemeral work about non-existent bibliographical artifacts, a work which survived its author's 'Last Judgment', has been found inhabiting yet another physical form, those meanings—literary, political, and religious—should attract renewed scholarly attention.

APPENDIX I



Fig. 1. WA2, fols 1v–2r. Reproduced by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

**John Donne's *Catalogus Librorum* (Westminster Abbey, MS 63)
Diplomatic Edition**

	[Fol. 1r]
<p>Ævum sortiti sumus, quo plane indoctis nihil turpius, plenè doctis nihil rarius: Tam omnes in literis aliquid sciunt, tam nemo omnia. Mediâ igitur plerunq̄ue itur viâ, et ad evitandam ignorantîæ turpitudinem, & legendi fastidium. Ars vna est omnibus vt reliquas scire viderj possint. Inde Epitomis, paradoxis, et pruritibus exorbitantium ingeniorum delectantur. Hinc tam sunt in pretio, Lullius, Gemma, Sebundus, Empiricus, Trithemius, Agrippa, Erasmus, Ramus, & Hæretici. Satis enim sibi videntur scire ignava in- genia, si aliorum scientiam imperfectam esse proba- -biliter possint demonstrare. Sed nimis invidiæ subest, et se prodit aerea hæc, procax & tuberosa scientia. Tibi generosior, celerior candidior, et minus specula -toribus literarum obnoxia via subeunda est. Et quia per occupationes Aulæ, quâ degis, naturales, tibi vacare literis non licet (nam post somnum non nisi post decimam ex more excutiendum, post vestes diej, loco, affectibus proprias indutas, post faciem speculo compositam, et quo quis cachinno, su- -perciliove excipiendus sit resolutionem, post epulas lususque, quota pars vitæ literis, animoque excolendo relinquitur?) et tamen doctus viderj non dedigna- -ris, vt aliquando habeas quo eleganter & appositè canes Regios conservos tuos possis laudare, & quamvis scire quæ alij sciunt non poteris, sal- -tem scire valeas quæ illj nesciunt; hâc ex con- -silio meo viâ progredieris.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p> <p>25</p>
	[Fol. 1v]
<p>Relictis Authoribus, quos vocant Classicos Academicis & pædagogis terendis; enitere per omnes, quibus igno- -rantiam faterj securè poteris, libros alijs inventu difficiles exquirere. Nec in colloquijs quid ex Autoribus vulgò notis afferas, sed ex istis; vt ita quæ dicis aut tua viderj possint, si nomina taceas, aut si minus digna sint, & autoritate egeant, novos authores cum reverentiâ tuj audiant illj, quj omnia scire sibj an- -te visj sunt. Hunc ergo Catalogum ad vsum tuum exaravj, ut his paratis libris, in omnj pæne scientiâ, sj non magis, saltem aliter doctus, quam cæterj, subitò prosiliat.</p>	<p>30</p> <p>35</p> <p>40</p>

Catalogus libr:

1. Nicolaj Hill Anglj, de sexu & Hermaphroditate digno
-scenda in Atomis: Idem de eorum Anatomiâ, et obste-
-tricatione in partibus humatis, cuj annectitur ars
conficiendorum ignium, vasorum, & instrumentorum 45
ad hæc omnia propriorum per conterraneum, et
synchronon suum M^{rum} Platt.
2. Æmulus Moysis. Ars conservandj vestimenta vltra
quadraginta annos. Autore Topcliffo Anglo: postillata
per Iac: Stonehouse anglice, Quj eodem idiomate e- 50
didit tractatum, To keep clothes neere the fashion.
3. Ars excribendj omnia ea quæ verè ad ad idem di-
-cuntur in Ioanne Foxe in ambitu denarij. Autore P: Bale.
4. Chjmæram prædicarj de Antich\^r/isto. Autore Sorbonistâ
Anonymo. 55
5. Galatinus. Judæos vbiquitarios esse, quia nusquam sunt. [Fol. 2r]
6. Librum Tobiaë esse Canonicum. Vbj ex Rabbinis et se-
-cretioribus Theologis numerantur pilj caudæ ejus canis
ex quorum variâ retortione, & invicem conjunctione
conficiuntur literæ, ex quibus mirifica verba consistunt. 60
Authore Francisco Georgio Veneto.
7. Pax in Hierusalem, sive conciliatio flagrantissim< >
dissidij inter Rabbj Simeon Kimchj, & Onkelos, vtru< >
Caro humana ex carne suilla comestâ (quod aver
-tat Deus) concreta in resurrectione removebitur, 65
annihilabitur aut purificabitur, per illuminatissimum
Doctorem Reuchlinum.
8. Pythagoras Iudæo-Christianus, Numerum 99 et 66 ver-
-so folio esse eundem, per superseraphicum Io: Picum
9. Quidlibet ex quolibet; Or the Art of deciphering 70
& finding some Treason in any intercepted letter, by Philips.
10. Ioh: Harringtonj Hercules. Sive de modo quo evacu
-abatur a fecibus Arca Noæ.
11. Crede quod habes & habes. Criterium Antiquitatum;
liber magnus de minimis a Walt: Copo dictatus 75
et ab vxore excriptus, et ab amanuensj suo Iohan.
Povy latinitate donatus.
12. Subsavior. in quo illuminatus, sed parum illuminans,
Hugo Broughton incredibiliter docet linguam He
-braicam esse de essentiâ salutis, et sua præcepta 80
de essentiâ linguæ.
13. M. Lutherus de abbreviatione Orationis Dominicæ.

14. Manipulus quercuum, sive ars comprehendendj transcendentia. Authore Raim: Sebundo. [Fol. 2v] 85
15. Oceanus Aulicus, sive Pyramis, sive colossus, sive Abyssus ingeniorum, vbj per 60000 literas a Milordis omnium nationum ad evitandam ostentationem vulgaribus semper linguis datas et acceptas, traditur quicquid tradj potest de Dentiscalpijs et vnguim reduvijs. Collectæ sunt et in vnum corpus redactæ singulisque autoribus dedicatæ per Io: Florio Italo-anglũ. 90
16. Iustitia Angliæ Vacationis Io: Dauis De Arte Anagrammatum verisimiliter conficiendorũ, et sententiolis annulis inscribendis 95
17. Tractatulj aliquot adjectitij libris Pancirollj; libro de rebus perditis, additur de virtute, & de libertate populj; quod a Capellano quodam Io: Cadj inchoatum, a Buchanano perfectum est; libro de rebus inventis, additur de morbo multinomino per Tho: Thorney Anglicè, et post latinè per Tho: Campianum, et de vxoratione post vota per Carolostadium. 100 105
18. Bonaventura de particulâ Non a decalogo adimendâ, et symbolo Apostolorum adijciendâ.
19. De militibus Apocryphis, per Edw: Prinne lib: vnus, per Edw: Chute paulò amplior factus. 110
20. De navigabilitate aquarum supercœlestium, et vtrum ibj an apud nos navis in firmamento in iudicio sit appulsura, Io: Dee Authore. [Fol. 3r]
21. Manuale Iusticiariorum, continens plurimas confessiones veneficarum Manwoddo Judicj exhibitas, et ab illo abstergendis postea natibus, & evacuationibus adhibitas; nunc a servulis suis redemptæ, & in vsum suum collectæ sunt a Io: Helo. 115
22. Æquilibrium. Tom: 2. Sive ars acquiescendj in Controversijs. Primus modus dicitur simplex quia datâ controversiâ (vtpote estne transsubstantiatio) scribitur sic, & non, varijs sed æqualibus chartulis, & trutinæ imponuntur, & 120

- ponderosiorj adhærendum. Alius modus est
 compositus, quia datâ thesj ex vnâ parte, datur 125
 etiam altera ex alterâ, vt Petrus sedet Romæ,
 & Ioannes sedet Romæ, et etiam si æqualibus
 literis scribuntur &c ponderosiorj adhærendum
 Autore Erasmo Roterod:
23. Cardanus de nullibietate crepitus. 130
24. Edmundj Hobæj eructationes pomeridianæ, sive
 de vnivocis, vtpote de prærogativâ Regum, &
 chimæris, morbo Regio, et morbo gallico &c.
25. Ars spiritualis inescandj mulieres, sive conci-
 ones subcingulares Egertonj. 135
26. De Pessario animato, et omnimorbio fæminis
 dando per M^{ru} Butler Cantabr:
27. Caput æneum Fran: Baconj: de Roberto 1^{mo} Angliæ Rege.
28. Cæpe Advocatorum, sive ars plorandi in Iudicijs, per
 eundem, sesqui=barbarus, sive de medietate linguæ. 140
 [Fol. 3v]
29. De Gurgite diametralj a Polo ad Polum per Centrum
 navigabilj sine pyxide per Andr: Thevet.
30. Quintessentia infernj; sive Camera privata in-
 fernalis, vbi tractatur de loco quinto ab Homero,
 Virgilio, Dante, cæterisque papisticis prætermisso, 145
 vbj Reges præter Damnj pœnas, & sensus, recor-
 datione præteritorum cruciantur.
31. Encomium Doctoris Shaw Capellanj Richardi 3^{ij}
 per Doct: Barlow.
32. Quid Non? sive confutatio omnium errorum 150
 tam in Theologiâ quam in alijs scientijs, arti-
 busque \^ Liberalibus et/ mechanicis, præteritorum, præsentium & fu-
 turorum, omnium hominum mortuorũ, su-
 perstitum, nascendorumque; Vnâ nocte post Cænam
 confecta per D^{rem} Sutcliffe. 155
33. De Episcopabilitate puritanj. D^f Robinson.
34. Tarltonus de privilegijs Parliamentj.

APPENDIX II

Textual and bibliographical observations

Paper

Unfolded, the manuscript measures approximately 291mm–293mm by 192mm. Its two bifolia sheets have been quired. The whole manuscript was once folded into a packet measuring approximately 70mm by 50mm. The current fols 1r and 4v are heavily darkened with dirt in their entirety, suggesting that the manuscript has been stored quired but not otherwise folded. The gutter

between fols 1 and 4 was very fragile after years in storage, and the two pages have become detached since its rediscovery. There were some tears along the gutter, which we were able to examine before the pages separated; none indicated that the manuscript was ever part of a larger gathering. Part of a watermark is visible on fol. 4: a bunch of grapes, probably the top of a pot watermark now impossible to identify. On fol 1, the bottom of such a pot may be discernible. The central bifolium (fols 2–3) shows no watermark evidence.

Hand

The hand is fluent and may show evidence of professional training. The text has been left- and right-aligned, and hyphens are used in both margins to signal word-breaks. We have published images of all pages on the *John Donne Society Digital Prose Project* website <<https://donnaeproise.blogspot.co.uk/>>, with further discussion of distinctive palaeographical features, and handwriting samples have been added to *DigitalDonne's* gallery of scribes. Perhaps the most important detail to mention here is the alteration of the word 'sesqui=barbarus' (l. 140), which [Figure 2](#) shows in detail:

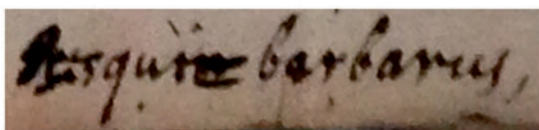


Fig. 2. Detail from WA2, fol. 3r. Reproduced by permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

A deleted first letter was a majuscule, or had an ascender, or both, although we cannot see another letter in the manuscript starting with a similar motion. The first *s* may not have been the scribe's original intention. The double-hyphen has been written over a now-illegible letter which seems to have two minims, and might therefore be *n* or *u*. The *i* may have been altered from *r*, and although it is clearly dotted, there is also what looks like a grave accent above the letter, perhaps indicating some indecision or confusion on the scribe's behalf. We can say, then, that 'squ' and 'barbarus,' have both been written confidently, but that the scribe was uncertain about some other letters. The word 'sesqui-barbarus', despite valiant attempts to English it, is not good Latin.⁵⁹ It is notable that CT2 features 'St. quintarbarbarus,' at this point, a nonsensical reading which can be provisionally explained as deriving from a defect in a common source.

Text

Four texts were collated using *Juxta Commons* <www.juxtacommons.org> accessed 19 December 2017—WA2, CT2, 1650, and 1669. The printed text of 1669 was clearly set from 1650, so 1669 is excluded from the following discussion. If minor differences are ignored, the text of WA2 is substantially the same as the 1650 printed edition, with the sole substantive difference of two interlineated words in line 150, *Liberalibus et* (see discussion above); both texts spell John Pory's surname as 'Povy', a detail which points to a particularly close relationship. In non-substantive variants, WA2's text is distinguished from 1650 mainly by the scribe's orthographical habits: the use of circumflex accents over vowels (*Mediâ*), regular use of *j* for *i* (*tibj* for *tibi*) and *v* for *u* (*Ars vna est omnibus vt*). Where 1650 uses *et*, WA2 usually has *et*. There are some differences in capitalization habits (WA2: *Authoribus*; 1650: *authoribus*). In some instances 1650 uses accents over medial vowels (*supercilióve, animóque*) when WA2 does not; in other cases both texts feature the medial accents. WA2 features a number of contracted words where 1650 spells them out in full, e.g. *Catalogus libr:* for *Catalogus Librorum*; *M^{rum} Platt* for *Magistrum Platt*. All of these non-substantive variants can be explained by the differing habits of the scribe and compositor.

[Table 1](#) shows the major differences between WA2 and CT2. These are discussed at more length above.

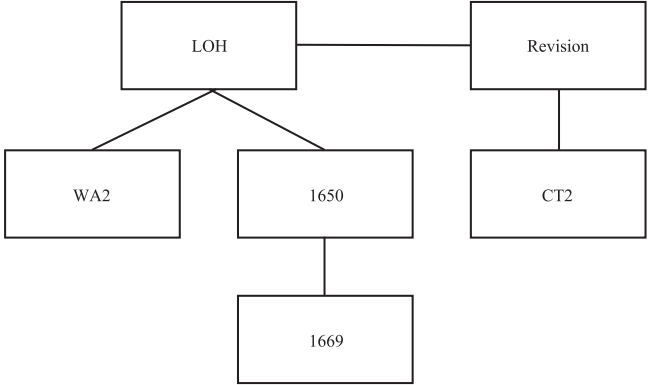
⁵⁹ Brown renders it as 'The More-than-Half Uncivilized'; Simpson gives 'A Foreigner-and-a-Half.'

Table 1. Differences between WA2 and CT2

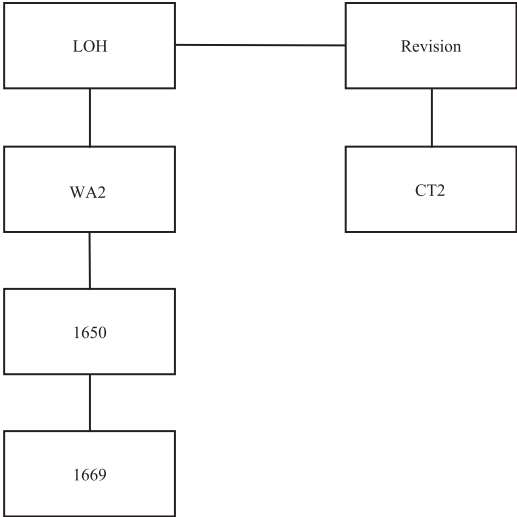
WA2 line	WA2 reading	CT2 reading
0	[Om here, see line 41 below]	Catalogus Librorum Alicorum incomparabilium & non vendibilium
3	Mediâ igitur plerunque	Mediâ plerumque
6	Inde Epitomis,	Epitomis,
9–10	Ramus, & Hæretici.	Ramus, Gregorius et Hæretici:
18	ex more excutiendum,	excutiendum;
21–2	epulas lususque,	epulas poculaque,
22	pars vitæ literis,	pars literis
25	tuos possis laudare,	tuos laudare
27	valeas quæ illj	potes q ^æ illi
27–8	hâc ex consilio meo	Hac ergo (ex consilio meo)
29	Relictis Authoribus,	Neglectis autorib.
32	in colloquijs	in colloquio
37–40	Hunc ergo . . . subito prosilias.	[Omitted here, copied in below]
41	Catalogus libr:	[Omitted here, longer version supplied above]
42	sexu & Hermaphroditate dignoscenda	sexu dignoscendo
47	synchronon	Synchronum
48	vestimenta	vestes
56–67	[Entries 5, 6, 7]	[Numbered 5, 6, 7, but reproduced in WA2 order 6, 7, 5]
75	a Walt: Copo	a Waltero: :
77	Povy	Pory
92	libro continentur capita habentur	libro habentur cap. ^a
95	Autorum	Authoris
96	Io: Daus	Io: D.
100–101	& de libertate	& libertate
107	Non	Num
115	veneficarum Manwoddo	\vene/maleficarus Manwoodo
122	non, varijs sed	Non; sed
128	literis scribuntur &c ponderosiorj	scribantur literis ponderosiorj
131	Edmundj	Edw.
132–3	& chimæris,	& chimæra de
135	subcingulares Egertonj.	sub-cingulares.
137–9	[Entries 26 and 27]	[Omitted; subsequent entries numbered continuously so WA2's 28 becomes CT2's 26 and so on]
140	sesqui=barbarus,	S ^t . quintarbarbarus,
151–2	artibusque \^ Liberalibus et/ mechanicis,	artibusque mechanicis,
–		Hunc ego Catalogum, ad vsuum tuum exaravi; vt his paratis Libris, in omni pæne scientiâ, si non magis, saltem aliter doctus quam cæteri subito prosilias./D. D

Two possible stemmata emerge from collation, both of which suggest that WA2 is the earliest surviving text of the *Catalogus*.

Stemma 1



Stemma 2



Both models are viable, and we see no conclusive evidence at this time to choose between them.

APPENDIX III

**A translation of Donne's letter to Sir Henry Goodere, beginning *Etiam vulgari* (early 1605)
by Melanie Marshall**

Letters, even those written in the common tongue, bear witness that we remember our friends; but those written in a foreign language testify that we are thinking about them. For in the former there dawn on us little musings about our friends; but, like morning stars, these pass away and vanish. In the latter though, we stay put¹ and dally, and ponder our friends, like the sun itself, holding fast and sojourning with us. So much for the Latin. Next, listen to my reason for writing at all.

I am seeking advice, and by doing so both pledge my own friendship and offer grateful acknowledgement of yours: for the fact is we don't lay ourselves bare readily, nor would we have it seem that we ourselves are beggars when it comes to the endowments of wit or judgment that other men enjoy. And indeed there is no favour that any man (any man of honour, that is) will refuse to a person from whom he has sought advice.² Yet what divine wisdom has set as the utmost limit of love³—to lay down one's life⁴—even that the wranglers over the Church's rules⁵ redefine as the renunciation of reputation and worldly status (which even the Canonists call a crude comparison)⁶ and lay claim to it⁷ for themselves. To be sure, we are more indebted to advice than to favours. But to the point. Those who have more leisure⁸ may do the philosophizing, or those who like to call their idleness work: as for us, we have long been transparent with one another, and well-furnished with windows.⁹

An opportunity is lighting up for me which is neither untimely nor unprofitable (if perhaps a shade more inglorious than I had wished): an opportunity to see foreign realms, and to leave behind for a number of years my children (the most delightful pledges of an exceedingly greatly beloved wife) and the other pleasures beneath this firmament.¹⁰ I long to meet you so that I can

- 1 'stay put': Shapiro, in his unpublished commentary on his own translation, noted that 'Donne uses *haerere* here in the same sense as "inhere" in his English prose and verse.'
- 2 In return for the advice asked of Goodere, Donne will deny him no future service.
- 3 Love here is *charitas*, often translated as 'charity'.
- 4 'lay down one's life': 'Greater love than this hath no man, when any man bestoweth his life for his friends' (John 15.13, quoted here from Geneva bible 1599 edition). The verse referenced here mentions friendship (*maiores hac dilectionem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis*). Donne pointedly omits the word friend or any cognate. Since Goodere will recognize the allusion he is invited to supply the missing words and understand that Donne is calling on friendship. Dropping the word may also verbally enact the wrangling of the church's rules which Donne proceeds to lament.
- 5 'wranglers over the Church's rules': the English equivalent of the Latin *tractatores*, 'tractators', is not recorded in English until 1638, when it is defined by the *OED* as 'One who treats of a subject; the writer of a tractate'. Here it seems to mean 'the people who argue about and decide'.
- 6 'Canonists': Donne suggests elsewhere that lawyers working in ecclesiastical affairs enjoyed a reputation for crude thinking among other members of the legal profession: 'The Civilians [i.e. civil lawyers] use to say of the Canonists, and Casuists, That they consider nothing but *Crassam aequitatem*, fat Equity, downe-right Truths, things obvious and apprehensible by every naturall man', sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn [?Trinity Term, 1621] on Psalm 2.12 (quoted from the forthcoming *Oxford Sermons*, volume 5, ed. Katrin Ettenhuber, 546–51). Cf. *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), 197. In both contexts Donne argues that it is wrong of the Civilians to scoff at the Canonists, whose simplicity is holier than the obfuscatory sophistication of their critics. Hence, the suggestion that 'even the Canonists' (*ipsi Canonici*) call this comparison crudely simplistic, is a damning one. To relinquish worldly offices and attendant benefits in favour of ecclesiastical duties is not martyrdom; one cannot expect men who draw such comparisons to understand true friendship of the kind that Donne and Goodere enjoy (a friendship so mutual that even the word itself would be otiose).
- 7 'lay claim to it': the verb *usurpo* is used mainly for tyrannical coups of questionable legitimacy.
- 8 'those who have more leisure': *otiosiores* could also mean 'more (culpably) idle' or 'more useless' (*OLD* 2 and 3). It is unclear how far this sentence continues Donne's critique of the canonists.
- 9 'well-furnished with windows': the Latin word is *fenestrati*.
- 10 'this firmament': i.e. England. Shapiro, in his unpublished notes, may be right to suggest that *aurae* represents a mishearing or misreading of *orae* ('shore', and hence 'realm'; *OLD* 3). Understood as 'atmosphere'

discuss it with you. But (although I would not refuse to consent to it) I would rather not meet at Bartlett's house.¹¹ I have reasons why I should keep away. For it seems to me that I have amply fulfilled the duties of a friendship which is neither long-standing nor so very close, and with a vigour which has been rather less measured than is seemly. If you are free to lunch or dine out, or to kill a little time in the afternoon or the morning, please let me hear from you (at Rabbi Tincomb's place where I'm staying at present) and I will be content with that.¹²

Meanwhile, kindly set aside for the master¹³ my rags,¹⁴ which you accepted with the promise of a swift return¹⁵ (crassly put; but I follow the example of the brilliant Apollinaris).¹⁶ If among these writings my Latin epigrams and satirical Catalogue of Books are not, then they are not;¹⁷ this is the Last Judgment, they are about to undergo the final hand¹⁸ any moment now. A certain number of them will suffer the Purgatory proper to them, so that they might emerge corrected. Others of them have crept out¹⁹ into the world without my knowledge; nonetheless they will confess that they have been damned to hell by me, when the fire has consumed them in archetype. The remainder, which are either virgins (except that they've been fingered by so many people) or (to put it another way) are so dismally barren that no copies have been begotten of them—these will be

or 'air over-hanging a place', and thus implicitly defining the locality (*OLD* 4), *aurae* is quite possible. When used in this sense, the singular (which Donne uses here) is admittedly unusual; but *ora* too is almost always pluralized when used to mean 'realm' (cf. English 'these shores').

- 11 'Bartlett's': Sir Thomas Bartlett, Goodere's landlord in London. The name was printed as *Barlotianis* in the printed editions from 1633 to 1669.
- 12 'Rabbi Tincomb's': Donne's landlord in London, Walter Tincomb. In this period Puritans were sometimes referred to as rabbis; alternatively, this epithet could also be applied to Roman Catholics (*OED* n. 1 3a). This name was printed as *Lincombum* in 1633, then corrected to *Tincombum* in 1635.
- 13 'set . . . master': *seponas ero* can mean either 'set aside for the master' or 'hide from the master'. Donne may be asking Goodere a) to conceal these items from another reader (an unidentified important man); b) to keep them aside for the admiration of another reader; or c) to gather them ready for Donne, their creator, and therefore the God figure in the impending metaphorical Last Judgment. It seems clear in context that the third option is the most likely. This reading is reinforced by Donne's reprise of the hand image in 'Meditation XVII' (1623), where the editing, translation, and binding of texts are used as a metaphor for divine judgment and final admission into beatitude: 'God's hand is in every translation and his hand shall bind up our scattered leaves again, for that library where every book shall lie open to one another.' *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. John Sparrow (Cambridge, 1923), 96–8 (97).
- 14 Donne refers to his writings as 'rags' in English on several occasions: see e.g. *Letters*, 88, 136, 162–3, 197, 224, 264, 303. *Chartulas* (lit. 'little bits of paper') would be a good Latin approximation of this word.
- 15 'swift return': *redhibitio* means specifically 'the return to the vendor (of a defective purchase)' (*OLD*), adding to the affectation of modesty.
- 16 Donne implies that it is vulgar to ask directly for the return of material he has entrusted to his friend, but that he is at least following the precedent of an excellent writer, Gaius Sollius Modestus Apollinaris Sidonius (c.430–c.480), Bishop of Clermont and an important letter-writer, whose epistles run to nine volumes. The phrase *sponsione citae redhibitionis* in Donne's Latin is a direct quotation from volume five of Apollinaris' letters: *huius lectionis novitate laetatus, excitatusque maturitate, raptim recensendam transferendamque, ut videras, petisti, ut petieras impetrasti, sub sponsione citae redhibitionis* (V.2.2). In this letter (dated c.AD 472) Apollinaris demands from his friend Nymphidius the return of a book by Claudianus Mamertus, whom Apollinaris calls 'the most accomplished of our Christian philosophers and the most learned man in the world' (*peritissimus Christianorum philosophus et quorumlibet primus eruditorum*, V.2.1). The allusion implicitly compares Donne's own learning with Mamertus's, compounding the joke of the faux-learned *Catalogus*. Apollinaris had also been a writer of profane poetry, but ceased this practice after his conversion to Christianity.
- 17 'are not, then they are not': there are many ambiguities in this phrase (*non sunt, non sunt*): see discussion above.
- 18 'the final hand': that of Donne, their maker and judge; the image is of the Almighty on the day of Judgment (see footnote 62).
- 19 'crept': *ereperunt*, a word used especially of snakes, but also of any stealthy movement.

destroyed and slip yet further away into total nothingness (a fate which God doesn't threaten even for the most depraved).²⁰

Farewell, and please enjoy my love (only circumstance forbids you to profit from it). And unless you prefer to rejoice in my frank spirit and my unslavish²¹ liberty, be assured that I am your servant, *etc.*²²

King's College London, Westminster Abbey, Lincoln College, Oxford

20 'the most depraved': i.e. those guilty of the most despicable sins; see note above on 'rags' for the self-deprecation.

21 'unslavish': *ingenua* is wittily ambiguous. The root meaning is 'free-born' (as opposed to slave or emancipated: *OLD* 2), and by extension 'frank', 'honest', or something similar. Likewise, *libertas* can refer to one's legal status as a free man, or to a disposition towards outspokenness (as against servile flattery).

22 'servant': *mancipium* means, literally, a slave obtained by an agreement made with a handshake.