

Introduction

The title-page framing *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inventions* sets in play an architectural metaphor of the book that imagines this poetry anthology as a type of building (Figure 1). It is an apt place to begin, since the title-page's self-reflexive exposition of the spatiality of the book brings into focus the materiality of literary culture, a field of enquiry that has preoccupied early modern scholarship over past decades and informs this study.¹ If we cast our eyes down the title-page, attention shifts from metaphors describing the book-as-artefact to those accounting for the processes of making. 'First framed and fashioned in sundrie formes' by skilled artisans, 'divers worthy workemen' over time, this *Gorgious Gallery* has now been 'joyned together and builded up' in the anthology offered to its readers. On display is a language of poetic craft that is thoroughly grounded in the artisanal worlds of the sixteenth century. It is this understanding of craft that directs my account of the poetry anthologies that were made – and remade – in the second half of the sixteenth century in England, a period when the book trade was framing and fashioning an array of textual material in response to diverse and expanding markets for vernacular literature. The word 'craft' in the medieval and early modern period was semantically rich, bringing together imaginative, material, and technical processes with crafted objects, human agents, and the trades.² All books are

¹ See, for example, James Daybell and Peter Hinds, eds., *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Patricia Pender and Rosalind Smith, eds., *Material Cultures of Early Modern Women's Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Elizabeth Scott Baumann and Ben Burton, eds., *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2014); Kate Orden, *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2015); Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, *A Day at Home in Early Modern England: Material Culture and Domestic Life, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

² According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*), the field of meaning of 'craft' narrows after the sixteenth century, when usages such as 11 2 c, 'Human skill, *art* as opposed to *nature*' and 3c

crafted, and yet, because poetry anthologies are, by definition, compiled, they necessarily foreground the processes through which they are 'joyined together and builded up'. Craft is integral to understanding the work of form in printed anthologies. It explains how the gathering, selecting, and conjoining of lyric material was an embodied practice that required manual work, technical skill, and literary judgement. Methods for compiling textual material were, of course, skills taught in Renaissance schoolrooms and underpinned humanist culture, from the assembly of commonplace books to practices of imitation.³ Printed poetry anthologies provide an opportunity to understand how humanist methods for compiling books were adopted and adapted within the milieu of the printing house.

The role of poetry anthologies in shaping vernacular lyric cultures has long been understood and studies before mine have turned to the cultural work of the book trade to elucidate this process.⁴ That said, critical attention has largely been confined to *Songes and Sonettes* and its publisher, Richard Tottel.⁵ The activity of others involved in anthology production, and indeed other poetry anthologies first printed in the sixteenth century, remains very shadowy and our view of the field necessarily attenuated. This study turns to those booksellers, printers, and their associates engaged in anthology production in the second half of the sixteenth century in order to understand how the form of the anthology was shaped within the 'productive matrix of the printing house', to borrow Helen Smith and

(in the concrete sense), 'A work or product of art', fall away. On craft in medieval literature and Renaissance poetics, see Lisa H. Cooper, *Artisans and Narrative Craft in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Rayna Kalas, *Frame, Glass, Verse: the Technology of Poetic Invention in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); Pamela H. Smith, 'In the Workshop of History: Making, Writing, and Meaning', *West 86th*, 19 (2012), 4–31.

³ M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), chapter 3; Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 5–9; Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford University Press, 2019), Introduction.

⁴ Elizabeth W. Pomeroy, *The Elizabethan Miscellanies: Their Development and Conventions*, University of California English Studies 36 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

⁵ Recent book-length studies and essay collections addressing *Songes and Sonettes* include J. Christopher Warner, *The Making and Marketing of Tottel's Miscellany, 1557: Songs and Sonnets in the Summer of the Martyrs' Fires* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013); Stephen Hamrick, ed., *Tottel's Songes and Sonettes in Context* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

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Louise Wilson's phrase.⁶ Where this study also differs from previous scholarship is in its argument that the poetry anthology is defined by its recreative properties. When publishers framed anthologies they invariably drew on the Horatian commonplace that valued poetry, a form of eloquence, for its capacity to give 'profit and pleasure', to quote Tottel's preface before *Songes and Sonettes*.⁷ In doing so, particular weight was given to poetry's delightful qualities within this equation, that which is pleasant to the mind and senses. The title-page to *Gorgious Gallery*, echoing that of *Paradyse of Daynty Devises*, advertised that it was 'decked with divers dayntie devises, right delicate and delightfull, to recreate eche modest minde'. Recreate meant to refresh and reinvigorate the mind through the senses by engaging in pleasurable pastimes. The recreational properties of literature have received comparatively little attention in early modern studies.⁸ Yet, this was the century when leisure increasingly gained cultural credibility and discourses of recreation and treatises on various pastimes proliferated. Publishers of anthologies, along with others in the trade, were engaged in producing a body of vernacular poetry for use within wide-ranging domestic cultures of recreation. We should remember that pastimes were not restricted to the elite; those in work enjoyed 'small but regular doses of daily or weekly leisure' when, for example, ballads might be performed.⁹ Anthologies collected poems that moved between elite and non-elite cultures challenging any straightforward identification of poetry-as-pastime with courtliness.¹⁰ The galleries and other spaces framing anthologies may be places for courtly pastimes, but the variety of verse these books gathered included ballads alongside the songs and sonnets.

⁶ Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, 'Introduction', in *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 9.

⁷ *Songes and sonettes, written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other* (Q1, 1557), fol. 1b.

⁸ *OED*, 4b. On poetry as recreation, see Katharine Craik, *Reading Sensations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), especially chapters 1 and 2; Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Robert Matz, *Defending Literature in Early Modern England: Renaissance Literary Theory in Social Context* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁹ Peter Burke, 'The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe', *Past and Present*, 146 (1995), 136–50; see also Alessandro Arcangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c. 1425–1675* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

¹⁰ See, for example, Matz's identification of poetic recreations with aristocratic cultures of leisure, *Defending Literature*, 13.

Attending to the recreational properties of poetry anthologies has consequences for how we understand the material cultures of books, as well as other print formats, like the ballad. If we return to the metaphor of the gallery, which in this period described a covered structure for leisurely walking, then it opens out the anthology as a tangible and sensory space that gives scope for recreating one's mind and body.¹¹ This recreative metaphor of the book-as-gallery points to a model of materiality that extends from books-as-artefacts to their 'embodiedness' – their 'communicative, performative, emotive, and expressive capacities'.¹² To understand these capacities I draw on the concept of affordance, as set out by Caroline Levine, to describe the 'potential uses or action latent' in forms, including 'materials and design', and how they can be carried 'across time and place', accruing changing 'meanings and values'.¹³ Recreative affordances locate anthologies in early modern performance cultures which gave scope for experiencing poetry at leisure – read, silently and in company, sometimes set to music, and recrafted into other forms. Poetry anthologies and the poems they collect have often been implicitly or explicitly identified with the male domains of the Inns of Court, universities, and other homosocial milieux, and the emphasis placed on how they fashioned gentleman authors and readers.¹⁴ Once we bring recreation into play, then what becomes visible – and audible – are the ways in which these anthologies were also located in the company of women, and so take us to the mixed gendered household. The early modern household encompassed diverse socio-economic and cultural functions, from education to recreation, and was differently articulated across the social spectrum. The boundaries of the household were highly porous, continually opening out on to other arenas, from the shop to the court.¹⁵ Because it was so 'shifting, and malleable', the household was 'more open to being differently inhabited or used'.¹⁶ In this study, I turn to the household as a site

¹¹ *OED*, 1, 'A covered space for walking in, partly open at the side, or having the roof supported by pillars.'

¹² On the 'embodiedness' of objects as 'active agents', see Leora Auslander, 'Beyond Words', *American Historical Review*, 110 (2004), 1017.

¹³ Caroline Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton University Press, 2015).

¹⁴ See, for example, Elizabeth Heale, 'Misogyny and the Complete Gentleman in Early Printed Poetry Miscellanies', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 33, (2003), 233–47; Jessica Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558–1581* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

¹⁵ Hamling and Richardson, *A Day at Home*, chapter 5.

¹⁶ Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: the Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (University of Chicago Press, 2006), 54. See also Wendy Wall, 'Introduction: In the Nation's Kitchen', in Wall, *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*

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where the recreative affordances of poetry anthologies were practised and accrued meaning and as a *topos* that can help us to comprehend the malleability of Renaissance anthologies.

By bringing household recreations into focus as one of the lenses through which the craft of poetry anthologies can be understood, my aim is to tell alternative histories of vernacular poetry in early modern England. The cultural role of the Tudor poetry anthologies has frequently been understood in terms of popularising the 'courtly makers', from Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, to Sir Philip Sidney. The history of a vernacular lyric tradition becomes one which has its origins in an aristocratic scribal culture that then undergoes a process of dissemination to wider reading publics through printed anthologies, establishing a canon of English poetry that extends from Wyatt and Surrey through to Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, and William Shakespeare. Anthologies made up of ballads and other more lowly verse forms, such as *A Handefull of Pleasant Delites* and *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inventions*, are often written out of or marginalised within this cultural narrative.¹⁷ By including those 'minor' anthologies and 'lesser' verse forms, like the ballad, alongside major works and canonical writers, it becomes possible to tell other histories of the domestication of literary culture in the English Renaissance that are more open to a wider social and cultural range of participants and practices. Rather than employing a top-down model of literary influence, this study explores the productive and dynamic exchanges between non-elite and elite cultures. Even if we take *Songes and Sonettes* as a starting point, the dialogue in its pages between courtly makers and ballad makers discloses an ongoing creative exchange between elite and non-elite poetic forms resulting in a 'Renaissance' that is heteroglot and as much part of the printing house and household as it is of the humanist study and court.

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The poetry anthology as a class of books was still being worked out in the early modern period, a process that continued well into the eighteenth

(Cambridge University Press, 2002) and 'Introduction: the Order of Serving', *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern Kitchen* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

¹⁷ For example, Steven W. May, 'Popularizing Courtly Poetry: Tottel's Miscellany and its Progeny', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, edited by Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford University Press, 2009), 418–31; Matthew Zarnowiecki, *Fair Copies: Reproducing the English Lyric from Tottel to Shakespeare* (University of Toronto Press, 2014).

century and beyond.¹⁸ *Crafting Poetry Anthologies* concentrates on those books first published in the second half of the sixteenth century because this is the period when vernacular poetry anthologies emerged as a recognised and recognisable type of printed book. I would argue that the poetry anthology had a distinct form. In the only detailed survey of the early anthologies, *Elizabethan Miscellanies, their Development and Conventions*, Elizabeth Pomeroy concludes that, because of their diverse 'length, purpose, composition, structure, and audience', the Tudor anthologies cannot be said either to establish or to utilise a clearly defined set of conventions.¹⁹ It is the case that anthologies do not constitute a discrete print genre, and instead share features with other types of books, most notably, in this period, commonplace and music books.²⁰ Even so, I would argue that they were a recognisable type of early modern book. Part of the conceptual difficulty may result from assuming anthologies must conform to abstract and totalising models of formal coherence in order to be understood as a distinct type of book. Instead, we need to understand form as practised and to turn our attention to technologies for making books.

Poetry anthologies emerge out of medieval practices of *compilatio* used to organise textual matter into books. The aim was to make knowledge more accessible by imposing a scheme or structure that would enable the incorporation and organisation of selected exemplars. In the words of M. B. Parkes, 'To think became a craft.'²¹ There were many models and techniques available in the Renaissance for organising textual matter shared across manuscript and print. Commonplace books, which arrange selected material under topics or heads, are one of the most recognisable products of compilation practices.²² The affordances of poetry anthologies are shared with commonplace books – poetic matter is framed and designed for use and reuse, to be carried away and put to other purposes. Yet, while poetry anthologies borrowed and adapted organisational methods from commonplace books, they are less systematic and more varied in their modes of arrangement and material forms. One of their key marketing points is typically the variety of poems and authors anthologies collect for

¹⁸ See Anne Ferry, *Tradition and the Individual Poem: an Inquiry into Anthologies* (Stanford University Press, 2001); Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith, 'Introduction', in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, edited by Eckhardt and Smith (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 1–16.

¹⁹ Pomeroy, *Elizabethan Miscellanies*, 116–21.

²⁰ On this feature of miscellanies, see Adam Smyth, *'Profit & Delight': Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640–1682* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), 2.

²¹ Parkes, *Scribes*, 37.

²² Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton University Press, 1993), chapter 1; Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, chapter 1.

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the delight of readers. The language used alludes to the value and pleasures attributed to *copia* as a generative and transformative principle of nature, God's handiwork, and expressed in the *florilegium* motif of the healthful properties of the recreative garden. This is not to imply that anthologies were idiosyncratic, unsystematic collections. Instead these are deliberately composite volumes whose 'miscellaneous order', to use Angus Vine's phrase, results from the sundry organisational schemes employed to allow for the expression of variety and to give scope for recreation.

One place where the idea of the anthology as a type of book slowly begins to take shape is in the paratext. Prefaces, titles, and other apparatus bring into focus the work of publishers and the printing house in moulding the meaning of books and guiding readers in how they could be comprehended and used.²³ An obvious mechanism through which booksellers described the type of book on offer was the title-page. Buyers typically first encountered this page independently from the rest of the book as a sheet fixed to a post or pasted to a wall where the bookseller advertised the products on offer. The title-page offered an opportunity to classify the book, its form and contents, and other significant features.²⁴ Once bound with the other pages, it helped to guide readers in their 'approach not only to the text in question but to the experience of reading, and of interpreting the world beyond the book'.²⁵ What do the titles of the early poetry anthologies say about the way publishers, readers, and the wider culture were beginning to understand these types of books? It is the case that not all the titles given to poetry anthologies use the same conventions. Nonetheless, these books so often are framed in similar ways that what emerges are shared, if not monolithic, organisational concepts. Whereas Tottel settled on a title that concentrated on poetic forms and authors, both known and unknown – *Songes and Sonettes of Henry Haward, Earl of Surrey, and other* – the majority of other publishers of sixteenth-century poetry anthologies opted for titles that figure the embodied spatiality of the book as a gathered, composite object or meeting-place. Architectural and garden metaphors bring into play *florilegia* or *anthologia* traditions, in which the compilation is depicted as a gathering of choice flowers or other delightful matter: *The Court of Venus, A Handefull of*

²³ On the cultural role of publishers in shaping the meaning of books, see Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); Kirk Melnikoff, *Elizabethan Publishing and the Makings of Literary Culture* (University of Toronto Press, 2018).

²⁴ Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 38.

²⁵ Smith and Wilson, 'Introduction', 6–7.

*Pleasant Delites, Paradyse of Daynty Devises, A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inventions, Brittons Bowre of Delights, The Phoenix Nest, The Arbor of Amorous Devices, and Englands Helicon.*²⁶ Courts, paradises, galleries, bowers, arbours, helicons, and even the phoenix's nest direct attention to the recreative space of the book in simultaneously conceptual and material terms. The physical structures of the book have been organised in such a way as to give readers mental scope and to guide their passage through the variety of poetic matter offered in the volume.²⁷ *A Poetical Rapsody* (1602) similarly announces its status as a compiled book since 'rhapsody' describes a 'sowing together or conjoining of those Poems and verses. . . , which before were loose and scattered'.²⁸ The poetic matter these books conjoin is cast in the form of devices, inventions, or delights, terms that describe the *techne* of crafted form, both material and imaginative, as a process, a method of devising or framing, which specifically affords reading experiences that are defined in terms of pleasure and use.

As the title of this book indicates, I opt for the term anthology rather than miscellany to describe the books under discussion. It should be said from the outset that neither miscellany nor anthology was a term used in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century to describe these books.²⁹ Even so, although there may not have been one word, but many to describe these books in this period, this does not necessarily mean that compilers and publishers were not aware of the kind of books they were making.³⁰ While arguably miscellany and anthology are interchangeable terms, my use of the latter term is intended to keep in mind the reliance of these books on methods of compilation. Titles that employ *anthologia* motifs, since they belong to this broader category of *compilatio*, of course, are not particular to poetry anthologies. Instead, this vocabulary announces that the book has been compiled by editorial agents out of other textual matter.

²⁶ On this phenomenon, see Randall Anderson, 'Metaphors of the Book as Garden in the English Renaissance', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 33 (2003), 248–61.

²⁷ Ferry, *Tradition*, 24. On spatial metaphors of commonplace culture, see Vine, *Miscellaneous Order*, 45.

²⁸ Philemon Holland, *The Philosophie, commonlie called the Morals written by the learned philosopher Plutarch* (1603), sig. zzzzz6v. See also Piers Brown, 'Donne, Rhapsody and Textual Order', in *Manuscript Miscellanies*, ed. Eckhardt and Smith, 39–55.

²⁹ On the history of the term 'miscellany', see Eckhardt and Smith, 'Introduction', 1–10; Barbara Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton University Press, 1996), 4.

³⁰ While I broadly concur with Zarnowiecki's point that 'there was no one activity that all these printers and poets were pursuing', I would argue that it is not only authors, but also publishers who 'recognize this condition of reproducibility – multiplicity – and begin to exploit its potential', *Fair Copies*, 24, 46.

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The printed compilations put out in 1600 all have very similar titles – *Bel-vedère or the Garden of the Muses*, *Englands Helicon*, *Englands Parnassus* – yet two are commonplace books, compiled of textual extracts organised into sections by topic, whereas *Englands Helicon* is a collection of pastoral poems that is not divided into sections. All are compilations; however, the textual matter these books collect and the way this material is framed, although closely related, can be distinguished. Collections of devotional texts, in particular, also frequently used *florilegia* metaphors of the book as garden or as a nosegay: Thomas Becon's *A pleasaunt newe nosegaye full of many godly and swete floures, lately gathered by Theodore Basille* (1542), Josias Nichols's *A spirituall poseaye contayning most godly and fruietfull consolations and prayers to be used of all men in the time of sicknesse and mortalitie as at all times else, Gathered out of the sacred Scriptures* (1573), and Nicholas Breton's *A smale handfull of fragrant flowers selected and gathered out of the lovely garden of sacred scriptures, fit for any honorable or woorshipfull gentlewoman to smell unto* (1575). Publishers used titles to position their books in relation to other products within their own stock and a wider market. Shared motifs advertised shared properties with other types of books, not only commonplace books but also printed songbooks and devotional works. The title given to *Paradyse of Daynty Devises*, for example, given the biblical associations of this garden, knowingly advertises its affiliations with the type of scriptural gathering that flourished in this period.

Poetry anthologies resembled other types of books because they are related within the broader category of *compilatio* and because publishers chose to highlight these shared uses for their customers through the paratext. The malleability attributed to printed anthologies is often identified as a property carried over from scribal cultures in which poems were 'inherently malleable' and made and remade within the pages of manuscript miscellanies.³¹ We do need to be aware, however, that malleability is not 'an *inherent* quality, but . . . a *transitive* one', as Adrian Johns has said of the fixity attributed to print, one that is realised as it practised and 'acted upon by people'.³² Malleability is therefore dependent on compilation practices shared between manuscript and print, in other words, how anthologies were made and used. Publishers, and others involved in their

³¹ See, for example, Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 135.

³² Adrian Johns, *Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago University Press, 1998), 19. Wall moves between an inherent and practised concept of malleability in *Imprint of Gender*, 106–7.

production, crafted flexibility into these books by introducing apparatus, such as titles, divisions, and even tables of content, to open these books out for use, including future uses that they may not have envisioned.³³ When making anthologies, publishers and printers, like other craftspeople, had 'repertoires of forms' in their heads and to hand from their experience of making other types of books and printed textual matter, such as ballads.³⁴ Such tacit knowledge meant that it was possible to improvise, to carry over techniques, apparatus, and other elements from other books resulting in hybrid forms. The hybrid malleability of the printed anthology is therefore, in part, a function of the craft of the printing house. The poetry anthology is best understood as a book in process, a dynamic crafted structure constituted by the activity of selecting, gathering, and organising verse for the purposes of transmission.

The Craft of Anthologies

The preliminaries at the front of the book are places where publishers and other compilers reflect on the idea of the anthology and its uses. Prefaces do not, of course, tell the whole story of production nor do they act as windows on to the work of compilation and the printing house in any straightforward sense. Instead, prefaces are rhetorical and performative spaces, putting into play multi-layered fictions of agency, production, transmission, and use. Prefaces before anthologies do not always tell the same story. Nonetheless discourses and tropes recur, such as the language of common profit, which sets out an ethos of publication, or the figure of the absent author or gentleman compiler, whose absence helpfully provides the occasion for the publisher to elaborate his own part in the book's production. The visibility of publishers in prefaces and the way they conceptualise their activity and the idea of the book demonstrates how the crafting of anthologies involved the creative, as well as manual, labour of its non-authorial agents. Anthologies are a special case in this respect because they so clearly disrupt the conventional subordination of the manual work of production to the intellectual work of composing.³⁵ Put together by compilers rather than authors, poetry anthologies productively

³³ Alexandra Gillespie, 'Poets, Printers, and Early English *Sammelbände*', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 67 (2004), 210.

³⁴ Smith, 'In the Workshop', 13.

³⁵ On common profit, the hierarchy between production and composition, and 'book-making as a generative, creative act', see Kathleen Tonry, *Agency and Intention in English Print, 1476–1526* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 3–12.