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Year: 2020

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## **Reading Anne Clifford's Books in the Company of Samuel Daniel**

Bevan Zlatar, Antoinina

Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich  
ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-216196>  
Journal Article  
Published Version

Originally published at:

Bevan Zlatar, Antoinina (2020). Reading Anne Clifford's Books in the Company of Samuel Daniel. *Aufklärung. Interdisziplinäre Halbjahreschrift zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts und seiner Wirkungsgeschichte*, 32:35-65.

ANTOININA BEVAN ZLATAR

Reading Anne Clifford's Books in the Company  
of Samuel Daniel

The 12<sup>th</sup> [May 1616] [...] All this time my Lord was at London where he had infinite and great resort coming to him. He went much abroad to cocking, to bowling alleys, to plays and horse races and was commended by all the world. I stayed in the country having many times a sorrowful and heavy heart, and being condemned by most folks because I would not consent to the agreements, so I may truly say I am like an owl in the desert.<sup>1</sup>

Anne Clifford (1590–1676) is known to early modern English scholars for the extensive documentation of her life on paper, stone, and in paint. In the above diary entry, „my lord“ refers to Richard Sackville, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Dorset, whom Clifford married in 1609, while „the country“ is Knole House, Sackville's seat in Kent, where Anne and her 2-year-old daughter resided. As for the „agreements“, these pertained to the settlement of a notorious inheritance dispute over almost 90,000 acres of land, properties and titles in Westmorland and Yorkshire that Clifford deemed hers by right. According to an entail imposed by Edward II, the Clifford lands and titles were to descend in direct line to heirs both male and female, but Anne's father, George Clifford, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Cumberland, having a daughter as his sole surviving heir, willed his lands to his brother and his male issue. From 1605 onwards, Anne, initially at her mother's instigation, publicly contested her father's will, assembling key legal documents to prove that the lands were to revert to the Crown in the case of no heirs general. Refusing to relinquish her claim in return for a cash settlement, Clifford incurred the „condemnation“ of her husband, „most folks“ attached to the Court, and that of King James I himself. Only when her cou-

<sup>1</sup> Clifford's life writings in manuscript comprise a „Memoir“ of 1603, a „Diary“ of 1616, 1617 and 1619, „The Life of Me the Lady Anne Clifford“, the „Yearly Memoirs“ of 1650–1675, and a „Daybook“ of 1676. We now have an annotated edition of all these texts in one volume, *Anne Clifford's Autobiographical Writing, 1590–1676*, ed. by Jessica Malay, Manchester 2018, 34.

sin Henry Clifford died without male heirs in 1643 did the lands finally revert to Anne.<sup>2</sup>

Given the gendered inflections of this narrative it will come as no surprise that Anne Clifford has repeatedly attracted the attention of feminist critics. In her pioneering *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (1993), the late Barbara Lewalski placed Clifford alongside female patrons such as Queen Anne of Denmark, the letter-writers Princess Elizabeth and Arabella Stuart, the poet Aemilia Lanyer, the playwright Elizabeth Carey, and writer of prose fiction Mary Wroth. Lewalski identified these women as exceptional in their ability to find a voice in spite of the repressive culture of James I's court, and suggested various sources of empowerment: the scope for female patronage and networks occasioned by the death of Elizabeth I; a conviction that God was on their side, as well as the example of the rebellious heroines of literature. For Lewalski, Clifford is „a kind of female David taking on the Goliath of the patriarchal power structure [...] to preserve the interests of a female line“, sustained by a female courtly network with her „blessed“ mother as her moral and spiritual model.<sup>3</sup>

Such accounts of general female oppression with isolated, heroic cases of resistance, underpinned by radical feminism, were especially prevalent in the 1980s and early 1990s, the pioneering period when scholars began to excavate and reinstate texts by women across Europe. More recently, poststructuralist and historicist critics have questioned this narrative, furnishing micro-histories that emphasise the plurality of women's and men's experiences, and the complex, shifting, sometimes contradictory nature of identity. In *Shakespeare and Women* (2005), Phyllis Rakin argues that critics have mistaken patriarchal prescriptions for descriptions of actual practice, and overlooked the ways in which gender hierarchies

<sup>2</sup> Biographies of Clifford include George Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, Kendal 1922, and Richard T. Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford*, Stroud 1997. For the ‚Great Inheritance Dispute‘, see Spence, 40–58.

<sup>3</sup> Barbara Lewalski, *Claiming Patrimony and Constructing a Self. Anne Clifford and her ‚Diary‘*, in: id., *Writing Women in Jacobean England*, Cambridge, Mass., 1993, 124–151, here 151. Other studies of Clifford that explicitly engage with gender include Mary Ellen Lamb, *The Agency of the Split Subject. Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading*, in: *English Literary Renaissance* 22/3 (1992), 347–368; Susan Wiseman, *Knowing her Place. Anne Clifford and the Politics of Retreat*, in: Philippa Berry, Margaret Tudeau-Clayton (eds.), *Textures of Renaissance Knowledge*, Manchester 2003, 199–221; Julie Crawford, *The Case of Lady Anne Clifford. Or, Did Women have a Mixed Monarchy?*, in: *PMLA* 121/5 (2006), 1682–1689; Jessica Malay, *Crossing Generations. Female Alliances and Dynastic Power in Anne Clifford's ‚Great Books of Record‘*, in: Christina Luckyj, Niamh J. O'Leary (eds.), *The Politics of Female Alliance in Early modern England*, Nebraska 2017, 207–224, and Jessica Malay, *Anne Clifford. Appropriating the rhetoric of queens to become the lady of the North*, in: Liz Oakley-Brown, Louise J. Wilkinson (eds.), *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship. Medieval to Early Modern*, Dublin 2009, 157–170.



Fig. 1. „The Great Picture Triptych“, Abbot Hall Gallery, Kendal, UK

intersected with and were eclipsed by other hierarchies.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, archival evidence has shown that early modern English women of all classes often did have agency, and not only within the economy of their households or as widows. Stephen Orgel, Amy Louise Erickson, Margaret Ezell, and Laura Gowing have uncovered women arranging marriages, bequeathing property, serving as executrices of wills and, like Anne Clifford, engaging in litigation to further their financial interests.<sup>5</sup> As Susan Wiseman reminds us in *Conspiracy and Virtue*, in the early modern period „[g]ender was not [...], as it is for us, a crucial taxonomic term covering various aspects of social and cultural life. Women were, inevitably, understood in relation to other categories which are themselves shifting“.<sup>6</sup>

As a complement to the scholarship on Clifford that has tended to concentrate on her autobiographical writings, her resistance to male figures of authority, and her female networks, this essay will focus on the „Great Picture Triptych“ (see Fig. 1), an oil painting on canvass some 250 cm high by 500 cm long that Clifford commissioned in c. 1646, and its companion, her remarkable dynastic history *The Great Books of Record*. Comprising three elephant folios charting 600 years of her

<sup>4</sup> Phyllis Rackin, *Shakespeare and Women*, Oxford 2005 (Oxford Shakespeare Topics), 1–47.

<sup>5</sup> See Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations. The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England*, Cambridge 1996; Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, London 1993; Margaret Ezell, *The Patriarch's Wife. Literary Evidence and the History of the Family*, Chapel Hill 1987, and Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers. Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*, Oxford 1996. More recently, Helen Smith has shed light on the role of women in the book trade in *Grossly Material Things. Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford 2012).

<sup>6</sup> Susan Wiseman, *Conspiracy and Virtue. Women, Writing, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford 2006, 24.

Veteripont and Clifford ancestors, the *Books of Record* culminate in her own autobiography „The Life of Me the Lady Anne Clifford“.<sup>7</sup> Both these works proclaim Clifford’s bookishness: the triptych is noteworthy for the depiction of a library of some 50 books with legible titles; the *Great Books of Record* are themselves the product of Clifford’s reading in history and engagement with the burgeoning field of antiquarianism. I will argue that Clifford’s culture of reading and of writing is best understood in the context of a mixed circle of aristocratic bookishness with the poet and historian Samuel Daniel as a key figure. Daniel has been largely overlooked or placed in opposition to Clifford in feminist studies, but he deserves our attention.<sup>8</sup> From the late 1590s until circa 1603, he was employed by Margaret Clifford as tutor to Anne. His portrait hangs high up above the shelves on the left panel of the triptych, glossed by the following label (Fig. 2):

Samuel Daniel Tutour to this Young Ladii a man of an Vpright and excellent Spirit as appears bii his Workes was borne in the Yeere of our Lord 1563. He dyed at Ridge in the parish of Beckinton in Sommersetshire about the 9.<sup>th</sup> of October in the Yeere 1619. and Iyeth buried. in the Chancell of the Sayd Church. leauing no issue.

Indeed, the labels attributing two volumes in Clifford’s virtual library to Daniel are unique in specifying his relationship to Anne – „Tutour to the Young Ladii“. Today, Daniel is often relegated to a mere footnote in editions of Shakespeare, but he was considered a writer of note by his contemporaries. His oeuvre is distinctive for its engagement with mutability and the problems attendant on representing the past be it classical antiquity or medieval England. Influenced by the new historiography practiced on the Continent, his historical studies explore the complex, often irrecoverable, motivation of historical figures and the political, human force fields in which they operated. Moreover, he is particularly relevant to a study of early modern gender because of his empathetic treatment of women in distress including Anne’s ancestor Rosamond Clifford, the mistress of Henry II, and Octavia the abandoned wife of Mark Antony whom Daniel explicitly equates with Anne’s mother Margaret.<sup>9</sup>

The essay is split into three parts. I will begin with a tour of Clifford’s virtual library and introduce the other bibliophiles in her immediate family. In Part II, I will argue that Samuel Daniel’s exclusive conception of „worthy“ books and learning as expressed in his prefatory poem to John Florio’s English translation of Montaigne and in his major work *Musophilus* sheds new light on Clifford’s library

<sup>7</sup> Anne Clifford’s *Great Books of Record*, ed. by Jessica Malay, Manchester 2015.

<sup>8</sup> See Mihoko Suzuki, Anne Clifford and the Gendering of History, in: *Clio* 30/2 (2001), 195–229, here 202 f.

<sup>9</sup> While women in distress are not uncommon in early modern Complaint literature, few are treated as empathetically as in Daniel’s *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592) and his *A letter from Octavia* (1599).



Fig. 2. Portrait of Samuel Daniel in „The Great Picture Triptych“, Abbot Hall Gallery, Kendal, UK

and her own conceptualisation of the immortalising power of literature. In the final section, I will turn to Clifford the writer of dynastic history and her debt to Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond* in her *Great Books of Record*. More broadly, I will suggest that Clifford never forgets her „sex“, but that it is a category of identity that intersects with, and is often trumped by, that of class. This should make us wary of coopting Clifford as a feminist.

### *I. Clifford's Virtual Library in the Context of Mixed Aristocratic Bookishness*

Anne Clifford commissioned the „Great Picture Triptych“ in c. 1646, using images and words to chronicle a series of key events: her conception and the death of her brothers (central panel), her disinheritance in 1605 (left panel), and the restoration of her lands in 1643 (right panel).<sup>10</sup> The 37 heraldic shields framing the central panel are each explicated by a brief biography of her chief ancestors. Much of the wording in these biographies and in the painting's textual insets is echoed in Clifford's *Great Books of Record*, proving the extent of Clifford's involvement in the design of the painting while simultaneously signalling to the viewer that it is to be complemented by consulting the comprehensive history of her family.<sup>11</sup> The painting thus functions like a reference in a book's margin, impelling the reader or viewer to consult the source. This, I think, explains the „paradox“ of including textual insets that would have been only partially legible when the painting was hung.<sup>12</sup> But what are we to make of the books on display?<sup>13</sup> The fact that each volume has a handwritten title in a slightly larger and more legible script suggests that Clifford wants us to take note of both the contents of her library and the position of the books. Indeed, when we compare the handwritten labels with the titles of the actual printed books, we notice how idiosyncratic and provocative they are. Three overlapping thematic clusters stand out: prose roman-

<sup>10</sup> The fullest account of the iconography of the triptych is Karen Hearn, *Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych*, in: id., Lynn Hulse (eds.), *Lady Anne Clifford. Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century Britain*, in: *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper 7*, Leeds 2009, 1–24. Clifford had two versions made, one for each of her two daughters. The only extant version now hangs at Abbot Hall Art Gallery in Kendal.

<sup>11</sup> Jessica Malay suggests that Edmund Langley, the main scribe and illustrator of *Great Books of Record*, was responsible for painting the textual inscriptions and the heraldic shields. A manuscript copy of the inscriptions produced by Langley has survived: CAS Kendal, WDHOTH 1/16. See Jessica Malay, Introduction in: *Clifford's Great Books* (see note 7), 21 f.

<sup>12</sup> Hearn draws attention to this „paradox“ in „Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych“ (see note 8), 6.

<sup>13</sup> „Google Arts and Culture“ ([https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-great-picture/ugH-L4\\_ozVj1f3g](https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-great-picture/ugH-L4_ozVj1f3g)), allows us to zoom in on the Great Picture and effortlessly read all the book labels. For a transcription of these labels, see the Appendix.

ces and lyric poetry both continental and English; history and moral philosophy by classical and contemporary continental and English authors; and the Bible and devotional literature (for a table of all titles, see the Appendix).

Most of the continental books are translated into English; a few are in French. While it is true that Queen Elizabeth I and Clifford's friend, Arabella Stuart, herself in line to the English throne, knew Greek, Latin and Hebrew, 17<sup>th</sup>-century English women of the aristocracy and gentry, unlike their male counterparts, generally did not learn ancient languages. This was the case for Clifford's mother who, as we will see, knew no language but her native tongue. As for her own education, Anne tells us with her usual modesty that „she was not admitted to learne any languages because her father would not permitt ytt, butt for all other knowledge fitt for her sexe none was bredd upp to greater perfection then her selfe“. <sup>14</sup> By languages she seems to mean Latin because she was given French lessons, <sup>15</sup> and Plutarch's *Lives* and *Morals* as well as Guicciardini's *History* all appear translated into French in the triptych. As Jessica Malay has revealed, Clifford does seem to have acquired a smattering of Latin later in life in spite of her father's proscriptions, enough to get the gist of the Latin and Norman French legal documents transcribed by Roger Dodsworth, one of the antiquarians involved in the laborious process of compiling the *Great Books of Record*. <sup>16</sup>

On the shelves in the ‚younger‘ left panel, we find „Ouids Metamorphosis“, Torquato Tasso's „Godfreij of Boulogne“ (unattributed), Cervantes's „Don Quixote“ (unattributed) arranged in proximity to the complete works of Chaucer and Edmund Spenser, and Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. <sup>17</sup> Thomas Shelton's English translation of Cervantes was printed with the title *The History of the Valorous and Wittie Knight-Errant Don Quixote of the Mancha* (Part I, 1612; Part II, 1620), but Clifford labels her copy „The Feigned History of Don Quixote“. The adjective „feigned“ coupled with its location – on the floor at the foot of the youthful Anne – seems to signal a fairly lowly place in the hierarchy of reading. <sup>18</sup> On the ‚older‘ right panel of the triptych, lyrical poetry will continue to be a theme, but this time it is exclusively English. John Donne's „Poems“ and Ben Jon-

<sup>14</sup> Clifford's *Great Books* (see note 7), 728.

<sup>15</sup> See T. D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, London 1878, 388, quoted in Lewalski, *Writing Women* (see note 3), 137.

<sup>16</sup> Of Dodsworth's 85 manuscript volumes deposited at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, volumes 70, 74 and 83 contain annotations in Anne Clifford's distinctive hand instructing him which (Latin) documents were to be included in the *Great Books*. Cf. Clifford's *Great Books* (see note 7), 8 f.

<sup>17</sup> Given that a number of the books in the left panel of the triptych were published after 1605 – the year purported to be commemorated, we might usefully refer to the library as a ‚diagram‘ of Clifford's reading. I am grateful to Karen Hearn for this descriptive.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of Clifford's hierarchy of reading see Antoinina Bevan Zlatar, *Anne Clifford and her Bible*, in: *SEL* 57/1 (2017), 157–180.



son's „works“ are tumbled together in the manner of humanist libraries on the upper shelf, while Herbert's „Poems“ stand close by. Clifford uses „Mr“ versus „Dr“ to distinguish between Donne's poems and his sermons, while the adjective „diuine“ marks out the sacred poetry of Herbert. Of course Clifford knew many of these authors in person. She had performed in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Beauty* in 1608, and played Berenice of Egypt a year later in his *Masque of Queens*, both written for Queen Anne. George Herbert was related to the family of Clifford's second husband, Philip Herbert, and was possibly chaplain at Wilton House where Clifford lived in the early 1630s. Extant letters suggest that Clifford and Herbert became friends.<sup>19</sup> As for Donne, Clifford records that he preached one Sunday at Sevenoaks in 1617 and afterwards dined in the great chamber at Knole House.<sup>20</sup> He is reported to have said that „she knew well how to discourse of all things, from Predestination, to Sleasilk“.<sup>21</sup>

Works of history and stoic moral philosophy form another cluster of interest. On the left panel lying beneath Epictetus and Boethius and in close proximity to his portrait, we see „All the works in Verse of Sa: Daniel Tutuor to this Young Ladij“ (see Fig. 3).<sup>22</sup>

Judging by the size of the volume in the painting, Clifford would seem to be denoting the quarto edition of 1599, yet her label is closer to the printed title of the folio of 1601. All the verse collected in the quarto and the folio engages with the theme of history, but Daniel's most explicit engagement with English history is the *Civil Wars*, a narrative that begins with the deposition of Richard II and was to conclude with the accession of Henry VII and the beginnings of the Tudor dynasty, but which broke off in the reign of Edward IV. On the lower shelf, this time above „L.<sup>d</sup> Michael de Montaigne his Essaijes“, lies „The Chronicle of England in prose bii Sa: Daniel“. This was the prose history that occupied Daniel

<sup>19</sup> See Michelle M. Dowd, „Order plays the soul“. Anne Clifford, „The Temple“, and the Spiritual Logic of Housework, in: Christopher Hodgkins (ed.), *George Herbert's Travels. International Print and Cultural Legacies*, Newark 2011, 59–77, here 68.

<sup>20</sup> See Anne Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 65. Donne was Rector of St Nicholas, Sevenoaks, from 1616–1631.

<sup>21</sup> Edward Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the right Honorable Anne Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery*, London 1677, 38.

<sup>22</sup> A quarto edition of Daniel's collected verse was printed in 1599 as *The Poetical Essays*; in 1601 a well-printed folio entitled *The Works of Samuel Daniel* appeared in two issues, the larger deluxe version was to give away as gifts. The quarto included *Musophilus, A letter from Octavia* dedicated to Clifford's mother, a revised version of the *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592), a revised version of his Senecan tragedy *Cleopatra* (1594), and five books of his epic poem the *Civil Wars*. The folio contained revised versions of all of the above plus six books of the *Civil Wars* and a substantially rewritten *Delia* his sonnet sequence. Daniel was a compulsive re-writer, which may account for the fact that there is still no modern edition of his complete works. See John Pitcher, *Samuel Daniel*, in: ODNB, 73 f.



Fig. 3. Detail of book-labels in left panel of „The Great Picture Triptych“, Abbot Hall Gallery, Kendal, UK

throughout the last decade of his life, a narrative that began just before the Norman Conquest and progressed to the reign of Edward III. Clifford labels it a „chronicle“ but it was actually published as *The Collection of the History of England*, first in 1612 and in its final form in 1618. Clifford's interest in history continues in the right panel with „Plutarches Liues“ on the lower shelf next to „Gurcherdinies History“ both in French, and „Aminianus Mercilianus of the Romish History“ on the upper shelf. By including Francesco Guicciardini, a friend of Machiavelli, in her virtual library, Clifford would seem to be signalling her interest in the new historiography practised on the Continent, an approach to history that she would have learnt from Samuel Daniel and which she would herself practice in her *Great Books of Record*.<sup>23</sup>

If Clifford's labels subtly convey a hierarchy of reading with Cervantes's „feigned History“ implicitly relegated below „truer“ histories penned by Daniel or Guicciardini, the iconography of the painting encourages us to take note of the devotional literature and, in particular, of the Bible. In the left panel on the upper shelf four handsomely bound folios stand out: „The Holij Bijble the old

<sup>23</sup> See Alzada Tipton, Caught between ‚Virtue‘ and ‚Memorie‘. Providential and Political Historiography in Samuel Daniel's the ‚Civil Wars‘, in: *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 61 (1998), 325–341, here 330.

and new Testament“, „S.<sup>t</sup> Avgustine of the Citij of God“, „Eusebius his Historij of the Church“, and „All the Workes of D.<sup>r</sup> Ioseph Hall“ (see Fig. 3 above). In the right panel, on the top shelf above the older Clifford, we find „M<sup>r</sup>: Georg Sands his Translation of the Psalmes, & other partes of the Bible into verse“, „M<sup>r</sup>: King Bishop of London his Sermons“ and „All D<sup>r</sup> Iohn Dunn Deane of Pauls his Sermons“, as well as „M<sup>W</sup> Astins Books of Meditations and Devotions“. Again many of these authors were associated with Anne personally or with the court of Queen Anne, which Clifford attended.<sup>24</sup> But it is the placement of the Bible that catches the eye: at the very centre of the central panel, Countess Margaret holds a book of Psalms over the unborn baby Anne; on the right panel under the older Clifford’s right hand we see „Charon’s Book of Wisdom translated out of French into English“, and, beneath that, „The Holy Bible The old and new Testament“. As I have argued elsewhere, the prominence given to the Bible serves to reinforce the narrative in the textual insets – a proclamation that the restitution of Clifford’s lands and titles is all in accordance with God’s providential plan.<sup>25</sup> The implication is that the Bible, God’s history of his dealings with mankind, is her Truth.

Scholars have expressed surprise that an early modern woman should display so many books spanning such a broad generic range.<sup>26</sup> But, if we read this virtual library in the context of her *Great Books of Record*, we see Clifford’s insistence that her bibliophilia is not exceptional in a family where both sexes delighted in reading and book learning. She tells us that her paternal grandfather, Henry Clifford, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Cumberland (1517–1570), was „very studious in all manner of learning soe as he had an excellent library both of written hand books and printed books, to which hee was excedeingly adicted“.<sup>27</sup> His „excellent library“ must have been at Brougham castle in Cumbria where he retired from court after the death of his first wife and later died.<sup>28</sup> Clifford’s father, George (1558–1605), was born at Brougham, and, after his father’s death, became ward and later son-in-law of the bibliophile Francis Russell. He was sent to Cambridge in

<sup>24</sup> For Clifford’s connections with Queen Anne’s court, see Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 46–48, 69, and 72, and Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (see note 2), 17, 21, 61–63. George Sandys was George Clifford’s godson. Bishop John King was a preacher held in high regard by the queen, and someone Clifford turned to in her distress with Sackville in 1617. William Austin was a friend of Ben Jonson. Hall was chaplain to Prince Henry who was himself a friend of Clifford’s first husband, Richard Sackville.

<sup>25</sup> See Bevan Zlatar, *Clifford and her Bible* (see note 17).

<sup>26</sup> Graham Parry, *The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford*, in: David Howard (ed.), *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts*, Cambridge 1993, 202–219, observes that „[t]here is an imaginative range of works on display [in the left panel], far wider than a young man at Oxford or Cambridge was likely to have been exposed to“, 209 f.

<sup>27</sup> Clifford’s *Great Books* (see note 7), 623.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 709.

1571 to be tutored by John Whitgift, graduating with an MA in 1576 aged only 18.<sup>29</sup> Clifford tells us:

[H]e had a generall knowledge and insight into all the Artes and especially into the Mathemetiques, wherein hee tooke greate delight and was soe exquisitly versed in the same that it was thought to bee one principall cause of his applyinge himselfe afterwards to sea voyages and navigations.<sup>30</sup>

George was a pre-eminent courtier, appointed the queen's official tournament champion in 1590, and admitted to the Order of the Garter in 1592, offices commemorated in the triptych where he is depicted wearing part of his spangled tournament armour and the distinctive blue sash. He was a dedicatee of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* and seems to have written poetry himself – Stephen W. May suggests that George is to be numbered among some 30 'courtier poets'.<sup>31</sup>

Anne's mother, Margaret Russell Clifford (1560–1616), was born into a very bookish household.<sup>32</sup> A record of her father Francis Russell's library at Chenies in Buckinghamshire dated 1584 suggests that he owned over 600 books and manuscripts. The Russells were also close to the queen – Francis was a member of the Privy Council and Margaret's eldest sister, Anne, whose portrait hangs in the central panel in the triptych, was one of Elizabeth's longest serving Ladies of the Bed Chamber.<sup>33</sup> Margaret was herself part of the queen's extended female entourage, something that Clifford advertises repeatedly in her „Memoir“ of 1603 and in the *Great Books*.<sup>34</sup> She was a keen reader and a patron of poets, translators, and preachers, the dedicatee of works by Spenser (including *Fowre Hymns* and *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*), Fulke Greville, Samuel Daniel, Robert Greene, Thomas Lodge, Aemilia Lanyer, Richard Greenham and William Perkins to name but

<sup>29</sup> For the summary of the legal documents and the course of George Clifford's life, see Clifford's *Great Books* (see note 7), 706–713. See also Richard T. Spence, *The Privateering Earl. George Clifford, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Cumberland*, Stroud 1995; Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (see note 2), 1–6, and *passim*, and Peter Holmes, Clifford, George, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Cumberland (1558–1605), in: ODNB.

<sup>30</sup> Clifford's *Great Books* (see note 7), 710.

<sup>31</sup> Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (see note 2), 189; Stephen W. May, *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets. The Poems and their Contexts*, Columbia 1991, here 247–249; Edmund Spenser, 'Dedicatory Sonnets', DS5, in: *The Faerie Queene*, ed. by A. C. Hamilton, Longman 2007, 729.

<sup>32</sup> See Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (see note 2), 7–12, 23–39, 192, and Richard T. Spence, Clifford, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland (1560–1616), in: ODNB.

<sup>33</sup> See Wallace MacCaffrey, Russell, Francis, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Bedford, ODNB, and M. St. Clare Byrne and Gladys Scott Thomson, 'My Lord's Books'. *The Library of Francis, Second Earl of Bedford*, in 1584, in: *Review of English Studies* 7/28 (1931), 385–405. See also Simon Adams, Dudley, Anne, Countess of Warwick, ODNB.

<sup>34</sup> Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 17. In her *Great Books of Record*, Clifford tells us three times that the queen had attended her parents' marriage, (see note 7), 707, 710, and 720. See also Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (see note 2), 189.

the most famous.<sup>35</sup> In the Knole „Diary“, Clifford repeatedly pays tribute to her mother as a book owner,<sup>36</sup> while the iconography of the triptych invites us to see the four books in the central panel as hers: ‚A Written hand Booke of Alkimme Extractions, of distillations, And Excellent Medicines‘; ‚All Senakes Workes translated out of Latine into English‘, ‚The Holy Bible the old and new Testament‘, and, in her hand, a book of Psalms.<sup>37</sup> In fact these four books are neatly glossed by what Anne says of her mother in the *Great Books of Record*:

Shee had a great sharpe naturall witt, soe as there was few worthie knolledge butt shee had some insight into them, for though she had no language but her owne, yet was there few bookes of worth translated into England but shee read them [...]. Shee was a lover of the studdie and practice of alchimy by which shee found out excellent medicine [...]. And certainly this noble Countes had in her the infusion from above of many excellent knowledges and vertues [...]. And a little before her death [...] she wold often say to comfort her heart, the Earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is. Psalm 24.<sup>38</sup>

Clifford's love of books was something she shared with both her parents and her grandfathers, but we should not forget that her first husband, Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, was also bookish. He studied at Oxford with the encouragement of his scholarly grandfather, Thomas Sackville, Lord Treasurer Buckhurst. In ‚The Description of Cooke-ham“, Aemilia Lanyer singles out a tree „Where many a learnèd book was read and scanned“ by Dorset and Anne at some point before their marriage in 1609.<sup>39</sup> Amidst all the diary entries documenting Sackville's failings as a husband, Clifford does refer to him reading while she sews at Brougham in 1616, and to his wanting to study the Bible with Mr Ran at Knole in 1617.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Lewalski, *Writing Women* (see note 3), 138. For Margaret Clifford and Greville, see Yvonne Bruce, ‚That which Marreth All‘. Constancy and Gender in ‚The Virtuous Octavia‘, in: *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 22 (2009), 42–59, and Julie Crawford, *Mediatrix. Women, Politics and Literary Production in Early Modern England*, Oxford 2014, 40–47. For Margaret and Spenser, see Andrew Hadfield, *Spenser. A Life*, Oxford 2012, 351–357.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 61, 74, 78, 79. See also Appendix II in Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (see note 2), 257–260.

<sup>37</sup> This volume is actually without a label in the extant version of the triptych, but in George Perfect Harding's watercolour copy of the now lost Skipton version of the painting (c.1836–39), the book in Margaret's hand is inscribed as a book of Psalms. See Hearn, *Clifford's Great Triptych* (see note 9), 23. For the importance of the Psalms to Clifford's autobiographical narrative, see Bevan Zlatar, *Clifford and her Bible* (see note 17).

<sup>38</sup> Clifford, *Great Books* (see note 7), 720 f.

<sup>39</sup> Aemilia Lanyer, *The Description of Cookham*, in: John P. Rumrich, Gregory Chaplin (eds.), *Seventeenth-Century British Poetry 1603–1660*, New York 2006 (A Norton Critical Edition), 14–19, here 16. Cookham belonged to the Crown but was leased to Margaret's brother, William Russell. Clifford records visiting Cookham in the ‚Memoir“ of 1603 in Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 24.

<sup>40</sup> Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 42, 48, 56. See also Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (see note 2), 60.

In emphasising the aristocratic, courtly pedigree of Clifford's bibliophilia I am not undermining the uniqueness of her virtual library, unlike Richard Spence, Clifford's most recent biographer, who has argued that Anne's objective in displaying these tomes in the triptych was „to illustrate further the memorial of her family. They were [...] her parents' books as much as her own [...] they are a metaphor for the course of her family's as well as her own affairs between 1589 and 1649“.<sup>41</sup> Spence points out that George and Margaret knew Sidney, Spenser, Fulke Greville, and William Camden at Court, and would have owned and read their works. In addition, he surmises that Margaret would have read and owned all the Elizabethan books of devotion and stoic moral philosophy. He concludes that „over half“ of the books displayed in the triptych were inherited.<sup>42</sup> This remains pure speculation, however. I propose, *pace* Spence, that Clifford is inviting us to see all but the four books clearly associated with Margaret as her own personal library.

That Clifford was the owner of such a large library should not surprise us. While the prescriptive literature of the time tried to police what and how early modern women read, and while early modern women have left fewer traces of their reading practices and book ownership than their male counterparts, evidence of women as readers and book owners in this period is continuing to grow. Heidi Brayman Hackel's *Reading Material in Early modern England* (2005), an important cultural history of reading that focuses not on poets or scholars but on „less extraordinary“ early modern readers of both sexes, places Clifford alongside her first cousin once removed – Frances Stanley Egerton, Countess of Bridgewater (1585–1636).<sup>43</sup> Egerton's „A Catalogue of my Ladies Bookes at London“ (1627–1633) has survived. It comprises 241 volumes, with the printed works recorded according to format, and the manuscripts and books in French listed separately. Comparison of Egerton's catalogue, usefully transcribed in an appendix by Brayman Hackel, reveals a great deal of overlap with Clifford's books as well as some significant differences (see the Appendix).<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford* (see note 2), 189.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>43</sup> Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England. Print Gender, and Literacy*, Cambridge 2005, here 222–255. For the problems attendant on writing a history of women readers enjoined to silence in the margins, see *ibid.*, 196–221.

<sup>44</sup> Other studies of individual early modern women's book collections include Paul Morgan, Frances Wolfreston and ‚Hor Bouks‘. A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector, in: *The Library*, 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 11 (1989), 197–219; David McKitterick, Women and their Books in Seventeenth-Century England. The Case of Elizabeth Puckering, in: *The Library*, 7<sup>th</sup> ser., 1/4 (2000), 359–380; Arnold Hunt, The Books, Manuscripts and Literary Patronage of Mrs Anne Sadleir (1585–1670), in: Victoria E. Burke, Jonathan Gibson (eds.), *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing. Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, Aldershot 2004, 205–236, and Caroline Bowden, The Library of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley, in: *The Library* 6 (2005), 3–29. For a useful recent

But did Clifford actually read the books she displays in the painting? Evidence external to the painting strongly suggests that she did.<sup>45</sup> The Diary she had written up when Countess of Dorset functions among other things as a record of what and where she was reading on a certain date, who was reading to her, and how long it took to finish a particular book.<sup>46</sup> Aural reading was common among aristocratic women and allowed Anne to work at her embroidery as she listened.<sup>47</sup> What is striking about this reading diary is the sheer number and generic range of the books that Clifford is consuming in parallel, a feature no less evident in the arrangement of the books in the triptych.<sup>48</sup> Some of the books she hears read reappear in the triptych (see the Appendix), but others such as „The History of the Netherlands“ (unattributed), George Sandys’ book on the „government of the Turks“, „Leicester’s Commonwealth“, „Parson’s [...] and Bunney’s resolution“ and Josephus’s „Antiquities of the Jews“ are absent.<sup>49</sup> Was the religious colouring of these books deemed too polemical to allow their inclusion in a library of „worthy“ books, a restrictive term dear to Samuel Daniel’s heart and analysed below? As we shall see, Daniel would not have approved of *Leicester’s Commonwealth* – a scurrilous pro-Catholic pamphlet. We should also note that in her Diaries Clifford spells out which volumes were inherited and which were gifts, implying that all the others belong to her.<sup>50</sup> And then we have the material evidence: the copies of her books that have come to light in libraries and at auction identified as hers by her marginal annotations, notably Barkley’s *Argenis*, *The Mirror for Magistrates*, and most recently Sidney’s *Arcadia*. Minute study of these volumes by Heidi Brayman Hackel, Stephen Orgel, and Paul Salzman has revealed that Clifford is the ‚author‘ of the marginal comments, which she either dictated to her lectors

collection of essays elucidating the ways in which digital tools are allowing us to excavate ever more women readers and collectors in the archive, see Leah Knight, Micheline White, Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Women’s Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain*. Reading, Ownership, Circulation, Ann Arbor 2018.

<sup>45</sup> For a reading that focuses at times excessively on the problems attendant on using the Great Picture as evidence of Clifford’s reading, see Leah Knight, *Reading Proof. Or, Problems and Possibilities in the Text Life of Anne Clifford* in: Knight, White, Sauer, *Women’s Bookscapes* (see note 44), 253–273.

<sup>46</sup> Clifford, *Autobiographical Writings* (see note 1), 43, 44, 48, 50, 60, 66, 76–79, 88, 93, 94.

<sup>47</sup> Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material* (see note 43), 206. For stichwork produced in England in this period, see Andrew Morrall, Melinda Watt (eds.), *English Embroidery from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580–1700*. ‚Twixt Art and Nature‘, New Haven 2008.

<sup>48</sup> See Bevan Zlatar, *Clifford and her Bible* (see note 17), 161 f.

<sup>49</sup> Clifford, *Autobiographical Writings* (see note 1), 43, 48, 88, 93, 94.

<sup>50</sup> In March 1619 Clifford records that she has finished „my Lady’s book in the *Praise of a Solitary Life*“ and „the Bible [...] which was my Lady my mother’s [...] Mr Sorocold’s book of the Supplication of Saints which my Lord gave me“. Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 78, 79, emphasis in original.

or wrote down in her own hand, that she continued to keep a reading diary into her 80s, that she re-read books, and, more importantly, that her marginal plot summaries, cross-references, underlining, and comments show her engaging closely with the style, narrative, and philosophical aspects of the text she was listening to or reading for herself.<sup>51</sup>

Sidney's *Arcadia* was clearly enjoyed. We hear its cadences in an often-quoted passage from the „Life of me“: „the marble pillars of Knole in Kent and Wilton in Wiltshire were to me oftentimes but the gay harbours of anguish“, a silent adaptation of Dorus's „Come from marble bowers, many times the gay harbour of anguish“. <sup>52</sup> Clifford listened to Moll Neville reading the *Arcadia* aloud in 1617, and, according to the copy identified as Anne's at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, she heard it read again in 1651.<sup>53</sup> Penshurst House, the seat of the Sidney family, was a short distance from Knole House, and the Sackvilles and the Sidneys socialised.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, Anne records seeing the poet Mary Sidney Herbert, Philip's sister, for the last time in London in 1619; Mary was the mother of Anne's second husband to be, Philip Herbert.<sup>55</sup> Evidence suggests that Clifford was fond of Chaucer and Spenser too. Not only does she record reading Chaucer in Sackville's closet at Knole in 1617 during a rare marital rapprochement, but in 1649 in a letter to the Dowager Countess of Kent she writes:

[I]ff I had nott exelent Chacors Booke heere to Comfortt mee; I wer in a pittifull Casse hauing So maney trubles as I haue heere butt when I rede in thatt I scorne and make litte of them alle, and a Little partt of his [Deuine?] sperett infusses itt selfe in mee.<sup>56</sup>

As is often noted, Clifford's phrasing echoes Book IV of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, when the poet begs Chaucer's forgiveness for daring to continue *The Squire's Tale*, explaining „Ne dare I like, but through infusion sweete / Of

<sup>51</sup> Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material* (see note 43), 234–240; Stephen Orgel, *Marginal Maternity. Reading Lady Anne Clifford's 'A Mirror for Magistrates'* in: Douglas A. Brooks (ed.), *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, Aldershot 2005, 267–289, and Paul Salzman, *Anne Clifford's Annotated Copy of Sidney's 'Arcadia'*, in: *Notes and Queries*, December 2009, 554 f.

<sup>52</sup> Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 102. Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. by Jean Robertson, Oxford 1973, 85.

<sup>53</sup> Bodleian, J-J Sidney 13.

<sup>54</sup> See also Edward Town, 'To Penshurst' and to Knole – networks of patronage between two Jacobean country houses, in: Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield, Margaret Healy (eds.), *The intellectual culture of the English country house, 1500–1700*, Manchester 2015, 64–77.

<sup>55</sup> Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 85, note 487.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 60. British Library Harleian 7001, fol. 212<sup>r</sup>, quoted in Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material* (see note 43), 233. Leah Knight alerts us to the problems attendant on using this passage as evidence for *how* Clifford read Chaucer, given that the adjective preceding „sperett“ is illegible in the manuscript. See Knight, *Reading Proof* (see note 45), 257–259.



thine own spirit, which doth in me survive“.<sup>57</sup> Clifford tells us that Moll Neville read *The Faerie Queene* to her in January 1617,<sup>58</sup> but it is her marble tribute to Spenser that suggests a particular reverence for his poetry, and picks up on the idea of books being vessels of an author’s spirit ready to be transmitted to the reader. In the 1620s or 1630s Clifford engaged Nicholas Stone the Elder to execute the monument which survives today in Westminster Abbey in what is now known as Poet’s Corner. It is in the fashionable style of Roman architectural memorials with a plain marble panel set between pilasters and topped with a triangular pediment without an effigy. The festoons flanking the inscription are of bay and laurel, the leaves appropriate for a poet’s garland since antiquity.<sup>59</sup> The inscription reads:

HEARE LYES (EXPECTING THE SECOND COMMINGE OF OVR SAVIOVR  
CHRIST IESVS) THE BODY OF EDMOND SPENCER THE PRINCE OF POETS  
IN HIS TIME WHOSE DIVINE SPIRRIT NEEDS NOE OTHER WITNESSE  
THEN THE WORKS WHICH HE LEFT BEHINDE HIM.

Clifford’s bibliophilia is writ large in the visual and textual remnants of her life –preeminently in the Great Picture with its extensive library of labelled books, but also in the records of reading that punctuate her autobiographical writings. In her epitaph for Spenser, she subscribes to an understanding of books as receptacles of a poet’s spirit, a medium implicitly, superior to stone monuments. As we shall see, this notion of books is indebted to her tutor Samuel Daniel, a figure who, I will argue, exerted a marked influence on her European library of „worthy“ volumes as well as on her historiography.

## *II. Bringing Daniel Back into the Picture*

Samuel Daniel studied at Magdalene Hall, Oxford, in the early 1580s and it was there that he befriended John Florio. Biographers concur that it was Florio, the son of an Italian and author of two Italian-English dictionaries but best known for his English translation of Montaigne, who oriented Daniel towards the contemporary literatures of Italy and France. Daniel’s knowledge of Italian is testified by his first published work, a translation of Paolo Giovio’s *Dialogo dell’Imprese* (1585),

<sup>57</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* (see note 31), IV.34.6 f.

<sup>58</sup> Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (see note 1), 50.

<sup>59</sup> Nicolas Stone states in his Notebook that „I also mad a monement for Mr Spencer the pouett and set it up at Westminster for which the Contes of Dorsett payed me 40£“. For an account of the complicated history of this monument and Clifford’s involvement, see Adam White, *Love, Loyalty and Friendship; Education, Dynasty and Service. Lady Anne Clifford’s Church Monuments*, in: Hearn, Hulse (eds.), *Culture, Patronage and Gender* (see note 9), 48–54.

commissioned by the Italophile Sir Edward Dymoke whom Daniel served for five years or more and accompanied to Italy in 1590. His debt to Petrarch is evident in his sonnet sequence *Delia* but also in *The Prayse of Private Life*, his paraphrase of Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria*, a work he presented to Margaret Clifford and which Clifford records reading in March 1619.<sup>60</sup> Daniel also knew French and lived at the English embassy in Paris for nine months in 1586. His knowledge of the poetry of Du Bellay and Desportes is evident in *Delia*, while French neo-Senecan drama inspired his closet drama *The Tragedy of Cleopatra* (1593), as well as his *Tragedy of Philotas* (performed 1605, published 1607). Montaigne's essays are clearly heard in the dialogic mode and tonal shifts of *Musophilus* while his *Civil Wars* and *The Collection of the History of England* looked to the new historiography practiced by Jean Bodin and Francesco Guicciardini.<sup>61</sup>

Joan Rees wonders whether Daniel's association with the Cliffords might date from the early 1590s in that his *Complaint of Rosamond* (1592) had given voice to a Clifford ancestor.<sup>62</sup> A connection had certainly been made by the late 1590s when he dedicated *A letter from Octavia* (1599) to Margaret Clifford, thanking her for her patronage in the prefatory sonnet. Octavia's complaint to Mark Antony then in Egypt with Cleopatra, with its fervent plea that „If you will have us [women] good, be you [men] then good“ (stanza 21), has been interpreted as an allegory of Margaret's marital difficulties with George Clifford.<sup>63</sup> It was around this time that Margaret employed Daniel to tutor Anne, a role he performed until 1603, by which time Anne was 13. Two of Daniel's finest verse epistles are addressed to the Clifford women: „To The Lady Margaret Countess of Cumberland“, and „To The Lady Anne Clifford“. <sup>64</sup> They draw heavily on Seneca's letters and contemporary neo-Stoicism, a philosophical stance that is advertised in the Great Picture in Margaret's copy of Seneca but also in Anne's „Epictetus his Manual“ and „Boetius his Philosophicall comfort“ which have been carefully placed on top of „All the works in Verse of Sa: Daniel“ (see fig. 3 above).

<sup>60</sup> „This day I made an end of my Lady's book in the *Praise of a Solitary Life*“, Clifford, *Autobiographical Writing* (cf. note 1), 78. See John Pitcher, *Margaret, Countess of Cumberland's 'The Prayse of Private Life'*, Presented by Samuel Daniel, in: S. P. Cerasano, Steven W. May (eds.), *In Prayse of Writing. Early Modern Manuscript Studies. Essays in Honour of Peter Beal*, London 2016, 114–144.

<sup>61</sup> My account of Daniel's life and work is drawn from Joan Rees, *Samuel Daniel. A Critical and Biographical Study*, Liverpool 1964; Pierre Spriet, *Samuel Daniel (1563–1619). Sa Vie et Son Œuvre*, Paris 1968, and Pitcher, *Samuel Daniel* (see note 21).

<sup>62</sup> See Rees, *Samuel Daniel* (cf. note 61), 76, note 20.

<sup>63</sup> See Samuel Daniel, *A Letter from Octovia to Marcus Antonius*, in: *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, ed. by A.B. Grosart, vol. 1, London 1885, 117–138, here 128.

<sup>64</sup> Samuel Daniel, *Poems and A Defence of Rhyme*, ed. by Arthur Colby Sprague, London 1950, 111–115, 119–121.



Fig. 4. Detail of book-labels in left panel of „The Great Picture Triptych“, Abbot Hall Gallery, Kendal, UK

Samuel Daniel and Anne Clifford seem to have remained in close contact until his death in 1619, no doubt partly because of their shared involvement with the court of Queen Anne.<sup>65</sup> From 1604 Daniel devised court masques and dramas for the queen, and in 1607 was made a groom of the queen's Privy Chamber. In celebration of the creation of Prince Henry as Prince of Wales in 1610, Daniel wrote *Tethys' Festival* and provocatively cast Clifford as the Nymph of the river Aire, the river which flows past Skipton Castle, one of the Clifford's principal seats but then occupied by her uncle Francis. In 1616, in the midst of the marital tensions unleashed by Anne's refusal to sign away her lands and titles, Daniel acted as spokesperson for a circle of friends, almost certainly including the queen, advising Margaret and Anne stoically to „endure the Storms that may come from an angry husband with Patience & sufferance“.<sup>66</sup> In the 1650s, decades after Daniel's death, Clifford would erect a funeral monument to him in St George's Church in Beckington, Somerset, a gesture which suggests that he was still very much alive in her memory at the time she commissioned the Great Picture and was working on her dynastic history. Like her tribute to Spenser, Daniel's monument is in classical style with an inscription panel set between pillars and topped by an open pediment. But it is more personal – a bust of Daniel is shown clad in a toga with a laureate's wreath in the manner of the great authors of classical antiquity, the visual counterpart of the inscription praising him as an „Excellent Poet & Historian“.<sup>67</sup>

In the Great Picture, Daniel's „Chronicle of England in prose“ fittingly lies on top of „L<sup>d</sup> Michael de Montaigne his Essayes“ (see Fig. 4). This was John Flo-

<sup>65</sup> See Rees, Samuel Daniel (see note 61), 90–121, 147–167. See also Spence, Lady Anne Clifford (see note 2), 17, 20 f., 62.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted in Spence, Lady Anne Clifford (see note 2), 65. See also John Pitcher, Samuel Daniel. The Brotherton Manuscript, Leeds 1981 (Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series 7).

<sup>67</sup> See Spence, Lady Anne Clifford (see note 2), 151, 154, and White, Love, Loyalty and Friendship (see note 59), 56–58.

rio's translation of 1603, commissioned by Clifford's cousin by marriage, Lucy Harington Russell, for which Daniel had written a prefatory poem „T'applaud his [Montaigne's] happy setling in our land“.<sup>68</sup> For Daniel, Montaigne is a „Prince“ and Florio has „Plac'd him in the best lodging of our speech, / And made him now as free, as if borne here“.<sup>69</sup> This act of translation – transportation and accommodation – has freed Montaigne's spirit from all political and geographical constraints, allowing him to

[...] dwell with all the better world of men  
Whose spirits all are of one communitie,  
Whom neither Ocean, Desarts, Rockes nor Sands  
Can keepe from th'intertraffique of the minde,  
But that it vents her treasure in all lands,  
And doth a most secure commercement finde.<sup>70</sup>

Montaigne, through Florio, has become a denizen of a better world of men, a community of spirits engaged in boundless intellectual exchange. In extolling Florio's Englishing of Montaigne, Daniel is promoting translation and translators more generally, implicitly answering those critics who had charged translators with being „crows in borrowed feathers“ or double-tongued, or, as Ralph Lever in *The Arte of Reason* (1573) had famously bemoaned, for introducing „inkhorn terms derived of strange and foreign languages“ and „making a mingle mangle of their native speache“.<sup>71</sup> Daniel does not explicitly advocate translation as a way of enriching the English tongue, the usual riposte to the fear of foreign corruption, but promotes the idea of a „world“ of „secure commercement“ or safe cultural trade. Daniel concludes that without a copy of Florio's Montaigne „The richest librarie can be but poore“.<sup>72</sup>

It does not seem far-fetched to say that Clifford's virtual library is a model of Daniel's „better world of men / Whose spirits all are of one communitie“, one that, unimpeded by geographical distance, allows for the „intertraffique of the minde“. After all, her library juxtaposes contemporary continental masterpieces in translation (works by Tasso, Cervantes, Castiglione) with the best of contemporary English poetry and prose (works by Chaucer, Spenser, Sidney, and Daniel) in

<sup>68</sup> Samuel Daniel, To my deare brother and friend M. Iohn Florio, in: Michel de Montaigne, *The Essayes*, STC 18034, A3<sup>v</sup>. For Florio, Daniel, Lucy Harington Russell, and Clifford as readers of Montaigne, see William M. Hamlin, *Montaigne's English Journey*, Oxford 2013, 5–36.

<sup>69</sup> Daniel, To my deare brother (see note 68), A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> See Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, ‚Mine own and not mine own‘. The Gift of Lost Property in Translation and Theatre, in: Gabriela Schmidt (ed.), *Elizabethan Translation and Literary Culture*. Berlin and New York 2013, 81–110; Ralph Lever, *The Arte of Reason*, 1573, fol. \*6<sup>v</sup>, quoted *ibid.*, 93.

<sup>72</sup> Daniel, To my deare brother (see note 68), A4<sup>r</sup>.

the left-hand panel, and, on the right, sets continental history (Guicciardini) and stoic philosophy (Charron) in French or in translation alongside seventeenth-century English poetry (Donne and Herbert) and prose (sermons by Donne and King). It is a European library and, it has to be said, exclusively male. We find no Mary Sidney Herbert, no Aemilia Lanyer, and no Mary Wroth. The absence of Lanyer is particularly surprising given the prominence played by Anne and her mother in „The Description of Cookham“ and the „Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum“ (1611).<sup>73</sup>

For a more extended discussion of Daniel's conceptualisation of the immortalising power of books and the community of the learned, we need to turn to his *Musophilus*. *Containing a general defence of all learning*, a dialogue in verse addressed to Fulke Greville and published in 1599 during the period when Daniel was tutor to Anne, and included in the quarto or folio denoted by „All the works in Verse of Sa: Daniel Tutuor to this Young Ladij“ (Fig. 3).<sup>74</sup> Provoked by the pragmatism of Philocosmos, the lover of the world, who thinks poetry obsolete in „This wiser profit-seeking age“ (l. 13), and praise but „idle smoake“ (l. 9), Musophilus, the lover of the Muses, presents his poetic credo. Poetry is a „sacred art“ (l. 16) and its practitioners have a better chance of being remembered than a „faire house“ (l. 117) or „proude aspiring pallaces“ (l. 123) or exalted lineage, all being subject to the passage of time and forgetfulness. His exemplum is Chaucer, Clifford's beloved author:

For what hy races hath there come to fall,  
 With low disgrace, quite vanished and past,  
 Since *Chaucer* liu'd who yet liues and yet shall,  
 Though (which I grieue to say) but in his last.  
 Yet what a time hath he wrested from time,  
 And won vpon the mighty waste of daies,  
 Vnto th'immortall honor of our clime,  
 That by his meanes came first adorn'd with Baies,  
 Vnto the sacred Relicks of whose rime  
 We yet are bound in zeale to offer praise?  
 (ll. 149–158)

Chaucer has „a time [...] wrested from time“ to the „immortall honour“ of England, who, through him was first rewarded with a poet's laurel wreath, and continues to adore the „sacred Relicks“ of his rhyme. Chaucer, rendered incorruptible

<sup>73</sup> For Lanyer's „The Description of Cookham“ and „Salve Deus“ and its invocation of Margaret Clifford as a means to gain the patronage of Anne Clifford and Richard Sackville, cf. Jessica Malay, Positioning Patronage. Lanyer's ‚Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum‘ and the Countess of Cumberland in Time and Place, in: *The Seventeenth Century* 28/3 (2013), 251–274. See also Barbara Lewalski, Re-Writing Patriarchy and Patronage. Margaret Clifford, Anne Clifford, and Aemilia Lanyer, in: *Studies in English Literature* 21 (1991), 87–106, and Erin McCarthy, Speculation and Multiple Dedications in ‚Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum‘, in: *Studies in English Literature* 55/1 (2015), 45–72.

<sup>74</sup> Daniel, *Poems* (see note 64), 67–97.

through his poetry, has effectively become a latter-day saint. Daniel had explored the idea of the immortalising power of poetry, one indebted to Horace and Ovid as well as the French Pléiade poets, in his sonnet sequence *Delia* and in *The Complaint of Rosamond*.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, he was the first English sonneteer to offer immortality to the beloved through poetry, a theme which Shakespeare would borrow to brilliant effect in his sonnets.<sup>76</sup> While conceding that compared to Chaucer, born in the spring, poets are now in an autumnal age, Musophilus is quietly optimistic that those of „stronger constitutions“ (l. 171) will „out-liue this fall“ (l. 173) and be praised:

When as perhaps the words thou scornest now  
 May liue, the speaking picture of the mind,  
 The extract of the soule that laboured how  
 To leaue the image of herself behind,  
 Wherein posteritie that loue to know  
 The iust proportion of our spirits may find.  
 For these lines are the veines, the Arteries,  
 The vndecaying life-strings of those harts  
 That still shall pant, and still shall exercise  
 The motion spirit and nature both imparts,  
 And shall, with those aliuie so sympathize  
 As nourisht with their powers inioy their parts.  
 O blessed letters that combine in one  
 All ages past, and make one liue with all,  
 By you we do confer with who are gone,  
 And the dead liuing vnto councell call:  
 By you th'vnborne shall have communion  
 Of what we feele, and what doth vs befall.  
 (ll. 177–194)

Musophilus exploits a range of conventional metaphors to conceive of poetry: it is a „speaking picture of the mind“ echoing Horace, an „extract“ (distillation) or „image“ (picture) of the labouring poet's soul, where select future readers, „those that love to know“, may find the „just proportions“ (architecture) of the poet's „spirit“. And then he introduces this startling conceit – „For these lines“, Musophilus's lines and behind him Daniel's, are the veins, arteries, the „vndecaying life-strings“ of the poet's heart that breathes and moves and sympa-

<sup>75</sup> Cf. *Delia*, especially Sonnet XXXIII, and *The Complaint of Rosamond*, ll. 701–728, in: Daniel, Poems (see note 64), 27 and 61 f.

<sup>76</sup> See James Blair Leishman, *Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's Sonnets*, London 1961; Thomas P. Roche, *Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequence*, New York 1989, 362, and Stephen Guy-Bray, *The Achievement of Print. Samuel Daniel and the Anxiety of Authorship*, in: *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 29/1 (2003), 105. Shakespeare plays with this topos especially in Sonnets 18, 55, 60, 63, 81, and 126, see William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. by Katherine Duncan Jones, London 2003 (Arden Shakespeare).

thises with the hearts of the living and so remain alive. Letters are now „O Blessed letters“, extolled for allowing „us“ the living to speak with the dead and to call them to council, but also for allowing future generations to commune with us. Such blessed words and lines are capable of collapsing the past, present and future, making all one. Musophilus will return to the immortalising power of poetry later in the poem but the emphasis will be on „small [...] rooms“, a play on the etymology of stanza, and the idea of books as small „tombs“. Compared to Stonehenge, „That huge domb heap, that cannot tel vs how, / Nor what, nor whence it is“ (ll. 339 f.), books, though small in size, are safer and stronger monuments, better able to keep the great worthies of the distant past alive „for eternitie“:

Considering in how a small a roome do lie  
 And yet lie safe, as fresh as if aliue  
 All those great worthies of antiquitie,  
 Which long foreliu'd thee, & shall long suruiue,  
 Who stronger tombs found for eternitie,  
 Then could the powers of al the earth contriue.  
 (ll. 391–396)

That the spirit of an author is best seen not in a portrait or in a stone monument but in his works is a sentiment echoed in both Clifford's monument to Spenser – „WHOSE DIVINE SPIRRIT NEEDS NOE OTHER WITNESSE THEN THE WORKS WHICH HE LEFT BEHINDE HIM“ – as well as in her gloss on Daniel's portrait in the Great Picture – „a man of an Vpright and excellent Spirit as appears bii his Workes“.

Yet, it is important to emphasise that throughout the poem Daniel is speaking exclusively of „worthy“ literature, writing which, according to Musophilus, records actions „worthy the writing“ (l. 199) in a manner „Worthy the reading, and the worlds delight“ (l. 200). Throughout his oeuvre, Daniel betrays an insecurity about the grubby world of print, a world he was forced to enter as an impecunious author seeking aristocratic patronage.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, his prefatory poem to Florio's translation of Montaigne opens with the following lines:

Books, like superfluous humors bred with ease,  
 So stufte the world, as it becomes opprest  
 With taking more than it can well digest;  
 And now are turnd to be a great disease.<sup>78</sup>

Early in *Musophilus*, Philocosmos complains that „so many so confusedlie sing [...] / And in contempt that mysterie doth bring“ (ll. 62–64), and Musophilus later agrees that „plenty hath imprest a deepe distast, / Of best and worst, and all in general“ (ll. 255 f.). The implication is that a glut of indifferent books has brought

<sup>77</sup> See Stephen Guy-Bray, *The Achievement of Print* (see note 78), 101–118.

<sup>78</sup> Daniel, *To my deare brother* (see note 68), A3<sup>r</sup>.

learning into disrepute. Later, Philocosmos will be more specific, condemning the deluge of „*Pamphlets, Libels, Rhymes*“ (l. 446), and complaining that „Th'vnmateriall swellings of your pen / Touch not the spirit that action doth import“ (ll. 504 f.). Philocosmos is clearly not against poetry that celebrates and inspires heroic deeds; fifty lines earlier, acknowledging the fickleness of fame, he asks regretfully „How many thousands neuer heard the name / Of *Syney* [sic.], or of *Spencer*, or their books?“ (ll. 440 f.). It is in the context of this fear of the excesses of what would become Grub Street that Musophilus makes a lengthy appeal to the aristocracy to safeguard worthy literature:

You mighty Lords, that with respected grace  
 Do at the sterne of faire example stand,  
 And all the body of this populace  
 Guide with the onely turning of your hand,  
 Keepe a right course, bear vp from al disgrace,  
 Obserue the point of glory to our land:  
 Hold vp disgraced knowledge from the ground  
 Keepe vertue in request, giue worth her due,  
 Let not neglect with barbarous means confound  
 So faire a good to bring in night anew.  
 Be not, ô be not accessary found  
 Vnto her death that must giue life to you.  
 (ll. 313–324)

Towards the end of the poem, we hear Musophilus petitioning for the restoration of England's „drooping *Academies*“ through an elitist reform of learning whereby „learnings roomes“ would be distributed to „learned men“ (ll. 803 f.).

Might we not read Clifford's display of books in the triptych as a response to Daniel's plea for the aristocratic safeguarding of learning and „worthy“ books? If so, Clifford once again seems more impelled by her class than her sex. The exclusive nature of Clifford's painted library is brought into stark relief when we compare it to that of her cousin Frances Egerton, Countess of Bridgewater.<sup>79</sup> The catalogue of Egerton's London book collection features many of the same books as Clifford's but it also includes a number of works that Philocosmos would have termed „*Pamphlets, Libels, Rhymes*“ – polemical Protestant treatises such as John Rowlinson's *The Romish Judas*, scurrilous tracts by Robert Greene, not to mention plays penned for the public theatres by the likes of Shakespeare.<sup>80</sup> Daniel had written a closet drama *The Tragedy of Cleopatra*, and, more reluctantly, se-

<sup>79</sup> See Brayman Hackel, Reading Material (see note 42), 258–281.

<sup>80</sup> For books that both Clifford and Egerton owned, see the Appendix. For a discussion of women as readers and owners of Shakespeare's plays, see Sasha Roberts, Engendering the Female Reader. Women's Recreational Reading of Shakespeare in Early Modern England, in: Heidi Brayman Hackel, Catherine Kelly (eds.), Reading Women. Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500–1800, Philadelphia 2008, 36–54.



veral masques for Queen Anne, as well as *The Tragedy of Philotas* performed before the king in 1605. But Daniel was always suspicious of the public stage, something made explicit in the *Apology* prefaced to the printed version of *Philotas* in 1607: „I thought the representing so true a History, in the ancient forme of Tragedy, could not but have had an unproveable passage with the time, and the better sort of men, seeing with what idle fictions, and grosse follies, the Stage at this day abused mens recreations“.<sup>81</sup> Daniel would not have approved of the playbooks in Frances Egerton’s library. What of female authors? Egerton owned Mary Wroth’s *Urania* and Mary Sidney Herbert’s *Antonius*. Conspicuous by his absence is Samuel Daniel.

### III. *Catching Clifford Reading Daniel’s Complaint of Rosamond*

We have noted that Daniel is a compulsive historian regardless of genre, that his oeuvre featured prominently on the youthful left panel of Clifford’s triptych, and that his historiography may have influenced her interest in Guicciardini later in life. In a subtle exploration of Daniel’s *Civil Wars*, Alzada Tipton argues that Daniel juxtaposes the didactic, Providential history of the medieval chronicles with a new emphasis on archival sources, human agents, and political force-fields. „This complicates the idea of history as an objective account of the truth“, she writes, „making it both a record of what actually happened and a collection of historical authority built up by subsequent historians and the societies in which they lived and wrote“.<sup>82</sup> The result of this „collection“ of different accounts of the same event results in a multi-perspectival and ultimately open-ended narrative where the reader is left to draw her own conclusions.

Daniel had originally intended to publish a companion volume to *The Collection of the History of England*, „An Appendix“ collating transcriptions of all the primary sources he had consulted in writing his narrative. He died before this manuscript went to press but the manuscript has survived.<sup>83</sup> If we were to reunite these two volumes and place Clifford’s *Great Books of Record* alongside them, I think we would be struck by the similarity in the methodology of tutor and tutee. For Clifford was not just a reader of worthy books, she was the author of the *Great Books of Record*; indeed it is as a dynastic historian that she deserves to be remembered. The genesis of her history of the Veteriponts and Cliffords was

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Rees, Samuel Daniel (see note 61), 106.

<sup>82</sup> Tipton, *Caught* (see note 22), 332.

<sup>83</sup> See John Pitcher, Samuel Daniel. *New and Future Research*, Oxford Handbooks Online 2017. <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-88?rsk=1&rskey=TzbqOE&result=1, 11>; accessed 01.04.2020.

in the archive, it was a collection of all the documentary evidence (Royal charters, wills, letters) of the lands and titles she eventually inherited in 1643, a collection begun by her mother Margaret and continued by herself with the help of the antiquarian Roger Dodsworth. But the *Great Books of Record* are not just transcriptions of legal documents translated into English from Latin and Norman French for the reader to consult and judge. Clifford would then interpret the evidence from the archive and compose biographies of each of her key ancestors, fathers and sons but also mothers, daughters and wives. Taking a leaf out of Daniel's book, Clifford was very interested in the women who had helped make her dynasty.<sup>84</sup>

One female ancestor that Clifford returns to repeatedly in the *Great Books of Record* is Rosamond Clifford, the daughter of Walter the 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Clifford and Margaret de Tony, who became the mistress of Henry II. She was of course the subject of Samuel Daniel's *Complaint* of 1592, the first of a series of female complaint poems that appeared in print in the 1590s of which Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* is perhaps the most famous. The complaint is allied generically to Boccaccio's accounts of the fall of illustrious men and women (*De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* and *De Mulieribus Claris*) and its English sequels John Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* and *The Mirror for Magistrates*, the latter a book that Clifford owned and annotated.<sup>85</sup> True to convention, Daniel's poem gives voice to the ghost of Rosamond Clifford who asks the poet „To take this taske, and in thy wofull Song / To forme my case, and register my wrong“.<sup>86</sup> But, from the outset, the motivation for telling her tale is ambiguous. The immediate aim is to provoke a sigh of pity in the reader and thus ensure her soul's passage over the river Styx to Elysium, but long-term she hopes that her tale will prove to be a warning:

Then write quoth shee the ruine of my youth,  
Report the downe-fall of my slippry state:  
Of all my life reueale the simple truth,  
To teach to others what I learnt too late:  
Exemplifie my frailtie, tell howe Fate  
Keepes in eternall darke our fortunes hidden  
And ere they come, to know them is forbidden.  
(ll. 64–70)

<sup>84</sup> For the discussion of these women, see Jessica Malay, *Constructing a Narrative of Time and Place. Anne Clifford's 'Great Books of Record'*, in: *The Review of English Studies*, New Series 66/277 (2015), 859–875, and Malay, *Crossing Generations* (see note 3), 207–224.

<sup>85</sup> See Anna Swärdh, *From Hell: 'The Mirror for Magistrates' and the Late Elizabethan Female Complaint*, in: Gerd Bayer, Ebbe Klitgård (eds.), *Narrative Developments from Chaucer to Defoe*, New York 2011, 97–115, and Anna Swärdh, *Elizabethan Complaints*, in: *The Literary Encyclopedia*, 9 May 2011, <http://www.litencyc.com/php/stopics.php?rec=true&UID=16298>, accessed 28.06.2018.

<sup>86</sup> Daniel, *Poems* (cf. note 64), 31–63, here 34 f.

What follows is an account of how, blessed with beauty, „mine friends mine honour sought to rayse“ (l. 89) and sent her to court, where she caught the eye of the aged King Henry II. She relates how she is counselled by an old woman „set in ambush to intrap my youth“ (l. 213), and persuaded that the King’s favour is good fortune „Whereby thou maist thy honor great aduaunce“ (l. 227). The heart of the poem is the description of Rosamond’s turmoil; on the one hand, her fear that the sin of concupiscence will tarnish her good name so „That Cliffords race should scorne thee one of theirs“ (l. 329), while, on the other hand, her recognition that „Whether I yeelde or not I liue defamed [...] And if I yeeld, tis honorable shame“ (ll. 338–342). Ultimately „fraile flesh“ (l. 352) and „glittering pompe“ (l. 354) get the better of her. She falls and immediately her eyes are opened: „Now did I find myself vnparadis’d“ (l. 449). In time, the aged King grows jealous, imprisons Rosamond at the centre of a labyrinthine palace where, ultimately, the wronged Queen finds and poisons her. In a final scene, Rosamond tells how the King encounters her dead body, and confesses that in a life of broils and strife (cf. l. 654), Rosamond was his only comfort. He promises to commemorate her beauty in a monument. This she tells us has long since decayed and were it not for Daniel’s „fauorable lynes“ (l. 715) „Fewe in this age had knowne my beauties praise“ (l. 719). She will be remembered „Till other ages shall neglect thy rime“ (l. 721).

What is striking about the *Complaint of Rosamond* is Daniel’s capacity to show the complex force-fields at play in any one life and the difficulties attendant on a didactic poet or historian. Rosamond is a maid betrayed by careerist family members who initially send her to court; she is the victim of the King’s lust and his evil female counsellor; and yet, she falls knowingly, enjoying the power her beauty has over the King, flattered by his advances and his richly wrought gifts. Her psychological turmoil does arouse our pity, however, so well does the poet convey her agon. Even the King is allowed to explain his behaviour and to win a glimmer of sympathy. The moral of the story – stay at home in the country, avoid the court at all cost, and never put the king before God – is intimated but it is the psychological complexity of Daniel’s characterization that leaves an abiding impression, something that is the hallmark of Daniel’s oeuvre.

So what does Anne Clifford make of her ancestor in her *Great Books of Record*? There are some eight references to Rosamond Clifford in Clifford’s history, and she even gets a mention in the mini-biography attached to Walter Clifford’s escutcheon in the Great Picture. Clifford seems fascinated by her. The first entry reads:

Rosamond Clifford the fayre but unfortunate daughter of Walter the first Lord Clifford and Margaret de Tony was never married but beloved of King Henry 2 and by him had

William de Longspee Earl of Salisbury and other children. She died [...] of poison as was suspected given her by the Queene.<sup>87</sup>

This synopsis is fleshed out further in

Rosamond Clifford [...] unfortunate in being beloved of King Henery the second whose unlimited power was sufficient to woork a compliyanse and so prevailed as that by him shee had William le Longespee Earle of Salisbury and other children by reason whereof shee became afterwards a sacrefize to the rage of the offended Queene. (166)

Here Clifford clearly presents Rosamond as the victim of the King's power and the Queen's rage. But as the mother of William de Longspree, she is „Rosamond Clifford the pearless paragon of beuty in her tyme“ (196). Finally, in the context of Roger de Clifford the elder and the younger, we are told

Noate also that Rosamond Clifford the unparaleld beautye of her tyme, one so highly favoured and beloved of King Henery the second, was aunte to the said Roger de Clifford the elder, and great aunt to this Roger de Clifford the younger. (236 f.)

Here Clifford edits out the part of the story that she had previously found so „unfortunate“. She merely commends her ancestor's beauty and celebrates her being so highly favoured by the king. Here in these last entries we see dynastic interests overriding gender sensitivities but, read cumulatively, her treatment of Rosamond Clifford remains alive to the complex force-fields attendant on courtly women. In her treatment of Rosamond, I think we catch Clifford reading Daniel's nuanced, complex, multi-perspectival telling of a darkly human tale.

#### IV. Conclusion

This essay has repeatedly drawn attention to the ways in which Anne Clifford's culture of reading is coloured by class. Anne Clifford read voraciously across genres and national boundaries and chose to display her reverence for „worthy“ books in *The Great Picture*, but her love of books was not exceptional for an aristocratic woman. As her own life writings and dynastic history demonstrate, the high born men and women of her immediate family were all bibliophiles and belonged to bibliophile Courts whose understanding of worthy books was inflected by continental Renaissance ideals. Samuel Daniel, Clifford's tutor and ‚friend‘, championed these ideals in print. Indeed, Daniel's advocacy of translation in his preface to Florio's *Montaigne*, his conception of „worthy“ literature outlined in *Musophilus* coupled with his impassioned plea to the aristocracy to safeguard such learning from the excesses of print, are all writ large in Clifford's virtual library. And

<sup>87</sup> Clifford's Great Books (see note 7), 160.

yet, emphasising Clifford's identification with the aristocracy is not to suggest that she forgets her sex. Like Samuel Daniel whose poetry and histories are remarkable for their empathetic treatment of the psychological turmoil of his protagonists of both sexes, Clifford's life writing and *Great Books of Record* pay tribute to both the men and women of her dynasty, in the process giving voice to Rosamond Clifford, her own mother Margaret, and herself. This practice seems best described, not as 'feminist', but as enlightened female historicism.

Ergänzend zur bisherigen Forschung über Lady Anne Clifford (1590–1676), welche auf ihr Geschlecht und ihr weibliches Netzwerk fokussiert, hebt dieser Aufsatz hervor, welchen Einfluss Cliffords gesellschaftliche Position und ihr Tutor, der Dichter und Historiker Samuel Daniel, auf ihre Lese- und Schreibkultur hatte. Ich zeige, dass Cliffords Verständnis von „würdiger“ europäischer Literatur, bildlich dargestellt in ihrem dynastischen Portrait, stark von Daniel geprägt ist, ebenso wie die gleichermaßen sympathetische Behandlung von Frauen und Männern in ihrer bemerkenswerten Familienchronik. Ich komme zu dem Schluss, dass diese Anschauung weniger als feministisch, sondern als aufgeklärter weiblicher Historismus zu beschreiben ist.

As a complement to the scholarship on Lady Anne Clifford (1590–1676) which has emphasised her gender and her female networks, this essay focuses on the ways in which Clifford's culture of reading and writing was inflected by her sense of class and the figure of her tutor, the poet and historian Samuel Daniel. I argue that Clifford's conception of „worthy“ European books in the „Great Picture“ was indebted to Daniel, as was her empathetic treatment of both the women and men of her dynasty in her remarkable *Great Books of Record*. I conclude that this is a practice best described, not as 'feminist', but as enlightened female historicism.

Dr. Antoinina Bevan Zlatar. Universität Zürich, English Department, Plattenstrasse 47, CH-8032 Zürich, Email: a.bevan.zlatar@es.uzh.ch

*Appendix:**Transcription of book labels in Anne Clifford's „Great Picture Triptych“ (1646)*

\* Denotes titles of books or works also included in *A Catalogue of my Ladies Bookes at London* (1627–1633), Frances Egerton, the Countess of Brigewater's London library, transcribed by Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Materials in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy*, Cambridge 2005, 258–281.

°° Denotes titles of books that Clifford records hearing in the Diary 1616, 1617 and 1619.

+ Denotes printed titles that post-date 1605, the year purportedly commemorated in the left panel.

## LEFT PANEL

## Top shelf

*Left-hand side, top to bottom*S.<sup>†</sup> Philip Sidneijs Arcadia °°

All Edmond Spencers Workes \* °° +

Ouids Metamorphosis °°

*Middle, top to bottom*

Epictetus his Manual

Boetius his Philosophicall comfort \*

All the works in Verse of Sa: Daniel Tutuor to this Young Ladij

*Middle, left to right*

The Holij Bijble the old and new Testament \* °°

S.<sup>†</sup> Avgustine of the Citij of God °° +

Eusebius his Historij of the Church \*

All the Workes of D.<sup>†</sup> Ioseph Hall \* +*Right-hand side, top to bottom*

Iohn Downame his Christian Warfare

All Du Bartas his Workes \* +

All Geffreij Chaucers Workes °°

## Lower shelf

*Left-hand, left to right*

The French Academij 1. Part

The French Academij 2. Part

The French Academij 3. Part  
 The courtier bij Co: Castilio  
*Right-hand side, top to bottom*  
 Godfreij of Boulogne \*  
 The Varietij of things bij Loijs le Roi  
 The Chronicle of England in prose bij Sa: Daniel Tutour to the Young Ladij +  
 L.<sup>d</sup> Michael de Montaigne his Essaijes °°  
 The Epitome of Gerards Herball  
 On the floor, back to front  
 Camdens Britannia +  
 Abraham Ortelius his mapps of the World  
 Cor. Agrippa of the Vanitie of Sciences  
 The Feigned History of Don Quixote \* +

#### CENTRAL PANEL

Shelf, top to bottom

A Written hand Booke of Alkimme Extractions, of Distillations, And Excellent Medicines  
 All Senakes Workes translated out of Latine into English  
 The Holy Bible – the old and new Testament –

In Margaret Clifford's hand

Psalms [?] \*

#### RIGHT PANEL

Top shelf

*Left-hand side, left to right, tumbled*  
 M.<sup>f</sup> Georg Sands his Translation of the Psalmes, & other partes of the Bible into verse  
 Phillip de Comins in English \*  
 Moore his Mapp of Mortallity  
 All Beniamine Iohnson his works \*  
 M<sup>r</sup> Iohn Dunn his Poems \*

The Age of Mans Life  
 George Herbert his diuine Poems \*  
 Barclays Argenisa \*  
 Anthonius his Meditations  
 M<sup>r</sup>: King Bishop of London his Sermons \*  
*Right-hand side, top to bottom*  
 M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Astins Books of Meditations and Devotions  
 All D<sup>r</sup> Iohn Dunn Deane of Pauls his Sermons \*  
 Aminianus Mercilianus of the Romish History

Lower shelf

*Left-hand side, left to right, tumbled*  
 M<sup>r</sup>: Georg Strowde his Booke of Death  
 Plutarches Liues \* in French  
 Gurcherdinies History in French.  
 Plutarches Morrals in French  
 Sir Francis Greuill Lord Brooke his Workes.  
 An Appologie of the Providence & Power of God by D<sup>r</sup>: Hacwell  
 Sir Henry Wootton his Booke of Architecture

Beneath Anne Clifford's right hand

Charon's Book of Wisdom translated out of French into English \*  
 The Holy Bible The old and new Testament \*



