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Repurposing Rhetoric: Lady Jane Lumley and Early Modern Female Latinity

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Abstract: The division between male and female Classical scholars, articulated in early modern discourse, presents a real tension between female scholarship and the humanist movement's claims of cultivating male leaders. Such rhetorical difference, however, underplays the extent to which female Latinists were able to access and utilise Latin as part of a dynamic and distinctly sixteenth-century sociocultural code. The education and humanistic activity of Lady Jane Lumley (1537–78) are a valuable case study for our understanding of the use of Latin as a cultural resource for both men and women in sixteenth-century England. Through the interrogation of Lumley's personal library, this article claims that, in addition to her well-researched translations from Greek, her education in early modern Latin provided her with a set of skills and practices which had significance beyond a public, political context. Outlining the development of reading practices, collecting, and network-building, this study demonstrates the extent of intellectual reciprocity between supposedly male and female humanist curricula, and the cultural value to both sexes of the practices taught.

Keywords: humanism; women; rhetoric; Latin; reading.

> The contests of the forum, like those of warfare and battle, are the sphere of men. Hers will not be the task of learning to speak for and against witnesses, for and against torture, for and against reputation; she will not practice the commonplaces, or think about the sly anticipation of an opponent's arguments. She will, in a word, leave the rough-and-tumble of the forum entirely to men.[2]

This remark, from Leonardo Bruni's *De studiis et litteris liber* (*ca.* 1422–29), a curriculum of recommended reading for Lady Battista Malatesta, characterises early modern rhetoric about the limits of female Latin scholarship. An education in Latin was permitted to women, and often encouraged, but a distinction was made between women's *understanding* of Latin as the language of scholarship, and men's *use* of it as a mode of public discourse. Male students were educated in erudition and eloquent oratory directed towards public service, a civic function of Latin inaccessible to most women. However, despite the ambivalent language which seemed to frame women's learning as superfluous, female Latin scholarship

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[2] *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 104–5, "Ista quidem virorum sunt: ut bella, ut pugnae, sic etiam fori contentiones atque certamina. Non igitur pro testibus neque contra testes dicere addiscet mulier, neque pro tormentis aut contra tormenta, neque pro rumoribus aut contra rumores, nec se communibus locis exercebit, neque interrogationes bicipites neque responsiones veteratorias meditabitur; totam denique fori asperitatem viris relinquet."

was considered to have a place in early modern society.[3] Investigation into how particular women engaged with early modern Latin has provided meaningful insight into ongoing conversations about the wider role of female scholars in the narrative of an evolving and idiosyncratically sixteenth-century Latinity.[4] Building on such work, this article argues that, through the "Renaissance" revival of Classical Latin grammar and texts, the established cultural significance of rhetorical eloquence was matched by the development of a range of sociocultural functions of Latin unique to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Whilst Bruni casts his female *humanista* as a problematic figure in the reimagined forum of the early modern political sphere, in the Europe of the sixteenth century Latin was repurposed as part of a variety of activities, communities, and self-fashioning endeavours in which it was entirely possible for women to participate.

The education and humanistic activity of Lady Jane Lumley (1537–78) are a valuable case study for our understanding of the use of Latin as a sociocultural resource for both men and women in sixteenth-century England.[5] Her father, Henry Fitzalan (1512–80), the twelfth Earl of Arundel, was owner of one of the largest collections of printed books and manuscripts in the mid-Tudor period, and Lumley and her sister Mary (1539/40–57) received a high-quality Classical education. Her marriage to her brother's classmate John Lumley (*ca*. 1533–1609), the first Baron Lumley, occurred at the height of this training, sometime between 1550 and 1553. Despite a brief residence at Lumley Castle, County Durham, the majority of Lumley's humanistic activity took place at Nonsuch Palace in Surrey, after the consolidation of the households and libraries of her husband and father. Lumley is predominantly remembered for the translations which she produced in this period, including the rendering of a number of Isocrates' orations from Greek into Latin.[6] Her most celebrated achievement lies in her role as the first person to translate directly into English a play by Euripides: *The Tragedie of Euripides called Iphigeneia translated out of Greake into Englisshe*.[7]

Lumley's engagement with Classical languages has most often been understood through the lens of her written work. Earlier interpretations of her *Iphigeneia at Aulis*

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[3] Over the last several decades, a growing number of studies into women's uses of Classical languages has highlighted the vitality of early modern female Latinity: see Stevenson 2005; Hosington 2009, a survey belonging to her extensive writing on the neo-Latin translation work and composition of Latin poetry and prose by Englishwomen in this period; and McCallum-Barry 2016.

[4] Amongst recent case studies concerning English women's engagement with Latin, see Hosington 2018; and on female Latinists such as Margaret More Roper, Katherine Parr, and the Cooke sisters, see Beilin 2009.

[5] There is some uncertainty regarding the birth and death dates of Jane Lumley and her relatives. For simplicity, the dates used are those given by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Hodgson-Wright 2008).

[6] London, British Library (= BL), Royal MS 15 A i; BL, Royal MS 15 A ii; BL, Royal MS 15 A ix, fols 2^{r}–62^{v}.

[7] BL, Royal MS 15 A ix, fols 63^{r}–97^{r}.

suggested that inconsistent translation was a result of a "lack of taste and critical ability".[8] More recent critics, including some consciously feminist interpretations, have located authorial agency, often through observing the differences between Lumley's English, Erasmus' Latin, and the Euripidean original.[9] This approach has been matched by an interest in demonstrating a public, or semi-public, role for the drama.[10] The possibility of reading political meaning in Lumley's text has likewise become a significant line of enquiry, revealing Lumley's translations to be more than just a "classroom exercise", and closer to the active application of learning expected of male scholars.[11] Indeed, Diane Purkiss's critique of traditional feminist readings of Lumley's drama suggests that "receiving a male education means absorbing male values."[12] There are few extant translations by Lady Jane Lumley, but the existing critical scrutiny of her works, combined with an emergent body of analysis of her father's library, has built a fuller picture of both her education and its possible effect on her writings.[13] Nevertheless, by directing our focus towards her individual engagement with Latin in particular, there is an opportunity to extend our understanding of Lumley's position as a female scholar within a culture of evolving contemporary Latinity. The further interrogation of Lumley's personal library here suggests that, in addition to her translations from Greek, her education in early modern Latin provided her with a set of skills and practices which had significance beyond a public, political context. Outlining the development of reading practices, collecting, and network-building, this case study demonstrates that both men and women received an education which was more extensive than a training for a specific androcentric purpose. The division between male and female Classical scholars, articulated in early modern discourse, presents a real tension between female scholarship and the humanist movement's claims of cultivating male leaders.[14] However, such rhetorical difference underplays the extent to which privileged female Latinists such as Lumley were able to access and utilise Latin as part of a dynamic and distinctly sixteenth-century sociocultural code.

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[8] Greene 1941, 542.

[9] Beilin 1998; Hodgson-Wright 1998; Demers 1999, 30–38; Catty 1999, 134. For Uman (2011, 55), Lumley uses her translation of the play to explore "rhetorical skill" and "the value of education for women".

[10] Hodgson-Wright 1998; Purkiss 1998, xvii–xix; Straznicky 2004, 42–6; Wynne-Davies 2008, 117–28; Larson 2019, 153–8.

[11] Purkiss 1998, xxiii–xxvi; Ostovich & Sauer 2004, 329; Goodrich 2012, 108–13; Hodgson-Wright 1998, 134–8.

[12] Purkiss 1999, 40.

[13] Straznicky 2004, 19–46; Goodrich 2012, 100–02.

[14] Cf. Grafton & Jardine 1986, 29–45.

I Reading on Rhetoric: Jane Lumley's Book Ownership

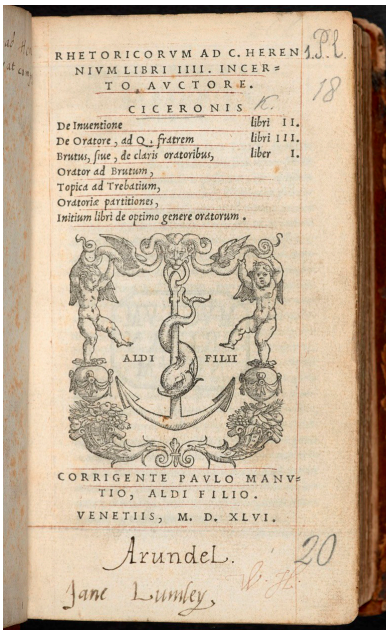
The Lumley library catalogue, compiled after the death of John, Lord Lumley in 1609, documents the printed works and manuscripts owned by the Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley.[15] The recovery of Lady Jane Lumley's personal book ownership is made possible by the practice of Arundel and Lumley of signing their names on the title page of each book which came into their possession, perhaps to prepare for the consolidation of the households and collections of Lumley Castle and Nonsuch Palace.[16] Jane's own participation in this practice allows us to identify which volumes belonged to whom, and which family members might be responsible for their acquisition. Previous comments on Lumley's book ownership have noted that she possessed several volumes of her own, but emphasised that they were predominantly religious in content. Whilst the exact figure has been frequently contested, there are seven books in the *Catalogue of 1609* which can be directly attributed to Lumley's ownership.[17] The works in the library catalogue in which Lumley's own signature can be found on the title page are:

100. *Andreae Eborensis, exemplorum memorabilium, Ethicorum et Christianorum tomus prior.*
256. *Compendium verae salutis, continens tractatus duos, lepidos, iuxta ac pios, ex Germania nunc demum redditos latine per Fr: Laurentium Surium, Carthusianum, Coloniensem, et vocatur communiter hic liber DESIDERIVS.*
1019. *Conradi Licosthenis de prodigiis et ostentis chronicon.*
1181b. *Lodovico Guicciardini descrittione di tutti i paesi bassi. Italice.*
1385. *Pauli Iovii episcopi Nucerini, historiarum libri 37 e castigationibus Hermolai Barbari.*
1668. *Ciceronis rhetoricorum ad Herennium libri quatuor.*
1959. *Io: Stadii Ephemerides novae et auctae ab anno 1554 ad annum 1576.*[18]

Studying Jane Lumley's early writings and investigating how she might have been exposed to the Greek text of Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, Diane Purkiss notes that, apart from the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Venice, Apud

[15] Edited in *The Lumley Library*; and BL, Add MS 36659, a handwritten copy of the Lumley library catalogue.
[16] *The Lumley Library*, 5.
[17] A total of fifteen books is proposed in Beilin 1987, 125; see also Gooch 2009, 14. This figure is based on the index of *The Lumley Library*; however, it refers to the total number of references to Jane Lumley in the index, including manuscripts authored by her and articles pertaining to her. Purkiss (1998, 167) notes Lumley's ownership of six books. My understanding that we can attribute seven books to Lumley's ownership is most recently supported by Coolahan & Empey 2018, 237.
[18] *The Lumley Library*, 48, 60, 131, 149, 170, 198, 225. Individual volumes: Cambridge, Trinity College Library, III.13.95.; BL, 1019.a.5.; BL, C.81.g.9.; BL, 568.k.5.; BL, 581.l.11.; BL, C.20.a.6.; BL, 530.d.9.

Aldi filios, 1546) (see fig. 1), the other works which contain her signature on the title page are "largely pietistic and theological".[19]


RHETORICORVM AD C. HERENNIVM LIBRI IIII. INCERTO AVCTORE.

CICERONIS

De Inuentione libri II.
De Oratore, ad Q. fratrem libri III.
Brutus, siue, de claris oratoribus, liber I.
Orator ad Brutum,
Topica ad Trebatium,
Oratoriæ partitiones,
Initium libri de optimo genere oratorum.

ALDI FILII

CORRIGENTE PAVLO MANVTIO, ALDI FILIO.

VENETIIS, M. D. XLVI.

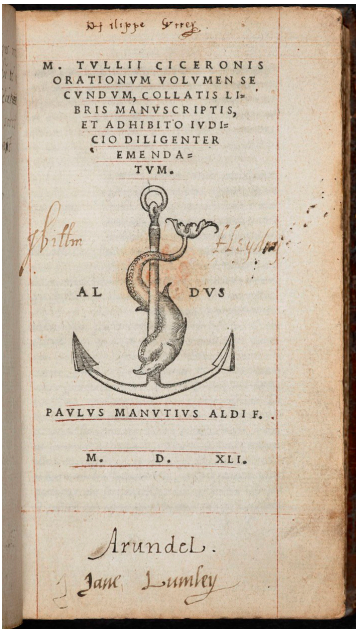
Arundel. 20

Jane Lumley,

As Purkiss finds, there was no Greek in Lumley's personal collection, but amongst these seven works only item numbers 100 and 256 are contained within the *Theologi* section of the library catalogue. The middle three appear in the *Historici* section: the *Prodigiorum*, an account of strange happenings and discoveries; Lodovico Guicciardini's Italian-language history of the Low Countries; and a history by Paolo Giovio. Numbers 1668 and 1959, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and ephemera from 1554–76, are logically catalogued in the section for *Artes Liberales et Philosophi*. Due to her sex, it is highly likely that Lumley's instruction would have placed an emphasis on moralistic and religious subjects, common themes in female humanist curricula. Yet by considering her collection in terms of her explicitly Latin education as well as her Greek, the surviving evidence of her book ownership suggests that there was room in her personal collection for a more varied range of subject matter than one might expect. In fact, further investigation reveals that, whilst only seven works are listed as separate items in the catalogue, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* is part of a series of related works that includes a three-volume edition of Cicero's orations (Venice, Apud Aldi filios, 1540–41).[20] Of these three subsequent volumes, Jane Lumley's signature appears on the title pages of the first two (see fig.

[19] Purkiss 1998, 168.
[20] BL, C.20.a.7-9.

2, the second of these volumes).[21] Therefore, Jane Lumley personally owned at least nine distinct printed volumes and at least a third of these works were dedicated to rhetoric and public speech-making.



A closer look at the group of texts bearing Jane Lumley's signature demonstrates that her book ownership went beyond mere possession. In the context of the family's wider collection, it becomes apparent that such works were designated for her personal use. The Lumley library's *Catalogue of 1609* boasts at least two more copies of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*—a rhetorical guidebook recommended for male students—which were owned by Lumley's male family members.[22] The acquisition of a further copy of the book, and its separation from the general library by Jane Lumley's inscribed claim of ownership, suggests its active role in her instruction. Whilst educated separately from her male relatives, in practice Lady Lumley had personal access to similar reading material.

Despite this overlap between the subjects available to Jane Lumley and her male counterparts, the work of Marta Straznicky and Jaime Goodrich on the educational treatises contained in Lumley library appears to show the separation of gendered curricula in the family's collection. The catalogue lists numerous works of educational theory, including Erasmus's *De ratione studii*, Lily's *Grammar of Latin in*

[21] There is no signature by the Earl of Arundel, Lord Lumley, or Lady Jane Lumley in the third volume of the Ciceronian orations: the signatures of subsequent owners of the Lumley volumes are also missing, suggesting that it may have replaced a missing third volume at a later date.

[22] *The Lumley Library*, 200–01: nos 1684, 1700.

English, Linacre's *Grammar*, and Wilson's *Logic* and *Art of Rhetoric*.[23] However, female learning is represented separately, by a 1555 edition of Juan Luis Vives's *De institutione feminae christianae*, a treatise originally written for Princess Mary (the future Queen Mary I) and dedicated to Catherine of Aragon.[24] This became a standard conduct book supporting the definite distinction between the education of men and women. Writing on the sort of reading recommended for female students, Vives was clear: "I am not at all concerned with eloquence. A woman has no need of that; she needs rectitude and wisdom."[25] Whilst stopping short of actually condemning eloquence in a woman, Vives gave virtue and obedient conduct precedence over knowledge and skill, "since in the education of women the principal and I might almost say the only concern should be the preservation of chastity."[26] In this context of the rhetorical separation of male and female study, and the prioritisation of conduct and virtuous behaviour in female theoretical manuals, Jane Lumley's professed ownership of works relating to oratorical skill appears unusual.

Nevertheless, not every text collected by Arundel for the education of his daughters endorsed the programmatic segregation of the male and female study of Latin. Goodrich highlights that the Lumley library's item numbers 1924a and 2018 are both copies of a second work by Vives, *De ratione studii puerilis* (1523). Created for Mary Tudor, and mindful of her role as royal heir, this work treats and represents more political themes.[27] It is also in this context that we can understand item number 2269, "Thomas Eliottes defence of good women", published in 1540.[28] Dedicated to Anne of Cleves, this work analyses the political role of Queen Zenobia of Syria.[29] The thread of political engagement linking these works demonstrates that female Latin learning was not consistently seen as incompatible with the subjects and skills promoted by male humanist programmes.

Nevertheless, whilst these works are evidence that some women were given an education comparable to their male contemporaries, political and civic subject matter was reserved for those who, in spite of their sex, were drawn into the heart of the political sphere by birth. These treatises were written for an audience of queens and princesses, as was "Ascham his institution for his chylde, anglice" (item number 990.d.5), an early manuscript draft of the *Scholemaster* by Robert Ascham, tutor to Princess Elizabeth between 1548 and 1550. Whilst these curricula represent an opportunity for some women to explore subject matter usually prohibited to them, it is clear that the application of this political instruction was restricted to

[23] Straznicky 2004, 22.
[24] Goodrich 2012, 101.
[25] Vives, *De institutione*, 38 (I.iv, 28), "De eloquentia nihil sum sollicitus. Non indiget ea mulier, probitate ac sapientia indiget."
[26] Ibid., 40, "cum in educanda femina potissimam ac nescio an solam curam vendicet pudicitia."
[27] Goodrich 2012, 101.
[28] *The Lumley Library*, 254.
[29] Jordan 1983, 181–2.

royal women. Higher-ranking members of the nobility were interested in their daughters emulating the education of royal women, to enhance their status and to groom them for potential alliances.[30] Arundel's ownership of these texts does not confirm a specific intention to instruct his daughters with a view to active political participation.

Thus, whilst Jane Lumley's personal library provides evidence of a grounding in the specifically male activities of Latin rhetoric and public speech-making, it does not indicate that these skills were intended to be applied, as men's were, in the political sphere. The literary analysis of female humanism often places female learning in a framework of public, political application, particularly because of the opportunities afforded by creative forms such as original composition and the genre of drama. Based on Jane's translations from Greek, Goodrich asserts that "Lumley's schoolroom deserves serious consideration for what it can tell us about learned women's reactions to the political aspects of humanist pedagogy."[31] This paper proposes that, in addition to the relationship between women's learning and politics, the developments in Latinity in this period also allowed women alternative paths of engagement with the humanist movement. The curricular fluidity shown by Lumley's book ownership demonstrates that, rather than a training for a life of political intervention or public service accessible to a very few women, a Latin education directed students towards a set of literary practices and common reading material which served multiple purposes. The rhetorical separation of male and female scholarship protected the claimed civic function of a humanist education. In practice, Latin learning provided men and women with similar intellectual tools, appropriate for a variety of purposes. Lady Lumley's reading material allowed her to access a culture beyond the more traditional purposes of written and spoken Latin.

II Shaping the Female Latinist: Self-Conscious Scholarly Activity and Collaboration

A closer look at Lady Lumley's reading practices demonstrates a number of cultural applications for a Latin education in the sixteenth century. The humanist movement was often politically disparate, with scholars pursuing varying careers or societal roles, but the public humanist world of letters was united by several key sociocultural elements: the self-fashioning of an outwardly humanist identity, a shared commitment to the rigorous study of Classical texts, and collaboration and the creation of networks using the common interests and values engendered by Classical instruction. Lumley's engagement with Latin text, whilst ostensibly

[30] See Goodrich 2012, 102, for the suggestion that both Jane and Mary Fitzalan were being trained as potential brides for King Edward VI.
[31] Ibid., 113.

private due to the domestic nature of female education, offered multiple opportunities for self-fashioning of a semi-public nature. As established, Arundel, Lord Lumley, and Jane all marked their names in certain volumes from the family collection. Yet Lady Lumley's signatures are conspicuously absent from works which she is likely to have consulted during her translation of *Iphigeneia at Aulis* from Greek into English and her rendering of Isocrates' orations in Latin. This implies that her signature denoted explicit ownership quite apart from use, identifying her as a collaborator in Arundel and Lord Lumley's practice of collecting. Lumley consciously represented herself as an owner, and thus a potential reader, of the same books as men: for example, the volumes of Cicero. Her social use of Latin can therefore be considered independent of the scholarly endeavour which produced her Greek translations, suggesting that there was an element of public performance to her book collection.

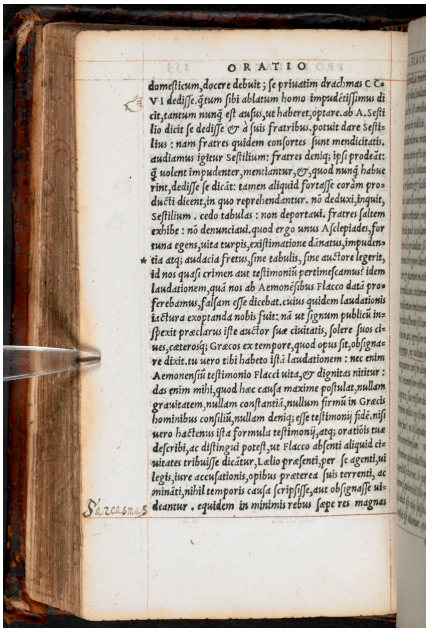
Furthermore, Lumley's copy of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* was originally marked with the name "Arundel", suggesting that it was initially acquired by her father. The volume's publication date of 1546, however, indicates that the book was not intended for his own use. His young daughter is a far more likely recipient of it, understood, broadly, as a suitable student guide to rhetoric. Despite the fact that her father had already marked the book to demonstrate his ownership, Jane Lumley decided to add her own name below his on the title page.[32] By connecting herself to the volume, and additionally to her copies of Cicero's *Orations*, previously unaccounted for as part of her personal collection, Lumley reinforced her identity as a scholar with a knowledge of the same skills of speech-craft and rhetoric as her male relatives and acquaintances. The *Orations*, with their association to Lumley's readership, were later given to her sister Mary's son, Philip Howard, thirteenth Earl of Arundel, whose signature can be found in volume two. The transferral of these texts to a different group of readers broadcast the link between rhetoric and Lumley's Latin education for posterity. In their present condition, all four rhetorical volumes are finished in a brown calf binding, embellished with a *talbot passant*, the heraldic device of Elizabeth Grey, Countess of Kent (1582–1651).[33] Philip Howard was father-in-law to Grey's sister, Aletheia Howard, suggesting that the change in ownership of these volumes was a result of family inheritance. The bindings of the other six books known to have been owned by Jane Lumley reflect their inclusion in the Royal Collection and do not indicate previous changes in ownership. Nevertheless, the inheritance by another female scholar of the group of rhetorical works has interesting implications for our understanding of Latin's changing sociocultural function. Grey was reputed to take a great interest in

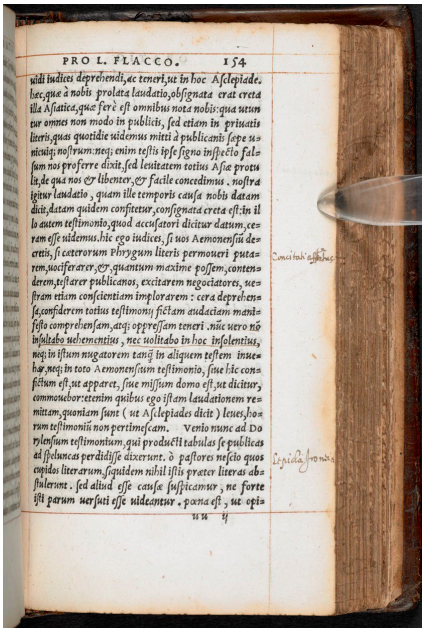
[32] BL, C.20.a.6: sig. A1^{r}.

[33] Image available online in the British Library Database of Bookbindings. Details of Elizabeth Grey's library have recently been published in Coolahan & Empey 2018 (249, n. 67). However, these Latin rhetorical volumes appear not to have previously been counted in Grey's collection, understood to comprise eleven works, nine in Italian and two in English.

language learning, but whilst she excelled in several vernacular languages, there is no record of any great reputation as a Classical scholar.[34] She did not inscribe her name in the volumes, but her decision to apply her personal device to Lumley's books suggests that she may have shared Lumley's desire to link female Latinity to the traditionally male subject of rhetoric, broadcasting a learned scholarly persona.

Moving beyond women's self-conscious expressions of Latinity, frequently dismissed as superfluous forms of social capital by contemporaries, the possibility of Jane Lumley's active engagement with her texts sheds light on what it meant to be a female reader of Latin. Whilst the Earl of Arundel prioritised the acquisition and collection of notable and beautiful texts over reading them, Jane Lumley was interested in more than just possession.[35] Frequent marginalia can be found in her copy of the second volume of Cicero's *Orations*, including a number of notes, manicules, and asterisks characteristic of a student marking out passages of importance to return to for later study (see figs 3 and 4).[36]





In his study of marginalia, H. J. Jackson remarks that the use of differentiated marks to highlight certain passages is typical of advice given to early modern students, who were encouraged to use mnemonic devices to learn passages of particular skill or import.[37] A closer look at Lumley's volume of orations reveals that the

[34] Considine 2004.
[35] *The Lumley Library*, 3–4.
[36] More than thirty-five marginal notes in BL, C.20.a.8, from fol. 21r.
[37] Jackson 2001, 48.

marginalia are clearly the work of a number of different hands, at least four, raising uncertainty about whether we can attribute the notes to Jane herself. Lumley had translated the orations of Isocrates, so it is clear that she was interested in the subject of oratory. The tradition of inscription started by Arundel was continued by the subsequent owners of these works, allowing us to identify a number of people who came into contact with the first two volumes of Cicero before their integration into the British Museum's Royal Collection in 1859. In the second volume, the signatures of Arundel, Jane Lumley, "Philippe Surrey", who is likely her nephew, Howard, and a "Willm Heydon" are inscribed on the title page. Another potential owner's signature can be found after a brief handwritten quote in Latin on the preceding page. Whilst additional owners, such as Elizabeth Grey, may exist, those who inscribed their names are most likely to have had a working relationship with the text which would result in such marginalia. In total, there are at least four known owners who wrote in the book and at least four different styles of marking on the inside leaves. This is strongly suggestive that Lumley was one of the annotators of these volumes, and invites further palaeographical study.

The possibility of Lumley's engagement with these texts enhances our developing understanding of her as a reader and as a female Latin scholar, and moreover highlights changing attitudes to the purpose of reading Latin in the wider humanist world of letters. Leah Knight and Micheline White have adapted James Raven's critical vocabulary of the "bookscape" to include cultural networks and practices in addition to spatial concerns.[38] White's study of Katherine Parr's marginalia develops this idea of book ownership and reading as a distinct cultural practice, building on Julie Crawford's work and demonstrating that women's engagement with their reading material could be "outward-looking and action-oriented as well as personal and inward-looking".[39] Alexandra Day further acknowledges the possibility of female marginalia as a specialised form of public engagement.[40] If we apply this understanding to our knowledge of Lumley's reading practices, her study of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero's orations demonstrates her attitude to reading and learning as a kind of participation in public concerns rather than simply private contemplation. Whilst she did not necessarily make speeches herself, Lumley's reading of rhetorical manuals shaped her persona as an informed and versatile scholar with the skills needed to contribute to discussion. Day additionally suggests that Lumley's presentation of gift copies of her early translations may have influenced the direction of her father's reading.[41] Her translation of Euripides, a demonstration of skill demanding grammatical and poetic competence, was not the only visible outcome of Lady Lumley's learning, however; her rhetorical knowledge, shaped through interaction with texts, contributed to a collaborative form of learning, in

[38] Knight & White 2018, 6.
[39] White 2018, 26–7; Crawford 2010.
[40] Day 2017, 136.
[41] Ibid., 137.

which ideas and knowledge were exchanged as a social resource.[42] Lady Lumley's direction of her reading practices towards collaborative and skill-driven scholarly activity demonstrates that cultural endeavours, in addition to direct political commentary, had a distinct social function and played a significant role in shaping the identity of the Latin scholar in the sixteenth century.

Engagement with the letter of texts was important in developing a culture of early modern Latinity, but the exchange of material in Latin carried meaning beyond the text itself. Knight and White's expansion of the definition of "bookscapes" to include cultural *connections* is productive here. Classical learning was repurposed as a basis for the establishment of social networks. Scholars forged identities as part of a wider public humanist movement, creating webs of connected scholars and using these associations in all aspects of sixteenth-century life. Jane Lumley participated in this collaborative Latinity. In the late 1570s, she requested that the renowned humanist scholar Sir Nicholas Bacon send her a copy of the *sententiae* he had painted on the walls of the long gallery at his estate of Gorhambury. The illuminated manuscript which he gave to Lumley is documented in the library catalogue as item number 2208: "Sentences painted in Sir Nicholas Bacons lorde Keepers gallery at Goramburie, and by him sent to the la: Lumley".[43] The leading treatment of this document, an edition, translation, and commentary by Elizabeth McCutcheon, focusses on what it can reveal about Bacon's political and scholarly views, analysing his choices of *sententiae* based on Ciceronian and Senecan works.[44]

If we are to ask questions of Lumley's scholarship as well as Bacon's, however, the interest in the manuscript can also be seen in its claim to have been made "at her desire": this reminds us that its existence is due to the actions of Lady Jane Lumley herself.[45] By commissioning this document, Lumley was not only connecting her name with Bacon's but integrating herself into his close-knit circle centred on the court. This perhaps included his second wife Anne, the well-educated daughter of Edward VI's tutor Sir Anthony Cooke, and one of the chief mourners at Lumley's funeral.[46] The public nature of Lumley and Bacon's relationship is illustrated by the manuscript's quality. It is clear that it was a presentation copy, because it was completed on vellum rather than paper.[47] Additionally, the first page identifies both sender and recipient, accompanied by an elaborate illumination using heraldic and Classical imagery, to present the intertwined identities of the two scholars (see fig. 5).[48]

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[42] For discussion of the social potential of female reading practices and knowledge exchange, see Crawford 2010, 203.

[43] *The Lumley Library*, 249: the manuscript is BL, Royal MS 17 A xxiii.

[44] McCutcheon (*Bacon*), 36.

[45] BL, Royal MS 17 A xxiii, fol. 3r.

[46] McCutcheon (*Bacon*), 2; Purkiss 1998, xli, n. 26.

[47] McCutcheon (*Bacon*), 5; see also Day 2017, 130, for further discussion of the performative nature of the Lumley family's use of quality presentation manuscripts.

[48] BL, Royal MS 17 A xxiii, fol. 2r.

The collaborative act of joining the personal identities of both parties advertises the relationship between the giver and the receiver, forming a public association as much social as it was about Senecan and Ciceronian politics. It is interesting to note that this manuscript was catalogued specifically as belonging to Jane Lumley, rather than being absorbed into her father's or husband's collection. As a result, we can confidently interpret the *sententiae* as evidence of Lumley's attempts to reinforce the identity which she had fashioned for herself as an independent female Latinist, through the pursuit of a network of prestigious scholars.

The performative nature of Lady Lumley's supposedly private reading practices, and her connexion to Sir Nicholas Bacon, demonstrate the importance of alternative uses of Latin learning in sixteenth-century England. Lumley's book collection, dynamic reading practices, and network-building enabled her to utilise her education, acquired privately and quietly, in a way which could be seen by certain "public" groups. Female participation in these alternative applications of a humanist education, in which political motivations form only part of a wider relationship with Latin, provide a more comprehensive understanding of contemporary Classical scholarship. Rather than a limited resource for political ends, Classical learning provided the scholar with access to a world of intellectual and cultural exchange. The rhetorical discussion surrounding female learning shows that there were concerns about the appropriate scale of women's involvement in a movement directed primarily towards elite men. These examples of the practical level of female involvement, however, illustrate the changing nature of Latin scholarship in the early modern period.

III Alternative Uses for Latin: Rhetoric as Social Resource for the Sixteenth-Century Woman

Emphasis on Lumley's written work and a sustained focus on its production in the context of her male relatives' political careers have produced a wealth of evidence which helps us to understand how her Classical scholarship intersected with the humanist movement's avowed civic objectives. By further understanding sixteenth-century Latin as a sociocultural resource, it is possible to explore new avenues in the study of female scholars such as Lumley. Whilst her success as a female Latin scholar involved the transmission of political meaning and the negotiation of the boundary between the public and private spheres, it was not dependent upon these elements. In the early modern period, civic objectives inspired by Classical revival had led to challenges of the validity of female involvement. However, in addition to its role as the language of political discourse, Latin was refashioned as a cultural resource. Rather than a qualification for a specific occupation or a strict set of "humanist" actions, we can now see the study of Classical languages and rhetoric as contributing to a culture relevant to contemporary social as well as political issues.[49]

Lumley's interest in Sir Nicholas Bacon's *sententiae* develops our understanding of how sixteenth-century Classical Latin was used as an intellectual and social resource available for women as well as men. Women's participation in the collection of *sententiae* demonstrates that, despite the prohibition of female eloquence in educational manuals, women were engaging with both the Classical wisdom and rhetorical expression of Latin.[50] Elizabeth McCutcheon's work on a collection of *sententiae* prepared by Jane Lumley's own sister Mary Arundel, Duchess of Norfolk, for their father highlights the Arundels' and the Lumleys' shared enthusiasm for the sententious, but also highlights another example of a young woman adroitly using Latin for *both* political and non-political purposes.[51] McCutcheon describes the early modern usage of *sententiae* as "a psychological survival kit".[52] Whilst the insight provided by *sententiae* may not have been entirely novel to early modern readers, their emphasis on rhetorical eloquence and succinct turn of phrase, made possible through their expression in Classical Latin, led to their reputation as a valuable resource. Bruni thought so too, and in his *De studiis et litteris liber* he wrote:

> I will further urge her not to neglect the orators […] Then, too, those figures of speech and thought, which like stars or torches illuminate our diction and give it distinction,

[49] For summary of humanism as an ideology which "colours" daily life, see Margolis 2015, 38.
[50] See Bath 2016, 178–9, for a discussion of the gendered implications of women's interest in architectural inscriptions.
[51] McCutcheon 2014, esp. 164, on the personal choice to address "ethical and psychological issues that are particularly relevant for a young woman of great wealth and social status".
[52] McCutcheon (*Bacon*), 32.

> are the proper tools of the orator which we will borrow from them when we speak or write, and turn to our use as the occasion demands.[53]

Here, after disabusing Battista Malatesta of the utility of rhetoric to women for political ends, Bruni advocates an alternative use of eloquence. By studying Latin oratory, including sententiae, framed emphatically and powerfully by eloquent speakers and writers, women could learn to appropriate Classical wisdom for their own use.[54]

At first sight, the distinct political theme of a number of Bacon's *sententiae* suggests their purpose as a political aid: for example, *De summo bono*, the Ciceronian idea of the highest good as an end in itself which formed the basis of sixteenth-century commonwealth theory and preoccupation with the common good.[55] Peter Davidson highlights the political nature of *De ambitione*: "Si honores petituri, cum ambitiosis, culmen dignitatis adeptis, deliberarent: vota mutarent."[56] There is a further *sententia* concerning ambition, one *De adulatione*, and two *De concilio*, which can also be seen as offering advice for negotiating the precarious politics of the Tudor court.[57] However, these *sententiae* are thematically diverse and include *De amicitia*, *De amore*, and *De animo*, in tandem with several aphorisms which suggest how to respond to hardship, such as *De timore* and *De divitiis et paupertate*.[58] This theme is further illustrated by the inclusion in Bacon's manuscript of *De dolore*, which reflects Seneca's use of rhetoric in letters of condolence: "Nec sicci sint oculi, amisso amico, nec fluant / Lachrimandum, non plorandum."[59] The thematic variation of Bacon's *sententiae*, from the political to the personal, demonstrates that they were relevant to all aspects of early modern life, including those particularly pertinent to women. Where McCutcheon rightly concludes that "this manuscript is final and personal evidence of a humanism which was an integral part of [Bacon's] entire life," Lumley's "desire" to be sent a copy, and Bacon's willingness to oblige, indicate that women were able to access *sententiae*, applying the format to their own concerns.[60]

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[53] *Humanist Educational Treatises*, 108–11, "Oratores quoque ut legere non negligat, suadebo…Iam vero illa verborum sententiarumque ornamenta, quae tamquam stellae quaedam et faces orationem illuminant et admirabilem redunt, instrumenta oratorum propria sunt, quae mutuabimur ab illis scribentes loquentesque et in usum nostrum, cum res poscet, vertemus."

[54] See McCutcheon 2014, 165, on Mary Arundel's collections, about learning to apply "form and style as well as the substance of the sententia".

[55] BL, Royal MS 17 A xxiii, fol. 3^{r}.

[56] "If those who seek office were to consult the ambitious who had attained the highest honours, they might change their prayers"; Davidson 2018, 196.

[57] BL, Royal MS 17 A xxiii, fols 4^{r}–5^{r}, 10r; see McCutcheon (*Bacon*), 25, on Bacon's own use of *sententiae* in letters and meetings of Council.

[58] BL, Royal MS 17 A xxiii, fols 6^{r}–9^{r}, 11r.

[59] Ibid., fol. 13r, adapted from Sen. Ep. 63.1.

[60] McCutcheon (*Bacon*), 2.

If Lumley had been looking for Senecan and Ciceronian material in Sir Nicholas Bacon's *sententiae*, she could have found similar texts in the Lumley library's own copy of Seneca, edited by Erasmus (Basel, 1529).[61] Additionally, the library had a wide variety of volumes of Cicero's works, including *De officiis*, which after Seneca's *Epistulae morales* had the most frequent influence on Bacon's own *sententiae*.[62] Therefore, Lumley's decision to request the *sententiae* chosen specifically by Bacon suggests that access to new subject matter was less important than the act of requesting the manuscript. Debate and conversation were essential to the building of the humanist movement, and, contrary to a view of the sixteenth century widely held, critical thought, interrogative reading, and network-building through exchange were, broadly speaking, more important than the rote learning of texts.[63] In addition to the self-fashioning act of association, the acquisition of the Bacon manuscript is also evidence of the cultural practice of collecting, which formed a significant part of both Lady Jane's and the Fitzalan and Lumley family's humanistic activity. The Earl of Arundel, Lord Lumley, and Lady Jane Lumley amassed one of the largest collections in sixteenth-century England.[64] Just 12% were vernacular texts, confirming the family's interest in the Classical and their creation of a role for themselves as culturally astute Classical scholars.[65] Collecting showed good taste, and cultural prestige, in addition to building up a circle of friendships and associations. Jane Lumley's participation in the collection of the Lumley library, in addition to her request for Bacon's *sententiae*, demonstrates her use of her Latin learning as a cultural resource in addition to the political interventions proposed by critics of her translation work.

The reach and longevity of Lady Jane Lumley's Latin scholarship provides further evidence that Classical Latin in the early modern period was repurposed as a sociocultural language in tandem with its public, political function. Whilst critical responses to Lumley's writings provide us with ample indication of its potential political meanings, the dating of her extant written work to the mid-1550s suggests that she did not continue to write after her teenage years.[66] Nevertheless, evidence of the influence of Latin learning on Lumley's later cultural activity demonstrates that her education had a more pervasive impact on her life than only in her literary career. Lumley's request of a manuscript copy of the *sententiae* painted in the long gallery of Sir Nicholas Bacon's estate at Gorhambury must have occurred in

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[61] Ibid., 39.

[62] *The Lumley Library*, 198: no. 1666.

[63] For a recent articulation of this, though mainly in relation to the fifteenth century, see Celenza 2018, with reflections such as the following (99): "Reading in private was important, but the sharing of information in public interactions served as an equally important part of this equation"; cf. the well-known assessment of the humanist schoolroom by Grafton & Jardine 1986, 9–14.

[64] Barron 2003, 128.

[65] Gooch 2009, 61.

[66] Pollard 2017, 49, n. 30.

the mid-1570s.[67] The west wing containing the long gallery was added between 1572/74 and 1577, finished in time for Queen Elizabeth I's visit in May of that year.[68] Lumley's death in 1577/78 allows us to date the creation of the manuscript to these years. Not only did this attempt to establish a cultural network with another humanist take place long after her previous literary output, it occurred after a change in circumstances following the Lumley and Fitzalan families' fall from grace at the Tudor court. The Earl of Arundel and Lord Lumley were both implicated in the Ridolfi Plot of 1571, an attempt to ensure a Catholic succession by replacing Elizabeth with Mary, Queen of Scots. Lord Lumley was incarcerated in the Tower of London from September 1571, until his eventual release in April 1573, whilst Arundel's son-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk, husband to Mary Fitzalan before her death in 1557, was executed for his role in the plot as a marriage-match for the Queen of Scots.[69] Arundel lost his stewardship, and both he and Lumley were unable to renew their lieutenancies of Surrey and Sussex.[70]

Therefore, despite the apparently political nature of the materials requested from Sir Nicholas Bacon by Lady Lumley, her continued interest in Latin *sententiae* expands our understanding of the purpose of female Latin learning beyond its accepted role as a support for the political careers of family members. The "Sentences painted in Sir Nicholas Bacons lorde Keepers gallery at Goramburie, and by him sent to the la: Lumley" demonstrate that Latin represented part of an intellectual repertoire which provided the foundations of a way of life that remained relevant despite changing circumstances. Whilst contemporaries debated the legitimacy of female participation in Latin scholarship due to its conventional ties to political subjects and eloquent oratory, these ties had evolved into a broader form of sociocultural capital. Lumley's appropriation of political *sententiae* as a form of collaborative cultural endeavour exemplifies the participation of women in this wider role for Latin.

IV Conclusions

DE PRAECEPTIS ET EXEMPLIS
Longum iter per praecepta: breve et efficax per exempla.[71]

"The journey is long by means of rules: it is brief and effective by means of examples" is one of those included in the "Sentences painted in Sir Nicholas Bacons lorde Keepers gallery". This axiom is often mirrored by the tenor of discussions

[67] Around 1576, according to McCutcheon 2014, 155.
[68] McCutcheon (*Bacon*), 16–7.
[69] Barron 2019.
[70] Gooch 2009, 43.
[71] BL, Royal MS 17 A xxiii, fol. 4^{r}.

about the Latin language in the sixteenth century. Focus on identifying the purpose of Latin, particularly in female scholarship, frequently becomes entangled in paradox and contradictions. However, the use of case studies such as the Latin scholarship of Lady Jane Lumley allows us to enlarge our picture of early modern Latinity. The prescriptive definitions and unconditional rules espoused by contemporary pedagogical manuals often obscure the development of wider intellectual practices with a broad threshold, accessible by more than just the political elite. By interrogating how students used their Latin, it becomes clear that it had become a cultural phenomenon through which they were equipped with the tools they needed to negotiate both sixteenth-century politics and wider cultural practices. This extension of our approach to the Renaissance revival of Classical Latin, incorporating an understanding of its sociocultural applications specific to the sixteenth century, has the potential to prompt new critical responses to the "problem" of female learning. Earlier criticism of Lady Jane Lumley's scholarship dismissed her *Iphigeneia at Aulis* as a childish and poorly worked imitation, and did not consider her education to be directed towards humanism or its alleged public and political goals. More recently, feminist critics have argued for the existence of a greater amount of independent female agency in her work. This approach is accompanied by integrated attempts to understand Lumley's writings in context, which focus on political interpretations of the text and sometimes challenge feminist interpretations. These approaches have pressed us to explore more deeply how female Classical scholarship worked in practice. By building on this, and further taking into account the sociocultural uses of Latin, we can reveal the extent of intellectual reciprocity between supposedly male and female humanist curricula, and the cultural value to both sexes of the practices taught.

Lady Jane Lumley's posthumous reputation is of a woman who was "extraordinary and rare for one of her years and her period".[72] Against a rhetorical backdrop which advocated the sequestration and sometimes even the dismissal of female learning beyond mere competence in the grammatical arts, Lumley's sustained commitment to the application of Classical study in her daily life might appear extraordinary. However, sixteenth-century arguments about the inappropriateness of female Classical scholarship were transmitted by a contemporary intellectual and political elite who were often reluctant to advertise the involvement of women in the repurposing of the function of Latin. By looking beyond this rhetoric, we can develop an understanding of early modern Latin scholarship in which both men and women could receive a practice-based training, equipping them with the skills to fashion a scholarly identity relevant to all aspects of sixteenth-century society. From the origins of humanism as a reaction to utilitarian scholastic training, a model of education developed which had a broad social use. The book ownership and reading practices of Lady Jane Lumley and her establishment of cultural net-

[72] Greene 1941, 547.

works demonstrate women's engagement with rhetorical training as a social tool. As a translator from Greek, Jane Lumley may have been exceptional, but as a user of Latin her experience was not uncommon.

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