

**The reception of Italian neo-Latin poetry in English manuscript sources, c. 1550-1720:
literature, morality, and anti-Popery**

This essay presents some preliminary findings of a new and extensive survey of neo-Latin verse in surviving manuscript sources dating from between c. 1550 and 1720 and currently conserved in English libraries and archives.¹ The piece provides a first comprehensive, if provisional, overview of the presence of Italian neo-Latin poetry in this manuscript corpus, thus complementing existing studies of the reception of Italian Renaissance humanism in early modern England. Work on this topic has tended to converge on Shakespeare and other major English authors, and to focus both on the reception of literature in Italian (rather in Latin) and on print rather than manuscript material.² By contrast, this essay sets out the evidence for the reception of Italian neo-Latin poetry in mid-sixteenth- to early eighteenth-century English literary culture deriving from an analysis of common types of early modern manuscripts, such as private commonplace books and personal miscellanies.³

The evidence discussed in this article comes from manuscripts that are clearly or probably of English origin, showing at least some evidence of English authorship, connection, or circulation in the early modern period. I have not considered manuscripts which were written in Italy and acquired by English institutions in modern times (such as British Library MSS Add. 8220-8823, which contain a high number of Latin and Italian texts about early modern Italy and Rome). The following survey is far from exhaustive, as the project research team has examined only a limited (if representative) sample of the early modern manuscripts currently held in England and is still working on attribution.

Surviving manuscript evidence demonstrates the widespread circulation of, and engagement with, Italian neo-Latin verse in early modern England. The total corpus at the time of writing amounts to c. 28,000 neo-Latin poems from c. 1,270 manuscripts.⁴ While the majority of identified items are by English and Scottish authors and many relate to

contemporary British culture, the corpus also has a substantial pan-European component, including many citations of Italian neo-Latin poets.⁵ Among the non-British poets, the Italians are one of the most well-represented national groups. A preliminary analysis of the project's corpus suggests that they may constitute the largest national subset after British authors, although French and Dutch Latin poets are also well-represented. Since Latin verse at this period is frequently circulated without authorial attribution, the process of identifying authors is a painstaking one. Although the analysis of the corpus in terms of specific authors is still at an early stage, Sannazaro, Alciato, Palingenius, and Mantuan are all clearly in the top ten most frequently copied or quoted neo-Latin poets.⁶ Around 100 manuscripts contain verse which has already been identified as by or related to Italian neo-Latin poets and are thus relevant for this essay; many further examples are likely to emerge in the future.⁷

On the one hand, this relative richness of Italian (and continental European) elements is an indicator of the typically transnational character of neo-Latin literary culture in this period.⁸ The quotations of Italian neo-Latin poetry in personal notebooks attest to the diffusion of this literary tradition in early modern England. At the same time, however, the reception of Italian Latin humanism in English manuscript sources follows some specific patterns of selection and appropriation. These trends are dictated in part by the very nature of the manuscript miscellanies as a medium and by the ways in which Italian neo-Latin poetry circulated in England throughout this period, but they are also strongly expressive of widespread political and religious concerns among early modern English readers.

The miscellaneous character of manuscript compilations especially encourages the citation of brief, single extracts from a range of different authors. Therefore, we find a high number of distichs, epigrams, and short poems, which are frequently copied because of their quotability, wit, or exemplary moral potential (the latter especially evident in commonplace books).⁹ Moreover, Italian neo-Latin poets were available to English readers not only in printed editions of individual authors, but also in verse anthologies. The use of anthologies

can be discerned in several manuscript collections, in which Italian poets are sometimes grouped together as writers of epigrams, rather than quoted individually: authors such as Girolamo Angeriano or Celio Calcagnini appear to have been only or largely available via anthologies. Poets who were read independently as school texts and were often cited in contemporary printed sources (such as Battista Mantuan and Marcellus Palingenius), or circulated in their own editions (such as Andrea Alciato) generally have a more defined authorial identity in manuscript sources and are in some cases evoked as important literary authorities.

At the same time, the selection made by manuscript collectors clearly reflects their predominant ethical-political concerns and (generally) Protestant views, as it privileges allusions to, and critiques of, the corruption of the Roman Church.¹⁰ This particular emphasis on anti-Papal verse leads to distinctive patterns in the circulation of and response to this material including, for instance, the popularity of poems rarely reprinted in Italy (such as Sannazaro's anti-Papal epigrams) and intense interest in certain pieces and anecdotes (such as Janus Vitalis Panormitanus's poem on Rome and various literary references to Catholic misconduct and hypocrisy). Famous critics of the Roman Church from within, like Mantuan and Palingenius, are well-represented in manuscript sources as they were in the early modern Protestant school curriculum; nevertheless, this "Protestantising" tendency of the selection also extends to other well-known Italian poets, such as Petrarch. I will exemplify these patterns of selection and "domestication" by looking at the following categories of frequently quoted Italian neo-Latin poems: large epigram collections based on printed anthologies; widely read school texts; and poems by, and about, famous Italian humanists.¹¹

1. Manuscript epigram collections based on printed anthologies

Printed poetic anthologies constituted an important means of diffusion of Italian neo-Latin poetry in early modern England.¹² In the early seventeenth-century, the Flemish scholar

Jan Gruter published (under the pseudonym “Ranutius Gherus”) a series of anthologies which gathered what were deemed the best neo-Latin epigrams from a range of nations: these include the *Delitiae CC Italarum poetarum* (1608); the *Delitiae C poetarum Gallorum* (1609); the *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum* (1612); and the *Delitiae C poetarum Belgicorum* (1614). Gruter’s *Delitiae CC Italarum poetarum* comprises neo-Latin epigrams from 200 Italian poets, arranged alphabetically by author: this anthology had an international impact and circulated in England, as well as in continental Europe.¹³ In addition, the English writer and deacon Abraham Wright compiled a selection of the allegedly best neo-Latin poems on a European scale: his anthology, titled *Delitiae delitiarum*, was published in Oxford in 1637 and gathers epigrams from more than forty Italian poets, also arranged by author.¹⁴

Italian neo-Latin poetry features in some early modern English manuscript collections of epigrams: in most cases, the inclusion of the Italians in these manuscript compilations seems largely or wholly motivated by their presence in the above-mentioned printed anthologies. When they are grouped together in large epigram collections, Italian neo-Latinists lose, in a sense, their individual authorial identity: in manuscripts of this kind, the poets’ names are not always stated and individual authorship is absorbed or replaced by the authors’ collective identity, either as part of the epigrammatic tradition in general, or more specifically as Italian writers of epigrams.

British Library (hereafter BL) MS Add. 61744 is a mid-seventeenth-century collection of poems and translations arranged by Sir Reginald Forster, a former exiled royalist and a magistrate for Middlesex.¹⁵ Among the authors of the 48 neo-Latin poems with English translations copied by Sir Reginald are Italian poets such as Francesco Petrarch (1304-74), Balthasar Bonifacius (Baldassarre Bonifacio, 1585-1659), Mario Bettini (1582-1657), Celio Calcagnini (1479-1541), Girolamo Angeriano (1470-1535), Giovan Battista Giraldis Cinzio (1504-73), and Janus Vitalis Panormitanus (c. 1485-1560).¹⁶ Most of the neo-Latin epigrams in the manuscript can be found in Abraham Wright’s *Delitiae delitiarum* (Oxford, 1637):

apart from an excerpt from Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen*, all the Italian neo-Latin pieces selected by Sir Reginald (12 in total) can be traced back to Wright's anthology.¹⁷ Therefore, these epigrams appear to have been known to Sir Reginald based on a collective anthology rather than on individual editions of each author's works. Although Sir Reginald's compilation is not strictly organised by author, the poets' names are always provided. In other manuscripts, however, epigrams are not always clearly assigned to a particular author and, as a result, the sense of individual poetic authorship is further reduced.

Kent History and Library Centre (hereafter H&LC) MS U1121/Z56/8 is a collection of 416 neo-Latin epigrams divided into various sections (namely French, German, Italian, and Dutch poets) and featuring early sixteenth-century to early seventeenth-century authors, up to Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645).¹⁸ The section dedicated to the Italian poets is the largest one and consists of 172 poems from 43 authors, who are listed alphabetically and divided into two sections (ff. 28v-43r; see Table 1).

All these epigrams appear, in almost identical order, in Gruter's *Delitiae CC Itolorum poetarum*, in which the poems are similarly divided into two halves between letters "L" and "M." This manuscript selection of Italian neo-Latin poems is obviously based on Gruter's anthology. In Kent H&LC MS U1121/Z56/8, the names of the poets are sometimes omitted or occasionally given with an unusual spelling (e.g. "Bombo" for "Bembo" and "Valcararana" for "Valmarana").¹⁹

An analogous example is provided by BL Add. MS 14047 (mid to late 17th century), which contains a very similar, if smaller, selection of 119 neo-Latin epigrams, of which 41 are by Italian poets. Here, too, the Italian section is introduced by the heading "Pars I^a Italicorum Poetarum" ("First series of Italian poets"), and Italian neo-Latin authors are (mostly) listed alphabetically and run from Ignazio Albano (fl. early 16th century) to Pierio Valeriano (1477-1558).²⁰ The source used by the manuscript collector is again Gruter's anthology; interestingly, all the poems selected in BL Add. MS 14047 are also present in Kent H&LC

MS U1121/Z56/8, with the exception of Poliziano's "In amorem arantem" and Valeriano's "Palladae," which do not appear in the Kent manuscript, though they are in Gruter.²¹ In BL Add. MS 14047, the authors' names are, again, often omitted and the poets appear to be grouped based on their common belonging to the epigrammatic tradition as Italians and writers of Latin epigrams.

In other manuscript epigram collections, the identification of a possible source is less straightforward. BL MS Add. 38693 is a miscellany apparently assembled by Thomas Tenison (1636-1715) and including a sequence of epigrams copied in an early seventeenth-century hand. This sequence consists of c. 285 neo-Latin epigrams, at least one third of which are pieces by, or attributed to, Giraldi Cinzio, Girolamo Balbi (c. 1450-1535), Ercole Strozzi (c. 1473-1508), Calcagnini, Bigi, Michele Verino (1469-97), Fausto Andrelini (c. 1462-1519), Poliziano (Angelo Ambrogini, 1454-94), Lorenzo Valla (1407-57), Angeriano, and Andrea Alciato (1492-1550).²² Many of the Italian neo-Latin poets and poems copied in this manuscript also appear in Gruter's anthology.²³ Others, however, are not in Gruter: the *Delitiae CC Italarum poetarum* does not include authors such as Andrelini, Valla, and Verino, nor pieces such as as Bigi's "De Christo Crucifixo" and "In Propertianum," which all appear in the manuscript.²⁴ Moreover, in this manuscript Alciato's epigrams are accompanied by a Latin commentary, which we do not find in Gruter.²⁵

It is possible that the manuscript collector drew on a range of different sources, including some editions of individual authors. Nonetheless, authors' names are frequently not provided, to the point that it is often hard for the reader to identify the beginning and end of each poet's section, and attribution is often unclear: "De quaedam quae per errorem nupsit filium" ("On a certain woman who married her son by mistake") and "In Dyspilum," for instance, are here incorporated into Ercole Strozzi's poems (f. 3r), although in Gruter's anthology these pieces are ascribed to Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (1424 -c. 1505).²⁶

All these large collections of epigrams evince the importance of printed poetic anthologies for the diffusion and appreciation of Italian neo-Latin poetry in early modern England. Italian poets are well-represented in these manuscripts, where they are copied alongside other European neo-Latin poets and usually cover at least one quarter, and up to more than one third, of the relevant compilation. While manuscript collections of this kind reveal an interest in the Italian neo-Latin literary tradition as a whole, the poets' individual authorship is here generally subsumed into their collective identity as (Italian) epigrammatists.

Although these collections are thematically quite varied rather than centered on a particular topic, it should be noted that the two miscellanies based on Gruter's anthology contain some epigrams which deal more or less explicitly with the corruption of the Roman Curia. Kent H&LC MS U1121/Z56/8 includes Janus Vitalis's poem on the decline of once powerful Rome and epigrams against Lucrezia Borgia (the daughter and alleged concubine of Pope Alexander VI), Alexander VI, and Leone X by Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530); Sannazaro's satirical epitaph of Alexander VI also features in BL MS Add. 14047 (f. 143r [r]).

Sannazaro's anti-Papal epigrams appear in Gruter but were excluded from sixteenth-century Italian editions published after the Council of Trent (1545-63);²⁷ it is significant that, out of the 150 Sannazaro epigrams published by Gruter, manuscript collectors selected some of those expurgated by the Italian Catholic censorship. As I will demonstrate in the final section of this essay, the independent circulation of Janus Vitalis's and Sannazaro's verse on Rome's decline and corruption in other manuscripts confirms of the vitality of this "sub-genre" in early modern England. Manuscripts of this type, in which Italian neo-Latin poets are quoted individually, rather than as part of a larger group of epigrammatists, and are thus generally endowed with a clearer authorial identity, are the focus of the following two

sections of this essay. Examples of this sort also point to a particular interest in anti-Papal material.

2. School texts and “honorary Protestants”: Mantuan and Palingenius

Among the most frequently cited individual authors are Mantuan (Battista Spagnoli or Mantovano, 1447-1516) and Palingenius (Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus, c. 1500?-pre 1551).²⁸ The prominence of these authors in manuscript sources from this period can be explained by the compatibility of their texts with Protestant political and ethical concerns, and with the consequent popularity of Mantuan’s collection of eclogues (*Adulescentia*) and Palingenius’s *Zodiacus vitae* in the early modern English school curriculum. Scholars of early modern English education and literary culture, such as Baldwin, Watson, Binns, and Green, have shown that Mantuan and Palingenius were commonly prescribed in Protestant schools as a source of morally sound Christian teachings.²⁹

Lee Piepho has demonstrated that Mantuan’s reputation as a critic of the Roman Church from within made him a recurrent point of reference within the polemical writings of Protestant reformers such as Martin Luther, John Bale, and Matthias Flacius. Partly as a consequence of this ideological characterization, from the mid-sixteenth century Mantuan’s eclogues were at read at least as frequently as those of Virgil in English grammar schools, and the *Adulescentia* underpins allusions to clerical corruption in sixteenth-century English works such as Barnabe Googe’s “eglogs,” the eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder, and Edmund Spenser’s *The Shepheardes Calender*.³⁰ Alongside these numerous and often unacknowledged borrowings, Holofernes’s famous citation of the “good old Mantuan” and his *Adulescentia* in Shakespeare’s *Love’s Labor’s Lost* (IV, 2, 94-102) also points to widespread familiarity.³¹

Nineteen editions of Mantuan’s *Adulescentia* were published in England between 1567 and 1718.³² Furthermore, Piepho has shown that Mantuan’s Latin religious poetry also

circulated in early modern England (especially in the early sixteenth-century), and that even less-studied texts by Mantuan were often cited in English anti-Papal printed literature.³³ Palingenius's *Zodiacus vitae*, which was also frequently cited or imitated by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, was translated into English by Barnabe Googe (1560); the Latin text was published in London in 1569 and Green notices that this edition was "the first of perhaps nine printed between then and 1639."³⁴ Although the *princeps* edition of the *Zodiacus vitae* was published in Venice in 1536, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards Palingenius's work was, in fact, considerably more popular, and more frequently printed, in Britain and northern Europe than in Italy, where it was listed in the *Index* of prohibited books from 1557 to 1900.³⁵

A survey of manuscript sources confirms that the works of both Mantuan and Palingenius were widely read in mid-sixteenth to early eighteenth-century England, where they were regarded as authoritative sources on ethics and frequently incorporated within anti-Papal discourses in particular. Generally accompanied by an indication of the authors' names, Mantuan's and Palingenius's texts were not only clearly well-known and undisputed in authorship, but also indirectly assimilated to "canonical" moral *auctoritates* such as Cicero or Horace, with whom they are frequently juxtaposed in commonplace books and collections of aphorisms. This direct citation of Latin extracts from Mantuan and Palingenius as a set of useful maxims differs from the literary redeployment of these texts by contemporary English poets such as Spenser or Shakespeare, but nevertheless points to the pervasive exposure of writers of Spenser's and the following generations to these standardly prescribed texts. In fact, the reception of the works of Mantuan and Palingenius in early modern English literary culture entailed a process of "domestication" and ideological appropriation: these works are quoted in manuscript sources as canonically moralising (rather than strikingly Italian) and intrinsically compatible with a Protestant ethos.

Manuscript collectors often cite Mantuan's Latin poetry, including but not limited to the eclogues, as a repertory of maxims and moral principles.³⁶ Cambridge University Library

(hereafter CUL) MS Add. 11 (= Patrick Papers 11), a commonplace book written by the Church of England clergyman John Patrick in 1652, has a citation of Mantuan's *Ad Ioannem Sabaudium paramythia* (77-78) on the topic of the misery of earthly life (f. 108v).

Northampton MS FH322 is an early seventeenth-century miscellany which includes an extract from Mantuan's second eclogue — as the collector explicitly states — about the opportunity of offering wise counsel at the appropriate moment (f. 52v).³⁷ Similarly, CUL MS Dd. IV. 5, a commonplace book probably also dating to the early seventeenth century, contains a phrase on the bitterness of *amor* (“amor amaror et error”) drawn from line 52 of Mantuan's first eclogue, which overall deals with honorable love, alongside a quotation from Mantuan's *De calamitatibus temporum* (2, 320) on the brevity of life: here, too, the citations are followed by the indication of the author (ff. 1r and 86r).³⁸ This manuscript citation of Mantuan's line on *amor* indicates that this *sententia* was clearly well-known and attributed to Mantuan in early-modern England.³⁹ Indeed, this line appears to also be the “source” of Spenser's wordplay on “amarous” (“amarous sweet spoiles”) in *The Faerie Queene* II, xii, 64, having been quoted in full in a letter written by Gabriel Harvey to Spenser in 1579.⁴⁰

In some instances, manuscript references to Mantuan have a more pronounced polemical, anti-Papal flavour. Two excerpts of Mantuan's *Exhortatio ad reges Christianos* are quoted at f. 169r of BL MS Cotton Titus D X, a notebook written around 1548-60 by the ex-Carmelite and Protestant reformer John Bale (1493-1563). The two extracts (I, 88-91 and 91-94) are here explicitly attributed to Mantuan and introduced as concerned with the misdeeds and illicit sexual relationships of the clergy.⁴¹ BL MS Egerton 2642 (late 16th century) is another anti-Catholic poetic collection which has various quotations from Mantuan, some of which are provided with an English translation. An excerpt from Mantuan's *De sacris diebus* (1, p. 252), which questions the Catholic dogma of clerical celibacy, for instance, is headed “Baptista Mantuanus recte et vere de coniugio et celibatu clericorum” (“Battista Mantuan [wrote] rightfully and truthfully on clerical marriage and celibacy”; f. 228r; Figure 1).⁴² There

follows a citation from Mantuan's *Nicolaus Tolentinus* (1, 634-39) on Roman Church scandals, headed "Baptista Mantuanus [...] writeth upon the Papall State thus" (f. 230r). These pieces are accompanied by less politicised citations of Mantuan's fourth and ninth eclogues on the topics of female vices and medical art (ff. 261v and 265v).⁴³ Similarly, BL MS Add. 5947* (late 17th or early 18th century) contains a Latin distich by Mantuan, provided with an English translation (f. 41v):

Vivere qui sancte cupitis discedite Roma
omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum.

Englisht:

You that will live well must leave Rome for there
All things are lawfull, but what lawfull are.⁴⁴

These lines are drawn from *In Romam bellis tumultuantem*, an invective against Rome included in Mantuan's *Sylvae* and frequently quoted by Protestant polemicists, including Luther himself.⁴⁵ Again, in the eighteenth-century Durham Palace Green (hereafter PG) Library MS MSP 29, f. 20v, a distich from Mantuan's *De calamitatibus temporum* (3, 121-22) is accompanied by a note about the author: "he was a sharp satirist against the Vices & Errors of the Church of Rome."

Palingenius is quoted like Mantuan, and occasionally alongside him, both in generally moralising and, sometimes, in more specifically anti-Catholic contexts.⁴⁶ CUL MS Dd. II. 43 (mid-17th century) contains thirty-nine extracts from Palingenius (pp. 119-122), titled "Excerpta ex Marcelli Paling: Signis Zodiacis" ("Excerpts from Marcellus Palingenius's *Signs of the Zodiac*") and linked to a list of moral topics. Richard Symonds's commonplace book (BL MS Egerton 3880, mostly written in the mid to late 17th century) has two quotations from Mantuan's *Adulescentia* (f. 15v) and two excerpts from Palingenius (ff. 132v and 135r), as well as Latin citations from other Italian humanists.⁴⁷ Likewise, John Wrighte's commonplace book in BL MS Sloane 833 (1607) contains some *Flores poetarum*, taken

partly from neo-Latin poets. At f. 14r of this manuscript are fourteen quotations from Mantuan (“ex Mantuano”), all from the *Adulescentia*, while at ff. 14v-15r are forty-five extracts from Palingenius (“ex Palingeno”), each of which is again linked to a particular moral theme.⁴⁸ Moreover, Lee Piepho has underlined the specific anti-Papal significance of Thomas Fairfax’s translations of Mantuan and Palingenius, as well as of Giovanni Pontano (1429-1503), in Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter Bod.) MS Fairfax 40, where the translated extracts focus on the topic of Roman corruption.⁴⁹

All this suggests that early modern manuscript collectors were directly familiar with Mantuan and Palingenius and considered them standard authorities in discussions on ethics and the vices of the Roman clergy. While Mantuan and Palingenius had a distinctive authorial identity in this period, their texts are incorporated within an English Protestant ethical and political agenda. Using Italian Catholic sources for anti-Papal content had particular rhetorical force in this context: in capitalising on the discourse of previous Catholic moralists, English Protestants underscored how the need for reformation was apparent to, and denounced by, Catholic themselves. In Bod. MS Fairfax 40, p. 609, for example, Thomas Fairfax mentions that even a “Papist” like Palingenius describes the “monstrous corruptions of the Romaine clergie.”⁵⁰

3. Famous humanists

Manuscript sources also contain many individual citations of famous Italian humanists — namely, well-known poets who were read in their own editions (or in other intermediate sources) as well as in collective printed anthologies, and who stood out individually within the anthological neo-Latin repertory as received in early modern English literary culture. This set of citations includes poems by and about the Italian humanists and it is quite varied in terms of type and function.⁵¹ Some pieces have an eminently “literary” character, as they are aimed at poetic recreation and scholarly erudition. In many cases, however, the selection of

this literary material is again motivated by a strong focus on its moral utility, in line with the collectors' interest in memorable pieces of moral advice. Moreover, this verse is once again characterised by a relative emphasis on anti-Papal themes: in early modern English manuscript sources, the literary authority of humanists such as Sannazaro, Pontano, and Petrarch overlaps with their role as critics of the papal Curia.

3.1 *Literary recreation, erudition, and poetic memory*

Manuscript miscellanies contain a wide variety of poetic extracts copied for their literary or cultural-historical interest. Among these are several poems by Poliziano. Alejandro Coroleu has shown that Poliziano's Latin writings were extremely popular in sixteenth-century Europe: in England, too, Poliziano's works featured in some booksellers' registers and library catalogues from this period, and were recommended by schoolmasters and university lecturers.⁵² Manuscripts provide further evidence of persistent familiarity with, and appreciation of, Poliziano's Latin poetry in early modern England.⁵³ For instance, Bod. MS Sancroft 53 (late 17th century) quotes Poliziano's *epigr.* 33, 1-2 (p. 307 [r]), while Northampton MS FH322 (early 17th century) has two copies of Poliziano's *Graec. epigr.* 8 (ff. 69r, 70r):

Medeae statua es, misella hirundo,
sub qua nidificas. Tuos ne credas
huic natos, rogo, quae suos necavit.

[The statue below which you nest, wretched swallow, is Medea's. I beg you not to trust your children to her, who killed hers].⁵⁴

Poliziano is also cited as a standard metrical example: at f. 33r of Durham Cathedral Library (hereafter Cath.) MS Add. 213 (17th century), quotations of Poliziano, *epigr.* 50, 16-17 and *odae* 8, 84-86 are used to exemplify the structure of the phalaecean hendecasyllable and of the iambic dimeter respectively.⁵⁵

Further examples of citations collected because of their literary-cultural value include some miscellaneous poems by Girolamo Amalteo (1507-74), Marco Antonio Casanova (1477-1528), and Balthasar Bonifacius.⁵⁶ Moreover, in Bod. MS Rawl. D 296 is a large and varied collection of poems by Julius C. Scaliger (1484-1558), copied in the seventeenth century by his son, Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609).⁵⁷

Furthermore, a number of mentions of famous Italian humanists occur in literary epitaphs which commemorate their poetic achievements. For instance, BL MS Sloane 2023 (early 17th century), f. 60v contains an epitaph of Poliziano. Both BL MS Sloane 396 (1644), f. 18r and BL MS Sloane 1898 (early 17th century), ff. 20v-21r comprise an epitaph for Ludovico Ariosto (1477-1533). In Durham Cath. MS Hunter 96 (early 17th century), p. 7 is Pontano's epitaph to himself.⁵⁸ Durham PG Library MS MSP 29 (early 18th century) has various Italian-related inscriptions and Latin verse epitaphs, including an epitaph of Sannazaro by Bembo (Pietro Bembo, 1470-1547), epitaphs for Bruni (Leonardo Bruni, c. 1370-1444) and Sabellico (Marco Antonio Sabellico, c. 1436-1506), and Poliziano's epitaph for Michele Verino.⁵⁹ This relative frequency of literary epitaphs evinces the importance of poetic memory and its preservation in early modern manuscript miscellanies.⁶⁰

3.2 Poetry as moral teaching

In manuscript sources, and in commonplace books or collections of maxims in particular, some well-known Italian humanists are quoted as famous moral as well as literary authorities. This is, for instance, true for Alciato, who is relatively well-represented in our corpus. Peter Daly's study of the English reception of Alciato's emblems has demonstrated the popularity of the *Emblemata* in sixteenth- to seventeenth-century England, and the example of BL MS Add. 38693 (the last epigram collection discussed in section 1 above) suggests that English manuscript collectors read Alciato without reliance on anthologies. While Alciato's emblems were not published in England, several of the many editions printed

in continental Europe (180 between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) reached England, were used in English schools, and spurred a range of borrowings, imitations, and re-adaptations in contemporary English printed literature and material culture.⁶¹

Building upon the work of John Manning, Daly has also considered the presence of Alciato in some early modern English manuscript miscellanies, such as Thomas Palmer's collection of English emblems in BL MS Sloane 3794 (1565), which is largely a translation of Alciato (and, to a lesser extent, Valeriano), and John and William Briton's transcription and translation of a group of emblems by Alciato in BL MS Add. 61822 (1564-98), ff. 77r-80r.⁶² As Daly notes, Palmer produced two other manuscript collections of English emblems: Bod. MS Ashmole 767 (1598) and BL MS Add. 18040 (1663).⁶³ Gillian Wright has demonstrated that the former manuscript is a draft of the latter one, which is a presentation copy dedicated to Robert Cecil; Wright has shown that Palmer's emblems in these compilations are, again, based on Alciato.⁶⁴

Our survey provides further evidence of Alciato's presence in early modern English manuscript culture to add to that gathered by Manning, Daly, and Wright. Alciato's gnomic and easily memorised emblems are frequently included in personal manuscript miscellanies and commonplace books.⁶⁵ Sir Simonds D'Ewes's book of prose and verse exercises in BL MS Harley 121 (1617-18) contains a quotation of Alciato's emblem "Silentium," followed by a brief Latin commentary.⁶⁶ John Patrick's commonplace book in CUL MS Add. 11 (1652) similarly includes quotations of Alciato's emblems "Impossibile" and "Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum."⁶⁷ Bod. MS Marshall 43 is another, late sixteenth-century commonplace book ("Locorum communium collectanea") by the Dutch physician and scholar Hadrianus Junius (Adriaen de Jonghe, 1511–75). A cosmopolitan intellectual and an emblemist himself, Junius travelled across Italy, where he met Alciato and became a doctor of philosophy and medicine (1540), before spending some years in England (1544-50).⁶⁸ Junius's commonplace book belonged to the collection of the English philologist Thomas

Marshall (1621-85) and thus was in England by the late seventeenth century.⁶⁹ This manuscript once again contains several citations of Alciato, alongside extracts from Mantuan and Vida (Girolamo Vida, 1485-1566) and mentions of Poliziano and Beroaldo (Filippo Beraldo, 1453-1505).⁷⁰

In some early modern epigram collections, Alciato's poems have been assimilated into sequences alongside Anglo-Latin material. Somerset Heritage Centre MS DD/WO/61/5/8 has 23 poems by Alciato, which deal with a range of moral topics and are interspersed with 15 epigrams by John Owen (c.1564-c.1622) and eight by Thomas Campion (1567-1620).⁷¹ This appears as a further proof of the familiarity of early modern English readers with Alciato, as well as of the close relationship of epigram and emblem tradition in this context. Overall, these examples demonstrate that the moral sententiousness, exemplary function, and concision of Alciato's emblems fostered their circulation in manuscript miscellanies.

Excerpts of other Italian authors were, likewise, frequently selected by manuscript collectors for their edifying potential. Essex CRO MS D/DTu 274, a late seventeenth-century collection of poems and maxims, includes a six-line extract of Maffeo Vegio's *Supplementum ad Aeneida* (1428; Vegio, 1407-58): the passage deals with the subject of the mutability of fortune and is transcribed under the heading of "vanity."⁷²

Although not represented in Gruter's anthology, Michele Verino was evidently popular in early modern England. The English circulation of Verino's poetry was enhanced by the publication of some moralising couplets drawn from his *Disticha de moribus* within many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printed editions of the enormously popular epigrams of John Owen. In these editions of Owen, Verino's poems were published without authorial attribution and titled "Monosticha quaedam ethica et politica veterum sapientium" ("Some ethical and political lines by ancient sages").⁷³ The gnomic, edifying nature of Verino's poems encouraged their copying in contemporary manuscript miscellanies; and although they appear anonymously in the Owen editions, manuscript citations demonstrate

that some of these pieces were clearly attributed to Verino at the time. For example, Northampton MS FH322 (early 17th century), f. 53r contains a four-line epigram on the power of eloquence, which begins “Nil tam difficile est” and is ascribed to “Mich. Verin.”⁷⁴ Likewise, CUL MS Add. 11 (1652), f. 94r has an elegiac sequence on the correct education of children by “Michael Verinus.”⁷⁵

3.2 Poetic authority and anti-Papal views

Aside from general moral edification, some poems by Italian humanists appear to have been included in English manuscript miscellanies, once again, due to their anti-Papal connotations.⁷⁶ A piece such as Janus Vitalis’s epigram on the decadence of Rome possibly owes its popularity to its appearance not only in the *Delitiae delitiarum* and *Delitiae CC Italorum poetarum*, but also in the school anthology *Epigrammatum delectus* (prescribed at Eton College in the late seventeenth century); nevertheless, the recurrent inclusion of this epigram by manuscript collectors appears to be an act of deliberate selection based on their likely ideological commitments.⁷⁷ The same can be said for the repeated presence in manuscripts of a satirical distich by Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-64) about the vices of the monks.⁷⁸

Moreover, famous Italian humanists such as Pontano, Sannazaro, and Petrarch are evoked not only as literary and moral-philosophical models, but also as censors of the Church of Rome and its immorality. Pontano’s praise of rural peace in the *De amore coniugali* (2, 2, 39-40) is quoted in Bod. MS Sancroft 58 (early 17th century), p. 272, while Pontano’s scathing epitaph of Lucrezia Borgia is translated by Thomas Fairfax in the already-mentioned Bod. MS Fairfax 40 and appears (although in most cases either without attribution, or an incorrect one) in another four manuscripts.⁷⁹

As I discuss in a separate article, Sannazaro’s Latin epigrams were particularly frequently copied in early modern English manuscripts.⁸⁰ The poems “In Lucretiam de

Alexandro Sexto” and “Epitaphium Alexandri Sexti,” contained in the above-mentioned large collections of epigrams, also appear in Bod. MS Sancroft 53, pp. 310 (r) and 311 (r). Moreover, we find manuscript citations of Sannazaro’s epigram “To King Federico” (Bod. MS Sancroft 58, p. 197), of his poem to Poggio Bracciolini (Cambridge Emmanuel MS 105, poem 434), and of his anti-Papal pieces “In Leonem X Pontificem Maximum,” “In Alexandrum VI Pontificem Maximum” (BL MS Egerton 2642, f. 229v), and “Epitaphium Alexandri” (Durham Cath. MS Hunter 96, p. 17 and BL MS Harley 7332, ff. 58v-59r).⁸¹ As the titles of these epigrams suggest, the choices made by manuscript compilers tended to emphasise the “pro-Protestant” implications of Sannazaro’s poems: the anti-Papal epigrams, excluded in late seventeenth-century Italian editions of Sannazaro’s poetry, are among the pieces most frequently copied in English manuscript sources.

Noticeably, early modern English manuscripts comprise many transcriptions, translations, and re-elaborations of Sannazaro’s hexastich on how Venice is superior to Rome, which is, more generally, among the most frequently cited poems in our corpus.⁸² The manuscripts we have examined contain at least twenty instances of copy, translation or re-writing of this particular epigram.⁸³ The popularity of this poem in early modern England was, once again, probably enhanced by its anti-Roman resonances, as well as by its easily quotable nature and by the legend that Venice paid a fortune for each line of the hexastich.⁸⁴

Another, noteworthy example is that of Petrarch: the praise of Petrarch as a literary author in early modern English manuscripts intersects with the construction of his figure as an anti-Papal symbol. Petrarch’s literary work was well-known in early modern England, as scholars have repeatedly pointed out.⁸⁵ In his seminal study of Petrarchan manuscripts currently conserved in the British Isles, Nicholas Mann has listed 267 manuscripts containing Petrarch’s literary works, of which at least c. 70 had a British origin or circulated in Britain between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries.⁸⁶ According to Mann, the Petrarch known in fifteenth-century England was “the Latin moralist, the author above all of the *De*

*remediis utriusque fortune.*⁸⁷ In her recent re-assessment of Petrarch's medieval and early modern English reception, Alessandra Petrina has adjusted Mann's statement, highlighting the "coexistence of the moralist and the humanist" in English perceptions of Petrarch between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries.⁸⁸ Ernest Wilkins's study has, in fact, identified a threefold wave in Renaissance Petrarchism, distinguishing between the influence of Petrarch's Latin works (especially strong in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries), of the *Trionfi* (fifteenth to sixteenth century), and of the *Canzoniere* (sixteenth century); this categorisation has been repeated by later scholars of Petrarch's English reception.⁸⁹

A survey of mid-sixteenth- to early eighteenth-century manuscript sources (including manuscripts not examined by Mann) provides some corroborating proofs of Petrarch's enduring fame in early modern England, not only as a moral philosopher, but also as a poet in both Latin and Italian.⁹⁰ The previously mentioned excerpt of the *Bucolicum carmen* in BL MS Add. 61744 (17th century) already evinces the direct familiarity of English manuscript collectors with Petrarch's Latin poetry.⁹¹ Moreover, several manuscripts contain Latin, as well as English, translations of Petrarch's Italian lyrics.⁹² BL MS Harley 3277 (late 16th century), for instance, is a manuscript copy of Watson's *Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Love* (1583); this literary work, which was clearly popular at the time, incorporates English and Latin translations of some Petrarchan lyrics (and of poems by other Italian authors), providing them with a detailed apparatus of notes.⁹³

What is more, English manuscript collectors collated pieces *about* Petrarch as well as by him: our corpus includes a range of Latin poems in praise of Petrarch, who is represented as the poet par excellence. At p. 330 of Bod. MS Sancroft 28 (1688), we can read an epigram "Ad Petrarcham" in elegiacs, here attributed to James Windet and also present in Cambridge Emmanuel MS 105 (late 17th century) as epigram n. 383 (f. 53r).⁹⁴ This poem begins with the exclamation "Quam pulchra flamma incaluit tibi vena!" ("What a beautiful flame heated your

poetic talent!”) and praises Petrarch’s poetic ability and witticism (*lepores*, l. 1), calling him a “second Apollo” (“alter Apollo,” l. 4).

A particular sub-type of Petrarch-related poems is that of pieces written in reaction to the robbery of Petrarch’s tomb by Dominican friar Tommaso Martinelli, with a few drunken accomplices, in 1630.⁹⁵ In poems on this subject, Petrarch is represented both a literary model and a political symbol of anti-Papal resistance: Martinelli is blamed as an evil and reckless “avenger” of Petrarch’s satire of the Pope, alluding to the criticism of the Avignon Papacy in Petrarch’s writings and especially evident in the *Liber sine nomine* and in the anti-Avignon sonnets.⁹⁶ In this regard, Coogan has pointed out the importance of Petrarch’s anti-Avignon writings for early modern Protestant polemicists;⁹⁷ confirming his point, early modern English manuscripts do indeed contain various English translations of Petrarch’s sonnets against Avignon.⁹⁸ In both printed Protestant literature of this period and in manuscript poems dealing with Martinelli’s robbery, the distinction between Avignon and Rome is effaced: the fourteenth-century Avignon Curia criticised by Petrarch is here equated and viewed in continuity with the seventeenth-century Roman Papacy.⁹⁹

BL MS Add. 78234 (late 16th to 17th century) contains four pieces written against Martinelli (ff. 57r-61r). Although the British Library online catalogue does mention this sequence, to the best of my knowledge, this cluster of poems has not been yet studied or published. The first piece (in 70 hexameters) is titled “In Martinellium monachum Dominicanum caeterosque parti sceleris ebrios consortes peste, fame, bello in Italia grassantibus in Petrarchae tumulum impie debacchantes, et abscissa dextra cadaver violantes” (“Against the Dominican friar Martinelli and his other drunken accomplices in crime: while plague, famine, and war ravaged Italy, they blasphemously raged into Petrarch’s tomb and violated his corpse, amputating his right hand”; ff. 57r-v). This poem also appears, with a few variants, at ff. 15v-17r of Bod. MS Lat. misc. e. 32 (mid-17th century). The poem emphasises the atrocity of Martinelli’s deed as symptomatic of Roman Catholic nefariousness. The poet

claims that Rome's indulgence ("indulgentia Romae") allows such crimes to happen (ll. 8-9), and defines Martinelli as an agent of the Pope's vengeance ("Pontificis vindex," l. 13) and an emblem of Roman impiety ("impietas Romana," l. 18). The last part of the piece recalls Petrarch's great literary achievements to stress the point that he deserves far better treatment after death (ll. 57-65).

The second poem, in 35 hendecasyllables, is titled "In Monachum violato Petrarchae (poetae quondam laureati) tumulo, eius brachium abscindentem" ("Against the friar who violated the tomb of Petrarch – formerly a poet laureate – and amputated his arm"), and also highlights the brutality of the crime committed by Martinelli against such a great *poeta*, invoking death on the guilty (ff. 59r-v). The poem identifies Petrarch's satire of the Catholic Church as the reason for Martinelli's crime: the text refers to Martinelli's willingness to take revenge against the witty poet (ll. 17-19), recalls the force of Petrarch's *satyra* (l. 25), and explains that the poet paid for his witticism (l. 27, "luit lepores"). The poem points out that it is highly praiseworthy for Petrarch to have experienced deadly mutilation because of his learned writings, as happened to Cicero before him (ll. 28-30).

The third piece, in 31 hexameters, similarly blames Martinelli's wickedness, which is said to be all the more appalling as he is a clergyman (ff. 60r-v). A fourth poem against Martinelli ("In eundem"), in elegiacs, is signed "J. M.," and sarcastically congratulates the friar for raging against the dead body of the poet, whose only crime was to write eloquently (f. 60r). The sequence ends with some Latin elegiacs "Ad Petrarcham," subscribed "Mauritius Berkeley" (Maurice Berkeley, f. 61). Berkeley directly addresses Petrarch as the target of the friars' cruelty, highlighting the iniquity of the *monachi* (ll. 1-10); nevertheless, he concludes that Petrarch's immortal memory cannot really die (l. 12, "aeterni cineris non queat umbra mori"). Overall, this sequence attests to Petrarch's importance as a renowned, canonical author in early modern England, where he appears to be not only a writer, but also a "subject"

of writing;¹⁰⁰ in this context, Petrarch is portrayed both as a superb poet and a victim of the Roman Church.

Therefore, the collectors' anti-Roman re-deployment of the Italian neo-Latin tradition is not limited to the writings of "honorary Protestants" like Mantuan and Palingenius, but extends to famous Italian poets like Petrarch, Pontano, and Sannazaro: in this case too, interest in poetic authority goes hand in hand with an emphasis on the "pro-Protestant" potential of the selection.

This representation of Petrarch and other Italian humanists as anti-Papal authorities and, in a sense, precursors of the Protestant reformation finds a counterpart in contemporary printed sources.¹⁰¹ Christopher Fetherstone's *The Brutish Thunderbolt* (an English translation of François Hotman's *Ignis fatuus*, published in 1586), for instance, mentions Petrarch, Mantuan, and Sannazaro as critics of Rome.¹⁰² Likewise, in commenting on the unreasonableness of the Catholic vow of celibacy and its frequent infraction among the Catholic clergy, Lucas Osianders refers to the poetry of Petrarch, Sannazaro, and Palingenius, as we can read in *A Manuell or Briefe Volume of Controuersies of Religion betweene the Protestants and the Papists*, an English translation of Osianders's *Enchiridion controversiarum*, printed in 1606.¹⁰³ Published the following year, *A World of Wonders* (an English translation of Henri Estienne's *Apologie pour Hérodote*) contains similar remarks about the poetry of Petrarch, Pontano, Sannazaro, and Mantuan.¹⁰⁴

The assimilation of the Italian humanists' voice within English discourses of religious dissent is further confirmed by other manuscript poems, which disclose a network of literary and political relationships between early modern English authors and contemporary Italian intellectuals with an anti-Papal attitude.¹⁰⁵ BL MS Burney 368 (mid-17th-century), for example, contains letters and poems from various European authors, mostly related to the French-English, Calvinist scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) and his son Meric (1599-1671).¹⁰⁶ Among these are Latin poems written by or for Italian authors, such as Ottavio

Menini's pythiambics to Jérôme Groslet de l'Isle (ff. 11r-12r) and an anonymous poem in hendecasyllables in praise of Pietro Carnesecchi (ff. 16r-v).¹⁰⁷ A Latin poet and jurist, Menini (c. 1545-1617) joined Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623) in strenuously backing the Republic of Venice against the Pope Paul V during the years of the Venetian interdict (1605-7), while Carnesecchi (1508-67) was a humanist and a religious reformer close to Protestantism, who was beheaded and burnt by the Roman Inquisition.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, these manuscript examples are a further indicator of the liveliness of early modern Anglo-Italian (and pan-European) textual communities, often based on common ideological-religious views, across and beyond national borders.

Conclusion

The above analysis of manuscript sources from early modern England has demonstrated how Italian neo-Latin poetry circulated widely in this context and yet was subject to a process of selective cultural appropriation. Such selection was partly determined by the characteristics of early modern manuscript miscellanies as a medium that encouraged the quotation of brief poetic extracts, often chosen because of their moral utility (as is especially apparent in commonplace books and collections of maxims). Moreover, the process was influenced by the availability of printed anthologies, school texts, and editions, which enabled different levels of familiarity with individual poets. Authors who were read almost exclusively in large poetic anthologies are often grouped in manuscripts based on their shared Italian identity, whereas poets who were known from popular school texts, stand-alone editions, and other contemporary printed sources are usually quoted individually and mentioned as "domestic" and familiar rather than strikingly "exotic." Nevertheless, the Italian origins of famous poets such as Mantuan, Palingenius, and Petrarch are at times emphasised to show how even Italian Catholic writers denounced the degradation of their Church institutions. Overall, the collectors' selective redeployment of the Italian neo-Latin tradition especially highlights its

anti-Papal potential, in keeping with concomitant trends in early modern English Protestant schools and printed literature.

TABLE 1

Kent H&LC MS U1121/Z56/8, ff. 28v-43r – Table of contents:

Italicorum Poetarum pars 1

Ignazio Albano, “In purpuratum retrogradum”

Andrea Alciato [MS has “Alcait-”], “Paupertas summis ingenis obstant ne provehantur” [MS has “preavelantur”]; “In simulacrum spei”; “Gratiam referendam” [title not in MS]; “Pietate filiorum in parentes”; “Luxuriosum opes”; “Ocni effigies”; “In statuam amoris”; “Potentia amoris”; “Qui alta contemplantur, cadunt”; “Sua prodigenti non credenda alii”; “Dolosus in suos”; “In damnum sibi ipsi parentem”; “Opulentia Tyranni paupertas subiectorum”; “Quod non capit Christus rapit fiscus”; “Alius peccat alius plectitur”; “Par culpa delinquentis suasoris”; “Male parta, male delabuntur”; “In occasionem”; “De morte et amore”; “Amygdalus”; “Morus”

Girolamo Amalteo, “Somno”; “Ad Marianum”; “De Acone et Leonilla”; “De iisdem”; “De Lycoride”; “De Horologio pulvereo”

Pier Angelio Bargeo, “Amores non amores”; “Primitae”; “Ad Albiam puellam *antisrefon*”

Girolamo Angeriano, “De Venere et Cupidine”; “De Caeliae duritia” [MS has “Laelia”]; “De Caeliae furto”; “De Caeliae dotibus”; “De seipso et amore dialogus”

Giovanni Francesco Apostolo, “De Laura ad Gasp. Boltranum” [MS has “Beltranum”]; “In Astrologum”; “In Balbulum”

Ludovico Ariosto, “De puero formoso”

Pietro Bembo [MS has “Bomb-”], “Sin. Sannazarii epitaphium”

Ludovico Bigi Pittorio, “Ad Flaccum”; “Ad Album”; “Ad Linum”; “Ad Flaccum”; “Ad Maurum”; “Ad Marium”; “Invidus poena sui”; “Ad Caecilianum suspiciosum”; “Ad Calistratum insipientem”; “Ad [MS has “A”] Caprum, convitia”; “Ad Iustinianum”; “Ad Linum”

Achille Bocchi, “De mercatore et Lacone”; “Imago iusti iudicis”; “Semper suorum cura habenda regibus”

Celio Calcagnini [MS has “Caltaginni”], “Instructio ad mortem”; “Neronis impietas in matrem”; “In senem ferula utentem”; “Calamus ad scribendum aptatus”; “Tumulo Anacreontis”

Giovanni Battista Cantalicio, “De Casello”

Lelio Capilupi, “In mortem Petri Bembi”

Ippolito Capilupi, “De morte Lyci”; “Amorem auro tantum flecti”; “In Sanctum Laurentium”

Giulio Capilupi, “De altero Tytyro”; “De Ciparisso et Galatea”; “Epitaphium pauperis senis”

Giovanni Della Casa, “Manibus Io. Franc. [MS has “Frant.”] Iunii a sicariis interfecti”

Marco Antonio Casanova, “De Virginia”; “De Caelia”; “Demosthenes”; “De Attilio Caesaris milite”; “Aristoteles”; “De Bruto”; “De eodem”; “De Lucretia”; “De Horatio et Fabio”; “De Homero”

Giovanni Cotta, “Epitaphium Quinterii”

Janus Etruscus, “De Anchialo”

Francesco Franchini, “Gauro”

Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinzio, “In Lycum”

Benedetto Giovio, “Soliloqua”; “Passer solitarius in cavea”; “In Tabellionem”

Lorenzo Lippi, “Elephas”; “Historia Troiae”; “De certamine Zeuxis et Parrhasii”

Pars altera Italicorum poetarum

Francesco Maria Molza, “De Venere relicta Cypro sedem Venetiis deligente”; “In Pompeii Sepulchrum”

Tommaso Muscone, “De Victoria Columna uxore March. Piscar.”

Francesco Panigarola, “De puero armato”

Raffaele da Piacenza, “De Alexi et Faustina”; “De Lyco”; “De Doro”

Angelo Poliziano, “Ad Galeottum principem Faventinum”; “In Niobem lapidem”; “Mabilio”; “De Domitio et Marsilio”; “In Domitium”; “In Franciscum”; “De Alcone et serpente”; “Ad Fures”; “In fonte Baptismatis Florentiae”; “In Michaelem Verinum”; “In Daphnen” [MS has “Daphnon”]

Giovanni Pontano, “Tumulus mendici”; “Naenia nutricis”

Tommaso Porcazio, “In Christum Crucifixum” [MS has “Crusifixum”]

Francesco Raineri [MS has “Ran-”], “De Numa”

Fausto Sabei, “De Narcisso”; “De amore” [without title in MS]; “De Tito Quintio”; “E Graeco”; “Portia”; “De Pythagora”; “Tibris Cocliti”; “Euripidi”; “Mutio Scaevola”;

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“Porsenna”; “Chiron Centaurus”; “De Scipione Africano maiore”; “De Tantalio et Niobe”; “Loquaci”; “Ad amicum”

Jacopo Sannazaro [MS has “Sinscer- Sonazer-”], “Ad Fredericum Regem”; “De Poggio Florentino Historico”; “De mercurio et Amore”; “De Aufidio”; “De Cyparisso puero”; “De Aenea et Didone”; “Ad Vesbiam”; “In Lucretiam de Alexandro Sexto”; “De patria Homeri”; “De Venere et Diana”; “De Danae et Iove”; “Epitaph. Alexandri Sexti”; “De Amore fugitivo”; “In Nolam urbem”; “In Leonem pont. max.” [Pontano’s epitaph of Lucrezia Borgia is added in margin]

Julius C. Scaliger, “Xenoponti”; “Demostheni”; “Publius Ovidius Naso”; “Niobe”; “Cornelia Tiberii Gracchi”; “Penelope”; “Semiramis”; “Andromeda”; “Londinum”; “Candia”; “Messana” [MS has “Messuna”]

Johannes Baptista Scaphenatius, “In Statuam Arionis e graeco”

Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, “De Venere armata”

Battista Mantuan, “Infans a lupo invasus”

Ercole Strozzi, “De Callirhoe, quae viva sepulta est”; “Epitaphium Io. Pici Mirandulae”

Antonio Tebaldeo [MS has “Tebeld-”], “Marulli Tarchanioto Epitaph.”; “De filia patrem servante ante partum”; “Caesari”; “De Cupidine”

Pierio Valeriano, “De imagine Iulii II Pont. M.”; “In Leuces laudem”; “In Amorem difficilem”

Aloysius Valmarana [MS has “Valcararan-”], “In Annales Baronii”

Janus Vitalis Panormitanus, “In Roma”; “In Io. Scotum”; “Pro Thoma Moro”

Girolamo Volpi, “In Statuam Satyri et pueri”; “In Statuam Adonis”

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¹ This article develops from my work on the project "Neo-Latin verse in English manuscript miscellanies, c. 1550-1700," funded by the Leverhulme Trust, directed by Dr Victoria Moul, and involving the research of Dr Edward Taylor, Raffaella Colombo, and Sharon Van Dijk, as well as Dr Moul. The project research team has examined a total of c. 1500 early modern manuscript sources conserved in the following English libraries and archives: Aylesbury County Record Office, British Library, Bodleian Library, Cheshire Archives, Brotherton Library (Leeds), Chetham's Library (Manchester), Cambridge University Library, Cecil Papers, Corpus Christi College Oxford, Derby County Record Office, Durham Palace Green Library, Durham Cathedral Library, East Sussex County Record Office, Emmanuel College (Cambridge), Essex County Record Office, Hampshire County Record Office, Hertford County Record Office, Inner Temple Library, St. John's College (Cambridge), John Rylands Library (Manchester), Kent Heritage & Library Centre, Lambeth Palace Library, National

Archives, Northampton County Record Office, Nottingham University Library, Queen's College Oxford, Ripon Cathedral, Royal Society, Society of Antiquaries (London), Somerset County Record Office, Stafford County Record Office, Surrey Archives, Trinity College (Cambridge), UCL Special Collections, Warwick County Record Office, West Sussex County Record Office, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Westminster Abbey, Yorkshire Archaeological Service (Leeds). Victoria Moul's "Neo-Latin Metrical Practice" provides an overview of metrical patterns in the corpus.

² Among the studies that deal primarily (although not exclusively) with the early modern English reception of Italian literature and that often focus on Shakespeare and other major English authors, are for example: Sells, *The Italian Influence*; Fox, *The English Renaissance*; Marrapodi, *Shakespeare and the Italian Renaissance*; Id., *Shakespeare and Renaissance Literary Theories*; Id., *The Routledge Research Companion*; Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles*; Petrina - Arienzo, *Machiavellian Encounters* (the "Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies" series includes many other relevant titles). Scholars such as Baldwin and Green, who have studied the reception of Latin humanism in seventeenth century England, have worked on printed rather than manuscript materials (Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*; Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*; see also Martin, *Milton's Italy*, with a focus on Milton). On the reception of Italian Latin humanism in Renaissance Europe more generally, see for example Coroleu, *Printing and Reading*, which is also characterised by an emphasis on print.

³ Some valuable studies of early modern English manuscript miscellanies have been published in the last thirty years: Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*; Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*; Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors*; Eckhardt - Starza, *Manuscript Miscellanies* (with a historical overview of the use of the term "miscellany" at pp. 7-13). My study considers different types of manuscript sources, including manuscripts containing a single author or text, which are nevertheless a minority compared to multi-authored and miscellaneous manuscripts.

⁴ We have counted as a "poem" any Latin verse composition ranging from a single line to an epic-length piece.

⁵ Although my article will not focus on this, early modern English manuscripts also contain significant evidence for the circulation of Italian poetry by late medieval and Renaissance authors. Possible examples include Bod. MS James 13, pp. 226 (citation of Dante and Daniello's commentary); Bod. MS Tanner 466, ff. 154ff. (English translation of the first book of Marino's "La strage de gli innocenti"); Bod. MS Ashmole 788, f. 11r (note on the great Italian authors); Bod. MS Sancroft 28, pp. 166, 172, 210 (extract from Secondo Lancellotti's *L'oggi di*, with notes about famous Italian authors and a list of "eloquent Italians"); pp. 225ff. (poems by Tasso and other Italian poets); pp. 335f. (notes on Ariosto and poem by Tasso); Bod. MS Rawl. Poet. 228, ff. 137r-140r (humorous Latin poems in praise of Loreto Vittori); BL MS Add. 78521, ff. 71r, 178r-182r, 208r-214r (English translations from Italian authors, including Boccaccio); Surrey MS LM/1327/41 (a book list mentioning "Rime

de Tasso,” a “Sofonisba,” and Ariosto); BL MS Lansdowne 928, ff. 1r-36r, 84r-126v, 133v-142r (Italian and translated English extracts from Tasso and other Italian poets); BL Add. 4456, ff. 107r-111r (“Poets Names in Sir Thomas Pope Blounts Remarks on Poetry,” 1694). Our manuscript corpus also contains many other poems written in Italian, such as BL MS Add. 72478 ff. 137r-138r (Paolo Mossario d’Outrelou’s verse to William Trumbull, c. 1685); BL Add. 72439, f. 142r (“Sonetto sopra la guerra presente d’Italia”); Royal MS 14 A VII, 1612 (Lodovico Petrucci’s Italian verses to James VI / I, 1612); Warwick MS CR 2017/C 168 (Italian verse for Lord Feilding as Ambassador in Italy, c. 1634).

⁶ The other authors provisionally identified as most frequently copied are: John Owen (c.1564-c.1622); George Buchanan (1506-82); Thomas More (1478-1535); Theodore Beza (1519-1605); William Alabaster (1567-1640); and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). The team is still working on the identification of verse by other clearly popular poets, such as Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609) and John Hoskins (Hoskyns, 1566-1638).

⁷ More general references to Italian affairs, figures, and sites are extremely abundant in these manuscripts. See for example Bod. MS Saville 47, f. 88r and BL MS Add. 4457, f. 226r (poem for Andrew Moretti, doctor of medicine in Padua); PRO SP MS 9/51, f. 10r (poem addressed to Niccolò Barbarigo and Marco Trivisano); Lambeth MS 1112 (Robert Tofte’s descriptions of the Italian cardinals, including an epigram in elegiacs at f. 26r); BL MS Lansdowne 929, ff. 182r-185v (Basil Kennett’s “Nemora Florentina, Elegia,” 1709); BL MS Harley 3258, f. 82r (“De simia Cardinalis Estiensis”); BL MS Royal 12 A XXXIV (eulogies of cities and regions); BL MS Harley 6947, ff. 95r-97v (“Epistula de itinere Italico et Germanico”); BL MS Harley MS 6211, articles 6-7 (John Lawson’s account of his travels from Venice to England, with some Latin poems); BL MS Add. 18044, ff. 68v-70r (poem written on a column in Mantua with English translation by Thomas Raudon); Somerset MS DD/PH/205, p. 158 and BL MS Harley 6054, f. 41v (“Notum certamen inter Italum et Germanum”); BL MS Cotton Julius C. V., ff. 389r-390r (hexametric poem “Ad Liburnos Italia”); CUL MS Add. 42 (epigrams on Italian monuments). Many other poems deal with the Catholic Rome, on which see also the observations below.

⁸ On the importance of transnational cultural exchange with continental Europe for early modern English education, see for example Boutcher, “Humanism and Literature”; Morgan, “Approaches.” On international book trade in early modern Europe, see for example McLean - Baker, *International Exchange*.

⁹ On the presence of epigrams and short poems in manuscript miscellanies, see for example Swann, “Copying Epigrams”; Marotti, *Manuscript, Print*, 128-29.

¹⁰ Of course, our corpus also includes some Catholic manuscripts, such as BL MSS Harley 3258 and 5359, but they represent a minority compared to the high number of Protestant sources.

¹¹ The attribution of most Italian neo-Latin poetic quotations in this article has been done using the “Poeti Italiani in Lingua Latina” database, which makes available some lesser-known editions and supplies line numeration even when this is not provided in older editions.

¹² On these anthologies and their English circulation, see Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, 6; Doelman, *The Epigram*, 354. As Bradner points out, another popular anthology of Italian neo-Latin poets was the collection published in London in 1684 by Francis Atterbury under the title of *Anthologia seu selecta quaedam poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt* (*Anthology or selected poems of Italians who wrote in Latin*). James Wright’s *Sales epigrammatum* (1663) also includes a selection of Italian neo-Latin epigrams with English translations (62-83). Moreover, nine Italian neo-Latin epigrams appear in the frequently reprinted *Epigrammatum delectus* (see for example ed. 1686, 262-69). A later large printed collection of neo-Latin epigrams by Italian authors is Giovanni Gaetano Bottari’s *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum* (1729).

¹³ Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, 6.

¹⁴ In Wright’s anthology, authors are not ordered by nationality or listed in a consistent alphabetic sequence. Italian poets in this anthology include: Ignatius Albanus; Andrea Alciato; Girolamo Amalteo; Girolamo Angeriano; Giorgio Anselmi; Giovanni Francesco Apostolo; Ludovico Ariosto; Ludovico Bigi Pittorio; Achille Bocchi; Maffeo Barberini; Mario Bettini; Balthasar Bonifacius; Giovanni Paolo Cesario; Celio Calcagnini; Giovanni Battista Cantalicio; Ippolito Capilupi; Giulio Capilupi; Marco Antonio Casanova; Giovanni Cotta; Pietro Leone Casella; Lelio Capilupi; Janus Etruscus; Francesco Franchini; Giovan Battista Giraldis Cinzio; Francesco Panigarola; Benedetto Giovio; Lorenzo Lippi; Raffaele da Piacenza; Aloysius Valmarana; Francesco Maria Molza; Agostino Mascardi; Tommaso Porcazio; Giovanni Pontano; Angelo Poliziano; Antonio Francesco Raineri; Battista Mantuan; Jacopo Sannazaro; Julius Caesar Scaliger; Francesco Spinola; Ercole Strozzi; Antonio Tebaldeo; Pierio Valeriano; Janus Vitalis Panormitanus.

¹⁵ See the British Library online catalogue and Harmer, “Reginald Forster’s Burlesque Ovidian Epistle.”

¹⁶ The section with the neo-Latin poems covers ff. 46v-60v.

¹⁷ The Petrarchan extract (f. 50r) corresponds to *Buc. carm.* 4, 51-61. The other pieces are: Bonifacius, “De Phillide,” “Ad Marcum,” “In Phillida luscam, ad pictorem” and “Ad Phillida” (ff. 50v-51r, 59v; cf. Wright, *Delitiae delitiarum*, 100, 96, 93, 97); Bettini, “Adultera evangelica” and “Lothi uxor salis statua” (ff. 53v, 55r; cf. Wright, *Delitiae delitiarum*, 75, 78); Calcagnini, “Instructio ad mortem” and “Ad senem baculo utentem” (ff. 54v, 59v; cf. Wright, *Delitiae delitiarum*, 66, 65); Angeriano, “Ad pictorem de imagine Caeliae” (f. 55v; cf. Wright, *Delitiae delitiarum*, 61); Giraldis Cinzio “In Lycum” (f. 56r; cf. Wright, *Delitiae delitiarum*, 72); Vitalis Panormitanus, “In statuam Adonis” (f. 59r; cf. Wright, *Delitiae delitiarum*, 105). For the likely derivation of the

pieces from Wright's anthology, see also the British Library online catalogue. Sir Reginald Forster seems to be more dependent on Wright's anthology for his choice of Italian neo-Latin poets than for authors of other nationalities; his selection of Dutch and English neo-Latin poems, for instance, includes some translations from the Greek and appears to be based on a wider range of sources.

¹⁸ In the following transcriptions from manuscript, I have inserted or modified punctuation, spelled out the abbreviations, transcribed the graphemes *æ* and *œ* as *ae* and *oe*, and standardised the spelling with reference to the use of capital letters and the choice between *u* and *v* and between *i* and *j*. In some cases, I have followed the foliation system established by our research team, as manuscripts were unfoliated and unpaginated.

¹⁹ These name variants are not present in Gruter and suggest that Kent H&LC MS U1121/Z56/8 might have been copied from an intermediate source. Alternative spellings of proper names are, however, frequent in this period: in Wright's printed *Delitiae delitiarum*, for example, we find "Alos. Marana" for "Aloysius Valmarana" and "Franc. Garola" for "Francesco Panigarola." In Table 1 and in the following footnotes, I have provided the poets' names when not specified in the manuscripts and I have given them in a modern spelling version.

²⁰ The Italian section covers ff. 147r (r)-141v (r). Ff. 156v (r)-148r (r) include French poets, and ff. 147v (r), 141r (r)-140r (r) German poets (the two last poems of the sequence are a translation from Callimachus and an epigram by Owen).

²¹ Italian neo-Latin poems include: Ignatius Albanus, "In purpuratum retrogradum"; Alciato, "Paupertas summis ingenis obstant ne provehantur," "Sua prodigenti non credenda alii"; Amalteo, "De Lycoride," "De horologio pulvereo"; Bargeo, "Primitiae"; Angeriano, "De Venere et Cupidine"; Apostolo, "In Astrologum"; Bigi, "Ad Flaccum," "In Marium"; Bocchi: "De mercatore et Lacone"; Calcagnini, "Instructio ad mortem," "Neronis impietas in matrem," "In senem ferula utentem," "Calamus ad scribendum aptatus"; Casanova, "De Attilio Caesaris milite"; Cotta, "Epitaphium Quinterii"; Franchini, "Gauro"; Giraldi Cinzio, "Ad Lycum"; Lippi, "Historia Troiae"; Molza, "In Pompeium inhumatum"; Panigarola, "De puero armato"; Raffaele da Piacenza, "De Alexi et Faustina"; Poliziano, "In Niobem lapidem," "In amorem arantem," "Ad Fures," "In Diaphnem"; Pontano, "Tumulus mendici"; Porcazio, "In Christum crucifixum"; Sabei, "De Narcisso," "De amore," "Euripidi"; Sannazaro, "Epitaphium Alexandri Sexti," "De Aenea et Didone," "Ad Vesbiam"; J. C. Scaliger, "Cornelia Tiberi Gracchi"; E. Strozzi, "De Callirhoe"; Tebaldeo, "Caesari," "De cupidine"; Valeriano, "Palladae [...]," "In amorem difficilem."

²² Ff. 3r-10r. At ff. iii and 11v of this manuscript we find the names James Searle, of Hart Hall, Oxford, and Robert Fry, "at Mr. Schoolemaisters house in Winchester." The second section of this manuscript consists of letters written in 1547 and 1556 by Desyderius Lignamineus, a Dominican of Padua, about the alleged discovery

of Cicero's tomb in Zante, and four poems by Alexander Mamianus Ferrarius and Lucas Campanius on the same subject (ff. 13r-18v; see the British Library online catalogue).

²³ Among the overlaps are: Giraldi Cinzio, "Ad Dianam Ariostam"; Balbi, "Ad Camillam"; E. Strozzi, "De diva Borgia," "Ad Caeliam," "Epitaphium pr Joanne Pico Mirandula," "Pro eodem," "Pro Angelo Politiano," "In amorem furem" (f. 3r); Calcagnini, "Ad Lilum [sic] Greg. Gyraldum," "In arrogantiam Hippoclydis," "Poeta quartana laboranti," "Ad Hieronymum Aleandrum," "Ad Antonium Constabilem," "Apes in pharetra Cupidinis," "In Titi Strozae obitu," "Bacchus ex igne raptus" (f. 3v); Bigi, "Ad Titum," "Ad Caprum," "Ad Laurentium, Tempus," "Ad Arnum, Crapula," "Ad Marianum" [MS has "Ad Marthonum"], "Ad Ollum, Poenitere," "Ad Iudicem, Mora" (f. 4r); Poliziano, "In Pamphilum," "In Corydonem," "Ad Marsilium," "Ad Albieram Sismundi Stuphae sponsam," "In Simonettam," "In Niobem lapidem," "Ad Fures," "De Alcone et serpente," "In Mich: Verrinum" (f. 4v); Angeriano, "De Caelia et amore," "De Venere et Cupidine," "De Caelia furto" (f. 6r); J. C. Scaliger, "Hercules" (f. 6v).

²⁴ Bigi's "De Christo Crucifixo" and "In In Propertianum" can be found at f. 4r; Verino's "Iudex et censor omni caret peccato" is at f. 4v, where we also find a poem titled "Oct. Augusti edictum de Aeneide Virgilii non abolenda" ("Octavius Augustus's edict that the *Aeneid* should not be destroyed"), attributed to Fausto Andrelini; at f. 5r is a distich beginning "Terdecies centum hic certarunt millibus olim," attributed to Valla.

²⁵ For Alciato, see ff. 5v, 6v, 9r-10r.

²⁶ Gruter, *Delitiae CC Italarum poetarum*, II, 1069-70.

²⁷ On this point, see Gualdo Rosa, "A proposito degli epigrammi," 457-58; see also my separate article, "Sannazaro's Latin epigrams and their early modern English readers" (forthcoming).

²⁸ Information on Palingenius's life is very scant and the identification of this author with "Pier Angelo Manzolli," suggested by the eighteenth-century scholar Jacopo Facciolati, is unconvincing (see Bacchelli, "Note"; Palumbo, "Manzoli," 294-95).

²⁹ See Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, 375-79; Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, 220-22; Binns, *Intellectual Culture*, 114-15. See also Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, esp. I, 641-81. We have analysed only a small portion of our data so far and many other extracts from Mantuan and Palingenius are no doubt yet to be identified; another author who is likely to be found is Domenico Mancini, whose *De quatour virtutibus* was also read in early modern English schools.

³⁰ Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*; Id., "Versions"; see also Trapp, "From Guarino of Verona."

³¹ Arthos, ed., *Love's Labor's Lost*, 85; see Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, 643-44; cf. Coroleu, "Noster Mantuanus," 59.

³² Coccia, *Le edizioni*, 114-15; cf. Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue*, 138, 152-53.

³³ Piepho, "Mantuan's Religious Poetry"; Id., *Holofernes' Mantuan*, 93-121 Id., "Versions;" cf. Coroleu, "Noster Mantuanus," 62-65; Id., *Printing and Reading*, 24-37, 61 on the European reception of Mantuan's *Parthenicai*.

³⁴ Green, *Humanism and Protestantism*, 220; cf. Tomita, *A Bibliographical Catalogue*, 88-89, 153.

³⁵ Palumbo, "Manzoli," 297.

³⁶ The most popular printed commentaries on Mantuan's *Adulescentia* were the early sixteenth-century works by Jodocus Badius Ascensius and Andreas Vaurentinus, both of which emphasise Mantuan's moral intent rather than the literary aspects of his work: see Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*, 45-92. Mantuan's eclogues appear in CUL MS Hh. I. 9, a manuscript of German origin written in 1523; here the poems are supplied with the extensive glosses of Bartholomaeus Laurens Novimagensis, which were also included in various seventeenth-century editions of the *Adulescentia* printed in London (see *A Catalogue*, 259-61; Severi, *Adolescentia*, 159-60, with bibl.). In addition to the citations discussed below, Bod. MS Ashmole 36-37, f. 185v contains a quotation and English translation of an excerpt of Mantuan's *Parthenice prima sive Mariana* (3, 176-85 and 206-9); a line of this text (1, 57) is also cited in Bod. MS Sancroft 56, p. 55. Bod. MS Sancroft 97, p. 89 has a citation of Mantuan's *Epigrammata ad Falconem* 33. BL Harley MS 6855, art. 13, f. 24v quotes Mantuan, *Adul.* 5, 166-70, and BL MS Add. 37719, f. 203v cites *Adul.* 1, 27-29. BL MS Harley 6570, a mid-seventeenth-century manuscript of presumable French origin, contains quotations from Mantuan's *Roma* and *Amico* (f. 11r), as well as a prose extract "Ex Angeli Politiani Lamia" (f. 4r).

³⁷ *Adul.* 2, 91-93.

³⁸ F. 1r also contains an unattributed quotation of *Adul.* 1, 114. At f. 22v of this manuscript is an elegiac couplet by the fifteenth-century Italian poet Filippo Bonaccorsi.

³⁹ Mantuan's line reads: "Nec deus (ut perhibent) Amor est, sed amaror et error" ("Love is not a god, as they maintain, but bitterness and error").

⁴⁰ Grosart, *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, I, 25; cf. *The Spenser Archive Prototype*, Letter 5, l. 148

(https://talus.artsci.wustl.edu/spenserArchivePrototype/html/letters_letter_5.html); Mustard, "On the Eclogues," 606. Harvey appropriates Mantuan's words, drawn from the eclogue on honorable love, within his own diatribe against love. In discussing Spenser's passage, Pugh, "Guyon's Perversion," 184 identifies Harvey as Spenser's referent but does not mention Mantuan. Spenser *Shepherds' Calendar* borrows significantly from Mantuan's eclogues (see for example Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan*, 113-21).

⁴¹ The two pieces are headed “de cleri sceleribus” and “de cleri sodomia.” For the dating of the manuscript, see Copsey, “John Bale,” 159. Mantuan is also quoted t ff. 103v-104r of this manuscript and is extensively present in Bale’s early sixteenth-century miscellanies: BL MS Cotton Vitellius D IV; BL MS Harley 1819; Bod. MS Bodley 73; and Bod. MS Selden Supra 41. See Kristeller, *Iter*, IV, 137a, 140a, 156a-b, 246b, 261a-263a; Piepho, “Mantuan on Women”; Severi, *Adolescentia*, 69-85.

⁴² This piece is cited also in printed anti-Papal literature: see for example *An Apologie for Religion*, 140.

⁴³ *Adul.* 4, 244; 4, 109-148; 9, 20. Alongside Mantuan, BL MS Egerton 2642, f. 229v contains two anti-Papal epigrams by Sannazaro (see below).

⁴⁴ *Sylv.* 1, 11, 85-86.

⁴⁵ Piepho, *Holofernes’ Mantuan*, 121, n. 4; Id., “Versions,” 117; for the English translation above, see for example *Rome’s Rarities*, 25.

⁴⁶ Palingenius is also quoted as an alchemical authority. The early seventeenth-century BL MS Sloane 1255 — a manuscript of likely Dutch origin, but belonging to the collection of sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) — is a collection of pieces on alchemy in various languages, including a Dutch poem on the philosopher’s stone (ff. 22v-27r), a poetic enigma by Lorenzo Ventura (f. 159r), and other Dutch, French, and Italian alchemical poems (ff. 164-183). At f. 153v is an extract from Palingenius, titled “Carmen Marcelli Palingenii de lapide philosophico” (“Marcellus Palingenius’s poem on the philosopher’s stone”; *Zod.* 10, 213-38). BL MS Sloane 319 (mostly copied in the 17th century) is another alchemical miscellany: here, too, we find a long excerpt from Palingenius (ff. 35r-v: *Zod.* 10, 139-238), as well as quotations of Giovanni Aurelio Augurello (c. 1456-1524; see ff. 35v-36r: *chrys.* 1, 85-93; 1, 542-45; 2, 260-3; 3, 609-14) and, interestingly, Teofilo Folengo (1491-1544), mentioned as *Merlinus Cocaius* (f. 3r: *Baldo* 13, 252-67; the presence of this passage, taken from the *Baldo*, in an English manuscript confirms that Folengo’s work was popular outside Italy during the Renaissance: see Gulizia, “Scaffolding Folengo,” *passim*). Moreover, Bod. MS. Ashmole 1492, pp. 221-22 contains *Zod.* 2, 214-26; the index of BL MS Sloane 2215 (late 16th century), f. 1v and the booklist of BL MS Sloane 2893 (late 17th or early 18th century), f. 169r include Palingenius alongside Petrarch; in BL MS Sloane 3164 (17th century), f. 17r and Add 61822 (c. 1564-c. 1654), ff. 84r-v, we find extracts of Palingenius translated into English.

⁴⁷ Mantuan, *Adul.* 2, 104-6 and 1, 48-49; Palingenius, *Zod.* 4, 277-78 and 6, 359. At f. 15r is an elegiac citation from Beroaldo, at f. 160v hexameters by Poliziano, at f. 178v hexameters by Fracastorus.

⁴⁸ BL MS Add. 15227, an early seventeenth-century collection of short poems, also has a piece by Palingenius (f. 72v), titled “Uxor atque pellex” and contrasting the security of conjugal love with the dangers of extramarital affairs (*Zod.* 5, 532-39). Moreover, Cambridge, Trinity Coll. MS R.14.18 is an alphabetical list of proverbs by

Simon Harward (fl.1572-1614), divided in two sections: in the second part of the work, the English proverbs and phrases are paired with parallels in Latin verse. Although the authors' names are, in this case, not explicitly stated, this long collection of around 1016 Latin poems includes examples from both Mantuan (e.g. ff. 86v and 94r; *Adul.* 4, 116 and 4, 138-39) and Palingenius (e.g. f. 94r; *Zod.* 2, 437). Other quotations of Palingenius are present in BL MS Harley 3638, f. 67r (*Zod.* 1, 27-28); CUL MS Ff. V. 14, f. 7r (*Zod.* 1, 162-63); and Society of Antiquaries 437 (a manuscript of German origin, with a citation of *Zod.* 2, 346-51 at p. 133).

⁴⁹ Piepho, "Versions."

⁵⁰ See Piepho, "Versions," 115, 118.

⁵¹ Further to the examples below, quotations of Italian neo-Latin poets can be found in BL MS Add. 28955, f. 106r and BL MS Harley 3910, ff. 113v-117r (Famiano Strada); BL MS Add. 32494, f. 13r (Poggio Bracciolini and Francesco Franchini); BL MS Harley 6899, f. 104r (Fausto Andrelini); BL MS Sloane 1766, f. 204r (Lelio Capilupi's *De vita monachorum*); BL MS Lansdowne 929 (Vincenzo da Filicaja and other Italian poets); BL MS Lansdowne 930, f. 1r and Oxford Corpus Christi MS 258, f. 11r (Vida); Durham Cath. MS Hunter 76, f. 4v (Folengo's epigrams 5, 5-6 and 6, 1-2 cited as part of William Drummond's *Polemo-Middiana, Carmen Macaronicum*). Bod. MS Eng. poet. f. 16 has a verse epitaph for a puppy attributed to "Cardinall Bembo" (f. 51r). At p. 18 of Bod. MS Sancroft 26 is also a citation of Marco Antonio Natta. BL MS Harley 4935, which is probably a manuscript of Dutch origin, includes Marco Antonio Flaminio's versions of Psalms XXIII and XXV into iambic distichs (ff. 1r-v).

⁵² Coroleu, "Poliziano in Print" (in part. 193, 197, 199-201, 220 with bibl.); cf. Id., "Some teachers on a Poet"; Id., *Printing and Reading*, 47-57, 63-83.

⁵³ Besides the cases discussed, CUL MS Dd. VIII. 28, a seventeenth-century commonplace book, contains nine epigrams by Poliziano which deal with a range of topics, including wisdom, old age, sleep and wakefulness, poetry, and wine (pp. 342, 362, 369, 375, 396): *epigr.* 21 ("In Marisilum"), 107 ("In Corydonem"), 42 ("In Laurentium"), 109 ("In somnos"), 95 ("In poste cubiculi sui"), 96 ("in cubiculo"), 105 ("In Paulum"), 43 ("In Mabilium"), 106 ("In Pamphilum"). In BL MS Harley 5048, f. 51r (1626-1627), we find a quotation "ex Politiano," which is laid out as poetry; the passage deals with the character and habits of the poet and is taken from Poliziano's epistle VII, 25 to Lorenzo de Medici. West Yorkshire Archive Service MS WYL230/3653 (mid-16th century) has letters by Poliziano at ff. 9v-12v.

⁵⁴ Cf. Gruter, *Delitiae CC Italorum poetarum*, II, 360.

⁵⁵ These examples can be found in seventeenth-century grammar books such as Busby, *A Short Institution of Grammar*, 81.

⁵⁶ For example, Amalteo's epigram on Acon and Leonilla is contained in Bod. MS Rawl. Poet. 19, f. 106r; Bod. MS. Rawl. Poet. 117, f. 269v; BL MS Add. 30162, f. 37v; BL MS Add. 28955, f. 162r; and BL MS Harley 6054, f. 35v (cf. Gruter, *Delitiae CC Italarum poetarum*, I, 72; Wright, *Delitiae delitiarum*, 59; *Anthologia seu selecta quaedam poemata*, 213). See also Cam. Emmanuel MS 105 (late 17th century), n. 378 and 384 (Casanova, "In C. Plinium" and "in Diocletianum abdicantem"); PRO SP MS 99/33/316 (early 17th century, Bonifacius's verses for Domenico Molin).

⁵⁷ MS Rawl D. 296 was owned by the English lawyer and politician Joseph Jekyll (1662-1738): see Macray, *Catalogi*, V.3, 139. Bod. MS Sancroft 26 (1691), p. 16 contains prose quotations from Scaliger's *Poetices Libri Septem*, and CUL MS Dd. IX. 59, f. 21r has a citation from Scaliger's *Epidorpidēs*. An elegiac poem by Julius Scaliger can also be found in BL MS Add. 15227 ("Aratrum," f. 65r); Scaliger also the subject of a poem in BL MS Sloane 1766, f. 150r and the addressee of an epigram by Marc Antoine Muret (n. 75) in the above-mentioned collection of BL MS Add. 38693.

⁵⁸ This manuscript also contains poems from Antonio Beccadelli Panormita, Francesco Panigarola, and Antonio Tebaldeo (pp. 180, 185, 186), as well as Sannazaro (p. 17, see below).

⁵⁹ Bembo's epitaph of Sannazaro is at f. 9v (cf. also CUL MS Add. 9221, f. 98r; Cam. Trinity Coll. MS 10.9, f. 67r; and Bod. MS. Don. e. 6, f. 27r [Crum S1246]); Bruni's epitaph is at ff. 21r and 115r; Sabellico's epitaphs are at f. 121v, while Poliziano's epitaph for Verino is at f. 123v. At f. 121v of this manuscript is a humorous epitaph of Pietro Aretino (1492-1556), in Latin and Italian, which also appears in BL MS Harley 4484 (a manuscript of likely late 17th century, French origin), f. 44r (with French and Italian versions). Other playful lines commemorating Aretino can be found at f. 19v of Kent H&LC MS U1121/Z56/8. Moreover, BL Harley MS 3638 (17th century) has verse epitaphs of Petrarch (f. 69r) and Pico della Mirandola (f. 70r).

⁶⁰ On the importance of epitaphs in seventeenth-century manuscript miscellanies, see Williams, "Manuscript, Monument, Memory."

⁶¹ Daly, *Alciato in England* (in part. XI-XXI, 95-102, 115-92); on the use of the *Emblemata* in early modern English school cf. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, I, 236, 322, 436, 535; II, 291. Alciato's works frequently appear in early modern English catalogues: see for example Leedham-Green, *Books*, vol. II, 13-14; Fehrenbach - Leedham-Green - Black, *Private Libraries*, *passim*.

⁶² Daly, *Alciato in England*, 103-14. BL MS Sloane 3794 has been studied by Manning, "Continental Emblem Books"; Id. *The Emblems of Thomas Palmer*, while the sequence of emblems in BL MS Add. 61822 is analysed in Manning, "An Unedited and Unpublished."

⁶³ Daly, *Alciato in England*, 97-98, n. 7.

⁶⁴ Wright, “The Growth of an Emblem.”

⁶⁵ In addition to the examples below, BL MS Harley 7371 (late 16h to early 17th century), f. 181v has a copy of Alciato’s emblem 145 (the numeration is based on the 1621 edition of the *Emblemata*, to which I shall refer in this essay as the first complete edition of Alciato’s emblems). CUL MS Add. 9221 (17th century) includes Alciato’s emblems 180 and 147 (ff. 2r and 72r). In Bod. Sancroft 58 (early 17th century), p. 109 is a reference to Alciato’s *Paradoxa*.

⁶⁶ F. 2r (this is emblem 11 in the 1621 edition of the *Emblemata*). In this manuscript page, Alciato is called *Alcaeus*. D’Ewes’s library comprised a copy of Alciato’s *Emblemata*, as well as books by other Italian humanists, such as Mantuan and Palingenius (see Watson, *The Library*, A606; 762; A619 and possibly A738).

⁶⁷ “Impossibile” (f. 38v, cited as Alciato I, 84 in the manuscript) is emblem 59 in the Padua 1621 edition of Alciato; “Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum” (cited as Alciato I, 58 at f. 139v of the manuscript) corresponds to emblem 166 in the Padua 1621 edition. The numeration followed by Patrick might be based on the 1542 Paris edition of Alciato’s emblems. Further quotations of Alciato appear in CUL MS Dd. IX. 23, f. 38v (emblem 191, “In fidem uxoriā”) and CUL MS Dd. IX. 59, f. 34v (*Parergon iuris* II, p. 329).

⁶⁸ See van Miert, *Hadrianus Junius*.

⁶⁹ Cf. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue*, II.2, 992, 997-98.

⁷⁰ Quotations of Alciato appear, at least, at f. 75r (six-line quotation of emblem 9, “Fidei symbolum,” cited as “emblem. 95” based on the edition used by Junius, which might again correspond to Paris 1542); f. 83v (six-line quotation of emblem 92, “Oculi effigies,” cited as Alciato I, 17); ff. 156r, 231r, 232r; cf. also f. 88r (reference to the emblem “A minimis quoque timendus,” quoted as Alciato I, 54); f. 93r (“Alciatum li. i emb. 6”); f. 137r (mention of Alciato’s emblems “de pace,” i.e. “Ex pace ubertas” and “Pax,” cited as I, 19 and 80); f. 176r (mention of Alciato on *concordia*). At f. 34r are four hexameter lines by Vida (*Opera*, p. 77, ll. 13-17) as well as a reference to the description of women’s habits in Juvenal’s sixth satire and Mantuan’s fourth eclogue. At f. 227v is one more citation of Mantuan. Beroaldo is mentioned at ff. 54r-v, 95r, and *passim*, and Poliziano at ff. 253r, 256r. At ff. 101r and 216v we find references to *Volaterranus* (Raffaello Maffei, 1451-1522).

⁷¹ In this manuscript, the authors’ names are not provided. Alciato’s pieces are “In temerarios,” “In facile a virtute desciscentes,” “Auxilium nunquam deficiens,” “Spes proxima” (i.e. emblems 66; 83; 162; 43; f. 58r); “Pietas filiorum in parentes” (emblem 195; f. 58v); “Obdurandum adversus urgentia” (emblem 36; f. 59r); “Terminus,” “*Ankou kai apekou*,” “Bonis auspicia incipiendum,” “Male parta, male dilabuntur” (emblems 158; 34; 127; 129; f. 59v); “Eloquentia fortitudini praestantior,” “Dulcia amara solent fieri,” “Qua dii vocant eundum” (emblems 181; 112; 8; f. 60r); “In avaros,” “Fidei symbolum,” “Furor et rabies,” “Avaritia,” “Temeritas”

(emblems 86; 9; 57; 85; 55; f. 60v); “Quae supra nos nihil ad nos,” “Nunquam procrastinandum [sic],” “Philautia,” “Invidia” (emblems 103; 3; 69; 61; f. 61r); “Paupertatem summi ingeniis obesse ne provehantur” (emblem 121; f. 61v).

⁷² Essex CRO MS D/DTu 274 (1696), f. 32 “Ex Maphaeo” (= Vegio, *Suppl. Aen.* 152-57).

⁷³ Enck points out that the “Monosticha” were first added to the 1620 Leipzig edition of Owen’s epigrams and that the 1633 London edition was the first printed in England to include this section (Enck, “Owen,” 433-34). On the European circulation of Verino’s poetry, see also Coroleu, “Humanismo italiano,” 14; Lazzari, *Ugolino e Michele Verino*, 123-26.

⁷⁴ This corresponds to “Monosticha” II, 15-16 in the London 1633 edition of Owen’s epigrams (*Epigrammatum libri tres*, 248).

⁷⁵ This poem is quoted as “Monosticha” II, 13 in the London 1633 edition of Owen (*Epigrammatum libri tres*, 247-48). The previously cited “Iudex et censor omni caret peccato” is headed “Ex Mich: Verino Florentino” in BL MS Add. 38693, f. 4v, and can be found in the 1633 Owen edition as “Monosticha” I, 25 (*Epigrammatum libri tres*, 235).

⁷⁶ Bod. MS Sancroft 48, f. 28v includes Marco Antonio Flaminio’s epigram for Girolamo Savonarola, followed by an English translation. BL MS Sloane 159, ff. 13r-19r has sequence of 50 epigrams satirical of Paul V, which the British Library online catalogue ascribes to Bartholomaeus Lancesius, of Siena (1609).

⁷⁷ Janus Vitalis’s poem on Rome appears, for instance, in Bod. MS Rawl. Poet 171 (late 17th to early 18th century), f. 240v (with authorial attribution) and BL MS Lansdowne MS 777, ff. 33v, 36r (Latin poem and English translation, without attribution). Cf. Wright, *Delitiae delitiarum*, 104; Gruter, *Delitiae CC Italarum poetarum*, II, 1433; *Epigrammatum delectus* (ed. 1686), 266-67. On the reception of Janus Vitalis’s poem in early modern Europe, cf. Skyrme, “Quevedo” with bibl. MS Rawl. Poet. 171 also includes Giovanni Della Casa’s satirical dialogue on the marriage between Ottavio Farnese (the grandson of Pope Paul III) and Margaret of Austria (f. 33r-v, corresponding to *Carmina* 1, 32, 1).

⁷⁸ Cam. Emmanuel MS 55 (early 17th century), f. 7r: “Non audet Stygius Pluto tentare quod audet / Effrenis monachus pleneque fraudis anus” (“The Stygian Pluto does not dare to try what a reckless monk and an old woman full of tricks venture”), also cited in East Sussex CRO MS HIC/1165, p. 27 as part of Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which incorporates this poem.

⁷⁹ On Bod. MS Fairfax 40, see Piepho, “Versions.” In Bod. MS Rawl. Poet. 246, f. 5v, the poem is (mis)attributed to Sannazaro; in Kent H&LC MS U1121/Z56/8, f. 40r, the epigram is transcribed in the margin as a gloss or addition to Sannazaro’s “In Lucretiam de Alexandro Sexto.” In Durham PG Library MS MSP 62, f.

51r the author is not specified, while in Bod. MS Sancroft 53, p. 311 (r) the poem is attributed to Pontano. In addition to these quotations, Durham Cath. MS Hunter 76, p. 5 has a citation of Pontano's *De tumulis* II, 54, 1.

⁸⁰ Facchini, "Sannazaro's Latin epigrams" (see n. 27 above). As I mention in the article, Cam. Trinity Coll. MS 10.9 (early 18th century) contains a copy of Baupré Bell's translation of Sannazaro's *The Osiers* (1724), including Bell's "Account of Sannazarius and his Piscatory Eclogues" (on the popularity of Sannazaro's piscatory eclogues in early modern England, see Smith, "The Genre"; Id., "Jacopo Sannazaro's *Eclogae Piscatoriae*").

⁸¹ These are epigrams I, 12; I, 20; III, 8; I, 51; II, 29 in the 1535 *princeps* edition of Sannazaro's Latin works. Early modern English readers could find these epigrams not only in uncensored editions printed in continental Europe, but also in Gruter's anthology (717-63); some of these poems also feature in Wright's *Delitiae deliciarum* (108-12) and in the *Epigrammatum delectus*, where Sannazaro is interestingly placed before the *Poetae Itali* (262-64). Cf. also Wright, *Sales epigrammatum* (1663), 78-79.

⁸² This is poem I, 36 in the 1535 edition of Sannazaro's poems. Cf. Gruter, *Delitiae CC italarum poetarum*, II, 724-25; Wright, *Delitiae deliciarum*, 111; *Epigrammatum delectus*, 263; *Anthologia seu selecta quaedam poemata*, 111.

⁸³ See BL MS Add. 74231, f. 3r; Leeds Brotherton MS Lt 55, f. 36v; Leeds Brotherton MS Lt 57, f. 1br (copies of the Latin poem; cf. also BL MS Sloane 2832, f. 61r for a prose version of the poem); BL MS Add. 4456, ff. 11r-v; BL MS Add. 11723, f. 20v; BL MS Add. 78456, f. 12r; Bod. MS Ashmole 38, p. 61; Bod. MS Eng. poet. c. 25, ff. 74r-76r; Bod. MS Sancroft 48, f. 27r; Leeds, Brotherton MS Lt q 46, f. 20r (English translations); BL MS Add. 5947*, ff. 105r-106r; Bod. MS Rawl. Poet. 19, f. 109r; Bod. MS Rawl. poet. 147, p. 195; Bod. MS Top. Oxon C 108, p. 23; Durham PG Library MS MSP 29, f. 123v; Leeds Brotherton Lt q 18, f. 4v; Leeds, Brotherton MS Lt 96, f. 156v (Sannazaro's Latin poem accompanied by an English translation, for which cf. also National Library of Wales, NLW MS 21699 C); BL MS Add. 72899, f. 44v; BL MS Harley 6054, f. 13r; Bod. MS Eng. poet. c. 25; Bod. MS Eng. poet. f. 13, f. 14r; Nottingham MS Pw V 1029; Nottingham MS Pw V 1395 (re-adaptations).

⁸⁴ See Facchini, "Sannazaro's Latin epigrams" (n. 27 above).

⁸⁵ George Watson claims that "in Renaissance England Petrarch was a name rather than a book" (Watson, *The English Petrarchans*, 3), but later studies correct this statement. Bibliography on the reception of Petrarch in early modern England is, indeed, very abundant. Besides the studies listed below, see for example Praz, "Petrarca in Inghilterra"; Kennedy, *The Site of Petrarchism*, 163-250 (with an emphasis on Sidney's reception of Petrarch's vernacular poetry); Hainsworth - McLaughlin - Panizza, *Petrarch in Britain*. Boswell - Braden,

Petrarch's English Laurels, has a comprehensive list of references to Petrarch in works printed in England between 1475 and 1700.

⁸⁶ Mann's list comprises two manuscripts currently conserved in Ireland (Trinity College Dublin).

⁸⁷ Mann, *Petrarch Manuscripts*, 140.

⁸⁸ Petrina, "The Humanist Petrarch" (Petrina especially focuses on the middle English translation of Petrarch's *Secretum* in BL MS Add. 60577); cf. Ead., "Petrarca in Inghilterra," on early modern English translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*.

⁸⁹ Wilkins, "A General Survey"; cf. Caruso, "Petrarca e petrarchisti," 261; Roe, "Petrarch in England." Although he is interested in the broader phenomenon of English Petrarchism rather than in Petrarchan quotations, Caruso highlights the potential importance of post-1557 manuscript miscellanies for assessing Petrarch's early modern English reception ("Petrarca e petrarchisti," 264). Eckhardt has dealt with this issue in its broader sense, since he has underscored the "Petrarchan" or "anti-Petrarchan" connotation of love poems in manuscript miscellanies (*Manuscript Verse Collectors*).

⁹⁰ In addition to the poems discussed below, seventeenth-century manuscripts contain citations of Petrarch's Latin prose works, including extracts from his *De remediis utriusque fortunae*. Leeds Brotherton MS Lt 91 (17th century), f. 101v includes an extract from Petrarch's *De remediis* I, 8, "memento peccati ut doleas [...], memento misericordiae ne desperes" ("Remember your sin to regret it [...], remember mercy not to despair"; cf. Boswell - Braden, *Petrarch's English Laurels*, n. 588), laid out as poetry and followed by a translation attributed to "Dr Sparke." The same piece appears at p. i of Bod. MS Sancroft 56 (early 17th century), where it is also laid out as a poem and followed by the indication: "Petrarch. de remed. l. i. dial. 8." At p. 55 of this latter manuscript, we also find: "Initium vitae caecitas & oblivio possidet, progressum labor, dolor exitum, error omnia - Fr. Petrarch" ("Oblivion and blindness characterise the beginning of life, fatigue its continuation, pain its end, and error all of it"; Petrarch, *De remediis, praef.* 1, 1, 10-11; cf. Boswell - Braden, *Petrarch's English Laurels*, n. 516). The mid-seventeenth-century BL MS Add. 41846, f. 102r contains Petrarch's description of Laura (derived from his "Ambrosian" manuscript of Virgil ad beginning "Laura, propriis virtutibus illustris"); this extract was copied by Digby from Bod. MS Digby 141 (an illuminated manuscript of Petrarch's Italian *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi*, written in Italy in 1465, and donated by Digby to the Bodleian Library in 1634; cf. Mann, *Petrarch Manuscripts*, 440-42).

⁹¹ Coroleu's book demonstrates that Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen* was very popular in Europe between the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, where it was repeatedly published (individually, within editions of

Petrarch's complete Latin works, and as part of multi-author pastoral compilations) and was the subject of a number of commentaries (Coroleu, *Printing and Reading*, 37-47).

⁹² Many early modern manuscripts contain English translations of, and references to, Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and *Trionfi*: these include, for example, BL MS Add. 12067; BL MS Add. 24195; BL MS Royal 18 A XLVIII; and Bod. MS Eng. poet. c. 51; as well as BL MS Add. 36529; Bod. MS Montagu e. 2; Bod. MS Montagu e. 3 (on which cf. Mann, *Petrarch Manuscripts*, 242-44, 466-67).

⁹³ On Watson's translation and re-adaptation of Petrarch and other Italian models (among whom the most frequent are Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, Serafino Dell'Aquila, and Agnolo Firenzuola), see Boswell - Braden, *Petrarch's English Laurels*, n. 178; Cecioni, *Thomas Watson*; Roe, "Petrarch in England"; Moul, "Neo-Latin Poetry"; cf. Coldiron, "Watson's 'Hekatompathia'." An online edition of the *Hekatompathia* can be found on Dana Sutton's website: www.philological.bham.ac.uk/watson/. Bod. MS Rawl. Poet. 148 (late 16th century), ff. 5r-60v also contains a printed copy of Watson's work. Cecioni lists other copies of Watson's Petrarchan re-adaptations: BL MS Add. 10039, ff. 84r-v; BL MS Egerton 2230, f. 49v; BL MS Harley 4286, f. 69v; BL MS Harley 6910, ff. 170v-171r; BL MS Sloane 1867, f. 23r (*Thomas Watson*, 335).

⁹⁴ The poem is elsewhere attributed to "J. Scaliger" (cf. Dermody, *Poems*, 175). The double attribution might be due to the proximity of Scaliger's and Windet's names in *Epigrammatum delectus*, II, 6-8.

⁹⁵ On this event, cf. Povolo, "Un eroe locale."

⁹⁶ On Petrarch's criticism of the Avignon Papacy, see for example Falkeid, "Petrarch, Cola di Rienzo."

⁹⁷ Coogan, "Petrarch's *Liber sine nomine*," 4-10. On early modern representations of Petrarch as a proto-Protestant, see also, for example, Kennedy, *The Site of Petrarchism*, 3, 20, 48, 148. Flacius's *Catalogus testium veritatis*, col. 1770f. includes a Latin translation of Petrarch's sonnets 136 and 138.

⁹⁸ Thomas Fairfax's translation of Petrarch's sonnets 136 and 138, headed "A Character of the Romish Church," can be found at pp. 604-5 of Bod. MS Fairfax 40 (see Piepho, "Versions," 114-15 and the printed edition of Bliss Reed, *The Poems*, 282-83; cf. Mann, *Petrarch Manuscripts*, 451-52); these translations are also present in Leeds Brotherton MS Lt 105, pp. 411-12 and Bod. MS Fairfax 38 pp. 305-6. Further English translations of the anti-Avignon sonnets 136, 138, and 114 appear in BL MS Add. 36529, ff. 35v and 46v.

⁹⁹ Cf. Coogan, "Petrarch's *Liber sine nomine*," 7-8, 10.

¹⁰⁰ This is confirmed by further manuscript evidence." For instance, BL MS Harley 6910, BL MS Add. 25304, and Bod. MS Douce 280 all include Spenser's "Visions of Petrarch." Moreover, BL MS Add. 234 is a seventeenth-century manuscript containing a "Francisci Petrarchae Vita."

¹⁰¹ Cf. n. 97 above.

¹⁰² Hotman, *The Brutish Thunderbolt*, 254.

¹⁰³ Osiander, *A Manuell*, 452.

¹⁰⁴ The text alludes to Petrarch's "description of the inordinate and dissolute life of the Court of Rome" (Estienne, *A World of Wonders*, 327) and recalls: "Sundry poets also not long before our time spared not the Popes one iota, as namely Pontanus, Sannazarius, and others [...] Mantuan also hath written to the like effect of the couetousnesse of Popes" (334-35).

¹⁰⁵ The late sixteenth-century collection of Gager's works in BL Add. MS 22583 includes his sapphics "Ad Illustrem Equitem Italum Dominum Horatium Palavicinum" (ff. 86r-87v). The addressee, Orazio Pallavicino (1540-1630) was an Italian financier and diplomat who moved to England in the 1570s: here, he converted to Protestantism and played an important role in protecting Italian Protestant expatriates (see Villani, "Pallavicino"; cf. Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter*, 144-45). Dana Sutton provides a transcription, translation, and commentary on Gager's whole poetic collection in BL Add. MS 22583 (<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/gager/poetry/>). As Dana Sutton points out after Stone, it is likely that Gager wrote this poem to gratify his friend Alberico Gentili (1552-1608), who was an exiled Italian Protestant (cf. Stone, *An Elizabethan*, 38).

¹⁰⁶ Other Italian-related poems contained in MS Burney 368 are Benedetto Sossago's hexameters "Isaaco Casaubono, litteratorum Coryptheo" (ff. 9r-10v) and the "Diegerticon ad Italiam" (f. 20r), a piece in prose or possibly in free verse, which appears also in BL Add. 72480, ff. 22r-23r and Bod. Rawl. Poet. 26, ff. 42r-v.

¹⁰⁷ This manuscript collection reveals a strong interest in contemporary religious issues. At ff. 27r-28v are papers in Italian against the Venetians and their anti-Papal politics, while at f. 104r-v is a letter of the Catholic cardinal Ottavio Bandini (1558-1629) to William Bishop (1553-1624), dated 1623.

¹⁰⁸ See Tomasi, "Menini" (the poem contained in MS Burney 368 is published in *Octavi Menini Carmina*, 54-56); Rotondò, "Carnesecchi." Menini's poetry is mentioned also in BL MS Burney 367, f. 34r), within one of the several letters exchanged between Isaac Casaubon and the Venetian senator Domenico Molino (1572-1635; on these letters, conserved in BL MSS Burney 365 and 367, see Signaroli, *Domenico Molino*; Botley-Maté, *The Correspondence*, *passim*).