

Franco-Italian Literary Sociability  
and Early Modern Rome  
(1545-60)

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## Declaration

I, Jack Peter Hayes, confirm that the work presented in my thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

## Abstract

This thesis studies literary sociability among French and Italian speakers in élite social circles constituted around cardinals and ambassadors in mid-sixteenth century Rome to examine the formation and negotiation of socio-political identities. It uses a variety of poetic sources in French, Italian and Latin to argue that poetic exchange took on important socio-political functions through a turbulent period of Franco-Italian relations at the end of the Italian Wars (1494-1559) and during the Council of Trent (1545-63). Moving successively through three poetic genres – lyric, epic and pastoral – the thesis argues that much early modern poetry should be seen functionally, that is, as a tool put into service in the pursuit of defined social goals. By drawing on canonical authors together with ‘minor’ authors and occasional verse, and reading with particular attention to textual materiality and paratextuality, it demonstrates too the centrality of social networks to early modern poetic production. This thesis offers a major contribution to studies of Roman literary cultures of the sixteenth century; it discusses texts which have never been the focus of scholarly work, and its findings emphasise the often acknowledged but rarely examined role of the Roman court of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-89) as a key site of literary production and patronage. In addition, it sheds new light on well-studied French expatriate writers, notably Joachim du Bellay (c. 1522-60), by reconsidering their writing within the context of contemporaneous Roman production and insisting on the importance of Rome’s plurilingual culture in the production of literary works.

## Impact Statement

The research carried out for this thesis adds significantly to scholarly knowledge of several areas. In particular, work undertaken on Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-89) and his literary patronage is of broader significance to studies of early modern ecclesiastical patrons and to the literary cultures of Rome in the mid-sixteenth century, a period often neglected in histories of Renaissance literature. This period followed shifts in the wider European balance of powers amidst the Italian Wars (1494-1559) and the Sack of Rome (1527); in this context, the political use of verse is revealed to be paramount. In addition, this thesis re-reads the presence and output of French writers in Rome, and suggests that their attempts to engage in Roman literary society were only partly successful. This contrasts to the traditionally central role occupied by some individuals, notably Joachim du Bellay (1522-60), in French literary systems of the sixteenth century. In re-evaluating Rome as a plurilingual literary centre, this thesis thereby adds new perspectives which challenge paradigmatic national literary canons which have sometimes dominated studies in this period. It demonstrates that attention to literary actors and products which remain outside traditional literary canons are vital to the scholarly reconstruction of socio-literary cultures, with potential applications across periods and locations. Finally, this thesis demonstrates both the crucial role of private correspondence in socio-poetic analysis, and the utility of applying a comparative approach to the social analysis of Renaissance verse.

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## Abbreviations

### Libraries and Archives

ASF, MdP	Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo del Principato
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
BNCR	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BL	British Library, London

### Digital Resources

BIA-MAP	BIA The Medici Archive Project, <a href="http://www.bia.medici.org">www.bia.medici.org</a>
EDIT16	Edizioni italiane del XVI secolo, <a href="http://www.edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web/edit-16">www.edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web/edit-16</a>
USTC	Universal Short Title Catalogue, <a href="http://www.ustc.ac.uk/">www.ustc.ac.uk/</a>

Abbreviations of classical texts follow those used in the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.

## Notes on Transcription, Translation and Naming Conventions

In transcribing primary sources, the following modifications have been applied following scholarly standards for each language. In Italian, diacritics have been added or removed to correspond to modern usage. In French and Spanish, no diacritics have been added or removed. In Latin, all diacritics have been removed. In all languages, a u/v and i/j distinction has been imposed. All abbreviations and contractions have been silently expanded. In prose primary sources, punctuation remains unaltered other than the addition of apostrophes to indicate elision. In poetic primary sources, minor modifications have been applied to punctuation for reasons of legibility (notably, removal of frequent line-end colons).

Translations are provided for languages other than French and Italian. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

For consistency, all names with a common Anglicisation have been Anglicised (e.g. Francis I, not François I). Where individuals are more commonly known in scholarship under a specific name, I follow scholarly usage (e.g. Janus Vitalis, not Giano Vitale). I follow English scholarly usage which predominantly declines Italian women's names in the masculine (e.g. Laura Battiferri, not Laura Battiferra).

## Timeline of Key Events

Where possible, precise dates are provided.

	<b>Events in Rome</b>	<b>External Events</b>
<b>1545</b>	Pierluigi Farnese becomes Duke of Parma and Piacenza (Aug.-Sep)	Council of Trent opens (13 Dec.)
<b>1546</b>	Cardinal Farnese in Germany as papal legate (4 Jul.-late Dec.); Michelangelo Buonarroti takes over work on Palazzo Farnese (Sept.); Jean Matal arrives in Rome	Death of Martin Luther (18 Feb.)
<b>1547</b>	Death of Pietro Bembo (18 Jan.); Death of Vittoria Colonna (25 Feb.); Cardinal du Bellay arrives in Rome (27 Sept.); Alessandro Piccolomini arrives in Rome; <i>Compositioni</i> anthology for Livia Colonna produced	Death of Francis I, accession of Henry II of France (31 Mar.); Pierluigi Farnese assassinated in Piacenza (10 Sept.); Louis Des Masures's <i>Aeneid</i> I-II translation printed
<b>1548</b>	<i>Sciomachie</i> is hosted by Cardinal du Bellay (14 Mar.); Des Masures arrives in Rome (Spring)	Vittoria Farnese marries Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino (30 Jan.)
<b>1549</b>	Death of Paul III (10 Nov.); Des Masures and François Rabelais leave Rome (Nov.); Piccolomini's <i>Cento sonetti</i> printed	Council of Trent prorogued (17 Sept.)
<b>1550</b>	Election of Julius III (7 Feb.); Death of Marcantonio Flaminio (Feb.); Cardinal du Bellay leaves Rome (mid-May)	First edition of Giorgio Vasari's <i>Vite</i> printed
<b>1551</b>	Cardinal Farnese goes into exile in Florence (22 July)	Council of Trent reopens (1 May); Alliance formed between the Farnese and France (27 May); War of Parma begins (June)
<b>1552</b>	Death of Romolo Amaseo (4 June); Cardinal Farnese returns to Rome (7 June); Cardinal Farnese leaves Rome for Viterbo, Siena, Parma (mid-June-Oct.), Lyon (6 Nov.), and finally the French royal court (16 Nov.)	Council of Trent suspended (18 Apr.); War of Parma ends (29 April); Death of Paolo Giovio (12 Dec.); Des Masures's <i>Aeneid</i> I-IV printed
<b>1553</b>	Cardinal du Bellay and Joachim du Bellay arrive in Rome (21 June)	Orazio Farnese marries Diane of France (13 Feb.); Death of Rabelais (before 14 Mar.); Death of Orazio Farnese (18 July)
<b>1554</b>	Murder of Livia Colonna (21 Jan.); Cardinal Farnese returns to Rome from France (Aug.); Alessandro Guarnelli's <i>Aeneid</i> I translation printed	Start of Siege of Siena (Jan.)

	Events in Rome	External Events
1555	Olivier de Magny arrives in Rome (7 Mar.); Death of Julius III (23 Mar.); Election of Marcellus II (9 Apr.); Death of Marcellus II (1 May); Election of Paul IV (23 May); <i>Rime di diversi</i> for Livia Colonna printed	End of Siege of Siena (21 Apr.); Ferdinand I becomes Holy Roman Emperor (25 Oct.)
1556	Death of Claudio Tolomei (23 Mar.); Death of Giovanni della Casa (14 Nov.); Magny and Piccolomini both leave Rome	Phillip II becomes king of Spain (16 Jan.); Parma and Piacenza return to Farnese rule; Franco-Farnese alliance ruptures
1557	Joachim du Bellay leaves Rome (autumn)	Des Masures's <i>Carmina</i> , <i>Œuvres poétiques</i> and <i>Aeneid V</i> printed; Magny's <i>Souspirs</i> printed
1558	Death of Basilio Zanchi (winter)	French capture Calais from the English (8 Jan.); Death of Charles V (21 Sept.); Joachim du Bellay's <i>Regrets</i> , <i>Antiquitez</i> , <i>Divers jeux rustiques</i> and <i>Poematum libri quatuor</i> printed
1559	Work begins on Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola (25 Apr.); Death of Paul IV (18 Aug.); Election of Pius IV (25 Dec.)	Promulgation of the <i>Index librorum prohibitorum</i> (Jan.); Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (2-3 Apr.); Death of Henri II, accession of Francis II (10 July); Magny's <i>Odes</i> printed
1560	Death of Cardinal du Bellay (16 Feb.)	Death of Joachim du Bellay (1 Jan.); Death of Francis II, accession of Charles IX (5 Dec.)

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1: Introduction

This thesis provides a comparative study of poetic production by Italian and French speakers in Rome between 1545-60 to interrogate the social functions of poetry in early modernity and examine how poetry enabled political, diplomatic and ludic sociability during a period of fluctuating socio-political and cultural relations between France and the Italian peninsula. Rome is a useful place to examine Franco-Italian relations as it was in many respects the major site of early modern diplomacy, as the centre of the Christian West and was central to the Italian Wars (1494-1559) in which France and the papacy were important belligerents.<sup>1</sup> In this period, for the first time after the French invasion of Italy in 1494, French ambassadors began to reside permanently in Rome, part of the wider emergence of the figure of the permanent ambassador.<sup>2</sup> The 1530-40s also saw the permanent Roman residencies of some French cardinals including Jean du Bellay (1492-1560) and Georges d'Armagnac (1501-85), there to work more closely with the Curia and influence discussions.<sup>3</sup> Alongside Italian counterparts such as cardinals Alessandro Farnese (1520-89) or Ippolito II d'Este (1509-72), their patronage contributed significantly to a dynamic environment of literary production in the city. This all took place against the backdrop of complex, shifting relations between the four Valois kings and five popes who reigned during the period surveyed by this thesis.

A host of *letterati* came to Rome in the employ of these ambassadors and cardinals, part of the broader influx of *romanam curiam sequentes* in the papal court's service. One aspect of these *letterati*'s role was to promote, fashion and entertain their employers, tasks often closely linked to their patrons' socio-political projects. This thesis focusses on the production of poetry by such individuals. Poetry was used to curry favour or as political support of patrons and their projects, and functioned as both public and private means of entertainment. Poetry also allowed individuals and the networks to which they belonged to forge places for themselves in the multi-polar structure of Roman society, while poetic form,

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<sup>1</sup> See OSBORNE 2019; and also BARDATI 2010.

<sup>2</sup> For lists of French ambassadors to Rome in this period, whose tenures are somewhat difficult to identify, see LANSSAC 1904, pp. X-XI; WITTE 1971, pp. 89-121. On permanent ambassadors, see FLETCHER 2015.

<sup>3</sup> BARDATI 2021, pp. 1-2. For details of French cardinals' journeys between Rome and France in this period, see SCHEURER 2016a.

genre and materiality were all socio-politically weighted. How, then, was poetry used by these cardinal-diplomats and their circles to create relationships, or to form and promote identities (both individually and as members of social networks), across or amongst political and linguistic communities? To consider these questions, this thesis addresses three types of verse (lyric in Ch. 3; epic in Ch. 4; and pastoral in Ch. 5) and considers how each was put into service in different Roman settings. It concentrates in large part on the *letterati* employed by cardinals Jean du Bellay and Alessandro Farnese – among the most active cardinal-patrons, and both central members of the Curia – as well as others indirectly connected to them, to examine poetry's role in the shaping of communities and negotiation of socio-political identities in Rome.

Rome was a city in which one could 'make' oneself, perhaps more than anywhere else in Italy as the French scholar in Rome, Marc Antoine Muret (1526-85), suggested: 'più si può acquistar fama in Roma in un giorno che in Padova in trent'anni.'<sup>4</sup> This conception was so widespread as to be satirised by some such as Pietro Aretino (1492-1556). Aretino's comedy *La cortigiana* (written 1525, re-written 1535, performed 1537) staged the foibles of Maco, a Siennese arrival in Rome desperate to become a courtier, and the unscrupulous Maestro Andrea, who claims to know how to make him one. In one scene, a *strambotto* by Maco in praise of himself is performed by Maestro Andrea who then lauds it with a concatenation of adjectives ('O che versi sentenziosi, pieni, sdrucchioli...').<sup>5</sup> In the subsequent scene, Maestro Andrea, now alone, criticises Maco, announcing that his stupidity is precisely why he will make a good courtier ('Io sono in opinion che questo, per essere coglione in cremesi [...] diventi il più favorito di questa Corte').<sup>6</sup> Courtiers' poetic pursuits are revealed to be self-serving, their peers to be deceitful flatterers.

While Aretino presents courtiers' poetry as somewhat vacuous, this thesis explores rather how Roman courtiers' poetry was a useful vehicle for social interaction. Poetry underpinned formal events which brought French and Italian speakers together physically; it formed the nucleus around which networks were formed and depicted; and it provided a means of communication of a special kind, different to spontaneous conversation and to

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<sup>4</sup> Marc Antoine Muret to Aldo Il Manuzio, 22 Oct. 1575, in CERRUTI 1867, p. 121. On Muret, see BERNARD-PRADELLE ET AL. 2020.

<sup>5</sup> ARETINO 1968, pp. 153-54 (*La cortigiana*, Act 2, Scene 12). On Aretino and the court, see UGOLINI 2021.

<sup>6</sup> ARETINO 1968, pp. 154-55 (*La cortigiana*, Act 2, Scene 13).

prose letters, especially beneficial in the pursuit of political relationships and personal friendships. As such, this thesis argues that to produce poetry in Rome, to fashion oneself as *auctor* or one's circle as authoritative or uniquely talented, was a means by which to advance in this dynamic urban society.

By *literary sociability*, I understand, following Peter Kirkpatrick and Robert Dixon, the 'various forms of community that facilitate and sustain' literary practices, and the 'kinds of communal identities that are formed *by* [those] practices.'<sup>7</sup> This position conceives of literature as a 'social pursuit, something that occurs in the space between people' rather than as a 'solitary, individual pursuit.'<sup>8</sup> My approach is specifically historicised, since, as Kirkpatrick and Dixon state, sociability 'cannot be treated ahistorically,' insofar as it 'is implicated in specific cultural politics that change historically.'<sup>9</sup> At stake in this thesis is therefore the social function of poetry in élite milieux of the sixteenth century which saw the meeting of men from across Europe, employed by Roman Catholic patrons but often separated by linguistic and political boundaries. This necessarily largely excludes women, who were rarely employed in cardinalate households.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, with a few well-known exceptions such as Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547), women were often absent too from cardinalate literary networks.

A key aspect of this thesis is the equal attention it gives to traditionally 'minor' and 'major' figures. While some of the figures this thesis discusses are well known – Annibal Caro, Giovanni della Casa, François Rabelais and Joachim du Bellay in particular have been the subject of much scholarship – many others are little known. However, such 'minor' poets are central to an exploration of poetry's role in sociability. Paolo Procaccioli notes that in the 1500s poetry was a practice which 'andava molto al di là dell'ambito propriamente letterario' and became an 'espressione di pressoché ogni settore di quella società [...], un passepartout.'<sup>11</sup> As such, approaches concentrating on 'major' writers and neglecting 'minor' writers, or which institute a distinction between the two, or which even employ a nebulous hermeneutics of literary 'value,' would make little sense in this context. Joan Rubin writes that attention to literary sociability must remind us that 'collectivities of

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<sup>7</sup> KIRKPATRICK AND DIXON 2012, p. V.

<sup>8</sup> MELLO ET AL. 2019, pp. 182, 186.

<sup>9</sup> KIRKPATRICK AND DIXON 2012, p. VI.

<sup>10</sup> Cardinals did, however, occasionally employ women in residences outside Rome (BYATT 2022, p. 230).

<sup>11</sup> PROCACCIOLI 2014, p. 79.



readers invoke or undermine literary judgments, cultural hierarchy and critical authority' and that 'multiple canons are always present and always provisional.'<sup>12</sup> Drawing on this statement, this thesis foregrounds the operation of collectivities in the production of literary works and canons, rather than focussing on well-known individuals in splendid isolation.

The verse this thesis examines is overwhelmingly secular. A perhaps surprising aspect of the Italian literary networks examined in the period 1545-60 is their predominant production of secular, classicising poetry. This is despite the fact that, following a highpoint of Bembian Petrarchism in the 1530s, *rime spirituali* had by this period become an important feature of the poetic landscape of the Italian peninsula.<sup>13</sup> It is also despite the fact that this thesis surveys poetry produced in ecclesiastical circles during the Council of Trent (1545-63), the Roman church's response to calls for reform. In addition, while some in France, such as Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549), produced religious poetry, those French poets who travelled to Rome were largely in the orbit of the Pléiade, a network whose communal poetics were more classicising than religious.<sup>14</sup> Their works focus on socio-political or historical rather than religious questions and discuss the papal court primarily as a diplomatic, rather than religious, centre. A focus on the secular thus better permits a comparative approach.

The political and diplomatic relationship between France and the Italian peninsula between 1545-60, that to which French poets in Italy responded, was one in which France largely remained an important political and military presence in the Italian peninsula. Through the Italian Wars, the peninsula became something of a proxy site for political conflicts between France, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. As such, Italian states variously allied with or against the French to protect their own security. In the early decades of the century, the French saw successes notably in the north. By the 1550s, however, and especially after the 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, Spanish dominance in the peninsula was consolidated with a resultant diminishing of French influence.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, cultural imports from the Italian states were widespread in France, where numerous Italians

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<sup>12</sup> J. RUBIN 2012, pp. 3, 11.

<sup>13</sup> On trends in Italian vernacular lyric poetry through this period, see COX 2013, pp. 18-34. On *rime spirituali*, see QUONDAM 2005, pp. 127-211, 213-282; COX 2011, pp. 32-44, 55-75, on a post-Tridentine 'poetics of conversion' and on women's *rime spirituali*; and RIGA 2018 on spiritual anthologies.

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. NAVARRE 1971. On the Pléiade's poetics, the classic study remains CASTOR 1964.

<sup>15</sup> On the Spanish in Rome, see DANDELET 2001 alongside BAKER-BATES 2018 which nuances Dandelelet's claim of Spanish 'hegemony' in Rome. More generally, see DANDELET & MARINO 2007; LEVIN 2018.

resided (notably in Lyon), in the context of the reign of the Florentine-born French queen consort Catherine de' Medici (1519-89) and her court.<sup>16</sup> In the first decades of the century, the translation of Italian texts into French was common, as was their imitation in French.<sup>17</sup> This combined with a desire to show that France was as fecund in literature as the Italian peninsula. Emblematic of this attitude is the dedication of the second French translation of Baldassar Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano* (trans. 1538) in which the editor Étienne Dolet (1509-46) announced the imminent printing of his epigrams, such that 'Poètes Italiens' coming to the signing of the Treaty of Nice in July 1538 between Pope Paul III, King Francis I and Emperor Charles V might discover that 'en France il y a des corps pleins de vers aussi bien qu'en aultre lieu.'<sup>18</sup> From the 1570s onwards, cultures of anti-Italianism then developed, expressed by writers such as Henri Estienne (1528/31-98) in his provocative *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianisé* (1578). This anti-Italianism, which took on economic and political dimensions, became especially pronounced following the St. Bartholomew's day massacre of 1572, and was associated especially with French Huguenots.<sup>19</sup>

## 1.2: Roman Cardinals' Courts as Networks of Literary Production

Early modern Roman society was characterised by clear polycentrism and was split across several aristocratic courts including those of cardinals, of ambassadors and of the Roman baronial aristocracy, as well as the papal court itself and networks of civic government. By and large, however, this thesis discusses literary figures who worked for, and were socially connected to, cardinals and ambassadors. These individuals produced and consumed poetry in formal and informal settings, and their relationships to another form of interconnected network, the Roman academies, were often an important driving force in their poetic production, as discussed in Ch. 2.6. This thesis concentrates on verse produced by poets working in the service of two cardinals, one Italian and one French: Alessandro Farnese (1520-89) and Jean du Bellay (1492-1560). The first, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, was a

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<sup>16</sup> On Italians in Lyon, see BOUCHER 1998; ANDREOLI 2018; MONTORSI 2020. On so-called 'Français italianisants,' see PICOT 1901.

<sup>17</sup> On translations, see BALSAMO, MINISCHETTI AND DOTOLI 2009. On imitation, see esp. DELLANEVA 2009. More generally, see BALSAMO 1997.

<sup>18</sup> B. CASTIGLIONE 1538, sigs. aii<sup>r</sup>-aii<sup>v</sup>. On the Treaty of Nice, see PASTOR 1923, pp. 278-91.

<sup>19</sup> See HELLER 2003.

grandson of Pope Paul III (r. 1534-49) and became a towering figure in the sixteenth-century church after his grandfather raised him to the cardinalate and made him vice-chancellor of the Church aged fourteen in 1534.<sup>20</sup> In tandem with his grandfather's project, Farnese became heavily involved in transforming his family into a political dynasty which would rule over the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza from 1545-1731, despite the assassination of his father, the duke Pierluigi (1503-47), and struggles over the family's ducal rule between 1547-1552 (see Ch. 4.4.2).<sup>21</sup> Even still, though Farnese remained a powerful figure in the Roman curia, he was never elected pope and ceased to be spoken of as *papabile* after the late 1550s.

Undoubtedly, Cardinal Farnese's patronage of a variety of artists and architects including Titian, El Greco, Vignola and others made his court an important centre of artistic production in the mid-sixteenth-century Italian peninsula. This is amply demonstrated in Clare Robertson's influential 1992 study which distinguishes two phases in Cardinal Farnese's artistic patronage, arguing that the cardinal effected a 'remarkable change' in his patronage after the Council of Trent, from almost exclusively commissioning secular works between 1534-64 to almost exclusively religious works from 1564-89.<sup>22</sup> By contrast, Cardinal Farnese's literary patronage remains little studied, despite the presence at his court of well-known *letterati* including Annibal Caro, Giovanni della Casa, Francesco Maria Molza, Claudio Tolomei, Paolo Giovio and others (on *letterati* at his court, see Ch. 2.2; for a list of *letterati* employed by Farnese during the period surveyed by this thesis, see Appendix A). Kenneth Gouwens is typical in suggesting Farnese's household was one of the most conspicuous sites of learned exchange in this period in Rome without elaborating further; Dorigen Caldwell's essay on artists and *letterati* at the Farnese court is meanwhile interested chiefly in artists.<sup>23</sup> Studies on the extensive Farnese library collections have explored the acquisition of books but not the creation of new texts.<sup>24</sup> An ongoing research project at the Università degli Studi della Tuscia to create a digital 'Enciclopedia Farnesiana,' alongside an associated series of publications, promises to expand scholarly knowledge of various aspects of the Farnese in

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<sup>20</sup> See FRANGIPANE 1876; ANDRETTA 1995.

<sup>21</sup> On the Farnese as dynasty, see DREI 1954; NASALLI-ROCCA 1969; VECCHIO 1972; GAMRATH 2007.

<sup>22</sup> ROBERTSON 1992, p. 158. On Farnese's artistic patronage, see also RIEBESELL 1989; HOLLINGSWORTH 1996, pp. 66-72, 279-89; and on the extensive Farnese art collections more generally, FORNARI SCHIANCHI 1995.

<sup>23</sup> GOUWENS 2019, p. 506; CALDWELL 2018.

<sup>24</sup> See PERNOT 1979 and 1981; FOSSIER 1982; JESTAZ 1994; MOUREN 1995; MERISALO 2016.

this period.<sup>25</sup> However, to date the only general study of literary production at the Farnese courts in Rome remains an essay covering 1535-55 by Domenico Chiodo, published in two versions.<sup>26</sup> Though useful in orienting our understanding of the literary dimensions of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's court, and notable in its rejection of scholarly prejudice against occasional poetry, Chiodo's overview is both broad and short. This thesis therefore adds a large contribution to the study of Cardinal Farnese and of his court's place in literary cultures of the mid-sixteenth century. It significantly nuances the prevailing periodisation of Farnese's patronage proposed by Robertson through examination of his literary patronage, including of religious texts pre-1564 (Ch. 2.2.1). It also expands our knowledge of the court's literary production through analysis of three little studied texts linked with Farnese: two lyric anthologies (Ch. 3) and a translation of the *Aeneid* (Ch. 4).

The second cardinal on whom this thesis focusses, Cardinal Jean du Bellay (1492-1560), was fairly unusual amongst French cardinals in that he resided for extensive periods in Rome (Feb. 1534; 1535-1536; 1547-49; 1553-60). This enabled him to consolidate social links with other long-term residents. The cardinal was part of an important French aristocratic family; his brothers Guillaume (1491-1543) and Martin (1495-1559) both served the Valois monarchs in diplomatic and military roles and left important memoirs detailing the Italian Wars.<sup>27</sup> Cardinal du Bellay also had a long career as a diplomat, first as ambassador in England (1527-34) before he was raised to the cardinalate in 1535, one year after the younger Farnese. In 1555, Cardinal du Bellay became Dean of the College of Cardinals after apparently engineering the election of the former dean, Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa, as Paul IV (r. 1555-59).<sup>28</sup> This placed Cardinal du Bellay at the centre of curial politics, and made him a key intermediary between the papacy and the Valois court, until his death in Rome in 1560.

A research project (2004-2017) directed by Loris Petris and Rémy Scheurer has greatly deepened scholarly knowledge of Cardinal du Bellay through a number of publications, including an edition of the cardinal's poetry and a collection of essays on his

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<sup>25</sup> For the Enciclopedia Farnesiana, see <https://farnese.org>. For the first publications, see GANDOLFI 2022 and MARINI, PARLATO, AND PROCACCIOLI 2022.

<sup>26</sup> CHIODO 2013, pp. 104–20 and 2014.

<sup>27</sup> For the memoirs, see M. DU BELLAY and G. DU BELLAY 1908-19.

<sup>28</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Tiburzio Burzio, undated May 1555, in CARO 1765, vol. 2, p. 190: 'Il Cardinal di Bellai [...] inclina a far Papa il Decano, per succeder lui al Decanato.' On Cardinal du Bellay's ecclesiastical career, see SCHEURER 2013 and 2016b.

political and humanist activities, as well as the completed publication of his correspondence.<sup>29</sup> This thesis draws throughout on Petris and Scheurer's project which has demonstrated Cardinal du Bellay's keen interest in art, architecture and literature, including as producer of poetry and patron of individuals including François Rabelais, Louis des Masures, Joachim du Bellay and Pirro Ligorio (see Ch. 2.4). It expands on their findings, notably through consideration of Des Masures's *Aeneid* translation (Ch. 3).

Relations between cardinals Du Bellay and Farnese broadly followed the lines of the relationship of France to the Farnese. During the papacy of Paul III, Cardinal Farnese visited France in 1539-40 and again in 1543-44, and held a number of French ecclesiastical offices, including as bishop (1534-51) and legate of Avignon (1541-65).<sup>30</sup> During the crisis in Parma of 1551-52, the relationship between the French and the Farnese became closer as they formally allied against Pope Julius III. Cardinal Farnese returned to France in 1553-54 and received the bishopric of Cahors (1554-57), and was present at the wedding on 14 February 1553 between his brother Orazio (1532-53) and Diane of France (1538-1619), daughter of Henry II. Cardinal du Bellay, who returned to Rome during the same period, rented rooms in Palazzo Farnese for his household in 1553-54.<sup>31</sup> In early 1556, the Franco-Farnese alliance was broken off when the Farnese turned towards the Spanish for military support. By this time, the personal relationship between Alessandro Farnese and Jean du Bellay had already collapsed. During the second conclave of 1555, Du Bellay broke with the French faction to support Cardinal Carafa, elected as Paul IV, against French cardinal-protector Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este.<sup>32</sup> In September 1555, Farnese accused Du Bellay and Imperial cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500-64) of persecuting d'Este, whom Paul IV had exiled from Rome amidst accusations of simony ('Alla persecuzion di Ferrara [=Ippolito II d'Este] hanno conspirato Carpi, e Bellai, che sono insieme carne e uigna').<sup>33</sup> In October 1555, Du Bellay by contrast wrote that Farnese 'est d'une nature qu'il ne veut sinon flateurs.'<sup>34</sup> A month later, Farnese wrote that he was finished with Du Bellay entirely ('Con Bellai sono a termine, che

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<sup>29</sup> JEAN DU BELLAY 2007; PETRIS AND MICHON 2013; JEAN DU BELLAY 1969–2017.

<sup>30</sup> COOPER 2007, p. 134.

<sup>31</sup> Jean du Bellay to Alessandro Farnese, 11 Apr. 1553, requesting to rent rooms from Farnese in Rome, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 6, pp. 120-23; COOPER 1997, p. 370.

<sup>32</sup> On the office of cardinal-protector, see PONCET 2002; MARCEAU 2020.

<sup>33</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Tiburzio Burzio, 7 Sept. 1555, in CARO 1765, vol. 3, p. 70. Cardinal d'Este also blamed the pair (VIDORI 2020, pp. 33-34).

<sup>34</sup> Jean du Bellay to Anne de Montmorency, mid-Oct. 1555, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 7, p. 76

per lo meglio non mi par di dover travagliarmi di più con esso lui; facendo apertamente contra di me tutti quei mali offizi che può').<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile Du Bellay wrote to France to warn that Farnese had become 'ung cheval eschappé,' and that 'qui pensera qu'il ayt aultre cueur que imperial [...] se trompera fort en gros.'<sup>36</sup> Their relationship thus remained very strained until Cardinal du Bellay's death in 1560.

Given these shifting personal and political relationships, a comparison of the circles of Du Bellay and Farnese, and more widely of the Farnese and the French, allows an examination of the development and shifts in the respective circles' poetic production during periods of alliance and rupture. Comparison of the two cardinals also permits an examination of two forms of literary patronage, since, unlike Farnese, Cardinal du Bellay was himself also a poet. The first, that of Farnese, is a more traditional form of patronage in which a patron directs and materially supports the production of their network. The second, that of Du Bellay, is one in which a patron is involved in direct production themselves besides directing or supporting that of *familiares* (and which included, when politically beneficial, works in praise of the Farnese or in support of Farnese projects, as discussed in Ch. 2.4.1).

Papal courts, notably those of Leo X (r. 1513-21) and Paul III (r. 1534-49), have been studied as centres of patronage.<sup>37</sup> Individual cardinals have also been the focus of investigation by literary scholars, not least Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547).<sup>38</sup> Where cardinals' circles in this period have been the focus of literary studies, this has largely been within the scope of spiritual networks, as in studies examining the network around Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-58).<sup>39</sup> Cardinals' courts have less frequently been examined as networks of more varied literary production and patronage. While Frédérique Lemerle, Yves Pauwels and Gennaro Toscano's edited volume *Les Cardinaux de la Renaissance et la modernité artistique* (2009) discusses some aspects of patronage through dedications and book collecting, Mary Hollingsworth and Carol Richardson's edited volume *The Possessions of a*

<sup>35</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Tiburzio Burzio, 28 Nov. 1555, in CARO 1765, vol. 3, p. 115.

<sup>36</sup> Jean du Bellay to Anne de Montmorency, late 1555, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 7, pp. 82-93.

<sup>37</sup> On Leo X's court, see esp. CANTATORE ET AL. 2016. On Paul III's court, see DOREZ 1932; REBECCHINI 2020.

<sup>38</sup> The bibliography on Bembo is vast; on his poetry and its dissemination, see e.g. RICHARDSON 2000; for a recent biography with bibliography, see FAINI 2017a. On other individual cardinals, see e.g. FENLON 1988 and 2002 [1988]; LUCIOLI 2014; ALBALA PELEGRÍN 2017.

<sup>39</sup> See OVERELL 2012; ROLFE PRODAN 2014a; VERPILLIÈRE 2016.

*Cardinal* (2009) concentrates on material culture.<sup>40</sup> Brill's more recent *Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal* (2020) contains a section dedicated to 'Cardinals and Literature'; this, however, contains three essays on cardinals' representations in texts and one on their acquisition of books, with nothing on production or patronage.<sup>41</sup> Lucinda Byatt's *Niccolò Ridolfi and the Cardinal's Court* (2022) is a good exception to this general lacuna, with Byatt setting out to establish how 'the political and cultural patronage provided by the cardinal's court merged to create a hub of learning and knowledge' and demonstrating the importance of cardinalate *familiars* other than intellectuals, such as the *majordomo* or *credenziere*.<sup>42</sup>

As the lives of élites in this period were often characterised by cross-peninsular mobility, literary scholars have tended not to anchor their poetry in the specific context of Rome. In literary studies focussed on élite individuals, Rome is often therefore somewhat incidental to the discussion: work on the poet Vittoria Colonna (1492-1547), who spent periods of her life in Rome but who is associated with wider cross-peninsular literary networks, is typical of this approach.<sup>43</sup> This contrasts with studies into popular literary forms, especially Roman *pasquinate*, the most visible form of socio-political poetry in the city.<sup>44</sup> Where other studies of texts have concentrated on Rome, these have predominantly been in the field of book history, especially on the production of printed books, partly because Rome was the location of the first peninsular printing press (that of Arnold Pannartz and Conrad Sweynheim in 1465), but also because this involved actors who were comparatively less mobile, and because it took place within defined economic and political structures (e.g. the Roman book market; the papal privilege system).<sup>45</sup>

A notable exception to the scholarly tendency of avoiding anchoring élite literary production in Rome is the collection of essays in *Poesia in volgare nella Roma dei papati medicei (1513-1534)* (2020), edited by Franco Pignatti. In his introduction, Pignatti notes that most individuals discussed in the volume were not Roman by birth, and that 'Roma si

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<sup>40</sup> LEMERLE, PAUWELS, AND TOSCANO 2009; HOLLINGSWORTH AND RICHARDSON 2009.

<sup>41</sup> HOLLINGSWORTH, PATTENDEN, AND WITTE 2020, pp. 435–510.

<sup>42</sup> BYATT 2022, esp. pp. 91-132, on the cardinal's household and associated terminology; and pp. 219-41 on Ridolfi's patronage.

<sup>43</sup> See, with bibliographies, BRUNDIN 2008; BRUNDIN, CRIVELLI, AND SAPEGNO 2016; COX AND MCHUGH 2021.

<sup>44</sup> For an edition of Roman *pasquinate*, see MARUCCI, MARZO, AND ROMANO 1983. See also essays in DAMIANAKI, PROCACCIOLI, AND ROMANO 2006. On *pasquinate* satirising the Farnese, see SALZA 1904.

<sup>45</sup> e.g. WITCOMBE 2008; ZORACH AND DUBIN 2008; DONDI ET AL. 2016.

configura come crocevia – se si vuole anche di laboratorio – della nuova lirica volgare in virtù delle sue capacità di assorbimento dall'esterno,' part of the city's 'clima di operoso pluralismo.'<sup>46</sup> Pignatti's argument certainly holds for subsequent decades and, as this thesis will show, immigrants to Rome were central to its literary cultures. A broad overview of Roman literary cultures in the decades subsequent to the Medici papacies is also provided by Giorgio Forni.<sup>47</sup> Forni suggests that vernacular lyric in Rome was characterised by a 'revisione eclettica e mondana del classicismo petrarchesco del Bembo,' in which Roman academies played a particularly important role, and that a central element of this poetic output was the celebration of 'l'aristocratica quotidianità' via occasional verse on all manner of topics.<sup>48</sup> Whilst Forni's conclusions hold for Italian vernacular lyric, the Roman poetic landscape of this period is more varied, particularly from a linguistic point of view, as this thesis demonstrates.

Work on academies and more informal gatherings, such as that loosely constituted around Pomponio Leto (1428-98) in the Quattrocento, have also enabled a focus on Rome since, whilst individuals moved in and out of the academies, the 'academy' itself remained comparatively immobile.<sup>49</sup> This thesis draws on a series of recent interventions on early modern Italian academies to highlight the complex and shifting dynamics of sometimes faintly documented networks of literary production. In particular, these studies – notably Simone Testa's *Italian Academies and Their Networks* (2015) alongside *The Italian Academies (1525-1700)* (2016), edited by Jane Everson, Denis Reidy, and Lisa Sampson, and *Intrecci virtuosi* (2017) edited by Carlo Chiummo, Antonio Geremicca and Patrizia Tosini – build on and nuance work conducted by Michele Maylender in the 1920s, emphasising the informal structures of many academies in the first half of the sixteenth century as well as their openness to foreign exchanges.<sup>50</sup> These are both aspects which apply to cardinalate circles as much as to academies and other informal gatherings. In addition, Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi's insistence on the use of a plurality of sources to reconstruct participation

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<sup>46</sup> PIGNATTI 2020, p. VIII.

<sup>47</sup> FORNI 2011, pp. 139-64.

<sup>48</sup> FORNI 2011, pp. 143, 148.

<sup>49</sup> On Pomponio Leto, see BEER 2008; FURSTENBERG-LEVI 2016.

<sup>50</sup> TESTA 2015; EVERSON, REIDY, AND SAMPSON 2016; CHIUMMO, GEREMICCA, AND TOSINI 2017; cfr. MAYLENDER 1926-30.



in loosely defined networks informs my approach, which also draws together small, varied indications to sketch informative larger pictures.<sup>51</sup>

As noted above, whilst scholarly investigation into the Farnese court as a literary network has been limited, some Farnese *letterati* have been the subject of continuous work. One of these, Annibal Caro (1507-66), was a major figure at the Farnese court between 1543-63 and has been the focus of a number of studies, though these typically consider Caro's works in isolation, especially his translation of the *Aeneid* (c. 1564, printed 1581) and other classical texts, and his correspondence.<sup>52</sup> By contrast, Caro's vernacular lyric poetry has had quite different critical fortunes, with Aulo Greco stating that 'nessuno degli scritti del Caro rimane così freddo ed artificioso, quanto il canzoniere.'<sup>53</sup> More recent interventions, however, have taken interest in the literary polemic aroused by Caro's *canzone* in praise of the French ('Venite all'ombra de' gran gigli d'oro'), and have usefully considered both the political dimensions of Caro's verse, and Caro's fashioning of his legacy via the editorial project of his *Rime*.<sup>54</sup> Another key poet in this period, Giovanni della Casa (1503-56), spent a long period working under the Farnese from around 1539-1552, though for much of this time he was in Venice as papal nuncio. While it was often suggested he would be made a cardinal, Della Casa remained Archbishop of Benevento until his death. His literary production also ranges in type, across Latin and the vernacular, and prose and verse. Unlike Caro, Della Casa's lyric production has received more consistently positive critical attention, with focus in particular on Della Casa's language and the editorial history of his poetry.<sup>55</sup>

Typically, major figures such as Annibal Caro or Giovanni della Casa are of interest to this thesis as members of literary communities and as participants in literary networks rather than as individual lyric voices. Chapters Two and Three discuss such examples of literary communities. In this period, such communities were a particularly visible element of literary cultures through their textual manifestation in lyric anthologies born of collective

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<sup>51</sup> FURSTENBERG-LEVI 2016, p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> On Caro's classical translations, see essays in POLI ET AL. 2009, pp. 201-320; and TAMBURRI 1997. On Caro's letters, see POLI 2009. Caro's *Lettere familiari* were published as CARO 1957-1961, edited by Aulo Greco; recent studies, however, highlight this edition's inadequacy (GARAVELLI 2016; RUSSO 2022).

<sup>53</sup> GRECO 1950, p. 75.

<sup>54</sup> On the 'Venite all'ombra' polemic, see DOGLIO 1993, pp. 119-23; GARAVELLI 2003; LO RE 2005 and 2008. On Caro's *Rime*, see FLORIANI 2009; VENTURI 2014.

<sup>55</sup> See BRUNELLI 2006; CARRAI 2007; BERRA 2018.

production or of editorial strategies of *varietas*.<sup>56</sup> In such anthologies, individual authorial identities are somewhat equalised through the material pragmatics of the book. The editor Girolamo Ruscelli reminded readers of a 1553 verse anthology that ‘non si potendo ad un libro dar forma circolare, è forza che i componimenti si pongano uno appresso l’altro.’<sup>57</sup> Ruscelli thus arranged the texts ‘secondo che ci sono venuti capitando di mano in mano,’ with the exception of poems by Giovan Battista d’Azzia, Marquis of Laterza (d. c. 1554) placed ‘di consentimento comune’ at the start of the volume. Ruscelli’s considerations are important here: the anthological format often presents canonical and non-canonical peers on an equal footing wherein ‘what counted was no longer the author’s individual name but his or her belonging to [a] community, represented by the anthology, whose rules had to be followed.’<sup>58</sup> Rather than an individual poet, the central locus around which anthologies are constituted is thus typically a patron. Importantly, whether or not this patron is a ‘poet,’ their authority derives from extra-poetic, social factors (especially nobility). They thus act as a totemic representation of, and focus for, the lyric community.

Still, some individuals did produce single-authored texts which allow us to perceive, too, the development of individual authorial identities, though these texts naturally also participated in a literary call-and-response with others in circulation. The individual Italian authors discussed in detail in this thesis – Alessandro Guarnelli (Chapter Three) and Alessandro Piccolomini (Chapter Four) – have had very distinct literary-historical fortunes. Guarnelli (1530- c. 91) is little known even to specialists. Born in Rome to a Farnese courtier, Alessandro Guarnelli was raised in Cardinal Alessandro Farnese’s household and remained in the cardinal’s service for life. Remembered above all for translating the *Aeneid* (1554-c. 89), Guarnelli also wrote a variety of encomiastic poems for the Farnese and two comedies. Only a comedy, *Le meraviglie d’Amore* (printed 1612), has appeared in a critical edition.<sup>59</sup> Though Guarnelli translated the entirety of the *Aeneid* into Italian (Book I, 1554; Book II, 1566; completed c. 1589 in manuscript), Guarnelli has been referenced only fleetingly by scholars working on the *Aeneid* in early modern Europe.<sup>60</sup> To my knowledge, this thesis offers the first scholarly examination of Guarnelli’s *Aeneid* I and is the first consideration of

<sup>56</sup> On lyric anthologies, see CLUBB AND CLUBB 1991; TOMASI 2001.

<sup>57</sup> RUSCELLI 1553, sig. Mmii<sup>r</sup>. On Ruscelli as editor of anthologies, see TOMASI 2012.

<sup>58</sup> JOSSA 2015, p. 198.

<sup>59</sup> GUARNELLI 2003, with biographical introduction. See also CASTELLANETA 2014, pp. 31-39.

<sup>60</sup> e.g. BORSETTO 1989; KALLENDORF 2020, pp. 56–57.

the early years of Guarnelli's literary production. Guarnelli was in many respects an archetypal courtier, part of the mass of 'minor' poets who made up the bulk of the Farnese court *letterati*. Since it would be almost impossible to discuss Guarnelli outside the context of the Farnese courts, and since he remained in their service throughout his life, Guarnelli offers a particularly useful lens through which to examine literary production at the Farnese court.

By comparison to Guarnelli, Sieneſe aristocrat, dramatist, poet and philosopher Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-79) is much better known, though typically not in connection to the seven years (1547-54) he spent in Rome as secretary to Spanish cardinal Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla (1508-66). In Rome, Piccolomini produced his only volume of poetry, the *Cento sonetti*, published in Rome by Vincenzo Valgrisi in 1549 (see Ch. 5).<sup>61</sup> The collection, published in a critical edition in 2015 by Franco Tomasi, deals with Roman life – notably with the poet's criticisms of the papal curia, and his Petrarchan relationship to an unnamed Beloved – as well as with philosophical and religious topics. While Piccolomini was not in Farnese employ, his renown and his social connections brought him into close contact with the Farnese court, whom he addressed in the *Cento sonetti* and alongside some of whom he appeared as an interlocutor in *Il convito, ovvero del peso della moglie* (1554), a dialogue on marriage by Giovanbattista Modio (1500-60).<sup>62</sup> Piccolomini's Roman poetry was also, as scholars have shown, a key model for two French poets in Rome, Joachim du Bellay and Olivier de Magny (see Ch. 5.4).<sup>63</sup> It is in all these respects that Piccolomini is important for consideration in this thesis.

A 2011 volume of essays on Piccolomini is useful for its breadth but does not discuss the *Cento sonetti* in detail.<sup>64</sup> This thesis draws on studies which have examined Piccolomini within Sieneſe socio-literary networks, demonstrating his roles as instigator and interlocutor. Konrad Eisenbichler's study of women poets in Siena (as well as a later article by Johnny Bertolio) take as their point of departure a poetic exchange instituted by Piccolomini.<sup>65</sup> Aria dal Molin's work situates Piccolomini within the male homosocial

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<sup>61</sup> CERRETA 1960; TOMASI 2015, pp. 203-08.

<sup>62</sup> For poems to Farnese courtiers, see e.g. A. PICCOLOMINI 2015, no.s. 33 (to Annibal Caro), 54 (to Romolo Amaseo) and 72 (to Marcantonio Flaminio). For the dialogue, see MODIO 1554.

<sup>63</sup> VIANEY 1904; CERRETA 1960, pp. 61-66; DELLANEVA 2015.

<sup>64</sup> PIÉJUS, PLAISANCE, AND RESIDORI 2011.

<sup>65</sup> EISENBICHLER 2012; BERTOLIO 2017.

environment of the Sienese Accademia degli Intronati in the 1530s.<sup>66</sup> Aside from Eisenbichler, however, scholarly work on Piccolomini's verse has concentrated on the poet's Horatian *imitatio* and on the theoretical preface attached to *Cento sonetti*, especially in conjunction with Piccolomini's commentary on the *Ars poetica* (1570s).<sup>67</sup> My thesis instead discusses the *Cento sonetti* in the context of Piccolomini's homosocial networks following his departure from Siena – which include both elements of the Intronati, as well as a number of individuals based in Rome (Ch. 5).

### 1.3: The French in Rome

The French residents of mid-sixteenth-century Rome have, unsurprisingly, been largely examined from a French studies perspective. Eric MacPhail and Margaret McGowan both explore Rome as *topos* in the French literary imaginary, and are more concerned with the reception of the classical past than with *letterati's* engagement with the social life of the contemporary city.<sup>68</sup> Richard Cooper's monographs on François Rabelais in Italy, on Franco-Italian literary relations during the Italian Wars and on the collection of Roman antiquities by French patrons take a different approach, and are much more interested in social networks sustaining cultural activity in Rome.<sup>69</sup> This thesis draws throughout on Cooper's findings.

The situation of French literary producers in Rome is markedly different from that of Italian communities outlined above, in that these French texts are single-authored and tend clearly towards the development of individual authorial identities. Best-known by far is Joachim du Bellay (1522-60), a central member of the Pléiade grouping which included Pierre de Ronsard (1524-85) and others in the late 1540s and mid-1550s. Joachim lived in Rome between 1553-57, employed as secretary to his older relative from another branch of the family, Cardinal Jean du Bellay. In Rome, Joachim du Bellay produced five poetic collections, three French (*Les Regrets et autres œuvres Poétiques*; *Les Antiquitez de Rome, plus un Songe*; *Les Divers jeux rustiques*, all printed 1558) and two Latin (*Poematum libri quatuor*, printed 1558; *Xenia*, printed posthumously in 1569).

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<sup>66</sup> DAL MOLIN 2020.

<sup>67</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 2009; REFINI 2007.

<sup>68</sup> MACPHAIL 1990; MCGOWAN 2000.

<sup>69</sup> COOPER 1991, 1997 (esp. Chs. 7, 11 and 17) and 2013.

The texts vary considerably in style and content. In his vernacular *receuils romains*, Du Bellay presented two sorts of material: socio-political vernacular Petrarchism in the *Regrets* and more varied translation and imitation of neo-Latin material in the *Divers jeux rustiques*. Though the *Regrets* and *Antiquitez* are both sonnet sequences, the *Regrets* consist largely of what Du Bellay termed ‘papiers journalux,’ with sonnets 1-133 dealing with Rome and 134-91 a more miscellaneous collection of texts on the French court.<sup>70</sup> By contrast, the *Antiquitez* and the *Songe* are shorter, unified cycles of twenty and fifteen sonnets respectively which discuss the rise and fall of classical Rome from a revelatory or apocalyptic viewpoint.<sup>71</sup> The *Divers jeux rustiques* contain a variety of forms and styles, from translations of Latin verse by Andrea Navagero (1483-1529), Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530) and Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) to longer satirical poems.<sup>72</sup> Most of these sources had been printed prior to Du Bellay’s arrival in Rome, notably in the *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum* (printed in 1548, 1549 and 1552), and the *Primo libro dell’opere burlesche* (printed in 1550 and 1552, with a second volume in 1555). At the same time, Du Bellay clearly drew on manuscript texts in circulation in Rome.<sup>73</sup> The Latin *Poematum libri* contains four sections (*Elegiae; Amores; Epigrammata; Tumuli*) which employ various metres and styles and offer a counterpoint to the satirising of Rome and Italy presented in the vernacular works. Finally, the *Xenia* consists of a series of short jocular verses dedicated to named individuals (including some contemporary Italians) which use Graeco-Latin wordplay to produce pseudo-etymological onomastic derivations inspired by the Platonic *Cratylus*.<sup>74</sup>

Importantly, all Du Bellay’s praise of Italy and addresses to Italians are found in the Latin texts, which are thus crucial to the analysis conducted in this thesis.<sup>75</sup> While the *Regrets* is well-known for its contribution to a ‘national’ French literature following Du Bellay’s arguments in favour of the literary use of French in his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549), this has tended to colour interpretations of Du Bellay’s poetry, leading to the presentation of a Du Bellay ‘Contre l’Italie,’ as François Rigolot had it in a chapter which remains silent as to the Latin texts.<sup>76</sup> This thesis instead emphasises Du

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<sup>70</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, p. 197 (*Reg.* 1.14).

<sup>71</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1966, pp. 11, 30.

<sup>72</sup> See JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, pp. 359-62; PETRIS 2021.

<sup>73</sup> PETRIS 2021, p. 7.

<sup>74</sup> See MAGNIEN-SIMONIN 1990.

<sup>75</sup> See MILLET 1990.

<sup>76</sup> RIGOLOTT 2002, pp. 227-246.

Bellay's bilingualism, drawing on work which considers the plurilingual poetic contexts in which he operated.<sup>77</sup> In what follows, I understand anti-Italianism in the vernacular works as a rhetorical position taken by the poet when writing for 'national' French audiences in a specific language with defined functions, not least the self-promotion of Du Bellay as French vernacular *auctor*.

Studies which concentrate on explicating the 'myth' of Rome in Du Bellay's poetics, tell us little of the social context of Du Bellay's verse.<sup>78</sup> Gladys Dickinson's *Du Bellay in Rome* (1960) thus remains foundational in laying out the socio-political context of Du Bellay's Rome on the *Regrets*.<sup>79</sup> Hugo Tucker's discussions of exile and of Du Bellay's Latin works are also particularly important for their contextualisation of the poet's works in light of contemporaneous neo-Latin literature.<sup>80</sup> Most pertinent to my arguments here is Marc Bizer's work on the socio-poetic functions of the *Regrets*, demonstrating Du Bellay's construction of an epistolary network of *sodales* in Rome and in France.<sup>81</sup> Bizer's analysis, however, is restricted to the vernacular *Regrets*. As such, relationships sought by Du Bellay with non-French speakers are absent from Bizer's account, given all Du Bellay's apostrophes to Italians are in Latin. In part, one task of this thesis is to provide an understanding of the socio-poetic function of these Latin apostrophes to Italians. In late 2021, the volume of essays *Du Bellay et l'Italie*, edited by Rosanna Gorris Camos and Daniele Speziari, offered important new contributions demonstrating Du Bellay's relationships with Italian *letterati* and literature.<sup>82</sup> This includes chapters by Richard Cooper and Jean Balsamo which represent the first discussions in print of Du Bellay's poetic relationship with Farnese poets, and of key Italian manuscripts linked to Joachim and Cardinal du Bellay.<sup>83</sup> Still, the volume focusses largely on canonical figures: many individuals discussed in this thesis, such as Alessandro Guarnelli, are entirely absent. As the volume's essays originated as conference papers, the material is often presented fairly broadly, inviting further research. This thesis therefore offers a deepening of aspects highlighted in those essays, engaging a broader view of the socio-literary environment in which Joachim du Bellay – and his peers – worked.

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<sup>77</sup> e.g. BIZER 1995, pp. 61-107.

<sup>78</sup> e.g. ABROUGUI 2013.

<sup>79</sup> DICKINSON 1960.

<sup>80</sup> TUCKER 1985, 1990, pp. 51–86 and 2003, pp. 239–67.

<sup>81</sup> BIZER 2001, pp. 115–88.

<sup>82</sup> GORRIS CAMOS AND SPEZIARI 2021.

<sup>83</sup> COOPER 2021a and 2021b; BALSAMO 2021.

Aside from the Du Bellays, there has been only sporadic scholarly work on the other French expatriate poets in Rome on whom this thesis concentrates. In 1548 the poet, translator and playwright Louis des Masures (c. 1510-74) fled France, accused of an unknown crime, and travelled to Italy, a well-worn route taken by other fugitives including Clément Marot (1496-1544) in 1535 and Marc Antoine Muret in 1553.<sup>84</sup> Des Masures eventually arrived in Rome, where he lived between 1548-50 in Cardinal du Bellay's *familia* and continued working on a French translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* begun some years prior. Scholarly work on Des Masures has approached him in two ways. The bulk of scholarship concerns his later, overtly Protestant texts.<sup>85</sup> Though Des Masures's c. 1563 conversion post-dates his period in Rome, this work usefully stresses the importance of Des Masures's socio-religious context and social networks on his poetic production. A second approach has concentrated on Des Masures's *Aeneid* translation.<sup>86</sup> This has discussed the *Aeneid* within the context of mid-sixteenth-century French or European translation practices, but has not discussed the implications of Des Masures's Roman exile on the work. This thesis therefore situates his translation practice within the socio-political context of late-1540s Rome. This approach follows that applied in the study of early modern translation of the *Aeneid* in England by Sheldon Brammall, who emphasises 'how much could be invested in a political application of the *Aeneid* in this period.'<sup>87</sup> It draws on Mathieu Minet's 2017 critical edition of Des Masures's *Poemata* (1557) and on a 2018 article by Alain Cullière which move beyond biographical readings of Des Masures's verse to draw attention to his creation of a *persona* as exiled poet.<sup>88</sup> Together, these works allow for a new reading of Des Masures's verse in Chapter Four which examines how the construction of this *persona* served him – and his patron – in Rome.

Another author often neglected by scholars, though of importance to my argument here, is Olivier de Magny (1529-61, on whom see Ch. 5.4). After a period as secretary to the poet and translator Hugues Salel (1504-53), Magny became an acquaintance of the Pléiade poets in the 1550s. In the early part of the decade, Magny produced a book of Petrarchan sonnets printed with two books of odes (*Les Amours*, 1553), edited Salel's translation of the

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<sup>84</sup> On Marot in Italy, see GORRIS CAMOS 1997.

<sup>85</sup> PINEAUX 1971, *ad indicem*; MILLET 1986; HERDMAN 2004; MINET 2014 and 2020.

<sup>86</sup> PINEAUX 1980; WORTH-STYLIANOU 2002 and 2012.

<sup>87</sup> BRAMMALL 2015, p. 2.

<sup>88</sup> MASURES 2017; CULLIÈRE 2018.

*Iliad* alongside his own translation of Book XII (1553), and printed a book of verses, *Les Gayetez* (1554), in the vein of Ronsard's *Livret des folastries* (1553). Magny lived in Rome in 1555-56 as secretary to French ambassador Jean d'Avanson (1511-64), before returning to France and taking up a role as *secrétaire du roy* in 1558. A collection of sonnets, *Les Souspirs* (1556), was composed entirely in Rome, while the subsequent *Odes* (1559) contain much material written in or influenced by Rome. Though the *Souspirs* appear, superficially, to be of a similar type to Du Bellay's *Regrets*, as a sonnet sequence composed in Rome with numerous apostrophes to French speakers in Rome and in France, they differ significantly and contain large amounts of erotic Petrarchan material of a style carried over from Magny's *Amours*. The five more varied books of *Odes*, of which some were re-workings of an earlier book appended to the *Amours*, testify to Magny's social circles in Rome and France and to his wider interests. In the context of French literary studies, Magny appears decisively marginal. Yet Magny offers an important counterpoint here to Du Bellay, insofar as he is representative both of a 'marginal' French poet in Rome, and of one who wrote only in French, thereby perhaps precluding the formation of strong literary links with Italians but simultaneously affording a view of more exclusively 'Gallic' communities in Rome discussed in Chapter Five.

Despite François Rouget's 1999-2006 critical edition of Magny's complete works, there remains little scholarly work on Magny.<sup>89</sup> Early scholarship on Magny approached his poetry philologically, with L. E. Kastner's charge of 'slavish imitation' in Magny's work setting the tone for much subsequent discussion, including that of Mark Whitney, Magny's mid-twentieth century editor.<sup>90</sup> Studies into Renaissance *imitatio* from the 1980s onwards have helped clarify the operation of such imitation.<sup>91</sup> More recent scholarship therefore reads Magny's imitative practice with more nuance, though a philological approach still forms the basis of most interventions.<sup>92</sup> Mireille Huchon's controversial hypothesis that Louise Labé (d. 1556) was the literary persona of a network of men which included Magny, Daniele Maira's work on editorial form in French *canzonieri* and Cécile Alduy's examination of books of *Amours* as literary genre all draw Magny into networks of literary production in different

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<sup>89</sup> MAGNY 1999–2006.

<sup>90</sup> KASTNER 1909; WHITNEY 1969 and 1983.

<sup>91</sup> See esp. GREENE 1982; McLAUGHLIN 1995; BURROW 2019.

<sup>92</sup> ROUGET 1994b; Rouget 1998; MAIRA 2004.



ways but often emphasise his dependence on the work of others.<sup>93</sup> Following these studies, this thesis likewise situates Magny within social networks and suggests that his poetry should not simply be considered a disinterested imitative exercise, but rather that it pursued defined goals linked to Magny's career as a diplomat, in both Rome and France.

#### 1.4: Poetry, Poets and Poetic Communities in Early Modern Social Contexts

This thesis considers social, political, and literary relationships between poets and patrons within the networks constituted by all-male cardinals' courts and Roman academies. To do so, it draws on Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's concept of homosociality developed in *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (1985).<sup>94</sup> Sedgwick uses homosociality to describe the structure of men's relationships with other men, using the term 'desire' to describe strong, though not necessarily positive, bonds which link them, often expressed via an 'exchange' of women.<sup>95</sup> This exchange is often expressed in a triangular shape (such as the relationship between a woman and two rivals), in which the bond linking the two men is as strong, or stronger, than that linking either to the woman. Sedgwick is clear that the broader societal 'question of arrangement between genders' is 'inescapably inscribed' even in relationships which exclude women.<sup>96</sup> Early modern Rome was, demographically, a male-dominated city, not simply because of the number of resident clerics but also due to economic migration of an overwhelmingly male labour force.<sup>97</sup> Sedgwick's contention that even in this environment the arrangement of genders, and an 'exchange' of women, structured homosocial relations is thus of particular importance. As such, even where women were excluded from literary circles, male circles used images of women as Other in dialogues and other works on the *querelle des femmes* to form their own masculine identities against those of other men, as Androniki Dialeti has shown.<sup>98</sup> This thesis draws on Sedgwick's contentions notably in Chapter Two, to read the construction of a lyric corpus, ostensibly dedicated to a woman and largely directed and produced by a community of

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<sup>93</sup> HUCHON 2006; MAIRA 2007; ALDUY 2007. Huchon's argument aroused a significant polemic: see e.g. BOURBON 2006; MARTIN 2006; VIGNES 2007; PANTIN 2010.

<sup>94</sup> SEDGWICK 1985.

<sup>95</sup> SEDGWICK 1985, p. 2.

<sup>96</sup> SEDGWICK 1985, p. 25.

<sup>97</sup> NUSSDORFER 2014. On the female population of Rome, see ESPOSITO 2019b.

<sup>98</sup> DIALETI 2011.

men, expanding her triangular schema to consider homosocial identity formation in a larger grouping.

Though *Between Men* largely concentrates on the novel, and is concerned with the development of 'homosexual panic' in the nineteenth century, Sedgwick's arguments have been fruitfully applied to early modern poetry. Lorna Hutson has argued that the exchange of texts, especially textual fictions of women to be read in an 'exemplary' manner by male humanists, supplanted the exchange of other tokens of friendship in sixteenth-century England.<sup>99</sup> Courtney Quaintance also uses Sedgwick's frameworks to examine the exchange of verse among a circle of men in Venice which allowed the development of masculine identities using exchanged textual figures of courtesans and sex workers as negative foils.<sup>100</sup> Both Hutson and Quaintance show that the 'exchange' of women need not occur only within literary fictions themselves, but applies also to the physical exchange of texts as material objects; I will follow this approach.

Closely linked to homosociality are theories of friendship which allow us to understand more clearly the historically contingent rules of early modern homosociality. Early modern understandings of friendship derived above all from concepts presented in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (c. 353 BCE) and Cicero's *Laelius, sive de amicitia* (44 BCE). These theories split friendships into three types: friendship of utility; friendship of pleasure; and perfect friendship. Of these, 'perfect friendship' was held to be the highest form, existing only between two men of equal standing and equal virtue, and was not formed in the pursuit of utilitarian goals, though it may well produce useful effects (not least, the pleasure of friendship itself). These theories then developed through the lens of Christian theological interpretations of friendship in subsequent centuries, as Reginald Hyatte has explored, before forming the basis of discussions of friendship in the sixteenth century, aided by new interest in Aristotelianism.<sup>101</sup> The advent of queer theory in the 1990s in particular led to wider scholarly interest in early modern friendship. Work has highlighted the reception of both classical and Christian models of friendship among humanists, as well as innovations specific to the early modern world, and women's navigation of the restriction

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<sup>99</sup> HUTSON 1997, pp. 52-85.

<sup>100</sup> QUAINANCE 2015.

<sup>101</sup> HYATTE 1994, esp. pp. 43-86.

of these friendship models to men.<sup>102</sup> These models are all typically restricted to pairs. By contrast, Sarah Rolfe Prodan finds that the use of a rhetoric of friendship could also become a ‘guiding ideal, metaphor, or prescriptive force in pre-modern group relations.’<sup>103</sup> This expansion of the frameworks of friendship is critical in considering the literary networks discussed in this thesis.

The question of friendship is closely linked to that of patronage since, in classical discussions of friendship, the relationship of a client to a patron fell squarely under the term *amicitia*.<sup>104</sup> In early modernity, whilst ‘patronage was much broader than friendship and did not derive its impetus or justifications from friendship,’ this connection still existed, and its meaning – as an unequal relation based on utility – was explored in works such as Giovanni della Casa’s *De officiis inter potentiores et tenuiores amicos* (c. 1543).<sup>105</sup> As such, we must remain attentive in what follows to the deployment of the rhetoric of aretaic friendship in describing more transactional or instrumental relationships, as Marc Schachter has highlighted.<sup>106</sup> Patronage studies have been of particular interest to art historians, who outline *mecenatismo* (cultural patronage) and *clientelismo* (socio-political patronage) as forms of operation, with significant areas of overlap between the two.<sup>107</sup> Literary scholars, too, underline the importance of patronage in the production of literary works in an era before the development of an economically viable professional identity of the ‘author.’<sup>108</sup> This patronage, as Natalie Zemon Davies has shown in a French context, was often conducted as a gift exchange wherein literary works were exchanged for a variety of things: for money or employment, but also for animals, food and jewellery.<sup>109</sup> Throughout this thesis, we will find court *letterati* engaging in ‘on demand’ production for patrons; undoubtedly, this patronage had a decisive impact on their poetic production. Annibal Caro makes this explicitly clear. Whilst announcing he was tired of being asked to produce sonnets on demand by everyone he met (‘ognuno che mi guarda in viso vuol Sonetti da me, come s’io gli gittasse in petrelle’), and whilst arguing that poems were not items to be

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<sup>102</sup> See, with bibliographies, SEIFERT AND WILKIN 2015; FORD, DE SMET, AND WHITE 2019; GUARRO 2020.

<sup>103</sup> ROLFE PRODAN 2014b, p. 17.

<sup>104</sup> WILLIAMS 2012, pp. 44-51.

<sup>105</sup> FITCH LYTTLE 1987, p. 60. On Della Casa’s *De officiis*, see COMELLI 2022, pp. 70-78.

<sup>106</sup> SCHACHTER 2010, p. 167.

<sup>107</sup> REISS 2013.

<sup>108</sup> For an overview, see SCHOENFELDT 1993.

<sup>109</sup> ZEMON DAVIS 2000, p. 61-63.

bought ('non si ponno, e non si debbono fare a cottimo'), Caro admitted breaking this rule for patrons ('padroni'), 'perché a loro non si può negare.'<sup>110</sup> What a patron wanted, a patron often got; their role in the poetic networks discussed here cannot be overstated. It is hard to imagine the existence of some of the texts discussed here – notably, François Rabelais's *Sciomachie* (Ch. 2); the poetry for Livia Colonna (Ch. 3); and Alessandro Guarnelli's *Aeneid* (Ch. 4) – coming into existence without the instructions of a patron. My examination of Cardinal Farnese's literary patronage (Ch.s. 2.2; 4.4.2) bolsters this assumption with concrete examples.

In this thesis, I concentrate on poetry given that in early modern literary hierarchies, poetry occupied a distinctive, privileged position. This in part derived from *furor poeticus*, a Neo-Platonic concept developed notably by Florentine scholar Marsilio Ficino (1433-99), by which poets were perceived as having received special expressive abilities.<sup>111</sup> Poetic forms themselves were also often hierarchically ordered, with epic texts considered the most prestigious. As such, poetic production was bound up with social questions at the intersections of poetic and social hierarchies, questions central to the work conducted in thesis: Who could or should write a poem, and in what style or genre? Who could or should a poem be addressed to, and in what style or genre? Early modern responses to a third question make eminently visible the social dynamics of poetic production: Was everyone who wrote poetry a 'poet'? Many sixteenth-century writers would have argued not. Whilst early modern pedagogy taught the technical skills of poetry, appeals to *furor* placed the value of poetry in something ineffable and unteachable, transcendental rather than transactional, such that to be a 'poet' in this period was often more a question of social belonging than of technical skill.<sup>112</sup> In his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549), dedicated to Cardinal du Bellay, Joachim du Bellay drew a distinction between 'poètes,' vested with *furor*, defined against 'Rymeurs' or 'versificateurs.'<sup>113</sup> Du Bellay thus instituted socio-literary distinctions between his own poetic circle, the typically more aristocratic Pléiade, and the more 'humble' *grands rhétoriqueurs* of the previous generation (something typical of the Pléiade's wider self-presentation, according to Florence

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<sup>110</sup> Annibal Caro to Bernardo Bergonzo, 1 Jan. 1559 in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, pp. 313-14.

<sup>111</sup> PLATO 1924, pp. 420-23 (*Ion* 533e-534d); PLATO 2022, pp. 406-08 (*Phdr.* 245a). On Ficino and *furor*, see COLEMAN 2022, pp. 42-70.

<sup>112</sup> CHEDGZOY 2013; LUCIANI 2001, p. 122.

<sup>113</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003a, pp. 70-71 (*Deffence* II.11); cfr. CASTOR 1964, pp. 24-36.

Bonifay).<sup>114</sup> Others also proposed *furor* as the defining characteristic of a ‘poet.’ When Piedmontese theorist and poet Matteo di San Martino (fl. 1550s) discussed the definition of a poet in his *Osservazioni grammaticali e poetiche della lingua italiana* (1555) – the only work dedicated simultaneously to cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Jean du Bellay – he stated forcefully that ‘chi in tal modo non è da divino furore agitato, immeritamente Poeta si può chiamare.’<sup>115</sup> In restricting the application of the term ‘poet,’ these definitions all propagate social distinctions to protect the cultural exchange value of verse literature in a period during which verse texts, as noted above, were produced at almost every level of society. As such, the acquisition of a recognisable identity as ‘poet’ conferred membership of social élites, and the exchange of verse by ‘poets’ demonstrated homosocial bonds within them.

My examination of poetry’s relationship to society requires particular concentration on three aspects: materiality, paratext, and ‘occasionality.’ In this period, materiality, especially the distinction between scribal publication and print publication, carried crucial social implications. Whilst many sixteenth-century authors had their works printed, aristocratic authors in particular often did not seek – at least, initially – to do so (what J. W. Saunders termed the ‘stigma of print’).<sup>116</sup> Instead, scribal publication restricted the availability of a work to a small, select group. As Harold Love and Brian Richardson have both suggested, the fewer people could access a text, the more strongly those who could do so felt included in its audience.<sup>117</sup> In addition, Filippo de Vivo and Brian Richardson have noted ‘the importance of social context in determining uses of the manuscript’ and that while ‘in the study of printing the accent is often on economic forces, manuscript circulation lends itself more easily to studying the circumstances of the varied individuals involved.’<sup>118</sup> It follows that the movement of texts between manuscript and print (in either direction) is socially conditioned and that material form is central to interpreting a text’s social functions. Arthur Marotti contends moreover that manuscript systems produced fluid conceptions of authorship in early modernity, engendering the ‘collaborative social

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<sup>114</sup> KENNEDY 1993, p. 125; BONIFAY 2018 and 2019.

<sup>115</sup> SAN MARTINO 1555, sig. Hviii<sup>r</sup>. On San Martino, see WEINBERG 1961, vol. 1, pp. 138-40, 275, 454-55. For other contemporary examples of a similar argument, see e.g. Pietro Aretino to Lodovico Dolce, 25 June 1537, in ARETINO 1991, vol. 1, pp. 219–22; OLDRADI 1549, sigs. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>116</sup> RICHARDSON 2009, p. 12; SAUNDERS, 1951.

<sup>117</sup> LOVE 1993, p. 183; RICHARDSON 2009, p. 2.

<sup>118</sup> VIVO AND RICHARDSON 2011, p. 159.

production' of literature insofar as manuscript texts were perceived as more readily adaptable to personal or social circumstances.<sup>119</sup> An awareness of the different materially conditioned concepts of 'authorship' – especially where more communal – is particularly useful in demonstrating how texts were conceived within the systems of Roman literary exchange considered in this thesis. Finally, though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore, we should also remain aware of the importance of oral dissemination of verse in the contexts examined, as multiple recent studies remind us.<sup>120</sup>

Paratext is central to my analysis because in some cases, especially where highly stylised or formulaic Petrarchan verse is concerned, it is often impossible to identify specific, underlying social contexts using a formalist literary methodology; paratext instead is crucial in attaching texts to social contexts. Federica Pich highlights this aspect of rubrics in lyric poetry, underlining their narrativity and their assurance of continued memory of a specific event amidst an 'ever-growing gulf' between event and text.<sup>121</sup> Gérard Genette's discussion of paratext notes that they act to 'present' the text, 'pour assurer sa présence au monde, sa "reception" et sa consommation.'<sup>122</sup> That is, paratexts both demonstrate, and participate in, the construction of a text's place and role in society. Moreover, paratexts are a prime location of what Genette termed 'productions allographes' (elements of a book produced by someone other than a text's author) and claimed as an innovation of the sixteenth century.<sup>123</sup> As such, they are arguably the main means by which books become polyphonic, enmeshed in social networks of literary actors.<sup>124</sup> They are, too, the key means by which social identities of literary actors are constructed. In these latter two senses, paratexts thus offer a route into the 'spaces between people' where literary sociability takes place.<sup>125</sup> Though not all literary actors are recoverable from written records (as indicated by Robert Darnton's communications circuit model alongside its expansion by Brian Richardson to include oral literary practices), paratexts nonetheless provide evidence of a text's movement through society.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> MAROTTI 1995, p. 139.

<sup>120</sup> RICHARDSON 2016; DALL'AGLIO, RICHARDSON, AND ROSPOCHER 2017; DEGL'INNOCENTI, RICHARDSON, AND SBORDONI 2019; WILSON 2019.

<sup>121</sup> PICH 2019, p. 109.

<sup>122</sup> GENETTE 1987, p. 7.

<sup>123</sup> GENETTE 1987, pp. 265-66.

<sup>124</sup> RICHARDSON 2009, p. 95; DANIELS 2020, p. 23.

<sup>125</sup> KIRKPATRICK AND DIXON 2012, p. VI.

<sup>126</sup> DARNTON 1982; RICHARDSON 2020, pp. 192-93.

The question of occasional poetry is closely related to both material questions and paratexts. Occasional poetry has often been considered a sub-genre of lyric poetry, though it is difficult to define what we mean by ‘occasional.’ It is, moreover, a modern category alien to sixteenth-century conceptions of poetic genre.<sup>127</sup> By way of solution, rather than propose ‘occasionality’ as an inherent characteristic of a definable set of literary texts (as genre or mode), my attention to materiality and paratexts leads me to understand occasionality as a potentially acquirable characteristic of all literary texts, gained via functional use and bestowed by a range of literary actors, not restricted to a neatly defined ‘author.’ In her discussion of occasional poetry in early modern Italian academies, Jane Everson argues that three categories should be used to discuss occasional poetry: ‘beauty,’ ‘purpose’ and ‘lasting quality.’<sup>128</sup> Of these, I find only ‘purpose’ is a useful category. Regardless of ‘beauty’ or ‘lasting quality’ – whatever they might mean (and to whom?) – what can we say about what literary actors sought to achieve by putting poems into motion through varying socio-political contexts? Throughout this thesis, I attend to this question as I consider occasional poetry as a tool set to work in the pursuit of individual or communal goals, in line with Stephen Wilson and Bret Mulligan who both insist on functional or practical definitions of occasionality.<sup>129</sup> Finally, Marian Zwerling Sugano notes the ‘casual, amenable and public nature’ of occasional poetry, arguing that ‘in a poetics of the occasion, traditional oppositions such as centre/margin become skewed and break down.’<sup>130</sup> Occasional poetry’s refutation of an opposition between ‘major’ and ‘minor’ poets is of evident import here. All the poets examined in this thesis, including those who insisted *furor* was the driving force behind their verse, produced poetry which acquired occasional function.<sup>131</sup> By considering all verse through the lens of the occasional, we can dismantle divisions between poets in terms of canonicity which have obscured networks of literary production. This emphasises that all poets in the pay of – or in search of – a patron worked similarly, creating poetry to serve as a tool for the wider societal presentation of the poet, the patron and sometimes also a network on whose behalf the poet or poem purportedly

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<sup>127</sup> MAROTTI 1995, pp. 2–3.

<sup>128</sup> EVERSON 2015, p. 76.

<sup>129</sup> WILSON 2011, p. 493; MULLIGAN 2018, p. 245. See also MATVEJEVIĆ 1979, pp. 234–35.

<sup>130</sup> ZWERLING SUGANO 1992, p. 18.

<sup>131</sup> See, notably, studies into and editions of Joachim du Bellay’s occasional production: DESAN 1990; JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2000; LANDERS 2011.

spoke.<sup>132</sup> Occasional production thus reveals something of poets' socio-political preoccupations, allowing us to re-engage them within a defined context. As such, this thesis foregrounds the occasional potential, and occasional functions, of all the texts it discusses.

### 1.5: Notes on Language and Terminology

The cross-linguistic approach taken in this thesis is paramount in considering Rome, a fundamentally plurilingual city. In Rome, foreign communities were organised into *nationes*, communities defined by language rather than politics; this is particularly suggestive of a context in which linguistic distinctions carried especial social relevance.<sup>133</sup> A cross-linguistic approach therefore enables the recovery of literary networks not confined to the use of a single language; we might even argue that it would be impossible to examine Roman literary society without taking into consideration this complex plurilingualism.<sup>134</sup> However, in the period considered by this thesis, the terms used to refer to specific languages, as well as to the political groupings of people who spoke them, are particularly contested. In what follows, for reasons of succinctness, when I refer to 'Italian,' I intend the standard vernacular developed for cross-peninsular literary use following debates in the early 1500s (the so-called *questione della lingua*). This standard derived from Trecento written Tuscan, especially that of Boccaccio for prose and Petrarch for verse, as influentially proposed in Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525). While debate on the 'proper' morphology of this standard vernacular continued through the century, by the 1540s its contours were fairly well defined. As a corollary to my use of 'Italian,' I refer throughout to 'Italians,' meaning those who used this standard Italian vernacular and/or were born in one of several polities present on the Italian peninsula. This facilitates discussion of 'Italy' and 'Italians' alongside 'France' and the 'French,' though I do not mean to flatten distinctions between Italian polities in doing so, nor suggest sixteenth-century French-speakers had no understanding of them.<sup>135</sup> We should also remain aware of ongoing processes affecting French in this period, which Einar Haugen identified as 'codification' (a movement towards

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<sup>132</sup> MONEY 2015, p. 83.

<sup>133</sup> On Roman *nationes*, see Ch. 2.3.2; ESPOSITO 2019a; KUBERSKY-PIREDDA AND DANIELS 2020.

<sup>134</sup> On the complexities of early modern bi- and multilingualism, see DENEIRE 2014; BALSAMO AND BLEULER 2016; WINKLER AND SCHAFFENRATH 2019.

<sup>135</sup> See e.g. Joachim du Bellay's *Regrets* 68 (JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, p. 230) which satirizes the traits of Florentines, Sieneese, Genoans, Venetians and others.



‘minimal variation in form’) and ‘elaboration’ (a movement towards ‘maximal variation in function’) in the production of a standardised language.<sup>136</sup> This is particularly important since a key theorist of French codification and elaboration, Joachim du Bellay, spent part of the period surveyed by this thesis living and working in Rome.

The linguistic situation of Rome in this period can be summarised as follows. The standard literary vernacular and Latin were the predominant languages in use. For all speakers, this artificial vernacular had to be learnt.<sup>137</sup> Many individuals presumably also had knowledge of localised varieties; however, the international nature of Roman élite society facilitated the dominance of the standard vernacular and I have found no evidence of dialect production by individuals I examine (a situation quite distinct from many other centres of literary production on the peninsula).<sup>138</sup> This was perhaps also facilitated by the ongoing Tuscanization of Roman dialect in this period.<sup>139</sup> In written contexts, Latin was used readily by most of those this thesis discusses, though it is unclear to what extent Latin was spoken. While teaching of subjects other than Latin grammar itself was conducted in Latin, and while extempore Latin was a feature of religious contexts, I have found little evidence for the use of spoken Latin in the contexts examined, other than reference to a distinction between (spoken) ecclesiastical Latin and (written) humanist Latin.<sup>140</sup> In addition, many individuals discussed here also had some Greek. These include a handful of native speakers such as Matteo and Pietro Devaris, born in Venetian Crete, but also individuals who translated Greek into Latin (e.g. Romolo Amaseo) or into the vernacular (e.g. Annibal Caro and Olivier de Magny).

A majority of the French expatriates discussed in this thesis demonstrably read and wrote fluently in Italian. Many also spoke it well: Henri Estienne, despite his later anti-Italianism, claimed his Italian fluency saved him from being uncovered as a spy in Rome in the 1540s.<sup>141</sup> Still, while French expatriates wrote prose letters in Italian (e.g. Louis Budé, below, p. 86), I have found no clear evidence of French expatriates in Rome producing

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<sup>136</sup> HAUGEN 1966, p. 931. While Haugen presents these processes as sequential, more recent scholarship argues rather that they overlap: on subsequent interventions, see JOSEPH, RUTTEN AND VOSTERS 2020.

<sup>137</sup> See RICHARDSON 2010.

<sup>138</sup> See e.g. D’ONGHIA AND DANZI 2020.

<sup>139</sup> See ERNST 1970.

<sup>140</sup> GRENDLER 1989, p. 188; Bernardino Maffei to Piero Vettori, 22 Dec. 1551, in BL, Add. MS 10275, fol. 170r: ‘la molta cortesia sua m’ha indotto a scriver latino, di che m’ero scordato, tanto tempo è, ch’io non attendo se non a latino di consistorio.’

<sup>141</sup> ESTIENNE 1850, pp. 32-33.

Italian verse.<sup>142</sup> This is surprising when we consider, for instance, the production of Italian sonnets by poets in France such as Louise Labé, and especially that Joachim du Bellay's single Italian sonnet ('Chi vuol' ritrar' nelle sue dotte carte,' 1559) was written only after he had returned from Rome to France.<sup>143</sup> As such, all the poetry by French-speakers in Rome which I discuss is in Latin or French. This situation is perhaps a product, firstly, of French expatriates' greater familiarity with Latin, and with Latin versification (which formed part of school curricula), than with Italian. Secondly, and more determinedly, language use was conditioned by audience. Works in French exclusively addressed French expatriate audiences or audiences in France. The use of Italian by French-speakers, on the other hand, was particularly freighted amidst a period of cultural rivalry with the Italian states during which several intellectuals argued in favour of the literary use of French as a 'national' language (see Ch. 4.3.1).<sup>144</sup> As such, Latin allowed texts to address a wider, trans-alpine audience in a more culturally neutral form.

A majority of the Italian-born individuals this thesis discusses had little or no French. This, I would argue, is conditioned by sociolinguistic dynamics of prestige, and differs strikingly from a situation like that of England, where French was often learnt.<sup>145</sup> While printed grammars of Italian for French-speakers emerged in this period, and while future French king Francis II was taught Italian in his youth, French held little prestige for Italian speakers in Rome.<sup>146</sup> I have correspondingly found no evidence of the use of French by the Italian-born individuals this thesis investigates, though those who spent some time in France perhaps acquired some French, even if largely passive.

Oral and informal communication between French and Italian speakers in Rome presumably largely took place in Italian. An informal 'calling card' from Italian antiquarian Antonio Vacca to his French colleague in Rome, Jean Matal (on whom, see Ch. 2.6.2), is written in Italian, suggesting this was their primary vehicle for informal communication.<sup>147</sup> For formal written communication, some Italians such as Cardinal Carlo Carafa (1517-61)

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<sup>142</sup> For a single possible example, see Ch. 3.5.2.

<sup>143</sup> LABÉ 2006, p. 109; JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1989, vol. 6, p. 70.

<sup>144</sup> See esp. JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003a, pp. 74-79 (*Deffence* II.12). These arguments, as we will see in Ch.s. 3 and 4, had been largely abandoned by Du Bellay on arrival in Rome.

<sup>145</sup> On historical linguistic prestige, see SAIRIO AND PALANDER-COLLIN 2012. On language learning, including French, in early modern England, see GALLAGHER 2019, pp. 14-54.

<sup>146</sup> MATTARUCCO 2003; ROMIER 1913, vol 1, p. 32.

<sup>147</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6038, fol. 122<sup>v</sup>.

hired French speakers.<sup>148</sup> The Farnese were no different: in mid-1555, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese requested his agent in France find him ‘un Secretario Francese’ arguing that ‘bisogna scrivere a cotesti Signori in lingua loro.’<sup>149</sup> A similar role was perhaps carried out by François de Billon (born c. 1522, fl. 1550s), secretary to Cardinal Farnese’s brother Ottavio between 1551-55.<sup>150</sup> When Ottavio received a letter from Cardinal François de Tournon (1489-1562) in which the main text was written out by a secretary in Italian, with an autograph postscript by Tournon in French, Billon or another secretary was presumably available to translate.<sup>151</sup> Otherwise, formal written communication was normally conducted in Latin or Italian, as in the letters of Marguerite de Navarre to Paul III and Alessandro Farnese, or those to Cardinal Farnese from Claude de Beaune (c. 1530-71), his French mistress and presumed mother of his daughter Clelia (1552/6-1613).<sup>152</sup>

Finally, it is crucial to note that the terms used for groups and networks formed around cardinals vary considerably. Contemporary sources refer, in Latin, to a *familia*, and to members as *familiares*. Other terms (*court*; *circle*; *entourage*; *household*) are used varying in scholarship. One could argue that *court* be reserved for secular royalty and aristocracy, and note that *corte* often refers to the entire papal court (see e.g. below, pp. 66, 212). In this thesis, however, I refer to the *court* of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. I do so because Farnese courtiers themselves used this term (see e.g. below, pp. 57, 103, 193) and to underline the extent to which Cardinal Farnese fashioned his *familia* as an aristocratic court. For other cardinals, the more neutral term *familia* is, I find, preferable.

This remainder of this thesis is divided into four chapters. While the chapters to some extent run chronologically, many of the texts and events discussed took place over a very short period of time. As such, the next chapter sets out in further detail the socio-historical and poetic context of mid-sixteenth century Rome, introducing the sometimes complex networks of literary creation constituted by the movement of French and Italian-speakers in and out of the city between 1545-60. I argue that three social structures in particular –

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<sup>148</sup> Bernardo Navagero refers to Carafa’s ‘secretario di lingua francese’ in a dispatch to the Capi dei Dieci, 10 Apr. 1557, in SANTARELLI 2011, p. 215.

<sup>149</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Tiburzio Burzio, 1 July 1555, in CARO 1765, vol 2, p. 252. It is unclear who, if anyone, was found.

<sup>150</sup> ROMIER 1913, vol. 1, p. 305.

<sup>151</sup> François de Tournon to Ottavio Farnese, 9 June 1552, in TOURNON 1942, p. 280.

<sup>152</sup> SAMARAN AND PATRY 1907; BENOÎT 1924.

cardinals' courts, the Roman *nationes*, and learned academies – enabled forms of sociability. These were instrumental in facilitating the construction of socio-political urban identities and in bringing French and Italian speakers in the city into contact, with cardinals' courts and the academies especially important sites of literary production and exchange.

Chapter Three considers the production of two lyric anthologies, one manuscript (c. 1547) and one printed (1555), dedicated to a Roman noblewoman, Livia Colonna (1522-1554). It contends that this period saw the emergence of the Farnese court poets as a constituted grouping, a process visible within the anthologies themselves. Harnessing the dynamics of manuscript and print as tools in the creation of poetic identities, poets in Farnese pay gathered around Colonna as muse, transforming her into a poetic figure to be exchanged amongst them as a vehicle of homosociality. I then show how others, too, attempted to participate in this poetic community, including the female poet Laura Battiferri and the French poet Joachim du Bellay. These latter two poets, who participated with a questionable degree of success in this poetic exchange, sought to align themselves with a newly constructed, ascendant group of Roman *letterati*, using poetry as an overture towards desired social relations.

Chapter Four discusses a shorter period of time (1547-54) following the accession of Henry II as King of France (1547) and during the crisis of Parma (1550-51), both events which had unsettling consequences for the political stability of cardinals Du Bellay and Farnese. Taking epic poetry as its focus, this chapter considers comparatively two translations of Virgil's *Aeneid* produced in Rome by Louis des Masures (*Aeneid* III, 1549) and Alessandro Guarnelli (*Aeneid* I, 1554). By re-inserting these translations into the ideological contexts of their production, it presents them as socio-literary and political tools in defence of cardinal-patrons – and, between 1547-54, self-defined exiles – Alessandro Farnese and Jean du Bellay. I thus argue that literary translation and the social prestige of epic poetry constituted central elements of political sociability within the frameworks of courtly patronage.

Chapter Five considers the decade 1549-59, taking the scope of this investigation beyond the demise of Franco-Farnese relations in 1555-56. Given the fluidity of the literary networks examined in previous chapters, it expands the focus of the overall thesis to consider poets not directly employed by cardinals Farnese and Du Bellay but in close contact with their courtiers. It focuses on Alessandro Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti* (1549) and on the *Odes* (1559) of Olivier de Magny, a reader of Piccolomini, to produce a comparative reading

of these poets' use of the pastoral mode through attention to the *topos* of the villa and *villeggiatura*. Reading with attention to theories of friendship, it argues that the poetic space of the villa functioned as a homosocial space in which the form and meaning of male friendships could be explored. Through this reading, I suggest that these poetic imaginations of pastoral spaces served to allowed poets to construct textual communities of *otium* whilst they remained 'trapped' in Rome and bound by their daily work. At the same time, I demonstrate how these poetic depictions of pastoral *otium* also served more ambitious motives, and were paradoxically put into service as part of the poets' *negotium*.

## 2. Networks of Literary Sociability in Franco-Farnese Rome (1545-60)

### 2.1: Introduction

Rome's grandeur often provided a significant draw for visitors to the city in the sixteenth century. On arrival in 1544, Venetian traveller Bartolomeo Fontana (fl. 1540s) was impressed:

La città di Roma è grandissima che mai l'ho aia ixistimato [*scil.* estimado], né compreso per parole o per scrittura. [...] Roma è nobilissima popolata da ogni generatione di persone, ricca, pomposa, piena di anticaglie et cose memorande, copiosa di templi, statue, ruvine et cose degne.<sup>1</sup>

Others took very different views. In 1548, the French humanist, Pierre Paschal (1522-65) was in Rome as secretary to French cardinal Georges d'Armagnac (c. 1501-85).<sup>2</sup> The reality of early modern Rome apparently deeply disappointed him:

Movet me rursum, angitque vehementer, dum qualis fuerit olim Roma, & quae nunc sit, cogito. Nam ut omittam urbem dirutam, atque desertam, Vias Appias, & Aurelias incultas, frondibusque & virgultis iamdiu interclusas, Columnas, Tempia, Porticus, signa aenea, & marmorea fracta & comminuta [...] qua me molestia affici putas, cum video istorum hominum animos, qui ut quemadmodum sunt, sic etiam divini, & immortales putantur, ita tamen a maioribus suis degenerasse, ut ex illis nunquam orti, & ex se nati prorsus esse videantur?<sup>3</sup>

I am moved again, and greatly troubled, when I think of what Rome once was and what it now is. For, without mentioning the destroyed and deserted city, the neglected Via Appia and Via Aurelia, now blocked by trees and bushes, or the Columns, Temples, Arches, the broken and crumbled bronze and marble statues [...], can you think how much it distresses me when I see the character of those men who believe themselves to be divine and immortal, but who have become inferior to their ancestors, such that they seem never to have issued from them but to have been born directly of themselves?

Paschal's Rome was a sorry one. Any lineage with the classical city beyond crumbling remnants of the past had been extinguished, and sixteenth-century Romans no longer descended from their apparently illustrious forebears. This Roman *ubi sunt* was not new. The power of ruins to elicit awareness of temporal distance from antiquity went back at

<sup>1</sup> Pennsylvania University Library, Philadelphia, MS Cod. 451, fols. 37<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> On Paschal, see below, Ch. 2.4.1.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Paschal to Michel-Pierre de Mauléon, 26 Jan. 1548, in PASCHAL 1548, sigs. f4<sup>r</sup>-f4<sup>v</sup>.

least to Petrarch, and Paschal draws on a tradition of writings in this vein to express his surprise at the city he saw in 1548.<sup>4</sup>

The Rome Fontana and Paschal saw in the 1540s differed substantially from the classical city but also from the Rome of even forty years earlier. The return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome under Pope Martin V (r. 1417-31) had been influential in producing a movement towards rebuilding the medieval city.<sup>5</sup> By the first decades of the sixteenth century, successive popes had fundamentally altered Rome's urban topography. The pontificates of Julius II (r. 1503-13) and Leo X (r. 1513-21) in particular saw extensive construction: several areas of the city were remodelled including, strikingly, a new basilica to replace the old St Peter's in 1506.<sup>6</sup> Cardinals, too, played a role in this *renovatio urbis*, commissioning imposing buildings, such as the villa built for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (1478-1534), begun under Raphael (1483-1520) in 1518 and completed by Antonio da Sangallo (1484-1546) in 1523, the same year de' Medici was elected as Pope Clement VII.<sup>7</sup>

On 6 May 1527, four years into Clement's pontificate, Rome was sacked by an army led by Imperial commander Charles de Bourbon (1490-1527).<sup>8</sup> Soon into the attack, Bourbon was killed and his troops became undisciplined, looting and pillaging the city. They remained in Rome for nine months; lasting peace was not achieved between the pope and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V until 1529. In the wake of the sack, much of the city's vibrant cultural and economic life ceased. Clement was imprisoned for six months and eventually fled, as did many intellectuals; churches were desecrated; cardinals tortured; homes looted. Swathes of the city were destroyed. Nineteenth-century historians offered 1527 as a terminal date for the 'Renaissance,' as a damaging event which struck at the heart of 'Renaissance ideals.'<sup>9</sup> Whilst such an argument is overstated, undoubtedly the 1527 sack produced long-reaching effects on the city.

On a practical level, the city needed to be rebuilt and be better defended; on a diplomatic level, the experience of the sack showed the importance of building alliances to protect the city and the Church. In a cultural sense, the sack also had profound effects. In

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<sup>4</sup> See HUI 2016, pp. 52–56.

<sup>5</sup> See MCCAILL 2013.

<sup>6</sup> See TEMPLE 2011; KAYVANIAN 2019.

<sup>7</sup> See ELET 2018.

<sup>8</sup> For an overview, see GOUWENS 1998.

<sup>9</sup> e.g. GREGOROVIVUS 2000 [1859-72], vol. 9, p. 597.

humanist narratives, the demise of classical Rome began with the sacking of the city by northern invaders, while the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 provided more recent precedent for the collapse of a civilization at the hands of invaders. The ‘rebirth’ and ‘revival’ which humanist intellectual programmes claimed to have effected, and on which much of the city’s fortunes now stood, must have appeared fragile. While Rome still exerted a powerful influence on European literary imaginaries, the Sack’s exposure of the city’s fragility exacerbated the contrasts between past and present made by Paschal. After 1527, foreigners seeing Rome could perhaps make bolder claims of their own inheritance of Roman power, now torn from sixteenth century Rome and its inhabitants. Rome became a more contested space, culturally and politically.

External events also contributed to a sense of competition within – and over – the city. The Sack was conducted against the backdrop of ongoing wars across the Italian peninsula, begun with French king Charles VIII’s invasion in 1494.<sup>10</sup> Though Rome was not attacked again, rumours abounded that it would be.<sup>11</sup> Cities elsewhere on the peninsula were the site of intense battles and changed hands with some regularity while individual Italian states allied with larger armies to gain territory, such as when Cosimo I de’ Medici formed an alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor which enabled the Florentines to topple the Siennese republic in 1555. Shifting constellations of alliances led to feverish military and diplomatic activity, as individual polities fought to defend or expand territorial possessions. Rome, as part of the Papal States, was no exception. Rome’s importance was also spiritual; yet this authority also became less stable amidst efforts from the 1520s onwards to undermine the papacy following the movements of Germans including Martin Luther (1483-1546), who had visited Rome around 1510.<sup>12</sup> In response, in the 1530s the Roman church became engaged in debates between those who sought to alter doctrines and dogma, and ‘intransigents’ who insisted on restricting such changes, which led to the establishing of the Roman Inquisition in 1542, charged with prosecuting heresy, and to the convocation of the Council of Trent (1545-63) at which church dignitaries re-defined aspects of faith and dogma in response to calls for reform.<sup>13</sup> In literary terms, Trent had significant effects, with church

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<sup>10</sup> See, with bibliographies, BOWD 2018; SHERER 2021.

<sup>11</sup> e.g. Pierre Paschal to Jean de Masencal, 18 Feb. 1547, to Michel-Pierre de Mauléon, 5 Feb. 1547, in PASCHAL 1548, sigs. g1<sup>v</sup>, g6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> See LEMMONS 2006.

<sup>13</sup> See O’MALLEY 2013.



ensorship via the *Index librorum prohibitorum* and physical censoring of books becoming a notable feature of post-Tridentine literary landscapes.<sup>14</sup>

One family which leveraged opportunities for competition in mid-sixteenth-century Rome was the Farnese. At the turn of the sixteenth century, the Farnese were fairly minor nobles.<sup>15</sup> Though wealthy, the Farnese did not benefit from aristocratic titles securing their importance amongst noble families such as the Sforza, Este or Gonzaga. The territories under their control were also smaller than those of Roman nobles such as the Orsini or Colonna, lessening their income and urban influence. By the century's close, their position had changed entirely thanks to the exploits of various family members, not least the papacy of Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549) as Pope Paul III between 1534-49 which provided an opportunity to consolidate and strengthen the family's position.<sup>16</sup> Contemporaries highlighted this aspect of his pontificate especially: on Paul's death in 1549, one *pasquinata* declared he had 'fattened' his family up ('I suoi Farnesi magri fece grassi'), underlining the family's rapid political rise and self-enrichment.<sup>17</sup>

Following Paul's election, he had invested his son Pierluigi (1503-47) with dukedom first of Castro (1537) and then of Parma and Piacenza (1545). Then, Paul set about constructing a familial bloc in the Roman curia. As the papal monarchy was elective, the creation of cardinals – potential *papabili* – could ensure a family's enduring influence. As such, Pierluigi's oldest son, Alessandro (1520-89), was raised to the cardinalate in 1534 aged fourteen alongside his cousin Guido Ascanio Sforza (1518-64) soon after their grandfather's election. Alessandro then became cardinal-nephew and vice-chancellor of the church in 1535, placing him subordinate only to the pope while Sforza became cardinal-camerlengo, head of the Curia and responsible for the organization of papal conclaves. Ranuccio (1530-65), a younger son of Pierluigi, also became a cardinal in 1545. With these men raised to the cardinalate, Paul wrote a series of *ricordi* in 1548 for Alessandro and Ranuccio, in which he stressed that one of the cardinals he created should succeed him and that other Roman families should be blocked from election to safeguard the Farnese's newfound power.<sup>18</sup> Paul III also negotiated marriages for Pierluigi's other children to link the family to important

<sup>14</sup> See BRUNDIN 2012b; HELM 2015; COX 2020.

<sup>15</sup> On the Farnese before Paul III, see PASTOR 1923, pp. 14-24; LUITEN 2019a and 2019b; LANCONELLI, 2022.

<sup>16</sup> On Paul III's reign, see CUSSEN 2020; REBECCHINI 2007 and 2020.

<sup>17</sup> 'Epitaphio di Pasquino a Papa Paulo Terzo,' line 16, in BL, Royal MS 14.A.11, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> FRATI 1905, pp. 448, 450.

powers. In 1538 Pierluigi's second son Ottavio (1524-86) was married to Margaret of Austria (1522-1586), daughter of Emperor Charles V; ten years later, in 1548, Pierluigi's daughter Vittoria (1519-1602) was married to Guidobaldo II della Rovere, duke of Urbino (1514-74). Pierluigi's youngest son, Orazio (1532-53) was then married to Diane of France (1538-1619), daughter of French king Henry II, in February 1553, only months before Orazio's death in battle in July that year. Through marriages to ruling families abroad, Paul sought to construct a solid base of dynastic power for his family, though contemporaries suggested attempts to unite opposed rulers via the family were doomed.<sup>19</sup>

In Rome, however, the Farnese represented one *locus* of power amongst several. Unlike principalities such as Mantua, or oligarchic republics such as Venice, in Rome no single group held absolute power. The city had two distinct governmental forces, the papacy on the Vatican and the civic government on the Capitoline. Whilst the papacy was externally and spiritually more influential, the civic government exercised power within the city and took control during the *sede vacante*.<sup>20</sup> The Roman baronial aristocracy, divided primarily between the French-allied Orsini and Imperially-allied Colonna, formed a third locus of political power which, in Machiavelli's analysis, regulated the papacy's temporal power.<sup>21</sup> Jacob Burckhardt thus remarked that the 'ecclesiastical State was and remained a thorough anomaly among the powers of Italy,' insofar as groups in the state itself competed with the pope.<sup>22</sup> This situation engendered competitive cultural production in which the socio-political promotion of individual factions was at stake. This urban competition took place in several *loci*, of which the most notable were the *familiae* of cardinals. This chapter begins by considering the literary producers around cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Jean du Bellay, two central patrons for this thesis as a whole. It then moves to consider another form of gathering, the Roman academies, which existed explicitly to provide a venue for scholarly and ludic sociability.

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<sup>19</sup> Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Charles V, 1 June 1547, in MENDOZA 2016, p. 98.

<sup>20</sup> HUNT 2016; NUSSDORFER 1987.

<sup>21</sup> MACHIAVELLI 1997-99, vol. 1, p. 148 (*Il principe*, ch. XI).

<sup>22</sup> BURCKHARDT 1954 [1878], p. 81.

## 2.2: The Court of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-89)

In the context of competing Roman power centres, the chief means by which the Farnese could represent themselves and their power were found in art, architecture and literature. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was central to these endeavours. Farnese's household was very large; in 1554, 319 individuals worked directly for the cardinal.<sup>23</sup> The earliest edited record of Farnese's expenditure shows that in 1563 his household remained very large, employing 270 people, and enjoyed 78,891 *scudi* of annual income.<sup>24</sup> These figures are particularly striking given that in 1547 it was calculated that an average-sized cardinalate *familia* of 107 people required 6,759 *scudi* per year for all its activities.<sup>25</sup> As demonstrated by Appendix A, a substantial number of Farnese's courtiers were born outside Rome: of the 33 *letterati* in Farnese's employ between 1534-60, 29 were non-Roman. This section provides a prosopography of Farnese's *letterati* between 1534-60, before moving in Ch. 2.2.1 to consideration of the cardinal's wider literary patronage.

On becoming a cardinal in 1534, Farnese engaged three men as tutors. One, the philosopher Antonio Bernardi della Mirandola (1502-65) had been in the household of Paul III, and transferred to that of Cardinal Farnese soon after he became a cardinal.<sup>26</sup> Farnese's second tutor, Romolo Amaseo (1489-1552), was born in Udine and had spent the 1520-30s teaching Latin and Greek between the universities of Bologna and Padua. In Bologna, Amaseo accompanied the newly elected Paul III during his visit to the city in 1534 and from 1535 acted as the young cardinal's tutor.<sup>27</sup> Amaseo remained important to Farnese, who later suggested Amaseo practically raised him ('per avermi, si può dire, allevato e disciplinato').<sup>28</sup> The third tutor, Bernardino Maffei (1517-53), was a Roman cleric who studied in Padua before returning to Rome on the election of Paul III.<sup>29</sup> As well as tutor the young cardinal, Maffei also acted as one of his first secretaries. Though Maffei was raised to the cardinalate in 1549, he remained an important member of Farnese's household, one of a number of members of the Curia directly linked to the vice-chancellor.

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<sup>23</sup> BENOÎT 1923, pp. 202-06.

<sup>24</sup> HURTUBISE 1992.

<sup>25</sup> PRISCIANESE 1883, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> On Bernardi, see FORLIVESI 2009.

<sup>27</sup> AVESANI 1960; GIRALDI 2011, p. 181.

<sup>28</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Julius III, 15 Aug. 1550, in CARO 1765, vol. 1, p. 261.

<sup>29</sup> SANSA 2006.

When Farnese became vice-chancellor of the Church in 1535, he replaced the recently deceased Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici (1511-35).<sup>30</sup> This promotion saw the movement of *letterati* from Cardinal de' Medici's *familia* into Farnese's service. Best known amongst these was Modenese poet Francesco Maria Molza (1489-1544).<sup>31</sup> Molza produced a substantial number of Latin poems for Farnese; then, in 1541, Molza printed a long vernacular pastoral poem, *La ninfa tiberina*, dedicated to Faustina Mancini degli Attavanti (d. 1543), the cardinal's lover in the early 1540s who became a collective muse for the Farnese court (see Ch. Three).<sup>32</sup> After Molza's death in 1544, his *Elegie*, including numerous poems in praise of Cardinal Farnese, were sent to Farnese by the poet Trifone Benci (d. after 1571).<sup>33</sup> Two years later, Farnese sent Molza's son Camillo to Venice with money to have these works printed.<sup>34</sup> Though the project never came to fruition, this is an early indication of Farnese's role as a literary patron. Alongside Molza, Siense humanist Claudio Tolomei (1492-1556) also entered the Farnese court after Cardinal de' Medici's death.<sup>35</sup> Tolomei had known others connected to Farnese for a long time, and especially Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501-55), who would reign for twenty-two days as Pope Marcellus II in 1555.<sup>36</sup> Tolomei was known particularly for his interest in language (having written a dialogue, *Il Cesano*, on the *questione della lingua* around 1523, printed in 1555) and poetics. Tolomei was an important connection between the Farnese court and the various academies formed in this period in Rome, as discussed below (Ch. 2, sec. 6). Molza and Tolomei were well known across the peninsula; their presence in Farnese's retinue likely contributed to presenting the cardinal as an ambitious patron, attracting others into his service.

Another of Molza's friends, Giovanni della Casa (1503-56), also entered Farnese's court in this period. Della Casa was born in Tuscany though spent his childhood in Rome.<sup>37</sup> Della Casa studied in Bologna under Romolo Amaseo, Farnese's future tutor, around 1524-25 (where it is possible he first met Molza), then spent the next years between Padua, Rome and Florence before settling in Rome around 1532. For much of his period of Farnese

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<sup>30</sup> On Ippolito de' Medici's court, see REBECCHINI 2010, pp. 171–262.

<sup>31</sup> On Molza, see GIRALDI 2011, p. 95; FERRONI 2018.

<sup>32</sup> GALLO 2007.

<sup>33</sup> Jacomo Gallo to Alessandro Farnese, 3 Sept. 1544, in RONCHINI 1853, p. 99.

<sup>34</sup> Camillo Molza to Alessandro Farnese, 3 Aug. 1546, in RONCHINI 1853, p. 101.

<sup>35</sup> See SBARAGLI 1939; LUCIOLI 2019; GIRALDI 2011, p. 193.

<sup>36</sup> On Cervini, see QUARANTA 2010; SACHET 2020, pp. 43-65; CARDINALI, 2022.

<sup>37</sup> MUTINI 1988; DELLA CASA 1999, pp. 1-39.

service, Della Casa was away from Rome as papal nuncio in Venice (1544-49; 1551-54). Nonetheless, he continually corresponded with Farnese courtiers and produced verse for his patron (see Ch.s. 3.1.1; 4.4.2). On one occasion, Della Casa sent verse with instructions that only his brother and Cardinal Farnese see it, indicating Farnese normally participated in the exchange of poetry.<sup>38</sup> Della Casa on occasion complained about writing poems of dubious quality for the cardinal; still, the patronage relationship with Farnese meant Della Casa was obliged to provide them nonetheless, with the poet hoping privately that his cardinal-patron would not circulate them ('Dio voglia che la [canzone] non si divulghi e siami di biasimo').<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile Della Casa exchanged verse with Farnese courtiers, having poems copied in Venice and sent to Rome, thereby participating from afar in the court's poetic activities.<sup>40</sup>

As the Farnese family's political importance grew, so did the number of poets in his employ. Modenese poet Gandolfo Porrino (d. 1552), a friend of Molza's who had also been in the Roman circle of Cardinal de' Medici, returned to Rome around 1539 as Farnese's secretary.<sup>41</sup> In Rome, Porrino wrote verse for Livia Colonna (see Ch. 3.1.1) and dedicated his collected *Rime* to Farnese in 1551.<sup>42</sup> Bernardo Cappello (1498-1565), a Venetian who had studied under Pietro Bembo, was exiled from Venice in 1541 and came to Rome where he took on roles as governors of various papal cities through the 1540s.<sup>43</sup> During this time, Cappello composed numerous sonnets addressed to Farnese, sending many directly to Farnese from the cities in which he was working; these were then gathered into a single manuscript for the cardinal.<sup>44</sup> The example of others, such as Alessandro Guarnelli (1531-c.1591, on whom see Ch. 4), show that the Farnese court also educated poets in this period, rather than only attracting their services from elsewhere.

The murder of Farnese's father Pierluigi in 1547, following rebellion against his rule in Parma and Piacenza, brought others into Cardinal Farnese's service.<sup>45</sup> Annibal Caro (1507-66), previously Pierluigi's secretary, thus became secretary to Cardinal Farnese, though he expressed apprehension on taking up the position ('la grandezza di Farnese mi spaventa')

<sup>38</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Carlo Gualteruzzi, 15 Jan. 1545, in DELLA CASA AND GUALTERUZZI 1987, p. 92.

<sup>39</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Carlo Gualteruzzi, 15 Aug. 1545, in DELLA CASA AND GUALTERUZZI 1987, p. 184.

<sup>40</sup> e.g. Giovanni della Casa to Gandolfo Porrino, 15 Jan. 1546, in DELLA CASA 1752, vol. 2, pp. 96-97.

<sup>41</sup> CHIODO 2016.

<sup>42</sup> PORRINO 1551, sigs. \*iiii<sup>r</sup>-\*v<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> See CAPPELLO 2018, pp. 11-40; GIRALDI, 2011, p. 191.

<sup>44</sup> Bernardo Cappello to Alessandro Farnese, 13 Sept. 1541, 26 Feb. 1544, 19 May 1544, 11 Jan. 1545, 7 Feb. 1553, 21 Oct. 1553, in CAPPELLO 1870, pp. 1-2, 22-23, 34, 45-46, 60-61, 84; FOSSIER 1982, p. 36.

<sup>45</sup> On the assassination, see SIMONETTA 2020, pp. 63-80

and within six months complained of his working conditions ('Sono come avete inteso al servizio del cardinale Farnese, e fino a ora le fatiche sono assai, la Speranza mediocre e il profitto magrissimo').<sup>46</sup> While Caro's main role was as Farnese's secretary, his courtly role as *letterato* went beyond drafting correspondence. For Pierluigi, Caro had produced a comedy, *Gli Straccioni* (1543), which was 'emblematic of the new historical order envisaged for the city' under Paul III though never performed, rarely circulated in manuscript and only printed posthumously.<sup>47</sup> Continuing to write under Cardinal Farnese, Caro's poetry was read widely in manuscript and in printed anthologies, while his correspondence ensured his reputation even within his lifetime.<sup>48</sup>

By the late 1540s, the court also hosted a number of Latin poets. Two friends whose works were printed together in 1555, Lorenzo Gambara (c. 1496-1586) and Basilio Zanchi (c. 1501-58), represented an important current of Latin poetry at the court, including both secular, especially occasional epigrams and pastoral eclogues, and religious verse.<sup>49</sup> Zanchi was also involved in acquiring and disseminating texts amongst Farnese courtiers. For instance, Zanchi received from Florentine humanist Piero Vettori (1499-1585) a copy of Vettori's commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1548). Zanchi passed this to Romolo Amaseo, who in return, Zanchi promised, would send Vettori his translation of Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (written c. 1547).<sup>50</sup> Meanwhile, in 1545, the poet Marcantonio Flaminio (1497/8-1550) dedicated a psalm commentary to Farnese, noting in the dedication that Farnese's tutor Bernardino Maffei had suggested the cardinal would appreciate the work.<sup>51</sup> Flaminio had had a long career working under several clerics, notably Cardinal Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543), and was close to circles of *spirituali* linked to Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-58) in Viterbo. It is in this regard that he is largely remembered, especially as a likely author of the *spirituali's* controversial *Beneficio di Cristo*, printed around 1543.<sup>52</sup> However, Flaminio's attachment to the Farnese court from after his return to Rome in 1547 also saw the

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<sup>46</sup> Annibal Caro to Lodovico Beccadello, 14 Oct. 1547, to Benedetto Varchi, 26 May 1548, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, pp. 48, 66-67.

<sup>47</sup> CARO 2016, p. XIV. On the play's genesis and Caro's refusal to produce copies or stage it, see Annibal Caro to Vittoria Farnese, 3 Nov. 1548, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, p. 70.

<sup>48</sup> GIRALDI 2011, p. 191.

<sup>49</sup> ZANCHI AND GAMBARA, 1555; cfr. GIRALDI 2011, pp. 187, 203, who notes their friendship. On Gambara, see WEINBERG 1961, vol. 1, pp. 305-08, 576.

<sup>50</sup> Basilio Zanchi to Piero Vettori, 14 June 1550, in BL, Add. MS 10273, fol. 334r; cfr. VETTORI 1548.

<sup>51</sup> FLAMINIO 1545, sig. Aiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> See BRUNDIN 2008, pp. 47-56; OVERELL 2019, pp. 53-65, 115-26.

production of sociable Latin verse whose content contrasts strongly with his religious poetry.<sup>53</sup> Rather than being inspired by *furor* or by religious devotion, Flaminio suggested he produced this verse as a form of social duty, ‘per satisfare in parte a certi altri miei cari amici.’<sup>54</sup> When five books of Flaminio’s *Carmina* were printed in 1552, they thus contained twelve poems to Farnese, with others to a range of Farnese courtiers.<sup>55</sup> Even poets well known for pious verse were not immune from the courtly pressure to produce encomiastic texts.

One cluster of Latin poets at the court was introduced to Cardinal Farnese by the historian Paolo Giovio (1483-1552).<sup>56</sup> By the time Farnese became a cardinal in 1535, Giovio was well-known throughout the peninsula. He had been in Rome during the 1527 Sack and was close to numerous members of the Curia, including Cardinal de’ Medici, and to the poet Vittoria Colonna with whom he stayed in Ischia following the Sack. Giovio entered Farnese service in 1539 after seeking patronage from various figures and by the end of 1539 had printed his first work under Farnese, a series of lives of the Sforza dukes.<sup>57</sup> He then continued writing his major work, the *Historiarum sui temporis libri* (1550-52), a contemporary history. Giovio knew that the *Historiarum libri* could be leveraged for economic gain; he had previously threatened to remove French *connétable* Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567) from the work if Montmorency did not ensure Giovio received a pension from Francis I.<sup>58</sup> Clearly, it was beneficial for the Farnese to have this respected historian in their service and thus to appear positively and prominently in the text, though ultimately Giovio dedicated the work to Cosimo I de’ Medici.

Giovio also produced two books of *Elogia*, series of biographies of literary (1546) and military (1551) greats.<sup>59</sup> Though Cardinal Farnese is not present in the *Elogia*, several Farnese family members are; the *Elogia* thus represent an important textual moment for the Farnese as they were assigned a place in the ‘museum’ of greats alongside other noble families. Each biography in the *Elogia* is accompanied by one or more poems. Giovio

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<sup>53</sup> On this period, see MADDISON 1965, pp. 171-206.

<sup>54</sup> Marcantonio Flaminio to Ulisse Bassiano, 27 May 1549, in FLAMINIO 1978, p. 176.

<sup>55</sup> FLAMINIO ET AL. 1552 contains poems to: Maffei; Molza; Della Casa; Gualteruzzi; Amaseo; Zanchi; Gambara; Onorato Fascitelli and Antonio Elio della Mirandola, alongside others linked to the Farnese court, notably Alessandro Piccolomini.

<sup>56</sup> On Giovio, see esp. ZIMMERMANN 1995.

<sup>57</sup> ZIMMERMANN 1995, pp. 164-99; GIOVIO 1539.

<sup>58</sup> ZIMMERMANN 1995, p. 140.

<sup>59</sup> See GIOVIO 2006; MINONZIO 2012.

procured these verses from a wide network of poets, many of whom then entered Farnese service. In 1545, Giovio met the twelve-year old future Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1533-1611) in Rome and introduced Possevino as poet to Bernardino Maffei.<sup>60</sup> The following year, in a letter to Cardinal Farnese, Giovio described himself as a patron of five men: Onorato Fascitelli (1502-64), a Latin poet and Cassinese monk; Gabriele Faerno (c. 1510-61), scholar, poet and author of the *Centum fabulae* (written c. 1558, printed 1568); Antonio Vacca (1520-81), an antiquarian; Girolamo Britonio (c.1491- after 1549), a Neapolitan poet, member of the Ischia circle and author of the *Gelosia del sole* (1519), a *canzoniere* dedicated to Vittoria Colonna; and one 'Caesareus.'<sup>61</sup> 'Caesareus' is unidentified by both the editor of the *Elogia* and Giovio's biographer.<sup>62</sup> However, I propose he be identified as Cosenzan poet and orator Giovanni Paolo Cesario (in Latin, Ioannis Caesarius, d. after 1565).<sup>63</sup> Cesario arrived in Rome in 1544, two years before Giovio's letter. His printed verse includes poems to Paul III, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and Livia Colonna (on whom, see Ch. 3), while he also appears amongst a group of Farnese courtiers in Giovanbattista Modio's *Il convito* (1554), demonstrating his relationship to the court.<sup>64</sup> Finally, Giovio attached an ode by Friulian poet Pietro Mirteo (fl. 1550) to the letter to Farnese, implying Giovio was also acting as Mirteo's patron. Mirteo's association with the Farnese court was, however, short-lived after he angered many by claiming to be related to Marcantonio Flaminio in order to improve his own reputation as poet, clear evidence of the status of 'poet' being a social qualification.<sup>65</sup> By 1550, Giovio's patronage had expanded to include the poets Anton Francesco Raineri (c. 1510-60), Augusto Cocceiano (fl. 1550) and Janus Vitalis (1485-1560).<sup>66</sup> These men all produced poems for the *Elogia* whilst also taking part in other Farnese poetic activities, such as when Vitalis produced a presentation manuscript of an epithalamium for the 1548 wedding of Vittoria Farnese, with a dedicatory poem to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Paolo Giovio to Bernardino Maffei, 14 Sept. 1545, in GIOVIO 1958, vol. 2, p. 21. On Possevino as poet, see GIRALDI 2011, p. 209.

<sup>61</sup> Paolo Giovio to Alessandro Farnese, 12 July 1546, in GIOVIO 1958, vol. 2, p. 36.

<sup>62</sup> MINONZIO 2012, p. 22, fn. 42; ZIMMERMANN 1995, p. 347.

<sup>63</sup> See VIGILANTE 1980.

<sup>64</sup> CESARIO 1562; MODIO 1554, sig. Bi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Marcantonio Flaminio to Ulisse Bassiano, 4 July 1549, in FLAMINIO 1978, pp. 184-85; 'Ad Petrum Myrteum,' in FLAMINIO 1993, p. 206; Dionigi Atanagi to Tommaso Spica, 23 July 1549, in CERRUTI 1867, p. 60; GIRALDI 2011, p. 198. See also TOSCANO 1578, sig. Gvi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> MINONZIO 2012, pp. 32-33.

<sup>67</sup> BAV, MS Urb. Lat. 742.



A last group of *letterati* was associated predominantly with the Farnese libraries. In the 1540s, the library in Palazzo Farnese was continually expanded with Greek manuscripts in particular, for which a group of Greek speakers were employed. Some, such as Giovanni Onorio (1535-63), born in Greek-speaking Maglie in Apulia, were hired as copyists.<sup>68</sup> Others, such as Matteo Devaris (c. 1505-85), born in Corfu, carried out a range of tasks. In Farnese service from 1551 as a corrector and copyist, Devaris also wrote Greek poetry and produced Greek translations of the decrees of the Council of Trent and a work on Greek language.<sup>69</sup> Finally, Greeks outside Rome were hired for various tasks, notably Antonios Eparchos (1491-1571), born in Corfu and living in Venice, whom Farnese paid a salary of five ducats a month to acquire Greek manuscripts, alongside occasional one-off payments including sixty ducats for an 'elegia laudatoria' in 1544.<sup>70</sup>

Despite the range of *letterati* at the Farnese court, we have few records of literary discussions which took place there. The best-known is the story recounted by artist and biographer Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) to explain the genesis of his *Vite*. While linked to the Farnese between c. 1545-50, Vasari recounts a dinner with Cardinal Farnese sometime in the first half of 1546 alongside Giovio, Caro, Molza, Porrino, Tolomei, Amaseo and 'altri molti letterati e galant'uomini, de' quali è sempre piena la corte di quel signore.'<sup>71</sup> When discussion turned to Giovio's *Elogia*, it was suggested by Giovio that it would be beneficial to produce something similar for visual artists. According to Vasari, Cardinal Farnese suggested Vasari take on the task and Vasari, apparently reluctantly, accepted. Sections of the *Vite* were sent in December 1547 to Giovio and Caro for their comments. Giovio told Vasari he had 'devoured' the work and made notes on it.<sup>72</sup> Caro was more forthright, telling Vasari to edit the work so the text would appear more like speech.<sup>73</sup> While it is by no means certain Farnese suggested the project, the text Giovio and Caro read was likely different from the 1550 printed text with its dedication to Cosimo I de' Medici and numerous references to the Medici artistic patronage. A possible copy of this manuscript has been presented by Marco

<sup>68</sup> See AGATI 2001; RICHARDSON 2009, pp. 76-77.

<sup>69</sup> CERESA 1991; VOROBYEV 2018. For the printed texts, see *KANONES KAI DOGMATA* 1581; DEVARIS 1588.

<sup>70</sup> DOREZ 1893; Antonios Eparchos to the Consiglio de' Dieci, undated (c. 1544), to Ludovico Beccadelli, 8 Feb. 1565, in GIOTOPOLOU-SISILIANOU 1978, pp. 281-83, 223. On Eparchos, cfr. GIRALDI 2011, p. 125.

<sup>71</sup> VASARI 1971, vol. 7, p. 681. For the dating, see RUFFINI 2017, p. 201.

<sup>72</sup> Paolo Giovio to Giorgio Vasari, 10 Dec. 1547, in GIOVIO 1958, vol. 2, p. 117.

<sup>73</sup> Annibal Caro to Giorgio Vasari, 15 Dec. 1547, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, pp. 50-51.

Ruffini, as testament to the earliest version of the *Vite* as a distinctive product of the (anti-Medicean) Farnese court.<sup>74</sup>

References to communal readings or oral performances of texts in the Farnese court are also infrequent. On 6 March 1557, Annibal Caro wrote to Girolamo Amalteo to tell him he had appreciated Amalteo's *Gigantomachia haeretica*, a 59-line poem dealing with the church's battle against Lutheran reformers dedicated to Pope Paul IV. The poem, Caro wrote, 'è ita attorno e da uomini giudiziosi è stata letta e commendata,' with the first reading taking place in the rooms of Basilio Zanchi.<sup>75</sup> Despite hosting readings of poetry in praise of the pope, Zanchi, who had been investigated several times from the 1540s onwards for his unorthodox beliefs, was imprisoned the following year by Paul IV, and likely died in prison around 1567.<sup>76</sup>

### 2.2.1: The Literary Patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese

While direct evidence of literary performances at the Farnese court is harder to find, ample evidence documents Cardinal Farnese's literary patronage, indicating his wide role within the literary production of his court (though I have found no evidence whatsoever to suggest the cardinal himself wrote poetry). In some cases, Farnese leveraged his courtly network to assist in producing copies of texts. In 1547, wanting to have an illuminated gospel book made, Farnese instructed Giovanni della Casa to acquire parchment in Venice as nothing adequate could be found in Rome.<sup>77</sup> Though Della Casa sent some to Farnese, the cardinal replied that it was entirely unsuitable, enclosing a sample sheet of the sort and size he wanted and had Della Casa look again.<sup>78</sup> Della Casa did as requested, eventually admitting he could find nothing to match the cardinal's wishes.<sup>79</sup> The cardinal's exacting requirements also extended to printed books. Like other élites of the period, Farnese had printed books bound and decorated for his use, including by Marcantonio Guillery, son of the French-born printer in Rome Étienne Guillery (active 1506-24).<sup>80</sup> One notable example of a printed book

<sup>74</sup> RUFFINI 2017, pp. 185–203.

<sup>75</sup> Annibal Caro to Girolamo Amalteo, 7 Mar. 1557, in CALOGERO 1729, p. 270.

<sup>76</sup> SACHET 2020, p. 70, fn. 16.

<sup>77</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Giovanni della Casa, 5 Mar. 1547, in DELLA CASA 2022, vol. 2, p. 340.

<sup>78</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Giovanni della Casa, 9 July 1547, in DELLA CASA 2022, vol. 2, p. 481.

<sup>79</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Alessandro Farnese, 16 July 1547, 30 July 1547, in DELLA CASA 2022, vol. 2, pp. 483, 494.

<sup>80</sup> See MARINIS 1938, pp. 6-7; SCHUNKE 1952.

bound for Farnese is a Petrarch bound with Farnese's arms, the frontispiece of which was replaced with that of a numismatic work by Enea Vico (1523-67), itself altered by hand to include a drawing of a cardinal's hat.<sup>81</sup> Cardinal Farnese also assisted the printing of texts. We have seen (Ch. 2.2) how he arranged to pay for the printing of Molza's *Elegie* in 1546; he was also able to secure privileges, such as a French privilege for a scientific work by his physician Ippolito Salviani (1514-72).<sup>82</sup> Following this, others appealed to him to pay for printing or to arrange privileges.<sup>83</sup> At times, Farnese ordered texts be printed. Such was the case of the 1581 *editio princeps* of the classical grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus, printed 'Per ordine del Signor Cardinale.'<sup>84</sup> Farnese ensured his role was clear: the sole surviving manuscript was in his library, a fact duly advertised on the printed frontispiece 'per sodisfattione del Signor Cardinale.'<sup>85</sup>

Across his lifetime, the cardinal was the dedicatee of a large variety of works. EDIT16's *Progetto Dediche* lists 8 printed works dedicated to Cardinal Farnese.<sup>86</sup> My investigations have gathered 109 further printed works dedicated to the cardinal (listed in Appendix B). This list offers useful insight into the range of works to which Farnese was publicly linked and, in some cases, further information clarifies the operation of his patronage. All are in Latin or the vernacular. They vary greatly in type, from legal to religious works; editions and translations of classical texts; political tracts and speeches; scientific or philosophical works; and secular poetry. Perhaps unsurprisingly, all but one work, an edition of classical women poets, are male-authored.<sup>87</sup>

Most importantly, these dedications nuance Clare Robertson's argument that Farnese's patronage was secular prior to 1564.<sup>88</sup> Throughout the 1540s in particular, several religious works by German Catholics were dedicated to Farnese, who played an active role

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<sup>81</sup> *Il Petrarca, con l'esposizione di Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari et fratelli, 1553), John Rylands Library, Manchester, R52115. See D'AMICO 2019.

<sup>82</sup> SALVIANI 1557, sig. Xii<sup>v</sup>, privilege dated 22 Nov. 1554, referring to the 'supplication et requeste qui faictes nous a esté de la part dudict Cardinal de Farnaize en faveur dudict exposant son medecin.'

<sup>83</sup> e.g. Antonio Agustín, who in 1556 requested Farnese fund the printing of Pirro Ligorio's works (STENHOUSE 2008, p. 266); or Cosimo Bartoli, who in 1567 requested Farnese have his brother Ottavio provide a privilege in Parma for Bartoli's *Discorsi storici universali*, printed in 1569 (Cosimo Bartoli to Alessandro Farnese, 14 June 1567, in RONCHINI 1853, pp. 598-99). On Agustín, see Ch. 2.5; on Farnese's relationship to Bartoli, see Ch. 4.4.2.

<sup>84</sup> Fulvio Orsini to Piero Vettori, 1 Dec. 1579, in VETTORI AND SIGONIO 1889, p. 34. See ACCIARINO 2016.

<sup>85</sup> Fulvio Orsini to Piero Vettori, 3 Feb. 1580, in VETTORI AND SIGONIO 1889, p. 36.

<sup>86</sup> [https://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/risultati-ricerca-dediche?core=dediche&item:5004:ID=CNCA000774&item\\_nocheck:9003:tipo=D#1661339556986](https://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/risultati-ricerca-dediche?core=dediche&item:5004:ID=CNCA000774&item_nocheck:9003:tipo=D#1661339556986)

<sup>87</sup> ORSINI 1568.

<sup>88</sup> ROBERTSON 1992, p. 158-59.

in commissioning the works or remunerating their authors. In 1540, Farnese sent two hundred ducats to the cleric Friedrich Nausea (c. 1496-1552), following Nausea's 1538 dedication to Farnese of a refutation of the *Centum gravamina teutonicae nationis*, a list of complaints presented by German princes against the Roman church at the 1522-23 Diet of Nuremberg.<sup>89</sup> In 1541, Cardinal Giovanni Morone (1509-80) suggested Farnese as dedicatee of an expanded edition of the anti-Lutheran *Enchiridion* by theologian Johann Eck (1486-1543), produced following the failure of discussions at that year's Diet of Regensburg, where Eck had argued against Martin Bucer and Philip Melancthon.<sup>90</sup> In 1545, Farnese himself requested to be the dedicatee of commentaries on Paul's Letters to the Corinthians by Augustinian monk Johann Hoffmeister (c. 1509-47).<sup>91</sup> Further German Catholic texts dedicated to Farnese followed in 1546 and 1548.<sup>92</sup> In part, all these dedications were connected to Farnese's diplomatic presence in the Holy Roman Empire, following his legations to Flanders in 1540 and Regensburg in 1546. At the same time, they were linked to an editorial project directed by Johann Cochlaeus (1479-1552) harnessing Catholic presses in Cologne, Mainz and Ingolstadt.<sup>93</sup> Through the 1540s, these presses produced numerous anti-Protestant works and, while official support from Rome was limited, Cardinal Farnese clearly offered support to the authors of these works. While Farnese's artistic patronage was resolutely secular before 1564, his literary patronage was far more varied.

Farnese clearly paid attention to such dedications, as when he promised in 1557 to embody a glowing dedication by the Augustinian monk Onofrio Panvinio (d. 1568) ('se io non sono quel che voi dite mi sforzarò almeno d'esserlo o di approssimarmeli più che potrò').<sup>94</sup> In one case, we have evidence of Farnese's alterations to a dedication, showing his attention to the importance of dedications in forming public images of patrons. When Piero Vettori sent Farnese a copy of the dedication to be printed with his 1562 commentary on Demetrius's *Peri hermēneias* (on which see Ch. 4.4.2), Farnese responded with concern that

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<sup>89</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Friedrich Nausea, 13 Apr. 1540, in *EPISTOLARUM MISCELLANEARUM AD FRIDERICUM NAUSEAM LIBRI 1550*, sig. Mm2<sup>r</sup>; cfr. NAUSEA, 1538.

<sup>90</sup> Johann Eck to Alessandro Farnese, 19 Jan. 1542, in ECK, n.d.; ECK 1979, pp. 40, 46.

<sup>91</sup> Johann Hoffmeister to Girolamo Seripando, 9 July 1545, in DRUFFEL 1877-91, vol. 3, p. 253: 'Iam sub prelo sunt enarrationes meae in utramque ad Corinthos; eas inscripsi Reverendi Domini Cardinali Farnesio, nam hoc ipse petiit ut facerem' ('My commentaries on both letters to the Corinthians are already being printed; I dedicated them to Cardinal Farnese, for he himself asked me to do so'); cfr. HOFFMEISTER 1545, sigs. Aii<sup>r</sup>-Aiii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> cfr. e.g. LORICH 1546, sig. Aiii<sup>r</sup>; BASIL OF CAESAREA 1546, sigs. ai<sup>r</sup>-biii<sup>r</sup>; BRAUN 1548, sigs. \*ii<sup>r</sup>-\*v<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> See SACHET 2020, pp. 16-26.

<sup>94</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Onofrio Panvinio, 16 Feb. 1558, in BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6412, fol. 14<sup>r</sup>; cfr. PANVINIO 1557c. On Panvinio, see BAUER 2019.

Vettori's 'tante lode [...] potranno peravventura parere a qualche scrupoloso, o procurate da me, et mendicate, o vero che havendole pure voi scritte da voi stesso, habbiate ciò fatto in grado mio.'<sup>95</sup> By way of solution, Farnese instructed Vettori to make the praise less effusive and to remove passages deploring the 'miserie del secol nostro.' Alert to possible readings of dedicatory texts and to their public, reputational effect, Farnese was clearly comfortable intervening to ensure the text represented him as he wished, though careful to ensure his own distance from its drafting and to protect the reputation of the dedicator. Without the initial draft, it is difficult to see to what extent Vettori changed his text. However, Vettori continued to send drafts to Farnese for comment and revision, whether out of respect for his social status, his learning or their friendship, offering to alter other texts to suit the cardinal ('se [...] gli [=Farnese] posso sodisfare in cosa alcuna col mutare, aggiugnere o levare, lo farò volentieri').<sup>96</sup>

While it is sometimes unclear which texts the cardinal read or had read to him, and how he responded to them, some instructive examples can be found. In October 1548, Annibal Caro dedicated to Farnese a printed edition of Pietro Bembo's poetry which drew on a manuscript Bembo had given Farnese in 1538.<sup>97</sup> Edited by Carlo Gualteruzzi (1500-77), the printed book contained a series of extra poems, not envisaged by Bembo as part of the collection, which Gualteruzzi was instructed to include by 'un gran Signor mio.'<sup>98</sup> John Van Sickle assumes this to refer to Farnese himself.<sup>99</sup> Caro reports that the cardinal read the printed poems, after which they circulated at court ('Diedi i sonetti del signor Pietro al Cardinale, ed ora vanno in volta per tutto, e se ne fa gran rumore'), perhaps an indication of the court's reading being directed by, or at least taking its lead from, its patron.<sup>100</sup>

At the end of summer 1550, Farnese thanked historian Uberto Foglietta (1518-81) for a series of linguistic 'annotazioni' Foglietta had sent, urging him to produce more.<sup>101</sup> The work itself is unknown, but perhaps formed part of preparations for Foglietta's dialogue on Latin, *De linguae latinae usu et praestantia* (1574). In 1551, Farnese thanked Girolamo

<sup>95</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Piero Vettori, 22 July 1562, in BL, Add. MS 10275, fol. 125r.

<sup>96</sup> Piero Vettori to Fulvio Orsini, 22 April, 1581, in VETTORI 1870, pp. 68-69, with regards to Vettori's *Variarum lectionum libri XXXVIII* (1582).

<sup>97</sup> GHIRLANDA 2006; RICHARDSON 2009, p. 132.

<sup>98</sup> BEMBO 1548, sig. Xi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> DELLA CASA 1999, p. 115.

<sup>100</sup> Annibal Caro to Claudio Tolomei, 13 Oct. 1548, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, pp. 68-69.

<sup>101</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Uberto Foglietta, 16 July 1550, in CARO 1765, vol. 1, p. 335.

Fracastoro for a gift of dogs, and a poem about them, which Fracastoro had sent; the dogs were all the more special, the cardinal wrote, as they had provided an ‘occasione di sì bel poema.’<sup>102</sup> In November 1555, Annibal Caro told Florentine *letterato* Benedetto Varchi (1502/03-65) that he had given a copy of Varchi’s recently printed sonnets to Farnese, who had greatly appreciated them (‘gli [= Farnese] presentai il vostro libro, il quale fu accettissimo, e si parlò d’esso, e di voi molto onoratamente’), perhaps helped by the presence of four sonnets dedicated to Farnese in the volume and by a relationship Varchi and Farnese had developed in 1551 (see Ch. 4.4.2).<sup>103</sup>

Three more detailed examples of texts the cardinal read survive in a transcription of Farnese’s 1563-64 correspondence now in the British Library. In February 1563, Farnese wrote to Lucchese philosopher Flaminio de’ Nobili (1533-91) to thank him for a work De’ Nobili had sent, presumably one of three works printed together that year, and to explain his enjoyment of the work’s ‘dottrina.’<sup>104</sup> As the printed edition was dedicated to Pius IV and Francesco de’ Medici (1541-87), it is possible the ‘libro’ in question was a version, likely manuscript, with dedication to Farnese, insofar as the cardinal refers to ‘la molta affettione, che io ho scoperta col mezzo di lui [= il libro] essermi da voi portata.’ A month earlier, De’ Nobili had asked Francesco de’ Medici to intercede on his behalf before Pius IV to obtain for him the priory of San Giovanni in Lucca; the presentation of this work to Cardinal Farnese was perhaps also part of this attempt to secure new employment.<sup>105</sup>

In November 1563, Farnese thanked Venetian academician Antonio Girardi (fl. 1550/60s) for a *canzone* in his praise which he had received.<sup>106</sup> Farnese points to Girardi’s ‘dottrina’ and ‘vaghezza’ alongside the *canzone*’s ‘candidezza’ and ‘dotta, et poetica inventione.’<sup>107</sup> This was not the first time Girardi had sent works to Farnese, who thanked Girardi for ‘tutte le vostre scritte, così di prosa, come di rime, et di versi,’ indicating a longer relationship between the pair. In 1558, Girardi had dedicated to Alfonso II d’Este (1533-97) his vernacular translation of a speech by Cardinal Reginald Pole.<sup>108</sup> The prose texts

<sup>102</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Girolamo Fracastoro, 15 Jan. 1551, in CARO 1765, vol. 2, pp. 3-5; cfr. ‘Ad Alexandrum Farnesium cardinalem amplissimum,’ in FRACASTORO 2013, pp. 232-40.

<sup>103</sup> Annibal Caro to Benedetto Varchi, undated Nov. 1555, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, p. 199; VARCHI 1555, sigs. Kviii<sup>r</sup>-Li<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Flaminio de’ Nobili, 12 Feb. 1563, in BL, Add. MS 20053, fols. 49<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>; cfr. NOBILI 1563.

<sup>105</sup> PAGANINI 1884, pp. 11-12.

<sup>106</sup> On Girardi, see ZENO 1785, vol. 3, p. 171; MAYLENDER 1926-30, vol. 5, p. 442.

<sup>107</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Antonio Girardi, 27 Nov. 1563, in BL, Add. MS 20053, fol. 362<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> POLE 1558, sigs. A2<sup>r</sup>-A3<sup>v</sup>.

to which Farnese refers may also have been of a similar sort, though the 1589 inventory of Farnese's library lists only Girardi's poetry.<sup>109</sup> However, Farnese's distinction between 'rime' and 'versi' is unclear. It may indicate a distinction between poetry ('rime') and epistolary correspondence (since 'versi' often refers to short letters in this period), or perhaps between rhymed vernacular ('rime') and unrhymed Latin ('versi') poetry.

One final example is particularly informative and concerns the *Joseph* of Udinese poet Francesco Luigini (c. 1524/6- d. after 1568), a continuation of Girolamo Fracastoro's neo-Latin biblical epic of the same title printed in 1555.<sup>110</sup> Begun in the mid-1550s, perhaps immediately after Fracastoro's work was printed, Luigini had previously read segments of the work to Farnese in 1556 before travelling to Brussels, London and Toledo as tutor to Farnese's nephew, Alessandro, son of Margaret of Austria.<sup>111</sup> Addressing Luigini on completion of the poem in 1564, the cardinal wrote:

Poiché il mio poema di Ioseph è condotto al suo fine, secondo che ultimamente mi scriveste, desidero haverlo tutto insieme, là onde non vi gravi di farmene far una copia in buona lettera, acciò che io ne possa trarre tanto maggior consolatione. I fragmenti che di volta in volta me ne havete mandati, si sono imprestati di qua, et di là, di sorte che per la maggior parte si sono perduti, però non m'incresca supplire voi questa nostra trascuraggine.<sup>112</sup>

Luigin's poem was eventually printed in 1569 with dedication to Farnese, while a manuscript copy, perhaps that commissioned here, was in Farnese's library at Caprarola.<sup>113</sup> This letter is the clearest evidence of Farnese as an active literary patron and consumer. Farnese's phrase – 'il mio poema' – is revealing: this is not so much Luigini's work, as a work produced on demand for Farnese, who makes patent his control over its production and his ownership of it. This may be indicative of a more common view of literary ownership taken by *litterati* and patrons. When redrafting the dedication of Vettori's commentary on Demetrius, Farnese had referred to the work as 'mio Phalereo (poiché vi piace che io possa così nominarlo),' while Vettori would refer in a letter to Fulvio Orsini about the 1582 edition of his *Variarum lectionum libri* dedicated to Farnese as 'questa nuova stampa de' suoi,' suggesting Vettori

<sup>109</sup> FOSSIER 1982, p. 39.

<sup>110</sup> 'Ioseph ad Alexandrum Farnesium Cardinalem Amplissimum,' in FRACASTORO 2013, pp. 88-165.

<sup>111</sup> RONCHINI 1870a, p. 210; GIRALDI 2011, p. 205.

<sup>112</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Francesco Luigini, 29 May 1564, in BL, Add. MS 20053, fols. 138<sup>v</sup>-139<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> LUIGINI 1569; FOSSIER 1982, p. 38.

consented to a characterisation of these works as belonging chiefly to his cardinal-patron.<sup>114</sup> Some poets may also have agreed: Marco Girolamo Vida (1485-1566), for instance, remarked in 1556 that his poems written for Pope Leo X belonged more to Leo than to him.<sup>115</sup> Farnese also confirms that he would read Luigini's poem himself, rather than have it read to him, insofar as he specifies the form of writing to be used ('buona lettera'). More intriguing is Farnese's instruction that Luigini have a presentation copy made such that he might take more 'consolation' from the work ('acciò che io ne possa trarre tanto maggior consolatione'), showing Farnese wanted the religious epic's content to be reflected materially as a means of guiding his engagement with the work and to produce emotion in himself as reader (all the more relevant here, in the case of a religious text).<sup>116</sup> Finally, while it is unsurprising that work-in-progress be sent to its commissioner – the 1581 Festus was likewise sent in sections to Caprarola for Farnese to read 'con otio' – in the case of Luigini's *Joseph*, Farnese states that he shared those fragments with others ('si sono imprestati di qua, et di là'), confirming again his active participation in sociable literary exchange.<sup>117</sup>

Following Clare Robertson, scholarship has overwhelmingly considered Cardinal Farnese as an artistic patron. Yet the above shows decisively that Farnese actively sought the services of – and was sought as patron by – a range of *letterati*, and that he was both interested in literature itself as well as the reputational potentiality inherent in literary patronage. In a sense, it is surprising that studies have emphasised only Farnese's artistic patronage, when his literary patronage is often equally emphasised in contemporary accounts. Giovan Francesco Gilio's *Dialogo degli errori de' pittori* (1564), dedicated to Farnese, is well known to art historians. The same cannot be said of Gilio's *Dialogo de' letterati*, printed alongside the *Dialogo degli errori* and also dedicated to Farnese, in which Gilio is explicit about the role of the 'bella scuola di letterati, e di virtuosi, che [Farnese] sempre ha honoratissimamente trattenuti.'<sup>118</sup> This view of Farnese and his court is key to my approach across this thesis, which makes clear the centrality of Farnese's court to Roman literary cultures of the mid-sixteenth century.

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<sup>114</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Piero Vettori, 22 July 1562, in BL, Add. MS BL, Add. MS 10275, fol. 125r; Piero Vettori to Fulvio Orsini, 22 April, 1581, in VETTORI 1870, pp. 68-69.

<sup>115</sup> VIDA 2004, p. 236 (*De reipublicae dignitate*, l.68.1): 'rectiusque fere Leonis X poemata quam mea dici possunt' ('And they might more rightly be called Leo X's poems than my own').

<sup>116</sup> On patrons' control of materiality, see RICHARDSON 2009, pp. 5-8, 68-94.

<sup>117</sup> Fulvio Orsini to Piero Vettori, 5 July 1580, in VETTORI AND SIGONIO 1889, p. 40.

<sup>118</sup> GILIO 1564, sig. Ciiif.



### 2.3: French Communities of Early Modern Rome

In Rome, Farnese and his courtiers would have come into constant contact with ‘foreigners,’ both non-Italians and non-Romans. Their number often drew comment: in a 1558 address to the Great Council of Venice following his Roman ambassadorship, Bernardo Navagero (1507-65) declared that ‘Roma si può dire che non abbia popolo suo proprio e naturale.’<sup>119</sup> Similar observations were made by Roman-born diarist Marcello Alberini (1511-80) around the time of the 1527 sack and would be made by Michel de Montaigne (1533-92) during his visit in 1580-81.<sup>120</sup> In these remarks, there is an uneasy relationship between Rome and its foreign residents. Alberini suggested that the 1527 Sack was in part attributable to the presence of non-Romans with little sense of civic loyalty, though he still claimed a role for Rome as a site of ‘refugio’ and ‘comune domicilio.’ Such comments contrast with the 1588 discussion of Rome’s ancient population by Piedmontese philosopher Giovanni Botero (c. 1544-1617) who noted that as classical Rome’s dominion over Europe increased, so too did the ‘quantità de’ forastieri che vi concorrevano o per curiosità o per negotii.’<sup>121</sup> In a politically stable Rome, the number of foreigners was evidence of the city’s prowess; post-1527, resident foreigners also suggested more malign forces.

How many foreigners actually lived in Rome? The only census record for this period was produced just prior to the 1527 Sack which altered the demographic composition of the city soon after completion through the death or departure of inhabitants.<sup>122</sup> Nonetheless, as the only statistical tool at our disposal, it is worth considering. Following Egmont Lee’s calculations, in the 1520s around 55-60,000 people lived in Rome, of whom 55-85% came from Rome, 20-30% from the rest of the peninsula and 5-20% from outside the peninsula (i.e. 2,750-12,000 people).<sup>123</sup> Of these *ultramontanes*, the largest group was Spanish. The second largest group of *ultramontanes* was French, so many so that in 1581 Montaigne recorded his annoyance at the number of French-speakers in Rome.<sup>124</sup> In addition, the city’s population often fluctuated. During church jubilees, papal conclaves or the visits of foreign

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<sup>119</sup> ALBERI 1839-63, vol. 7, p. 374.

<sup>120</sup> ORANO 1901, p. 279; MONTAIGNE 1983, p. 231.

<sup>121</sup> BOTERO 1588, sig. Aa8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>122</sup> Ed. in LEE 1985.

<sup>123</sup> LEE 1983, pp. 136, 140. See more generally LEE 2006.

<sup>124</sup> MONTAIGNE 1983, p. 189.

rulers, the number of foreigners swelled. After news reached Rome of the imminent arrival of Charles V in 1535, François Rabelais wrote that Rome was ‘pleine d’Espagnols’ and that the pope had prepared beds for 3,000 men.<sup>125</sup> Fifteen years later during the 1549 conclave, a Sienese ambassador reported that it seemed all the world had gathered in Rome (‘par che il mondo si sia raunato tutto in Roma’), when some 12,000 people travelled to the city.<sup>126</sup> In the second case, this represents an extremely large temporary influx, doubling upper estimates of the number of foreigners in Rome. Conversely, when the pope left Rome, the population dropped significantly as the *curia* went with him: when Paul III travelled to meet Charles V in 1543, Claudio Tolomei wrote that ‘Roma senza la corte pare un letto di fiume senza acqua,’ underlining the demographic changes brought on by such a large departure.<sup>127</sup>

The organization of foreigners in Rome was largely based on language, wherein a shared language conferred membership of a *natio*. These *nationes* were represented via ‘national’ churches, including of the Castilians, Catalan, French and Holy Roman Empire, but also of the Florentines, Venetians, Milanese and others. They provided a point of contact for travellers, offering medical care and hospitality, and acted as a linguistic community abroad.<sup>128</sup> They were also a focus for resident foreign communities: Irene Fosi argues that they thus served a dual purpose, allowing resident foreigners to maintain links to their place of origin, whilst also giving them a place in the hierarchy of urban life as part of a defined group.<sup>129</sup> At the same time, the physical buildings were intended to dominate space in Rome and act as expressions of state power abroad.<sup>130</sup> San Luigi de’ Francesi, the French national church, was constructed just off Piazza Navona. It replaced earlier national churches for Lorraine (San Nicola dei Lorenesi in Piazza Navona) and Brittany (Sant’Ivo dei Brettoni, in Via della Scrofa) as well as Santa Maria della Purificazione near Ponte Sant’Angelo which represented France, Burgundy, Lorraine and Savoy.<sup>131</sup> The territorial acquisitions and linguistic expansion of the French state in this period clearly exerted influence on the organization of French-speaking communities in Rome. In 1563 San Luigi de’ Francesi

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<sup>125</sup> François Rabelais to Geoffroy d’Estissac, 30 Dec. 1535, in RABELAIS 1994, p. 1001.

<sup>126</sup> Scipione Gabrielli to the Balìa of Siena, 30 Nov. 1549, cit. in REBECCHINI 2007, p. 174.

<sup>127</sup> Claudio Tolomei to Alessandro Bellanti, 1 June 1543, in TOLOMEI 1547, sig. Fvij<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> e.g. San Giovanni dei Fiorentini which gave lodgings to Florentines, cfr. Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I de’ Medici, 20 April, 1542, BIA-MAP, Doc ID#20590 (ASF, MdP, vol. 3264, fol. 287).

<sup>129</sup> FOSI 2011, pp. 25-31.

<sup>130</sup> See NUSSDORFER 1997.

<sup>131</sup> MANSELLI 1981, pp. 79–80.

celebrated its centenary, suggesting the usual date of foundation in 1518 refers only to the current building and that the *natio gallicana* was much older.<sup>132</sup> Though San Luigi de' Francesi was the only church which attracted French worshippers, its congregations were not exclusively French.<sup>133</sup> Nonetheless, San Luigi was primarily a place of physical congregation of the *natio gallicana* where events related to the *natio* were held, including on 9 September 1554 to celebrate French victory at Renty, or following the recapture of Calais in 1558.<sup>134</sup>

Foreigners who lived in Rome could request Roman citizenship. This afforded several privileges including election to offices in the civic government; trial before a special court; freedom from various taxes; free import and export; and permission to take on certain professions, such as that of notary.<sup>135</sup> To become a Roman citizen usually meant solidifying a longstanding link with the city, a fact which runs counter to the best-known acquisition of Roman citizenship by a Frenchman, that of Montaigne in 1581.<sup>136</sup> Records of Roman citizenship allow us to calculate roughly how many French inhabitants were granted citizenship. In the eighteenth century, Francesco Magni edited a list of individuals named.<sup>137</sup> This is a vital resource, though as demonyms are not reliably supplied and all names are Italianised it is sometimes difficult to establish an individual's geographic origin. Nonetheless, the largest identifiable group of non-Italians is French.<sup>138</sup> Between 1500 and 1581, the year Montaigne received citizenship, thirteen French men received citizenship. Eight are identifiable.<sup>139</sup> Three were humanists living in Rome: Christophe de Longueil (1490-1522, citizenship 1519); Guillaume Philandrier (1505-63, citizenship 1543, on whom see below, Ch. 2.5); and Marc Antoine Muret (1526-85, citizenship 1571).<sup>140</sup> Three were employed at the papal court: the papal secretary Nicolas Raince (d. c. 1552, citizenship 1532), who translated Philippe de Comynes's *Mémoires* into Latin at the request of Paolo

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<sup>132</sup> ROBERTO 2005, p. 2.

<sup>133</sup> DELUMEAU 1952, p. 252.

<sup>134</sup> ANCEL 1905. See also accounts in BAV, MSS Ott. Lat. 2603, pt. 2, fol. 307<sup>r</sup> and Urb. Lat. 1038, pt. A, fol. 289<sup>r</sup>; JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 7, p. 291, fn. 3.

<sup>135</sup> GREGOROVIVS 1877, p. 8; NUSSDORFER 2009, pp. 40–41. On foreigners' status in Rome, see FOSI 2019.

<sup>136</sup> On Montaigne's citizenship, see BOUTCHER 2017, vol. 1, pp. 308–14.

<sup>137</sup> MAGNI 2007.

<sup>138</sup> The biggest group is nine Spaniards including the poet Juan de Verzosa (1523-74, citizenship 1564) and antiquarian Antonio Agustín (1516-86, citizenship 1573).

<sup>139</sup> The others are: 'Giovanni Polert' (1538); 'Antonio Popel' and 'Desiderio Dominicidio' (1545); 'Gullielmo Jacomo' (1552); 'Guglielmo Demongeni' (1569).

<sup>140</sup> On Longueil, see GARANDERIE 1985. On Philandrier, see Ch. 2.5.

Giovio; Vincent Raymond, the papal *miniator* (d. 1557, citizenship 1546); and Didier Carillon, papal notary and chaplain from 1551 (fl. 1550s, citizenship 1556).<sup>141</sup> Cardinal Charles de Lorraine also received Roman citizenship just after the conclave which elected Julius III (1551). The final man given citizenship was the French ambassador in Rome between 1561-63, André Guillart (1517-79, citizenship 1562), one of four ambassadors to receive citizenship, all under the papacy of Pius IV (1559-65).<sup>142</sup> In 1563, seven French bishops, including one Guillart family member, were ordered to appear before the Roman Inquisition, with Guillart's family suspected of conversion to Calvinism.<sup>143</sup> It is therefore possible Guillart's citizenship helped defend him against such accusations.

What this overview shows is that a large number of French expatriates in Rome did *not* become citizens; there is no evidence that most of the central French figures of this thesis sought or gained citizenship. Clearly, citizenship was not the only route to participation in Roman society. Instead, for élite *ultramontanes*, two other structures facilitated sociability: cardinalate households; and academies.

## 2.4: The *Familia* of Cardinal Jean du Bellay (1492-1560)

### 2.4.1: Cardinal du Bellay's *Familia*, 1547-49

Around the time of the future Henry II's marriage to Catherine de' Medici in 1533, French cardinals began to reside again in Rome after a period of absence following Charles VIII's invasion of the peninsula in 1494.<sup>144</sup> This more permanent presence of French cardinals facilitated French influence over curial discussions. When a conclave was announced, moreover, cardinals in France often had to travel for longer to reach Rome than others. This led to requests for the conclave, held nine days after the pope's funeral, to be delayed to give the French time to arrive. Though a delay was agreed in the 1549-50 conclave, despite Medici machinations to the contrary, in later years French cardinals resident in Rome largely guaranteed representation in conclaves without diplomatic negotiation.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> On Raince, see PICOT 1906, vol. 2, pp. 79–94; VIRASTAU 2021, pp. 74–75. On Raymond, see VIAN 1958. On CARILLON, see FRANÇOIS 1993.

<sup>142</sup> On Guillart, see JOUANNA 1970. The others were two Milanese ambassadors (1560) and a Portuguese ambassador (1561).

<sup>143</sup> PASTOR 1951, pp. 189-92; DIEFENDORF 1983, p. 76.

<sup>144</sup> BARDATI 2021.

<sup>145</sup> ROMIER 1913, vol. 1, pp. 216–17; BAUMGARTNER 1985; VIDORI 2020, pp. 43–44.

One of the cardinals to make Rome his home, Cardinal Jean du Bellay, did not always wish to be there. Cardinal du Bellay travelled to the city for the first time in 1534-35.<sup>146</sup> He returned for a second time in 1547-49, taking up apartments in Piazza Santi Apostoli, though during this second stay, Cardinal du Bellay repeatedly requested to return to France (see Ch. 4). Finally permitted to leave due to illness, Du Bellay left Rome in early November 1549. On 10 November, Paul III died and Du Bellay was forced to turn back for the conclave, extending his stay by four months. After three years in France between 1550-53, Cardinal du Bellay was once again sent to Rome, living in several locations in the city, including Palazzo Farnese and Palazzo della Cancelleria, both rented from Cardinal Farnese, before renting rooms in multiple buildings after becoming Dean of the College of Cardinals in 1555. This time, Cardinal du Bellay did not return to France, dying in Rome in 1560.

By 1549, Cardinal du Bellay's *familia* was made up of around 100 people and received around 35,000 *soldi* annually (less than half the size of Farnese's, in terms of members and income).<sup>147</sup> Unlike Farnese, Du Bellay did not present himself or his household in the style of a secular prince, as his position 'between king and pope' precluded him acting in this way.<sup>148</sup> Nonetheless, Du Bellay still participated in similar activities to Farnese, notably by acquiring a collection of antiquities and by constructing a summer residence, the *Horti Bellaiani*, on the Baths of Diocletian in the 1550s.<sup>149</sup> Like Farnese, Cardinal Du Bellay also amassed a substantial collection of books in Rome and his household was host to a number of writers, including poets.<sup>150</sup> However, unlike at Cardinal Farnese's court, in Du Bellay's *familia* one of the most visible poets was the cardinal himself, a fact outlined in Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's dialogue on modern poets (1551):

Ioannes quidem Bellaius [...] in hoc poetarum numero est connumerandus, quippe qui in magnis sui regis negotiis cum diu versatus esset, numquam tamen bonas litteras destituit; nam praeter alia versus quoque eius leguntur.

Jean du Bellay [...] deserves to be included among these poets; for although he was for a long time engaged in important affairs of his monarch, he never abandoned good letters, and his verses are widely read, as well as his other works.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>146</sup> On this period, see COOPER 1991, pp. 22-49.

<sup>147</sup> PETRIS 2013b.

<sup>148</sup> cfr. BARDATI 2010.

<sup>149</sup> On the *Horti*, see BARDATI 2013; SAMPERI 2013; COOPER 2013a, pp. 44-51, 62-83, 87-101.

<sup>150</sup> See PETRIS 2007.

<sup>151</sup> GIRALDI 2011, p. 143.



topic. Together, they constitute a poetic *gara* which demonstrates Cardinal du Bellay's formation of a poetic *persona* within the social networks of Farnese Rome, showing clearly that he did not compose verse in isolation but responded to the work of Roman contemporaries.

Cardinal du Bellay's poem also draws on Vitalis's *Qui Roma in media quaeris*, a poem on the disappearance of the classical city which would later prove an important source for Joachim du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome*.<sup>157</sup> Vitalis presented a manuscript of his poetry (including *Qui Roma in media*) to Cardinal du Bellay, likely having been introduced to him around 1547 via Paolo Giovio, who had likewise supplied the cardinal with manuscripts.<sup>158</sup> Vitalis's decision to dedicate a manuscript to Cardinal du Bellay was perhaps conditioned by a view of the cardinal as a poet in the Farnese circle, an identity which the cardinal himself promoted through circulation of his verse. Others also referred to him as such, including Lorenzo Gambara who wrote of Du Bellay stunning fellow *vates* with his poetry.<sup>159</sup> Cardinal du Bellay's verse can thus be read as a response to Vitalis: where Vitalis's poem points to the remnants of classical Rome, to the rubble signifying the city's demise, the cardinal instead points to the revival of those stones by a new political dynasty, inverting Vitalis's text.

The cardinal was not the only *letterato* in his *familia*. The writer, physician and cleric François Rabelais (d. 1553) travelled twice with Cardinal du Bellay to Rome (1534-35; 1548-49), almost certainly in his capacity as a physician.<sup>160</sup> Whilst there, Rabelais participated in various areas of the cardinal's Roman life. In particular, finding himself in Rome longer than expected, Rabelais used his time to engage in research into antiquity, as he noted in the dedication to Cardinal du Bellay of the Lyonnais edition of Bartolomeo Marliani's *Topographia urbis Romae* (1534).<sup>161</sup> Rabelais was presumably also involved in Cardinal du Bellay's archaeological digs, an important source of antiquities both for Du Bellay's residence in Rome and export back to France.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> See TUCKER 1990, pp. 105-47.

<sup>158</sup> On Vitalis's manuscript, see SPEZIARI 2021. On Du Bellay and Giovio, see COOPER 1997, pp. 249-51; PETRIS 2007, p. 131.

<sup>159</sup> GAMBARA 1555, sig. Ci<sup>v</sup>. The verse also circulated in manuscript, e.g. BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5188, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>; BL, Add. MS 12054, fol. 99<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> See HEULHARD 1891; TETEL 1969; COOPER 1991 and 1997, pp. 233-65.

<sup>161</sup> RABELAIS 1994, p. 991.

<sup>162</sup> COOPER 2013a, pp. 44-51, 62-83.

By the time of Rabelais's second stay in Rome, he had printed *Pantagruel*, *Gargantua* and the *Tiers Livre*; an early version of the *Quart livre* was printed in 1548, and it is possible Rabelais worked in Rome on finishing the text which was printed in a definitive edition in 1552. Rabelais also exchanged poetry in Rome; a 12-line satirical verse, written prior to his second stay in Rome, is found in two Roman manuscript miscellanies.<sup>163</sup> Finally, Rabelais wrote a long account of a Roman celebration hosted by Cardinal du Bellay (discussed below, Ch. 2.7); clearly, Rabelais was a key member of the household, already well-known in French literary circles and thus a good choice for the promotion of Du Bellay as diplomat.

Between 1548-49, Louis des Masures (c. 1510-79) also lived in Du Bellay's *familia*. Des Masures had fled France in 1547 after an unknown criminal accusation; whilst in Rome, he translated a segment of the *Aeneid* into French and composed other Latin and vernacular poetry, printed in 1557 (see Ch. 4).<sup>164</sup> These texts attest to his gratitude towards Cardinal du Bellay as patron, and to his continuing to write whilst in exile. Alain Cullière has recently demonstrated that, despite what Des Masures claimed in his poetry, his 'dur exil' was in fact ameliorated somewhat by continued income from France.<sup>165</sup> This would explain his absence from the 1549 list of Du Bellay's salaried *familiares*.<sup>166</sup> Unlike for Rabelais, we have no evidence of Des Masures's activities in Rome: no contemporaries refer to his presence and no evidence has come to light to indicate his participation in networks of exchange of any sort. Des Masures himself is circumspect:

La sort, l'envie & le malheur, Sans cause ou merite, en souffrance Me firent traverser grand erre	135
Meinte mer, meinte estrange terre. Tant qu'à Romme, ainsi miserable, Sur le blond Tybre devallay :	
Ou, vétu de pourpre honorable Me receut le grand du Bellay.	140
Si l'euz (comme encores je l'ay) Mecenas propre & favourable. <sup>167</sup>	

<sup>163</sup> BAV, MSS Ott. Lat. 2831, fol. 72<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Lat. 5182, pt. 1, fol. 55<sup>r</sup>. Ed. in RABELAIS 1994, p. 1026.

<sup>164</sup> MASURES 1557a and 1557b.

<sup>165</sup> CULLIÈRE 2018.

<sup>166</sup> PETRIS 2013b.

<sup>167</sup> 'À Joachin du Bellay,' lines 133-42, in MASURES 1557a, sig. b2<sup>r</sup>. See also 'A Monsigneur le Cardinal de Lorreine,' lines 67-76, in MASURES 1557a, sig. A5<sup>r</sup>.



Des Masures's poetry, which as Mathieu Minet notes provides essentially all the biographical information we have, speaks only vaguely of Rome.<sup>168</sup> The poet adopts a specific *persona* in exile, focusing on the injustice which has led him to the city, whilst obscuring his activities there. It is striking, moreover, that Des Masures is not mentioned in Cardinal du Bellay's extant correspondence, unlike many other *familiars*. Nonetheless, as my discussion of Des Masures in Chapter Four shows, he contributed to the literary life of Cardinal du Bellay's circle, and appears to have been intimately connected with the cardinal's literary fashioning.

During this period, Cardinal du Bellay's *familia* was closely linked to that of another French cardinal in Rome, Georges d'Armagnac (c. 1501-85). D'Armagnac had been ambassador in Venice in the early 1540s and arrived in Rome in the mid-1540s with a number of humanists and antiquarians.<sup>169</sup> This included a team of two, German scribe Christophe Auer and the illuminator François Wydon, who together produced manuscripts of classical works for him in Rome.<sup>170</sup> Whilst there, D'Armagnac's social connections developed links between the French monarchs and Italians. Marguerite de Navarre used D'Armagnac as an intermediary with Vittoria Colonna by sending him letters to read aloud to Colonna, some of which were delivered using Luigi Alamanni as a second intermediary.<sup>171</sup> D'Armagnac also arranged for manuscript translations of Terence's comedies and of the *Aeneid* by Venetian *letterato* Giovanni Giustiniani (1501-57) to be sent to Marguerite de Valois in 1549.<sup>172</sup> Prominent among Cardinal d'Armagnac's *familiars* was Guillaume Philandrier, editor of Vitruvius, who was so close to Armagnac as to be painted alongside him by Titian in the 1540s.<sup>173</sup> In Rome, Philandrier became a central member of the Accademia Vitruviana (discussed below) and through it built relationships with various Italians, using knowledge gained there to assist D'Armagnac with architectural projects in

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<sup>168</sup> MASURES 2017, p. 17.

<sup>169</sup> ARMAGNAC 2007, pp. XLI-XLIII; COOPER 2013a, pp. 51-59; DESACHY 2009.

<sup>170</sup> SAMARAN 1969; LALANNE 2015.

<sup>171</sup> Marguerite de Navarre to Georges d'Armagnac, spring 1545, in ARMAGNAC 2007, pp. 234-45: 'questa letera [sic] sarà solamente per pregarvi che presentiate et leggiate a madama la marchesa di Pescara [=Vittoria Colonna], quella ch'io le scrivo' (cfr. BRUNDIN 2008, p. 101); Luigi Alamanni to Vittoria Colonna, mid-May 1540, in ALAMANNI 2020, pp. 166-67: 'mi trovo in Lione, ove mi sono state date lettere per lei dalla regina di Navarra [=Marguerite de Navarre], le quali le saranno presentate per mano di monsignor di Rodes [=Georges d'Armagnac]' (cfr. COOPER 1997, p. 101).

<sup>172</sup> BL, Add. MS 41195, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> JAFFE 1966.

France.<sup>174</sup> Another important member of Cardinal d'Armagnac's household was Pierre Paschal, whose description of Rome opened this chapter. In contrast to Philandrier, however, Paschal appears to have stayed largely among French circles in the city and his *Epistolae in Italica peregrinatione exaratae* (1549) mention no relationships with Italians. Instead, Paschal evokes poetic performances for Cardinal d'Armagnac in the text's dedication.<sup>175</sup> He also spent days out with the cardinal, Philandrier and others among Roman ruins.<sup>176</sup> In two letters, Paschal also salutes Rabelais, who was preparing to travel to Italy, suggesting the pair spent time together when Rabelais arrived.<sup>177</sup>

In 1549, Cardinal du Bellay left Rome at the start of November to return to France (see Ch. 4.4.1). On 10 November, Paul III died and the cardinal was forced to turn back for the conclave; he would not depart again until February 1550. Rabelais, Des Masures and his other courtiers went with him, though they did not travel together (Des Masures, we know, returned via a different route through Geneva).

#### 2.4.2: Cardinal du Bellay's *Familia*, 1553-60

Between 1550-53, Cardinal du Bellay remained in France at his *château* at Saint Maur des Fossés, until he was sent once more to Rome in 1553. By this time, Rabelais had died and Des Masures had gained a new patron in Cardinal Charles de Lorraine. In their place, another poet, Joachim du Bellay (1522-60), travelled to Rome with the cardinal. Joachim's father was the cardinal's cousin and, after Joachim had completed studies in Paris under the humanist Jean Dorat (1508-88), he began to seek Cardinal du Bellay as patron, dedicating his 1549 *Deffence* to him and appealing directly to him in an ode.<sup>178</sup> Taken to Rome in 1553 by the cardinal, Joachim became his secretary.<sup>179</sup> Joachim is without doubt the best-known of Cardinal du Bellay's Roman *familiares*, on account of the volumes of poetry he produced in the city between 1553-57. In these works, Du Bellay used vernacular poetry to maintain

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<sup>174</sup> LEMERLE 2009.

<sup>175</sup> PASCHAL 1548, sig. a2<sup>r</sup>. On Paschal in Rome, see DAUVOIS 2007.

<sup>176</sup> Pierre Paschal to Michel-Pierre de Mauléon, 6 Jan. 1547 in PASCHAL 1548, sig. f5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>177</sup> Pierre Paschal to François de Bouliers, 26 Sept. 1548, to Guillaume Philandrier, 8 Sept. 1548, in PASCHAL 1548, h5<sup>r</sup>, k6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>178</sup> 'L'Avantretour en France de Monseigneur Reverendissime Cardinal Jean du Bellay,' in JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003b, pp. 117-20.

<sup>179</sup> COOPER 1997, pp. 367-92.

relationships with those in France, and Latin verse to attempt to build relationships with those in Rome.

The Italians addressed by Du Bellay in his Latin poetry – Annibal Caro; Lorenzo Gambara; Basilio Zanchi and Francesco Franchini (1500-59), secretary to Ottavio Farnese – are all Farnese poets, a fact only recently addressed in scholarship.<sup>180</sup> Philip Ford suggested Du Bellay's Latin poetry was primarily produced for the literary salon around Jean de Morel (1511-81) in France.<sup>181</sup> Marc Bizer instead underlined that, in Rome, Du Bellay was 'amené à composer en latin sous l'influence des cercles d'humanistes qu'il fréquente.'<sup>182</sup> Since these Latin texts are the only poems by Du Bellay which address contemporary Italians, and also contain praise of Italy and of contemporary Rome, a feature absent from the vernacular works, I would argue that we go further, and assume Du Bellay envisioned Roman circles as one of his audiences. The Latin texts also engage with poetry in contemporary circulation, addressing subjects also discussed by contemporary Roman poets (see Ch. 3), and suggesting they can be read as a form of poetic exchange with those poets.

To my knowledge, no extant manuscripts attest to the circulation of Du Bellay's verse amongst Italians. That is not to say, however, that works were not performed orally, or that posited manuscripts no longer survive. However, in part because of a lack of sources, it is hard not to view Du Bellay's apostrophes to Italians as only an *attempt* to construct relationships. Thomas Greene once wrote disparagingly of Du Bellay's *imitatio* that 'poems by Du Bellay make use of minor Italian poetasters.'<sup>183</sup> It seems that to those same 'poetasters,' Du Bellay and his poetry were of little interest. Du Bellay himself had suggested, in the preface to the second edition of *L'Olive* (1550), that this was a wider cultural phenomenon ('Certes j'ay grand'honte, quand je voy' le peu d'estime que font les Italiens de nostre poësie en comparaison de la leur').<sup>184</sup> Yet in Rome, this disinterest was perhaps also motivated due to the poet's connection to Cardinal du Bellay, who by 1555 had fallen foul of Cardinal Farnese following the exile of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este.

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<sup>180</sup> *Poematum libri quatuor*, Epig. 2 (Caro); Epig. 3 (Zanchi) and Epig. 8 (Gambara); *Xenia* 34 (Franchini) and 53 (Caro) in JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1989, vol. 7, pp. 81-83, 86-87, vol. 8, pp. 84-85, 96-97. See COOPER 2021a; BALSAMO 2021.

<sup>181</sup> FORD 2013, p. 51. On the salon, see FORD 2004 and 2013, pp. 203-26. A manuscript associated with the salon contains copies of Du Bellay's Latin verse: BSB, Cod. lat. mon. 10383, fols. 295<sup>r</sup>, 317<sup>r</sup>-317<sup>v</sup>, 376<sup>r</sup>-377<sup>r</sup>, 389<sup>r</sup>-389<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>182</sup> BIZER 1995, p. 191.

<sup>183</sup> GREENE 1982, p. 49.

<sup>184</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003b, p. 153.

As such, only two documents attest to an Italian in Rome's knowledge of Joachim du Bellay. The first is well-known to scholars, and more direct. In 1555, Antonio Possevino, one of Giovio's group of Latin poets, dedicated to Du Bellay an edition of the *Centones ex Virgilio* by Mantuan poet Lelio Capilupi (1497-1560). Having read the *Centones*, Possevino asked Capilupi for permission to print them, choosing to dedicate them to Du Bellay:

Tu enim is es, qui et summa virtute praeditus, et omnibus literarum studiis ornatissimus Laelii Capilupi scripta es adeo admiratus, ut cum ne illum quidem virum de facie cognosceres, mirifice tamen amares et coleres, quod cum illius ingenio, tum tuae humanitati et animo ad studia propenso tribuitur.<sup>185</sup>

For you are one who – endowed with the greatest virtue, and most accomplished in literary studies – was impressed by the writings of Lelio Capilupi, such that, though you did not know the man by sight, you still loved and respected him wonderfully, in part due to his genius but also due to your humanity and your spirit which inclines towards study.

Possevino here employs a trope taken from Cicero's *Laelius, sive De amicitia* (particularly apt here introducing 'Laelius' Capilupi's poetry), later also employed by Du Bellay, by which virtuous men could develop a friendship without ever meeting in person.<sup>186</sup> The dedication thus provides evidence that Possevino knew Du Bellay, but scant evidence for Du Bellay's other relationships with Italians. There is no evidence Capilupi or others approached Du Bellay following this dedication, and it remains unclear how Possevino and Du Bellay met (though it seems plausible that this occurred via their respective patrons, Paolo Giovio and Cardinal du Bellay).

The second document concerns Annibal Caro. Richard Cooper suggests that Caro and Du Bellay likely met in France between 1552-54, while Cardinal Farnese was in exile at the French court (see Ch. 4.4.2).<sup>187</sup> In fact, Caro did not accompany Farnese to France, as is evident from letters by Caro signed in Rome and addressed to Farnese in France, and from the gap (Sept. 1552 – Sept. 1554) in Caro's letters *a nome del cardinal* covering the period Farnese spent in France (Nov. 1552 – Aug. 1554).<sup>188</sup> Given Du Bellay and Caro did not meet in France, then, a 1559 letter by Caro concerning French translations of his *canzone* in praise of the Valois monarchs ('Venite all'ombra de' gran gigli d'oro') is the only evidence Caro

<sup>185</sup> This text was first printed in the now-scarce 1555 edition; I cite from CAPILUPI ET AL. 1590, sigs. V2<sup>r</sup>-V2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>186</sup> CICERO 1927, pp. 138-39 (*Amic.* VIII.28); NASSICHUK 2017.

<sup>187</sup> COOPER 2021a, p. 3.

<sup>188</sup> Annibal Caro to Alessandro Farnese, 28 Jan. 1553, 2 Aug. 1553, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, pp. 131-134, 143-44; for the gap, see CARO 1765, vol. 2, pp. 129-33.

knew who Joachim du Bellay was. It is, however, quite circumspect. Enrico Garavelli has discussed this letter but to my knowledge no scholar working on Du Bellay has ever taken account of it, despite it being known that Du Bellay translated Caro's *canzone*.<sup>189</sup> This is presumably because the letter was unknown to all Caro's editors, and because Du Bellay is not named.<sup>190</sup> In the letter, Caro discusses the literary *furor* which followed Lodovico Castelvetro's criticism of the *canzone* and refutes Castelvetro's claim that the *canzone* was a translation of Ronsard's *Hymne du Treschrestien Roy de France Henry II* (1555).<sup>191</sup> Quite the opposite, Caro wrote:

Quanto a dir, che la Canzone de' Gigli sia cavata dal Franzese, questo sarà bello a vedere, che due Franzesi, che l'hanno tradotti, l'hanno cavata dalla mia; e che l'uno e l'altro hanno fatto professione di tradurla meramente.<sup>192</sup>

When Caro wrote this letter, Du Bellay's translation had not been printed, but presumably circulated in manuscript.<sup>193</sup> Caro's letter therefore implies either that Caro had access to Du Bellay's poem in manuscript, or simply that he was aware of its existence. Supposing Caro had access to a copy with authorial attribution, or that he was told the translator's name, this small piece of evidence demonstrates Caro may have known of Du Bellay, even if he had not seen his poetry himself and even if he only became aware of him in 1559, two years after Du Bellay left Rome.

Though Italian speakers paid little interest in Joachim du Bellay's poetry, among French-speakers in Rome the texts apparently fared much better. In 1559, after Cardinal du Bellay had been angered by the satirical *Regrets*, Joachim wrote a letter to the cardinal to defend himself. In it, he admits sharing poems with the cardinal's *familiars*, but claims copies were made without his knowledge and sold to other French-speakers in the city:

Vous entendrez donc, s'il vous plaist, Monseigneur, qu'estant a vostre service à Romme, je passois quelquefois le temps a la poesie latine et françoise, non tant pour plaisir que je y prinse que pour un relaschement de mon esperit, occupé aux affaires que pouvez juger, et quelquefoys passionné selon les occurrences, comme se peut facilement descouvrir par la lecture de mes escritz, lesquelz je ne faisois lors en intention de les faire publier, ains me contentois de les laisser veoir a ceulx de

<sup>189</sup> GARAVELLI 2011, pp. 310-12.

<sup>190</sup> Until recently, the only known copy was Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, Archivio Lodovico Antonio Muratori, 43.07.f, a transcription by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750) and that used in GARAVELLI 2011; Caro's autograph has since been located by Enrico Garavelli as Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Raccolta Molza-Viti 66: see <http://www.archilet.it/Lettera.aspx?IdLettera=3425>.

<sup>191</sup> CASTELVETRO [1559], sigs. Yiv<sup>r</sup>-Zii<sup>v</sup>. See RONSARD 1914-75, vol. 8, pp. 43-44.

<sup>192</sup> Annibal Caro to Giacomo Corrado, 29 July 1559, in GARAVELLI 2011, p. 339.

<sup>193</sup> For the printed text, see JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1560, sigs. Aii<sup>r</sup>-Bi<sup>v</sup>.

vostre maison qui m'estoient plus familiers. Mais un escrivain, Breton, que de ce temps-la je tenois avec moy, en faisoit des coppies secrettement lesquelles, comme je decrouvry depuys, il vendoit aux gentilzhommes françois qui pour lors estoient à Romme.<sup>194</sup>

The editors of Cardinal du Bellay's correspondence, as well as Pierre de Nolhac, Henri Chamard and Émile Picot before them, all state that this letter shows these copies were made and sold by Nicolas Le Breton (1506-74), former Italian tutor to Marguerite de Valois (1523-74) and secretary in Rome to cardinals Robert de Lenoncourt (d. 1561) and Charles de Lorraine until spring 1555.<sup>195</sup> In fact, there is strong evidence to suggest the identity of this 'escrivain' remains unclear. In the above edition, small but consequential typographical interventions make explicit the identification of the 'escrivain' with Nicolas le Breton, distorting the text in favour of an assumed reading. If we consider instead Françoise Argod-Dutard's transcription which attempts to remain 'closest' to the manuscript text in order to study Du Bellay's orthography, we find: 'vng escrivain breton que de ce temps la le tenois avec moy.'<sup>196</sup> In Argod-Dutard's transcription, as in the manuscript, no commas surround the word 'breton,' which is written with a minuscule. This suggests it functions adjectivally (i.e. 'a Breton writer,' rather than 'the writer, Breton'). More persuasively, elsewhere Du Bellay always refers to Nicolas le Breton as 'le Breton.'<sup>197</sup> Here, by contrast, the definite article is replaced with a vaguer indefinite article ('vng escrivain'), suggesting Cardinal du Bellay would not know, or need to know, the identity of the secretary responsible. Moreover, Du Bellay describes the 'escrivain' as someone who worked for him ('que [...] le tenois avec moy'), rather than alongside him as Nicolas le Breton did. Finally, the dispute discussed in the letter concerns satirical *Regrets* dating from the summer conclave of 1555 onwards. By the time these poems were written, Le Breton no longer lived in Rome. This all throws into question the traditional identification of the disseminator of Du Bellay's verse in Rome. Without further evidence, and given how little we know about the manuscript circulation of this poetry, we cannot state conclusively that Nicolas le Breton copied and circulated Du Bellay's verse in Rome.

<sup>194</sup> Joachim du Bellay to Jean du Bellay, 31 July, 1559 in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 7, p. 353.

<sup>195</sup> JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 7, p. 353; JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1883, pp. 43-44; CHAMARD 1969 [1900], p. 338; PICOT 1906, vol. 1, p. 281, fn. 4.

<sup>196</sup> ARGOD-DUTARD 2002, p. 453. For the manuscript, see BnF, MS lat. 8584, fol. 86r.

<sup>197</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, p. 228 (*Regrets* 57.14, 58.1); Joachim du Bellay to Jean du Bellay, 1 Sept. 1559, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 7, p. 371: 'Le Breton, secretaire de mons<sup>r</sup> le cardinal de Lorraine.'

While it is unclear who copied and sold the texts, Du Bellay's *apologia* demonstrates that the texts circulated in Rome, and that there was a substantial audience of French readers of manuscript poetry in 1550s Rome. It shows, moreover, that literary production in Cardinal du Bellay's *familia* took place as a means of relaxation and enjoyment away from daily work ('pour ung relaschement de mon esperit occupé aux affaires'). Finally, it suggests that forms of (licit) literary exchange regularly took place in the *familia*, as Du Bellay would have had an audience whom he trusted sufficiently to share with them his satirical verse ('me contentois de les laisser veoir à ceux de vostre maison qui m'estoient plus familiers'). Du Bellay's self-defence thus relies on arguing that his satirical verse was intended as a vehicle for intra-*familia* sociability, rather than as illicit, public political commentary, and on the fact that it was a private, ludic act, not a public act which could have damaged the social persona of his patron, Cardinal du Bellay.

As during his earlier stay in Rome in 1547-49, during Cardinal du Bellay's third stay in Rome between 1553-60, his *familia* remained close to other French circles in the city. In 1555, the poet Olivier de Magny (c. 1529-61), arrived in the city as a secretary to French ambassador Jean d'Avanson (1511-64). By then, Magny had known Joachim du Bellay for several years, as both gravitated around the Pléiade. In Rome, their relationship continued as demonstrated in Magny's poetry printed on his return to France (*Les Souspirs*, 1557; *Les Odes*, 1559) which contains numerous dedications to Du Bellay. Like Paschal, Magny does not appear to have developed substantial links to Italians. Only two poems written by Magny in Rome address Italians. The first, *Souspirs* 143, addresses the artist Jacopino del Conte (1510-98), praising a portrait by Del Conte of Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte (c. 1532-77), the scandal-ridden cardinal-nephew of Julius III.<sup>198</sup> However, given the subject matter it does not seem likely Magny met the painter, but more likely that he had simply seen the portrait. The other poem is an ode to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (*Odes* I.7), one of a series of four *odes* dedicated to cardinals. This text was presumably written around 1555 before the Franco-Farnese alliance was broken since Magny writes of 'le desir qu'on a de veoir | En tes mains les clefz de Saint Pierre.'<sup>199</sup> The poem praises in particular the cardinal's interest in literature, again suggesting a general impression of Farnese as a literary patron:

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<sup>198</sup> See GEREMICCA 2019, pp. 103-04.

<sup>199</sup> MAGNY 1996-2006, vol. 2, p. 172 (*Odes* I.7.43-44).

Je dirois comme tu ne veux  
 Passer un jour sans veoir un livre,  
 Sachant bien que par là tu peux 75  
 Te faire immortellement vivre;  
 Et qu'après le digne labeur  
 Des grans affaires que tu meines,  
 A lire dedans un auteur  
 Tu delasses toutes tes peines.<sup>200</sup>

The other odes are dedicated to cardinals Charles de Lorraine (I.5), François de Tournon (I.6) and Georges d'Armagnac (I.8).<sup>201</sup> Given the poems are presented as a single group, it is possible they were produced around the time of one of the two conclaves of 1555, whether to be sent to individual cardinals or to be publicly performed. However, given the relative absence of poetic apostrophes to Italians in Magny's works, it appears Magny, like Paschal, operated largely within Gallic communities in Rome (on this, see Ch. 5.4), as distinct from the international sociability practised or sought by Philandrier, Cardinal du Bellay and Joachim du Bellay.<sup>202</sup> This was perhaps due to the short time Magny lived in Rome and to his exclusive use of French for poetic production.

Together, however, the writers attached to cardinals Du Bellay and Armagnac, as well as to successive French ambassadors, formed a large diplomatic network of French individuals in Rome. While some, such as Joachim du Bellay and Olivier de Magny, were less successful in establishing relationships with Italians, others such as Guillaume Philandrier fared much better. In many cases, this success in relationship building derived from socialising outside the framework of the cardinalate or ambassadorial *familia*, in another form of network: the Roman academies.

## 2.5: Learned and Ludic Sociability in the Roman Academies

### 2.5.1: Overview of the Academies

For French-speakers such as Philandrier who successfully constructed relationships with Italians in Rome, a principle site of exchange was found in a series of interlinked academies

<sup>200</sup> MAGNY 1996-2006, vol. 2, p. 173 (*Odes* I.7.73-80).

<sup>201</sup> MAGNY 1996-2006, vol. 2, pp. 166-80.

<sup>202</sup> See ROUGET 1998; DELLANEVA 2015.



operative from the late 1530s. In a 1565 a commentary on his sonnet ‘O di leggiadro Sdegno anime accese,’ Dionigi Atanagi looked back on this period:

Levaronsi adunque in quel felicissimo tempo ne la città di Roma molte Accademie di diversi elettissimi, e famosi ingegni, sì come furono quelle de la Virtù, de la Poesia nuova, de lo Studio de l’Architettura, de l’Amicitia, del Liceo, l’Amasea, e più altre. Tra le quali non inferiore ad alcuna fu l’Accademia de lo SDEGNO<sup>203</sup>

Paolo Procaccioli notes that the panorama of academies described represents only a selection, omitting more ludic elements which characterised some of the academies operating in Rome in this period, and describes Atanagi’s depiction as a means of ‘fare historia,’ of promoting Atanagi and his circle.<sup>204</sup> Here, Atanagi clearly seeks to promote the Accademia dello Sdegno above others named: however, it is unclear to what extent these named academies operated independently from one another. Where different structures existed, many overlapped in terms of membership, chronology and patronage. Especially notable (though unmentioned by Atanagi) is the role of Claudio Tolomei in all of these structures, as founder, leader, exponent of initiatives or dedicatee. Of the academies named by Atanagi, four have left traces sufficient to understand something of their membership and activities: the Accademia della Virtù; dello Sdegno; della Nuova Poesia; and Vitruviana (Atanagi’s Accademia ‘de lo Studio de l’Architettura’).

The Accademia della Virtù (sometimes known as the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli), began in 1538.<sup>205</sup> It discussed classical topics, such as the founding of Rome, and produced satirical poetry.<sup>206</sup> Its rituals involved the election of a ‘king’ and it met, according to Atanagi, in the house of the cleric Francesco Colonna (fl. 1544-60), and according to Luca Contile (d. 1574), twice weekly in the house of Claudio Tolomei.<sup>207</sup> Texts associated with it include Caro’s satirical *Commento di Ser Agresto* (1539), a mock commentary on a poem by Francesco Maria Molza which opens with a declaration that the work had been produced on the insistence of the ‘padri VIRTUOSI’ themselves, and Giulio Landi’s *Formaggiata di Sere Stentato al serenissimo Re della Virtute* (1542).<sup>208</sup> Ambra Moroncini suggests these humorous texts may have allowed for the discussion of Valdesian themes in the academy,

<sup>203</sup> ATANAGI 1565, vol. 2, sigs. LI2<sup>v</sup>-LI3<sup>r</sup>. For the sonnet, see vol. 2, sig. Cc8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>204</sup> PROCACCIOLI 2016, p. 217 and 2017, p. 79.

<sup>205</sup> See MAYLENDER 1926-30, vol. 5, pp. 478-80; GARAVELLI 2013; MORONCINI 2017.

<sup>206</sup> Luca Contile to Ippolito Quinto, undated 1541 in CONTILE 1564, sigs. Dv<sup>v</sup>-Dvii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>207</sup> GARAVELLI 2013, p. 119; Luca Contile to Sigismondo d’Este, 18 July 1541, in CONTILE 1564, sig. Cijj<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>208</sup> CARO 1539, sig. Aiiii<sup>v</sup>.

noting that Italian reformers were particularly interested in acquiring copies of Caro's *Commento*.<sup>209</sup> The association of the academy with cardinals Ippolito de' Medici and Alessandro Farnese may have provided cover for this 'religious dissent,' as perhaps did the academy's carnivalesque election of a king and focus on satire. The Academy also commented on Petrarch, and on contemporary lyric.<sup>210</sup> In 1543, Annibal Caro thanked Trifone Benci for 'uno scompiglio de' sonetti' which would give the Academy something to discuss ('farete lambiccare il cervello a tutta l'Accademia'); while it is unclear which sonnets these were, this provides clear evidence of the Academy's discussion of verse.<sup>211</sup> The academicians also produced new verse: five poems associated with the Accademia della Virtù appeared in Atanagi's anthology twenty-five years later, three by Tolomei, one by Atanagi, and another by Paduan *letterato* Sperone Speroni.<sup>212</sup>

In later years, the Accademia degli Sdegnati (or dello Sdegno), perhaps replaced the Accademia della Virtù; the lists of members for each in the Italian Academies Database overlap significantly.<sup>213</sup> According to Atanagi, the Sdegnati elected Cardinal Alessandro Farnese as their patron.<sup>214</sup> While Ginette Vagenheim has presented evidence of the academy's oral commentary on classical texts, she notes that 'i letterati Sdegnati dovettero senz'altro comporre opere poetiche, che bisognerà ancora identificare.'<sup>215</sup> No such texts have come to light other than Atanagi's 'O di leggiadro Sdegno,' though given the Virtù produced occasional verse, it is likely this continued in the Accademia degli Sdegnati.

The Accademia della Nuova Poesia, which seems to have begun around the same time as the Virtù, focussed on attempting to apply classical quantitative metre to vernacular poetry.<sup>216</sup> This resulted in a printed anthology, the *Versi, et regole della nuova poesia toscana* (1539).<sup>217</sup> Tolomei had first produced some attempts at this form in spring 1538, sending examples to Cardinal Benedetto Accolti (1497-1549), whom he instructed to read

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<sup>209</sup> MORONCINI 2016.

<sup>210</sup> Giuseppe Cenci to Claudio Tolomei, undated, in ATANAGI 1561, sigs. T5<sup>v</sup>-T6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>211</sup> Annibal Caro to Trifone Benci, undated [late 1543?], in CARO 1957-61, vol. 1, p. 290.

<sup>212</sup> cfr. Tolomei, 'O bella dea, che da celeste giri'; 'Spirti nobili, che felicemente' and 'O come virtute ben posasi in alta Colonna'; Atanagi, 'O degli umani ingegni aquila altera'; and Speroni, 'Schiera gentil, che lo alto Vaticano,' in ATANAGI 1565, vol. 1, sigs. F3<sup>v</sup>, Cc8<sup>r</sup>, vol. 2, sigs. A6<sup>v</sup>, D7<sup>r</sup>-D7<sup>v</sup>. For descriptions linking these poems to the academy, cfr. ATANAGI 1565, vol. 1, sigs. Hh3<sup>v</sup>, Ll2<sup>r</sup>, vol. 2, sigs. Kl1<sup>v</sup>-Kl2<sup>r</sup>, Nn2<sup>r</sup>-Nn2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>213</sup> See also MAYLENDER 1926-30, vol. 5, p. 141.

<sup>214</sup> ATANAGI 1565, vol. 2, sig. Ll3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>215</sup> VAGENHEIM 2017, p. 93.

<sup>216</sup> See MAYLENDER 1926-30, vol. 4, p. 86.

<sup>217</sup> See *VERSI ET REGOLE DELLA NUOVA POESIA TOSCANA* 1996; MANCINI 2006; PETTINARI 2012.

the poetry not as he would Dante or Petrarch but as he would Tibullus or Propertius, saying that though the verses might seem difficult, they had pleased many in Rome.<sup>218</sup> Other examples by Girolamo Fracastoro and Trifone Gabriele (1470-1549) were sent to Trifone Benci (d. after 1571) and Bernardino Maffei by one Niccolò Pellegrini; Benci then passed them to Atanagi.<sup>219</sup> It is thus clear that poetic exchanges which took place in preparation for this volume operated via epistolary networks, expanding the geographical reach of the academy's network beyond Rome. Three poems in the printed volume are addressed 'Alli Accademici della Nuova Poesia' while a fourth addressed to the 'Accademici Toscani' presumably refers to these same people.<sup>220</sup> It is tempting to ask whether these poems may have been performed orally at an academic meeting. While the volume does not make this explicit, Tolomei's instructions on *how* to read the verses – i.e. to apply quantity as in Latin, not stress as in Italian – suggests their performance was actively considered. Still, it is unclear what most of those who received copies of these verses thought; despite claims of popularity, these metrical experiments were abandoned after the volume was printed, with the resulting dissipation of the academy itself.

The fourth academy named by Atanagi of which we have clear documentation is the 'Accademia de lo studio de l'Architettura,' known in scholarship as the Accademia Vitruviana.<sup>221</sup> Founded by Tolomei, the academy met most days in Palazzo Farnese, and members also visited ruins in Rome together.<sup>222</sup> Its central undertakings were laid out by Tolomei in a 1542 letter to Pierluigi Farnese's agent in Venice, Agostino de' Landi (1500-55): principally, the academy would study Vitruvius's *De architectura* (c. 30-20 BCE).<sup>223</sup> Few of the works Tolomei discussed were completed, with the exception of a commentary on Vitruvius by Philandrier, Cardinal d'Armagnac's secretary.<sup>224</sup> The academy's other activities seem to have been predominantly oral; these may be reflected in Girolamo Garimberto's *De' regimenti pubblici de la città* (1544), a dialogue featuring individuals connected to the academy discussing antiquities following a tour of ruins, and in the notebook of Spanish

<sup>218</sup> Claudio Tolomei to Benedetto Accolti, 2 May 1538, in TOLOMEI 1547, sig. Svi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>219</sup> Trifone Benci to Dionigi Atanagi, 19 Feb. 1541, in ATANAGI 1561, sigs. FF6<sup>r</sup>-FF7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>220</sup> Pier Paolo Gualterio, 'Tutte l'humane cure troncansi al colpo di morte' and 'Dolci Rosignuoli, dolci & bianchissimi Cigni' (sig. Fii<sup>r</sup>); Annibal Caro, 'Hor cantate meco, cantate hor, ch'altro risorge' (sig. Oi<sup>r</sup>); Mario Zephiro, 'Fugge il verno via, lieta hor nel mondo ritorna' (sigs. Liii<sup>r</sup>-Liii<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>221</sup> Subsumed in MAYLENDER 1926-30 (vol. 5, pp. 478-80) into the Accademia dei Vignaiuoli.

<sup>222</sup> PIGGE 1568, sig. A5<sup>v</sup>; PANVINIO 1557a, sig. 3\*<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>223</sup> Claudio Tolomei to Agostino de' Landi, 24 Nov. 1542, in TOLOMEI 1547, sigs. Li<sup>r</sup>-Lv<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>224</sup> PHILANDRIER 2000 and 2011.

antiquarian Antonio Agustín (1516-86), which records topics discussed among his peers in the 1540-50s.<sup>225</sup>

An ongoing project by Bernd Kulawik provides detailed references for some individuals connected to the academy, though for others references are lacking, making it difficult to substantiate the extent of some individuals' connections to the group.<sup>226</sup> Nonetheless, Kulawik's work shows both the reach of the circle – extending outside Rome, as information was received in letters – and is evidence of its less formalized structure, typical of the period. Many of the names given by Kulawik and found in the Italian Academies Database are known to us as Farnese courtiers: they include Farnese's tutor Romolo Amaseo; his secretary Annibal Caro; Paolo Giovio; and the poets Gabriele Faerno, Gandolfo Porrino and Basilio Zanchi. Cardinals Jean du Bellay and Georges d'Armagnac are likewise listed, alongside several French-speakers, including Rabelais; Louis Budé (b. after 1467 - d. before 1556), son of the humanist Guillaume (1467-1540); the French-speaking printers in Rome Antonio Lafreri (1512-77), Nicolas Béatrizet (1507-65) and Étienne Dupérac (c. 1525-1604); and antiquarians Pierre Varondel (fl. 1550) and Jean Matal (1517-97).<sup>227</sup> Though other foreigners, including Agustín and Flemish-born antiquarians Antoine Morillon (c. 1525-56) and Martin de Smet (1525-78) also took part in the academy's activities, Kulawik's work shows that the main group of non-Italians in the academy was French. As such, this academy clearly functioned as a significant vehicle for Franco-Italian learned sociability in Rome in this period.<sup>228</sup>

### 2.5.2: Academic Sociability in Jean Matal's Roman Notebooks (1546-55)

The Vitruviana network led to sustained interpersonal relationships, enabled the sharing of information and provided access to people and places usually off limits. In the course of producing his commentary on Vitruvius for the academy, Philandrier visited Giovio to seek his expertise: presumably, Philandrier was introduced to Giovio via one of many

<sup>225</sup> GARIMBERTO 1544, sig. Ai<sup>r</sup>. Agustín's notebook was edited as AGUSTÍN 1982.

<sup>226</sup> See <http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net/>.

<sup>227</sup> On Lafréry, Béatrizet, and Dupérac, see WITCOMBE 2008; LINCOLN 2014; RUBACH 2016. Varondel is little known; see notes by Kulawik (<http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net/persons/persons/varondel-pierre/>). On Matal, see HEUSER 2003; COOPER 1993.

<sup>228</sup> On Morillon, see CRAWFORD 1998. On Smet, see VAGENHEIM 2008.

academicians who knew him well.<sup>229</sup> While their meetings are noted only in an aside, similar relationships are demonstrated amply by Jean Matal, a French antiquarian and epigrapher in Rome who was central to the academy's activities, and became well-connected as a result. Matal had spent the early 1540s travelling the peninsula recording the collections of several public and private libraries before arriving in Rome around 1546.<sup>230</sup> In Rome, he quickly developed relationships with a number of important scholars. In 1555, the year Matal left Rome, the Farnese Hellenist Benedetto Egio dedicated his edition of (Pseudo-)Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* to him, since Matal provided his manuscript for use in producing the edition.<sup>231</sup> References to others in Rome in prefaces to this edition are testimony to the wide social circle in which Matal moved by that year, including Annibal Caro and Alessandro Piccolomini.<sup>232</sup>

Matal's extant notebooks sketch an illuminating image of the network of Vitruvian academicians thanks to his meticulous notation.<sup>233</sup> One passage records an inscription found by Matal, Philandrier, Varondel and Lafreri, evidence of the group excursions discussed by Paschal and which form the prelude to Garimberto's *De' regimenti pubblici*.<sup>234</sup> These excursions and Matal's notes then fed directly into the influential series of prints which Lafreri subsequently made and sold to visitors to Rome as the *Speculum Romanae magnificentiae*.<sup>235</sup> Other inscriptions were provided to Matal by friends, including by Louis Budé and Agustín.<sup>236</sup> Sometimes, Matal's notes make visible chains of transmission: in one case, Bernadino Maffei gave a copy of two inscriptions to Ottavio Pantagato, who passed them to Matal; in another, Antoine Morillon gave inscriptions to Steven Pigge, who then gave them to Matal.<sup>237</sup> Clearly, multiple copies of these inscriptions were being made and exchanged by these men as a learned pastime, and the sociable nature of the exchange became an element felt necessary to record.

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<sup>229</sup> PHILANDRIER 2000, ch. 6.1.

<sup>230</sup> See HOBSON 1975.

<sup>231</sup> [Ps.-]APOLLODORUS 1555, sig. Aiii<sup>r</sup>. On Egio, see VAGENHEIM 2019.

<sup>232</sup> [Ps.-]APOLLODORUS 1555, sigs. liij<sup>r</sup>, \*\*i<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>233</sup> BAV, MSS Vat. Lat. 6034; Vat. Lat. 6037; Vat. Lat. 6038; Vat. Lat. 6039.

<sup>234</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6039, fol. 41<sup>r</sup>; Pierre Paschal to Michel-Pierre de Mauléon, 26 Jan. 1548, in PASCHAL 1548, sig. f5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>235</sup> COOPER 2013a, p. 200.

<sup>236</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6039, fols. 44<sup>r</sup>, 206<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>237</sup> BAV, MSS Vat. Lat. 6039, fol. 49<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Lat. 6037, fol. 59<sup>r</sup>.

Objects also changed hands. A letter from antiquarian and poet Antonio Vacca (1520-81) noting that he had come to Matal's home in search of a particular object shows Matal was engaged in a smaller version of wealthy patrons' large-scale searches for antiquities.<sup>238</sup> When Budé travelled to Venice in 1547, he wrote to Matal (in Italian, perhaps surprisingly) to apologise for not yet having found anything to send him, demonstrating moreover that objects outside Rome were acquired via academic networks formed in the city.<sup>239</sup> The academic network also facilitated discussion of antiquities, during or after meetings. Matal records that information on Roman weights and measures was gathered 'ex ore et vetustatibus Angeli Colotii' ('from the mouth and wisdom of Angelo Colocci'), a clear indication of oral exchange.<sup>240</sup> Colocci (1474-1549), a respected scholar and collector, never finished the book on weights and measures on which he worked for many years; the easiest way to access it was thus from Colocci in person.<sup>241</sup>

The places to which Matal had access in compiling his notebooks further demonstrate the extent of his academic social networks. Though most inscriptions come from public areas, many were found in the *palazzi* and gardens of cardinals, including Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, Ippolito II d'Este, Guido Ascanio Sforza and Alessandro Farnese.<sup>242</sup> Farnese connections may also have helped Matal access the *vigna* of Margaret of Austria, wife of Ottavio Farnese or the *palazzo* of Guidobaldo II della Rovere, husband of Vittoria Farnese.<sup>243</sup> Allowing scholars access to aristocratic collections was not unusual and Italian patrons were often keen to welcome them: Isabella d'Este (1474-1539) even specifically arranged for access to be maintained in her absence.<sup>244</sup> Yet we also find Matal in the 'private home of Mario Frangipane' ('privatas aedes Marii Frangiepani') and the 'private garden' ('horto secreto') of Cardinal Federico Cesi (1500-65).<sup>245</sup> David Coffin argued that gardens and *palazzi* in Rome were publicly accessible, an argument accepted by others such as Lucinda Byatt.<sup>246</sup> However, Coffin's argument has been convincingly rejected by William

<sup>238</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6038, fol. 122<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>239</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6039, fols. 162<sup>r</sup>-162<sup>v</sup>. Budé's choice is akin to the decisions of both Montaigne and John North to write portions of their Italian travel journals in Italian: see GALLAGHER 2017.

<sup>240</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6039, fol. 67<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>241</sup> See LATTÈS 1972.

<sup>242</sup> BAV, MSS Vat. Lat. 6037, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Lat. 6038, fols. 23<sup>r</sup>, 75<sup>v</sup>, 76<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Lat. 6039, fols. 5<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 38<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>243</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6039, fols. 31<sup>r</sup>, 47<sup>r</sup>, 120<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>244</sup> RICHARDSON 2020, p. 196.

<sup>245</sup> BAV, MSS Vat. Lat. 6038, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Lat. 6039, fol. 47<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>246</sup> COFFIN 1982; BYATT 2022, p. 228.

Stenhouse, who shows that the ‘lex hortorum’ Coffin identified represented only an ideal, not a common access policy.<sup>247</sup> The process of entry to a closed *palazzo* was described by André Thevet (1502-90) who, visiting Rome in 1548, gained access via Rabelais:

Il me souvient, que contemplant telles antiquitez à la court & jardin d’un Seigneur Romain, on me cuyda outrager, disant que j’estois trop hardy & que paraventure j’estois un espion: mais estant ledit Seigneur adverti par Rabelais, qui a tant fait depuis parler de luy, de ma curiosité, & voyages par moy faits, lors j’eus entree de toutes parts.<sup>248</sup>

While the veracity of Thevet’s anecdote has been questioned, it is a clear acknowledgement of the social connections required to access private spaces in Rome.<sup>249</sup> As such, Matal’s notes apparently demonstrate his access to private areas normally off-limits which must have been gained via social connections, undoubtedly those of the *Vitruviana*. In 1549, English aristocrat Thomas Hoby (1530-66) wrote in his Roman travel journal that ‘There be sundrie faire antiquities to be seene within Roome,’ but cited only public monuments and lists of antiquities in printed texts.<sup>250</sup> If Hoby’s lack of connections denied him access to private spaces, Matal’s notebooks instead demonstrate the *Accademia Vitruviana* offered more than simply a space for discussion; it opened physical doors too.

Matal’s notebooks are illuminating because they record meticulously the provenance of inscriptions. The notebooks also contain four examples of verse, showing that Matal’s network collected and exchanged poetry as well as epigraphical notes; however, these texts were treated quite differently. The four poems are all funereal, tallying with Matal’s epigraphic interest in funeral *stelae*. One anonymous verse for Faustina Mancini degli Attavanti (d. late November 1543, see Ch. 3.2) is copied alongside the inscription on her tomb.<sup>251</sup> A second poem for Marzio Colonna (d. 1546, see Ch. 3.1.1) is ascribed to Antonio Agustín.<sup>252</sup> Two poems – one anonymous, one ascribed to Basilio Zanchi – discuss the death of Paolo Giovio (d. 1552).<sup>253</sup> No notes explain where Matal heard, read or acquired these texts, though given both subject matter and attributions present, it is reasonable to assume they came to him via other academicians, if not from Agustín and Zanchi themselves. The

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<sup>247</sup> STENHOUSE 2005.

<sup>248</sup> THEVET 1575, vol. 2, sig. GGGv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>249</sup> LESTRINGANT 1991, p. 49.

<sup>250</sup> MASELLO 1971, p. 30.

<sup>251</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6039, fol. 94<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>252</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6038, fol. 71<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>253</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 6038, fol. 98<sup>r</sup>.

less precise notation of the poems' origins is typical of manuscript verse in which both authorship and chains of transmission are obscured through vague provenance notation, if any.<sup>254</sup> It is, moreover, indicative of the fluidity of authorship Marotti identified in manuscript systems, here seen in sharper relief against the precision necessary in epigraphical research. In this sense, Matal emerges from his notebooks as emblematic too of less scholarly, more courtly, exchange and sociability in Rome, an aspect not previously considered by scholars. Yet both the scholarly and courtly dimensions were enabled through the lending and sharing of objects, texts and knowledge, made possible chiefly through academic sociability networks.

## 2.6: Conclusion

This chapter has acted as something of a *dramatis personae*, all the more crucial in a thesis which considers large, sometimes loosely defined networks of individuals, many of whom are 'minor' figures in literary history. In introducing these figures, and in considering them alongside their canonical peers, this chapter has shown that two forms of network in particular were central to literary production in Rome in this period. The first, the *familiae* of cardinals, could be variously constituted and fashioned – that is, as more or less akin to secular courts, and of varying sizes – but were an obvious draw for literary producers, insofar as the cardinal-patrons of such *familiae* were often wealthy and specifically interested in the socio-political and intellectual uses of literature. The second, the Roman academies, were fairly loosely defined in this period. In this, however, they arguably brought a wider range of individuals together than was typical in cardinals' circles, including notably by providing space for non-Italians to participate in sociable exchanges.

The networks and relationships examined here are as often textual as they are physical: in many ways, the physical meeting of French and Italian individuals is harder to document, given only traces remain where they are explicitly recorded. Still, such meetings undoubtedly took place, both within and without the networks discussed in this chapter. In particular, diplomatic and political occasions – the entry of ambassadors, papal consistories, the celebration of state events – also brought groups together, with the hope that links

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<sup>254</sup> More typical are comments such as 'Questa lo avuta [*scil.* l'ho avuta] da Roma non so di chi sia' (BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5225, pt. 3, fol. 572<sup>r</sup>, above Marcantonio Flaminio's 'Rivule frigidulis Nympharum e fontibus orti,' cfr. FLAMINIO 1993, p. 112 [3.21]). On anonymous copies of verse, see Ch. 3.2.



constructed during them would serve in later periods of negotiation and discussion. Informal events included a game of *calcio* planned in 1547 (though called off due to rain), which was to take place between a French team headed by Cardinal Charles de Lorraine and ambassador Guillaume du Maine (d. 1564) and an Italian team headed by cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Guido Ascanio Sforza.<sup>255</sup> Others were more formal, and in these events literature played an important ceremonial role. By way of conclusion, I want to focus briefly on one French-led formal event in Rome which was recorded in particular detail and which used the public performance of poetry as the culmination of its socio-political spectacle. When news of the birth of the French dauphin Louis (d. 1550) reached Rome in February 1549, celebratory festivities were organised: a series of jousts took place between 2-4 March and two comedies were performed (though their titles were not recorded). A more extravagant celebration was then organised by Cardinal du Bellay, and recorded in a festival book, the *Sciomachie* (1549), by Rabelais.<sup>256</sup> According to Rabelais, at the *Sciomachie* a naval battle staged on the Tiber would be followed by a mock battle in a specially constructed castle in Piazza Santi Apostoli, where Cardinal du Bellay was then living, and a banquet.

Rabelais's account, the fullest available, is presented as an extract of a letter sent to Cardinal Charles de Lorraine. However, the work, like all festival books, is not simply the perfect record it purports to be, and has a clear political agenda.<sup>257</sup> Claude La Charité underlines the text's literary conceits, noting that its presentation as diplomatic letter foregrounds notions of truthfulness and accuracy, and that it draws on Erasmus's *De conscribendis epistolis* (1534) in constructing its descriptions.<sup>258</sup> Carine Roudière-Sébastien reads the text as structured by numeric symmetries which place the constructed castle at its centre, again highlighting its literariness and alerting us to read carefully.<sup>259</sup> Research by Richard Cooper also demonstrates Rabelais's factual manipulation for propagandistic purposes.<sup>260</sup> Rabelais claims that a naval battle was planned specifically for the event; in fact, a naval battle had already been planned for the Roman carnival and was not conceived

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<sup>255</sup> Averardo Serristori to Cosimo I de' Medici, 15 Nov. 1547, BIA-MAP, Doc ID# 23924 (ASF, MdP, vol. 3265, fol. 13).

<sup>256</sup> For editions of these accounts, see COOPER 1991, pp. 183–223; RABELAIS 1994, pp. 1727–31.

<sup>257</sup> See WATANABE-O'KELLY 2002.

<sup>258</sup> LA CHARITÉ 2003.

<sup>259</sup> ROUDIÈRE-SEBASTIEN 2021.

<sup>260</sup> COOPER 1991, pp. 69, 72, 76.

to celebrate the dauphin's birth. Due to bad weather, this naval battle was delayed until 10 March, with carnival also extended, before the battle was ultimately cancelled. Rabelais attributes both the cancellation and the delay of the event itself until 14 March to flooding of the Tiber and general bad weather. In fact, the cancellation and delay had nothing to do with the weather and everything to do with politics, with Paul III suspending the naval battle as would be too readily linked by observers to the French celebrations.

Nonetheless, even the reduced festivities in Piazza Santi Apostoli were the subject of complaints from Imperial-aligned figures in Rome. Rabelais states that Santi Apostoli was chosen because, after Piazza Navona, it was 'la plus belle et longue [place] de Rome' and was the home of Cardinal du Bellay.<sup>261</sup> Yet Santi Apostoli was also home to the Imperially-aligned Colonna. Hosting a large-scale French celebration in Santi Apostoli was not simply convenient, but a deliberate attempt to dominate this pro-Imperial space. Contemporaries readily understood this spatial significance. Ultimately, it was not moved, to the delight of the French king, who specifically cited the fact that the event,

c'est [*scil. s'est*] fait en l'estraid où est assis vostre palays, pour autant qu'en icelle vous sçavez estre plusieurs qui ne prevoyent pas grand plaisir à veoir telle feste et recreation pour la nation françoise.<sup>262</sup>

Who attended this contested event? Rabelais lists two groups of soldiers who participated in the mock battle. The first group was headed by Astorre Baglione, the governor of Rome, alongside Orazio Farnese, brother of Cardinal Alessandro. A second group was headed by Florentine *fuoruscito* and Farnese ally Roberto Strozzi alongside Jean de Ferrières, one of Cardinal du Bellay's *familiars*.<sup>263</sup> All the soldiers listed by Rabelais had been in French or Farnese service previously, including Paolo Battista Fregoso (d. 1557) who had fought for France for many decades and in the early 1540s had formed part of the retinue of Charles d'Orléans.<sup>264</sup> Though the Farnese would not sign a formal alliance with the French until 1552 (see Ch. 4.4.2), the 1549 Sciomachie shows already that the Farnese leaned towards the French as allies in this period. Rabelais's account thus underlines how this performance of a Franco-Farnese alliance won over the assembled populace,

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<sup>261</sup> RABELAIS 1994, p. 962.

<sup>262</sup> Charles de Lorraine to Jean du Bellay, 12 May 1549, in LORRAINE 1998, p. 128. Papal nuncio Michele della Torre also wrote to Cardinal Farnese to tell him of Henry II's delight (ROMIER 1911, p. 19).

<sup>263</sup> PETRIS 2013a, p. 320.

<sup>264</sup> DUBOST 1998.

de tous costez à haute voiz crians & chantans Vive France, France, France, vive Orleans, vive Horace Farnese. Quelques uns adjousterent, Vive Paris, vive Bellay, vive la Coste de Langey<sup>265</sup>

The accuracy of Rabelais's accounts is immaterial; what it represents is a desire to emphasise, in a less ephemeral medium, wider support in Farnese Rome for the Valois monarchs, presenting the city as a space over which the French were securing domination.

After the mock battle, a feast was held in Cardinal du Bellay's *palazzo*, at which, Rabelais notes, no less than twelve cardinals were present. This included Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, his brother Ranuccio and cousin Guido Ascanio Sforza, and four French cardinals (Jean du Bellay; Georges d'Armagnac; Robert de Lenoncourt [c. 1485-1561]; and Antoine Sanguin [1493-1559]), all of whom had been raised to the cardinalate by Paul III.<sup>266</sup> During the feast, an 84-line Sapphic ode written by Cardinal du Bellay in Latin praising Franco-Italian relations was performed. Rabelais describes the ode as having been sung to the lyre by one 'Labbat,' a singer in the papal choir.<sup>267</sup> It is unclear whether the text was presented as a poem by Cardinal du Bellay during the event, or if this was only made explicit in the printed account. The poem takes as its central idea that of a 'day to be cherished by the Tuscan and Frankish peoples alike' ('diem Hetruscis populis colendum, | Et simul Francis' [lines 17-18]): the text at various points brings synonyms referring to Italy and France together in the Latin verse (e.g. 'Edidit Gallis Italisque mixtim,' 'gave to both French and Italian peoples' [line 10]) as a syntactical representation of the unification of French and Italian values and families celebrated by the *Sciomachie* itself. The poem then turns to three couples who represent the merging of France and the Italian peninsula: Anna d'Este and her husband François de Lorraine, Duke of Guise (lines 57-60); Orazio Farnese and his fiancée Diane de Valois (lines 61-64); and Catherine de' Medici and her husband Henri II (lines 65-68). The birth of the dauphin, son of Catherine, is thus presented within a longer lineage of dynastic marriages which unite France and Italy.

Though the poem's tropes and form are unsurprising, this Latin ode represents in many ways the pinnacle of the literary and political relations constructed in Rome by French and Italian figures: it is poetry performed as socio-political spectacle used to exalt shared

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<sup>265</sup> RABELAIS 1994, pp. 972-73.

<sup>266</sup> RABELAIS 1994, p. 973.

<sup>267</sup> RABELAIS 1994, p. 974; COOPER 2013b, p. 145.

political visions. The poem and its performance are, moreover, representative of a moment of strong, positive political relations – of Franco-Farnese relations, and of the political relationship of France to Italy more broadly – which would shift dramatically when the Franco-Farnese alliance broke in 1556 and as Spanish dominance of the Italian peninsula increased. The *Sciomachie* is in some ways unique in its open performance of political loyalties and identities by figures of importance to this thesis. In such a ceremonial event, the power structures which cause political relations to form or break, or which lead directly or indirectly to literary production and exchange, are made patent. Yet, as this chapter has shown, the power structures which influenced literary production were not always so visible. Nor were the social contexts which underpinned literary creation and exchange, since there existed at times political incentives to downplay or conceal links between French and Italian individuals, at least publicly. This consideration will be of especial importance as we move now to consider in the next chapter a body of poetry produced by the Farnese court's poetic networks in which the social relationships surrounding its creation were particularly contentious and contested.

### 3. Homosocial Identities in Two Roman Lyric Anthologies (1547-55)

#### 3.1: Introduction

From the mid-sixteenth century, verse anthologies for *donne illustri*, especially *post-mortem*, became a feature of the Italian peninsula's poetic landscape, part of a wider taste for verse anthologies.<sup>1</sup> These anthologies took on important social functions, including the solicitation of patronage, male and female, and the creation or demonstration of social bonds. Often, such anthologies presented poetry produced specifically for the volume and were intimately connected to the single social context of their production. In this, they differed from anthologies edited by figures such as Lodovico Domenichi (1515-64) or Dionigi Atanagi (1504-73) which brought together a range of texts by a range of poets with *varietas* as a key promotional tool.<sup>2</sup> In anthologies for *donne illustri*, a single poetic occasion gave rise to a plurivocal *canzoniere* in which all of the poets represented are connected socially via the subject matter. Often composed and compiled by men, they offer examples of women as 'muses' and 'mascots,' much as in the context of early modern academies, and demonstrate a textual form of the traffic in women foundational to male homosociality.<sup>3</sup>

The Roman court of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was the source of some of the earliest such collections by men, dedicated to Livia Colonna (1522-54), the sometime lover of the cardinal, after her murder by her son-in-law. Poems which refer to or are addressed to Colonna are predominantly contained in two anthologies. The first, a presentation manuscript datable to c. 1547 (*Compositioni latine et volgari di diversi eccellenti authori sovra gli occhi della Illustrissima Signora Livia Colonna* [hereafter *Compositioni*]) contains 66 poems.<sup>4</sup> The second, printed in Rome in 1555 (*Rime di diversi eccellenti autori, in vita, e in morte dell' Illustrissima Signora Livia Colonna* [hereafter *RDD*]), contains 160 poems. Other poems to or about Colonna are also dispersed across various manuscript and print sources (for a full catalogue, see Appendix C).

While Anne Jacobson Schutte and Domenico Chiodo both suggest the printed *RDD* for Colonna was the first printed anthology for a deceased *donna illustre*, in fact it followed

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<sup>1</sup> See SCHUTTE 1991; ROBIN 2007, pp. 102–23; COX 2008, pp. 94-95, 103-04; DESMOULIÈRE 2017.

<sup>2</sup> FEDI 1990, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> COX 2016; SEDGWICK 1985, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> BAV MS Barb. Lat. 3693.

earlier such anthologies from Venice (1547) and Padua (1549), as Adriana Chemello shows.<sup>5</sup> Even so, as the Colonna printed anthology followed an earlier manuscript anthology, these collections allow us to witness both the development of the Farnese court's poetics and the material development of the anthologies. This corpus also shows the development of a literary form – secular poetry for a *donna illustre* – abandoned by the Farnese court after 1555. This poetic production for Colonna took place in the decade prior to the 1559 *Index librorum prohibitorum* which restricted the production and circulation of texts perceived as licentious. Abigail Brundin has noted that after Trent, Petrarchan anthologies in particular increasingly came under scrutiny in versions of the *Index*.<sup>6</sup> As such, the anthologies and texts discussed here represent a largely final movement of secular, erotic Petrarchan verse of an older type, which would in large part be superseded by other forms, notably socio-political Petrarchism and *rime spirituali*, in following years.

In the reading developed in this chapter, I argue that these texts show that Colonna, transformed into a poetic figure, became a locus of homosociality at the Farnese court as a textual woman exchanged 'between men.' In this respect, the development and exchange of poetry for and about Colonna bolstered the creation of a unified group of identifiable Farnese poets in Rome in this period, first more privately and then more publicly, and quickly became a *topos* via which other poets sought to engage with the Farnese court.

Whilst they are known to scholars, these anthologies have elicited little scholarly work; few of the un-anthologized texts have ever been connected to Colonna and in some cases have never been edited or discussed in scholarship. The first interventions on this corpus concentrated only on Colonna's life and death, using the anthologised poetry to establish historical details.<sup>7</sup> Other discussions of the Colonna poems in literary scholarship have focussed on discussion of poetry and portraiture, or are fleetingly descriptive.<sup>8</sup> By contrast, Colonna has been of some interest to art historians, who highlight her relationship to Cardinal Farnese.<sup>9</sup> Surprisingly, the most extended treatment of Colonna by any writer is her appearance as protagonist in Silvana Giacobini's psycho-historical novel *Chiudi gli occhi*

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<sup>5</sup> SCHUTTE 1991, p. 49; CHIDO 2003, p. 95; CHEMELLO 2001, p. 133. The earlier anthologies are COPPA 1547; and *COMPOSITIONI* 1549.

<sup>6</sup> BRUNDIN 2012b, pp. 203-4.

<sup>7</sup> VALPERGA-CALUSO 1803; MASETTI ZANNINI 1973.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. CHIDO 2003 and 2013, pp. 104–20; PIGNATTI 2008, pp. 305-07; FORNI 2011, pp. 119-38.

<sup>9</sup> ZAPPERI 1991; WALTER AND ZAPPERI 2006, pp. 97-105.

(2007). This refers at numerous points to the texts for Colonna, making clear the role literary works played in the construction of her image and posthumous reputation.<sup>10</sup>

In part, this scholarly lacuna has arisen because sociable Petrarchan poetry of this kind has traditionally been of little interest to critics. However, Virginia Cox notes that scholars now ‘come to the lyric poetry of the sixteenth century with a more varied set of questions’ than in the past and that recent interest in social uses of poetry and in material aspects of verse production have shown Petrarchan verse to be ‘a fascinating literary and sociohistorical phenomenon’ which ‘allowed considerable flexibility of usage, beneath an apparent uniformity’ and ‘lent itself admirably to the crafting of social identities.’<sup>11</sup> These anthologies are the central collective poetic texts produced by the Farnese court and are key to understanding the development and operation of the court’s poetic production. By asking more varied questions of this corpus and by using what Cox has elsewhere called a more ‘eclectic methodology,’ this chapter demonstrates that through these anthologies the Farnese court became an important site of poetic production in Rome, one to which other poets operating in Rome responded, including French poet Joachim du Bellay.<sup>12</sup>

This chapter first provides a biographical introduction to Colonna which includes significant new sources on her life and death, and a discussion of the corpus of texts I have identified. It then traces the development of the two anthologies for Colonna at the Farnese court to highlight the homosocial functions of collective poetic production at the court. I suggest that these texts enabled individual poets to construct a persona as a ‘Farnese poet’ within the homosocial frameworks of the court and anthologies. I then present poetry for Colonna which circulated outside these anthologies – three sonnets by a woman, Laura Battiferri; an anonymous sonnet; and a Latin poem by Joachim du Bellay, a non-Italian — to consider the relation of these *rime estravaganti* to the Farnese court, its poetry and poets, and the anthologies.

### 3.1.1: The Life and Death of Livia Colonna (1522-54)

Livia Colonna was born in Rome in 1522, the youngest of four daughters of the *condottiere* Marcantonio I Colonna (1478-1522) and Lucrezia della Rovere (1485-1552), niece of Pope

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<sup>10</sup> GIACOBINI 2007, pp. 32, 121, 130, 260, 414.

<sup>11</sup> COX 2021, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> COX 2022, p. 196.

Julius II (r. 1503-13).<sup>13</sup> Marcantonio Colonna died in battle near Milan in March of the same year, fighting for the French into whose service he had switched in 1517.<sup>14</sup> A trilingual Latin-Greek-Hebrew funereal verse anthology, the *Lachrime in Marcum Antonium Columnam*, (1522) was produced for him; three poets present in that collection (Marcello Paloni, Janus Vitalis, and Francesco Franchini) would later contribute to the manuscript anthology for his daughter.<sup>15</sup>

Little is known of Livia Colonna's life before her marriage in 1539. Following her father's death, her upbringing was entrusted to Ascanio Colonna (1498-1557), head of the Paliano branch of the family and brother of the poet Vittoria (1492-1547). It is likely her familial relations ensured her safety during the Sack of 1527, if she was not taken out of the city. During this time, Colonna was presumably educated to a certain level, in line with numerous learned women in the family including Vittoria and Giovanna d'Aragona Colonna (1502-75). It would be surprising if Colonna were not educated to write verse and letters, again like other female relatives.<sup>16</sup> Though Giacobini's novel portrays Colonna writing verse (even providing the imagined text of one of her poems), to date I have found no literary writing ascribed to her.<sup>17</sup> Still, she could certainly write to some degree: a letter of recommendation in a secretary's hand for one Francesco Gucci, 'mio compare,' sent to Cosimo I de' Medici in 1552 carries her autograph signature.<sup>18</sup> Colonna's relationships with her female relatives are unclear. While a letter by Vittoria Colonna refers to Ascanio's custody of Marcantonio's 'figliole femine' in passing, nothing allows us to establish the extent of their relationship.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> SANSOVINO 1588, sig. M5<sup>r</sup>; MASETTI ZANNINI 1973, p. 298.

<sup>14</sup> SHAW 2014, p. 143.

<sup>15</sup> PALONI 1522.

<sup>16</sup> For poetry, in addition to Vittoria Colonna, see TERRACINA 1549 which contains poetry by Geronima, Maria, Vittoria di Toledo and Giovanna d'Aragona Colonna (sigs. Fvi<sup>r</sup>-Fvii<sup>r</sup>). For correspondence, see two autograph letters from Porzia Colonna (either Livia's sister, or sister-in-law) to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 17 Oct. 1550, 22 May 1553, in Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MSS 20210/35 and 7907/114; and BERNSTEIN 2013.

<sup>17</sup> GIACOBINI 2007, p. 219. Irene Tani (CAPPELLO 2018, p. 141) states that Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, MS I. XI. 49 contains verse attributed to Colonna; I have been unable to verify this.

<sup>18</sup> Livia Colonna to Cosimo I de' Medici, 16 July 1552, in ASF, MdP 409, fol. 656<sup>r</sup>. Intriguingly, Gucci also received a letter of recommendation from Cardinal Farnese (Alessandro Farnese to Cosimo I de' Medici, 10 July 1552, in CARO 1765, vol. 2, pp. 118-19). A second letter from Colonna to Cosimo dated 22 Apr. 1553 is listed in the inventories of the Medici correspondence (GIAMBLANCO AND TOCCAFONDI 1990, p. 348, as ASF, MdP 414, fol. 513<sup>r</sup>). I have not been able to access this letter.

<sup>19</sup> Vittoria Colonna to Fabrizio Colonna, 25 Nov. 1544, in COLONNA 1892, p. 285.



A document which has never been presented in connection with Colonna gives an insight into her pre-marital life. In 1535, a relative, Giulia Colonna (1491-1571), who had been widowed in 1528, implored Cardinal Giovanni Todeschini Piccolomini (1475-1537) to defend her against Ascanio, who ‘sempre va trovando nove inventione [*sic*]’ to usurp her dowry and other possessions.<sup>20</sup> Giulia then referred to:

le Signore consorte & figlie del quondam Signore Marcantonio Colonna, et la Signora Isabella Colonna [...] le quale [*sic*] insieme con me dal detto Signore Ascanio son crudelmente oppresse & del [*sic*] loro facultà iniustamente [*sic*] spogliate.

This apparently unique reference to Livia Colonna, around age thirteen and before her marriage, suggests that already men around her sought to control her wealth for themselves. Four years later in 1539, Marzio Colonna, a relative from the Zagarolo branch of the family, requested Livia as bride. Ascanio refused, given he would be required to pay her dowry.<sup>21</sup> In response, Marzio, with the assistance of Pierluigi Farnese, son of Paul III and father of Cardinal Alessandro, abducted the seventeen-year old Livia.<sup>22</sup> She was then taken to the countryside home of Philippe de Lannoy (1514-53), prince of Sulmona and husband of Isabella Colonna (1513-70), whom Ascanio had apparently also sought to deprive of possessions. There, Livia was married to Marzio.<sup>23</sup> A medal carrying their portraits was perhaps struck to mark this [Figure 1].<sup>24</sup> The union was also praised in a sonnet by Bernardo Cappello (‘Che voi de la più saggia et via più bella’), presumably composed after Cappello arrived in Rome in 1541. While this is the earliest poem related to Colonna, it was first printed in Cappello’s *Rime* (1560), after both anthologies for Colonna had been produced.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Giulia Colonna to Giovanni Todeschini Piccolomini, 6 Dec. 1535, Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis, Trieste, *Fondo Piccolomini*, MS Picc. II.22/37, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>. See COPPI 1855, p. 338.

<sup>21</sup> PETRUCCI 1982b.

<sup>22</sup> Colonna was not, indeed, the only woman abducted by Pierluigi Farnese, who in 1545 kidnapped Camilla Pallavicino from Cortemaggiore: see SAMPSON 2016, p. 116.

<sup>23</sup> ADRIANI 1583, sigs. E4<sup>r</sup>-E4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> TODERI AND VANNEL 2000, vol. 1, p. 290. ATTWOOD 2002 (vol. 1, p. 247) suggests it was created shortly afterwards, as he argues Pastorino arrived in Rome in 1540.

<sup>25</sup> CAPPELLO 2018, no. 196.

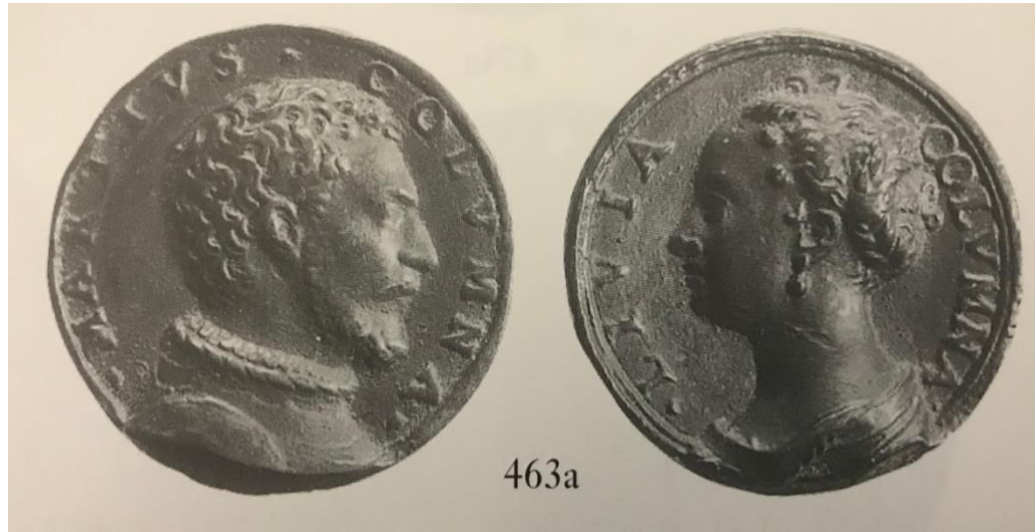


Figure 1 Medal of Marzio and Livia Colonna (c. 1539)

Attributed to Pastorino de' Pastorini

Image taken from ATTWOOD 2002, vol. 2, p. 97

By the late 1530s, relations between the Colonna and the Farnese had deteriorated significantly as the Farnese papacy's territorial expansion came up against the Roman baronial aristocracy represented by the Colonna and the Orsini families. These issues were reflected in numerous satirical *pasquinate*.<sup>26</sup> Colonna's abduction was therefore apparently conducted to anger Ascanio; the pope's acquiescence indeed contributed to the outbreak of war.<sup>27</sup> By 1541, the Paliano Colonna's holdings outside Rome had been attacked, with Paul III and Livia's husband Marzio thus pitted against Livia's former guardian Ascanio.<sup>28</sup> Amidst this conflict, Livia Colonna became an important figure in Roman society. She features, for instance, in a Roman *libro delle sorti* – a cryptic game centred on society gossip – dating to around the time of her wedding.<sup>29</sup> To use the *libro delle sorti*, a reader chose a name from one of various sections, then followed texts indicating sections to consult to find a cryptic verse in the voice of a sibyl. Colonna appears in the section on marriage, where the reader is led to a verse declaring that her 'matrimonio è scorto.'<sup>30</sup> In 1541, Colonna was depicted at length by Luca Contile who praised her beauty and manner of speaking.<sup>31</sup> A 1543 letter by

<sup>26</sup> See e.g. MARUCCI, MARZO, AND ROMANO 1983, vol. 1, pp. 518-19, 543-44, 549-53.

<sup>27</sup> TORDI 1895, p. 475; TARGOFF 2018, pp. 203-26.

<sup>28</sup> PASTOR 1923, pp. 340-44.

<sup>29</sup> On this manuscript, see RUVOLDT 2020.

<sup>30</sup> BAV, MS Ott. Lat. 2811, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Luca Contile to Orlando Marescotti, 22 Oct. 1541, in CONTILE 1564, sig. Gjr.

Annibal Caro describing two women in church surrounded by admirers has also been assumed to refer to Colonna.<sup>32</sup>

Around 1541, Livia gave birth to a daughter, Orinzia (c. 1541-94, in some sources named Uridia) but by late 1546 Marzio had died in battle, leaving her a single mother. Colonna's widowhood was the occasion for the production of three more poems, two sonnets by Giacomo Cenci addressed to Colonna ('Quella rara union, che 'n terra giunse'; 'Se del gran Signor vostro, ch'era al corso'), and a Latin epitaph for Marzio by Basilio Zanchi written in Colonna's voice ('Hunc tumulum tibi mi coniunx dulcissime Marci').<sup>33</sup> Marzio's death marked a clear turning point in Colonna's life, giving the twenty-four-year old widow significant autonomy. She began to take direct control of her holdings in the Roman countryside and acquired a collection of antiquities, including a mirror originally unearthed by the painter Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430-1516) and a statue which was placed in her garden.<sup>34</sup> The collection was important enough to warrant Colonna's inclusion as the only female collector in Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Di tutte le statue antiche di Roma* (1556).<sup>35</sup>

Amidst this newfound autonomy, Colonna began a relationship with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. It is unclear how or when the pair met, and is somewhat surprising, given the role played by the cardinal's father in Colonna's abduction. A potential hypothesis is that Colonna was in the service of Farnese's sister-in-law, Margaret of Austria. Vasari states that Colonna is depicted alongside Margaret at her wedding to Ottavio Farnese in 1538 in a history painting produced c. 1564 in the Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani at Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, Cardinal Farnese's summer residence.<sup>36</sup> When Margaret gave birth to twins in 1545, Paul III paid five women for services to her during the birth. One of these, the only one accorded the title 'Signora,' is named as 'Signora Livia.'<sup>37</sup> It is perhaps impossible to prove that this refers to Livia Colonna (and no sources refer to her explicitly as such).

<sup>32</sup> Anibal Caro to Francesco Maria Molza, 19 May 1543, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 1, p. 266, fn. 2; CHiodo 2003, p. 92. SCARPA 2003 (pp. 45-46) argues the letter in fact refers to Faustina Mancini and Settimia Jacobacci.

<sup>33</sup> DOMENICHI 1565, sig. l2<sup>v</sup>; ZANCHI AND GAMBARA 1555, sig. p4<sup>v</sup>. As noted in Ch. 2.6.2, Marzio's death was also commemorated in a poem attributed to Antonio Agustín.

<sup>34</sup> MASETTI ZANNINI 1973, p. 296; Pirro Ligorio to Fulvio Orsini, 14 Feb. 1563, in BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 4105, fol. 254<sup>r</sup>; BOISSARD 1597, vol. 1, sig. P1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> BENTZ 2015, p. 431.

<sup>36</sup> VASARI 1978, vol. 7, p. 112.

<sup>37</sup> BERTOLOTTI 1878, p. 196: '*Idem*. [1 Sept. 1545] — Alle sotto nominate donne di Madama [Margherita d'Austria] cioè 100 scudi a le dua balie, 50 a la Signora Livia, 50 a Madonna Alessandra et 20 a Madonna Prudencia, scudi 220.'

However, a link to the Farnese via the entourage of Margaret of Austria, daughter of Charles V, would be unsurprising for a woman from the Imperially-aligned Colonna family.

However Colonna and Farnese became acquainted, by June 1549 the cardinal's grandfather, Paul III, was aware of the relationship, as were Medici agents in Rome.<sup>38</sup> So too was the Roman public, who could read about it in a crudely satirical *pasquinata* dating to just after the death of Paul III in November 1549. Addressed to Cardinal Farnese and his *familiars*, it suggests that a rival for Colonna's affections, the governor of Rome Astorre Baglioni (1526-71), was,

...così coglione  
Che si pensava da Farnese avere  
Livia Colonna per sposa e moglie. 65

Guarda che bel vedere!  
Non s'accorgeva il meschin a tramare  
Che Farnese volèa solo chiavare?  
['Pasquino al Cardinal Farnese e suoi famigli', lines 63-71]<sup>39</sup>

In line with other *pasquinate* which note Farnese's reputation as womanizer (one verse in the *libro delle sorti* declares that Farnese 'non lascia adrieto | mamma né figliola'), this *pasquinata* shows that Colonna clearly remained the subject of gossip in Rome through the 1540s and that her relationship to Cardinal Farnese was quite public.<sup>40</sup> It also clearly draws on a public perception of Colonna as an object of wider male desire and competition.

Colonna's relationship to Farnese made her a sought after subject of visual art. Vasari notes a portrait of Colonna by Jacopino del Conte (1510-98) while Jean-Jacques Boissard states she was the model for a statue on the façade of the *palazzo* of Cardinal Girolamo Recanati Capodiferro (1502-59).<sup>41</sup> A miniature of Colonna identified as a copy of a lost original by Giulio Clovio (1498-1578), the Croatian-born miniaturist in Farnese service, was likely painted during this period [Figure 2].<sup>42</sup> Clovio's earlier portraits of Faustina Mancini (on whom, see below) and of Settimia Jacovacci (fl. c. 1545) were produced for

<sup>38</sup> ZAPPERI 1991, p. 170; WALTER AND ZAPPERI 2006, p. 104.

<sup>39</sup> MARUCCI, MARZO, AND ROMANO 1983, vol. 2, p. 880.

<sup>40</sup> BAV, MS Ott. Lat. 2811, fols. 42<sup>v</sup>-43<sup>r</sup>, lines 10-11.

<sup>41</sup> VASARI 1978, vol. 7, p. 577; BOISSARD 1594, vol. 1, sigs. E3<sup>v</sup>-E4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Cat. No. 00291442 (see <https://catalogo.uffizi.it/it/29/ricerca/detailiccd/1180954/>). A copy of a painting of a widow (Florence, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Cat. no. 00642335 [see <https://catalogo.uffizi.it/it/29/ricerca/detailiccd/1415332/>]) is also tentatively identified as Colonna.

Farnese, and Clovio executed numerous other miniatures for Farnese to give as gifts.<sup>43</sup> The Colonna miniature was therefore almost certainly done at Farnese's request. This lost original may be identifiable with the 'quadro con adornamento di noce dipintovi dentro il ritratto di Livia Colonna' in the 1588 Florentine inventory of Matteo and Giovanni Battista Botti.<sup>44</sup>



*Figure 2 Painted miniature of Livia Colonna (c. 1547-52)*

Copy of lost original attrib. Giulio Clovio, c. 1550-90  
11 cm diameter. Oil on marble  
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. Cat. No. 00291442

A large number of other portraits of Colonna once existed, testimony of her reputation in the city and the wide circulation of her image. The 1644 inventory of Palazzo Farnese lists three further portraits of Colonna, one of which included text of a verse dedicated to her, likely painted after Colonna's relationship with Cardinal Farnese began.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> ROBERTSON 1991, pp. 34-35; WALTER AND ZAPPERI 2006, pp. 94-96; ONOFRI 2013, pp. 58-62.

<sup>44</sup> ASF, Firenze, Italia, Miscellanea Medicea, 29, fasc. 1, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>, as per Getty Provenance Index (<https://piprod.getty.edu/>), Archival Inventory I-2869, Item 0042 (Botti).

<sup>45</sup> JESTAZ 1994, no.s. 1002, 2059, 2065.

Two portraits were owned by an anonymous annotator of an edition of Gandolfo Porrino's *Rime* and by one Bernardina de Puritatis, while a manuscript miscellany owned by Farnese poet Dolce Gacciola (d. c. 1563) and copied by Niccolò Franco (1515-70) contained another portrait.<sup>46</sup> Two final portraits were owned by Spanish ambassador Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.<sup>47</sup> When Mendoza arrived in Rome in April 1547, he had been instructed by Charles V to arrange a marriage between Colonna and one of the ambassador's relatives, Spanish nobleman Rodrigo de Mendoza, Marquis of Montesclaros (c. 1500- before 1551), who was in Genoa as a special envoy before arriving in Rome in February 1550.<sup>48</sup> Though nothing came of the instruction, it is plausible the ambassador's portraits of Colonna were commissioned as part of this marriage proposal.<sup>49</sup>

Around the time Mendoza arrived in Rome in 1547, Colonna briefly lost her eyesight.<sup>50</sup> This illness became the stimulus for the first of the anthologies discussed below, the manuscript *Compositioni*. In August 1548, Giovanni della Casa then complained to Gandolfo Porrino that he was being instructed by Cardinal Farnese to write poetry for Colonna ('tal Signore gli vuole, e per tal Signora s'anno da fare [...] Avessele fatto manco bordelli attorno, che non avrebbe ora briga di affaticare un Prete gottoso').<sup>51</sup> Despite these reservations, he did as instructed, writing four sonnets and giving Farnese *carte blanche* to show them to others or to keep them private ('scrissi al Cardinale che [...] gli aprisse o serrasse la bocca come le piacesse').<sup>52</sup> Though one Farnese courtier indicated he was unsure the cardinal would want to share the sonnets, given this would 'pubblicare la passion ch'egli ha' for Colonna, Farnese clearly showed them to others, as they then circulated in Rome.<sup>53</sup> At the same time, Porrino prepared for Colonna another manuscript, almost certainly a

<sup>46</sup> CHIDO 2013, p. 136; MERCATI 1965, p. 183. A copy of the miscellany survives without the portrait (see PIGNATTI 1998).

<sup>47</sup> WALTER AND ZAPPERI 2006, p. 101. Mendoza also owned a portrait by Paolo Veronese sometimes identified, almost certainly incorrectly, as Colonna: see GARTON 2008, pp. 214-15.

<sup>48</sup> MENDOZA 1935, p. 123, fn. 3; LEVIN 2013, p. 32; Alessandro Farnese to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 27 Feb. 1550, in BERTOMEU MASIÁ 2009, p. 359.

<sup>49</sup> WALTER AND ZAPPERI (2006, p. 101) suggest rather that Farnese permitted Mendoza to copy one of his portraits of Colonna.

<sup>50</sup> RUSCELLI 1579, sig. Aa10<sup>v</sup>; RAINERI 1553, sigs. Kviii<sup>r</sup>-Kviii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Gandolfo Porrino, 21 July 1548, in DELLA CASA 1752, vol. 2, p. 125.

<sup>52</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Carlo Gualteruzzi, 1 Sept. 1548, in DELLA CASA AND GUALTERUZZI 1987, pp. 508-09. They are: 'Ben mi scorgea quel di crudele stella'; 'Vivo mio scoglio, et selce alpestre et dura'; 'Quella, che lieta del mortal mio duolo'; and 'Già non potrete voi per fuggir lunge.'

<sup>53</sup> Giovanni Bianchetti to Giovanni Della Casa, 18 Aug. 1548, cit. in Zapperi 1991, p. 170, fn. 45; Carlo Gualteruzzi to Giovanni della Casa, 15 Sept. 1548, 3 Nov. 1548, in DELLA CASA AND GUALTERUZZI 1987, pp. 515, 529.

presentation copy of his *Stanze in lode de la Signora Livia Colonna* printed in 1551.<sup>54</sup> Presumably, this manuscript was also produced on Farnese's instruction. At the same time, Colonna also began to figure increasingly frequently in prose texts. In 1549, Lodovico Domenichi praised her 'honeste qualità'; three years later, Girolamo Ruscelli declared her most beautiful woman in Rome.<sup>55</sup> Colonna was also apparently the dedicatee of a manuscript work, *Della dignità delle donne et dell'amore conveniente a quelle* (c. 1550?) by the physician Bartolomeo Traffichetti (fl. 1565).<sup>56</sup> A recipe for facewash printed in 1564 was, we are told, Colonna's own formula: her growing social presence and reputation for beauty in this period presumably led to the circulation of this recipe in connection with her name.<sup>57</sup>

By 1550, manuscript verse for Colonna moved into print and her literary status increased significantly, becoming more accessible to those socially detached from the manuscript circles of the Farnese court. In 1549, a Latin pastoral poem by Lorenzo Gambara, written around the time of Colonna's illness and in manuscript circulation, was printed in a vernacular translation by the playwright Angelo degli Oldradi as the *Novello amore di Marte per la ninfa Leucotoe*.<sup>58</sup> Oldradi's preface notes that Dionigi Atanagi (1504-73) suggested he translate the text, part of a push by Atanagi to have the 'altri nobili intelletti di questa corte,' presumably the Farnese court, produce poetry for Colonna.<sup>59</sup> Poetry by Anton Francesco Raineri which had appeared in the manuscript *Compositioni* was also printed as a standalone volume entitled *De pulcherrimis illustrissimae Liviae Columnae oculis hebescentibus* (1551).<sup>60</sup>

In early 1551, Livia and her daughter Orinzia became the subject of discussions between Spanish ambassador Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Antoine Perrenot de

<sup>54</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Carlo Gualteruzzi, 8 Aug. 1548, in DELLA CASA AND GUALTERUZZI 1987, p. 500: 'Gandolfo [Porrino] faceva legare hieri un suo volume di stanze noviter nate, scritte a lettere maiuscole d'oro per la prelibata Signora Livia'; cfr. PORRINO 1551, sigs. giii<sup>v</sup>-iiiiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> DOMENICHI 1549, sig. HHvi<sup>v</sup>; RUSCELLI 1552, sigs. Lii<sup>r</sup>, Riv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> A manuscript of this work with dedication to Colonna was known in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (FONTANINI AND ZENO 1753, sig. N2<sup>v</sup>; COSTANZO 1843, p. 318), and was put up for sale in 1868 (*CATALOGUE DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE M. G. GANCIA* 1868, p. 141). A copy is apparently in the Biblioteca del Consiglio di Stato, Rome (MASETTI ZANNINI 1973, p. 295). I have been unable to verify this.

<sup>57</sup> FIORAVANTI 1564, sigs. Q1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> GAMBARA [1549], sig. Aii<sup>v</sup>. Gambara's Latin was printed in 1555, cfr. ZANCHI AND GAMBARA 1555, sigs B2<sup>v</sup>-B5<sup>r</sup>. The poem can be dated by its reference to the covering of Leucotoe's eyes by a wicked goddess (GAMBARA [1549], sig. Biii<sup>r</sup>), a trope also found in the *Compositioni*.

<sup>59</sup> GAMBARA [1549], sig. Aii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> RAINERI 1551.

Granvelle, the Imperially-allied Bishop of Arras.<sup>61</sup> Though Mendoza had had no success arranging a marriage for Livia in 1547, in January 1551 Mendoza suggested Livia's ten-year old daughter Orinzia, whom he claimed had a dowry of 100,000 ducats, as a bride for Granvelle's brother.<sup>62</sup> Two months later, Granvelle thanked Mendoza for the 'aviso de los amores de la señora Livia' ('the news about Signora Livia's loves'), likely a reference to gossip surrounding her relationship to Farnese similar to the *pasquinata* cited above, and requested more information about this possible bride.<sup>63</sup> Mendoza explained the potential bride was 'una hija de la señora Livia, sola, de x años, que la criaremos donde quisieremos' ('a daughter of Signora Livia, the only one, of ten years old, whom we can raise wherever we like').<sup>64</sup> If Granvelle wished, Mendoza would approach Orinzia 'tan diestramente que nadie lo sienta ni se pueda quejar' ('so skilfully that nobody will hear of it, nor be able to complain about it'), with the assistance of Philippe de Lannoy, one of the men who had abducted Livia herself in 1539. Signing off, Mendoza promised Granvelle that 'si saliere como las otras de casa de Colona, heredemos todos' ('If she were to turn out like the other Colonna women, we may all inherit'), underlining the written words to emphasise their importance. The reference to the fate of 'las otras de casa de Colona' is cryptic but clearly, access to Orinzia's wealth was a major factor in the men's deliberations.

Once again, nothing came of Mendoza's plans. Instead of marrying Granvelle's brother, in August 1553 the twelve-year old Orinzia married one of her own relatives, Pompeo Colonna (d. 1584), son of Camillo (c. 1495-1558), duke of Zagarolo. I have found no record of how the marriage was arranged, nor of any contemporaries' reactions to it. What is clear is that any honeymoon period was very short-lived. Four months later, on 21 January 1554, Pompeo visited his new mother-in-law Livia in her home at Palazzo Colonna where she lay ill in bed. Accompanied by two men, Pompeo entered Livia's apartments. When Pompeo kissed Livia's hand as a signal, his companions stepped forward and stabbed her to death in front of her servants.<sup>65</sup>

The manner and motives of Colonna's murder have aroused debate among scholars. In 1803, Valperga-Caluso suggested on his reading of the 1555 anthology that Colonna's

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<sup>61</sup> GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA AND MELE 1941-43, vol. 2, pp. 404-05.

<sup>62</sup> Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 31 Jan. 1551, in MENDOZA 1935, p. 206.

<sup>63</sup> Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 6 Mar. 1551, in BERTOMEU MASIÁ 2009, p. 407.

<sup>64</sup> Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 14 Mar. 1551, in MENDOZA 1935, p. 217.

<sup>65</sup> MASETTI ZANNINI 1973, pp. 312-21.



hand had been amputated by one of the attackers to symbolise an illicit relationship.<sup>66</sup> In 1973, Masetti Zannini refuted Valperga-Caluso's claim when he uncovered the records of Pompeo's trial which include no discussion of amputation.<sup>67</sup> Reviewing both scholars' conclusions in 2003, Domenico Chiodo (following Thomas and Elizabeth Cohen, who stress that court transcripts are not the perfect version of events they purport to be) argued in line with Valperga-Caluso that Colonna's hand was symbolically amputated, suggesting this was omitted in the trial records as it would have openly acknowledged Farnese's connection to Colonna.<sup>68</sup> In 2014, Milena Contini then showed that Valperga-Caluso's reading had been disputed by two of his contemporaries, unknown to Masetti Zannini and Chiodo, again bringing into question the amputation.<sup>69</sup> In terms of motive, Valperga-Caluso and Chiodo argue Colonna was the victim of an honour killing.<sup>70</sup> Masetti Zannini, followed too by Walter and Zapperi, found that the killing was motivated by money, with Masetti Zannini showing this was referenced by servants who testified at trial (who claimed Pompeo owed Livia 4,000 scudi at the time of her death), and that money was accepted at trial as the motivation.<sup>71</sup>

A document which has never been presented in scholarship on Colonna – presumably because scholars have focussed exclusively on Italian sources – permits some resolution. Six days after Colonna's murder, French ambassador Louis de Saint-Gelais de Lanssac (1513-89) sent the following report back to France:

Monseigneur, ces jours passez, le filz du s<sup>r</sup> Camille Colonne, qui avoit espouzé la fille de la signora Livia Colonna, entra en sa chambre acompaigné de huict ou dix et la tua, que tout le monde par deça estime à une grande cruaulté et meschanceté. Car, encores qu'elle eust réputation de se gouverner mal, si esse qui le [*scil.* si est-ce qu'il le] sçavoit bien auparavant que d'espouser sa fille. Parquoy on dit qu'il l'a plustost fait pour avoir ses biens que pour occasion d'honneur. Toutefois le Pape ne fait pas grande démonstration d'en vouloir faire justice, combien que le s<sup>r</sup> Ascanio Colonna, qui est chef de la maison, et plusieurs autres parens le prenent fort à cueur, tant contre l'homicide que contre ledict s<sup>r</sup> Camille son père, de sorte que beaucoup pensent que cella pourra estre cause de la ruyne de leur maison.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup> VALPERGA-CALUSO 1803, pp. 253-55.

<sup>67</sup> MASETTI ZANNINI 1973, p. 309.

<sup>68</sup> CHIODO 2003, pp. 94-95; COHEN AND COHEN 1993, p. 5.

<sup>69</sup> CONTINI 2014, pp. 3-18.

<sup>70</sup> VALPERGA-CALUSO 1803, p. 254; CHIODO 2003, p. 95.

<sup>71</sup> MASETTI ZANNINI 1973, p. 296, 310, 320; WALTER AND ZAPPERI 2006, p. 104.

<sup>72</sup> Louis de Saint-Gelais de Lanssac to Anne de Montmorency, 27 Jan. 1554, in LANSSAC 1904, p. 354.

Lanssac's report – apparently the earliest reference to the murder – is the only account referring to Colonna's 'réputation de se gouverner mal.' It strongly suggests that her relationship with Cardinal Farnese was scandalous and implies that positive public depictions of Colonna undertaken by Farnese court *letterati* were guided by their attachment to the court and to Cardinal Farnese himself. In addition, the very fact that the murder was reported – where Lanssac's other letters exclusively concern diplomatic and military negotiations – makes patent the political implications, from a French perspective, of Colonna's murder. There is a clear sense that internal divisions raised amongst the Imperially-aligned Colonna family by her murder could benefit the French, bringing about the family's 'ruyne.' Just as in 1549, when the *Sciomachie* was particularly well received at the French court because it was performed in front of Palazzo Colonna (see Ch. 2.7), here again the French in Rome appear eager to profit from discord and from moral condemnation of Colonna herself.

Whilst Lanssac's claim of eight or ten accomplices is denied by the records of Pompeo Colonna's trial, his unguarded discussion of the murder demonstrates that the debate on motives began within days of Colonna's death. However, given Lanssac's tone and readiness to report gossip, it would be striking if he heard Colonna's hand had been amputated and omitted this information. I thus concur with Masetti Zannini and Contini in finding no evidence to suggest Colonna's hand was amputated. Lanssac's report instead lays out a persuasive argument that, since Colonna's 'bad' reputation was already known, the motivating factor was pecuniary ('Parquoy on dit qu'il la plustost faict pour avoir ses biens que pour occasion d'honneur'). Again, Masetti Zannini's argument that Colonna was killed to access her wealth rather than because of her relationship with Cardinal Farnese appears most plausible.

By 25 January 1554, Livia Colonna's body had been carried by her servants to the Basilica dei SS. XII Apostoli and buried; it is unclear if her tomb survives.<sup>73</sup> At trial on 16 March 1554, Pompeo was found guilty, fined 10,000 *scudi*, excommunicated and sentenced to execution.<sup>74</sup> The sentence was never carried out and, following a first unsuccessful request for a pardon, Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo (1512-78) acquired a pardon from Pope

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<sup>73</sup> MASETTI ZANNINI 1973, p. 317. No record of Colonna appears in FORCELLA 1869-84.

<sup>74</sup> PETRUCCI 1982c, pp. 412-14.

Pius IV in June 1560.<sup>75</sup> Colonna's death meanwhile gave rise to a second lyric anthology printed in 1555 (discussed below), which incorporated texts from the *Compositioni* and added new *rime in morte*. In the months after the murder, Annibal Caro's letters refer several times to verses which Cardinal Farnese requested he produce.<sup>76</sup> Whilst these letters may refer to *rime in morte* for Colonna, Caro does not make explicit their content or occasion, and the only poems attributed to him which appeared for the first time in the *RDD* are *rime in vita* ('Amor scherzando a sorte'; 'De i begli occhi 'l splendore'). A single, oblique reference to the 'caso di Don Pompeo Colonna' is made in Cardinal Farnese's correspondence, without elaboration, but nothing specifically regarding Livia.<sup>77</sup> Otherwise, following the printing of the *RDD* in 1555, Livia Colonna disappeared from the literary production of the Farnese court, and I have found no later recollections of her or her relationship to the court.

### 3.2: The Corpus of Texts for Livia Colonna

I have identified 249 poems addressed to or referring to Colonna written between c. 1541-55, which are catalogued in Appendix C. These are found in 36 printed books between 1544-1600 (including the *RDD*) and 8 manuscripts (including the *Compositioni*). 49 identifiable poets are represented in the corpus, of whom a majority are Farnese courtiers, linked to the court through both service and literary texts.<sup>78</sup> All but one (Laura Battiferri) are male. Only one (Joachim du Bellay) is not Italian. 34 poems (14%) are anonymous. 188 are vernacular (76%) and 61 are Latin (24%). Though a majority of the poets involved were bilingual, only three are represented in Latin and the vernacular (Anton Francesco Raineri; Giulio Poggio; Jacopo Cenci). 31 poems (12%) are found only in manuscript. Of these, 28 are Latin, suggestive of a Latinate manuscript culture at the Farnese court not reproduced in print. 164 poems (69%) are represented by a single witness. Others were reproduced several times, indicating sustained interest in certain high-profile poets or individual texts (e.g.

<sup>75</sup> For the first request, see Bartolomeo Ferentillo to Alberico Cybo-Malaspina, 2 Jan. 1560, in STAFFETTI 1896, p. 161; PASTOR 1924a, p. 62. For the second, see an *avviso* dated 15 June 1560 in BAV, MS Urb. Lat. 1039, fol. 169<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Annibal Caro to Antonio Elio, 6 Apr. 1554, 20 Apr. 1554, to Alessandro Farnese, 8 June 1554, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, pp. 163, 166, 169.

<sup>77</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Giovan Battista Castaldo, 13 Sept. 1557, in CARO 1765, vol. 1, p. 198.

<sup>78</sup> Two further attributions present problems. I have been unable to identify 'Clinio' while 'Giulio Ferr.' has been proposed to refer to two different men: see relevant entries in Appendix C, section 1.

Annibal Caro's 'Amor, che fia di noi, se non si sface' and 'O d'humana beltà caduchi fiori,' with 8 witnesses each; or Bernardo Cappello's 'S'en te siede pietà quanto possanza,' with 7 witnesses).

Of the 188 vernacular texts, 149 are sonnets (60% of the total number of poems in both languages; 80% of the vernacular poems). This is unsurprising, given both the growing predominance of the vernacular for lyric poetry and the subject matter, as well as the overwhelming preference for sonnets in post-Bembian Petrarchan poetry. Other regular forms comprise 25 *canzoni*; 4 *strambotti*; 3 series of *stanze* in *ottava rima*; 1 *capitolo* in *rime baciare*; 1 *sestina*; 1 poem in *endecasillabi sciolti*. Three vernacular poems are written in irregular metres ('Clinio,' 'Aversa mia fortuna', ten *ottonari* with an ABCCDADEE rhyme scheme; Francesco Cristiani, 'Occhi santi et sereni', thirteen lines of varied length with an ABCCCDDEEFF rhyme scheme; and Cristiani, 'Ogni gratia, ogni gioia,' nine *ottonari* with an ABCCDDEE rhyme scheme). As another of Cristiani's poems in the *RDD* was set to music by Palestrina in 1555, and as it is possible that the unidentified 'Clinio' is a relative, perhaps the father, of Venetian musician Teodoro Clinio, these three poems may have been specifically produced to be accompanied by music.<sup>79</sup>

The 61 Latin texts are less metrically varied. 51 texts (84% of the Latin material) are written in elegiac couplets. Just as with the preponderance of sonnets in the vernacular, this is unsurprising given a tradition of the use of elegiac couplets for amorous and funereal poetry.<sup>80</sup> In practical terms, the ability to use couplets for both laconic epigrams and much longer verses enables their widespread use in this corpus. Yet the preference for elegiac couplets is also, perhaps, identifiably early modern: early modern Latin poets sometimes employed elegiac couplets where, in classical texts, we would expect other lyric metres, such as Sapphic or Alcaic stanzas, or Asclepiads.<sup>81</sup> Other Latin metres also speak to specifically early modern usage. Seven Latin poems employ hendecasyllables; whilst these are found in classical texts, it is striking to see them here alongside a predominantly hendecasyllabic vernacular corpus, and it is arguable that the dynamics of bilingualism in this period, especially amongst the poets surveyed, shaped the production of hendecasyllabic Latin verse. Perhaps most interesting metrically is Janus Vitalis's 'Istos

<sup>79</sup> See relevant entries in Appendix C, Section 1.

<sup>80</sup> See THORSEN 2013, pp. 367-78.

<sup>81</sup> HAIG GAISSER 2017, p. 113.

ocellos LIVIA,' made up of sixteen lines of stichic iambic dimeter, an unclassical form used in late antique Christian poetry and sixteenth-century psalm paraphrases.<sup>82</sup> Whilst much of this corpus conforms to classical precepts, Vitalis's poem demonstrates neo-Latin metrical innovation, something Victoria Moul identifies as another specific feature of sixteenth-century Latin verse.<sup>83</sup>

The thirty-four anonymous verses are particularly useful for thinking about poetry as social practice. Why do these poems reach us with no attributions, and what can this tell us about their function, composition and circulation? We might assume the 'anonymity-function' protected authors in some way, especially in a climate of growing literary censorship.<sup>84</sup> I find no evidence, however, that anonymity in the Colonna corpus is protective (notably, nothing suggests Cardinal Farnese participated anonymously in the poetic *gara* for Colonna). Instead, anonymity in this corpus sharpens the focus on the addressee. Many texts in this corpus discuss moments of social importance in Colonna's life, part of the wider phenomenon of social verse explored by Abigail Brundin and Virginia Cox.<sup>85</sup> In this form of poetic production and circulation, the key name attached to the texts is often that of Colonna, not that of any individual poet. Anonymity, moreover, allows individual texts to 'speak' in the voice of a community (e.g. of the Farnese court itself) and thus points towards a sense of communal authorship.

Anonymity may also be a by-product of social practices. Strikingly, 25 of the 34 anonymous verses (69%) were produced after Colonna's death. During early modern Italian funerals, verses were sometimes affixed to the catafalque or around the church.<sup>86</sup> These were then taken down by those present — literally, or in the sense of being copied — and circulated, sometimes losing any attributions in the process. Though sources on Colonna do not refer to this, comparable practices could explain the proliferation of anonymous texts.

Finally, anonymity marks social belonging. Marcy North notes that authorial attributions were likely evident to social insiders, and finds that anonymity in English coterie

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<sup>82</sup> MOUL 2022, p. 86.

<sup>83</sup> MOUL 2022, pp. 68-95.

<sup>84</sup> See RIZZI AND GRIFFITHS 2016. In poetry, cfr. e.g. Giorgio Gradenigo who concealed his identity in the 1561 anthology for Irene di Spilimbergo (SCHUTTE 1991, p. 47); and Annibal Caro to Giovanni Battista Grimaldi, undated Jan. 1559, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, p. 315: 'vorrei volentieri levare il nome de l'altre mie cose che vanno attorno, per liberarmi una volta affatto di questo affanno che me ne viene.'

<sup>85</sup> BRUNDIN 2012a; COX 2015 and 2022.

<sup>86</sup> See WELLINGTON GAHTAN 2015.

poetry ‘traces the social boundary for the particular coterie, subtly distinguishing insiders with their undisclosed knowledge about authorship from outsiders with their less reliable and more public information.’<sup>87</sup> In a similar vein, the texts for Colonna are the texts of an intimate network in which explicit authorial attributions were often superfluous. We, as socio-temporally dislocated outsiders, now necessarily encounter these texts anonymously. This likely differs substantially from the experience of reading these texts as a Farnese courtier, who may well have read or heard them before in different contexts and for whom explicit attributions were less important.

Early modern audiences who were socially detached from the context of the texts’ production presumably also encountered them anonymously. For these audiences too, attribution may have been of lesser concern since they were accustomed to wider use of the ‘anonymity-function’ and, as I have discussed in previous chapters, were more receptive to fluid concepts of authorship than in the present. This may well have been the case for Roman audiences especially, for whom *pasquinate* were an important current of verse which made deft use of the anonymity-function.<sup>88</sup> That is not to say that poets did not claim or deny authorship, or that users of texts did not ‘correct’ attributions.<sup>89</sup> However, as Sieneese poet Giulio Bidelli (fl. 1550s) made clear in claiming authorship of a sonnet previously attributed to Tullia d’Aragona (1510-56), shifts in attribution were a normal, un concerning feature of a poem’s movement through society (‘spesso e per errore e per sicurtà nascon fra gli amici tali accidenti’).<sup>90</sup> Given these considerations, I have resisted attributing anonymous verses, and provided all contemporary attributions for each poem in Appendix C.

In the early 1540s, Cardinal Farnese and his circle’s attentions were concentrated not on Colonna, but on another woman, Faustina Mancini degli Attavanti. Celebrated for her beauty, Mancini is today remembered predominantly as the subject of Molza’s *Ninfa tiberina* (1541); she clearly also attracted the attention of others, notably Antoine Perrenot

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<sup>87</sup> NORTH 2003, p. 167. On this form of anonymity, see also GENETTE 1987, pp. 46-47.

<sup>88</sup> On *pasquinate* and anonymity, see FAINI 2017b.

<sup>89</sup> For authorship claims, see e.g. Bernardo Tasso to Lodovico Dolce, 20 Oct. 1554, in B. TASSO 2002, vol. 2, p. 141; Annibal Caro to Giacomo Corrado, 29 July 1559, in GARAVELLI 2011, pp. 338-39. For ‘corrected’ attributions, see e.g. BAV, MSS Vat. Lat. 5187, fols. 10<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>, 35<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>r</sup>; Vat. Lat. 9948, fol. 103<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> BIDEELLI 1551, sig. D6<sup>v</sup>.

de Granvelle, whose agent procured a portrait of Mancini for him in 1542.<sup>91</sup> In late 1543, Mancini died in childbirth: Granvelle's agent would report to him that 'est morte la bellissima Faustina Mancina, de laquelle vous avez le retraits; toute Rome la pleure.'<sup>92</sup> This apparent urban weeping occasioned the first collective production of poetry by the Farnese court and those linked to it. Claudio Tolomei informed Trifone Benci that all the 'Cigni' of Rome were writing verse for Mancini, and requested he do the same, with Tolomei providing suggestions for *inventiones* to reflect how Mancini died.<sup>93</sup> Annibal Caro informed Ranuccio Farnese, son of Pierluigi, that he had been instructed by Ranuccio's mother Gerolama Orsini and his brother Cardinal Alessandro to gather poems written for Mancini and send them to Ranuccio.<sup>94</sup> Ranuccio replied with a *sestina* of his own (now lost); Caro replied with two further sonnets.<sup>95</sup> Farnese courtiers thus used their wide social networks to procure commissions for Mancini. Gandolfo Porrino wrote a poem ('Bonaruoti sovrano, c'huomini, e dei') to Michelangelo Buonarroti asking for a portrait of Mancini; though Michelangelo refused, he did produce a verse epitaph ('In noi vive e qui giace la divina') and a sonnet ('La nuova alta beltà che 'n ciel terrei') which replied to Porrino's *per le rime*.<sup>96</sup> Identification of the Mancini corpus, largely collected in three manuscripts, is ongoing by Francesco Feola.<sup>97</sup> For our purposes, we should note that this corpus includes many of the same figures who later wrote verse for Colonna and that, as Franco Pignatti notes, the poetic production for each woman was equally characterized by 'un carattere di gioco mondano e di competizione letteraria [...] sotto lo sguardo compiaciuto del cardinale Alessandro Farnese.'<sup>98</sup>

The poetry for Mancini demonstrates the earliest plurivocal transformation of a real woman into a muse and a Petrarchan Beloved at the Farnese court. The corpus thus demonstrates how poetry using figures of women served as a pretext for the maintenance and construction of homosocial relationships through the exchange of texts, in a

<sup>91</sup> Andrés de Castillo to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle 10 Dec. 1542, 28 Jan. 1543, in GARCÍA REQUENA 2013, pp. 253, 259.

<sup>92</sup> Andrés de Castillo to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 3 Dec. 1543, in GARCÍA REQUENA 2013, p. 289.

<sup>93</sup> Claudio Tolomei to Trifone Benci, 2 Dec. 1543, in TOLOMEI 1547, sig. lvij<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> Annibal Caro to Ranuccio Farnese, 15 Dec. 1543, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 1, p. 289.

<sup>95</sup> Annibal Caro to Ranuccio Farnese, 5 Jan. 1544, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 1, pp. 292-3.

<sup>96</sup> PORRINO 1551, sig. kiiij<sup>r</sup>; BUONARROTI 2006, pp. 219-20.

<sup>97</sup> See FEOLA n.d. The manuscripts are: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, MS Pal. 239; Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, MS Triv. 982 (H 139); and University Library, Wrocław, MS Mil. IV 18, as per ALBONICO 2016, p. 179. Feola refers to an unrelated manuscript, Wrocław, MS Mil. IV 32.

<sup>98</sup> PIGNATTI 2008, p. 305.

comparable process to that which occurred around Simonetta Cattaneo de' Vespucci (1453-76) in Quattrocento Florence.<sup>99</sup> Notably, at least four witnesses of texts in the Colonna corpus carry rubrics identifying them as poems for Mancini, while many others predate Colonna's ascendance at the Farnese court. The persona of the Beloved therefore here transcends any one historical figure, demonstrating that Petrarchan discourse did not simply serve to praise a given individual as much as it did to enable collective exercises of poetic exchange. Here, the change in Beloved from Mancini to Colonna demonstrates how processes of exchange could begin anew, though the texts themselves remained unaltered, as new paratexts invested the poems with new homosocial exchange value.

The process of anthologising poetry was itself homosocially charged. In a 1552 letter to the poet Petronio Barbati, Girolamo Ruscelli sought to convince Barbati to produce poetry for the anthology he was producing for Giovanna d'Aragona Colonna, wife of Ascanio.<sup>100</sup> After deciding to produce the collection, Ruscelli writes, 'si cominciò a darne voce et scriverne ad ognuno'; requests to participate then began to be accepted 'con ringratiamento d'essere invitati tra sì bella schiera, et a sì bella opera.' Due to this communal participation, Ruscelli claimed, 'Il libro non sarà più d'uno che d'un altro ma di tutti ugualmente.'<sup>101</sup> By contrast, those who chose not to offer verse to the collection risked their reputation: 'o si crederà che non habbiano saputo scrivere, che non ne sieno stati richiesti, che non sieno stati amessi, o ricevuti, et cose tali.' Ruscelli demonstrates that participation in a social anthology was not only a question of rendering services to a patron or *donna illustre*, but also a means of publicly demonstrating group belonging. The corollary to this is that exclusion from a given anthology could signal the exclusion of a poet from a group, as I explore in the final section of this chapter. All this was well understood by poets: when Annibal Caro received a request from 'un gentiluomo veneziano de' Gradenichi' asking him to 'far un sonetto in morte di una sua non so chi' (undoubtedly Giorgio Gradenigo requesting verse for Irene di Spilimbergo, who had died in 1559), Caro implored his nephew to provide suitable reasons he was unable to carry out the request, to negate the reputational risk of non-participation.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> See ALLAN 2014.

<sup>100</sup> On Barbati, see CHIODO 2013, pp. 138–49.

<sup>101</sup> Girolamo Ruscelli to Petronio Barbati, 4 June 1552, in RUSCELLI 2010, pp. 43–44.

<sup>102</sup> Annibal Caro to Giovanbattista Caro, 23 Aug. 1560, in CARO 1957–61, vol. 3, p. 42.



### 3.3: Constructing a Farnese ‘Poetarum Cohors’ in Manuscript



Figure 3 Manuscript portrait of Livia Colonna (c. 1547)

BAV MS Barb. Lat. 3693, fol. I<sup>v</sup>

Reproduced from WALTER AND ZAPPERI 2006, plate 16

The first anthology produced for Colonna was the *Compositioni latine et volgari di diversi eccellenti authori sopra gli occhi della Illustrissima Signora Livia Colonna* (now BAV MS Barb. Lat. 3693).<sup>103</sup> The manuscript references Marzio Colonna's death (late 1546, noted in Janus Vitalis, 'Extinctum queritur dum LIVIA moesta maritum,' 'While sorrowful Livia seeks her deceased husband' [fol. 63<sup>r</sup>]) but does not contain sonnets for Colonna by Della Casa or Porrino's 'Stanze in laude della Signora Livia Colonna' completed in August 1548. Its likely date of production is therefore 1547 or early 1548.

<sup>103</sup> cfr. KRISTELLER 1963-97, vol. 2, p. 452

The *Compositioni* is bound as a single volume of eighty-six 138 x 197 mm leaves with gold-edged pages, written in a single italic hand with gold capitals at the start of each verse. The scribe's identity is unknown. The manuscript's frontispiece depicts the Colonna family crest (fol. I<sup>r</sup>) followed by a portrait of Livia Colonna (fol. I<sup>v</sup>, Figure 3). Both are likely attributable, given stylistic resemblances, to Giulio Clovio (the portrait indeed is strikingly similar to the Uffizi miniature in Figure 2). Above the portrait is the motto SPLENDIDIORA LATENT ('More splendid things lay hidden'), recalling Ovid's version of the myth of Daphne and Apollo used as the motto of the Sienese Accademia degli Intronati ('Meliora Latent').<sup>104</sup> The portrait is followed by a dedication (fols. I<sup>r</sup>-III<sup>r</sup>) to Colonna signed by Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano (1500- c. 1580), better known as a translator of chivalric texts.<sup>105</sup> In the dedication, Roseo makes clear that the manuscript was compiled to 'soddisfare [...] al voler di chi son tenuto ubbedire' (fol. II<sup>v</sup>), presumably a reference to Cardinal Farnese as patron. It is likely the manuscript was given to Colonna herself, and Roseo's dedication presents it as such ('questo libro, che allegramente vi dono' [fol. III<sup>r</sup>]). The *Compositioni* contains 66 poems, with the opening lines of Annibal Caro's 'Amor, che fia di noi, se non si sface' repeated (fols. 5<sup>r</sup>; 31<sup>r</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>). It is split into a vernacular section (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-40<sup>v</sup>) followed by blank leaves (fols. 41<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>), a Latin section (fols. 57<sup>r</sup>-79<sup>r</sup>), more blank leaves (fols. 79<sup>v</sup>-89<sup>v</sup>) then another vernacular section (90<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup>). The placement of each gap suggests the manuscript is incomplete. Given the polished form of the rest of the manuscript, excepting the (presumably accidental) partial repetition of Caro's poem, I would argue they were left blank so further texts could be added, producing an expandable, 'living' anthology.

Two *letterati* claimed responsibility for editing the *Compositioni*. Roseo states in his dedication to Colonna that he was the editor (fol. II<sup>v</sup>). Roseo had lived in Rome since at least 1542, and knew Luca Contile; it is perhaps through Contile that he came into contact with the Farnese court.<sup>106</sup> A competing claim was made in the *Esposizione* printed alongside Anton Francesco Raineri's *Cento sonetti* (1553) which states that Raineri,

persuaso ancora da un suo Signore Illustrissimo, che gli può comandare, & egli ha per gratia d'ubidirlo, compose molte cose & latine & volgari sopra questo soggetto [=la cecità di Livia Colonna], & raccolse tutte l'altrui, in un Libro, che fu presentato dopoi a quella Eccellente Signora<sup>107</sup>

<sup>104</sup> OVID 1977, p. 36 (*Met.* I.502): 'si qua latent, meliora putat' ('what is hid, he deems still lovelier').

<sup>105</sup> See BOGNOLO 2010.

<sup>106</sup> See Luca Contile to Mambrino Roseo, 23 May 1542, in CONTILE 1564, sigs. Ivj<sup>v</sup>-Iviiij<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> RAINERI 1553, sigs. Kviiij<sup>r</sup>-Kviiij<sup>v</sup>.

Raineri's claim was accepted by Franco Tomasi and Agostino Casu.<sup>108</sup> However, we should consider that in 1551 Raineri printed a volume of his poems for Colonna, without including any by other poets. In this 1551 collection, Raineri asserted authorship over three poems which appear anonymously in the *Compositioni*, printing them alongside eleven poems attributed to him in the *Compositioni*.<sup>109</sup> If Raineri edited the *Compositioni* in c.1547, would he not have claimed authorship in manuscript of these unattributed poems, rather than wait until he printed them in 1551? Whilst the *Esposizione* purports to have been written by Raineri's brother Girolamo, scholars have argued that much or all of the *Esposizione* was written by Anton Francesco Raineri himself as an exercise in self-promotion.<sup>110</sup> Raineri's claim of editorial responsibility for the *Compositioni* could not easily be refuted, since the manuscript was unavailable except to a small audience and must have seemed plausible to those who had seen his 1551 printed collection. Rather than prove Raineri edited the *Compositioni*, I would argue that the *Esposizione* stakes Raineri's claim as a central member of the court which composed the poems, drawing on Colonna's publicly established reputation to do so. It also serves to underline Raineri's abilities as editor, speaking to a growing profile of the editor as social identity.<sup>111</sup> As such, I think it likely Roseo edited the *Compositioni*, and that Raineri's unattributed poems contained within it were provided to Roseo by a third party.

The manuscript *Compositioni* offered an opportunity to poets gravitating around the Farnese court in Rome to create together a product requested by their cardinal-patron. A feature of many of the resultant verses is an awareness of their ultimate position and participation in a plurivocal anthology. We can also perceive across the *Compositioni* a gradual move towards claiming a poetic identity as 'Farnese poets,' eventually expressed most succinctly through a declaration late in the collection of the group's identity as a 'poetarum...cohors' ('cohort of poets' [Janus Vitalis, 'Qui flevere tuos captos caligine ocellos,' line 2, fol. 64<sup>r</sup>]) organised around Colonna as collective muse. In this sense, Roseo's preface, in which he claims to have gathered the texts by himself, is not strictly truthful but

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<sup>108</sup> TOMASI 2001, p. 105; CASU 2004, p. 139.

<sup>109</sup> 'Persephone invidit tibi LIVIA Lumina et almos'; 'Ingemuit Venus, orba oculis ubi LIVIA visa est' and 'Capta oculis visa est quum LIVIA protinus ipsa,' in BAV, MS Barb. Lat. 3693, fols. 69<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>v</sup>; RAINERI 1551, sig. Aiv<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>110</sup> SODANO 2002, pp. 27-30; PICH 2019, p. 124.

<sup>111</sup> RICHARDSON 1994, pp. 1-18.

simply reproduces *topoi* which, by 1547, were governed by well-established modalities associated with the role of editor. Rather, I propose, individual poets who produced verse for the collection were well aware of participating in a wider, communal project. Just as Ruscelli stated with regards to the 1555 *Tempio*, the poets involved knew they would be forming, through participation, a ‘bella schiera’ of poets. As such, from the *incipit*, texts call for the constitution of a group of poets in Rome:

Da i sette colli lagrimosi versi  
 Suonin l’anime belle et pellegrine  
 [Raineri, ‘Rompa Amor l’arco, e la faretra versi,’ lines 5-6, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>]

Raineri’s hortatory ‘Suonin’ urges the production of the ‘lagrimosi versi’ which follow his poem, the first of the anthology. Raineri employs a term, *pellegrino*, used by Roseo in his prefatory letter to refer to the poets of the anthology, and thereby lexically connects text to paratext to foreground the return of the poets and their poetry to Rome and the symbiotic acts of writing (Raineri) and editing (Roseo) which constitute the anthology.<sup>112</sup> The religious echoes of ‘pellegrine’ are unsurprising when calling poets to a city which had long been a destination of pilgrims and in the context of the veneration of a female figure to pray for her recovery, and also evoke the cross-peninsular movement required for the group to constitute itself physically. Yet it can also be applied to text, to rare or refined, innovative poetry. This is what is attempted in the *Compositioni*: the production of a new group style, in a new material form, made up of *versi pellegrini* making the pilgrimage to Rome.

Physical and editorial movements of dispersal and collection are found in other metapoetic verses. A sonnet by Bernardo Cappello addresses God, seeking for the sun’s rays to be placed into Colonna’s eyes:

Raccendi ’l lume a le mie fide stelle	5
O, per vestirne lor, di raggi spoglia	
Il Sol; che con pietosa et lieta voglia	
Li sosterrà veder traslati in quelle,	
Come madre talhor gode et s’appaga	
Mirar nel volto de l’amata figlia	10
Le bellezze già sue raccolte et sparte.	
[Cappello, ‘Deh non voler, Signor, che le più belle,’ lines 5-11, fol. 2 <sup>v</sup> ]	

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<sup>112</sup> BAV, MS Barb. Lat. 3693, fol. II<sup>r</sup>: ‘al suon de infinite lagrime son suscitati mille pellegrine ingegni a condolersene.’

For readers of Petrarchan verse, line 11's apparent *hysteron proteron* invokes the 'rime sparse' of the *RVF*'s opening verse 'raccolte' into a single book, as well as the fragmentation of the Beloved central to the *RVF*'s poetics.<sup>113</sup> Yet it is also a linear description of the editorial process Rose's dedication lays out, of the act of taking poems from various places and putting them together ('sceglierne una parte,' 'ridurle insieme' [fol. II<sup>v</sup>]). Cappello, like Raineri, writes in full knowledge of his poem's final destination within an editorialized collection of *rime* 'raccolte et sparte.' Colonna's beauty, expressed synecdochally through her eyes, is reconstituted by being collected together through the construction of the anthology, then 'sparte' once more, via the anthology's dissemination. Thus we return to a form of symbiosis between Colonna's regaining her eyesight and the circulation of the poets' texts; without one, the other cannot take place.

Attention to this process of collection and dissemination constitutes an overriding element of the *Compositioni*, through which poets demonstrate their awareness of belonging to a wider group of *letterati*. Raineri presents 'Amor' speaking to these literary actors, using a plural form of address:

Dicea [Amor], con interrotti accenti et mesti  
Amanti. Ecco il Dio vostro inerme & cieco.  
[Raineri, 'Impallidir il sol, cader le stelle,' lines 13-14, fol. 3']

The speech of 'Amor' (named at line 5) made up of 'interrotti accenti et mesti' again carries metapoetic meaning, where both 'accenti' and 'mesti' describe formal and stylistic qualities of Petrarchan lament. This plural address directed towards the anthology's poets is then continued throughout, as Colonna is transformed into an archetypal Petrarchan Beloved, though with the crucial alteration, by comparison with the *RVF*, that her effects are felt plurally: 'Per questa [= Colonna] ogni virtute in noi fioriva' as Sebastiano Gandolfi has it ('Poi che gli occhi del mondo primo honore,' line 61 [fol. 14<sup>v</sup>]). Jacopo Marmitta writes of eyes which 'solean mostrarse | Tutti a noi pieni d'amoroso zelo' ('Chiaro sole a' dì nostri in terra aparse,' lines 5-6, [fol. 4<sup>r</sup>]); where we would normally expect a single poet looking upon the Beloved, instead the Beloved is perceived by a group. The Petrarchan *errore/errare* is also pluralised ('Et noi digiuni et stanchi andremmo errando' [Cappello, 'S'altro lume non è ch'infiammi et mostri,' line 10 (fol. 4<sup>v</sup>)]), while Colonna's blindness is perceived as 'nostro

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<sup>113</sup> PETRARCH 1964, p. 3 (*RVF* 1.1). See VICKERS 1981.

male' (Tommaso Dardano, 'Lasso, quanto più a noi s'appressa il Sole,' line 11 [fol. 35<sup>r</sup>]), to the point that her suffering is displaced onto the group of poets themselves ('Nos vestra sine luce multa passi,' 'We suffered much without your eyes' [Onorato Fascitelli, 'Ocelli nitidi meae puellae,' line 30 (fol. 60<sup>r</sup>)]). In their suffering, the poets constitute themselves as community: and, unlike the poet of the *RVF*, they need not fear – at least for now – the dangerous, fragmentary potential of the Beloved's gaze.

Those addressed by these first-person plurals are a community audience of a text almost entirely consubstantial with the community of *letterati* which produced it. Each poet addresses his peers, not an undefined readership, since all who encountered this manuscript in 1547 were intimately socially connected to its content. The choice to circulate the texts in a single manuscript was conditioned, then, by networks and bonds, since, as Brian Richardson suggests, 'Just as scribal circulation excluded the many, so it was more strongly inclusive of the few who did have access to a text.'<sup>114</sup> Only a certain group could produce texts for the *Compositioni*, and only a certain group could access them. These are *inclusive* not *exclusive* first-person plurals which show clearly that each poet conceives of himself, and his audience, as a single literary community. Each individual's identity, as Petrarchan 'Amanti' and poets, is thus forged within this community, taking on full meaning only once the texts are collected together.

Even when addressing Colonna directly, poets retain an awareness of the existence of the other poets in the group hovering, as it were, in the background:

Solve metus, properat magno tibi foenore, Lucem  
 Nostraque quae referat gaudia amica dies.  
 [Giulio Poggio, 'Quod nebulae obducto caligant lumina amictu,' lines 13-14, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>]

Release your fear; the welcome day which may give back your sight  
 with great profit for you, and with it our joy, is nearing.

Poggio addresses Colonna with a quotation from *Aeneid* I.463, the moment at which Aeneas is confronted with images of the Trojan War, bringing to mind the destruction which led him to Carthage and which will ultimately lead him to found Rome. A similar movement is urged here, as Poggio argues that the loss of Colonna's eyesight will bring some form of benefit in that it will memorialize her in poetry. Yet, even here, addressing Colonna directly, the poet's plural form ('Nostraque...gaudia') alludes to the wider group of men of which he is part.

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<sup>114</sup> RICHARDSON 2009, p. 2.

Towards the end of the *Compositioni*, we find references not only to ‘noi’ and ‘nos’ but to an acknowledgement of a group identity as ‘poets’ and ‘Livia’s poets.’ Following Janus Vitalis’s reference to a ‘poetarum...cohors’ and to a process of plural appreciation of Colonna’s person in which Colonna becomes the direct source of poetic interpretation, by the time of the final poem of the anthology, Giulio Poggio can refer to Colonna’s poets themselves as an explicit single grouping:

Ma se di nuovo ardor, di nuovi strali  
 Infiammare et ferir di tanta schiera, 195  
 Pensaste alcun: vostri Poeti almeno  
 Più dolcemente sian feriti & arsi;  
 Non potran gli occhi lor mirarvi fiso  
 Ché cener diveranno al primo sguardo.  
 [Giulio Poggio, ‘Se così dolce et sì temprato cielo,’ lines 194-99, fols. 95<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup>]

In essence, the anthology works towards to this moment. Across the collection, the poets have become ‘vostri Poeti’ by virtue of their participation in the anthology, and via their demonstration of group belonging through recurrent first-person plurals, the acceptance of ‘group’ error and communal exhortations to specific behaviour to correct that error. Poggio’s verse thus pushes forwards: with the restitution of Livia’s eyesight, she returns to the image of the ideal Beloved whose brilliance is too strong for poets to withstand but too great to resist memorialising in verse.

This insistence on the first-person plural, and on a process whereby through writing Petrarchan verse one becomes a member of the *poetarum cohors*, refutes a basic tenet of the *RVF*. There, the poet warned the aspiring poet of the ‘pochi compagni’ that he would have in following the path of verse production.<sup>115</sup> As such, the solipsistic poet of the *RVF* writes of the sight of the Beloved as available only to him, as ‘quel che mai non vide | occhio mortal, ch’io creda, altro che ’l mio.’<sup>116</sup> In the *Compositioni*, by contrast, all the poets purport to have seen the same things and all speak within the framework of a group response. Where the *RVF* presents an individualized poet-Beloved relationship, the *Compositioni* also centres poet-poet relationships. The *RVF* is thus, as we would expect, utilized in the *Compositioni* as a stylistic model, but its solipsistic poetics have become communal, emblematic of the expanded social forms and functions of Petrarchan diction in

<sup>115</sup> PETRARCH 1964, p. 9 (*RVF* 7.12).

<sup>116</sup> PETRARCH 1964, p. 171 (*RVF* 127.50-51).

the mid-sixteenth century. As such, in the *Compositioni* we see precisely the opposite of RVF 7.12: through poetry, the individual poet acquires, rather than loses, companions.

### 3.4: Farnese Poetic Identities Made Public in Print



Figure 4 Woodcut portrait of Livia Colonna (1555)

BL 11426. b. 18, sig. ai<sup>r</sup>

The second anthology produced for Colonna followed her murder in January 1554 by around a year and half. Entitled *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori, in vita, e in morte dell'Illustrissima Signora Livia Colonna*, it was printed in Rome in 1555 by Antonio Barrè (active 1555-64, d. after 1572) who received a papal privilege for the work on 22 July 1555. It contains a woodcut portrait of Colonna (Figure 4), reproduced three times within the volume. In a process comparable to the iconographic shift in representations of Colonna's relative, Vittoria, here, following the very public scandal of her murder, Livia's hair is fully



covered to represent her in death as pious, quite unlike the earlier portrait medallion which presented her *all'antica* [Figure 1].<sup>117</sup>

Only one edition of the *RDD* was printed. It is unclear how widely the text circulated and it is difficult to establish the size of an average print run in this period. Survival rates of printed book are a particularly fraught method of establishing the size of print runs, given only certain types of book have historically been considered 'worth' conserving.<sup>118</sup> Rough indications are provided, however, by the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC 801129), which cites thirty-eight extant copies, and EDIT16 (CNCE 30786) which cites thirty-three. This is therefore not an especially rare volume and was clearly felt suitable for conservation in successive collections.

The reconstruction of the *RDD*'s production presents numerous questions, exacerbated by the fact that none of the contributors named in it are documented as having discussed it. The printer, Antonio Barrè, was of French descent and worked in the early 1550s as a papal singer while training with printers Valerio and Luigi Dorico.<sup>119</sup> He then printed four literary texts, including the *RDD*, before turning exclusively to printing music. Why was the printing of the *RDD* entrusted to this novice printer? The answer may lie in a familial connection: his father may have been a Farnese court musician. In 1554, a musician named Leonardo was among Cardinal Farnese's *familiars*.<sup>120</sup> One year later, Pope Paul IV expelled one Leonardo Barrè from the Sistine Chapel Choir alongside Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c. 1525-94) and Domenico Ferrabosco (1513-74) as all three were married.<sup>121</sup> Leonardo Barrè subsequently became choirmaster at San Lorenzo in Damaso, Cardinal Farnese's titular church, and petitioned Farnese for an increase in salary.<sup>122</sup> This strongly suggests Leonardo Barrè was the Leonardo listed in Farnese's household in 1554. It has been assumed Leonardo was Antonio's father; both men's Farnese connection would further imply their familial relationship.<sup>123</sup> As such, Antonio Barrè was perhaps suggested as printer by his father, the Farnese court musician.

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<sup>117</sup> See FREULER 2016.

<sup>118</sup> See PETTEGREE 2016.

<sup>119</sup> BUJA 1996, pp. 1–17, 33–74; FRANCHI 2014, p. 51.

<sup>120</sup> BENOÎT 1923, p. 205.

<sup>121</sup> ROSTIROLLA 2018, p. 212.

<sup>122</sup> NIWA 2014, p. 110. On cardinals' musical patronage in general, see FENLON 1988; REYNOLDS 1989; CANGUILHEM 2019. On musicians employed by the Farnese, see NIWA 2005, 2016 and 2018; LUISI 2022.

<sup>123</sup> BUJA 1996, p. 1.

The *RDD* was edited by Francesco Cristiani (d. after 1565), about whom little is known.<sup>124</sup> A letter by Annibal Caro, unnoticed in previous scholarship on the *RDD*, shows that in 1565 Cristiani was still alive, still writing poetry and that he and Caro continued some form of friendship:

L'affezion di messer Francesco Cristiani m'è carissima [...] De le sue cose non posso dir se non in genere che son buone e che hanno gravità e dolcezza insieme, e che la lingua è buona. [...] l'ho per segnalato dicitore e l'accetto per amico onorando.<sup>125</sup>

Unfortunately, the letter, addressed to an unknown recipient, tells us nothing more about Cristiani. Maureen Buja assumes Cristiani was in the pay of the Colonna since he accessed poetry in the *Compositioni* manuscript.<sup>126</sup> However, as Appendix C demonstrates, all but six of the *Compositioni*'s vernacular texts circulated elsewhere between 1547-55. I am sceptical as to the likelihood of these six texts existing in only a *single* copy in a *single* manuscript, and would posit that in all probability further witnesses to these poems could be found, or once existed. In another case, moreover, the *RDD* does not contain the version of a poem found in the *Compositioni* but instead contains a reworked version of the same text first printed in 1553 (see below, Ch. 3.4). The *Compositioni* manuscript cannot therefore have been Cristiani's only source. As such, whether Cristiani had access to the *Compositioni* manuscript is debateable and we cannot assume he worked for the Colonna. A translation of an Horatian ode by one 'Francesco Cristiani, da Fabriano' was printed in a 1605 anthology: it is possible this is our editor, but no further information is given.<sup>127</sup> Otherwise, I have found only one further witness to Cristiani's poetry. Cristiani's 'Ecco oscurati i chiari raggi al Sole' (printed in the *RDD*) is transcribed in the *canzoniere* (copied September 1554) of Antonio Omodei (d. 1573). It is preceded by Tommaso Dardano's 'La notte che seguì dopo l'ocaso' (also printed in the *RDD*) and is followed by a poem by Omodei also beginning 'Ecco oscurati i chiari raggi al Sole.'<sup>128</sup>

The *RDD* was not dedicated to Cardinal Farnese, likely following a tendency to obscure public links between Farnese and Colonna. The *RDD* instead carries a dedication to Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este (1509-72). It is unclear why d'Este should be the dedicatee of the

<sup>124</sup> QUADRIO 1739-52 (vol. 2, p. 511) suggested another volume was edited by Cristiani, supposedly entitled *Rime per la cecità di Donna Livia Colonna*, printed Rome, 1555. I have found no evidence supporting this.

<sup>125</sup> Annibal Caro to unknown, 3 Dec. 1565, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 3, p. 256.

<sup>126</sup> BUJA 1996, p. 40.

<sup>127</sup> COMIATI 2015, pp. 157-58.

<sup>128</sup> BAV, MS Cappon. 139, fols. 207<sup>v</sup>-215<sup>r</sup>. On the *canzoniere*, see MANITTA AND MANITTA 2015.

text; he had no obvious links to Colonna and was not the patron of the majority of poets included in the text. Walter and Zapperi assume d'Este was simply a convenient 'prestanome' for Cardinal Farnese.<sup>129</sup> This argument is a little unsatisfactory; early modern texts were not dedicated in this manner, almost at random. I would propose two possible explanations. First, it is notable that the *RDD* is *not* dedicated to a woman, unlike comparable volumes such as that for Cleopatra Aretino (1547), dedicated to one Ricca da Montaguto, or Giuseppe Santafiore's *Lode de le nobili et illustri donne romane* (1551) dedicated to Ersilia Cortese del Monte (1529-87).<sup>130</sup> Typically, dedications of this sort of text to a woman might exhort the dedicatee to follow models of female virtue, such as that of the deceased.<sup>131</sup> Instead, the *RDD*'s dedication to Cardinal d'Este confirms the collection's homosocial aspects. Secondly, on 22 May 1555, two months before the date of the *RDD*'s privilege, Antonio Barrè finished printing Nicola Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*.<sup>132</sup> This, Vicentino states, was made possible by Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este's 'generosità,' suggesting d'Este paid for the printing and most likely for the paper, the largest expense in the production of any book.<sup>133</sup> Buja's examination of watermarks across Barrè's printed works shows that the Vicentino volume and the *RDD* share three paper stocks.<sup>134</sup> These stocks had not been used by Barrè before printing the Vicentino volume and were not used again after the *RDD* was printed. I would hypothesise that surplus paper from the Vicentino volume (May 1555) was used for the *RDD* (July-August 1555), such that Cardinal d'Este indirectly paid for the production of the *RDD*. This may explain why he was a suitable alternative dedicatee.

Editorially, the *RDD* is split into *rime in vita* (sigs. Bi<sup>f</sup>-Yiv<sup>f</sup>) and *rime in morte* (sigs. Xi<sup>f</sup>-MMiv<sup>v</sup>), akin to editions of Petrarch's *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (herein *RVF*) following Bembo's 1501 Aldine edition.<sup>135</sup> This emulation of the *RVF* perhaps led to the exclusively vernacular content of the *RDD*. This vernacularism suggests too that the work targeted a wider audience, notably including women, with no Latin. Virginia Cox notes with regards to Italian academies in this period that 'more private activities were all-male,' while 'more

<sup>129</sup> WALTER AND ZAPPERI 2006, p. 105.

<sup>130</sup> COPPA 1547; SANTAFIORE 1551; cfr. MELFI 1983.

<sup>131</sup> RICHARDSON 2020, pp. 36–82.

<sup>132</sup> VICENTINO 1555, sig. BBviii<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> VICENTINO 1555, sig. Aii<sup>f</sup>; RICHARDSON 1999, pp. 63-65.

<sup>134</sup> BUJA 1996, pp. 210-271.

<sup>135</sup> RICHARDSON 1994, pp. 34, 49.

public activities were often conceived with a mixed audience in mind.<sup>136</sup> The linguistic shift from private manuscript to public print was likely comparably conditioned.

By mid-1555, the *RDD* fitted into a burgeoning genre of printed anthologies, as noted above. It also formed part of a series of printed poetic works linked to Colonna women. In 1554, an *ottava rima* poem by Gabriele Moles entitled *Le lagrime di Sebeto* and edited by Girolamo Ruscelli was printed to commemorate the death of the child Maria Colonna d'Aragona; a second edition followed in 1555.<sup>137</sup> More famously, a verse anthology, the *Tempio alla Signora Donna Giovanna d'Aragona*, was printed in late 1555, dedicated to Livia's (living) relative and Maria's mother, Giovanna d'Aragona Colonna. Notably, the quadrilingual Italian-Latin-Greek-Spanish *Tempio* included poetry by eleven men who also participated in the *RDD*.<sup>138</sup> Finally, a substantial number of Vittoria Colonna's poems had already been printed, with this number increasing after her death in 1547.<sup>139</sup> A printed volume linked to another Colonna woman may therefore have promised commercial success and the *RDD* should be seen in the economic context of a number of printed poetic works linked to Colonna women appearing in quick succession.

Even so, a primary concern of the *RDD* was, I would suggest, the promotion of the Farnese court as a site of poetic production. This is, paradoxically, despite the complete absence of the word *Farnese* from the volume. In this, we find a situation akin to that which Paule Desmoulière describes for funereal collections emanating from academies which conceal, or at least do not openly reveal, the identity of the community responsible for them, instead leaving this information available only to those who read with 'un po' più di attenzione' (and, I would add, a little more social knowledge).<sup>140</sup> If we read more attentively, the most important indicator of the volume's communal origin is clearly its *index nominum* which makes immediately visible what Virginia Cox terms the "'cast list" of names' which establishes a volume's 'social and geocultural significance.'<sup>141</sup> Unusually, this *index* is listed in terms of perceived hierarchy. Giovanni Della Casa, Annibal Caro and Francesco Maria

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<sup>136</sup> COX 2016, p. 149.

<sup>137</sup> MOLES 1554 and 1555.

<sup>138</sup> They are, in order of appearance in the *Tempio*: Angelo di Costanzo; Giuliano Goselini; Petronio Barbatì; Annibal Caro; Giacomo Cenci; Sebastiano Gandolfi; Anton Francesco Raineri; Tommaso Dardano; Jacopo Marmitta; Alessandro Guarnelli.

<sup>139</sup> CRIVELLI 2016.

<sup>140</sup> DESMOULIERE 2016, p. 277.

<sup>141</sup> COX 2022, p. 197.

Molza are listed first, though Molza had died eleven years earlier, before Colonna's relationship to Farnese began. This is unusual: comparable volumes typically list contributors alphabetically or by order of appearance in the text. In the *RDD*, by contrast, since Della Casa, Caro and Molza were the best known Farnese poets, it appears the editor or printer used their presence in the collection as a promotional tool to present an idealised view of the Farnese court, in which socio-poetic hierarchies were clearly delineated for those with the requisite onomastic knowledge.

The material shift to a printed anthology following Colonna's murder in 1554 has important homosocial implications, as the Farnese poets present themselves as a group to a much wider audience than in the manuscript *Compositioni*. Whereas in manuscript the audience was controlled and consubstantial with its producers, in print the poets perform a public role, demonstrating their belonging to the Farnese court and their personal relations with one another. Though the anthology ostensibly functions as a memorial to Colonna, it therefore performs another function – ostensibly ancillary but likely primary – of building the court's public reputation as a literary centre and of publicly depicting the homosocial relations of the Farnese court, a process noted as central to funereal anthologies examined by Desmoulière.<sup>142</sup> This is amply demonstrated by the dedication in which Francesco Cristiani refers to the decision to print, describing the verse for Colonna as 'così honorate fatiche per fin adesso quasi sotterra.'<sup>143</sup> During Colonna's life, the poetry is buried away in private manuscripts ('*quasi sotterra*' [my italics]); with her death, the poetry comes out into public light, excavated like the broken Corinthian column which features in the volume's woodcut portrait of Colonna as an obvious visual *senhal*. Cristiani's term of reference shows, crucially, that it is the poems (the 'fatiche') themselves which are 'honoured,' not Colonna; whilst the text purportedly serves as memorial to her, it is clear that its role is to promote Farnese court poetry.

This shift in attention from Colonna to the poets who produced the texts continues in one of two liminal sonnets addressed 'A li scrittori.' Intriguingly, the first sonnet is marked as of uncertain authorship. The likelihood of a metaliterary, dedicatory text seemingly composed specifically for this volume losing its attribution by the time the book was printed seems slim. As described above, I would posit this as an example of the use of the

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<sup>142</sup> DESMOULIÈRE 2016, p. 285.

<sup>143</sup> *RDD* 1555, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

anonymity function to offer the verse via as a detached voice addressing the Farnese 'scrittori,' without any one of them being its writer, such that all benefit from its praise. The sonnet inverts *RVF* 1.1's apostrophe to the reader ('Voi ch'ascoltate...'), the 'Voi' now applied to the writers of the following anthologised texts:

A LI SCRITTORI

Voi che questa divina alta COLONNA  
 Con dolce stile e leggiadre rime  
 Seco poggiando alzate al ciel sublime  
 Lei che fia sempre in terra immortal DONNA

Ecco rara beltà sott'humil gonna, 5  
 Giunta a vera honestà, che par che stime  
 Ella via più che l'oro, ond'alte e prime  
 Son le glorie ch'Amor di lei s'indonna.

Beata DONNA che gl'eterni honori  
 Del suo ben far per così chiare penne 10  
 Dal Borea a l'Austro hor fien diffusi e sparsi

Et voi felici ancor, che i sacri allori  
 Cingete al crin per lei, ch'hor veggio alzarsi,  
 (Per viver sempre) al cielo, ond'ella venne.  
 [Anon., sig. Aiii<sup>v</sup>]

This liminal verse assigns the power to raise Colonna to the heavens ('alzate al ciel,' line 3) to the poets' 'dolce stile, e leggiadre rime' (line 2), an inversion of the role of the typical Petrarchan Beloved who leads the poet towards heaven. Though Colonna is indeed 'Beata,' this is because of the power of verse, as the poets' 'chiare penne' are responsible for the dissemination of her image (lines 10-11). Attention to the act of writing is explicit here, with a shift in emphasis from the editorial processes of collecting and then disseminating (what Cappello in the *Compositioni* described with the terms 'raccolte et sparte,' cited above) to that of dissemination alone, now envisaged over a wider remit. At the close of the poem, these writers are themselves described as happier than Livia (line 12), for it is they who crown themselves with laurel (lines 12-13), again an inversion of a Petrarchan trope in which the Beloved crowns the poet. The male poetic community thus continues its journey, begun in the *Compositioni*, towards 'becoming' a (Farnese) poet, using Colonna as subject matter. In print, however, they have become bolder: Colonna's intervention is no longer

required, as the male poetic community seizes for itself, via an anonymous poem, the power to confirm its member's identities as poets.

Though the second sonnet 'A li scrittori' by Alessandro Guarnelli is more explicit in its praise for Colonna, her positive attributes remain exclusively constituted by the poets' productions. These are described in terms of the opportunities and difficulties they offer aspiring poets:

A LI SCRITTORI

Quei che, l'alma beltade e i sommi honori  
Cantando, al ciel Corinna e Lesbia alzâro,  
Così nobil soggetto, e così raro,  
Non hebber come voi Cigni Canori.

Ma non però d'Amor gli alti thesori, 5  
Che l'angelico volto e gli occhi ornâro,  
Altrui scovrite a pien, quantunque a paro  
Gite di quei che 'l crin cinser d'alloro.

Ché sol le dolci sue luci amorse  
Potean stancar l'altissimo poeta, 10  
Che fe' del buon Troian l'opre famose:

Varcaste un ampio mar, ma quella meta  
Che de le gran COLONNE Hercole impose  
A' naviganti, il ciel giunger vi vieta.  
[Alessandro Guarnelli, sig. Aiv']

Guarnelli's antonomastic references to Ovid and Catullus ('Corinna e Lesbia,' line 2) places the texts for Colonna within a long tradition of amorous lyric and underlines the poets' responsibility for the glorification and memorialization of the Beloved. Their examples are quickly superceded, however, as Guarnelli raises the entire *poetarum cohors* above the stature of Ovid and Catullus by virtue of their subject matter. At the volta, Guarnelli invokes Virgil ('l'altissimo poeta, | Che fe' del buon Troian l'opre famose' [lines 10-11]). Though Guarnelli's translation of *Aeneid* I had been printed in 1554 (see Ch. 4), it is unusual to call on Virgil as a lyric precursor. Guarnelli's allusion relies on poetic hierarchies in which lyric ranked below epic such that, even if we assume Colonna would tire the lyric Ovid and Catullus, it is more significant that she would tire the epic Virgil too (line 11). In constructing this comparison, Guarnelli transforms the act of lyric production into an epic journey in its own right. The Columns of Hercules, limits of the known world, act as *senhal* for Colonna

while simultaneously acknowledging the limits of human understanding, following Dante's Ulysses.<sup>144</sup> Though the epic journey is disrupted, poets who undertake it are implicitly noble for attempting the task. No matter that they cannot go with Colonna beyond the columns; the epic experience of lyric will bond them as a single group.

The section of texts *in vita* opens with a 'centone del Petrarca' by Cristiani, a form of verse which re-assembles lines from the work of a canonical poet to form a new text.<sup>145</sup> As the early 1550s saw the production of the *Centones ex Virgilio* by Lelio Capilupi, another poet in Rome connected to the Farnese circle (and whose brother, Ippolito, participated in the *RDD*), the inclusion of a *centone* here responds to a poetic 'trend' which may have been connected with Farnese poets by mid-sixteenth-century Roman audiences.<sup>146</sup> More importantly, Cristiani's re-use and re-shaping of Petrarch's works (predominantly the *RVF*) reifies the transformation of Livia into Laura whilst appropriating for the volume Petrarch's authority as canonical *auctor*. The *centone's* literary conceit built on textual recognition presupposes, moreover, cultural capital shared between poet and audience, drawn by the rubric to appreciate the process of deconstruction and reassembly (though unlike in Capilupi's *Centones*, sources are not marked, making the 'game' more difficult). The *centoni di Petrarca* in the *RDD* (both here, and Cristiani's second *centone* which opens the section *in morte* ['Ohimè il bel viso, ohimè il soave sguardo' (sig. Xi<sup>r</sup>)]) thus place particular emphasis on poetic craft and in so doing engage an audience versed in post-Bembian vernacular literary traditions, primed to understand the following poems as forms of intertextual call and response between Petrarch and the Farnese court.

In the poetry to Colonna 'proper,' a poetics of the first-person plural, as in the *Compositioni*, emerges again, albeit now altered by its more public material form in print. Where in the manuscript *Compositioni* Colonna's blindness constituted individualized 'danno' (Gandolfi, 'Poi che gli occhi del mondo primo honore,' line 65 [fol. 14<sup>v</sup>]), in the *RDD* this same 'danno' is public and shared ('il gran pubblico danno,' in Petronio Barbati, 'Deh, che altro debb'io, che pianger sempre,' line 8 [sig. Ej<sup>r</sup>] and Gandolfo Pighini, 'De i be' vostri occhi far due stelle in cielo,' line 9 [sig. Eiv<sup>v</sup>]; 'comun danno,' in Giacomo Cenci, 'Poi

<sup>144</sup> ALIGHIERI 1985, vol. 1, pp. 298-300 (*Inf.* 26.106-42).

<sup>145</sup> On *cento(ne)s*, see TUCKER 2013a.

<sup>146</sup> See RHODES 1994; TUCKER 2013b.



ch'empio fato et comun danno,' line 1 [sig. Mij<sup>r</sup>]).<sup>147</sup> In print, where these texts are more widely accessible, the remit of *danno* is thus widened and all of Rome is said to weep in an address to non-Romans, another acknowledgement of larger print audiences:

Dunque voi, che lontan da questi colli  
 Menate lieti i giorni in più tranquilla parte, 10  
 Non sperate giamai riporvi 'l piede.  
 Qui non si miran occhi se non molli  
 [Porrino, 'La donna che solea col sguardo solo,' lines 9-12, sig. CCijj<sup>v</sup>]

Porrino's emphatic 'Non sperate giamai riporvi 'l piede' can be compared to Raineri's opening call in the *Compositioni* ('Da i sette colli lagrimosi versi | Suonin l'anime belle et pellegrine'). Where Raineri called poets back to Rome in pilgrimage to form a poetic community, Porrino suggests that Colonna's death precludes the re-formation of that community which instead stands to be torn apart:

Qual suol talhor quando importuna e folta  
 Nube il ciel cuopre; e larga pioggia versa;  
 Quinci e quindi fuggir gente dispersa,  
 Che pria si stava in bel teatro accolta.  
 Tal poi ch'a noi la chiara luce è tolta 5  
 Da gli occhi nostri, e d'atro humor cospersa  
 [Porrino, 'Qual suol talhor quando importuna e folta,' lines 1-6, sig. Ci<sup>r</sup>]

To counter this dispersal, and to permit community formation, new imperatives push the poets towards new poetic material as the deceased Livia allows this group to be reconstituted:

E voi leggiadri e pargoletti Amori  
 Venite in bella schiera,  
 Meco a cantar della COLONNA altera  
 [Guarnelli, 'Hor ch'el mio Sol più chiaro,' lines 11-13, sig. Tij<sup>r</sup>]

The product of the imperative, of the poets' obedience of these calls and of the regrouping of the 'schiera' is the physical printed anthology, a textual 'bel teatro.' Via poetry, albeit poetry of a different sort to that of the *Compositioni*, this (male, courtly) community is thus reconstituted following Colonna's death. Colonna is thus presented primarily as a constitutive force in a single homosocial network. Her role in the *RDD* is as an object of group meditation: 'Volgemoci a costei,' urges Pirro Bartolo, 'che al mondo diva | Ne

<sup>147</sup> Note that 'il gran publico danno' appears in the *RVF* (PETRARCH 1964, p. 310 [*RVF* 246.9]), but in the *RDD* clearly takes on new meaning.

produrrà di gioia vero effetto' ('Valse l'alto fattor che'l tutto cura,' lines 43-44 [sig. Sij']). Male homosocial bonding, and the resultant 'gioia,' Bartolo implies, requires such a figure. In the *RDD*, a form of collective poetic obligation binds poets to memorialise the deceased woman amongst themselves to permit their continual formation as group and the construction of their individual, public poetic identities as members of that group.

This poetic grouping is also constituted around a second figure, only once alluded to indirectly and only once named: Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. In all the previous poetry of this sort from the Farnese court, including for Faustina Mancini and in the *Compositioni*, Farnese is conspicuously absent, something Walter and Zapperi attribute to his status as cardinal in an socio-political environment changed by the pressures of ecclesiastical reform in the 1540-50s in which clerical *decorum* was more heavily scrutinised.<sup>148</sup> At the end of a *canzone* by Bernardo Cappello, the poet pre-emptively seeks pardon for a poem which may not reach a required standard. Here, Cappello refers indirectly to Farnese:

Canzon, chiedi perdono  
 Al mio Signor cortese, se non sei  
 Trista, com'io vorrei  
 [Cappello, 'Chi mi darà le lagrime ond'io possa,' lines 78-80, sig. AAiv<sup>v</sup>]

The poem is presented as sent to Farnese (the 'Signor cortese'), in the manner in which Cappello, as we saw in Ch. 2.1, sent many others to him; again, though the *RDD* purports to discuss Colonna, it always also acts as a method of communication between men.

Particularly notable is the poet's understanding of the required or appropriate poetic diction within the strictures of the collective poetic imperative. We see clearly here this obligation, as the poet strives to ensure his poetry is well received by Farnese, the anthology's silent arbiter.

Only in one place is Farnese's identity provided more clearly, at the end of a *canzone* by Sebastiano Gandolfi:

Alhor condotta al suo dritto ogni legge  
 S'udirà risonar con chiaro grido  
 Alessi, e LIVIA, a Fiesole, a Caregge, 90  
 E il Po col Tebro, e l'Arno ov'hora assido,  
 Dove insala ciascun le sue dolce acque  
 Quinci, e quindi ne fia diletto nido  
 E s'alcun tempo l'alta ROMA tacque,  
 Dirà tosto sgombrando ogni timore 95

<sup>148</sup> WALTER AND ZAPPERI 2006, p. 95.

La bella coppia in cui Dio si compiacque  
 [Gandolfi, 'Poi che gli occhi del mondo, il primo honore,' lines 88-96, sig. DDiiij<sup>v</sup>]

This text, a reworking of a piece from the *Compositioni* (fols. 13<sup>r</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>), had been printed once before in 1553 (and thus demonstrates, as noted above, that Cristiani used more than the *Compositioni* in sourcing texts).<sup>149</sup> The rewriting and its initial appearance in print allows us to date it fairly precisely and shows an intriguing addition compared to the first attested version in the *Compositioni* (I have italicised alterations):

All'hor condotta al suo dritto ogni legge,  
 S'udirà risonar con chiaro grido  
*LIVIA ovunque il latin nome si legge* 90  
 E il Po col Arno, e il Tebro ov'hora assido,  
 Dove insala ciascun le sue dolce acque  
 Quinci, e quindi ne fia diletto nido  
 Et s'alcun tempo l'alta Roma tacque,  
 Dirà tosto, sgombrando ogni timore, 95  
*LIVIA COLONNA in cui Dio si compiacque*  
 [Gandolfi, 'Poi che gli occhi del mondo, il primo honore,' lines 88-96, fol. 17<sup>r</sup>]

In the 1553-55 version, the evocation of Medici villas at Fiesole and Careggi and the shift from Tiber to Arno (line 91) dates the rewriting of the *canzone* to 1551-52 when Cardinal Farnese fled Rome for Florence following disagreements with Pope Julius III over Farnese rule in Parma and Piacenza (see Ch. 4.4.2). The 'Alessi' of the 1553-55 version is none other than Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. *Alexis* had been used by Francesco Maria Molza and Rodolfo Iracinto (fl. 1530s?), former tutor of Annibal Caro, as a pastoral name for the cardinal.<sup>150</sup> In the 1553 printed edition, Colonna's surname is removed and Farnese's pastoral name is added. Yet no paratext explains the references: this is a poem to be understood only by a select audience. By the time of the text's inclusion in the 1555 *RDD*, the potency of Colonna and Farnese's relationship must have diminished following her death. Even so, in the context of the *RDD* in which Colonna is repeatedly named, the readily comprehensible declaration of 'Alessi' and 'Livia' as 'la bella coppia in cui Dio si compiacque' (*RDD* version, line 96) is surprising. On the whole, the *RDD* rigorously avoids connecting Colonna and Farnese, so much so that the inclusion of this single reference to the couple

<sup>149</sup> ARRIVABENE 1553, sigs. Kviiij<sup>v</sup>-Liiij<sup>r</sup>. This version has 'a la gregge' in place of 'a Caregge' (line 90).

<sup>150</sup> CHIODO 2014, p. 112; MOLZA 1999, p. 181 ('Ad Dianam,' line 3; 'Ad Solem,' line 5); Rodolfo Iracinto, 'Ad Alexandrum Farnesium,' line 9, in BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 7182, fol. 88<sup>v</sup>.

almost seems an error; one wonders whether, indeed, the version intended to be reproduced in the *RDD* is that of the *Compositioni*, rather than the subsequent 1553 version.

In conclusion, in the *RDD*, public declarations of ‘correct’ poetic behaviour, the rules of male homosocial bonding and relationships are laid out: as such, the language of obligation and comportment (‘Venite,’ ‘Piangete,’ ‘Hor ne conviene,’ ‘chiedi perdono,’ ‘condotta al suo dritto ogni legge’) resounds through these verses. In some cases, this involves the calling together of the poets to produce verse, seen as the appropriate thing to do in the current situation. Elsewhere, as with Cappello, we see an attentiveness to the required courtly tone of the texts produced. In all these cases, the poetic figure of the woman offers not only an opportunity to produce poetry exchanged amongst the members of the group but an opportunity too to demonstrate an understanding of how to correctly navigate the social codes which regulate the construction of the homosocial poetic community. If the *Compositioni* demonstrates a gradual process of ‘becoming a Farnese poet’ via participation in the laudatory verse for Colonna, then the *Rime di diversi* demonstrates both a newly public role as a ‘Farnese poet,’ as well as deeper attention to the group dynamic, using poetry to constitute the social rules which hold the group together in their pursuit of *sodalitas*.

### 3.5: Rime estravaganti

36 of the 249 poems for Colonna which I have identified were not incorporated into either anthology discussed above. In referring to these texts as *rime estravaganti*, I want to draw attention to what Teodolinda Barolini reminds us in her critique of the term’s use in critical editions: not a ‘philologically neutral term,’ it ‘is freighted with value-based assumptions about the superiority of the “organic” and the “ingathered” to the “fragmented” and the “ungathered”.’<sup>151</sup> Attention to these ungathered *rime estravaganti* can guide our understanding of the process of gathering, collecting and anthologizing, clarifying the contours of the programmatic shaping of poetic anthologies and identities at the Farnese court. Indeed, Mambrino Roseo’s dedication to Colonna gestures to such verses *not* gathered in his anthology, thereby alluding to criteria of admission into the anthology and

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<sup>151</sup> BAROLINI 2015, p. 94.

reminding readers of the anthology that it represents such a selection.<sup>152</sup> At the same time, some of these *rime estravaganti* make apostrophes to the anthologies and the court which produced them: they call, in Girolamo Ruscelli's terms, to be 'amessi, o ricevuti,' but their entrance to the pages of the collection is denied on the basis of various factors.

The best known *rime estravaganti* are three sonnets ('Poscia che 'l sol d'alta virtute ardente'; 'Mentre la più gradita e chiara luce'; 'Di cerchio in cerchio, e d'una in altra idea') written by Urbinate poet Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati (1523-89).<sup>153</sup> First printed in Battiferri's *Primo libro dell'opere toscane* (1560), they were presumably written c. 1554-55, following Colonna's death, around the time Battiferri left Rome for Florence and the *RDD* was being compiled. They are the only poems of the Colonna corpus written by an identifiable female poet. In the *Primo libro*, they form part of a group of poems (no.s 19-30) written to noblewomen in Rome: the poet Ersilia Cortese del Monte (1529-87), a relative of Julius III; Livia Colonna's sister, Ortensia (b. before 1522, d. after 1555/60); the Florentine Lucrezia Soderini (b. before 1554); and Ricciarda Cybo-Malaspina (1497-1553), marquise of Massa. It is unclear how well Battiferri knew Livia Colonna. However, Battiferri herself moved in élite circles, including via her husband, sculptor and architect Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-92). Battiferri's network of poetic interlocutors, from Annibal Caro and Lattanzio Benucci (both contributors to the *RDD*) to Pope Paul III and Orazio Farnese, also demonstrates that she and Colonna moved in similar Roman circles.<sup>154</sup>

Battiferri's sonnets to Roman noblewomen provides a glimpse of the construction of a female homosocial group, seen in its final moments as Colonna died and Battiferri left Rome. In the first instance, these sonnets present a lament on the demise of female friendship.<sup>155</sup> Yet they also point towards the poetry on Colonna:

e quelle a gran ragion pregiate carte,  
che sì dolce cantar per Laura, e Bice  
saran men care assai di quel che foro, 10

e di Livia Colonna in ogni parte  
s'udrà sonare il nome alto e felice,  
degnò soggetto al più gradito alloro.  
[Battiferri, 'Poscia che 'l Sol d'alta virtute ardente,' lines 9-14]

<sup>152</sup> BAV, MS Barb. Lat. 3693, fols. II<sup>v</sup>-III<sup>r</sup>: 'ho preso assunto di sceglierne una parte (come che molte sieno).'

<sup>153</sup> BATTIFERRI 2000, no.s. 20-22.

<sup>154</sup> BATTIFERRI 2000, no.s. 82a, 93a, 133. For the unprinted poem to Paul III, see BATTIFERRI 2006, p. 21.

<sup>155</sup> On funerary poetry by female poets to female addressees, see GUARRO 2020, pp. 32-43.

The prediction that the poetry of Petrarch (whose ‘O d’ardente vertute ornate et calda’ functions as an imitative model for this poem) and Dante will be superseded by new texts perhaps implies Battiferri’s awareness of the ongoing lyric production for Colonna.<sup>156</sup> Indeed, Battiferri refers to both Petrarch and Dante using antonomastic references to Beloveds in line 10, as Guarnelli does in reference to Ovid and Catullus in his liminal sonnet of the *RDD*, discussed above, indicating a shared approach to the presentation of the lyric corpus for Colonna as a new epoche of lyric production. Was this sonnet an apostrophe to those writing on Colonna, an act of promotion of Battiferri’s poetry amidst this communal lyric production? The following sonnet, ‘Mentre la più gradita e chiara luce,’ presents some aspects identified in the Colonna corpus as a whole, notably the pluralisation of the Beloved’s attributes, with her life being that which ‘a ben far n’induce’ (line 4) and her death ‘nostro danno’ (line 7). I would argue that these texts may constitute an overture towards a community of (male) poets, to be included in the series of texts praising Colonna, or to be invited to produce texts for them.

Unless anonymous texts in the *RDD* were written by women – and I have found no sources which suggest so – there are no examples of women’s writing in the entire anthology. By contrast, the 1555 *Tempio* for Giovanna d’Aragona Colonna contained poetry by six women, while the 1561 volume for Irene di Spilimbergo contained poetry by ten women (including Battiferri).<sup>157</sup> Women’s poetry was clearly acceptable in anthologies of this kind. Battiferri was, moreover, highly respected as a poet by members of the Farnese circle, especially Annibal Caro.<sup>158</sup> As such, her absence from the *RDD* is presumably not a question of perceived poetic skill, but suggests rather that the anthology was compiled with a distinctly gendered dynamic, perhaps to make it more appropriate as the product of a cardinalate circle which excluded women as active participants. The *RDD*, that is, did not seek to memorialise a ‘rounded’ view of Colonna, including her female friendships: its agenda was wholly homosocial, less interested in Colonna as person than as Muse for the

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<sup>156</sup> cfr. PETRARCH 1964, p. 202 (*RVF* 146).

<sup>157</sup> The *Tempio* contains verse by: Anna Golfarina; Nicoletta Pasquale; Gaspara Stampa; Fausta Tacita; Isabella Pepoli and Laura Terracina. The Spilimbergo anthology contains verse by: Cassandra Giovio; Dionora Sanseverino; Costanza d’Avalos d’Aquina; Ippolita Gonzaga; Battiferri; Laura Terracina; Lucia Albani Avogadro; Lucia dall’Oro Bertano; Olimpia Malipiero and Virginia Martini Salvi.

<sup>158</sup> See e.g. Caro’s response to Battiferri’s verse (BATTIFERRI 2000, no. 82b) and his recommendation of her to Claudio Tolomei, 27 February, 1552, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 2, pp. 112-13.

male homosocial Petrarchan gaze. Battiferri's sonnets thus make visible that the process of public presentation which took place – ostensibly of Colonna, but in fact of the Farnese poets – was conditioned by a male poetic community and male poetic voices. It suggests the anthology was intended to represent only the voices of Farnese courtiers, none of whom were women, rather than act as a more general venue for the printing of verse for Colonna.

Another *rima estravagante* is anonymous, unedited and has never been discussed in scholarship. The sonnet 'Empia man, crudel ferro, huom disperato' is found in a Roman poetic miscellany (BAV MS Vat. Lat. 5182) written in a range of hands. 'Empia man' follows twelve sonnets written in the same hand mourning a deceased Beloved (fols. 121<sup>r</sup>-125<sup>v</sup>). It is possible these sonnets too are linked to Colonna, though only 'Empia man' carries a rubric and nothing in the other sonnets permits a link to be made.<sup>159</sup> This miscellany also contains verse on the death of Lucia dal Sole (fol. 53<sup>r</sup>), for whom an anthology had been printed in 1549, indicating the compiler(s) read funereal poetry for *donne illustri* more widely. Della Casa's 'Ben mi scorgea quel dì crudele stella' is also present (fol. 158<sup>v</sup>) without a rubric linking it to Colonna. Clearly, the compiler(s) also accessed other verse circulating on Colonna, though they were unaware, or did not record, that Della Casa's poem had been dedicated to her.

Unusually, MS Vat. Lat. 5182 contains verse by French writers in Rome (Rabelais [fols. 55<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>]; Cardinal du Bellay [fols. 75<sup>r</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup>]; Marc Antoine Muret [fols. 160<sup>r</sup>-160<sup>v</sup>]), or on French topics (the 1558 capture of Calais [fol. 78<sup>v</sup>-79<sup>r</sup>]; Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's *canzoni* on the death of the Duke of Guise [fols. 117<sup>r</sup>-120<sup>r</sup>] and on Anne de Montmorency [fols. 148<sup>r</sup>-150<sup>v</sup>]). This led Richard Cooper to suggest the manuscript was compiled by someone in contact with Cardinal du Bellay's Roman *familia*.<sup>160</sup> Unusual aspects of 'Empia man' in the manuscript may also indicate the text was produced by non-Italians. Lines 9 and 11 are dodecasyllabic and therefore hypermetric. Line 13 also contains apparently mismatched conjugations (second-person singular 'festi' and second-person plural 'donaste'). It is possible we are looking at a draft (though the manuscript looks like a fair

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<sup>159</sup> Another sonnet ('Deh, dimmi Amor, perché pensoso siede') is copied below 'Empia man'; it is unclear whether the rubric of 'Empia man' should be applied also to 'Deh, dimmi Amor.' 'Deh, dimmi Amor' is provided in Appendix C, Section 2, as a possible addition to the corpus.

<sup>160</sup> COOPER 2013b, pp. 141-51; 2021, pp. 10-11.

copy) or that these are simple transcription errors. Otherwise, this might indicate a non-native copyist or composer less skilled in versification, grammar, or orthography.

*Empia man* is unique in its outspoken criticism of Colonna's murderer, though the sonnet does not name Pompeo. Angry polemic in the quartets melts to Petrarchan lament by the final tercet:

IN MORTE DE LA SIGNORA LIVIA COLONNA

Empia man, crudel ferro, huom disperato,  
huomo non, ma Ciclope e Lestrigone,  
ché muover non ti puote a compassione  
un viso sì divin, sì delicato.

Ah Tarquin crudo, ah Mesentio spietato, 5  
novo Scilla, scelestro aspro Nerone,  
furia infernal, famiglia di Platone,  
ch'altro essere non puoi, cane arrabbiato.

Potea placar tanta beltà divina 10  
d'ogni fera crudel l'ira mordace,  
ma in te trovare non puote (empio) pietate.

Dato hai riposo a l'alma pelegrina,  
guerra li festi, e li donaste pace  
nel più bel fior de la verde etate.<sup>161</sup>

'Empia man' demonstrates that poetic treatments of Colonna's death were not confined to Petrarchan apotheosis. The anonymous poet turns towards Livia's murderer in an aggressive apostrophe, likening him to classical *exempla* of brutality (man-eating cyclopes [line 2]; Tarquin, rapist of Lucretia, and Mesentius, a cruel Etruscan king [line 5]; the siren Scylla and the emperor Nero, known for anti-Christian sentiment [line 6]). A disruptive familial relation between Livia and her murderer is also invoked through the reference to a 'famiglia di Platone' (line 7), perhaps an allusion to Plato's criticism in the *Republic* of those who referred to themselves with labels of familial relation but did not act in a manner befitting that relationship.<sup>162</sup> At the sestet, Petrarchan reminiscences are introduced: the war/peace opposition builds on the *RVF*'s antithetical 'Pace non trovo, e non ò da far guerra,' whilst 'guerra il festi' corresponds to Laura's declaration 'I son colei che ti diè tanta guerra,' both

<sup>161</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5182, fol. 127r.

<sup>162</sup> PLATO 2013, vol. 1, pp. 500-02 (*Resp.* 463d-463e).



here inverted to attack the addressee.<sup>163</sup>

Further to this, a poem in the *RDD* may have served as a source for the poet, suggesting either that they had access to pre-print versions of some of these texts, or that *Empia man* resulted from reading the printed *RDD*:

Crudel morte, empia parcha, aspro destino,  
 Qual danno o ingiuria mai vi fe' natura?  
 Ch'el bel viso leggiadro, & pellegrino  
 Volgeste in strana forma, & vil figura? 25  
 Non human fu 'l lavoro, ma divino  
 Ch'ella fece, ove pose ogni sua cura,  
 Et voi audaci pur faceste scempio  
 Di lei, d'ogni beltate, & virtù tempio.  
 [Pirro Bartolo, 'Piangi natura homai che 'l tuo bel frutto,' lines 23-30, sig. KKi<sup>v</sup>]

If so, the shift that has taken place between Bartolo's verse and *Empia man* is one of degree, with *Empia man* retreating at points from stylised Petrarchan diction to become more directly critical. This anonymous manuscript poem thus provides evidence for wider socio-poetic interest in Colonna's murder: though this is distilled in the *RDD*, there was also some circulation of texts on the same topic which harnessed the anonymity and restricted audiences of manuscript systems to produce more polemical verse. In this sense, we can read this anonymous verse as writing *against* the stylized image of Colonna – typically devoid of open criticism of her murderer – presented by the Farnese court.

While the possibly French-linked *Empia man*, *crudel ferro* makes little apostrophe to the *RDD*, the final *rima estravagante* I will consider almost certainly does. This is a fourteen-line Latin poem in elegiac couplets by Joachim du Bellay, dedicated to Livia Colonna via its rubric ('Liviae Columnae, nobilis matronae Romanae'). Printed in 1558 after Du Bellay's return to France, it appears in the *Poematum libri quatuor* among the *Tumuli*, a collection of funeral poems for a range of figures, including popes Julius III (6, 8a, 8b) and Marcellus II (7a, 7b, 7c, 8a, 8b); French figures such as parliamentarian and poet Jean Brinon (c. 1520-55, nos. 13a, 13b, 13c); and the French-allied Strozzi family (2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 3, 37a, 37b). The poem to Colonna is one of four poems to identifiable women; the other three are all dedicated to Sylvia Pico della Mirandola della Rochefoucauld (1530-54, *Tum.* 4a, 4b, 4c), an Italian at the French court.<sup>164</sup> In the context of the *Tumuli*, a collection which tends towards

<sup>163</sup> PETRARCH 1964, pp. 186, 376 (*RVF* 134, 302.7).

<sup>164</sup> ROMIER 1913, vol. 1, pp. 72-3, p. 296; BRANTÔME 1991, p. 61.

eulogistic discourse praising the deceased, the poem on Colonna is distinctive in commenting directly on the subject's death.

To my knowledge, no scholars who have written on Livia Colonna mention this verse, again likely because the text was not produced by an Italian, but also because Du Bellay's Latin poetry remains far less read even by specialists. The critical edition of Du Bellay's *Poemata* marks its dedicatee as unknown, and suggests its topic was of little political importance; only in 2021 was its subject first identified in published work.<sup>165</sup> Given Lanssac's report discussed above (Ch. 3.1.1), it is evident French diplomatic circles in Rome perceived Colonna's murder politically as heralding the collapse of the family's power. In my view, the poem is central to understanding Du Bellay's reading of, and response to, contemporary Roman poetry and society on his arrival in the city in winter 1553-54. As I demonstrate, I believe it was written in such a manner that it could be read in distinctive ways within a Roman literary context and within the context of Du Bellay's *receuils romains* after they were printed in France in 1558.

The text opens with the dying declaration of Lucretia to her husband following her rape by Brutus, described most notably in Livy, on whom Du Bellay draws.<sup>166</sup> In this focus on the act of murder, there is a clear affinity with the potentially French-authored manuscript poem 'Empia man' discussed above, perhaps again suggesting the greater relevance of the murder in French circles, as opposed to the process of Petrarchan apotheosis which occurred in the Farnese circle. Du Bellay's poem then compares Lucretia's fate at the hands of Brutus to that of Colonna at the hands of her son-in-law, before posing a broader question about Roman society:

LIVIAE COLUMNAE, NOBILIS MATRONAE ROMANAE

'Sic pereat Romae,' peritura Lucretia dixit,  
 'Quaecunque haud casto vixerit in thalamo.'  
 Dixit, et adverso sacrum sub pectore ferrum  
 Condit, et in maesti concidit ora viri.  
 Dura quidem lex ista fuit, sed durior illa  
 Nuper quam immerita Livia morte tulit.  
 Livia defuncto dudum viduata marito,  
 Cum vivax nimium, cum foret et locuples,  
 Tanquam casta parum priscique oblita pudoris,

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<sup>165</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1989, vol. 7, p. 175; COOPER 2021b, p. 10; BALSAMO 2021, p. 8.

<sup>166</sup> LIVY 1919, vol. 1, pp. 198-205 (Liv. I.57-59).

Haereditis generi concidit icta manu. 10  
 Hanc igitur legem sanguis sacrabit inultus,  
 Dives quae fuerit, moecha sit ut genero?  
 O senium infelix, metuendum et matribus aurum,  
 Si scelus est nimium vivere divitibus!  
 [Tumuli 5]

THE *TUMULUS* OF LIVIA COLONNA, NOBLE ROMAN WOMAN.

‘Thus must die in Rome,’ said Lucretia as she was about to die, ‘any woman who did not live in chaste matrimony.’ She said this, then plunged the sacred knife into her breast which she offered forth, killing herself before her sorrowful husband’s eyes. This law was harsh, but harsher still was that to which Livia, now undeservedly dead, was subject. Livia was a little while ago widowed when her husband died. Too long-lived and too rich, as though she were not chaste enough and had forgotten ancient modesty, she fell by the force of her heir and the hand of her son-in-law. Will her unavenged blood thus make sacred this law, that she who is rich must appear to her son-in-law a whore? How unhappy is old age, and how gold must be feared by mothers, if it is a crime to live too long in riches!

Line 9 is crucial in establishing the poet’s attitude towards Colonna. In published translations of the text, ‘tanquam’ is rendered strikingly differently. Geneviève Demerson gives the hypothetical ‘comme si elle avait été.’ Hubert Hawkins translates instead with the definite ‘nevertheless was.’<sup>167</sup> The lack of conjugated verbs in line 9 renders the text ambiguous. On the one hand, given public knowledge of Colonna’s relationship with Cardinal Farnese, and given Lanssac’s report, it seems the poet is responding to gossip or rumour about Colonna’s behaviour heard in Rome. Yet at the same time, the poem’s ambiguity allows for the suggestion, made by Lanssac, that a lack of chastity was *not* the defining motive of Colonna’s murder, permitting Du Bellay to position his verse less antagonistically with respect to Farnese poetry for Colonna which resolutely insists upon her ideal, Petrarchan behaviour.

A likely source of Du Bellay’s poem, unnoticed by his editors, is a short verse by Francesco Franchini, secretary to Ottavio Farnese, on the death of Lucrezia Cognati. Franchini had participated in the *Compositioni* for Colonna; however, as he only wrote Latin verse, he is entirely absent from the *RDD*. We know Du Bellay accessed Franchini’s work, as he addressed a verse to Franchini which responded to a poem by the latter which satirised

<sup>167</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2006, p. 37. I have not used Hawkin’s verse translation here as it expands on the Latin (‘Lucretia’ [line 1] is translated as ‘modest Lucretia’ [line 2]).

the French.<sup>168</sup> Franchini's verse on Lucrezia Cognati was printed in 1554 in his *Poemata*, a volume which also contained the satirical poem on the French to which Du Bellay responded as well as seven poems for Livia Colonna which had appeared in the *Compositioni* and five new poems for her.<sup>169</sup> It presents numerous similarities to Du Bellay's *tumulus* for Colonna:

DE LUCRETIA IMPERIAE FILIA

Edita praeclaro Lucretia sanguine, quondam  
 Vi temerata, sua concidit usa manu:  
 Altera nunc humili, turpique exorta parente,  
 Ut moechum fugeret, tetra venena bibit:  
 Casta est utra magis? raptō cadit illa pudore,  
 Servato haec statuit malle pudore mori.<sup>170</sup>

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ON LUCREZIA, DAUGHTER OF IMPERIA.

Born of noble blood, Lucretia struck herself down with her own hand when she was once dishonoured by force. Now another Lucrezia, sprung from a humble and repulsive family, drinks foul poison to escape becoming a whore. Which of the two is more chaste? Her modesty stolen, one fell; her modesty preserved, the other thought it better to die.

Franchini's poem concerns Lucrezia Cognati (b. c. 1500? - d. after 1522), daughter of Roman courtesan Imperia (c. 1486-1512). Rumoured to be the daughter of papal banker Agostino Chigi (1466-1520), it is reported Lucrezia poisoned herself in 1522 to avoid the advances of Cardinal Raffaello Petrucci (1472-1522).<sup>171</sup> Via deictics, Franchini sets up the same classical-contemporary moral contrast found in Du Bellay's *tumulus* ('ista' [line 5] 'haec' [line 6]; 'ista...illa' [*Tum.* 5.5]), using strikingly similar phrasing and close repetition of syntactical patterning ('sua concidit usa manu' [line 2]; 'generi concidit icta manu' [*Tum.* 5.9]). Both then pose the reader a moral question ('Casta est utra magis?' [line 5]; 'Hanc legem sanguis sacrabit inultus' etc. [*Tum.* 5.11-12]). Both poems, moreover, are concerned with female chastity (the same terms, 'moecha,' 'casta' and 'pudor' run through each [lines 4-6; *Tum.* 5.1; 5.9; 5.12]) and familial relations, and both leave the moral question at stake unresolved. This unresolved question in Du Bellay's verse for Colonna, presumably imitated from

<sup>168</sup> FRANCHINI 1554, sigs. Fi<sup>r</sup>-Fii<sup>r</sup> ('De Gallia, ad Ranutum Farnesium Cardinalem'); JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1989, vol. 8, pp. 84-85 (*Xenia* 34)

<sup>169</sup> See relevant entries in Appendix C.

<sup>170</sup> FRANCHINI 1554, sig. Aj<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>171</sup> PETRUCCI 1982a.

Franchini's verse on Lucrezia Cognati, is central to the simultaneous function of the verse in both the context of the Colonna corpus and of Du Bellay's *receuils romains*.

Du Bellay began to write Latin verse only during his Roman period, the move to Rome having led to the move to Latin, as he claimed.<sup>172</sup> Whilst this shift in language was justified by Du Bellay via the example of the exiled Ovid, a more practical reason for the switch to Latin is to address a larger trans-national audience, including largely non-French-speaking Italians. While Du Bellay could have written the verse for Colonna in Italian (as Du Bellay's single Italian sonnet, noted in Ch. 1.5, attests), only Latin allows this text to perform the work of an apostrophe to the Farnese court whilst ensuring the poem could find a home within the single-language collections being prepared by Du Bellay.

As discussed in Chapter One, Du Bellay knew of Farnese poets and their work and had access to Roman manuscripts of contemporary Latin poetry. We should therefore presume he was engaged in the circulation of (Latin) manuscript poetry even if Du Bellay claimed only to share verse with close friends. I have therefore proposed we widen his presumed poetic audience to include Italians in Rome. For Italian poets with access to *Tumulus 5*, and who came to it with knowledge of Colonna and of the corpus of poetry dedicated to her, Du Bellay's poem must have appeared defensive of Colonna. In this context, Du Bellay's concern with 'proper' behaviour and his insistence on the term 'law' ('lex' [line 5], 'legem' [line 11]) is particularly important. Two laws are presented in the poem, one classical and one contemporary, to demonstrate a degradation in Roman behaviour from Lucretia's exemplary suicide to Colonna's deplorable murder. That the second law is presented as potential or hypothetical suggests the text is to be read, by a Roman audience, as a warning from the outsider-poet pointing out non-adherence to classical codes of behaviour. The effect is to turn away from Livia's murderer and towards those who ought to repudiate this act, including the *RDD* poets. Just as the Farnese poets, in the *Compositioni* and the *RDD*, used plural imperatives to urge one another to communal (poetic) action, so too Du Bellay pushes for an appropriate communal male response to Colonna's murder. To do so, he replicates one element of the Farnese poets' code, the use of poetry to regulate masculine behaviour. In addition, the imitation of Franchini would presumably have been recognised by Farnese poets. Du Bellay not only discusses what, in

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<sup>172</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, p. 10 (*Regrets* 10); 1989, vol. 7, pp. 34-37, 67 (*Poemata*, Eleg. 1, Eleg. 7.71-72).

1554-55, was the Farnese court's poetic topic *par excellence*, but to do so he imitates a recently available verse by one of the circle's central Latin poets, demonstrating he had read their works (albeit that the model chosen was one which drew on a more degraded poetic subject, Lucrezia Cognati, than the Petrarchan models imitated in the *RDD*).

Within the Italian literary context, Du Bellay's verse is the clearest example of the transformation of Colonna into a textual *persona* around which homosocial relations were formed. Du Bellay, unlike the Farnese poets and Battiferri, was fundamentally socially detached from the living Colonna, whose death occurred within three months of his arrival in Rome. As such, *Tumuli* 5 cannot present itself as a commentary on a social acquaintance, as the *RDD* purports to be. Instead, *Tumuli* 5 is a direct overture to the Farnese circle and an indication of shared cultural capital, shared language and shared interest in poetic creation. Though Du Bellay's text remains 'ungathered,' it seeks to partake in the discussion of Colonna's death and its cultural implications, as developed by Farnese poets whose work is 'ingathered.'

In contrast, if we re-read *Tumuli* 5 alongside Du Bellay's French verse (likely not available to, or at least not read by, the Farnese poets) and in a social context detached from that of her murder, the Latin *tumulus* for Colonna appears quite differently. Now, the *tumulus* acts, for instance, as evidence for accusations made about contemporary Roman society such as 'Icy ne se punit l'homicide ou poison' (*Regrets* 127.3). Elsewhere in the *Regrets* – especially between sonnets 90-119, a section made up of criticisms of Roman society and the papal court – French verses correspond to the Latin questions posed by Colonna's murder. The final lines of *Tumulus* 5 in which the dangers of living too long and of riches are laid out (*Tum.* 5.13) are reflected in a satirical verse on the dangers of Rome:

Heureux qui peut sans mal vivre l'aage d'un homme !  
 Heureux qui sans soucy peut garder son tresor !  
 [*Regrets* 94.11-12]

More important than questions of crime, however, are questions surrounding the behaviour of Roman women. In the section of satirical *Regrets*, a series of sonnets discuss Roman women, with the poet adopting a virulently misogynistic tone and dividing women using *exempla* from literature and classical myth, in a similar manner to the Lucretia/Colonna split effected in *Tumulus* 5. For instance, the poet of *Regrets* 90 attacks the behaviour and appearance of 'Nymphes Latines' (line 1), contrasting them with 'Nymphes Angevines' (line

4). Like the Alcina of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* who disguises herself as a young and seductive woman, these 'Nymphes Latines' are skilled at deception, as hypocritical as whitened sepulchres (lines 9-10; cfr. *Matthew* 23:27):

L'habit qui ne tient rien de l'impudicité,  
 La grace, la jeunesse, & la simplicité,  
 Me desgoustent (Bouju) de ces vieilles Alcines.  
 Qui les voit par dehors, ne peult rien voir plus beau,  
 Mais le dedans ressemble au dedans d'un tombeau  
 [*Regrets* 90.6-10]

In *Regrets* 99, the poet then records his surprise that in Rome, only courtesans are seen in the street, producing a division between respectable, invisible women ('la conseilliere, ou femme du marchand' [*Regrets* 99.10]) and unrespectable, visible courtesans ('celles | qui se sont de la court l'honneste nom donné' [*Regrets* 99.12]). In a continuing attack on courtesans, the following sonnet again turns to classical *exempla*, the only other reference to Lucretia in Du Bellay's *receuils romains*:

...il me fasche d'ouir  
 Nommer une Thaïs du nom d'une Lucrece.  
 [*Regrets* 100.13-14]

Again the poet constructs divisions of behaviour, in an opposition of Lucretia as model of chastity to Thaïs (fl. 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE), a classical sex-worker (*hetaira*). This division into types mimics that constructed between 'Lucretia' and 'moecha' ('whore' [*Tum.* 5.12]) in the *tumulus* for Colonna. For French readers of Du Bellay's *receuils romains*, Colonna is not a 'muse,' as she became for the Farnese poets, but a totemic representation of Roman society and mores presented in the vernacular. By building ambiguity into *Tumuli* 5, it could then form part of a wider project of verse presented on the poet's return to France. None of the Italian-authored verses for Colonna included in this corpus suggest Colonna's infidelity. It is perhaps only Du Bellay, as a social, political and linguistic outsider, and not beholden to Cardinal Farnese for his income, who could write such a verse (at least, not anonymously, as was the case of 'Empia man, crudel ferro').

### 3.6: Conclusion

The corpus of texts for Colonna demonstrates the social force, and importance, of poetic exchange as well as the versatility of the Petrarchan mode, which by the mid-sixteenth

century was adaptable to a wide range of social needs and adoptable by a range of actors. While poets address Colonna via rubrics and apostrophes, their address is also (and perhaps primarily) an address to a wider group of poets writing on the same topic. These verses are not the product of a single poet writing to a Beloved, but of many poets enmeshed in a specific social network, or aiming to be enmeshed in it, who utilise shared poetic figures in the pursuit of sociability. They are not expressions of personal poetics but of communal poetics; the identities constructed within these verses are, by extension, communal identities which rely on a sense of belonging to a wider, shared network. This chapter has shown, moreover, how individuals outside the bounds of the Farnese court – because of politics, gender or language – responded to it, indicating the importance of the court's output as well as its programmatic control of those individuals entitled to participate in its public production. None of this is clear unless we consider the material transmission of the texts, and notably the shift from manuscript to print, as well as the socio-historical context of their production and reception. Drawn to consider in this manner how individuals participate in collective literary production – as producers, patrons, editors, copyists and readers – we see both how poetry was used to produce, or preclude, social relationships and how, if realised, those same relationships could then be fundamental to further poetic production.

As noted in the introduction, by the time of the 1559 *Index*, this form of poetry seen here for Colonna was far more regulated and restricted. For instance, the 1559 *Index* banned ('con maraviglia & despiacer d'ogn'uno,' as Bernardo Tasso had it) the collected verse of Giovanni della Casa which contained four poems for Colonna.<sup>173</sup> As such, whilst Livia's relative Vittoria Colonna is particularly associated with the rise of *rime spirituali* as lyric type, Livia Colonna is thus associated with the end of an earlier, predominantly secular lyric tradition. By the time Livia's daughter Orinzia died in 1594, there was no question of a poetic anthology: instead, Orinzia was the subject of a funeral oration praising her charitable works rather than her beauty.<sup>174</sup> Importantly, following Clare Robertson's scheme, this abandonment of Petrarchism would in theory form part of Farnese's shift towards a pious form of patronage. However, as in Ch. 2, this chapter has again shown that attention to literary patronage continually nuances Robertson's claims of periodisation,

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<sup>173</sup> Bernardo Tasso to Paolo Casale, 14 Feb. 1559, in B. TASSO 2002, vol. 2, p. 534.

<sup>174</sup> G. CASTIGLIONE 1594a and 1594b.



since this break with secular Petrarchism came in 1555, almost a decade before she finds Farnese's secular patronage ceased in 1564.<sup>175</sup>

As concerns Colonna herself, it is clear from the biography established in this chapter that she was central to Roman political networks of this period. As we have seen, a number of male networks (the familial network of Ascanio, Pompeo and Camillo Colonna; the Imperial diplomatic network of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and the French diplomatic network of Louis de Saint Gelais de Lanssac and Joachim du Bellay; and the poetic network of Cardinal Farnese and his court) had designs on her, seeking to appropriate her wealth or image for their own use. The absence to date of anything significant written by Colonna herself in effect demonstrates the broader argument presented in this chapter. Colonna was important to these networks not because she was another Vittoria, in control of her public presentation or voice and a model of female virtue. Rather, she was central to these networks because she could become a figure – often textual, but clearly also visual, and in the case of her abduction in 1539, physical – exchanged among men in their pursuit of various goals: a wife, an inheritance, a poetic identity.

Finally, the examination of the corpus presented in this chapter makes clear the political dimensions of poetic production in the networks this thesis examines. This is most vivid in the case of Du Bellay, who remained marginal to the Farnese court whilst attempting to engage in poetic exchange with them, and simultaneously produced verse on Rome which sought to partake in contemporary French-language tropes of Rome as immoral and degraded. This political aspect will be a factor of specific importance moving into the next chapter, which considers the use of verse in politicised defences of the courtly patron.

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<sup>175</sup> ROBERTSON 1991, pp. 158-62.

## 4. Political Sociability, Exile and Roman Translations of Virgilian Epic (1547-54)

### 4.1: Introduction

Whilst poets in Rome wrote lyric poetry for Livia Colonna, others in their circles turned their attentions to a very different form of verse: epic. During the same period (1547-54), two poets – one of whom, Alessandro Guarnelli, in fact also contributed to the *RDD* for Colonna – printed vernacular translations of Virgil's *Aeneid* (29-19 BCE), the foundational epic of the Roman empire. Their choice of text is unsurprising: across early modern Europe, the *Aeneid* was repeatedly materially, formally, generically and linguistically reworked in order to be utilised afresh in new socio-political and literary contexts. The text's central mythos, the founding of a powerful dynastic empire under Augustus, was appropriated by a range of actors in varied ways – both visual and textual – and relied on the *Aeneid*'s central position in literary canons and school curricula. A key facet of the reuse of the *Aeneid* was its translation into the vernacular, during a period in which vernacular languages began to rival Latin as dominant languages of literary production. If the *Aeneid* was a – possibly, *the* – pinnacle of the classical literary canon and a central element of the political fashioning of the classical Roman state, in early modernity proponents of the literary use of the vernacular sought to appropriate this political fashioning for themselves and their modern political formations via translation of the text.

With the Latin *Aeneid* in wide circulation, on the Italian peninsula forty-eight vernacular translations of the *Aeneid* were printed before 1600.<sup>1</sup> Many were translations of individual books, a common practice in the period.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, Craig Kallendorf identifies eighteen translators who produced vernacular versions of the entire twelve-book text. In France, fewer translations of the *Aeneid* were printed. Valerie Worth-Stylianou notes seven full or partial French translations between 1483-1582.<sup>3</sup> Five were verse translations, starting with that of Octavien de Saint-Gelais (1468-1502), written c. 1500 and printed in 1509.<sup>4</sup> Kallendorf notes that early modern translators of Virgil are not usually well-known figures in

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<sup>1</sup> KALLENORF 2020, pp. 60–61. See also KALLENORF 1994.

<sup>2</sup> BORSETTO 1989, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> WORTH-STYLIANOU 2012, pp. 117-19.

<sup>4</sup> See BRÜCKNER 1987.

literary history and that therefore ‘unpacking the ideological work done by these translations in a cultural vacuum has proved difficult.’<sup>5</sup> This chapter proposes to do precisely that for translations of books of the *Aeneid* by fairly little known poets: a French translation of Book III by Louis des Masures (written c. 1548-9, printed 1552), dedicated to Cardinal Jean du Bellay, and an Italian translation of Book I by Alessandro Guarnelli (1554), dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Examining the texts in light of the Roman circles in which they were produced, this chapter proposes an ideological reading of these translations which has remained largely invisible. Such a reading has in fact been explicitly rejected in the case of Des Masures’ translation.<sup>6</sup> Yet the approach developed here shows that the translations respond to political instabilities in the wake of the accession of King Henry II in 1547 and of the War in Parma of 1551 which respectively led cardinals Du Bellay and Farnese to present themselves as political exiles. By unlocking the context of each translator’s Roman network, this chapter argues that these printed translations were eminently ideological. As such, it stresses in particular the relevance of the translation’s initial contexts of production and reception. Though both translators eventually translated all twelve books of the text, and though their translations circulated outside these contexts, this initial context of production is key to the translations’ intended socio-political functions.

The translations, I argue, are concerned primarily with defence of the translator’s patron at a specific historical moment. The translation and dedication of a poem which declared that Rome would enjoy ‘imperium sine fine’ (‘empire without end’) and which served as a stabilising political genealogy for the classical empire provided two cardinals in unstable political circumstances, Alessandro Farnese and Jean du Bellay, with a literary defence of their political positions.<sup>7</sup> The translations, moreover, make evident the process of literary fashioning of the image of cardinals Farnese and Du Bellay as political and cultural patrons; they are therefore of wider importance to the question of cardinalate literary patronage with which this thesis is concerned.

This chapter presents a reading centred on the examination of paratexts rather than of translation practices. Since paratext directs encounters with the translated work towards a specifically occasional reading and contains overt literary fashioning of the patron, it is this

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<sup>5</sup> KALLENDORF 2020, pp. 54–55.

<sup>6</sup> USHER AND FERNBACH 2012, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 280 (*Aen.* I.279).

material, rather than an examination of linguistic translation practices, which is key to the reading this chapter develops. Though Gérard Genette conceived of translations as paratexts of their source text, I follow Katherine Batchelor in considering translations as the source text to which paratexts are appended.<sup>8</sup> By following this framework, we preserve the focus on the translated text as an independent object imbued with fresh meaning and new intent, rather than reading it only as a form of commentary on the source text. As discussed in Chapter One, paratexts are the main sites where textual actors construct and assert literary identities. Whether produced by the translator or by someone else, they are therefore elemental to a translation's insertion into its socio-political context and are the key means by which its topicality is established.<sup>9</sup>

Though Des Masures and Guarnelli lived in Rome at the same time in interconnected *familiae*, their translations have never been considered comparatively. Division of scholarship by language has obscured comparison of their socio-political functions which, side-by-side, appear more evident. Though both translations have distinct literary aims and are inscribed within linguistically separate literary traditions, their dedications converge in providing a literary defence of the patron in political terms through a distinctly 'optimistic' reading of the epic, highlighting the *pietas* of Aeneas (a contested term analysed below) and glorifying the Roman state to draw comparisons between these features and those of their patrons. Whilst 'pessimistic' readings of the *Aeneid* which identify a plurality of voices, including voices critical of Augustus, existed already in the early modern period, such readings could not serve the socio-political purposes of Des Masures or Guarnelli who use the *Aeneid* to anchor themselves and their patron historically in the tradition of a divinely-ordained Roman state.<sup>10</sup> In fact, these optimistic readings of the *Aeneid* form part of a distinctly 'Roman' reception of the text, which emphasized Rome's centrality in the empire founded by Aeneas.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> GENETTE 1987, p. 408; BATCHELOR 2018, pp. 19-22, 156.

<sup>9</sup> GARCÍA BARRERA AND MOUNIER 2015, p. 162; RICHARDSON 2018, pp. 24–31.

<sup>10</sup> See KALLENDORF 2007.

<sup>11</sup> GLODZIK 2014, pp. 95–96. Unfortunately, Glodzik's monograph on Virgilianism in Rome (GLODZIK 2022) arrived too late to be incorporated into the current thesis.

#### 4.1.1: Louis des Masures, *L'Enéide de Virgile* (1547-60)

Louis des Masures (c. 1510-79) was born in Tournai and worked for Cardinal Jean de Lorraine (1498-1550) before being forced to leave France in 1547 in unclear circumstances.<sup>12</sup> Des Masures thus escaped to Rome, where he lived in the *familia* of Cardinal Jean du Bellay until late 1549; as noted in Ch. 2.4.1, we know little about his two years in Rome. Following the death of Jean de Lorraine in 1550, Des Masures entered the service of another Guise family member, Charles de Lorraine (1524-74). By the mid-1560s, Des Masures had openly converted to Protestantism, having met Theodore Beza (1519-1605) and possibly also John Calvin (1509-64) in Geneva on his return from Rome in early 1550.

Des Masures wrote a number of works prior to his conversion. These include a translation of Marco Girolamo Vida's mock-Virgilian epyllion on chess, *Scacchia Ludus* (written c. 1513, printed 1525, translated as *La guerre cruelle entre le roy blanc et le roy maure*, 1556) and two books of lyric verse (the *Carmina* and the *Œuvres poétiques*, both 1557). His most widely read work was, however, a translation of the *Aeneid* into decasyllabic rhyming couplets. Books I-II were printed in 1547; further editions followed gradually (Books I-IV, 1552; Book V, 1557; Books I-XII, 1560).<sup>13</sup> Des Masures's translation quickly became the standard French translation of the *Aeneid*, incorporated into the vernacular *opera omnia* of Virgil in 1574.<sup>14</sup> Book III, the analeptic narration of the fall of Troy, was translated in Rome. In the 1552 *editio princeps*, Book III is dedicated to Cardinal Jean du Bellay. No manuscript copies have been identified.

#### 4.1.2: Alessandro Guarnelli, *Della Eneide di Virgilio* (1554-c. 89)

Alessandro Guarnelli (c. 1531-91) was born in Rome to a naturalised Roman father from Arezzo, Agolante (fl. 1530s?), who had worked in the household of Pope Paul III before the latter's election.<sup>15</sup> Guarnelli was raised in the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and remained in Farnese's service his entire life. Guarnelli mostly wrote verse, contributing to several anthologies, including the *RDD* (see Ch. 3) while his standalone printed works consist

<sup>12</sup> On Jean de Lorraine as patron, see CHONE 2009.

<sup>13</sup> VIRGIL 1547, 1552, 1557 and 1560.

<sup>14</sup> VIRGIL 1574.

<sup>15</sup> RUSSO 2003; MAGNI 2007, p. 15.

largely of short encomiastic poems for the Farnese. In the latter years of his life, Guarnelli knew Torquato Tasso (1544-95), who read Guarnelli's *Aeneid*, addressed a sonnet to him on the translation ('Per te, Guarnello, la pietate e l'armi' [1585]) and praised it in the *Discorsi del poema eroico* (1594).<sup>16</sup> It is possible, as discussed below, that Tasso also corrected a manuscript of Guarnelli's *Aeneid*.

The editorial history of Guarnelli's *ottava rima* translation of the *Aeneid* is more complex than that of Des Masures. Books I and II were printed in standalone versions (1554 and 1566, respectively) with dedications to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, and continued to be reprinted into the early seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> The 1554 text of Book I is provided in Appendix E. Across his lifetime, Guarnelli continued to work on the translation. In 1580, Guarnelli sent a manuscript of Book VI to Cardinal Farnese, probably the 'sesto di Virgilio in ottava rima, a penna' recorded in Farnese's 1589 inventory.<sup>18</sup> This copy is now lost. The complete text, finished around 1590, was given an *imprimatur* and word spread that it was to be printed.<sup>19</sup> This never occurred, presumably due to Guarnelli's death in 1591.

Only two manuscripts now survive, though several once circulated. The first, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, MS Triv. 929 contains only Book VI. Notes by Carlo Trivulzio (1715-89) state that MS Triv. 929 was taken from a complete manuscript in Piacenza; this occurred prior to 1739, when Trivulzio showed his excerpted copy to Francesco Saverio Quadrio (1695-1756).<sup>20</sup> According to Trivulzio, this now-lost complete Piacentine copy contained a sonnet by Tasso 'scritto di proprio pugno' (presumably 'Per te, Guarnello') alongside corrections to the translation in Tasso's hand and an *imprimatur*. Another complete manuscript was owned by literary critic Girolamo Tiraboschi (1731-94). Tiraboschi's text was copied from a manuscript held by Barnabite monks at San Carlo ai Catinari in Rome and was provided to him by Barnabite antiquarian Felice Caronni (1747-1815).<sup>21</sup> This Barnabite copy contained the *imprimatur*, Tasso's sonnet and corrections

<sup>16</sup> See Torquato Tasso to Maurizio Cataneo, undated Spring 1579, 30 Dec. 1585, 31 Dec. 1585, in T. TASSO 1853, vol. 2, pp. 6-7, 482, 484-85; T. TASSO 2006, p. 87; T. TASSO 1959, p. 724.

<sup>17</sup> VIRGIL 1554 and 1566. An undated edition of Guarnelli's translation of *Aeneid* I printed by Alberto di Gratia is proposed as the *princeps* in EDIT16 (CNCE 77751, dated c. 1550) and in KALLENDORF 1994, pp. 41-42 (dated c. 1551). Di Gratia was active in Venice 1550-58 and typically reprinted works already available (SALZBERG 2010, p. 649). For this reason, and in light of my reading of the text's dedication below, I believe the Di Gratia edition post-dates the Dorico edition.

<sup>18</sup> RUSSO 2003; FOSSIER 1982, p. 38.

<sup>19</sup> Muzio Manfredi to Alessandro Guarnelli, 5 Feb. 1591, in MANFREDI 1596, sigs. B8<sup>r</sup>-B8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, MS Triv. 929, fols. 2<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>, dated 19 July 1747; QUADRIO 1739-52, vol. 1, p. 694.

<sup>21</sup> TIRABOSCHI 1787-94, vol. 7, p. 1337.

Tiraboschi ascribed to Guarnelli. Tiraboschi's copy and the Barnabite copy are both lost. Their relation to the Piacentine text seen by Trivulzio is unclear.

Only Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome, MS Vit. Em. 980 now contains the entire text. Previously assumed to be a sixteenth-century copy, recent dating shows it is a late eighteenth-century copy.<sup>22</sup> MS Vit. Em. 980 contains Tasso's *Per te, Guarnello* (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>) but no *imprimatur* or corrections. Each book carries verse *argomenti* by Farnese poet Antonio Ongaro (c. 1560-1600).<sup>23</sup> It is thus likely MS Vit. Em. 980 derives from a different manuscript to those seen by Trivulzio and Tiraboschi, suggesting some degree of circulation and copying of the complete text in manuscript. The *incipit* of Book I in MS Vit. Em. 980 differs from the 1554 printed text in incorporating the paratextual dedication into the poem itself. MS Vit. Em. 980's version of Book VI also differs from MS Triv. 929 in removing references to Christ. This could indicate rewriting to conform with Counter-Reformation sensibilities (though it was apparently MS Triv. 929's text which received the *imprimatur*), and further complicates attempts to determine the surviving manuscripts' relationship. MS Vit. Em. 980's dedicatee is Alessandro Farnese. Given bellicose references in the dedication, this almost certainly refers to Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza (1545-92, duke from 1586), rather than to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.<sup>24</sup> The timing of the dedicatory shift, and the reasons for it, are unclear; given Book VI was sent to Cardinal Farnese in 1580, a likely reason is commemoration of the younger Alessandro's accession as duke in 1586, unless it occurred in 1590, following Cardinal Farnese's death in 1589.

#### 4.2: Virgilianism in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Rome

For over two millennia, Virgil's *Aeneid* (29-19 BCE) has been a major text of the classical canon, prized even above Virgil's other works (the pastoral *Eclogues* [44-38 BCE]; the didactic *Georgics* [29 BCE]; and pseudo-Virgilian texts such as the *Culex*, collected in the first-century CE and often accepted as Virgilian during early modernity). The twelve books of the *Aeneid*, the story of the founding of the Roman state by Aeneas following the destruction of Troy, tell of a wandering hero, of Roman greats and of a coming empire and

<sup>22</sup> KRISTELLER 1963-97, vol. 2, p. 127; Manus, <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/cnmd/0000069238>.

<sup>23</sup> On Ongaro, see LUZI 2020.

<sup>24</sup> BNCR, MS Vit. Em. 980, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>, l.4.1-4: 'Or quando stanco ne gl'infidi mostri | sarai d'insanguinar l'invitta mano, | prendi diletto e leggi in Toschi inchiostri | la pietate e 'l valor del gran Troiano.'

contributed to the creation of a Roman imperial myth surrounding Augustus (r. 27 BCE-14 CE). The text has been a feature of curricula since the classical period, commented on by generations of scholars, used in teaching Latin language and versification and excerpted for *sententiae*.

In the post-classical period, the *Aeneid* continually circulated in its entirety, and was an important source for the ‘Matter of Rome’ in works such as the French *Roman d’Eneas* (c. 1160) while apocryphal stories circulated about its author, who was perceived as a mystic and who, it was claimed, foresaw the coming of Christ in the ‘Messianic’ fourth Eclogue.<sup>25</sup> The emergence of humanist literary practices at the end of the thirteenth century increased interest in Virgil, whom humanists perceived as a key figure of *latinitas*, though without necessarily dispensing with these earlier interpretations of Virgil and his work. Wider knowledge of Greek and Greek texts (notably the Homeric epics) in Western Europe after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 also produced new readings of the text which emphasised the *Aeneid*’s Greek sources. These new readings coincided with the production of works inspired by, or based on, the epic, including its ‘continuation’ by the poet Maffeo Vegio (1407-58) who produced a thirteenth book (*Supplementum*, 1428) in which Aeneas marries, indicating the text’s perceived malleability despite, or perhaps because of, its canonicity.<sup>26</sup> By the sixteenth century, another movement in Virgilian reception then saw the *Aeneid* ‘Re-romanised’ and de-allegorized, something which studies have situated in the gradual demise of editions of the *Aeneid* surrounded by commentaries, a typical format of earlier versions.<sup>27</sup>

Despite these shifts, throughout these centuries the *Aeneid*’s imperial ideology – of a divinely ordained state which traced its lineage to a mythical past and which would triumph over all adversaries – remained a powerful cultural image appropriated by a range of actors. Several polities claimed Virgilian politico-cultural inheritances as evidence for their power in a process of *translatio imperii* away from Rome.<sup>28</sup> Virgilian motifs abounded in art and literature produced as part of these polities’ political fashioning, depicting early modern states as inheritors of classical Rome.

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<sup>25</sup> ZIOLKOWSKI AND PUTNAM 2008, pp. 453–59; HOUGHTON 2019, esp. pp. 175-211.

<sup>26</sup> VEGIO 2004, pp. viii-xxii, 2-41.

<sup>27</sup> USHER AND FERNBACH 2012, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. TANNER 1993.



The *Aeneid's* antiquity and provenance gave it special prominence in a culture which greatly valued ancient texts. In Rome, this was in part connected to the presence of *codices antiquissimi* of the *Aeneid*. The *Vergilius Vaticanus*, a 4<sup>th</sup>-century AD manuscript of the *Aeneid*, was owned successively by poets Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503) and Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), then by Farnese librarian and scholar Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600), and finally the Vatican library from 1579.<sup>29</sup> This manuscript, one of the oldest extant witnesses, was shown to important visitors to Rome (including Montaigne in 1581), subtly demonstrating a continuous relationship between the ancient poem and modern city.<sup>30</sup> Warren Boutcher has argued in relation to the *Vergilius Vaticanus* that the sixteenth-century papal state's foreign policy 'depended more heavily than any other state's on keeping intellectuals in line through the dispensation of *faveur*' and that its strength following the Sack of 1527 'relied increasingly on learning and art — more and more on image and powers of persuasion, and less and less on traditional dynastic loyalties.'<sup>31</sup> The *Aeneid* was a central part of this urban image, and demonstrated a form of continuous power emanating from the classical past which functioned alongside Christian theology as a solidifying doctrine of the often fractured cardinalate aristocracy and elective papal monarchy.

The *Aeneid* also served as a literary model for others who appropriated its imperial ideology in new ways. Christian epics such as *De partu virginis* (1526) by Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530) or Marco Girolamo Vida's *Christiad* (1535) constituted an important current of Virgilian writing in the first half of the sixteenth century. Lucy Nicholas has written that 'The influence of the *Aeneid* can be felt on every page' of Sannazaro's *De partu Virginis* while Philip Hardie describes Vida's *De arte poetica* (1527) as 'a manual on how to become a Virgilian poet' put into operation in the *Christiad*.<sup>32</sup> The application of Virgilian motifs and style in epics of Christian theology offered the church and papal state's founding myths in a prized literary form. Though difficulties arising in the gaps between pagan classicism and Christian doctrine could be navigated in various ways in these texts – Sannazaro remarked that he found it hard to work out the *De partu Virginis's* text precisely because of such

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<sup>29</sup> Now BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 3225; cfr. NOLHAC 1976 [1887], p. 358.

<sup>30</sup> MONTAIGNE 1983, pp. 213–14.

<sup>31</sup> BOUTCHER 2017, vol. 1, p. 270

<sup>32</sup> NICHOLAS 2020, p. 42; HARDIE 2020, pp. 153-4. See also DI CESARE 1964; PAPPE 2002.

difficulties – their basis in Virgilian language provided defined stylistic foundations.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, the climate of censorship which arose following the Council of Trent took issue with certain aspects of such poetry: Sannazaro was later criticised for having Mary appear fearful at the archangel's announcement of her pregnancy.<sup>34</sup>

Virgilian epic also offered source material for Roman texts such as two poems by Girolamo Britonio (c. 1491-1549) on Cardinal Alessandro and Ottavio Farnese's 1544 legation to Germany. A first, short Latin text (*Sermo de discessu Alexandri et Octavii contra Lutheranos euntium*, 1545) was dedicated to Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza, cousin of Alessandro and Ottavio. This was then reworked into an eleven-canto *ottava rima* vernacular text, the *Cantici et ragionamenti* (1550). Two editions of the *Cantici* were printed simultaneously, one dedicated to Costanza d'Avalos Piccolomini, duchess of Amalfi (b. before 1541-1575), and another to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.<sup>35</sup> The *Cantici* have been described as 'un poema epico *sui generis*,' structurally heterogeneous and 'priva di unità ideale.'<sup>36</sup> Unusually, the poet does not depict the journey to Germany or the discussions held there (only in the last lines of the text do the pair leave Rome [sig. OOii']). Instead, over nine *canti*, speeches of Paul III to Alessandro and Ottavio prepare them for their task, informing them of current politics and of history and providing classical *exempla* to follow.

The central task given to Alessandro and Ottavio in Britonio's *Cantici* is to disabuse the Germans of *furor* (sig. Avi<sup>v</sup>), which here has none of the inspired inflections of neo-Platonic use of the term as discussed in Ch. 1.4, but is instead associated with unbridled, irrational emotion. The brothers' task should be carried out through persuasive oratory, an allusion to the triumph of reasoned speech over *furor* in the *Aeneid* (I.148-153). In preparation for the legation, the verse depicts speeches by Pope Paul III praising the Farnese, directly likening the relationship of Paul III to Alessandro and Ottavio to that of Aeneas and his son Julius (sig. FFij<sup>v</sup>) before presenting a defence of the controversial investiture of Pierluigi Farnese as duke of Parma and Piacenza (sig. FFv<sup>v</sup>). Though the Farnese legation to Germany did not strive to capture territory or found a city, it was understood as protecting the integrity of the Christian world; Britonio thus is able to present

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<sup>33</sup> FANTAZZI 1997, pp. 232-33.

<sup>34</sup> DERAMAIX 1991.

<sup>35</sup> BRITONIO 1550, sig. Aiiii<sup>r</sup>. Both dedications are dated 2 Nov. 1549.

<sup>36</sup> BALLISTERI 1972.

the journey as akin to that of Aeneas towards Rome. Written in epic language and using epic motifs, if not entirely 'epic' form, the *Cantici et ragionamenti* present the Farnese political situation of the late 1540s as pre-destined. Already from the 1545 *Sermo* the poem was compared with classical epic, as a four-line liminal poem by Farnese Hellenist Benedetto Egio suggests:

Meonides quondam Heroas cantavit Achivos  
 Et Maro grandiloquo carmine Romulidas.  
 At nunc maiores magnus Sicinius illis  
 Farnesidas docto concinit ore suo.<sup>37</sup>

Homer once sang of the Achaean Heroes, and Virgil of Romulean heroes in lofty verse; but now the great Britonio has sung with his learned voice of the yet greater Farnese heroes.

Even before the text took on a more evidently epic form, then, paratexts underlined its use of epic texts and epic genealogies. The re-writing and transformation of the *Sermo* into the *Cantici et ragionamenti* reifies this aspect, making it more materially evident through the longer form, even while effecting a linguistic shift into the vernacular.

By contrast, given Cardinal du Bellay's subordination to both French monarchs and the pope noted in Ch. 2.4.1, his *familia* did not present him as a second Aeneas. Instead, Du Bellay's *familiares* portray him as an idealized, classical orator or politician, placing him into political genealogies ultimately descended from Aeneas which seek to wrest the inheritance of classical Rome from the Italian peninsula. In his dedication to Cardinal du Bellay of the 1534 edition of Bartolomeo Marliani's *Topographia antiquae Romae*, Rabelais underlined the cardinal's rhetorical prowess:

Animadverti equidem saepenumero virorum illic [=Romae] quicquid erat naris emunctioris vocare te Galliarum florem delibatum (quemadmodum est apud Ennium) praedicareque unum post hominum memoriam antistitem Parisiensem vere παρρησιάζειν<sup>38</sup>

I have remarked many times that those of taste there [=in Rome] called you the fine flower of the Gauls (as Ennius has it) and declared that since time immemorial there had been only one bishop of Paris who spoke with such parrhesia

Rabelais's allusion to Ennius's pre-Virgilian epic *Annales* ('Flos delibatus populi,' 'the choicest Flower of the people'), known only in fragments since late Antiquity, evokes

<sup>37</sup> BRITONIO [1545], sig. Gj<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> RABELAIS 1994, p. 990.

rhetorical prowess through its intermediary source in Cicero's *Brutus*.<sup>39</sup> Yet the reference to Ennius also constructs a space in which the Virgilian epic is not the sole height of Latin poetry and, as Virgil's predecessor, Ennius's presence suggests Roman cardinals take their lead from Du Bellay rather than the other way round. This should be seen within the context of a wider historico-rhetorical tendency for French humanists to seek pre-Augustan sources of state power (including especially in Gaulish antiquity, as in Jean Lemaire des Belges's *Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye* [1510-14]). Through wordplay, Rabelais also conflates 'Parisian' ('Parisiensem') and 'parrhesia' ('παρρησιάζειν,' *parrhēsiazēin*). Rhetorical prowess and an ability to speak frankly of the truth is seized from Rome and Virgil, dislocated and transferred to Ennius as Virgil's predecessor and Paris as new cultural centre. While Virgil is an underlying presence in Rabelais' preface, it is this 'absent presence' (to take up Nora Goldschmidt's description of the early modern reception of Ennius) which gives force to a reference to Ennius in this Franco-Roman context.

Others turned to other imagery to fashion Cardinal du Bellay as classical great. In a 10-line *Xenia* written around the mid-1550s, Joachim du Bellay pseudo-etymologically derives Jean du Bellay's name from two parts, one peaceful ('Jean' from the Roman god Janus, whose temple doors were closed in times of peace), one bellicose ('Bellay' from Latin *bellum*, 'war').<sup>40</sup> In its concluding lines, the poem suggests that Cardinal du Bellay's name should be inscribed with this meaning in a series of *fasti*:

Sic tua Romulei describant nomina fasti,  
Et geminis aris annua sacra ferant  
[*Xenia* 12.9-10]

May the *fasti* of Romulus thus mention your names,  
and may they make annual offerings to your twin altars

The *Fasti consulares*, an official epigraphic work of classical Roman historiography produced for Augustus, were discovered in 1546 and displayed in Palazzo dei Conservatori at Cardinal Farnese's request. Onofrio Panvinio also edited the text (1557), extending it up to Charles V.<sup>41</sup> In essence, Joachim du Bellay also extends the *Fasti*, adding the name of his patron and again effecting a *translatio imperii* towards France. Through Romulus, Joachim du Bellay

<sup>39</sup> See GOLDSCHMIDT 2012; ENNIUS 2018, pp. 260-61 (*Ann.* IX.305); CICERO 1939, p. 58 (*Brut.* XV.58).

<sup>40</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1989, vol. 8, pp. 72-73.

<sup>41</sup> PANVINIO 1557b.

connects Cardinal du Bellay to Aeneas, as the twins are Aeneas' direct descendants: again, the presence of Virgil is less direct, but lingers always in the background as a source for the mythological origins of the Roman state and its potential modern inheritors.<sup>42</sup>

While Cardinal du Bellay's *familiares* did not refer to the *Aeneid* directly, in correspondence discussing his role as diplomat, the cardinal himself returned three times between 1547-48 to a single quotation from the *Aeneid*, a warning from the priest Laocoön to the Trojans not to trust the wooden horse in which Greek soldiers had hidden themselves: 'Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes' ('I fear the Greeks, even when bearing gifts').<sup>43</sup> Describing discussions with Paul III in 1547, Du Bellay mentions writing a note which included the quote, causing Paul to joke that 'Greeks' might be replaced with 'Jews.'<sup>44</sup> A year later, Cardinal du Bellay expressed scepticism towards Imperial attempts to forestall the movement of the Council of Trent to Bologna, using the Virgilian phrase to suggest his fear of 'une embusche cachee pour venir a empescher le jugement de la translation du concile.'<sup>45</sup> In using the phrase, Du Bellay signals himself as a new Laocoön defending the interests of his *patria* or religion, having read the *Aeneid* as a history from which *exempla* could be excerpted and revived. Yet these examples also show how the story of the Trojan horse as expressed in the *Aeneid* has become proverbial. Since Cardinal du Bellay's interlocutors all understand the phrase's origin and reference, it can be reapplied to the modern world and reoriented towards contemporary Others (Jews; the Emperor), topicalising the *Aeneid*.

The range of uses individuals in Rome made of the *Aeneid* and its imperial ideology thus ranged from long, multi-*canto* texts to short, proverbial *sententiae* and moved across Latin/vernacular and prose/verse boundaries. Crucially, all these examples engage audiences familiar enough with the *Aeneid* that allusions can be brief, unattributed and highly nuanced. Reference to the text situates the writer and the reader or audience within a specific educated setting – not necessarily academic, but one which required schooling and, often, knowledge of Latin. In *Virgil in the Renaissance* (2010), David Scott Wilson-Okamura's aim was to uncover what was generally known about Virgil in the Renaissance,

<sup>42</sup> See VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 2, p. 104 (*Aen.* VIII.625-34).

<sup>43</sup> Modern editions give 'et dona *ferentis*'; see VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 318 (*Aen.* II.49).

<sup>44</sup> Jean du Bellay to Henry II, 13 Aug. 1547, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, p. 266.

<sup>45</sup> Jean du Bellay to Henry II, 20 Aug. 1548, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, p. 272. See also a similar citation in Jean du Bellay to Jean Pot, c. mid-Oct. 1548, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, p. 339.

and not what *could* be known by erudite scholars: all of the references here are of the first type, emblematic of a literate society which knew lots about Virgil and which turned his works to contemporary concerns.<sup>46</sup> Beyond this, and perhaps most importantly, they also show the extent to which Virgil's inheritance was contested, able to be referenced and turned to all manner of uses by individuals across political divides. It is on this aspect of Virgilianism in particular that the two translators this chapter discusses drew.

### 4.3: The *Aeneid* Translations in their Literary Contexts

Before we come to the uses of the *Aeneid* by Des Masures and Guarnelli as literary-political support for their patrons, it is useful to consider how their translations were conditioned by contemporaneous literary debates. While we lack epitextual evidence for the translators' stances on these issues, internal evidence in the translations demonstrates that these debates produced clear divergences in technique between each translator. Through an understanding of how each translation was positioned within broader theoretical frameworks, we can better understand how the translations might then have been received in more microcosmic Roman court circles.

#### 4.3.1: Translation and the 'long poème françois' (1547-52)

Between the first (1547) and second (1552) editions of Des Masures's *Aeneid*, two texts offering normative statements on literary form and translation were printed in France. The first was the *Art poétique françoys* (1548) of the jurist Thomas Sébillet (1512-89); the second, in part a response to Sébillet, was Joachim du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549).<sup>47</sup> Both works are early witnesses to a process by which translation theory was freed from 'l'emprise de la rhétorique' and entered the domain of 'art poétique' specifically, marking a moment of shift in the theorisation of translation begun in France with Étienne Dolet's *La maniere de bien traduire* (1540).<sup>48</sup>

Among the questions at stake in Sébillet and Du Bellay's treatises were two of direct relevance to translations of the *Aeneid*. Firstly, had there been any 'worthy' long narrative poem in the vernacular in France? If not, why, and how should this be redressed? Secondly,

<sup>46</sup> WILSON-OKAMURA 2010, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup> SEBILLET 1932; JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003a.

<sup>48</sup> MENINI AND WORTH-STYLIANOU 2015, p. 427. On Dolet, see WORTH 1988.

what role, if any, could translation play in constructing a canon of French vernacular literature to rival that of the classical languages and of other vernaculars, especially Italian?

The terms used to discuss the first question in sixteenth-century French differ substantially from those of modern criticism. Rather than the modern *épopée*, Sébillet and Du Bellay use the terms ‘long poème’ and ‘Grand’œuvre’ to refer to a range of texts, only some of which fall under the term *épopée*. In essence, both theorists are interested predominantly in long verse narratives; both argue that this sort of poem is lacking in French and begin from the position that this must be redressed. Both are, moreover, only interested in texts composed originally in French: works such as Dolet’s *Francisci Valesii Gallorum regis fata* (1539) on Francis I did not count, even in French translation.<sup>49</sup> Nor did Luigi Alamanni’s *Girone il Cortese* (1548), written in France at the request of Francis I, with a subject matter derived from French literature and dedicated to Henry II.<sup>50</sup> Instead, the insistence of both theorists on texts originally composed in French is intimately concerned with a triangulation of epic, language and nationalism. Awareness of the role of French as a ‘national’ language in the wake of the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) which mandated the administrative use of the ‘langage maternel françois’ is thus suffused throughout Sébillet and Du Bellay’s arguments.<sup>51</sup>

Sébillet’s addresses this question in a chapter entitled ‘De la version’ (*Art poétique* II.14). According to Sébillet, there is only one example of a ‘Grand’œuvre’ in French, the *Roman de la rose* (c. 1230, second version c. 1275), ‘un dés plus grans œuvres que nous lisons aujourd’huy en nostre poësie François.’<sup>52</sup> This Sébillet compares to the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid* and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, drawing no generic distinctions between these texts. In answering the question of why there are not more such works in French, Sébillet contends that French poets lack imitative models (‘cette pénurie d’œuvres grands et Héroiïques part de faute de matière’). In introducing the new term ‘Héroiïque,’ Sébillet implies, moreover, a judgement of content as well as length. Whilst this moves us closer towards the modern definition of an epic poem — as well as towards that of sixteenth-century Italians who

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<sup>49</sup> On French neo-Latin epics, see BRAUN 2007. On Dolet’s *Fata*, see USHER 2013, pp. 74–119.

<sup>50</sup> ALAMANNI 1548.

<sup>51</sup> See CLERICO 1999, pp. 149–52.

<sup>52</sup> SÉBILLET 1932, p. 187.

underlined the same ‘heroic’ quality, discussed below — it is clear Sébillet’s conception of a ‘grand’œuvre’ remains capacious and elastic.

In considering the second question, the role of translations in ‘national’ literatures, Sébillet states that poets prefer to translate canonical works rather than compose new texts. Sébillet does not reject translation (‘la version’), but praises it, suggesting that ‘doctes lecteurs’ enjoy it and that it is a process akin to excavating antiquities.<sup>53</sup> As such, he argues poets ought to receive glory for producing good translations, whilst cautioning that translations incur significant risks of a poet making mistakes in the process, thus somewhat tempering his support for translation. Sébillet’s final recommendation for redressing the lack of a French ‘Grand’œuvre’ aligns translation and imitation (‘la version n’est rien qu’une imitation’).<sup>54</sup> He thus suggests aspiring poets imitate vernacular translations of classical texts, rather than produce translations themselves. This is supported with a list of ‘successful’ translations to imitate which includes Des Masures’s newly-printed *Aeneid* I and II. Here in 1548, then, we see the first elements which would lead to the installation of Des Masures’s *Aeneid* as the definitive French version of the text in the sixteenth century.

Du Bellay’s *Deffence* takes a different approach. Du Bellay – here writing before he moved to Rome and composed the *Poematum libri quatuor* discussed in Ch. 3.5 – rejects the contemporary use of classical languages entirely, suggesting it would be impossible to equal the ancients in the use of Greek or Latin.<sup>55</sup> Du Bellay argues against the utility of translation since, whilst *inventio* and *dispositio* might be translated, *elocutio*, defined as an author’s specific linguistic choices, cannot be.<sup>56</sup> This, he argues, is paramount in poetry, a literary form characterised by above all by *elocutio*.<sup>57</sup> Du Bellay’s engagement with the question of the ‘long poème françois’ then takes the form of a call to long verse narrative to demonstrate the capacities of French as a literary language equal to Greek, Latin and Italian.<sup>58</sup> To make his point, Du Bellay gives his own list of ‘longs poèmes,’ urging the prospective poet to follow Ariosto:

Comme luy [=l’Arioste] donq’, qui a bien voulu emprunter de nostre Langue les Noms, & l’Hystoire de son Poème, choysi moy quelque un de ces beaux vieulx

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<sup>53</sup> SEBILLET 1932, pp. 187-88.

<sup>54</sup> SEBILLET 1932, p. 190

<sup>55</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003a, pp. 42-45 (*Deffence* I.11).

<sup>56</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003a, pp. 25-29 (*Deffence* I.5).

<sup>57</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003a, pp. 29-30 (*Deffence* I.6).

<sup>58</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003a, pp. 56-59 (*Deffence* II.5).



Romans Francoys, comme un Lancelot, un Tristan, ou autres: et en fay renaitre au monde une admirable Iliade, & laborieuse Eneïde.<sup>59</sup>

Like Sébillet, Du Bellay's genre distinctions also differ from modern conceptions. Ariosto's chivalric *Orlando Furioso* and the epic *Iliad* and *Aeneid* are presented as the same genre, while a generic distinction is instituted between medieval *romans* ('un Lancelot, un Tristan') and other texts, unlike both Sébillet in the *Art poétique* and later Pierre de Ronsard, who referred to his epic *Franciade* (1572) alongside the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* as a 'Roman.'<sup>60</sup> Instead of producing new *romans*, the material of the older texts should be reworked to conform to the single genre in which Du Bellay placed Homer, Virgil and Ariosto.

Two questions arise from Du Bellay's statements. One, in what sense was the *Aeneid* 'laborieuse'? Secondly, why did he then translate Books IV and VI of the *Aeneid*? The dedicatory letter of his *Œuvres de l'invention de l'auteur* (1552) clarifies both points and shows the influence of Des Masures's *Aeneid* on literary critical writing. Here, Du Bellay discusses poetry in terms of *labeur*, stating that though he recognized that 'le champ de poëzie est infertile, et peu fidele à son laboureur,' he would continue to write verse in the 'douce folie' of receiving some 'droict d'immortalité' for those 'labeurs.'<sup>61</sup> In the *Œuvres de l'invention de l'auteur*, however, he would begin 'non par œuvres de mon invention,' but by a translation of *Aeneid* IV, 'qu'il n'est besoing recommander d'avantage, puis que sur le front elle porte le nom de Virgile.'<sup>62</sup> For Du Bellay, poetry is difficult and brings rare glory, and Virgil was particularly successful in this field; on the basis of Virgil's own glory, and to benefit from his *auctoritas*, Du Bellay translates the *Aeneid*. The same preface shows forcefully, moreover, that Du Bellay's thoughts on translation had shifted significantly since 1549:

Je n'ay pas oublié ce qu'autrefois j'ay dict des translations poëtiques: mais je ne suis si jalouement amoureux de mes premieres apprehensions, que j'aye honte de les changer quelquefois à l'exemple de tant d'excellens auteurs.<sup>63</sup>

The example Du Bellay gives of an 'excellent author' is Des Masures; Du Bellay will not attempt to produce a translation of the entirety of the *Aeneid*,

<sup>59</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003a, pp. 56-57.

<sup>60</sup> BIZER 2011, p. 84; RONSARD 1914-75, vol. 16.1, pp. 4-5.

<sup>61</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2013, p. 60.

<sup>62</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2013, p. 62.

<sup>63</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2013, p. 63.

que tous studieux de nostre langue doivent souhaicter d'une si docte main que celle de Louis des Masures dont la fidele et diligente traduction du premier et second livre m'ont donné et désir et espérance du reste.<sup>64</sup>

We see clearly again that literary theoretical writing has been affected by the production of Des Masures's translation, even when only Books I and II were available in print, and indeed that Des Masures's translation caused a significant shift in the thinking of a poet central to the promotion of the vernacular in France. Prior to the production of Des Masures's *Aeneid*, Du Bellay would not have considered undertaking such a *labeur*: now, with one translation of the text showing literary promise, he can try his hand at the same as a way of achieving 'droict d'immortalité.' Du Bellay's admiration for Des Masures's translation continued whilst in Rome. *Regrets* 148 is dedicated to praising the 'candeur,' 'grace divine,' 'douceur' and 'majesté Latine' (lines 9-10) of Des Masures's *Aeneid*, following the printing of Books III and IV; it was then printed as a liminal verse in the 1560 edition of Des Masures's translation of the *Aeneid*.<sup>65</sup>

How did this rapid canonisation of Des Masures's translation come about? Certainly, Des Masures himself presented his translation as exemplary. In the 1547 dedication, Des Masures writes that the 'labeur' of translation was undertaken partly for pleasure and partly for the 'prouffict' of the vernacular.<sup>66</sup> Des Masures thus arguably saw his translation as an exception to warnings against translation's utility, and defended it with recourse to a vernacular inflection of the 'aut prodesse [...] aut delectare' ('to benefit, or to amuse'), proposed as the task of all poets by Horace in the *Ars poetica*.<sup>67</sup> That a *dizain* by Des Masures printed in a French translation of the *Amadis de Gaule* (1544) points to the same factors ('le lisant en sa langue de France | Vous y prendrez & plaisir & proffit' [lines 9-10]) also suggests Des Masures saw 'pleasure' and 'prouffict' as central to translation's role in the literary system more broadly.<sup>68</sup> An aim to produce a linguistically beneficial text may therefore lie behind an editorial decision to print Des Masures's French translation alongside Virgil's Latin text. This was clearly felt continually valuable; all standalone editions of the text are printed in this bilingual format. Anne Elizabeth Banks Coldiron suggests suchs

<sup>64</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2013, pp. 62-63. On Du Bellay's shifting views of translation, see LORIAN 1990.

<sup>65</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, p. 270; VIRGIL 1560, sig. a2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> VIRGIL 1547, sig. \*iij<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> HORACE 1970, pp. 478-79 (*Ars P.* 333).

<sup>68</sup> LE QUATREIEME LIVRE DE AMADIS DE GAULE 1543 [=1544], sig. ãii<sup>v</sup>.

multilingual books 'invite a direct readerly encounter with alterity' and insist 'readers *not* remain inside their linguistic comfort zone.'<sup>69</sup> In this bilingual format, the reader is drawn to check the Latin against Des Masures's translation as they proceed, and is constantly reminded that the French text is a version, not the original. This serves two functions: improvement to or help with one's Latin, using the French as crib, and continual demonstration of 'good' ways of translating from Latin into French. On the page, the French text takes visual precedence, printed in a larger italic font occupying two-thirds of the available space while the smaller Latin text is always positioned closest to the gutter [Figure 5 Des Masures, *Les quatre premiers livres de l'Eneïde de Virgile* (1552)

Figure 5]. In this, the books mimic the editorial form of contemporaneous bilingual Greek-Latin texts. These books were the material representation of a linguistic reality: more people understood Latin than understood Greek alone, making the Latin text a pedagogically and commercially useful addition. The bilingual French-Latin *Aeneid* responded to a similar reality. Though many elite figures had good Latin, that is not to say

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<sup>69</sup> BANKS COLDIRON 2015, pp. 28, 165.

that they would not prefer to read in French, or to read in Latin with supporting French editorial apparatus. This notably includes women, explicitly addressed as reader in the prefatory *dizain* of Book IV in 1552 ('Quiconques lis icy, Seigneur, ou Dame' [line 1]).<sup>70</sup>

Yet, through the material organization of the page, the French text is clearly presented as the dominant version, unlike contemporaneous Greek-Latin editions of classical texts. The bilingual format allows Des Masures to assert authorship over the text, constantly reminding the reader that what they are reading is a consciously worked and crafted version of other words on the page, drawing attention to the translator's *labeur* and belying the fiction of domestication, of the translation-as-source-text. In fact, the Latin *Aeneid* itself becomes paratext in Des Masures's editions, quite the opposite of Genette's claim that translations are paratexts of their source and of Valerie Worth-Stylianou's claim that Des Masures's editions give primacy to the Latin text.<sup>71</sup> Ready access to both versions together facilitated the evaluation and appreciation of the translator's skill by those able to

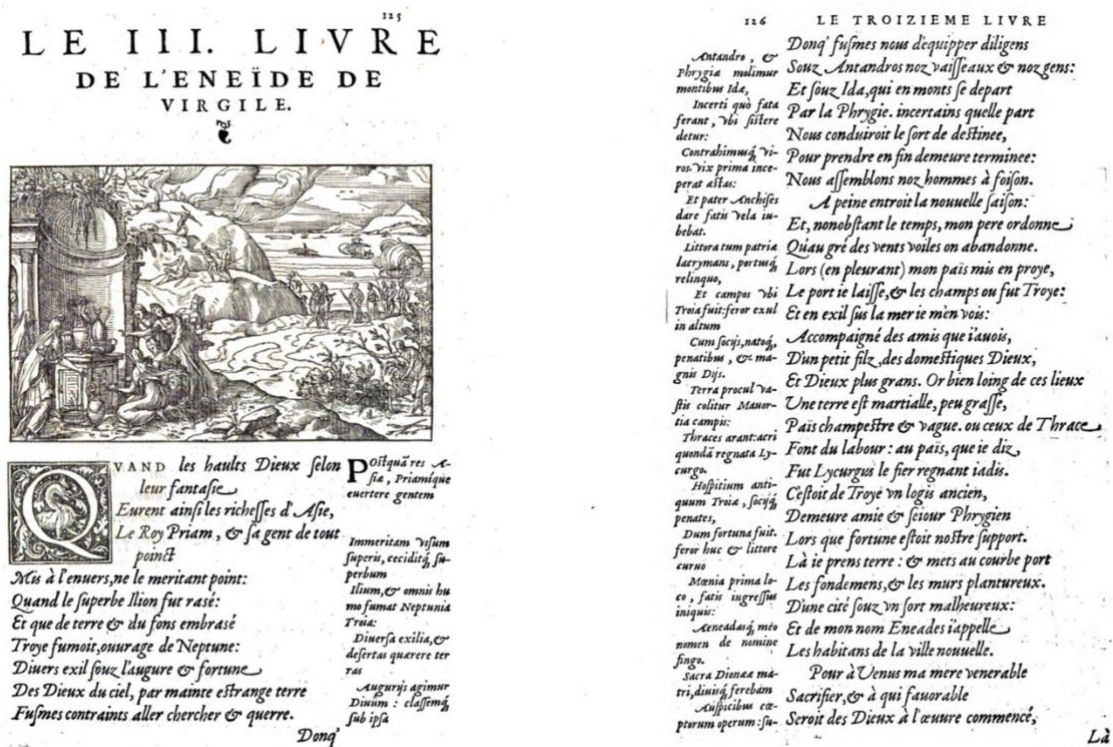


Figure 6 Des Masures, *Les quatre premiers livres de l'Eneïde de Virgile* (1552)

BSB, 4 A.lat.a. 691, sigs. h7<sup>r</sup>-h7<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 7 Des Masures, *Les quatre premiers livres de l'Eneïde de Virgile* (1552)  
Figure 7 Portrait of Olivier le Crec (1575) BSB, 4 A.lat.a. 691, sigs. h7<sup>r</sup>-h7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> VIRGIL 1552, sig. l5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> WORTH-STYLIANOU 1990, p. 488.

read bilingually.<sup>72</sup> Such bilingual formats became more common as the sixteenth century progressed, hand-in-hand with the rising profile and visibility of translators achieved paratextually through the appearance of translators' names on frontispieces (thus rivalling, if not eclipsing, the name of Virgil, which Du Bellay argued was the means by which his translation was promoted).<sup>73</sup> In making visible Des Masures and his translation practice, Des Masures's *Aeneid* stakes its claim as the authoritative vernacular version, submitting itself to the judgement of the community of 'doctes lecteurs' whom Sébillet held enjoyed translations the most, and who held significant power in the recommendation and canonisation of literary works.

The editorial presentation also affected the wording of the translation. The juxtaposition of the two texts requires avoiding extrapolations or additions to the translation, which must tally roughly with the Latin in order for both to appear aligned. The translator's hand is less free to adapt or alter, to 'measure' the text and reproduce its sense, but is bound more to translate word-for-word.<sup>74</sup> That notwithstanding, Des Masures introduces some expansions. Often, rather than translate a given Latin term with a single word, the French provides two synonyms. In the first hundred lines of Book III, the text produced in Rome, we find six instances of such lexical doubling:

Auguriis...divum [*Aen.* III.4-5, 'by heaven's auguries']  
 souz l'augure & fortune | Des Dieux du ciel [*Eneide* III.8-9]

Moenia [*Aen.* III.17, 'city']  
 Les fondemens, & les murs plantureux [*Eneide* III.35]

Et terram tabo maculant [*Aen.* III.29, 'and stain the earth with gore']  
 et rend la terre infecte, orde, & sanglante [*Eneide* III.57]

Adgredior [*Aen.* III.38, 'I assail']  
 j'esbranle & ploye [*Eneide* III.74]

Lacrimabilis [*Aen.* III.39, 'piteous']  
 lamentable et dur [*Eneide* III.78]

crudelis terras [*Aen.* III.43, 'cruel land']<sup>75</sup>  
 la terre inique, & entaschee | de cruauté [*Eneide* III.88]

<sup>72</sup> See BADDELEY 2015, pp. 254-6.

<sup>73</sup> DUCHÉ AND UETANI 2015.

<sup>74</sup> On sense vs. word-for-word translation in Renaissance translation theories, see NORTON 1984.

<sup>75</sup> For these examples, see Virgil 1999-2000, vol. 1, pp. 372-74.

Lexical doubling is unusual, where analytic French is typically more prolix than synthetic Latin, and where we might expect semantic reduction of the Latin hexameter to fit French decasyllables. Instead, a number of terms are glossed, such that the French text acquires lexicographical characteristics. This process is contemporaneous with the production of the first French-Latin dictionaries, the *Dictionarium latinogallicum* (1538, revised 1544 and 1551) and the *Dictionnaire Françoislatin* (1539, revised 1549) by Robert Estienne (1503-59) as well as early printed works used to aid language learning.<sup>76</sup> Des Masures inserts his work into this growing genre; both his lexically-doubled translation and the editorial presentation of the work present the text not only as a literary artefact – as an exceptional, accepted translation – but also bestow it with pedagogical functions, connected to wider theoretical concerns for the use of translation as a means of ‘illustration’ of French.

#### 4.3.2: Epic and Romance on the Italian Peninsula (1532-54)

The terms of debate over long narrative verse on the Italian peninsula differed significantly from France. On the peninsula, by the later 1540s, a debate was underway over the form of epic and romance narrative poetry which typically centred on the *Orlando Furioso* of Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533), printed in a third edition in 1532 after undergoing authorial revisions. Undoubtedly, Guarnelli’s translation responds to this distinct literary-theoretical context. In 1535, a second version of the *Furioso* was produced, following Pietro Bembo’s *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525) which proposed the use of Petrarch and Boccaccio as linguistic models in the pursuit of a standard literary language for use on the Italian peninsula.<sup>77</sup> Between the revised *Furioso* (1532) and Torquato Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1581) and *Discorsi del poema eroico* (1594), debate on the form of chivalric romance/epic and its place, or their places, within the literary system was particularly active. The period 1547-55 in particular saw important interventions prompted by new interest in Aristotle’s *Poetics* (c. 335 BCE). Though the *Poetics* had been printed in Latin

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<sup>76</sup> MINERVA 2009.

<sup>77</sup> BEMBO 1966, vol. 1, pp. 73-309. On the *Furioso*’s revisions, see CASADEI 2003.

translation in 1498 and in Greek in 1508, it did not exert much influence on the Italian peninsula until the mid-sixteenth century when the text began to be read as a normative work of criticism.<sup>78</sup> In the early 1540s, lectures were given on the *Poetics* at Padua and Ferrara; by the decade's close, the Torrentino press in Florence had printed a Latin commentary to the text (1548) and a vernacular translation (1549), while Valgrisi in Venice had printed a second Latin commentary.<sup>79</sup> These works caused a re-evaluation of poetic form as Aristotle's comments, variously interpreted, were applied vigorously in debate on the *Furioso*, which became a focus of criticism pitting 'ancients' against 'moderns.'<sup>80</sup>

For 'ancients,' debates centred on whether Ariosto's text could be defined as an epic using Aristotle's comments in the *Poetics*. For the proponents of this argument such as Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550), author of the epic *L'Italia liberata dai Gotthi* (1547-48), the *Furioso* was a failed imitation of classical epic which, with its multiple tangents, interwoven plotlines and non-teleological narrative, departed from Aristotelian notions understood prescriptively.<sup>81</sup> 'Modernists' followed one of two arguments. Either, they held that romance was a new, separate genre which could not be assessed using classical precedents, an argument particularly associated with Ferrarese poet Giovanbattista Giraldi Cinzio (1504-73) and his *Discorso intorno al comporre dei romanzi* (1554). Alternatively, they argued that epic and chivalric romance were in fact the same, and sought to demonstrate that chivalric romance conformed to epic 'rules.' In this vein, Simone Fornari (d. c. 1560) in his *Sposizione sopra l'Orlando Furioso* (1549-50) and Giovan Battista Pigna (1530-75) in *I romanzi* (1554) both argued the *Furioso* conformed to Aristotelian precepts.

What is the importance of this debate to the *Aeneid*, a classical epic uniformly held to conform to Aristotelian principles? Firstly, these theoretical considerations highlight significant divergence in debates on long narrative poetry between France and the Italian peninsula in the 1540s. While all agreed on the *Aeneid*'s categorisation, the question of what other texts were of the same type produced very different answers. These variant answers constitute stylistic differences between Des Masures's translation discussed above and Guarnelli's discussed below. Secondly, in translating the *Aeneid*, Guarnelli used Ariosto's

<sup>78</sup> See WEINBERG 1961, vol. 1, pp. 349–714; JAVITCH 1993; BRAZEAU 2020.

<sup>79</sup> ROBOTTELLO 1548; *RHETTORICA ET POETICA D'ARISTOTELE* 1549; MAGGI AND LOMBARDI 1550.

<sup>80</sup> See JAVITCH 1991; WEINBERG 1961, vol. 2, pp. 954-1105.

<sup>81</sup> TRISSINO 1547, sigs. \*ijj<sup>v</sup>.

*Furioso* as a model. Literary debates on the *Furioso*, as well as its growing canonisation identified by Javitch, sanctioned the use of a modern vernacular classic as imitative model for vernacular translation of a classical text. Two particular facets of Guarnelli's translation make evident Ariosto's influence: the choice of metre, and direct imitation of the *Furioso* in the *Aeneid* translation.

Guarnelli's metre, *ottava rima*, is that used in the *Furioso*. The translation of unrhymed Latin dactylic hexameter with rhymed *ottava rima* was not unique to Guarnelli, but *ottava rima* was by no means his only option and the appropriate metre of epic/chivalric texts featured in poetic debates of the 1540-50s. Guarnelli had a choice between three vernacular metres in use during the sixteenth century for long verse narratives. The first, *endecasillabi sciolti*, were unrhymed hendecasyllables modelled on Latin dactylic hexameter. *Endecasillabi sciolti* had been used in translations of classical hexametric verse including a multi-authored Sieneese *Aeneid* translation (1540) and Trissino's *Italia liberata*, demonstrating the form's potential for narrative and suggesting proponents of the 'Ancients' position felt this the closest vernacular equivalent to hexameter.<sup>82</sup> Their use in other genres, including in Trissino's tragedy *La Sofonisba* (written 1514-15, printed 1524), lent further weight to their use.

*Endecasillabi sciolti* were not without their detractors. In 1543, Claudio Tolomei wrote to Sieneese poet Marcantonio Cinuzzi (1503-92) about the latter's 1542 *endecasillabi sciolti* translation of Claudian's hexametric *De raptu Proserpinae* (late third-century CE).<sup>83</sup> Tolomei lists a number of poets who had used *endecasillabi sciolti*: Luigi Tansillo (1510-68) in translating Catullus's hexametric epyllion (Cat. 64); Lodovico Martelli (1500-1527/8) and Ippolito de' Medici (1511-35) in their translations of *Aeneid* IV and VI respectively; and Trissino. Despite having 'così grandi ed honorati huomini per guida,' Tolomei remained unconvinced of their worth:

mi par che que' versi così sciolti, e dissipati, perdano il vigore, e lo spirito che gli avviva, non essendo ritenuti, non ristretti da nodo, o da legamento alcuno. [...] Onde se non son ritenuti, e ritardati da qualche legamento di rima, o d'altro artificio, non differiscono molto da la prosa, né mi par che si facciano atti a lo stile Heroico.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>82</sup> See *I SEI PRIMI LIBRI DI VERGILIO* 2002, with introduction.

<sup>83</sup> Printed in 1608; various manuscript copies survive, cfr. TOMASI 2011, p. 35, fn. 34.

<sup>84</sup> Claudio Tolomei to Marcantonio Cinuzzi, 1 July 1543, in TOLOMEI 1547, sig. Aviii<sup>v</sup>.



For Tolomei, *endecasillabi sciolti* resembled the cadences of prose and daily speech ('Né credo sia huomo alcuno, che ragionando non ne faccia ogni dì molti senza avvedersene' [sig. Aviii<sup>v</sup>]), and lacked 'artificio,' the 'craft' or 'technique' distinguishing poetry from prose. Given Tolomei's centrality at the Farnese court and in Roman academies as discussed in Ch. 2.6.1, as well as his influence on language and poetics following his intervention on the *questione della lingua* in *Il Cesano* (written c. 1525, printed 1555) and experimental attempts to reproduce Latinate metres in the vernacular, it is likely his opinion held significant weight for Guarnelli.<sup>85</sup> At the same time, a choice not to use *endecasillabi sciolti* distinguished Guarnelli's *Aeneid* from translations of the *Aeneid* noted by Tolomei: this may have therefore been a deliberate strategy.

The second choice of metre, *terza rima* had been used in Dante's *Commedia* (c. 1308-20). However, following Bembian preference for Petrarch over Dante as the model of Italian vernacular poetry, *terza rima* was less common, despite its use in Petrarch's *Trionfi* (1351). Tolomei's letter to Cinuzzi had also rejected *terza rima* as excessively bound by the fact that each *terzina* must contain a 'sentimento finito' (sig. Aviii<sup>v</sup>). Yet Tolomei's letter enlivened debate. Matteo di San Martino included two undated letters to Tolomei at the end of his *Osservazioni grammaticali e poetiche della lingua italiana* (1555).<sup>86</sup> San Martino writes that, having tested various verse forms while composing a work entitled *Giuljade* on 'gli amori e guerre di Giulio Cesare,' he finally settled on *terza rima* precisely 'per l'auttorità di Dante e di Petrarca.'<sup>87</sup> Though San Martino makes the case for *terza rima* as a flexible poetic form, better suited to the 'Heroic' style than *endecasillabi sciolti*, his opinion seems to have carried little weight, and *terza rima* remained rarely used for long verse narratives in this period.

Guarnelli's third option, which he ultimately chose, is unmentioned by Tolomei: *ottava rima*. Held to have been invented by Boccaccio, *ottava rima* had notably been used in chivalric romances by Luigi Pulci (1432-84; *Morgante*, 1483), Matteo Maria Boiardo (1440-94; *Orlando Innamorato*, 1483-95) and in the *Furioso*. These literary precedents demonstrated the utility of *ottava rima* in constructing long verse narratives, something

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<sup>85</sup> See TOLOMEI 1974.

<sup>86</sup> SAN MARTINO 1555, sigs. Pvijf-Qiv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> SAN MARTINO 1555, sigs. Pvii<sup>v</sup>.

highlighted by others including Girolamo Ruscelli.<sup>88</sup> In addition, these earlier *ottava rima* works had all demonstrated their wide popularity, while *ottava rima* was also a typical metre of verse sung in public by *canterini*.<sup>89</sup> In 1559, Bernardo Tasso, father of Torquato and a 'Modernist' then working on his chivalric epic *L'Amadigi*, pointed to the number of copies of the *Furioso* that had been sold, far more than of Homer or Virgil, and noted that Trissino's *L'Italia liberata*, though it followed Aristotelian rules and was 'pieno d'eruditione,' nonetheless was a complete failure ('quasi il giorno medesimo ch'è uscito in luce, è stato sepolto').<sup>90</sup> Tasso's comments demonstrate the popularity and economic prowess of the *Furioso* and its narrative form: in this context, it is unsurprising Guarnelli should turn to the *Furioso* as a model in producing his *Aeneid* translation.

Guarnelli's choice of *ottava rima rima* was perhaps also influenced by the translation into *ottava rima* of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Book I, 1553; Books I-III, 1554) by Farnese courtier Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara (1517-70), printed in France where Anguillara was then living.<sup>91</sup> Anguillara had spent time in Rome in the 1540s and was part of the same circles as Tolomei including the Accademia della Nuova poesia. Though Anguillara was not physically in Rome in this period, when his *Metamorphoses* were printed they included a letter 'ai lettori giovani' by Anguillara which thanked Cardinal Farnese for acting as Anguillara's patron while incorporating praise of Farnese into the translation itself.<sup>92</sup> We might therefore see Guarnelli's use of *ottava rima* as part of a wider usage of the form for classical translation under Farnese patronage. Outi Merisalo argues Annibal Caro's translation of the *Aeneid* into *endecasillabi sciolti* (completed 1563, printed 1581) was aimed at educated courtly audiences while Anguillara's *Metamorphoses* addressed an audience who 'devoured editions of chivalric romances,' not scholars but 'men of middling social status, as well as some women.'<sup>93</sup> Guarnelli arguably targeted the same readership as Anguillara. Both the use of *ottava rima* and the format – a standalone octavo volume with no printed imagery, and thus likely cheaper – are suggestive of a book aimed towards a wider audience. My reading of Guarnelli's *Aeneid* as a political object which sought to

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<sup>88</sup> RUSCELLI 1558, sigs. iv<sup>v</sup>-vi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> See DEGL'INNOCENTI 2018.

<sup>90</sup> Bernardo Tasso to Benedetto Varchi, 6 Mar. 1559, in B. TASSO 2002, vol. 2, p. 543-44.

<sup>91</sup> See ANGUILLARA 2019.

<sup>92</sup> OVID 1554, sigs. Gii<sup>r</sup>, Mvi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> MERISALO 2015, p. 64.

influence opinion in favour of Cardinal Farnese could well explain the choice to imitate a text, the *Furioso*, which enjoyed a wide, cross-peninsular readership.

The second facet of Guarnelli's translation which evidences Ariosto's influence is its direct imitation of passages of the *Furioso*. If Virgil represented the apex of the Latin poetic canon, then in translation it made sense to imitate a text which occupied that space in the vernacular canon: as suggested, this position was quickly taken by the *Furioso*. Javitch notes that Anguillara's *Metamorphoses* makes extensive use of the *Furioso* as an imitative model, such that Anguillara's translation made 'more evident [...] Ariosto's debt to Ovid.'<sup>94</sup> Something similar happens in Guarnelli's *Aeneid* translation in which the scene of Aeneas's shipwreck off Carthage (*Eneide* I.129-232) imitates closely the *Furioso*'s depiction of Ruggerio's shipwreck *en route* to Africa (*Orl. Fur.* 41.9-23).<sup>95</sup> This is the only section of Guarnelli's printed translation in which he augments the text, introducing entire octaves with no corresponding Latin passage; instead, their source is *Orl. Fur.* 41. Ariosto's shipwreck had itself used Virgil's Latin as a model (*Aen.* I.81-124). Guarnelli's use of Ariosto thus serves in part to make Ariosto's Virgilian imitation 'more evident,' though it clearly avoids imitation of Ariosto's nuanced, at times negative, interpretation of Aeneas and is predominantly concerned with the *Furioso* as a vernacular stylistic model.<sup>96</sup>

As a descriptive scene, Aeneas's shipwreck offers Guarnelli as translator more flexibility in rendering using forms of *enargeia* available to him; that is, he can conjure an *idea* or *image* of shipwreck, rather than needing to convey a defined set of information essential for plot development. In addition, given that the Latin text is absent from the printed volume (unlike in editions of Des Masures's translation), cross-referencing is made more difficult such that the translation is presented as a text unto itself. With this comes more freedom to alter the text, to translate for sense rather than word-for-word. This allows for expansive domestication of the material. The shipwreck scene is thus inserted into a tradition of vernacular literature describing such a scene, of which Ariosto's version had by 1554 become an important model. Since Ariosto's depiction of the shipwreck of Ruggiero as he headed towards Africa is an imitation of the Virgilian shipwreck scene, it

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<sup>94</sup> JAVITCH 1991, p. 80.

<sup>95</sup> The numbering of octaves in Guarnelli's *Aeneid* refers to the text presented in Appendix E.

<sup>96</sup> See STOPPINO 2016, pp. 43-53.

lends itself to re-use: the passages are simultaneously Virgilian and reminiscent of newly-canonised vernacular literature.

Some passages of Guarnelli's translation expand on Virgil's Latin, closely following expansions made in Ariosto's imitation of the *Aeneid*:

Ecco stridendo l'orribil procella  
 che 'l repentin furor di borea spinge,  
 La vela contra l'arbore flagella:  
 il mar si leva, e quasi il cielo attinge.  
 Frangonsi i remi; e di fortuna fella  
 tanto la rabbia impetuosa stringe,  
 che la prora si volta, e verso l'onda  
 fa rimaner la disarmata sponda.  
 [Orl. Fur. 41.13.1-8]<sup>1</sup>

Mentre in van così parla, ecco si parte  
 nembo dal ciel che Borea spinge e mesce.  
 La vela assalta da contraria parte  
 levasi l'onda al ciel, né del mar esce:  
 frangonsi i remi e allentansi le sarte,  
 e con tanta ira impetuoso cresce,  
 che rivoltar la prora, e verso l'onda  
 fa richinar la disarmata sponda.  
 [Eneide, 1554, I.22.1-8]

In the above, Guarnelli likely had Ariosto open in front of him while translating or had memorised this segment of the text. The alterations made to Ariosto's text are so minor that the texts are identical in places; changes consist largely of the removal or addition of individual words, replacement of terms with synonyms (e.g. 'ira,' 'rabbia') or of the repositioning of pronouns (e.g. 'si leva,' 'levasi').

Three of Guarnelli's octaves (*Eneide* I.19, 23, 26) have no Latin source. They derive instead entirely from the *Furioso*, indicating Guarnelli's expansive approach to use of Ariosto in his translation practice. For instance, *Eneide* I.19 derives from *Orl. Fur.* 41.9.3-6, the three Ariostean lines expanded, their order inverted:

ch'or di dietro, or dinanzi, or loro è al fianco.  
 Surgono altiere e minacciose l'onde:  
 mugliando sopra il mar va il gregge bianco.  
 [Orl. Fur. 41.9.3-6]<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> L. ARIOSTO 1992, vol. 2, p. 1206.

<sup>1</sup> L. ARIOSTO 1992, vol. 2, p. 1205.

Scorre muggendo il gregge bianco in mare;  
cingono horribil mostri intorno il cielo.  
Si mescion le celesti onde col mare,  
sparge l'irato mar l'onde nel cielo.  
Precipitoso il ciel scender nel mare,  
e 'l mar gonfio salir sembra nel cielo.  
Move al mar guerra il cielo, e 'l cielo al mare,  
e sotto, e sopra, è spaventoso mare.  
[*Eneide*, 1554, I.19.1-8]

Using the deictics of *Orl. Fur.* 41.9.3 as guide, Guarnelli constructs an octave which constantly repeats the terms *mar* and *cielo*, positioned variously throughout. They are the only rhymes, thereby momentarily dispensing with the ABABABCC rhyme scheme found throughout the text: the effect is one of directly imitating the action of the storm on the ship and the sea, of producing metrically the shifting waves.

In one instance Guarnelli expands a single Virgilian line ('apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,' 'Here and there are seen swimmers in the vast abyss') into an octave.<sup>2</sup> To do so, he uses two stanzas of the *Furioso*:

Altri là giù, senza apparir più, resta;  
altri risorge e sopra l'onde sbalza;  
chi vien nuotando e mostra fuor la testa,  
chi mostra un braccio, e chi una gamba scalza.  
[*Orl. Fur.* 41.21.1-4]<sup>3</sup>

Altri che spera in mar salvar la vita,  
o perderlavi almen con minor pena,  
poi che notando non ritrova aita,  
e mancar sente l'animo e la lena,  
alla vorace fiamma c'ha fuggita,  
la tema di annegarsi anco rimena:  
s'abbraccia a un legno ch'arde, e per timore  
che ha di due morte, in ambe se ne muore.  
[*Orl. Fur.* 39.85]<sup>4</sup>

Altri senza apparir più si sommerge.  
Altri risorge, e va sbalzando in mare.  
Altri co i piedi in su da l'onde emerge.  
Qua solo un braccio, e là una gamba appare.  
Altri notando viene, e la testa erge;  
Ma tosto ne va in preda a l'onde avere.

<sup>2</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 270 (*Aen.* I.118).

<sup>3</sup> L. ARIOSTO 1992, vol. 2, p. 1208.

<sup>4</sup> L. ARIOSTO 1992, vol. 2, p. 1179.

A un tronco altri s'abbraccia, e per timore  
 C'ha d'una morte, mille volte more.  
 [*Eneide*, 1554, l.26]

The first five lines of the octave rework *Orl. Fur.* 41.21 while the final couplet of Guarnelli's octave instead derives from *Orl. Fur.* 39, evidence that in some cases he moved beyond Ariosto's reworking of the *Aeneid* to imitate other scenes in the *Furioso* such as the confrontation at sea between Saracen king Agramante and Dudone, a Christian paladin. There is significant repetition of Ariostean terms here, to the point even of transcribing entire phrases ('senza apparir più'; 'Altri risorge'). Again, Guarnelli shifts tenses ('sbalza' > 'va sbalzando') and replaces words with synonyms ('legno' > 'tronco').

Ariosto's Virgilian imitation was well documented and discussed by contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> In particular, Javitch suggests Ariostean *imitatio* made visible that the texts imitated were themselves imitating earlier texts, constructing a textual 'genealogy.'<sup>2</sup> In the same manner, Guarnelli's translation imitates passages of Ariosto which are themselves imitations of Virgil, thus producing an extended textual genealogy, from Virgil to Ariosto to Guarnelli himself. In doing so, Guarnelli rewrites Virgil in an Ariostean manner for contemporary audiences, but also inserts his own translation into a textual lineage, appropriating classical and a vernacular *auctoritas* to bolster this, his first standalone work.

Returning to the debates which opened this section, did Guarnelli consider the *Furioso* as an epic in the Aristotelian sense and therefore find it an appropriate model for the translation of such texts into the vernacular? Here, it is difficult to draw conclusions since we lack evidence of Guarnelli's opinions on Ariosto or on epic. It would be an over-reading to construe these passages as an attempt by Guarnelli to demonstrate that Ariosto's text could or should be read as an epic in the Aristotelian sense. Instead, this use of Ariosto points towards a conception of reduced distance between classical epic and chivalric romance such that forms of interplay and exchange could exist between the two.

#### 4.4: The *Aeneid* Translations in their Socio-Political Contexts

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. SITTERSON 1992.

<sup>2</sup> JAVITCH 1985.

Though, as shown above, Des Masures and Guarnelli's respective *Aeneid* translations diverge significantly in their translation practices within the contexts of linguistically-contingent literary debates, their ideological motives and functions bear a striking resemblance. The two translations were produced at crucial moments of political change highlighted in the works' paratexts. Des Masures's *Aeneid* III is explicitly linked to the demise in status of Cardinal du Bellay, who was sidelined after the accession of Henry II in 1547, and that of Des Masures himself, who had to leave France after seemingly also falling foul of the new regime. Guarnelli's *Aeneid* I was produced during the crisis over Farnese dynastic succession in Parma and Piacenza, following the murder of Pierluigi Farnese in 1547 and the election of Julius III in 1550. In the context of these political shifts, their optimistic readings of the *Aeneid* highlight its epic teleology and the arduous but successful task of political construction announced in the text itself ('Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem,' 'So vast was the struggle to found the Roman race').<sup>3</sup> Presentation of the *Aeneid* as commentary on the dedicatees' political fortunes allowed public fashioning of their temporary political instability away from interminable or inexorable loss, reconceptualising it within a broader historical process whose end was predetermined and favourable.

This contextual reading is structured within the books' dedicatory frameworks. Though these dedications differ substantially in form and length, both underline comparisons between figures in the text and the patron or translator. Both also make use of the same *topos* drawn from the *Aeneid*, of Book I's shipwreck which sends Aeneas and his companions adrift to Carthage, to explore questions of political exile. In a chapter considering the motif of the threat of shipwreck in poetry of the French Wars of Religion, Jennifer Oliver has demonstrated the connection between metaphors of the 'ship of state' and attendant concern about the potential for the state's shipwreck.<sup>4</sup> In the *Aeneid* translations considered here, this threat of shipwreck is applied not a ship of state but to 'a ship of court.' Yet these translations are presented to audiences who knew – through their knowledge of the *Aeneid* itself, as well as through the text of the translation – that the *Aeneid*'s shipwreck was the prelude to the founding of Rome, not its final downfall. As such, unlike in other shipwreck *topoi*, via the Virgilian *topos* the court's travails are presented as necessary, and able to be overcome. As such, an always already visible epic teleology directs

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<sup>3</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 264 (*Aen.* I.33).

<sup>4</sup> OLIVER 2019, pp. 101-39.

encounters with the translations towards a reading of the *Aeneid* as commentary on contemporary events, and reminds them that shipwreck need not be the end of a narrative but may just as well constitute its point of departure.

#### 4.4.1: Des Masures's Dedication from One Exile to Another

The 1552 edition of Des Masures's *Aeneid*, the first to include translations of Books III and IV after his time in Rome substantially rewrites the paratextual pragmatics of encounter found in the previous edition of 1547. In 1547, the book contained seven dedicatory pieces: an eight-line poem by Georges l'Enfant de la Patrière (fl. 1545) to Des Masures, in Latin then in French translation; another Latin verse by the same to the same and a Latin response by Des Masures to De la Patrière; French prose letters to Cardinal Jean de Lorraine and to Toussaint d'Hocédý (d. 1565), bishop of Toul; and a French sonnet to Francis I.<sup>5</sup> Post exile to Rome, the translation's dedicatory strategies and network of addressees shifted significantly. Only De la Patrière's first Latin poem and its translation remain in place. These are now followed by a French prose dedication to Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, who had become Des Masures's patron in early 1550.<sup>6</sup> Then follow two new poems, one French, one Latin, to Cardinal de Lorraine, replacing the 1547 edition's sonnet to Francis I.<sup>7</sup> Each of the three following books is prefaced with a poem. Book II carries a *dizain* in French to a governor of Cardinal de Lorraine; Book III carries a long Latin poem to Cardinal du Bellay, in part a translation of the prose letter to Charles de Lorraine; and Book IV carries a *dizain* addressing a mixed-gender readership and discussing the story of Dido and Aeneas.<sup>8</sup>

The removal of 1547's sonnet to the king is especially significant. This had presented the French *Aeneid* as part of a process of glorification of Francis I, thanked for having saved Virgil from hell.<sup>9</sup> Mathieu Minet's reading of the evidence for Des Masures's exile suggests that he had somehow fallen foul of the new king Henry II.<sup>10</sup> The removal of references to the Valois monarchs in 1552 corroborates this assumption. As such, the network on whose authority Des Masures draws in 1552 is distinctly anti-Valois, as the text calls on alternate

<sup>5</sup> VIRGIL 1547, sigs. \*ij<sup>r</sup> - \*vi<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> VIRGIL 1547, sigs. a1<sup>v</sup> - a5<sup>v</sup>. On Charles de Lorraine's patronage, see BALSAMO 2020.

<sup>7</sup> VIRGIL 1547, sigs. a6<sup>r</sup> - 6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> VIRGIL 1547, sigs. e1<sup>v</sup>, h5<sup>r</sup> - h6<sup>v</sup>, I5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> VIRGIL 1547, sig. vi<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> MASURES 2017, pp. 14–22.



centres of power – on the Dukes of Guise in Lorraine and on Cardinal Du Bellay in Rome – in claiming its authority.

Two 1552 dedications discuss Des Masures's time in Rome. The first is the prose letter to Cardinal de Lorraine, in which Des Masures represents himself as having been afloat 'en ceste mer fluctuante du monde,' exposed to 'impetueux orages' and aware of the 'aspre & violente guerre que j'avoys à soustenir en ce voyage, auquel je m'embarquois.'<sup>11</sup> Informing the dedicatee that he had been 'trop indignement poursuivi de ces tempestes furieuses,' Des Masures mounts a self-defence, arguing provocatively that even a tyrant such as Phalaris in Sicily had protected the critical poet Stesichorus.<sup>12</sup> The implication is clear: the new king cares little for poets, in contrast to a mythos of Francis I as literary *Maecenas*.<sup>13</sup> Des Masures depicts his salvation as found in the Muses who had fled France due to an unnamed tyrant, before describing his arrival in Rome, where the Muses too had taken shelter 'hors de la mer Gallicque, qui trop estoit esmue.'<sup>14</sup> We are then presented with the Muses' speech *verbatim*, as they urge Des Masures to continue to translate the *Aeneid* as a 'fructueux exercice' which 'vous pourra donner parmi ces durs ennuis un ordinaire & plaisant souvenir de la prosperité dans laquelle vous souliez estre lors, que vous le commençastes.'<sup>15</sup> As well as suggesting that the work of translation can no longer continue in France as it had previously under Francis, the Muses's speech underlines that the continued translation of the *Aeneid* abroad will offer solace in this moment of political shift, a means of returning to a lost past. Then enters Cardinal du Bellay, to act as Des Masures's patron ('juge & fauteur') in Rome,

jusques à ce que souz un Prince des plus excellens de l'Europe, descendu de ce grand Eneas celebré de Virgile (& de vous en le traduisant) vous pourrez vivre en la paix desiree, souz une plus traitable & tranquille forme.<sup>16</sup>

The text's presentation of the hope of a better future, of patrons who recognize the value of the *poeta vates*, sustains Des Masures through the Roman period. It is thus that Des Masures argues he decided to continue the translation as well as produce an 'epistre Latine'

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<sup>11</sup> VIRGIL 1552, sig. a2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> VIRGIL 1552, sigs. a2<sup>v</sup>, a3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> See PETEY-GIRARD 2010, pp. 171-262.

<sup>14</sup> VIRGIL 1552, sig. a4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> VIRGIL 1552, sig. a4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> VIRGIL 1552, sig. a4<sup>v</sup>.

to Cardinal du Bellay.<sup>17</sup> Two factors, then, came together at Rome: the Muse's intervention, and Cardinal du Bellay's patronage. The fruit of this is double, producing both the translation of *Aeneid* III and the 'epistre' to Cardinal du Bellay which acts as the dedication of *Aeneid* III and is the second paratext discussing Des Masures's Roman period.

Composed of 79-lines of Latin hexameter (for the text and a translation, see Appendix D), the 'epistre' is written in the same metre as the *Aeneid* and repeatedly alludes to the *Aeneid*. A rubric states that Des Masures 'sung' the text in Rome on 1 August 1549 whilst 'far from France and wandering undeservedly in exile' ('dum a Gallorum finibus procul, nullo suo merito errabundus exulat'). The 'epistre' is essentially an earlier Latin verse rendition of the French prose dedication (dated 1 May 1551) to Cardinal de Lorraine. The 'epistre' carries no translation, perhaps because it is a 'version' of the French prose dedication. Nonetheless, its relationship to that dedication is never made explicit. Why not use French here too? The most likely explanation is that the choice of language was conditioned by Cardinal du Bellay's literary preferences – all his extant poetry is in Latin – and by the form of discourse appropriate to this genre, which uses the *Aeneid*'s epic style for epideictic oratory. In addition, the rubric may indicate the poem was performed. An initial audience in the Du Bellay circle encountering the text aurally would likely have been mixed French-Italian, in which case French speakers usually presented texts in Latin (such was the case, as we have seen, of Cardinal du Bellay's poem at the *Sciomachie* [Ch. 2], or Joachim du Bellay's *Tumulus* for Livia Colonna [Ch. 3]).

The poem consists of three sections: the flight of the Muses and poet from France after the death of Francis I and their arrival in Rome at the household of Du Bellay (lines 1-22); the speech of one of the Muses describing their exile and commanding the poet to continue the translation (lines 23-68); and the poet's trepidation as he sets out to fulfil the Muses' command (lines 69-79).

The opening lines (lines 1-8) establish that the move to Rome was occasioned by the death of Francis I and presents a funeral lament for Francis as a patron of the Muses. Without Francis, there can be no sustenance for the Muses who thus flee to 'ignota... | Arva' ('unknown fields' [lines 7-8]), and already, only two years after Francis's death, his reign is presented as a lost golden age via a mythological imperfect ('florebat' [line 7]). With

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<sup>17</sup> VIRGIL 1552, sig. a4<sup>v</sup>.

the Muses gone, the Poet himself then departs (lines 9-19) and finds the Muses in Rome. This section opens and closes with two clear Virgilian reworkings. The first 'Italiam fato profugus...veni' (line 10) reworks *Aen.* 1.2-3, the verb altered to the first person ('veni'), aligning the conditions which produced the flight of Aeneas from Troy and of the poet from France. At line 19, the reciprocal sight of the Muses and the poet recalls the *Eclogues'* 'Ut vidi, ut perii' ('In the moment I saw you, I lost my heart'), shifting this bucolic pastoral allusion into urban epic, just as the poet and Muses shift from French fields ('agri' [line 5]) to Rome ('Roma....urbe... | in media,' 'in urbe Quirini').<sup>18</sup> In the political context following Francis's death, pastoralism is of little use and focus turns to epic.

One of the Muses then begins to speak to the poet in a section (lines 23-26) which again draws on the *Aeneid*, reworking Dido's first meeting with Aeneas, when she relates the story of her own exile from Tyre to Carthage to again draw comparisons between the poet's exile and that of the *Aeneid's* characters.<sup>19</sup> Where Dido asks Aeneas 'quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus | insequitur?' ('What fate pursues you, goddess-born, amidst such perils?') the Muse instead addresses the 'invented crime' (line 24) which pursues the Poet, the most explicit reason provided across the poem for the Poet's exile.<sup>20</sup> She then describes the effect of Francis I's death on the Muses: Des Masures plays on a pseudo-etymological link between *terror* ('fear') and *terra* ('land') in 'exterruit' (line 27) to simultaneously express both fear and exile (*ex-terra*). The similarity the Muse then offers between their situation and that of the Poet ('Nos quoque [...] profugas,' 'We too are exiled' [line 27]) directly mimics the relationship of exile between Dido and Aeneas ('me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores | iactatam,' 'Fortune has driven me, too, through many similar toils').<sup>21</sup> In presenting their misfortunes, both Poet and Muses can draw on Virgilian precedents of exile, which, as ever, the audience knows are essential to the founding of Rome. This includes via echoes of *Eclogues* 1, in which Meliboeus flees his homeland ('Nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva | nos patriam fugimus,' 'we are leaving our country's

<sup>18</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 76 (*Ecl.* VIII.41).

<sup>19</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 304 (*Aen.* I.615-30).

<sup>20</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 304 (*Aen.* I.615-16).

<sup>21</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 304 (*Aen.* I.628-29).

bounds and sweet fields. We are outcasts from our country'), again suggesting the replacement of pastoral with epic.<sup>22</sup>

The arrival of the Muses in Rome is, we learn, part of a longer journey towards Greece (lines 41-43). For both the Poet and the Muses, Rome is a temporary destination, inferior to a Greece they have not reached and the France of Francis I. Since that France no longer exists, the poem's speakers all experience a double exile, spatially from Greece and temporally from France. Even in Rome, however, there is a temporal exile: the city is described as 'Divinisque olim celebratam vatibus urbem' ('and a city once celebrated by divine poets' [line 46]). The city which would provide political and cultural refuge – the city founded in the *Aeneid* itself, the poem of a 'celebrated divine' poet – is lost too.

Here, Cardinal du Bellay enters and permits the construction of a newly invigorated poetic culture in Rome (lines 51-57). With his arrival, Rome is once again filled with poetry and the epic city is revived along with the Virgilian 'golden century':

Tota Poetarum sacro celeberrima coetu  
 Urbs nitet, excelsi plausu fremebunda theatri.  
 Ut iam prisca novi referant hic secla Quirites  
 Illa, quibus magni divino ex ore Maronis  
 Audiit Augustus cantatam Aeneida Caesar.  
 [lines 58-62]

The entire most celebrated city sparkles with the sacred assembly of Poets and with the resounding applause of lofty spectators, such that now new Romans might revive here those old centuries when Augustus Caesar heard the tale of Aeneas as sung from great Maro's divine mouth

The phrase 'Poetarum...coetu' – which we encountered in the poetry for Livia Colonna (Ch. 3.3) as a description of the Farnese poetic community – is especially important. While we are not told who is included in this 'coetu,' this poetic community in exile enables the rebirth of a lost past. Du Bellay's *familia* becomes the Augustan court at Rome in this poetic imagining. Des Masures, unsurprisingly, takes the role of Virgil; this 'sung' dedication will thus introduce the 'cantatam Aeneida' Du Bellay and his *familia* are about to hear. While the claim of a patron as the source of cultural rebirth is not uncommon (consider, for instance, Dionigi Atanagi's claims of a golden age under Paul III [Ch. 2.5.1]), Cardinal du Bellay's identity as a poet, underlined in the dedication's rubric, affords him a double role in

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<sup>22</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 24 (*Ecl.* 1.3-4).

this cultural revival as he now takes part as a literary producer, too. This shift of role, as discussed below, is a key aspect of the dedication's political function.

The Muse's speech ends with a command to 'give back the poem to the land in which it was begun' (lines 63-64). Two figures are implicated in this command: while the completion of the translation is entrusted to Du Bellay's patronage (line 67), completion of the translation ultimately fulfils promises made to Francis I (line 64-65). Line 68's triple *-que* echoes Aeneas's discovery of his father Anchises in the Underworld recounting stories of his life ('forte recensabat numerum carosque nepotes | fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque,' 'as it chanced, [Anchises] was counting over the full number of his people and beloved children, their fates and fortunes, their works and ways').<sup>23</sup> In the 1547 dedication to Francis I, Des Masures had presented the king as bringing Virgil once again to Earth. In the 1552 edition, this relation is inverted, as Des Masures presents the *Aeneid* translation as a means of reaching out to the former king in an act of *pietas*, perhaps even a means of sustaining the golden age the text associates with Francis.

The final lines of the *epistre* turn back to the Poet (lines 69-79). Having listened to the Muses' command, the poet confesses his long-held desire of writing this *Aeneid* and the 'fate which Aeneas recounts to the Tyrians' (lines 77-78). This is the story of the flight from Troy which opens *Aeneid* II, following Dido's order that Aeneas recount his ordeal, a painful task which Aeneas initially resists ('Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,' 'Too deep for words, O queen, is the grief you bid me renew').<sup>24</sup> Both the Aeneas of Book II and the Poet of the dedication of *Aeneid* III are compelled by powerful female figures to overcome grief through narration. Though what went before is difficult for both, the task of recounting is necessary to move forward and to forge the political future central to the epic's narrative.

All the major figures of the poem – the Poet, the Muses, and the Patron – are political exiles. In the case of Cardinal du Bellay, this may seem odd, until we consider that, around the time of Des Masures's arrival in Rome in 1548, Cardinal du Bellay underwent a significant loss of political status which led him to describe his stay in Rome precisely as an 'exile.' In 1547, the cardinal was sent to Rome by the new king Henry II due to rumours of Paul III's ill health; Henri Chamard described this mission as 'une disgrâce déguisée' which

<sup>23</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 580 (*Aen.* VI.682-83).

<sup>24</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, pp. 314-16 (*Aen.* I.753-56, II.3).

concealed that there was no more pressing role for the cardinal at the royal court.<sup>25</sup> Though Richard Cooper contends that Du Bellay was not sent to Rome in disgrace, citing letters from papal nuncio Girolamo Dandino (c. 1500-59) in 1547 which refer to Du Bellay as enjoying the favour of the king, this was a temporary situation.<sup>26</sup> Whilst it is debateable to what extent the period 1547-48 constituted a 'disgrâce,' by spring 1549 Du Bellay's status was severely diminished.<sup>27</sup>

One of the first acts of Henry II was to name Anne de Montmorency (1493-1567) as *connétable*, bringing him back into the upper levels of government after he had unsuccessfully pushed for peace with Charles V in 1541, causing Francis I to replace him as *connétable* with Cardinal François de Tournon (1489-1562).<sup>28</sup> Having returned to favour, Montmorency from 1547 again pushed for peace on the Italian peninsula; at the same time, the Dukes of Guise pushed for war. Du Bellay was caught between the two positions. Ultimately, his position in Rome became more complex, and was perhaps aggravated following an attempt by a Dominican friar who had converted to Protestantism to murder the cardinal in summer 1548.<sup>29</sup> By January 1549, Cardinal du Bellay was openly asking to be recalled to France as soon as possible 'afin que je puyse m'aller acquiter en mon mesnaige.'<sup>30</sup> Unhappy in Rome, the cardinal was explicit that his new situation constituted a 'malheureux exil ou [*scil.* où] fortune me a conduyct suz ma vieillesse au temps ou [*scil.* où] j'esperoye quelque repoz de mes travaulz passez.'<sup>31</sup>

Between January and April 1549, Du Bellay held the king's favour, albeit unhappily; this was the period in which he hosted the *Sciomachie* in celebration of the dauphin (see Ch. 1.6). However, accusations were beginning to be levelled against Cardinal du Bellay. On 13 April, Jean du Thier (d. 1559), Henry's minister of finances, wrote to the king attacking Du Bellay's restraint in arguing for French causes before the Pope.<sup>32</sup> As a result, at the end of April, Henry sent Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, the French cardinal-protector, to Rome to take care of French interests in Cardinal du Bellay's place. Throughout May 1549, Du Bellay

<sup>25</sup> CHAMARD 1969 [1900], pp. 274–75.

<sup>26</sup> JEAN DU BELLAY 2007, p. 24.

<sup>27</sup> ROMIER 1913, vol. 1, pp. 209-10 pinpoints March 1549 as the beginning of Cardinal du Bellay's issues.

<sup>28</sup> RENTET 2011, pp. 7–14.

<sup>29</sup> cfr. Summary of letters from Fernando Montesa in Rome, c. 4 Aug. 1548, BIA-MAP DocID# 21448 (ASF, MdP, vol. 1852, fol. 328); Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Charles V, 7 Sept. 1548, in MENDOZA 2016, p. 171.

<sup>30</sup> Jean du Bellay to Charles de Guise, 2 Jan. 1549, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Jean du Bellay to Olivier le Doyen, 22 Jan. 1549, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, p. 48.

<sup>32</sup> Jean du Thier to Henry II, 13 Apr. 1549, in RIBIER 1666, vol. 2, p. 206.

continually requested to return to France; these requests, however, were refused and pushed back until Cardinal d'Este arrived.<sup>33</sup>

Aware d'Este was to take over his responsibilities, Cardinal du Bellay wrote an angry letter on 14 May to Du Thier, in which he argued that, far from not having defended the king's causes, he had won round people 'trop plus fors que moy' and that he would find all the evidence he needed in Du Bellay's letters to the king ('Qu'on regarde ma lectre s'il y est ou s'il n'y est pas!').<sup>34</sup> Du Bellay then turned to his diplomatic experience and the bind in which he found himself:

Si je me presente a servir, je veulx tout faire, j'entreprenz trop. Si je me retiens, je desdaigne le monde. En quel habit voulez-vous plus que je me mette? Il y a trente-six ans que vous m'avez veu par le monde. J'ay veu plusieurs temps *et quorum pars magna fui*. [...] A la fin, a la fin, a la fin je n'en puy plus...

Though shifting between French and Latin is typical of Du Bellay's correspondence, it is less usual for sentences to be completed with literary citations such as this. To make his point, the exasperated cardinal turns to a direct, unreferenced, quotation of the *Aeneid* ('*et quorum pars magna fui*, 'and of which I was a large part'), from the moment when Aeneas accepts Dido's order to recount his flight from Troy, the '*infandum...dolorem*.'<sup>35</sup> It is striking that Du Bellay has recourse to this passage of the *Aeneid* since, as we have seen, Des Masures's dedication alludes to the same, to the 'fate which Aeneas recounts to the Tyrians,' to demonstrate his own obedience to the king. In both cases, Du Bellay and Des Masures allude to Aeneas's narration of the '*infandum...dolorem*' to show that they are continuing, steadfastly, despite a desire to give up, and both use this textual motif as self-defence against the Valois court.

By early June, the cardinal had resigned himself to remaining in Rome, having been reminded that service to the king must come before any personal desire for retirement; yet in reply, he continued to outline how he would rather spend his time. The cardinal thus drew a distinction between a literary retirement possible under Francis I, and continued service required under Henry II:

<sup>33</sup> Odet de Coligny to Jean du Bellay, 7 May, 24 May 1549, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, pp. 176, 219.

<sup>34</sup> Jean du Bellay to Jean du Thier, 14 May 1549, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, p. 191-92.

<sup>35</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, pp. 318-19 (*Aen.* II.49). On Cardinal du Bellay's bilingualism, see AMHERDT 2009.

dès le temps du feu Roy ma vraye resolution etoyt, comme sçayt le Roy, de me retirer a mes estudes [...] je me veulx applicquer a laisser par escript la memoyre de mes maistres, seigneurs et amys.<sup>36</sup>

Even still, Cardinal du Bellay continued to be held in ‘exile’ in Rome (‘on me tiendra par decza en exil, atendant la mort du Pape’).<sup>37</sup> Cardinal d’Este then arrived in Rome on 13 July and his arrival was celebrated by Du Bellay with a large banquet, at which a new translation of Plautus’s *Amphitryon* by Farnese courtier Giovanni Andrea dell’Anguillara (1517-70) was performed for a group of cardinals including Guido Ascanio Sforza and Ranuccio Farnese.<sup>38</sup> Though pushed aside from mid-July, Cardinal du Bellay was still not permitted to leave Rome until he fell ill in and was permitted to leave Rome in late September 1549.<sup>39</sup> Yet even this departure was thwarted when the death of Paul III forced him to turn back for the conclave. Cardinal du Bellay eventually left Rome a second time in early 1550 following the election of Julius III.<sup>40</sup> He would not return until 1553, spending the intervening period at his *château* near Paris.

As his correspondence shows, over summer 1549 Cardinal du Bellay sought literary retirement. The date of Des Masures’s dedication, 1 August 1549, suddenly seems more significant. Produced after the arrival of Cardinal d’Este but before Du Bellay was permitted to return, Des Masures’s dedication was presented in a significant period when it was clear the cardinal’s political position had been severely diminished, when the cardinal explicitly considered himself an exile and was actively seeking literary retirement. In this context, a new reading of the references to exile and to the perception of France under Henry II opens up, allowing a greater focus on Cardinal du Bellay.

We know Cardinal du Bellay continued writing Latin verse in 1547-49 in Rome (see Ch. 2.4.1), and, as we saw in Ch. 1.6, this poetry became a prominent, public aspect of the *Sciomachie* of March 1549. In this respect, the image of the Muses singing verse with Du Bellay (lines 55-57) and the description of Du Bellay as an ‘excellent poet’ (‘poetamque eximium’) in the rubric points to this continued production of poetry. If, in 1549, the

<sup>36</sup> Jean du Bellay to Jacques d’Albon de Saint-André, 10 June 1549, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, p. 239-40.

<sup>37</sup> Jean du Bellay to Charles de Guise, 22 June 1549, in JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, vol. 4, p. 259.

<sup>38</sup> RIBIER 1666, vol. 2, p. 224; COOPER 1997, p. 239. VASARI 1971 (vol. 6, pp. 583-84) perhaps alludes to this performance when describing the construction of scenery for staging comedies in Piazza Santi Apostoli in 1549. Anguillara’s translation has not survived (MUTINI 1961).

<sup>39</sup> SCHEURER 2016a, p. 122.

<sup>40</sup> SCHEURER 2016a, pp. 128-29.



cardinal sought to retire from active political service and to turn instead to contemplative literary pursuits, then this dedication – which presents him as both poet and Maecenas, rather than as ecclesiastical figure or statesman — forms part of a broader literary self-fashioning, responding to the cardinal’s contemporary desire to move towards literary *otium*.

Des Masures’s dedicatory verse should be considered against Salmon Macrin’s 1546 depiction of Cardinal du Bellay as statesman and man of letters in equal part.<sup>41</sup> In 1549, with the cardinal specifically requesting retirement, Des Masures moved away from the *negotium* foregrounded in Macrin’s collection. This shift is seen more widely in poetry from the years 1549-50. Joachim du Bellay’s *L’avantretour en France de Monseigneur Reverendissime Cardinal du Bellay* (September 1549), refers to Cardinal du Bellay’s poetry printed in 1546 and hopes that the Muses will return to France with him where the poet will be able to listen to the cardinal’s verse (lines 67-72), again depicting the cardinal primarily as literary figure rather than as diplomat or cardinal.<sup>42</sup> By 1550, Macrin also shifted towards an image of Cardinal du Bellay primarily as a poet, referring to him as ‘principe in urbe poetae’ (‘first amongst the poets of the city’ [line 21]) in verse celebrating the cardinal’s return from Rome.<sup>43</sup>

On his return to France in 1550, Cardinal du Bellay wrote at least one work, the *Silva Langeana*.<sup>44</sup> This 244-line Latin hexameter manuscript poem discusses the history of the Du Bellay family; this is Du Bellay retiring to his studies, as he said he should like to. Whilst Des Masures’s dedication did not enable this literary retirement beyond 1553, it certainly participated in a wider shift in the cardinal’s public presentation by poets connected to him. The role of Des Masures’s dedication is not, then, simply to present his *Aeneid* III translation as a Roman text made French, to effect a *translatio imperii* from contemporary Rome to Valois France. Instead, within its specific historical (and Roman) context, it was presented at a critical juncture in the life of the cardinal-patron and of the translator. The role of the dedication is to bolster the cardinal’s personal desires, to begin a movement towards presentation of him predominantly as man of letters in his new ‘exile’ under Henry II. In a

<sup>41</sup> GUILLET-LABURTHE 2008, pp. 282-83.

<sup>42</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2003b, pp. 117-20.

<sup>43</sup> MACRIN 1550, sigs. Iv<sup>r</sup>-lvi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Ed. in AMHERDT 2013a; see also AMHERDT 2013b.

sense, Des Masures returns the favour granted him by Cardinal du Bellay: where the cardinal took Des Masures into his household during his exile, here the poet now assists his patron by participating in a reorientation of his public-facing image towards a desire explicitly expressed in the cardinal's private letters.

#### 4.4.2: Guarnelli's Dedication and the Crisis of Parma and Piacenza

While Cardinal du Bellay sought literary retirement, Cardinal Farnese was working to maintain his family's political dominance. For the Farnese, the years following Paul III's death in 1549 were particularly turbulent. After Pierluigi Farnese's assassination in Piacenza in 1547, the city had been occupied by Imperial troops. Rather than confirm Ottavio as duke of the two cities, Paul III appointed a governor in Parma and reclaimed Piacenza as a papal possession rather than a Farnese duchy. Following the election of Julius III in 1550 with support from Farnese cardinals during the conclave, the duchy of Parma and Piacenza was then re-conferred on Ottavio. In April 1551, however, the cardinal was sent by Julius III to order his brother Ottavio to allow papal forces to take control of Parma. The cardinal refused, insisting that 'lo non posso forzare mio fratello ad uscire da Parma.'<sup>45</sup> Penal declarations were subsequently printed against Ottavio and those who aided him ('contra prestantes auxilium Octavio Farnesio') while Julius seized from Cardinal Farnese the rich ecclesiastical benefice of Monreale in Sicily and sold off family possessions in Palazzo Farnese worth some 30,000 *scudi*.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile, Charles V refused to relinquish control in Piacenza and Imperial threats led the Farnese to sign an alliance with the French in May 1551. War broke out in 1551-52 with the Franco-Farnese alliance fighting against the Pope and Emperor.<sup>47</sup> Eventually, a truce was signed in 1552 which paved the way for the restoration of Farnese control in the duchy by 1556.

The crisis in Parma and Piacenza marks the only period in which Cardinal Farnese's power in Rome was significantly endangered. As a result of papal hostility following his refusal to force Ottavio out of Parma, Cardinal Farnese thus went into exile in Florence on 22 July 1551, effectively moving his court to Florence, where his literary activities

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<sup>45</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Niccolò Caetani, 19 Oct. 1551, cit. in ROSINI 2010, p. 17.

<sup>46</sup> JULIUS III 1551a, 1551b and 1551c; FRAGNITO 2013, p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> On the crisis in Parma, see ROMIER 1913, vol. 1, pp. 211-302; DREI 1954, pp. 72-93; NASALLI-ROCCA 1969, pp. 61-76; DEL VECCHIO 1972, pp. 60-85; GAMRATH 2007, pp. 54-71; CUSSEN 2020, pp. 190-94.

continued.<sup>48</sup> Several Roman courtiers left with him, including the poets Bernardo Cappello and Gandolfo Porrino, the cardinal's former tutor Antonio Bernardi della Mirandola and Giulio Clovio, Farnese's court *miniator*.<sup>49</sup> Farnese also forged new links with *letterati* in Florence. In late 1551, Cosimo Bartoli (1503-72), who was close to Farnese's former courtier Giorgio Vasari, dedicated to the cardinal a manuscript biography of Holy Roman Emperor and King of Italy, Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1155-90).<sup>50</sup> Bartoli would later reflect on the cardinal's kindness towards him in that period ('ho continuamente fisse nel core quelle amorevolezze e favori che ella, quando si trovava qui in Firenze, più volte mi fece'), suggesting their relationship continued beyond Farnese's Florentine exile.<sup>51</sup> Florentine poet and scholar Benedetto Varchi also visited Farnese and Bernardo Cappello to read sonnets by Petronio Barbatì with them.<sup>52</sup> On 15 October 1551, the cardinal attended the Florentine Academy and heard a lecture on Fortune in the seventh *canto* of Dante's *Inferno* dedicated to him by Lelio Bonsi (fl. 1540-50s).<sup>53</sup> Bonsi carefully tailored the lecture to his audience which included Bernardo Cappello, Gandolfo Porrino and Claudio Tolomei.<sup>54</sup> A sonnet by Cappello ('La Dea, Signor, che più leve che foglia'), one of two by the poet addressing the inconstancy of Fortune which were written for Farnese during the cardinal's Florentine exile, was recited during the lecture.<sup>55</sup> Cappello's sonnet was then immediately followed by the recitation of a poem on the same theme in response to Cappello's by Porrino ('Signor l'instabil dea, che regge il mondo').<sup>56</sup> Though Bonsi referred to Porrino's 'rime nuovamente stampate,' neither of the sonnets recited had previously been printed, meaning that Bonsi accessed them in manuscript, almost certainly from Cappello or Porrino themselves in Florence.<sup>57</sup> In March 1552, Farnese then commissioned new poems 'sopra la varietà della fortuna' from Giovanni della Casa: the topic was clearly of particular interest to the exiled

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<sup>48</sup> Tommaso de' Medici to Pier Francesco Riccio, 23 July 1551, BIA-MAP, Doc ID#3199 (ASF, MdP 1176, fol. 907<sup>r</sup>); LAPINI 1900, p. 108.

<sup>49</sup> On Clovio in Florence, see MELONI TRKULJA 1983, pp. 91-92.

<sup>50</sup> BRYCE 1983, pp. 248-52.

<sup>51</sup> Cosimo Bartoli to Alessandro Farnese, 7 Mar. 1556, in RONCHINI 1853, p. 597.

<sup>52</sup> Benedetto Varchi to Petronio Barbatì, 20 Nov. 1551, 7 May 1552, in BRAMANTI 2005, p. 47.

<sup>53</sup> BONSI 1560, sigs. Kiii<sup>r</sup>-Miiii<sup>r</sup>, on *Inf.* VII.61-96 (ALIGHIERI 1985, vol. 2, p. 64).

<sup>54</sup> BONSI 1560, sigs. Li<sup>v</sup>, Miiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> BONSI 1560, sig. Li<sup>v</sup>. For Cappello's sonnets on Fortune, see CAPPELLO 2018, no.s. 235 ('La Dea, Signor, che più leve che foglia') and 236 ('Possente Dea, che le ricchezze e i regni').

<sup>56</sup> BONSI 1560, sig. Li<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> cfr. PORRINO 1551.

cardinal.<sup>58</sup> Della Casa, who had been sent to Trent, apologised for having no time to write such verses, but sent recommendations for a poem on the same topic by Horace (*Odes* 1.35) to read in lieu and promised to send ‘qualche semplicità per contentar il cardinale’ if he were able.<sup>59</sup> These poems were perhaps intended for reading at dinners for Farnese, Cappello and Bernardi alongside Varchi and fellow Florentine *letterati* Lodovico Castelvetro (1505-71) and Piero Vettori (1499-1585).<sup>60</sup>

The most important relationship Farnese formed in this period was with Vettori, who by mid-December 1551 had become tutor to the then-31 year old Farnese.<sup>61</sup> Vettori and the cardinal spent much time together; Florentine scholar Vincenzo Borghini (1515-80) complained on one occasion that Vettori had spent his entire day alone with Farnese.<sup>62</sup> During this period, Vettori lent Farnese texts, including a manuscript of Cicero’s letters reputedly copied by Petrarch.<sup>63</sup> The central element of their study was, however, Demetrius’s *Peri hermēneias*, a classical Greek treatise on rhetoric. In the dedication to Farnese (dated 13 April 1552) of his printed edition of *Peri hermēneias*, Vettori discusses the tumult which led Farnese to Florence and to Farnese’s wish to use the newfound *otium* of exile for study, something previously denied to the cardinal when he was ‘abreptus [...] aestu maximorum negotiorum’ (‘swept away on a wave of very important *negotium*’).<sup>64</sup> As such, Farnese engaged Vettori as literary *praeceptor* and Vettori suggested they read *Peri hermēneias*. Vettori’s dedication makes abundantly clear why *Peri hermēneias* was chosen. The figure often identified in this period as its author was Demetrius of Phaleron (c. 360-280 BCE) who, like Farnese, experienced significant changes in fortune.<sup>65</sup> Demetrius ruled for ten years in Athens before being exiled to Alexandria where he turned entirely to literary pursuits, and apparently then produced *Peri hermēneias*. This situation has obvious parallels with that of Farnese in Florence. Demetrius, however, died in exile; as such, Vettori’s dedication stressed that Farnese would by contrast enjoy a ‘different end to your

<sup>58</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Astorre Paleotti, 1 Mar. 1552, in DELLA CASA 1999, p. 131.

<sup>59</sup> HORACE 2004, pp. 86-89 (*Carm.* 1.35).

<sup>60</sup> Lodovico Castelvetro to Benedetto Varchi, 15 Dec. 1551, in CASTELVETRO 2015, pp. 161-62 (cfr. also p. 23).

<sup>61</sup> Bernardino Maffei to Piero Vettori, 20 Dec. 1551, in BSB, Cod. lat. mon. 734, fols. 48<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>. On Vettori as tutor, see MOUREN 2007.

<sup>62</sup> Vincenzo Borghini to Giorgio Vasari, 20 May 1552, in BORGHINI 2001, p. 341: ‘io non pottetti vedere Piero Vettori, che era cavalcato il dì col reverendissimo Farnese.’

<sup>63</sup> Piero Vettori to Fulvio Orsini, 2 Dec. 1570, in VETTORI AND SIGONIO 1889, pp. 25-26.

<sup>64</sup> DEMETRIUS 1552, sig. \*ii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> The attribution was defended by Vettori in a short *quaestio* (DEMETRIUS 1552, sigs. \*v<sup>v</sup>-\*vi<sup>v</sup>).

misfortunes' ('exitum disparem molestiarum tuarum') in Florence, where Farnese could be shielded from storms like a boat in port ('tanquam in tutum aliquem portum, et ab omni impetu ventorum remotum').<sup>66</sup> Florence, that is, would protect Farnese's 'ship of court.'

Vettori's tuition laid the groundwork for his 1562 commentary on Demetrius, also dedicated to the cardinal who had since returned to Rome.<sup>67</sup> When Vettori sent the commentary to Farnese, the cardinal replied that the book's 'esteriore ornamento' (most likely a decorative binding) intended to 'invitarmi a leggerlo più volentieri,' was unnecessary since,

in ogni caso l'haverei sempre letto volentieri, come soglio fare tutte le Vostre scritture, et questa maggiormente per l'interesse proprio, et particolare, che havete voluto, che io v'habbia, et dapoiché io l'ho ricevuto, ne ho letto gran parte con molto mio piacere, et tuttavia il leggo, et in leggendolo parmi alcuna volta riconoscer la Vostra medesima voce in quell'istesso tuono, che me lo esponeste in Fiorenza già tant'anni sono. Non so pensare, che dono io havessi potuto ricevere a questo tempo, che mi fosse stato così caro, né che hora mi facesse così allegramente trappassare alquante hore del giorno, come fa questo libro.<sup>68</sup>

Farnese's recollection of the 'interesse proprio, et particolare' which Vettori showed him in the text in 1552 suggests that, to borrow Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton's well-known phrase, together the pair studied *Peri hermēneias* 'for action.'<sup>69</sup> A conscious link was produced between the classical work and Farnese's current situation, and the text was thus read with this factor in mind especially, with the pair considering how attention to *Peri hermēneias* could provide useful lessons for Farnese as he navigated political exile. Indeed, Vettori will undoubtedly have noticed Farnese's letter put into action *Peri hermēneias*'s discussion of epistolary style, which argues that a letter is 'written and sent as a kind of gift' ('γράφεται καὶ δῶρον πέμπεται τρόπον τινά'), thus making it an appropriate response to Vettori's gift of the commentary, and that a letter's beauty ought to derive from 'expressions of warm friendship' ('φιλικαὶ φιλοφρονήσεις').<sup>70</sup> Importantly, Farnese's letter demonstrates that study of *Per hermēneias* set in motion an enduring friendship. Ten years after meeting, Farnese wrote, the exchange of this physical object brought to mind Vettori's

<sup>66</sup> DEMETRIUS 1552, sigs. \*iii<sup>v</sup>- iiiii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> See VETTORI 1562.

<sup>68</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Piero Vettori, 22 Sept. 1562, in BL, Add. MS 10275, fol. 127<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> JARDINE AND GRAFTON 1990.

<sup>70</sup> DEMETRIUS 1995, pp. 478, 482 (*Eloc.* § 224, 232).

own voice, making the physical book 'così caro' as a symbol of their friendship which had begun through communal reading.

On 16 April 1552, after nine months in exile, Farnese informed Cosimo de' Medici that 'è piaciuto a Nostro Signore di reintegrare et me, et i miei fratelli in sua bona gratia,' and that he would thus leave Florence for Rome.<sup>71</sup> Farnese returned to Rome on 7 June, entering the city in a procession of twenty-four bishops and four hundred cavalymen, before hosting a large celebratory banquet three days later.<sup>72</sup> This was a short-lived return, however, and Farnese left Rome in mid-June to travel through Italy, spending four weeks with his brother Ottavio in Parma.<sup>73</sup> In November, Farnese then left for France on the pretext of his first visit to Avignon, of which he had been papal legate since 1541.<sup>74</sup> The cardinal joined the French court in Champagne on 16 November, where he was welcomed by Henry II.<sup>75</sup>

Farnese lived in France for almost two years. He remained at court between November 1552-March 1553, then resided in Avignon in March-July 1553 before returning to court until he left France in June 1554.<sup>76</sup> From France, the cardinal instructed his network to produce poetry for his hosts. Bernardo Cappello supplied Farnese with two vernacular *canzoni* addressing Marguerite de Valois (1523-74) in December 1552 and February 1553, before arriving in France later that February where he composed vernacular sonnets for Marguerite.<sup>77</sup> Giovanni Della Casa was meanwhile instructed to write and send Latin odes for Marguerite and for Cardinal François de Tournon.<sup>78</sup> Farnese also received five unspecified books from his new friend Piero Vettori, who requested Farnese inform him about 'quel che n'è parso a cotesti letterati di Francia.'<sup>79</sup> Clearly, these texts were intended for performance, reading and discussion at the French court, a hypothesis apparently confirmed by a letter from Della Casa to French humanist Denis Lambin (1520-72) thanking

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<sup>71</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Cosimo I de' Medici, 16 Apr. 1552, in ASF, MdP 423, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> ROMIER 1913, vol. 1, pp. 297-98.

<sup>73</sup> ROMIER 1913, vol. 1, p. 301.

<sup>74</sup> COOPER 2007, p. 134.

<sup>75</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Margaret of Parma, 16 Nov. 1552, cit. in ROMIER 1913, vol. 1, pp. 301-02: 'ho trovato, nonostante le occupationi del Re, tanta disposition di amore in Sua Maestà verso di tutti noi.'

<sup>76</sup> VALLENTIN 1890, p. 6; COOPER 2007, p. 157.

<sup>77</sup> CAPPELLO 2018, no.s. 249-50 (sent to France); no.s. 253-61 (composed in France).

<sup>78</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Piero Vettori, 15 July 1553, 16 July 1554, in DELLA CASA 1752, vol. 2, pp. 84, 101-02; DELLA CASA 1999, pp. 62- 67 ('De Francisco Tornuno Cardinali'), 68-71 ('De Margarita regis Gallorum sorore').

<sup>79</sup> Alessandro Farnese to Piero Vettori, 3 Oct. 1553 (signed at Saint-Quentin-en-Yveslines), in BL, Add. MS 10275, fols. 107<sup>r</sup>-107<sup>v</sup>; Piero Vettori to Alessandro Farnese, 16 Dec. 1553, in RONCHINI 1853, p. 579.

Lambin for his praise of the Latin odes.<sup>80</sup> Farnese was also solicited as patron by French writers. In late 1552/early 1553, the editor and translator Henri Estienne produced an autograph manuscript of the Anacreontic texts with Latin translation and dedication to Farnese.<sup>81</sup> Estienne's overture likely facilitated his trip to Italy in spring 1553, during which Farnese's secretary in Rome Cardinal Bernardino Maffei recommended Estienne to Farnese's tutor in Florence, Piero Vettori.<sup>82</sup> The Anacreon manuscript meanwhile returned to Rome with Farnese where it was deposited in his library.<sup>83</sup>

We have seen (Ch. 2.2.1) that in 1554 Farnese interceded on behalf of his physician Ippolito Salvini to secure a French privilege for a work to be printed. The cardinal also likely facilitated employment for another of his courtiers, Annibal Caro. Around 1553, Cardinal François de Tournon ordered the production of Italian translations of two treatises entitled *Apologia*, the first by French humanist Pierre Danès (1487-1577) and the second likely also by Danès.<sup>84</sup> These were translated by Annibal Caro, Farnese's secretary, who remained in Rome. While little is known of their genesis, and while no copies of Caro's translation of the first are known, a copy of the second was in Caro's library.<sup>85</sup> This second *Apologia* deals with the 1551 war in Parma and the reasons which led the French to ally with the Farnese. The dissemination in Italian of this text, decisively favourable to the Farnese and their French allies, clearly forms part of a project of literary propaganda developed by Farnese and his courtiers during his time in exile away from Rome, and it is unlikely Farnese was not actively involved in ensuring Caro's role in the project.

In France, Farnese met French noblewoman Claude de Beaune de Gauguier, reputed to be the mother of his daughter Clelia (1552/56-1613), and who acted as an intermediary between the cardinal and French queen Catherine de' Medici.<sup>86</sup> He also gained a number of financially important French benefices, including that of Cahors worth some 10,000 *scudi*, replacing those seized in Italy by the pope. Then, just after Easter 1553, Farnese also made a

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<sup>80</sup> Giovanni della Casa to Denis Lambin, 13 Nov. 1554, in BRUTO 1561, sigs. x7<sup>v</sup>-x8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> This manuscript was put up for sale in 2017: see PROYART 2017.

<sup>82</sup> Bernardino Maffei to Piero Vettori, 6 May 1553, in BL, Add. MS 10275, fol. 187<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> PERNOT 1979, p. 506.

<sup>84</sup> [DANES] 1551 and [DANES?] 1552.

<sup>85</sup> GRECO 1950, p. 132.

<sup>86</sup> Catherine de' Medici to Alessandro Farnese, late Aug. 1554 in MEDICI 1880, vol. 1, pp. 94-95: 'J'ay reseu heune letre de vous [...] à laquelle je vous feys response byentost après et à set j'ay antandeu par Mademyoselle de Gauguier vous ne l'ayvé encores heue, quant vous luy ascrivistes.' On Claude de Beaune, see BENOÎT 1924. On Clelia Farnese, see ROSINI 2010; FRAGNITO 2013.

ceremonial entry into Carpentras, part of the papal enclave of the Comtat Venaissin, during which triumphant inscriptions adapted from the *Aeneid* were displayed.<sup>87</sup> One inscription depicted Dido guiding Aeneas in Carthage, accompanied by the words ‘Post tot discrimina rerum | Hic tibi sit requies’ (‘After so many perilous chances | May this place allow you rest’).<sup>88</sup> It appears that even in this ceremonial setting, hostilities with the papacy were actively invoked as part of Farnese’s public image, with the cardinal presented as an epic, journeying hero in his own right.

Despite all he achieved in exile in France, including an expansion of his courtly network, the acquisition of ecclesiastical benefices and, perhaps, the birth of his only child, the period of rupture with Julius III was clearly a difficult period for the cardinal, both politically and personally, as he reflected a few months after Julius’s death in 1555:

Se voi non sapete che cosa sia l’esser in contumacia d’un Papa, pigliatene esempio da me, che, con tutta la mia innocenza, ne son stato a pericolo d’estrema rovina, ed ho pur avuto degli appoggi d’importanza.<sup>89</sup>

However, once Farnese ducal succession in Parma and Piacenza was assured, the crisis became a focal point of Farnese iconography. Frescoes in the reception rooms of the *piano nobile* in Farnese *palazzi* in Rome and Caprarola show scenes which depict the family defending its interests and defeating Julius III who sought revenge for their disobedience.<sup>90</sup> It is within the political context of the war in Parma and Piacenza and of the conflict’s literary and artistic depiction by Farnese courtiers that Guarnelli dedicated his *Aeneid* I to Cardinal Farnese in 1554. Like Des Masures’s dedication to Cardinal du Bellay, this dedication should be read within the context of a specific historical moment: by doing so, it emerges as a literary defence of Farnese dynastic power.

Farnese left France in late June 1554 and sailed to Rome, arriving on 27 July.<sup>91</sup> Guarnelli’s dedication, though undated, likely dates to just before this departure. This dedication of *Aeneid* I to Cardinal Farnese is shorter than Des Masures’s dedicatory texts and in many ways more straightforward, written in the same language as the translation

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<sup>87</sup> COOPER 2007, p. 149.

<sup>88</sup> COOPER 2007, pp. 149-50; cfr. VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 254-55 (*Aen.* I.204-06): ‘per tot discrimina rerum | tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas | ostendunt’ (‘through so many perilous chances, we fare towards Latium, where the fates point out a home of rest’).

<sup>89</sup> Alessandro Farnese to [Onorio?] Savelli, 1 Sept. 1555, in CARO 1765, vol. 3, pp. 63.

<sup>90</sup> See PARTRIDGE 1978.

<sup>91</sup> JEAN DU BELLAY 1967-2017, p. 279, fn. 5.



and following typical tropes of literary dedications such as *humilitas* before the patron. The first half of the dedication's *praeteritio* offers reasons *not* chosen in dedicating the translation to Farnese, referring to the cardinal's 'immensa liberalità' and thanking the cardinal for having raised and educated him ('havermi sin da fanciullo nudrito, & allevato nella sua corte').<sup>92</sup> Guarnelli then presents the reasons for the dedication in a *confirmatio*:

Ma sola a lei ho voluto dedicare questa nuova fatica sopra il primo libro della Eneide, come a vera sembianza, & viva imagin di Enea, a lui sì di fortezza, di pietà, di religione, e di tutte le parti dell'animo simile, come anche della qualità della vita, dello stato del corpo, e del corso della fortuna.<sup>93</sup>

Immediately evident is Guarnelli's focus on Farnese's 'corso della fortuna,' the topic of so many poems produced for Farnese during his exile. The specific qualities assigned to the cardinal are also of especial interest here, though Guarnelli is repeating a typical *topos* of the dedication of texts such as the *Aeneid*, that of the assimilation of the dedicatee to the protagonist due to shared virtues (an equation, as noted above, also performed by Des Masures in his prose dedication to Charles de Lorraine). For one, Guarnelli echoes the depiction of Aeneas in the translation itself:

L'invitto Enea fu nostro Rege, a cui  
sì largo de i suoi don fu 'l gran motore,  
ch'altri non è, né fia, simile a lui  
di pietà, di giustizia, e di valore  
[*Eneide*, I.123.1-4]

Whilst 'fortezza' is perhaps an unproblematically good quality, 'pietà' and 'religione' are more complex. 'Pietà' could be understood in two ways. It acts as a translation of the Latin *pietas*, an epithet of Aeneas, who introduces himself to Dido as such.<sup>94</sup> In this respect, it is connected closely to pre-Christian Roman values and usually opposed in the *Aeneid* with *furor* in the sense of unbridled emotion. *Pietas* in Virgil means something close to a sense of duty; *pietas* is the virtuous, conquering drive which reunites Aeneas and his father Anchises.<sup>95</sup> However, James Garrison's study of the afterlives of *pietas* shows that between Virgil's first-century BCE Latin *pietas* and Guarnelli's sixteenth-century vernacular *pietà*, a considerable shift had taken place which associated *pietas/pietà* primarily with Christian

<sup>92</sup> VIRGIL 1554, sig. Aii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> VIRGIL 1554, sigs. Aii<sup>r</sup>-Aii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 282, 288 (*Aen.* I.305, 378).

<sup>95</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 1, p. 580 (*Aen.* VI.687-88).

theology.<sup>96</sup> *Pietà* is also, therefore, in the dedication to Farnese a reference to Christian virtue, as the two senses of the sixteenth-century term are expressed simultaneously. That does not mean that *pietà* cannot be listed alongside the second term, 'religione,' which covers similar qualities (Machiavelli likewise suggested princes be, or at least appear, both 'pietoso' and 'religioso').<sup>97</sup> Though Aeneas was *not* a Christian, and Guarnelli's translation does not transform him into one, the term 'religione' seems to point to a continued allegorical reading of Virgil, in which the author was considered to have foreshadowed in some way the coming Christian world. Certainly, this interpretation held sway amongst members of the Farnese court, and perhaps Farnese himself. The fourth Eclogue was, for instance, used as a source for imagery in the cardinal's private chapel in Palazzo della Cancelleria.<sup>98</sup>

The other similarities put forward conceive of Aeneas as a paragon of moral virtues through an optimistic reading of the text which ignores those moments during which Aeneas's *furor* overcomes *pietas* (most notably, when Aeneas, 'furiis accensus' ['ablaze with fury'], kills Turnus at the end of the text).<sup>99</sup> Farnese as dedicatee is unencumbered by moral failing, while his adversaries – Julius III and Charles V - are thus implicitly associated with *furor*. The similarity in Farnese and Aeneas's 'corso della fortuna' is then explained as the dedication comes to a close:

E sì come egli [=Enea], dalla benigna stella di Venere scorto e nel maggior impeto del mare da Nettunno aiutato, passò in Italia, sua antica patria, e quivi hebbe ferma sede, così Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, dalla luce della sua alta mente guidata e nel più fiero assalto di malvagio fortuna da nuovo Nettunno soccorso, felicemente riporrà il piede nell'antico suo seggio. Accetti adunque Vostra Signoria Reverendissima con lieto volto questa non intiera traduttione, ma imperfetta Ecco di Virgilio, & in Enea se stessa riconosca.<sup>100</sup>

The same 'corso della fortuna' can be seen in the personal narratives of Aeneas and Farnese, Guarnelli writes. Here, the context of production gives an interpretative clue as to the reference Guarnelli is making, and offers a key to understanding why the *Aeneid* was chosen by Guarnelli for translation and dedication to Farnese. Though the preface is undated, it presumably dates to 1553-54 just prior to the printing of the text, by which time

<sup>96</sup> GARRISON 1992, pp. 21–60.

<sup>97</sup> MACHIAVELLI 1997-99, vol. 1, pp. 165-66 (*Il principe*, ch. 18).

<sup>98</sup> P. RUBIN 1987, p. 89.

<sup>99</sup> VIRGIL 1999-2000, vol. 2, p. 366 (*Aen.* XII.946).

<sup>100</sup> VIRGIL 1554, sig. Aii<sup>v</sup>.

Farnese was in exile in France. Referring to *Aeneid* I's shipwreck, Guarnelli tells Farnese that he will find another Neptune, a god friendly to his interests, who will allow him to return to his rightful place. Whether this refers to Rome, to Parma, or to both is left unsaid.

At the Farnese court, shipwreck motifs were repeatedly used to discuss the crisis of Parma, for all that the war in Parma was fought on land. In 1563, Annibal Caro described a series of Farnese *impreses*. One *impresa* created by Caro for Cardinal Farnese related to Parma and was created c. 1551-52:

L'ultima [impresa] del cardinal Farnese, fatta da me, nel tempo che Papa Giulio Terzo faceva la guerra a Parma. La nave è quella di Iasone e de gli Argonauti che andavano in Colco a conquistare il Vello d'oro. I due scogli sono le Simplegadi che erano in mare due monti che si moveano, e nel passar de' naviganti si stringevano e fracassavano i legni. Tirata a proposito del Cardinale, la nave significa la Casa Farnese, i due scogli, quella de' Monti, che stavano per opprimerla. Il motto dice: ΠΑΡΑΠΛΩΣΟΜΕΝ che vuol significare: Gli passeremo una volta questi MONTI, siccome gli hanno passato a salvamento.<sup>101</sup>

Drawing on the journey of Jason against the Argonauts recounted in Apollonius Rhodius's epic *Argonautica* (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE), Caro's *impresa* transforms the war in Parma into an image of epic survival against the odds. The 'Monti' which threaten the Farnese refer to Julius III del Monte: the *impresa* is openly defiant, foretelling of victory against the pope in the journey towards reclamation of the duchy of Parma and Piacenza. When used in Farnese iconography, the *impresa* remained linked to Parma: in the Sala dei festi Farnesiani (c. 1564) at Caprarola, the *impresa* is positioned next to a large-scale history painting of the restitution of Parma to the Farnese.<sup>102</sup>

The motif of the arduous sea-journey is significant in another text on Parma and Piacenza emanating from the Farnese circle, *I fatti, e le prodezze delli illustrissimi signori di casa Farnese* (1557). Written by Ottavio Farnese's secretary Giulio Ariosto (fl. 1550s) – perhaps the nephew of poet Ludovico Ariosto – the text glorifies the Farnese following their assurance of control in the duchy in 1556.<sup>103</sup> In his dedication to Cardinal Farnese, Ariosto turns immediately to the shipwreck motif. Writing these verses, Ariosto writes, was akin to

<sup>101</sup> Annibal Caro to Vittoria Farnese, 15 Jan. 1563, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 3, p. 145.

<sup>102</sup> PARTRIDGE 1978, p. 495.

<sup>103</sup> In the *Fatti, e prodezze*, the author names himself as 'Giulio, detto Ariosto, de' Barloni de Tresento, terra del Ferrarese' (G. ARIOSTO 1557, sig. Fii<sup>r</sup>). Salvatore Bongi suggested this nickname was used 'a mo' di burla' (BONGI 1890-95, vol. 2, p. 18). However, when Ludovico's son Virginio died in 1560, he named a cousin, Giulio Ariosti, as his inheritor (CITTADELLA 1874, p. 35). This may be our poet, in which case he would be Ludovico Ariosto's nephew.

entering into a ‘profondo e crudel pelago’ with a ‘picciola e mal sicura navicella.’<sup>104</sup> Only Farnese’s authority and support could ensure the text’s smooth passage across the waves:

ponendo il mio fragil legno, sott’ il temone del vostro glorioso nome, e sotto le vele de le vostre celesti e divine virtù, spirando in quelle l’aura soave de la vostra immortal cortesia, e rara gentilezza; son certo, che non sarà tanto adirato il mare, né mi verranno incontro tante superbe ondi.<sup>105</sup>

With Farnese power confirmed, in this dedication the cardinal can return to a role as literary *Maecenas* and becomes himself a ‘nuovo Nettuno’ who protects poets at sea. Throughout the work are then further references to boats at sea. In verse on the Schmalkaldic war in Germany in 1546-47, Cardinal Alessandro is said to have righted the ship of Saint Peter, while Cardinal Ranuccio is credited with saving the same ship from Lutheran threats.<sup>106</sup> The text then turns to the recently deceased Orazio Farnese:

Fortuna li [=Orazio] mostrò sempre la fronte  
Per farlo al mondo eterno, & immortale  
Massime allhor ch’il salso, e maggior fonte  
Si mostrò foribondo, e ’l legno frale  
Non potendo del mar patir tant’onte  
Si rese a tanta furia, e a tanto male;  
Et ei co ’l gran valor sì fu risorto  
E salvo a forza si condusse in porto.<sup>107</sup>

The text is placed directly above a woodcut of a boat at sea in a storm; and picks up on motifs found in the *Aeneid* storm through the image of ‘furia’ (carrying inflections of Virgilian *furor*) as cause of the storm counterposed against ‘valor.’ The same effect is achieved when another woodcut image of a boat with the motto NON VALDE PERTURBOR (‘Assuredly I am not disturbed’) is placed above a poem in a section ascribed to the ‘popolo fedel di Parma’ referring to danger ‘in un profondo mare’ and a boat which ‘desia trovare il porto’ against the course of fortune.<sup>108</sup> The short poem ends with an emphatic statement, that no matter the effects of fortune, the boat shall prevail.<sup>109</sup>

At various points, individual family members and familial territorial possessions are likened to boats at sea in danger or to captains steering boats to safe ports, despite the fact

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<sup>104</sup> G. ARIOSTO 1557, sig. Aii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> G. ARIOSTO 1557, sig. Aii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> G. ARIOSTO 1557, sigs. Di<sup>v</sup>, Dii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> G. ARIOSTO 1557, sig. Div<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>108</sup> G. ARIOSTO 1557, sig. Gi<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> G. ARIOSTO 1557, sig. Gi<sup>r</sup>.

the war in the landlocked duchy of Parma and Piacenza was not fought at sea. Guarnelli's *Aeneid* falls between the creation of Caro's *impresa* and Giulio Ariosto's *Fatti*: replaced into this literary-iconographic context, we perceive a progressive development of the motif of the endangered ship in Farnese iconography across this period, strongly suggesting a reading of the *Aeneid* as a literary product of the political concerns of the Farnese court during the decade following Pierluigi Farnese's assassination in 1547. In particular, the choice of a boat has political significance as the ship of state: in the Italian vernacular tradition, this had found its expression in Dante's lamentation on the state of Italy in the *Commedia* as a 'Nave senza nocchiere in gran tempesta.'<sup>110</sup> The implication, in the 1550s, was that the Farnese could be capable *nocchieri* of the ship of state – of Parma and Piacenza, or of the Italian peninsula more broadly – in the years following the Farnese papacy.

One final text lends credence to my reading of Guarnelli's *Aeneid* as political and connected to the question of Parma and Piacenza. One of Guarnelli's sonnets included in the second volume of Atanagi's *Rime di diversi nobili poeti toscani* (1565) is described as produced 'per la restitutione di Piacenza al Duca Ottavio Farnese, l'anno 1556.'<sup>111</sup> It celebrates the return of the duchy to Farnese control as an historic turning point:

Ecco il felice, ecco il bramato giorno,  
Ch'altero in bel Trionfo il mio gran Duce  
Ne l'antico suo seggio il piè reduce  
Et fa la bella Astrea seco ritorno.

Del Tebro al par la Trebbia innalzi in corno:  
Et raddoppiando il Sol l'hore, & la luce  
Là dove ei cade, et onde il dì n'adduce,  
S'oda sol risonar FARNESE intorno.

Segnate eccelsi spirti in marmo e 'n carte  
Questo dì sacro: & tu l'alta tua prole  
Discendi ad honorar superbo Marte.

Spargete a piene man gigli, & viole  
Vergini, & incomincia in ogni parte  
Da sì bel giorno a volger l'anno il Sole.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> ALIGHIERI 1985, vol. 2, p. 64 (*Purg.* VI.77).

<sup>111</sup> ATANAGI 1565, vol. 2, sig. li2<sup>r</sup>. The earlier, anonymously-edited *RIME DI DIVERSI AUTORI ECCELLENTISSIMI* 1560 attributes this sonnet to Annibal Caro. Given the topic and that Atanagi knew Guarnelli, I presume, with Stella Castellaneta (GUARNELLI 2003, p. 87), that the attribution to Guarnelli is correct.

<sup>112</sup> ATANAGI 1565, vol. 2, sig. M1<sup>v</sup>.

Two years after the dedication of the *Aeneid*, Guarnelli re-uses almost identical phrasing to refer to the return of the Farnese to Piacenza ('felicemente riporrà il piede nell'antico suo seggio' [*Eneide*, sig. Aii<sup>v</sup>]; 'Ne l'antico suo seggio il piè riduce' ['Ecco il felice,' line 3]), here with the verb altered to suggest Ottavio's reconfirmation as a duke (*ri-duce*). In the final tercet, Guarnelli also returns to the *Aeneid*, through lilies and violets which allude to Anchises's prophecy of the coming glories of Aeneas in the *Aeneid* ('Tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis | purpureos spargam flores,' 'You are to be Marcellus. Grant me to scatter in handfuls lilies of purple blossom') as well as to the lilies of the Farnese *stemma*.<sup>113</sup> In the course of the poetic depictions of Farnese war in Parma and Piacenza, the *Aeneid* served as a powerful cultural tool as poets in Farnese pay sought to fashion the family's control in the area as pre-destined and part of a long, illustrious lineage. When Farnese victory was complete, *Ecco il felice* could confirm the Aeneidean teleology at which Guarnelli hinted in his dedication of *Aeneid* I. By referencing *Aeneid* VI, the end of the 'Telemachean' section of the *Aeneid*, Guarnelli suggests that Cardinal Farnese's initial 'wandering' is complete following his return to Rome, such that the Farnese might now turn to the second portion of the Virgilian narrative in which political control is consolidated.

With succession in Parma and Piacenza secured, Guarnelli's Italian *Aeneid* was transformed into a depiction of dynastic prowess, rather than as a hope for it. In this, it can be compared to the *Guerra di Parma* (1552), an *ottava rima* poem by Giuseppe Leggiadri Gallani (1516-90) dedicated to Ottavio Farnese.<sup>114</sup> Yet, unlike Leggiadri Gallani's poem, Guarnelli's 1554 *Aeneid* draws directly on pre-established political genealogies and is the earliest stage of the use of the *Aeneid* for ideological purposes within the Farnese circle. This eventually culminated, on completion of the translation around 1589, in an epic text which presents itself as an historical account of conquest as an uncontested narrative of state formation. Indeed, the manuscript text goes so far as to include a roster of Farnese greats amongst the Roman heroes cited in *Aeneid* VI by Anchises, cementing the translation's role as a means of dynastic fashioning and celebration.<sup>115</sup> Ideological concerns are, moreover, clearly connected to wider iconographical developments produced by members of the Farnese court, and most notably the representation of the Farnese as ship of state. When

<sup>113</sup> Virgil 1999-2000, vol. 1, pp. 594-597 (*Aen.* VI.884-85).

<sup>114</sup> LEGGIADRI GALLANI 1552; see BERTOMEU MASIÁ 2009, pp. 108-09.

<sup>115</sup> Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, MS Triv. 929, fols. 57<sup>v</sup>-65<sup>v</sup>; BNCR, MS Vit. Em. 980, fols. 170<sup>r</sup>-175<sup>r</sup>.

we view this dedication alone, it seems fairly typical in its form and content; only when we consider the production of similar motifs by others in the Farnese poetic network can we see how this text functioned politically.

#### 4.5: Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, during the period 1547-1552, the cardinal-patrons Alessandro Farnese and Jean du Bellay experienced profoundly important, though quite different, periods of 'exile' – Cardinal du Bellay in Rome, Cardinal Farnese in Florence and France – which they both navigated in part through literary means. In Du Bellay's case, this consisted of seeking to write memoirs, and inviting his literary circle to refashion him as *auctor*. In Farnese's case, this consisted of studying texts for action, and inviting his circle to produce works which explicitly defended his political programme. Where the patron was absent from the physical page in the lyric poetry examined in Ch. 3, in the epic poetry examined in this chapter the patron repeatedly materializes through dedicatory prefaces which centre him in the textual process and act as explicit defense of his endeavours, whether literary or political.

It is perhaps anachronistic to describe the two *Aeneid* translations discussed in this chapter as *propaganda* in the strict sense.<sup>116</sup> Yet the texts presented here act precisely as propaganda in its modern sense: especially in their printed, more widely disseminated forms, they constitute attempts to produce positive, public imagery of given individuals. They retain distinct political functions, and their modalities and concerns are shared by contemporaries working within the same networks at the same time, producing a degree of iconographic coherence across the work of individual *letterati*. These functions, however, are only clear when seen in a comparative perspective such as that developed in this chapter, by comparing the two translations as products of a specific time and place rather than as inflections of linguistically separated traditions, and by considering them within the context of the literary networks in which each translator worked.

The propagandistic function of these translations accords well, of course, with optimistic readings of the *Aeneid*, which perceive the reign of Augustus and the birth of the Roman empire as the culmination of an arduous, but positive, historical process. Though

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<sup>116</sup> See, however, *propaganda's* application to contemporaneous objects of enquiry, e.g. in AMELIO 2017.

similar political propaganda could be channelled through other forms of art in the sixteenth century, the choice to site ideological undertakings within domestications of the *Aeneid* carries specific significance within a literary system in which the *Aeneid* forms the apex, and in a cultural system which continually drew on classical Rome as model and exemplar for its political institutions. The *Aeneid* represents a point of stability, accepted as a central constituent of literary canons and with a long history of use in iconographic fashioning. However, like the Petrarchan diction of Ch. 3, it was also sufficiently contested as to be able to be used and adapted by a range of individuals for a range of purposes.

Whilst the examples presented in this chapter have concentrated on what was, in effect, the day-to-day work of poets under patrons, the next chapter considers attempts to access alternative forms of community which present themselves as distinctly un-political, detached from daily work and from the commands of patronage. In order to do so, the next chapter moves beyond the court of Farnese and circle of Du Bellay to widen the remit of investigation of the thesis beyond the formal bounds of the two cardinals' *familiae*. It considers writers in close contact with the two circles examined in previous chapters, but whose social circumstances – as either individuals well-known in their own right, or as very temporary visitors to Rome – rendered them freer to explore other forms of verse while in the city.



## 5. Pastoral Poetry and Roman Villa Society (1549-1559)

### 5.1: Introduction

Chapters Three and Four have discussed lyric and epic verse which served to construct social relationships and courtly or political identities in Rome. I now to turn to a third type of verse, pastoral, which ostensibly moves beyond the court and the daily urban business of politics (*negotium*) and instead purports to be interested in extra-urban leisure activities (*otium*). By the mid-sixteenth century, literature in a pastoral mode formed part of a long tradition in both France and Italy, deriving from classical models found in Theocritus's *Idylls* (3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE) and Virgil's *Eclogues* (44-38 BCE). Like Petrarchism, pastoral poetry can be considered a literary mode, defined by Paul Alpers as 'the literary manifestation, in a given work, not of its attitudes in a loose sense, but of its assumptions about man's nature and situation.'<sup>1</sup> Not defined metrically or stylistically, Terry Gifford instead argues that the pastoral mode is defined by movements of 'return' (to a mythic golden age) or 'retreat,' either to 'escape from the complexities of the court, the present, "our manners"' or to 'explore them.'<sup>2</sup> The movement of 'retreat' in particular demonstrates that the pastoral mode is predominantly a mode of poetry written by and for city-dwellers through which critical commentary on the city and court is developed. Paola Ugolini has explored pastoral texts' seeming opposition to courtly environments (despite their reproduction of courtly modes of behaviour) and argues that they offered a 'space of post-court recuperation and rediscovery of the values that were lost at court.'<sup>3</sup> In particular, Ugolini shows that early modern narratives of pastoral retreat often involved retreat to a villa as part of a 'search for a collective dimension of kindred spirits' to 'replace the corrupted, dystopian socialization of the court.'<sup>4</sup> Pastoral 'retreat' is not, therefore, necessarily a retreat to bucolic solitude, as is typical of classical examples, but may be a 'retreat' to a 'cleansed,' relocated version of courtly society. Ugolini's consideration of pastoral as a *textual* space of post-court

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<sup>1</sup> ALPERS 1996, p. 50. Defining the pastoral as 'mode' reminds us that a range of texts contain pastoral elements. As such, while Latin pastoral eclogues in imitation of Theocritus and Virgil were produced by individuals of interest to this thesis – notably Farnese courtiers Lorenzo Gambara and Basilio Zanchi (see YRUELA GUERRERO 1992; HOFMANN 2011) – I do not propose to discuss them here, but will turn to uses of the pastoral in vernacular lyric.

<sup>2</sup> GIFFORD 1999, pp. 1–12, 46.

<sup>3</sup> UGOLINI 2020, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> UGOLINI 2020, p. 149.

recuperation reminds us that *imagined*, textual depictions of villas served this function, as poetic production could act as a means of retreat in and of itself, as a means of imagining alternate forms of existence which could bypass or negate negative aspects of the court to create idealised poetic communities.

This chapter examines the social functions of textual imaginations of villas, *villeggiatura* and villa society as a contrast to the poetic representation of courtly *negotium* in Rome, and as a means of escape or retreat from that *negotium*. It presents a quite different view of Roman society and politics than we have seen in previous chapters. Roman literary production was not exclusively constituted around happy participation in courtly structures; the critique of courtly modes of existence, and the establishment of literary escapes from court via poetry, remained important too. To consider alternative forms of community via the pastoral, it is helpful to look beyond the formal bounds of the two courts which have formed the focus of preceding chapters. Courts, like academies of the period, had structures which were not entirely rigid and fixed. As shown throughout this thesis, the relationship of courtiers to patrons fluctuated and could be constituted in a fairly ad hoc manner, while courtiers themselves extended the reach of courtly networks as part of their social lives. As such, this chapter considers poets socially connected to the *familiae* of cardinals Farnese and Du Bellay but formally employed elsewhere. The first, Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-78), was a Siennese poet and philosopher with numerous contacts in the Farnese court, but who was employed as a secretary by Spanish cardinal Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla (1508-66). The second, Olivier de Magny (1529-61), was a French diplomat-poet in Rome and friend of Joachim du Bellay and Pierre Paschal, employed as a secretary by French ambassador Jean d'Avanson (1511-64). While Piccolomini and Magny's *topoi* differ somewhat from those of Farnese and Du Bellay courtiers, their poetry was exchanged and put to work to achieve many of the same goals as the poetic creation which took place in the circles this thesis has thus far considered: personal advancement, the development of authorial and communal identities and as a leisure activity.

This chapter first discusses the poetic retreat from the Roman court sought in Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti* (1549), in which epistolary sonnets on the villa form an imagined community of like-minded individuals away from the ambitious papal court in which the poet remains. These, I argue, served to maintain the poet's extra-Roman network of *sodales*. Then, I will discuss how Magny – who, as JoAnn DellaNeva shows, read and

imitated Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti* – utilised similar tropes as a non-Italian outsider at the papal court in his *Odes* (1559) to construct a French 'pastoral community' in exile and then to look back on his time in Rome in 1555-56 after returning to France.<sup>5</sup> Both poets evoke the villa as a prime location of *otium* - leisurely, but profitable and undistracted, activity – as opposed to *negotium* – business, daily labours and the work of politics. For both poets, moreover, the imagined poetic space of the villa became a privileged space for the development of discourses of friendship. In Piccolomini's case, the villa *topos* is associated with aretaic friendships and is developed in contrast to poems which present the Roman court as a site of ambition, drawing on *topoi* of anti-court satire. In Magny's case, discourses of aretaic, pastoral friendship in villas and gardens serve more ambitious motives than these poems would at first suggest, and are centred on the poet's own political advancement. Nigel Pollard argues that, despite its overwhelming connection with *otium*, the classical Roman villa was in some cases also used for *negotium*.<sup>6</sup> Magny, we might say, performs a poetic equivalent of this multifunctionality, using a poetic space ostensibly constructed for *otium* to conduct *negotium* via poetic apostrophe and exchange. In part, the distinction between these two poets and their use of the pastoral is one of nationality and class. While Piccolomini, a well-connected Italian aristocrat, had little need of expanding and leveraging his personal networks, Magny's income derived from his service of the Valois monarchs, and he had not previously travelled outside France: for him, self-advancement was paramount and this concern guided his poetic production.

## 5.2: Literary Cultures of *Villeggiatura* in Sixteenth-Century Rome

As shown by David Coffin, the sixteenth century saw the construction of large numbers of villas for Roman patrons, part of the wider rebuilding and remodelling of Rome noted in Chapter One.<sup>7</sup> Many individuals with the economic means to acquire land and build on it sought to construct a villa or a *vigna*, a specifically Roman term which referred both to the land and the gardens and villa on it, and could indicate carefully manicured gardens or areas akin to woodland. These buildings drew directly on an inherited classical tradition, to the extent that some individuals built on what were reputedly the site of ancient villas,

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<sup>5</sup> See DELLANEVA 2015.

<sup>6</sup> POLLARD 2016, pp. 343-44.

<sup>7</sup> COFFIN 1979 and 1991.

emphasising a sense of continuity.<sup>8</sup> Annibal Caro, for instance, built a villa near Frascati on the supposed remains of that of Roman statesman Lucullus (118 – 57/56 BCE).<sup>9</sup> Villas constructed in Rome tended either to be just outside the city walls or else on the *disabitato*, the portion of the city east of the centre of economic activity, enabling owners to return quickly to the city's centre. Others left the city entirely, constructing more properly rural villas prized for escape from the city in the hottest summer months. Whilst in the previous century, there had been an emphasis on agricultural aspects of villas which remained relevant elsewhere on the peninsula into the sixteenth century, villas constructed for Roman patrons were instead predominantly spaces for relaxation and leisure activities.

Coffin shows various kinds of villa were desired by Roman patrons, but does not answer a fundamental question: why? James Ackerman's *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (1990) provides one argument. Ackerman holds that, while the villa's architectural *form* is geographically and historically contingent, the villa's *function* has always 'remained substantially the same because it fulfils a need that never alters.'<sup>10</sup> This need, consisting of opportunities for leisure and relaxation, is, Ackerman suggests, 'not material but psychological and ideological,' and is chiefly expressed in literature as 'a primary depository of ideological myth.'<sup>11</sup> It is clear that a classically-derived villa 'ideology,' related to the need for leisure, exerted considerable influence on poetic depictions of villas in this period. Indeed, in many respects it is this ideology – and a building's use for specific leisure activities – which defined a given construction as a 'villa.'<sup>12</sup> It is this 'ideology' too, rather any one architectural example of a villa, which makes the villa *topos* useful to Piccolomini and Magny in their explorations of poetic homosocial practices. Both poets eschew ekphrastic description of identifiable villas, in favour of evoking *villeggiatura* as 'ideology.' Indeed, it is largely only in works which present an imagined villa that we find depictions of the informal leisure activities, the performances of the villa 'ideology.' In part, this is presumably because poets working under architectural patrons, or poets who had themselves commissioned villas, would be well aware that money spent constructing a villa

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<sup>8</sup> For an overview of classical Roman villa culture, see POLLARD 2016.

<sup>9</sup> On Caro's villa, see Annibal Caro to Goron Bertano, 5 Apr. 1565, in CARO 1957-61, vol. 3, p. 232; COFFIN 1979, pp. 48-50.

<sup>10</sup> ACKERMAN 1990, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> ACKERMAN 1990, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> KELLER 1985, p. 79.

established a public-facing *munificentia* and status. Literary works depicting specific villas could thus be expected to develop this projection of a patron's image, drawing on classical precedents to do so. Such was the case of Marc Antoine Muret's laudatory poem for Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este's Villa d'Este at Tivoli (built c. 1560-72), which used Statius's first-century CE *Silvae* as a model, as Hugo Tucker has shown.<sup>13</sup> Two of these Statian poems discuss villas in detail: Manilius Vopiscus's villa at Tibur (I.3) and Pollius Felix's villa at Surrentum (II.2).<sup>14</sup> Both follow a similar format, describing the villas' locations (I.3.1-62; II.2.1-33) and the vast art collections in each (I.3.63-94; II.2.34-57). Stephen Hinds has written with reference to the *Silvae* of a 'poetics of real estate' in which the patron who commissions a villa and the poet who catalogues it 'find themselves in closely analogous positions,' building and ornamenting cultural capital physically or poetically around a single space.<sup>15</sup> By imagining a villa or evoking a more generalised 'ideology,' poets could escape this 'poetics of real estate' and obtain a greater freedom to depict other elements of *villeggiatura* and explore their broader functions and relevance.

By the mid-sixteenth century, poets who eschewed ekphrastic depiction in favour of ideological evocation could draw on a range of literary works in which the 'ideology' of the villa had been expressed. Central to early modern conceptions of the villa as *topos* and the connected debate on *rus vs. urbs* – countryside vs. city life – were poems which expanded on this dichotomy by Horace.<sup>16</sup> While the poet's Sabine villa is a recurrent presence in his poems, in some cases villas are discussed in more general terms, abstracted into a wider concept.<sup>17</sup> *Epistles* I.10 addresses a friend who loves the city in contrast to the poet's preference for rural life; a major theme of this presentation of *rus vs. urbs* is the question of freedom found in the countryside against the strictures or demands of urban life.<sup>18</sup> *Satires* II.6 is split into three sections: a first invokes the gods' protection of the owner's rural farm (II.6.1-15) while a second describes Rome's tedious *negotium*, contrasted with desire for a life of *otium* in the villa (II.6.16-76).<sup>19</sup> Finally, a third section recounts a parable told at a countryside symposium (II.6.77-117). In this parable of the 'town' and 'country' mice, a

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<sup>13</sup> TUCKER 2018, p. 227.

<sup>14</sup> STATIUS 2015, pp. 40-50 (*Silv.* I.3), 102-115 (*Silv.* II.2).

<sup>15</sup> HINDS 2001, pp. 240-41.

<sup>16</sup> See HARRISON 2007, pp. 235-247.

<sup>17</sup> On poems on the Sabine villa, see FISCHER ET AL. 2006, pp. 389-91.

<sup>18</sup> HORACE 1970, pp. 314-19.

<sup>19</sup> HORACE 1970, pp. 210-19.

frugal country mouse is induced to go to the city, where he finds an abundance of food in the home of a rich family. At the end of the poem, the inherent danger of the urban setting is revealed when dogs run into the room and scare the mice away. The country mouse thus resolves to remain in the country, where provisions are scarce but security guaranteed (II.6.115-17). Importantly, these poems both show that the pleasures of life *in villa* were necessarily developed against that of life in the city as a negative foil; these, as discussed below, became important models for Piccolomini in particular.

Letters by Pliny the Younger (61-c. 113 AD) detailing aspects of his various villas and his activities whilst there, were also important literary models.<sup>20</sup> Though they discuss identified villas, they remained architecturally vague, concentrating on expression of the pleasures of solitary *otium*.<sup>21</sup> In closing the letter on the Tuscan summer villa, Pliny writes of the *otium* he could enjoy in a place where he need not wear a toga – the vestimentary symbol of *negotium* – and where he was free from unannounced visits of acquaintances, able to study and hunt in peace.<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere, Pliny notes that he was at his villa, where he could enjoy both study and relaxation ('partim studiis, partim disidia fruor'), noting that both activities were permitted by *otium*, the free leisure time permitted by retreat to a villa.<sup>23</sup> Such a model informed the performance of otiose retreats of early modern élites, and most famously of Machiavelli, whose well-known letter to Francesco Vettori describing life *in villa* draws on Pliny.<sup>24</sup>

While the Plinian model was solitary, other literary works showed that a retreat to the villa could take on social dimensions. For early modern humanists, villas and their gardens were particularly associated with classical philosophical dialogues such as Plato's *Phaedrus* (c. 370 BCE), set in a bucolic landscape by a river under the shade of a tree, or Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (c. 45 BCE) which take place in the author's rural villa. Diogenes Laertius's *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers* (c. third-century CE) provided further examples of the learned, social use of such spaces, including the Platonic Academy in the garden of Academus, the Peripatetics who wandered in gardens as they

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<sup>20</sup> PLINY 1972-75, vol. 1, pp. 132-43 (*Ep.* II.17, on the Laurentine winter villa), 336-55 (*Ep.* V.6, on the Tuscan summer villa), vol. 2, pp. 88-91 (*Ep.* IX.7, on the 'Comedy' and 'Tragedy' villas near Lake Como). See also RUFFINIÈRE DU PREY 1994.

<sup>21</sup> See GIBSON AND MORELLO 2012, pp. 169-233.

<sup>22</sup> PLINY 1972-75, vol. 1, pp. 354-55 (*Ep.* V.6.45-46).

<sup>23</sup> PLINY 1972-75, vol. 1, pp. 84-85 (*Ep.* II.2.3).

<sup>24</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli to Francesco Vettori, 10 Dec. 1513, in MACHIAVELLI 1997-99, vol. 3, pp. 294-97.

spoke and the Athenian garden of Epicurus.<sup>25</sup> Classical *exempla* also gave rise to texts set in similar spaces, such as Pietro Bembo's *Gli Asolani* (1505), in which discussions take place in a garden with a large fountain at its centre.<sup>26</sup> In Rome, a notable example of such a dialogue is Giovanbattista Modio's *Il convito, ovvero il peso della moglie* (1554), which stages a discussion in the Loggia di Psiche in the Farnesina (1508-12), built by papal banker Agostino Chigi (1456-1520).<sup>27</sup> Modio's speakers, including Farnese courtiers Lorenzo Gambara, Jacopo Marmitta and Anton Francesco Raineri alongside Alessandro Piccolomini, pass time in the garden performing poetry and telling stories ('ci demmo sparsi per lo giardino a dispensare il tempo, chi in recitar un sonetto, chi in raccontar una historia') before sitting down to dinner where they turn to discussing marriage.<sup>28</sup> The villa setting is crucial to the dialogue, which takes the form of a classical *symposium*. At the same time, when early modern humanist academic networks met in villas and gardens, they could feel they were reviving a classical tradition and use it to inspire debate and discussion on a range of topics. Such was the case of the Orti Oricellari in Florence in the first decades of the sixteenth century, and of the Accademia Pomponiana in Rome under Angelo Colocci, which met in Colocci's villa after the death of Pomponio Leto in 1498.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, at least two vernacular treatises which explicitly addressed the 'ideology' of the villa had been produced by the close of the 1550s. These works also drew on classical precedents, chief amongst which was Varro's *De re rustica* (37 BCE), a dialogue on agriculture and the villa. The first of these two treatises began in the form of a letter on the villa and agriculture by Ferrarese courtier Alberto Lollio (1508-69), printed in Venice in 1544.<sup>30</sup> Lollio then revised the text into a longer treatise on life in the villa and presented it in manuscript to Renée of France, Duchess of Ferrara (1510-74).<sup>31</sup> Lollio's humanist defense of the villa is devoted to cataloguing examples of writings 'in laude della Villa,' using both classical and modern *exempla*, before depicting Lollio's own villa outside Ferrara.<sup>32</sup> Lollio presents a strong moral distinction between life in the city and in the villa: whilst the city is

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<sup>25</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS 1925, vol. 1, pp. 280-83, 444-47, vol. 2, pp. 538-39, 544-45, 548-49 (Diog. Laert. III.6, V.2, X.10, 16-17, 21).

<sup>26</sup> See MONCRIEFF 2022.

<sup>27</sup> The villa was acquired by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1579, whence its current name.

<sup>28</sup> MODIO 1554, sig. Bi<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> On the *Orti Oricellari*, see GILBERT 1949; on the Accademia Pomponiana, see BOBER 1977.

<sup>30</sup> LOLLIO 1544.

<sup>31</sup> BnF, MS Ital. 931.

<sup>32</sup> BnF, MS Ital. 931, fols. 50<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>v</sup>.

filled with envy and ambition, the villa, he argues, allows for the development of virtues, skills and pastimes necessary to living well.<sup>33</sup> Whilst Lollio's examples all come from the classical past and the contemporary era, a response to Lollio by the *poligrafo* Anton Francesco Doni (1513-74) describes a dream in which Doni saw biblical villas. In one villa, Doni writes that he saw paintings representing the rebuilding of the 'ville intorno a Gierusalem'; the Parable of the Wedding Feast 'dove quegli huomini si ritrassero alla villa'; and a sculpted representation of 'il Signore in mezzo de' suoi discepoli nella Villa de' Gethsemani.'<sup>34</sup> In the Latin biblical passages to which Doni refers, the word 'villa' is used.<sup>35</sup> Yet, 'villa' in biblical Latin typically refers to towns or villages, or to farms and fields.<sup>36</sup> Doni's oneiric biblical villas thus draw on the classical and vernacular senses of the word, suggesting a desire to incorporate *villeggiatura* into Christian frameworks through linguistic sleight of hand, drawing the villa, and its potentially hedonistic qualities, away from the exclusive realm of classical paganism.

A second treatise on the villa was produced by Milanese jurist Benedetto Taegio (fl. 1560). Taking the form of a dialogue, *La villa* (1559) stages a discussion about the relative merits of the villa and the city along similar lines to Lollio, again producing a clear distinction between these two ways of life.<sup>37</sup> Taegio's speakers, Vitauro and Partenio, argue for and against life in the villa as superior to that in the city, especially with regard to scholarly pursuits: for Vitauro, 'lo strepito, & comercio delle città è capital nemico delli studii delle buone lettere,' whilst Partenio counters that the example of Athens proves that 'Per dar opera alli studii più commode sono le città, che le ville.'<sup>38</sup> Taegio's dialogue also names individuals perceived as having particularly profited from life *in villa*, including Annibal Caro, said to love 'la libertà della villa'; Claudio Tolomei, 'il quale gran parte dell'anno sequestrato dalli romori delle città, se ne gode il silentio, & solitudine della villa'; and finally Alessandro Piccolomini, 'il qual compose la maggiore parte dell'opere sue in villa.'<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> BnF, MS Ital. 931, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Anton Francesco Doni to Alberto Lollio, 9 May 1543, in DONI 1552, sigs. Qiiij<sup>r</sup>-Qv<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Nehemiah 12:29; Matthew 22:5; Matthew 26:36.

<sup>36</sup> HARDEN 1921, p. 124.

<sup>37</sup> TAEGIO 1559. I have chosen not to cite from TAEGIO 2011 whose text is idiosyncratically edited.

<sup>38</sup> TAEGIO 1559, sig. Kiv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> TAEGIO 1559, sig. Niiij<sup>v</sup>.



### 5.3: Villas and Gardens in Alessandro Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti* (1549)

As we have seen, in the eyes of contemporaries such as Modio and Taegio, Alessandro Piccolomini, the Siennese intellectual in Rome, was intimately connected with *villeggiatura*. Piccolomini owned or had use of at least four villas: two near Padua, at Valsanzibio and Garzignano; and two near Siena, at Val d'Asso and Poggiarello.<sup>40</sup> These villas provided salutary respite from life at the Roman court, as Piccolomini suggested in 1560, a few years after leaving the city:

al presente mi ritruovo molto infermo della persona, come già sono stato vicino a' dieci anni, colpa della vita, che contra stomaco ho fatto in Roma; pensarò, che sia ben fatto, che questo Autunno del MDLVIII si consumi da me nella nostra villa di Lucignana di Valdasso.<sup>41</sup>

The villas were also beneficial for sociable *otium* ('ocio'), as Piccolomini outlined in a preface addressed to his brother:

ogni fiata, che i nostri studi, & le altre cure nostre ci concedevano tanto di ocio, che ci potessimo alcuni giorni, di tempo in tempo, o nella nostra villa di Valdasso, o in altra parte, godere insieme; smisurata dolcezza gustava ne' discorsi, che noi facevamo.<sup>42</sup>

Though Eugenio Refini foregrounds the importance of a solitary *vita contemplativa* in Piccolomini's works, this dedication instead points to the villa as a site of learned sociability, where philosophy could be developed through friendly conversation.<sup>43</sup> This model of sociability is central to conceptions of *otium* and *villeggiatura* developed in Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti* (1549), a text which presumably contributed to his public association with *villeggiatura* amongst contemporaries (though one in which none of Piccolomini's villas are invoked by name). Important for our understanding of this sociability in these poems are Piccolomini's use of Horace as an imitative model, and of Aristotelian concepts of friendship. Piccolomini's Horatian influence is well documented (including by contemporaries, as an anonymous *canzone* 'A Messer Alisandro Piccolomini, in lode d'Horatio Flacco' suggests).<sup>44</sup> He is also known as an important vernacular Aristotelian in sixteenth-century Italy.

<sup>40</sup> See A. PICCOLOMINI 1540, sig. ✕v<sup>v</sup>; Alessandro Piccolomini to Giovanni Cornaro, 12 Sept. 1540, in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Autografi Palatini, Varchi II, MS 65; A. PICCOLOMINI 1560, sig. \*iv<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1560, sig. AAAA3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1560, sig. \*3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> REFINI 2020.

<sup>44</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5225, pt. 3, fol. 515<sup>r</sup>.

However, the role of Aristotle's discussion of friendship, as expressed in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, has not been brought to bear on the *Cento sonetti*. This had been remodelled in the vernacular in Piccolomini's *De la institutione di tutta la vita de l'homo nato nobile et in città libera* (1542), the entire eighth book of which is given over to friendship.<sup>45</sup> Here, Piccolomini approached the question of reciprocity in friendships, arguing that 'non mancan molti che più tosto godan d'esser amati che d'amare, sì come fan la maggior parte de i potenti, ricchi, e superbi.'<sup>46</sup> These individuals are 'ambitiosissimi, e cupidissimi de l'honore'; their relationships are thus not ideal friendships, which should be based on *virtù*.<sup>47</sup> In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle had argued that most people prefer to be loved due to *philotimia*, a love of honour, presented as a negative character trait.<sup>48</sup> In the *Institutione*, Piccolomini renders Aristotelian *philotimia* with the pejorative *ambitiosi* and *ambizione*. We might suggest too that *ambizione* in the *Cento sonetti* indicates *philotimia*. For Piccolomini, the presence of such ambition precludes that of aretaic friendship. As the sonnets on Rome make clear, ambition is a major feature of urban life, with the corollary that aretaic friendship is a distinct impossibility in the city. In order to develop such friendships, individuals must therefore locate themselves outside the city: for the poet of the *Cento sonetti*, that extra-urban setting is the villa.

Crucially, however, the poetic voice of the *Cento sonetti* never leaves the city, though many in the poet's social circle, including the Beloved, leave regularly for the countryside.<sup>49</sup> The poems on villas thus create imagined retreats from the city and court and are addressed to friends as a means of constructing an epistolary community of like-minded individuals. Attention to conversation as a means of ensuring the longevity of friendships during physical absence is emphasised by both Aristotle and Piccolomini.<sup>50</sup> Both highlight the damage that is done when friendships fall silent, with Piccolomini expanding significantly on Aristotle by explaining the utility of writing in maintaining friendships:

da la mancanza di cotal'operatione [=la conversazione], suol' intepidirsi l'Amicitia a poco a poco, per fin che finalmente in tutto si scioglia, come adivien per la lontananza; e massimamente se gli amici, con lettere o ambasciate visitare e quasi di lontan parlare non si possono; concio sia che le lettere de gli amici, che son lontani,

<sup>45</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1542.

<sup>46</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1542, sig. XXi<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1542, sig. XXii<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> ARISTOTLE 1934, pp. 478-79 (*Eth. Nic.* 1159a).

<sup>49</sup> cfr. e.g. A. PICCOLOMINI 2015, no. 78, 'Nel ritorno de la sua donna da la villa.'

<sup>50</sup> ARISTOTLE 1934, pp. 468-69 (*Eth. Nic.* 1157b); A. PICCOLOMINI 1542, sigs. TTii<sup>v</sup>-TTiii<sup>f</sup>.

son quasi un conversar, e un comunicar ne la vita: ancor che imperfettamente, per esser quel che si scrive, un grado più di lontano, da i concetti del cuore, che le vive parole non sono, onde (come dice Aristotele) si suol' affermare in proverbio, che un longo silentio, così di parole, come di lettere, suol' interrompere, e discior l'amicitia.<sup>51</sup>

Written exchange cannot replace oral exchange, in Piccolomini's analysis, but may supplement it, offering an imperfect but useful way of continuing to converse and thereby of maintaining friendships. Whilst Piccolomini does not refer explicitly to poems, it is clear the *Cento sonetti* take on the role of verse letters, giving updates about the poet's life to a network of *sodales* named in the poems' rubrics: I would propose that the role described in the passage above applies also therefore to the exchange of such poems.

Federica Pich argues that the *Cento sonetti* presents an 'episodic narrative revolving around the social persona of the poet' produced by the descriptive rubrics attached to every poem.<sup>52</sup> These rubrics, alongside an *index incipitorum* and an index of subject matters enabled navigation of the text by topic and addressee. As such, my reading distinguishes two distinct inflections of the villa *topos* across the *Cento sonetti* rather than move chronologically through the volume. A first group of four sonnets (no.s. 56, 57, 74, 100) constructs a *rus-urbs* opposition, in which Rome and the Roman court are the site of ambition, and the villa that of *virtù*. A second group of sonnets (no.s. 14, 15, 16, 22, 28, 98) further develops this idealized rural villa, and demonstrates the role of the (unambitious, aretaic) villa in poetic exchanges with Piccolomini's interlocutors. These verses – addressed especially to the poet's fellow Intronati (no.s. 15, 22, 28, 98) – show that the imagined pastoral society of the villa constituted a method of poetic escape from urban life for the poet.

Like the *De curialium miseriis* (1444) written by Piccolomini's ancestor Pope Pius II, as shown below the poet of the *Cento sonetti* identifies ambition as a motivation of courtiers for persevering despite the overwhelmingly negative aspects of courtly life.<sup>53</sup> This is juxtaposed by the imagined pastoral villa as an anti- and extra-courtly space, where courtly ambitions are replaced with aretaic friendships. This imaginative process is bolstered and to some extent reified by the fact that these sonnets on the villa are sent to Piccolomini's

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<sup>51</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1542, sig. TTiii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> PICH 2019, p. 123.

<sup>53</sup> E. S. PICCOLOMINI 2007, p. 395; cfr. UGOLINI 2020, pp. 88-92.

poetic network. They constitute friendly exchanges (which in one case can be contextualised with poems to Piccolomini by his addressee) which served as poetic proxies for the activities and way of life described in the poems themselves.

By discussing the villa as an ideal, rather than depicting an identifiable villa, the poet allows 'The Villa' to stand in direct opposition to 'The Court,' as monolithic representations of diametrically opposed modes of existence. The use of rubrics addressing named individuals is key to understanding how the poet uses these two poetic constructions: where individuals are named in court satire, this is to act as warning (56) or to lament the poet at court's dissimilarity to the dedicatee away from court (74; 100). Where courtiers are criticised, their names are obscured (as in the rubric 'ad un amico ambizioso' of sonnet 57). By contrast, all of the sonnets on the villa are to named individuals, as a means of constructing a textual network of *sodales* outside the city.

### 5.3.1: Roman Ambition: Satires of the Papal Court

The first of Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti* (sonnet 56), which I want to consider here rejects the urban, courtly environment altogether, perhaps unsurprising for a poet who would write twelve years later of the 'spavento horribil del servire in corte,' of 'la grave perdita di sette anni' spent at court, and of the fear invoked even by the very word *corte* ('la sola memoria duratami poi già dodici anni, hoggi ancor più che mai nel sentir questo nome di Corte, mi fa tremare').<sup>54</sup> Sonnet 56 makes this rejection explicit even whilst the poetic voice speaks from Rome, using the rubric to foreground readers' interpretation of the sonnet on criticism of ambition as a specifically Roman courtly trait. This also renders the sonnet identifiable, via the printed book's indices, as part of the *Cento sonetti's* development of this anti-courtly *topos*:

A M. GIULIANO ARDINGHELLO, SOPRA L'AMBITION DE LA CORTE DI ROMA

Chi metta in Roma 'l piè, se gran favore  
Giulian, non gli dà 'l Ciel, si sente drento  
inquieta ambizion qual vivo argento  
scorrer le vene e dar' assalto al core;

non sta fermo 'l pensiero, e 'l senso fuore  
veglia mai sempre, in ogni banda intento;

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<sup>54</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1565, sig. aiv<sup>r</sup>.

passa 'l piè innanz'ognor, né sta contento  
d'un grado men che del supremo onore.

Mentre ch'or quest'or quel più s'erger e scaglia,  
ecco poi ch'in un punto 'l manda a terra 10  
quella crudel che 'l Re co 'l servo aguaglia.

Io, col favor del signor mio Cupido,  
che con altro veleno 'l cor m'afferra,  
meco stommi da parte, e guardo e rido.  
[*Cento sonetti*, 56.1-14]

Addressed to Giuliano Ardinghelli (d. after 1565), a secretary and agent of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, sonnet 56 depicts a courtly environment filled with uncertain movement, in which, despite their 'inquieta ambizion' (line 3), individuals rise and fall as a result of Fortune ('quella crudel' [line 11]), a typical character of court satire.<sup>55</sup> The court's movement is emphasised through the sonnet's dedication to Ardinghelli, who travelled variously around Europe as a diplomat between 1545-48 and had returned to Rome from the Imperial Court in spring 1548, indicating a likely date of composition for this sonnet.<sup>56</sup> Ardinghelli thus represents the 'newcomer' to Rome who is warned of the machinations of the papal court, an addressee of contemporary verses, not least Joachim du Bellay's 'Nouveau venu, qui cherches Rome en Rome,' which lament the contemporary state of Rome.<sup>57</sup> There are clear connections, moreover, to be drawn with the shipwreck *topos* used, as we saw in Ch. 4, to represent courtly instability and uncertainties. In *Cento sonetti* 56, the poet presents himself as a detached and motionless observer of courtly tumult. This observant figure is another key feature of shipwreck motifs, drawing on Lucretius's *De rerum natura* (II.1-2) in which a stable, distant observer takes comfort from observing chaos and instability. Another of the *Cento sonetti* (72) addressed to Farnese courtier Marcantonio Flaminio explicitly presented this *topos*, relating it to courtly ambition:

Come quando 'l mar gonfia e negro il giorno  
fan l'ond'irate, ed altrui danno orrore,  
gran piacer è veder da 'l porto fuore  
navi ondeggiar, con quel periglio attorno,

così tu puoi, d'alta dottrina adorno, 5

<sup>55</sup> UGOLINI 2020, pp. 109-10.

<sup>56</sup> MIANI 1962.

<sup>57</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 1966, p. 275 (*Antiquitez* 3).

Flamminio, il volgo immerso entr'al furore  
 d'ambizion, d'ignoranza, odio e timore,  
 mirar secur, che non pon farti scorno.  
 [*Cento sonetti* 72.1-8]

Where Flaminio is detached from courtly ambition because of his 'alta dottrina' (line 5), the poet of *Cento sonetti* 56 instead is detached from it by virtue of his interest in love (lines 12-13). In the context of the Petrarchan sonnets presented across in the *Cento sonetti*, the non-clerical poet detaches himself from the papal court by his ability to pursue licit, erotic relationships, quite unlike the largely clerical papal courtiers who are the targets of his satire. However, a year later, a second version of *Cento sonetti* 56 was printed in a collection of *rime spirituali*, in which the distinction between papal courtiers and the poet was rewritten to contrast courtly ambition with religious piety:

Io, che in Dio solo spero e fido,  
 che con altra dolcezza 'l cor m'afferra,  
 meco stommi da parte, e guardo e rido.  
 [lines 12-14]<sup>58</sup>

In this second version, the poet instead suggests that he, as a detached observer of ambition, is the only person present in the scene who follows non-earthly motives. In the context of ongoing discussions at Trent, this chastisement of unnamed clerics and their ambition is unsurprising, and the sonnet's rewriting speaks to a wider 'poetics of conversion' beginning around this time.<sup>59</sup>

*Cento sonetti* 57 is also constructed around a fundamental contrast. Here, the poet contrasts himself at the volta with 'un amico ambizioso' — perhaps, in light of Aristotle's argument that (perfect) friends are alike in virtue, an oxymoronic concept.<sup>60</sup> The villa appears in this sonnet, as an uncertain, future site of pastoral retreat which remains out of reach whilst the poet is trapped by courtly ambitions. The unnamed 'ambitious' friend appears to be a papal courtier, identifiable precisely by this character trait. He is a reader of *avvisi*, texts concerned wholly with political intrigue and gossip and both born of this ambitious urban environment and fuelling its continuation:

<sup>58</sup> LIBRO PRIMO DELLE RIME SPIRITUALI 1550, sig. AA4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> cfr. Cox 2011, pp. 32-35.

<sup>60</sup> ARISTOTLE 1934, pp. 460-61 (*Eth. Nic.* 1156b).

## AD UN AMICO AMIBITIOSO, CHE VIVE DI AVISI E DI NUOVE

Che faccia or Carlo, e quali ogni ora e quante  
sien le sue forze, e se l'or punto è manco,  
che faccia 'l Turco, 'l Mor, l'Inglese o 'l Franco,  
non sia già mai chi di te sappia innante;

creschinti ognor gli avisi, ed altrettante  
le cure, ove non sia mai sazio o stanco;  
nuota pur con le braccia, e 'l petto e 'l fianco  
spinge fra gli altri, e passa a tutti avante. 5

Io, che nacqui del Ciel sott'altro aspetto,  
odio i tumulti urbani, e sonmi amiche  
l'amene selve, e un ruscel chiaro e netto: 10

oh, quando fia che a la mia villa arrivi?  
Dove l'ore miglior, le carte antiche  
lega, e talor d'Amor poi canti o scrivi.  
[*Cento sonetti*, 57.1-14]

As in sonnet 56, courtly ambition is again embodied in constant movement, swirling and pushing, as the ambitious push past others present at court (lines 7-8). At the volta, the poet again presents himself as distinctive and unaffected by courtly intrigue. Sonnet 56's 'altro veleno' (line 13) is replaced here by an 'altro aspetto' (line 9), a shift from different desires to different interests which also fashion the poetic voice as an outsider, excluded by nature from this ambitious community. The volta is marked, too, by different reading material: while the addressee will read *avvisi*, source of contemporary and ephemeral information or gossip, the 'carte antiche' (line 13) sought by the poet are the classical, canonical works which will fuel his poetry. The escape from court is thus not only a spatial escape, but a textual escape too, an escape from ephemeral texts to those which have stood the test of time. As Franco Tomasi's edition notes, the last tercet is modelled on Horace's *Satires* 2, the poem which concludes with the fable of the town and country mouse:

o rus, quando ego te adspiciam quandoque licebit  
nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis  
ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?

O rural home: when shall I behold you! When shall I be able, now with books of the ancients, now with sleep and idle hours, to quaff sweet forgetfulness of life's cares!<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> HORACE 1970, pp. 214-15 (*Sat.* 2.6.60-62).







Bellanti was a member of the Sieneſe Accademia degli Intronati, having joined in 1543, and his appearance in the text is as one of Piccolomini's *sodales*, though unusually, and unlike sonnets diſcuſſed below, his connection to the Intronati is not made explicit in the text through the uſe of his academic nickname ('il Lunatico').<sup>63</sup> Line 1's opening locative ſtatement continues the work of ſonnet 57, wherein urban life is contrasted to that of the villa, preſented as a future poſſibility or through an optative ſtatement. While the villa is located in a poſſible future — ahead of the poetic voice, in front and out of reach — deictic markers place the 'ambizion' of the court as completing the physical ſpace around the poetic voice ('punger mi cerca ſì *dietro e daccanto*' [line 6, my emphasis]), ſuch that the locutionary moment is ſurrounded by urban 'ambizion.' This ſonnet alſo bears the hallmarks of movement ſeen in other ſonnets on the city above. However, unlike in previous representations where the Poet remained motionleſs and apart ('meco ſtommi da parte' [56.14]) ſurrounded by 'tumulti urbani' (57.10), in ſonnet 100, he relinquishes control and is moved 'mal mio grado' (line 8). Though the force of this 'ambizion' pushes the poet forwards towards a future moment (lines 10-11), the ſonnet ends without closure; the poet remains in Rome and deſire for learned *otium* in the villa is unſatisfied. Finally, while I generally eſchew a chronological reading of the *Cento ſonetti*, it bears ſaying that, if a reader *did* read linearly, the collection as a whole alſo closes with ſonnet 100 on this unrealized deſire for retreat.

### 5.3.2: Eſcaping Rome: Poetic Retreat into the Villa

Whilst the ſonnets diſcuſſed above refer to the villa within the *rus-urbs* contrast, demonstrating its diſtinctiveness from the city, they are chiefly optative, lamenting abſence from the villa, a ſituation made more acute by the fact that all are written within the city. It is an overriding feature of the *Cento ſonetti* that the poetic voice alwayſ ſpeaks from the city (unlike the Horatian model, which often ſpeaks from within the villa). As a means of remedying this inability to leave the city, a ſecond group of ſonnets develops the villa *topos* and imagines the poet within the villa, or about to travel there. Theſe ſonnets preſent an image of the form of ſociability which could take place in the villa: they represent an

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<sup>63</sup> MINUCCI AND KOŠUTA 1989, p. 573; PICCOLOMINI 2015, pp. 260-61; SBARAGLI 1942, p. 192.

imagining of the ‘cleansed’ version of the court and of the villa as a space of ‘post-court recuperation’ which Ugolini identifies as central to pastoral anti-court writing.

Sonnet 14, written to Venetian diplomat Mario Savorgnano (1517-74), describes a villa recently purchased. It is the closest the *Cento sonetti* comes to a poem written from within the villa, though still it is impossible to definitively locate the poetic voice. It is also certainly the closest the collection comes to describing a specific villa. Yet still the discourse remains vague, suggesting a focus rather on the villa as *idea* which represents a desire for *otium* above anything else:

AL SIGNOR MARIO SAVORNIANO, D’UNA VILLA ACQUISTATATA NUOVAMENTE

Questo era Mario ’l fin del mio desio:  
una villa ben posta, un colle ameno,  
che soccorriss’a punto (e anco meno  
che Natura non chiede) al viver mio.

Questo m’ha dato, e più, l’immenso Iddio, 5  
tal che non sol la copia il corno ha pieno  
per l’uso mio, ma colm’ha ’l grembo e ’l seno:  
altro paese ormai non chieggio a Dio.

Questa parte prend’io di quant’intorno 10  
gira la Terra, a questa ’l suo favore  
mostri più sempre il Ciel di giorno in giorno;

questa m’acqueta a pieno, e mai non fia  
per avara ambizion punto maggiore,  
né minor mai per negligenza mia.  
[*Cento sonetti*, 14.1-14]

Across sonnet 14, Piccolomini develops a micro-narrative built on four temporally located stanzas; this is a quite distinctive sonnet in the context of the *Cento sonetti* in which we tend to find a strongly demarcated volta used to produce sharp contrasts between named individuals. Moving from an imperfective (‘era’ [line 1]) to perfective past (‘ha dato’ [line 4]), at the volta the poet shifts into the present (‘prend[o]’ [line 9], hinging on the ‘ormai non chieggio’ of line 8), before the final tercet stretches towards the future (‘fia’ [line 12]). The volta’s temporal distinction is also underlined by a morphological shift from masculine (‘Questo,’ lines 1 and 5) to feminine (‘Questa,’ lines 9 and 12) deictic markers. By building the sonnet on deictic anaphora, Piccolomini reinforces the continuity of the desire for the villa over the space of the time indicated in the poem: the villa represents a point of

stability, much as the poet had represented himself against the motion of the court in urban sonnets. This stability, as we have seen in *Cento sonetti* 74, also permits the villa to maintain its role as a privileged space in which classical *virtù* is guaranteed. Finally, sonnet 14 also serves to further distinguish the poet from the ambitious courtiers: while they had sought all opportunities for enrichment, here the stable, permanent villa represents the culmination of all earthly desires of the poet.

Sonnet 14 tells us little, however, of the villa's functions. For this, we must look to sonnets addressed to members of the Sienese Accademia degli Intronati found throughout the *Cento sonetti*. Piccolomini had been a member of the Intronati since long before arriving in Rome, and it was in the academy that he wrote many of his earliest works, including plays, dialogues and a translation of a book of the *Aeneid*.<sup>64</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, there is apparently no evidence Piccolomini participated in meetings of Roman academies (see Ch. 2.5) whilst in the city. Instead, the *Cento sonetti* shows Piccolomini continuing to converse with Intronati members through poetic exchange, demonstrating the epistolary function of poetry as a means of homosocial bonding when distance and obligations cannot allow the men to come together. However, none of these poems take place in the context of physical gatherings of the academy itself, nor even in Siena; all are relocated to an unnamed imagined villa. This is unsurprising since several Intronati academicians owned villas. A contemporary manuscript anthology contains a series of Intronati-authored texts, of which Marcantonio Piccolomini's *Adone* (1528) and Marcantonio Cinuzzi's *La Grillandetta* (1536) are both signed from villas.<sup>65</sup> Significantly, this same collection also contains, amongst the Intronati poems, an unsigned translation of Horace's *Epodes* 2 (fols. 427<sup>r</sup>-429<sup>r</sup>):

Beato chi lontan da i gravi affanni  
de le cure civili in questa villa  
senza debito alcun lieto dimora  
godendo in cultivar i propri campi  
come già solea far l'antica gente.<sup>66</sup>

Horace's *Epodes* 2, as discussed below, would be condensed into a single sonnet in the *Cento sonetti*; it was also adapted into a vernacular *canzone* by another Intronati

<sup>64</sup> On the Intronati between their formation in 1525 and first important suspension in 1555, see MAYLENDER 1926-30, vol. 3, pp. 350-62; PALLINI 2016; TOMASI 2016. On the Intronati's activities, see esp. TOMASI 2011.

<sup>65</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5225, pt. 2, fols. 402<sup>r</sup>, 439<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5225, pt. 2, fol. 427<sup>r</sup>, lines 1-5.

academician, Mino Celsi.<sup>67</sup> While I do not mean to suggest that the Vat. Lat. 5225 adaptation be attributed to Piccolomini, it seems certain that it is attributable to one of the Intronati. Line 2 refers directly to a villa, something absent both from Horace's Latin and from Piccolomini's own reworking of the text: amongst the Intronati, then, it is clear Horace's texts on rural life were not only being read and reworked by several members of the academy, but also that they were explicitly interpreted as expressive of a villa ideology. This indicates *villeggiatura* as a wider interest of the Intronati, explaining why Piccolomini's poetic reimaginings of Intronati meetings should be set in such a space. The function of the villa – as conduit of social relations, or as stimulus to poetic creation – is, however, left unsaid in these Intronati manuscript poems. By contrast, in the *Cento sonetti* poems addressed explicitly to Intronati academicians, the villa is presented as the site of idealized homosocial bonding and literary sociability through continual demonstration of the villa as the preeminent location of Piccolomini's Aristotelian conception of *amicitia*. Importantly, in these texts the wider circle of Intronati is reduced to a select number who are invited into the poetic space of the villa, host only to friendship relations and so differently structured both to the more competitive academy, and to the highly competitive papal court.

The first of these texts, sonnet 15, is dedicated to Annibal della Ciaia (fl. 1540s?). A correspondent of Claudio Tolomei, Ciaia studied humanities in Siena in the early 1530s before apparently moving to Rome in the late 1530s-early 1540s, and then returning to Siena.<sup>68</sup> It is unclear what Ciaia did whilst in Rome. He was evidently, however, a close friend of Piccolomini, who gave Piero Vettori's translation of Euripides's *Electra* (1545) to Ciaia before a meeting of the three men in Florence in 1547 when they discussed Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, on which Vettori was preparing a commentary.<sup>69</sup> In sonnet 15, the poet urges himself and Ciaia to shelter from the trials of life in the *locus amoenus* provided by the villa:

A M. ANNIBAL DE LA CIAIA

A che, Ciaia gentil, tanta lezione?  
 Non vedi tu ch'a l'uom per placar Morte  
 punto non val dottrina od arte o sorte,  
 né per fuggirla o piuma o remo o sprone?

<sup>67</sup> CELSI 1982, pp. 403-05. For Hor., *Epod.* 2, see HORACE 2004, pp. 272-75.

<sup>68</sup> MINUCCI AND KOŠUTA 1989, p. 431; Claudio Tolomei to Annibal della Ciaia, 7 Dec. 1543, 24 Jan. 1545, 16 May 1545, 1 May 1545, in TOLOMEI 1547, sigs. Kiiij<sup>v</sup>-Kv<sup>v</sup>, Nj<sup>v</sup>, Ovj<sup>v</sup>, Tiiij<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Annibal della Ciaia to Piero Vettori, 21 Nov. 1545, 9 Mar. 1547, in BL, Add. MS 10265, fols. 236<sup>r</sup>, 238<sup>r</sup>.

Miser colui che sua speranza pone  
che mai l'empia distingue o grado o sorte,  
o giovi aver la testa ornata e forte  
d'elmo, d'allor, di mitre alte o corone. 5

Questa crudel con la sua falce aguaglia  
vecchi, giovin, fanciu', servi e signori,  
or sopra i ricchi letti, or su la paglia. 10

Dunqu'oggi al mio giardin Ciaia rimane  
a rider, a cenar tra l'erbe e i fiori:  
chi può saper, se 'l potrem far domane?  
[*Cento sonetti*, 15.1-14]

The sonnet functions as a *memento mori*, stressing that no actions of mortals (no matter age or social status, [line 9-11]), and especially not reading or study ('tanta lezione' [line 1]) can stave off death. The solution in the final tercet is – as Tomasi notes - an inflection of the Horatian *carpe diem*, an exhortation to enjoy the present moment.<sup>70</sup> Something else is happening in sonnet 15, however, beyond the Horatian *imitatio*. Horace's *Odes* I.11 pushes towards using the time allotted to each individual in a productive manner: this is not so much the case in *Cento sonetti* 15, in which the activity is resolutely leisurely. In the two other instances of the *carpe diem topos* in the *Cento sonetti* (4.12-14; 94.9-11), there is no garden, nor is this found in *Odes* I.11. Why is this instance of the *topos* connected to a garden here?

One figure who might have expressed a similar sentiment to that of the final tercet, and who is connected to such a garden, is Epicurus. In his life of Epicurus, Diogenes Laertius states that Epicurus's friends 'came to him from all parts and lived with him in his garden' ('πανταχόθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο καὶ συνεβίουσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ').<sup>71</sup> Reporting Epicurus's last testament, Laertius notes that Epicurus bequeathed his property to his friends, on the condition that they maintain his garden and make it available to one Hermarchus and 'the members of his society' ('τοῖς συμφιλοσοφοῦσιν αὐτῷ') whose task it was then 'to preserve to the best of their power the common life in the garden' ('τὴν ἐν τῷ κήπῳ διατριβὴν παρακατατίθεμαι').<sup>72</sup> This same Hermarchus also received Epicurus's books.<sup>73</sup> This

<sup>70</sup> HORACE 1970, pp. 44-45 (*Carm.* I.11.8).

<sup>71</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS 1925, vol. 2, pp. 538-39 (Diog. Laert. X.10).

<sup>72</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS 1925, vol. 2, pp. 544-45 (Diog. Laert. X.16-17).

<sup>73</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS 1925, vol. 2, pp. 548-49 (Diog. Laert. X.21).

model of Epicurean academic sociability is very clearly linked to both a place – the garden – and to the sharing of books.

Though Epicurus's teachings were controversial in early modern Europe due to the difficulty, if not impossibility, of reconciling them with Christian doctrine, and were characterised by 'diversity' and 'volatility,' they found more acceptable expression in Lucretius's *De rerum natura* (first-century BCE).<sup>74</sup> Piccolomini explicitly praises *De rerum natura* in the *Cento sonetti's* preface and imitates it in the sonnets (*Cento sonetti* 72; 87), as noted above.<sup>75</sup> He also worked for many years on a commentary on the poem, though this never circulated and is now lost.<sup>76</sup> Piccolomini's later works also suggest he held Lucretius and Epicurus in good regard: Epicurus's hedonistic philosophy of happiness was cited with sympathy in *L'istrumento della filosofia* (1552) while Lucretius and Epicurus were praised together in the *Seconda parte de la filosofia naturale* (1554).<sup>77</sup> Thus, despite expressing in many places in the *Cento sonetti* an exclusively aretaic moral philosophy, here Piccolomini is sympathetic to, and interested in, a form of Epicureanism, one interested in pleasure as specifically distinct from ambition and the *negotium* of the city. As such, the villa's garden here becomes a poetic recreation of the garden of Epicurus, held up as an idealized example of a philosophical *locus amoenus*.

Sonnets 22, 28 and 98 are dedicated to three other Intronati academicians, Muzio Pecci, Camillo Falconetti and Antonio Barozzi.<sup>78</sup> Across the three sonnets, Piccolomini imagines gatherings of friends, distant from their usual places in the city. In these texts, the villa is conceived of as the location of respite from *otium*, as sonnet 22 makes clear:

A M. MUZIO PECCI

Lasciam alquant'omai le dotte carte,  
sciogliam' il sever ciglio, or che soggiorno  
fa nel suo regno 'l Sole, e arde 'l giorno,  
e 'l Can da 'l ciel la terra fende e parte;

la villa mia ci aspetta, ove in disparte,  
sott'un faggio od un pin, la copia il corno  
porgerà di buon frutti, e Bacco intorno

5

<sup>74</sup> NORBROOK 2015, pp. 2, 6. On the reception of Lucretius, see BROWN 2010; PALMER 2014; and NORBROOK, HARRISON AND HARDIE 2015.

<sup>75</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 2015, p. 49.

<sup>76</sup> PROSPERI 2020, p. 159.

<sup>77</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1552, sig. Nv<sup>r</sup>; A. PICCOLOMINI 1554, sig. H8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> I have been unable to ascertain dates of birth or death for these men.

girà, vincendo la prudenzia in parte.

Nostr'intelletto in questa carne ascoso  
contemprar non può ognor Natura e Dio, 10  
forz'è ch'abbia talor qualche riposo.

Ripos'è il comun vitto e 'l dolce scherzo  
de' car', onesti amici: oggi part'io,  
doman t'aspetto, e 'l Cieco venga il terzo.  
[*Cento sonetti*, 22.1-14]

Muzio Pecci had studied alongside Annibal della Ciaia and entered the Intronati some time after 1540. Like Alessandro Bellanti in *Cento sonetti* 100 above, he is not named under his Intronati nickname ('il Disadatto').<sup>79</sup> Here, Pecci and Falconetti ('l Cieco' [line 14]) are invited into the homosocial space of the villa. In a similar manner to sonnet 15, the poet urges these friends to put aside 'le dotte carte' (line 1); here, however, the enjoyment of the villa in company is seen within the broader rhythm of scholarly activity, from which respite is required to allow further study to take place (lines 9-11).

Importantly, only Pecci and Falconetti can be present in the villa, in their capacity as 'car', onesti amici,' and the poet does not invite the wider Accademia degli Intronati to the villa to reproduce academic discussions there. In this sonnet, Piccolomini again references an Aristotelian framework of friendship in specifying that the villa is the site of 'il comun vitto e 'l dolce scherzo | de' car', onesti amici' (lines 12-13). This, again, points towards the *Nicomachean Ethics*, where Aristotle argues that whilst some men might bear goodwill to one another, they are not friends as they do not spend time together and delight in one another's company, to Aristotle the chief markers of friendship.<sup>80</sup> Of these two necessities, the first, spending time together, had been previously stressed twice in the *Ethics*, once where Aristotle argues that time and familiarity are necessary for the development of friendship and again where he states that nothing could be more characteristic of friendship than living together.<sup>81</sup> Piccolomini, in sonnet 22, stresses these aspects in particular: the group take themselves away to the villa 'in disparte' [line 5] and eat together ('comun vitto' [line 12]).

<sup>79</sup> MINUCCI AND KOŠUTA 1989, pp. 431, 554; SBARAGLI 1942, p. 192.

<sup>80</sup> ARISTOTLE 1934, pp. 470-71 (*Eth. Nic.* 1158a)

<sup>81</sup> ARISTOTLE 1934, pp. 460-61, 468-69 (*Eth. Nic.* 1156b, 1157b).



The same ideals are continued into sonnet 28, dedicated to Antonio Barozzi ('il Deserto'), who was himself an exponent of *villeggiatura*, producing a series of amorous *stanze* whose rubric notes they were produced 'essendo egli in villa.'<sup>82</sup> In sonnet 28, the villa's function shifts from providing respite from scholarly thought to providing an ideal location for a form of distinctly literary sociability:

AL DESERTO INTRONATO

Il Cieco ed io, Deserto, or che nel sesto  
mese più 'l sol la terra fende e parte,  
nel mio giardin de i lunghi giorni parte  
spendiam ridendo, e ragionando il resto.

Nostri sermon non son, come l'uom presto 5  
poss'arricchir d'usure o dadi o carte,  
come meglio si mangi, o con qual arte  
possa biasmar l'invidia or quello or questo;

Ma quanto dolci i fidi, onesti e veri 10  
amici sien; qual ben sia sommo e pieno  
de l'uomo, e come poi s'acquisti o sperì;

né in tanto Orazio mai cadde di mano:  
così viviam, quasi beati a pieno:  
quasi, dico io, perché tu sei lontano.  
[*Cento sonetti*, 28.1-14]

Similar terms describe the friendship of the poet, 'il Deserto' (Antonio Barozzi) and 'il Cieco' in sonnet 28 ('fidi, onesti e veri | amici' [lines 9-10]) as in sonnet 22 ('car', onesti amici' [line 13]). Yet in the sixteenth century printed text, no explanatory notes orient the audience: the identities of these academicians are hidden beneath their academic nicknames. In so doing, the poet emphasizes their group identity and excludes readers outside the circle, clarifying the borders of the social network he seeks to construct in the villa. This exclusive circle is reinforced through an exclusive third-person plural ('Nostri sermon' [line 5]) and disjunctive 'Ma' (line 9). A contrast is thus instituted between 'typical' conversation topics of less than perfect friends, and those of the group to whom the sonnet is addressed, who distinguish themselves precisely by their 'perfect' friendship. All the while, another figure is present:

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<sup>82</sup> FERENTILLI 1571, sigs. B5<sup>v</sup>-B7<sup>r</sup>.

Horace (line 12). Here, we move into a domain of sociability which is properly literary, as the group build their relationship through the discussion and communal reading of Horace.

The close of the sonnet, however, reveals that in fact 'il Deserto' is absent from the group. The sonnet is thus revealed to have a clearly epistolary function, rather than simply a laudatory one, calling to the absent friend. While deep in poetic conversation with one friend about the value and means of building friendships, the poet is inspired to reach out to another friend. By writing this sonnet, then, addressing and exchanging with absent friends, the poet puts into operation the learning gained from reading of, and meditation on, classical texts, notably Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and thereby seeks to affirm the friendships via written communication whilst the men are absent from the villa and from each other.

The final sonnet to members of the Intronati inverts the situation of sonnet 28. Now, the poet is absent from another grouping, this time of Falconetti and Pecci:

AL CIECO INTRONATO E A M. MUTIO PECCI

Muzio gentil, che col buon Cieco insieme  
sei d'un laccio d'amor sì avinto e stretto  
ch'una sol voglia ad ambi accende il petto,  
e un sol pensier ambi racqueta e preme,

già non è util vostro istesso il seme  
di tant'amor, né van, basso diletto,  
ma virtuoso, intiero, onesto affetto  
di darvi frutto in fin a l'ore estreme.

5

Voi lieti al mormorio di chiari e bei  
ruscelli, ad or ad or, tra i fiori e l'erba,  
vi state in dolce gioco, in riso e scherzo.

10

O me felice quattro volte e sei,  
se già la voglia mia non è superba,  
s'a due sì cari amici io fossi il terzo!  
[*Cento sonetti*, 98.1-14]

The relationship of Falconetti and Pecci, described from the vantage point here of a detached poetic persona, again draws on Aristotelian frameworks. In the opening quatrain, the pair are joined with a 'laccio d'amor' so strong that they begin to merge, to have the same desires and thoughts (lines 3-4), a feature of the perfect friendship in which the friend

is ‘another self’ (‘ἄλλος αὐτός’).<sup>83</sup> The second quatrain then presents Aristotle’s schema of other types of friendship: friendship of utility and friendship of pleasure, held by Aristotle to be incidental because they rely on changeable qualities.<sup>84</sup> These, then, are rejected in sonnet 98, following Aristotle. When Piccolomini transposed Aristotle’s arguments into the *Institutione*, he too constructed three categories of friendship – *useful*, *enjoyable* and *honest* (‘amicitie utili, & dilettevoli,’ ‘amicitia honesta’).<sup>85</sup> It is thus unsurprising that these three terms – *utile*, *diletto* and *onesto* – occur here, as a second form of vernacular transposition of Aristotle by Piccolomini, who reproduces the same argument at lines 5-8 as in the *Institutione*.

In all the sonnets to the grouping of the academicians Pecci, Falconetti and Barozzi alongside the poet, at least one person is absent from the moment of poetic utterance. Each sonnet therefore performs a double function, exalting the ‘amicitia honesta’ which unites the men and displaying the way in which that friendship is conducted, whilst also ensuring that the relationship is maintained during the physical absence of individuals through poetic epistolary exchange. A final sonnet I want to examine here extols the virtues of pastoral life in the context of a wider poetic exchange which used bucolic *topoi* to produce a relationship which navigated *otium* and *negotium* through verse. This reading has previously been obscured by the poem’s placement in the structured single-author *Cento sonetti*. The sonnet is a close imitation of Horace’s *Epodes* II.39 and is addressed to the Spanish humanist in Rome Juan Páez de Castro (c. 1510-1570):

AL DOTTOR M. IUAN PAEZ, IN LODE DE LA VITA IN VILLA

Beato quel che da città lontano,  
 liber vivendo e d’ogni lite fuora,  
 nei proprî campi suoi suda e lavora,  
 sciolto d’usure e d’ogni inganno umano;

di trombe ’l suon non sente orrendo e strano  
 ch’a l’armi ’l chiami e svegli ad ora ad ora,  
 né fa mestier che per le sale ognora  
 de i superbi signori ondeggia invano.

5

Or deriva un ruscello, ed or marita

<sup>83</sup> ARISTOTLE 1934, pp. 534-55 (*Eth. Nic.* 1166a)

<sup>84</sup> ARISTOTLE 1934, pp. 456-59 (*Eth. Nic.* 1156a-b).

<sup>85</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 1542, sig. YYiv<sup>r</sup>.

le viti a gli olmi, or dolci frutti innesta,  
fin che insieme col di l'opra ha finita.

10

La sera al fuoco suo fa poi ritorno,  
cena con voglia, e gli dan riso e festa  
la casta moglie e i cari figli attorno.  
[*Cento sonetti*, 16.1-14]

The text stages an imagined ideal bucolic existence, distinguished from the 'città' which, as in sonnet 56, is characterized by movement and people, as well as, here, the threat and noise of war (lines 5-6). In condensing Horace's poem into the shorter sonnet form, Piccolomini imitates closely the incipit, then picks up the figure of the 'casta moglie' from much later in the poem (*Ep.* II.39). The inclusion of the Horatian 'casta moglie' produces an emphasis on chastity and matrimonial obligation as linked to an idealised rural life. In that way, the 'casta moglie' becomes a commentary on the courtesans of sonnet 56: while Rome and the Roman court are populated by male clerics and diplomats alongside courtesans, the villa is the site of licit, chaste relationships founded on marriage and the family. There is, too, a political reading of this sonnet in which freedom from courtly service becomes an allegory of political *libertà*, in its double meaning of both independence and a form of usually republican government, a concept particularly important in this period when the Sieneese republic, in which Piccolomini had been born, was about to be overthrown.<sup>86</sup> The division, then, between villa and city becomes a political one, in which escape from the city to an idealized pastoral life becomes a matter of political survival (much as it had been for Meliboeus, forced to flee in Virgil's *Eclogues* 1).

What of the dedicatee, Juan Páez de Castro? While Tomasi's 2015 critical edition provides a short biography of Castro, nowhere does Tomasi discuss Piccolomini's poetic relationship to Castro.<sup>87</sup> Yet this relationship is central to sonnet 16, which forms part of an exchange of pastoral poetry between the two men in Rome, in the context of a poetic friendship which gestured beyond urban *negotium* and towards desired pastoral *otium*. A 2017 critical edition of Castro's manuscript poetry allows us to consider fully his role as dedicatee.<sup>88</sup> Castro was a Spanish humanist who travelled to Italy to attend the Council of

<sup>86</sup> On Sieneese *libertà*, see SHAW 2022, pp. 243-47.

<sup>87</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 2015, p. 327.

<sup>88</sup> CASTRO 2017. I follow this edition's numbering system.

Trent (1545-47) before living in Rome between 1547-52 alongside Piccolomini in the household of Cardinal de Mendoza.<sup>89</sup> There, he possibly heard Piero Vettori read sections of the commentary on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* which Piccolomini had also heard alongside Annibal della Ciaia, and knew the antiquarian Antonio Agustín.<sup>90</sup> He was also very close to Spanish ambassador Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and shared books and worked alongside him and others in his household.<sup>91</sup> Castro's Roman poetry, all written in Latin, addresses a range of Italians: alongside Piccolomini (II-IV) are clerics and Farnese courtiers Ottavio Pantagato (V, XIV) and Basilio Zanchi (VII); Ottavio Farnese's wife Margaret of Austria (XX); and the *poligrafo* Pietro Aretino (XLVII).<sup>92</sup> Much like Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti*, Castro's poetry is above all an expression of the poet's social network – less extensive than Piccolomini's, but no less interested in forging poetic relationships, and aware of what could be gained through them (the poet laments, for instance, the things he has missed out on by not meeting Zanchi sooner).<sup>93</sup> A manuscript miscellany compiled by Castro reveals, too, his interest in contemporary Italian neo-Latin poets, including those of the Farnese court such as Giovanni della Casa, Francesco Franchini and Gabriele Faerno.<sup>94</sup> Castro's manuscript copies of these poems often pre-date their printed versions, showing that he participated in manuscript poetic exchange in Rome as well as composing his own verse.

While Castro's extant correspondence refers only once to Piccolomini as 'un italiano...bien docto' ('a most learned Italian'), in Castro's poetry his relationship with Piccolomini becomes clearer.<sup>95</sup> The three poems addressing Piccolomini all converge on an exhortation to the countryside to escape the pressures of urban life. The first of the three is the most explicit: depicting Piccolomini locked in an urban study to avoid the gossip and rumour of the papal court, the poet urges him to leave, to come out into the open and compose new works.<sup>96</sup> In this rural *otium*, the pair could live together happily:

Vivemus nobis, nostro dormire licebit  
 Arbitrio et vigilare libros inter sine cura  
 Edaci, attentos nimium quae divitiarum

<sup>89</sup> DOMINGO MALVADI 2012, p. 635.

<sup>90</sup> Juan Páez de Castro to Jerónimo Zurita, 27 Feb. 1547, 24 Aug. 1552, in DOMINGO MALVADI 2011, pp. 363, 388

<sup>91</sup> On Mendoza's household in Rome, see PASTORE 2007; ANDRETTA AND PARDO-TOMÁS 2020.

<sup>92</sup> On Pantagato, see SOLER I NICOLAU 2000, pp. 5-40; RIVALI 2014.

<sup>93</sup> CASTRO 2017, p. 122 (VII.10-11): 'Quae periire mihi quod | Tu me in amicorum numero non scripseris!' ('How many things I missed out on when you did not count me amongst your friends!').

<sup>94</sup> PINO GONZÁLEZ 2014, esp. pp. 204-05.

<sup>95</sup> Juan Páez de Castro to Jerónimo Zurita, 17 Jan. 1548, in DOMINGO MALVADI 2011, p. 376.

<sup>96</sup> CASTRO 2017, p. 88 (II.1-24).

Rodiit cultores. Sylvis reptabimus, herbas  
 Ferre domum cupies, quis nomina ponere discas 45  
 Et vires. Cantabimus alto monte procul si  
 Forte agitare libet pulmonem: vertice ab illo  
 Urbem despicias percoctam solibus. Ipse  
 Afflatus vento tenui gaudebis abesse.<sup>97</sup>

We shall live for ourselves; we shall have the freedom to choose how much we sleep, and when we are not sleeping we shall be amongst books, away from the rapacious attention of those eager lovers of money. We shall go into the woods where you will wish to take home plants and learn their names and their properties. We shall sing from afar, at the top of a mountain, if we wish to exercise our lungs. From that height, you will look down on the city scorched by sun. With the light breeze on you, you will be happy not to be there.

The relationship between Castro and Piccolomini is thus built on the exchange of verse which focusses on dreams of a distant landscape in which, absent from the city, they can look back on the city together, freed of its constraints of work, money and heat. There are, interestingly, echoes here of Catullus 5 ('Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus' etc.), in which the poet urges himself and his lover to ignore rumours of old men and to live only for themselves; the application of this poem as an imitative source in depicting a male, erudite friendship is unusual.<sup>98</sup> In the final lines of the verse, Castro then opens out into an evocation of their wider social network, asking for news of another friend and urging Piccolomini to bring Cardinal de Mendoza, and his books, to the countryside with him.<sup>99</sup>

In the second verse to Piccolomini, which concentrates on Castro's defence of his verse in the manner of Horace's defence of his own in *Satires* II.1, Castro urges the pair to go outside and wander, chattering, through forests and rivers with Horace in hand.<sup>100</sup> Such activities are, it is clear, only possible away from the ambitious court, and only in a defined social group, one vetted and cleansed of the worst, competitive aspects of courtly life. As Ugolini suggests, pastoral characters are often former unhappy courtiers: Castro and Piccolomini's verse bears this out, as their poetic *personae* use the escape of poetic creation and exchange to imagine an as-yet impossible pastoral retreat from the urban court.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> CASTRO 2017, pp. 90-92 (II.41-49).

<sup>98</sup> CATULLUS AND TIBULLUS 1913, pp. 6-9 (Catull. 5).

<sup>99</sup> CASTRO 2017, p. 92 (II.50-55).

<sup>100</sup> CASTRO 2017 (III.65-67).

<sup>101</sup> UGOLINI 2020, p. 146.

Another of Castro's verses, left unfinished but undoubtedly intended for Piccolomini, demonstrates the potential development of Castro's social circle via his poetic relationship with Piccolomini:

Urbis amicitias, quas multo tempore partas  
Ipse tibi asservas, communes mi facies. Quod  
Si te propter Honoratae proba limina adire  
Alloquioque frui liceat, cur amplius optem?<sup>102</sup>

You will share with me those Roman friendships which, gained after much time, you keep for yourself. If, thanks to you, I can approach the virtuous threshold of Onorata and enjoy her conversation, what more could I wish for?

'Onorata' is likely Onorata Tancredi Pecci (1503- after 1564), a Sieneese noblewoman who knew Piccolomini well, and is mentioned in the dedication of the *Cento sonetti* as well as being the dedicatee of sonnets 3, 9 and 32.<sup>103</sup> Letters and dedications to Tancredi Pecci demonstrate her wide-ranging literary relationships with figures including Luigi Tansillo, Lodovico Domenichi, Luca Contile and Bernardo Tasso.<sup>104</sup> In addition, Tobia Toscano suggests that a manuscript anthology containing work by Piccolomini amongst others was collected by Tancredi, suggesting her interest in, and access to, contemporary poetry.<sup>105</sup> Poetry here thus brings tangible social benefits and opens doors. Castro alludes to Horace's *Epodes* II, in which the poet writes of the man who lives away from *negotium* ('procul negotiis') as avoiding the 'superba civium | potentiorum limina' ('the lofty doorways of powerful citizens').<sup>106</sup> By instead referring to Tancredi's 'limina' as 'proba' (line 3), Castro allows space for the recognized need to construct social networks within urban spaces by rewording Horace's text.

By considering in tandem Castro's texts with those of Piccolomini, we glimpse the use two men made of pastoral verse in the construction of literary *amicitia* as a tool for real-world advancement. Where Piccolomini stood to benefit from Castro in terms of his connections to wider Spanish circles, Castro stood to benefit from Piccolomini's connections to Italian literary circles across the peninsula. Piccolomini's sonnet 16 is thus not merely a reworking of Horace, as Tomasi has noted, but the application of Horace in a poetic call and

<sup>102</sup> CASTRO 2017, p. 238 (fr. 11b).

<sup>103</sup> A. PICCOLOMINI 2015, pp. 54, 63, 75, 122.

<sup>104</sup> EISENBICHLER 2012, pp. 224-232.

<sup>105</sup> TOSCANO 2000, p. 74.

<sup>106</sup> HORACE 2004, pp. 272-73 (Hor., *Epod.* II.1; II.7-8).

response on a particular theme which sought to construct beneficial social relations through text. What is crucial is that here the villa *topos* is not used only as a lament on the strictures of urban life, but as a shared interest which can be utilized in literary conversation leading to other tangible benefits, including the ability to access other people, networks and spaces.

#### 5.4: Villas and Gardens in Olivier de Magny's *Odes* (1559)

One reader of Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti* was Olivier de Magny, secretary between 1556-57 to the French ambassador in Rome, Jean d'Avanson. Magny read the 1549 edition of the *Cento sonetti*, almost certainly whilst in Rome; five of these sonnets then became imitative models for Magny's *Souspirs*. Crucially, three of Piccolomini's sonnets imitated by Magny are those discussed above as examples of pastoral sociability (*Cento sonetti* 15, 16 and 56 imitated in *Souspirs* 88, 34 and 128, respectively).<sup>107</sup> In these imitations, however, Magny never directly refers to villas or gardens. My contention in what follows is that poetic connections in terms of villas and gardens between Piccolomini's *Cento sonetti* and Magny's poetry are instead found in Magny's *Odes* (1559). This, I suggest, is because Magny considered the longer form more appropriate for discussion of this topic, insofar as the *Odes* directly imitate Horace, unlike the *Souspirs* which are presented as a Petrarchan collection. Where Piccolomini condenses Horatian odes into sonnets, Magny's imitations of Piccolomini's Horatian sonnets re-presents them in a form more obviously reminiscent of both poets' classical model. In this, Magny was no doubt aided by the fact that by 1559 vernacular *Odes* were not unusual in France, unlike on the Italian peninsula where they would become common only towards the end of the century.<sup>108</sup>

In Magny's *Odes*, pastoral retreat takes two forms. The first, more conventional, is a retreat from the court into a *locus amoenus*, the typical setting of pastoral eclogues. In the second, the retreat is more complex: the poet, in a barren landscape away from both the French court and from Rome, longs for a return to a sociable Roman garden or an idealized bucolic France. Yet both types of retreat converge in purpose, in creating a means of constituting a community of *otium* for the poet, in which verse production allows an escape

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<sup>107</sup> See DELLANEVA 2016.

<sup>108</sup> On the French context, see ROUGET 1994a; on the Italian context, COMIATI 2015.



from the pressures of *negotium*, much as we saw the *Cento sonetti* being used by Piccolomini.

#### 5.4.1: Ambitious Literary Sociability in Roman Gardens

*Odes* II.10 ('De la venue du printens, à Olivier le Crec') is a re-writing of a text printed in 1553 which depicts the poet and a friend singing poetry together in a garden. The two versions differ slightly, as discussed below; this reworking of earlier texts alongside the alteration of dedicatees is typical of the 1559 *Odes*.<sup>109</sup> It seems Magny used such poems as tokens of friendship which could be redirected depending on social circumstances by personalizing elements of a textual frame to respond to the new dedicatee, thereby each



*Figure 8 Portrait of Olivier le Crec (1575)*

Undated photograph by Eugène Chartraire via Ministère de la Culture de France, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, diffusion RMN-GP, AP007P00272. Online at: <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/memoire/AP007P00272>

<sup>109</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, pp. 134–35.

time recharging the poems with new occasional and homosocial functionality. In 1554, the text was dedicated to a cleric, Gabriel le Seneux (d. 1571).<sup>110</sup> The 1559 version is dedicated to Olivier le Crec (c. 1535-82). Le Crec is the addressee of two *Souspirs* (23, 61) and mentioned in a third (82). Evidence from the *Souspirs* suggests Magny considered Le Crec to be a particularly important friend. One sonnet to Le Crec describes their relationship in the terms of Aristotelian friendship:

Veux-tu sçavoir, LE CREC, pourquoi je t'aime bien,  
 Je t'aime bien, Lecrec, pour autant que tu m'aymes,  
 Et que noz amitiés sont toutes deux extremes,  
 Et jointes par sermens d'un eternel lyen.

Que peut-on desirer de bonheur et de bien  
 Plus qu'un amy fidelle et qu'un autre soy-mesmes?  
 [*Souspirs* 61.1-6] 5

Le Crec's relationship to the poet is presented as the very model of aretaic friendship; yet, as suggested in Ch. 1, we must be attentive to the deployment of such rhetoric as part of a wider strategy to draw utility or benefits from that relationship. Though Magny's editors state nothing is known about Le Crec, Maurice Roy had already identified Le Crec in 1929.<sup>111</sup> By considering what is known about Le Crec, his importance in Magny's socio-poetic project becomes clear and demonstrates that the rewriting of this poem was conducted in pursuit of a pragmatic relationship which led to tangible benefits for Magny on his return to France following Roman diplomatic service.

Born in Sens around 1535, by 1556 Le Crec had become abbot of the monastery at Jouy when he was sent as a diplomat to Rome. He then returned to France in 1557 and became canon of the cathedral at Sens. In 1558, Le Crec became canon of Notre-Dame de Paris and, just before his death in 1582, mayor of Sens. A 1575 portrait of Le Crec is at the cathedral in Sens [Figure 6 Portrait of Olivier le Crec (1575)]

Undated photograph by Eugène Chartraire via Ministère de la Culture de France, Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine, diffusion RMN-GP, AP007P00272. Online at: <https://www.pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/memoire/AP007P00272Figure 6>].<sup>112</sup> Le Crec's

<sup>110</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 1, pp. 223-26; SAINTE-MARTHE AND SAINTE-MARTHE 1656, vol. 4, p. 696.

<sup>111</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, p. 636; ROY 1929a, vol. 2, pp. 521-22; ROY 1929b, pp. 92-93.

<sup>112</sup> CHARTRAIRE 1897, p. 98.

maternal uncle, Jean du Thier (1510-1560/67), was one of four *secrétaires d'état*, and as well as the *contrôleur général des finances*, under Henri II. In addition, Du Thier was responsible for Italian foreign affairs. Several of Magny's poems address Du Thier: this notably includes the *Souspirs* in their entirety, which carry a liminal dedicatory verse for Du Thier and end with a sonnet to him, and the 1559 *Odes* which likewise end with a poem to Du Thier.<sup>113</sup> For Magny in his diplomatic role in Italy, Jean du Thier was an important patron, or potential patron, much as he was for Joachim du Bellay who dedicated the *Divers jeux rustiques* to Du Thier.<sup>114</sup> Le Crec's familial relationship to this significant politician and patron undoubtedly provided a first impetus for Magny to address Le Crec in poetry.

Olivier Le Crec's relationship to Jean du Thier has apparently been the cause of previous scholarly difficulty identifying Le Crec. In his entry on Jean du Thier, the biographer François Grudé de la Croix du Maine refers to a nephew named 'Olivier du Thier'; in the entry for the nephew himself, La Croix du Maine refers to the man as 'Julien du Thier.'<sup>115</sup> La Croix du Maine notes that Julien du Thier 'florissait en l'an 1574.' Julien du Thier is therefore Olivier le Crec, rather than another hypothetical nephew, insofar as Le Crec was afforded the special right to wear red robes in the cathedral at Sens on 23 August 1574, on which occasion his above portrait was painted [Figure 6].<sup>116</sup> In the following century, Antoine Fauvelet du Toc correctly gave this same nephew's name as 'Olivier le Crec.'<sup>117</sup> While it is unclear how the name 'Julien' came to be used for Le Crec, it is certain Magny's addressee is Du Thier's nephew. According to La Croix du Maine, Le Crec enjoyed music, wrote poetry and produced a vernacular manuscript translation of the Roman historian Velleius Paterculus.<sup>118</sup> La Croix du Maine's *Bibliothèque française* also includes a poem in the author's honour ('Le Noble empanaché, le saint troupeau d'Eglise') attributed to 'Julien du Thier.'<sup>119</sup> Le Crec's literary interests would be in line with those of other family members. Jean du Thier translated an Italian work, *La pazzia* (1541, attributed variously to Ortensio Lando and Claudio Tolomei) which was printed as *Les louanges de la folie* (1566), while his

<sup>113</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, pp. 37, 53, 126-27, 181-82, 418-22 (*Souspirs* liminal poem and no.s. 26, 173, 175; *Odes* I.9, V.14).

<sup>114</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, pp. 67-68.

<sup>115</sup> CROIX DU MAINE 1584, sigs. Aaii<sup>r</sup>, Aaii<sup>r</sup>. Some scholars use the name Julien du Thier, following La Croix du Maine, e.g. KENNY 2020, *ad indicem*.

<sup>116</sup> CHARTRAIRE 1897, p. 98.

<sup>117</sup> FAUVELET DU TOC 1668, p. 94.

<sup>118</sup> CROIX DU MAINE 1584, sig. Aaii<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> CROIX DU MAINE 1584, sig. Aaii<sup>r</sup>.

daughter was the author of a liminal epigram printed in Flaminio de Birague's *Œuvres* (1585).<sup>120</sup> In 1543, moreover, Le Crec's sister, Marie, had been the dedicatee of the first French translation of Girolamo Savonarola's meditation on *Psalms* 50.<sup>121</sup>

Through his sister Marie, Olivier le Crec was the brother-in-law of Antoine de Loynes, another *secrétaire du roi*.<sup>122</sup> Marie Le Crec's marriage to Antoine de Loynes presumably offered important social and political advantages to the already well-connected Le Crec family. Their marriage may also have indirectly benefitted Le Crec's friend, Olivier de Magny. In 1558, Antoine de Loynes resigned as *secrétaire du roi* under the rules of *resignatio in favorem*. Under this procedure, the holder of an office resigned and offered the position to a named person, usually for a sum of money; the king then chose whether to accept the proposed replacement, though refusal was rare.<sup>123</sup> Antoine de Loynes's named successor was Olivier de Magny.<sup>124</sup> My hypothesis is that Magny's poetic friendship with Le Crec facilitated, more or less directly, Antoine de Loynes's resignation in favour of Magny. In addressing poetry to Le Crec, Magny was conducting a similar process to that which occurred when he addressed Le Crec's uncle, Jean du Thier, in the hope of personal and political advancement through poetic flattery. Le Crec was more than simply a friend in Rome. His family connections proved beneficial for Magny who could thus use verse as a means of social advancement to access economically beneficial positions, as Ronsard had done a few years earlier.<sup>125</sup>

Further sources, apparently unknown to all scholars who have written on Magny, explain the subject matter of *Odes* II.10, which focusses on the two friends singing and playing music together, and expand our understanding of Le Crec's social networks. An inscription in the Copenhagen Chansonier, a mid-fifteenth century musical manuscript, records that Le Crec was given the book as a gift by one Jean du Moulin, canon of the cathedral at Sens before Le Crec.<sup>126</sup> This gift predated Le Crec's journey to Rome, as it refers to him as abbot of Jouy ('abbate de Joyaco') rather than canon of Sens, the title acquired on

<sup>120</sup> *LES LOUANGES DE LA FOLIE* 1566; BIRAGUE 1998-2004, vol. 3, p. 79.

<sup>121</sup> MACEY 1998, p. 162.

<sup>122</sup> FAUVELET DU TOC 1668, p. 96 (where Marie is named Marguerite). This means Le Crec was (distantly) related to Antoinette de Loynes and Jean de Morel, hosts of a literary salon at which Joachim du Bellay and others were often present.

<sup>123</sup> PAGES 1932, p. 480.

<sup>124</sup> TESSERAU 1710, vol. 1, p. 131; FAVRE 1885, p. 101; ROY 1929a, vol. 2, p. 522.

<sup>125</sup> See DESAN 1988.

<sup>126</sup> Kongelige Bibliothek, Copenhagen, MS Thott 291.8°, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>. See ALDEN 2010, Appendix A3.

his return in 1557. Even prior to arriving in Italy, Le Crec was involved in acquiring and exchanging musical texts. In Rome, Le Crec then received another book of music when Antonio Barrè, the printer of the *RDD* for Livia Colonna (see Ch. 3.4), dedicated the *Secondo libro delle muse a tre voci* (1557) to him. In his dedication, Barrè requests Le Crec take the book of *canzoni villanesche* back to France, suggesting he knew Le Crec was preparing to leave Rome:

AL MOLTO REVERENDO SIGNOR IL SIGNOR OLIVIERO CREC, ABBATE DE LOUIS, & CONSIGLIERO ORDINARIO DI SUA MAIESTÀ CHRISTIANISSIMA. ANTONIO BARRÈ.

Havendo in questi giorni caldi, Molto Reverendo Signor mio, raccolte alcune Villanelle nuove, & desiderando, per dare spasso a i virtuosi, mandarle in luce, mosso da l'affettion ch'io porto a V.S. & sapendo quanto quella, oltre l'altre sue virtù, si diletta della Musica, ho voluto a V.S. dedicarle, & offerirle, accioché con esse si trastulli tal volta, & ne faccia parte a gli amici suoi, & qui, & alla Corte di Sua Maestà, dove intendo sono gratissime simil Canzonette, per esser vaghe & dilettevoli. V.S. dunque si degni accettarle insieme con l'affettion mia, & ne faccia anche goder a Monsignor di San Martino, accioché anche lui per mezo di V.S. m'habbia nel numero de' suoi affettionati, nella cui gratia prego quella che di continuo mi tenga, promettendogli che presto ne gli mandaremo dell'altre. Et a V.S. & a lui offerendomi bacio le mani.<sup>127</sup>

No information confirms Le Crec returned with books of *canzoni villanesche*, though in 1558 two such books were given to Catherine de' Medici, demonstrating the movement of similar texts between Italy and the French court at the same time.<sup>128</sup> Donna Cardamone has hypothesized that Barrè 'collected *canzoni* in Le Crec's temporary Roman household.'<sup>129</sup> Tantalising as this suggestion is – of Le Crec's Roman *familia* as a site of musical sociability – without further information it is perhaps impossible to demonstrate. Who is 'Monsignor di San Martino' to whom Barrè refers? The most plausible option is Robert Hurault (1483-1567), abbot of Saint Martin d'Autun from 1529. Robert Hurault came from a politically important family which included a chancellor of France and an ambassador to Venice.<sup>130</sup> Hurault was one of two tutors to the young Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549) who, according to Pierre Jourda, were central to Navarre's intellectual upbringing.<sup>131</sup> Hurault later also tutored Bonaventure des Periers (1510-44), author of the satirical reformist dialogue

<sup>127</sup> *SECONDO LIBRO DELLE MUSE A TRE VOCI* 1557, sig. Aij<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> BROOKS 2000, p. 258.

<sup>129</sup> CARDAMONE 2005, p. 369.

<sup>130</sup> CONIHOUT 2007; HAMILTON 2021, pp. 853-54.

<sup>131</sup> JOURDA 1930, vol. 1, pp. 25-26.

*Cymbalum mundi* (1537).<sup>132</sup> A pen portrait of Hurault appears in the *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformés du royaume de France* (1580), sometimes ascribed to Theodore Beza. Hurault is described as an ‘homme de lettres’ with ‘une Bibliotheque pleine de livres,’ who spoke openly of religious ‘verité’ while retaining the support of the Roman church (‘il parloit asses ouvertement de la verité sans se mettre en danger pour cela, pour estre non seulement supporté, mais aussi chery & recherché par les plus gros de l’église Romaine’).<sup>133</sup> Hurault was, then, well-connected and important in reformist circles, but not necessarily someone with whom it was dangerous to be associated.

What does this then suggest about Olivier Le Crec, or Antonio Barrè? While it is difficult to evidence, Le Crec’s relationship to Hurault – notably their family seats, Château de Cheverny and Château de Beauregard are situated only five miles apart outside Blois - may point towards shared religious opinion and to participation in reformist circles. This suggestion may be bolstered by Le Crec’s relationship to La Croix du Maine, who would be assassinated in 1592 by French Catholics, suspected of being a secret reformer. We might perhaps hypothesise that the older Hurault tutored Le Crec, as he had Marguerite de Navarre and Bonaventure des Periers. Antonio Barrè’s overture to Hurault’s ‘affettionati’ may suggest Barrè too had sympathies with Hurault’s religious position, about which he presumably learnt from Le Crec. Otherwise, Letitia Glozer reads this dedication as Barrè exploring a return to France.<sup>134</sup> This argument rests on an assumption Barrè was born in France rather than Rome, something which is unlikely given his father’s long service at the Farnese court (see Ch. 3.4). I would argue rather that this dedication seeks, via Le Crec, to expand the market for Barrè’s printed music in an overture to Hurault, an important religious patron abroad (something to which Barrè hints in his promise that ‘presto ne gli mandaremo dell’altre [canzoni]’).

The socially well-connected Le Crec was an important conduit for both Barrè and Magny, as becomes apparent through this fragmentary evidence showing the movement of objects, information and people between Rome and France. So too does music as a central interest of Le Crec. Little surprise, then, that Magny’s ode to Le Crec stages the two men

<sup>132</sup> BULLIOT 1849, vol. 1, p. 335, vol. 2, pp. 281-89; ‘A la royne de Navarre,’ line 9, in DES PERIERS 1856, vol. 1, p. 150; CHENEVIÈRE 1886, pp. 9-17.

<sup>133</sup> *HISTOIRE ECCLESIASTIQUE* 1580, sigs. Dviii<sup>v</sup>-Ci<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> GLOZER 2007, p. 284, fn. 26.

singing in a garden. Magny is responding to a clear taste of his addressee, noted by Barrè and La Croix du Maine, part of a strategy of flattery and a demonstration of shared cultural affinities. This form of improvised poetic performance accompanied by music had a long history and was often connected to the building of social relations. James Coleman notes the ‘politically expedient homosocial functions that collaboration and competition in improvisatory genres of poetry served’; this is precisely what we find in Magny’s ode to Le Crec.<sup>135</sup> The ode begins *in medias res*, breaking a narrative which the reader is not given (a technique, notably, also used in an ode to Jean du Thier).<sup>136</sup> The poet alludes to a ‘mesdisant injurieux’ about whom we learn nothing more, then immediately moves beyond this gossip, urging a shift in tone away from ‘tristes chansons’ (ll.10.12) towards ‘une Ode autrement fredonnée’ (ll.10.15). This shift in subject matter is thus one from courtly intrigue and gossip to pastoral, anti-courtly *otium*. The two men enter an unspecified *locus amoenus*, in which the arrival of spring is signalled by the arrival of Philomena and nymphs who dance to the sound of streams (ll.10.21-30). Reworking poems depicting the return of spring by Horace and Petrarch, Magny turns away from these models at the mid-point of his ode.<sup>137</sup> Where in Horace the return of spring introduces a reflection on the cyclical nature of the world, and in Petrarch unleashes memories of *innamoramento*, Magny’s verse instead concentrates on present possibilities presented in hortatory imperatives:

Ces amours ardentes,  
 Ces peynes mordantes,  
 Et ces durs ennuys, 45  
 Plongions dans le verre,  
 Puys courons grand erre  
 Veoir les premiers fruitz.

Là doncq, Le Crec, sous l’ombre vien,  
 Et de ton luth, & moy du mien, 50  
 Animons une chanson douce  
 Si bien que les champs & les boys  
 Soyent raviz des sons de ma voix,  
 Et des doux fredons de ton pouce.  
 [Odes, ll.10.43-54]

<sup>135</sup> COLEMAN 2022, p. 33.

<sup>136</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, p. 181 (*Odes* l.9.1-2).

<sup>137</sup> HORACE 2004, pp. 238-41 (*Carm.* IV.7); PETRARCH 1964, p. 384 (*RVF* 310).

Lines 43-48 reflect another Horatian topos, the *nunc est bibendum* (*Odes* I.37), here reduced from state celebration after war to celebration of *otium* away from daily work (line 45). In lines 49-54, the poet invites Le Crec to sing with him in an idealized shady garden space (line 49), staging the pastoral lyric competition found in prototypes such as Virgil's *Eclogues* where shepherds meet in a *locus amoenus* and sing. Attentive to Le Crec's noted interest in music, the poet of *Odes* II.10 invites his interlocutor to perform songs, a vignette which draws on musical performance in villas and gardens, an activity typical of élite or academic gatherings in 1550s Rome, as elsewhere on the Italian peninsula, and one which the poet and Le Crec likely experienced during their time abroad. Musical performance of verse is then shown to be an inherently sociable pursuit, insofar as it requires both men's participation to give 'life' to the *canzone* ('Animons une chanson'). Magny then argues for the power of the Muses as a guiding influence in their poetic performance despite the fact that the two men's talents are not as great as those of others (II.10.55-72). This insistence on unpolished and imperfect oral performance aligns with Phillip Canguilhem's observation that performances which were too polished were suspect, in that they appeared pre-written, and thus lost some of their interest for the audience who preferred imperfection as evidence of extemporisation and virtuosity.<sup>138</sup> Extemporisation also evades any suggestion that the performance might be too 'professional,' implying a certain degree of aristocratic interest in music and poetry as opposed to a lower-class necessity to perform in order to earn money (cfr. Ch. 2.7). Clearly, given the presentation of the pair's performance as an escape or retreat from mundane *negotium*, this aspect is crucial.

The poet's *captatio benevolentiae* also presents an opportunity to construct a network of individuals perceived as skilled. The poet names three men in France (*Odes* II.10.55-65): Alberto de Ripa (d. 1553), an Italian musician at the French royal court; Lancelot de Carles, (c. 1508–68), poet and cleric; and Pierre de Ronsard. Oddly, Alberto de Ripa had died even before the printing of the ode in its original incarnation to Gabriel Le Seneux in 1554. It is unlikely Magny was unaware; instead, he seems to use the reference to Albert predominantly to highlight a crucial musical figure known to both himself and Le Seneux/Le

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<sup>138</sup> CANGUILHEM 2017, p. 116.



Crec.<sup>139</sup> Together, Ripa, Carles and Ronsard represent the literary and musical *otium* of the French court, in opposition to the papal court and its political gossip to which the poem's *incipit* alluded. Their presence here is a striking reminder that the textual relationship constructed in this ode with Le Crec is exclusively French, notable insofar as Magny appears to have had little to no close relationship to Italian speakers whilst in Rome. Through the next stanzas, the poet then continues to refer to poets whose work would offer inspiration for the works being performed by the pair. Here, extensive rewriting of the 1554 version of the poem took place. In the 1554 text, a group of French poets are referred to antonomastically via their Beloveds and Petrarchan texts (Ronsard and Cassandre; Pontus de Tyard and his *Solitaire premier*; Hugues Salel's *Iliade* and his Beloved, Corinne; Joachim du Bellay and Olive; Jean-Antoine de Baïf and Méline).<sup>140</sup> In 1554, Magny was writing at the end of the first period of *canzonieri à la française*, which had begun in 1549 with Du Bellay's *Olive*, and continued through to 1553 with collections of *Amours* by Baïf, Ronsard and Magny himself.<sup>141</sup> Interest in the genre was peaking, and antonomastic references were likely to be understood by readers, and could inscribe Magny's verse into a network of others in circulation. Indeed, this is a technique found elsewhere in Magny's earlier works, such as the *Gayetez* (23.37-42) and the *Souspirs* (41.1-7).<sup>142</sup>

What in 1554 was popular amongst the Pléiade, was by 1559 falling out of favour. Magny's interlocutor Joachim du Bellay had indeed provocatively declared to have forgotten 'l'art de pétrarquizer' in the Roman *Divers jeux rustiques*.<sup>143</sup> The 1559 version of Magny's ode thus departs from Petrarchan *canzonieri* and the list of poets is remodelled:

J'ay les Odes du Calabrois,  
 J'ay les amours du Sulmonois,  
 Et les doux baisers de Catulle,  
 J'ay encor de Galle les vers,  
 Et les traictz divins et divers  
 De Jan Second & de Marulle.  
 ['À Oliver Le Crec,' *Odes*, II.10.85-90]

<sup>139</sup> Magny refers to De Ripa again at *Odes* IV.4.4 (MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, p. 332). Poems on De Ripa's death were circulating previously in print (e.g. RONSARD 1914-75, vol. 6, pp. 24-27) and manuscript ('Du luth de Messire Albert' and 'Du mesme Albert' signed by one 'M. B. Burgo' in BnF, MS Dupuy 736, fol. 200<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>140</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 1, p. 226 ('Au Seigneur Gabriel le Seneux,' *Autres vers lyriques*, 1.97-108).

<sup>141</sup> On such *canzonieri*, see esp. MAIRA 2007; ALDUY 2007.

<sup>142</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 1, p. 325, vol. 2, p. 61.

<sup>143</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, p. 112 (*Divers jeux rustiques* 20.1); cfr. PETRIS 2021, p. 3 on Du Bellay's continued Petrarchism after this declaration.

With the new Roman setting comes reinvigorated interest in classical and neo-Latin texts. French poets are replaced with Latin: Horace's *Odes* ('les Odes du Calabrois'); Ovid's *Amores* ('les amours du Sulmonois'); Catullus; Gaius Cornelius Gallus and the neo-Latin poets Janus Secundus (1511-1536) and Michael Tarchaniota Marullus (1458-1500). In Rome, then, the focus is Latin, a poetic *lingua franca* for French poets in the city, and this list offers an exemplary canon of authors, classical and modern, for this environment. It is difficult to say whether the list was influenced by Le Crec as dedicatee. It is also not possible to determine from the poem what sort of physical book is envisaged, and whether the reference is to a personalised manuscript miscellany or to printed editions of these poets, either together or separately. Texts by these authors were, however, in circulation. Catullus and Gallus were often printed together in this period (though Magny's Gallus was in fact pseudo-Gallus).<sup>144</sup> Editions combining Marullus and Secundus were later printed in 1582.<sup>145</sup> That these poets were considered similar enough to one another to warrant these editions clearly facilitates the formation of this canon in *Odes* II.10. Notably, moreover, Gallus had been the subject of one of Lelio Capilupi's earliest *centones*, the *Cento ex Virgilio de vita monachorum et Gallus* (1543), suggesting wider Roman interest in this text, while an edition of Janus Secundus was in the chest of books belonging to Cardinal du Bellay which Joachim du Bellay took back to France with him in 1557, indicating that in French diplomatic circles in Rome this text also circulated.<sup>146</sup>

The end goal of Magny and Le Crec's imagined performance of verse is made clear in the final lines of the poem:

Sus doncques allons,  
 Et entremeslons  
 Le profit à l'ayse,  
 Par ces passetems  
 Se trompe le Temps,  
 Et l'ennuy s'apaise.  
 [*Odes*, II.10.106-112]

For the poet, communal recitals of verse in this pastoral setting have both a useful ('profit') and ludic ('ayse,' perhaps translating *otium*) dimension, as friends discuss their lives together, undisturbed, through poetry. As we saw in Piccolomini's poetic exchanges with

<sup>144</sup> e.g. CATULLUS, TIBULLUS, PROPERTIUS, AND GALLUS 1553. On (pseudo-)Gallus in this period, see WHITE 2019.

<sup>145</sup> MARULLUS, ANGERIANO, AND SECUNDUS 1582.

<sup>146</sup> PETRIS 2007, p. 143.

Castro and the Intronati academicians, the benefits of poetic *otium*, in terms of rest and recuperation, rise to the surface here. Yet these benefits extend further into ‘profit’ when we consider, too, that Magny was named *secrétaire du roi* around the time of this poem’s publication. Given Magny replaced in this function the brother-in-law of the addressee, this poem perhaps operated as part of a wider strategy of self-advancement on Magny’s part. If so, it is not hard to see the parallels here between Magny and Juan Páez de Castro, each addressing a well-connected literary contact using bucolic *topoi* and outwardly non-ambitious discourse to respond to the interests of the interlocutor, which served, silently, an all too ambitious social project of self-promotion.

*Odes* III.28 presents substantial similarities to the *Odes* II.10 to Le Crec as well as to Piccolomini’s poems to the Intronati.<sup>147</sup> It is dedicated to Guillaume du Buys (c. 1520-94), poet and secretary to Étienne Boucher (d. 1571). Like Le Crec, Du Buys appears more than once in Magny’s Roman collections.<sup>148</sup> Du Buys, like Magny, was born in Cahors (‘nostre vieil Cahours,’ as the poet terms it in a sonnet to Du Buys).<sup>149</sup> Du Buys would also travel to Rome, arriving in 1559.<sup>150</sup> *Odes* III.28 is short by comparison with other *Odes* at just twenty-four lines:

Pour garder que le Plaisir	
Qui nous vient ore saisir,	
De long temps ne nous eschappe,	
Du Buys, fait porter la nappe,	
Et dresser viste à manger,	5
Tandis je vaiz arranger	
Deça et delà Catulle,	
Properce, Ovide, et Tibulle,	
Dessus la table expandus,	
Entre les lucz bien tendus,	10
Et les lucz entre les rozes,	
Et les rozes my decloses	
Entre les œilletz fleuriz,	
Les œilletz entre les liz,	
Et les liz entre les tasses,	15
Parmy les vaisselles grasses.	

La morte, peult estre, demain  
Viendra prendre par la main

<sup>147</sup> On this poem’s sources, see ROUGET 1994b, pp. 392-93.

<sup>148</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, pp. 69, 210 (*Souspirs* 57; *Odes* II.1.429).

<sup>149</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, pp. 69 (*Souspirs* 57.1).

<sup>150</sup> See four sonnets on Rome in DU BUYS 1585, sigs. KKiv-KKii<sup>v</sup>.

Le plus gay de ceste troupe,  
 Pour l'enlever sur sa croupe  
 Luy disant à l'impourveu  
 Sus gallant, c'est assez beu,  
 Il est temps de venir boire  
 Aux enfers de l'onde noire.  
 [*Odes*, III.28]

*Odes* III.28 picks up on themes developed in *Odes* II.10 to Le Crec: the ability of poetry, and of sung poetry in particular, to ward off *ennui* and to hold on to pleasure; the bucolic location; and the assembly of a range of classical texts. The poem operates as a still-life of all that would be required for typical forms of entertainment in Roman villas. Magny evokes an image of the preparations for a classical style symposium or *convito*, the dialogue setting *par excellence*: though the participants are not named, it is clear that more than just the poet and Du Buys are to be present as a wider 'troupe' (line 23) is envisaged. While the others present are not named, the named poets – Catullus, Propertius, Ovid and Tibullus (lines 7-8) – take on something of a role of interlocutors, arranged 'Deçà et delà' around the table to thus form part of that 'troupe' themselves. While here their texts do not appear to be sung, they form an integral part of the activity described, their presence essential to, and to some extent constitutive of, the relationship between the poet and the dedicatee.

Unlike in the ode to Le Crec, however, here sympotic pleasures succumb to the strength of time, and those present in the *locus amoenus* remain acutely aware of their mortality. Given what we know of Magny's reading of Piccolomini, it is striking to see in this ode the *carpe diem* of the final lines. Piccolomini had already developed similar ideas in the poems to the Intronati, especially the sonnet to Annibal della Ciaia (*Cento sonetti* 15.11-14). In Magny's ode, the shift from the image of the garden to the *carpe diem* occurs in a similar, detached positioning to the volta in Piccolomini's sonnet. Both poets suggest that the pleasant environment of the garden is apt for reflections on the transience of life; both point, moreover, to the instability and urgency of that retreat. In Magny's ode to Du Buys, this is expressed via a reversal of the Horatian *Nunc est bibendum* which structured part of the ode to Le Crec: in *Odes* III.28, personified Death enters the garden, and declares that this drinking and these earthly festivities must end, and that the *Nunc est bibendum* is transferred into an underworld. While in the ode to Le Crec, the garden site was a means of

attempting to escape the passing of time ('se trompe le Temps' [*Odes* II.10.111]), in the ode to Du Buys the urgency of enjoying earthly *otium* is foregrounded.

In the poems to Le Crec and Du Buys, what Magny effects is the construction, via poetry, of a French community of *otium* in Rome by imagining sympotic scenarios in which the pleasures of poetry replace the *negotium* which characterizes all the non-Petrarchan content of the *Souspirs*, or which underpins those *Odes* dedicated to political figures. In a similar manner to Piccolomini, this community is a restricted and cleansed version of the wider court: indeed, the opening of the verse to Le Crec hints at precisely this, as the two men turn away from a 'Madame' and move forwards into the garden alone. Even so, these texts, as I have shown, are not entirely detached from courtly machinations and ambition, and were seemingly used by Magny to insert himself in to social networks as part of a strategy of self-promotion which, in at least one case, apparently had important socio-political consequences for the poet.

#### 5.4.2: 'Ce que j'ay veu de beau parcydevant': Recapturing Roman Sociability

Two further poems (*Odes* II.11 and III.19) must have been written after Magny's return from Rome, most likely after becoming a *secrétaire du roi* in May 1558. Both look back on the poet's time in Rome, offering contrasting images of gardens in France and Rome. *Odes* II.11 attempts to recapture a moment of Roman villa homosociality lost once the poet had returned to France; *Odes* III.19 praises a French garden by contrast to Rome.

Chronologically, the earlier poem was certainly *Odes* III.19 'A sa demeure des champs,' a 42-line ode set in a French garden, which looks backwards towards Roman gardens and forwards to a future in which the poet will be absent from that French garden as he sets out on a journey as part of his role as *secrétaire du roi*. François Rouget cites this poem as an imitation of Farnese courtier Marcantonio Flaminio's 'Ad agellum suum.'<sup>151</sup> Flaminio, as discussed in Ch. 2.2, was one of the most visible poets at the Farnese court, whose work was available in both standalone editions and anthologies of *carmina* printed in France and on the Italian peninsula. Flaminio also wrote other verses, including one to Farnese courtier Antonio Bernardi della Mirandola, which express a desire to retreat from Rome to the countryside, suggesting he was a useful source for poets who wished to write of pastoral

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<sup>151</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, p. 657; FLAMINIO 1993, p. 23 (l.10).

retreats and the villa.<sup>152</sup> In *Odes* III.19, Magny considerably lengthens his source, adding both a comparison to Rome (lines 7-10) and depictions of activities in the garden (lines 13-18). Verbal reminiscences of Joachim du Bellay's *Regrets* 31 ('Heureux qui, comme Ulysse, a fait un beau voyage') also suggest Magny mixed Flaminio's neo-Latin poem on Roman *villeggiatura* with a French vernacular verse discussing differences between urban Rome and the countryside of Anjou. Magny's verse is thus situated across the two poetic communities whom Magny read and imitated, having either memorised verses or taken copies back from Rome to France. By addressing the text to the garden, the garden itself becomes part of the social network of the *Odes*:

Petit jardin, petite plaine,  
 Petit boys, petite fontaine,  
 Et petitz coustaux d'alentour,  
 Qui voyez mon estre si libre,  
 Combien serois je heureux de vivre, 5  
 Et mourir en vostre sejour!

Bien que voz fleurs, voz bledz, voz arbres,  
 Et voz eaux ne soyent près des marbres,  
 Ny des palays audacieux,  
 Tel plaisir pourtant j'y retire, 10  
 Que mon heur si j'ose dire  
 Je ne vouldroy quicter aux Dieux  
 [*Odes*, III.19.1-12]

In line four, the garden acquires agency and looks back at the poet, with the double glance of poet towards the garden and garden towards the poet setting up a form of 'friendship' which transcends the purely human. Unlike evocations of death in the earlier verse to Guillaume du Buys, in which the garden space became a space in which the inevitability of death could be staved off, here the possibility of death is almost welcomed now that the poet has returned to his native France. This garden evoked has all the usual features we would expect of a pastoral idyll, including water and the shade of trees. Crucial is the comparison to what can only be Rome, to the 'marbres' and 'palays audacieux' which are missing here. Magny is echoing his friend and poetic interlocutor, Joachim du Bellay:

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<sup>152</sup> FLAMINIO 1993, pp. 33-34 (l.21, 'Ad Antonium Mirandulam').

Plus me plaist le sejour qu'ont basty mes ayeux,  
 Que des palais Romains le front audacieux,  
 Plus que le marbre dur me plaist l'ardoise fine<sup>153</sup>

Where *Regrets* 31 is written from the point of the expatriate in Rome longing for home, Magny's *Odes* III.19 is written as the poet is to be torn from the 'sejour' of the French garden, having already once experienced a journey away from it, in essence presenting a later stage of the homesickness of the *Regrets*. The poet of *Odes* III.19 is the Ulysses of *Regrets* 31, having travelled and returned: pathos here is achieved through the requirement to leave once more, already aware that the grandeur of foreign cities will disappoint in comparison to the French garden. Yet, for all that the French garden is presented as superior to Rome, the Roman experience has provided a poetics – that of Flaminio, and of Du Bellay – precisely through which to express that superiority.

Immediately following the poem to Le Crec in the 1559 *Odes* is an *epistre* to Jean d'Avanson, Magny's patron and French ambassador in Rome during the poet's stay in the city from 1555-56. The poem situates the poet in Languedoc, travelling as part of his new role of *secrétaire du roi* in 1558. Torn both from the French garden and from D'Avanson, the poet presents an extended comparison of France with various areas.<sup>154</sup> The first of these comparisons, and that of interest here, is between France and Rome (*Odes* II.11.33-112). The *epistre* is significant in its use of analepsis to point to the temporal distance which separates the poet from that space, as well as to the spatial distance separating him from his patron. Where, in *Odes* II.10, the *locus amoenus* almost stopped time, here solitude in an unforgiving landscape becomes a catalyst for memories of socialising in Roman gardens, a mental and temporal retreat to sociability. Magny had used this trope previously in the *Gayetez* (1554), where the recollection was amorous:

Tandis que je me promeine  
 Parmi cette belle pleine  
 Et qu'en resvant je m'en vois  
 Promener parmy des bois,  
 Je sens couler dans mon ame  
 Un souvenir de ma Dame.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>153</sup> JOACHIM DU BELLAY 2020, p. 212 (*Regrets* 31.9-11).

<sup>154</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, pp. 636–37.

<sup>155</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 1, p. 302-03 (*Gayetez* 13.1-6).

*Odes* II.11 employs the same term, ‘je m’en vois,’ to introduce the recollection. In this *epistre* to D’Avanson, however, it becomes lexically ambiguous, staging two movements across ‘les lieux, et les champs, et les boys | Par où, Seigneur, à present je m’en voys’ (II.11.1-2). The poet travels through a landscape in which he sees himself (‘je m’en voys’) as though the act of verse production offers a detached vision of oneself. Yet this is also an *epistre*, as the rubric makes clear. Phonological ambiguity (‘je m’en voys,’ i.e. *je m’envois*) thus also stages the movement of the *epistre* itself, again a form of wordplay which Magny had previously used in a comparable context, that of a poem sent to Pierre Paschal as the poet departed for Italy (‘Je m’en vois, Paschal, loin de toy’).<sup>156</sup> Whilst the Poet moves away from the addressee, the speaking *epistre* moves towards him. This dual perspective sets up the text’s narrative, which shifts forwards and backwards in space and time to textually reunite poet and patron. Where the recollection of *Gayetez* had been that of the *innamoramento*, in *Odes* II.11, the recollection centres entirely on the relationship between poet and patron. The connection of the patron to cyclical renewal is then expressed through recourse to imagery also used in the ode to Le Crec:

Apres de vous toute chose me rid,  
D’un doux repos mon esprit se nourrit,  
Mes ans je seme en service fertile  
[*Odes*, II.11.17-19]

In the springtime ode to Le Crec, the poet declares that ‘le ciel nous rid’ (II.10.42); in *Odes* II.11, the return of spring is more complex. Without the physical presence of his friend and patron, the poet wanders alone in a scarred landscape; the return of spring cannot occur without friendship or community. The description of Magny’s ‘service fertile’ under his patron suggests, moreover, the extent to which the poet considers his current poetic *labeur* as ‘infertile,’ a *topos* of poetry as agricultural work which, as we saw in Ch. 4.3.1, had been developed by Joachim du Bellay. Magny’s pastoral ode to D’Avanson presents the periods of time spent in pastoral isolation as wasted; as such, in this absence, the poet seeks a different path, looking into the past and toward the absent patron. He effects mentally the journey of the *epistre* and the pastoral ‘retreat,’ a retreat which in fact takes him away from solitude in the countryside and back towards spaces of Roman sociability:

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<sup>156</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, p. 229 (*Odes* I.4.29).



Las en passant ces desertes forestz,  
 Et tous ces champs incogneuz de Ceres, 30  
 Je ne voy plus, comme je soulois faire,  
 Rien qui me plaise, ou qui me doyve plaire:  
 Sans plus je resve et figure en resvant  
 Ce que j'ay veu de beau parcydevant.  
 [*Odes*, II.11.29-34]

Despair at the 'desertes forestz' leads to a set of negative antecedents (line 32, 'rien qui me plaise, ou qui me doyve plaire'), creating a division between the present moment and the desired space. The ode then projects backwards as this landscape produces a memory of shared experience between men which opens with objects shared and exchanged:

Je me souviens des belles antiquailles,  
 Des beaux tableaux, & des belles medailles,  
 Que je voyois dessouz vostre grandeur,  
 Quand vous estiez à Rome ambassadeur.  
 [*Odes*, II.11.35-38]

Rome's beauty is expressed not spatially or in the terms of a reconstructed classical past but in terms of the material objects in circulation around the city. In the poem to Pierre Paschal written prior to his departure, Magny had written of the chance to see such 'antiquailles' ('Là je verray les raritez, | Et les belles antiquitez | De quoy cette ville s'honore').<sup>157</sup> In *Odes* II.11, the poet foregrounds *how* he was able to see such items, housed in the collections of important *palazzi* and their gardens: D'Avanson's ambassadorship. As patron and intermediary, D'Avanson's social connections provided Magny access to these treasures of antiquity housed in private museums, reflecting what we saw in Ch. 2.5.1 in the cases of Jean Matal and André Thevet, who leveraged social networks in the same manner. Roman antiquities then give way to Roman courtesans shared between men, thus returning us to the bedrock of homosocial bonding identified by Sedgwick and discussed in Ch. 3:

Je me figure une autre Dianore,  
 Une autre Laure, ou une autre Pandore, 40  
 Et m'est advis qu'en long habit romain,  
 Un evantail ou pannache en la main,  
 Je voys encor' une brave Arthemise:  
 Ou que je voy Fiammete qui deguise  
 Dessouz l'habit d'un petit jouvenceau, 45  
 Son flanc d'ablastre et son teton puceau.  
 [*Odes*, II.11.39-46]

<sup>157</sup> MAGNY 1999-2006, vol. 2, p. 229 (*Odes* II.4.36-38).

This nostalgic vision of Roman sociability differs substantially from that of Piccolomini, or those found in the odes to Le Crec and Du Buys. This is a form of explicitly masculine courtly sociability, in which courtesans are equated with circulating antiquities as objects of transfer. Where the bucolic *locus amoenus* was, for Piccolomini, a site of male homosocial literary activities, here the urban environment allows for the possibility of erotic encounter. In part, the depiction of the women in a ‘long habit romain’ or ‘l’habit d’un petit jouvenceau’ is a comment on the specific period they had spent together, when the wearing of an ‘habit romain’ was expressly forbidden to courtesans in an edict passed in Rome.<sup>158</sup> More importantly, however, these images combine to create for the sixteenth-century French reader a recognizably ‘Roman’ atmosphere.<sup>159</sup> Images of ‘types’ of Italian women circulated in France in manuscript, such as three collections produced for successive French kings, which John Gagné reads as part of a process of cultural domination, an ‘erotics of conquest,’ during the Italian wars.<sup>160</sup> An image of ‘La Romaine’ in one manuscript Gagné discusses depicts a woman in the *habit romain*, alongside a four-line verse which notes inconsistency in Roman women’s appearance and their behaviour.<sup>161</sup> As discussed in Ch. 3.5.3, the construction of ‘types’ of women was also a feature of Joachim du Bellay’s Roman poetry. As such, for a French audience, pre-existing cultural notions of Roman women formed part of the cultural domination of the Italian peninsula effected through military prowess, and Magny’s evocation of a range of Roman women draws on these notions and extends them in reminiscing about his diplomatic service and his relationship to his political patron.

The poet then offers a new vignette, in which a woman, watched by ‘Quelque Seigneur en fenestre attendant’ (*Odes*, II.11.50), drives through Rome in a coach (‘parmis Rome en coche se pourmeine’ [*Odes*, II.11.47-8]), an act also expressly forbidden by the edict which restricted wearing of the *habit romain*. The confinement of elite women in early modern Italy to the private realm of the home was noted by others, including Du Bellay who describes with surprise Roman streets devoid of women.<sup>162</sup> Magny’s vignette thus contains

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<sup>158</sup> PASTOR 1924b, p. 440.

<sup>159</sup> PASTOR 1924b, pp. 179, 440; ESPOSITO 2005, p. 156 and 2015, p. 114.

<sup>160</sup> GAGNE 2017.

<sup>161</sup> BnF, MS fr. 24461, fol. 105<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>162</sup> Joachim du Bellay 2020, p. 246 (*Regrets* 99.7-11).

something of the carnivalesque, as usual gender relations are inverted. It is, crucially, an inversion of other literary scenes of seduction involving a woman at the window and a man in the street, such as the image of courtiers singing lines of Petrarch under the window of Aretino's courtesan Nanna.<sup>163</sup> The poet then moves to a vignette in which a group of men and women are seated in a suburban garden, his text having performed a journey through the streets of Rome:

Je voys encor, ou veoir encor me semble, Durant l'esté quelques seigneurs ensemble, En une vigne, ou pour faire l'amour, Ou pour passer la grande chaleur du jour: Ayant la table à leur soupper garnie D'une fort belle et douce compagnie.	60
Chacun regarde, et prend peine à choisir Quelque subject qui soit à son plaisir, Puys quand l'Escalque a la nappe levée, Chacun d'eux prend celle qu'il a trouvée Plus à son gré, et en ses bras la tient, Et de propos doucement l'entretient.	65     70

[*Odes*, II.11.59-70]

Magny links this verse to Rome specifically via the term *vigne*, an adaptation of the Italian term *vigna* which marks the influence of the Roman *séjour* on both Magny's poetic imagination and his vocabulary and again serves to imagine for French audiences an 'idea' of Rome.<sup>164</sup> The verbs which introduce this vignette (II.11.59) are re-formed within the first line, adding doubt ('ou veoir encor me semble'). This re-writing stresses the irreality of the sequence described, anchoring the poem's narrator in his position far from Rome. The 'fort belle et douce compagnie,' *doux propos* and other pleasant elements of the scene are specifically detached from the current moment, in a hazy vision of which the poet is uncertain. We thus begin to question other elements of the scene: is there, for instance, even any food at this suburban symposium? Whilst terminology would suggest so – there is a 'table à leur soupper garnie,' with a *scalco* ('escalque') present to serve the men – in fact the only goods shared here are the Roman women, from whom the men present can choose. In the poems to Le Crec and Du Buys, the Roman villas and gardens depicted contained only books of poetry from which to choose: here, instead of literature, the men

<sup>163</sup> ARETINO 1988, pp. 230-31.

<sup>164</sup> cfr. RIBOUILLAUD 2019, p. 368. Montaigne's *Journal* would gloss the term as 'des jardins et lieux de plaisir' (MONTAIGNE 1983, p. 229), indicating its status as a *Fremdwort* in French.

pick over women. This moment thus presents a conclusion to the two previous vignettes in which men and women appeared before one another either in disguise or in passing. The garden thus becomes the site of physical male competition over women:

L'un prenant l'une en la chambre l'emmeine,  
 L'autre ayant l'autre un long temps la pourmeine  
 Parmi la vigne, et puys, craignant la nuit  
 En sa maison en coche la conduit.  
 Tandis voyant leur compagne ravie, 75  
 Les autres ont une petite envye,  
 Sur celle là qui leur a faict ce tour  
 De les laisser au point de leur retour:  
 Dont on la blasme, et vont soustenant qu'elle  
 Ne sçauroit estre ou si brave, ou si belle 80  
 Qu'il ne luy soit honneur de se daigner  
 Telle qu'elle est de les accompagner.  
 [Odes, II.11.71-82]

Magny reuses terms taken from the previous two vignettes, notably the deictics of *une* and *autre*, to build up lists of women and scenes of crowds of people moving through the streets as well as the verb *pourmener*, central to the movement of people, applied pronominally to the 'dame Romaine' in her coach but here now transitive as one man takes control of a woman. Each previous scene experienced as a past memory by the poet converges here in a moment of sociability, as ritualized urban encounters give way to the men's apparent freedom to act on erotic desire in the *vigna*. This masculine competition over women is presented in a distinctively positive light within the framework of the poet's relationship with his patron. While the men are presented as having free rein to choose, and with their choice of liaison presented as consensual and happy, those women who are left behind are presented as having descended into 'envye' and 'blasme,' distinct from the homosocially charged, 'healthy' competition of the male guests.

The memory of this garden scene then cedes to a broader evocation of other aspects of life in Rome, completing the series of four sections which had begun with Magny's reference to antiquities, paintings and medallions. This final vignette introduces an element which disrupts the previous oneiric scenes as the memory of the goring of an 'assaillant' during a bullfight (II.11.89-94) returns the poet sharply to the present:

Je perdz le bien duquel je m'estois pleu,  
 A figurer tout cela que j'ay veu.  
 Et suys contrainct de delaisser arriere

Ces doux pensers que je faisais naguere.  
 [Odes II.11.101-104]

The frame of this poem – the conceit of the *epistre* sent to D’Avanson – transforms this memory of Roman erotic encounters into an example of male homosocial bonding built on the exchange of images of women, but one which is both performed from a pastoral location and which is staged, in its focal and final image, in a form of urban pastoral. The retreat in *Odes* II.11 is from countryside proper to urban gardens, and to the memory and exaltation of the poet-patron relationship which sustained those interactions and allowed them to take place. Yet, like other pastoral retreats seen above – notably Piccolomini’s ever distant villas, and the Magny’s ode to Le Buys - this poetic imagining is unstable: the pastoral vision is ultimately untenable and the resultant return to reality leaves the poet back confronted with *negotium*.

### 5.5: Conclusion

Across Piccolomini and Magny’s poetry, poetic evocations of villas and gardens are the predominant sites of friendly, sociable encounter where relationships are developed. Often, these relationships are built on communal literary practices – reading, singing and production – emphasising the centrality of literature in the formation and maintenance of friendships for both poets. Both Piccolomini and Magny’s poems are written from the position of an outsider, from the position of a non-Roman in Rome or else of a poet longing to rejoin or recapture moments of sociability which present *negotium* precludes. These pastoral verses, especially when they take on epistolary functions as part of a poetic exchange, therefore constitute attempts to produce that sociability textually. To do so, villas, *villeggiatura* and pastoral *otium* are central; the poets’ imagined social lives are repeatedly sited in such spaces and all suggest the role of this pastoral *otium* as part of a wider rhythm of alternation with *negotium*, each necessarily requiring the presence of the other in order to take place. Importantly, the communities and models of sociability developed in these poems differ from those found in the other chapters of this thesis: they are apparently dissatisfied with courtly life, and seek alternative forms of existence and community whilst in Rome. In part, this is enabled through the fact that this verse is not often centred on a single patron (rather, a range of dedicatees are present). This may well

explain the freedom Piccolomini and Magny have in writing poetry in this mode, especially when considered against the writers of the anthology for Livia Colonna in Chapter Two or the *Aeneid* translations of Chapter Three, in which the texts examined emerged from direct requests or else from poets' conditions of employment which bound them to a specific poetic task.

Where, in the majority of villa poetry ekphrastic praise leads to, and lends itself to, the praise of a patron, and could fall under the rubric of poetry as *negotium*, here the imagined villa *topos* allows for the development a discourse of *otium* and friendship. Such discourse had been absent in Chapters Two and Three, which concentrated on politicised, courtly relationships: thus, by considering these verses which exist outside the cardinal's courts and circles considered previously, we gain a fuller view of the social use of poetry in Rome. Still, however, as suggested in Ch. 1.4, the deployment of a rhetoric of friendship in these poems must not blind us to the work undertaken through this exchange of verse. Freer as these poets are to avoid the ekphrastic praise of a patron's villa, they sometimes remain highly attentive to the pressures of *negotium*. As such, we can often reinterpret these verses within the socio-political context of the multipolar Roman society in which they were written, one in which the gift of a poem of friendship might well have been expected to open the door to wider forms of economically beneficial exchange.

## Conclusion

This thesis has shown that, in the dynamic socio-political environment of mid-sixteenth-century Rome, poetry was central to the negotiation of social relations. As we have seen, this poetic negotiation took place in several arenas: in the context of formal employment, and of the search for employment; in the context of academic pursuits and of friendship; and as a means of ludic escape from daily *negotium*. It was conducted across poetic genres, styles and types, and took place on a personal level, as individuals used poetry to build relationships with others, as well as on a more communal level, as poetry became an expression of wider sentiments such as the defense of patronage networks or of criticism of the court. The lively forms of production and exchange I have examined were often enabled by continual mobility of individuals from outside Rome into the city, and this thesis has shown in particular the contributions of French actors or networks to the city's literary culture, as well as that of non-Roman Italians.

In navigating the socio-political environment of mid-sixteenth-century Rome, all individuals and networks exploited the nuanced social functions of multiple literary options. This thesis has shown clearly that each decision made when producing a poem was socio-politically weighted: choices between single-author books or plurivocal anthologies; print and manuscript publication; language; genre; and dedicatees all had clear socio-political implications. As a result, the poetry produced in the system of literature this thesis has examined was always fine-tuned to the contexts in which it was put to work to achieve goals both poetic and social, and all the literary actors this thesis has examined, whether 'major' or 'minor,' were alert to potential results of each decision. This literary fine-tuning was all the more important given that, as this thesis has shown, shifting political alliances, disputes and stances produced clear effects on Roman literary production, patronage and exchange. As such, in the networks examined in this thesis, literary texts and literary exchange were a means by which socio-political identities were formed, promoted, defended and crystallised. This preoccupation with socio-political identities has been a feature of every text examined in this thesis, and should be seen as part of an early modern understanding of Rome as a city in which to make oneself, as noted in Ch. 1.

As part of these poets' interests in socio-political identity formation, a notable finding emerging from this thesis is that, since none of the Italian-speakers considered here

were active users of French, the only French-speakers who were successful in constructing literary relationships with Italian-speakers in Rome (e.g. Cardinal Jean du Bellay; Jean Matal; Guillaume Philandrier) did so, as far as extant evidence shows, in Latin or Italian. There is no evidence that French authors who wrote only in French – notably Olivier de Magny – had any success in constructing relationships with Italian contemporaries. Clearly, however, that is not to say that French-language writers did not engage with materials written in other languages in Rome, nor that they did not harness existing French-language networks and audiences in Rome to form other sorts of social identity (notably that of the poet-in-exile taken up by Olivier Magny and the vernacular Joachim du Bellay). Still, while Rome’s literary system was large enough to support the use of multiple languages by different individuals, cultural and linguistic hierarchies informed the realities of literary exchange, fracturing a potential single urban audience into multiple linguistic audiences, only some of whom overlapped. The impact of political realities and shifts on the literary system, and the relevance of plurilingualism and multiple urban audiences thus suggests that the investigations of this thesis could beneficially be extended to include Spanish speakers in Rome. We have glimpsed wider forms of intercultural literary sociability in the presence of Spanish antiquarian Antonio Agustín in the Accademia Vitruviana (Ch. 2.6), and in the exchange of verse between Alessandro Piccolomini and Juan Páez de Castro (Ch. 5.3.2). A more complete approach would thus include, for instance, Juan de Verzosa (1523-74), who lived in Rome between 1554-74 and whose *Epistolae* address several figures discussed in this thesis.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps because of the instability of political alliances in this period, in many cases, the networks of production and reception which sustained literary activity in Rome are faintly documented. In part, this is because cultural considerations arguably led to Italian poets being less likely to suggest they took any lead or inspiration from the French (note the importance, in Annibal Caro’s eyes, of demonstrating that his *canzone de’ gigli* was not a translation from French in Ch. 2.4.2). On the other hand, the proto-nationalist rhetoric of French literary producers shown here, notably and famously Joachim du Bellay, led to a downplaying, sometimes even denigration, of Italian society and cultural production. The

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<sup>1</sup> See VERZOSA 2006, including poems to Lorenzo Gambara (vol 2, no. 11); Annibal Caro (vol. 2, no. 25); Ippolito Capilupi (vol. 2, no. 35); Onofrio Panvinio (vol. 3, no. 14); Alessandro Farnese (vol. 3, no. 16); and Fulvio Orsini (vol. 3, no. 29).



networks and relationships I have considered, then, have been left largely unstudied precisely because they are difficult to reconnect. They were not widely or openly promoted; no single archive or language connects them, no single work represents their collective output and no single figure provides an inlet for their study. Yet this thesis has established that literary exchanges – whether in terms of physical meetings or more exclusively literary relationships and *imitatio* – and networks were a central driving force behind intercultural literary production even when literary actors did not make this fact explicit or public.

Given this tendency not to promote Franco-Italian literary relationships in literary texts themselves, the work of this thesis has relied often on epitext, and especially private correspondence. Whilst the examination of correspondence is not an innovative historico-literary method in and of itself, correspondence has been an especially useful primary source in the investigations of this thesis as it is a uniquely profitable source of discussions of the social events to which poetry, particularly the occasional, was so often a response, or of the social contexts in which poetry was set to work. In many cases, I have made use of edited correspondence in constructing my arguments. However, a notable drawback has been that the bulk of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's letters remain unedited and that, given coronavirus restrictions, it was not possible to carry out work on the Farnese archives in Parma and Naples. As Farnese did not write other forms of text, his letters remain a primary means of accessing the cardinal's 'voice.' Access to a larger selection of his letters would nuance the work of this thesis, enabling the insertion of Farnese as an active, involved patron of the literary circle constituted around him. The wider availability of these primary sources would likewise be of great benefit to literary scholars as well as to those working on topics more traditionally associated with the cardinal, such as artistic patronage and all aspects of the early modern Catholic Church.

A central feature of this thesis has been its insistence on the examination of individuals or works which are little known and have been the focus of few scholarly studies, and its emphasis on the importance of considering a plurality of literary voices to allow some reconstruction of the 'daily life' of poetry in literary networks linked to Rome (see e.g. Ch.s 2.2; 2.4; 2.6; Ch. 3; Ch. 4.4.2; Ch.s 5.2, 5.4.1). In addition, this thesis has examined a number of individuals in places, period or contexts which have previously not been of especial interest to scholarship. Previous interventions have, for instance, largely ignored the period of Louis des Masures's exile in Rome, concentrating on the better documented

periods following his return to France and conversion; have considered Alessandro Guarnelli only towards the end of his life, largely as a dramatist; and have examined Olivier de Magny largely as an adjunct of more imposing figures in Pléiade. This prior concentration of studies on a handful of well-known individuals or texts such as Du Bellay's *Regrets* or Annibal Caro's *Aeneid* has thus tended to colour interpretations of the circles I examine, and overemphasised, perhaps, the importance of certain individuals in their literary networks. Yet individuals or works which, with hindsight, represent the most 'striking' examples of literary production in this period were not those which constituted the bedrock of the literary system, nor of literary sociability and exchange. As such, to examine how literary exchanges took place in this, or any, context, we must necessarily engage with a mass of uncanonised literary production. This brings methodological difficulties, not least access to texts themselves and to historiographies of their authors. However, this thesis has shown that such an approach is clearly possible by reading carefully paratextual and epitextual sources. By engaging authors and texts comparatively, I have shown how overlooked figures or texts also participated in processes of poetic exchange alongside, and on a par with, their canonical peers.

Through its focus on 'minor' figures and on plurilingual literary production, this thesis has shown that monolingual literary canons formed through the lens of modern nation states are not useful guides to literary production in the contexts examined. Competing networks – and political structures – produced their own literary canons (exemplified by the list of authors participating in the anthologies for Livia Colonna in Ch. 3; or the reworking of the canon of authors in Olivier de Magny's *Ode de la venue du printemps* in Ch. 5.4.1). Only when we look at these texts comparatively is it clear several canons were being formed in Rome at any one given time. These canons are made more patently visible by the fact that, as we have seen, several aspects of poetry – form; language; content; even the term applied to those who produce it – were keenly debated in this period. As such, literary actors who, with hindsight, appear marginal can be key to understanding ongoing shifts in conceptions of poetics and processes of canonization themselves.

Even so, an important consideration which emerges from this thesis is the absence of women from the literary networks I have considered. While the last three decades of Italian studies have made patent women's literary production on the peninsula throughout the sixteenth century, in Rome it is unclear that this production took place on a larger scale. In

some respects, this is unsurprising, insofar as women were not hired at ecclesiastical courts or as diplomats. Yet notable women *did* engage in literary production around the courts I examine in a social capacity rather than in the context of formal employment. Some of these – Vittoria Colonna, Laura Battiferri, Tullia d’Aragona – are well known, but remained detached from networks of literary production I have sketched, even whilst male *letterati* praised their poetry. In the particular case of Battiferri, I have argued (Ch. 3.5) that her exclusion from a communal printed product of these networks was a conscious choice made by those with editorial control. In general, I would note the structures and patronage of ecclesiastical courts were difficult for women to access and argue that Rome as I have found it offers an interesting counterpoint to the rest of the peninsula. While Roman literary society produced arguably the most influential female poet of the century in Vittoria Colonna, this was not repeated more widely, at least until the emergence of Margherita Sarrocchi (c. 1560-1617) at the end of the century.<sup>2</sup>

Attention, too, to material aspects of literary dissemination has been key to the arguments of this thesis. As I have shown, literary dissemination was often governed in this period by socio-political concerns and mores. As seen most notably in the poetry for Livia Colonna, literary actors harnessed different material forms in order to engage in literary production and exchange in a manner befitting an individual’s public status, or that of the network to which they belonged. Even so, a notable lacuna in the account put forward in this thesis concerns the dissemination of French poetry in manuscript. While scholars working in English studies and in Italian studies have produced large bodies of work which explicate the functions and importance of manuscript materiality, work on early modern manuscript circulation of literature from a French studies perspective is a nascent phenomenon.<sup>3</sup> Further consideration of the manuscript transmission of the Pléiade poets’ verse, for instance, may enable a more nuanced understanding of their process of self-promotion which is typically located in their harnessing of print.<sup>4</sup> This is clearly an area in which future scholarly enquiry would be beneficial to nuancing and developing the story told in this thesis.

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<sup>2</sup> On Sarrocchi, see Cox 2016, pp. 143-45; PEZZINI 2017.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. LESTRINGANT AND MILLET 2021.

<sup>4</sup> For one example of such work, on Ronsard, see ROUGET 2010-12, vol. 1, pp. 105-202.

A major finding of this thesis is that the court of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was a significant locus of Roman literary life, and that of the wider Italian peninsula, in this period. This thesis has demonstrated the formation of a network of *letterati* at the court, and has traced the development and function of different forms of poetry which emerged from that network. It has shown, moreover, that Farnese was an active, engaged literary patron, something not previously demonstrated in scholarly literature beyond small glimpses. In demonstrating Farnese's attention to poetry as an object to be commissioned and used, for both his personal benefit and for wider political benefits, I have also provided clear evidence that Farnese was a patron of religious works throughout his life, suggesting that Clare Robertson's paradigmatic division of Farnese's patronage into secular (1534-64) and religious (1564-89) periods is not quite so clear cut as previously thought. Further research, which could profitably build on the list of dedications to Farnese up to 1589 (presented in Appendix B) would enable a better sense of how far Robertson's conclusions remain valid from a literary perspective.

Overall, the investigations conducted in this thesis suggest that while artistic patronage was often carefully and explicitly structured given economic considerations, literary patronage by contrast was typically conducted in ways more imperceptible, both to contemporary literary audiences and to modern study. Though the contracts and *ricordi* which detail, for example, the paint to be used in an artwork, as examined by Michael Baxandall, have parallels in the production of manuscripts (e.g. Farnese's request for specific vellum in Ch. 2.2), these factors are driven by economic questions – how much could the patron afford? what materials could be sourced? – in a manner markedly distinct from the patronage of texts.<sup>5</sup> While some traces of literary patronage are found in brief glimpses of payments or requests recorded in a variety of sources, they must generally be teased from highly formulaic dedications or surmised from circumstantial evidence. As such, this thesis has indicated that literary patronage in the contexts examined often occurred in less obviously transactional, and more sociable settings, including oral discussions alone (as was apparently the case of Vasari's *Vite*). In addition, and perhaps more often, works produced under a patron could also be an expression of literary actors' own interpretations of what a patron would appreciate, with less direct input from patrons themselves.

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<sup>5</sup> BAXANDALL 1988.

Finally, this thesis has shown the benefits of a specifically socio-political reading of verse. Previous studies using different methodologies – notably philological work – have sometimes struggled to make sense of much of the type of verse presented here. As such, insofar as many of these texts' chief functions are extra-literary, methodological attention to socio-political contexts of production and reception enables an understanding of their existence and function. I have tried to emphasise throughout that the poetry examined here was not written as a purely aesthetic exercise. Nor should these texts be considered as though produced in an ideological vacuum; in fact, they were often produced in an ideological forge.

## Appendix A. Letterati at the Court of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese

I provide below a list of *letterati* engaged at Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's court from Farnese's accession to the cardinalate in 1535 to 1560, covering the period surveyed by this thesis. The list draws principally on three documents. The first is a list of *familiars* (*rotolo de' familiari*) drawn up following Cardinal Farnese's return from exile in 1554. The second list is provided by Dionigi Atanagi in his dedication of Bernardo Cappello's *Rime* (1560) to Cardinal Farnese. The third is provided by Pietro Devaris in his dedication of Matteo Devaris's *De Graecae linguae particulis* (1588) to Cardinal Farnese. These latter two lists are literary texts which name only individuals the authors felt, in a later period, to have constituted pre-eminent members of Farnese's court. They therefore have the distinct drawback of rendering invisible less well-known courtiers.

Whilst an earlier *rotolo de' familiari* apparently exists, I have been unable to see it and it has not been edited.<sup>1</sup> This list is therefore not included here. I am unaware of the existence of similar documents for later periods.

Given these caveats, these sources do not include all Farnese *letterati*. Where I have identified individuals absent from these three lists, I have provided bibliographical references which situate them in Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's service. Individuals who worked primarily for other Farnese family members are omitted.<sup>2</sup>

### Abbreviations:

**R**= *Rotolo de' familiari*, 1554, ed. in Benoît, Fernand. 1923. 'Farnesiana I & II,' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 40, no. 1, pp. 202-06

**A**= Atanagi, Dionigi, dedication to Cardinal Farnese in Cappello, Bernardo. 1560. *Rime*. Venice: Domenico and Giovan Battista Guerra, sigs. \*i<sup>r</sup>-\*\*iii<sup>v</sup>

**D**= Devaris, Pietro, dedication to Cardinal Farnese in Devaris, Matteo. 1588. *De Graecae linguae particulis*, ed. Pietro Devaris. Rome: Francesco Zanetti, sigs. a2<sup>r</sup>-a4

<sup>1</sup> BAV, MS Barb. Lat. 5366, fols. 266<sup>r</sup>-267<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The most notable of these are: Girolamo Britonio, secretary to Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza; Sebastiano Gandolfi, secretary to Pierluigi and Ottavio Farnese; Francesco Franchini, Bartolomeo Cavalcanti, and François de Billon, secretaries to Ottavio Farnese; and Anton Francesco Raineri, secretary to Pierluigi and Vittoria Farnese.

	Name	Roles	Years of Service	Sources
1.	Amaseo, Romolo (Udine, 1489-1552)	Tutor; humanist; translator	1535-52	R; A; D
2.	Anguillara, Giovanni Andrea dell' (Sutri 1517-70)	Poet; translator	c. 1549-66?	R
3.	Ardinghelli, Niccolò (Florence, 1502-47)	Secretary; cleric	1535- c.44	A; D
4.	Bernardi, Antonio (Mirandola, 1502-65)	Tutor; philosopher; cleric	1535-65	R; D
5.	Cappello, Bernardo (Venice, 1498-1565)	Governor; poet	1541-65	R; A; D
6.	Caro, Annibal (Civitanova Marche, 1507-66)	Secretary; <i>letterato</i>	1547-63	R; A; D
7.	Casa, Giovanni della (Florence, 1503-56)	Cleric; <i>nuncio</i> ; <i>letterato</i>	1545-56	A
8.	Cervini, Marcello (Montefano, 1501-55)	Secretary; cleric; editor	1535-54	A; D
9.	Devaris, Matteo (Corfu, 1505-81)	Copyist; editor; translator; scholar	1551-81	R; D
10.	Devaris, Pietro (Corfu, after 1505- after 1588)	Copyist; editor	1551-89	R; D
11.	Egio, Benedetto (Spoleto, d. c. 1567-71) <sup>1</sup>	Humanist; editor	c. 1540-67/-71	
12.	Faerno, Gabriele (Cremona, 1510-61) <sup>2</sup>	Poet; translator; editor	c. 1548-61	
13.	Fascitelli, Onorato (Isernia, 1502-64) <sup>3</sup>	Poet; monk	1535- c. 50	
14.	Flaminio, Marcantonio (Serravalle, 1498-1550)	Poet	1545-50	A
15.	Gambara, Lorenzo (Brescia, c. 1496-1586)	Poet; cleric	c.1540?-86	D
16.	Giovio, Paolo (Como, 1483-1552)	Historian; cleric	1539-50	R; A
17.	Gualteruzzi, Carlo (Fano, 1500-77)	<i>Letterato</i> ; secretary	c. 1537-77	D
18.	Guarnelli, Alessandro (Rome, 1531- c. 91)	Poet; translator	c. 1554-89	R
19.	Leoni, Giovan Francesco (Ancona, d. c. 1580) <sup>4</sup>	Secretary; poet	c. 1535?- after 1559	R
20.	Logli, Guido (Reggio, fl. 1550s)	Translator; secretary	Pre 1551-? <sup>5</sup>	R; D
21.	Maffei, Bernardino (Rome, 1517-53)	Tutor; secretary	1535-49	A; D
22.	Molza, Francesco Maria (Modena, 1489-1544)	Poet; secretary	1535-44	A; D

<sup>1</sup> VAGENHEIM 2019.

<sup>2</sup> FOÀ 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Listed by Giovio as a poet under his care (see Ch. 2).

<sup>4</sup> See COSENTINO 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Paolo Manuzio to Guido Logli, 21 Aug. 1551, in MANUZIO 1556, sig. I4<sup>r</sup>.

	Name	Roles	Years of Service	Sources
23.	Mercuriale, Girolamo (Forlì, 1530-1606)	Philologist; physician	c. 1555-69	D
24.	Musso, Cornelio (Piacenza, 1511-74)	Cleric; diplomat; orator	1538-74	R
25.	Onorio, Giovanni (Maglie, 1511-74)	Copyist	c. late 1540s-64	R
26.	Orsini, Fulvio (Rome, 1529-1600)	Humanist; librarian	c. 1544-89	R; D
27.	Panvinio, Onofrio (Verona, 1530-68) <sup>6</sup>	Humanist; monk	1555-68	
28.	Porrino, Gandolfo (Modena, c. 1495-1552)	Poet	1539-52	R
29.	Possevino, Giovan Battista (1520-49) <sup>7</sup>	<i>Letterato</i>	1548-49	D
30.	Tolomei, Claudio (Siena, 1492-1556)	<i>Letterato</i>	1535-56	R; A
31.	Vacca, Antonio (Rome, 1520-81) <sup>8</sup>	Humanist; editor; cleric	c. 1554-81?	
32.	Vasari, Giorgio (Arezzo, 1511-74) <sup>9</sup>	Artist; <i>letterato</i>	c. 1545-50	
33.	Zanchi, Basilio (Bergamo, 1501 – after 1567) <sup>10</sup>	Poet; humanist; cleric; librarian	c. 1540-58	

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<sup>6</sup> BAUER 2019.

<sup>7</sup> RONCHINI 1870b, p. 313.

<sup>8</sup> ANGELI 1828, pp. 49-51.

<sup>9</sup> VASARI 2013, pp. 3-7.

<sup>10</sup> Closely linked to several members of the Farnese circle; perhaps not listed in R and subsequently given his investigation for, and imprisonment due to, accusations of heresy in the mid-/late 1550s.



## Appendix B. Printed Works Dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese

The following bibliography lists, in chronological order, all the printed works dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese which I have found during research for this thesis, including those listed in EDIT16's *Progetto dediche*. For reasons of completeness, this list covers Farnese's entire life, rather than only the period surveyed in this thesis, though I do not propose this list as exhaustive. It does not, moreover, constitute a perfect measure of the cardinal's literary patronage. Some works may have been dedicated to him fairly opportunistically, without his involvement. Some works once linked to him were eventually printed with another dedicatee (e.g. Giovio's *Historiarum sui temporis libri* and Vasari's *Vite*), while others may have obscured Farnese's patronage by *not* dedicating works to him (e.g. the printed anthology discussed in Ch. 3.2.2).

Subsequent reeditions are omitted unless they include alterations or expansions of the *princeps*. Unless otherwise noted, all editions were dedicated to Farnese by their author, or, in the case of classical works, by their editor.

## List of Works

1. Valeriano, Pierio. 1537. *Compendium in sphaeram*. Rome: Antonio Blado. USTC 861711
2. Nausea, Friedrich. 1538. *Responsa una cum eorundem declarationibus & moderaminibus Sacrosanctae Sedis Apostolicae, ad aliquot inclytae germanicae nationis adversus illam gravamina*. Cologne: Peter Quentel. USTC 690791
3. Morani, Eurialo. 1539. *Stanze*. Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico. USTC 843466
4. Giovio, Paolo. 1539. *Vitae Sfortiae clarissimi ducis*. Rome: Antonio Blado. USTC 833152
5. Florido, Francesco. 1541. *Adversus Stephani Doleti Aurelii calumnias liber. Eiusdem ad Jacobum Spiegelium Selestadiensem epistola*. Rome: Antonio Blado. USTC 830044
6. Guarico, Luca and Giovanni Pollio Lappoli. 1541. *Lucae Guarici Ars metrica. De quantitate syllabarum in componendis versibus necessaria. Ioannis Pollii Pollastrini De componendis carminibus opusculum elego carmine editum*. Rome: Baldassare Cartolari. USTC 832023
7. Eck, Johann. 1541. *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum et alios hostes Ecclesiae*. Ingolstadt: Alexander I Weißenhorn. USTC 650103
8. Aristotle. 1542. *Ethicorum sive moralium Nicomachiorum libri decem. Una cum Eustratii, Aspasii, Michaelis Ephesii, nonnullorumque aliorum graecorum explanationibus*, ed. and trans. Giovanni Bernardo Feliciano. Basel: Johann Oporinus. USTC 612937
9. Giacomelli, Giacomo. 1542. *In novam quandam Antonii Mirandulani de praedicamentis opinionem responsio*. Rome: Antonio Blado. USTC 832634
10. Turini, Andrea. 1542. *De bonitate aquarum fontanae, et cisterninae*. Rome: Baldassare Cartolari. USTC 861411
11. Nausea, Friedrich. 1543. *In catholicum catechismum libri sex ad Sacrosanctae Catholicae Ecclesiae, eiusdemque fidei, pietatis & religionis reparationem, aucionem & conservationem*. Cologne: Peter Quentel. USTC 620665 [Ded. of Book III only]
12. Sensi, Lodovico. 1543. *Ad cives perusinos conciones quinque, quibus Pauli III Pont. Max. gesta moresque perscribuntur*. Rome: Francesco Priscianese. USTC 855913<sup>1</sup>
13. Paleotti, Gabriele. 1543. *Alexandro Farnesio Sancta Romana Ecclesia cardinali, & vicecancellario*. Bologna: s.n. USTC 763076<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sensi (1509-79) received from Paul III a lifelong supply of 30 annual *some* of wheat as thanks for the *Conciones*, a series of speeches in defence of the papal control of Perugia (SENSI 1772, pp. 285-87; SACHET 2020, pp. 130-31).

<sup>2</sup> One of four legal theses, along with PALEOTTI 1547, FACHINETTI 1559 and RECUPERATI 1564 listed here, presented at the University of Bologna with dedications to Farnese: see ZANARDI 2003.

14. Alunno, Francesco. 1543. *Le ricchezze della lingua volgare*. Venice: Manuzio. USTC 808915<sup>3</sup>
15. Polybius. 1543. *Fragmenta duo e sexta Polybii historiarum libro de diversis rerum publicarum formis, deque romanae praestantia*, trans. Pompilio Amaseo. Bologna: Giovanni Battista Faelli. USTC 850244
16. Panfilo, Ganimede. 1543. *Trascorsi et descrizione breve sopra le cose del Testamento Novo in terza rima: colligatici a tutti i terzetti versi di Virgilio accommodati alla rima, & alla materia*. Venice: Giovanni Battista Pocatella. USTC 762487<sup>4</sup>
17. Cicero. 1543. *Epistolae ad Titum Pomponium Atticum*, ed. Sebastiano Corrado. Venice: Girolamo Scotto. USTC 822248<sup>5</sup>
18. Barbaro, Ermolao. 1544. *Compendium ethicorum librorum Hermolai Barbari Patricii Veneti*, ed. Daniele Barbaro. Venice: Comin da Trino. USTC 812224 [Ded. by Daniele Barbaro]
19. Hoffmeister, Johann. 1545. *In utrasque Sancti Pauli ad Corinthios epistolas homiliae, viva voce populo Colmariensi praedicatae*. Cologne: Peter Quentel. USTC 657039
20. Bernardi, Antonio. 1545. *Institutio in universam logicam*. Basel: Herwagen. USTC 611958
21. Flaminio, Marcantonio. 1545. *In librum psalmorum brevis explanatio*. Paris: Jean Barbé. USTC 149397
22. Brevio, Giovanni. 1545. *Rime et prose volgari di M. Giovanni Brevio*. Rome: Antonio Blado d'Asola. USTC 816867
23. Tomitano, Bernardino. 1545. *Ragionamenti della lingua toscana*. Venice: Giovanni Farri & Fratelli. USTC 859345
24. *Catena explanatio veterum sanctorum patrum in acta Apostolorum & epistolas catholicas*. 1545. Trans. Giovanni Bernardo Feliciano. Venice: Giunta. USTC 803126

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<sup>3</sup> Francesco del Bailo (1484-1552), *alias* Francesco Alunno, noted in the 1551 expanded edition (listed below, sig. Aii<sup>r</sup>) that he had this 1543 edition personally presented to Farnese by one Jacopo da Ferrara, physician to Paul III, but received no response.

<sup>4</sup> In the dedication (sigs. Aii<sup>r</sup>-Aii<sup>v</sup>), Ganimede (c. 1513/16-95) states that Pietro Bembo urged him to print this work, and claimed Claudio Tolomei's metrical experiments in this period (see Ch. 2.6.1) authorised his own creation of this new form, a macaronic semi-*cento* on the New Testament in which *terzine* consist of two vernacular lines and one Latin line of Virgil. See also Giovanni della Casa to Carlo Gualteruzzi, 31 Dec. 1545 in DELLA CASA AND GUALTERUZZI 1987, p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> Corrado notes (CICERO 1543, sigs. \*i<sup>r</sup>-\*i<sup>v</sup>) that he dedicated the text to Farnese partly on the recommendations of courtiers Marcantonio Flaminio and Romolo Amaseo, and partly on that of his patron, Giulio Boiardo, Count of Scandiano (d. 1553), with whom Paul III and Cardinal Farnese stayed on their return from a meeting with Charles V in 1542.

25. Avicenna. 1546. *Compendium de anima, de diffinitionibus, & quaesitis. De divisione scientiarum. Ab Andrea Alpago ex Arabico in Latinum versa. Cum expositionibus eiusdem Andreae*, trans. Andrea Alpago. Venice: Giunta. USTC 811601
26. Lorch, Gerhard. 1546. *Epitomē, hoc est, compendium sive breviarium textus et glossematon in omnes veteris instrumenti libros*. Cologne: Peter Quentel. USTC 653115
27. Scultetus, Alexander. 1546. *Chronographia sive annales omnium fere regum, principum & potentatum, ad orbe condito, usque ad hunc annum Domini M. D. XLV*. Rome: Girolama Cartolari. USTC 855685
28. Basil of Caesarea. 1546. *Liturgia*, ed. and trans. Georg Witzel. Mainz: Schöffer. USTC 673072
29. Tomitano, Bernardino. 1546. *Ragionamenti della lingua toscana [...] I precetti della rethorica secondo l'artificio d'Aristotile et Cicerone nel fine del secondo libro nuovamente aggiunti*. Venice: Giovanni Farri & Fratelli. USTC 859344
30. Flaminio, Marcantonio. 1546. *Paraphrasis in triginta psalmos versibus scripta*. Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi. USTC 830009
31. Fracastoro, Girolamo. 1546. *De sympathia et antipathia rerum liber unus. De contagione et contagiosis morbis et curatione libri III*. Venice: Giunta. USTC 830462<sup>6</sup>
32. Paleotti, Gabriele. 1547. *D.O.M. Alexandro Farnesio Cardinali*. Bologna: s.n. USTC 763077
33. Braun, Konrad. 1548. 'De imaginibus liber,' in *Opera tria nunc primum edita*. Mainz: Behem. USTC 625916
34. Bembo, Pietro. 1548. *Delle rime di M. Pietro Bembo. Terza impressione*. Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico. USTC 813314
35. Giovio, Paolo. 1548. *Descriptio Britanniae, Scotiae, Hyberniae, et Orchadum*. Venice: Michele Tramezzino. USTC 833144
36. Fauno, Lucio. 1549. *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae*. Venice: Michele Tramezzino. USTC 828840
37. *In Marci Tullii Ciceronis epistolas ad Atticum scholia nuper correctae, & auctae*. 1549. Ed. Sebastiano Corrado. Venice: Girolamo Scotto. USTC 824151
38. Sadoletto, Jacopo and Antonio Fiordibello. 1550. *Epistolarum libri sexdecim. Ad Paulum Sadoletum epistolarum liber unus. Vita eiusdem autoris*. Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe. USTC 150551

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<sup>6</sup> cfr. 'Ad eundem illustrissimum et reverendissimum cardinalem Alexandrum Farnesium cui libros de contagione et contagiosis morbis dedicavit,' in FRACASTORO 2013, pp. 240-45.

39. Britonio, Girolamo. 1550. *I cantici, et ragionamenti; et quelli del Pontefice, in favore della Santissima Romana Chiesa*. Venice: Baldassar Constantini. USTC 816913
40. Pausanias. 1550. *Veteris Graecae descriptio*, trans. Romolo Amaseo. Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino. USTC 847201
41. Paleotti, Gabriele. 1550. *De nothis spuriisque filiis tractatus singularis*. Bologna: Anselmo Giaccarelli. USTC 762206<sup>7</sup>
42. Porrino, Gandolfo. 1551. *Rime*. Venice: Michele Tramezzino. USTC 850925
43. Alunno, Francesco. 1551. *Delle ricchezze della lingua volgare sopra il Boccaccio nuovamente ristampate et con diligenza ricorrette, et molto ampliate dallo istesso Autore*. Venice: 'in casa de' figliuoli di Aldo.' USTC 808918
44. Demetrius. 1552. *Peri hermēneias. De elocutione*, ed. Piero Vettori. Florence: Giunta. USTC 826492<sup>8</sup>
45. Vettori, Pietro. 1553. *Variarum lectionum libri XXV*. Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino. USTC 863105<sup>9</sup>
46. Virgil. 1554. *Della Eneide di Virgilio [...] Libro primo*, trans. Alessandro Guarnelli. Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico,. USTC 862724<sup>10</sup>
47. Merula, Francesco. 1554. *Vox pacis. Epistola ad Alexandrum Farnesium*. Paris: Guyon Thioust. USTC 197821
48. Vacca, Antonio. 1554. *Expositiones locorum obscuriorum et paratitulum in Pandectas*. Lyon: Mathieu Bonhomme. USTC 151534
49. Chiaravacci, Girolamo. 1554. *Fastorum libri XII. Nuper in lucem editi*. Milan: Francesco and Simone Moschenio. USTC 821939
50. Fassano, Gian Antonio. 1554. *Constitutiones synodales metropolitanae ecclesiae civitatis Montis Regalis*. Monreale: Antonio Anay. USTC 843148
51. San Martino, Matteo di. 1555. *Le osservationi grammaticali e poetiche della lingua italiana*. Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico. USTC 854431<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> For Farnese's own copy of this edition, bound with his arms, see MARINIS 1938, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> See Ch. 2.2.1 and 4.4.2.

<sup>9</sup> Sent to Farnese with unprinted verse by Francesco Vinta in his praise (RONCHINI 1853, p. 579; BSB, Cod. lat. mon. 760, fol. 107<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>10</sup> See Ch. 4.3.2, 4.4.2 and Appendix E.

<sup>11</sup> Split into two: the grammatical *osservationi* are dedicated to Farnese and the poetic *osservationi* to Cardinal Jean du Bellay.

52. Schoter, Michael. 1555. *Lamentationum Ieremiae paraphrasis ex Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum, Graecorumque sententia. Ad cardinalium celeberrimum optatissimumque Alexandrum Farnesium Michaelis Schoter annorum XXIV*. Bologna: Pellegrino Bonardo. USTC 855537
53. Ariosto, Giulio. 1557. *I fatti, e le prodezze delli illustrissimi signori di casa Farnese de' tempi nostri, nepoti della santa memoria di Paulo III pontefice*. Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari. USTC 810508
54. Panvinio, Onofrio. 1557. *Romani pontifices et cardinales Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae ab eisdem a Leone IX ad Paulum papam IV per quingentos posteriores a Christi natali annos creati*. Venice: Michele Tramezzino. USTC 846537
55. Massolo, Pietro. 1557. *Sonetti morali*. Bologna: Manuzio. USTC 841475
56. Mandello, Giacomo. 1558. *Consiliorum [...] pars prima legum studiosis accuratae, & correctae ex iisdem auctoris exemplaribus nunc primum in lucem emissa*, ed. Vincenzo Annibaldi. Milan: Francesco Moschenio and Cesare Puteo. USTC 839962 [Ded. by Vincenzo Annibaldi]
57. Mattei, Antonio. 1558. *Tractatus iudiciarius de prorogatione iurisdictionis et fori competentia ac de praeventionem*. Rome: Vincenzo Luchino. USTC 841529
58. Panvinio, Onofrio. 1558. *Fastorum libri V a Romulo rege usque ad imp. Caesarem Carolum V Austriam Augustum. Eiusdem in fastorum libros commentarii*. Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi. USTC 846544
59. Cosci, Francesco. 1559. *In rubricam, capitulum primum, capitulum cognoscentes, &c. translato extra de constitutionibus. In rubricam, capitulum primum de officio et potestate iudicis delegati. In rubricam foliis de officio eius cui mandata est iurisditio. In arborem consanguinitatis et affinitatis. Pisana commentaria*. Siena [Venice]: Francesco Nardi [Giovanni Griffio]. USTC 824352<sup>12</sup>
60. Fachinetti, Ognibene. 1559. *D.O.M.A. Illustrissimo, ac reverendissimo Alexandro Farnesio cardinali amplissimo s.r.e. vicedancellario Omnibonus Fachinetus s.p.d.* Bologna: s.n. USTC 828600
61. Centorio degli Ortensi, Ascanio. 1559. *Il quarto discorso di guerra [...] nel quale si tratta del modo che deve tenere una città, che aspetta l'assedio intorno, e del ufficio di quel generale, che ne havrà la cura*. Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari. USTC 821583
62. Cappello, Bernardo. 1560. *Rime*. Venice: Domenico and Giovan Battista Guerra. USTC 818582 [Ded. by Dionigi Atanagi]

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<sup>12</sup> See RHODES 1969.

63. Macchiavelli, Luca. 1560. *Oratio de libertate reipublicae fratrum servorum, in comitiis generalibus in aede Divae Mariae habita*. Bologna: Peregrinus Bonardus. USTC 839269<sup>13</sup>
64. Panvinio, Onofrio. 1560. *De baptimate Paschali origine et ritu consecrandi Agnus Dei liber ex commentariis Onuphrii Panvini Veronensis fratris eremite Augustiniani in historiam ecclesiasticam excerptus*. Rome: Antonio Blado. USTC 846546
65. Bonsi, Lelio. 1560. 'Lezione Quinta di Lelio Bonsi, sopra quei versi di Dante, nel settimo canto dell'Inferno, che trattano de la Fortuna,' in *Cinque lezioni di M. Lelio Bonsi Lette da Lui pubblicamente nella Accademia Fiorentina. Aggiuntovi un breve Trattato della Cometa*, sigs. Kiii<sup>f</sup>-Miiii<sup>f</sup>. Florence: Giunta. USTC 816274
66. Vettori, Pietro. 1562. *Commentarii in librum Demetrii Phalerei de elocutione*. Florence: Bernardo Giunta. USTC 863108
67. Corte, Claudio. 1562. *Il cavallerizzo*. Venice: Giordano Ziletti. USTC 824258
68. Bernardi, Antonio. 1562. *Disputationes in quibus in primum ex professo Monomachia [...] philosophicis rationibus adducitur, & mox divina autoritate labefactata penitus evertitur*. Basel: 'Per Henricum Petri, et Nicolaum Bryling.' USTC 611991
69. Bernardi, Antonio. 1562. *Eversionis singularis certaminis libri 40*. Basel: Henricum Petri. USTC 5072541
70. Vignola, Jacopo Barozzi da. 1563. *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*. s.l.: s.n. USTC 807563
71. Torsani, Angelo Maria. 1563. *Proverbia novi, ac veteris testamenti*. Venice: Giovanni Griffio. USTC 859771
72. Malaspina, Leonardo. 1563. *In epistolas M. Tullii Ciceronis ad Atticum, Brutum et Q. fratrem, emendationes, ac suspiciones*. Venice: Giovanni Battista Somaco. USTC 839734
73. Lorich, Gerhard. 1563. *Bibliae totius brevis et compendiosa elucidatio*. Cologne: Peter Quentel. USTC 616711
74. Amaseo, Romolo. 1563. *Oratio habita in funere Pauli III Pont. Max*. Bologna: Giovanni Rossi. USTC 809015

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<sup>13</sup> Luca Macchiavelli – who consistently spelt his name with a double c – was presumably part of the Machiavelli family of Bologna. A family member, Tommaso Machiavelli, was secretary and agent of Margaret of Austria between 155-69 (cfr. D'ONOFRIO 1919, p. 200; BERTINI 2022). Tommaso Machiavelli also provided texts to Cardinal Farnese in the same year Luca Macchiavelli's work was printed (cfr. Annibal Caro to Tommaso Machiavelli, 24 May 1560: 'al Cardinal Farnese fu molto accetto il Commentario che gli mandaste' [CARO 1957–1961, vol. 3, p. 26]).

75. Massolo, Pietro. 1564. *Primo, et secondo volume delle rime morali*. Florence: 'Nella Stamperia Ducale, Appresso i figliuoli di M. Lorenzo Torrentino, & Bernardo Fabroni compagni.' USTC 841477
76. Bellaso, Giovan Battista. 1564. *Il vero modo di scrivere in cifra con facilità, prestezza, et sicurezza*. Brescia: Jacobo Britannico. USTC 813205
77. Recuperati, Paolo. 1564. *D.O.M. Reverendissimo ac illustriss. d. d. Alexandro Farnesio cardinali, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae vicecancellario, patrono colendissimo Patronus Recuperatus s.p.d.* Bologna: s.n.. USTC 852181
78. Gilio, Giovanni Andrea. 1564. *Due dialogi [...] de le parti Morali, e Civili appartenenti a' Letterati Cortigiani, & ad ogni gentil'huomo, e l'utile, che i Prencipi cavano da i Letterati. [...] De gli errori de' Pittori circa l'histoire con molte annotationi fatte sopra il Giuditio di Michelangelo et altre figure [...] et in che modo vogliono essere dipinte le sacre imagini*. Camerino: Antonio Gioioso. USTC 832804<sup>14</sup>
79. Commandino, Federico. 1565. *Liber de centro gravitatis solidorum*. Bologna: 'ex officina Alexandri Benacii.' USTC 823603
80. Fracanzani, Antonio. 1566. *In librum Hippocratis de alimento commentarius*. Venice: Marco de Maria. USTC 830456
81. Virgil. 1566. *Il secondo libro dell'Eneida di Virgilio*, trans. Alessandro Guarnelli. Rome: Giulio Accolti. USTC 862902
82. Orsini, Fulvio, ed. 1568. *Carmina novem illustrium feminarum*, trans. Lorenzo Gambara. Antwerp: Christophe Plantin. USTC 401357
83. Grandi, Giovanni. 1569. *Fratris Ioannis Grandii Veneti, ordinis servorum observantium oratio ad Alexandrum Farnesium cardinalem amplissimum, Romae publice habita*. Pesaro: Girolamo Concordia. USTC 833902
84. Luigini, Francesco. 1569. *Ioseph liber tertius*. Venice: Giorgio de' Cavalli. USTC 838849
85. Mercuriale, Girolamo. 1569. *Artis gymnasticae apud antiquos celeberrimae, nostris temporibus ignoratae, libri sex*. Venice: Giunta. USTC 842180
86. Nazianzus, Gregorius and Saint Cyprian. 1569. *Due orationi di Gregorio Nazanzeno theologo [...] Et il primo sermone di S. Cecilio Cipriano sopra l'elemosina*, trans. Annibal Caro. Venice: Manuzio. USTC 834190 [Ded. by Giovanbattista Caro]
87. Gabrieli, Antonio. 1570. *Communes conclusiones*, Venice: Marco Amadoro. USTC 831250 [Ded. by Mario Gabrieli]<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Gilio had previously dedicated a work to Farnese's sister, Vittoria. Michael Bury thus assumes the *Dialogi* were part of a broader appeal for Farnese patronage: cfr. BURY 2018.

<sup>15</sup> On Farnese's relationship to Gabrieli, see BROWN AND PREVITALI 1985, pp. 50-52.



88. Panvinio, Onofrio. 1570. *De praecipuis urbis Romae Sanctioribusque basilicis, quas septem ecclesias vulgo vocant liber*. Rome: Blado. USTC 846549
89. Albornò, Gil de. 1571. *Aegidianae constitutiones*, ed. Gaspare Cavallini. Venice: 'ad signum Fontis.' USTC 804836 [Ded. by Gaspare Cavallini]
90. Contarini, Gasparo. 1571. *Opera*, ed. Luigi Contarini. Paris: Sébastien Nivelle. USTC 170060 [Ded. by Luigi Contarini]
91. Moizio, Guglielmo. 1572. *De victoria Christianae classis carmen*. Naples: 'Apud Iosephum Caccium.' USTC 842993
92. Mandosi, Quintiliano. 1572. *Tractatus de aetate minori*. Venice: Giovanni Varisco. USTC 839994
93. Accoramboni, Ottavio. 1572. *Octavius Accorombonus hos in legem sciendum foliis de verborum obligatione commentarios edit, eosque publice examinandos proponit*. Rome: Giulio Accolti. USTC 807666
94. St. Bonaventure. 1573. *Breve compendio della perfettione della vita spirituale*, trans. Fabio Anglerio. Milan: Pacifico da Ponte. USTC 816117 [Ded. by Fabio Anglerio]
95. Belli, Silvio. 1573. *Della proportione et proportionalità. Comuni passioni del quanto libri tre*. Venice: 'al segno dell'Elefanta.' USTC 813268
96. Marescalchi, Marcantonio. 1573. *Humanae perfectionis secundum naturam libri duo*. Bologna: Giovanni Rossi. USTC 840840
97. Pianero, Giovanni. 1574. *Febrium omnium simplicium divisio, & compositio, ex Galeno, & Avicenna excerpta*. Venice: 'Apud Jacobum Vitalem.' USTC 848189
98. Folco, Giulio. 1574. *Eorum qui vel eleemosynas erogaverunt admirabiles fructus, vel de eleemosyna scripserunt insignes sententiae: nunquam antea in unum ita collectae*. Rome: Vittorio Eliano. USTC 830110
99. St. Bonaventure. 1575. *Trattato della preparatione del Sacerdote per celebrar la Messa*, trans. Fabio Anglerio. Milan: Pacifico da Ponte. USTC 816124 [Ded. by Fabio Anglerio]
100. Chiarante, Paolo. 1576. *Epitome in librum de paschatis chronologia eiusdem auctoris*. Venice: s.n. USTC 821935
101. Orsini, Fulvio. 1577. *Familiae romanae quae reperiuntur in antiquis numismatibus ab urbe condita ad tempora Divi Augusti*. Rome: Tramezzino. USTC 845513
102. Polo, Antonio. 1578. *Dilucidatio veritatis, in prooemium phisicorum Aristotelis*. Venice: Simone Galignani. USTC 850222

103. Capitone, Feliciano. 1579. *Explicationes Catholicae locorum fere omnium veteris ac novi testamenti*. Venice: Fratelli Guerra. USTC 818524
104. Musso, Cornelio. 1579. *Synodus bituntina*. Venice: Giolito. USTC 814614
105. Virgil. 1581. *L'Eneide di Virgilio*, trans. Annibal Caro. Venice: Giunta. USTC 861861 [Ded. by Lepido Caro]
106. Cervio, Vincenzo. 1581. Da Narni, Fusoritto. *Il trinciante* Venice: Tramezzino. USTC 821714
107. Vettori, Pietro. 1582. *Variarum lectionum libri XXXVIII*. Florence: Giunta. USTC 863132
108. Massolo, Pietro and Francesco Sansovino. 1583. *Rime morali col commento di Francesco Sansovino*. Venice: Giovan Antonio Rampazetto. USTC 841479
109. Marinoni, Giovanni Bartolomeo. 1583. *Caprarolae liber ad Alexandrum Farnesium Cardinalem Clarissimum*. Viterbo: [Agostino Colaldi?]. USTC 763402
110. Audebert, Germain. 1585. *Roma*. Paris: Jacques du Puys. USTC 171848
111. Folengo, Giovanni Battista. 1585. *In omnes Davidicos Psalmos doctissima, ac plane divina commentaria*. Rome: 'Apud Bibliopolas Socias.' USTC 830127
112. Musso, Cornelio. 1586. *Delle prediche quadragesimali*. Venice: Giunta. USTC 843932
113. Manfredi, Girolamo. 1587. *Responsum in quo nomina, quae a iure diuino, pontificio, caesareoque dominis cardinalibus Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae imposita sunt, carptim explicantur*. Cesena: Bartolomeo Raverio. USTC 840074
114. Devaris, Matteo. 1588. *Liber de graecae linguae particulis*. Rome: Francesco Zanetti. USTC 826617 [Ded. by Pietro Devaris]
115. Manfredi, Girolamo. 1588. *De cardinalibus Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae tractatus. Pars prima*. Bologna: 'apud Faustum Bonardum.' USTC 840076
116. Cupers, Rodulphus. 1588. *Tractatus de Sacrosancta Universali Ecclesia, eiusque sacramentis, principatu, senatu, conciliis, magistratibus, & ministris, iure divino institutis, prostratis impiorum rationibus*. Venice: Domenico de' Farri. USTC 825101
117. Magni, Pietro Paolo. 1588. *Discorso di Pietro Paolo Magni piacentino sopra il modo di fare i cauterii o rottorii a' corpi humani*. Rome: Bartolomeo Bonfadino. USTC 839625

## Appendix C. Index of Poems for Livia Colonna (1522-54)

Section 1 includes all the poems (with a few exceptions discussed below) I have found which refer to, or are addressed to, Livia Colonna. I do not propose this index as exhaustive. My research has been as systematic as time and resources allowed but we should assume that it could be augmented.

References are given to sixteenth-century editions and to modern critical editions where available. Subsequent reprints of sixteenth-century editions with no alterations are omitted. Variant attributions are provided. Each poem is listed under the name of its most likely author, following attributions in contemporaneous editions. Where a poem appears in a single-author collection, I have assumed this to confirm authorship, especially when a collection was produced during a poet's lifetime. Where poets are not discussed in Chapter 3, references are provided.

I have identified via finding aids additional manuscript witnesses of some texts. I have not seen these manuscripts myself and these sources have therefore not been included.<sup>1</sup> Two poems without other witnesses are not included as I have been unable to see them. The first is a poem in the trilingual Spanish-Latin-Italian *Versos* (1552) of Juan de la Vega (c. 1507-58).<sup>2</sup> The second is a poem by Niccolò Secco (c. 1510-c. 1560), entitled 'In amicam occisorem Liviae Columnae' ('Against his friend, killer of Livia Colonna').<sup>3</sup>

Six poems whose link to Colonna is uncertain are not counted in the totals or included in the table. These texts are provided, with notes, in Section 2.

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<sup>1</sup> These are: Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, MS 277; Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, MS Palatino 239; Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, MS Ashburnham 439; Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, MS B. 3516; Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, MS I.XI.49; Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Santa Scolastica, Subiaco, Archivio Colonna di Paliano, *Miscellanea Storica*, II A, busta 17.

<sup>2</sup> D'AGOSTINO AND GARGANO 2014, p. 139, fn. 10; D'AGOSTINO 2017, p. 44, fn. 6. The only extant copy is Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, Naples, CUOMO SL.010H.020(2 (USTC 5044972).

<sup>3</sup> Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan, MS AG.IX.39 (cfr. KRISTELLER 1963-97, vol. 1, p. 353). On Secco, see CIGALA 2007; and MARTÍNEZ SIRVENT 2016, esp. pp. 139-71 on Secco's poetry. Neither mentions this verse.

## Section 1: Index Incipitorum

### Abbreviations

**Canz.** = Canzone

**Dact. Hex.** = Dactylic Hexameter

**Ded.** = Dedicated to

**El. Coupl.** = Elegiac Couplets

**End. Sc.** = Endecasillabi sciolti

**Hend.** = Hendecasyllables

**Iam. Tri.** = Iambic Trimeter

**Madr.** = Madrigal

**Ott. R.** = Ottava rima

**Rub.** = Rubric

**Sest.** = Sestina

**Son.** = Sonnet

**Stich. Iamb. Di.** = Stichic Iambic Dimeter

**Stram.** = Strambotto

### Manuscript Sources

**Barb.**= BAV MS Barb. Lat. 3693

**Lat5182**= BAV MS Vat. Lat. 5182

**Lat5226**= BAV MS Vat. Lat. 5226, pt. 1

**Lat9948**= BAV MS Vat. Lat. 9948

**Cap139**= BAV MS Cappon. 139

**Cap152**= BAV MS Cappon. 152

**Sess.**= BNCR MS Sessoriano 333

**CLM485**= BSB Cod. lat. mon. 485

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- 1553a**= Raineri, Anton Francesco. 1553. *Cento sonetti [...] Con brevissima esposizione dei soggetti loro*. Milan: Gianantonio Borgia. USTC 851913
- 1553b**= Arrivabene, Andrea, ed. 1553. *Il sesto libro delle rime di diversi eccellenti autori, nuovamente raccolte et mandate in luce, con un discorso di Girolamo Ruscelli*. Venice: Giovan Maria Bonelli. USTC 803627
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- 1563**= Ubaldino, Gianpaolo, ed. 1563. *Carmina poetarum nobilium*. Milan: Antonio Antoniani. USTC 804255
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- 1776**= Fascitelli, Onorato. 1776. *Opera*, ed. Gian Vincenzo Meola. Naples: Fratelli Raimondi
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- 2014**= Goselini, Giuliano. 2014. *Rime*, ed. Luca Piantoni. Padua: Coop Editrice Università di Padova
- 2018**= Cappello, Bernardo. 2018. *Rime*, ed. Irene Tani. Venice: Edizioni Ca' Foscari

	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Other Information</b>
1	Atanagi, Dionigi	Veggio chiudersi più di giorno in giorno	Son.	1555, sig. Mij <sup>v</sup>	
2	Atanagi, Dionigi	Benché da Donna sì fra l'altre rara	Son.	1565a, sig. Ff4 <sup>v</sup>	1565a, Kl4 <sup>v</sup> : 'A la illustrissima Signora Livia Colonna, specchio, mentre visse, di bellezza, & di cortesia, & molto padrona, & benefattrice de l'autore.'
3	Barbati, Petronio	Deh che altro, debb'io, che pianger sempre	Canz.	1555, sig. Ei <sup>r</sup> -Eiij <sup>r</sup>	
4	Bartolo, Pirro <sup>1</sup>	Volve l'alto fattor che 'l tutto cura	Canz.	1555, sigs. Si <sup>r</sup> -Siij <sup>r</sup>	
5	Bartolo, Pirro	Qualhor lasso ricerco col pensiero	Son.	1555, sig. Viiij <sup>r</sup>	
6	Bartolo, Pirro	Que' begli occhi che fanno invidia al Sole	Son.	1555, sig. Viiij <sup>v</sup>	
7	Bartolo, Pirro	Piangi homai che 'l tuo bel frutto	Canz.	1555, sigs. KKij <sup>r</sup> -KKiij <sup>r</sup>	
8	Bartolo, Pirro	Non vedi Amor che morte ogni tua possa	Son.	1555, sig. LLiij <sup>r</sup>	
9	Bartolo, Pirro	Quel dolce, caro, & honorato pegno	Son.	1555, sig. LLiij <sup>v</sup>	
10	Battiferri, Laura	Poscia che 'l Sol d'alta virtute ardente	Son.	1560a, sig. Ci <sup>v</sup> ; 2000, p. 48	
11	Battiferri, Laura	Mentre la più gradita, e chiara luce	Son.	1560a, sig. Cij <sup>r</sup> ; 2000, pp. 48-9	
12	Battiferri, Laura	Di cerchio in cerchio, e d'una in altra Idea	Son.	1560a, sig. Cij <sup>r</sup> ; 2000, p. 49	
13	Bellay, Joachim du	Sic pereat Romae peritura Lucretia dixit	El. Coupl.	1558a, sigs. Mij <sup>v</sup> -Miiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1982, p. 175	Rub. 'Liviae Columnae, nobilis matronae Romanae'

<sup>1</sup> Very little is known about Bartolo, a poet from Viterbo (see MAZZUCHELLI 1753-63, vol. 2, p. 468). He is absent from Lyra and the Italian Academies Database.



	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
14	Benci, Trifone <sup>2</sup>	Sidereos densa septos caligine ocellos	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 70 <sup>v</sup> ; CLM485, fol. 37 <sup>r</sup>	CLM485, attrib. Poggio, Giulio
15	Benucci, Lattanzio <sup>3</sup>	Qual de la notte nel più spesso horrorre	Son.	1555, sig. Qij <sup>v</sup>	Rub. 'Sopra il suo manto'
16	Benucci, Lattanzio	Bionda chioma, ch'el cuor in tanti nodi	Son.	1555, sig. Qiv <sup>r</sup>	Rub. 'De' suoi capelli'
17	Benucci, Lattanzio	La COLONNA ond'uscita sì chiaro ardore	Son.	1555, sig. Yij <sup>v</sup>	
18	Bonagrazia, Turino <sup>4</sup>	Come dalle divine eterne spere	Canz.	1555, sigs. Sij <sup>r</sup> -Ti <sup>r</sup>	
19	Bonagrazia, Turino	Vedete oggi mortale lieti e beati	Son.	1555, sig. Tij <sup>v</sup>	
20	Bonagrazia, Turino	L'alta immortal COLONNA	Canz.	1555, sigs. Ilij <sup>r</sup> - Iliv <sup>v</sup>	
21	Bonagrazia, Turino	Santa immortale e chiara	Canz.	1555, sigs. Lli <sup>r</sup> - Llij <sup>v</sup>	
22	Busini, Giovanni Battista <sup>5</sup>	Possente Amor, che dolcemente spiri	Son.	1555, sig. Eiv <sup>v</sup>	
23	Capilupi, Ippolito	Come per l'ampio ciel girando il sole	Son.	1555, sig. liv <sup>v</sup> ; 1565a, sig. Q8 <sup>v</sup>	1555, named only as 'Capilupi'
24	Capilupi, Ippolito	Vestiva i colli, e le campagne intorno	Son.	1550, sig. L3 <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. liij <sup>v</sup> ; 1565a, sig. Q8 <sup>v</sup>	1555, attrib. Molza, Francesco Maria. Set to music by Palestrina in 1566. <sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See PROSPERI 1966.

<sup>3</sup> BERTOLIO 2017, p. 31 argues that a copy of the *RDD* in Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena, carries Benucci's autograph annotations.

<sup>4</sup> See MAZZUCHELLI 1753-63, vol. 2, p. 2311; TOMMASSETTI 2020. Bonagrazia, born in Pescia, was the youngest son of Paul III's physician, Andrea Turini (c. 1473-1550), and Margherita Bonagrazia. It is unclear why Turino Bonagrazia is cited in the *RDD* under his mother's family name. His translation of Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola's *Strix sive de ludificatione daemonum* as the *Dialogo intitolato la strega o vero de gli inganni de' demoni* (Pescia: Lorenzo Torrentino, USTC 848443) was printed in 1555, the same year as the *RDD*, under the name Turino Turini.

<sup>5</sup> Busini lived in Rome for many years, where he knew Sebastiano Gandolfi, Annibal Caro and Gabriele Faerno: cfr. Giovanni Battista Busini to Benedetto Varchi, 11 Aug. 1548, 8 Dec. 1548, 12 May 1549, in BUSINI 1861, pp. 5, 19, 215.

<sup>6</sup> BONAGIUNTA 1566, sigs. A4<sup>v</sup>-A5<sup>r</sup>.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
25	Cappello, Bernardo	S'en te siede pietà, quanto possanza	Son.	Barb., fol. 2 <sup>r</sup> ; Lat5226, fols. 280 <sup>r</sup> -280 <sup>v</sup> ; 1553b, sig. Piiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1555 sig. Cij <sup>r</sup> ; 1558b, sig. Hviiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1560b, sig. Cc1 <sup>r</sup> ; 1573b, sigs. Piii <sup>v</sup> -Piv <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 242	Lat5226, anon., one of seven Son.s on two sheets signed 'Di Venetia.   Compar e servitor   Ambrogio humile' [f. 281 <sup>r</sup> ] <sup>7</sup>
26	Cappello, Bernardo	S'altro lume non è che infiammi e mostre	Son.	Barb., fol. 4 <sup>v</sup> ; 1553b, sig. Piiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Cij <sup>v</sup> ; 1558b, sig. Hviiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1560b, sig. Cc1 <sup>v</sup> ; 1573b, sig. Piv <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 244	1555 attrib. to Cenci, Giacomo
27	Cappello, Bernardo	Deh non voler signor, che le più belle	Son.	Barb., fol. 2 <sup>v</sup> ; 1553b, sig. Piiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Liv <sup>v</sup> ; 1558b, sig. Hviiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1560b, sig. Cc1 <sup>r</sup> ; 1573b, sig. Piv <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 243	1560b, sig. Pp1 <sup>r</sup> : 'Per la Signora Livia Colonna'

<sup>7</sup> The sender was perhaps the Ambrogio Humile named in 1566 as a 'giudice' from Penne living in Ortona on land owned by Margaret of Austria (D'ONOFRIO 1919, p. 264).

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
28	Cappello, Bernardo	Chi mi darà le lagrime ond'io possa	Canz.	1547, sigs. Hiii <sup>v</sup> -Hv <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sigs. AAij <sup>v</sup> -AAiv <sup>v</sup> ; 1560b, sigs. Q2 <sup>v</sup> -Q3 <sup>v</sup> ; 2018, no. 157	1547, attrib. Cenci, Giacomo; 1560b, sig. Oo4 <sup>r</sup> : 'In morte di Madonna Faustina Mancini de gli Attavanti'
29	Cappello, Bernardo	Cittadina del ciel, o Alma felice	Son.	1544, sigs. Cijj <sup>r</sup> -Cijj <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. BBiv <sup>v</sup>	1544, anon.
30	Cappello, Bernardo	Come edificio antico che la grave	Son.	1560b, sig. B4 <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 14	
31	Cappello, Bernardo	La vergine Romana, il cui pudico	Son.	1560b, sig. S4 <sup>v</sup> ; 2018, no. 192	
32	Cappello, Bernardo	D'ogni excelsa bellezza era già morto	Son.	1560b, sig. S4 <sup>v</sup> ; 2018, no. 193	1560b, sig. Pp1 <sup>r</sup> : 'Per la Signora Livia Colonna'
33	Cappello, Bernardo	Qual già per trarre a libertà l'Hebreo	Son.	1560b, sig. S5 <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 194	1560b, sig. Qq2 <sup>r</sup> : 'A la Signora Livia Colonna'
34	Cappello, Bernardo	Tu, che di verde manto il mondo vesti	Son.	1560b, sig. S5 <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 195	1560b, sig. Qq4 <sup>v</sup> : 'Per la Signora Livia Colonna'
35	Cappello, Bernardo	Che voi de la più saggia et via più bella	Son.	1560b, sig. S5 <sup>v</sup> ; 2018, no. 196	
36	Cappello, Bernardo	Viva Colonna e salda, a cui s'appoggia	Son.	1560b, sig. S5 <sup>v</sup> ; 2018, no. 197	1560b, sig. Rr1 <sup>r</sup> : 'A la Signora Livia Colonna'
37	Cappello, Bernardo	Donna, di cui scrissi più volte in rime	Son.	1560b, sig. S6 <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 198	1560b, sig. Pp1 <sup>r</sup> : 'A la medesima [Livia Colonna]'

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
38	Cappello, Bernardo	O Colonna, ove Amore et Castitade	Son.	1560b, sigs. Ee2 <sup>v</sup> -Ee3 <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 268	1560b, sig. Pp4 <sup>r</sup> : 'A la Signora Donna Hieronima Colonna'; 2018, p. 577: 'Il sonetto, indirizzato a Girolama Colonna, [...] fu forse composto in un primo momento per Livia Colonna e riadattato successivamente per la nuova destinataria. [...] [In Biblioteca Casanatense, Roma, MS 277] la lirica è inclusa nella sezione destinata a Livia'
39	Cappello, Bernardo	Poi ch'è pur ver, che i duo bei lumi santi	Son.	Cap. 152, fol. 114 <sup>v</sup> ; 1553b, sig. Piiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. DDi <sup>r</sup> ; 1560b, Q2 <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 156	Cap. 152., attrib. to Gandolfo, Sebastiano; 1553b, attrib. to Cappello, Bernardo; 1560b, sig. Qqi <sup>r</sup> : 'In morte di Madonna Faustina Mancini'; 2018, p. 435: 'Il testo è tradito da un considerevole numero di testimoni, latori anche di varianti d'autore: il sonetto nasce infatti dalla rielaborazione di uno precedente, composto forse negli anni veneziani e successivamente riadattato al nuovo contesto [la morte di Mancini].'
40	Cappello, Bernardo	Occhio puro del ciel, luce del mondo	Son.	1555, sig. DDiv <sup>v</sup> ; 1560b, sig. Q3 <sup>v</sup> -Q4 <sup>r</sup> ; 2018, no. 158	1560b, sig. Ppiv <sup>r</sup> : 'In morte di Madonna Faustina Mancini.'

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
41	Caro, Annibal	Amor, che fia di noi, se non si sface	Canz.	Barb., fol. 5 <sup>r</sup> [incomplete]; Barb., fols. 31 <sup>r</sup> -33 <sup>v</sup> ; Sess., fol. 136 <sup>r</sup> -138 <sup>v</sup> ; 1552, sigs. AAv <sup>r</sup> -AAvj <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sigs. Bi <sup>v</sup> -Bij <sup>v</sup> ; 1558b, sigs. Cvij <sup>r</sup> -Cvij <sup>r</sup> ; 1564b, sigs. Gvi <sup>r</sup> -Gvi <sup>v</sup> ; 1569, sigs. C2 <sup>r</sup> -C3 <sup>r</sup> ; 1579, sigs. B10 <sup>v</sup> -B11 <sup>r</sup> ; 1974, pp. 344-46	1558b, sig. PPiiij <sup>r</sup> : 'bellissima Canzone fatta dal Caro sopra gli occhi della Signora Livia Colonna, quando divenne cieca del tutto, & così stata molti giorni, riacquistò poi il vedere,' reprinted in 1579, sig. Aa10 <sup>v</sup> .
42	Caro, Annibal	Amor scherzando a sorte	Stram.	1555, sig. Bij <sup>v</sup> ; 1974, p. 655, fn. 10	
43	Caro, Annibal	De i begli occhi 'l splendore	Stram.	1555, sig. Div <sup>v</sup>	
44	Caro, Annibal	Eran Theti, e Giunon, tranquille, e chiare	Son.	1552, sigs. BBvij <sup>r</sup> -CCj <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Piv <sup>r</sup> ; 1558b, sig. Cij <sup>r</sup> ; 1564b, sig. Gv <sup>v</sup>	1552, anon. An earlier redaction apparently exists. <sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Anonymous notes in a 1560s manuscript anthology (BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5339, fols. 79<sup>r</sup>-79<sup>v</sup>) state that a poem it contains, *Era l'aer tranquillo, e l'onde chiare*, was found 'in un libro scritto a penna di un mio amico, che facea professione di raccorre tutte le belle compositioni, che usciano allor fuori in Roma et nell'altre città d'Italia.' The annotator presumes this text to be a draft: 'io giurarei esser l'abbozzatura di quell'altro di Caro [...] il qual comincia Eran Theti, e Giunon, tranquille e chiare. Il qual sonetto contiene l'istessa materia et è composto quasi delle medesime catene ma è diverso alquanto di parole [...] onde io vo considerando che detta abbozzatura venisse alle mani di qualcuno, prima che l'autore polisse apieno come di poi fece': see ALBONICO 2016, pp. 202-06.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
45	Caro, Annibal	O d'humana beltà caduchi fiori	Son.	Cap. 152, fol. 113 <sup>v</sup> ; 1545, sig. Pij <sup>r</sup> ; 1546, sig. Qj <sup>r</sup> ; 1547, sig. Hi <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. EEiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1558b, sig. Dij <sup>v</sup> ; 1564b, sig. Nix <sup>v</sup> ; 1569, sig. K2 <sup>r</sup> ; 1974, p. 356-57	1547, 1564b, attrib. Cenci, Giacomo
46	Caro, Annibal	Ben ho del caro oggetto i sensi privi	Son.	Lat9948, fol. 103 <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Oi <sup>v</sup> ; 1569, sig. B3 <sup>r</sup> ; 1974, pp. 336-37.	Lat9948, attrib. to Orsini, Flaminio, corrected to Caro in different hand. 1555, attrib. to Orsini, Flaminio.
47	Casa, Giovanni della	Mendico, e nudo piango, e de' miei danni	Son.	1555, sig. Niij <sup>v</sup> ; 1558c, sig. E4 <sup>r</sup>	
48	Casa, Giovanni della	Quella, che lieta del mortal mio duolo	Son.	1551c, sig. Fiiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1552, sig. Oviiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Rij <sup>r</sup> ; 1558c, sig. C4 <sup>v</sup> ; 1993, no. 44	1552, anon.
49	Casa, Giovanni della	Vivo mio scoglio, & selce alpestre, & dura	Son.	1551c, sig. Fiiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1552, sigs. Oviiij <sup>r</sup> -Oviiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Rij <sup>v</sup> ; 1558c, sig. C4 <sup>v</sup> ; 1993, no. 43	1552, anon.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
50	Casa, Giovanni della	Ben mi scorgea quel dì crudele stella	Son.	Lat5182, fol. 158 <sup>v</sup> ; 1551c, sig. Evj <sup>r</sup> ; 1552, sig. Oviiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Riiij <sup>r</sup> ; 1558c, sig. C4 <sup>r</sup> ; 1993, no. 41	1552, anon.
51	Casa, Giovanni della	Già non potrete voi per fuggir lunge	Son.	1551c, sig. Evj <sup>r</sup> ; 1552, sigs. Oviiij <sup>v</sup> - Pj <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Riiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1558c, sig. C4 <sup>r</sup> ; 1993, no. 42	1552, anon.
52	Cazano, Ercole <sup>9</sup>	Dum Venerem Idalio dignosam colle Cupido	El. Coupl.	Lat5226, fols. 165 <sup>r</sup> -167 <sup>r</sup>	Lat5226 attrib. 'Hercules Barzizius Cazanus.' Ded. to Manilio, Marco. <sup>10</sup>
53	Cenci, Giacomo <sup>11</sup>	Le chiare lampe, ove le faci Amore	Son.	Barb., fol. 5 <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Ciiij <sup>r</sup>	
54	Cenci, Giacomo	Gloriosa Colonna, ch'amor prima	Son.	Barb., fol. 6 <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Ciiij <sup>v</sup>	
55	Cenci, Giacomo	Tra queste palme d'oro e questi strali	Son.	1547, sig. Hii <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. DDiv <sup>r</sup> ; GGij <sup>r</sup> [repeated]	1555, attrib. Capello, Bernardo
56	Cenci, Giacomo	Veggio ne l'hore prime	Canz.	1555, sigs. Di <sup>r</sup> -Dij <sup>v</sup>	

<sup>9</sup> Ercole Cazano (d. before 1574), Bergamasque jurist and poet, cfr. poetry addressed to Cazano in BRESSANI 1574, sigs. D1<sup>r</sup>, F7<sup>r</sup>. See also CALVI 1664, vol. 1, p. 334.

<sup>10</sup> Secretary to Cardinal Bernardino Maffei and correspondent of Cardinal du Bellay (cfr. Marco Manilio to Cardinal Jean du Bellay, 13 Nov. 1555, 24 Sept. 1555 in BnF, MS Dupuy 699, fols. 21<sup>r</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>11</sup> Cenci was also the author of a comedy, *Gli errori*, likely printed posthumously (GARAVELLI 2013, p. 144). Many of his poems were anthologised. ATANAGI (1565a, sig. kl23<sup>v</sup>) states that he translated Virgil's *Georgics*, though this text is otherwise unknown.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
57	Cenci, Giacomo	Ben è malvagia sorte	Canz.	1555, sigs. Diiij <sup>r</sup> -Div <sup>v</sup>	
58	Cenci, Giacomo	Poi ch'empio fato a comun danno, e scorno	Son.	1555, sig. Mij <sup>r</sup>	Rub. 'A Messer Dionigi Atanagi'
59	Cenci, Giacomo	Dunque nodo sì bel morte ha disciolto?	Son.	1547, sig. Hiii <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Cciv <sup>r</sup>	
60	Cenci, Giacomo	Rotti sono d'Amor gli strali e l'arco	Son.	1547, sig. Hii <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Cciv <sup>v</sup>	
61	Cenci, Giacomo	Dum Venus aspecta verita est sibi LIVIA honores	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 72 <sup>v</sup>	
62	Cenci, Giacomo	Quella rara union, che 'n terra giunse	Son.	1565b, sig. I2 <sup>v</sup>	1565b, sig. Kl6 <sup>r</sup> : 'A la Signora Livia Colonna, in morte del Signor Martio Colonna, suo marito'
63	Cenci, Giacomo	Se del gran Signor vostro, ch'era al corso	Son.	1565b, sig. I2 <sup>v</sup>	1565b, sig. Kl6 <sup>r</sup> : 'A la Signora Livia Colonna, in morte del Signor Martio, suo marito'
64	Cesario, Giovanni Paolo	Redderet ut Phoebum vindex Cytherea minorem	El. Coupl.	1562, sig. D7 <sup>r</sup>	1562, rub. 'Ad Liviam oculos captam'
65	Cesario, Giovanni Paolo	Orbam luminibus dum te Berecynthia cernit	El. Coupl.	1562, sig. D7 <sup>r</sup>	1562, rub. 'Ad eandem'
66	'Clinio' <sup>12</sup>	Aversa mia fortuna		1555, sig. Niiij <sup>r</sup>	10 <i>ottonari</i> , ABCCDADEE.

<sup>12</sup> This poet's identity eludes me. Given *Aversa mia fortuna* has an unusual format, it is possible it was written to be set to music, which might suggest a familial relation to Venetian musician Teodoro Clinio (before 1560- d. c. 1602), perhaps even that 'Clinio' was Teodoro's father (on Teodoro Clinio, see MISCHIATI 1982).



	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
67	Contrini, Francesco <sup>13</sup>	Tosco gentil, de gli occhi onde fioriva	Son.	1555, sig. Niv <sup>r</sup>	
68	Contrini, Francesco	Spento era il Sole, spente eran le stelle	Son.	1555, sig. Niv <sup>v</sup>	
69	Costanzo, Angelo di <sup>14</sup>	Se quando in mezzo il suo viaggio scorse	Son.	1555, sig. Xij <sup>r</sup>	
70	Cristiani, Francesco	Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono	Son.	1555, sig. Bi <sup>r</sup>	Rub. 'Centone del Petrarca'
71	Cristiani, Francesco	I poli tanto a voi dan hoggi honore	Son.	1555, sig. Oij <sup>r</sup>	
72	Cristiani, Francesco	Occhi santi e sereni		1555, sig. Oij <sup>v</sup>	13 lines of varied length, ABBCCCDDEEEFF
73	Cristiani, Francesco	Tirsi ben mio FLORIDA tua s'accora	Son.	1555, sig. Qi <sup>r</sup>	
74	Cristiani, Francesco	Florida mia, che mia ti chiamo ogn' hora	Son.	1555, sig. Qi <sup>v</sup>	
75	Cristiani, Francesco	Non fiammegiaro mai sì chiare e belle	Son.	1555, sig. Qij <sup>r</sup>	
76	Cristiani, Francesco	Rasserena i begli occhi, o Padre eterno	Son.	1555, sig. Qij <sup>v</sup>	
77	Cristiani, Francesco	S'el vivo e dolce lume alta COLONNA	Son.	1555, sig. Vij <sup>r</sup>	
78	Cristiani, Francesco	Ohimè il bel viso, ohimè il soave sguardo	Son.	1555, sig. Xi <sup>r</sup>	Rub. 'Centone del Petrarca'
79	Cristiani, Francesco	Gloriosa COLONNA, il cui bel nome	Son.	1555, sig. Yiv <sup>r</sup>	
80	Cristiani, Francesco	Intera mia COLONNA, il nostro bene	Son.	1555, sig. Yiv <sup>v</sup>	
81	Cristiani, Francesco	Salda COLONNA, che poggiando al cielo	Son.	1555, sig. Zi <sup>r</sup>	
82	Cristiani, Francesco	Alta COLONNA, in terra un chiaro sole	Son.	1555, sig. Zi <sup>v</sup>	
83	Cristiani, Francesco	Superba al ciel COLONNA in terra giace	Son.	1555, sig. Zij <sup>r</sup>	

<sup>13</sup> Also the author of a pastoral comedy, *Lite amorosa* (1550), reprinted several times before 1600.

<sup>14</sup> Neapolitan poet and historian (1507-91): see FARENGA 1991.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
84	Cristiani, Francesco	Stabil COLONNA, che dal ben pensiero	Son.	1555, sig. Zij <sup>v</sup>	
85	Cristiani, Francesco	Pretiosa COLONNA, (o fato rio [...])	Son.	1555, sig. Ziiij <sup>r</sup>	
86	Cristiani, Francesco	Real COLONNA, che leggiara e sciolta	Son.	1555, sig. Ziiij <sup>v</sup>	
87	Cristiani, Francesco	Imperial COLONNA, i vanni altiera	Son.	1555, sig. Ziv <sup>r</sup>	
88	Cristiani, Francesco	Fortissima COLONNA, alma immortale	Son.	1555, sig. Ziv <sup>v</sup>	
89	Cristiani, Francesco	COLONNA di Diamante, Ahi cruda parca	Son.	1555, sig. AAi <sup>r</sup>	
90	Cristiani, Francesco	A sì nuova beltà gli angeli intenti	Son.	1555, sig. AAij <sup>v</sup>	
91	Cristiani, Francesco	Ecco oscurati i chiari raggi al Sole	Canz.	Cap. 139, fols. 207 <sup>v</sup> -210 <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sigs. BBij <sup>r</sup> -BBiv <sup>r</sup>	12 <i>sestine</i> and a <i>terzina</i> . First six <i>sestine</i> set to music by Palestrina in 1555. <sup>15</sup>
92	Cristiani, Francesco	O dolce amaro sonno, o notte acerba	Canz.	1555, sig. FFijr-GGi <sup>r</sup>	Rub. 'Il sogno'
93	Cristiani, Francesco	Chiarissima COLONNA, il cui splendore	Son.	1555, sig. Ilij <sup>v</sup>	
94	Cristiani, Francesco	Ogni gratia, ogni gioia		1555, sig. KKiiij <sup>r</sup>	9 <i>ottonari</i> , ABBCDDEE
95	Cristiani, Francesco	Anima bella, che leggiara e sciolta	Son.	1555, sig. KKiiij <sup>v</sup>	
96	Cristiani, Francesco	Venne la bella DONNA, e poi disparve	Son.	1555, sig. KKiv <sup>r</sup>	
97	Cristiani, Francesco	Levami in parte il mio pensier tal'hora	Son.	1555, sig. KKiv <sup>v</sup>	
98	Cristiani, Francesco	Cadde l'alta COLONNA, e notte oscura	Son.	1555, sig. LLiv <sup>r</sup>	
99	Cristiani, Francesco	Quella candida e pura mia Colomba	Son.	1555, sig. Miiij <sup>r</sup>	
100	Crucino, Federico <sup>16</sup>	Quid, ah quid facies miser Cupido?	Hend.	Barb., fol. 71 <sup>r</sup>	
101	Crucino, Federico	Quid nunc te miserum est magis Cupido?	Hend.	Barb., fol. 71 <sup>v</sup>	
102	Crucino, Federico	Huc illuc volita ut lubet citatis	Hend.	Barb., fol. 72 <sup>r</sup>	

<sup>15</sup> PALESTRINA 1555, sig. Di<sup>r</sup>. See MARVIN 2003, pp. 49-50.

<sup>16</sup> One printed work carries Crucino's name: *Iulii III Pontificatus Maximus* (Bologna: Anselmo Giaccarelli, 1550). I have found no other references to Crucino.

	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Other Information</b>
103	Crucino, Federico	Aemula sideribus nato dum laudat ocellos	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 72 <sup>v</sup>	
104	Dardano, Giovanni Tommaso	A piè del sacro colle	Canz.	Barb., fols. 7 <sup>r</sup> -11 <sup>r</sup> ; 1553b, sigs. Yvi <sup>v</sup> -Yvij <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Fi <sup>v</sup> -Fiv <sup>r</sup> ; 1564b, sigs. Rv <sup>v</sup> -Rvii <sup>r</sup>	1564b, sig. *ii <sup>v</sup> : 'Scritta a una gentildonna Romana di casa Colonna'
105	Dardano, Giovanni Tommaso	Cortese spirto, il cui raro valore	Canz.	Barb., fols. 19 <sup>r</sup> -22 <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sigs. Fiv <sup>r</sup> -Gij <sup>r</sup>	Barb., rub. 'Al Signor Ascanio della Corgnia'; 1555, rub. 'Al Signor Ascanio' <sup>17</sup>
106	Dardano, Giovanni Tommaso	Ben mi credea, de' sacri doni carco	Canz.	Barb., fols. 27 <sup>r</sup> -30 <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sigs. Gij <sup>v</sup> -Hi <sup>v</sup>	
107	Dardano, Giovanni Tommaso	Lasso quanto più a noi s'appressa il sole	Canz.	Barb., fols. 35 <sup>r</sup> -38 <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sigs. Hij <sup>r</sup> -Hiv <sup>v</sup>	
108	Dardano, Giovanni Tommaso	Giunto era il sole, al più gran dì de l'anno	Canz.	1555, sigs. Hiv <sup>v</sup> -Ilij <sup>r</sup>	
109	Dardano, Giovanni Tommaso	La notte, che seguì dopo l'ocaso	Canz.	Cap. 139, fols. 204 <sup>v</sup> -207 <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sigs. Yi <sup>r</sup> -Yij <sup>r</sup> ; 1565a, sigs. N7 <sup>r</sup> -N8 <sup>r</sup>	1565a, sig. li4 <sup>r</sup> : 'In morte della Signora Livia Colonna'

<sup>17</sup> The removal of Della Cornia's surname in 1555 is presumably linked to his shift into Imperial service in 1552, and subsequent disgrace and confiscation of feudal possessions by Pius IV in 1555: see FOSI POLVERINI 1988.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
110	Fascitelli, Onorato	Ocelli nitidi meae puellae	Hend.	Barb., fol. 59 <sup>r</sup> ; 1563, sig. Hvj <sup>r</sup> - Hvj <sup>v</sup> ; 1576, sigs. Kkij <sup>v</sup> -Kkij <sup>r</sup> ; 1776, pp. 30-31	1563, rub. 'De L. C. R. Oculis'; 1576, rub. 'De Liviae Columnae oculis'
111	Fascitelli, Onorato	Nae, si vos vitidi & venusti ocelli	Hend.	Barb., fol. 59 <sup>v</sup> ; 1563, sig. Hvj <sup>v</sup> - Hvij <sup>r</sup> ; 1576, sig. Kkij <sup>r</sup> ; 1776, p. 31	1576, rub. 'Aliud'
112	Fascitelli, Onorato	Postquam vos, nitidi & venusti ocelli	Hend.	Barb., fol. 60 <sup>r</sup> ; 1563, sig. Hvj <sup>v</sup> ; 1576, Kkij <sup>r</sup> -Kkij <sup>v</sup> ; 1776, pp. 31-32	1576, rub. 'Aliud'
113	Federici, Ludovico <sup>18</sup>	L'empia man, ch'ebbe ogni pietate a sdegno	Son.	1568, sig. X3 <sup>v</sup>	1568, sig. KK2 <sup>v</sup> : 'In morte dell'Ilustrissima Signora Livia Colonna'
114	Federici, Ludovico	Hor che l'alta COLONNA, in cui molt'anni	Son.	1568, sig. X4 <sup>r</sup>	1568, sig. KK2 <sup>v</sup> : 'In morte dell'Ilustrissima Signora Livia Colonna'
115	'Ferr.', Giulio	Pallido il Sol, dal ciel cader le stelle	Son.	1555, sig. Ri <sup>v</sup>	This poet's identity is debated. Ginanni refers to Giulio Ferretti (d. 1547); Quadrio suggests Neapolitan poet Giulio Ferro. <sup>19</sup>
116	Fiordiano, Malatesta <sup>20</sup>	Occhi amorosi, che qualhor d'intorno	Son.	1555, sig. Civ <sup>r</sup>	

<sup>18</sup> Jurist and member of the Brescian Accademia degli Occulti. It is unclear how or why he came to write poetry for Colonna. On the Occulti, see MAYLENDER 1926-30, vol. 4, pp. 87-91; and MAFFEI 2019, with bibliography.

<sup>19</sup> GINANNI 1739, p. XXIII; QUADRIO 1739-52, vol. 2, p. 511.

<sup>20</sup> Born in Rimini at an unknown date, and died between 1573-76. An undated exchange of letters between Fiordiano and Orazio Brunetto shows Fiordiano was in Venice in the 1540s, and was close to Gaspara Stampa (BRUNETTO 1548, sigs. BBii<sup>v</sup>-BBiii<sup>v</sup>, Miii<sup>v</sup>-Ni<sup>v</sup>). Fiordiano was the author of three printed works: *La bellezza delle donne* (1562); a

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
117	Fiordiano, Malatesta	Non sopra natural saria costei	Son.	1555, sig. Piv <sup>v</sup>	
118	Fiordiano, Malatesta	Dunque le luci pur senza splendore	Son.	1555, sig. Riv <sup>v</sup>	
119	Fiordiano, Malatesta	Se mai lagrime mie dogliose, e amare	Son.	1555, sig. HHi <sup>r</sup>	
120	Franchini, Francesco	Gestabat sine luce faces, fractasque sagittas	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 62 <sup>r</sup> ; 1554, sig. Gvij <sup>r</sup> ; 1577, sig. Kkij <sup>v</sup>	
121	Franchini, Francesco	Ardentes animae quae castra Erycina tenetis	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 62 <sup>r</sup> ; 1554, sig. Gvij <sup>r</sup> ; 1577, sig. Kkij <sup>v</sup>	
122	Franchini, Francesco	Ut nox nube cava texit tua Lumina ducens	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 62 <sup>v</sup> ; 1554, sigs. Gvij <sup>r</sup> - Gvij <sup>v</sup> ; 1577, sigs. Kkij <sup>v</sup> -Kkij <sup>r</sup>	
123	Franchini, Francesco	Flebat Amor, flebatque Venus, lachrymasque ciebant	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 62 <sup>v</sup> ; 1554, sig. Gvij <sup>v</sup> ; 1577, sig. Kkij <sup>r</sup>	
124	Franchini, Francesco	Ante alias forma pulcherrima LIVIA nympha	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 62 <sup>v</sup> ; 1554, sig. Gvij <sup>v</sup> ; 1577, sig. Kkij <sup>r</sup>	
125	Franchini, Francesco	Laeta erat ut sensit tua lumina mater Eoi	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 73 <sup>r</sup> ; 1554, sig. Gvij <sup>r</sup> ; 1577, sig. Kkij <sup>v</sup>	

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*Canzone in lode della magnifica città di Rimino* (1573); and a volume, published posthumously, combining an *ottava rima* treatise on fish with spiritual sonnets, entitled *Operetta non meno utile che dilettevole, della natura, et qualità di tutti i pesci [...] E di più sei sonetti in corona in laude della beatissima Vergine* (1576). See also BATTIFERRI 2006, p. 24, fn. 39.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
126	Franchini, Francesco	Improbe Amor, tu lucis egens orbasse putabas	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 73 <sup>r</sup> ; 1554, sig. Gviiij <sup>f</sup> ; 1577, sig. Kkiiij <sup>v</sup>	
127	Franchini, Francesco	Ter tibi dum venas ferit, aegra Columna, Machaon	El. Coupl.	1554, sig. Gviiij <sup>f</sup> ; 1577, sig. Kkiiij <sup>v</sup>	
128	Franchini, Francesco	Mos duci canibus caecos per stata viarum est	El. Coupl.	1554, sig. Gvij <sup>f</sup> ; 1577, sig. Kkiiij <sup>v</sup>	
129	Franchini, Francesco	Quicquid tibi tuisque ocellis vidimus	lam. Tri.	1554, sigs. Gviiij <sup>r</sup> - Gviiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1577, sigs. Kkiiij <sup>v</sup> -Kkiiij <sup>r</sup>	
130	Franchini, Francesco	Spina pedem Veneri pupugit; tibi Livia dextram	El. Coupl.	1554, sig. Hvi <sup>v</sup>	1554, Rub. 'Ad Liviam Columnam'
131	Franchini, Francesco	Spina tuam fuso violarat sanguine dextram	El. Coupl.	1554, sig. Hvi <sup>v</sup> ; 1600, sig. Qviiij <sup>r</sup>	1554, Rub. 'Aliud'; 1600, rub. 'Ad Liviam Columnam'
132	Gacciola, Dolce <sup>21</sup>	Hor, dove son quelle mie luci; quelle	Son.	1555, sig. Xi <sup>v</sup> ; 1573a, sig. D5 <sup>r</sup>	1555, anon.
133	Gacciola, Dolce	Apri, apri alto palazzo, altera loggia	Son.	Cap. 139, fol. 204 <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. GGiv <sup>f</sup> ; 1573a, sig. D5 <sup>r</sup>	

<sup>21</sup> Vernacular poet born in Amelia (d. c. 1564) whose *Rime* (1573) were printed posthumously. The index entry of a poem by Cipriano Saracinello (1565b, sig. livii<sup>v</sup>) written for Gacciola's wedding to Latina degli Amati describes him as a 'procuratore in corte di Roma.' Gacciola was a close acquaintance of Alessandro Guarnelli, as shown by their exchange of sonnets (GACCIOLA 1573, sigs. Ai<sup>r</sup>-Aii<sup>r</sup>) and a manuscript *canzone* from Gacciola to Guarnelli (BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5225, pt. 1, fols. 177<sup>r</sup>-183<sup>v</sup>) which seeks Guarnelli's advice and can be dated to c. 1562-3. Gacciola was also named in 1569 by Niccolò Franco as involved in the exchange of licentious poetry (MERCATI 1965, pp. 112-116, 183, 195).

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
134	Gambara, Lorenzo	Spreverat insano Nymphae devictus amore	Dact. Hex.	1555b, sig. B2 <sup>v</sup> -B5 <sup>r</sup> ; 1567, sigs. c8 <sup>r</sup> - d2 <sup>r</sup>	Rub. 'Leucothoe, sive Liviae Marci Antonii Columnae Filiae ad Petrum Cannicerum Aragonium, Ferdinandi Romanorum Regis Archiatrum' Ded. to Carnicer, Pedro. <sup>22</sup>
135	Gandolfi, Sebastiano <sup>23</sup>	Questa fenice, che nel raggio ardente	Son.	1555, sig. CCi <sup>r</sup>	
136	Gandolfi, Sebastiano	Spent'hai pur morte il Sol, da' cui bei rai	Son.	1555, sig. CCiij <sup>r</sup>	
137	Gandolfi, Sebastiano	La Donna che solea col sguardo solo	Son.	Cap. 152, fol. 114 <sup>r</sup> [quartets only]; 1547, sig. Hi <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. CCiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1564b, sig. Nix <sup>v</sup>	Cap. 152, attrib. to Pighini, Gandolfo; 1547, attrib. Cenci, Giacomo; 1564b, attrib. Gualtieri, Pietro Paolo

<sup>22</sup> Pedro Carnicer (d. 1564), physician to Ferdinand II of Aragon between 1533-58. Dedicatee of other verses by Gambara (GAMBARA 1555b, sigs. D3<sup>v</sup>-D5<sup>v</sup>, E4<sup>r</sup>-E6<sup>r</sup>). See BATAILLON AND PALACIO Y PALACIO 1972.

<sup>23</sup> See CHIDO 2011 and GANDOLFI 2022.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
138	Gandolfi, Sebastiano	Poi che gli occhi del mondo, il primo honore	Capitolo	Barb., fols. 13 <sup>r</sup> -17 <sup>r</sup> ; Lat5226, fols. 155 <sup>r</sup> -158 <sup>r</sup> ; 1553b, sigs. Kvij <sup>v</sup> -Lij <sup>f</sup> ; 1555, sigs. DDi <sup>v</sup> -DDij <sup>v</sup> ; 1573b, sigs. Kviii <sup>v</sup> -Liii <sup>f</sup>	<i>Capitolo in rime baciato</i> . Barb., attrib. to Porrino, Gandolfo; Lat5226, anon; 1555, attrib. Pighini, Gandolfo. <sup>24</sup> Three versions exist: Barb., refers to Livia alone; 1553b refers to 'Alessi' and Livia 'a Fiesole, a la gregge'; Lat5226 & 1555 refer to 'Alessi' and Livia 'a Fiesole, a Caregge.'
139	Gandolfi, Sebastiano	La bella DONNA, che nel ciel è gita	Son.	Cap. 152, fol. 114 <sup>v</sup> ; 1544, sig. Cij <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. EEiv <sup>v</sup>	Cap. 152, attrib. to Pighini, Gandolfo; 1544, anon.
140	Gandolfi, Sebastiano	Il vago SPIRTO, che tra perle chiare	Son.	1547, sig. Hi <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. GGiv <sup>v</sup>	1547, attrib. Cenci, Giacomo
141	Gandolfi, Sebastiano	Donna, che qui lasciando il tuo bel velo	Son.	Cap. 152, fol. 115 <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. HHij <sup>f</sup>	Cap. 152, attrib. to Pighini, Gandolfo
142	Gandolfi, Sebastiano	Poi che la DONNA al mondo senza pare	Son.	1555, sig. HHiv <sup>f</sup>	

<sup>24</sup> This index is testament to the recurrent confusion of attributions between Sebastiano Gandolfi, Gandolfo Porrino and Gandolfo Pighini in the sixteenth century and afterwards (CENTO 2014, p. 22). Alfredo Cento and Paolo Procaccioli assume Pighini is the author of *Poi che gli occhi*, and that Cristiani corrected earlier attributions to Gandolfi (GANDOLFI 2022, p. 69). I remain unconvinced, given Gandolfi provided 8 poems (plus two tentatively identified poems provided in Appendix C, Section 2) compared to a single poem by Pighini. It would be helpful here to understand more about Cristiani's role as editor of the *RDD*, and his knowledge of the poets involved.



	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
143	Goselini, Giuliano	Da poi che pur destin fiero mi vieta	Canz.	1553b, sig. AAij <sup>r</sup> -AAij <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Kij <sup>v</sup> -Li <sup>v</sup> ; 1573b, sigs. AAiii <sup>r</sup> -AAiii <sup>v</sup> ; 2014, pp. 470-71	Rewritten for Goselini's collected works (1581). <sup>25</sup>
144	Guarnelli, Alessandro	Quei che, l'alma beltade, e i sommi honori	Son.	1555, sig. Aiv <sup>r</sup>	Rub. 'A li scrittori'
145	Guarnelli, Alessandro	Quell'empia e ria ch'ogni piacer ne toglie	Son.	1555, sig. Riv <sup>r</sup>	
146	Guarnelli, Alessandro	Hor ch'el mio Sol più chiaro	Canz.	1555, sigs. Tijj <sup>r</sup> -Vi <sup>r</sup>	
147	Guarnelli, Alessandro	Non perché deste altrui	Stram.	1555, sig. Vi <sup>r</sup>	
148	Guarnelli, Alessandro	Raddoppiavan pietosi i miei lamenti	Son.	1555, sig. Vi <sup>v</sup>	
149	Guarnelli, Alessandro	O vaga giovenetta	Canz.	1555, sigs. EEi <sup>r</sup> -EEij <sup>v</sup>	
150	Guarnelli, Alessandro	Invan t'affanni, o Sole	Stram.	1555, sig. Ilii <sup>v</sup>	
151	Guglia, Francesco Maria <sup>26</sup>	Indarno fera, armasti il petto e 'l tergo	Son.	1555, sig. BBiv <sup>r</sup>	
152	Marca, Pietro della <sup>27</sup>	L'alta di Iddio pietà ch'ognor a canto	Canz.	1555, sigs. Mijj <sup>r</sup> -Nijj <sup>r</sup>	

<sup>25</sup> Appears as 'Mentre che 'l fero Marte ancor mi vieta' with the rubric 'Dialogo tra la Sua Donna & lui in lontananza' in subsequent editions: see ALBONICO 2006, p. 163.

<sup>26</sup> Poetry by Guglia (fl. 1550s?), born in Velletri, was printed in anthologies from the late 1540s; see <https://lyra.unil.ch/agents/178>. See also QUADRIO 1739-52, vol. 2, p. 354.

<sup>27</sup> Pietro della Marca (1519- d. after. 1552/4), also known as Pietro Manelfi, underwent religious conversion in the early 1540s and by the end of the decade had become an itinerant Anabaptist minister. In 1551, he reported himself to the inquisition in Bologna; sent to Rome, he denounced a number of heretics to officials and was provided with a monthly stipend for his services, after which he 'scomparve letteralmente dalla scena italiana' (BRACCESI 2007). Della Marca's presence here suggests his conversion and renunciation was accepted socially, and that he was perhaps still alive in 1554.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
153	Marmitta, Jacopo	Chiaro Sole a' dì nostri in terra apparse	Son.	Barb., fol. 4 <sup>r</sup> ; Cap. 152, fol. 113 <sup>r</sup> ; 1553b, sigs. KKxij <sup>r</sup> -KKxij <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Biv <sup>r</sup> ; 1564a, sig. liii <sup>r</sup> ; 1573b, sig. KKviii <sup>r</sup>	
154	Marmitta, Jacopo	Gandolfo mio, que' duo begli occhi, a' quali	Son.	1555, sig. Biv <sup>v</sup> ; 1564a, sig. liii <sup>r</sup> ; 1573b, sig. KKviii <sup>v</sup>	
155	Molza, Francesco Maria	Vincerà, chiaro Sole, il vostro raggio	Son.	1555, sig. liv <sup>r</sup> ; 1565a, sig. H6 <sup>v</sup>	
156	Molza, Francesco Maria	La mia Fenice ha già spiegate l'ali	Son.	1555, sig. BBi <sup>v</sup>	1555, anon in index
157	Oldradi, Angelo degli	Sprezzava in tutto già l'altero Marte	Ott. R.	1549, sigs. Aiv <sup>r</sup> -Cijj <sup>v</sup>	Translation of Gambara, Lorenzo, <i>Spreverat insano Nymphae devictus amore</i> . Ded. Merenda, Francesco. <sup>28</sup>
158	Omodei, Antonio 'Filoteo'	Ecco oscurati i chiari raggi al Sole	Canz.	Cap. 139, fols. 210 <sup>v</sup> -215 <sup>v</sup>	Differs from same titled verse by Cristiani, Francesco which precedes it in Cap. 139.

<sup>28</sup> Oldradi refers to Livia Colonna as Merenda's 'honoratissima padrona' (sig. Aii<sup>v</sup>); from the preface to Oldradi's *Capitoli piacevoli sopra varii soggetti* (c. 1550?) we learn Merenda was from Forlì (sig. Aii<sup>r</sup>). Servants at Pompeo Colonna's trial named one 'Francesco da Forlì' as Colonna's 'Auditore'; this may be Merenda (MASETTI ZANNINI 1973, p. 320).

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
159	Paloni, Marcello <sup>29</sup>	Cum foret Idaliae forma par Livia matri	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 61 <sup>r</sup>	
160	Paloni, Marcello	Cautus Amor dilecta alii ne lumina cernant	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 61 <sup>v</sup>	
161	Paloni, Marcello	Livia erat Cytherea videns, nunc caeca Medusa est	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 61 <sup>v</sup>	
162	Paloni, Marcello	Ascanio magno, fortique Iovis nepoti	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 61 <sup>v</sup>	
163	Pighini, Gandolfo <sup>30</sup>	De i be' vostri occhi far due stelle in cielo	Son.	1555, sig. Eiv <sup>r</sup>	
164	Poggio, Giulio <sup>31</sup>	Se così dolce & sì temprato cielo	End. Sc.	Barb., fols. 90 <sup>r</sup> - 95 <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sigs. Oiiij <sup>r</sup> -Piiij <sup>v</sup>	
165	Poggio, Giulio	Aurea sydereis nullo discrimine ocellos	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 65 <sup>r</sup>	
166	Poggio, Giulio	Aspicit ardentis gemmae dum lampadis ignes	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 65 <sup>v</sup>	

<sup>29</sup> Paloni (b. c. 1490s? – d. after 1560) was a Roman by birth who exclusively produced Latin verse. A letter from Pietro Bembo to Paloni (5 July 1532, in BEMBO 1987-1993, vol. 3, pp. 352-53) demonstrates Bembo heard Paloni recite verse in Venice, and that Paloni sent Bembo copies of his own poetry as well as works by Vittoria Colonna and Veronica Gambara. Paloni contributed to the 1522 anthology for the death of Livia Colonna's father (see Ch. 3) and to Giovio's *Elogia* (1551); he is also cited as an acquaintance of Anton Francesco Raineri in the dedication of the latter's *Pompe* (RAINERI 1554, sig. Diiii<sup>v</sup>). Paloni also held military and diplomatic roles: cfr. Gian Matteo Giberti to Agostino Trivulzio, 19 Dec. 1526, in RUSCELLI 1581, sig. E3<sup>v</sup>; Giovanni Guidiccioni to Paul III, 6 May 1541, in GUIDICIONI 1855, p. 236.

<sup>30</sup> Perhaps a relative of Sebastiano Antonio Pighini (1500-53), a papal courtier close to Julius III (CECCARELLI 2015). I have found no further references to him.

<sup>31</sup> Giulio Poggio (1522-68), born in Rome, was a member of the Accademia dello Sdegno. The only information regarding him in the Italian Academies Database is erroneous; Giovanni Poggio, not Giulio, was Archbishop of Tropea. Poggio's verse was printed in 1565a and 1565b.

	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Other Information</b>
167	Poggio, Giulio	Fecerat in Latiam quae pridem incendia pubem	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 66 <sup>r</sup> ; CLM485, fols. 36 <sup>v</sup> - 37 <sup>r</sup>	
168	Poggio, Giulio	Coecus Amor queritur nullos dum luminis usus	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 66 <sup>r</sup>	
169	Poggio, Giulio	Quod nebulae obducto caligant lumina amictu	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 66 <sup>v</sup>	
170	Poggio, Giulio	Stericon proprios Helenae dum carpit honores	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 67 <sup>r</sup>	
171	Poggio, Giulio	Ut coeli insueto spacium implevere nitore	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 67 <sup>v</sup>	
172	Poggio, Giulio	Viderat aetherea Veneris puer arce Columnam	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 68 <sup>r</sup>	
173	Poggio, Giulio	Quod prius algentis praesens clementia coeli	El. Coupl.	Barb., fols. 75 <sup>r</sup> -79 <sup>r</sup>	
174	Porrino, Gandolfo	Qual suol talhor quando importuna e folta	Son.	1555, sig. Ci <sup>r</sup>	
175	Porrino, Gandolfo	Già sotto il fosco de la nube il sole	Son.	1555, sig. Ci <sup>v</sup>	
176	Porrino, Gandolfo	Il mio più bianco, e più superbo toro	Son.	1555, sig. Fi <sup>r</sup>	

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
177	Porrino, Gandolfo	Santi messi d'Amore	Canz.	Barb., fols. 23 <sup>r</sup> -26 <sup>v</sup> ; Sess., fols. 140 <sup>v</sup> -143 <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sigs. Ki <sup>r</sup> -Kij <sup>r</sup>	Likely the poem sent in 1551 to Vespasiano Gonzaga, son of Isabella Colonna: 'havendo fatto un capitolo intercalare, per obedirla gli lo mando. Il subbietto è la infirmità de li occhi della Signora Livia, & parte nel fine di speranza della sanità di quella signora, & di prospera fortuna per il mio Cardinale, che Dio lo faccia.' <sup>32</sup>
178	Porrino, Gandolfo	Qual Diva, o Donna di più chiaro grido	Canz.	1555, sigs. Lii <sup>r</sup> -Liv <sup>r</sup>	
179	Porrino, Gandolfo	Donna del terzo ciel madre d'Amore	Ott. R.	1551b, sigs. gij <sup>v</sup> -hij <sup>v</sup>	Anon. annotations in 1551b, sig. gij <sup>v</sup> (Biblioteca Storica di Ateneo "A. Graf", Turin, Cna M 11): 'Le stanze che seguono furono fatte in nome del Cardinal Farnese che amava et gioiva di detta Signora Livia, che fu poi uccisa dal Signor Pompeo Colonna suo genero, la quale era vedova et fu moglie del Signor Marzio Colonna, donna bella molto et molto gentile et adornata di molta grazia e cortesia, della quale io ho il ritratto naturalissimo.' <sup>33</sup>
180	Porrino, Gandolfo	L'alto miracol di natura canto	Ott. R.	1551b, sigs. hiiij <sup>r</sup> -iiiiij <sup>r</sup>	

<sup>32</sup> Gandolfo Porrino to Vespasiano Gonzaga, 1 Nov. 1551, in TIRABOSCHI 1781-86, vol. 4, p. 224.

<sup>33</sup> See CHIDO 2003, p. 90.

	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Other Information</b>
181	Porrino, Gandolfo	Di bel cristallo un pretioso vaso	Son.	1551b, sig. hi <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. HHij <sup>v</sup>	1555, anon.
182	Porrino, Gandolfo	Donna, d'alte virtute ornata, et piena	Son.	Lat5226, fol. 164 <sup>r</sup> ; 1551b, sig. hi <sup>v</sup>	Lat5226, rub. 'Alla Signora Livia Colonna,' anon.
183	Possevino, Giovambattista	Huc ades aetheriae lucis moderator, & idem	El. Coupl.	1563, sig. Kv <sup>v</sup> ; 1576, sig. Eij <sup>v</sup>	1563, rub. 'Ad Apollinem, pro Liviae Columnae oculis,' 1576, rub. 'Ad Apollinem, pro Liviae Columniae oculis'
184	Possevino, Giovambattista	Quae tibi coelesteis nox Livia condit ocellos	El. Coupl.	1563, sig. Kv <sup>v</sup> ; 1576, sig. Eij <sup>v</sup>	1563, rub. 'Ad Liviam Columnam,' 1576, rub. 'Ad Liviam Columniam'
185	Puteo, Antonio <sup>34</sup>	Donna ch'a quante fûr donne o fien poi	Son.	1555, sig. Qiv <sup>v</sup>	
186	Puteo, Antonio	Mentre a mirar la vaga luce ardente	Son.	1555, sig. Ti <sup>v</sup>	
187	Puteo, Antonio	Mentre accennò di tor nebbia atra al mondo	Son.	1555, sig. Xij <sup>v</sup>	
188	Puteo, Antonio	I begl'occhi leggiadri ove fea Amore	Son.	1555, sig. EEiij <sup>r</sup>	

<sup>34</sup> Antonio Puteo (1534-92), Archbishop of Bari 1562-92.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
189	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Rompa Amor l'arco, e la faretra versi	Son.	Barb., fol. 1 <sup>r</sup> ; Sess., fol. 144 <sup>v</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Bi <sup>v</sup> ; 1553a, sig. Diii <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Bii <sup>r</sup>	Sess., 'Di Messer Anton Francesco Raineri sopra il mal degli occhi della Signora Livia Colonna'; 1553a, sigs. Kvii <sup>r</sup> -Kvii <sup>v</sup> : 'È notissimo il caso, ch'avenne alla Signora Livia Colonna, quando fu l'anno passato a pericol di perdere i più bei lumi, che sian veduti al mondo; per una scesa d'humori, che gli stillava su gli occhi; sì perché tutta Roma ne pianse; & tutti i più nobili Intelletti d'Italia vi composero lagrimevoli versi, in l'una & l'altra lingua, che furon tanti, che raccolti insieme, fecer un volume ben alto [...] Mosso l'Authore adunque dal danno pubblico; e persuaso ancora da un suo Signore Illustrissimo che gli può comandare, & egli ha per gratia d'ubidirlo, compose molte cose & latine & volgari sopra questo soggetto, & raccolse tutte l'altrui, in un Libro, che fu presentato dappoi a quella Eccellente Signora'

	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Other Information</b>
190	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Qual nembo oscuro a l'amorosa luce	Son.	Barb., fol. 1 <sup>v</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Bi <sup>r</sup> ; 1553a, sig. Diiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Civ <sup>v</sup>	
191	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Impallidir il sol, cader le stelle	Son.	Barb., fol. 3 <sup>r</sup> ; 1553a, sig. Diiij <sup>r</sup>	Barb., attrib. to Cappello, Bernardo; 1553a, sig. Kviiij <sup>v</sup> : 'È del medesimo soggetto del precedente ['Rompa Amor l'arco, e la faretra versi'], aggiuntavi di più la similitudine d'Amore, con gli occhi fasciati di nera benda; havendo visto l'Authore la sopradetta Signora, bendata gli occhi, in quella maniera; mentre che i medici la curavano; ch'era cosa a veder, compassionevole molto.'
192	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Pari a l'unico bel gemino tempio	Son.	1555, sig. Qiiij <sup>r</sup>	
193	Raineri, Anton Francesco	O de i terreni, e de i celesti honori	Son.	1553a, sig. Cii <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Xiiij <sup>v</sup> ; 1558b, sig. Eij <sup>r</sup> ; 1564b, sig. Hviii <sup>v</sup>	
194	Raineri, Anton Francesco	In riva al Tebro altier su 'l manco lato	Son.	1553a, sig. Ci <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. FFi <sup>r</sup> ; 1558b, sig. Eij <sup>r</sup> ; 1564b, sig. Hviii <sup>v</sup>	1553a, sig. Ki <sup>r</sup> : 'In morte ancor de la sopradetta Gentildonna [=Faustina Mancini].' 1555, attrib. to Caro, Annibal



	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Other Information</b>
195	Raineri, Anton Francesco	I' non vidi più mai candido il giorno	Sest.	Barb., fols. 39 <sup>r</sup> - 40 <sup>v</sup> ; 1553a, sigs. Ev <sup>r</sup> -Evi <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sigs. Mi <sup>r</sup> -Mi <sup>v</sup>	1553a, sig. Liiij <sup>v</sup> : 'È composta nel Caso, ch'avvenne alla Signora Livia Colonna, sovr'al soggetto del pericol di perder i suoi begl'occhi; & ad istanza di quel Signor Illustrissimo, al qual è tanto devoto l'Authore'; 1555, anon.
196	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Syderibus similies dum LIVIA perdit ocellos	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 57 <sup>r</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aii <sup>r</sup>	
197	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Quae modo fulgebant miseris duo sydera nautis	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 57 <sup>v</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aii <sup>v</sup>	
198	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Occuluit postquam una oculos mea LIVIA, ponto	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 57 <sup>v</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aii <sup>v</sup>	
199	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Abstulerat nitidos pulchrae Venus alma Columnae	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 58; 1551a, sig. Aiiij <sup>r</sup>	
200	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Luminibus capta est Mea LIVIA; Lumine captus	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 58 <sup>r</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aiiij <sup>r</sup>	
201	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Nostrae olim fuerant artes, peperisse triumphos	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 58 <sup>v</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aiiij <sup>v</sup>	
202	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Livia sol tua sunt cur Lumina? Lumine capta est	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 58 <sup>v</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aiiij <sup>v</sup>	
203	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Persephone invidit tibi LIVIA Lumina; et almos	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 69 <sup>r</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aiv <sup>r</sup>	Barb., anon.
204	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Ingemuit Venus, orba oculis ubi LIVIA visa est	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 69 <sup>r</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aiv <sup>r</sup>	Barb., anon.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
205	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Capta oculis visa est quum LIVIA protinus ipsa	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 69 <sup>v</sup> ; 1551a, sig. Aiv <sup>r</sup>	Barb., anon.
206	Raineri, Anton Francesco	Orbis deliciae; vagi COLUMNAE	Hend.	Barb., fol. 60 <sup>v</sup>	
207	Ronconi, Francesco <sup>35</sup>	S'io talhor muovo gli occhi a mirar voi	Son.	1555, sig. Ri <sup>r</sup>	Set to music by Orlando di Lasso in 1555 <sup>36</sup>
208	Ronconi, Francesco	Anima bella che da l'alta spera	Son.	1555, sig. Tij <sup>r</sup>	
209	Ronconi, Francesco	Tirsi qui cadde LIVIA, qui vidd'io	Son.	1555, sig. Ilij <sup>r</sup>	
210	Susio, Giovan Battista <sup>37</sup>	Dunque di Livia il bel sereno viso	Son.	Lat9948, fol. 156 <sup>v</sup>	
211	Vitalis, Janus	Extinctum queritur dum LIVIA moesta maritum	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 63 <sup>r</sup> ; CLM485, fol. 36 <sup>v</sup>	
212	Vitalis, Janus	LIVIA, de coelo dum despicit alma venustas	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 63 <sup>v</sup>	
213	Vitalis, Janus	Istos ocellos LIVIA	Stich. Iamb. Di.	Barb., fol. 64 <sup>v</sup>	
214	Zanchi, Basilio	Ut tristem, captamque oculis te LIVIA tulit	El. Coupl.	Barb., 70 <sup>v</sup>	

<sup>35</sup> Little is known about Ronconi. A book of his epigrams is listed in the 1567 inventory of Palazzo Farnese ('Francisci Ronconi epigrammata in-4<sup>o</sup>' [FOSSIER 1982, p. 35]) as having been given to the library by the physician Girolamo Mercuriale (1530-1606). I have been unable to identify any other printed or manuscript works. In later years, Ronconi excavated and sold statues to Cosimo I de' Medici and Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este: see VACCA 1741, p. 14; CACCIOTTI 2010, p. 91.

<sup>36</sup> STOYCOS 2005, p. 542.

<sup>37</sup> After studying in Ferrara and living in Venice, Giovan Battista Susio della Mirandola (1519-83) lived in Rome 1550-53 where he was close to Antonio Bernardi, the philosopher at the Farnese court also from Mirandola. In 1551, Susio was imprisoned by the Inquisition on suspicion of heresy. In 1553, he was forced to recant alongside other Valdesians. He then returned to Mirandola (RIGA 2019). This sonnet *in morte* was presumably therefore written outside Rome, around the time Susio wrote *I tre libri de la ingiustizia del duello* (1555), a treatise against duels.

	Attribution	Incipit	Form	Sources	Other Information
215	Zanchi, Basilio	Hunc tumulum tibi mi coniunx dulcissime Marci	El. Coupl.	1553c, sig. Ov <sup>v</sup>	Rub. 'Tumulus Marcii Columnae'
216	Anon.	'Pasquino al Cardinal Farnese e suoi famigli'		1983, pp. 878-882	2 four-line hendecasyllabic stanzas followed by 2 hendecasyllabic tercets and 30 tercets of one <i>ottonario</i> and two hendecasyllables
217	Anon.	Empia man, crudel ferro, huom disperato	Son.	Lat5182, fol. 127 <sup>r</sup>	Rub. 'In morte della Signora Livia Colonna'
218	Anon.	Voi che questa Divina, alta COLONNA	Son.	1555, sig. Aii <sup>v</sup>	Rub. 'A li scrittori'
219	Anon.	Un bell'oscuro velo a l'aurea testa	Son.	1555, sig. Oi <sup>r</sup>	
220	Anon.	Questa Angelica DONNA che riluce	Son.	1555, sig. Vij <sup>v</sup>	
221	Anon.	Non è questo quel lume eterno Padre	Son.	1555, sig. Viv <sup>r</sup>	
222	Anon.	Quando morte oscurò que' chiari lumi	Son.	1547, sig. Rvii <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Xiiij <sup>r</sup>	
223	Anon.	Ov'è il bel guardo? Che solea far chiaro	Son.	1547, sig. Rviii <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. Xiv <sup>r</sup>	
224	Anon.	Poi che la fiera doglia ch'è nel cuore	Son.	1555, sig. Xiv <sup>v</sup>	
225	Anon.	Rotta è la gran COLONNA, e l'alto stelo	Son.	1555, sig. AAij <sup>r</sup>	
226	Anon.	Rott'è l'alta COLONNA, in cui d'Amore	Son.	1555, sig. BBi <sup>r</sup>	
227	Anon.	Pellegrina gentil, ch'a passi lenti	Son.	1547, sig. Hiii <sup>v</sup> ; 1555, sig. Cci <sup>v</sup>	
228	Anon.	Poi che fatto ha nel terzo ciel ritorno	Son.	1555, sig. CCij <sup>r</sup>	
229	Anon.	Spent'è quel chiaro lume e dolce sguardo	Son.	1555, sig. CCij <sup>v</sup>	
230	Anon.	Hor hai morte crudele contra sì bella	Son.	Cap. 152, fol. 114 <sup>v</sup> ; 1547, sig. Hii <sup>r</sup> ; 1555, sig. EEiv <sup>r</sup>	Cap. 152, attrib. to 'Capilupi' (Ippolito?); 1547, attrib. Cenci, Giacomo

	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Other Information</b>
231	Anon.	Quella, che far solea qui tra noi fede	Son.	1555, sig. FFi <sup>v</sup>	
232	Anon.	Donne piangete il vostro Sol che spento	Son.	1555, sig. GGij <sup>v</sup>	
233	Anon.	Spirto gentil, alma leggiadra, et bella	Son.	1555, sig. GGijj <sup>r</sup>	
234	Anon.	Ben puoi Amore agevolmente porre	Son.	1555, sig. GGijj <sup>v</sup>	
235	Anon.	Nel bel giardin d'amor non fu mai sera	Son.	1555, sig. HHi <sup>v</sup>	
236	Anon.	Spirto gentil, ch'abbandonasti in herba	Son.	1555, sig. HHij <sup>r</sup>	
237	Anon.	Se di fior queste rive, e se non hanno	Son.	1555, sig. HHiii <sup>v</sup>	
238	Anon.	DONNA, che in atto casto, e humil sembiante	Son.	1555, sig. HHiv <sup>v</sup>	
239	Anon.	E però dunque ver ch'a l'alta, e bella	Son.	1555, sig. Ili <sup>r</sup>	
240	Anon.	Donna real, che 'l bel corporeo velo	Son.	1555, sig. Ili <sup>v</sup>	
241	Anon.	Se quell'alma gentil, cortese e pura	Son.	1555, sig. LLiv <sup>v</sup>	
242	Anon.	Poscia ch'a noi sparita è quella luce	Son.	1555, sigs. MMi <sup>r</sup> -MMii <sup>v</sup>	
243	Anon.	Il bel viso, il bel seno, il sommo bene	Son.	1555, sig. MMii <sup>v</sup>	
244	Anon.	Squarciato hai morte il più leggiadro velo	Son.	1555, sig. MMiv <sup>r</sup>	
245	Anon.	Bianchi Cigni e soavi, che cantando	Son.	1555, sig. MMiv <sup>v</sup>	Rub. 'A li scrittori'
246	Anon.	Nox erat: et toto fulgentia lumina coelo	Dact. Hex.	Barb., fol. 70 <sup>r</sup> ; CLM485, fols. 36 <sup>r</sup> - 36 <sup>v</sup>	CLM485, attrib. Vitalis, Janus.
247	Anon.	Respicit e speculo nitidos dum LIVIA ocellos	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 63 <sup>v</sup>	
248	Anon.	Qui flevere tuos captos caligine ocellos	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 64 <sup>r</sup>	

	<b>Attribution</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>Other Information</b>
249	Anon.	Si cuiusque urbis Solis sunt instar ocelli	El. Coupl.	Barb., fol. 64 <sup>r</sup>	

## Section 2: Possible Additions to the Corpus

### 1. Anon., 'Deh, dimmi Amor, perché pensoso siede'

«Deh, dimmi Amor, perché pensoso siede  
sopra questa Arca, e non ti parti unquanto,  
né pender veggio i strali al lato manco,  
né l'arco, fuoco e rete che possiede?»

«Odi», rispose, «quel che tu mi chiedi;  
costei ch'è chiusa in questo sasso bianco  
l'arco, gli strali, e 'l fuoco ha in seno: et anco  
la rete, ond'io li son dolente a i piedi.

5

Con questa in ogni impresa hebbi vittoria,  
ché fu di quante vivon la più bella,  
tal che tutto di duol quivi mi spolpo

10

pensando come morte a noi rubella  
di vita lei, il mondo di sua gloria,  
et me del mio poter privò ad un colpo.»

Source: BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 5182, fol. 126<sup>r</sup>

Written in same hand as *Empia man, crudel ferro huom disperato*, and on similar theme. It is possible the rubric 'In morte de la Signora Livia Colonna' should be applied to both texts.

'Wrong' forms 'siede' and 'possiede' (lines 1 and 3) are perhaps further evidence of foreign author/copyist: cfr. discussion of *Empia man* in Ch. 3.5.

2. Francesco Franchini, 'De tribus pulcherrimis puellis romanis'

DE TRIBUS PULCHERRIMIS PUELLIS ROMANIS

Uno eodemque die tres convenere puellae,  
 Formosae ante alias quas Tyberinus habet:  
 Fit Laterane tuas iuvenum concursus ad aedes,  
 Et stupet, & dicit nomine quisque deas:  
 Visa fuit multis Iuno Lavinia, Pallas  
 Livia, non paucis Claudia visa Venus:  
 Tunc Tybris, procul hinc dixit Paris absit, et Iris,  
 Hae sunt praestanti corpore tres Charites.

5

*On the three most beautiful Roman girls*

Once, three girls, more beautiful than the others which the Tiber possesses, came together on the same day. In your palace, Lateranus, a crowd of youths gathered. They were surprised, and called each goddess by name. Many thought Lavinia resembled Juno, that Livia resembled Pallas; and many thought Claudia resembled Venus. "Henceforth," said the Tiber, "may Paris and Iris be gone from here: in their remarkable beauty, these three girls are three Charites."

Source: FRANCHINI 1554, sig. Fijj<sup>r</sup>.

A likely interpretative key to poems 2 and 3 is found in poem 3, below.

### 3. Francesco Franchini

ALIUD

De forma certamen habent Lavinia magnum,  
 Claudiaque, & claris Livia dives avis:  
 Nec Paris ullus adest, diras componere lites  
 Qui valeat, saevas & prohibere manus:  
 Huc ades Octavi, & vestem deponere manda,  
 Iudicio tradent corpora nuda tuo:  
 Iam dices: utranque deam Lavinia vincis,  
 Quin ipsam vincis (iudice me) Venerem.

5

*Another*

Lavinia and Claudia and wealthy Livia are having a big debate about the beauty of their grandmothers: yet no Paris is there to put an end to this awful row, no one who will be able to hold back these angry hands. Then you appear, Ottavio, and order them to undress; they will submit their naked bodies to your judgement. At last you say: "Lavinia, you beat the other two goddesses, for (in my judgement) you beat Venus herself."

Source: FRANCHINI 1554, sigs. Fijj<sup>r</sup>-Fijj<sup>v</sup>

This poem takes its source from a sexually explicit poem in the *Anthologia Graeca*.<sup>1</sup>

Reference to Ottavio (line 5) provides a possible interpretative key to poems 2 and 3, and suggests 'Lavinia' is Lavinia della Valle (d. 1553), Ottavio's mistress and wife of Tommaso dei Cavalieri (d. 1587).<sup>2</sup> Della Valle is listed in 1552 alongside Livia Colonna and Claudia Capranica (fl. 1550s) amongst the ten most beautiful women in Rome by Girolamo Ruscelli. Della Valle appears 8<sup>th</sup> in Ruscelli's list, lower than Livia (1<sup>st</sup>) and Claudia (4<sup>th</sup>); this poem may therefore be a corrective response to Ruscelli.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> GREEK ANTHOLOGY 2014, Bk 5, no. 36, ascribed to Rufinus.

<sup>2</sup> Della Valle was the subject of an epitaph by Ottavio's secretaries Franchini (FRANCHINI 1554, sig. O8<sup>v</sup>) and Giulio Ariosto (G. ARIOSTO 1555, sig. Qiv<sup>v</sup>), as well as of sonnets by Bernardo Cappello produced at Ottavio's request (CAPPELLO 2018, pp. 455-57, 687-93). See also RUVOLDT 2020, p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> RUSCELLI 1552, sig. R4<sup>v</sup>.



#### 4. Francesco Franchini

DE DISCESSU LIVIAE AB URBE

Quaeritis unde cadant alieno tempore nimbi,  
 Unde tot effusis Roma redundet aquis?  
 Livia discessit, collesque superba Quirini  
 Liquit, amatorum cura nec ulla subit:  
 Hinc lacrimae, et luctus, miserorum et fletus amantum 5  
 Demergunt toties urbis utrumque forum:  
 Quin ego perpetuam timeo per secula noctem,  
 Secum etenim currus Livia Solis habet.

*On Livia's departure from Rome*

Do you wish to know why heavy rain is falling at a strange time, why all of Rome overflows with water? Livia has departed, she proudly leaves behind the hills of Quirinus; she has no cares for her lovers. Henceforth, tears and mourning and the wailing of wretched lovers submerge both the entire city and the court. Why should I not then fear forevermore perpetual night? For Livia has taken the Sun's chariot with her.

Source: FRANCHINI 1554, sig. Fijj<sup>v</sup>

This poem presented as propemptikon might be read as a funeral lament. It is printed near other poems by Franchini for Colonna (see Appendix C, Section 1). Its Identification remains tentative as only the first name of the woman is given, unlike in other poems for Colonna.

5. Sebastiano Gandolfi, 'Ninfe, voi che del Tebro a l'onde amate'

Ninfe, voi che del Tebro a l'onde amate  
 Star solete cantando i vostri amori,  
 Lassate omai le ghirlandette e i fiori,  
 L'oro e le perle, ond'or sì vaghe andate:

Quella che di bellezza e d'onestate 5  
 Vince ogn'altra (cagion de' vostri onori)  
 Da voi si parte, escon le pompe fuori  
 Del trionfo più bel di nostra etate.

Ecco già l'erbe scolorirsi, e sole 10  
 Restar le piagge, e gir torbide l'acque;  
 Ecco in voi spento ogni splendor e gloria,

Che se colei che sol per vincer nacque  
 Partendo ne' begli occhi porta il sole,  
 Onde più luce avrete? onde vittoria?

Source: ARRIVABENE 1550, sig. Q3<sup>r</sup>

Presumed dedicated to Colonna by Domenico Chiodo.<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in 1565a without link to Colonna (sig. KlI3<sup>v</sup>), despite other poems in 1565a carrying rubrics linked to Colonna (Atanagi, *Benché da donna sì fra l'altre rara*, sig. Ff4<sup>v</sup>, descrip. sig. KI4<sup>v</sup>; Dardano, *La notte che seguì dopo l'ocaso*, sigs. N7<sup>r</sup>-N8<sup>r</sup>, descrip. li4<sup>r</sup>). In 1565a, line 8 reads 'De la Vittoria rara in questa etate,' leading Alfredo Cento and Paolo Procaccioli to suggest it is addressed to Vittoria Farnese, in which case the text may refer to her leaving Rome for Urbino in 1548 on her marriage to Guidobaldo II della Rovere.<sup>5</sup> It is possible two versions circulated with different addressees.

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<sup>4</sup> CHIODO 2011.

<sup>5</sup> GANDOLFI 2022, p. 55.

6. Sebastiano Gandolfi, 'Sì come il vago sol apre e rinnova'

Sì come il vago sol apre e rinnova  
 Nel lieto april i fiori racchiusi e spenti,  
 E fa l'aer sereno, e queta i venti,  
 Onde pace nel mar dolce si truova,

Così voi, quasi sol nascente, a pruova 5  
 State con lui de' vostri lumi ardenti,  
 Ch'aprite a' bei pensier le chiuse menti,  
 E 'l mondo empiete di dolcezza nuova.

Ma voi (lo dirò pur) tanto avanzate 10  
 Di virtù lui, quanto che i vostri rai  
 Al caldo e al gelo fan felici effetti;

Egli non già, o avventurosa etate,  
 Che vede un più bel sol, ben vince ormai  
 La terra il ciel di puri alti intelletti.

Source: ARRIVABENE 1550, sig. Q4<sup>v</sup>.

Presumed dedicated to Colonna by Chiodo and by Cento and Procaccioli.<sup>6</sup> Reprinted in 1565a without link to Colonna (sig. Kll3<sup>v</sup>), despite other poems in 1565a carrying rubrics linked to Colonna (Atanagi, *Benché da donna s'è fra l'altre rara*, sig. Ff4<sup>v</sup>, descrip. sig. Kl4<sup>v</sup>; Dardano, *La notte che seguì dopo l'ocaso*, sigs. N7<sup>r</sup>-N8<sup>r</sup>, descrip. li4<sup>r</sup>). Identification of addressee thus remains uncertain.

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<sup>6</sup> CHIODO 2011; GANDOLFI 2022, p. 60.

## Appendix D. Louis des Masures, Dedication of *Aeneid* III (1549): Text and Translation

Below, I provide the Latin text of Des Masures's dedication of *Aeneid* III, following Mathieu Minet's 2017 edition. I have instituted a u/v distinction. I provide the rubric of the 1552 edition (sig. h5<sup>r</sup>) which Minet omits. The English translation is my own.

### Text

HAEC IN TERTIUM LIBRUM AENEIDOS VERGILIANAE QUUM IAM LONGE ANTEA PRIORES DUOS E LATINIS GALlicos  
FECISSET, TUNC PRIMUM A SE ITEM GALLICE VERSUM MASURIUS, DUM A GALLORUM FINIBUS PROCVL, NULLO  
SVO MERITO ERRABVNDVS EXVLAT, ROMAE CECINIT CAL. AVG. M. D. XXXXVIII. AD JANVM BELLAVM  
CARDINALEM, POETAMQVE EXIMIUM.

Amissum indigno moerens dum funere luget  
 Gallia Franciscum: nimioque insigne dolori  
 Indulgens, lucis dryadum genus errat opacis:  
 Naiades effusis liquidos dum fletibus amnes  
 5 Permiscent, lateque fremunt ululatibus agri,  
 Attonitae, quarum prius omnis amore  
 Gallia florebat, Gallis ignota relictis  
 Arva per et sylvas procul erravere Camenae.  
 Quas ego per totum vestigans sedulus orbem  
 10 Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque veni  
 Littora. Pieridum Roma chorus urbe sororum  
 In media mihi forte nitens inventus, ubi istam  
 Laetior assiduo demulcet carmine mentem:  
 Inquem vicem dum te circum chorus ordine sedit,  
 15 Edita lane tuo dulcissima carmina plectro,  
 Miraturque, auditque lubens: et docta virenti,  
 Dulce decus laudis, praecingit tempora lauro.  
 Ergo insperatas Musas, suspensus in urbe Quirini,  
 Ut vidi Musas, ut me videre Camenae,  
 20 Rite salutatum propero summissus: at illae  
 Excepere choro medium, dextrasque dederunt,  
 Deque novem sic est affata sororibus una.  
 "Tune igitur casu dudum percussus acerbo,  
 Tune ades, et longum conficti insons  
 25 Pergis iter? Sic dum mortem Franciscus amaram  
 Oppetit, ipsa alto fit vulnere saucia virtus?  
 Nos quoque per totum profugas exterruit orbem  
 Horrid amors, atra horrescunt si funera Musae.  
 Usque ferox certe attonitas oppressit, ed udo  
 30 Compulit imbre genas, passosque implere capillos.  
 Laurea delapsa est capiti, sic fata ferebant,  
 Feralemque manus tenuit vix aegra cupressum.

Non arguta lyrae fidibus sonuere canoris,  
 Nec facilem dulci vox impulit aëra cantu:  
 35 Plangorem lyra moesta dedit, longosque sub auras  
 Fudimus incassum gemitus, et flebile dictu,  
 Lilia funereo cesserunt alba colori.  
 Sors ergo ut duram miseris asperrima cladem  
 Intulit, heu Gallos, et amata relinquimus arva  
 40 Gallorum, insigni quondam florentia cultu.  
 Aonas hinc montes, nostrique iuga ardua Pindi  
 Impetus est petere, et patrias invisere sedes.  
 Longa per aërias Alpes via ducit in oras  
 Italiae: tum summus amor Romana videre  
 45 Moenia, quae flava Tyberis pater alluit unda,  
 Divinisque olim celebratam vatibus urbem,  
 Atque potens armis Latium, Phrygiosque penates.  
 Pergimus huc, longeque simul per devia gressum  
 Dirigimus. Tandem optata sumus urbe potitae.  
 50 Excipit hospitio fessas Bellaio heros  
 Noster amor, nostrique animum inflammatus amore:  
 Quamquam alto ingentes persensit pectore curas  
 In casu hoc, vultu simulans sed laeta sereno,  
 Solatur moerore graves. Hinc corde dolorem  
 55 Ponimus, et placidas agitant nova gaudia mentes.  
 Nos modo Roma tenet, lanum modo Roma canentem  
 Suspicit, ac laeto circum nos ore sedentes.  
 Tota poëtarum sacro celeberrima coetu  
 Urbs nitet, excelsi plausu fremebunda theatri:  
 60 Ut iam prisca novi referant hic saecla Quirites  
 Illa, quibus magni divino ex ora Maronis  
 Audiit Augustus cantatam Aeneida Caesar:  
 Hanc tu si patrio, quo coepta est carmina totam  
 Reddere curabis, sic respondere paratus  
 65 Francisci, fecit quondam quae maxima, votis,  
 Praesenti faciles erimus tibi numine Musae.  
 Perge age, redde tuis Bellaio iudice tutus,  
 Troiamque, Aeneamque Phrygem, regesque Latinos.”  
 Sic ait, et summo frondentem vertice laurum  
 70 Contigit, ac multo dextram comprehendit honore.  
 At mihi, terrifico iam dudum accendere cantu  
 Mens agitat Martem, et fortes invadere pugnas:  
 Armaque, et Aeneae casus, longumque laborem  
 Dicere, conceptoque opera intermissa dolore  
 75 Perficere, et pulsus animum componere curis.  
 Haud mora Pieridum iussu paremus, et ipsis  
 Nos Gallis canimus, Tyriis quae fata renarrat  
 Aeneas, tantosque adeo qui iuveris ausus,  
 Hic nostrae, si qua est, ferimus tibi preaemia laudis.

## Translation

ON THE KALENDS OF AUGUST 1549, DES MASURES, THEN FAR FROM THE LAND OF THE GAULS AND WANDERING UNDESERVEDLY IN EXILE, SANG THIS AT ROME ON THE THIRD BOOK OF VIRGIL'S AENEID (OF WHICH HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TRANSLATED THE FIRST TWO BOOKS FROM LATIN TO FRENCH), WHICH HE NOW TRANSLATED FOR THE FIRST TIME INTO FRENCH.

As France, lamenting intolerable ruin, mourned her departed Francis, a race of dryads give themselves up to their great pain and wander in a shady grove. Whilst Naiads mix the water of rivers with their outpourings of tears and the countryside resounds far and wide with shrieks, the terrified Muses (for whom previously all of France blossomed with a sacred love) ran astray through unknown fields and distant forests, having left the French behind, I, a fugitive by fate in dogged pursuit of the Muses across the earth, came to Italy and Lavinian shores.

There, I found by chance the Pieridian chorus of sisters, sparkling in the middle of the city of Rome. There, joyful, they charm you with their song. When the choir sits in turn by you, Jean, they admire the sweet song produced on your lyre and listen to it with cheer; then, the sweet glory of praise crowns your learned head with verdant laurel. So, retained in the city of Romulus, as soon as I saw the unexpected Muses, they saw me. Having stepped forward, as is fitting, to greet them, they received me into their midst, their hands extended. Then, one of the nine sisters spoke thus:

“Were you lately punished by harsh fate? Is that you? Are you going forth on a long journey, innocent of an invented crime? Whilst Francis suffers a bitter death, is virtue itself wounded so deeply? We too are exiled; awful death frightens us across the entire world, so terrified are the Muses of such gloomy funeral processions. Fierce death constantly overwhelms us, soaking our cheeks and dishevelled hair with humid rain. The laurel fell from our heads, as willed by fate, and our sickly hands held on with difficulty to the funereal cypress tree. The delicate song of the lyre’s harmonious chords and the sweet song with which our voice filled the air has finished. The sorrowful lyre has produced wailing and in vain we have poured out long sighs into the breeze and — how it brings tears to our eyes to say this! — white lilies have given way to darkness.

Thus, as most bitter destiny brought harsh misfortune to us wretched ones, alas we abandoned both the French and our beloved lands of the French, once distinguished by flourishing splendour. Our goal is thus to travel to the Aonian mountains and the steep summit of our Mount Pindus and to visit our homelands. A long road leads through the high Alps to the edge of Italy; en route, we were seized by a great desire to see walls of Rome, which father Tiber nourishes with golden water, that city lately celebrated by divine poets, Latium strong in arms and in the Phrygian Penates. We marched toward it, and for a long time we proceeded across dirt tracks. Finally, we took hold of the city we desired.

The hero Du Bellay, whom we love and who is inflamed with love for us, gave our weary selves lodging. Though in his breast he felt great sorrow, he feigned happiness on his face and consoled us as we mourned. Thus, we put the pain in our hearts aside and new joys aroused our gentle minds. At one time, Rome holds us and at another, it watches Jean sing alongside us. The entire most celebrated city sparkles with the sacred assembly of Poets and with the resounding applause of lofty spectators: may new Romans now revive here that old century when Augustus Caesar heard the tale of Aeneas sung from great Maro's divine mouth.

If you take pains to give back this whole poem to your homeland in which it was begun, and thus are ready to respond to the pressing wishes once made by Francis, we favourable Muses shall be by your side with our propitious powers. Press on, lead, and, under Du Bellay's care, give Troy, Phrygian Aeneas and the Latin kings to your compatriots."

Thus she spoke and touched the leafy laurel on her head, then took hold of my hand with great honour.

As for me, my mind now pushes me to light up Mars in frightening song and to engage in mighty battles, and wishes to express the arms, the fate of Aeneas and his long suffering, to finish the work interrupted by pain and, having driven worries away, to rest my soul. Without delay, I fulfil my duty following the order of the Pieridian sisters. I sing to the French the fate of the Tyrians narrated by Aeneas. Here, I bring you – you who assisted this undertaking – the profit of my praise, if there is any to be had.

## Appendix E. Alessandro Guarnelli, *Aeneid* I (1554): Text

I present below the text of Alessandro Guarnelli's 1554 translation of Book I of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The *editio princeps* is very scarce and all copies in public collections are held by Italian institutions. None have been digitized, and no critical edition exists.

The text is that found in:

*Della Eneide di Virgilio detta da M. Alessandro Guarnelli in ottava rima Libro Primo. Co'l Privilegio del sommo Pontefice per anni X.*

In Roma per Valerio Dorico. M. D. LIII. 4°.

USTC 862724. EDIT16 CNCE 34217.

The reference edition used is Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan, NB YY.10.0009.

Punctuation and diacritics have been revised to conform to modern usage. Circumflexes distinguish truncated third-person plural *passato remoto* from other forms (e.g. 'fiorîr,' for *fiorirano* at *Eneide* 1.2.3; 'gîro,' for *girarano* at *Eneide* 1.49.2). All abbreviations have been silently expanded. Capitalization at the start of lines has been removed unless the start of a new sentence. Evident errors in the printed text have been corrected, with originals given in italics in the footnotes. Numbering of octaves has been introduced.



Text

AL REVERENDISSIMO ET ILLUSTRISSIMO CARDINALE FARNESE.  
ALESSANDRO GUARNELLI.

Non dedico a Vostra Signoria Reverendissima questa mia traduttione, Illustrissimo Monsignore, per dar luce alla oscurità sua con lo splendore di lei; perciocché, sì come non può occhio humano mirare il sole senza rimanere abbagliato dal soverchio lume, così ella volendo troppo arditamente fermare la debole vista ne' vivi raggi del chiaro nome suo, mi rendo sicuro che, vinta da tanta luce più oscura di quello che ella si sia, ne rimarrebbe. Né meno a ciò fare mi son mosso con speranza di poter pagare in parte il debito de gli infiniti benefici dalla immensa liberalità sua ricevuti, e spetialmente dell'havermi sin da fanciullo nudrito & allevato nella sua corte; perciocché chiaramente conosco che, inchinandosi Vostra Signoria Reverendissima ad accettare così picciol dono da così basso donatore, nuovo peso d'obligi scemarmisi punto del vecchio. Ma solo a lei ho voluto dedicare questa nuova fatica sopra il primo libro della Eneide come a vera sembianza & a viva imagine di Enea, a lui sì di forza, di pietà, di religione e di tutte le parti dell'animo simile, come anche della qualità della vita, dello stato del corpo e del corso della fortuna. E sì come egli dalla benigna stella di Venere scorto e nel maggior impeto del mare da Nettunno aiutato passò in Italia sua antica patria, e quivi hebbe ferma sede, così Vostra Signoria Reverendissima dalla luce della sua alta mente guidata, e nel più fiero assalto di malvagia fortuna da nuovo Nettunno soccorso, felicemente riporrà il piede nell'antico suo seggio. Accetti adunque Vostra Signoria Reverendissima con lieto volto questa non intiera traduttione, ma imperfetta Eccho di Virgilio, & in Enea se stessa riconosca.

1. L'arme e l'invitto Cavaliero io canto,  
che per fato in Italia errando venne  
da l'infelice Troia, alhor ch'in pianto  
l'estremo horribil caso ella sostenne,  
e in terra e in mar fu travagliato tanto,  
voler de' cieli e di Giunon, che tenne  
(non satia anchor di così crudo effetto)  
l'odio acceso e l'antiqua ira nel petto.
2. Nel Latio poi nove cittadi e Regni  
erge a' suoi Dei con sanguignosa guerra,  
dove i sacri fiorîr Latini ingegni,  
la cui fama alcun termine non serra.  
Questa la pianta fu ch'in Alba i degni  
heroi produsse che domâr la terra.  
Quindi sorsero poi gli eccelsi Regi,  
che fondâr Roma e gli edifitii egregi.
3. Sacre figlie di Giove, hor voi spirate  
l'alto vostro favore a l'alta impresa;  
voi, per qual nume offeso hor rimembrate,  
per qual cagion fosse Giunon sî accesa  
contra 'l buon Cavalier che di pietate  
tanto fu illustre, onde sî cruda offesa,  
sî rei stratî sofferse e pena indegna.  
Dunque tant'ira in celesti alme regna?
4. Dritto a l'Italia e al Tebro, ov'ei ne l'onda  
salsa si mesce, era la già possente  
d'arme e d'oro Cartagine feconda,  
dove lieta habitò la Tiria gente.  
Questa parve a Giunon via più gioconda  
di Samo, e qui fur le sue voglie intente.  
L'arme qui pose e 'l carro, e fe' pensiero  
ch'ella havebbe del mondo eterno impero.
5. Ma perché udito havea che da i Troiani  
devea col tempo uscir progenie augusta  
per cui sarian di sangue aspersi i piani  
e destrutta Cartagine e combusta,  
e soggiogata Libia e gli Africani,  
n'andria di spoglie vincitrici onusta,  
la mente havea dubbiosa e 'l core irato,  
ché tal scorge il voler del duro fato.
6. E quanto in guerra già pe' suoi graditi  
Greci contr'llio fe', pur le sovenne;

né le s'erano anchor dal cor partiti  
 gli sdegni, onde tal poi strage n'avenne.  
 E i sommi honori ad Hebe sua rapiti  
 da Ganimede, e chiusa in mente tenne  
 la grave ingiuria del Troian pastore,  
 de la beltà schernita e del valore.

7. Ond'ira, onde timore il cor le punge,  
 e si mostra a' Troiani empia e rubella.  
 E quei, che morte fera anco non giunge,  
 che la fiamma schivâr vorace e fella,  
 scacciò per ogni mar dal Latio lunge  
 molti e molti anni in questa parte e in quella,  
 dove volle il destin. Di tanta mole  
 fu il dar principio a la Romana prole.
  
8. Dava le vele a' venti in alto Enea  
 fuor del conspetto del Sicanio lito.  
 E col ferro la salsa onda rompea,  
 lieto varcando e per sentier spedito,  
 quando Giunon, la disdegnosa Dea  
 c'ha da profonda piaga il cor ferito,  
 mirando il lieto suo corso felice,  
 così seco rivolge e così dice:
  
9. «Dunque degg'io restar ne l'opra vinta?  
 Questo Re, questa gente a le feconde  
 spiagge d'Italia, mal mio grado, spinta  
 sarà dal fato e l'aure havrà seconde?  
 Da Pallade fu pur l'armata estinta  
 de' Greci e le navi arse in mezzo a l'onde,  
 vibrando da le nubi ardente face,  
 per colpa sol d'un troppo ardito Aiace,
  
10. lo qual fe' con horrenda e dura sorte  
 morir confitto in scoglio acuto e fero.  
 Et io, che son sorella e son consorte  
 di Giove, e d'ogni Dio tengo l'impero,  
 tanti anni son c'ho pugna e pur dar morte  
 non posso a una sol gente, a un Cavaliero.  
 Chi fia che ne gli altar più mi dia honori,  
 e porga voti e 'l mio gran nume adori?»
  
11. Ne l'infiammato cor gl'irati accenti  
 volgendo, mosse ella in Eolia il piede  
 ove, di pioggie e di rabbiosi venti  
 gonfio ogni loco, ogni antro pien si vede;

dove i furibondi Austri e le stridenti  
e torbide procelle han la lor sede,  
sotto l'impero d'Eolo in gran caverna,  
ch'ei frena, e lega e, come vol, governa.

12. Irati fan fremendo ivi soggiorno  
e d'alto suon fan rimbombare il monte.  
Tien lo scettro Eolo in real seggio adorno,  
piace l'ire, e fa lor voglie men pronte;  
altramente il gran mare, e quanto intorno  
rimira il sol dal lucido Orizzonte,  
e del profondo ciel l'immortal opra  
portarian seco e volgerian sozzopra.
13. Però in altre spelonche e in antri oscuri  
quegli l'eterna providentia ascose.  
E sovra a quei, per argini e per muri,  
graviosi monti e inaccessibil pose.  
E diè lor fido Re che regga e curi  
secondo il volger de l'humane cose:  
e con debito modo allenti al corso  
quando vol, poi raccolga e tempri 'l morso.
14. A cui, turbata<sup>1</sup> il bel volto sereno,  
Giunon supplice disse: «Eolo, che poi  
turbar coi venti il mar di seno in seno,  
ov'ei cinge gli Iberi, ove gli Eoi,  
l'inimica mia gente hor il Tirrheno  
solca tranquillo, e seco i vinti suoi  
Penati porta e ne l'Italia spera  
rinovar Troia che già fu sì altera:
15. Porgi a' venti valor, le prigion strette  
aprendo, e l'odiate navi affonda:  
o fa che per lo mare infido astrette  
sian d'ire errando e dona i corpi a l'onda.  
Deiopea di sette nimphe, e sette,  
ch'io ho di vago aspetto e treccia bionda,  
la più bella d'ogni altra e gratiosa,  
pe' degni merti tuoi farò tua sposa.
16. Ella fia 'l tuo diletto e 'l tuo sostegno:  
tu di prole gentil padre sarai.»  
A cui Eolo: «In servirti oprar l'ingegno  
degg'io. Tu a comandar Regina m'hai:

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<sup>1</sup> Sic. Here, perhaps *turbato* is intended, to agree with *volto*.

tu lo scettro mi dai, tu questo regno,  
 e benigno ver me Giove tu fai.  
 Tu mi degni di mensa alta e celeste,  
 e fai signor di venti e di tempeste.»

17. Qui tacque e 'l fianco al cavo monte fére,  
 onde i venti con grande impeto uscìro:  
 e Noto, & Euro, e quel ch'atroci e fere  
 procelle seco adduce, Africo dirò:  
 et altri insieme, quasi armate schiere,  
 turban la terra e 'l mar volgono in giro;  
 sollevan l'onde e gir le fanno in stuolo  
 a i lidi, come augei per l'aria a volo.
18. Già de i Troiani il grido onde il Tirreno,  
 e de l'intorte funi alto rumore;  
 cangian le nubi il giorno e 'l ciel sereno  
 in cieca notte e in tenebroso honore;  
 tornaro i Poli e l'aere intorno pieno  
 porgea d'horribil fochi atro splendore:  
 hor temono i Troiani estrema sorte,  
 ch'ogni cosa minaccia horrenda morte.
19. Scorre muggendo il gregge bianco in mare;  
 cingono horribil mostri intorno il cielo.  
 Si mescion le celesti onde col mare,  
 sparge l'irato mar l'onde nel cielo.  
 Precipitoso il ciel scender nel mare,  
 e 'l mar gonfio salir sembra nel cielo.  
 Move al mar guerra il cielo e 'l cielo al mare,  
 e sotto e sopra è spaventoso mare.
20. Restâr del coraggioso Enea gelati  
 alhora i membri e al ciel levò le palme,  
 e con gemito disse: «O voi beati  
 tre volte e quattro che rendeste l'alme  
 dinanzi a i genitor vostri pregiati  
 sotto le mura d'Ilio eccelse & alme:  
 deh, perché vosco anch'io già non potei  
 finir con maggior laude i giorni miei?»
21. Perché Diomede la tua forte mano  
 non mi poté l'odiata vita torre?  
 Là dove cadde Sarpedon sovrano,  
 là dove il fiero Achille uccise Hettorre?  
 E dove Simoenta intorno il piano  
 tinto di sangue rubicondo scorre,

e nel fondo arenoso tanti scudi,  
tanti elmi aggira e tanti corpi ignudi?»

22. Mentre in van così parla, ecco si parte  
nembo dal ciel che Borea spinge e mesce:  
la vela assalta da contraria parte,  
levasi l'onda al ciel, né del mar esce:  
frangonsi i remi e allentansi le sarte,  
e con tanta ira impetuoso cresce  
che rivoltar la prora e verso l'onda  
fa rinchinar la disarmata sponda.
23. Dopo rotto, l'un flutto e l'altro sorge,  
quasi gran monte, e dà lor fiero assalto;  
tal si vede al profondo, e poi s'accorge  
d'haver fatto nel ciel mirabil salto.  
Questi la terra in mezzo a l'acque scorge,  
e pende quel di cima a un flutto in alto;  
altri per lungo spatio in giro mena  
l'onda che ferve di commossa arena.
24. Ne i gran sassi, che i dorsi ergon da l'onde,  
che da gli Itali sono Are nomati,  
tre ne spinge Aquilon, tre ne l'immonde  
Sirti n'adduce Euro da i flutti irati;  
e ne i gran vadi entro l'arena asconde  
(horrendi casi a rimirar spietati)  
i miseri in poter de la fortuna:  
riparo altro non han, né speme alcuna.
25. Ecco percuote in poppa il cavo pino  
de i Licii e d'Oronte un'onda rea.  
E cader fa il nocchiero a capo chino,  
che 'l gran furor marin vincer credea.  
E il miser legno a quel d'Enea vicino,  
che nella morte altrui la sua scorgea,  
tre volte intorno fu scosso e rotato,  
e da l'avidò mar poi divorato.
26. Altri senza apparir più si sommerge;  
altri risorge e va sbalzando in mare;  
altri co i piedi in su da l'onde emerge;  
qua solo un braccio e là una gamba appare.  
Altri notando viene e la testa erge,  
ma tosto ne va in preda a l'onde avere;  
a un tronco altri s'abbraccia, e per timore  
c'ha d'una morte, mille volte more.

27. Poco i miseri van fuggendo innanti  
in così irato mar, vasto e profondo.  
Portan l'onde rapaci i legni franti:  
l'armi e 'l Troian thesor volvonno al fondo.  
Già le più forti navi e più constanti,  
con tanto impeto fére e grave pondo  
l'horribil flutto, che le salde e dure  
coste apre e fa ne i lati ampie fessure.<sup>2</sup>
28. Apron l'onde nemiche i duri fianchi,  
e a ritrovar van le smarrite genti,  
che trepide e con volti afflitti e bianchi,  
mille spargono al ciel voti e lamenti.  
Già d'Achate e d'Abante i legni stanchi,  
del vecchio Alethe, e d'Ilioneo dolenti,  
havea l'horrido verno in modo vinti,  
che poco giàno a rimanere estinti.
29. Quando l'alto rumor del mar turbato  
dal fondo estremo e la crudel tempesta  
sentì Nettunno, onde aspramente irato  
trasse da l'onde fuor la regia testa,  
e, d'Enea visto il miserabil stato,  
che del ciel la ruina e 'l mare infesta,  
e i rotti legni in questa parte, e in quella,  
chiari i doli gli fur de la sorella.
30. Onde chiama Euro e Zephiro, e lor dice:  
«Fiducia tal nel seme vostro havete?  
A voi turbar senza 'l voler mio lice  
la terra e 'l cielo e l'alta mia quiete?  
Ben io vi — ma salvar pria l'infelice  
gente fia meglio, e render l'onde quete:  
poi di sì folle ardir, d'un error tanto,  
la pena vi darò con duolo e pianto.
31. Quindi hor fuggite via lievi e repente,  
e dite al vostro Re ch'a me fur dati  
del pelago l'imperio e 'l gran tridente,  
e non a lui da i miei benigni fati.  
Tenga egli il cavernoso & eminente  
vostro albergo Euro e i sassi smisurati.  
In quella Eolo si glorii alpestre loggia,  
chiusi in carcere i venti e l'atra pioggia.»

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<sup>2</sup> *sessura*

32. Pria che finisse il dir, gli irati flutti  
 racqueta e temprà il mar tumido intorno.  
 Scaccia l'horride nubi e chiara a tutti  
 luce rimena e desiato giorno.  
 Tritone e Cimothea i malcondutti  
 legni da i sassi, ove perian, levorno.  
 Apre ei le sirti col tridente, e scorre  
 l'onde nel carro, e questo e quel soccorre.
33. Come in popolo suol nascer sovente  
 grave sedition, discordia grande:  
 onde ne i petti de l'ignobile gente  
 furibonda ira e crudeltà si spande;  
 volan le fiamme e i sassi e l'armi ardente  
 furor ministra a le contrarie bande;  
 e quanto maggior danno e sangue n'esce,  
 tanto più la crudel baruffa cresce.
34. Ma s'alcun huom di reverentia degno  
 per merto e per giustitia avien che mire,  
 fermasi e porge al rio furor ritegno,  
 e intento ascolta ciò ch'egli vol dire.  
 Gli animi regge quel, temprà lo sdegno  
 con efficaci detti e placa l'ire.  
 Così cadde l'orgoglio e 'l gran furore  
 del mare a l'apparir del suo rettore.
35. Rasserenato il cielo e l'ira spenta  
 de i venti, e posto l'atre nubi in bando,  
 volge i destrieri e lor le briglie allenta  
 e nel carro leggier se'n va volando.  
 I miseri Troiani, i quai sgomenta  
 di morte anco il timor, vanno affrettando  
 il corso a i lidi che son più vicini,  
 e de la Libia volgonsi a i confini.
36. Cinge un loco in disparte il mare intorno,  
 ch'un porto forma con gli opposti lati,  
 ove romponsi i flutti e fan soggiorno,  
 come in un stagno humil, quieti e pacati.  
 Profonde balze l'uno e l'altro corno  
 circondano, e duo scogli al ciel levati,  
 de' quai sotto la cima erta & ombrosa  
 per largo spatium il mar sicuro posa.



37. D'eccelesi pin, di quercie annose e dure,  
pende lor sopra un folto bosco antico,  
che non senti giamai d'empia secure,  
né di rustica man colpo nemico,  
un antro, una fonte di dolci acque e pure,  
e di natural sasso un seggio aprico.  
Ripon lo scoglio nel curvato tergo  
di Driadi e di Napee giocondo albergo.
38. Qui giunse il gran Troiano e sorse in porto  
con sette navi sol del numer tutto,  
che senza oprar legami o rostro intorto  
d'anchore v'han sicuro e buon ridotto.  
Prendono gli infelici alto conforto  
ché da presso mirar posson l'asciutto.  
Saltan fuor de le navi e ne l'arena  
stendono e gambe e braccia e petto e schiena.
39. Indi Achate primier con spesse botte  
spesse scintille d'aspra selce scosse,  
e con aride foglie e scheggie rotte  
d'elci e di pin la fiamma al ciel commosse.  
Di Cerer gli instrumenti e le corrotte  
biade da l'onde a gran pena riscosse  
tran da le navi ch'a lor huopo copia  
hanno di queste e d'altro cibo inopia.
40. E mentre per seccarle al foco ardente  
e per frangerle poi pongonsi in opra,  
ne l'erto scoglio Enea poggia e pon mente  
s'alcuna errante in mar bireme sopra,  
e se risplender l'arme e la lucente  
insegna veggia a l'alte poppe sopra  
del forte Antheo, di Capi o di Caico,  
c'hebbber contrario il mar, Nettunno amico.
41. Poi che volto il Tirrhen di naviganti  
per tutto scorge, il piè rivolge a i liti:  
e pascendo ir vede tre cervi erranti  
che da più grosso armento eran seguiti.  
Gian con ramosse corna a gli altri avanti  
e con altere fronti i duci arditi.  
Fermasi e l'arco e le saette prende  
dal fido Achate e quegli al varco attende.
42. Scocca d'ascoso e fianchi e petti fora  
a i primi capi e a le seguaci belve.

Fugge la turba sbigottita alhora  
 dal mortal ferro a le frondose selve.  
 Segue ei ferendo e così ben lavora  
 che sette corpi pria che si rinselve,  
 o che a lo scoglio e a le gran macchie saglia,  
 atterra e 'l numer con le navi agguaglia.

43. Indi nel porto a i suoi compagni riede,  
 parte la prede e 'l vin, ch'Aceste pio  
 e degno Re ne la Sicilia diede  
 quando partîro e le lor botti empio:  
 poscia il gran duol, che 'l cor penetra e fiede  
 a ciaschedun del lungo essilio e rio,  
 consolar cerca e raddolcire i petti,  
 il magnanimo Enea con questi detti:
44. «Fidi compagni, che i passati affanni  
 meco in memoria con dolor tenete:  
 voi, c'havete sofferto maggior danni,  
 a questi anco da Dio por fin vedrete:  
 voi, che vinto dal mar gli spessi inganni  
 e i sassi de i Ciclopi horrendi havete,  
 e la rabbiosa Scilla, hor richiamate  
 l'usato ardire e via 'l timor sgombrate.
45. Tempo anchor fia ch'altro contento pigli  
 ciascun, membrando il rio stato presente.  
 Non sempre havrà fortuna i crudi artigli,  
 e l'empie voglie al nostro danno intente.  
 Per varî casi, e varî aspri perigli  
 nel Latino andiamo, ove perpetuamente  
 ne fa di lieto seggio il fato degni,  
 rinnovando i Troiani eccelsi regni.
46. Serbatevi a secondo e lieto stato,  
 e gite, ov'egli al vostro ben vi spinge.»  
 Così dic'ei da cure alte aggravato;  
 doglia ha nel petto e gioia in volto finge.  
 Con maggior speme, e con cor men turbato,  
 al cibo & a la preda ogniun s'accinge.  
 L'hirsute pelli da la coste tranno  
 e ignude rimaner le membra fanno.
47. La carne altri divide e in brani sparte,  
 ne' spiedi altri l'infigge anchor tremante;  
 loca il concavo rame altri in disparte,  
 altri il foco rattizza, e fa costante;

s'assidon poi dove più lieta parte  
 fan tenerelle herbette e vaghe piante,  
 e con le selvaggine e col liquore  
 del buon padre Leneo prendon vigore.

48. Legata con la fame anco la mensa,  
 cercando i lor perduti amici vanno  
 con lungo ragionar, con doglia immensa,  
 e fra speme e timor dubbiosi stanno,  
 s'anco il ciel lor vitale aura dispensa,  
 o porge a i preghi sordo ultimo affanno.  
 Ma più d'ogni altro Enea grave duol preme,  
 e di profondo cor sospira e geme.
49. Commovanlo a pietade Oronte e Lico,  
 ch'avanti a gli occhi suoi gîro a l'ocaso.  
 Hor del forte Cloanto & hor d'Amico,  
 hor di Gigante soviengli il duro caso.  
 Già con l'aurato crin lucido e aprico  
 rendeva Apello il tenebroso Occaso,  
 lasciando oscur ne l'ultimo Orizzonte  
 l'eccelso crin del Mauritano monte.
50. Quando d'alta pietate i lumi accesi  
 Giove, inchinando da i celesti segni  
 al mare e a le mondan genti e paesi,  
 fermò lo sguardo a gli Africani regni;  
 e tenendo ivi i pensier santi intesi,  
 Cipria co i lacrimosi e di duol pregni  
 occhi lucenti e ruggiadose gote,  
 queste a lui disse dolorose note:
51. «O del mondo, o del ciel sommo rettore,  
 c'huomini e Dei coi<sup>3</sup> fulmini spaventi,  
 qual contra te giamai commise errore  
 il nostro Enea, qual le Troiane genti,  
 che spinti dal lor patrio albergo fore  
 dopo tante ruine e rei tormenti,  
 perché al Latio non giungan, l'universo  
 è lor chiuso dintorno e 'l cielo averso?
52. Mi promettesti pur che i Romani indi,  
 rinovato del gran Dardano il seme,  
 sorger devrìano, a i quali Iberi & Indi  
 darìan tributo & Afri e Sciti insieme:

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<sup>3</sup> col

e chiara la lor gloria, e quinci e quindi,  
 di morte non vedrà mai l'hore estreme.  
 Qual hor ti cangia, o genitore altero,  
 consiglio altrui sinistro, o qual pensiero?

53. Con tal speme di Troia il miserando  
 incendio consolava e le ruine,  
 co i fati i fati aversi compensando,  
 et i principî rei col lieto fine.  
 Ma la medesima sorte intorno errando  
 anchor li guida e fa di lor rapine.  
 Quando fia, sommo Re, ch'a i duri e longhi  
 travagli, al lungo essilio, fine imponghi?
54. Poté fuggendo Antennore di mezzo  
 a' Greci penetrar con voglie pronte  
 de' regni Illirî e de' Liburni in mezzo,  
 e trappassar del gran Timavo il fonte:  
 dove, inondando le campagne al mezzo  
 con strepito e rumor del vicin monte,  
 sparso per nove bocche al mar descende,  
 a cui spento 'l furor tributo rende.
55. Padua fondò ne' paludosi piani,  
 e vaghi e bei gli inculti lochi rese,  
 e d'ampî tetti e d'argini sovrani  
 l'ornò e munì da le nemiche offese.  
 Qui fermò il seggio e diè 'l nome a' Troiani:  
 l'arme e l'insegna d'Ilio al tempio appese,  
 ove hor sicuro in pace alma e serena  
 quete le notti e lieti i giorni mena.
56. E noi tua prole, a i quali il ciel prometti,  
 rotte le navi e abbandonati in tutto,  
 sêmo per l'ira sol d'una constretti  
 errar lunge d'Italia in doglia e in lutto.  
 Così dunque nel regno hor ne rimetti?  
 E de la mia speranza è questo il frutto?  
 Non posson dunque intenerirti il core  
 pietà, giustizia e consanguineo amore?»
57. Sorrise alhora e con tranquille ciglia,  
 onde 'l ciel rasserena e le tempeste,  
 l'alto motor de la dolente figlia,  
 basciò le guancie lacrimose e meste.  
 Poi disse: «Né timor, né meraviglia,  
 o bella Citerea, più ti moleste,

ch'immobili de' tuoi stanno anco i fati,  
né sono i primi miei pensier cangiati.

58. L'alma città e le sublimi e belle  
promesse mura di Lavin vedrai;  
e nel celeste choro infra le stelle  
il magnanimo Enea lieta accorrai.  
Ma poi che di saper più avanti quelle  
parti ch'ascese sono altrui cura hai,  
de' fati t'aprirò gli alti secreti,  
onde 'l sospetto, onde 'l desire acqueti.
59. Questi dèe ne l'Italia a i Re più alteri  
por freno, e soggiogar feroce gente,  
fondar nove cittadi e novi imperi,  
et impor leggi e triumphar sovente.  
E, mentre il sol sferzando i suoi destrieri  
farà tre volte il freddo Acquario ardente,  
de' Rutuli e del Latino havrà 'l governo,  
di sé lasciando al mondo honore eterno.
60. Ascanio poi real giovene degno,  
c'hor di Iulo ha 'l cognome e pria d'Ilio<sup>4</sup> hebbe  
alhor che d'Ilio il già superbo regno  
a la suprema sua grandezza crebbe,  
trent'anni con valor sommo & ingegno  
regger lo scettro fortunato debbe,  
e di Lavino il seggio transferire  
in Albalonga e quella ben munire:
61. ove l'Hettorea gente pellegrina  
trecento anni havrà imperio alto e giocondo,  
fin che d'Ilia Vestal sacra regina,  
faccia il superbo Marte il sen fecondo,  
e con la regia sua prole divina  
de gli alteri gemelli adorni il mondo:  
e che una fulva Lupa il latte porga  
a Romol, onde a real grado assorga.
62. Il qual poi, da vicini e da lontani,  
gente accogliendo a la città di Marte  
da lui fondata ne i fecondi piani  
d'ampi edifiti e con mirabil arte,  
dal nome suo gli nomerà Romani.  
A questi non pongo io tempo né parte,

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<sup>4</sup> Ilo

che senza fin lor diedi il regio scanno,  
e di terra e di mar l'imperio havranno.

63. Che più? L'aspra Giunon, c'hor con furore  
turba la terra e 'l mar timida e irata,  
cangerà voglia e porgerà favore  
a la Romana tua gente togata:  
e dopo qualche lustro e volger d'hore,  
verrà l'età più lieta e fortunata,  
ch'a i Greci tutti & a Micene e a Phthia,  
giogo porran di servitude ria.
64. Nascerà de la bella inclita prole  
l'invitto imperadore Ottaviano,  
di cui là, dove il Garamante cole,  
termin l'imperio havrà con l'Oceano:  
e l'alto honor, quasi lucente sole,  
splenderà in terra e qui nel ciel sovrano:  
e 'l nome Iulio, dal gran Iulo sceso,  
risonerà d'eterna gloria acceso.
65. E di spoglie regali e di trophèi,  
colmo tornando poi da l'Oriente,  
gli darai loco in ciel fra gli altri Dei,  
e fia chiamato a voti anch'ei sovente.  
Mitigheransi i secoli alhor rei,  
deposte l'arme e l'empie guerre spente:  
e la dea Vesta, e la candida fede,  
nel mondo havran tranquilla e lieta sede.
66. Le sante leggi, ch'a perpetuo esempio  
Quirino e Remo dier, si serveranno:  
e del feroce dio bifronte al tempio  
chiuse le porte in pace alma vivranno,  
incatenato il tergo al furor empio,  
onde non porga altrui morte né danno,  
fremendo ei con volto horrido e sanguigno  
sopra 'l micidial ferro maligno.»
67. Qui tacque il gran monarca e 'l suo diletto  
figliuol c'ebbe di Maia e nuntio fido  
mandò dal ciel là dove 'l regio tetto  
di Cartagine ergea la bella Dido,  
ond'a i Troiani dar deggìan ricetta  
le sue nove fortezze e 'l novo nido,  
ché, non sapendo ella il voler divino,  
forse scacciati havrà dal suo domino.

68. Di remi a guisa ei le veloci penne  
solcando per lo ciel largo distese  
e più leve che dardo, a piombo venne  
ne l'arenoso ampio African paese.  
Ne la nova città l'ali ritenne,  
e 'l celeste voler vi fe' palese.  
Volgon con la Regina i Peni alteri  
benigni ne' Troian gli animi ferì.
69. Ma il generoso Enea diverse cose  
seco volgendo entro a la notte bruna,  
a l'apparir del Sol cercar propose  
i lochi, ove lo spinse empia fortuna,  
e le parti lontane, e le più ascose,  
se v'alberghino fere o gente alcuna,  
però che i vicin lochi inculti vede,  
indi a i suoi riferir quanto succede.
70. Le navi pria nel curvo sen sospinge  
del bosco sotto a le ripe incavate,  
c'horrid'ombra di spessi arbori cinge  
e seco in compagnia va solo Achate.  
Nel forte pugno egli vibrando stringe  
due valide haste, ambe di ferro armate,  
a cui nel mezzo de la selva apparve  
la madre Citherea con finte larve.
71. Di vergine Spartana havea sembianza,  
e di vergine anco arme, habito e voce.  
Come talhor suol con viril possanza  
Arpalice spronar destrier feroce,  
che 'l vento col leggier suo corso avanza  
e trapassa col piè l'Hebro veloce,  
così volle mostrarsi al figlio avante  
la bella Dea, qual cacciatrice errante.
72. Ne gli homeri sospeso ella tenea  
il lieve arco, e la chioma aurea discinta  
a l'aura data, e al vento in preda havea:  
nudo il ginocchio e in habito succinta.  
O caprio o pardo alhor pareo  
ch'a seguir fosse e a saettare accinta.  
Non mai candida sì, sì vaga Flora,  
né sì lucida a noi forse l'Aurora.

73. «Gioveni,» disse «de le mie sorelle  
alcuna errar veduto havreste a sorte,  
che di vago cervier macchiata pelle  
cint'habbia a torno, e la faretra porte,  
o cinghial di spumose empie mascelle?»  
gridando incalzi valorosa e forte.  
« Né visto habbiamo errar, né seguir belva  
alcun,» rispose Enea, «per l'atra selva.
74. Qual dea t'ho da nominar, vergine bella?  
Non è mortale il tuo volto decoro,  
né suona di mortal la tua favella:  
dea sei tu certo del celeste choro,  
o vaga nimpha, o pur l'alma sorella  
di lui che splende in ciel co i be' crin d'oro.  
Pur qual tu sia, a noi propitia e amica,  
fa' 'l duol nostro men grave e la fatica.
75. Ne ti dispiaccia dirne ove siam giunti,  
se in habitata parte o in tutto alpestre:  
errando andiamo da procella aggiunti  
in questo ignoto a noi loco silvestre,  
che dal vero sentier n'have disgiunti.  
Da noi ti fian poi con pietose destre  
ne i sacri altari tuoi per cotai merti  
debiti honori e sacrificî offerti.»
76. Soggiunse ella: «Non son di tanto pregio,  
gioveni, degna, e a tanto honor non m'ergo.  
I piedi avinti di cothurno egregio  
soglion portar, e la faretra al tergo,  
le cacciatrici vergini ch'al regio  
e bellicoso Tiro han grato albergo.  
Qui Tiro, e qui de' Peni è il nobil regno,  
e la bella città d'Agenor degno.
77. Questa è Libia, ove dimora in guerra  
fiero di Marte e insuperabil gregge.  
Didon, fuggendo l'odiata terra  
di Tiro, 'l rio german e l'imperio regge.  
Qual cagion la movesse a cangiar terra  
e a rinovar altrove ordine e legge,  
lunga è l'istoria; pur dirovvi quanto  
più importa e 'l resto lascierò da canto.
78. Fu di costei già il buon Sicheo marito  
di gran stato possente intra i Phenici;



a cui, vergine essendo, il padre unito  
 in matrimonio havea con lieti auspici.  
 Ella portò per lui d'amor ferito  
 il cor, ma pochi giorni hebbe felici,  
 che l'empio suo fratel Pigmaliione  
 le diè d'eterno duol dura cagione.

79. Pigmalion sovra ogn'huom crudo & empio,  
 del Tirio regno anchor non ben contento,  
 dinanzi a i sacri altari in sacro tempio,  
 da furor cieco spinto, a l'oro intento,  
 fe' l'incauto Sicheo con duro scempio  
 del vital spirto ascosamente spento,  
 de la sorella il grande amor spregiando,  
 a cui l'eccesso un tempo andò celando.
80. Di vana speme l'infelice amante,  
 c'havea Sicheo sempre in memoria sculto,  
 schernì fingendo tante cose e tante,  
 perché ognihor stesse il malefitio occulto.  
 Ma l'immagine a quella in sogno avante  
 apparve del marito anco insepulto:  
 alzando il volto horribilmente essangue  
 e in forma horrida il sen tinto di sangue.
81. Dal crudel ferro il trappassato petto  
 le mostra e profanati altari scopre;  
 l'apre l'inculto e scelerato effetto  
 del suo lignaggio e abhominevol opre.  
 Poi l'esorta a fuggir l'huom maladetto,  
 e l'antico thesor, ch'in terra copre,  
 d'oro e d'argento un gran pondo l'insegna,  
 ond'al camin l'aiuti e la sovvegna.
82. Quindi mossa Didon la fuga affretta,  
 gli amici aduna, e quei cui del Tiranno  
 odio l'alma o timore acre saetta,  
 o del passato o del futuro danno.  
 Le navi che trovâr spedite in fretta  
 empion d'oro e le vele a i venti danno,  
 e portan col thesor l'alma e la luce:  
 de l'empio avar, la bella donne è duce.
83. Hor con turbido giorno, hor con sereno  
 giunser là, dove il muro in giro eretto  
 di Cartagin vedrai, nel cui bel seno  
 ogni commodità siede e diletto.

Qui convenne comprar loro il terreno  
 che Birsia si nomò poi da l'effetto:  
 pero che quando un sol cuoio di toro  
 girar potesse, ne fu dato loro.

84. Ma voi chi sète al fin? Donde e in qual parte,  
 movete i passi? Se ciò dir non noce.»  
 A questo suon da la profonda parte  
 del cor, sospirando ei, trasse tal voce:  
 «O Dea, se da principio ho da narrarte,  
 e tu pur vogli udir l'istoria atroce  
 de le nostre fatiche, Hespero intorno  
 chiudendo il ciel pria darà fine al giorno.
85. Noi per diverso mar d'Ilio superbo  
 (se giamai d'Ilio il nome e i pregi uditi  
 furon da voi) varcando hor vento acerbo  
 a caso n'ha sospinto a i vostri liti.  
 Sono il pietoso Enea, che meco serbo  
 dal foco e da i nemici empì rapiti  
 i dèi di Troia, e d'uno a l'altro polo  
 e sovra 'l ciel va la mia fama a volo.
86. Cerco l'Italia, la mia patria antiqua,  
 e l'alta stirpe de l'eterno padre.  
 Con venti navi entrai ne l'onda obliqua  
 de l'Hellesponto, ove la Dea mia madre  
 mi scorse e 'l fato. Hor da fortuna iniqua  
 d'Euro e da l'onde insidiose e ladre  
 sette a penna n'habbiam salve ridotte,  
 deboli e quasi fracassate e rotte.
87. Povero e colmo hor di miseria in tutto  
 scacciato da l'Europa e de l'Asia anco,  
 ne i deserti di Libia hor son condotto  
 peregrinando ir sconosciuto e stanco.»  
 Più non poté soffrir Venere il lutto  
 del figliuol suo dolente e 'l lato manco  
 grave duol sì le punse e le trafisse  
 che 'l parlar gl'interroppe, e così disse:
88. «Chiunque sei, non credo già che vivi  
 in odio al cielo, ond'a Tiro or sei giunto.  
 Segui 'l camino a le gran porte quivi,  
 dove ha Didone il nuovo scettro assunto.  
 Salva l'armata, e i tuoi compagni vivi  
 (tolto Aquilone, e in lor favor congiunto)

vedrai, se pur non m'insegnâr fallaci  
gli augurî i miei maggiori, o fur mendaci.

89. Mira dodici cigni accolti in stuolo  
con lungo ordine andar lieti volando,  
de' quai, seguendo impetuoso il volo,  
l'augel di Giove iva pel ciel turbando.  
Hor segno fan di voler prender suolo:  
ecco l'han preso, ecco c'hor van scherzando.  
Scuoton le stridule ali, e l'aria e 'l vento  
fan risonar del dolce lor concento.
90. Non altramente ogni tuo legno in porto  
o giunto è salvo, o con la vela piena  
entrar dè homai, fuor di periglio sorto  
d'atra tempesta in lieta aura serena.  
Hor segui dunque ove diritto e corto  
questo sentiero a la città ti mena.»  
Così diss'ella e nel voltarsi intorno  
sparse gran luce il roseo collo adorno.
91. E di nettare odor lunge spirârò  
le chiome d'or ch'ella partendo scosse.  
Scese la veste de' bei piedi al paro  
e ne l'andar verace Dea mostrosse.  
E, con tai meraviglie, inditio chiaro  
diede al figliuol che la sua madre fosse,  
né possendo ei col piè lei, che veloce  
se'n giò, seguir col core e con la voce:
92. «Perché tu anchor scherni il figliuol si spesso,  
madre crudel, con falso altrui semblante?  
Deh perché, ahi lasso, a me non è concesso  
mirare il vero tuo volto prestante?  
Deh, perché non poss'io sentir da presso  
le vere e dolci tue parole sante,  
e congiunger la mia con la tua palma,  
poi che teco congiunta ognihora è l'alma?»
93. Così l'incusava egli. Indi si messe  
per trito sentier verso le mura;  
ma Citherea gli cinse ambo di spesse  
ombre e vesti di cieca nube oscura,  
perché vedere alcun non gli potesse,  
né de la giunta lor prendersi cura,  
onde, con lungo interrogar, dimora  
fesse lor fare e soffrir danno anchora.

94. Indi a Papho s'en giò sublime, il denso  
aere illustrando col divin splendore,  
dov'ella ha 'l seggio e 'l suo bel tempo immenso,  
e cento altari in suo perpetuo honore  
che spiran di Sabeo fumante incenso,  
et di fresche ghirlande ognihora odore.  
Ascendono essi in tanto il vicin colle  
che sovra la cittade il giogo estolle.
95. Quindi la mole Enea, ch'altra sorge  
ove già fur povere case e ville,  
le ricche porte e le gran strade scorge  
e i Tiri intenti a l'opra a mille a mille.  
Lo strepito e 'l rumor stupor li porge,  
che maggior sente che di trombe o squille.  
Bramosi i Tiri di veder perfetta  
la lor città s'affannan lieti infretta.
96. Questi d'ergere al ciel le salde mura,  
e con le proprie man svolgere i sassi,  
quei di fortificar le rocche han cura,  
qual ne i lochi eminenti e qual ne i bassi;  
altri le fosse cava, altri misura,  
altri il suo proprio albergo elegge e fassi;  
forman le leggi e formano il Senato,  
e 'l tribunal e 'l foro e 'l magistrato.
97. Qua fanno il porto per le stanche navi,  
e là de i gran theatri i fondamenti.  
Svellon da i monti le colonne gravi,  
perché sian poi di scene alti ornamenti.  
Così ne la stagion che i giorni pravi  
scaccia e spirar fa i più tranquilli venti,  
s'affannan l'api industri e faticosi  
per li fioriti prati e ruggiadosi:
98. alhor che i prati adducon fuor benigni,  
o che 'l liquido mel<sup>5</sup> fan duro e spesso,  
e n'ingrombran le celle e i loro ordigni,  
o sgravano chi vien da salma oppresso;  
i fuchi ignavi e gli animal maligni,  
fatto un squadron, si scaccian lor da presso.  
Ferve l'opra e 'l liquor spira sì dolce  
di thimo odor che l'alma nutre e molce.

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<sup>5</sup> *mal*

99. «O fortunata gente e a pien felice,  
che sorgere vedi le tue mura al cielo.»  
Così mirando a l'erta cima dice  
il buon Troiano con ardente zelo.  
Entro si caccia al fin quell'infelice,  
cinto del tenebroso e folto velo.  
Tra lor si mesce (o meraviglia a dire!)  
né alcun v'è che lo veggia e che lo mire.
100. Un bosco opaco e di verdi ombre grato  
nel mezzo fu de la novella terra,  
dove i Tiri sospinse il mar turbato,  
e 'l capo d'un destrier cavâr sotterra,  
per segno da Giunon lor dimostrato,  
ch'esser devean forti e potenti in guerra,  
e facil per molt'anni e molti lustri,  
nel superar popoli e terre illustri.
101. Qui Didon da Sidonia un tempio ergea  
a la faultrice sua Giunon sacrata:  
e d'ampi doni e simulachri havea  
dentro e di fuor mirabilmente ornato.  
Di grado in grado il limitar surgea  
del più ricco metallo e più pregiato;  
di bronzo eran le travi e le gran porte,  
che 'l cardine reggea stridulo e forte.
102. Qui fe' nuovo spettacolo il timore  
d'Enea men grave e diè conforto e spene;  
però che rimirando e dentro e fuore  
(quivi aspettando se Didon pur viene)  
l'artificio, la pompa e 'l gran valore  
che 'l tempio e ognialtra fabrica in se tiene;  
ecco che vede in ordine distinte  
le pugne de i Troian tutte dipinte.
103. Vede la lunga guerra e horribil tanto,  
famosa ovunque gira il mar profondo;  
Priamo, e gli Atridi, e starsi ivi da canto  
l'irato Achille, a quei poco giocondo.  
Pietoso Enea frenar non puote il pianto:  
«Qual loco è,» dice, «Achate, homai nel mondo,  
che de l'istoria lacrimosa e pia,  
de' nostri affanni rei colma non sia?

104. Ecco il Re nostro, han pur qui le pregiate  
opre suo merto e chiara appar virtute.  
Qui sono i pianti anchor ch'alta pietate  
porgono altrui de le miserie havute.  
Scaccia 'l timore e prendi hor sicurtate;  
tal fama ne darà qualche salute.»  
Così dice egli, e di vana pittura  
dolce & amaro al cor cibo procura.
105. Duolsi di molte cose e spesso il volto  
bagna di largo fiume e 'l cor tristo ange.  
Vede l'un campo e l'altro insieme accolto,  
come s'atterra, uccide e fiere e frange:  
di qua girne l'Argivo in fuga volto,  
e sbaragliar Hettor squadre e phalange:  
di là solo nel carro a mille e a mille  
con horribil cimiero opporsi Achille.
106. A tradigion del Trhacio Rheso il bianco  
padiglion vede saccheggiato e vinto  
nel primo sonno, alhor c'havea lo stanco  
essercito in soccorso a Troia spinto.  
E quindi trar vede Diomede il franco,  
di molta strage sanguinoso e tinto,  
i fatali destrier, pria che gustato  
del Xanto havesser l'onda, o d'Ilio il prato.
107. Non lungi è Troilo il giovenetto ardito,  
che con forza minor s'osa opporre  
al fiero Achille, ond'ei cader ferito  
lo fa dal carro che nel campo scorre.  
Le briglie anchor, bench'ei di senso uscito,  
tien l'animosa man che morte abhorre:  
ma quel dietro lo trahe privo d'auriga,  
e 'l terren l'hasta, ond'è trafitto irriga.
108. Con chiome sparse lagrimose e meste  
le donne d'Ilio accolte in gran caterva  
s'affrettan di portar la sacre veste  
al tempio de l'iniqua lor Minerva,  
e pregan ch'a i Troiani aiuto preste,  
percotendosi i petti: ella, proterva,  
gli occhi a terra tien fissi e a dietro volta  
l'irata fronte, né i lor preghi ascolta.
109. Vede Achille crudel, qual tigre od angue,  
tre volte intorno a Troia ir strascinando,

e vender poi d'Hettorre il corpo essangue  
 al padre inerme e d'ogni bene in bando.  
 Raddoppia alhora il pianto e mesto langue  
 Enea, quando le spoglie e 'l carro, e quando  
 vede del forte amico il corpo ignudo,  
 condotto a stratio così indegno e crudo.

110. Se stesso anchor fra i più pregiati heroi,  
 fra i più famosi Greci, e più robusti  
 misto conobbe: e per lui vede i suoi  
 sovente gir d'hostili spoglie onusti.  
 Le squadre scese da i gran monti Eoi,  
 e 'l Re Mennon da gli Ethiopi adusti  
 quivi vide anco e tutti quei ch'aita  
 diedero a Troia e vi lasciâr la vita.
111. De l'Amazzoni fiere un stuolo armato  
 guida Pantasilea la furibonda  
 cui, sotta a la mammella incisa, il lato  
 un cintolo di gemme e d'or circonda.  
 Ciascuna ha il forte suo scudo lunato;  
 fra i nemici arde e di valore abonda,  
 e i più forti guerrieri assalir osa,  
 vergine anchor, feroce e valorosa.
112. Mentre che le pitture ornate e belle  
 il gran Dardanio Enea fanno stupire,  
 e gli occhi hor ferma in queste et hor in quelle,  
 né cosa lascia che non scorga e mire,  
 ecco da molti gioveni e donzelle  
 accompagnata al bel tempio venire  
 Didon con singular regia vaghezza,  
 d'alta presentia e d'immortal bellezza.
113. Come Diana alhor che ne le valli  
 passa d'Eurota o dal bel Cinthio scende,  
 lieti guardando amorosetti balli,  
 spiega a gli homeri il crin, l'arco sospende.  
 Seguon la Dea pe i ruggiadosi calli  
 mille vezzose nimphe: ella risplende  
 come sorella al Sol, figlia di Giove,  
 e gioia alta a Latona in petto move.
114. Così Didone appar, così il bel piede  
 move, e 'l sembante con maniera accorta,  
 e lieta a l'opra e a la futura sede  
 con dolcissime note i Tiri esorta.

Entra nel tempio e in alto scanno siede  
 cinta d'armati che le fan la scorta.  
 Qui l'opre altrui con parte equal dispone,  
 o per sorte le trahe e leggi impone.

115. Ecco in un punto Enea con gran concorso  
 di Tiri attorno Antheo vede e Sergesto,  
 ch'affannati venian quivi a gran corso,  
 e Cloanto anco, e de' Troiani il resto  
 che dal dritto sentiero era trascorso,  
 quando lor fu Aquilon tanto molesto.  
 Gran meraviglia i fidi amici hor hanno  
 e fra gioia e timor stupidi stanno.

116. L'amiche destre son d'unir bramosi,  
 ma il dubbio caso gli ritien sospesi.  
 Dissimulando entro a la nube ascosi,  
 stanno il successo a rimirare intesi  
 come gli horrendi scogli e perigliosi  
 schivando sieno a salvamento scesi,  
 perché venghino hor qui dove lasciata  
 habbino il resto de la loro armata.

117. Questi con gran rumor moveano il piede,  
 scelti da tutti i legni al sacro foro  
 a chieder pace e supplicar mercede,  
 che i Tiri arder volean le navi loro.  
 Poi che la guardia di parlar lor diede  
 commodo e avanti a la Regina fôro,  
 il saggio Ilioneo facondo molto  
 disse con humil voce e mesto volto:

118. «Alta Regina, a cui diè Giove eterno  
 fondar nuova città cotanto altera,  
 e regger con giustitia il bel governo,  
 ponendo freno a dura gente e fera,  
 noi miseri Troian d'horrido verno  
 per tutti i mari a la crudel riviera  
 vostra sospinti, hor te preghiam che vieti  
 l'horribil foco, e l'empio orgoglio acqueti.

119. Deh, movanti nel cor qualche pietate  
 i casi nostri miserandi & empi.  
 Noi venuti non siam con destre armate  
 a far de la tua gente acerbi scempi,  
 né a riportar in mar prede involate,  
 ponendo a sacco i tuoi palagi e i tempi.



Non han tal forza e tanto orgoglio i vitti  
in terra e in mar miseramente afflitti.

120. Detto da i Greci un loco è per cognome  
Hesperia, ricco di fecondi campi,  
antiqua terra e forte in armi, come  
qual sia che lustrì il Sol co i chiari lampi:  
a cui d'Enotria già diedero il nome  
quando la soggiogâr gli Enotrii campi.  
Nomata hor da moderni esser si dice  
Italia, e dal suo Rege il nome elice.
121. Qua noi volgemmo il nostro corso audaci,  
quando Orione il procelloso sorse  
con Austri impetuosi e pertinaci,  
e in ciechi vadi i nostri legni torse:  
e fra scogli e fra sirti empie e rapaci  
ne trasse e pose de la vita in forse  
a tal ch'a picciol numero ridotti,  
a gran pena ne siamo hor qui condotti.
122. Ma qual generation d'huomini, e quale  
barbara gente ha così cruda usanza,  
che 'l miser peregrin col ferro assale,  
e de l'arena anchor vieta la stanza?  
S'orgogliosi l'human seme e 'l mortale  
poter schernite voi, come speranza  
havrete poi ne li superni Dèi,  
pronti i buoni a pregiar, punire i rei?
123. L'invitto Enea fu nostre Rege, a cui  
sì largo de i suoi don fu 'l gran motore,  
ch'altri non è, né fia, simile a lui  
di pietà, di giustitia, e di valore;  
il quale, s'anco le Parche a i regni bui  
spinto non han, tronchi gli stami e l'hore,  
non t'hai tu da pentir, ma da far stima  
d'esserti al benefitio offerto prima.
124. Noi anco avemo arme e cittadi e navi  
ne la Sicilia, e 'l Re Troiano Aceste.  
Siane lecito homai legare i cavi,  
dove il furor marin più non l'infeste,  
e remi trar da l'alte selve e travi  
per risaldar e fianchi e prore peste;  
onde, poi, col Re nostro e con gli amici,  
se n'è concesso, al Latio andiam felici.

125. Ma se n'è tolta ogni salute, e l'onde  
 pur t'han vinto, o gran padre, e rea fortuna,  
 e nel vorace ventre il mar t'asconde,  
 né di lulo riman più speme alcuna,  
 torniamo a i regni di Sicania, donde  
 venuti siam con ria sorte importuna,  
 là dove è il nostro Aceste e dove offerta  
 pietoso n'a sede perpetua e certa.»
126. Così disse Ilioneo e, mormorando,  
 i Teucri tutti acconsentir mostrârò.  
 Con leggiadra modestia alhor chinando  
 Didon le vaghi luci e 'l volto chiaro  
 disse: «Ponete, o miei Troiani, in bando  
 ogni sospetto, ogni pensiero amaro.  
 Mi sforza il novo regno e un caso strano  
 a custodire il mio presso e lontano.
127. Chi la stirpa d'Enea, chi la virtude,  
 chi tanti invitti cavalieri e tanti,  
 chi l'infelice Troia, e chi le crude  
 fiamma non sa? Chi i miserabil pianti?  
 Il cor non habbiam noi Peni d'incude,  
 non siam dal corso human noi tanto erranti,  
 né tanto i suoi destrier veloci lunge  
 da la nostra città Febo disgiunge.
128. O ch'a la grande Hesperia e di Lavino  
 gir voi bramate a i lidi e a le campagne,  
 o ritornar d'Aceste al bel dominio,  
 dov'Encelado sotto Etna si fragne,  
 vi darò aiuto e gente onde il camino  
 facci in tutto sicuro e v'accompagne.  
 E vi farò de le ricchezze parte,  
 che 'l ciel benigno a me dona e comparte.
129. E se qui rimanere anco vi pare,  
 vostra è questa città; meco ugualmente  
 vivrete sempre, e con fortuna pare  
 reggerò la Troiana e Tiria gente.  
 Togliete hor dunque i rotti legni al mare.  
 Dhe, pur volesse il ciel, ch'anco presente  
 vosco il vostro Re fusse, o vivo almeno  
 fuor de l'avidò sen del mar Tirrheno.

130. Peroché per cittadi e per castella,  
 mandarò gente, e ne gli estremi lidi,  
 s'in loco alcun l'empia fortuna e fella,  
 spinto avesse mai, ch'a me lo guidi.»  
 A i detti de la donna altera e bella  
 l'alme intente tenean gli amici fidi.  
 E più volte bramâr dal grembo oscuro  
 uscir de l'atra nube a l'aer puro.
131. «Qual pensier,» disse Achate, «in cor t'è nato,  
 o di celeste Dea celeste figlio?  
 Giunta vedi l'armata in lieto stato,  
 e sorta ogni cosa è fuor di periglio.  
 Solo un ne manca, a cui nel mar turbato  
 diede, presenti noi, morti di piglio.  
 Ecco 'l vero successo, ecco l'effetto  
 di quanto n'ha la madre tua predetto.»
132. Ratto la nube in questo dir s'aperse,  
 si volse in aria, e fe' nel ciel ritorno,  
 onde l'inclito Enea lucido emerse,  
 e d'immenso splendor refulse intorno.  
 Tanta in lui maestà Venere asperse,  
 ch'a un Dio simil mostrò 'l sembante adorno,  
 vivo color nel volto, alto splendore  
 ne gli occhi, e in ogni parte eterno honore,
133. quale al candido avorio e schietto aggiunge  
 vaghezza e leggiadria ben dotta mano;  
 o s'a l'argento il lucido congiunge,  
 ond'alabastro trasparente e piano.  
 Subito avanti a la Regina giunge,  
 e dice a l'improvviso il gran Troiano,  
 «Quell'Enea che cercate, ecco presente,  
 tolto del mar di Libia al fier torrente.
134. O cortese, o benigna, o gran Regina,  
 o sola a cui mosso ha pietà nel core  
 veramente real l'empia ruina  
 del miser Ilio e 'l nostro alto dolore:  
 poiché la mortal fiamma e rapina  
 de' Greci tolti, e dal marin furore,  
 ricevi noi nel proprio tuo palagio,  
 in tant'uopo e in tal caso aspro e malvagio.
135. Non possiam noi, né quei Troiani insieme  
 che son sparsi del mondo in ogni parte,

a le tue tante cortesie supreme  
 render di guiderdon picciola parte.  
 Sol l'alto Dio, s'haver deggiam noi speme  
 che 'l giusto, e la ragion gradischi in parte,  
 degni merti ti doni, e degni pregi  
 di così splendide opre e fatti egregi.

136. Qual s'è felice etate e quai parenti  
 tale prodotta e data al mondo t'hanno?  
 Mentre de l'onde lor lievi e correnti  
 tributo i fiumi a l'Ocean daranno,  
 mentre pascerà il ciel stelle lucenti,  
 mentre in giro da i monti ombre cadranno,  
 le tue lodi, il tuo nome, e 'l chiaro honore  
 havrò, dovunque io sia, sempre nel core.»
137. Più non disse oltre e quei c'havea già pianto  
 Sergesto & Ilioneo per mano prese,  
 e 'l valoroso Giante e 'l buon Cloanto  
 e gli altri, e in ragionar poi si distese.  
 Alto stupore a la Regina in tanto  
 il bel volto e 'l divin sembante rese,  
 e del rio caso d'un tant'huom si dolse,  
 indi la lingua in tai parole sciolse:
138. «O figlio altier de l'amorosa Dea,  
 qual malvagio destino hor ti costringe  
 soffrir tanti disagi e pena rea?  
 Qual nume a sì crudei lochi ti spinge?  
 Non sei tu il valoroso inclito Enea,  
 la cui suprema gloria il cielo attinge;  
 quel che d'Anchise generò la diva  
 di Papho al Frigio Simoenta in riva?
139. Pur mi sovien che già in Sidonia venne  
 dal patrio albergo tuo Teucro scacciato;  
 et al genitor mio Belo sovenne,  
 c'espugnava di Cipro il ricco stato  
 e vincitore il bel dominio tenne.  
 Da indi in qua nel cor sempre ho serbato  
 col nome tuo quel de i Re Greci tutti,  
 e d'Ilio i miserandi ultimi lutti.
140. Egli quantunque a voi fosse nemico,  
 pur vi dava ognihor pregi e lodi immense,  
 e 'l materno Troian suo ceppo antico  
 non quello ergea del genitor Cretense.

Ma, ché più lungamente altro vi esplico,  
venite a ristorarvi a le mie mense.  
Me tenne oppressa ancor molti e molt'anni  
simil fortuna e simili empi affanni;

141. pur qui volle ch'al fin stanca posassi,  
priva del patrio mio dominio caro.  
Esperta anch'io di così duri passi,  
di sovvenire a gl'infelici imparo.»  
Così dicendo al gran palagio i passi  
movea, guidando il Re Troiano al paro;  
e seco rese honor ne' divin lochi  
al ciel, ne i sacri altari accesi i fochi.
142. Poi mandò venti tori, e cento agnelli  
con le lor madri a gli altri Teucri fuore,  
e cento porci di setose pelli,  
e 'l don lieto di Bacco, almo liquore.  
In tanto di pomposi, ornati e belli  
al palagio real crebbe splendore  
ove un ricco convito e bene adorno  
la copia preparò spargendo il corno.
143. Di finissimi drappi in bel lavoro  
e d'oro e di superbo ostro contesti,  
le ricche mense ricoperte fôro  
da i servi accorti, a tal bisogno presti  
posti gli argenti, ove sculpiti in oro  
fûr de' lor padri i valorosi gesti  
dal primo ceppo de l'antique genti  
d'Epapho e Nino e de i lor descendenti.
144. Enea (peroché 'l cor non vol ch'acqueti  
l'amor paterno) Achate a i legni manda,  
e ch'i successi lor felici e lieti  
narri al caro figliuol suo gli comanda,  
e che seco lo meni ov'han quieti  
gli alberghi, e più che pò gliel raccomanda.  
Tutta la cura sua, tutt'il consiglio,  
rivolto ha sempre al generoso figlio.
145. E vol che porti il don pregiato tanto,  
ch'a le fiamme Troiane ei rapito have  
in bei color distinto un regio manto,  
di ricchi fregi e di molt'oro grave,  
e l'intessuto vel di croceo acanto,  
ch'Helena ornar, quando le nozze pravo

congiunse col pastor di cui fu preda,  
mirabil don de la sua madre Leda.

146. E lo scettro, che già tenne Iliona,  
la più cara di Priamo e maggior figlia  
e 'l monile imperlato, e la corona  
di gemma oriental persa e vermiglia  
ch'al collo, al bel crine e a la persona  
real accrebber pregio e meraviglia.  
Egli, che 'l Re suo compiacer desìa,  
si pose, accelerando i passi, in via.
147. In questo mentre la gran Dea di Gnido  
novi pensier volge, e nove arti in petto,  
peroché del lor dubbio albergo infido,  
e de i fallaci Tiri ella ha sospetto;  
onde vol ch'a Didon vada Cupido  
d'Ascanio in vece, e cangi volto e aspetto,  
e con quel ricco don l'inveschi e prenda,  
e ne l'ossa e nel cor le fiamme accenda.
148. «Vede che di Giunone arde il pensiero,  
e l'odio acerbo ogni hor più si rinforza,»  
così dunque disse ella al forte Arciero,  
«che 'l gelo infiamma e che le fiamme ammorza,  
o del gran Giove, e mio figliuolo altiero,  
ond'io prendo valore e maggior forza,  
figlio ch'i più potenti e divi e Regi,  
e l'arme che Tipheo vinsêr dispregi.
149. Supplice a te ricorro, e aiuto chieggo  
al tuo gran nome, al tuo valor supremo:  
come il tuo frate Enea dal patrio seggio  
scacciato fusse in ogni lido estremo,  
e sospinto anchor sia di male in peggio  
da l'iniqua Giunone, ond'io ne gemo:  
tu pur lo sai, ché meco ti dolesti  
più d'una volta e di grand'ira ardesti.
150. Benignamente hor l'ha Didon raccolto  
e seco vol che lungamente stia.  
Ma io ben sto dubbiosa qual fin volto  
de la crudel Giunon l'albergo sia.  
In tanta occasion l'irato volto  
ella non queterà proterva e ria.  
Talché pensato ho dopo varî modi  
prender Didon con amorse frodi.

151. E che profonda piaga e fiero ardore,  
e inestricabil nodo al cor sostegna,  
che né terrestre, né divin valore  
risani mai, non mai disciolga e spenga,  
ma sol del nostro Enea tenace amore  
l'alma oppressa e la mente ognior le tenga;  
e, come a questo mio facil desìo  
dar possi effetto, hor odi il parer mio.
152. Iulo, la maggior mia cura, co i doni  
tolti al rapido foco e a l'onda avara,  
a la città novella de i Sidoni  
dal genitor chiamato, ir si prepara;  
di cui, facendo i sensi, al sonno proni  
nel mio sacro Idalio o ne la chiara  
Citherea asconderò, ch'ei l'ordinata opra  
non sappia, ond'importuno altrui si scopra.
153. Poi nel suo volto una sol notte, prima  
ch'indi si muova, il tuo bramo che volghi,  
e, quando a la real sua mensa opima  
fia che Didon nel sen lieta t'accolghi,  
e i dolci baci a le tue labbra imprima  
e le candide braccia al collo avvolghi,  
l'inspira entro le vene a poco a poco  
l'occulto tuo veleno e 'l mortal foco.»
154. Consentì Amore, e senza alcun divieto  
l'ali veloci sue ratto depose;  
e sembrò Ascanio, indi i begli atti lieto,  
e 'l picciol passo a guisa sua compose.  
Venere in tanto un sonno dolce e queto  
sparse ne' membri a Iulo, e in sen se 'l pose,  
e portollo ove ne l'Idalio monte  
con dolce mormorio surgeva un fonte.
155. E sovra un letticiuol fresco e lascivo  
di lieti fiori e d'odorate herbe,  
lo coricò, quasi de i sensi privo;  
ombra le fean tenere piante e schiette.  
Col duce Achate l'amoroso divo  
portando il vago don in via si mette:  
e giunse alhor che splendido e regale  
convito incominciar ne le gran sale.

156. Nel mezzo a l'aurea mensa il loco elesse  
 Didon come Regina, e 'l Re Troiano  
 i purpurei tapeti, e ricchi presse,  
 e i Teucri e i Tiri anchor di mano in mano.  
 Diedero i servi poi limpide e spesse  
 l'acque e i mantili candidi a la<sup>6</sup> mano;  
 da i gran canestri in tanto altri dispensa  
 Cerere intorno a la superba mensa.
157. Cinquanta ancelle havean cura di drento  
 con lungo ordine i rari e delicati  
 cibi comporre e dar loro ornamento,  
 con le fiamme honorando i Dei Penati;  
 cento altre damigelle, e servi cento  
 di pari età pomposamente ornati,  
 di vivande facean la mensa grave,  
 e l'auree tazze empian di vin suave.
158. Ciascuno il don d'Enea pregiato ammira,  
 il vel d'acanto e la pomposa veste,  
 e 'l divin volto onde la fiamma spira,  
 le finte voci, e le maniere honeste;  
 ma più d'altri Didon fiso lo mira  
 (già destinata a la futura peste),  
 né può satiar la mente, e nel bel guardo  
 s'infiamma, e punta è già di fiero dardo.
159. Tutta è commossa già, tutta s'accende  
 mirando il regio dono e 'l divo aspetto  
 del non suo padre al collo egli s'appende,  
 fingendo immenso amor, vero diletto.  
 Poi se'n va a la Regina: ella lo prende,  
 l'abbraccia e bacia e stringe a gli occhi e al petto,  
 e seco si trastulla e non s'accorge,  
 misera, quant'inganni Amor le porge.
160. Ei, che di Citherea sua si ramenta,  
 lievemente Sicheo comincia a torle  
 di mente e l'impigrito animo tenta,  
 e 'l cor gelato a novo amor disporle;  
 e a dramma a dramma la mortale e lenta  
 fiamma spirando, nel pensiero a porle  
 e a scolpirle nel cor vien la prodezza,  
 l'alta virtù d'Enea, l'alta bellezza.

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<sup>6</sup> *le*



161. Poi che fer pausa a le vivande prime,  
 le gran tazze colmâr di vin spumante.  
 Lampade e torci ne l'aurate cime  
 sgombrano lor le tenebre davante.  
 Va lo strepito al bel tetto sublime  
 de la voce ch'è sparsa alta e sonante;  
 e, con iubilo e riso e festa e gioia,  
 mostran grata accoglienza a quei di Troia.
162. Di gemme ricco un bel nappo d'or fino,  
 ch'usò con tutti i successor suoi Belo,  
 empir fece Didon d'antiquo vino;  
 fe' far silentio, e volse gli occhi al cielo:  
 «Giove,» disse, «che curi il pellegrino,  
 e chi l'alberga con amore e zelo,  
 felice questo dì rendi, e sereno,  
 a i Teucri, e a i Tiri, e di letitia pieno.
163. Onde a qualunque sia poi successore  
 del nostro sangue memorabil reste;  
 e tu, d'ogni piacer buon largitore,  
 presente sii Baccho e Giunon celeste;  
 e voi Tiri a costoro ognihor favore  
 porgete, e giochi celebrando e feste.»  
 Così disse, e 'l divin liquore a bocca  
 si pone e con le labbra a pena il tocca.
164. Ne libò alquanto; indi al faceto Bitia  
 motteggiando lo porse. Egli giocondo  
 se'l pose a bocca e non mostrò pigrizia;  
 tutto sorbillo, e fe' apparire il fondo.  
 Seguon gli altri signori, e d'amicitia  
 così fan segno e di cor puro e mondo.  
 In tanto lopa con l'aurata cetra  
 scopre i secreti ascosi altrui de l'etra.
165. Quanto insegnato ha il faticoso Atlante  
 quivi ei dimostra con sonori accenti;  
 le fatiche del Sol, la luna errante,  
 ond'è la stirpe e d'huomini e d'armenti,  
 ond'Arturo, e i Trioni ambo, e le tante  
 procelle, e l'Hiade molli e i lampi ardenti,  
 perché tardi o per tempo il Sol si lievi,  
 e i dì sien caldi e freddi, e lunghi e brevi.
166. Raddoppiano l'applauso ad hora ad hora  
 i Tiri e i Teucri alto piacer prendendo.

Ragionando Didon misera, l'ora  
passa e la notte, il lungo amor bevendo.  
Hor di Priamo, hor d'Hettor domanda & hora  
del forte Achille e del valor tremendo;  
hor saper vol quanto leggiadri e fieri  
fusser del gran Diomede i buon destrieri;

167. hor con qual arme il fier Mennon venisse  
indarno a ristorar di Priamo i danni.  
«Ma su più tosto, o cavalier,» gli disse,  
«de i Greci hor ne racconta i primi inganni,  
come l'altier Troian Regno perisse,  
e i tuoi gravosi errori e lunghi affanni,  
che la settima estate in mare e in terra  
ti mena errando, con sì cruda guerra.»

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