



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

This is a repository copy of *Philip Sidney's Book-Buying at Venice and Padua, Giovanni Varisco's Venetian editions of Jacopo Sannazaro's Arcadia (1571 and 1578) and Edmund Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender (1579)*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
<http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/136570/>

Version: Accepted Version

Article:

Brennan, MG orcid.org/0000-0001-6310-9722 (2018) Philip Sidney's Book-Buying at Venice and Padua, Giovanni Varisco's Venetian editions of Jacopo Sannazaro's Arcadia (1571 and 1578) and Edmund Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender (1579). *Sidney Journal*, 36 (1). pp. 19-40. ISSN 1480-0926

Reuse

Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.



eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/>

**Philip Sidney's Book-Buying at Venice and Padua,
Giovanni Varisco's Venetian editions of Jacopo Sannazaro's Arcadia (1571 and 1578)
and Edmund Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender (1579)¹**

[**Abstract**] This essay traces Philip Sidney's involvements with the book trade at Venice and Padua during his residence there from November 1573 until August 1574. It examines his interest in the publications of the renowned Aldine Press and other Venetian imprints mentioned in a letter of 19 December 1573 to Hubert Languet. It is intriguing to note that several of these Venetian publications (but not necessarily the same copies) were included in a catalogue, compiled between 1652 and 1665, of the Sidney family library at Penshurst. This essay specifically examines the 1571 and 1578 Venetian editions of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, edited by Francesco Sansovino and published at Venice by Giovanni Varisco. This text played a significant role in providing inspiration for both Sidney's own *Arcadia* and for the use of woodcuts in Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*. The essay proposes that either Sidney himself (if he purchased a copy at Venice), or his companions at Venice Lodowick and Sebastian Bryskett (Bruschetto), or Gabriel Harvey, or another member of the Earl of Leicester's circle of Italian scholars may have provided Spenser with access to a copy of this Varisco edition.

1. Sidney, Venetian Booksellers and the Aldine Press

During Philip Sidney's European travels between late May 1572 and May 1575 he was resident at Venice and Padua, interspersed with short excursions to Florence and Genoa, for approximately nine months from early November 1573 until early August 1574. Probably the best known fact about his stay at Venice is that, at the request of his friend and advisor Hubert Languet (1518-81), he sat in late February 1574 for his portrait (now lost) at the studio of one of the city's greatest artists, Paolo Caliari, known as Veronese (1528-88).² However, Sidney's correspondence from Venice with Languet also illustrates his keen interest in the city's numerous bookshops. Sidney and Languet had together attended the Frankfurt Book Fair in March 1573 and Sidney had written from there to his uncle, Robert Dudley (1532-88), Earl of Leicester, on both 18 and 23 March. His first letter accompanied a selection of books which he had acquired for Leicester, perhaps including political or other controversial works since Sidney mentioned that the individual bringing them back to England had been instructed to ensure that 'no man see that whiche he cariethe until he have shewed them unto yowr Lordeshipp'.³

¹ I am grateful to the following for their generous responses to my queries when drafting this essay: Joseph Black (University of Massachusetts, Amherst), Andrew Hadfield (University of Sussex), Elizabeth Ott (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Anthony Payne (London and University of East Anglia), Matthew Treherne (University of Leeds) and Germaine Warkentin (University of Toronto).

² *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Roger Kuin, 2 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, I.107, 132, 449-50.

³ Sidney, *Correspondence*, Kuin, I.13-15 (13).

It seems that Sidney's personal pleasure in book-browsing and purchasing was again aroused by Venice's numerous booksellers. He asked, in a letter dated 19 December 1573, if Languet could obtain for him at Vienna a copy of Jacques Amyot's recently published French translation from the Greek of 'Plutarch's minor works', *Les œuvres morales & meslees de Plutarque* (Paris: M. De Vascosan, 1571). In return, he offered his mentor some Venetian volumes, perhaps after a recent visit to a bookshop or through personal recommendations from individuals whom he had recently met at Venice:

And please write me by return whether you own Tarcagnota's *L'Historia del mondo*; the Lettere di principi and the Lettere de tredici illustri homini, imprese di Girolamo Ruscelli; il stato di Vinegia scritto da Contarini, and Donato Giannotti, which are all elegant books; or if there are any others you want, I can easily have them sent to you.

All of these volumes can be identified as copies printed at Venice and available for purchase there:

1. Giovanni Tarcagnota, *Delle Historie del mondo*, Venice, Michele Tramezzino, 1562
2. Girolamo Ruscelli, *Lettere di principi, le quali osi scrivono da principi, o à 'principi, o ragionan a principi*, Venice: G. Ziletti, 1562
3. Girolamo Ruscelli, *De le lettere di tredici huomini illustri libri tredici*, ed. Dionigi Atanagi, Venice: Valerio Dorico, 1554
4. Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri con espositioni, et discorsi del Sr Ieronimo Ruscelli*, Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1566
5. Gasparo Contarini, *La Republica e I magistrade di Vinegia*, tr. from Latin into Italian, Lodovico Domenichi, Venice: D. Giglio, 1564
6. Donato Giannotti, *Libro della Repubblica de' Viniziani*, Venice, Domenico Giglio, 1564. 1572⁴

These works, offered to Languet in mid-December 1573, suggest that Sidney had begun to frequent Venetian bookshops soon after his arrival in the previous month. He may have already

⁴ Sidney, *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, I.64-5. Giannotti, *Libro della Repubblica de' Viniziani* had previously been printed at Rome (1540, 1564) and Lyons (1569) but it seems likely that Sidney would have seen at Venice one of its more recent Venetian editions. Kuin also notes Giannotti's *Trattato della Repubblica Fiorentina*, Venice, 1531, but Sidney would probably have been more interested in a book on Venice rather than Florence (which he only briefly passed through in March 1574 while on a trip to Genoa). Kuin's notes omit an identification of Sidney's reference to Ruscelli's *Imprese*.

purchased them, perhaps with the hope that Languet would pay for them when he returned to Vienna.⁵ But no specific consideration has previously been given to which printers or booksellers Sidney may have frequented during his time at Venice or who may have accompanied him in his book-buying ventures. The works listed above were from the stock of five well known Venetian printers, Michele Tramezzino (fl.1526-71), Giordano Ziletti (fl. 1550s-early 1580s), Valerio Dorico (fl.1539-55), Francesco Rampazetto (fl. 1553-76) and Domenico Giglio (fl.1537-67). Unfortunately, his letter to Languet does not make clear whether he had found these volumes in several different shops or a single one; nor does it suggest whether he was referring to new or second-hand copies.⁶

It should also be noted that Sidney's letter of 19 December to Languet may only provide a fragmentary taste of his bibliographical interests at Venice. For example, his letter of 18 March 1573 from Frankfurt to the Earl of Leicester raises the possibility that he may have continued at Venice to acquire books for his uncle who could both read and speak Italian. Leicester was a noted patron of Italian émigrés at London, collected books in Italian and, as Elizabeth Goldring has recently demonstrated, was interested from the 1560s in Italian artists, including Paolo Veronese and Federico Zuccaro whom he brought to England in 1575.⁷ Although Sidney certainly wrote to Leicester while abroad (from, as already noted, Frankfurt on 18 and 23 March 1573 and Vienna on 27 November 1574) no letters to his uncle from Venice have survived.⁸ Despite this frustrating lack of documentary evidence, Leicester should be considered as a close family member who would have been especially interested in his nephew's experiences at Venice.

One of the most important booksellers for Sidney to visit would have been the renowned Aldine Press, founded in 1495 by the humanist Aldo Pius Manutius (or Manuzio), the Elder (c.1452-1515). These premises were readily accessible to visitors, situated at the heart of Venice (2311 Rio Terra San Secondo) in the central San Polo district. The Aldine Press was widely admired across Western Europe for its editions of Greek texts in small, readily portable formats (*libelli portatiles*),

⁵ Katherine Duncan-Jones suggests that Sidney may have planned to buy these books 'on Languet's behalf on the understanding that the latter would foot the bill. Most probably he had already purchased them ...'. Sir Philip Sidney Courtier Poet, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991, 77. It should also be noted that numerous Venetian books would have been available at Frankfurt and probably also, via Frankfurt and/or Antwerp, from some London booksellers. It seems most likely, however, that Sidney's personal interest in Venetian imprints would have been initially prompted by his visits to booksellers at Venice.

⁶ The Ziletti business was carried on by Giordano's nephew, Francesco di Lodovico Ziletti from the mid-1570s.

⁷ Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014, 103-114, 134-5. For the extensive range of Leicester's Italian interests, see Eleanor Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters, New York: Columbia University Press, 1955; rpt. 1958, 55-8, 104, 139, 148, 156, 161, 286-8, 326, 333, 337, 350-2.

⁸ Sidney, Correspondence, ed. Kuin, 13-15, 344-6

which were popular with travellers, scholars and both private and institutional libraries. The business was later run by Manutius' son, Paulus (1512-74), who died at Rome on 6 April 1574 during Sidney's stay at Venice.⁹ His son, Aldus Manutius, the Younger (1547-97), then put the bookshop under the management of Niccolò Manassi.¹⁰

The likelihood of Sidney admiring and having access to the publications of the Aldine Press is supported by a reference in another of his letters to Languet, written on 15 January 1574. During his stay at Venice Sidney was intent on improving his Latin, French and Italian language skills and he explained to Languet that he planned to translate one of Cicero's letters into French, and from this version into English and 'then full circle ... back into Latin'. He continued: 'Perhaps I will strengthen my Italian with the same [kind of] exercise: for I have some letters translated into the vernacular by Paolo Manuzio, a most learned man, and by someone else into French'. Roger Kuin suggests that Sidney is referring here to the Aldine edition of Paolo Manuzio's translation of Cicero's letters into Italian, *Le Epistole famigliari di Cicerone. Tradotte secondo I ueri sensi dell'auttore, & con figure proprie della lingua uolgere. Ristampate di nuouo, & con molto studie ricorrette*, Venice: Aldi Filli, 1545, 1551 and 1552 editions.¹¹

Sidney was also keen to utilize his time at Venice to improve his more basic knowledge of Greek. In the same letter to Languet of 15 January, immediately following his reference to Paolo Manuzio's Italian translation of Cicero, he wrote: 'And about Greek letters I will learn some things which I have long touched upon only superficially'.¹² Paolo Manuzio's shop (after April 1574 the Manuzio-Manassi partnership) would have been the ideal place for Sidney to be able to choose some readily portable Greek volumes from its huge range of stock. Languet responded equivocally on 22 January 1574 to Sidney's plans, noting: 'About Greek letters I do not know what to advise, though it

⁹ After Manutius's death in 1515, the business was run during the minority of his son Paulus by his father-in-law and business partner, Andrea Torresani (1451-1529) and his two sons.

¹⁰ The newly formed Manuzio-Manassi firm was inventoried in 1574, listing some 12,000 books, along with the stock of the bookshop (at the sign of the Tree) of Lodovico Avanzi which Aldo Manuzio had recently acquired. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codex 7129 (1574-84), cited in Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013, 379-80.

¹¹ Sidney, *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, I.92, dates this translation by Paolo Manuzio as 1551 but other editions were published in 1545 and 1552. See, for example, the copies at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Texas; Craig W. Kallendorf and Maria X. Wells, *Aldine Press Books at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center The University of Texas at Austin A Descriptive Catalogue*, Austin: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 1998 [Online edition, 2008], items 298 and 299, 1545 edition (pp. 272-3); items 353 and 353a, 1552 edition (pp. 301-2). Sidney's reference to a French edition may be to Etienne Dolet's translation, *Les Epistres familiars de Marc Tulle Cicero*, Lyons: E. Dolet, 1542, or one of later editions which included additional letters translated by François de Belleforest.

¹² Sidney, *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, I. 91.

is a wonderful field of study: but I am afraid that you do not have time to go into it in depth, and the time you devote to it would be taken away from your study of Latin'.¹³ Despite this advice, the attractions of such ready access to Aldine press publications may have fired Sidney's enthusiasm and he replied on 4 February:

Of Greek letters I should like to learn enough properly to understand Aristotle, for even if there are translations made every day, I suspect them of not expressing the author's meaning clearly and properly enough. In this regard I am quite ashamed, as Cicero says, to follow only the brooklets and not to see the wellsprings of things themselves.¹⁴

Many booksellers and printers were in business at Venice during this period and Sidney may have frequented other bookshops, especially after he was befriended by some of the English residents in Venice, such as the recusant Edward Lord Windsor (d.1575) and Richard Shelley (d.1574), a nephew of the diplomat Sir Richard Shelley (c.1513-c.1589).¹⁵ There were also shops, such as one in the calle della Spaderia, which specialized in old and out-of-print books. Another bookseller who may have been of interest to Sidney was Angelo Bonfadini.¹⁶ He is known to have distributed copies of Machiavelli printed in Italian by the London printer John Wolfe (c.1548-1601). Wolfe had lived in Italy and was later the printer of the first three books of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590). He remains an intriguing but shadowy figure within the context of Sidney's interests in Italian literature. In c.1579 he published a posthumous edition of *Una essortatione al timor di Dio. Con alcune rime italiane, novamente messe in luce* by the Italian religious refugee, Jacobus Acontius (1492-1566), also known as Giacomo Concio or Aconcio, and edited by his friend and executor Giovanni Battista Castiglione (1516-98). This work bore a London imprint (although it may have been printed abroad) and, significantly, described Wolfe as a 'servitore de *l'illustrissimo signor Filippo Sidnei*'.

It is impossible to determine how closely (if at all) Philip Sidney was associated with John Wolfe at this period but this volume suggests that he was viewed with some importance by the Italian community at London, due probably to his association with his uncle, the Earl of Leicester and his

¹³ Ibid, I.96. Languet's advice to Sidney indicates how the study of ancient Greek could be regarded at this period as a worthy academic pursuit but Latin remained an essential practical skill for public affairs and international diplomacy.

¹⁴ Ibid, I.106.

¹⁵ See Sidney, *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, for Edward, 3rd Baron Stanwell of Windsor (I.191, 194, 266, 386, 546) and the Shelleys (I.lviii, 164, 187, 253, 263, 272, 290-1, 295, 301).

¹⁶ See Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, 379, 427, for a 1584 inventory of Bonfadini's stock.

first-hand knowledge of Italy. Acontius was a talented Italian Protestant refugee with expertise in engineering, theology, philosophy and the law. He had been befriended by English Marian exiles in Switzerland and arrived in England in 1559. He soon attracted Leicester's attention and joined the extensive circle of Italian exiles who benefitted from his support and patronage, dedicating to him a manuscript treatise on historical writing, 'Delle osservationi, et avvertimenti che haver si debbono nel legger delle historie' (1564; translated and adapted by Thomas Blundeville, 1574). Castiglione was an even more important member of the London and court Italian community. Originally a physician, he had been appointed in November 1544 as Master of the Italian Tongue to Princess Elizabeth but was imprisoned in the Tower of London and severely tortured for suspected sedition during Queen Mary's reign. Queen Elizabeth clearly placed great trust in his loyalty and soon after her accession appointed him as a Groom of the Privy Chamber, a post which he retained for almost forty years until his death in 1598. Castiglione also became a key member of Leicester's network of Italian protégés and he introduced other notable Italian scholars, such as the lawyer Alberico Gentili (1552-1608), to the Earl.¹⁷

Dennis B. Woodfield suggests that Philip Sidney may have met John Wolfe at the 1573 Frankfurt Book Fair.¹⁸ Wolfe reprinted most of Machiavelli's works in London between 1584 and 1588, intending to sell copies not only in England but also abroad and especially in Italy where Machiavelli had been placed on the Index of prohibited books in 1557. Wolfe's reprints were probably smuggled into Venice via the Frankfurt Book Fair. On 22 May 1580 Philip recommended in a letter to his younger brother Robert that he should read 'Machiavelli in Italian' since, apart from a translation of his *The Arte of War* (1560; rpt. 1573) there were no printed English texts available of his political works.¹⁹ In April 1584 the Inquisition confiscated 18 copies of the *Dialogi del Machiavelli in octavo* from Angelo Bonfadini's shop at Venice, most likely volumes printed by Wolfe in the same year.²⁰

Returning to the six Venetian editions which Sidney mentioned in his letter of 19 December 1573 to Languet, it is intriguing to note that copies printed at Venice of five of these volumes were also recorded in a manuscript catalogue of the library of Penshurst Place, Kent, the seat of the Sidney

¹⁷ Rosenberg, *Leicester Patron of Letters*, 53-5, 64-5, 286-8.

¹⁸ Dennis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550-1640*, New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973, 16, n.14.

¹⁹ Sidney, *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, II.982.

²⁰ Diego Pirillo, 'Republicanism and Religious Dissent: Machiavelli and the Italian Protestant Reformers', in *Machiavellian Encounters in Tudor and Stuart England: Literary and Political Influences from the Reformation to the Restoration*, ed. Alessandro Arienzo and Alessandra Petrina, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, 121-40 (124-7).

family since 1552. This catalogue, compiled between late 1652 and about 1665, recorded 5,798 entries (including cross-references) for c.4,200-4,500 separately published titles. Before analysing these entries in more detail, it should be emphasised that there is no evidence that any of these volumes were the actual copies mentioned by Sidney to Languet in his letter of 19 December which he may have already (or later) purchased. It cannot be totally discounted that some of these volumes might once have been owned by Philip Sidney since the Penshurst library was dispersed during the early eighteenth century. But it is much more likely that they were acquired later by another family member, perhaps his younger brother, Robert (1563-1626), 1st Earl of Leicester, or his son, Robert (1595-1677), 2nd Earl of Leicester. Although neither is known to have visited Venice, both were keen book collectors who made extensive additions to the family library at Penshurst of both English and continental texts. Nevertheless, it remains of some intellectual significance (if tantalizingly inconclusive) to the Sidney family's cultural, historical and political interests that copies of five out of the six Venetian imprints mentioned by Philip Sidney to Languet in December 1573 were still readily accessible to the Sidneys in their family library at Penshurst over eighty years later. It may even be the case that Philip Sidney's residence at Venice in 1573/74 and his excursions into the city's book trade formulated what seems to have been a long-lasting interest among later generations of the Sidney family in Venetian imprints.

The following comparative list provides for each of these six volumes:

- (a) Philip Sidney's reference in his letter of 19 December 1573 to Hubert Languet
- (b) Roger Kuin's identification of the text and possible edition(s)
- (c) the entry in the Sidney family library catalogue (c.1665), including folio and item references, as detailed in *The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place Circa 1665*, ed. Germaine Warkentin, Joseph L. Black and William R. Bowen.²¹

²¹ Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2013. I am grateful to Joe Black (private correspondence) for the following observations which suggest that the copies listed in the c.1665 catalogue were not brought back to England (or acquired later) by Philip Sidney: 'With Philip, the fact remains that we have no evidence whatever that any of his books remained in Penshurst to be catalogued in the 1650s, and we have a fair amount of evidence to suggest that they were never there ... None of the three dozen or so surviving books with Penshurst provenance contains his provenance. None of the books he mentions in the Defence other than the most common is in Penshurst ... Of the 300 or so Italian books in Penshurst, about half were published at the earliest after Philip's death, which indicates that the Sidneys were buying plenty of Italian books after 1586. And Robert, of course, could also have purchased any of the pre-1586 Italian books himself: the books of Italian poetry and poetics reflect Robert's tastes as much as Philip's. The early Italian works of history and letters could even have been acquired by the second earl: the 1650 purchase order of about 30 books from Thomason includes 12 works in Italian (plus others by Italian authors); of those 12, two date from before 1586 – including a work by Contarini (38v01). Others date from 1600 up through the 1640s. Some of these are unbound, which indicate that they were not 'used' books ... the Italian authors and works listed in this letter would be books present in any English library containing 300+ books in Italian collected by owners demonstrably interested in contemporary history and letters'.

Item 1

- a) ‘Tarcagnota’s *L’Historia del mondo*’
- b) Giovanni Tarcagnota, *Delle Historie del mondo*, Venice, Michele Tramezzino, 1562
- c) ‘Tarcagnota dell’*Historie del mondo* 3 vol. 4’ [186r16; editions noted from 1562; again listed under 109r03-04. The catalogue includes another of Tarcagnota’s works, *Del sito, et lodi della citta di Napoli*, Naples: G.B. Scotto, 1566. 8^o.]

It seems likely that Philip Sidney owned a copy (now lost) of Tarcagnota’s *Historie* because over six years later he recommended ‘Tarchagnota’ to his younger brother Robert in a reading list compiled on 18 October 1580 as a model of chronologically focused historical writing.²²

Item 2

- a) ‘Lettere di principi’ [di Girolamo Ruscelli]
- b) Girolamo Ruscelli, *Lettere di principi, le quali osi scrivono da principi, o à’principi, o ragionan a principi*, Venice: G. Ziletti, 1562
- c) ‘Ruscelli ses Epistres. 4^o’ [167v10. The Peshurst library catalogue cites only a French edition of this Italian work: *Épistres des princes, lesquelles, ou sont addresses aux princes, ou traittent les affaires des princes, ou parlent des princes*. Paris: J. Ruelle, 1572-74 editions. It would have been possible for Philip Sidney to have acquired this copy when he was at Paris in 1573.]

Item 3

- a) ‘Lettere de tredici illustri homini’ [di Girolamo Ruscelli]
- b) *De le lettere di tredici huomini illustri ... [con molte del Bembo] ... libri tredici*, ed. Dionigi Atanagi, Venice, Valerio Dorico, 1554
- c) ‘Bembi Lettere di huomini illustri. 8^o’ [19r.30, i.e., edited by D. Atanagi and G. Ruscelli; editions noted between 1554 and 1565.]

Item 4

- a) ‘imprese di Girolamo Ruscelli’
- b) not identified by Kuin but clearly a reference to *Le imprese illustri con espositioni, et discorsi del Sr Ieronimo Ruscelli*, Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1566
- c) ‘Ruscelli delle Imprese. 4^o’ [167v14; editions noted from 1566. The Peshurst library catalogue also lists copies of ‘Ruscelli precepti della militia moderna. 4^o’ [167v11, *Precetti della militia moderna, tanto per mare quanto per terra*, Venice: Heredi di Marchiò Sessa,

²² Sidney, *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, II.1006.

1572; ‘Ruscelli del modo di Comporre in Verso. 8. Bis’ [167v12, *Del modo di comporre in versi nella lingua Italiana*, Venice, Giovanni Batista et Melchior Sessa fratelli, editions from 1558; and ‘Ruscelli Indice de l’huomini illustri. 4^o’ [167v.13. *Indice degl’uomini illustri*, Venice: C. da Trino, 1572.]

Item 5

- a) ‘il stato di Vinegia scritto da Contarini’
- b) Gasparo Contarini, *La Republica e I magistrade di Vinegia*, tr. from Latin into Italian, Lodovico Domenichi, Venice: D. Giglio, 1564
- c) ‘Contarenus di vinegia. 8^o’ [39r.14, tr. E. Anditimi; editions noted from 1544. The catalogue also lists a Latin edition printed at Venice, ‘Contar. de Repub. Venet. 8^o’ [39r16; i.e., *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*, 4^o and 8^o; editions from 1543.]

Item 6

- a) ‘Donato Giannotti’
- b) Donato Giannotti, *Libro della Repubblica de’ Viniziani*, Venice, Domenico Giglio, 1564. 1572
- c) ‘Giannotti della repub. de Venetiani 8^o’ [64r.30; editions noted from 1540.]

This c.1665 catalogue also contains a small but interesting collection of other sixteenth-century Italian works, as the editors explain:

among the smaller number of Italian books are at least eighteen sixteenth-century volumes of lyric poetry, anthologies of rime, and canzonieri, some by little-known figures, others by poets like Tasso and Della Casa. In addition there are four well-known mid-sixteenth-century treatises on vernacular composition or related matters by Girolamo Ruscelli, Lodovico Dolce, Lodovico Castelvetro, and Bernardino Tomitano. There is no comparable body of seventeenth-century Italian poetry or theory in the catalogue.²³

There survives a copy of at least one book which Sidney definitely purchased during his lengthy stay at Venice. In the Houghton Library, Harvard University, is his copy of Francesco Guicciardini, *La historia d’Italia* (Venice: G. Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1569) which Sidney acquired on one of his trips to Padua, adding the inscription: ‘Philippo Sidneio. Patauij. 20. Junij 1574’. Sidney’s book-buying at Venice and Padua is unlikely to have been conducted alone since one of his travelling companions, Lodowick Bryskett (c.1546/47-1609/12), was the son of Antonio Bruschetto (d.1574), a

²³ The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place, 18.

naturalized Genoese merchant who by 1523 had settled in London.²⁴ Lodowick served Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland during the 1560s and had previously travelled in Italy during 1569, presumably on business for the Sidneys, since they paid him £3 for the period he was abroad.²⁵ He read and spoke Italian fluently, translating, probably during the 1580s, a philosophical treatise by Giambattista Giraldi Cinthio, *Tre dialoghi della vita civile* (the second part of *De gli hecatommithi*, 1565), which was published in 1606 as *A Discourse of Civill Life*, containing the *Ethike Part of Morall Philosophie*. Philip Sidney's parents, Sir Henry and Lady Sidney, were also both interested in the Italian language and the family accounts include details of 'Mistress Maria, the Italian', who in 1572 and 1573 probably taught the children Italian, and one 'Mr Lodwicke' (almost certainly Lodowick) who was 'skolemaster' to Philip's younger sister Ambrosia.²⁶

With reference to Sidney's purchase at Padua of his copy of Guicciardini's *La historia d'Italia*, it is interesting to note that Lodowick's sister, Lucrece (1539/40-1608), married Vincent Guicciardini (d.1581), a member of the wealthy Florentine mercantile family with extensive trading and intelligence links across Europe.²⁷ Vincent was probably a nephew of Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), the author of *Historia d'Italia* (published 1561).²⁸ Lodowick's eldest brother Sebastian (1536-92) is also a figure of considerable interest to Sidney's time at Venice and Padua.²⁹ After

²⁴ The National Archives, London, PROB 11/56/381 (Antonio Bruschetto's will, drafted 28 April 1574; proved 12 July 1574).

²⁵ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, De L'Isle & Dudley*, 6 vols (London: His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925-66), I.413-14: 'To Lodwick Briskett, in full payment of annuity at £5 per annum, during the time he remained in Italy, 22nd Nov., 1569, £3'.

²⁶ Margaret P. Hannay, *Philip's Phoenix. Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 27. Given Lodowick's intimacy with the Sidneys from the mid-1560s, it has not previously been noted that this 'Mistress Maria' may have been his younger, Italian speaking sister Mary Bryskett who married a wealthy merchant tailor, Edward Atkinson. In 1574 she was left various properties in London in her father's will: 'Item, I give and bequeath to Mary, my daughter, all those my nine tenements set lying and being within the said parish of St Gabriel Fenchurch in London with all and singular their appurtenances, my mansion house before bequeathed only excepted, to her, her heirs and assigns, forever'. The National Archives, London, PROB 11/56/381. Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans, ed. Charles J. Sisson (New York: Octagon Books: 1933, rpt. 1966), 274-6/

²⁷ Lodowick's eldest brother Sebastian was a witness to Vincent Guicciardini's will. The National Archives, London, PROB 11/63/334.

²⁸ Deborah Jones, 'Lodowick Bryskett and His Family', in Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans, 243-362. HMC *De L'Isle & Dudley*, I.249, 'Lodowike Briskett's stipend, £20'. Richard A. McCabe, 'Bryskett, Lodowick [Lewis] (c.1546-1609x12)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [on-line edition]. The National Archives, London, PROB 11/80/195 (Sebastian Bryskett's will).

²⁹ Sebastian's will (The National Archives, London, PROB 11/80/195, drafted ? November 1591; proved 22 August 1592), details how one of his properties was then occupied by the renowned (and, at times, notorious) merchant, jeweller and moneylender, Peter Van Lore (c.1547-1627), formerly Pieter van Loor, who had been born at Utrecht and moved in c.1568 to England. Sir Henry Sidney purchased expensive items of jewellery from Van Lore, as detailed in his accounts for 1578/79: 'Gifts. 'To the Queenes Majestie in the price of a jewell bought of Marten Vaidizan, jeweller, and given to her highness, for a Newe yeers gifte,' £140. To the Earl of

matriculating in 1552 from Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he had registered as a scholar at Padua University in 1556/57 and was recorded as a student of philosophy at Rome during the late 1550s. At about this period he began to supply both William Cecil and Francis Walsingham (later Philip Sidney's father-in-law) with intelligence reports. On 17 June 1564 he wrote from Rome to Sidney's uncle, the Earl of Leicester, apologizing in Italian for not having sent recent intelligence reports to him but confirming his desire to serve the Earl and Queen Elizabeth.³⁰ When he returned to England later in the same year he entered Leicester's service and at about the same time Lodowick entered the service of Sir Henry Sidney. By the early 1570s he was back in Italy and resident at Venice where he met Sidney. He remained at Venice for some time after Sidney's departure, for example, meeting Wolfgang Zünderlin (another intelligencer who supplied Sidney and many others with up-to-date political reports) in St Mark's Piazza on 19 June 1575 and again encountering him in late October before finally returning to England and marrying.³¹ It seems likely, therefore, that Sebastian Bryskett would have been well acquainted with the bookshops of Venice and Padua and may well have accompanied both Sidney and Lodowick on various visits to them between November 1573 and August 1574.³²

2. Philip Sidney and Sannazaro's *Arcadia*

The Penshurst library catalogue also lists 'Sannazaro *Arcadia* 8°, bis' [170v09], indicating two octavo copies of Jacopo Sannazaro's renowned pastoral blending of poetry and prose, *Arcadia*. It is well known that Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* owes a significant debt of inspiration to the earlier vernacular pastoral work of the same name by Sannazaro (1458-1530). But no specific source or location for Sidney being able to consult Sannazaro's *Arcadia* has previously been proposed. Like Sidney's *Arcadia*, Sannazaro's text comprised two distinct versions. The first version, completed in about 1484 (with the first extant manuscript dating from 1489), had an introduction with ten units of prose and verse, known both as *Aeglogarum liber Arcadium inscriptus* and *Libro pastorale nominato (intitolato)*

Leicester, a George and St. Michael, besides £50 yet owing for the same to Peter Vanlore, £20'. *HMC De L'Isle* and Dudley, I.259.

³⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Pepys Manuscripts Preserved at Magdalene College, Cambridge, London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1911, 25.

³¹ Sidney, *Correspondence*, ed. Kuin, I.365, 464, 545.

³² *Ibid*, 68v.20. Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors. English Students in Italy, 1485-1603*, Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. Ltd, 1998, 121, 135, 215-16, 271. Given the Bryskett brothers' kinship with the Guicciardini family, it may be noted that the Penshurst library catalogue (c.1665) also lists a copies of Francesco Guicciardini, *Commentarii delle cose piu memorabili seguite in Europa* (Venice, 1565-6); and Lodovico Guicciardini, (French edition) *Description de tou le Pais-Bas* and (Italian edition) *Descrittione di tutti I Paesi Bassi* (68v16, 17 & 21). Lodovico (1521-89), the nephew of Francesco, was a writer and merchant who lived at Antwerp. Sidney may also have visited bookshops with other English residents at Venice and Padua whom he had recently met.

Arcadio. This text was published in a pirated edition at Venice in 1502 by Bernardino da Vercelli (perhaps preceded by a lost 1501 edition). Sannazaro completed a revised and enlarged version of his *Arcadia* in about 1495, comprising an introduction, twelve units of prose and verse and an epilogue. An authorized edition of this second version was published at Naples in 1504 by Pietro Summonte.³³

Alan Stewart suggests in his biography, *Philip Sidney. A Double Life*: ‘While travelling on the Continent he must have practised his Italian with Lodowick Bryskett by reading the vernacular romance by Jacopo Sansovino [sic], which gave him his own title – *Arcadia*’.³⁴ If this is the case, then Venice in 1573 or 1574 is a likely location for Sidney to have bought a copy of Sannazaro’s immensely popular work which went through numerous editions during the sixteenth century. While, clearly, Sannazaro is the original author of *Arcadia*, Stewart is specifically referring here to Francesco (not Jacopo) Sansovino (1521-86), the son of the architect Jacopo and editor of one of the Venetian editions of 1571 which included a series of pastoral woodcuts: *Arcadia di m. Giacomo Sannazaro nuouamente corretta, & ornata di figure & annotazioni da m. Francesco Sansouino. Con la vita dell'autore, descritta dal medesimo, Venice, Giovanni Varisco, 1571*.³⁵ There were also 1578, 1585 and 1586 editions of this text.³⁶ These editions were published by one of Venice’s most distinguished

³³ William J. Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of Pastoral*, Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1983, 96-102. Alfredo Mauro, ‘Le prime edizione dell’*Arcadia*’, *Giornale Italiano di Filologia*, 2 (1949), 341-51.

³⁴ London: Chatto & Windus, 2000, 226. See also Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney Courtier Poet*, London: Hamish Hamilton, 1991, 77. Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570) was a prominent architect and sculptor, responsible for various buildings around the Piazza San Marco at Venice after becoming in 1529 the chief architect and superintendent of properties (Protomaestro or Proto) to the Procurators of San Marco.

³⁵ Copies of Varisco’s 1571 Venice edition in 12° are held in Biblioteca statale del Monumento nazionale di Montecassino, Cassino; and Biblioteca di Ateneo dell’Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano. I have been unable to locate a copy in any libraries outside Italy, except for one privately owned (but now untraced) copy, see note ???). Since the two Penshurst library catalogue copies of Sannazaro’s *Arcadia* are listed as octavos, neither could have been from Varisco’s press since his editions were duodecimos. Varisco’s edition should be distinguished from another edition published at Venice in 1571: *Arcadia di m. Iacopo Sannazaro nuouamente corretta, & ornata d’alcune annotazioni, da Thomaso Porcacchi: con la vita dell’autore, descritta dal medesimo, & con la dichiarazione di tutte le voci oscure che sono nell’opera*, Venice: Christofano de’ Zanetti, 1571, 12°. Cristoforo Zanetti was born at Florence and in 1553 took over the printing house at Venice of his father Bartolomeo. Like the Aldine Press, his firm specialized in Greek printing and so his stock might have interested Sidney when he was considering improving his knowledge of Greek at Venice. A 1576 edition of Porcacchi’s version was printed at Venice by Giuseppe Guilielmo (Taylor Institution Library, Oxford).

³⁶ Three later editions are recorded:

1. *Arcadia di m. Giacomo Sannazaro nuouamente corretta. et ornata di figure et di annotazioni da m. Francesco Sansouino. Con la vita dell’autore. Descritta dal medesimo. & con la dichiarazione di tutte le voci oscure così latine come volgari che sono nell’opera*. Venice: Giovanni Varisco, 1578, 12°. Copies at British Library, London, and University of Chicago Library.
2. *Arcadia di m. Giacomo Sannazaro. nuouamente corretta, & ornata di Annotazioni, & Dichiarationi di tutte le voci oscure, così Latine, come Volgari. da m Francesco Sansouino. Con le Rime d i Ezzo Auttore, & la sua vita descritta dal Giouio*. Venice: Altobello Salicato alla libreria della Fortezza, 1585.
3. Two editions were printed at Venice in 1586 by Ventura de Salvador and Giovanni Varisco & Paganino Paganini. Copies held in Worcester College Library, Oxford; Cambridge University Library; and the Warburg Institute, London.

family of booksellers and printers and it is possible that their reputation would have attracted Sidney to their shop. Giovanni Varisco (Guarisco or Ioannes Variscus) was born in Brescia and married Marta, the second daughter of Alessandro Paganini and Daria Rusconi, the daughter of the Georgio Rusconi. Varisco eventually took over the management of the extensive Paganini-Rusconi business concerns in the book trade, assisted by his sons, Marco and Georgio Varisco.³⁷

If Sidney did purchase a copy of Sansovino's edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, it is interesting to note that the Penshurst library catalogue (c.1665) also lists editions of some of Sansovino's other works printed at Venice, including:

1. *Del governo de regni et delle republiche antiche et modern* (170v.10; editions 1560-67)
2. (two copies of) *Dell' historia universal dell'orgine et imperio de' Turchi* (170v.11; editions from 1560)
3. *Historia di casa Orsina* (170v.12; 1565)
4. *Della origine de' cavalieri* (170v.13; editions from 1566)
5. *Sette libri di satire* (170v.15; editions from 1563)³⁸

However, as with the Venetian imprints mentioned in Sidney's letter to Languet of 19 December 1573, there is no evidence to determine whether it was Philip (which seems unlikely) or one of the later Sidneys (much more likely) who acquired these books for the Penshurst library.

Sidney's literary debt to Sannazaro's *Arcadia* has been thoroughly explored.³⁹ Apart from its major impact on his own *Arcadia*, in his prose tract *A Defence of Poetry* he referred to it twice, noting first how 'Some, in the manner, have mingled prose and verse, as Sannazaro and Boethius'. But in his second reference he critiqued Spenser's use of archaic language in *The Shepheardes Calender* – a comment which is of particular significance to the third section of this essay:

For copies of these later editions held in Italian libraries, see Il Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo (EDIT16) < http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm >

³⁷ Nuovo, *The Book Trade*, 85-6.

³⁸ One of Sansovino's works in the Penshurst library catalogue (c.1665), *Delle origine e fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia* (170v.14; editions from 1582), can only be traced back to editions published after Philip Sidney's stay at Venice in 1573/74.

³⁹ See, for example, A.C. Hamilton, 'Sidney's *Arcadia* as Prose Fiction: Its Relation to Its Sources', in *Sidney in Retrospect. Selections from English Literary Renaissance*, ed. Arthur F. Kinney and the Editors of ELR, Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988, 119-50 (123-8, 143-4).

The Shepherds' Calendar hath much poetry in his eclogues, indeed worthy the reading, if I be not deceived. (That same framing of his style to an old rustic language I dare not allow, since neither Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin, nor Sannazzaro in Italian did affect it.)⁴⁰

3. Edmund Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) and the 1571 edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*

In his essay, 'The Typographical Layout of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*', S.K. Heninger, Jr. (1922-2008) demonstrated how its woodcuts were intended as a 'programmatic set of illustrations' forming 'an integral part of a printed artefact' (p. 33).⁴¹ He proposed that the woodcuts at the head of each of the eclogues were designed to orchestrate the entire collection. Noting that *The Shepheardes Calender* was an offshoot of neither the calendar in almanacs nor the emblem book tradition, Heninger demonstrated how Spenser's collection of poems closely followed the overall design, woodcuts and typographical layout of the edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* edited by Sansovino and printed by Giovanni Varisco at Venice in 1571 and again in 1578.⁴² He regarded the similarities between the two volumes as 'unmistakable' and argued that whoever designed Spenser's volume (the credit has often been given 'E.K.', frequently identified as Gabriel Harvey) intended 'that to be the case' (p. 35).⁴³ For Heninger, the heavy 'hand of Harvey' (p. 46) was apparent throughout the *Calender*'s 'excessive and omnipresent praise' (p. 45) of Harvey himself, in the 'superfluous commentary' of its dense glosses 'where pretence and pedantry abound' (p. 47), and in the

⁴⁰ *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan Van Dorsten, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973, 94, 112. Sidney's hesitancy over the use of archaic language perhaps reflects Sannazaro's own shift in his *Arcadia* from his native Neapolitan dialect (in the earliest surviving manuscript of 1489) to the more elegant Tuscan style, as advocated by Cardinal Bembo in his *Prose della volgar lingua*. Kennedy, Sannazaro, 99.

⁴¹ Heninger's essay was published in *Word and Visual Imagination: Studies in the Interaction of English Literature and the Visual Arts*, edited by Karl Josef Hölzgen, Peter M. Daly, and Wolfgang Lottes. Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1988, pp. 33-71. His discussion was based on his own copy of Varisco's 1571 edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (present location unknown). Heninger did not consider the 1578 Varisco edition, even though the entry of *The Shepheardes Calender* in the Stationers' Register late in 1579 (5 December) makes it possible that Spenser and/or Harvey might have consulted a copy of this later edition rather than the 1571 text. See also, for a more recent discussion of the relationship of Spenser's text to this 1571 edition the use of black letter type in *The Shepheardes Calender*, Steven K. Galbraith, 'Edmund Spenser and the History of the Book, 1569-1679', unpublished Ph.D thesis, The Ohio State University, 2006, 53-70.

⁴² Heninger's essay establishes that other earlier editions of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, edited by Sansovino, had appeared in 1559, 1562, 1565 and 1567. But none of these editions bears comparison in its overall design to the Varisco 1571 edition and, hence, to Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* (p. 35).

⁴³ For a recent reassessment of the theory that 'E.K.' represented a Cambridge acquaintance of Spenser and Harvey, the clergyman Edward Kirk (1553-1613), See Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: a Life*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 122-3.

prominence given to Hobbinol. The reason for Spenser's work so closely imitating Varisco's 1571 Venetian printing of the *Arcadia*, Heninger proposed, was to ensure that it was in 'accord with Sidney's tastes' in order to 'serve as a flamboyant compliment to Philip Sidney and through that strategy to secure the patronage of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester' (p. 34).

These arguments have not been significantly challenged by later scholars and there seems no reason to doubt the veracity of Heninger's visual and literary comparisons between Varisco's 1571 Venetian edition, compiled by Francesco Sansovino, of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, published only eight years later. But there has been little, if any, attention paid to the question of from whom Spenser and/or Harvey might have obtained a copy of Varisco's 1571 Venetian text which is now a very rare volume. While there can be no certainty in the matter, a likely source, it may be argued, would be from someone who had not only a personal interest in Sannazaro's *Arcadia* but also had access to Sansovino's 1571 or 1578 edition via either an Italian source or the London book-trade which imported books from Antwerp booksellers who carried stocks of Venetian imprints.

It is possible that a now unidentified member of the Earl of Leicester's network of Italian scholars in London could have owned a copy of either of these two editions and then shown or loaned it to Spenser and/or Harvey. Alternatively, they might have accessed a copy via someone who had personally acquired it at Venice. In this context – coupled with his interest in Venetian publications during his stay there in 1573/74 – Philip Sidney becomes an obvious candidate for the person who could have supplied a copy of Varisco's 1571 printing of the *Arcadia*. Heninger notes that he had been unable to find any 'reference to him [Sannazaro] in an English author before Sidney' and, therefore, speculates that Sidney may have 'acquired a copy of Sansovino's 1571 edition of the *Arcadia*' during his 'visit to Italy in 1574-75'.⁴⁴

Sidney, Spenser and Harvey are likely to have been in personal contact during 1579 when Spenser was seeking to cultivate his favour or had either recently entered the service of the Earl of Leicester and was based at his London home, Leicester House. Spenser wrote to Gabriel Harvey from there on 5 October and Philip Sidney was also then in London and in regular contact with his uncle

⁴⁴ Heninger, 41, suggests that Sidney's soubriquet 'Philisides' may also have been adopted in imitation of Sannazaro's 'Sincero'. He also notes how Sidney's linking in *A Defence of Sannazaro and Boethius* ('Some, in the manner, have mingled prose and verse, as Sannazaro and Boethius') may at first sight seem an unexpected conjunction since 'others (such as Dante) might more readily come to mind as a companion in the combining of verse and prose'. However, it may have been Sansovino's 1571 edition which inspired this combination since at the end of his biographical sketch of Sannazaro he wrote: '*Accioche l'opera fosse più vagamente & più leggiadramente tessuta, l'ordinò parte con I versi, parte con le prose, si come fece anco Boetio*' (In order to give the work a more graceful and elegant texture, he set it out partly in verse and partly in prose, just as Boethius also had done).

since they both opposed the proposed match between Queen Elizabeth and Hercule-François, duc d'Alençon et d'Anjou (a controversy with which *The Shepheardes Calender* has also been associated).⁴⁵ On 15 October Spenser wrote again to Harvey from Westminster, mentioning that he had been in 'some use of familiarity' with both Sidney and Edward Dyer and how they had been discussing a classical reform of English metre which would bring 'a general surceasing and silence of bald rymers'. Heninger proposes that a 'manuscript [of *The Shepheardes Calender*] was brought to Sidney's attention in October 1579 ... when a decision was made to dedicate the work to him rather than Leicester'.⁴⁶ It was probably also during late-summer or early-autumn that Sidney began early drafts of his *Arcadia* and between October and December his controversial 'A Letter to Queen Elizabeth' about the Anjou match. *The Shepheardes Calender* was entered into the *Stationers' Register* on 5 December 1579 and its title-page imprint of 1579 indicates that it must have been published before the end of February 1580.⁴⁷ While Spenser and Harvey were clearly keen to cultivate the personal favour of both Sidney and his uncle the Earl of Leicester during the late 1570s, the possibility that it was Sidney himself who provided access to the Varisco 1571 Venetian edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* sheds new light on the dedicatory material to *The Shepheardes Calender*.⁴⁸ Incidentally, it was also in 1578, Virginia F. Stern notes, that Gabriel Harvey decided to improve his Italian since he admired the fluency of the Earl of Leicester and Philip Sidney and saw a facility in the language as an important attribute for advancement within their circle and at court.⁴⁹

By dedicating the work on its title-page 'To the noble and virtuous gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and chivalry M. Philip Sidney', Spenser (either independently or with the guidance of Harvey) carefully laid the initial emphasis upon Sidney's importance to him as a source and inspiration for 'learning'. This praise for Sidney – a young man of twenty-five whose literary interests by 1579 were then known only to his family and closest associates – could be viewed as

⁴⁵ See Hadfield, Edmund Spenser, 127-8.

⁴⁶ Heninger, 48-9. William A. Ringler, Jr., 'Spenser, Shakespeare, Honor, and Worship', *Renaissance News*, 14 (1961), 160.

⁴⁷ Michael G. Brennan and Noel J. Kinnamon, *A Sidney Chronology 1554-1654*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, 74. Stewart, Philip Sidney, 223-4. Hadfield, Edmund Spenser, 91-2, 124-5, 131.

⁴⁸ In a letter of 8 May 1598, Harvey referred to 'my inestimable dear friend Sir Philip Sidney'; and in his copy of Joannis de Sacrobosco, *Textus de Sphaera*, Paris: Simon Colinaeus, 1527, he seems to refer to a conversation in which Sidney had personally recommended to him works by 'Sacrabosco and Valerius' (perhaps *Valerii Maximi Dictorum factorumque memorabilium exempla*, Paris: Robertus Stephanus, 1544, a copy of which was also in Harvey's library). Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey. His Life, Marginalia and Library*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979, 79, 97, 233-4, 238.

⁴⁹ *Marginalia* in Harvey's copy of John Florio, *Florio his First Fruites: a Perfect Induction to the Italian and English Tongues*, London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, 1578, asked: 'why is it not possible in two or three days to learn the Italian language which is half akin to the Latin which he knows so well? He was has the face of an Italian, as the Queen recently remarked, why should he not also have the mouth and tongue of an Italian?' Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 156.

excessive or merely rooted in the longstanding traditions of deferential literary panegyric. However, Sidney's undoubted literary talents (as later evinced through the posthumous publication of his various works during the 1590s under the supervision of his sister, Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, Fulke Greville, and their trusted stationer William Ponsonby) have sometimes retrospectively obfuscated one of the key reasons why Spenser and Harvey may have regarded him as so important during the late 1570s.

Apart from his close familial and personal affiliation with the Earl of Leicester, Sidney was a young man who could loan books which might not be readily obtainable elsewhere. In other words, this kind of praise for a patron as a source of 'learning' can be interpreted literally, not only as a genuine compliment to personal scholarship but also to a willingness to disseminate knowledge through granting access to a personal library and/or private manuscript writings to select individuals. This latter sense of 'learning' seems to be reiterated in E.K.'s praise of Sidney in an introductory letter to 'Maister Gabriel Harvey', dated 10 April 1579 (perhaps penned by Harvey himself), which commends Sidney as the 'favourer and maintainer of all kind of learning'. The word 'maintainer' may be intended to denote a patron who facilitates a writer's publications by providing access to key literary source materials which are rare or difficult to obtain.

In this respect, if Sidney did purchase a copy of Varisco's 1571 text of Sansovino's edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (either in person at Venice in 1573/74 or via the London/Frankfurt/Antwerp book-trade), his extended stay at Venice from early November 1573 until early August 1574 could have stimulated not only his own literary creativity in verse and prose (especially their blending together in his *Arcadia* as suggested by Sannazaro's pastoral) but also that of Edmund Spenser and Gabriel Harvey. If Heninger's thesis is accepted, then it would have been impossible to compile *The Shepheardes Calender* in its published form without access to the Varisco 1571 (or 1578) edition. Philip Sidney was probably one of the best placed among their personal contacts to have owned a copy of Varisco's 1571 Venetian edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. If so, he literally merited the compliment of a 'noble and virtuous gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and chivalry' who was to be praised, through a generosity with his own books, as the 'favourer and maintainer of all kind of learning'.

It should be reiterated, however, that it cannot be conclusively demonstrated whether Philip Sidney ever owned a copy of Varisco's 1571 printing of Sansovino's edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Even if he did, it cannot necessarily be assumed that he was the source of Spenser and Harvey accessing this work when designing the contents of *The Shepheardes Calendar*. Gabriel Harvey may himself have owned a copy of Varisco's 1571 or 1578 edition since he possessed an extensive library

and referred twice to Sannazaro writings in his marginalia.⁵⁰ The surviving volumes from Harvey's library also include a selection of Italian works and an interesting range of Venetian imprints.⁵¹

Alternatively, to propose yet another possible source, a member of the Bryskett (or Bruschetto) family may have been able to assist the compilation of *The Shepheardes Calender* by possessing a copy of one of Varisco's editions. Both Lodowick and his brother Sebastian had extensive personal contacts with Venice and its book trade and Lodowick sustained a long literary and professional association with Spenser. His collaborative contributions to Spenser's *Astrophel* (1595) volume, including 'A Pastorall Aeglogue upon the Death of Sir Phillip Sidney Knight, &c.' and 'The Mourning Muse of Thestylis', are well known, as is Spenser addressing Bryskett in his *Amoretti* 33 to express his concerns over trying to complete *The Faerie Queene*.⁵² But it is Bryskett's translation of Giambattista Giraldis Cinthio's *Tre dialoghi della vita civile*, published in 1606 as *A Discourse of Civil Life* which is of most interest here. Recent scholarship suggests that Bryskett compiled his translation in the early 1580s, probably 1581, to demonstrate the intellectual vibrancy of the New English settler community at Dublin. 'Spenser would have read the work in manuscript', Andrew Hadfield notes, 'and it may have had a direct impact on *The Faerie Queene*'.⁵³ Bryskett included a paragraph of lavish praise of Spenser (who had been dead for over six years when *A Discourse of Civil Life* was published) detailing their collaborative literary intimacy from the late 1570s onwards. He commended Spenser's learning, especially how he was 'not only perfect in the Greek tongue, but also very well read in Philosophie, both morall and naturall'. Recalling Sidney's keenness to improve his Greek while at Venice (probably using Aldine editions), Bryskett commended how Spenser had also

⁵⁰ *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith, Stratford-Upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913, 145.21, 155.24.

⁵¹ These imprints include Aretino, *Quattro Comedie* (London: John Wolfe, 1588), Castiglione's *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (Venice: Aldine edition, 1541), Lodovico Dolce, *Media Tragedia* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1566), Lodovico Domenichi, *Facetie, motti, et burle* (Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1571), Euripides, *Hecuba, & Iphigenia in Aulide*, Venice: Aldine edition, 1507), Luca Guarico, *Geophonensis* (Venice: Curtius Troianus Navo, 1552), Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (London: John Wolfe, 1591), S. Stefano Guazzo, *La Civil Conversatione* (Venice: Gratosio Percachino, 1581), Lodovico Guicciardini, *Deti et Fatti Piacevoli, et Gravi* (Venice: Christoforo de Zanetti, 1571), Thomaso Porcacchi, *Motti Diversi* (Venice: Andrea Muschio?, 1574), Ptolemy, *La Geografia* (Venice: G. Baptista Pedrazzono, 1548), Giovanni Francesco Straparola da Caravaggio, *Le notti* (Venice: Francesco Lorenzini, 1560) and Terence, *Le Comedie* (Venice: Aldine edition, 1546). Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 200-41. Harvey regarded John Wolfe as a friend and in 1592/93 he lived at Wolfe's printing house, opposite the great South Door of St Paul's, and acted as one of his readers. *Ibid*, 101.

⁵² Spenser's *Astrophel* collection was dedicated to Sidney's widow, Frances Walsingham, who in the late 1580s had secretly married Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Hadfield, *Spenser*, 314-15, details how the 'Pastorall Aeglogue' may have been collaborative written by Bryskett (as Lycon) and Spenser (as Colin – the two names being anagrams of each other). It is even possible that Bryskett and Spenser together designed the entire *Astrophel* collection (*ibid*, 316).

⁵³ Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser*, 179-84. Bryskett also presumably edited the text of his translation of Cinthio before its publication in 1606 and Hadfield notes: 'The text may have been emended before it was published in 1606 to take account of the retrospective knowledge of the two published volumes of *The Faerie Queene*' (181).

encouraged his 'reading of the Greek tongue and offered me his help to make me understand it', concluding:

Therefore (said I) turning myself to M. Spenser, It is you sir, to whom it pertaineth to shew your self courteous now unto us all, and to make us all beholding unto you for the pleasure and profit which shall gather from your speeches, if you shall vouchsafe to open unto us the goodly cabinet, in which this excellent treasure of virtues lies locked up from the vulgar sort.⁵⁴

These kinds of literary intimacies between Spenser, Harvey and Bryskett during the late 1570s and 1580s, coupled with the significance of Giovanni Varisco's 1571 edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* to *The Shepheardes Calender* and the number of Venetian imprints recorded among Harvey's surviving books, suggest that the Venice book trade was of considerable interest to the circle of Italian scholars, political associates and protégés who associated with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the Sidneys from the 1560s onwards. In this respect, Philip Sidney's extended residence at Venice and Padua from early November 1573 until early August 1574 provides an important landmark in the Anglo-Italian cultural relations and political affairs of the Dudley and Sidney family networks. However, this potentially fruitful international association was almost entirely dissolved by the unexpected deaths of Sir Philip Sidney in October 1586 and his uncle the Earl of Leicester in September 1588 – as well as those in May 1586 of Sir Henry Sidney (who had his children taught Italian) and in April 1590 Sir Francis Walsingham (who received regular intelligence reports from Venice). Sidney's lost portrait by Paolo Veronese, coupled with the loss of his personal library and the probable loss of his other correspondence from Venice (especially to the Earl of Leicester), can now provide only tantalizingly shadowy hints of the potential importance of the Venetian book trade and visual arts, as well as its political and religious tolerance and its importance as a centre for trade and international intelligence, to the enlightened pan-European ambitions of the culturally dynamic Dudley and Sidney families.

⁵⁴ *A Discourse of Civill Life Containing the Ethike Part of Morall Philosophie. Fit for the Instructing of a Gentleman in the Course of a Vertuous Life*, London: William Aspley, 1606, 25-6.