Shanti Graheli

Learning the Italian Canon

The Experience of Foreign Readers in the Early Modern Age

Introduction

Italian printed books were the object of intense transnational circulation in the early modern age and continued to be collectable for centuries. Several factors catalysed their early international appeal: the intertwining of classical and contemporary cultural outputs, coexisting within the Italian cityscape and immediately evident to foreign visitors; high production values alongside powerful brands, such as the Aldine and Giolito presses; scientific and technological innovations disseminated in print. The early standardization of the Italian language in the Renaissance added to the cultural cachet of Italian books as models to be followed. Courts across Europe experienced a booming Italian fashion across literature and science, painting and sculpture, decorative and performative arts. The strong connection between written and material culture determined the enormous success of works such as Baldassarre Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano* (1528), a favourite within the European courts, as demonstrated in Peter Burke's systematic study.[1] We see that same interaction of textual, material, and multi-sensory approach in the dissemination of other Italian canonical texts: the ripples of Petrarchism in European literature and cultural productions, and the fortunes of Ariosto's and Tasso's modern chivalric poems, to name but the most prominent examples, have been widely studied.[2]

These early Italian texts rightly deserve a place in what David Damrosch has termed the 'hypercanon', a concept he applied to developments in World Literature and appropriate in the context of Italian Renaissance Literature.[3] Damrosch intended the hypercanon to identify prominent authors whose position as key

1 Cf. Burke 1996.

2 Cf. Gorris Camos (ed.) 2003; Balsamo (ed.) 2004.

3 Damrosch 2006, 45.

I wish to thank Nina Lamal and Graeme Kemp for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this text—all mistakes remain my own responsibility, though their input helped me clarify the discussion of the materials presented here. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Sylvia Brockstieger and Rebecca Hirt, editors of this volume, for the ongoing exchanges about annotated books, and the participants at the original conference in September 2021 for their questions and remarks. Comments by the anonymous peer-reviewers helped clarifying the argument in the essay. As this is a study about annotated copies, it is essential that the individual copy is attached to the bibliographic citation. I have included the location upon first mention of each copy, and clarified this in the case of editions discussed here through multiple examples.

Open Access. © 2023 bei den Autorinnen und Autoren, publiziert von De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND Dieses Werk ist lizenziert unter der Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International Lizenz.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111191560-004

cultural references have been able to withstand the cultural revolution of the past decades, remaining canonical alongside newly introduced texts (the 'counter-canon'). The term is applied here to signify Italian canonical texts that retained their status beyond Italy and the Italian *Sprachraum*. As such, they influenced not only readers such as professional translators or poets, but had a much broader reach with European audiences. This can be seen through the bibliographic and linguistic analysis of the marks of use found in extant copies and bibliometric information related to foreign translations throughout the sixteenth century (and beyond). Most prominent in this category were Petrarch and Ariosto, followed by Boccaccio, Dante, and Castiglione. The development of a rich tradition for the systematization of Italian grammar, primarily based on these authors, is considered alongside the consumption of those canonical texts.

The practice of annotating texts was not a novelty of the age of print; the painstaking practices of medieval glossators as knowledge-building processes are a good example, and in the case of civil and canon law, the *glossae* became a proper textual category. The age of print, however, certainly made annotation a more widespread practice. When we consider our corpus, the proliferation of multiple editions and their wide availability (both in print and in manuscript) ensured that sustained intertextual annotating practices, which make a particular object of this study, became a typical form of reader engagement. The variety of editions itself would encourage more extensive and diverse annotation practices: for example, some readers compared editions, inscribing their own copies with added information. In producing editions of canonical authors and texts, publishing houses made a point of tailoring different models for different readers, which was directly reflected in the typology of annotation prompted by these texts in return. Many editions in our corpus were produced with printed annotations, a costly and time-consuming process that helped the individual edition standing out in a crowded marketplace; others were devoid of peritextual material, with the benefit of reducing production and thus retail costs. Books produced by Aldo Manuzio's humanist press in Venice were known for their generous white margins, so that readers could customise their copies with personal annotations. In other words, the diverse forms of reader engagement, of which annotation was key, directly influenced production trends in the marketplace (and vice-versa).

This essay contributes to the discussion of how Italian canonical authors were actively used as a strategy to learn Italian as a foreign language, particularly through the act of reading. The interaction between print and manuscript, manifested through deliberate handwritten interventions in response to the printed text by contemporary readers, represents our central evidence, explored comparatively and transnationally, but importantly, considering the individual artefact merging print and manuscript as a single object of study. Unlike other studies in recent years, the central sources explored here are represented by annotated Italian texts, as opposed to bilingual texts and grammars. However, the findings of those earlier studies lend precious support

to explicating this material evidence.[4] Through several case studies from the French, English, and German linguistic domains, this essay explores how the analysis of marginal annotations, reading practices, and trends in book collecting shed new light on cross-cultural and translingual exchanges in the early modern period.[5] In taking a broader comparative approach, this study aims to identify standard practices in reading and language acquisition. This piece is not directly concerned with illustrious readers as studies in the history of reading so often are, but it is based on the comparative examination of reading practices as displayed by copies with a clear contemporary connection, irrespective of their provenance.[6] Most of the annotations explored here were inscribed for personal use, with no intention to further disseminate or publish them; our readers/annotators have no claim to authorship through these interventions. Precisely because of this quality, however, they are revealing and can often be taken at face value, as evidence of documentary, rather than literary, value.

This study builds on my ongoing work on the circulation of Italian books abroad in the early modern period. The work on Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* was undertaken thanks to a Lord Kelvin Adam Smith research fellowship I held at the University in Glasgow between 2017–2020, and additional funding by the Willison Charitable Trust and the Folger Shakespeare Library. I acknowledge their support with gratitude.

Exemplary Language

The works by Petrarch and Ludovico Ariosto – most notably, the *Canzoniere* and *Orlando furioso* – were treated by early modern linguists and Italian grammarians as a golden standard of the Italian language.[7] Efforts in the codification of language in the Bembian tradition, that is, recuperating the language of the Florentine golden age, turned canonical authors Petrarch and Boccaccio into essential points of reference, not only within the Italian territory, but also across the Alps. Alongside these thirteenth-century classics, new texts established a foothold on the European marketplace of print. Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, whose third and final authorial revision engaged with the ongoing debate about the purity of language, enjoyed a wide dissemination outside of Italy.[8]

4 Cf. Lawrence 2011; Gallagher 2016; Villa 2017.

5 The contribution by Astrid Dröse in this volume also pursues questions about the relationship between handwriting and print in the context of cultural transfer and translation, but for the eighteenth century and in connection with the major project of translating Shakespeare and the (handwritten) working techniques on the printed book.

6 Cf. Graheli 2021.

7 For a general overview, cf. Trovato 1994, 75–121.

8 Cf. Cioranescu 1939; Everson/Hiscock/Jossa (eds.) 2019.

These texts were widely translated across Europe and influenced the development and normalization of vernaculars other than Italian throughout the Renaissance. The systematic study of translations in the early modern age, for example the seminal work by Jean Balsamo for translations from Italian into French, has brought to light the full extent of the dissemination of Petrarch and Ariosto as key authors whose works made the object of repeated new versions throughout the sixteenth century.[9] Indeed, the concept of 'retranslation' is more fittingly employed here, as not only do we see individual translations published multiple times, but repeated attempts at translating these fashionable texts.[10] The study of contemporary booklists, meanwhile, shows that these modern classics were avidly collected and were present in all major libraries at the time.

The perusal of Petrarch and Ariosto in the original Italian, however, was not the province of professional translators and writers. Readers across and beyond the Italian *Sprachraum* took these texts as an excellent way of learning Italian, as Nicole Bingen has demonstrated in her bibliographies, *Le Maître Italien* and *Philausone*, where she examined all editions printed in Italian in Francophone territories within the period 1500–1660.[11] In her critical work arising from these two studies, Bingen argued that the acquisition of Italian as a second language followed different approaches depending on the origin of the learner – offering the example of the French readership as one bent on learning Italian through the act of *reading*, unlike other groups of readers, who learnt it by *speaking*.[12] In the light of these considerations, the material attributes of different media offer essential clues as to how they may have been used and to what end. The interactive relationship between manuscript and print affords valuable insights into historic uses of the book, from the application of traditional reading techniques, to the constructions of personal strategies to read well known texts.

Translation as a Strategy for Language Acquisition

Translation started to become a profession in the early modern age, though professionals were a small portion of those who practised it.[13] Amateur translators were undoubtedly in the majority, as translation was a necessary form of engagement in approaching any text in a language other than one's own.[14] Nothing shows better evidence to this practice as do annotated printed books – for example, texts designed for

9 Cf. Balsamo 2009.
10 Cf. Desmidt 2009.
11 Cf. Bingen 1987; Bingen 1994.
12 Cf. Bingen 1996.
13 Cf. Burke 2007.
14 On recent developments in the study of translation in the early modern age, cf. Burschel/Toepfer/Wesche (eds.) 2021, especially the general introduction.

pedagogical purposes. Evidence from the study of books as material objects suggests that interlinear translation was a common way to engage with foreign-language texts. Indeed, numberless editions of schoolbooks were produced with a large interlinear space precisely to allow for annotations between the lines, indicating that interlinear translation was a widespread pedagogical practice in early modern Europe. This was a practice adopted for the study of classical texts, from elementary learning to higher education. While this practice often required intervention by hand from the reader, frequently texts were furnished with the interlinear translation already in print.[15] It is perhaps natural, then, that having been raised to acquire classical languages through this method, many readers transferred it to their independent learning of modern foreign languages.

A copy of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* now in the Bodleian Library, formerly from the collection at Holkham Hall, is a case in point to illustrate the use of translation in this capacity.[16] The volume is encased in a near-contemporary limp parchment binding, featuring a laurel wreath gold-tooled on each cover, firmly placing the copy in late sixteenth-century Paris. Palaeographic and linguistic evidence from the manuscript annotations found within the text confirms this, alongside some pen trials of the date '1585' on the lower pastedown, which supports this interpretation.[17] The text is annotated throughout by a single reader from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, who produced an interlinear translation of most of the text on a word-by-word basis, occasionally translating entire phrases instead. To clarify the typology of textual interventions made by the reader, I have fully transcribed the sonnet *Se la mia vita de l'aspro tormento* and reproduced the interlinear translation in italics.[18]

tourme[n]t
Se la mia uita de l'aspro tormento
escrimer *fatigues*
Si puo tanto schermire, e da gli affanni
des derniers ans
Ch'i ueggia per uertù de gliultim'anni
des beaus vos ieux *esteinte*
Donna, de' be uostri occhi il lume spe[n]to,
cheueus dor se faire dargent
E i cape d'oro fin farsi d'argento,
gairlandes les verdes habillemens
E lassar le ghirlande, e i uerdi panni,
se decolourir *mes* *dommages*

15 Cf. examples discussed in Botley 2010 for classical Greek texts.

16 Petrarca, *Il Petrarcha*, 1550, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham f.139. The example reproduced below is sonnet 8 in this edition.

17 Alongside the distinctive traits of the binding already discussed, one should add that the structure of the binding was reinforced using recycled archival documents, probably Parisian.

18 Petrarca, *Il Petrarcha*, 1550, fol. 6r.

E'l uiso scolorir, che ne miei danni
lamenter me fait peure et lent
Al lamentar mi fa pauroso, e lento;
me donnera herodiesse
Pur mi darà tanta baldanza amore,
vous descouurai de mes martirs
Ch'i ui discourirò de miei martiri
sont les heures
Quà sono stati glian[n]i, e i giorni et l'hore.
si le temps à beaux desirs
Et se'l tempo è contrario a i be desiri;
ne sera quanmoins a ma douleur
No[n] fia, ch'almen no[n] giu[n]ga al mio dolore
secours
Alcun soccorso di tardi sospiri.[19]

In this example, we see two different types of reader engagement at work. Some expressions are translated literally, such as 'de gliultim'anni' into 'des derniers ans' (l. 3), 'panni' into 'habillemens' (l. 6), 'baldanza' into 'herodiesse' (l. 9), or 'ch'almen' into 'quanmoins' (l. 13). Yet, the majority of the expressions translated in the interlinear space are concerned with cognate expressions across the two languages, such as 'tormento' into 'tourment' (l. 1), 'farsi d'argento' into 'se faire dargent' (l. 3), 'ui discourirò de miei martiri' into 'vous descouurai de mes martirs' (l. 10). By and large, these are not recent loanwords from Italian into French, as so many expressions in the sixteenth century were.[20] As words regularly in use, and so close to the foreign text, there was no necessity to write these into the interlinear space; these were certainly not words that the reader would have needed to look up in a dictionary. Yet numerous instances in this volume respond to the same pattern; another example shows the word 'gentile' ('gentle') translated into the French 'gentile'.[21] This suggests that the reader was keen to recognize meaning in the original Italian thanks to similar expressions in French, perhaps taking heart in that 'easy knowledge' over the course of a time consuming and highly engaged learning process.

Function over beauty is a regular feature of the Holkham Petrarch. Unlike the printed French translations of Petrarch, so many of which were produced during the

19 Musa/Manfredi (eds.) 1996, 50, translate the sonnet thus: "If my life can resist the bitter anguish | and all its struggles long enough for me | to see the brilliance of your lovely eyes, | lady, dimmed by the force of your last years, | and your fine golden hair changing to silver, | and see you give up garlands and green clothes, | and your face pale that in all my misfortunes | now makes me slow and timid to lament, | then Love at least will make me bold enough | so that I may disclose to you my suffering, | the years, the days, the hours, what they were like; | and should time work against my sweet desires, | at least it will not stop my grief receiving | some comfort brought by late-arriving sighs". I have not translated individual sections again in giving examples below.

20 Cf. Wind 1928; Greimas/Keane 2007.

21 Petrarca, *Il Petrarcha*, 1550, fol. 23^{v}.

sixteenth century, the reader was translating the text to understand the literal meaning of the original, with no attempt to respect the rhythm or fashion a full translation.[22] As such, the approach is to translate single words above the printed text, and not to translate the sonnet as a whole, or even individual lines. This occasionally results in thoroughly unpoetical occurrences, for example 'bisbiglio' ('whisper') translated into 'murmuration populaire' – the meaning being carefully preserved at the expense of metre.[23] By examining such practice, we also know that the exercise was not carried out side by side with a French translation, but more likely with the aid of a dictionary, thus offering important clues into the process of language acquisition.

Occasionally, the reader also noted parts of speech in the margins, as well as declining archaic or composite forms of verbs in Italian into the first person singular (e. g. 'non vedrian', 'si ponno', 'm'have', 'promettendomi' are transformed into 'io veggio', 'io posso', 'io ho', 'io prometto' respectively).[24] Alongside an effort in translation, solidly anchored to the printed text, this copy also shows examples of content creation in the foreign language. Such evidence suggests that the Holkham Petrarch was being used by someone who was not simply interested in understanding the text, but was also using it to learn the Italian language more actively.

Employing translation to learn Italian was not the province of French readers alone; a copy of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, formerly owned by Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632), shows evidence of very similar practices.[25] The copy displays Percy's note of ownership on the upper pastedown, with a date, partially damaged but likely to be interpreted as "1601". Other signatures and inscriptions among the rear pages, in French, Italian, and English suggest that the book was at least second-hand when purchased, and that it may have come to England via Paris.[26] It seems plausible, though not certain, that the more substantial annotations in the volume may be by Percy himself. Similarly to the French reader discussed in the previous example, the annotator translated individual words and expressions in the interlinear space, such as 'squarta' into 'quarters', 'appiatta' into 'squatted', 'attraversarsi' into 'traverse'.[27] The translations are not especially accurate, but tend to be given as

22 A similar example for such practices is Petrarca, *Il Petrarca*, 1551, in the copy at Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 813526. Here too the reader translated difficult words, or resolved syncopated forms, though in this case the engagement is less intense than in the Oxford copy.

23 Petrarca, *Il Petrarcha*, 1550, fol. 286^{r}.

24 Petrarca, *Il Petrarcha*, 1550, fol. 23^{v}.

25 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1546, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. F1 e.130.

26 The signatures are 'Roberto Barcher', perhaps an Italianized form of Robert Barker; and 'Gresham (?) Hoogan', both late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. There are various doodles and mottoes on the same page, as well as some annotations in Italian in a French hand. On the lower pastedown, one (or two?) inscription is perhaps suggestive of the purchase trail of the volume: "in grubstreet near the checquer mr neeks | In grubstreet near the checker Mr Neekes" and underneath, "Tho Beny a Paris a Rue St Victor these presente".

27 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1546, fol. 72^{r}.

more basic meanings than those found in the original; 'fiacco' (limp, weak) is translated as 'tyred',[28] 'scanna' (kills) as 'strangle',[29] 'piaga' (sore, lesion) as 'wounde'.[30]

Alongside the Italian 'classics', grammars and dictionaries printed in Italy and based directly on these literary texts were widely used by foreign readers to learn Italian, as can be gleaned through a comparative study of provenance information. Travellers who were interested in learning Italian could find many useful titles among the bookshops and stalls of Italian cities, as suggested by the annotated title page of one copy of Alberto Accarisio's *Vocabolario et Grammatica con l'Orthographia della lingua volgare* (1550), today in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome.[31] A contemporary French reader filled the title page by noting other relevant titles for one who may wish to learn Italian, including works by Girolamo Ruscelli, Francesco Alunno, and the more standard Calepinus. The wealth of detail in these notes – including specific editions and publishers, and a complete transcription of titles – suggests that the reader had been browsing titles in a bookshop.

Another copy of Accarisio's *Vocabolario* (in the first edition dated 1543), today at Glasgow University Library, was thoroughly annotated by a German-speaking reader in the sixteenth century.[32] The title page carries two notes of purchase, an earlier one located in Bologna, and the second one suggestive of a location within the German *Sprachraum* – possibly Wolfsberg, in Carinthia.[33] The page was chemically washed, so neither is fully legible, but it is just possible to read the signature 'Johann Hogle' (or 'Hegle') by the second reader, dated 1563. It seems likely that the bilingual German-Italian annotations are due to him. Accarisio's *Vocabolario* was a long piece of work, alongside shorter grammars and linguistic tools of Bembian influence.[34] The main body of the text consisted of the vocabulary proper, with quotations from Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio to document their uses of individual expressions. In the Glasgow copy of the *Vocabolario*, similarly to the examples discussed above, translation is the chosen method of reader engagement. The nature of Accarisio's volume, a vocabulary rather than continuous prose, means that a reader may lean more naturally towards translating individual words, as opposed to a literary text per se; this is indeed the primary approach we see here. Examples include 'abbaiare' (to bark) translated as 'bellen';[35] 'fioco' is translated as 'heiser' (raucous), following Petrarch's use, but also as 'dunckel' [sic!], following Dante's use of the term to indicate dim light.[36]

28 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1546, fol. 162^{r}.
29 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1546, fol. 72^{r}.
30 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1546, fol. 13^{r}.
31 Accarisio, *Vocabolario et grammatica*, 1550, Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 6.10.K.28.
32 Accarisio, *Vocabolario, grammatica et orthographia*, 1543, Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, RB 1190.
33 The name is not entirely legible, but 'Wolsbergk' seems a reasonable guess.
34 Cf. Trovato 1994.
35 Accarisio, *Vocabolario, grammatica et orthographia*, 1543, fol. 28^{v}.
36 Accarisio, *Vocabolario, grammatica et orthographia*, 1543, fol. 131^{r} and 131^{v} respectively.

Attention to these different uses as documented in Italian literature suggests an interest in learning *literary* Italian, perhaps to read the Italian classics. The reader also transcribed some expressions in the margins, paraphrased into an Italian equivalent to highlight specific uses, such as 'Tutto che' used by Petrarch and Dante to signify 'benche' (although), and by Boccaccio to mean 'quasi' (almost).[37] For the entry 'sembianza' (appearance, but also resemblance – a complex idea at a time when similes and comparison formed such an essential element to poetic language), the reader transcribed multiple forms and modifications of the term, as well as examples for uses of the term in German.[38] A similar approach is taken with other complex entries, such as 'vago' (vague, but also covetous, especially as Petrarch used it), and 'via' (way, but also through, away, and gradually).[39] Palaeographic evidence, particularly regarding the ink used by the reader, suggests that Accarisio's volume was studied intensively in and for itself, and not simply used as a reference tool while reading its source materials.

Each reader in these examples, operating in a different linguistic context, approached Italian texts in their way, though they all explicitly used translation as a method for language acquisition. By analysing these annotated books within a comparative framework it is possible to discern a pattern where a rudimentary translation of canonical texts (and of corollary texts based around them, such as Accarisio's *Vocabolario*) was a preferred modality of engagement with Italian as a foreign language.

Translingual Learning Practices and Readers' Annotations

Many of these readers were likely Italophile gentlemen, possibly members of the social elites who would undertake a European journey (later to become the 'Grand Tour') as part of their training for future life.[40] Young men from the higher echelons of society would undertake a formative journey across Europe.[41] Often this included a portion of university education abroad, however, learning foreign customs, witnessing rare spectacles, and seeing the famous sites of classical antiquity were equally important activities; dance, music, and martial arts were some popular pastimes among travellers. Italian universities such as Padua and Bologna had many international students, as demonstrated most recently by Nicole Bingen for the case of Francophone individuals.[42] As such, Italian may be one of several languages these individuals engaged with,

37 Accarisio, *Vocabolario, grammatica et orthographia*, 1543, fol. 82^{v}.
38 Accarisio, *Vocabolario, grammatica et orthographia*, 1543, fol. 262$^{r–v}$.
39 Accarisio, *Vocabolario, grammatica et orthographia*, 1543, fol. 302^{r} (vago) and 309^{r} (via).
40 Note, however, that diverse groups are documented as accessing foreign language provision: on this cf. in particular Gallagher 2016.
41 Cf. Balsamo 2003; Leibetseder 2010.
42 Cf. Bingen 2019.

and the learning of Italian may be supported by other areas of linguistic expertise.[43] Indeed, authors of early modern grammars encouraged their pupils to practise so that they may move seamlessly across multiple languages.[44] This is materially visible in copies with multilingual annotations, which form the core evidence in this section.

A copy of *Orlando furioso*, today in the British Library, offers a splendid case study.[45] Similarly to the examples explored in the previous section, engagement takes the form of interlinear translation; this is not carried out as a systematic process, but is generally limited to words or lines that are underlined in the text. Many of these textual interventions are in English and consist of everyday expressions such as 'riva' given as 'banke', 'incudi' as 'strokes of smithe',[46] 'sponde' as 'shore', 'veloce' as 'swifte',[47] 'gote' as 'cheeks', 'e nove' as 'and newe',[48] 'poggi ignudi' as 'bare hils [sic!]'.[49] However, many other annotations are in French, and their extent and variety suggest an excellent knowledge of the French language indeed. For example, the description of Angelica's flight in Canto 1, featuring several terms typical of chivalric language, is almost entirely translated into French: 'palafreno' (riding horse) translated as 'son cheval', 'a tutta briglia' (unbridled) as 'bride abattue', 'il caccia' ([she] rides) as 'chasse'.[50] It is clear, however, that the annotator did not always have a satisfactory translation available, so 'gli usbergi' (hauberks) becomes 'l'armature de devant',[51] and 'l'orme' (footprints) becomes 'signes de cheval'.[52]

These are not the only examples where this reader failed to identify a suitable translation. Indeed, they tend to modify the original meaning into a more straightforward expression in translation. Ariosto's botanical and zoological vocabulary offers a good example. Terms in this category are almost invariably simplified into more generic words. The French 'herbes' is used as a container for several species of flowers and plants: 'Di gigli, di amaranti, o di gesmini' (lilies, amaranths, or jasmins),[53] 'acanti' (acanthuses).[54] 'Arbor' or the French 'arbre' (tree) are used indiscriminately to designate beech trees,[55] pine trees,[56] sorb trees,[57] and willow.[58] 'Abre [sic!] tousjours

43 Cf. Gallagher 2019; Tosi 2020.
44 Cf. Lawrence 2011, chapter 1.
45 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, London, British Library, 1073.g.19.
46 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 2^{r}.
47 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 2^{v}.
48 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 3^{r}.
49 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 4^{r}.
50 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 2^{r}.
51 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 4^{r}.
52 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 2^{r}.
53 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 53^{r}.
54 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 157^{v}.
55 Cf. Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 3^{r}.
56 Cf. Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 54^{v}.
57 Cf. Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 70^{r}.
58 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 71^{v}.

verd' (evergreens) is used for 'Cerri' and 'Olmi', while 'verzure' becomes 'choses verdes' (green things); however, 'querce' is recognised to mean 'oak trees' (given as 'okes'),[59] and 'ginepre' (juniper) is given as 'gineper'.[60] 'Storni' (starling) and 'smerlo' (blackbird) are both given as 'oyseau' ('bird');[61] however, 'fagian' is given as faysant (pheasant) and 'coturnici' as 'perdrix' (partridge).[62] 'Damma' is correctly given as 'dere' (deer), 'capriola' becomes the French 'chevereau' (roe deer),[63] and 'montoni' (muttons) is given in French as 'monthons'.[64] These examples suggest greater familiarity with the northern landscape, as well as a habit of pursuing gentlemanlike endeavours. In particular, it is worth noting the level of precision for the terminology directly or indirectly related to hunting, well developed across both English and French, as opposed to botanical terms that were missing from the reader's vocabulary.

On occasion, more than one language is used to gain an entry point into the original Italian. For example, 'pertica' is given as the French 'baston' and the English 'pole',[65] or 'ritto' as the Latin 'rectus' and the English 'upright'.[66] Latin represented an essential intermediary for the reader's understanding of the original Italian, and various terms are rendered into Latin rather than in English or French. For example, 'piacciavi' (may it please you) becomes 'vobis placeat',[67] 'rimosse' (removed) is given as 'removit', 'ardito, e baldo' (courageous and bold) as 'audax et letus fuit', 'era' (he was) as 'erat',[68] 'siede' (she sits) as 'sedet',[69] 'l'annoi' (it bothers) as 'sentit molestiam',[70] 'Calano tosto … le maggior vele' (to strike sails) as 'demittunt velas',[71] 'ei' (he) as 'ipse' and 'cotesto' (this one) as 'iste',[72] 'chiamasi' (he is called) as 'appellatur'.[73]

An important area for the use of Latin here is represented by adverbs and prepositions used in an unusual or archaic form; these uses frequently had a Latin etymology, and our reader recognized them as such, clarifying the Italian meaning by giving the Latin equivalent. Examples include: 'ancora' (still) as 'etiam',[74] 'quivi' (here) as 'ibi',[75]

59 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 3^{r}.
60 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 66^{v}.
61 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 66^{r}.
62 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 277^{r}.
63 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 3^{r}.
64 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 4^{v}.
65 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 2^{v}.
66 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 4^{v}.
67 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 1^{v}.
68 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 2^{r}.
69 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 3^{r}.
70 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 4^{v}.
71 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 7^{v}.
72 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 22^{v}.
73 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 25^{v}.
74 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 2^{r}.
75 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 3^{r}.

'ne pria' (no sooner) as 'nec prius',[76] 'che' (because, since) as 'quoniam',[77] 'Ariodante che Ginevra pianto | Havea per morto …' (Ariodante, whom Ginevra had mourned) as 'quem ploraverat'.[78] Interventions such as these are frequent in the early pages, but they tend to disappear beyond the early cantos. This suggests that the reader was becoming increasingly familiar with Ariosto's style and no longer needed to identify complex expressions. It is essential to stress the importance of these examples in highlighting the central role of Latin as a language for learning; in a handful of cases, adverbs and prepositions are given translated into French, but never in English, undoubtedly a legacy of formal education.

Another British copy of *Orlando furioso* offers a valuable example for the use of Latin as an intermediary between modern foreign languages. The volume, held at Manchester Central Library, is preserved today in a leather binding, dating from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, most likely of English provenance.[79] The marginal annotations in Italian and Latin, mainly by a single sixteenth-century reader, were partially trimmed in the process. The original binding may have offered important clues to help identify the copy's provenance, but palaeographic evidence is inconclusive. The reader was probably foreign but adopted an Italianate style of writing. Typically, handwritten interventions are concerned with two practices: firstly, signposting content – this includes inscriptions of characters' names in the margins, as well as more extensive summaries of plot developments, usually given in Latin, occasionally in Italian. Elsewhere, we find unusual expressions paraphrased into simpler Italian, such as 'allacciar' (to lace) turned into 'legar', 'zuffa' (brawl) turned into 'contrasto', 'nuora' (daughter-in-law) paraphrased into 'moglie dello suo figlio'.[80] 'Contrasto' was given again as a synonym for 'tenzon' (duel).[81] On occasion, instead of an Italian synonym, the translation is provided in Latin: 'soglia' (threshold) becomes 'limen', 'gara' (race, competition) becomes 'certamen', 'ovunque' (wherever) is 'ubicumque'.[82]

Similarly, the German reader who annotated the copy of Alberto Accarisio's *Vocabolario* (1550), today held at the Staatliche Bibliothek in Regensburg, used Latin throughout the text as an instrument of mediation while learning Italian grammar.[83] This is consistent with practices John Gallagher highlighted for early modern England, remarking that this would remain a widespread practice until grammar pedagogy

76 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 4^{v}.
77 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 7^{v}.
78 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1562, fol. 27^{r}.
79 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1565, Manchester, Central Library, BR851.32O5.
80 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1565, fol. 52^{r}.
81 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1565, fol. 57^{r}.
82 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1565, fols. 45^{r}, 54^{r}, 82^{v}.
83 Cf. Accarisio, *Vocabolario et grammatica*, 1550, Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, 999/4Ling.96. The following references refer to this copy.

changed in the late seventeenth century.[84] Individual parts of the speech are signposted in Latin in the margins, alongside lengthier explanations of different uses in the case of individual expressions. Particular attention is devoted to verbal tenses, which are frequently not named by Accarisio, but are regularly given by hand in the margins.[85] This German reader preferred to contextualise the learning of Italian grammar within the existing framework acquired for learning Latin, thus classifying verbal forms into familiar categories. On occasion, uses by Boccaccio, Petrarch and Dante are teased out and inscribed in the margins by the reader.[86] These practices suggest that Accarisio's *Vocabolario*, built on examples from the Italian classics, was used simultaneously to learn Italian and to understand Italian canonical authors.

Multilingual approaches drew on existing practices for language acquisition, which can be seen through contemporary testimonies about learning foreign languages and through printed editions produced with polyglot readers in mind. We often find multilingual annotations in texts of a liminal nature that encourage crossing linguistic boundaries; grammars are a good example. Meanwhile, studies on language acquisition in the early modern period clearly demonstrate the importance of a multilingual approach as applied by printed grammars and private tutors.[87] Finding the same approach to note-taking in the classics of literature is therefore suggestive of their use for the explicit purpose of learning Italian.

Cross-Contamination and Intertextuality

The examples explored thus far demonstrate various degrees of engagement with individual copies. The materialities of reading practices in the early modern period were far more complex, and the analysis of isolated copies can only ever return a partial perspective. This is where a comparative methodology that works across copies, editions, and typologies of sources can be particularly revealing. We know that eminent readers frequently used translation as a learning method, aided by private tutors. Students from elite groups in society often undertook translation supervised by private tutors.[88] The example of Henry III of France, translating Petrarch under the guidance of Jacopo Corbinelli, is a case in point.[89] Individuals residing in the larger cities may have access to foreign language schools, such as those flourishing in London from the 1570s.[90] However, not all readers would have such support, and most

84 Cf. Gallagher 2016, 395–396.
85 Cf. Accarisio, *Vocabolario et grammatica*, 1550, fols. 11^{v}–15^{v}.
86 Cf. for example, Accarisio, *Vocabolario et grammatica*, 1550, fol. 7^{r}.
87 Cf. Lawrence 2011; Tosi 2020, chapter 3.
88 Cf. Gallagher 2019, 160.
89 Cf. Balsamo 2006.
90 Cf. Lawrence 2011, 20.

readers approaching foreign-language texts would do so as self-taught learners, with the aid of dictionaries and grammars. In addition, provenance information combined with the study of contemporary booklists indicates that different editions, including published translations, were owned and used alongside Italian texts, and were likely used side by side.

Three copies of the Avignon edition of Petrarch's works, published in French by Barthélémy Bonhomme (1555) are suggestive of this practice.[91] This was the first edition aiming to be comprehensive, and as Sara Sturm-Maddox pointed out, it rearranged the order of the sonnets trying to create a better narrative.[92] In three annotated copies, respectively held at Lyon, Paris and Munich, French early modern readers inscribed the margins with the Italian incipit of sonnets and poems. The reason for this is evident; had these readers only approached Petrarch's poetry in translation, there would have been no need to link the French translation to the incipit of the Italian original. But they went to some effort to ensure that a correspondence be established between the source and the target text. On at least one occasion, each of these readers must have had an Italian copy in hand together with the French. In addition, the reader of the Munich copy created a complete concordance with the Italian edition that served as a reference to the French, indicating the page or the sonnet number from the Italian original for easy retrieval. Such painstaking attention to cross-referencing the translation with the original suggests a practice to work with two versions alongside one another. Indeed, on occasion the reader of this copy would also give the Italian original in the margins of the French translation.[93]

The cross-contamination of different editions was not limited to an exercise in bilingual reading. A copy of *Orlando furioso*, today held at the Biblioteca Panizzi in Reggio Emilia, preserves evidence of a reader exerting their agency in choosing what version to read, and how to read it.[94] The copy belongs to the Aldine 1545 edition, the only edition of the *Furioso* ever published by the Aldine press. It is a rare exception in the Venetian tradition of the Ariostean poem as it presents no commentary alongside the text. This was a well-known practice established by Aldo Manuzio for his famous *enchiridia*, the pocket-size classics that made his fortune in the early years of the sixteenth century.[95] Dante's *Commedia* had been one of the rare Italian texts produced within the series during Aldo's lifetime.[96] His heirs had followed up in 1522 with a quarto edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.[97] The *Furioso*, being a very long text, was

91 Petrarca, *Toutes les euvres vulgaires*, 1555, copies: Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 307298; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, P. o.it. 810; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Yd-1154.

92 Cf. Sturm-Maddox 2004, 177.

93 For example, Petrarca, *Toutes les euvres vulgaires*, 1555, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, P. o.it. 810, fol. 16.

94 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1545, Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Panizzi, L. A. B 83.

95 Cf. Graheli 2016, 154.

96 Alighieri, *Le terze rime*, 1502.

97 Boccaccio, *Il Decamerone novamente corretto*, 1522.

also published in quarto. It followed the same trademark style of the enchiridia, leaving plenty of white space for readers to annotate the text. The reader of the Panizzi copy was interested in a complete critical apparatus, and they went looking for a version that would provide it.

The handwritten text was damaged by later readers, as the pages were chemically washed and cropped at the margins when the volume was rebound; this resulted in a loss of text. However, the annotations are sufficiently well-preserved to investigate their origin. The copy is annotated throughout in Italian in a neat hand, suggesting that the annotator was reproducing a text from elsewhere, and not creating new content, therefore the first step was clearly to compare the annotations with the printed commentaries available in other contemporary editions. Indeed, the annotations match one of the Italian-language Lyon editions, produced by the Italian emigré Sebastiano Onorati in 1556.[98] Palaeographic evidence suggested a foreign reader; as most of the interventions are merely integrative, and drawn from an Italian-language source, the precise origin of the reader was more challenging to establish. However, on a few occasions, we find the interlinear translation of unknown words, such as 'Bestemmiò' turned into 'Blaspheme'.[99] The reader, then, was a French-speaking individual, though perhaps sufficiently well-versed in Italian to be able to approach the text in the original; yet not enough to navigate it without any commentary.

The materiality of annotated printed books offers ample evidence that early modern readers worked extensively across texts and languages. Examples include approaches to canonical texts, and texts peripheral to the literary canon. This has been discussed for the case of minor literature, for example in the case of the Petrarchan lyrical anthologies, which Jean Balsamo and JoAnn DellaNeva have demonstrated to be widely used alongside Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.[100] The Glasgow copy of Accarisio's *Vocabolario* is another fitting example that illustrates how corollary texts gravitated around the hypercanon, and served to make it more accessible to both Italian and to foreign readers. Many annotated copies show evidence of active intertextual practices; for example, a reader who in 1614 Italianized his name as Henrico Furstembergio di Colmar (Heinrich Fürstenberg) annotated his *Decameron* with quotations taken from the *Cortegiano*.[101] In fact, this was not limited to foreign readers, but was a reading practice embraced by Italian readers also. A copy of Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, owned by several successive Italian readers and today at the Biblioteca Casanatense, was annotated with a quote from the famous passage in Dante's *Commedia* where Dante enters the gates of Hell, followed by the incipit of the poem.[102] Read-

98 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1556.

99 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1545, fol. 125^{v}.

100 Cf. Balsamo 2002; DellaNeva 2009.

101 Boccaccio, *Il Decamerone*, 1546, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 P. o. it. 74.

102 Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, 1553, Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, L. VI.33. CC. The inscription (*Inferno* III, 1–4, followed by *Inferno* I, 1–3) is found on the lower endleaf.

ing and learning Italian, it seems, was deeply intertwined with reading and learning about Italian history and geography.

Well-preserved collections show that commentaries, adaptations, or abridged versions were frequently owned alongside complete versions in the original Italian. The libraries of Johann Georg Werdenstein, canon of Augsburg and Eichstätt (1542–1608), and of the humanist Johann Albrecht Widmannstetter (1506–1557), both preserved at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, fit this pattern. For instance, in the Widmannstetter collection we find multiple volumes of Pietro Bembo's works, including the *Lettere*, which highlights the importance of the epistolographic tradition to foreign readers of Italian texts.[103] Widmannstetter also owned Bembo's *Rime* in at least two editions.[104] Alongside these critical texts, he also owned a *Rimario di tutte le cadentie di Dante et Petrarca* (1533), and various minor poetical texts, many of which were collected in the same *Sammelband*.[105] These are not annotated, unfortunately, but ownership patterns are still essential for us to define reading practices.

Werdenstein's profile as a reader and collector was similarly diverse, thanks to his extensive travels in Italy. Alongside Dante's *Commedia* in the Aldine edition (1515) and a recent edition of the *Canzoniere* by Niccolò Bevilacqua (1562, purchased in Venice in 1564), he owned a book of occasional *Rime* (1561), and a *Compendio de l'historie dell'Orlando furioso* (1555) – one of the rare books from his library with marginal annotations.[106] In Siena, transiting in July 1564, Werdenstein purchased several books, including Pietro Aretino's *Vita di Maria Vergine* and *Genesi*, Sperone Speroni's *Dialogi* (1552), Bentivoglio's comedy *I Fantasmi* (1545) and Leone Ebreo's *Dialogi* (1558).[107] By and large – except for the *Compendio* cited above – Werdenstein was not in the habit of annotating his Italian books, but a couple of other volumes from his collection offer valuable insights into his reading practices. Firstly, like many who travelled in Renaissance Italy, he was interested in its history and culture, as reflected by his ownership of Guicciardini's *Historia d'Italia* (1565, bought 1566).[108] He continued to purchase histories after his travels. For example, Bembo's *Historia Vinitiana* (1570, bought in

103 Bembo, *Delle lettere primo volume*, 1548, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4° Epist. 29.

104 Bembo, *Rime*, 1540, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/A. lat. a. 2337(4); Bembo, *Delle rime terza impressione*, 1548b, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 P. o. it. 64.

105 Morato, *Rimario de tutte le cadentie*, 1533, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/A. lat. a. 2337(7).

106 Alighieri, *Dante col sito*, 1515, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 1882; Petrarca, *Il Petrarca*, 1562, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, P. o. it. 786; Orlandi, *Compendio de l'historie citate*, 1555, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 P. o. it. 48.

107 Aretino, *Vita di Maria Vergine*, 1539, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, V.ss. 520; Aretino, *Il Genesi*, 1539, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Exeg. 48; Speroni, *Dialoghi*, 1552, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, L. eleg. m. 734 q; Bentivoglio, *I fantasmi*, 1545, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/P. o. it. 123; Hebraeus, *Dialoghi di amore*, 1558, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ph. pr. 758 n.

108 Guicciardini, *La historia d'Italia*, 1565, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Ital. 223.

1575) and Matteo Villani's *Historia Fiorentina* (1577, bought 1578).[109] But he also owned Italian histories in translation, such as Sigonio's *Historia d'Italia*, which he had in German (1584).[110] Secondly, Werdenstein's engagement with Italian was not simply bilingual, but was developed alongside an interest in French language and poetry; he owned a bilingual French-Italian dictionary, and a French translation of Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1556).[111] His vast collection of music part books, meanwhile, was multilingual and naturally regularly required switching across Latin, French and Italian.[112] Although Werdenstein's reading practices did not leave us significant annotations on the pages of his Italian books, therefore, the scope and stratification of his collection are both suggestive of intertextual and interlingual practices.

Encounters with canonical texts, crucially, also crossed media boundaries. Werdenstein is again an excellent example of this, as so many of his music collections were based on verses by Petrarch or Ariosto. The re-use of lyrical texts brought the original Italian texts to the early modern household. Similar examples are known for the French and English courts; indeed, music was highly influential for disseminating Petrarchism in England.[113] Other performative forms, such as ballets or theatrical representations, are also known to have recycled the *Canzoniere* and the *Orlando furioso*.[114] Readers were well aware of the intertextual connections across these forms. A multivolume set of madrigals printed by Antonio Gardano (1560), today preserved at the Mazarine Library, embodies these trends. This sought-after Italian edition was bound in Paris after the fashion of the interlacing ribbon binding, contemporary to the publication.[115] The set, which remarkably still preserves the hand-colouring as well as the tooling, carries a Latin motto on the front of each volume "Ah tandem absolvatur opus, cur cætera desunt", and a quotation from Petrarch on each lower board: "Altri vive del suo, c'hella no'lasente". The quotation, which – endearingly – was misspelt (the original reads: "S'altri vive del suo, ch'ella nol senta"), is representative precisely of that challenging language acquisition process that comprised reading and annotating Italian texts.

109 Bembo, *Historia Vinitiana*, 1570, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Ital. 46; Villani, *Historia Fiorentina*, 1577, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Ital. 434.

110 Sigonio, *Von Geschichten des Königreichs Italie*, 1584, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Polem. 138.

111 Boccaccio, *Le Decameron*, 1556, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/P. o. it. 154; Fenice, *Dictionnaire françois et italien*, 1584, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, L. lat. f. 400.

112 Cf. Van Orden 2015, chapter 3.

113 Cf. Mumford 1971.

114 Cf. Gorris Camos (ed.) 2003.

115 Rore, *Il primo libro di madrigali*, 1563, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4° 10919 D-1 [Res]. The volumes D-2 and D-3 belong to the same set.

Conclusions

The examples explored in these pages demonstrate a plurality of approaches across the European readership of Italian texts. The close analysis of annotations offers crucial insights into the material practices of foreign readers. Many appear to have been self-taught, though still relying on the conceptual frameworks and terminology that had been in place for learning Latin. Indeed, Latin remained an essential instrument of mediation between readers' mother tongues and Italian, used to understand grammatical concepts and even to convey meaning.

Translation was a crucial method for approaching Italian texts. This is not simply to say that many readers approached Italian texts as published translations. In fact, we see diverse forms of engagement with the broader area of translation, starting from a rudimentary word-by-word approach, carried out by the reader with a dictionary in hand, to the practice of reading the original Italian and a published translation side by side. Crucially, translation for private learning was not only approached bilingually, but was often a multilingual effort in the process of language acquisition.

The study of annotations offers essential information about the material reading practices for approaching Italian texts in Renaissance Europe. The contextual study of manuscript interventions on printed books, further explored through a spatially and linguistically diverse interpretive perspective, is revealing of widespread reading practices documented across Europe. Such approaches were often indebted to the same patterns used for learning Latin – and indeed, to Latin itself as an intermediary between modern foreign languages. Only through the joint examination of print and manuscript are we thus able to ascertain the local specificities and general forms of engagement by early modern readers. This complement what we know from historical investigations about grammars and phrasebooks; however, by studying print and manuscript as a single text-object, we are able to find such practices enacted at the time of learning.

More importantly, by studying these hybrid media forms, we are able to ascertain how readers deviated from expectation. While texts for language acquisition were crucial instruments for the self-taught learner, the evidence explored here also shows that readers were creative, independent individuals who may approach any text in unexpected ways, even when they followed methods acquired in their school days. We see this freedom and creativity of approach through the endless combinations found while exploring intertextual and intermedial practices. A comparative perspective highlights similarities and differences among the reading habits of past readers, though most importantly, it shows a common purpose among these readers in embracing and understanding foreign cultures and languages as valuable additions to their worldview.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Accarisio, Alberto, *Vocabolario, grammatica et orthographia de la lingua volgare*, Cento, for the author 1543 (USTC 807569. Copy: Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, RB 1190).

Accarisio, Alberto, *Vocabolario et grammatica con l'orthographia della lingua volgare*, Venice, Vincenzo Valgrisi 1550 (USTC 807578. Copies: Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek, 999/4Ling.96; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 6.10. K.28).

Alberti, Leandro, *Descrittione di tutta Italia, nella quale si contiene il sito di essa, l'origine, et le signorie delle città, et de i castelli, co i nomi antichi, et moderni, i costumi de' popoli, le conditioni de i paesi. Et più, gli huomini famosi, che l'hanno illustrata, i monti, i laghi, i fiumi, le fontane, i bagni, le minere; con tutte l'opere maravigliose in lei dalla natura prodotte*, Venice, Giovanni Maria Bonelli 1553 (USTC 808270. Copy: Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, L. VI.33. CC).

Alighieri, Dante, *Le terze rime*, Venice, Aldo Manuzio 1502 (USTC 808768).

Alighieri, Dante, *Dante col sito, et forma dell'Inferno tratta dalla istessa descrittione del poeta*, Venice, haer. Aldo Manuzio and Andrea Torresani 1515 (USTC 808771. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 1882).

Aretino, Pietro, *Vita di Maria Vergine*, Venice 1539 (USTC 810316. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, V.ss. 520).

Aretino, Pietro, *Il Genesi*, Venice 1539 (USTC 810370. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Exeg. 48).

Ariosto, Ludovico, *Orlando furioso*, Venice, heirs of Aldo Manuzio 1545 (USTC 810632. Copy: Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Antonio Panizzi, L. A. B 83).

Ariosto, Ludovico, *Orlando furioso*, Venice, Gabriele Giolito 1546 (USTC 810636. Copy: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. F1 e.130).

Ariosto, Ludovico, *Orlando furioso*, Lyon, Jacques Faure appresso Sébastien Honorat 1556 (USTC 158950).

Ariosto, Ludovico, *Orlando furioso*, Venice, Francesco Sansovino for Francesco Rampazetto 1562 (USTC 810726. Copy: London, British Library, 1073. g.19).

Ariosto, Ludovico, *Orlando furioso*, Venice, Francesco Rampazetto 1565 (USTC 810737. Copy: Manchester, Central Library, BR851.32O5).

Bembo, Pietro, *Rime*, Venice, [Comin da Trino] 1540 (USTC 813401. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/A. lat. a. 2337[4]).

Bembo, Pietro, *Delle lettere primo volume*, Rome, Valerio and Luigi Dorico 1548 (USTC 813381. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Epist. 29).

Bembo, Pietro, *Delle rime terza impressione*, Rome, Valerio and Luigi Dorico 1548 (USTC 813382. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 P. o. it. 64).

Bembo, Pietro, *Historia Vinitiana*, Venice, Giordano Ziletti 1570 (USTC 813453. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Ital. 46).

Bentivoglio, Ercole, *I fantasmi*, Venice, Gabriele Giolito 1545 (USTC 813838. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/P. o. it. 123).

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Il Decamerone novamente corretto con tre novelle aggiunte*, Venice, haer. Aldo Manuzio the Elder and Andrea Torresano 1522 (USTC 814745).

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Il Decamerone con gli epitheti dell'autore, espositione de proverbi et luoghi difficili*, Venice, Gabriele Giolito 1546 (USTC 814825. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 P. o. it. 74).

Boccaccio, Giovanni, *Le Decameron*, Lyon, Guillaume Thibault 1556 (USTC 39133. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/P. o. it. 154).
Fenice, Giovanni Antonio, *Dictionnaire françois et italien*, Morges, et vendu à Paris, Nicolas Nivelle 1584 (USTC 78361. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, L. lat. f. 400).
Guicciardini, Francesco, *La historia d'Italia*, Venice, Niccolò Bevilacqua 1565 (USTC 835399. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Ital. 223).
Hebraeus, Leo, *Dialoghi di amore*, Venice, Giuseppe Guglielmo & Federico Torresano 1558 (USTC 837939. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ph. pr. 758 n).
Morato, Fulvio Pellegrino, *Rimario de tutte le cadentie di Dante, e Petrarca*, Venice, Francesco Bindoni & Maffeo Pasini 1533 (USTC 843488. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/A. lat. a. 2337[7]).
Orlandi, Giovanni, *Compendio de l'historie citate da Lodovico Ariosto nel trigesimo tertio canto di Orlando Furioso da lui composto*, Roma, Valerio and Luigi Dorico 1555 (USTC 845470. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 P. o. it. 48).
Petrarca, Francesco, *Il Petrarcha con l'espositione di Alessandro Vellutello*, Venice, Al Segno della Speranza [= Arrivabene?] 1550 (USTC 762456. Copy: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham f.139).
Petrarca, Francesco, *Il Petrarca con nuoue, e breui dichiarationi. Insieme vna tauola di tutti i vocaboli, detti, & prouerbi difficili diligentemente dichiarati*, Lyon, Guilllaume Rouillé 1551 (USTC 150892. Copy: Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 813526).
Petrarca, Francesco, *Toutes les euvres vulgaires, contenans quatre livres de M. D. Laure d'Avignon sa maistresse : iadis par luy composez en langage Thuscan, et mis en François par Vasquin Philieul de Carpentras*, Avignon, Barthélémy Bonhomme 1555 (USTC 23217. Copies: Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 307298; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, P. o. it. 810; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Yd-1154).
Petrarca, Francesco, *Il Petrarca con dichiarationi non piu stampate. Insieme con alcune belle annotationi, tratte dalle dottissime prose di monsignor Bembo*, Venice, Niccolò Bevilacqua 1562 (USTC 847877. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, P. o. it. 786).
Petrarca, Francesco, *Petrarch: the Canzoniere, or Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, ed. by Mark Musa and Barbara Manfredi, Bloomington 1996.
Rore, Cipriano da, *Il primo libro di madrigali cromatici a cinque voci*, Venice, Antonio Gardano 1563 (USTC 853309. Copy: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 4° 10919 D-1 [Res]).
Sigonio, Carlo, *Von Geschichten des Königreichs Italie fünffzehen bücher*, Strasbourg, Bernhard Jobin 1584 (USTC 619616. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Polem. 138).
Speroni, Sperone, *Dialoghi*, Venice, haer. Aldo Manuzio 1552 (USTC 857243. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, L. eleg. m. 734 q).
Villani, Matteo, *Historia Fiorentina*, Florence, haer. Bernardo Giunta 1577 (USTC 863363. Copy: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Ital. 434).

Secondary sources

Balsamo, Jean (2002), "Les poètes français et les anthologies lyriques italiennes", in: *Italique* 5, 11–32.
Balsamo, Jean (2003), "Le voyage d'Italie et la formation des élites françaises", in: *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 27 (2), 9–21.
Balsamo, Jean (2006), "Note sur le Pétrarque de Henri III", in: Isabelle de Conihout, Jean-François Maillard and Guy Poirier (eds.), *Henri III mécène des arts, des sciences et des lettres*, Paris, 249–253.

Balsamo, Jean (2009), *Les traductions de l'italien en français au XVIe siècle*, Paris/Fasano.
Balsamo, Jean (ed.) (2004), *Les poètes français de la Renaissance et Petrarque*, Geneva.
Bingen, Nicole (1987), *Le Maître italien (1510–1660). Bibliographie des ouvrages d'enseignement de la langue italienne destinés au public de langue française, suivie d'un Repertoire des ouvrages bilingues imprimés dans les pays de langue française*, Brussels.
Bingen, Nicole (1994), *Philausone (1500–1660). Répertoire des ouvrages en langue italienne publiés dans les pays de langue française de 1500 à 1660*, Geneva.
Bingen, Nicole (1996), "L'insegnamento dell'italiano nei Paesi di lingua francese dal 1500 al 1660", in: Mirko Tavoni (ed.), *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento: confronti e relazioni*, Ferrara, 419–442.
Bingen, Nicole (2019), *'Aux escholles d'outre-monts'. Étudiants de langue française dans les universités italiennes (1480–1599): Français, Francs-Comtois et Savoyards*, 3 vols., Geneva.
Botley, Paul (2010), "Learning Greek in Western Europe, 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica, and Classroom Texts", in: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n. s., 100 (2), iii–xiii, 1–270.
Burke, Peter (1996), *The Fortunes of the Courtier. The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*, Philadelphia.
Burke, Peter (2007), "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe" in: Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge/New York, 7–38.
Cioranescu, Alexandre (1939), *L'Arioste en France des origines à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris.
Damrosch, David (2006), "World Literature in a Postcanonical, Hypercanonical Age", in: Haun Saussy (ed.), *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, Baltimore, 43–53.
DellaNeva, JoAnn (2009), *Unlikely Exemplars. Reading and Imitating beyond the Italian Canon in French Renaissance Poetry*, Newark.
Desmidt, Isabelle (2009), "(Re)translation Revisited", in: *Meta* 54 (4), 669–683.
Everson, Jane/Hiscock, Andrew/Jossa, Stefano (eds.) (2019), *Ariosto, the Orlando Furioso, and English culture*, Oxford.
Gallagher, John (2016), "'Ungratefull Tuscans': Teaching Italian in Early Modern England", in: *The Italianist* 36 (3), 392–413.
Gallagher, John (2019), *Learning Languages in Early Modern England*, Oxford.
Gorris Camos, Rosanna (ed.) (2003), *L'Arioste et le Tasse en France au XVIe siècle*, Paris.
Graheli, Shanti (2016), "Aldo, i suoi lettori e il mercato internazionale del libro", in: Tiziana Plebani (ed.), *Aldo al Lettore. Viaggio intorno al mondo del libro e della stampa in occasione del V Centenario della morte di Aldo Manuzio*, Milan, 151–172.
Graheli, Shanti (2021), "Readers and Consumers of Popular Print", in: *Quaerendo*, special issue: 'The European Dimension of Popular Print', ed. Matthew Grenby, Elisa Marazzi and Jeroen Salman, vol. 51, 61–94.
Greimas, Algirdas Julien/Keane, Teresa Mary (eds.): *Moyen français. La langue de la Renaissance. De 1340 à 1611*, Paris 2007.
Lawrence, Jason (2011), *Who the Devil Taught Thee So Much Italian? Italian Language Learning and Literary Imitation in Early Modern England*, Manchester.
Leibetseder, Mathis (2010), "Across Europe: Educational Travelling of German Noblemen in a Comparative Perspective", in: *Journal of Early Modern History* 14, 417–449.
Mortimer, Anthony (2005), *Petrarch's Canzoniere in the English Renaissance*, Amsterdam/New York.
Mumford, Ivy L. (1971), "Petrarchism and Italian Music at the Court of Henry VIII", in: *Italian Studies* 26 (1), 49–67.
Sturm-Maddox, Sara (2004), "The French Petrarch", in: *Annali d'Italianistica* 22, 171–187.

Toepfer, Regina/Burschel, Peter/Wesche, Jörg (eds.) (2021), *Übersetzen in der Frühen Neuzeit – Konzepte und Methoden / Concepts and Practices of Translation in the Early Modern Period*, Berlin.

Tosi, Arturo (2020), *Language and the Grand Tour. Linguistic Experiences of Travelling in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge.

Trovato, Paolo (1994), *Storia della lingua italiana. Il primo Cinquecento*, Bologna.

USTC = *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, https://www.ustc.ac.uk/ (last accessed: 03.03.2022).

Van Orden, Kate (2015), *Materialities: Books, Readers, and the Chanson in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Oxford.

Villa, Alessandra (2017), "Tipologie e funzioni dei libri bilingui italo-francesi pubblicati in Francia e nello spazio francofono nel XVI secolo", in: Silvia D'Amico and Susanna Gambino Longo (eds.), *Le savoir italien sous les presses lyonnaises à la Renaissance*, Geneva, 245–273.

Wind, Bartina H. (1928), *Les mots italiens introduits en français au XVIe siècle*, Deventer.