Jonson, Scholarship, and Science

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LITERARY NARRATIVES, by their very nature, concentrate on the creative lives of authors and view their intellectual and social activity through that prism. For Jonson, this has drawn interest towards the links between social networks and his patronage relationships, as well as the theatre of the time and, more generally, London as the place where most of this activity was situated. As an author, he has been portrayed as someone almost entirely English in his concerns, who was deeply versed in ancient texts ; a writer of urban and urbane comedy, of social poetry, and court entertainments, with no apparent connection to Europe beyond some military experience in his youth and a few months as tutor to Wat Ralegh in 1612-13. Stylistically, his work is saturated with classical allusions, rather than being indebted to French and Italian fashions, and he was dismissive of contemporary writers who privileged aesthetics over substance.

There can be no doubt that a localised perception of Jonson has its place in our understanding of his life and work ; yet, for all is vividness, the view it gives is partial. Our sense of Jonson as an intellectual, who was fully engaged with contemporary European scholarship and science, has been limited. There has always been, of course, an acknowledgment of his friendships with Camden, Cotton, and Selden, and to a lesser extent Bacon, yet it as if their concerns were of no real interest to him : Jonson, in this portrait, is an intellectual without a hinterland. His satires on witchcraft and alchemy seem to place him firmly in the world of magic rather than reason. His books, many in academic Latin, seem far removed from his concerns as an author, and they lie scattered across Britain, Europe, and the United States in a way that makes a comprehensive view of his interests difficult to assess. Indeed, the last published catalogue of his library, prepared nearly forty years ago, listed (approximately) only three-fifths of the books that are now known to survive, or for which there is a definite record of sale in the last two hundred years[1].

Scattered as the manuscripts, books, and archival documents may be, and limited as their evidence is, it is possible to reconstruct from them a more sympathetic and comprehensive view of Jonson's life and work, and the contexts that

shaped his career. A view that focuses on the poems alone limits our sense of his social networks ; however, once other sources are included, the conspectus of information is broader as such documents reveal other associations. Equally, if we look at the lives and activities of Jonson's closest friends and map their intellectual networks against his library, a rather different aspect of his life emerges : one that is more intellectually serious, and one that is fully engaged with contemporary conversations in Europe. Jonson's interest in the esoteric aspects of alchemical theory as a form of corrupted language is not as archaic as it seems, nor was he innocent of the emerging scientific discourse around him. Jonson may not have written on classical philology, the ancient world, or on modern mathematics and science ; he may not have shared a taste for mannerist verse ; but he was an acute reader with broad-ranging interests, who understood the difference between real scholarship and the obscurantism of pretended knowledge. His closest friends were in regular correspondence with many of the scholars he most admired, and he was fully engaged with the intellectual conversations of his age.

The shift in emphasis towards a more broad-ranging account of Jonson's interests requires a renewed sensitivity to his biography and some of the intellectual issues that have been compressed or overlooked. The common localised view of Jonson was derived, in part, from the limitations of the Oxford edition, which was influenced by Gifford's response to the polemics of Malone and others in the late eighteenth century. Herford and Simpson also wanted to rescue Jonson from the German philologists of the late nineteenth century, and hence situate his life and work intellectually and politically as British. Significantly, the contracts for the Oxford edition were issued in 1902, even though the first volumes did not appear until 1925, and the last until 1952[2]. It is not surprising, in the context of the two intervening world wars, that Jonson's British qualities were emphasised. Simpson even wrote of his 'sterling honesty' and 'the fibre of his English manhood', without an apparent second glance[3]. That this portrait involved a particular kind of anachronistic mis-reading, and a distortion of his political and social context, was not at the time noticed or, perhaps, thought about. Honest Ben's diction was neither Italianate, nor courtly French ; and his quarrels, even his corpulence, anchored him firmly to the local and particular. Hence, his knowledge of modern languages was dismissed on the basis of a comment by Drummond[4], his education minimised[5], his library was but partly recorded, and his friends and their milieu were largely ignored.

In the last decade or so, various aspects of Jonson's involvement with the European humanistic tradition have come under review, and in small ways the scholarly view of his interests has begun to be adjusted[6] ; yet the broad narrative, focused around the great comedies, has been sturdily resistant to a more sympa-

thetic view of his career : the caricature has suited prevailing literary orthodoxies too comfortably. It allows Jonson to be portrayed as not as 'successful' as Shakespeare, and focuses attention on his literary career, leaving questions about his interests in scholarship and science to be treated rather casually. As a measure of Jonson the intellectual, it has been enough to suggest that Camden was his teacher, though few have studied Camden's intellectual life[7] ; that Cotton was a collector of manuscripts, without noticing that he owned such works as *Beowulf* ; and that Selden and Bacon were lawyers and polymaths. When Jonson's reading is mentioned, it is in connection with literary sources such as Martial[8]. Equally, for intellectual historians, the problem is that Jonson is not a 'scholar' : he is one that will do 'to swell a scene or two', to be alluded to in passing as a 'friend', or perhaps used for an anecdote. The social and personal chemistry that bound Jonson and someone like Selden together seems rather difficult to reconcile, perhaps because our idea of early modern literature is not one that readily embraces the idea of them having a profound intellectual conversation about something like Scaliger and the emendation of classical chronology whilst in their cups.

Any attempt to broaden our understanding of Jonson requires that his library and reading practices be treated as seriously as his literary output. Indeed, his books are important, not only for what they reveal about his reading and interests, but because there is an innate connection between the bibliographical investigation of an author's texts and documents and the biographical account of that person's life and work. Books, as Milton remarked, are not absolutely dead things : people gave Jonson books, just as others copied his poetry, and these connections point to an intellectual milieu and personal friends with which he has hitherto only tangentially been connected. Far too often, Jonson's social biography has simply been based upon his poetry and his remarks to Drummond. In what follows, a broader swathe of documentary evidence will be used to sketch what we might learn about his intellectual interests and his social and political networks. In particular, we need to be more aware of the European contexts within which Jonson moved, and of his links to the humanist scholars of the early seventeenth century that began with Camden and Westminster. When viewed from this perspective, it is apparent that Jonson was more engaged with the contemporary debates involving scholarship, mathematics, and science than has been assumed.

If the surviving evidence is an accurate sample (and, given its size and range, it would appear to be), approximately eighty percent of Jonson's books were in Latin, but there is considerable evidence of his knowledge of other languages. What he did not collect were medieval and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and charters, state papers, law, material in the oriental languages, genealogical and he-

raldic manuscripts, and so forth—all of which were available in the libraries of his friends. He rarely collected old and rare editions, with fewer than ten percent of his books dating from before 1550, although he did own at least six medieval manuscripts. Among his books were modern editions of the classics, either in pocket editions or with the latest critical and philological commentaries ; the Church Fathers and medieval historians such as Lactantius, Isidore, Bede, and William of Malmesbury ; neo-Latin poetry, especially from the period of 1615-25 ; and the scholarship of such authors as Politian, Budé, Turnèbe, Hotman, Panvinio, Scaliger, Casaubon, and Lipsius in either the first or best editions. Jonson was also interested in mathematics and science, as well as witchcraft, natural magic, and alchemy ; he read solidly in theology, and possessed a large number of Catholic tracts including liturgical material ; and he bought, of course, English literature and both English and European history. Among these books are many gifts, some of which attest to friendships that we would otherwise not suspect.

If Jonson did not necessarily own all of the books that he used (and he appears to have owned most of them), he must have used copies from the collections of his friends to which he had access. Jonson's interests were directly influenced by his association with this group of humanist scholars and antiquarians, and one must be careful not to assume that he lacked an interest in their books, or that he did not have access to them. It is quite possible, for instance, that he used Selden's copy of the Philostrati (Paris, 1608), which is missing the crucial leaves (it is possible that Selden allowed Jonson to remove them), for his poem 'To Celia' (Drink to me only with thine eyes)[9]. His marginalia in a Cotton manuscript that he used for his lost poem on *Henry V* is also a reminder that he borrowed books owned by his friends[10].

What emerges from the collections of his friends is a sense of accepted practice amongst a group of people who shared a common appreciation of their respective interests, each owner in a sense being the curator of a particular field of learning. Selden's learned chamber-fellow Edward Heyward, for instance, must have had books that included his 'Noble Contemplations, of *Nature* and the *Mathematiques*' as well as his legal and antiquarian volumes[11]. Hence, what needs to be emphasised is Jonson's thorough familiarity with the books to which he refers, and his ability to access both to rare and unusual materials, and antiquarian records, if he so wished. Jonson never faked his reading, or claimed to have read something that he had not—and, on occasion, his marginalia reflects how actively he engaged in that process. What is less apparent is the difference between the books that Jonson used, and that larger but less identifiable group of books that he knew : that is, the differences between his practices as a collector, and his interests as an author, reader, and friend.

Jonson was neither a politician nor an antiquarian, and hence his presence in the libraries of his friends who were interested in scholarship and science has been overlooked. In part, this is because the full extent and nature of Jonson's own collections has only begun to emerge during the last forty years and, therefore, the larger understanding that follows from this of his interests as a reader rather than as an author is only now emerging ; in part, it is because the collections of his friends are even less familiar to most who are interested in Jonson. Access to his reading has been impaired, as well, by the fact that many of the books he read are in Latin, and sometimes Greek, on unfamiliar subjects ; equally restrictive, is the way in which literary studies of the English drama have separated the popular and intellectual culture of the period, limiting the study of sources and ideas to vernacular documents and those authors for whom antiquarian texts and the humanistic scholarship are not as germane.

If we are to engage Jonson's interest with scholarship, antiquarianism, and science, then we should draw together a series of looser connections. What little we know of his family, education, and early associations are all suggestive of the influences that shaped his interests. His family origins, for instance, must have been important to him, although we will never know the most significant facts for certain. The information that we do have, however, reveals more than has been appreciated. Jonson's grandfather was a gentleman in the court of Henry VIII, as he told Drummond[12]. Hence, he would have spent a lot of time at Hampton Court, which is immediately due south of Twickenham, south-west of London. This is important because a number of Jonson's friends have links with Twickenham, including Selden whose family were friends with the Corbetts. Selden was from West Tarring, now a part of Worthing, in West Sussex (almost due south of Twickenham), and it is usually thought that Jonson encountered Selden when the latter arrived at the Inner Temple in 1602[13]. However, there may have been family associations.

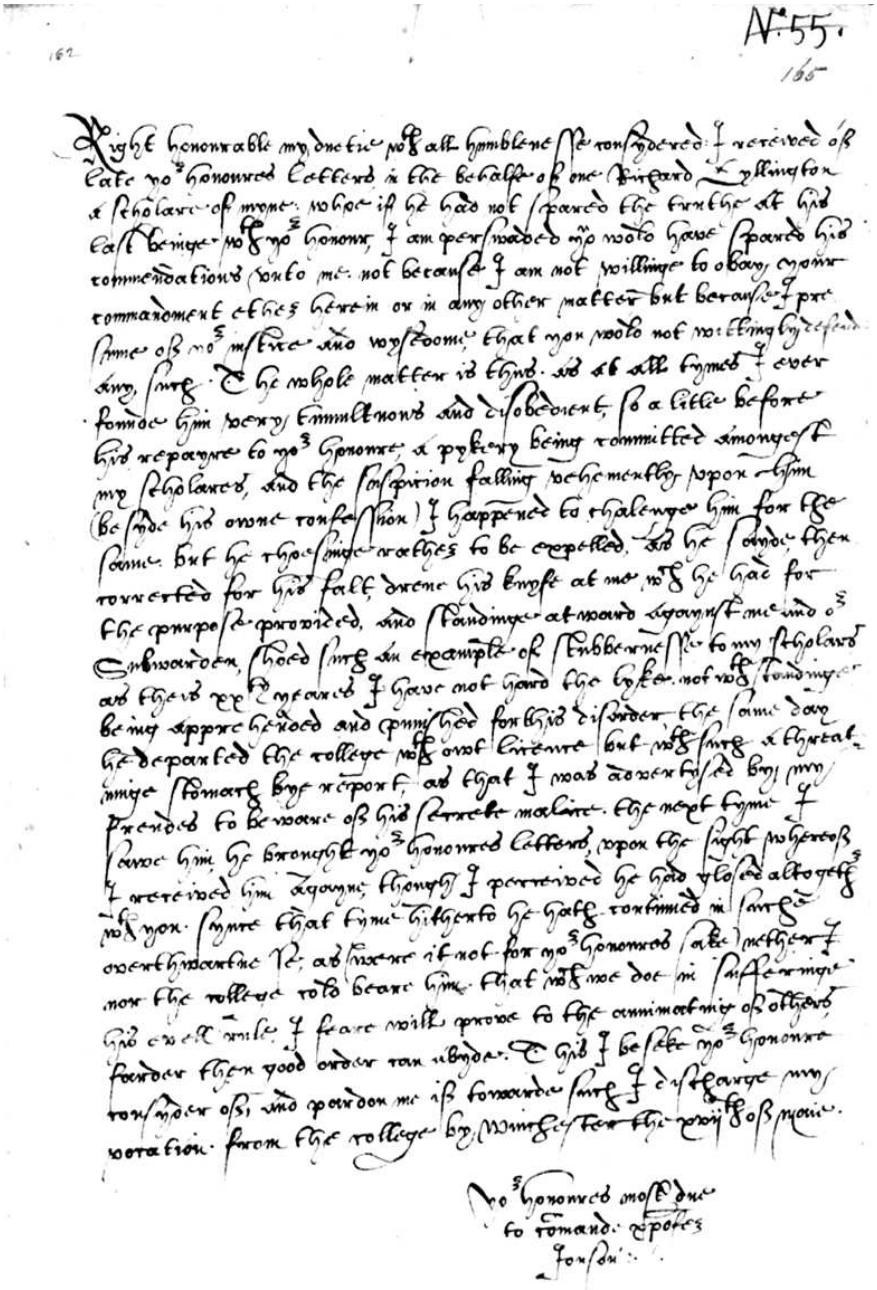

Fig. 1 : Christopher Jonson to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, 17 May 1568; British Library Lansdowne MS 10, f.165r.

One possible link between Jonson and Selden is through Christopher Jonson, a neo-Latin poet and schoolteacher at Winchester, who was later Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in London. Christopher signed his name, in the Welsh manner, without the 'h' (*fig.* 1)[14]. He was born in Kyddesley, Derbyshire and was first a fellow at New College, Oxford. After Winchester, he moved to London, and bought property in Sussex, and Surrey near Twickenham. Two other details about Christopher stand out : first, he was made a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1580, the same year as Donne's step-father was made President ; second, when Christopher died in 1597 he left a rather substantial will[15]. Right at the end, after all the bequests, is one last gift to his tenant, 'Mr Selden, the musician', John Selden's father. Sadly, there is no mention of anything like 'my cousin's son Ben'. However, it is possible that Christopher and Jonson's father were related, perhaps at some remove. If so, Christopher may have been the person who facilitated Jonson's introduction to Camden and Westminster ; it would also suggest that Jonson and Donne may have known each other from when they were eight years old. As for Selden, the fact that Christopher was Selden's father's landlord raises the possibility that the manner in which Selden and Jonson got to know each other may have been less random than we might suppose. Put simply, Christopher has all the qualities of someone who could have put in place the social and intellectual networks that came to shape Jonson's career.

Speculation about Jonson's extended family is fraught with difficulty, especially as the first names of Jonson's father or grandfather are not known ; however, we know more about his father than perhaps we think we do. It has been overlooked that Jonson was a late child, born when his father was at least in his mid-forties. Jonson was born in 1572, but his father 'losed all his estate under Queen Marie' in the mid-1550s. That means his father was born no later than the mid or late 1520s—or about the same time as Christopher. Again, this would indicate that Jonson's grandfather as being born no later than the early years of the sixteenth century. Further, we know from Drummond that 'having been cast in prison and forfaitted, Jonson's father 'at last turn'd Minister'—a word suggestive not only of the new faith, but an interest in biblical languages, and with it Puritanism[16].

At the very least, Minister Jonson might well have had an interest in the study of Greek and Hebrew ; and if he did attempt to study the languages, then it is likely that he owned a few books. This is important because we tend to assume that all the books in Jonson's library were acquired during his lifetime, and forget the possibility that he might have inherited some[17]. In fact, there are very few books in Jonson's library that were printed before 1570 : among

them are Latin grammars by Despautère and Pellison[18], a copy of Sebastian Muenster's *Dictionarium Hebraicum* from 1564, and two early Greek grammars by Adrien Amerot and Joannes Varrenius printed at Louvain in 1520 and 1532, now in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge[19]. It is unlikely that Jonson would have bought an outdated Greek grammar[20], when Camden's epitome became the standard textbook in England from the moment it was published in 1595, or that he would buy an old Hebrew dictionary when far more recent ones were available. However, it is quite possible that his father bought them, and that Jonson grew up in a house where these books were already on the shelf ; if that is the case, then certain other aspects of his whole career, and its trajectory, can be seen to flow directly on from this : Jonson earliest interests in scholarship and languages may have been a way of entering the world of his father's mind.

Jonson's education at Westminster has recently been described as 'not extraordinary', a phrase that suggests both a lack of familiarity with the ethos of such a school, and an unthinking dismissal of complex evidence[21]. At the time, the school had some 50 or so students, about ten in each year, six of whom would be elected as Queen's Scholars to Trinity College, Cambridge, or Christ Church, Oxford, whilst many of the others (though not all) matriculated as ordinary students to those universities. Whilst the records are imperfect, it is evident that Jonson's social network included such immediate contemporaries as John Whitgift, the nephew and heir of the Archbishop, and John Bancroft, later Bishop of Oxford, and nephew of Whitgift's successor. Other boys included John Matthew, alias Christopher Marler, who converted to Rome in the late 1590s, went to Valladolid, returned, and then was deported back to Europe in 1604 ; and Richard Ireland who succeeded Camden as Headmaster before converting and fleeing to France in 1610 : like Matthew, he returned as a Catholic priest. Closer to Jonson were Dudley Carleton, who had a distinguished political and diplomatic career and who married the daughter of Sir Henry Savile, a friend of Camden ; Thomas Digby, who was probably the older brother of John and the cousin of Kenelm ; and perhaps Christopher Cecil, the fourth son of Thomas, Earl of Exeter. Robert Cotton, despite the common assumption, was not a contemporary and had already gone up to Trinity, Cambridge, in 1579. Amongst the rest were a slightly more predictable group who became clergymen and academics, Charles Pratt, an Inner Templar, and Daniel Oxenbridge, a physician[22]. The headmaster was Edward Grant, a friend of Ascham, whom Wood later considered 'the most noted Latinist and Grecian of his time'[23]. His Greek grammar was the source for Camden's epitome, and he also edited Jean Crespin's *Lexicon Græcolatinum*[24]. The curriculum included formal poetic composition in Latin, the study of Greek and Hebrew, and a disciplined calligraphic training : the Greek was taught by

Camden, the Hebrew was taught to the upper form by Gabriel Goodman, the Dean of the Abbey[25].

Whilst both Grant and Goodman had attended St John's, Cambridge, which Jonson was to attend for a term or perhaps two, the important influence on him from his time at Westminster was Camden. As well as Savile, Camden knew Sidney from Oxford ; he was in correspondence with John Dee by 1574 ; and, from the mid-1570s onwards, he built a network of European contacts from Hotman and Ortelius, through Postel, Lipsius, Brisson, Merula, de Thou, Casaubon, Peiresc, Heinsius, and Gruter to Vossius—he even remembered Gruter (the librarian at Heidelberg) in his will[26]. Hence, during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, and the first decade of the seventeenth century, Camden was a primary point of contact for those involved with northern European scholarship and science—a role that was later gradually assumed by Selden[27]. We can see the impact of this in the books that Jonson later acquired for his library.

The arrival of letters from scholars in Europe was not confined to Camden alone, or to the younger generation whom Camden had put his European friends in contact with. Bishop Goodman would later recall how Camden would appear in class at Westminster with news of the latest letter from abroad : in other words, he tried to fully engage his students with his own broader intellectual interests. As well as letters, Camden exchanged books with his European friends and he met them on their trips to England, starting with Ortelius in 1577, and including such later visits as that by Peiresc in 1606. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Jonson must have known of the letters, of the many discussions that were taking place between his friends and their European correspondents, of their wide-ranging interests across all fields of scholarship, antiquarianism, and science, of the books that they exchanged, and that he later met those European scholars who visited his friends in England.

Of the libraries to which Jonson had access, that of Camden must have served as a model. A year before Camden's death, Selden considered the library to be one of the ten finest in England, owing to the substantial antiquarian, historical, literary, and heraldic papers that a recent catalogue of Camden's library does not record[28]. Many of these volumes, and a number of the more important folio editions of the classics, remained with Sir Robert Cotton after Camden's death ; some items Cotton gave away (including a folio edition of Tacitus to John Dowle, now in Doddington parish library in Sittingbourne, Kent), while the remainder of the printed books Cotton deposited at Westminster Abbey[29]. In particular, Camden had a rich collection of contemporary European history and early modern scholarship. No book is known to have passed from Camden to Jonson, but it would be surprising if Jonson had not been familiar with Camden's collection ; he

must have discussed scholars and editions with him, and conceived of Camden's library, more generally, as something of a model.

There is very little direct evidence of what Jonson read during the most formative part of his career, as for much of the 1590s his presence is hidden from view. There are occasional formal records : his marriage, the court records for debt and manslaughter, and the payments by Henslowe for piece-work. Some other material has been added to this : the gibes by Dekker about Jonson's abilities as an actor, the stories about his time as a soldier, the image of him reading Homer in Greek while his step-father repaired the wall at Lincoln's Inn. All these narratives have been woven together to suggest an uncertain and awkward beginning. Yet, although there is much truth in this, the 1590s were the period when Jonson laid the foundations of the social, political and scientific connections that were to stand him in good stead for the rest of his life ; and it is during the 1590s that Jonson would have read the broad corpus of classical literature (and much else beside). The image of the struggling and slightly hapless young writer needs to be tempered with an awareness of his more serious pursuits, and his connections into the administrative culture of late Elizabethan England.

Linda Levy Peck has remarked that 'the late 1590s laid the foundation for Jacobean politics and patronage networks', and this as true for Jonson as others[30]. The elite of England at this time were a relatively small group of people (several hundred strong) and by the mid-1590s Jonson had made associations amongst them. Some of these links obviously had their origins at Westminster—those from North Wales, including Sir John Salusbury and the Thelwalls, probably owe their origins to Goodman[31] ; others may have derived directly from Camden (such as his introduction to the Sidney family), or through his friends and short time at Cambridge. As Jonson emerges from relative obscurity, we find his friends in the service of Egerton, Essex, Northampton, and Northumberland. These people knew each other, and they were connected both by friendships and animosities. It is through this group, for instance, that Jonson must have come to know the Radcliffes, and also Sir Thomas Jermyn (for whose younger brother he later wrote an inscription)—both of whom were closely associated with Essex[32]. These associations not only set the stage for his later career, they provided an intellectual context for his various literary interests.

Amongst the people who were formative in Jonson's early career were many with an interest in antiquarianism, mathematics and science. Once again, it was Camden who first shaped Jonson's interests. Camden had attended Savile's lectures in Oxford in the early 1570s, and maintained interests in astronomy as well as astrology ; he owned a copy of Copernicus, and other books on mathematics[33]. His enduring friendship with Savile, who was to endow Chairs in Oxford and

who bequeathed manuscripts and books to the Bodleian Library, made Camden a conduit of Savilian ideas through Westminster. Camden passed on his enthusiasm to such pupils as Henry Blaxton, who had gone up to Trinity Cambridge in 1585, and who wrote to him on 7 December 1590 to ask about an edition of Euclid[34]. It seems likely that Camden would have encouraged Jonson's studies : indeed, he must have been the source of Jonson's introduction to Savile—an association celebrated in an epigram from 1609.

After Westminster, and during his short time at St John's, Cambridge, Jonson was required to study geometry and arithmetic : this would have been the substance of his university education before his removal back to London[35]. One of Jonson's important connections with St John's was Henry Briggs, to whose brother he subsequently gave a copy of Martial[36]. Briggs became the lecturer in geometry at Gresham College, London, from 1596 through to 1619, and he was thereafter the first Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford. He maintained the friendships he first formed at Cambridge throughout his life, and he may well have been one of the people that arranged for Jonson to deputise for Henry Croke as the lecturer in rhetoric during the early 1620s[37].

We know that Jonson thought highly of Bacon, and tend to think of their connection as being Jacobean, or from an association through the Essex circle ; however some of Bacon's half-brothers went to Westminster[38], and Bacon would have associated with Old Westminsters while he was at Trinity, Cambridge : in view of what else we know about Jonson's networks, it seems likely the two of them would have known each other earlier than is commonly assumed. Bacon's interest in physical science would have complemented the more mathematical interests of Jonson's other friends. There are other connections as well that might have begun earlier that at first appears. Jonson's neighbour at Gresham in the 1620s was Edmund Gunter, who was the Professor of Astronomy and an Old Westminster who had attended the school in the 1590s under Camden : following the fire in Jonson's desk in 1623, it was the wall between the rooms of Croke and Gunter that was repaired[39]. Another friend, Sir Dudley Digges, gave Jonson a copy of his father Leonard's *Pantometria*[40]. Jonson also owned William Gilbert's *De Magnete*, and a copy of the *Opera Mathematica* of Samuel Marolois, as well as other books on mathematics in both French and Greek[41]. There is evidence he may have owned rather more, including Scaliger's *Cyclometrica* on the squaring of the circle : a passing reference in *The New Inne* indicates that Jonson had not only read it, but that he knew of Savile's opinion that it was nonsense[42].

As much as Jonson's friends were interested in mathematics and science, this group was also deeply interested in textual scholarship. An early sign of Jonson's interest in textual issues is indicated by a reference to Poliziano's *Miscellaneorum*

Centuria in *Sejanus*, alongside Turnèbe's *Adversariorum*[43]. Jonson's impulse to study specific textual cruces and understand the problems of textual transmission and philology must have been influenced by his associations with Camden and Savile. That he had come to grips with the scholarship of classical literature and history by the turn of the seventeenth century indicates the nature and breadth of his studies during the troubled years of the late 1590s. Indeed, his interest in Poliziano and Turnèbe reveals more than just a little idle dabbling in the world of learning : both the *Miscellaneorum Centuria* and the *Adversariorum* were the kinds of book that only someone with a serious interest in the subject would read ; and in the case of the Turnèbe, Jonson's marginalia recurs sporadically through the first 800 pages. As *Sejanus* reveals, Jonson was not only interested in the history of the classical world, but in how that history had been recovered and transmitted ; his attempt to recreate imaginatively the lost book of the *Annales* of Tacitus demonstrates his confidence and grasp of specific detail. Jonson explored how the past might be recovered when the primary records are not preserved, or are represented by fragments. In doing this, he was once more clearly influenced by Camden whose study of early inscriptions, many of them fragments, served as an important historical source for the *Britannia*.

In shaping *Sejanus*, Jonson used much more than classical literary and historical sources, and their related textual scholarship ; his notes reveal a breadth of reading. Listed in the side-notes are Brisson's *De Formulis et Sollemnibus*, Budé's *De Asse, et Partibus Eius*, Giraldo's *Deis Gentium Libri sive Syntagmata XVII*, the *Satyra Menippaea* of Lipsius, Panvinio's *Reipublicae Romanae Commentariorum Libri Tres*, the *Lectionum Antiquarum Libri XXX* of Rhodiginus, the *Antiquitatem Romanorum Libri Decem* of Rosinus, Stuck's *Sacrorum Sacrificiorumque Gentilium* and both Turnèbe and Poliziano[44]. Cain has suggested that his reference to Brisson (and by implication the other books), was 'indebted ... to early modern classical scholarship in a way that his marginalia conceal' (in other words, that Jonson lifted references and faked his research)[45]. This is demonstrably false : not only does Cain get the place of publication of the 1592 edition (and variant spelling '*Sollemnibus*') wrong ; Jonson's heavily annotated copy of Brisson survives (*fig.* 2). If Jonson followed a reference (from where ?) back to its source, he then bought the book and read his source with care. A broader survey that includes Jonson's entertainment for the entry of James into London and *Hymenaei* suggests an even more extensive engagement with both classical literature and scholarship, and this must reflect only part of what Jonson read at the time. What is striking about the 69 books listed in the appendix is that only one was printed in London, and only sixteen (or just under a quarter) are known to survive. On that evidence, Jonson owned at least 1400-1600

books[46].

From a relatively early stage in his career, Jonson was given books by friends that confirm the esteem in which they held his studies. What is interesting about these gifts is that they are unusual. Sir John Radcliffe (celebrated in *Epig.* 93) gave Jonson a fifteenth century manuscript with the Satires of Juvenal and the *Ars Poetica* of Horace as well as a copy of the *Opuscula* of Hermes Trismestigus with Radcliffe's painted arms and text printed in gold ; Thomas Strange gave Jonson an early thirteenth century manuscript of the *Thebaid* of Statius ; and Sir Robert Towneshend gave him an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the *Satires* of Juvenal and Persius[47]. Other gifts received by Jonson included Coster's *Enchiridion*, a copy of Aquinas, and Hill's *Philosophia Epicurea, Democritiana, Theophrastica*—this last from John Donne[48]. Jonson, in turn, gave both books from his library and copies of his publications to friends, including his annotated copy of More to his fellow Old Westminster and translator of the Bible, William Dakins, and copies of *Sejanus* to Francis Crane and Towneshend[49].

Cic. in Sestiana: *Quis est, qui cum contra me ferebatur,* INIISSE *se* SVFFRAGIVM *confiteatur?* Liuius libr. 1. *Priusquam* POPVLVS SVFFRAGIVM INEAT *in incertum comitiorum euentum patres auctores fiunt.* Idem libr. 3. *Alii Quirites* SVFFRAGIVM INEVNT. Rursus eodem libro, *Iamque editis testibus, cum Tribus vocari, &* POPVLVM INIRE SVFFRAGIVM *oporteret.* Idem lib. 24. *Eadem vos cura, qua in aciem armati descenditis,* INIRE SVFFRAGIVM *ad creandos Coss. decet.* Et mox: *Interim* PRAEROGATIVA SVFFRAGIVM INIT. Et lib. 36. *Iussi deinde* INIRE SVFFRAGIVM *ad vnum omnes non modo Centuria, sed etiam homines, qui* PVB. SCIPIONI IMPERIVM ESSE IN HISPANIA IVSSERVNT. Inuenitur & hæc loquendi Formula aliis quoque locis, quos recensere omnes, ne nimis longum sit, non oportet. Ac superiore illa verborum Formula MITTI IN SVFFRAGIVM Centuriæ dicebantur, vt idem Liuius libr. 31. indicat, cum ait: *Consul in campo Martio comitiis habitis, priusquam Centurias* IN SVFFRAGIVM MITTERET. Et paullo post: *Ab hac oratione* IN SVFFRAGIVM MISSI. Et libr. 3. *Pugnarent q; colleg, vt liberas* TRIBVS IN SVFFRAGIVM MITTERET.

QVINETIAM in Centuria, quæ iam suffragium tulerat reuocanda, his verbis, REDITE IN SVFFRAGIVM, vsos, verisimile facit ea Manlii Torquati Oratio, quæ libro 26. Liuii legitur.

VIDETVR & in Suffragiis rogandis SCISCENDI verbum locum habuisse. Festus namque Pomp. explicans quæ esset Centuria NI QVI SCIVIT, addit hæc: *Nam* SCISCITO *significat Sententiam dicito, ac Suffragium ferto. Vnde & Scita plebis.*

SVFFRAGII autem, cum Rogatio accipiebatur, Formula erat huiusmodi, VTI ROGAS IVBEO. Cicero lib. 2. De legib. SVADE *igitur, si placet,* ISTAM LEGEM, VT *ego,* VTI ROGAS, *possim dicere.* Liuius lib. 6. *Et* VTI ROGARENT *prima tribus dicerent.* Idem lib. 33. *Ea Rogatione in Capitolio ad plebem lata,* OMNES QVINQVE ET TRIGINTA TRIBVS, VTI ROGAS, IVSSERVNT. Idem libr. 31. *Ab hac oratione* IN SVFFRAGIVM MISSI, VTI ROGARAT, BELLVM IVSSERVNT. Et lib. 30. *De pace* VTI ROGATAE *omnes* TRIBVS *erant,* IVSSERVNT PVB. SCIPIONEM PACEM DARE, EVMDEM EXERCITVS DEPORTARE. Item lib. 38. *Tribunos auctoritate deterruit, ne aduersarentur Rogationi. Remittentibus ergo his intercessionem,* OMNES TRIBVS, VTI ROGAS, IVSSERVNT.

SED & cum per tabellas suffragia ex legum Tabellariarum præscripto ferebantur, duplicis generis Tabellas datas constat. In quarum altera, VTI ROGAS, in altera ANTIQVO, scriptum erat. Illam populus in cistam coniiciebat, si Rogatio accipienda: hanc, si reiicienda, respuenda & explodenda esse videbatur. Cicero Epist. 14. libr. 1. ad Attic. *Piso autem Consul lator Rogationis, idem & dissuasor: opera Claudiana pontes occuparant. Tabellæ ministrabantur, ita vt nulla daretur,* VTI ROGAS. Idem Epist. 13. eiusdem lib. de Rogatione agens, quam ex S. C. de polluta a Clodio religione Coss. promulgarant: *In hac causa,* ait, *Piso amicitia P. Clodii ductus, operam dat, vt ea Rogatio quam fert, & fert ex S. C. & de religione,* ANTIQVETVR. Et Epist. 14. eiusdem libr. *Nam cum dies venisset Rogationi ex S. C. ferendæ, concursabant barbatuli iuuenes, totus ille grex Catilinæ, duce filiola Curionis &* POPVLVM VT ANTIQVARET, ROGABANT. Idē lib. 3. De legib. *Vos quidem, vt video,* LEGEM ANTIQVASTIS *sine tabella.* Et libr. 2. De offic. *Cum legem Agrariam ferret, quam tamen* ANTIQVARI *facile passus est, in eo se vehementer moderatum præbuit.* Liuius libr. 5. *Legem vna plures tribus* ANTIQVARVNT, *quam* IVSSERVNT. Idem libr. 8. *Tribus omnes præter Polliam* ANTIQVARVNT LEGEM. Et libr. 31. *Rogatio de bello Macedonico primis Comitiis ab omnibus ferme Centuriis* ANTIQVATA EST. Proprie enim ANTIQVABATVR lex, quæ promulgata non accipiebatur: ABROGABATVR vero ea quæ postquam perlata erat, retractabatur. Vtrumque tamen a propria verborum significatione recedens coniungit apud Liuium lib. 22. Minutius, *Itaque,* inquiens, PLEBISCITVM, *quo oneratus magis, quam honoratus sum, primus* ANTIQVO, ABROGOQVE. Vt autem ANTIQVARI dicebatur Rogatio, quæ reiiciebatur & displicebat; ita ACCIPI, ea quæ populo probabatur, ac placebat.

CONSVLES porro Comitia habituri edicta proponebant, quibus dies Comitiis habendis denuntiabatur. Liuius libr. 27. *Ipse* COMITIA IN QVEM DIEM *primum potuit,* EDIXIT. Idem libr. 35. *M. Fuluius Prator litteras mittit ad Consulem, Senatui placere Romam reuerti, & ex itinere præmittere* EDICTVM, QVO COMITIA CREANDIS CONSVLIBVS EDICERET. *Paruit his literis Consul, & præmisso* EDICTO *Romam venit.* Et libr. 26. DIEM COMITIIS CONSVLES EDIXERVNT. Eiusmodi edicti Agell. lib. 13. cap. 14. verba quædam citat: *In Edicto,* ait, *Consulum, quo edicunt, quis dies Comitiis centuriatis futurus sit, scriptum fuit,* NE QVIS

Fig. 2 : B. Brisson, *De Formulis et Sollemnibus* (Frankfurt, 1592), R3^{r} : Emmanuel College, Cambridge, shelfmark S5.2.41.

Towneshend, who was seven years younger than Jonson, was the son of Sir Roger, of Brampton, Norfolk, by Jane Stanhope—who later married Sir Henry Berkeley. His relative, Sir Richard Berkeley, was the step-father of Sir Thomas Roe, who was the cousin of Sir John and William Roe, who were the cousins of George Garrard, a friend of Donne[50].. Crane also came from Norfolk and bought the estate of Woodrising from the Southwell family. While the Berkeleys were a Gloucestershire family, the Roes came from Essex, and like the Towneshends and Crane were part of East Anglia set. The leader of this faction at Court was Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who was the employer of Cotton. In Northampton, a scholar and the son of the Earl of Surrey who had been part of Essex's secretariat, Jonson might have had a sympathetic and powerful patron : however, their relationship soured after Jonson was involved in a brawl with one of his attendants. Jonson later remarked to Drummond that Northampton became his 'mortall enimie' and that he accused Jonson to the Privy Council for 'popperie and treason'[51]. That tension must have placed Cotton in a difficult position, but what is also clear is that the intellectual respect with which Jonson was held within that broader circle must have deflected the animus against him. Like Northampton, Jonson followed the post-Essex shift towards Robert Cecil, later Earl of Salisbury.

The point of making these connections is that they reveal that Jonson's acceptance amongst the East Anglia circle owed much to his intellectual seriousness ; and it was his engagement with European scholarship and science, rather than his literary endeavours, that shaped that respect. The gift of the manuscript of Juvenal and Persius from Towneshend only makes sense if Jonson understood its significance ; and, to do so, Jonson had to have engaged with the scholarship of his age. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the reason for his survival in this milieu could not have been owing to his literary achievement ; as that, in large measure, was yet too come. Jonson may have had a useful start in life as an Old Westminster, but he had to endure other less palatable consequences of his temperament, including being branded on his thumb for manslaughter, a spell in debtor's prison, and the brawl that angered Northampton : he could easily have been rejected as too visceral and volatile in what was a very close-knit group, yet his friends valued him. This cannot be explained away as being the result of some kind of personal, if mercurial, charm. Jonson's charm was based on the energy with which he pursued a universal competency of knowledge and the moral imagination he brought to that task. Ultimately, that intellectual endeavour found its private expression in the development of an extensive series of Ramist charts covering theology, natural philosophy, ethics, and humane letters that he prepared in 1602-03[52]

With the succession of James, Jonson moved his allegiances to king's cousin, Esmé Stuart, seignieur d'Aubigny, with whom he lived as part of the household from 1604 until Aubigny's marriage to Katherine Clifton in 1609. Although a Scot by name, Aubigny was born in France and brought up by his mother, Katherine de Balsac, dowager Duchess of Lennox. The family owned two chateaux in what is now the department of Cher (the old province of Berry) due south of Paris : one at Aubigny-sur-Nère (it is now the town hall), and another near Oizin to the south-east (the Chateau de la Verrerie, now a hotel), where Aubigny was probably born. Aubigny lived in France until at least 1601, before joining his elder brother in Scotland ; he then followed James from Scotland to London. Curiously, there are very few documents relating to Aubigny amongst the State Papers and in other archives : he seems almost invisible and clearly avoided Court gossip and politics, although he was the recipient of royal largesse[53]. As well as being cousin to the King and newly resident in London, Aubigny must have brought with him French servants and books, and have been in regular contact with his mother about affairs in France—during these critical years of Jonson's career, when he wrote *Volpone* and *Epicoene*, there is something rather French about the 'fibre' of Jonson's 'English manhood'.

Jonson's association with Aubigny is significant because, as far as we know, he only went to Europe twice. The first time was probably in the early 1590s when he joined the English forces in the Low Countries. He is next known to have been in England in November 1594, when he married, so it is possible that he spent quite some time abroad. With the second trip, as a tutor to Wat Ralegh in 1612-13, it is known that Jonson travelled as far south as Lyons, where he encountered Charles, Lord Stanhope (the nephew of Jane and cousin of Towneshend, above), and we know he ended up in Brussels and Antwerp[54]. It is possible that Jonson's trip south occurred during the summer and autumn of 1612 for otherwise he would have been in Paris the entire year and his tour south would have been fairly rapid during the spring of 1613. We know that he was in Paris in September 1612 and was still there in March 1613 before he departed for Brussels[55]. If there was a trip south in the summer of 1612, including a visit to his patron's chateaux, and then a trip east to Brussels in the spring of 1613, then his route becomes self-evident. In the summer of 1612, he would have gone south to Orleans, then south-east through Aubigny-sur-Nère, La Verrerie, and Sancerre, before heading south again to Nevers. From there, he would either have gone south Moulins and then east to Digoin or, more probably, have travelled down the Loire more directly to Digoin, perhaps by boat ; next, he would have crossed in a lateral south-east direction through Charolais cattle country towards Cluny, before heading due south through Macon and Beaujolais to Lyons, and perhaps Seyssuel and the

northern Rhone. The route north would have taken him via Chalon-sur-Saône through Burgundy via Beaune and Dijon, on to Troyes before returning to Paris. In the spring, he would have gone east through Reims, turning north-east through Sedan, to Brussels. A wine-merchant, or food historian, might easily recognise the care with which Jonson acted as a tutor.

As with anyone in their maturity, Jonson developed a range of interests, and he mixed the different elements of his life together to reflect this : his interests in food and wine, in contemporary scholarship, in humane learning, his activities as an author, and his social networks all refract to illuminate each other in unexpected ways : a poem like 'Inviting a Friend to Supper' reflects the fusion of such elements. Jonson's itinerary should make clear how easily scholars have been misled by Drummond's note that 'all this was to no purpose, for he neither doeth understand French nor Italianne'[56]. Drummond was in no position to make such a claim, nor was Jonson obliged to humour his host with language practice. It ought to be obvious that, having lived in Aubigny's household for five years, Jonson would have spoken French in the small towns and villages through which he travelled while in France, and it explains why he read and annotated so thoroughly the first book of Rabelais in preparation for his visit : it is not that Jonson was learning the language from the beginning (one does not start by reading a difficult author), rather he touched up his colloquial French, especially that to do with wine and food[57]. Hence, his notes are copious and detailed, with words and phrases underlined, and English or Latin equivalents given for the more unusual vocabulary in the margins.

Jonson's knowledge of languages has been too readily glossed over, his Latinity serving to obscure the other evidence. In fact, Jonson must have acquired basic fluency in French during his first visit to the Low Countries in the early 1590s. He had an exceptional memory and highly developed linguistic skills : learning relatively advanced French would not have been difficult. Later on, John Florio may have tutored him further in modern languages. Certainly, the inscription in a copy of *Volpone* to Florio as his 'louing Father, & worthy Freind' and 'The ayde of his Muses' is testimony that there had been a significant association between the two of them[58].

The strongest evidence for Jonson's extended knowledge of French comes from his library. His copy of Pierre Matthieu's *L'Entrée de ... Henri IIII ... en sa bonne ville de Lyon* (1595), for instance, must have served (along with his annotated copy of Francesco Modio's *Pandectae Triumphales*) as a model for the entry of James I into London[59]. There is no marginalia in that particular volume, but other books in French have further evidence of his reading. The copy of Rabelais has a second level of marginalia in Books Two and Three in

pencil that is entirely non-verbal and graphic. This kind of marginalia is found in a number of Jonson's other books, such as his heavily annotated copy of the *Harangues et Actions Publiques* (Paris, 1609), now in the Bodleian, and it shows him clearly in control of the language and without need of glossing the text ; his marginalia also shows that he read Jean Errard's *La Geometrie*—there being no Latin translation[60]. Similarly, for his work on the dances for his masques, Jonson owned a copy of Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx's *Balet Comique de la Royne* (Paris, 1582), now in New York[61]. Other French items from his library include a copy of the first edition of Montaigne's Essais (Bordeaux, 1580) that has recently been given as part of the de Botton collection to Cambridge University Library ; the Opera Mathematica of Marolois (Hague, 1614-16), now at the Royal College of Physicians ; L*es triomphes de l'amour de Dieu en la conversion d'Hermogene* (Paris, 1625) by Philippe d'Angoumois, and Nicholas Caussin's *La Cour Sainte* (Paris, 1629), both at the Middle Temple[62].

It is likely that Jonson studied Italian with Florio who had written two books of conversations, as well as compiling a dictionary that he later expanded and revised[63]. Certainly, by the time he came to write *Volpone*, Jonson had developed some familiarity with Italian drama and *commedia del'arte* (the reference to Cieco di Hadria, the pseudonym of Luigi Groto (1541-85), at III.IV.81 is a typically knowing addition after a list of far more obvious authors), and in *Hymenaei* he had sufficient Italian to quote from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* in the original[64]. There are further clear references to Ripa in *The Masque of Beautie* as well as *The Masque of Queenes*[65].

The extent to which it is possible to establish Jonson's familiarity with the Italian drama, without direct evidence from his library, must be limited. In the eighteenth century, Jonson's editor Peter Whalley believed that there were 'plain proofs' that Jonson was 'a competent master of the Italian language' ; whilst, nearly a century ago, Winifred Smith and then Piero Rébora discussed Jonson's knowledge of Italian plays[66] : Smith also pointed up Jonson's debt to Scala's *Fortuna di Flavio*, although Jonson must have known this either through performance or report as the text was not printed until 1611[67] ; whilst Child originally suggested that Giordano Bruno's *Candelaio* was a source for *The Alchemist*[68].

More broadly, a pair of sammelbande containing eleven plays between them, published in Florence during the 1560s and now in the Bodleian Library under a Selden shelfmark, suggest the kind of material that was available in England and that Jonson may have read : Bibbiena, Cecchi, Montanini, Trinci and Varchi amongst them[69]. His reference to Groto points his having read the play and poems reprinted by Zoppini in Venice in 1586-7. Although the six plays and the poems were published separately in duo-decimo, they are often found bound together :

the idea being that individual selections of preferred works could be made up on demand. Jonson was, of course, parodying his own knowledge of the plays in *Volpone*, but there can be little doubt that he had read them, otherwise it would not have been merely Lady Politic Would Be, exclaiming 'I haue read them all', who was being pretentious.

Fragmentary as the evidence is, it would seem likely that Jonson had read thoroughly across the *commedia dell'arte*, including a collection of Groto's work, as well as Garzoni's *Piazza Universale*, from which he took some of the specific detail of the Mountebank scene in *Volpone*[70] ; that he was familiar with at least some of Bruno's publications including *Il Candelaio* (perhaps bound with other material) ; that he had read the plays of Machiavelli and Aretino (including *Belphegor* which he used as a source for The Devil is an *Asse*, and *Marescalco* which he drew on for *Epicoene*) which had been printed in London by John Wolfe[71] ; and that he knew a range of standard authors including Tasso, Guarini, and Dante. That he should have done so, perhaps with the guidance of Florio, is not surprising : Jonson blended Italianate city comedy with the principles of classical decorum to create a new dramatic amalgam. In addition, as well as his copy of Ripa, which is not located, Jonson owned copies of Aretino's *La Ragionamenti*, and a Petrarch[72]. Another sammelbande from his library, in an elaborate tooled binding, has the texts of Agrippa's *Della Nobilita et Eccellenza delle Donne* (Venice, 1543), the *Historia di Aurelio et Isabella* of Flores (Venice, 1543), an Italian translation of Ovid's *De Arte Amandi* (Venice, 1542), and Sannazaro's *Sonneti e Canzone* (Venice, 1543). It was almost certainly a gift, perhaps from Sir Henry Wotton[73].

In addition to French and Italian, Jonson appears to have had a working knowledge of Spanish—a language he used (and deliberately mis-used) in *The Alchemist and The Devil is an Asse*. Whether Jonson owned any Spanish books is less certain and it may be that his knowledge of Cervantes and others derived primarily through translations[74]. When he came to write a prefatory poem for Mabbe's translation of *The Rogue*, alongside Florio and Leonard Digges, his poem is both generous of Mabbe's ability and modest in tone about his own[75]. That he should be asked by Mabbe to contribute a poem alongside Florio, however, indicates that Mabbe thought that he had at least a sufficient competency to comment. Similarly, among the Sloane Manuscripts is a note promising 'furtherance & assistance' to Caleb Morley, on 'a speedie and certaine course for ye attayning & retayninge of languages & other parts of good literature'[76]. It is signed, and sponsored by, amongst others, Sir Henry Spelman, Lancelot Andrewes, Cotton, Jonson, and Selden. This overlooked manuscript, known to (but not mentioned by) Herford and Simpson in their edition of Jonson, is an important clue to the

links between these people and to the common acceptance by them at that time of Jonson's linguistic skills.

The evidence from Jonson's library is, of course, in direct contradiction to Drummond's presumptive remarks in the *Certain Informations*. If one looks at Drummond's literary judgments and his overwhelming preference for Petrarch, it is perhaps easier to appreciate why such a remark by Jonson as 'the best pieces of Ronsard were his Odes' struck Drummond as being not well-informed, as Drummond would have preferred the *Amours* and the sonnets[77]. If, instead, we understand that Jonson was interested in how Ronsard engaged with classical precedent, and that he appreciated what Ronsard had done, then it is obvious that Jonson did read Ronsard in French through the prism of his own more classical interests, and that it left its influence in his work through such traces as the structure of the Cary-Morison Ode which is indebted to the first thirteen odes of the first book[78]. In fact, the day after the first volume of the Oxford edition was published, Charles Herford privately acknowledged to Percy Simpson that he had been misled by the tenor of Drummond's remarks and that his biography would need to be revised[79]. It never was and, until recently, modern scholarship has followed Herford without question. In fact, this remains the case, despite the recent biography of Jonson by Donaldson which, whilst more generous in its assessment, remains firmly anchored to received perceptions because the discussion is not based on a detailed analysis of the books that survive from Jonson's library[80].

Once it is understood that Jonson is fully linguistically competent, that he is connected into a social network that is regularly in contact with scholars, scientists, antiquarians, and bibliophiles in northern Europe, and that the history of those associations stretches from the 1580s through to the 1630s, then the complexion of Jonson's relationship with the politics, scholarship, and science of his time changes, and our understanding of his engagement with these issues needs to be adjusted. The casual scepticism that has shaped much of the comment about Jonson's intellectual life can be seen for what it is : ill-informed and ill-researched. That Jonson met Cardinal du Perron and Daniel Heinsius on his second trip to Europe, for instance, is indicative of the connections that were available to him, and of the fact that he must have pursued many of the other contacts that would have been open to him[81]. Later, in 1622, he was the recipient of a letter from the Dutch scholar Christopher Huygens, who addressed him as Ben Ianssonio : this letter (an autograph draft) is unrecorded, even in the recent Cambridge edition. Huygens wrote :

> Ambio amicitiam tuam, celeberrime Ianssoni, et necessitudinem. ea res fecit, cur non nescire te ineptias meas tuâ intereste putauerim. neque non quantus quantillus

> sine, latere nunquam amicos æquum credidi. quorum ut parcâ de nobis opinione non offendimur. sic amplâ præter meritum non afficimur, ubi fastidire quantum hic mei est cæteris, et noris, quam sit mihi curta supellex. autori, rogo, remittendum, cures, qui te ualere jubet et se amare. Dom. nū 18°. 8b— 1622. Ben Ianssonio[82].
>
> [I solicit your friendship, most esteemed Jonson, and intimate companionship. That is why I suspected that it concerns you not to know my ineptness [as a lover/writer]. I believed it was not right for friends to conceal anything, no matter how great or small. We are not offended by their reserved judgment about us. Thus we do not aspire beyond what is deserved, for there is much of mine for others to loathe, and you know what an ill-furnished mind I have. I ask by return for your attention to the author, who entreats you to be well and to warm to him.]

Huygens was not the only scholar to solicit Jonson's friendship. It is highly likely that Jonson knew Isaac Basire, the French Huguenot and Arabic scholar who moved to London in the mid-1610s, and who later became a chaplain to Thomas Morton. Early in his career, Morton (a friend of Donne and Casaubon) had been chaplain to the Earl of Rutland. It is owing to Basire and Morton that Jonson's Ramist Charts have survived[83]. We know for certain that Jonson was visited by Joachim Morsius while in London in 1619-20, as Jonson signed his *Album Amicorum*—a volume, once described as destroyed, which has recently been returned to Lubeck after spending sixty years in Georgia (*fig.* 3)[84]. There is further evidence of Jonson's reputation amongst European scholars during the 1620s as well : Laurids Ulfeldt, the Danish scholar, acquired a copy of Jonson's 1616 *Workes* while in London in 1628-29 ; whilst the copy now in Stockholm, still in its original limp vellum binding, was acquired by Johann Berg[85].

Jonson did not get to meet du Perron and Heinsius, or be asked to sign the *Album* of Morsius by chance ; he did not have his friendship solicited by Huygens because he was a contemporary of Shakespeare ; nor were his *Workes* bought by Ulfeldt and Berg because he was an important neo-Latin poet who connected to more refined European intellectual tastes. Jonson was appreciated for his seriousness and his connections to the world of European scholarship ; because he was immersed in the intellectual culture of his time : the most important English antiquarians were his closest friends and he was thoroughly familiar with the scholarship of his contemporaries ; he could hold a conversation with detailed example and knowledge.

It ought to be self-evident that Jonson did not get to meet du Perron because he was poet laureate, or because he had published his *Workes* : because at that point he was not, and had not done so. It is highly unlikely that *Volpone* or *The Alchemist* would have meant much in 1612 as evidence of Jonson's seriousness in themselves ; or the fact that he had written a handful of court masques, though that may have counted for more than his plays. There is no evidence to suggest that the ambassador to France, Sir Thomas Edmondes, was a close acquaintance.

What opened the door for Jonson in France were the contacts of his friends, and what mattered was his intellectual credibility as someone who was familiar with the antiquarian interests and scholarship of his time. Camden would have been the most influential link, and his contact with Peiresc would have been helpful ; as would have an introduction to the politician, historian and bibliophile Jacques Auguste de Thou, to whom Camden later gave a copy of his *Annales* (*fig.* 4). (Sir) Edward Herbert's stay with Henri de Montmorency and Isaac Casaubon in 1608 would have helped yet more, as would have the emerging reputation of Selden ; the recommendation of Jonson's patron Aubigny would perhaps have counted most of all, through whom he would have obtained many other introductions at the French court.

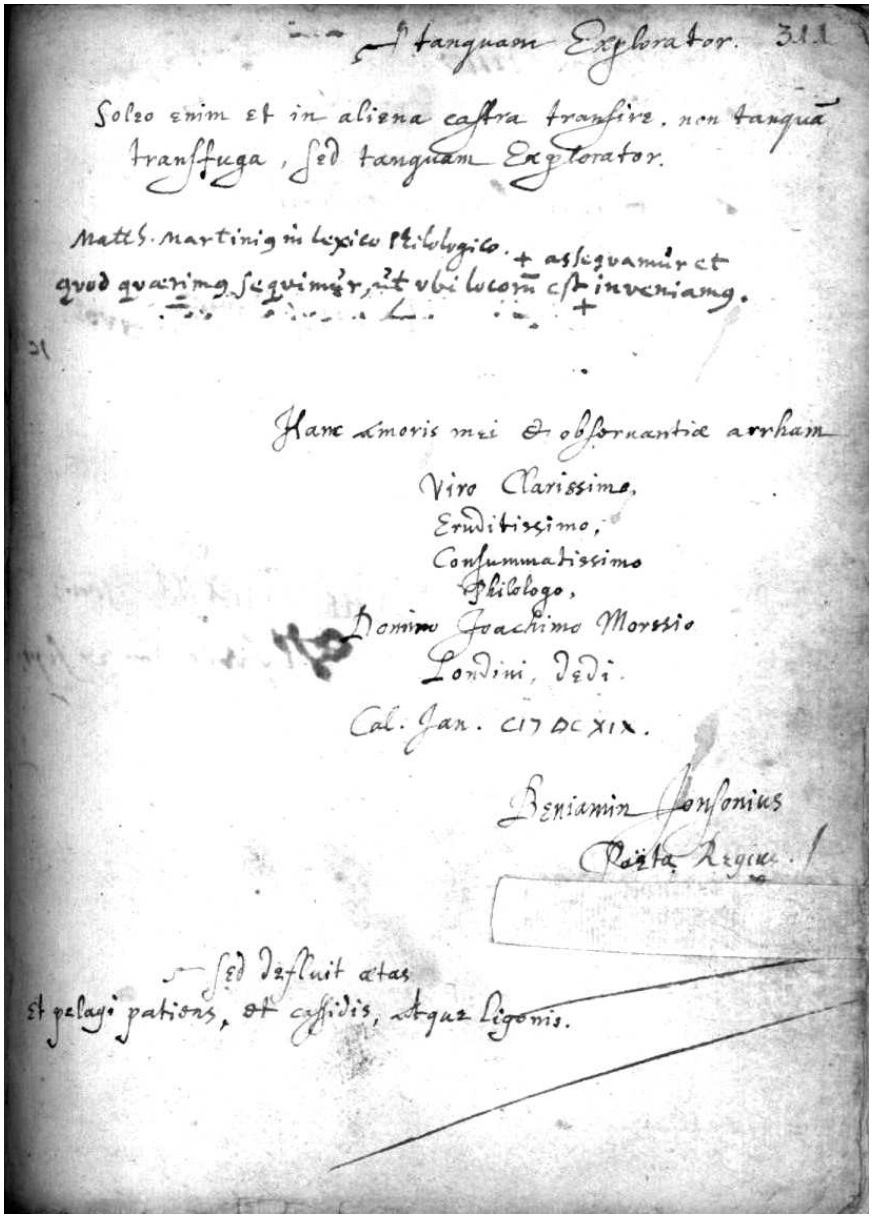

Fig. 3 : Inscription in the *Album Amicorum* of Joachim Morsius : Bibliothek der Hansestadt, Lubeck, MS Hist. 4° 25, II : 311(previously reported destroyed).

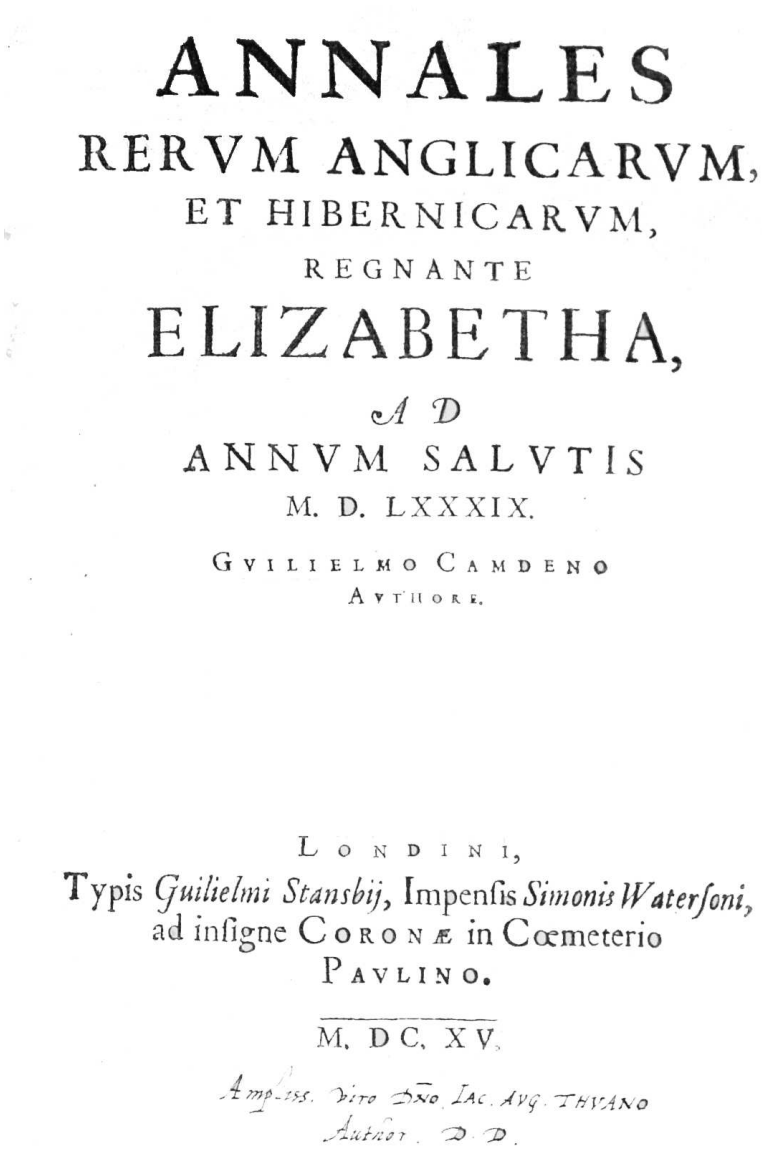
ANNALES
RERVM ANGLICARVM,
ET HIBERNICARVM,
REGNANTE
ELIZABETHA,
AD
ANNVM SALVTIS
M. D. LXXXIX.
GVILIELMO CAMDENO
AVTHORE.
LONDINI,
Typis *Guilielmi Stansbij*, Impensis *Simonis Waterſoni*,
ad inſigne CORONÆ in Cœmeterio
PAVLINO.
M. DC. XV.
Ampliss. Viro Dño. Iac. Avg. Thvano
Autor. D. D.

Fig. 4 : W. Camden to de Thou, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum, et Hibernicarum, Regnante Elizabetha* (STC 4409 ; 1615) : National Library of Russia, St Petersburg, 12.28.1.45.

The decade before Jonson's trip to France was as significant for him intellectually as it was artistically ; and the arrival of Selden in London in 1603 had far more impact on Jonson than anything achieved in the theatre by Shakespeare[86]. Jonson clearly admired Shakespeare's gifts as a poet, but it was Selden's Hebraic and near-Eastern interests that opened up new possibilities ; and it was Selden who pointed Jonson towards his more esoteric studies. By the time of Selden's arrival, Jonson had read extensively through the corpus of classical, early Christian, medieval and early modern literature and history ; by the end of that decade, he had acquired another entire layer of scholarship. Later, Jonson would tell Drummond that Selden was 'the bravest man in all languages'[87].

If we compare Jonson's citations from books between 1604 and 1606 with those mentioned in the side-notes of his masques between 1608 and 1612, there is a distinct change in emphasis during these years. While Jonson was working on the Royal *Entertainment*, *Sejanus*, and *Hymenaei*, he explored the nature of inscriptions, oracles, and the signification of words. Later, with *The Masque of Queenes* and *The Alchemist* his interest would shift towards the study of witchcraft, natural magic, and alchemy ; and there is evidence that he became interested in kaballah and Rosicrucianism. These interests pointed Jonson towards such authors as Bodin, Godelmann, Reuchlin, Agrippa, and della Porta as well as Lull and Ripley. He is also likely to have read the works of his (and Selden's) physician, Robert Fludd[88]. In part, this interest in esoteric scholarship was one that suited the hermeneutic modalities of the masque.

It seems likely that Jonson's interest in esoteric and near-Eastern studies was in part inspired by the presence of Selden with his rapidly developing command of oriental languages and scholarship—a topic that was at the heart of European scholarly fashion. With Selden's arrival into the circle of Jonson's closest friends, and perhaps with the encouragement of Dee, Camden, and Cotton, it is evident that Jonson polished his studies by enhancing his familiarity with Hebrew, an accomplishment that would allow him to be on familiar terms with almost every aspect of scholarly debate. Apart from his copy of Muenster's *Dictionarium Hebraicum*, Jonson must have acquired a grammar, perhaps while at school : whether Kimchi, Cevallerius, or another of the standard references is not known[89]. Certainly, by 1615, Selden was confident enough of Jonson's Hebrew to write in that language in an extended private letter (a gesture that otherwise would have been impolite), where elsewhere he translates the Arabic, and Jonson's copy of Selden's *De Dijs Syris* shows him underlining Hebrew words, not exceptionally, but in the normal pattern of his reading[90]. Later still, in his copy of Casaubon's *Animadversiones in Athen[aeus]. Dipnosophistas*, which he annotated in the mid-1620s, Jonson not only underlined passages and wrote in Greek,

he annotated in Hebrew[91]. He also owned a copy of Stephen Nettles' *An Answer to the Iewish Part of Mr Selden's History of Tithes*, with its extensive quotations in the language[92]. That these are not isolated incidents is confirmed by his *English Grammar*, where Jonson wrote about the vocalisation, punctuation and signification of Hebrew, citing from the Hebrew Old Testament[93]. These may be fragmentary pieces of evidence, but they are all consistent, and they chime with the Ramist charts which although mainly in Latin has some words in Greek and a few in Hebrew.

There is one other detail regarding Jonson's knowledge of Hebrew that casts light on his familiarity with the language at this time, and which may point towards a missing book from his library. Simpson observed that most of Dol Common's mad speech in *The Alchemist*, comes from Hugh Broughton's *A Concent for Scripture*. As Mammon's dream collapses in the double dialogue, Dol raves :

> And so we may arrive by the *Talmud* skill,
> And profane *greeke*, to raise the building vp
> Of Helens house, against the *Ismaelite*,
> King of *Thogarma*, and his *Habergions*
> Brimstony, blew, and fiery ; and the force
> Of King Abaddon, and the Beast of *Cittim* :
> Which *Rabbi* David Kimchi, Onkelos,
> And Aben-Ezra doe interpret *Rome*[94]

Disguised by the simultaneous conversation, Jonson slips past his listeners a reference to something other than Broughton. In the pertinent passage of *A Concent for Scripture*, Broughton lists a number of rabbinical authorities, but does not mention Kimchi[95]. Kimchi, Onkelos and Abraham ibn-Ezra were amongst the commentaries used for the great Rabbinical Bible, printed at Venice by David Bomberg. It is most likely that Jonson used the 1568 edition, though he could (perhaps from his father) have owned an earlier one. More importantly, the reference helps to corroborate other details about Jonson's acquisition of Hebrew and his continued interest in the language.

That Jonson was familiar with Hebrew is important for two reasons. First, there has long been a tendency to diminish Jonson's knowledge of other languages (except for Latin), and to underestimate his place in the intellectual culture of the early seventeenth century. Second, and for this very reason, it reminds us that the intellectual milieu with whom Jonson was most closely associated was not exclusively a literary one. Jonson may have called himself in his lighter moments 'the Poett', but he was also a late European humanist — a fact to which his library bears ample witness.

As well as working on his Hebrew, Jonson intensified his study of the Greek authors : Throughout the first decade his work has references to Homer, Hesiod,

Pindar, Aristophanes, and Euripides[96]. A few years later, Selden acknowledged that he borrowed a scholiast edition of Euripides from Jonson (which later passed to James Howell), whilst Selden's 1615 letter to Jonson on cross-dressing, and Jonson's marginalia in his copy of Athenaeus and Casaubon's *Animadversiones* provide further substantial evidence of Jonson's knowledge of Greek. Hobbes, similarly, 'desired' that Jonson 'give ... judgement' on 'the style of his translation of Thucydides' before publication[97]. He was confident, or at least polite enough to believe, that Jonson's knowledge of Greek was better than his own, and that Jonson's command of idiom would assist him with the translation of the most notoriously difficult speeches. This was no idle estimation of Jonson's competence on the part of Hobbes, who had known Jonson for more than a decade.

Selden's influence on Jonson should not only be estimated through his interests, and his scholarly contacts with Europe : his library and its development must have served as a constant source of curious browsing. Broadly speaking, from Selden's arrival at Oxford, until his death, he acquired on average 100 books and twenty manuscripts a year, with a rather greater rate of acquisition before 1629 than later. It is possible, therefore, by the time Selden arrived in London, that he already owned a library of 5-600 books and a hundred manuscripts. His library is likely to have grown to at least 2000-2400 books and 5-600 manuscripts by 1620, and approximately 4200-4500 books and 900-1000 manuscripts at the time of Jonson's death. Such figures are highly approximate but they are suggestive. It is unlikely that Jonson looked at every book that Selden acquired, but Selden must have drawn Jonson's attention to items of particular interest, as he did in his letter. As with his books, Jonson must have been aware of Selden's correspondence, perhaps not in detail, but through the prism of Selden's interpretation he would have understood what many of the more significant conversations were about.

Selden's many interests and his book purchases extended far beyond legal history. He had extensive collections of literary and historical texts as well as scholarly editions of the classics that would be of immediate interest to Jonson. He was a collector of manuscripts, including medieval literature. He eventually owned both Malay and Japanese manuscripts, and his collection was rich with the Judaic, Arabic, and other near-Eastern works that he used to engage in a powerful contemporary critique of English politics. Undoubtedly some books were well outside of the scope of Jonson's focus, yet they would have influenced his estimate of Selden's ability. Other books owned by Selden would have been of immediate relevance. For example, Bodleian MS Arch. Selden B.10, B.14, B.24 and MS Selden Supra 56, are all Chaucer manuscripts, and there is evidence that at some stage Selden owned other Chaucerian manuscript material that can no

longer be traced[98].

Jonson's copy of the 1602 edition of Chaucer survives with manuscript annotations[99]. Jonson read Chaucer carefully, quoted examples from him in the *English Grammar*, and clearly felt the seductive power of his work, advising in the *Discoveries* to 'beware of letting them [i.e. students] taste *Gower*, or *Chaucer* at first, lest falling too much in love with Antiquity, and not apprehending the weight, they grow rough and barren in language onely'[100]. Elsewhere, he referred to 'reu'rend Chaucer'[101]. It is therefore interesting to notice that in his copy Jonson corrects in places the language : not least in the pseudo-Chaucerian 'Of the Cuckow and the Nightingale'. For instance, in the printed version, the text reads 'The God of loue, and benedicite, | How mightie and howe great a lord is he ...'. Jonson corrects this to read 'The God of loue, ah, benedicite, ...'. It is possible that Jonson was merely inspired in his emendation (on another occasion he rewrote King James's *Poetical Exercises* in several places to improve the style and scansion)[102], but it seems far more likely that he compared the printed text to MS Arch. Selden B.24, which is one of three early witnesses to the poem.

Jonson's engagement with both the Latin and the the vernacular Anglo-Saxon and medieval manuscripts in the collections of his friends ought not to be seen simply as an extension of his literary interests, but rather as part of a broader humanist engagement with the history of texts and artefacts. It is difficult to know exactly how often Selden or Cotton drew the attention of Jonson to the more notable acquisitions they made. Certainly, manuscripts such as the eleventh century *Tractatus de diversis monstris* (Cotton MS Vespasian B.V) would have immediately appealed to Jonson's sense of the marvellous and transmutable; whilst, a medieval bestiary with Phillipe de Thaon's verse translation of the *Physiologus* (Cotton MS Nero A.V), prepared in the mid-twelfth century, includes the story of the fox and the birds that Jonson was to use in *Volpone*[103]. Cotton also owned such items as the unique manuscript of the Gawain or Pearl poet (Cotton MS Nero A.X) and the earliest known manuscript of Lydgate's *Troy Book* (Cotton MS Augustus A.IV). It is highly likely that Jonson was aware of such acquisitions, if only because of the mutual enjoyment both would have taken in materials of this kind.

One Cotton manuscript that bears closer scrutiny for its Jonsonian associations is Vitellius A.XV, which includes *Beowulf*. The now damaged manuscript contains several parts, of which the poem is the fourth. The manuscript was owned in the mid-sixteenth century by Lawrence Nowell (d.1576), Dean of Lichfield, brother of Alexander, Dean of St Paul's, London (d.1600). Nowell was the patron and teacher in Saxon studies of William Lambarde (d.1601). A number of Nowell manuscripts passed to Lambarde, and subsequently were acquired by Cotton[104].

It seems most likely, therefore, that Vitellius A.XV passed from Nowell to Lambarde, and on Lambarde's death to Cotton at the turn of the seventeenth century. Certainly, Vitellius A.XV was in Cotton's library by 1608 when the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft, borrowed it from him[105].

This must, therefore, beg the question as to whether Jonson knew *Beowulf*, or of it ; and, as significantly, if the intermediary in the transmission of the manuscript was Lambarde, whether Spenser had access to the poem during the 1580s. Both Lambarde and Spenser were close to Camden, and Camden and Cotton worked in close collaboration with each other, especially in pursuit of archaeological records for the *Britannia*[106]. Camden must have known of the poem as did Cotton, and thus Jonson could have been influenced by *Beowulf* either directly or indirectly. Although there is no direct evidence to link Jonson to the poem, he had some competence in Anglo-Saxon, and possessed a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels printed for Matthew Parker[107]. It is, in this context, quite possible that he drew from *Beowulf*, and the story of Grendel, the idea of an overcome daemonic presence, that was central to the resolution of the anti-masque.

We have evidence from the records of Sir Robert Cotton's library that Jonson did borrow an Anglo-Saxon Aelfric for his work on the Grammar. Jonson also borrowed a history of Henry V by the Italian humanist Tito Livio Frulovisi, along with some related unbound material[108]. This manuscript was the source for Jonson's lost poem *Henry V* which he recorded in the 'Execration' as being amongst the manuscripts destroyed by the fire in his desk in 1623. The manuscript is Cotton Claudius E.III, ff.334-355. The leaves are numbered at the bottom right in Jonson's hand, together with 'H5' at the top of the recto leaf. Without the direct evidence from the Cotton records, the remaining marks would be more conjectural, simply because they are so light and less idiomatic than those Jonson usually made. They are, however, in the same hand as the 'H5' and folio numbering, so there is little reason to doubt that they are genuine. At f.335r, there is a brief note 'Mich : de la Poole' ; afterwards, there are light markings of speeches throughout. A second, earlier hand, is also present at a few points, but the ink is much darker and the nib thicker. The speech marks indicate the passages that Jonson wished to transform into verse.

These books and manuscripts in the libraries of Cotton and Selden represent but the core of the larger resources upon which Jonson was able to draw : among other collections, Jonson must have used the royal library at St. James's Palace and known Peter and Patrick Young. Indeed the manuscript of Statius that had been given to Jonson by Thomas Strange, was subsequently given by Jonson to Cotton, and this later passed to the Royal Library—perhaps in one of the exchanges between Cotton and Patrick Young[109]. Jonson is also likely to

have shared his interests with Selden's learned chamber-fellow Edward Heyward, whose large-paper copy of Jonson's 1616 *Workes* is now at the Huntington with a authorial correction to his prefatory poem to Jonson[110]. There is also strong evidence that, through Hobbes, Jonson had access to manuscript material at Chatsworth during the 1620s — a letter dated 14 May 1621 from Fr. Fulgentius Manzini to the Earl of Devonshire being the direct source for a passage in the *Discoveries*[111].

The issue that the connections between Jonson and his friends points up is precisely the one that was raised earlier : that what has been lost is not just a sense of what Jonson might have read in these libraries, and the difference between his broader reading practices and his use of certain books to a specific end ; but the ordinary and familiar patterns of social and intellectual exchange amongst the community of people with whom he associated, including his awareness of the associations of his friends with scholars in Europe. Any attempt to reconstruct Jonson's intellectual biography, needs both to place him in the context of his own library, and to understand something of the nature and development of these other collections and of the people who created them.

The point of such a caveat is, of course, that the libraries of Dee, Cotton, Selden, and the others at this time, were not just private collections, but served as early modern research libraries, making available a range of literature, learned, scientific, and historical materials, for a select society of readers. The owners of these collections saw themselves as belonging to a broader European network of such scholars, and they kept in contact with like-minded people. Yet much of the correspondence that links these people together has only partially been edited and, therefore, our sense of the broader European context within which antiquarian study, historical scholarship, science, and textual philology took place in England remains substantially unknown land[112].

There is, however, another reason why Jonson's use of these libraries has disappeared from view, and that is simply his familiarity with the people with whom he associated and the incomplete nature of their records. John Dee's *Diary*, for instance, breaks off in 1601 and the visitors to his library during the last eight years of his life (partly spent in Manchester) have passed un-noted[113]. Similarly, Cotton did not keep a register of readers, although he did keep occasional (and incomplete) records of the books that had been borrowed[114]. What has been lost, as a result, is not just a sense of what Jonson might have read in these libraries, but the ordinary and familiar patterns of social and intellectual exchange amongst the community of people with whom he associated.

It would be surprising if Jonson had not visited John Dee at some stage between 1603 and 1609, particularly given Dee's links with Camden and the im-

portance of his library[115]. One manuscript, owned by both of them is suggestive : British Library Sloane MS 313 is an incomplete though very early copy of the *Liber Juratus*, or *Sworn Book* of Honorius of Thebes[116]. The volume was rebound by the British Library in the nineteenth century and the order of the first two quires was corrected and reversed, moving the provenance associations to f.9^r. On the top left is Dee's cipher with the number '82' and in the centre the words, now faded but almost certainly in Dee's hand, 'Fragmentū Magicarū'. Jonson's motto is at the top right, and his signature at the bottom right of the page.

As Dee's library was inaccessible between his death in 1609 and its dispersal in 1625-26, it is unlikely that Jonson would have acquired the manuscript during that intervening period unless it had strayed at an earlier date from the collection. Jonson's signature, however, is typical of the books that he acquired during the first decade of the seventeenth century. As the note at the top of the page records, the manuscript was already missing a number of leaves at the time it came into Dee's possession. Although Jonson did not write 'ex dono D. Johannis Dee', nor is there much room for such an annotation. The simplest, and most logical, inference remains that Dee gave Jonson the manuscript, perhaps towards the end of his life. The text is concerned with two subjects : how to summon an angel, and how to attain a beatific vision[117]. When Mammon describes Subtle as a holy man in *The Alchemist*, who achieves his transcendence through fasting and prayers (II.II.97-104), Jonson is drawing on Honorius as a source.

One final point should be made about the evidence for Jonson's reading, and perhaps the lost books from his library, that is evident from the material he cited between 1604 and 1606. One of the more notable features of these books is the number of grammars and associated material. From an antiquarian point of view, the study of the origins of languages and their evolution is inseparable from an understanding of legal and historical precedence and the interpretation of the past. It is such interests that connect Jonson directly with the concerns of Camden and Selden. Equally, an understanding of the origins of words was fundamental to the methods of textual emendation as evidenced in the scholarship of Lipsius and Scaliger, especially the latter's edition of Manilius. Viewed from this perspective, Jonson's *English Grammar* was merely the latest manifestation of what had been a lifetime concern with the purity and corruption of words.

Of the scholars that Jonson most admired, Lipsius and Scaliger had a special place in his estimation and are mentioned in passing on several occasions in his works. Their most important contemporary, whom he does not mention, despite his familiarity with his scholarship, he must have met : on 19 October 1610, the French humanist scholar, Isaac Casaubon, left France for the last time. That evening that he arrived in Dover[118]. Casaubon's arrival at the Jacobean Court

was a major event. The most distinguished intellectual of his age in Europe, his decision to abandon Henri IV for protestant England gave substance to James claims as a learned and tolerant king. Casaubon was to live only another four years, and his premature death was greeted with genuine sorrow ; but his arrival co-incided with Jonson's consolidation of his reputation and of his position as the pre-eminent Court poet.

Some years earlier, Jonson had given his close friend Sir John Roe a copy of the 1605 Persius edited by Casaubon, and there is clear evidence that he had also read the *De Satyrica Graecorum Poesi, et Romanorum Satira Libri Duo* with which the Persius was most probably bound[119]. It seems unlikely that Jonson was completely oblivious to the presence of a scholar, many of whose books and editions of others he bought and read with care, and who had written the most significant scholarly work in his chosen field, or that he would ignore the editor of Aristotle. In 1608, Sir Edward Herbert and his travelling companion Aurelian Townshend had stayed with Casaubon in Paris. It seems unlikely that Jonson was oblivious to the whereabouts of his close friends, or of the fact that many years before Sir Henry Wotton had also stayed with Casaubon. Perhaps it was Casaubon who facilitated the meeting in 1612 between Jonson and Cardinal du Perron. We cannot know for certain, but it is difficult to believe that the student of Camden and friend of Cotton, Herbert, Townshend, Wotton, and Selden, did not avail himself of an introduction. Perhaps, the attempts to identify the subject of 'Inviting a Friend to Supper' have also missed one of the more obvious candidates for such a poem.

While Jonson did not meet Scaliger or Lipsius, it is but a small step to having met Peiresc and Casaubon to Heinsius, Morsius, Ulfeldt, and Berg. As Jonson's position at Court consolidated during the 1610s, as the evidence of his saturation in the scholarship of later European humanism became more readily self-evident, and as his closest friends became recognised for their exceptional antiquarian skills and political usefulness, it is unsurprising that his ability to absorb these conversations and make their most salient implications present through his work turned him into an interpreter of his age. Jonson understood fully the way in which changes in science and scholarship were transforming contemporary understanding of the present and the past : he may have been immersed in alchemy, but he also knew it was a false language.

The Jonson of scholarship and science, the one who was given a copy of Savonarola's *Triumphis Crucis* by Digby and who was reading Bede in his final months[120], is a rather stranger and more formidable figure than the amiable poet fond of his sack, but it is a reminder that we need to understand as well as read him. Of course, compared to Bacon, he is no more than an interested spectator

with a penchant for mathematics and Ramism, but he is not unfamiliar with the latest developments of his time. He must have known that in 1629, Hobbes was attempting to procure a copy of Galileo for his patron William Cavendish, earl of Newcastle ; and he knew everyone in the Great Tew circle.

The insistence on Jonson's Englishness, rather than his debt to European humanism, has missed the point of how his intellectual world functioned. This has had profound consequences, both for how we read his work, and how we assess his impact on the culture of the early seventeenth century. We need to put Jonson back amongst his friends and family, connect him to the worlds of scholarship and science, look more closely at how he connects to the real political and diplomatic networks of the time, and then perhaps read his use of the vernacular and the local as something less deliberately 'English'. As a consequence, we might understand rather more of his imaginative and intellectual life, even as we recognise that we know less then we thought.

Appendix : Citations from Jonson's Library, 1604-06

In the following list, an attempt has been made to determine either the exact or the most likely edition. Where multiple editions are possible, the most probable has been identified with a question mark.

Alexandro, Alexander ab (c.1461-1523. *Genialum Dierum Libri Sex.* Paris, Michael Sonnius, 1586 ?
Reference : *Hymenaei*, D2^{r}.

Apuleius, Lucius Madaurensis (c.125-c.170 A.D.). *Opera Omnia Quae Exstant.* 2 parts. Leyden, ex officina Christopher Plantin, apud F. Raphelengium, 1588.
Reference : *Hymenæi*, B3^{v} (lib.10), C3^{v} (lib.10).
Location : Bodleian Library, Oxford ; 8° A.15 Art. Seld.

Aratus Solensis (c.315/10-240 B.C.). *Syntagma Arateorum : Opus Poeticæ et Astronomiæ.* ed. Hugo de Grotius. Leyden, ex officina Plantiniana, Christophorus Raphelengius, 1600.
Reference : *KJRME*,D4^{r},E1^{v}.

Aristophanes (c.455-386 ? B.C.). *Nicodemi Frischlini Aristophanes veteris Comoediæ princeps.* ed. Nicodemus Frischlin. Frankfurt, Johnann Spiess, 1586 or 1597 ?
Reference : *KJRME*,C2^{v}.

Aristotle : Aristoteles (384-322 B.C.). *Operum noua editio.* 2 vol., ed I. Casaubon. Lyons, Lemaire, 1590 ?
Reference : *KJRME*, D4^{v} (*Meteorol*) ; *Sejanus* (*Pol.* lib 5 cap. 10).

Arnobius, *the elder* (fl.284-330 A.D.). *Disputationem Adversus Gentes Libri Septem.* ed. Gebhart Elmenhorst. Hanau, 1603 ?
Reference : *KJRME*, D2^{r} (lib. 7) ; *Hymenæi*, C2^{r} (lib. 3).

Aurelius Victor, Sextus (c.320-c.390 A.D.). *Historiae Romanae Breviarum.* 2 parts, Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1579.
Reference : *Sejanus*, C2^{v}.

Bible—Vulgate. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata.* Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1599.
Reference : *KJRME*, A3^{r} (Matt.10.16, *Prov.*8.15).

Location : Pierpont Morgan Library, New York ; E4B/15965.

Brisson, Barnabé (1531-91). *De Formvlis et Sollemnibvs Populi Romani Verbis, Libri VIII.* Frankfurt, Ioannem Wechelum & Petrum Fischerum,1592.
Reference : *Sejanus*, E4^{r} (lib. 2), F2^{r} (lib. 5), F2^{v} (lib. 5) F3^{r} (lib. 5), K2^{v} (lib. 1), K4^{r} (lib.1), L3^{v} (lib.8), M1^{r} (lib.2), M1^{v} (lib.1& 8) ; *Hymenæi*, B3^{r}.
Location : Emmanuel College, Cambridge ; S5.2.41.

Budé, Guillaume (1467-1540). *Libri V De Asse, & Partib : Eius.* Venice, in aed. Aldi et A. Asulani, 1522.
Reference : Sejanus B3^{v} (lib. 2 p.64).

Camden, William (1552-1623). *Britannia.* London, George Bishop, 1600.
Reference : STC 4507. *KJRME*, A2^{r} (p. 374), A2^{v} (p. 367), B3^{r} (p. 368).

Catullus, Caius Valerius (c.84-54 B.C.) ; **Tibullus, Albus** (c.55-c.14 B.C. ; **Propertius, Sextus** (c.50/45-14 B.C.). *Opera Omnia Quæ Exstant.* Paris, Marc Orry, 1604.
Reference : *KJRME*, B3^{r} (*Cat.* epig.69), *Hymenæi*, A4^{r}, C3^{v} (*Prop.* Ele.29), C4^{v}, D2^{r}.
Location : Clare College, Cambridge ; G.4.8.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 B.C.). *Opera*, 2 vols. Geneva, Jeremiah des Planches, 1584.
Reference : *KJRME*, C1^{v} (*De Nat. Deorum* lib. 2) ; *Hymenæi*, (*De Nat. Deorum*, lib. 2).
Location : Cambridge University Library ; O*.1.2-3.

Claudianus, Claudius (c.370-407 A.D.). *Opera.* Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1585.
Reference : *KJRME*, A2^{v}, B1^{r}, B2^{r}, C3^{r}, C3^{v} ; *Hymenæi*, A4^{v}, C3^{v}.
Location : Bodleian Library, Oxford, 8° C.90 Art. Seld.

Dio Cassius *Cocceianus*, Lucius (c.150-235 A.D.). Τον Διονος Ρωμαικον Ιςτοριον Βιβλια Πετε και Εικοσι *Dionis Cassii Romanarum Historiarum Libri XXV.* [Geneva], Henri Estienne, 1592.
Reference : *Sejanus*, ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?2^{v} and throughout.

Festus, Sextus Pompeius. *See*, **Verrius Flaccus**, **Marcus**.

Giraldo, Lilio Gregorio (1479-1552). *De Deis Gentium Libri sive Syntagmata XVII.* Size and edition uncertain, 2° (Basle, 1580 ?)
Reference : *KJRME*, A3^{r} ; *Sejanus*, K2^{v}, K3^{v}, K4^{r}.

Hesiod : Hesiodus (8th-7th century B.C.). Ησιοδον Ασκραιον τα Ενρισκομενα. *Hesiodi Ascraei Quae Extant cum Graecis Scholiis.* ed. Daniel Heinsius. Leyden, Plantin, 1603.
Reference : *KJRME*, D4^{v}, E1^{r}.

Hippocrates (5th century B.C.). *Opera.* Venice, Valgrisi, 1575.
Reference : *Hymenaei*, E2^{v}.

Homer : Homeros (8th century B.C.). *Opera Graeco-Latina.* pre-1604.
Reference : *KJRME*, B4^{r} (*Iliad*, lib. α) ; *Hymenæi*, C2^{v} (*Iliad*, lib. θ), C4^{v} (*Iliad*, lib. ξ), D2^{v} (Commentary), D3^{r} (*Iliad*, lib. θ).

Horace : Horatius Flaccus, Quintus (65-8 B.C.). *Opera.* Basle, per Henri Petri, 1580.
Reference : *KJRME*, A4^{r} (*Odes* 1.27 & 1.37), B3^{r} (*Odes* 1.36), C2^{r} (*Epist.* lib. 2.1), E1^{r} (*Odes* 4.9) ; *Sejanus*, C4^{v} (*Serm.* lib. 1 serm. 3), D4^{v} (*Epist.* lib. 1).
Location : Magdalene College Old Library, Cambridge, I.2.6.

Hotman, François (1524-90). *De Sponsalibus, de Veteri Ritu Nuptiarum et Jure Matrimonium.* pre-1606.
Reference : *Hymenaei*, B3^{r}, C3^{v}.

Hyginus, Gaius Julius (64 B.C.-17 A.D.) *Fabularum Liber. Eiusdem Poeticon Astronomicon.* (with Aratus, Proclus, and 1578 Apollodorus). Paris, Julian, 1578 ?
Reference : *KJRME*, D4^{v}.

Isidore, *St. Bp. of Seville* (fl. 600-36 A.D.). *Originum Libri Viginti* (with Martianus Capella *De nuptijs Philologiæ & Mercurij*). Basle, Pernæ, 1577.
Reference : *KJRME*, B3^{r} (lib.15 cap.2).

Juvenalis, Decimus Junius (late 1st-early 2nd century A.D.). *Satyram Libri V.* Hanover, Anreas Wechel for Claude Marne, 1603 ?
Reference : *KJRME*, B3^{r} (Pers. sat.2) ; throughout *Sejanus* ; *Hymenæi*, A4^{r}

(Sat.6), A4^{v} (Sat.10).

Lactantius Firmianus, Lucius Cœlius (c.240-c.320 A.D.). *Divinarum Institutionum Libri VII.* Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1570.
Reference : *KJRME*, B4^{v}.

Lipsius, Justus (1547-1606). *J. L. ... Satyra Menippaea. Somnium, Lusus in Nostri Aevi Criticos.* Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1581.
Reference : *Sejanus*, K2^{v}, M1^{r}.

Lucan : Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus (39-65 A.D.). *Pharsalia.* pre-1604.
Reference : *KJRME*, D1^{r} (lib. 1) ; *Hymenæi*, A4^{r}, A4^{v} (lib. 2).

Lucian *of Samosata* (c.125-180+ A.D.). Διαλογι Οκτω. Christian Wechel, Paris, 1530.
Reference : *KJRME*, C2^{v}.
Location : Pierpont Morgan Library, New York ; E-2 48A/17971.

Lucretius Caro, Titus (c.99-55 B.C.). *De Rerum Natura.* pre-1606.
Reference : *Hymenæi*, D3^{r}.

Macrobius, Ambrosius Aurelius Theodosius (early 5th century A.D.). *Opera.* ed. Pontanus. Leyden, Plantin, 1597 ?
Reference : *KJRME*, C1^{r} (*Sat.* lib. 1 cap. 9), D1^{v} (*Sat.* lib. 1 cap. 1), D2^{v} (*Sat.* lib. 1 cap. 12) ; *Sejanus*, K4^{r} (*In Somn. Scip*, lib. 3) ; *Hymenaei*, B2^{v} (*In Somn. Scip*, lib.1), B3^{v} (*In Somn. Scip.* lib. 1 cap. 17), C2^{v} (*In Somn. Scip.* lib.1 cap.14).

Marliani, Giovanni Bartolomeo (fl. 1520-50). *Annales Consulum.* Rome, Bladi, 1560.
Reference : *KJRME*, C1^{v}.

Martial : Martialis, Marcus Valerius (38/41-101/4 A.D.). *Epigrammata.* pre-1604.
Reference : *KJRME*, A2^{r} (lib. 8 epig. 36), B3^{r} (lib. 8 epig. 45, lib. 9 epig. 53, lib. 10 epig. 38, lib. 11 epig. 37), C1^{r} (lib. 8 epig. 2), C1^{v} (lib. 8 epig. 2), C4^{r} (lib. 12 epig. 6).

Martianus Capella, Mineus Felix (5th century A.D.). *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercuriis.* Leyden, Plantin, 1599 ?

Reference : *KJRME*, B3^{r}, C1^{v} (lib. 4 cap. 8), D4^{v} (lib. 3) ; *Hymenaei*, B3^{v} (lib. 6), C1^{v} (lib. 2), C3^{v} (lib. 8).

Mela, Pomponius (1st Century A.D.). *De Situ Orbis*. Antwerp, Plantin, 1582 ?
Reference : *Hymenaei*, E3^{v}.

Nonius Marcellus (4th-5th century A.D.). *De Compendiosa Doctrina*. pre-1604.
Reference : *Sejanus*, K4^{r}, K4^{v}, L2^{r}.

Ovid : Ovidius Naso, Publius (43 B.C.-17 A.D.). *Opera*, 2 vols. Basle, Andreas Herwagen, 1549-50.
Reference : *KJRME*, A4^{r} (*Amor.*, lib. 3), B1^{r} (*Met.* lib. 1), B3^{r} (*Met.* lib. 15), C1^{r} (*Fast.* lib. 1), C1^{v} (*Fast.* lib. 1), D1^{v} (*Fast.* lib. 3), D2^{v} (*Fast.* lib. 3) ; *Sejanus*, K2^{r} (*Fast.* lib. 4), K4^{r} (*Fast.* lib. 1 ; *Met.* lib. 15) ; *Hymenæi*, A4^{r} (*Fast.* lib. 2), B3^{r} (Fast. lib. 2), B3^{v} (Arte Am and ; M et, lib. 2), B4^{r} (Phill. Epist.), C1^{v} (*Fast.* lib. 2).
Location : Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Shelfmark : 306.4.47[1], 48.

Panvinio, Onuphrio (1529-68). *Reipublicae Romanae Commentariorum Libri Tres*. 4 parts, Paris, Egidius & Nicolaum Gillios,1588 ?
Reference : *Sejanus*, K3^{v}.

Pausanias (2nd Century A.D.). [Greek] *Pausaniae Accurata Graeciae Descriptio*. Frankfurt, Apud haeredes Andreae Wecheli, 1583.
Reference : *KJRME*, C3^{r}.
Last seen : Sotheby's, 3 March 1845, lot 4283 to Cunningham.

Petronius Arbiter (c.27-66 A.D.). *Satyricon*. Leyden, Plantin, 1596.
Reference : *Sejanus*, C4^{v}, D3^{r}.

Pindar : Pindaros (c.518-445 ? B.C.) *Carminum*. Heidelberg, 1598.
Reference : *Hymenæi*, C2^{r}.
NB : the copy in the Isabel Gardener Museum, Boston, has a late period signature and was acquired towards the end of the 1620s, or early 1630s.

Plato (429-347 B.C.). *Opera*. 3 vols. Paris, Henri Estienne (Stephanus),1578.
Reference : *Hymenæi*, C2^{v} (*Thæt.*).
Location : Chetham Library, Manchester. Shelfmark : L.4.8-10.

Plautus, Titus Maccius (fl.204-184 B.C.). *Comediae*. pre-1605.
Reference : *Sejanus*, C4^{v}, K2^{r}.

Plinius Secundus, Caius (23/4-79 A.D.). *Historia Naturaliorum*. pre-1604.
Reference : *KJRME*, B3^{r} (lib. 7 cap. 40), D2^{r} (lib. 12 cap. 14, lib. 34 cap. 11), E1^{v} (lib. 2 cap. 25) ; *Sejanus*, C1^{r} (lib. 29 cap. 1), C1^{v} (lib. 29 cap. 1), D4^{v} (lib. 28 cap. 2) F1^{v} (lib. 15 cap. 30), I3^{r} (lib. 11 cap. 37) ; *Hymenaei*, A4^{r} (lib.16 cap.18), B3^{r} (lib. 21 cap. 8, lib. 8, cap. 48).

Plinius Secundus, Caius, *the younger* 61-c.122 A.D.). *Epistolae*. pre-1604.
Reference : *KJRME*, B3^{r} (lib.6 epist.11).

Plutarchus Chaeronensis (c.50-c.120 A.D.) *Variorum Plutarchi scriptorum tomus tertius*, 1572.
Reference : *KJRME*, A3^{v} (Prob. Rom. 82) ; *Hymenæi*, A4^{r}, B2^{r}, B3^{r}, B3^{v}, C1^{v}, D2^{r}, E2^{r} (all *Quaest. Rom.*).
Location : Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Clements P19 (vol. 3 only).

Poliziano, Angelo (1454-94). *Miscellaneorum Centuria*. Antwerp, Plantin, 1567 ?
Reference : *Sejanus*, D4^{v} (cap. 42).

Pollux, Julius (second century A.D.). ‘Ιουλιου Πολυδευκουι ‘Ονομαστικον εν βιβλιοιι δεκα. *Iulii Pollvcis Onomasticon* ... pre-1606 (1536 ?)
Reference : *Hymenæi*, C2^{r} (lib. 3).

Publilius, *Syrus* (1st Century B.C.). *Mimi*. ed. Scaliger. Leyden, Plantin, 1598.
Reference : *KJRME*, B1^{v}.

Rhodiginus, Ludovico (1450-1525). *Lectionum Antiquarum Libri XXX*. Frankfurt, Heredes Andreae Wechel, 1599.
Reference : *Sejanus*, I2^{r}.

Ripa, Cesare (c.1560-c.1622). *Iconologia*. Rome, 1593/1603 ; or Milan, 1602.
Reference : *Hymenæi*, E2^{v}.

Rosinus, Johann (1555-1626). *Antiquitatem Romanorum Libri Decem*. Basle, Ex Officina Hæredum Petri Pernae, 1583.
Reference : *KJRME*, A3^{r} (lib. 2, cap. 14 ; lib. 10, cap. 27), A3^{v} (lib. 7, cap. 3) ; *Sejanus*, K2^{v}, K3^{v}, K4^{r}.

Scaliger, Joseph Juste (1540-1609). *Coniectanea in M. Terentium Varronem de Lingua Latina*. Paris, Estienne, 1565.
Reference : *KJRME*, D1^{r}.

Scaliger, Julius Caesar (1484-1558). *Poetices Libri Septem*. Lyons, Santandreanum, 1594 ?
Reference : *Hymenæi*, D1^{r}.

Seneca, Lucius (4 B.C.-65 A.D.) **and Marcus Annaeus** (54 B.C.-39 A.D.). *L. & M. Annæi Senecæ Atque Aliorum Tragoediæ*. pre-1604.
Reference : *KJRME*, A3^{v} (*Octavia*, Act 2).

Seneca, Lucius (4 B.C.-65 A.D.) **and Marcus Annaeus** (54 B.C.-39 A.D.). *Philosophi Scripta Quæ Extant*. Paris, Marc Orry, 1599.
Reference : *Sejanus*, B1^{r} (*Cons ad Marciam*, *Ben.* lib. 3 cap. 26), B2^{r} (*Cons ad Marciam*, *Ben.* lib. 3 cap. 26), C4^{v} (*Cons. ad Marciam* cap. 22), G2^{r} (*Cons. ad Marciam* cap. 22), K4^{v} (*Nat. Quaest*, lib. 1), N1^{r} (*De Tranq. Anim.*, cap. 11), N1^{v} (*De Tranq. Anim.*, cap. 11).
Location : Glasgow University Library. Shelfmark : Bl II-y.I.

Silius Italicus, Tiberius Catius Asconius (c.28-103 A.D.). *Punica*. ed. Modio, 1584 ?
Reference : *KJRME*, C2^{v}.

Solinus, Gaius Julius (third century A.D.). *Polyhistor*. Antwerp, Plantin, 1572.
Reference : *KJRME*, D2^{v} (cap. 3).

Statius, Publius Papinus (c.45-c.95 A.D.). *Opera*. Antwerp, Plantin, 1595 ?
Reference : *KJRME*, A4^{r} (Syl. 4), B3^{r} (lib. 4 syl. 6), D4^{v} (Theb. lib. 1) ; *Hymenæi*, C3^{v}.

Strabo (c.64 B.C.-c.21 A.D.). *Rerum Geographicum*. Geneva, Eustathius Vignon, 1587.
Reference : *Sejanus*, C3^{r} (lib. 6).

Stuck, Johann Wilhelm (1542-1607). *Sacrorum Sacrificiorumq gentilium*. Tiguri, Johann Wolph, 1598.
Reference : *Sejanus*, K2^{v}, K3^{v}, K4^{r}.

Suetonius Tranquilius, Caius (c.70-c.130 A.D.). *XII Caesars*. ed. Lævinius Torrentius. Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1591.
Reference : throughout *Sejanus*.
Location : Cambridge University Library ; I*.10.1.

Tacitus, Publius Cornelius (c.56-118 ? A.D.) and **Velleius Paterculus, Caius** (c.20 B.C.- after 31 A.D.) *Opera Quae Exstant. I. Lipsius Recensuit*, 5 parts. Antwerp, Ex Officina Plantin, 1600.
Reference : *KJRME*, A2^{r} (Annals, lib. 14) ; *Sejanus*, ? ? ? ? ? ?2^{v} and throughout.

Terentius Afer, Publius (Second Century B.C.). *Comediae Sex*. pre-1604.
Reference : *Hymenæi*, A4^{v}.

Theognis, *Megareus* (sixth century B.C.). *Sententiae Elegiacae*. pre-1604 (Leipzig,1603 ?).
Reference : *KJRME*, C2^{v}.

Turnèbe, Adrien (1512-65). *A. Turnebi Adversariorum tomi III*. Basel, Thomam Guarinum, 1581.
Reference : *Sejanus*, D4^{v}.
Location : Elizabethan Club, Yale University, pending cataloguing.

Valerius Flaccus (first century A.D.). *Argonauticon*. Antwerp, Plantin, 1565-66 ?.
Reference : *KJRME*, D4^{v}.

Varro, Marcus Terentius (116-27 B.C.). *Opera*. Leyden, Plantin, 1601.
Reference : *KJRME*, C4^{v}, D1^{r} (lib. 4) ; *Hymenæi*, A4^{r} (lib. 6), B3^{r} (lib. 4, lib. 6).

Verrius Flaccus, Marcus (c.55 B.C.-20 A.D.) and **Festus, Sextus Pompeius** (later second century A.D.). *M . Verrii Flaccii Quae Extant ... De Verborum Significatione Libri XX*. ed. Joseph Scaliger. Petrum Santandream, 1575 ?
Reference : *KJRME*, D2^{v}, D4^{v}, E1^{v} ; *Hymenaei*, A3^{v}, A4^{r}, B3^{r}, C1^{v}, C2^{r}, D1^{v}, D2^{r}, D2^{v}.

Virgil : Virgilius Maro, Publius. *P. Virgilius Maro, Et in eum Commentationes* [Guelli and Scaliger]. Edition uncertain [Antwerp, Plantin, 1575 ?].
Reference : *KJRME*, A2^{v} (*Eclog.* 1), A4^{r} (*Aeneid*, lib. 8), A4^{v} (*Eclog.* 1, Aeneid

lib. 1), B3^{r} (*Aeneid*, lib. 10), C4^{v} (*Eclog.* 4, *Aeneid*, lib. 11), D2^{r} (*Eclog.* 8) ; *Sejanus*, K3^{v} (*Aeneid*, lib. 5) ; *Hymenæi*, A4^{r}, B2^{v} (*Aeneid*, lib. 4), B3^{r} (*Aeneid*, lib. 6), B4^{r} (*Aeneid*, lib. 4), C3^{v} (*Aeneid*, lib.4), D3^{r} (*Geor.* lib. 2).
NB. In particular Jonson refers to the commentary of Servius Mauras Honoratus so he may have been using a fifteenth century edition.

Notes

[1]The most recent catalogue was by D. McPherson, 'Ben Jonson's Library and Marginalia : An Annotated Catalogue', *Studies in Philology*, 71 (1974), supplement. A revised catalogue by Henry Woudhuysen is only being released in digital form by the Cambridge Ben Jonson and will appear no earlier than 2014 ; a plan to publish my own records is under discussion.

[2]C. Herford, P. Simpson, and E. Simpson [H&S], *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-52).

[3]P. Simpson, 'The Art of Ben Jonson', *Studies in Elizabethan Drama* (Oxford, 1955), 130.

[4]W Drummond, *Certain Informations ad Manners of Ben Jonson*, section 4, item 8 (H&S, 1, 134 ; C. I. E. Donaldson, M. Butler, and D. Bevington (eds.), *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson [CWBJ]*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 2012), V : 363 (53)) ; for Herford's post-publication realisation that Drummond was wrong, see footnote 79 below.

[5]H&S, 1 : 4-5 ; C. I. E. Donaldson, *Ben Jonson : A Life* (Oxford, 2011), 84-85 & 300 ; — ; 'Life of Ben Jonson', *CWBJ*, I : xc.

[6]Thus, R. C. Evans, *Jonson, Lipsius and the Politics of Renaissance Stoicism* (Durango, 1992) ; A. L. Prescott, 'Jonson's Rabelais', *New Perspectives on Ben Jonson*, ed. J. Hirsh (Cranbery, 1997), 35-54.

[7]See, W. H. Herendeen, *William Camden : A Life in Context* (Woodbridge, 2007) ; *CWBJ*, I : lxxxix reproduces the portrait of Camden from Worcester College, Oxford.

[8]For instance, D. C. McPherson, 'Ben Jonson, Martial and the Bawdy Epigram', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 2 (1978), 217-28 ; J. Loewenstein, 'Martial, Jonson and the assertion of plagiarism', *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. K. Sharpe and S. N. Zwicker (Cambridge, 2003), 275-94.

[9]Philostratus the elder (ed. F. Morel), *Philostrati ... opera quae extant* (Paris, 1608) : Bodleian shelfmark I.1.11 Art. Seld.

[10]British Library Cotton MS Claudius E. III, ff.334-55 ; see p.32 for further details.

[11]J. Selden, *Titles of honor*, STC 22179 (1631), †4^{r}. For Heyward's libraries see his will : PROB 11/282, 572, dated 13 January 1586, with codicils of 25 November 1657 and 3 September 1658.

[12]Jonson, *Certain Informations and Manners of Ben Jonson* 13.1 ; H&S, I : 139 ; *CWBJ*, V : 371 (178).

[13]See also, G. J. Toomer, *John Selden : A Life in Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2009).

[14]See also Cambridge UL, MS Kk.5.14, f.4^{v} (the autograph manuscript of STC 14656.5-.7, dated 14 December 1564). *Oxford D. N. B.*, 30, 241-42 (Old *D. N. B.*, X, 895), under 'Johnson' ; also, J. Foster (comp.), *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), II, 813. Jonson derives from the Welsh *ap Jones*, as is apparent from fifteenth century documents where the spelling is *Jonesson*. Donaldson's speculation that the Jonson's gradually changed their name from Johnston and then Johnson to Jonson (*CWBJ*, I : lxxxvii ; *Life*, 52-57) is anachronistic and without foundation.

[15]PROB 11/90, ff.86^{r}-87^{v}.

[16]Jonson, *Certain Informations*, 13.2 ; H&S, I : 139 ; *CWBJ*, V : 371 (178-79).

[17]Donaldson, *Life*, 65-66 suggests that Jonson inherited a Geneva bible, though none survives.

[18]Jean Despautère, *Niniuitae Commentarii Grammatici* (Paris, 1537), owned by P. J. M. Willems, Wassenar, Netherlands ; Jean Pellison, *Rudimenta Prima Latinæ Grammaticæ* (Lyons, 1531), Cosin Library, University of Durham, shelfmark SB 0057/1.

[19]Adrien Amerot, *Compendiũ Graeceü Grãmatices* (Louvain, 1520) and Joannes Varrenius, *Syntaxis Linguae Graecae* (Louain, 1532), Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, shelfmark EP-5-4^{4-5} : the volume is annotated in an early-mid sixteenth century hand that is not that of Jonson. Jonson's copy of S. Muenster, *Dictionarium Hebraicum* (Basle, 1564), was last seen in 1921, and sold by J. & J. Leighton.

[20]Jonson also owned a copy of the *Graecae Grammatices in Usum Genevensis Scholae Perscriptae* (Geneva, 1568), Christies, William Foyle Sale, 12-13 July 2000, lot 329 (title-page only). As only the title survives, it is unknown whether and when Jonson may have annotated the book.

[21]R. V. Young, 'Jonson and Learning', *Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. R. Harp and S. Stewart (Cambridge, 2000), 44 (43-57). The curriculum is described by Donaldson, *Life*, 73-79.

[22]See, G. F. Russell Barker and A. H. Stenning (comps.), *The Record of Old Westminsters*, 2 vols. (Chiswick, 1928) ; J. Welch, *A List of Scholars of St Peter's College, Westminster* (London, 1788).

[23]A. Wood (comp.), *Athenae Oxonienses*, 2 vols. (Wing W3382 ; 1696), I : 711.

[24]E. Grant, *Græcæ Linguæ Spicilegium* (STC 12188 ; 1575) ; J. Crespin, *Lexicon Græcolatinum* (STC 6037 ; 1581). See also, *Oxford D. N. B.*, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004), 23 : 302-03.

[25]G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England : a third language* (Manchester, 1983), 232. Most of Goodman's library went to Ruthin School, Denbigh : K. M. Thompson, *Ruthin School : the first seven centuries* (Denbigh, 1974). See also Bland, 'Jonson and the Legacies of the Past', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2005), 385-86. Donaldson's assertion that tuition in Hebrew was 'easily available' in the 1590s (*CWBJ*, I : xc) is not supported by Lloyd Jones.

[26]See, Herendeen, *William Camden*, 137-38 ; Camden's will is PROB 11/142, ff.351^{v}-52^{r}.

[27]Despite their importance, the only available edition of Camden's *Epistolæ* and his Diary is that of 1691 (Wing C691). Many of Selden's letters are to be found in the *Opera Omnia* (1726).

[28]R. L. DeMolen, 'The Library of William Camden', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 124 (1984), 325-409. See also, P. Beal, *Index of English Literary Manuscripts 1475-1625*, 2 vols. (New York, 1980), I : 149-65 ; Herendeen, William Camden, 289-94.

[29]The Tacitus (Antwerp, 1588) was given by Cotton to Dowle on 16 January 1624 (for the local vicar's letter to Neil Ker : Bodleian MS Eng misc. c.360, f.90). As well as Cotton's gift inscription, the volume has Camden's signature on the title-page. Neither the Tacitus, nor Jonson's gift copy to Camden of *The Fountain of Selfe-Love* (now at the Clark Library, Los Angeles, shelfmark PR2609 .A1 1601*) were recorded by DeMolen.

[30]L. L. Peck, *Northampton : Patronage and Policy at the Court of James 1* (London, 1982), 21.

[31]G. I. Soden, Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1583-1656 (London, 1953), xx-xx.

[32]Jonson was already associated with the Radcliffes by the time of Margaret's death on 10 November 1599 (*Epig.* 40 ; also *Epig.* 93). Her younger brother Sir John gave Jonson a fifteenth century manuscript of Juvenal and Horace (St. John's College, Oxford, MS 192), and a copy of the *Opuscula* of Hermes Trismegistus, with his painted arms and an inscription in gold (Bodleian Library, Oxford, F.2.23 Art.Seld) ; his cousin Richard gave Jonson a copy of François Coster's *Enchiridion Controvesiarum Præcipuarum Nostri Temporis de Religione* (Cologne, 1599 : British Library 1020.g.6). Jonson's inscription on the death of Robert Jermyn is preserved in a copy of Camden's *Annales* : Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 4496, copy 1, on the verso of an inserted portrait of Camden. See also, Oxford D. N. B. 30, 48-49 ; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 473.

[33]M. Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship : Science and the Universities in England 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1984), 100-01 & 133-34 ; the Copernicus was formerly, Brown University, shelfmark *QB41 C76. It has not been located since 1974.

[34]Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, 108 ; for Blaxton in *Old Westminsters*, see under Blackstone : I, 94 also, M B. Bland, 'Ben Jonson and the Legacies of the Past', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2005), 385-86 ; Donaldson, *Life*, 84-89.

[35]Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, 36.

[36]Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, 50-51. The Martial is now Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 17492 copy 1.

[37]Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship*, 138-43 ; H&S, XI : 582-85 ; *Oxford D. N. B.*, 7 : 605-07.

[38]Barker and Stenning, *Old Westminsters*, I : 37-38.

[39]In the Gresham accounts, there is a bill for a small amount of plastering work to Henry Croke's and Edmund Gunter's rooms in December 1623 (41*s* 3*d* each). The other entries relating to building maintenance are non-specific, and not substantial. It is likely that the fire in Jonson's desk caused the minor damage : Gresham College, *Accounts Book 1591-1626* (MS) p. 470. The following year, Gunter gave Jonson a copy of his *The Description and Use of His Majesties Dials* (STC 12524 ; 1624), British Library, London, shelfmark C.60 f.7.

[40]L. Digges, *A Geometricall Practical Treatize Named Pantometria* (STC 6859, 1591) : Worcester College, Oxford, shelfmark I I.π.2.

[41]W. Gilbert, *Tractatus, sive Physologia Nova de Magnete* (Stettin, 1628) : Whipple Museum, Cambridge, Store 36 : 1 ; S. Marolois, *Opera Mathematica*, 3 vols. (Hague, 1614-16), in French, Royal College of Physicians SL/29-2-d-2/4 ; J. Errard, *La geometrie et practique generalle d'icelles* (Paris, 1619) : not located, identified by marginal notes in Jonson's copy of *Pantometria*, footnote 40 ; Euclid, *Geometri* (Venice, 1534) : owned by Edward Tufte, New Haven.

[42]*The New Inne* II.V.124 ; J. J. Scaliger, *Cyclometrica* (Antwerp, 1614) : copy not located.

[43]*Sejanus* (STC 14782, 1605), D4^{v} (II : 284) ; Jonson's copy of Poliziano has not been located, he probably used the Antwerp 1567 edition. His copy of Turnèbe's *Adversariorum Tomi III* (Strasbourg, 1604) is now Beinecke Library, Yale University, shelfmark Osborn fpb51 ; the volume has a blind-rolled Oxford binding.

[44]Only the locations of the Brisson (Frankfurt, 1592 ; Emmanuel College, Cambridge, shelfmark S5.2.21) and Turnèbe (see footnote 43) are known.

[45]T. Cain (ed.), *Sejanus his Fall*, *CWBJ*, II : 207. Cain states the place of publication as Paris.

[46]See also, W. T. Furniss, 'The Annotations of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queenes*', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 5 (1954), 344-60.

[47]See also footnote 32 ; respectively, St John's College, Oxford, MS 192 ; Bodleian Library, Oxford, F. 2.23 Art. Seld. ; British Library, London, MS Royal 15.A.XXI ; and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.4.10. For the last, see M. B. Bland, 'Jonson and the Legacies of the Past', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67 (2005), 377-78.

[48]Respectively, British Library, London, shelfmark 1020 g.6 (the gift of Robert Radcliffe) ; Cambridge University Library, Pet. A.6.19 (the gift of John Browne) ; Middle Temple, London, RBR Donne Shelf 3.

[49]T. More, *Opera* (Louvain, 1566), Canterbury Cathedral Library, shelfmark W2/A-2-18 ; Huntington Library, San Marino CA, RB60659 ; British Library, London, Ashley 3464.

[50]J. Smyth, *The Berkeley Manuscripts : The Lives of the Berkeleys ... from 1066 to 1618*, ed. Sir John Maclean, 3 vols. (Gloucester, 1883-85), II : 392-93 ; M. T. Tagliapietra, *Townsend-Townshend, 1066-1909* (New York, 1909), 12 ; A. Ribiero, 'Sir John Roe : Ben Jonson's Friend', *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 24 (1973), 153-64 ; *Oxford D. N. B.*, 47 : 512-18.

[51]L. L. Peck, *Northampton : Patronage and Policy at the Court of James 1* (London, 1982) ; *Oxford D. N. B.*, 28 : 366-74 ; Jonson, *Certain Informations*, 13.16 ; *CWBJ*, V : 375 (250-52).

[52]The nature and history of the Charts have been outlined in a series of conference papers : M. B. Bland, 'The Intellectual Geography of Jonson's Reading : Ramism and the Synthesis of Knowledge', *Material Cultures*, University of Edinburgh, July 2005 ; —, 'Jonson's Private Philosophical Papers' (Part 1), *European Society of Textual Scholarship*, University of Lisbon, November 2008 ; —, 'Jonson's Private Philosophical Papers' (Part 2), *Society for Textual Scholarship*, New York, March 2009 ; —, 'Jonson's Ramist Charts : Edition and Translation', *European Society of Textual Scholarship*, Royal Flemish Academy of Belgium, Brussels, November 2009. An edition is pending.

[53]Oxford *D. N. B.*, 53 : 149 (& 196-98) ; E. Cust, *Some Account of the Stuarts of Aubigny, in France [1422-1672].* (London, 1891), 97-99.

[54]J. M. Osborn, 'Ben Jonson and the Eccentric Lord Stanhope', *Times Literary Suppplement*, 4 January 1957, 16. The reference to Lyons is to be found on 'Epigrammes', A5^{r} : 'I kneaw Ben

Jhonson at Lyons he trauelld wth yoonge Watt Wrawleigh' : Beinecke Library, Yale University shelfmark Osborn pb30. The visit to Heinsius in Antwerp is discussed by D. McPherson, 'Ben Jonson meets Daniel Heinsius 1613', *English Language Notes*, 44 (1976), 105-09.

[55]Donaldson, *Life*, 293-303 (302-03).

[56]Jonson, *Certain Informations*, 4.8 ; H&S, 1 : 134 ; *CWBJ*, V : 363 (53) ; see also footnote 4 above, and Bland, 'Jonson and the Legacies of the Past', 379.

[57]Jonson's copy of Rabelais (Lyons, 1599) is British Library, shelfmark 1081.k.2 ; see also, A. L. Prescott, 'Jonson's Rabelais', *New Perspectives on Ben Jonson*, ed. J. Hirsh (Madison, 1997), 16-34.

[58]British Library, London, shelfmark C.12 e.17 ; H&S, VIII : 665 ; CWBJ, not reproduced.

[59]The copy of Matthieu is British Library, London, shelfmark 596.f.18(6) ; the Modio (Frankfurt, 1586) is at Clare College, Cambridge, H.4.5.

[60]The *Harangues et Actions Publiques* (Paris, 1609) is Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelfmark 8° H.1 Jur. Seld. For Errard's *La Geometrie* (Paris, 1619), see footnote 41 above.

[61]New York Public Library, Lincoln Center Collections, shelfmark Drexel 5995.

[62]Cambridge University Library, shelfmark Montaigne 2.5.124-25 ; Jonson's copy of Florio's translation is British Library, London (STC 18041 ; 1603), C.28 m.8. Florio's presentation copy to Egerton is Huntington Library, San Marino, RB61889 and has extensive manuscript corrections in Florio's hand. For Jonson's copy of Marolois, see footnote 41 ; his copy of Angoumois is Middle Temple, London, L (C) ; and Caussin, Middle Temple, London, L(B).

[63]J. Florio, *Florio his first fruites* (STC 11096 ; 1578) ; —, *Florios second fruites* (STC 11097 ; 1591) ; —, *A worlde of wordes* (STC 11098 ; 1598), rev. as *Queen Anna's new world of wordes* (STC 11099 ; 1611).

[64]B. Jonson, *Hymenaei* (STC 14773 ; 1606), E2^{v} ; *CWBJ*, II : 712.

[65]H&S, VII : 178 & 305 ; *CWBJ*, III : 248 & III : 320-21.

[66]P. Whalley, *The Works of Ben Jonson* (London, 1756) ; W. Smith, *The commedia dell'arte : a study in Italian popular comedy* (New York, 1912) ; P. Rébora, *L'Italia nel Dramma Inglese* (Milan, 1925), 138-48.

[67]Smith, *Commedia*, 187-95 ; F. Scala, *Il Teatro Delle Favole Rappresentative* (Venice, 1611), B1^{v}- *CWBJ* C1^{v}.

[68]H&S, II, 94-5 ; G. C. Child, 'Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* and Bruno's *Candelaio*', *PMLA*, 21 (1906), Proceedings xx ; also, Smith, *Commedia*, 247 ; Rébora, *Dramma Inglese*, 146-47 ; R. C. Simonini, *Italian Scholarship in Renaissance England* 108-9.

[69]8° R.35 Art.Seld contains Francesco Mercati da Bibbiena, *Il sensale, comedia* (Florence, 1561) ; Niccolò Secchi, *Gl'inganni, comedia del signor N.S.* (Florence, 1562, [colophon 1568]) ; Francesco d'Ambra, *Il furto, comedia* (Florence, 1564) ; Cristafano Montanini, *Effetti d'amore, commedia* (Florence, 1565) ; Lotto del Mazza, *I Fabij comedia* (Florence, 1567) ; and, Nicolò Buonaparte, *La vedoua, comedia* (Florence, 1568). 8° R.36 Art.Seld contains : Giovanni Maria Cecchi, *Il servigiale, comedia* (Florence, 1561) ; Francesco Mariano Trinci, *Comedia de moti di fortuna, di Mariano Maniscalco* (Florence, 1569) ; Antonio Landi, *Il commodo, comedia, con i suoi intermedii* [by G.B. Strozzi] (Florence, 1566) ; Antonio Vignali, *La Floria, commedia dell'Arsiccio Intronato* (Florence, 1567) ; and, Benedetto Varchi, *La suocera, commedia* (Florence, 1569).

[70]T. Garzoni, *La piazza uniuersale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (Venice, 1586) ; Smith, *Commedia*, 192.

[71]P. Aretino, *Quattro Comedie* (STC 19911 : 1588) ; N. Machiavelli, (STC 17658, 1585). See also, F. E. Schellling, *Foreign Influences in Elizaethan Plays* (New York, 1923), 61 ; Rébora, *Dramma Inglese*, 139 ; W. Creizenach, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia, 1916), 216.

[72]Respectively, Bodleian Library, Oxford, shelfmark Douce A.642 ; and Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, PQ 4475 .A1 1581 Cage.

[73]The sammelbande is Houghton Library, Harvard University, shelfmark *IC5 .C6403 .544d. McPherson treated the item as spurious because he did not believe Jonson could read Italian, but in this he is unquestionably wrong. See also, R. C. Simonini, *Italian Scholarship in Renaissance England* (Chapel Hill, 1952), 104-9 : Simonini was misled by Herford.

[74]It is most likely that he owned, at the least, a copy of Richard Percyvall's *Bibliotheca Hispanica* (STC 19619 ; 1591). Donne's copy (first owned by Elizabeth Cecil, and later by Henry King and Charles Cotton) is now National Library of Russia, shelfmark 7.59.5.66.

[75]M. Aleman, *The Rogue : or the life of Guzman de Alfarache* (STC 288-89 ; 1622-23), $A4^{v}$.

[76]British Library, Sloane MS 1466, f.16 ; see, W. D. Briggs, 'On Certain Incidents in Ben Jonson's Life', *Modern Philology*, 11 (1913), 287.

[77]Jonson, *Certain Informations*, 4.7 ; H&S, I : 134 ; *CWBJ*, V : 363 (52). For Drummond's notes on modern poets see Bland, 'Further Information : Drummond's *Democritie, A Labyrinth of Delight* and his 'Certain Informations and Manners of Ben Jonson", *TEXT*, 17 (2005), 178-80.

[78]P. de Ronsard, *Les Quatre Premiers liures des Odes* (Paris, 1550), $a1^{r}$-$d2^{r}$; notes, $u7^{r}$-$x4^{r}$.

[79]C. Herford to P. Simpson, 1 July 1925 : Beinecke Library, OSB MSS. 8, Box 9, Correspondence, Folder 3 : 'I am conscious in particular of having trusted too much $Drum^{ds}$. assurance that J. cd. not read Italian, & neglected possible connexions with Italian literature. The professor of Italian here, P. Rébora, is well read in Eliž. drama, & is confident that BJ. had seen or read Italian performances of the kind represented in *Volpone*. He has just published a volume *L'Italia nel Dramma Inglese* (Milano), in wh. he tries to ground this, & there is other literature bearing on the relations of Italy & England under Eliz. & Jas I. of wh. I ought to have taken more note.'

[80]C. I. E. Donaldson, *Ben Jonson : A Life* (Oxford, 2011), 300 & 491 n.47.

[81]H&S, I : 134 ; *CWBJ*, V : 363 (50-51).

[82]Koninklijke Bibliothek, Hague, MS KA44, n.55, $f.67^{r}$; late C17th secretarial copy, KA 45, My thanks to Heather James for help with the translation.

[83]C. Brennan, *The Life and Times of Isaac Basire* (University of Durham PhD, 1988 : shelfmark Durham Cathedral Library, Chapter +S274.206 BAS/BRE), 15-20 ; — ; *The Life and Times of Thomas Morton : The Moderate Puritan* (unpublished typescript : Durham, 1994 ; shelfmark Durham CL Chapter S274.206 MOR/BRE), 38-46.

[84]Jonson wrote a New Year's inscription in the *Album Amicorum* of Mors (Morsius) on 1 January 1620 (Jonson used legal style dating, hence it reads '1619'—Mors was England from October 1619 to February 1620) : J. Mors, *Album Academicum et Apodemicum*, Stadtbibliothek, Lübeck, MS Hist. 4° 25 : 2, 311. The four volumes of the *Album* were not destroyed during the Second World War as has been reported ; three of them (including vol. 2 with Jonson's inscription) have since been returned from Georgia ; vol. 3 is still missing. See also, H. Schneider, *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis* (Lübeck, 1929), 25 (facing) ; H&S, VIII : 664.

[85]Royal Library, Copenhagen, shelfmark 18.53 ; Kungl. Bibliotek, Stockholm, Litt. Eng. Fol. Also : H. Ilsøe, 'Om Laurids Ulfeldts bibliothek erhvervet ca. 1662', *Det kongelige Bibliotek I støbeskeen : studier og samlinger til bestandens historie indtil ca. 1780* (Copenhagen, 1999), 214-34.

[86]For Selden, see Toomer, footnote 13 ; his admission to the Inner Temple is to be found in [W. H. Cooke (ed.)], *Students admitted to the Inner Temple 1547-1660* (London, [1877]), 167. Selden, together with Camden, was amongst the group that celebrated Jonson's release from a brief spell in prison two years later : H&S, I : 140 ; *CWBJ*, V : 373-74 (210-11).

[87]H&S, I : 149 ; *CWBJ*, V : 388 (483-84).

[88]These works are amongst the most important items missing from Jonson's library. A later copy of the *Mallei Maleficarum* (Lyons, 1615) is now University College, London, shelfmark Ogden A.291, though Jonson also refers to an earlier edition in *The Masque of Queenes*. He also owned Justus à Balbian, *Tractatus Septem de Lapide Philisophico* (Antwerp, 1599), British Library, London, 1033.e.5 ; Nicolas Caussin, *De Symbolica Aegyptiorum Sapienta* (Cologne, 1623), Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D. C., PJ 1093 C2 1623 Cage (1) ; and Pierre Morestel, *Artis Kabbalisticæ sive Sapientæ Divinæ* (Paris, 1621), Cambridge University Library, P*.16.15. For the evidence that Fludd was Selden's physician see, *Titles of Honor* (STC 22177 ; 1614), $a3^{r-v}$; Jonson's copy of the Venerable Bede, *Opera Quotquot Reperiri Potuerunt Omnia* (Cologne, 1612), has a prescription signed [Robert] Fludde and dated 16 April 1637 pasted in at the end : Bernard Quaritch, summer 1985, Reference EB138. Vols. 1-3 only (of 8) in one volume (of 3). Purchased by Quaritch from the Carew's of Somerset in 1968 (Catalogue 890, item 308).

[89]For Muenster, see footnote 19.

[90]J. P. Rosenblatt & W. Schleiner, 'John Selden's Letter to Ben Jonson on Cross-Dressing and Bisexual Gods', *English Literary Renaissance*, (1998). Jonson's copy of *De Dijs Syris* is Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark STC 22167.2.

[91]Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark PA 3937 CB 1621. Although the volume was later owned by Henry Jacob, the marginalia is in Jonson's hand, cf. MS Tanner 934.

[92]Bound in a sammelbande with his copy of Selden's *A History of Tithes* (STC 22172.5 ; 1618), now in the Firestone Library, Princeton University, Robert Taylor Collection.

[93]B. Jonson, *Workes* (STC 14754 ; 1640), ^{2}D4r-L2v ; H&S, VIII : 528-47 ; CWBJ, V : 378-402.

[94]Jonson, *The Alchemist*, STC 14755 (1612), K2^r ; H&S, VI, 376-7 (IV. v.25-32) ; *CWBJ*, III : 671-73.

[95]H. Broughton, *A Concent for Scripture*, STC 3850 (1590), B2^r (STC 3851, B4^r).

[96]The copy Jonson's Pindar (Heidelberg, 1598) at the Isabel Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, shelfmark 5.T.1, has a late signature. For Selden's borrowing of Jonson's Euripides : *Titles of Honor* (STC 22178 ; 1614), a3^{r-v}. Jonson's copy of Euripides was last recorded by Joseph Lilly, *A catalogue of a highly interesting and very select collection of rare and interesting books*, 1845, p. 15. 2£ 2s. Lilly listed the edition as Basle, Herwagen, 1581, though by this time Herwagen was dead ; Jonson probably owned the 1551 edition.

[97]Bodleian Library, MS Aubrey 9, f.50^r.

[98]For a facsimile of MS Arch.Selden B.24 : J. Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (eds.), *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer and* The Kingis Quair (Cambridge, 1997) ; also, R. Beadle, "'I wol nat tell it yat"' : John Selden and a lost version of *The Cook's Tale', Chaucer to Shakespeare : Essays in Honour of Shinsuke Ando* (Cambridge, 1992), 55-66. MS Selden Supra 56 is a fifteenth century manuscript of Troilus.

[99]Folger Shakespeare Library, shelfmark STC 5080, Copy 3. It is discussed (with plates) by R. C. Evans, *Habits of Mind : Evidence and Effects of Ben Jonson's Reading* (Lewisburg, 1995), 134-59.

[100]Jonson, *Discoveries* (STC 14754 ; 1640-41) 144.20 ; H&S, VIII, 618 ; *CWBJ*, VII : 559 (1276-78).

[101]Jonson, *The New Inne* (STC 14780 ; 1631), B4^r (I.III.69) ; H&S, VI : 412 ; *CWBJ*, VI : 199.

[102]James VI & I, *His Maiesties Poetical Exercises at Vacant Houres*, STC 14379 (Edinburgh, 1591). Pierpont Morgan Library, shelfmark W4C/6218.

[103]The *Tractatus* is illustrated in L. Daston and K. Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750* (New York, 1998), 30 ; R. Baxter, *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages* (London, 1998), 45.

[104]Personal papers may be found in : Cotton Domitian XVIII, Vespasian A.V, Julius C.IX, and Julius C.V. The last is a letter from Lambarde to Camden from 1585.

[105]Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*, 13.

[106]For instance, D. J. McKitterick, 'From Camden to Cambridge : Sir Robert Cotton's roman inscriptions, and their subsequent treatment', in C. J. Wright (ed.), *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector* (London, 1997), 105-28.

[107]Now apparently in a private collection : sold Maggs catl. 937 (Autumn 1971), p.25.

[108]C. G. C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library : Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London, 2004), 34 (item 2.70 : *Henry V*), 35 (item 2.103 : *Aelfric*) ; see also, T. L. Frulovisi, *Titi Livii Foro-Juiliensis Vita Henrici Quinti, Regis Angliæ*, ed T. Hearne (Oxford, 1716) ; C. Allmand, *Henry V*, rev. ed. (New Haven, 1997).

[109]British Library Royal MS 15.A.XXI ; C. G. C. Tite, 'Lost or Stolen or Strayed : A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library', *Cotton as Collector*, 266-7.

[110]Selden made his comments about Heyward's studies in *Titles of honor*, STC 22179 (1631), †4^r ; Heyward's copy of Jonson's *Workes* is Huntington Library, San Marino CA, shelfmark RB62101.

[111]H&S, XI, 244 ; *CWBJ*, vii : 532 (673-79 and note) : see, A. T. Shillinglaw, *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 April 1936, 336.

[112]Some of the material can be found scattered through the following : W. Camden, *Epistolæ* (Wing C361 ; 1691) ; I. Casaubon, *Epistolae* (Rotterdam, 1709) ; N. F. de Peiresc, *Lettres de Peiresc*, ed. P. Tamizey de Larroque, 7 vols. (incomplete), (Paris, 1888-98) ; J. Selden, *Opera*

Omnia (London, 1726). A modern edition of Scaliger's correspondence, and an attempt to complete that of Peiresc, are in progress. A large number of letters to Selden (and some by him) are preserved in Bodleian MSS. Selden supra 108 & 109.

[113]J. O. Halliwell [Philips] (ed.), *The Diary of John Dee* (London, 1842).

[114]For instance, British Library MS Harl. 6018.

[115]Dee's *Diary* unfortunately breaks off in mid-1601. Between 1601 and 1603 Dee lived in Manchester, but he returned to Mortlake in the last years of his life when it would have been possible for Jonson to call on him ; see also, W. H. Sherman, *John Dee : the politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, 1995).

[116]R. J. Roberts and A. Watson, *The Library of John Dee* (London, 1990), 168 (DM70). McPherson (who did not record Dee's stepped ladder symbol) describes the volume as pseudo-Solomon's *Opus de arte magica, ab Honorio ordinatum.*

[117]See R. Mathiesen, 'A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision from the *Sworn Book* of Honorius of Thebes', in C. Fanger, *Conjuring Spirits : Texts and Traditions in Medieval Ritual Magic* (Scranton PA, 1998), 143-62.

[118]Isaaci Casauboni, *Epistolae* (Rotterdam, 1709), $2Z1^{r-v}$. It should be noted that Casaubon was French and not 'the great English Protestant scholar' as Donaldson describes him : *Life*, 298.

[119]The inscription was reproduced by W. Gifford (ed.) : Jonson, *Workes* (London, 1816), I : facing ccclxi ; translated VIII : 169. The volume has not since been located : Gifford appears to conflate it with the Huntington copy of *Sejanus*, once owned by Whalley ; it may be/have been in the collections of the Duke of Westminster at Eaton Hall as Gifford was the family tutor.

[120]G. Savonarola, *Triumphis Crucis* (Leyden, 1633) : Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon, shelfmark SR 98.