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Anglo-Latin Macaronic Verse in Early Modern England: A New Survey of Manuscript Evidence

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ABSTRACT

Latin-vernacular macaronic verse is a distinctive feature of early modern literary culture across Europe. Scholarship has, however, focused upon Italian examples; the production of such verse in England has been particularly little studied, with existing analyses of Anglo-Latin macaronic based on a very small corpus of printed poems from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries only. This survey of previously unconsidered manuscript evidence demonstrates the production of Anglo-Latin macaronic verse of many kinds in early modern England, at least from the 1550s onwards, including new examples of both ‘morphological’ macaronic verse (in which a Latin poem contains some English words inflected as if they were Latin) and ‘simple’ macaronic (comprising various other kinds of language mixture). The article includes new evidence for the knowledge of Italian macaronic poetry in sixteenth-century England; for evolving trends in the typical uses of Anglo-Latin macaronic—from *ad hominem* satire in the earliest periods to more generally humorous or topical verse in the seventeenth century; for the use of rhyme and borrowings from other languages (including Greek, French and Italian) in Anglo-Latin macaronic; and for the importance of manuscript sources especially for assessing the prevalence of relatively ‘popular’ and informal types of bilingual literature, such as macaronic verse.

1 Introduction

Latin-vernacular macaronic verse is a distinctive feature of Renaissance and early modern literary culture across Europe which has attracted considerable scholarly attention, from both a literary and a linguistic perspective.¹ Scholarship has focused primarily, however, upon Italian examples; and while there have been several important studies of macaronic poetry in other European countries, the place of such verse in early modern England has been particularly little studied.² The most authoritative existing scholarship has suggested that Anglo-Latin macaronic verse appears only in the seventeenth century and was used only for trivial or light-hearted topics.³ This article, drawing on a large corpus of previously unstudied Latin manuscript verse in English collections, demonstrates fairly extensive composition and circulation of mixed Latin-English verse of various types in England throughout early modernity.⁴ In particular, the corpus demonstrates both the awareness and the production of Italian-style Anglo-Latin macaronic verse in England by the 1550s, and suggests that the earliest English examples were, on average, poems of sharper and more topical invective than the more light-hearted examples typical of the seventeenth century and beyond. Overall, the study highlights the importance of surveying manuscript as well as print sources before drawing conclusions about the existence or popularity of a given literary form in early

¹ For the literary perspective, see Sacré, “Makkaronische Dichtung”; Demo, “Social Context and Extreme Linguistic Forms”; Demo, “Towards a Unified Definition of Macaronics”; and Burke, “The Hybridization of Languages in Early Modern Europe”. For linguistic analyses, see Demo, “Structure of the Vocabulary in Macaronic Latin”; Demo, “Mining Macaronics”; Demo and Tassotti, “Verb Conjugation Selection in Macaronic Latin”; and Demo, “Artificial Fusion”.

² For book-sized studies dealing with national traditions, see Schade, *Fercula Macaronica* (Germany); Blümlein, *Die Floia* (Germany); Pełczyński, *Studia Macaronica* (Poland); Torres-Alcalá, *Verbi gratia* (Spain); Domínguez Leal, *La Poesía Macarrónica* (Spain); Demo, *Macaronica Croatica* (Croatia). Delepierre’s *Macaronéa*, a subsequent French version of Genthe’s *Geschichte der makaronischen Poesie*, surveys macaronic poetry from an international perspective; Delepierre acknowledges that the quantity of English macaronic had been generally underestimated, and points out its popularity in late medieval England, but concentrates for the period under discussion in this article on printed examples by Drummond, Coryat and Ruggle. For an overview of macaronic practices in print sources from late medieval and early modern England, see also Boehme, “The Macaronic Technique,” 79–122.

³ Demo, “Social Context and Extreme Linguistic Forms,” 58: “In the regions where macaronic poetry arrived after the Renaissance, such as England (17th century), [...] tensions between Latin and the vernacular did not present a vehicle for original literary creation. The writings that were seriously involved with the problems of contemporary reality were extremely rare. As a result, macaronic style was mostly confined to light-hearted poetry in these countries, even when it was satirical. In short, the social potential of Latin ceased to be sufficient for such a mixture to be employed in a more demanding way.”

⁴ The appendix contains a detailed overview of the macaronic poems discussed in the present article. The research corpus draws on data from a large project conducting the first survey of post-medieval (‘neo-’) Latin verse in early modern English manuscripts (‘Neo-Latin Poetry in Early Modern English Manuscripts, c. 1550–1700’, 2017–21, PI Victoria Moul, generously funded by the Leverhulme Trust). At the time of writing, that survey has identified 27958 probably or certainly post-medieval items of Latin verse in 1231 manuscripts held in 40 archives and collections. This is far from a complete survey even of English holdings. The authors are very grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for funding the primary research, and to the team of doctoral students and post-doctoral researchers attached to it: Bianca Facchini, Edward Taylor, Sharon van Dijk and Raffaella Colombo.

modernity, and especially so in relation to satiric, invective, scurrilous or obscene material which was especially likely to circulate only or primarily in manuscript.

2 The origins of macaronic poetry

The term ‘macaronic’ has been applied to various types of language mixture, with several of these discussed further below.⁵ In its narrowest sense, it indicates a genre developed in Northern Italy during the last decades of the fifteenth century. Paduan poet Tifi Odasi (1450–1492) first introduced the term to describe a curious poetic form which combined the Italian vernacular with the morphological and syntactical features of Latin to achieve the appearance of a single language: in this article we shall refer to macaronic of this type as ‘morphological’ macaronic to distinguish it from other types of bi- and multilingual language mixture in verse. Inspired by Odasi’s work, Teofilo Folengo (1491–1544) regularised the practise by setting the standards of this artificial language.⁶ His *Baldus*, a mock-epic poem first printed (under the pseudonym Merlin Cocai) in 1517, and subsequently published in different redactions,⁷ represents the highest manifestation of the macaronic genre in this narrow sense. The opening lines of the fourth redaction (1552) give a sense of the style and tone as well as the nature of the macaronic mixture:

Phantasia mihi plus quam phantastica venit
historiam Baldi grassis cantare Camoenis.
Altisonam cuius phamam, nomenque gaiardum
terra tremat, baratrumque metu sibi cagat adossum.
Sed prius altorium vestrum chiamare bisognat,
o macaroneam Musae quae funditis artem.
An poterit passare maris mea gundola scoios,
quam recomandatam non vester aiuttus habebit?⁸
(1–8)

This burlesque poem is in ‘morphological’ macaronic—that is, Latin is the base language, but many individual words (at least one per line on average) are formed by adding Latin morphological endings to Italian words. Examples in this passage include ‘grassis’ (from ‘grasso’, fat), ‘bisognat’ (from ‘bisogna’, need to) and ‘scoios’

⁵ For an overview of the inconsistency among researchers in defining the structural properties of macaronic writings, see Demo, “Towards a Unified Definition of Macaronics,” 83–90.

⁶ Demo, “Social Context and Extreme Linguistic Forms,” 57.

⁷ Folengo’s *Liber Macaronices*, which contains the *Baldus*, was published in four redactions (*Paganini* 1517, *Toscolanense* 1521, *Cipadense* 1539–40, and *Vigaso Cocai* 1552). Although all four editions share significant overlaps, each of them has a separate publication history that differentiates it from the others. We thank one of the anonymous reviewers of the article for this useful clarification.

⁸ Book 1, lines 1–8; transcribed from Teofilo Folengo, *Le Maccheronee (volume I)*, 47. Translation by Mulaney, *Baldo (volume I)*, 3: “A fantasy, more fantastic than ever, has come to me: / to sing with the fat Muses the story of Baldo, / whose high-sounding fame and valiant name / make the earth tremble, and the underworld beshit itself in fear. / Yet first I must call for your aid, / oh Muses, you who ladle out the Macaronic arts. / Would my gondola be able to brave the sea reefs / without the help of your patronage?”

(from ‘scoglio’, sea rock).⁹ In the second redaction of his *Liber Macaronices* (1521), Folengo defined the term ‘macaronic’ as the linguistic equivalent of coarse and rustic food, implying that crudity is a primary feature of macaronic:

Ars ista poetica nuncupatur ars macaronica a macaronibus derivata, qui macarones sunt quoddam pulmentum farina, caseo, botiro compaginatum, grossum, rude et rusticum; ideo macaronices nil nisi grassedinem, ruditatem et vocabulazzos debet in se continere.¹⁰

To achieve this effect, Folengo combines not just Latin and Italian vocabulary, but also distinct registers: blending the language and phraseology of Latin epic, based especially on Virgil, with vulgar and taboo terms, drawing extensively on northern Italian dialects and gastronomic expressions. Folengo’s emphasis on gastronomy recalls the focus on food found in Roman satire, both in prose (e.g., Petronius) and verse (e.g., Horace, *Satires*).¹¹ Other defining traits of the macaronic genre include hexameters (though elegiacs and very occasionally sapphics are also found), an overall humorous tone and the tendency to use at least one macaronic word per line.¹² Folengo’s work quickly spread throughout Europe inspiring German, French, Spanish and Polish poets to adopt the form, following the standards he had established.¹³

3 Drummond’s Polemo-Middinia

Previous scholarship on macaronic literature has focused primarily on Italian examples and rarely considers macaronic verse beyond Folengo’s direct influence (though see note 2 above for relevant bibliography). In particular, existing literature on the subject offers only limited evidence for ‘morphological’ macaronic poetry in early modern England: almost all discussion has focused exclusively on Drummond’s *Polemo-Middinia* (‘The Battle of the Dung-heap’), implying that this Scottish poem is the only pre-eighteenth-century British example of

⁹ Figuratively speaking, the word ‘scoglio’ means ‘a stumbling-block, hurdle’ and refers to the obstacles Folengo will encounter while writing. The self-conscious comparison of the poet to a sailor in the prefatory or opening lines of a major poem is a common device in Renaissance Latin.

¹⁰ Teofilo Folengo, *Le Maccheronee (Volume II)*, 284. Translation by Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons*, 3: “This poetic art is called macaronic from macarones, which are a certain dough made up of flour, cheese and butter, thick, coarse, and rustic. Thus, macaronic poems must have nothing but fat, coarseness, and gross words in them.”

¹¹ Gowers, *The Loaded Table*, 46.

¹² Sacré, “Makkaronische Dichtung,” 2.

¹³ Demo, “Social Context and Extreme Linguistic Forms,” 57.

‘morphological’ macaronic verse modelled on Folengo.¹⁴ Recent scholarship based on print sources offers no English examples prior to the seventeenth century.¹⁵

The *Polemo-Middinia*, which has generally been attributed to William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1649), was apparently written some time in or after 1622 and was first printed in the 1640s: its subsequent print circulation probably accounts for its relatively high profile in existing scholarship, though it is also found in manuscript. In the poem, set in Scotland, the Ladies Scotstarvit (*Vitarva*) and Newbarns (*Neberna*) of Fife engage in a comic fight as they quarrel over a right of way across Newbarn territory. Stevenson argues that the events of the *Polemo-Middinia* are not completely fictitious: the poem refers to a 1622 real-life dispute between Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, Drummond’s brother-in-law, and Alexander Cunningham of Barns.¹⁶ The use of Latin narrows the poem’s readership to an educated audience capable of enjoying the incongruity between the coarse humour, vernacular borrowings and epic imitation.¹⁷ The opening lines of the poem demonstrate the many similarities to, but also some differences from Folengo:

POLEMO-MIDDINIA INTER VITARVAM ET NEBERNAM
 Nymphae, quae colitis highissima monta Fifaea,
 Seu vos Pitewema tenent, seu Crelia crofta,
 Sive Anstraea domus, ubi nat haddocus in undis,
 Codlineusque ingens, et fleucca et sketta pererrant
 Per costam, et scopulos, lobster manifoetus in udis
 Creepat, et in mediis ludit whitenius undis.
 Et vos Skipperii, soliti qui per mare breddum

- ¹⁴ See Boehme, “The Macaronic Technique,” 111 and Hood, “Some Account of the Macaronic Poetry,” 266–67: “Up to this time our specimens have hardly assumed the pure Macaronic features, but on the contrary been more of the patchwork class of poetry. We now, however, have to draw from a pure Macaronic source, the Polemo-Middinia of Drummond of Hawthornden.”
- ¹⁵ Demo’s database includes three Anglo-Latin macaronic texts from the seventeenth century, two from the eighteenth and five from the nineteenth (“Social Context and Extreme Linguistic Forms,” 50). Though he does not give the names of these (presumably printed) works, this data is cited to support a claim that macaronic poetry arrived in England only in the seventeenth century (58). Delepierre, *Macaronéa*, does acknowledge the importance of manuscript evidence, but only in relation to medieval rather than early modern English macaronic.
- ¹⁶ The Barns and Scot families were both close acquaintances of Drummond, whose sister Anna had married John Scot. Evidence regarding the date of the dispute comes from the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1619–1622*, which contains a formal complaint made in May 1622 by Alexander Cunningham of Barns against Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit. Presumably such a topical poem is likely to date from around the time of the dispute, or very shortly afterwards. Although the earliest editions of the *Polemo-Middinia* are anonymous, Drummond’s name appears in the 1691 edition and a later edition of his works suggests the poem was compatible with his lifestyle and character. See Stevenson, “From midden fecht to civil war,” 43–45 and also MacLaine (*The Christis Kirk Tradition*, 175), according to whom the Scot and Cunningham farms still exist and are located on a small country road extending west from the town of Crail (*Crelia*).
- ¹⁷ Boehme, “The Macaronic Technique,” 113–14. See also Stevenson (“From Midden Fecht to Civil War,” 55), who suggests that the piece was originally composed for the private enjoyment of his acquaintances, but that Drummond decided to publish it in the 1640s as a political allegory, implying a comparison between this local dispute and Scotland’s involvement in the civil war. Though this lies beyond the scope of this article, a large number of satiric, invective and allegorical Latin poems with political force were published in England and Scotland during the 1640s and 1650s (on which see Moul, *A Literary History of Latin and English Poetry*).

Valde procul lanchare foras, iterumque redire,
 Linquite skellatas botas, shippasque picatas,
 Whistlantesque simul fechtam memorate blodaeam,
 Fechtam terribilem, quam marvellaverat omnis¹⁸
 (1–11)

Linguistically speaking, the *Polemo-Middinia* unites the two languages in a hybrid but smooth synthesis. Drummond’s efforts to achieve a unilingual form through a continuous and sustained macaronisation process are surely indebted to continental models although, as this article demonstrates, he may also have encountered more local examples. The poem’s basic ‘plot’ is lowly and this corresponds with one of the standard features of the Italian genre. According to Boehme, macaronic poems of the Folengo type depend for their humourous effect upon “the juxtaposition of the cultural authority of the Latin language and the inappropriateness of the vernacular to the epic genre.”¹⁹ Continental influences not only guide Drummond’s themes, but also shape his language:

Ite, ait, uglei felloes, si quis modo posthac
 Muckifer has nostras tenet crossare fenestras,
 Juro ego quod ejus longum extrahabo thrapellum,
 Et totam rivabo faciem, luggasque gulaeo hoc
 Ex capite cuttabo ferox, totumque videbo
 Heart-bloodum fluere in terram. Sic verba finivit.²⁰
 (99–104)

As in Folengo, Drummond’s macaronic language is built on Latin syntax and relies on it for substantial parts of the vocabulary, especially for prepositions and conjunctions, while the macaronisation process targets adjectives, nouns and verbs. Unlike Folengo’s Paduan dialect, however, Drummond’s Middle Scots and Latin have few inflectional and lexical similarities of which the author could take advantage, and the linguistic hybridity is therefore more marked. According to Boehme, the Scots dialect provides a good base for the ‘tacking-on’ of various Latin endings: in the hybrid phrase ‘crossare fenestras’, for instance, the

¹⁸ Transcription from Durh. Cath. Hunter 76 (fol. 6^r), a late seventeenth-century manuscript including political poems and copies of state papers. Also found in Bod Eng. Misc. e. 183 (fol. 6^r), a mid-eighteenth-century collection of English and Latin verse, riddles and epitaphs in the hand of William Parry, vicar of Shipston-on-Stour, Warwickshire. Translation lightly adapted from MacLaine, *The Christis Kirk Tradition*, 41: “Ye nymphs who cultivate the highest mountains of Fife, / Or if you hold farms at Pittenween or at Crail, / Or have your home at Anstruther, where the haddock swims in the waves, / And the huge codling, and the fluke and skate wander / Along the coast, and among the rocks the many-footed lobster in the wet / Creeps, and in the midst of the waves the whiting plays: / And ye skippers, who are accustomed through the broad sea / Very far away to launch forth, and to come back again, / Leave your shell-like boats and ships covered with pitch, / And whistling at the same time call to mind the bloody fight, / The terrible fight, at which all will marvel.”

¹⁹ Boehme, “The Macaronic Technique,” 119.

²⁰ Transcription from Durh. Cath. Hunter 76 (fol. 8^v), but also found in Bod Eng. Misc. e. 183 (fol. 8^v). See note 17 above. Translation from MacLaine, *The Christis Kirk Tradition*, 45: “Go’, she says, ‘You ugly fellows. If in the future / Any dungcarrier even tries to cross past our windows, / I swear that I shall cut out his long throat / And tear up his whole face, and his ears with this gully [knife] / I shall cut ferociously from his head, and I shall see all / Of his heart’s blood flow into the earth.’ So she finished speaking.”

monosyllabic English verb ‘(to) cross’ is combined with the Latin infinitival ending ‘-are’.²¹ Throughout the poem, Drummond takes great delight in applying this macaronisation process to distinctively Scottish words as in ‘thrapellum’ (from ‘thrapple’, throat), ‘rivabo’ (from ‘reive’, tear), ‘luggasque’ (from ‘lugs’, ears) and ‘gullaeo’ (from ‘gully’, knife).²² Overall, although a balance between vernacular and Latin vocabulary is maintained, the ratio of Latin to Scots varies throughout the poem: some lines are kept entirely in Latin, while others contain mostly vernacular words. In other words, Drummond deliberately deploys macaronisation to vary his vocabulary, paying particular attention to the humorous effect thus achieved. For this reason, the *Polemo-Middinia* has traditionally been considered “une des premières pièces macaroniques de quelque étendue, et de plus célèbres”²³ in the English language: the poem engages in the extensive variegation of vocabulary peculiar to the macaronic style and marks, according to Boehme, “the full adoption of the continental macaronic practices”.²⁴

Although undoubtedly inspired by Folengo’s work, the poem also reflects local traditions: MacLaine saw parallels between the *Polemo-Middinia* and the “similarly coarse themes and broad humour” of Scottish festive folk-songs.²⁵ More specifically, Drummond’s poem makes some use of rhyme, especially of internal rhyme. Although he does not use such rhyme consistently, many of his hexameters are ‘leonine’: that is, the last syllable of the line rhymes with one in the middle, usually the syllable just before the caesura. In the passage given above, the lines *Muckifer has nostras tenet crossare fenestras* (100) and *Ex capite cuttabo ferox, totumque videbo* (103) both show this pattern.²⁶ Drummond’s prosody is also rather free: in this passage, for instance, the first syllable of ‘tenet’ (100) must be scanned long, rather than short as in classical Latin.

‘Leonine’ hexameters are a common feature of medieval Latin verse. The limited existing scholarship has suggested that such rhyming Latin techniques are rare in early modern Latin, being confined to medieval Latin poetry before reappearing in the eighteenth century, especially in oral forms such as student songs and hymns.²⁷ Examination of large quantities of Anglo-Latin manuscript verse, however, demonstrates that rhyming Latin of various kinds continued to be composed and circulated widely throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that it was particularly associated with satiric, invective and humorous

²¹ Boehme, “The Macaronic Technique,” 112.

²² Corbett, *Written in the Language of the Scottish Nation*, 80.

²³ “[O]ne of the first macaronic texts of some scope, and among the best known” (Delepierre, *Macaronéa*, 192).

²⁴ Boehme, “The Macaronic Technique,” 124.

²⁵ MacLaine, *The Christis Kirk Tradition*, 38.

²⁶ Strictly speaking, the pattern of line 7—in which the rhyme is created between an adjective or pronoun and the noun with which it agrees—is not considered truly ‘leonine’, since this feature is found in classical poetry and is quite frequent in Ovid, for example. Nevertheless, Drummond’s use of internal rhyme includes as we see here also many fully ‘leonine’ lines.

²⁷ IJsewijn and Sacré, *Companion*, 10–14 and 99.

material, as well as texts designed to be sung.²⁸ Neither Boehme nor Demo comment on the role of rhyme in the *Polemo-Middinia*, but, as further examples will demonstrate, this combination of macaronic with leonine rhyme is apparently typical of Anglo-Latin.²⁹

4 Anglo-Latin ‘morphological’ macaronic before Drummond

Drummond’s poem is a particularly long and impressive example of ‘morphological’ macaronic of the Folengo type, but it is not as unique as existing scholarship has implied. The research corpus (see note 4 above) contains many examples of poems written in various types of Anglo-Latin mixture, including several other instances of ‘morphological’ macaronic, two of which are demonstrably earlier than Drummond’s piece and one of which not only adheres to, but in fact appears to refer directly to Folengo as a model. Both of these early examples are composed in leonine hexameters throughout: a feature which distinguishes them from the Folengo-tradition, but which is reflected, as noted above, in Drummond’s occasional use of lines of this type, and suggests that it may have been a semi-standardized feature of Anglo-Latin ‘morphological’ macaronic in the sixteenth century. It is also noticeable that both these early examples are instances of sharp, *ad hominem* invective against prominent, identified individuals, rather than the more trivial, humourous satire which Demo describes as typical of the later English examples he discusses.³⁰

The earliest example of ‘morphological’ macaronic in the research corpus is quite precisely datable to or shortly after 1556, as it is a piece of topical satire on the death of Sir John Gresham (c. 1495–1556), memorably titled: ‘Epitaphium crassi illius ac sordidi Johannis Gresham militis stercorarii cum d[a]nte in inferno sepulti’.³¹ Gresham was a prominent and wealthy London merchant

²⁸ Moul’s project has, at the time of writing, identified 469 rhyming Latin poems in early modern English manuscript sources which appear to be of post-medieval origin (dating from around 1550 or later); this does not include a further 90 in leonine hexameters, making a total of 559.

²⁹ Boehme does, however, point out the use of rhyme in some medieval examples of English macaronic verse by John Skelton (c. 1460–1529). These poems are not, however, examples of the kind of ‘morphological’ macaronic composed by Folengo, but more general instances of the mixing of Latin and English. See Boehme, “The Macaronic Technique,” 84–108. In practice, the mid-late sixteenth century examples of English ‘morphological’ macaronic discussed in this article are probably combining fashionable elements derived from the Italian genre with features inherited from late medieval English practice.

³⁰ Demo, “Social Context and Extreme Linguistic Forms,” 58.

³¹ “Epitaph of that stupid and sordid usurer, John Gresham, knight of the dung-heap, now buried in hell with Dante.” Surrey History Centre, MS LM/1329/368. A single folded sheet in a fairly neat sixteenth-century hand. The Surrey manuscript is part of a collection belonging to Sir William More (1520–1600), a prominent Surrey landowner, who must certainly have known Sir John. John Gresham also owned land in Surrey, and did business with More’s friend Sir Thomas Cawarden (d. 1559), Master of the Revels. The apparent reference to Dante in this title is striking, since Dante’s *Divine Comedy* is not very frequently referred to in English sources of this period (Sills, “Dante in Seventeenth-Century English Literature,” 102). Unfortunately, the first vowel of the word is partly obscured by a descending letter-form from the line above, but both we and Isabel Sullivan at the Surrey History Centre believe that it is most likely to be an ‘a’. Dante might be mentioned here simply for satirical effect, because of his association with vivid depictions of the suffering of sinners in hell. Alternatively, or additionally, there might possibly be an anti-

who succeeded his brother Sir Richard as Sheriff of London (from 1537) and subsequently Lord Mayor (from 1547). The poem is in leonine hexameters (the end of the line rhyming with the middle), and it is accompanied by a ‘Responsio’ attributed to Richard Sherry, a schoolmaster and author (b. c. 1505), in more standard Latin though also employing some leonine rhymes.³² This pair of poems perhaps had a significant circulation, since they are also found together (though without the same excoriating title) among the early Elizabethan additions to a late medieval manuscript now in Trinity College Cambridge.³³ A further copy of the Gresham poem (without Sherry’s response, and here titled to refer to Sir Thomas Gresham (c. 1519–1579), the son of Sir Richard and nephew of Sir John Gresham) is also found in a Bodleian manuscript which has been dated to the late 1580s.³⁴

The attack upon Gresham focuses upon his moneylending, linking it to the family crest of a grasshopper and here associating it with the voracious destruction of a locust:³⁵

mercator mendax, fenerator, fidei vendax
vorax cicada croppans virida blada³⁶
(4–5)

namque pro vsura pessundadit omnia Jura
per quam hic sanns dowl causant many a bankrowt

Catholic connotation. A contemporary account of Gresham’s funeral, mentioned by Manning and Bray (*History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, II.402) implies that he was a Catholic at the time of his death, which fell within the five-year period in which England briefly reverted to Catholicism under Queen Mary I (1553–58). We are grateful to Isabel Sullivan at the Surrey History Centre for further information on Sir John Gresham.

³² On Sherry see Orme, “Sherrey [Sherry], Richard (b. c. 1505).”

³³ Trinity College Cambridge, MS O.9.38, fol. 88^r. Though clearly the same pair of poems, the Trinity copy is badly damaged with a significant portion of the page missing on the top and right-hand side. There are also several differences in the order of individual words and of lines compared to the Surrey manuscript. It can be viewed digitally here: <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.9.38/>. A 1967 transcription of the Trinity poem and its response (Rigg, “Two Poems”) filled in the gaps by reference to a c. 1634 transcription of the Trinity manuscript by Oxford antiquarian Brian Tywne (Bodleian MS Tywne XXIV, pp. 299–307). Unfortunately, pandemic restrictions have meant we have been unable to view the Bodleian manuscript. Rigg assumed the poem was about Sir Richard Gresham (1486–1549), John Gresham’s elder brother who preceded him as Lord Mayor of London from 1537, though the poem itself is titled only ‘Epitaphium in Gressamum’ according to the Tywne transcription. The connection to Richard appears to have been Rigg’s own assumption. The Surrey copy, however, is clearly titled with reference to John, not Richard Gresham, making it likely that the Trinity copy also in fact referred to John rather than Richard, and therefore dates from around 1556. This accords roughly with other elements of the additions to the Trinity manuscript in the same hand, one of which refers to the St. Paul’s fire of 1561.

³⁴ Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 85, fol. 2^v, ‘Verses mad vpon the deathe of Sir Thomas Gresseme Knight somtymes Lord: Maior of the cytty of London’. This manuscript is described by Marotti as John Finet’s manuscript, begun at court and continued at Cambridge (see Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric*, 31). This is clearly the same poem, though with multiple minor differences in spelling, word-order and also the order in which particular lines appear.

³⁵ For the well-known family crest of a grasshopper, as well as further biographical information, see Blanchard, “Gresham, Sir Richard (c. 1485–1549).”

³⁶ “Corrupt merchant, usurer, who puts trust up for sale / Voracious grasshopper, cropping the green blades.” Where only manuscript sources exist, transcriptions are semi-diplomatic, replicating the spelling and punctuation of the original even if it is unconventional.

Ex yong Vpstarters, quotquot erant sibi detters³⁷
(7–9)

Like Folengo’s macaronic verse, the base language is Latin, though the author of the piece makes use both of ‘morphological’ macaronic techniques, where an English word has a Latin grammatical ending attached (as above in *croppans*, ‘crop’ with a Latin present participle ending and *blada*, ‘blade’ [of grass] with a neuter plural Latin ending) and wholesale importation of a handful of English words and phrases without alteration (such as ‘bankrowt’, ‘yong Upstarters’, ‘dettters’).³⁸ There are also traces of French, or Anglicised French (‘sanns dowl’).

Interestingly, Richard Sherry’s response poem makes a point of commenting on the form of the satire to which it replies, characterising it several times in a derogatory fashion as ‘rhythmic’ (‘rithmice conscriptum’ in the title; ‘qui rithmos scripsit miseros’ (1); ‘Rithmus . . . sordidus . . . tuus’ (22); ‘quisquis inepta / haec tua cum risu rythmica perspiciet’ (34–35)).³⁹ ‘Rhythmic’ here refers to the use of rhyme and also probably implies a primarily stress-based rather than quantitative metre. The accusation that the verses are ‘inepta’ (‘incompetent’) is also not without foundation—the prosody of these lines is particularly far removed from classical standards. In other words, Sherry—who had been a well-known master of Magdalen College School in Oxford—uses the medieval formal elements of the poem, and its wayward scansion, to attempt to discredit its satiric force, while in practice replicating several of these elements in his own poem, which becomes increasingly consistently leonine as it proceeds, and also makes plenty of use of alliteration.

The Gresham poem is similar in many respects to a second example in the corpus, which apparently dates from around 1600.⁴⁰ This poem is also a piece of personalized invective, targeting in this case Sir Thomas Knyvet (1545–1622).

³⁷ “For usury’s sake he has utterly destroyed all laws / And by usury this man without doubt causes many a bankruptcy / Among young upstarters, as many as were his debtors.” The Trinity MS has ‘Ex Yonge vppe setters’ rather than ‘upstarters’ here.

³⁸ Later examples of the first type include ‘ad pilloriam’ (18, ‘to the pillory’) and ‘rewardas’ (21, ‘rewards’) and of the second type ‘sic vos in Chepeside [Cheapside] qui quondam shamfully did ryde’ (17, ‘so you who once did shamefully ride in Cheapside’). ‘Bankrowt’ is an attested early form of ‘bankrupt’ (see *OED* ‘bankrupt, *n.*’, Phrases P1. Obsolete. Example from 1552 ‘make banckerowte’).

³⁹ “Rhythmically composed”; “who has written wretched rhythmic [verses]”; “your foul rhythmic [verse]”; “whoever will read with laughter these your incompetent rhythmic verses”. For further evidence of the strong association between rhyming, stress-based verse in Latin and invective, see for instance CUL MS Dd. V. 75 (fol. 43^r), an obscene Latin poem from the 1580s attacking Mary Queen of Scots, described as ‘Rithmus Satyricus’, and with one borderline macaronic element (‘gota’, here clearly meaning a female goat). The poem employs both end-rhyme and leonine rhyme.

⁴⁰ The manuscript in which it appears, CUL Ff. 5. 14 (fol. 107^v), is a mostly sixteenth-century manuscript, almost certainly written by Herbert Westfaling (1531/2–1602). It contains religious and political texts, a diary and English and Latin poetry, including quite a large number of late-medieval pieces and twelve items in leonine hexameters. We originally assumed this poem dated from the latter half of the sixteenth century, since it is in the same hand as other items, and does not appear right at the end. Existing scholarship suggests Knyvet was probably not knighted, however, until 1601 (see Nicholls, “Knyvett [Knyvet], Thomas”), though there is some uncertainty about this, and it is possible that this manuscript is itself evidence for an earlier date. Due to the pandemic, we were unable to re-examine the entire manuscript for any further evidence of dating.

Like the Gresham poem, it is written in leonine hexameters, and mainly in Latin, with the macaronic element represented by both ‘morphological’ macaronic and the insertion of a handful of unaltered English words and phrases. Some difficulties of transcription combined with the intense word play—drawing on Greek and probably Italian as well as Latin, and with many interlingual puns—makes this item particularly interesting but also especially challenging to translate:

Et quidem miles cunctos claterans to be viles
 qui baldi, baldos non bablant (vt ipse) ribaldos
 doltibus ex mille doltion doltissimus ille
 in casa negra sentans cum gente in alegra
 est natura domus [baudrie] spurcissima promus
 quum makoronizat iornos, noctes collichizat
 yet maude for my store similis sowe pro simili bore
 iam vadit intorno fletstreet pro toto iorno.⁴¹
 (1–8)

In addition to the use of leonine hexameters, the heavy reliance on alliteration and assonance suggests late medieval English poetic practice and differs considerably from that of Folengo. The lines have in that sense an ‘English’ feel but, rather surprisingly, they also draw explicitly on Italian macaronics. The author’s use of the verb form ‘makoronizat’ (6) with the meaning ‘to be macaronic’ or ‘to make macaronic’ shows knowledge of Italian critical vocabulary, while also apparently punning on Greek ‘μακαρίζω’, ‘to bless’ (the Greek elements in this poem are discussed further below). Moreover, the repetition of ‘baldi, baldos’ in the second line almost certainly alludes directly to Folengo’s *Baldus*, alerting the reader to the nature of the poem from the outset. While the medieval features of both this poem and the Gresham one—such as the use of leonine hexameters and pronounced alliteration—might lead us to assume that they represent a macaronic tradition distinct from that of Folengo, the specific allusions to Folengo and to the critical vocabulary of macaronic in this poem about Knyvet demonstrate contemporary awareness in England of the Italian tradition, well before the earliest date of composition for Drummond’s *Polemo-Middinia*.

⁴¹ “And a certain soldier, is clattering that all are vile [or cheap] [i.e. saying loudly that everyone is vile/cheap, with a pun on Latin *vilis* and an Anglicisation of the Latin use of the infinitive (‘to be’) in an indirect statement] / Those who are bold [or bald], do not babble (as he does) ribald *Baldi* [*Baldus* is the title of Folengo’s poem; also late Latin for ‘bold, spirited’; and suggests English ‘bald’] / Of a thousand dolts [stupid people] he is the most doltish of all / Sitting [cheerfully?] among people in a black house / The nature of the house is the foulest kind of bawdry, when the steward / Makes the days macaronic [or ‘blesses’ the days, with a pun on μακαρίζω; ‘iornus’ is late Latin for ‘day’, but the use of the word here may also be a Romance borrowing], and corrupts the nights [probably based on ‘collicio’, to mislead, beguile, with a Greek ending] / Yet made for my store like so on behalf of (or just like) a similar bore / And now in turn rushes about Fleetstreet all day long.” There are many difficulties here. ‘In alegra’ (4) perhaps makes use of the Italian adjective ‘allegro’ (‘cheerful, joyful’, cf. ‘in allegria’, ‘in good spirits’); Folengo’s *Baldus*—to which this extract has already alluded in line 2—contains a similar phrase (‘omnis in allegro versa est gamezza cachinno’, book 19, line 26) as well as several other instances of the phrase at line end such as ‘Cingar ad haec tostum facie respondit alegra’ (book 18, line 186) and ‘canzonesque iubet cantari Baldus alegras’ (book 23, line 167). ‘Sentans’ (4) is also obscure, but perhaps from Italian ‘sentare / sentarsi’, ‘sit down with’. Transcription from CUL Ff. 5. 14 (fol. 107”).

Indeed, Richard Willes’ *Poematum Liber*, an influential anthology of poetic forms, styles and devices printed in 1573, and dating from roughly halfway between the Knyvet and Gresham invectives, includes a brief comment on Italian macaronic which demonstrates that the form was well-understood, had been current when Willes’ himself had been a “boy in college”, and—most interestingly—that it had, for Willes, a strong association with *ad hominem* invective:

On item 79. Mimus. O che goffa.

Genus hoc versuum Itali Macaroneum a Merlino qui sic librum suum inscripsit, nuncupant a nullis fere iam populis non vsitatum. memini vestro in collegio puer, hoc artificio elaborati Sales ne me aspergerent. aliquando vehementer timuisse.⁴²

This fits closely with the way we see the form being used in the poems about Gresham and Knyvet, though this association of the form with real personal invective—rather than more generally humourous verse—seems to fade in the seventeenth century.

The following elegiacs on the unpleasant effect of smoking tobacco, dating from the early seventeenth century, are recognisably macaronic in form, and share many linguistic features with the Knyvet poem in particular, though this epigram lacks the kind of personal impetus Willes associated with macaronic verse. Like the Cambridge poem on Knyvet, it also includes macaronic elements drawing on Greek as well as Latin morphology: in the Cambridge poem the word ‘dolt-on’, for instance, is apparently to be understood as a Greek genitive plural ending (-ων, the most stupid ‘of stupid people’) and both ‘makoronizat’ and ‘collichizat’ have Latin person endings attached to a Greek-style -ίζω verbal suffix.

In this epigram on tobacco, we find several formulations, such as ‘Cacothumpon’, ‘Slaueron’, ‘stinckon’ and ‘shyton’, in which the ‘-on’ ending can be understood both as an English phrasal verb (‘slaver on’; ‘shit on’) and Greek present participle in the nominative masculine case (‘slavering’, ‘stinking’, ‘shitting’). The prefix ‘caco-’ in ‘cacothumpon’ also suggests Greek κακο- (‘bad’) as well as the verb κακάω / caco (‘defecate’).⁴³ By the late sixteenth century, Greek was commonly taught in the upper years of grammar school, and university curricula demonstrate that students were assumed to have good Greek on arrival.⁴⁴ It is noticeable that this early seventeenth-century epigram, and the poem on Knyvet (c. 1600) make use of Greek grammatical features alongside Latin in a way not found either in Folengo or in the earlier Gresham poem (probably dating from the mid-1550s).

⁴² Willes, *Poematum Liber*, sig. Diii^v-Diiii^f. “This type of poetry the Italians call ‘Macaronic’ from Merlin [Merlinus Cocaius, i.e., Folengo] who titled his own book in this way; it is still practiced by all peoples now. I remember when as a boy in your college, I was sometimes very afraid that witty satirical verses, constructed by this method, might be aimed at me.” Willes (1546–1579?) was at Winchester College between 1558 and 1562.

⁴³ For this kind of crude language of bodily functions, compare *baratrumque metu sibi cagat adossum* (Folengo, *Baldus*, 4; quoted above).

⁴⁴ See Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain*, 17–20 and Green, *Early Modern English Education*, especially 254–59.

IN TOBACCO

Gorgon per stomachon vomitos facit et cacothumpon
 Fartera brich-bottom out belchizerando cogit.
 Slaueron et rheumeton cum perfumeganto tobacco
 Lick-spiggaton homines gullitizando nimis
 O tu morbi curans. tu magnificensque tobacco
 Rumbellicans illicon perpenetransque colon
 Qui te degulpant et bumpi gullite gorgant,
 Red-nosans illos flammi feruente fumo
 Absis tu fumitor et swaggarizando retorque
 Abhominon stinckon et vomitando shyton.⁴⁵
 (1–10)

Unlike previous examples, this epigram is in elegiac couplets rather than hexameters, but this is not unknown among continental macaronic—indeed, Folengo himself also composed in elegiacs⁴⁶—and elegiac couplets were by far the most common metre for Latin epigram in this period. Although only brief, the epigram conforms in other respects to the conventions of macaronic verse of the Folengo type: first, English vocabulary is mostly subjected to Latin syntax, that is English words are combined with Latin endings ('fart-era' (2), 'bump-i' (7), 'Red-nosans' (8), etc) in order to create novel linguistic forms based on extensive hybridisation. Second, the poem has a crude focus upon the 'consumption' of tobacco in smoking, and its unpleasant effects upon the digestion. Like Drummond, however—and unlike Folengo—the epigram makes use of some leonine rhymes (illicon-colon (6); stinckon-shyton (10)), without using them consistently. Also unlike Folengo-style macaronic—but in common with the Knyvet and Gresham poems—the epigram includes some unadapted English words (e.g. 'brich-bottom' (2)), to which neither Latin nor Greek morphology has been applied. Overall, the poem is characterised both by its focus upon the unruly body, uncontrollably subject to belching, vomiting, defecation and so on, and by a peculiarly unruly

⁴⁵ This epigram is particularly difficult to translate into coherent English, but could be rendered as something like: "That Gorgon induces vomiting from the stomach, and thundering as if defecating / Forces farts out the bottom of breeches, along with belching. / Slavering and rheumatic from smoking, Tobacco / Lick-spigots [is parasitic upon?] men by guzzling [or 'gulling', tricking] too much. / O you curer of disease. You magnificent Tobacco / Rumbling, enticing (illico = illicio?) and penetrating deeply into the colon / Those who gulp you down and greedily gorge on you, stomachs swollen, / You make their noses red with the seething smoke of the flame / Away with you smoker! and swaggering turn back / Abominable stinking and shitting with vomiting." A 'lick-spigot' (*n.*, obsolete) is 'one who licks the spigot'; a contemptuous name for a tapster or drawer; also implying a parasite, with examples in the *OED* from sources dating from between 1599 and 1700. It is hard to render the verbal implication of 'lick-spiggaton'. Transcription from Harley 791 (fol. 59^v), an early seventeenth-century manuscript containing various pieces dating from between the 1560s and 1630s, mostly in English. The epigram is also found (with several textual differences suggestive of a lively oral circulation, but essentially the same meaning) in BL Add MS 15227 (fol. 16^v), an early seventeenth-century collection of epigrams, epitaphs, elegies and other small poems in English and Latin titled 'Juvenilia Ludicra'. As Latin poetry of this period remains mostly uncatalogued, it is very likely that many other copies of this epigram are extant and have not yet been noted. Epigrams in praise or dispraise of tobacco in the early seventeenth century were extremely common in both Latin and English.

⁴⁶ Folengo's *Moschaea*, written in elegiacs, narrates the war between 'Sanguileo' (King of the flies) and 'Granestor' (King of the ants). Inspired by the *Batrachomyomachia*, this macaronic poem mocks the *Aeneid* and Italian heroic poems, particularly the *Orlando Innamorato* and *Mambriano*. See Crawford, "Teofilo Folengo's *Moschaea*," 81–83.

approach to ‘morphological’ macaronic itself, marked by a chaotic combination of Greek and Latin suffixes, the application of verbal endings to nominal stems, and the creation of suggestive but ambiguous new words such as ‘gullitizando’ (4), hinting at both ‘gull’ as in ‘gobble’ and ‘gull’ as in ‘deceive’, formed with a Latin gerund ending upon a Greek-looking -izo verbal suffix. The prosody of the poem is similarly unruly, with several parts unscannable by classical rules.

Somewhat easier to follow is an example of ‘morphological’ macaronic Latin drawn from one of the most popular Latin texts of its day. George Ruggle’s (1575–1622) comic play *Ignoramus*, first performed for King James in 1615 and frequently reprinted, was written in Latin but with many macaronic elements. Of these, one of the most frequently copied was a humorous love poem in praise of Rosabella, which circulated in manuscript individually as well as alongside other extracts, or entire copies of the play. The song circulates in versions of various lengths, but begins:

Si possem, vellem pour te Rosa ponere pellem,
 Quicquid vis crava, & habebis singula Brava,
 Et Dabo fee simple, si monstras Loue’s pretty Dimple,
 Gownos, silkcotos, Hoopatos & Petticotos⁴⁷
 (1–4)

Ruggle’s verses are clearly macaronic, and indeed are the most extended example of ‘morphological’ macaronic in the play: Latin is the base language and English vocabulary is mostly subjected to its syntax and morphology. The macaronic word ‘gownos’, for instance, combines the English noun ‘gown’ with the Latin ending -os. The poem also contains a pure English phrase (‘Love’s pretty Dimple’), a piece of a legal jargon (‘fee simple’) and the French preposition ‘pour’ combined with a Latin pronoun ‘te’. Despite meeting the linguistic requirements of ‘morphological’ macaronic, the poem appears to observe national macaronic tendencies rather than following the Italian model. According to Boehme, who discusses this poem, “national poetic preferences, which are nowhere required by Folengo, shine through in the application of a continuous simple rhyming scheme”.⁴⁸ More specifically, and in the light of the other examples discussed, we can say that the leonine rhyme in Ruggle’s comic song (‘vellem’–‘pellem’ and so on) is a characteristic feature of English macaronic of the period. The poem’s comical content, while obviously intended to be amusing, is neither crude nor grotesque, and nor does it imitate epic in particular—in these respects it is some way removed from the conventions established by Folengo’s *Baldus* (though might echo his *Zanitonella*, which contains love lyric, and is largely in elegiacs). In this example, as in

⁴⁷ Translation by Tucker, *Fernando Parkhurst’s Ignoramus*, 258: “If I could, I would put off my skin for you, Rosa; / whatever fine things you crave, you shall have each one of them, / and if you show [me] Love’s pretty dimple, I’ll give you a *fee simple* [legal term], / [as well as] gowns, silk coats, and hooped [coats] and petticoats.” Transcription from Nottingham Pw V 1416 (single folio); also found in Folger MS V.a.345 (p. 43) and BL Egerton 3310A (fol. 73^v), among others. A partial version is also found in Nottingham Pw V 1343 (fol. 2^v).

⁴⁸ Boehme, “The macaronic technique,” 115.

the tobacco epigram, we see a move away from the kind of *ad hominem* invective with which the form seems to have been associated in sixteenth century England.

The corpus contains several further examples of ‘morphological’ macaronic dating from the early seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century. Aside from two copies of Drummond’s poem (almost certainly originally written, as discussed, in the early 1620s), all these other examples belong, broadly speaking, to the class of poetry represented by the Tobacco epigram and the song for Rosabella—brief and essentially humorous songs and epigrams, often of a mildly satiric kind, but without the sort of personalised invective seen in the earliest examples, and typically combining elements of ‘morphological’ and ‘simple’ macaronic within the same poem.

5 Other types of macaronic verse

The corpus also includes many examples of Anglo-Latin poems which can be considered macaronic in a broader sense, exhibiting a range of types of Latin/vernacular mixture. Some poems in this category contain just one or two English or Latin words in an otherwise monolingual piece.⁴⁹ Some have a refrain or chorus in the other language, incorporate familiar Latin phrases or tags, or alternate languages line by line.⁵⁰ ‘Morphological’ macaronic often circulates alongside other types of macaronic linguistic play: the Knyvet poem discussed above, for instance, is immediately followed in the manuscript by a brief satirical Latin poem in leonine hexameters, on the dangers of excessive drinking, written entirely in Latin apart from the final line, which is macaronic in a ‘simple’ (non-morphological) sense: ‘tunc si plus bibam, Can, pot, et omnia frangam’.⁵¹

Rhyming between Latin and English words is common, and many of these pieces, though simple in terms of their macaronic technique, share a linguistic self-consciousness with the more complex examples of ‘morphological’ macaronic. In the following epigram, for example, though Latin endings are not attached to English words, the epigram depends for its effect upon the unexpected application of familiar textbook tags to the facts of life:

⁴⁹ E.g., BL Egerton 2642 (fol. 267^r), an English and Latin version of the same epigram, the Latin version including a single English word (‘black’) in a satiric description of monks. Late sixteenth-century source. Several later examples are essentially English poems with only occasional Latin words.

⁵⁰ E.g., BL Harley 3991 (fols 115^v-118^r), Latin refrain only. Mid-seventeenth century. BL Sloane 1889 (fol. 9^v), grammatical epigram incorporating familiar pedagogical tags. Early seventeenth century, discussed further below. Essex County Record Office, MS D/DW/Z.3 (item A^r), in alternating rhyming lines of Latin and English. Early eighteenth century.

⁵¹ “Then if I drink anymore, I shall break the can, pot and everything.” Another copy of this poem is found in Bodleian MS Don. b. 8 (p. 282). It seems to derive from Herman Schottenius’ popular collection of school dialogues, *Confabulationes tyronum litterariorum*, first published in 1525, but printed in more than thirty editions including in London from 1533 onwards, and widely used. Schottenius was German, and the macaronic lines in the early printed editions use German versions of the vernacular words: “Sed si plus bibam, Kannen, Pot, omnia frangam.” See Schottenius, *Confabulationes*, sig. L6^v-L7^r. Schottenius may well have been incorporating a humorous Latin poem which was already well-known.

IN DOLL PREGNANTEM

Doll learning propria quae maribus without book
Like Nomen crescentis genetiwo doth looke.⁵²

On Pregnant Doll

Doll [a representative girl’s name] learning “propria quae maribus” [“that which belongs to male creatures”] without a book
Resembles “Nomen crescentis genetiwo” [“a noun or name of [the type which] expands in the genitive”]

The epigram is by Thomas Freeman, and was printed as part of a collection of his (mostly English) epigrams in 1614.⁵³ The phrases ‘propria quae maribus’ and ‘nomen crescentis genetiwo’ are quotations from very widely known Latin didactic verses found in Lily’s grammar, the standard school grammar in England throughout early modernity. The verses alluded to here are among the first, and are designed to help remember, respectively, which proper nouns are masculine, and which nouns gain a syllable in the genitive case.⁵⁴ The macaronic epigram relies upon the widespread familiarity of these tags, and implies that while men learn about (grammatical) sex from Lily, women learn the same ‘lesson’ ‘without [a] book’—that is, by sexual experience (“the things which belong to men” here implying genitals), and when they find themselves pregnant (that is, when, like a noun in the genitive case, women find themselves ‘growing’ as a result of procreation). Such an example is both trivially amusing, and also revealing of the cultural milieu. Many ‘grammatical’ epigrams of this period play on the analogies between physical sex and grammatical gender.⁵⁵

Similarly, the following political poem, which circulated extremely widely in the late 1620s, is macaronic only in a very simple way, but the ‘point’ of the Latin element—the similarity in sound of ‘Rex’ and ‘Grex’, ‘Crux’ and ‘Dux’—is closely related to the poem’s political force:

ON THE DUKE

Rex & grex [The King and the People] are both of a sound,
But Dux [Buckingham] doth Rex & Grex confound.
If Crux [the cross, punishment or destruction] of Dux might have his fill,
Then Rex with grex might worke his will:
Three Subsidies to five would turne,
And grex would laugh, that now doth mourne.
O Rex, thy grex doth sore complaine,
That Dux hath Crux [i.e. the power to punish], and crux not Dux againe
But now it is the praier of thy poore Grex,
That vivat Rex [the King may live], on Dux may currat Lex [that the Law might take its course on Buckingham, i.e., try and punish him].⁵⁶ (1–11)

⁵² Transcription from BL Sloane 1889 (fol. 9^v), an early seventeenth-century collection of epigrams.

⁵³ Freeman, *Rubbe, and a Great Cast*, epigram 46.

⁵⁴ Lily, *Brevissima Institutio*, sigs A6^r and A8^r.

⁵⁵ Moul, “Grammar in verse,” 128.

⁵⁶ Quoted here from BL Add 44963 (fol. 40^v) but found in a very large number of manuscripts at the period: Early Stuart Libels Oi15 lists 22 manuscript sources for this poem (or a shorter version of it of only the first eight lines) and this is very unlikely to be a complete list. The interpretations given here are indebted

This very popular poem argues that, in order to reunite King Charles (*Rex*) with his subjects (*Grex*) inside and outside parliament, the Duke of Buckingham (*Dux*) must be removed from power.⁵⁷

In some instances, the comic effect seems to derive purely from the linguistic mixture without any particular satiric ‘point.’ The following widely circulating seventeenth-century mock-epitaph, for instance, is in the form of an hexameter couplet and combines Latin (conventionally associated with epitaphs) with very ordinary English words.

Hic jacet Tom Shorthose sine Tombe, sine sheet, sine riches,
Qui vixit sine Gowne, sine cloke, sine shirt, sine breeches.⁵⁸

The poem does not subject vernacular vocabulary to Latin syntax, but interpolates English in a very basic way. Although far removed from the complex effects of some ‘morphological’ macaronic, the epitaph still achieves a characteristic effect of ‘linguistic shock’.⁵⁹

These last three examples all have end rhyme of a type typical of English verse of the period, and indeed the majority of macaronic poems in the research corpus rely on some sort of rhyme scheme. The particular link between leonine rhymes and satire, which we saw in the examples of ‘morphological’ macaronic, seems to be echoed in some later examples of ‘simple’ macaronic verse. The following piece by Thomas Randolph (1605–1635), for instance, the first lines of which are given below, addresses recent Oxford graduates using leonine hexameters that scan both quantitatively and by stress. The poem, written in 1632, liberally utilises English words and describes how a series of well-known authors, texts and literary characters—including John Marston’s *Jack Drum’s Entertainment* (c. 1599), Rabelais’ *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532–64), Marlowe’s *Tamburlaine* (1588), Thomas Coryat’s *Coryat’s Crudities* (1611), Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* (1605 and 1615), Barten Holyday’s *Technogamia* (1618), Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* (1532) and even Shakespeare’s *Pericles* (c. 1608) as well as the sixteenth-century author of Latin drama, Johannes Laurentius Palmerinus and one ‘Alborinus’ whom we have been unable to identify with certainty⁶⁰—must give way to the greater excellence of the

to the notes provided on that website. http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/buckingham_at_war_section/Oi15.html

⁵⁷ Although the poem relies almost exclusively on English grammar, the expression ‘that vivat rex’ depends upon the reader understanding the subjunctive force of ‘vivat’ (that the king may live). The verb ‘currat’, on the other hand, is introduced by the English auxiliary ‘may’ despite carrying the same force.

⁵⁸ Transcription from Corpus Christi Oxford MS 309 (fol. 49^r), a late seventeenth-century manuscript by William Fulman. Also found in Bod. Ashmole 38 (fol. 176), a large early seventeenth-century collection of miscellaneous English poetry and in Manchester John Rylands Library MS Eng. 521 (p. 184), a large miscellany compiled by Thomas Walker, dated 1712. This poem was clearly in circulation over a period of at least a hundred years and probably much longer. There is no first line index for Latin verse in manuscript sources; but the fact that we are aware of three copies of this poem of significantly different dates and without any obvious connections between the miscellanies suggests that it was circulating widely. The poem also appeared in print in several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collections.

⁵⁹ Demo, “Mining Macaronics,” 210.

⁶⁰ ‘Alborinus’ is a latinised form of the Lombard name ‘Alboino’ and might refer to the Longobard King Alboin (c. 530–572). He and his wife Rosmunda appear in Rucellai’s *Rosmunda* (1516) as well as the stories

performance the poem is introducing. Although written in hexameters and to that extent metrically conventional, the use of strong alliteration and leonine as well as end-rhyme links the poem to specifically English conventions for satiric verse:

Nunc sileat Jack Drum, taceant miracula Tom Thumb;
 Nec se Gigantem jactet Garagantua tantum.
 Nec ferat insanus sua praelia Tamberlanus,
 Nec Palmerinus, nec strenuus Alborinus.
 Se quondam ratus sapientem Tom Coriatus,
 Et Don Quicksotto dicit, Sum nunc idiota.⁶¹
 (1–6)

Randolph was acting as the ‘Praevaricator’, a kind of official ‘fool’, and some similar macaronic verse from Cambridge also appears to be related to the role of ‘Terrae Filius’ (‘Son of the Soil’), a similar position and a term used in both Oxford and Cambridge.⁶² *Ignoramus*, discussed above, was also a piece of university drama and unsurprisingly this kind of Anglo-Latin bilingual wordplay seems in the seventeenth century to have been particularly associated with educational institutions, in which Latin remained in everyday oral use.

Similar observations apply to *D^r Hall’s Curate’s Petition to the King*: this fully rhyming poem, attributed in one manuscript copy to ‘Mannynge’, is written in a stress metre with a regular pattern of end-rhymes of the sort one might encounter in English and apparently dates from the early seventeenth century. In common with several sixteenth-century examples, it is a satiric poem with *ad hominem* force since the target of the satire—Dr Hall—is identified by name. The speaking voice of the poem, supposedly Hall’s curate, complains, apparently to the King, that he is paid too little and as a result will be forced to resign his position, warning the King that he will shortly hear the same complaint from his successor unless Hall is forced to be more generous:

I serue under D^r Hall:

of *Bertoldo, Bertoldino e Cacasenno* (1620) written by Cesare Giulio Croce and Adriano Banchieri, suggesting Alboin might have had some presence in early modern literature. The couple is also depicted in Rubens’ *Alboin and Rosamunde* (1615). We thank one of the anonymous reviewers for these useful suggestions.

⁶¹ “Now let Jack Drum be silent, Tom Thumb should not recount miracles; / Nor should Gargantua boast that he’s such a great giant. / Mad Tamburlaine won’t be able to endure his own battles, / Nor Palmer, nor mighty Alborinus. / Tom Coriat once thought himself wise, / But says to Don Quicksotto, “Now I am an idiot.”” Transcription from Bod. Rawl. Poet. 62 (fol. 1^r), a mid-seventeenth-century collection of short poems about Cambridge affairs and general politics. Also found in BL Add 44963 (fol. 26^r), a mid-seventeenth-century commonplace book by Anthony Scattergood.

⁶² See, for example, the poem apparently delivered by Sir Sampson White (1606–86), Alderman of Oxford, c. 1672. Written in rhyming four-line stanzas, mostly in Latin but with English elements. The poem ends: “Te colunt Cives nostri / Et amore tuo fervent; / Fie on’t, I have forgot the rest, / Your Highness humble servant.” (“Our citizenry revere you / And clamour for your favour / Fie on it, I have forgot the rest, / Your Highness’ humble servant.” We are aware of two copies of this poem: Society of Antiquaries London, MS 330 (fols. 74^{v-r}, rev.) and Bodleian MS Eng. poet. f. 13, fols. 180^r-181^r (William Parry’s collection, early eighteenth century).

O miserere mei. [O have pity upon me.]
 And vnder hym vndone bee-shall: [I shall be undone by serving under him]
O Rex fer opem mihi! [O King, help me!]
 Twelue pounds by the yeare,
 Bee it cheape, bee it deare,
Pertinet ad me. [Belongs to me.]
 Out of sixe-score & eight,
 Which that [= he] maketh straight,
Pertinet ad se. [Belongs to him.]
 Unlesse your Grace releiue,
 And cause hym more to giue,
Mibi vocatiuo carenti: [To me, lacking ‘the vocative [case]’ / a vocation]
Ablatiuum a me, [What has been taken [“ablative”] from me]
Venienti ad te,
Stipendium erit querenti.
 [Will be a stipend for the one who comes to you, asking for it.]
 Hee hath by his Churches,
 And by his purchases,
Sic singulis annis [Thus in every year]
 Fowre hundred pounds at least,
 Besides sheepe and beast,
Communibus annis [In an average year].⁶³
 (1–22)

It is noticeable that the Latin of this poem is based on liturgical (*miserere mei*), legal (*pertinet ad me*; *communibus annis*) and grammatical (*ablatiuum a me*) tags: the most familiar kind of Latin phrases, of the sort that a curate would certainly have known. The grammatical wordplay also has a similar self-consciousness to the ‘Doll’ epigram discussed above. Thematically, the poem echoes long-standing satirical tropes about corrupt clergy, a very common theme of medieval verse—though in this case the corrupt clergyman profits not at the expense of a neglected laity, but to the detriment of a poor curate.

Although the bilingual circulation of epigrams and other short poems—with versions in Latin and English recorded together in commonplace books and miscellanies—is a characteristic feature of seventeenth-century English literary culture, it is noticeable that this is rarely true of macaronic verse. This is perhaps unsurprising: the translation of macaronic material is challenging, and the ‘point’ of the poem, its satiric force or humourous edge, is very often closely related to use of macaronic itself, making it almost impossible to translate effectively. The only exceptions in the corpus—where we find macaronic poems accompanied by an English translation or version—are all of a relatively late date. The earliest such example, a satiric squib on Charles II, dates from around 1680:

⁶³ Transcription from Bod. Rawl. Poet. 26 (fol. 2^v), an early seventeenth-century collection of miscellaneous poems. Also found in Bod. Ashmole MS 781 (p. 118); BL Egerton MS 2560 (fol. 79^r) and Lamb Pal Lib Sion L.40.2-E22 (fol. 1^r). The attribution to Mannyng is not found in any of the other copies known to us.

Delirat Rex Triumphat Cunnus
Silet Lex The Lord have mercy on us.⁶⁴

As is typical at this period, the English version implies but does not ‘fill in’ the obscenity:

When the K’s distracted
And the C – Rules
And the Law’s rejected
God help the fooles.

The influence of an oral Latin culture is discernible in how many of these macaronic poems make use of set tags or phrases (as discussed above). In addition, a small subset of the poems are explicitly described in the manuscript record as having been composed ‘extempore’ or ‘on the spot’. An example of this kind of macaronic dating from the early eighteenth century includes also a translingual pun—that is, although the ambiguity is lost in the written form, the macaronic element can be ‘heard’ as either Latin or English.

Hordea, farra, forum.

Non cupio gemmas, non res quascunque nitentes,
Gallus ait; mihi sunt hordea farr afore'em. [= hordea, farra, forum]

Extemp. à discipulo nescio quo Westmonasteriensi⁶⁵

Other examples of supposedly ‘extempore’ macaronic are similarly attributed to students.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ BL Add MS 34362 (fol. 51^r). Similar examples in Nottingham PwV MS 997 (single folio), c. 1700.

⁶⁵ “Barley, spelt, the forum [or marketplace]” “I have no desire for jewels, nor any glittering objects / Says the cock; for me *hordea* [barley grains] are far preferable.” “Extempore by an unknown Westminster pupil.” Trinity College, Cambridge MS O.6.1 (p. 546), a very large collection of Cambridge Latin verse dating from the early eighteenth century. At a later date, a further note has been added attributing this piece to a Thomas Wiat of Trinity College. The poem has a recognisable relationship to the fable of the dunghill cock, the first fable in the standard (Latin) edition of Aesop’s fables which was very widely read in the early years of a grammar school education. These stories, no doubt read and re-read very slowly, are as a result very frequently alluded to in literature of the period. Extempore composition of Latin verse on a given theme was an element of formal examinations in early modern England, including the ‘election’ of scholars from Westminster School to Trinity College, Cambridge and Christ Church, Oxford. Thomas Wiat was no doubt one such scholar. Although no longer an examination, the school continues to hold an ‘election dinner’ every summer which still features epigrams in various languages, including Latin and Greek, characterised by translingual puns of this kind. These epigrams are however now composed well in advance.

⁶⁶ E.g., Essex County Record Office, MS D/DW/Z.3 (item A^r), ‘The Copy of the Last Will of a young Gentleman student in the university of Dublin spoken Extempore to his Friend in English & Lattin’, written in alternating rhyming lines of Latin and English.

6 Conclusion

Taken as a whole, this corpus, though certainly far from a complete picture, offers much greater detail than has previously been available on the use and circulation of macaronic verse in early modern England. The poems discussed demonstrate that Anglo-Latin macaronic verse, both of the strictly defined ‘morphological’ macaronic and of more general types of language mixture, was more widespread in early modern England than existing scholarship has implied. There has been no previous attempt to survey early modern Latin verse in English manuscript sources, and it is not surprising that poetry of this sort, which is frequently humorous, satiric or invective, and concerned with topical matters, should be particularly likely to circulate in manuscript. Moreover, the examples given above exhibit different degrees of macaronisation and show that English macaronic poetry was more varied than existing literature based on print sources has suggested. In many cases, the macaronic element of the poem seems to be linked to the institutional, educational or professional context from which the poem emerges and in which it was presumably expected to be read: throughout the seventeenth century, Latin continued to be used orally as well as in written forms in schools, universities and in the professions and many of the examples seem to belong to these sorts of milieu. The fact that the majority of the poems have been found more than once, in almost all cases in apparently unrelated manuscripts, even though the survey of manuscripts was far from a complete one, suggests that poetry of this type was popular and circulated widely.

In particular, the corpus demonstrates that ‘morphological’ macaronic is found earlier and more frequently than was previously supposed, with an apparently strong association with targeted satire, and that the works of Folengo, and the conventions he established, were known to at least some English readers and authors in the sixteenth century. ‘Morphological’ macaronic, especially in longer and more sharply satiric or *ad hominem* forms, is mainly confined to the earlier periods (up until the early seventeenth century), and becomes less common over time. Where later poems include elements of ‘morphological’ macaronic, it is typically less extended and less complex than earlier examples. Within the corpus of macaronic verse as a whole, taking ‘morphological’ and ‘simple’ macaronic together, there is a general trend from more serious, political, and personal invective in earlier examples to more generally humorous, lighter and shorter verse during the course of the seventeenth century.

There is a strong link with rhyme throughout the corpus, with end rhyme dominant in examples of ‘simple’ macaronic. Leonine rhyme is associated particularly with the earlier examples of extended ‘morphological’ macaronic, but is also found in later ‘simple’ macaronic of a satiric type, and clearly retained a satiric association into the early eighteenth century. These observations offer context for Drummond’s use of sporadic leonine rhyme and marked alliteration: these features of his poem, which have previously been noted in passing, do not reflect simply the influence of the ‘vernacular’, but Drummond’s awareness of the particular conventions associated with satiric or invective Anglo-Latin macaronic.

Macaronic poetry especially in manuscript material can be challenging to translate and explicate but offers a particularly vivid insight into the reality of Anglo-Latin bilingualism in early modern England, and the changing tonal, political and popular associations of specific literary techniques—such as the use of rhyme and alliteration in Latin—as well of language mixture itself.

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Appendix

The initial macaronic corpus, based on a representative but far from complete survey of post-medieval Latin poetry in English manuscript sources, contained 59 poems written between the early sixteenth century and the nineteenth century, the majority belonging to the seventeenth century. The predominant vernacular element is English, but the initial corpus also included seven poems that combine Latin with another language such as German, French or Italian: in most cases, these are found in manuscripts apparently originating from those countries and these examples have not been included in the analysis. Similarly, the analysis has set aside two poems written in a mixture of Latin and Greek. These Latin-Greek poems differ from the examples of Latin-vernacular macaronic in two main respects: (i) they are not humorous, and instead concern themselves with serious themes, and (ii) in each case, they simply juxtapose the two languages, rather than productively combining them together. One additional, interesting example is of Anglo-Latin macaronic, but written in Ireland in the late seventeenth century and apparently intended as a piece of serious panegyric. Since the linguistic, cultural and political context of seventeenth-century Ireland is significantly different, this item has also been excluded. The research corpus discussed in the present paper therefore consists of 49 Anglo-Latin macaronic poems, of which 19 contain 'morphological' macaronic. Some of the poems discussed have uncertain transcriptions. Indeed, the very nature of macaronic language, designed to surprise the reader linguistically, makes the transcription process more difficult because it is harder to anticipate what the poem will say. To facilitate future research, we have included a complete list of these 49 manuscript sources below, and welcome correspondence from scholars who may be aware of further examples. The project was not actively looking for material dating from before 1550 or after 1700, so the listings for the eighteenth century should not be assumed to be representative. In the table below, to reflect the terminology used in the article, we have distinguished between 'morphological' macaronic (in which vernacular words are always or sometimes subjected to Latin morphology) and 'simple' macaronic (consisting only of language mixture of various kinds, without morphological changes).

	Morphological (including poems containing a mixture of both morphological and simple macaronic elements)			Simple		
Mid-16th century	Surrey LM/1329/368	fol. 1r	Cur scribere [Cess]am miseri de funere Gresham			
	Trinity College Cambridge, MS O.9.38	fol. 88r	Scribere cur[] cess[] [<i>badly damaged</i>]			
Late 16th century	CUL Ff. 5. 14	fols. 107v-108v	Et quidem miles cunctos claterans to be viles	BL Egerton 2642	fol. 267r	Servitium pueri, viduarum, et black monachorum
	Bod. Rawl. Poet. 85	fol. 2v	Scribere cur cessem misero de funere Gresse,	CUL MS Dd. V. 75	fol. 43r	Maria Scota meretrix o vndique nota
Early 17th century	BL Add MS 15227	fol. 16v	Gorgonat stomachum, Vomitus facit, & Catathumpon	BL Add MS 15227	fol. 64v	Forgetfull friend I did but temerè
	BL Egerton 3310A	fol. 73v	Si possem vellem pour te Rosa ponere pellem	BL Sloane 1867	fol. 33r	Hic iacet ille qui centies et mille
	BL Harley 791	fol. 59v	Gorgon per stomachon vomitos facit et cacothumpon	BL Sloane 1889	fol. 9v	Doll learning propria quæ maribus without book
	Folger MS V.a.345	p. 43	Si possem vellem per te rosa ponere pellem	Bod. Ashmole 38	fol. 176	Hic Jacet in requie Woodcocke Jo: vir generosus
	Nottingham Pw V 37/174	p. 142	Doctor Quid et Quando,	Bod. Malone 14	pp. 32-33	Muse ere we part, let wittye Arnold know

	Nottingham Pw V 37/175	p. 142	Flos, Flosa, Florum,	Bod. Rawl. Poet. 26	fol. 2v	I serue under Doctor Hall:
				Bod. Rawl. Poet. 62	fols. 1r-v	Nunc sileat Jack Drum, taceat Miracula Tom Thumb
				Bod. Rawl. Poet. 62	fols. 1r-v	Jam sileat Meriman, jocius victus quoque Tarltan
				Chetham's MS A.3.47	fol. 32r	Rex and Grex are of one sound
				Lamb Pal Lib Sion L.40.2-E22	fol. 1r	I serve under doctor Hall
Mid-17th century	BL Add 22603	fol. 68r	Bonum saccum cum Sugero	BL Add 44963	fol. 26r	Jam sileat Jack drum, taceat miracula Tom Thumb
	BL Add 22603	fol. 68r	Nec bonum saccum, nec Sugerum	BL Add 44963	fol. 40v	Rex & grex are both of a sound,
	BL Harley 7332	fol. 45r	Rapite Coblerioy poliwhiskite stichite stampon	BL Harley 3991	fols. 115v- 118r	Listen all I pray
	BL Lansdowne 695	fol. 18r	Magne Dux qui titulum	West Yorkshire Morley - WYL115-F6-2	fol. 141r	Est statutum [s] onori?
				West Yorkshire Morley - WYL115-F6-2	fol. 141r	This Noverint
	Durh. Cath. Hunter 76	fols. 6r- 10v	Nymphae, quae colitis highissima monta Fifaea,	BL Add MS 34362	fol. 51r	Delirat Rex Triumphat Cunnus

Late 17th century	Nottingham PwV 941	single fo- lio	Noverint universi per presentes	Bodleian Don. b. 8	p. 282	Vinum quando bibo, tristari non ben quibo	
	Nottingham PwV 1416	single fo- lio	Si possem vellem pour te Rosa ponere pellem	Corpus Christi Oxford MS 309		Hic jacet Tom Shorthose sine Tombe, sine sheet, sine riches,	
				Leeds Brotherton BC MS LT 31	fol. 38v	There was a man was semper Idem	
				Leeds Brotherton BC MS LT 38	fol. 19v- 20r	Magne Dux qui Titulum	
				Leeds Brotherton BC MS LT 38	fol. 23r	Dux Magne, Benè venisti,	
				Nottingham PwV 997	single fo- lio	Hi Lapidés Quare?	
				Society of Antiquaries London MS 330	fol. 74v- r, rev.	DUX magne bene venisti,	
	Early 18th century	Nottingham Pw V 1343	fol. 2v	Si possem vellem pour te, Rosa, ponere pellem	BL Harley 6914	f. 110v	O yes hence forward, sit omnibus notum
					Bod Eng. poet. f. 13	fol. 180r- 181r	Dux Magne benè venisti,
					Essex CRO D/DW/Z.3	item Ar	Cum ita semper me amares
			Manchester John Rylands English MS 521	fol. 184	Hic Jacit Tom Short Hose, sine Tomb, sine Sheet, sine Riches.		

				Trinity Cam. O.6.1	fol. 546	Non cupio gemmas, non res quascunque nitentes,
Mid-18th century	Bod Eng. Misc. e. 183	fols. 6r- 8v	NYMPHÆ, quae colitis highissima Monta Fifaea			