From Petrarch to Surrey & Wyatt: Introduction of sonnets to English poetry in *Tottel's Miscellany*

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1. The status and features of *Tottel's Miscellany*

Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other (generally called *Tottel's Miscellany*[1]) published by Richard Tottel (a printer and a bookseller, d. 1594) in 1557, may be said to be the most important anthology in the history of English poetry: because it is the first printed miscellany of poems written in English, and also because therein were first published sonnets introduced by Wyatt and Surrey from Italy. This publication marks the flourishment of sonnet sequence in the Elizabethan era.

The anthology is also extraordinarily distinctive, because it was revised only one month and a half following its first publication in June, and a number of poems, many of which by a particular poet (Nicholas Grimald (1519-62), explained below), were excluded then. Here we clearly find the distress and bitter decision of Tottel as a printer in the

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[1] *Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other* was revised nine times until 1587 in the reign of Elizabeth, and some pirate editions were published. Since the 18th century, new editions have been published, among which was *Tottel's Miscellany. Songes and Sonettes by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder, Nicholas Grimald, and Uncertain Authors* edited by Edward Arber in 1870. Since then Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* has been generally called *Tottel's Miscellany*. I use this title in this paper.

reign of Mary the Catholic Queen[2] who ascended the throne in 1553.

Moreover his agony can also be seen in that the title of the anthology has only the name of Surrey, «the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey», though it was edited mainly with the sonnets of both Thomas Wyatt (1503?-42) and Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey (1517? - 47), among which two thirds are by Wyatt. This is probably because the son of Wyatt -- Thomas Wyatt, the younger -- was executed on a charge of rebellion against Queen Mary. Tottel printed the name of the poet as 'Thomas Wyatt, the elder' to specify him not to be a traitor.

Mary is remembered as 'Bloody Mary' for her cruel persecution of the Anglicans. On the other hand, *Totell's Miscellany* also attracted many poets toward the flourishment of sonnet sequence in the Elizabethan era, making her name long remembered in later ages, as exemplified by Rollins saying «the little book of songs and sonnets is a monument or remembrance more lasting than brass or marble»[3].

The numbers of poems included in the first edition are 97 by Wyatt, 40 by Surrey, 40 by Grimald and 94 by uncertain authors; in the second edition, 96 by Wyatt, 40 by Surrey, 10 by Grimald, and 34 by uncertain authors. We must pay attention to the fact that in the first edition a third of the poems is composed by uncertain authors, almost two thirds of which are omitted in the second edition. Those poets are called not 'unknown' but «vncertain auctours» by Tottel. Considering these, we reflect that Tottel

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[2]   Queen Mary was a daughter to Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. Henry VIII, excommunicated by the Roman Church, established the Anglican Church, promulgated the Act of Supremacy, and as a result became the supreme regent of both the Church and the Monarchy of England in 1534. Separated from the Roman Catholic Church he divorced Catherine and then married Anne Boleyn who delivered his second daughter, later Queen Elizabeth. The crown of Henry VIII was succeeded by his son Edward, born to the king and his third wife Jane Seymour. Because Edward, later Edward VI, ascended the throne at the young age of nine, the kingdom was governed by his protestant regent. Mary, who succeeded him to the throne of England, immediately brought back the government radically changing the throne's attitude for Catholicism and began to persecute Anglicans fiercely.

[3]   Rollins, *TM*, vol. II, 1965: 4.

purposely kept the names of some of them «vncertain» without revealing them. In regard to sonnets, the first edition includes 13 by Surrey, 27 by Wyatt, 156 (including 14 line poems which are not exactly sonnets) by Grimald and 11 by uncertain authors, of which 18 are translations of the sonnets in the *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* (generally called *Canzoniere*) by Petrarch, and besides those 3 are of *canzoni* in the same *Fragmenta*, and 1 is of some lines from *Trionfi* by the same poet.

2. Prefatory epistle by Tottel: «The Printer to the Reader.»

What did Tottel aim for in his publication of *Tottel's Miscellany*? He delineates his intention in his prefatory epistle, «The Printer to the Reader».

> That to haue wel written in verse, yea & in small parcelles, deserueth great praise, the workes of diuers Latines, Jtalians, and other, doe proue sufficiently. That our tong is able in that kynde to do as praiseworthely as yᵉ rest, the honorable stile of the noble earle of Surrey, and the weightinesse of the depewitted sir Thomas Wyat the elders verse, with seuerall graces in sondry good Englishe writers, doe show abundantly.[4]

The works well written in Latin, Italian and others in verse with limited words («in small parcelles») are odes, elegies, epigrams, satires, epistles, and so on, i.e. lyrics, shorter poems compared to long narrative poems like epics and romances. Tottel's introductory epistle to the readers declares that they have as equal lyrics as their precursors' in Latin or Italian. Tudor English poets were at the very initial phase of writing lyrics in modern English, because lyrics had not yet been flourished in Old English nor in Middle English. Tottel introduced expressly the Earl of Surrey and Sir Thomas Wyatt, assigning «the honorable stile» to the former and «the weightinesse» to the latter.

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[4] Tottel's «The Printer to the Reader» is from this edition: *SONGES AND SONETTES, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other. Tottel's Miscellany 1557* (A Scholar Press Facsimile), 1970: (without folio numbers).

Seeing that *Tottel's Miscellany* has many more sonnets than other poetic styles, and moreover that there are 18 translations of those in *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* by Petrarch, that shows Tottel thought of sonnet when he wrote «in verse . . . & in small parcelles». Since Wyatt made rather many of those translations, as well as composed two poems based on *canzoni* in the same *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, six on *strambotti* by Serafino and one on that by Filosseno, we could say that Wyatt was also interested in the development of sonnet[5] in Italy and in its accomplishment by Petrarch, and learned and tried to compose his own sonnets emulating the model of Petrarch.

Tottel, in his prefatory epistle, to the reader shows that he publishes English vernacular short poems «to the honor of the Englishe tong, and for profit of the studious of Englishe eloquence», adding,

> If parhappes some mislike the statelinesse of stile remoued from the rude skill of common eares: J aske help of the learned to defend their learned frendes, the authors of this work: And J exhort the vnlearned, by reding to learne to be more skilfull, and to purge that swinelike grossenesse, that maketh the swete maierome not to smell to their delight.

Acknowledging «the statelinesse of stile remoued from the rude skill of common eares» to be the style of his anthology, he stimulates «the

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[5]   Though the origin of the sonnet is thought variously, the majority of scholars agree with two hypotheses: the one to be from *canzone* by Sicilian poets in the thirteenth century, composed of several stanzas with the same number of lines and the same rhyme scheme. They took their poetic form and words from their own Provençal love song, especially *canso* with several stanzas of six to eight lines followed by *tornado* with a variety of rhyming. Another supposition about the origin of the sonnet is that it comes directly from Provençal *strambotto*, namely two *strambotti* (one of eight lines and another of six). Both the *canzone* and the *strambotto* are composed of lines in smaller number of syllables -- five or seven mainly, and sometimes eleven; the latter was adopted and got settled in the sonnet. Except those two, poems by Provençal troubadours in Occitan (langue d'oc) may be another origin of the sonnet. Because limited materials remain, it is difficult to ascertain the origin of the sonnet. The first sonneteer was Giacomo da Lentini at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. (Spiller, M. R. G., 1992: 1-44; Kleinhenz, C., 1986: 11-50; Wilkins, E. H., 1959: 7-103, 129-55; Bausi, F., Martelli, M., 1993: 47-116.)

vnlearned» to read poems in it and learn the noble style with help of the learned. Here is manifested Tottel's strong consciousness to show to the world that they could compose poems in their vernacular tongue, English, in an «honorable stile» and with the «weghtinesse» which are present in Latin or in Italian.

3. Surrey's «Vow to loue faithfully howsoeuer he be rewarded.»

[12][6]   Vow to loue faithfully how-
            soeuer he be re-
            warded.[7]

Set me wheras the sunne doth parche the grene,
Or where his beames do not dissolue the yse:
Jn temperate heate where he is felt and sene:
Jn presence prest of people madde or wise.
Set me in hye, or yet in lowe degree:
Jn longest night, or in the shortest daye:
Jn clearest skye, or where clowdes thickest be:
In lusty youth, or when my heeres are graye.
Set me in heauen, in earth, or els in hell,
Jn hyll, or dale, or in the fomying flood:
Thrall, or at large, aliue where so I dwell:
Sicke, or in health: in euyll fame, or good.
Hers will J be, and onely with this thought
Content my selfe, although my chaunce be nought.[8]

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[6] Tottel did not put a number to each of the poems in *Tottel's Miscellany*. I mark it according to Rollins' edition, to distinguish each quoted poem easily.

[7] The title was not given by Surrey himself but by Tottel in the 1557 edition of *Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other*. Tottel gave a title to each of the poems in this anthology. He sometimes gave different titles for the same poem in his different editions.

[8] Surrey's poems are from this edition: *SONGES AND SONETTES, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other. Tottel's Miscellany 1557* (A Scholar Press Facsimile), 1970.

This is no. 12 in *Tottel's Miscellany*, a translation of Petrarch's no. 145 in *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta.* The original sonnet is as follows,

> Ponmi ove 'l sole occide i fiori et l'erba,
> O dove vince lui il ghiaccio et la neve.
> Ponmi ov'è 'l carro suo temprato et leve,
> Et ov'è chi ce 'l rende, o chi ce 'l serba.
>
> Ponmi in humil fortuna, od in superba,
> Al dolce aere sereno, al fosco et greve.
> Ponmi a la notte, al dì lungo ed al breve,
> A la matura etate od a l'aceerba.
>
> Ponmi in cielo, od in terra, od in abisso,
> In alto poggio, in valle ima et palustre,
> Libero spirto, od a' suoi membri affisso.
>
> Ponmi con fama oscura, o con ilustre,
> Sarò qual fui. Vivrò com'io son visso,
> Continuando il mio sospir trilustre.[9]

The translation by Surrey describes the traditional theme with the traditional imagery and figures of speech of the sonnet, yet at the same time it has two clear differences from Petrarch's original. First we have to pay attention to the representation of the sun. While Petrarch depicts the sun only in the first quatrain, Surrey puts it over the first and the second quatrains. On the one hand the sun which Surrey describes as «the sunne doth parche the grene, /. . . his beames do not dissolue the yse» (1-2), is the sun as the heavenly body in the sky, but on the other hand Petrarch personifies it as «'l sole occide i fiori et l'erba, /. . . vince lui il ghiiaccio et la neve» (1-2). In Italian, 'sole' is a masculine noun and therefore requires the masculine pronoun 'lui'; it is also described in the image of the Sun God, Apollo with phrases as «'l carro suo» (3) together with «temprato et leve» (3), with which words we are reminded of Apollo spurring his carriage

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9   Petrarch's sonnets are from this edition: Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, edizione critica di Giuseppe Savova, 2008.

with or without prudence. This personification continues to «fortuna» (5) in the following quatrain, leading us to read it as the goddess Fortuna, whose personality is expressed vividly by the two adjectives «humil» (5) and «superba» (5). As for Surrey's translation, though it is not unusual to indicate 'the sun' with 'he' also in English in the traditional expression based on the classical mythology, this is exemplified by Surrey's usage of «temperate» (i.e. mild in temperature) which is not equally used as Petrarch's «temprato» (i.e. self-restrained). Using the same image and the word derived from the same etymology, *temperatus*, p.p. of *temperare* (Latin) as Petrarch does, Surrey is, in this translation, not as interested in classical mythology to the same degree as Petrarch.

The second difference appears in the latter six lines. Both poets request to let them stay wherever in heaven or in hell, or in whatever topography, while Petrarch depicts the spirit free from body saying «Libero spirto, od a' suoi membri affisso» (11), which Surrey translates as «Thrall, or at large, aliue where so I dwel» (11). Here the atmosphere changes abruptly and drastically.

Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey[10], bestowed the order of the Garter at the age of 21, was bravely engaged in war service against France, yet involved in a political intrigue was executed on a false charge of high treason, of which he was innocent, just before his 30th birthday in 1547. Although we do not know exactly when this sonnet was written, considering his public situation, «Thrall» (11), usually used as an amorous expression, appears to suggest his political status of being deprived of freedom, making the phrase «at large, aliue where so I dwel» (11) more desperate and urgent. Surrey's translation, «in euyll fame, or good» (12), from the Petrarchan verse, «con fama oscura, o con ilustre» (12), changes the meaning of the

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[10]   Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey was the first son of Thomas Howard, the Third Duke of Norfolk. He succeeded to the courtesy title of Earl of Surrey in May 1524 when his father became Duke of Norfolk. Though he was to succeed it, he was executed before that. He is generally called Surrey or the Earl of Surrey, which I follow in this paper.

word «fama»/«fame». Reading «fama» in Petrarchan sonnet, we interpret it as the standing and value as a poet, yet for «fame» in Surrey's, as the social standing in court, and in politics. Furthermore the adjectives added to the nouns, «. . . oscura, o . . . ilustre» (12) and «euyll . . . , or good» (12) clarify the difference. Surrey is «Content» (14) «onely with this thought» that «Hers will J be» (13), even if he be forsaken by fate. Considering this is a sonnet translated from Petrarch, the lady described with «Hers» should be interpreted to be his lover, possibly Gerardine to whom he addressed his love poems; nevertheless I believe we should interpret it as the Tudor state[11]. The last word «nought» (14) echoes his sentiment deeply.[12]

Concerning the form of these poems as sonnets, the one by Petrarch is composed in the typical Petrarchan form: 14 lines of 11 syllables (hendecasyllables) with the rhyme scheme of ABBA ABBA CDC DCD (enclosing rhyme in quatrain). The other by Surrey has a slightly different form: 14 lines of five iambic feet (iambic pentameter), each of which has two syllables unstressed and stressed, with the rhyme scheme of ABAB A'BA'B CDCD EE (alternating rhyme in quatrain). The former has *volta* between two quatrains (*fronte*) and two tercets (*sirma*), while the latter has turn (i.e. *volta*) after three quatrains, at which the meaning is once cut and the conclusion is expressed (as summary, doubt, or inversion) in the last couplet: this might be a harbinger of the Shakespearean scheme.

It is further interesting to note, Petrarch composed this original sonnet based on a part of an ode by Horace.

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[11]   Surrey was a courtier in Henry VIII's court. Therefore «Hers» is interpreted as 'of the state,' not 'of the queen.'

[12]   The last words are very different between the sonnets of both Petrarch and Surrey: 'trilustre' in the former and 'nought' in the latter. Nott explains that Surrey departs from the original in his translation, changing his mind from making exercise the improvement of style to expressing his genuine impulse of feeling. Yet Nott does not mention Surrey's political view point at all. (*WSW*, vol. 2, 1965: 270.)

pone me pigris ubi nulla campis	place me in the barren field where
arbor aestiva recreatur aura,	no trees grow with summer breeze,
quod latus mundi nebulae malusque	in the corner of the world which
Iuppiter urget;	malicious cloudy Jove urges;

pone sub curru nimium propinqui	place me under a chariot of the sun
solis in terra domibus negata:	too near, on the ground rejected for living:
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,	I will love Lalage laughing sweetly,
dulce loquentem.	and speaking sweetly.
(*Carmina*, 1. 22. 17-24.)[13]	(*Odes*, 1. 22. 17-24.)

These are the last two stanzas from one of Horace's odes to Aristius Fuscus, his old and intimate friend of letters. Three poets, Horace, Petrarch and Surrey, share the concept of loving one's dearest lover in whatever situation one may be. Petrarch borrows Horace's lines of the north far from the sun and the south near to it, writing of a hot or cold day followed on a fine or cloudy day, and as well observes the Latin tradition of associating the sun with an image of Apollo. He also uses the classical art of anaphora repeating the word «Ponmi», though not only at the beginning of each stanza but of every two lines. Horace's ode is not a love poem, but a poem addressed to his friend on the happiness of life unstained by mundane matters: of this concept Petrarch makes the most for his love sonnet. Though the sonnet originates from the shorter poems in Romance languages derived from vulgar Latin in mediaeval age, Petrarch has refined it by adopting the concept and art of expression of the classics.

If Surrey was conscious of this ode of Horace's, which has a wider concept than the sonnet, it might reinforce our argument that Surrey conceals the political connotation in his love sonnets. We do not know whether his usage of anaphora comes from Horace or from Petrarch.

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[13]   The ode by Horace is from this edition: *Horace, Odes and Epodes*, with an English translation by C. E. Bennett, Cambridge, 1914. The English translation in this paper is mine.

4. The translations of Petrarch's sonnet by Surrey and Wyatt

In *Tottel's Miscellany*, both Surrey and Wyatt translate Petrarch's 140th sonnet in the *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, appearing as the 6th and 37th poems in Tottel's anthology.

Petrarch's original sonnet is as follows:

> Amor che nel penser mio vive et regna
> E 'l suo seggio maggior nel mio cor tene,
> Talor armato ne la fronte vene,
> Ivi si loca, et ivi pon sua insegna.
>   Quella ch'amare et sofferir ne 'nsegna
> E vol che 'l gran desio, l'accesa spene
> Ragion, vergogna, et reverenza affrene,
> Di nostro ardir fra se stessa si sdegna.
>   Onde amor paventoso fugge al core,
> Lasciando ogni sua impresa, et piange, et trema.
> Ivi s'asconde, et non appar più fore.
>   Che poss'io far temendo il mio signore,
> Se non star seco infin a l'ora extrema?
> Che bel fin fa chi ben amando more.

This is a love sonnet with an image of a battle, which is Petrarch's familiar figure. In the second stanza where struggle «Amor» and «io», «Quella (i.e. donna)» and «amor», and also «desio» and «Ragion», «Quella» reminds us of Pallas Athena, the Greek goddess of war. The conclusion of this sonnet through the conventional war image is «star seco infin a l'ora extrema» (13), because «bel fin fa chi ben amando more» (14), which is Petrarch's everlasting theme.

The form is stable without wavering out: the rhyme scheme is typically Petrarchan ABBA ABBA CDC CDC, and the rhyming of the last two tercets with the same pattern CDC gives to this sonnet the stiffness, which is well linked to the steadiness of lover's fidelity for his lover. The metre is typical with 6th, 10th syllables accented and its variations (2 - 6 - 8 - 10

or 4 - 6 - 8 - 10 accented), to which some irregularities (the 9th syllable of the second line, the 7th of the eighth line and the 3rd of the ninth line) add effective highlights.

Surrey and Wyatt translate this sonnet as follows:

[6]   Complaint of a louer
           rebuked.
                     (by Surrey)

Loue, that liueth, and reigneth in my thought,
That built his seat within my captiue brest,
Clad in the armes, wherin with me he fought,
Oft in my face he doth his banner rest.
She, that me taught to loue, and suffer payne,
My doubtfull hope, and eke my hote desyre,
With shamefast cloke to shadowe, and refraine,
Her smilyng grace conuerteth straight to yre.
And cowarde Loue then to the hart apace
Taketh his flight, whereas he lurkes, and plaines
His purpose lost, and dare not shewe his face.
For my lordes gilt thus faultlesse byde J paynes.
Yet from my lorde shall not my foote remoue.
Swete is his death, that takes his end by loue.

[37]   The louer for shamefastnesse hideth
           his desire within his faith=
               full hart.
                   (by Wyatt)

The longe loue, that in my thought J harber,
And in my hart doth kepe in his residence,
Jnto my face preaseth with bold pretence,
And there campeth, displaying his banner.
She that me learns to loue, and to suffer,
And willes that my trust, and lustes negligence
Be reined by reason, shame, and reuerence,
With his hardinesse takes displeasure.
Wherwith loue to the hartes forest he fleeth,

Leauyng his enterprise with paine and crye,
And there him hideth and not appeareth.
What may J do? when my maister feareth,
But in the field with him to liue and dye,
For good is the life, endyng faithfully. [14]

Although the titles were without doubt not given by the poets but by Tottel, «Complaint of a louer rebuked» and «The louer for shamefastnesse hideth his desire within his faithfull hart» utterly differ from each other. Since Petrarch, in the sonnet, expresses his thought – or that of a lover's in the sonnet – that he would live and die with Love weeping rejected by the lady who assigns importance to reason and reverence, the title for Surrey's sonnet more fits the content. We wonder whether the titles show what the poets express in their sonnets.

«Loue» in the first stanza, in Surrey's sonnet, «reigneth in my thought» (1), as «Amor. . . nel penser mio vive et regna» (1) in Petrarch's. As for Wyatt love is not Love (i.e. Cupid), but «The longe love» that is his long love for a particular lady. The poet suggests that it «doth kepe in his residence» « in my hart» (2), moreover it is he himself that takes it into his heart to live as said «J harber» (1). In the following two lines both Surrey and Wyatt translate the description of war as it is described by Petrarch. Reading the lines in detail, love in Wyatt's appears «with bold pretence» (3), and Love in Surrey's «Clad in the armes» (3) in the same mode as in Petrarch's, yet, in Surrey's case, a lover and Love had a battle in the same way before, as he writes «Clad in the armes, wherin with me he fought» (3).

There appears a lady in the second stanza. «Quella» for Petrarch always teaches to love and to anguish for the love («Quella ch'amare et sofferir ne 'nsegna» (5)); «She» for Wyatt likewise «learns to loue, and to suffer» (5) ('learn' here is a transitive verb meaning 'to teach'). Although Surrey's

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[14]   Wyatt's poems are from this edition: *SONGES AND SONETTES, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other. Tottel's Miscellany 1557* (A Scholar Press Facsimile.), 1970.

translation is almost the same, he does not choose 'suffer' used intransitively but transitively used one as «suffer payne» (5) for «sofferir». The two words 'sofferir' and 'suffer' derived from the same etymology, *suffere* (Latin), cover almost the same meanings, yet Petrarch and Wyatt use them intransitively signifying 'to be afflicted (with love)', whereas Surrey uses «suffer» transitively, which then means 'to endure'. We have to pay attention that the ladies «'nsegna» and «learns» in the present tense in the sonnets of Petrarch and of Wyatt, yet in that of Surrey his lady «taught» in the past tense. Recollecting that a lover in Surrey's sonnet had another battle with Love before, with the addition of the background wherein Surrey was, which we considered in the previous section on his sonnet no. 12 «Vow to loue faithfully howsoeuer he be rewarded», we cannot avoid reading the political endurance here.

«Quella», in Petrarch's sonnet, «vol che 'l gran desio, l'accesa spene / Ragion, vergogna, et reverenza affrene» (6-7), and «She», in Wyatt's, also «willes that my trust, and lustes negligence / Be reined by reason, shame, and reuerence» (6-7), where we are drawn to «my trust» – she requires his trust in her –, while «She», in the Surrey's, «taught» (5) «My doubtfull hope, and eke my hote desyre, / With shamefast cloke to shadowe, and refraine» (6-7). Then «to shadowe, and refraine» (7) alongside with the verb «taught» (5) in the past tense leads us to interpret that Surrey has to hide and restrain his own ardent aspiration with an inner doubt about his hope; with this he stealthily reveals his hidden hopelessness. Against the lover in his sonnet «She» gets angry («Her smilyng grace conuerteth straight to yre» (8)). The ladies also become ill-humoured in the sonnets by the other two poets, where for Petrarch she «si sdegna» (8) and for Wyatt «takes displeasure» (8). Of the three predicates the poets use, «conuerteth to yre» is the strongest, and so that we can easily notice the terror in the lover.

In the third stanza Love (Cupid) frightened flees to the lover's heart, forsaking all his intention, and would not come out, weeping hidden

there: this is what is depicted in the original sonnet by Petrarch. The two translations have almost the same content, with the slight addition of a darker atmosphere with the image of a forest («loue to the hartes forest he fleeth» (9)) by Wyatt. «Amore» in Petrarch's sonnet and «love» in Wyatt's translation abandon their drive to make the speakers in their sonnets fall in love, as is said «Lasciando ogni sua impresa» (10) or «Leauyng his enterprise» (10). On the other hand, in the sonnet of Surrey, Love has his purpose crushed by others as read in «plaines / His purpose lost» (10-11).

The difference in Surrey's translation from Wyatt's and from the original by Petrarch, becomes clearest in the last three lines. «Che poss'io far temendo il mio signore» (12) by Petrarch is rigidly translated by Wyatt, as «What may J do? when my maister feareth» (12). We find Surrey's translation to be utterly diverse from the original, lending to an equally utterly diverse atmosphere: «For my lordes gilt thus faultlesse byde J paynes» (12). 'My lord' in a love sonnet definitely indicates Love (Cupid), and on account of his failure the speaker's love ends crushed; nevertheless in the line by Surrey, Henry VIII glimpses. Juxtaposition of the strong word «gilt»[15] for «my [lorde]» and «faultlesse» modifying «J» remind us necessarily of the political connotation. Coming back to his verbatim translation in the two last lines, Surrey appears to forebode his own death even in his loyalty to the king, in «Swete is his death, that takes his end by loue» (14). Tottel may have used the word 'rebuke' in his title «Complaint of a louer rebuked» to this sonnet, reading such a complaint deeply hidden in Surrey's mind.

The title set by Tottel to Wyatt's sonnet is «The louer for shamefastnesse hideth his desire within his faithfull hart». It is «loue» that «fleeth» «to the hartes forest» when «She» «takes displeasure» «With his hardinesse» (5-9), yet it is the speaker in the sonnet who has fallen in love as «loue» pleases,

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[15]   I read the strong significance for the word 'gilt' i.e. guilt: the fact of having committed, or of being guilty of, some specified or implied offence; guiltiness (*OED*).

as Wyatt writes «The longe loue . . . in my thought J harber» (1). The title by Tottel represents this self-consciousness of Wyatt's; nevertheless it does not refer to the conclusive last two lines which share the idea of those of Petrarch's sonnet. Tottel might have thought it the essential topic that a man «hideth his desire within his faithful hart» for Wyatt, though it is not known what he means by his title.

The original sonnet by Petrarch is composed in the traditional rhyme scheme and metre. Surrey translates it in a fundamentally English form, using Petrarchan form at the same time, to emphasise his intent: in iambic pentameter, though the first, third and tenth lines lack the first unstressed syllable, and with English styled rhyme scheme, ABAB CDCD EFEF GG[16] as the same with the above read sonnet no. 12 «Vow to loue faithfully howsoeuer he be rewarded». This sonnet has three quatrains beginning with «Set me . . .» followed by a conclusive couplet, which is a typical Shakesperean form. Going back to the sonnet no. 6 «Complaint of a louer rebuked», with full stops at the end of the fourth, eighth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth lines, the third quatrain once ends at its third line with one unified idea like in Petrarchan first tercet, but paying attention to the rhyme, the third quatrain has its own scheme (EFEF) and is followed by a couplet (GG). Nevertheless this sonnet cannot be said only to be of a mixed form as on a transitional stage from Petrarchan to Shakespearean form, but to have another significance than the shift of a form. Surrey makes the twelfth and the thirteenth lines independent, with the twelfth very different from Petrarch's, and the thirteenth slightly changed with «shall» expressing the lover's will, and then ends his sonnet with the fourteenth line almost faithfully translated from Petrarch's. The twelfth line is a summary of the first eleven lines, though very distinct from Petrarch's as mentioned above, followed by the thirteenth line strongly declaring the lover's (namely the poet's) resolution to keep his loyalty to his lord: «Yet from my lorde shall

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[16] In the early modern age, 'move' and 'love' often rhymed. 'Love' might have possibly been pronounced [lu:v].

not my foote remove». The last line shows the typical concept as Petrarch's love sonnet. The twelfth line functions as the last line of the third quatrain and also as the first line of the first tercet. Consequently the last three lines come into a newly devised tercet which has one line (the twelfth line) and two lines added to the previous line (the thirteenth and fourteenth lines), as if it were a variant of Petrarchan form, diverse from the English form with one line attached to the previous three lines (which makes the third quatrain), and the conclusive couplet. Through this device, Surrey is successful in expressing his inner thought covertly, but impressively, in Petrarchan love sonnet.

On the other hand, Wyatt composes lines rather freely, based on the iambic pentameter. For example, the first line is scanned as «The lón- | ge lóue, | that ìn | my thoúght | J hárber»: Wyatt reads 'longe' in two syllables, and the third foot with a semi-accent on the second syllable. The fourth line is scanned irregularly, «And thé- | re cám- | peth, dís- | play-ìng | his bánner»: he reads «there» in two syllables and puts a semi-accent on the third syllable of «displaying», namely on the second syllable of the fourth foot.[17]

The rhyme scheme in Wyatt's translation is incomplete Petrarchan:

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[17]   About the first line, Rollins notes that Tottel's editor tried hard to smooth it in the later editions. As such, he considers the lines of Wyatt's to be rough. (*TM,* vol. II, 1965: 160). Rollins discusses more about the editorial changes and thinks it most unfair to Wyatt but at the same time they no doubt enhanced his reputation. (*Ibid.* 1965: 95.)

Spiller as well suggests the possibility that Tottel alternated some parts of Wyatt's manuscript to smooth the line. (1992: 100-101.)

Nott notes that this sonnet shows the peculiarities of Wyatt's first style: the lines should be read rhythmically with a regular caesura in the middle and a strong accent is to be thrown on the last syllable; the verses are very unequal in length. He thinks this indicates Wyatt's translation is inferior to Surrey's translation. (*WSW*, vol. 2, 1965: 537.)

Warner also pays attention to the irregularity of metre by Wyatt. He discusses English prosody in the Tudor era, examining varieties of anthologies, among which he estimates Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey* the most supreme. Concerning this sonnet by Wyatt, he reads the mostly ten-syllable fourteen lines of both five- and four-stress metres, scanning the fourth line as «And thére cámpeth, displáying his bánner». Warner thinks that Tottel perceives it exactly as the packaging of England's native metre in Italianate forms. (2013: 139-40.)

ABBA' CBBC' DED' D'EE'[18] with feminine endings (harber-banner, suffer-(dis)pleasure). Feminine endings in English poems make the line end weaker. We may say that Wyatt, with these feminine rhymes, indicates that his «longe loue» disappears hidden in «the hartes forest» crying, and cannot come out. Considering that a poetic line in Italian is composed not of feet but syllables, with the tenth syllable accented to make the last syllable weak, Wyatt might have attempted the Italian prosody, hendecasyllables, in English composition within iambic pentameter, or he might have tried, rather, to compose his English sonnet in the Italian style. This style imparts to his poems a somewhat unsmooth and rugged quality, and this impression is different from 'the weightinesse' which Tottel talks about in his prefatory epistle.

5. English poets' attempts in *Tottel's Miscellany*

In sixteenth century England, the English language had developed from Old English through Middle English towards Modern English. In the process of the development of the language, English poets ambitiously attempted to compose poems in their vernacular language. Learning vernacular Italian poetry as well, as classical Latin and Greek, they translated and imitated them, and then developed their own compositions, in which they tried to write sonnets most enthusiastically. The sonnet as a fixed-formed verse which began at the Sicilian court in the thirteenth century[19], was refined in the years after, and came to be poetry with rigid rules of metre and rhyme scheme in 14 lines, when it was perfected by Petrarch

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[18]   Wyatt struggles to introduce the Italian rhyme scheme into English poems (sonnets) with closed syllables in English instead of open syllables in Italian. We may also read the second quatrain rhyming A"BBA'''.

As for the last two lines, we cannot read them as a couplet like in the English-formed sonnet, because the four lines (9-12) do not make a quatrain with 'fleeth' (9), ' appeareth' (11) and 'fearth' (12) rhyming each other.

[19]   About the origin of the sonnets, see the footnote 5.

in the fourteenth century. These severe restrictions made poets highly motivated to compose sonnets, leading to their flourishment.

It must have been extraordinarily difficult for English poets to practice the prosody of Italian with its open syllables and a word-accent towards the end of a word, as English has closed syllables and a word-accent at the beginning of a word. So they devised their[20] iambic pentameters based on feet in English instead of hendecasyllables based on syllables in Italian. In lieu of rhyming two sets of syllables, each of which has two vowels with a consonant between them (the first vowel being accented) in Italian, they rhyme with syllables each of which has two consonants with a vowel between them in English. In this rhyming, the first consonants are not necessarily the same, and when they are the same, the rhyme is named a perfect rhyme.

Turning our attention to the socio-political situation at the time in the fifteenth century in England, due to the Hundred Year War against France and the domestic Wars of the Roses, the feudal lords were left impoverished and exhausted. Henry of Lancaster, a victor in the Wars of the Roses, got married to Elizabeth of York, and established the Tudor monarchy, the first modern state in England, as Henry VII. Amongst political and religious tensions with the other countries, especially with France and Spain, and under the whirl of scheming inside the state, the situation in England was getting more severe and complicated with each succession to the throne, from Henry VII through Elizabeth. As most of the poets were courtiers, it is natural that political connotations are implicated in their poetical works.

In such a situation, Surrey is not the only poet who puts more meanings than love in the sonnets as love poems[21]. For example, Wyatt's no. 45 «Of

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[20]   English poets composed the accentual verse in iambic pentameter which was used in the quantitative verse in Latin and Greek.

[21]   Petrarch also composes his sonnets with themes of friendship or politics (10, 38, 103, 113, 114, 139, 287 etc.), though he does not conceal the connotation but expresses his topic clearly, to the contrast to Surrey who puts the connotation hidden in the words or phrases.

others fained sorrow, and the louers fained mirth» (we should heed that the title is not the poet's own), is an almost verbatim translation of Petrarch's no. 102, also with the enjambement used by Petrarch himself. The sonnets relate that men sometimes hide what they feel inside or behave contrary to it, using the historical facts of Caesar and Hannibal: when the head of Pompeius was brought in front of Caesar, he wept whilst hiding his inner pleasure, and Hannibal, when Carthage was forsaken by fortune, laughed to disgorge his tormented agony. Allusion to the classical anecdotes in the sonnets or other shorter poems was usually used for the refinement of the style. For that conventional purpose, Petrarch draws on the instances of Caesar and Hannibal, writing solely, «Vide farsi fortuna sì molesta» (6) to describe the adverse circumstances of Carthage, while Wyatt translates it more concretely, «when fortune him outshyt / Clene from his reigne, and from all his entent» (5-6). This single line, differently translated from the original line by Petrarch leads us to interpret the classical anecdotes in other than conventional way. Wyatt uses them as examples of the general political behaviours as well, which widens the meaning of the following sestet, «So chanceth me, that euery passion / The minde hideth by colour contrary, / With fayned visage, now sad, now mery. / Wherby, if that J laugh at any season: / Jt is because J haue none other way / To cloke my care, but vnder sport and play» (9-14). Here Wyatt chooses the words «my care»[22] for the original «il mio angoscioso pianto» (14), and this choice of words enables us to read these lines in a wider and more suggestive meaning than only referring to love. Nevertheless, his tone is different from Surrey's as shown in the sonnet no. 6; Wyatt's words leave us with a more objective impression, and Surrey's with a more personal and bitter one.

Wyatt, a court poet, writes another similar sonnet, no. 46 «Of change in minde», which is more generally about one's change of mind: We can read

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[22]   The word 'care' means 1. Mental suffering, sorrow, grief, trouble. *Obs.* (OE–1720) and 2. Burdened state of mind arising from fear, doubt, or concern about anything; solicitude, anxiety, mental perturbation. (*OED*).

it about the change of mind of lovers, of friends, of politicians, of courtiers, of anyone in any context. In some sonnets by uncertain poets, we may find such varied interpretation as well; the futility of prosperity or authority in no. 200 «The pore estate to be holden for best», and the importance of constancy in love, fidelity, or in any case in no. 233 «That constancy of all vertues is most worthy». Grimald, who composed his works in blank verse without rhyming, wrote an epitaph in the form of sonnet, no.156 «An epitaph of sir Iames wilford[23] knight», where he used rhyming in English scheme.

Hereafter, English poets, one and all, composed sonnet sequences in the style of Petrarch, making it more flourished than in any other countries: Giles Fletcher's *Licia* (1593), Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti* (1595), Fulk Greville's *Caelica* (1633[24]), Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (1591), Henry Constable's *Diana, the praises of his Mistress, in certain sweete Sonnets* (1592), Samuel Daniel's *Delia* (1592), Michael Drayton's *Idea* (1593), *Ideas Mirrour* (1594) and *Idea in Sixtie Three Sonnets* (1619), Barnabe Barnes's *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* (1593) and so on. The ladies, to whom their sonnets are dedicated are, like Petrarch's 'Laura' related to laurel (lauro) and also associated with breeze (l'aura) or gold (l'auro (arch.), l'oro), 'Caelica', 'Stella' and 'Licia' suggesting heavenly being, 'Diana' suggesting allegorical being as goddess, and even 'Idea' suggesting not a living lady but rather ideational and philosophical.[25] George Chapman composed a coronet «To his Mistress Philosophy» (1595), ultimately ideational and philosophical sonnets for a lady Philosophy who loves wisdom. Such diversity of subjects

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[23]   Totell begins names, especially surnames with small letters, and his way of writing the names is not standardized.

[24]   Grevill's *Caelica* was published posthumously.

[25]   The extent and diversity of the theme connected with names of the ladies for whom the sonnets were written was not present only in England: In France, Joachim du Bellay wrote them for Olive, a sacred tree of Athena, as Petrarch for Laura, that of Apollo, and like Drayton, Maurice Scève composed them for Délie, an anagram of l'Ideé. Notwithstanding, England surpassed any other country in its diversity and multitude.

is followed by religious sonnets such as *The Temple* by George Herbert and *Holly Sonnets* by John Donne. Consequently, we can consider it to be the initial phase for the English sonnets' remarkable expansion of their theme afterwards, that the sonnets in *Tottel's Miscellany* have wider connotations than love.

Considering the introduction of sonnet into English poetry, we must consider that, in addition to the translation of sonnets, that of three *canzoni* by Petrarch, four *strambotti* by Serafino and one by Filosseno are included in *Tottel's Miscellany*. As I write in footnote 5, the sonnet comes in one way from a part of the *canzone*, and in another way from two *strambotti* united. The poems by troubadours might also have taken part in the origin of the sonnet. Seeing that *strambotto* is a poetic form sung and accompanied with instrumental music which originated in the thirteenth century Sicily, and that Serafino was a poet and music composer a little after Petrarch, English poets in the sixteenth century might have been interested in him and his *strambotti*, and translated them.[26]

Serafino's strambotto is as follows.

Incolpa donna amor se troppo io uolsi
   Aggiungendo alla tua la bocca mia.
Se pur punir miuoi di quel chio tolsi
   Fá che concesso replicar mi sia.
Che tal dolceza in quelli labri accolsi,
   Chel spirto mio fú per fugirsi uia.
Só che al secondo tocco uscirá fora
   Bastar ti dé, che per tal fallo io mora. [27]

And Wyatt's translation is as below.

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[26] Spiller discourses on Wyatt's commitment to *strambotti*, especially those by Serafino. (1992; 85.)

[27] Serafino's *strambotto* is from Rollins' edition of *Tottel's Miscellany*, vol.2. According to Rollins, this text is from *Opere*, 1516, fol. 179ᵛ. (*TM*, vol.2, 1965: 171)

[54]   To his loue whom he
         had kissed gainst
           her will.

ALas, Madame, for stealing of a kisse,
Have J so much your mynde therin offended?
Or haue J done so greuously amisse:
That by no meanes, it may not be amended?
Reuenge you then, the rediest way is this:
Another kisse my life it shall haue ended.
For, to my mouth the first my hart did suck:
The next shall clene out of my brest it pluck.

These two *strambotti* indicate almost the same contents though the words are not the same. The metre is hendecasyllables in Serafino's *strambotto* and pentameter in Wyatt's, with the rhyme scheme the same in both, ABABABCC. The other *strambotti* which Wyatt translates in *Tottel's Miscellany* are composed in the same metre and rhyme scheme, that is *ottava rima*, while Wyatt translates Serafino's with the same rhyming as his, but translates one by Filosseno in ABBAACCADEEDFF. Both of his translations have all a couplet at the end, using a common *strambotto* rhyme scheme, which is like the English sonnet's. The similarity between these is worth examining to make the history of the English sonnet clearer. Though *strambotti* in the thirteenth century had various rhyming schemes, Wyatt composes his translation according to Serafino's rhyming.

    The fact that in Tottel's anthology all the translations of *canzoni* and *strambotti* are by Wyatt except a *canzone* by an uncertain poet, shows how Wyatt was interested in the sonnet from its origin to Petrarch's form and searched for the possibility to compose sonnets in English, a very different language from Italian.

    We have so far examined Tottel's peculiar interest in the sonnet and its history, and how he was conscious of Petrarch and his influence on English

poets when he surveyed the landscape of poets and poetry in early modern England. He included more sonnets than poems in any other poetic style, and moreover he chose two sonnets on Petrarch by an uncertain poet or poets[28], in one sonnet of which Petrarch is addressed as «hed and prince of poets all» (1).

[218]   A praise of Petrarke[29] and of Lau=
                     ra his ladie.

O Pertrarke hed and prince of poets all,
Whose liuely gift of flowyng eloquence,
Wel may we seke, but finde not how or whence
So rare a gift with thee did rise and fall,
Peace to thy bones, and glory immortall
Be to thy name, and to her excellence.
Whose beauty lighted in thy time and sence
So to be set forth as none other shall.
Why hath not our pens rimes so p̄fit wrought
Ne why our time forth bringeth beauty such
To trye our wittes as golde is by the touche,
If to the stile the matter aided ought.
But therwas neuer Laura more then one,
And her had petrarke for his paragone, [*sic*]

In this sonnet, we read wholly what Tottel considered in editing and publishing his anthology: praise for Petrarch, aspiration for his poetic «eloquence» (2), and complaints of the poverty of «our pens rimes» (9) and

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[28]   Both of the sonnets on Petrarch are composed by uncertain authors, but we do not know whether they are the same poet or not. In my opinion, the two poets to be one and the same, as the sonnets are interlinked in their theme and as the latter responds to the former.

[29]   As I noted in footnote 23, Tottel often begins surnames with small letters, but here he begins with a capital letter in his title. On the other hand, the uncertain poet begins «Petrarke» (1) with a capital letter and «petrarke» (14) with a small letter. In the sonnet no. 219 which I discuss following, Tottel spells it as «petrark» (title), and the uncertain poet does as «petrarke» (1). Not only letters but spellings are not fixed, as orthography was not standardized yet in this age in England.

«our wittes» (11). The poet complains about the difficulty for the English language to describe the ideal beauty (9-12). Is it because «therwas neuer Laura more then one, / And her had petrarke for his paragone» (13-14)? The answer is written in the sonnet following the one mentioned above, no. 219 «That petrark cannot be passed but notwithstanding that Lawra is far surpassed»: Though the poet admits the unsurpassable excellence of Petrarch, saying as «With petrarke to compare there may no wight, / Nor yet attain vnto so high a stile» (1-2), they have a lady with «semely forme and shap» (5), «colour fresh and mingled» (7) of roses and lilies (8), «a parfit grace» (10) «In wit and tong» (9) so that «Lawra . . . she would her clene deface» (11). Only if English poets learned how to use a tool («file» (3)) to describe such a lady, they could compose such sonnets as were composed by Petrarch (3-4). It is noteworthy that both of these sonnets are composed, despite using Petrachan enclosing rhyme, in English rhyme scheme with a couplet at the end: this rhyme scheme reinforces what is said in the sonnet, showing the author's confidence that his contemporary English poets were skillful enough to compose sonnets.

Lastly, we must not leave unexamined the sonnet which is dedicated to Wyatt by Surrey.

[30]   Of the death of the same[30]
              sir. T. w.

Dyuers thy death doe diuersly bemone.
Some, that in presence of thy liuelyhed
Lurked, whose brestes enuy with hate had swolne,
Yeld Ceasars teares vpon Pompeius hed.
Some, that watched with the murdrers knife,
With egre thirst to drink thy giltlesse blood,
Whose practise brake by happy ende of lyfe,

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[30]   «[T]he same sir T. w.» indicates «sir T. w. the elder» in the previous poem, «Praise of certain psalmes of Dauid, translated by sir T. w. the elder», distinguished from his son, a traitor against Queen Mary.

Wepe enuious teares to heare thy fame so good.
But J, that knew what harbred in that hed:
What vertues rare were temperd in that brest:
Honour the place, that such a iewell bred,
And kisse the ground, whereas thy corse doth rest,
With vapord eyes: from whence such streames auayl,
As Pyramus dyd on Thisbes brest bewail.

Surrey composes this sonnet with an explicit turn (*volta*) between the eighth and the ninth lines, according to Petrarchan form like Wyatt, and yet its rhyme scheme is English form – ABA'B CDCD EFEF GG – with alternating rhyme as is commonly used by Surrey, which differentiates him from Wyatt. In the former octave/two quatrains (*fronte*) Surrey referring to Wyatt's allusion to Caesar's anecdote, with which Wyatt implicates the unreliability of courtiers, as we discussed above in this section, Surrey suggests the unreliability of the poets who mourn the death of Wyatt. Here Surrey deplores the behaviour of their contemporary poets as well as that of courtiers, not only as his own lamentation but also as Wyatt's, borrowing the allusion used by Wyatt previously. Showing his inner complaints, he at the same time complains in stead of Wyatt. In the latter sestet/two tercets (*sirma*) Surrey utters his deep respectful affection towards Wyatt for his intellect (9) and his virtues (10), expressing his grief with allusion to Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. Referring to Caesar and Ovid, Surrey shows that Wyatt is so magnificent as he might have been described in classical literature and history. Based on Petrarchan structure of *fronte* and *sirma* with *volta* between, Surrey uses rhyming in English form. He devises an effect with the rhyming of E-E as hed-bred: he here uses the same word (and sound) «hed» ([hɛd]) for B (4) and for E (9), and uses «bred» ([brɛd]) for E (11), which sound [brɛd] resounds together with «brest» ([brɛst]) (10) and «rest» ([rɛst]) (12) for F, – an effect to lead us to Wyatt's intellect («what harbred») in his «hed» and his «vertues» in his «brest», which have been since he was «bred» and now do «rest» with him.

Surrey composes this sonnet according to the whole structure and the literary rhetoric, which Wyatt uses in respect for Petrarch. He admires Wyatt for his virtues and intellect, which shows that he believes these to be the bases of literary achievement.[31] Surrey respects Wyatt as his master, and Petrarch as their master.

6. Conclusion

The purpose to publish the *Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey, and other* (generally called *Tottel's Miscellany*) was to show that excellent shorter poems could be written in English as well as in Italian and in Latin, and to stimulate «rude» poets to refine their poetic art to be honourable and stately, as Tottel writes in his prefatory epistle. The poetic style which most poets were attracted to in the early modern era was the sonnet, and the sonneteer they admired as paragon was Petrarch, whose sonnets Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, translated.

Their translations included in Tottel's anthology are composed in iambic pentameter, matching the nature of the English tongue: Surrey's rhythm is comely and flowing, and Wyatt's irregular and rugged, which makes Tottel write «the honorable stile of the noble earle of Surrey, and the weightinesse of the depewitted sir Thomas Wyat the elders verse». Italian (and mediaeval Romance languages which produced the poems preceding the sonnet), with open syllables, encourages poets to rhyme the ending syllables with each other, and Petrarch regulates his sonnets with strict rhyming schemes: Wyatt tries to keep the Petrarchan form – ABBA ABBA CDC CDC (some variations as well in sestet) –, and Surrey prefers to use another scheme – ABAB CDCD EFEF GG – which eventually came to be known as

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[31]   In another poem (not a sonnet), no.31 «Of the same (namely Of the death of Thomas Wyatt», he similarly praises Wyatt for his «vertue» (3), «wisdom» (5) and «To lyue vpright, and smile at fortunes choyce» (12), adding to his «heauenly giftes» (2).

Shakespearean form.

The sonnets in *Tottel's Miscellany* contain varied implications which were caused by the socio-political circumstances the poets were in. These circumstances were caused not only by personal situations but by those of the whole English society which was turbulent and complicated in those days. Such variety of implications produced the sonnet sequence in vogue with a wider diversity of themes in the Elizabethan era.

Tottel declares that English poetry should be on an equal level or even surpass the Latin one as well as the Italian, and consequently he included translations of poems by Horace, Ovid, Virgil, Seneca, and others. Grimald translates many Latin poems by the above mentioned poets and as well as Beza[32], a French protestant theologian and excellent poet. The poets in Tottel's anthology, make full use of Latin and Italian poetical rhetoric such as anaphora, acrostic, and enjambment, not to mention metaphor, simile, pun, and refrain.

The English poets praise Petrarch in their sonnets for his flowing eloquence and for his measure and sense; Wyatt admires Petrarch and tries to compose his own sonnets in Petrarch's manner of rhyming, with Petrarch's figures of speech; Surrey eulogises Wyatt for his intellect and his virtues as well as for his poetic genius, and himself develops his sonnets with his own rhyming scheme and with wider connotations; their performance leads the future development of the English sonnet both in its poetical and rhetorical art and in its subject matter.

The publication of *Tottel's Miscellany* in 1557 marked a threshold where Surrey, Wyatt, and their contemporaries paved the way for a new era of shorter poems in their vernacular language.

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[32]   Beza was a French protestant theologian and poet, whose poems Grimald translated. All of his translations of Beza were therefore necessarily omitted and other poems of Grimald including non-religious ones were as well omitted in the second edition, prudently considered by the printer Tottel of catholic Queen Mary.

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Abriviation

OED   Oxford English Dictionary