

The Literary Remains Alexander Gil the Elder (1565-1635) and Younger (1596/7-1642?)

Abstract: Alexander Gil the elder (1565-1635) and his son Alexander Gil the younger (1596/7-1642?), were consecutive headmasters of St Paul's school, London, from 1609 to 1639. They have always been assumed to have been important influences on the young John Milton, who attended their school. This article provides some bio-bibliographical notes on father and son. The surviving books and manuscripts of both men are traced, and a preliminary bibliography of the younger Gil's poetry, which Milton read, is supplied, from both printed and manuscript sources. Because the younger Gil published only a selection of his work, the extent of his surviving verse has not been adequately appreciated.

Keywords: Alexander Gil, John Milton, history of provenance, Oxford libraries, Neo-Latin poetry.

ALEXANDER GIL THE ELDER (1565-1635) and his son Alexander Gil the younger (1596/7-1642?) were consecutive headmasters of St Paul's school, London, from 1609 to 1639, in which year the younger Gil was sacked for drunkenness and misconduct.¹ They were also both writers, the father known chiefly as a theologian and grammarian, the son as a poet. It has always been assumed that the Gils were important influences on the young John Milton, but a reappraisal of this somewhat obscure issue requires a proper grasp of the literary activities of these two men.²

The following note on the Gils accordingly offers some strictly bio-bibliographical prolegomena to that task. First, I present some fairly miscellaneous observations on the books and manuscripts of the Gils, both those they wrote, and those they owned. My chief contribution in this area has been to track down books donated by the Gils to their Oxford colleges. Secondly, I have assembled a preliminary bibliography of the younger Gil's poetry. This poetry, chiefly occasional as it is, has been more praised than read, and because Gil published only a selection of his work, the extent of his surviving verse has rarely been appreciated.

In the latter task I have been preceded by the late Leo Miller. Miller prepared an edition of the poems and letters of the younger Gil, now on deposit among his papers in Boulder, Colorado, as MS 311. Its preface is dated July 1989. Miller was unfortunately prevented by his final illness from bringing this edition to completion, having only managed to publish some gleanings from his research.³ I would like to record here my gratitude to Miller's estate and to the librarians at Boulder for granting me access to a copy of this edition in order to check his findings against mine. Miller's sapience in hunting out obscure sources remains an inspiration, and although his edition is unfinished, it must now form the foundation for any subsequent attempt.⁴

Miller was in my view correct to reject the ascription of the notorious satire "The Five Senses" to Gil, if incorrect to ascribe the mnemonic verses "Arithmeticonum ἀνάμνησις" to the son rather than to the father. He also supplied information on those to whom Gil wrote, or from whom Gil received, verse, and I have been able to correct or augment this material in many cases. I have however been able to recover several manuscript resources untraced by Miller, most notably from the collection of Digges papers in Westminster Abbey, materials in Gil's books in, especially, Trinity College, Oxford, an intriguing manuscript of Gil's "Sylva-Ducis" in Trinity College, Cambridge, and several singletons in other manuscript collections. No doubt more manuscript witnesses will come to light. Nevertheless, Miller's translations and commentary will be indispensable for Gil's next editor, and perhaps these notes will inspire some hardy scholar to complete Miller's final project.

Gil the Elder

Gil the elder's best known work remains his linguistic treatise, the *Logonomia Anglica* (London, 1619), of which he presented a hand-completed copy of the first edition to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, dated by Gil "16^o Calendas Martij," i.e. 14 February, 1619;⁵ of the handful of other extant exemplars of this edition, the copy in the Huntington Library may have been a royal presentation, as its binding is stamped with the arms of James I. Gil may also have directed a copy of his final and major work, *The Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scripture* (London, 1635) to the Bodleian, although the surviving copy can no longer inform us of its provenance.⁶ He certainly presented one to Archbishop Laud, now in the British Library, stamped with Laud's arms.⁷ Gil also sent *The Sacred Philosophie* to his alma mater, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. That college additionally received, probably as a result of an earlier donation, at least three other volumes from Gil, each bearing a printed label signalling his donation. They were listed in the college's benefactors register, compiled in the next generation by the college fellow and antiquary William Fulman, thus:

Alexand. Gill. 1635

His Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scripture, Lond. 1635.

Artis Cabalisticæ Scriptor. Basil. 1587.

[Joannes Pistorius, ed., *Artis cabalisticæ, hoc est reconditæ theologiæ et philosophiæ, scriptorum tomus I* (Basel, 1587), fol.]

Joannis Episc. Chemensis Onus Ecclesiæ, Colon. 1531.

[Berthold of Chiemsee, *Onus Ecclesiæ* (Cologne, 1531), fol.]

Ant. Ricciardi Commentaria Symbolica, Venet. 1591.

[Antonius Ricciardus, *Commentaria Symbolica in duos tomos distribute ... in quibus explicantur arcana pene infinita, ad mysticam naturalem, & occultam rerum significationem attinentia* (Venice, 1591), fol., this copy bound in two volumes.] (Oxford, Corpus Christi College Archives, D/3/3, fol. 9r)⁸

These four books remain in that library.⁹ Of the three latter volumes, the *Ars cabalistica* is a collection, in Latin or Latin translation, of tracts by Paulus Ricius, Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla, Judah Leon Abravanel, Johannes Reuchlin, Archangelus Burgonovensius, and the Sefer Yetzirah of pseudo-Abraham. Gil quotes from it half a dozen times in the *Sacred Philosophie* (1:4, 94, 101, 183; 2:142, 204). Berthold of Chiemsee, a German bishop of the early sixteenth century, wrote in a reforming spirit, but from within the church, on ecclesiastical abuses. Finally, Ricciardus's *Commentaria* is a vast alphabetic dictionary of symbols, perhaps of curiosity to Protestants as an example of a Roman Catholic book recently placed on the Index.¹⁰ Gil the elder was in the habit of marking his own books with his motto, Δόξα Θεῷ, for instance his copy of Johannes Lectius's anthology of the Greek heroic poets (Geneva, 1606), now in the library of Westminster Abbey.¹¹

More light is thrown on the Gils and their books by the elder Gil's will, drawn up 31 July 1634, in the testator's seventieth year, and naming his wife Elizabeth as executrix.¹² It also reveals a fractious family. Gil called his brother Simon "vnthankfull and inurious," and bequeathed a sum of money to his son Nathaniel "although ... [he] hath refused my correction." Alexander the younger is permitted his portion of £90 if and only if he prefers his brother George, or failing that his other brother Nathaniel, to the place in St Paul's now occupied by William "Sondes." This is William Sound(s), the surmaster from 1603 or 1604 to 1637, and a man whom Gil, who branded him incapable of teaching Greek properly, had been trying to dislodge in favour of one of his sons for some time.¹³ If Milton attended the junior half of St Paul's—we have no evidence either way—then Sounds drilled him in Greek.

Various other clauses in Gil's will bespeak a man all too familiar with awkward children. In particular, Gil foresaw trouble about his books, as he stipulated that if his sons "will not in peace and quietnes" consent to an equal distribution, Elizabeth should sell his library and split the profits. A codicil, added 11 June 1635, revisits the problem, stating now that in order to "disburthen" his executrix, Gil has distributed the books between his sons "with my owne handes." We cannot now enumerate these books, but Ruth Mary Baldwin in her 1955 Illinois thesis catalogued, as far as she was able, the texts and often the specific editions to which Gil made reference in his two major published works. We can be fairly confident that Gil was in most cases referring to books on his own shelves.¹⁴

Gil's will contains several further directions concerning specific books. Alexander the younger, whom his father treated as his all-but-certain successor as high master of the school, was to inherit his father's parallel Greek-Latin edition of Homer, his copy of John Minshew's dictionary, the *Ductor in linguas* (London, 1617)—Gil himself had been a subscriber to this book—and all the folios in Gil's study at the school.¹⁵ Interestingly, Gil's wife Elizabeth was to receive an array of learned bibles and biblical aids:

... an Hebrew concordance a Bible Hebrew and latten in folio, the Hebrew Bible of Plantin in viij^o the latten Bible at Reme in 4to *minori* the English Bible in folio the Bible in greek in folio my Hebrew bible in xvij^{en} volumes ...¹⁶

These were not uncommon tools for a learned man. But Gil received the high mastership of St Paul's under a royal sign-manual on the grounds that he was one of the translators working on what would be published in 1611 as King James's Authorized Version.¹⁷ This was corroborated by testimonials from, among others, Thomas Ravis, John Overall, and John Rainolds, all involved in the translation, and the predominance of Hebrew texts and aids would make sense for an associate of the First Westminster Company, tasked as it was with translating from Genesis to 2 Kings. Rainolds and Gil, indeed, had overlapped at Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and so must at least have been acquainted in the 1580s. Nevertheless, Gil is not mentioned in any of the known lists of translators, and extent of his involvement, which may have been minimal, remains something of a puzzle. Presumably Elizabeth inherited these bibles as a vendible asset rather than because she herself prized them—but it may also be that the copies themselves were significantly annotated.

The other books Gil left specifically to his wife were more obviously for her use and pleasure: his old friend John Speed's "History and Mappes"; the works of the celebrated preacher Richard Greenham (several editions from 1599); "Adriconii *Theatrum terre sancte*" (i.e. the finely illustrated work of Christian Adrichomius, *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ et biblicarum historiarum* (Cologne, folio editions of 1590, 1593, 1600, 1613));¹⁸ Cristof Wirsung's *A Generall Practise of Physicke*, as translated by Jacob Mosan (London, 1598); Francis Bacon's *History of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh* (1622) and his *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627); "my Logicke" and *Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scripture*; any other English books she chooses; and finally the "viij^t bookes" of Henry Ainsworth (unspecified, but Ainsworth published in Amsterdam), all "to be disposed of as her owne proper goodes."

The presence of Ainsworth and Greenham in this list is striking. Gil was said to be friendly with Laud, but whatever Gil and his wife's public allegiances, in private they clearly valued devotional reading at the puritan end of the religious scale. Gil does not mention manuscript books as a separate category in his will, but we may note in the British Library today two collections containing items once in Gil's possession and scribed by him. One (c. 1596-c. 1598) is a miscellany of recipes both medical and culinary, as well as some alchemical notes and some teaching mnemonics on arithmetic later

published by Gil the younger, seemingly as his own. The other (c. 1600–c. 1605) includes a compendium on cabbalism drawn up by Gil from Johannes Reuchlin, as well as notes from books by Guillaume Postel, Nicholas Sanders, and Edwin Sandys.¹⁹

Gil's will also mentions two of his own works: a "logicke," and—Gil thrice insistent about his authorship—"my book vpon the Creed called by mee; the sacred Philosophie written by me Alexander Gill." The nature of the former text is clarified by a passage in the preface to the latter:

The second part of Logonomia which I call Logicke, written by mee, among other reasons there mentioned, was especially meant to be an helpe to them that needed helpe for the understanding of this booke.²⁰

Clark and Baldwin have discussed this mysterious text, enumerating some twenty-nine references in *The Sacred Philosophie* to a "Logonomia," divided into chapters, sections, numbers, and rules, and cited in a manner that shows that the work was written in English, so not to be confused with the published (Latin) *Logonomia Anglica*.²¹ It must have been substantially completed between the second edition of the *Logonomia* (1621), and the drafting in earnest of *The Sacred Philosophie*, which Gil in his conclusion to that work informs us commenced in 1625. The reference to a "Logicke" in his testament must refer to this lost work, or at least to its second part, and we can now say that Gil bequeathed this manuscript specifically to his wife. It has not been recovered.

As for Gil's *Sacred Philosophie*, Gil's will shows that as early as mid 1634 he regarded the publication of this, evidently considered by its author his major achievement, as a certain event. Yet the book was only licensed 31 January 1634[/5], and subsequently entered into the Stationers' Register on 29 May 1635.²² Gil's dedication, to the Mercers, shows that he was fading when he wrote it: he presented his book "as the legacie of a dying man," and says he will not live to see it. Moreover, variations in recorded copies suggest that this dedication was added at the last moment.²³ There were evidently further complications with the printing, for the published text bears the unusual admission that the printers were "unwilling to be troubled with notes on the sides," which were therefore supplied in a "leaf" marked with the signature "(ooo)."²⁴ No such leaf appears in any of the copies I have examined, and Gil must be referring to a solution that was in the end not adopted.

Gil survived to see his book in print, and *The Sacred Philosophie* is extant today in a fair number of institutional copies; ESTC lists almost forty locations.²⁵ Unsold copies were later reissued with a cancel title page in 1651, of which only four are currently recorded.²⁶ Many of the copies of the first edition remain in cathedral or archiepiscopal libraries (eight), but especially striking is the dominance of Oxford libraries (seventeen), especially when compared with Cambridge counterparts (two).²⁷ The copy in Corpus, mentioned above, is on large paper and inscribed: "Coll. Corp. Christi Oxoñ. Ex dono authoris, olim ejusd. Coll. discipuli. 3^o Kal. Junias [i.e. 30 May] 1635." On the same day Gil also presented a copy to Trinity College, Oxford, with an inscription remarking upon the studentship at Trinity of his three sons, Alexander, George, and Nathaniel. That these presentations took place only a day after the work was entered in the Stationers' Register proves that it was completely printed in the four-month space separating the licensing from the entry.

In Oxford there are further copies of the work today in the libraries of All Souls, Brasenose, Christ Church, Exeter, Jesus, Lincoln, Magdalen, Merton, Oriel, Pembroke, Queens, St John's, Trinity, University College, and Wadham. Yet examination of these copies, often in conjunction with the relevant college's benefactors register, shows that they came not from Alexander the elder, but from his son Alexander. The two missing

colleges, given the date of presentation, are Balliol and New College. There is no mention of such a presentation in the former college's library benefactors register, but consultation of the register in the latter college shows that Gil the younger indeed presented his father's book, albeit it is now lost: "Alexander Gill SS: Theologiae D^r donavit A Treatise on the Creede made by Alexander Gill his father."²⁸ As Gil is described as a doctor of theology, this places his donation to after 9 March 1637, when he took his DD.²⁹ Other copies in Oxford probably came a little before this. The earliest may be Wadham's copy, marked by Gil as "quondam hujus Coll. Aedituus" and "S.^{te} Th: B." (i.e. BD, so before the DD) and dated to 1636. The others almost all bear an inscription of the form—to take the All Souls copy as our example—"Bibliothecae Coll. Omnium Animarum Oxon. Alex. Gil S.T.D. è Coll. S.^{te} Trinitatis authoris fil. et successor donavit. 1637."³⁰ There is some slight evidence that Gil also inscribed copies for individuals in Oxford at around this time.³¹

Such a campaign of presentation to college libraries was almost unknown at the time, other, scarce examples being the begging-gifts of the exiled Bohemian poet Venceslaus Clemens, again in the 1630s, and, later, the carpet-bombing donations of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, in the 1650s and 1660s.³² What prompted Gil the younger to make such a comprehensive set of presentations is unknown, but as they mainly seem to have taken place just after he received his DD, they may have been intended to mark that event; as we shall see, he marked his other degrees with book presentations. Furthermore, that Gil had so many copies of *The Sacred Philosophie* to dispose of in this manner also suggests that he inherited his father's *gratis* copies from the publisher, and it may be that, as executrix, his mother apportioned these copies to him for such a purpose. Finally, Gil may also have wanted to capitalise on the opportunity to underline his filial piety, as well as the professional continuity ("et successor" emphasized in the inscriptions) between father and son at St Paul's, not least because of his chequered past and his professional and personal troubles, which would in the end overwhelm him.

Gil the younger's campaign is nevertheless in contrast to the reception of the *Sacred Philosophie* itself, which received almost no serious comment. Why that was is beyond the scope of this note, but a combination of factors may have contributed, including the posthumous feel of the book, its exact but unoriginal scholarship, its arguable overemphasis on "reason," and the appearance three years later of a higher lightning-rod for those who were either greatly attracted to or greatly repelled by the notion of "rational religion"—William Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation* (Oxford, 1638). One of the few references to Gil's tract comes in an anonymous preacher's manual of 1664, the *Eniantos*, where in the bibliography for writers on the Creed we learn that—to take a few examples—John Pearson is "solid, learned and practical," Peter Heylin is "learned and copious," John Boyes is "quick and Canonical," whereas Gil is, solely and exactly, "rational."³³

Gil the Younger

As for Gil the younger, a celebrated Latin poet who notoriously did time for toasting the assassin of the Duke of Buckingham,³⁴ no will survives, and we cannot be sure of the posthumous fate of his books. There are few recorded presentation copies of his own poetic *Parerga* (1632), although at least two manuscript collections of his poems and papers survive, to be discussed below.³⁵

In his lifetime Alexander the younger also gave books to his own Oxford colleges, Wadham and Trinity. To Wadham, in 1616 he presented two rather dated Aristotelian texts by the fourteenth-century philosopher John Buridan, in editions of 1500 and 1513, but his own inscriptions show that he had earlier purchased these bound

together, in London, in 1615.³⁶ As for the Trinity books, Thomas Warton first noticed these in his edition of Milton, claiming a Spenser, a Drayton, and a Lucian.³⁷ Given Gil's father's fondness for Spenser and Drayton in the *Logonomia Anglica* it would be splendid were this an accurate claim; but the college's copies of Spenser have other provenances; and the 1613 *Polyolbion* was indeed a gift from a Gil, but from Nathaniel, not Alexander. Nathaniel presented at least two other books too.³⁸ In 1630 Alexander did donate a magnificent copy of the French scholar Jean Bourdelot's parallel edition of Lucian (Paris, 1615), which he had only quite recently acquired for himself, in 1629, for the large sum of 23s 2d. Gil evidently considered this his major donation, as it bears his painted coat of arms facing the title page:

fig. 1: Gil's painted arms in his donation copy of Lucian (Trinity College, Oxford)

Gil has also affixed several quotations and verses to the volume—at the front, seven Greek quotations on the front paste-down, a motto-couplet (“Quærite, mortales, primùm cœlestia regna; / Et reliquæ vobis adjicientur opes”), and his own A-G ligatured monogram, visible in several of his other books too; while at the back, he has inscribed three Latin epigrams, and a thirty-four-line poem in Latin on the Trinity, followed by a further six lines of Greek verse. These appear to be original compositions, and I have added them to the known poetic output of Gil.

As for the other books Gil donated to Trinity College, I have traced a further six in the modern collections. These include another expensive edition, of Eustathius on Homer (Basel, 1560), and Aemilius Portus's *Pindaricum Lexicon* (Hanover, 1606), originally given to Gil by his father. Consultation of the college library's contemporary register of benefactors shows that Gil in fact donated four further volumes, now missing. It would appear that these have been stolen from that society, a good example of how institutional registers of benefaction can identify and fill gaps in our knowledge of historic holdings. All these books, present and missing, are listed in Appendix VI.

As for Gil's motivation in presenting books, we may note that he took his BA in 26 February 1616 while at Wadham, the year in which he presented books to that college; and he took his MA on 9 November 1619, and his BD on 27 June 1627, at Trinity. So it seems reasonable to assume on the surviving evidence that his donations to Wadham were customary donations to mark his BA, his donations of More and Eustathius to Trinity his MA, and of Pindar and Portus, and probably also Bacon and Alabaster, his BD. This is paralleled exactly by his brother Nathaniel's gifts too—for in addition to the *Polyolbion* he presented to Trinity Virgil's *Opera* (Basel, 1547), on 23 January 1625[/6], and Ficino's *Opera* (Basel, 1561), in May 1629; and he took his BA on 10 December 1625 and his MA on 21 May 1629, the very date he inscribed in his presentation copy of *Polyolbion*. This was therefore a college custom.

Finally, there are Gil the younger's extensive unpublished papers. Two collections deserve special notice. The first, hitherto unnoticed by scholars, I shall mention only briefly. This is a set of letters between Gil and Dudley Digges of All Souls College, dating between 1635 and 1637. (How their friendship arose Gil explains in another place: Digges had been his former pupil.)³⁹ These comprise a dozen letters, and one autograph poem by Gil, all in Latin.⁴⁰ The letters furnish further detail of the literary circle of Gil. Digges, for instance, promised to pass on Gil's poetry to George Sandys (1577–1644), “cuius eruditionem et poëticum calorem veneror” (“whose learning and poetical fire I venerate”).⁴¹ Sandys, the translator of Ovid, was a major Caroline literary figure, whose influence on Milton has been debated.⁴² Gil in return sourced books for Digges among the London booksellers, and provided news on the progress of the war on the continent, even dividing up one of his letters into affairs “Domestica” versus

“Externa.”⁴³ This political interest is reflected in Gil’s literary output: his longest and most complex poems almost without exception meditate on the unfolding crises of the Thirty Years’ War. These letters would repay fuller study.

The second manuscript, first brought to general attention by Leo Miller in his published work on Gil, is East Sussex Record Office FRE/690, a collection of poems edited and prepared for the press by the young Charles Blake of St John’s College, Oxford (1664–1730), in 1687, the year in which he took his BA.⁴⁴ It is titled *Musæ Redivivæ*. Much later, in the year following Blake’s death, it came, in 1731, into the hands of his executor Thomas Lamplugh, son of the Archbishop of York. In the middle of the next century the volume was owned by Thomas Frewen. It was borrowed from Frewen by William Durrant Cooper, who wrote a useful letter on the manuscript to *The Gentleman’s Magazine* in April 1851, including a contents list of the manuscript. At this point the manuscript was in four parts, Gil’s poems and letters occupying only the first part, and the subsequent parts comprising poems by the editor and his acquaintances, all dating from the 1680s. These can be ignored here, but among them there is a translation into Latin of the section of the fifth book of Milton’s *Paradise Lost* where Eve relates her dream to Adam, a rather early instance of this practice; Blake judged the original poem “verè divinus,” and his translation was eventually published in 1694 as part of his collection *Lusus amatorius*. Blake’s interest in Gil was accompanied by an interest in Milton, therefore, and the early friendship between the two men had been rendered public by Milton himself in his own 1674 *Epistolæ familiares*.

Blake’s collection of Gil texts is a scholarly effort, but as the notes talk in the first person of the poems (e.g. “poemata mea” [26]), we can be confident that Gil himself prepared and annotated this selection of his later writings, and Blake only tidied up the edition, augmenting it too with some other verse. This is in keeping with Gil’s earlier *Parerga* of 1632, for which Gil supplied a similar apparatus. Various of his manuscript poems also display authorial side-notes, a not uncommon presentational tactic of the time, especially in Neo-Latin.⁴⁵ It was Gil’s decision, therefore, to include some response poems in this new collection among his own poems: namely a “Remuneratio” by Digges of All Souls, in thanks for a copy of Gil’s poem on Gustavus Adolphus; and a “Gratulatoria” by Isaak Ollivier, fellow of King’s College, Cambridge, to which Gil then responded.⁴⁶ This man contributed an English poem to the *Iusta Eduardo King*, five poems before Milton’s concluding “Lycidas,” and he also supplied a Latin contribution which was perhaps received too late to be included in the volume. Several of Ollivier’s English poems, including that on the death of Edward King, and an “On the Circumcision,” circulated in manuscript too, and can be found in contemporary academic miscellanies.⁴⁷ (This practice of including interlocutors is again visible in the *Parerga*.) Some of the poems Gil collected for the *Musæ Redivivæ* circulated as separates, and in general they represent, chronologically, the body of work Gil composed after the publication of his *Parerga*. This collection is therefore indispensable for anyone wishing to come to a complete view of Gil’s poetic output; and its importance is only underlined by Gil’s care over its preparation. He clearly intended to publish it but proved unable to do so. In Appendix II I have included incipits and explicits for these unpublished poems, so that potential new witnesses can be readily identified.

The added value of the Blake/Gil edition, however, is its inclusion of several letters written by Gil, comprising five letters to William Laud, dating between 23 November 1629 and 20 September 1633, and one to the king himself, dated 26 December 1631. These letters make uncomfortable reading, as Gil throws himself repeatedly at the feet of Laud, whom he hails as his saviour and only protector; for his part Laud had earlier declared Gil a man “voyd as it seemes of all Humanitye.”⁴⁸ These letters furnish us with some otherwise unknown details of Gil’s biography.

First, Gil was, we know, pardoned on 18 October 1630, although he only received the pardon on 30 November following.⁴⁹ This has led most commentators to assume that he remained imprisoned in the Fleet from his arrest in late 1628 until his pardon. But Gil's first letter to Laud suggests that he in fact did not spend nearly so long in actual incarceration. As he wrote in his letter of 23 November 1629:

Tandem (propitio Deo) post quindecim mensium ærumnas optimum Regem tetigit hominis omnibus fortunis exuti miseratio; vitâ Ille me priùs donaverat, nunc etiam carcere solutum luci reddidit.⁵⁰

[At last, with God's assistance, after fifteen months of distress, compassion for a man stripped of all fortune has moved the best of kings; he who had first granted me my life has now also released me from prison and into the light.]

The tense is unequivocal—"reddidit" is perfect, and so Gil now has his freedom. Of the three surviving letters from Milton to Gil, therefore, the middle one in date, of 20 May 1630 and acknowledging receipt of Gil's "*Sylva Ducis*," was not, as it might otherwise seem, responding to a man still in jail.⁵¹

fig. 2: The opening of the Trinity College, Cambridge, MS of Gil's "*Sylva Ducis*":
the presentation copy to John Milton?

Secondly, the paired poems in the *Musæ Redivivæ*, dated 14 and 18 March 1636, from Isaak Ollivier to Gil and from Gil to Ollivier, show that Gil incepted in theology (i.e. the BD) at Cambridge in 1636; something also recorded in the *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, along with Gil's incorporated MA of 1623. Gil's letter to Laud dated 24 March 1629/30 presses Laud to pursue his suit with the king to "spare" him "my body, reputation, and the degrees with which the Academe has honoured me" ("corpori meo et famæ, et gradibus quibus me honestarat Academia, pepercerit").⁵² Gil's inception at Cambridge suggests, however, that he may not have been entirely sure about the finality of his restoration, and sought a tactful way of rejoining the academic ladder rather than simply insisting in Oxford that his BD had been restored; he would shortly go on to take the DD, in Oxford, in 1637.

Finally, Gil wrote to the king himself on 26 December 1631, the same date as his fourth letter to Laud. Peering through the mist of apology and apostrophe, we discern that Gil had sent the king himself a copy of his recent poem on the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, communicated to the king by one "Careius":

Hoc Tu luculentè admodùm perspectum reddidisti, cùm pro innato erga literas amore non adversatus es, quæ de Sueci victorijs à me nupèr adornata Majestati tuæ flos Aulicorum Careius obtulit; sed ea dignatus es, sæpius evolvere, et cælesti vultûs tui serenitate **eu)dokia/n** tuam et approbationem indicare.⁵³

[This thorough viewing you have most splendidly returned, since on account of your innate love for literature you were not averse—nay more, you deemed it worthy—often to turn over those verses recently composed by me on the victories of the Swede, which that flower of courtiers, Carew, presented to your majesty, and to signify by the heavenly serenity of your expression your good will and approval.]

“Careius” is most probably the poet Thomas Carew, who had been appointed a gentleman of the privy chamber and then sewer-in-ordinary to the king in 1630. This story of presentation is corroborated by the account Gil gave in his unpublished poem on the Siege of Maastricht: in lines 13-14 of that poem, Gil records that he had managed to have two of his poems viewed with favour by Charles I, namely the “*Sylva Ducis*,” and a poem Gil calls “*Lypsia*.” “*Lypsia*” is presumably a reference to the Battle of Breitenfeld (1631), and is thus an oblique way of referring to Gil’s 1631 “*Epinikion*” on Gustavus Adolphus (see line 51 in that poem for “*Lipsia*”). This reception, as Gil continues in his letter to the king, now suggests to Gil a further plan:

Quòd si me penes erat in laudem extranei Principis, quem nunquam vidi, cui nihil debeo, talia componere, qualia tuæ limæ placere poterant; quid me vetet in mei Principis honorem cui vitam et salutem acceptam fero, Virgiliana adinstar *Æneidos*, Caroloïdem aliquando contexere?⁵⁴

[If I was disposed to compose such things in praise of a foreign prince, whom I have never seen and to whom I owe nothing, things able to please your literary acumen; then what should prevent me from writing for the honour of my own prince, to whom I owe my life and health, some *Caroloïdes*, in imitation of Virgil’s *Aeneid*?]

This promise was made in a letter accompanying an actual poem for Charles, and these were in turn enclosed in a letter, also with a poem, for Laud. Given the date, the enclosed poem for Laud was almost certainly the *strena* for Laud published in *Parerga*, and we should understand its declared date of 1 January 1631 as for 1631/2. The poem for Charles was most probably the verse on the birth of Princess Mary, dated 4 November 1631, as Gil published it in the *Parerga* as addressed to the king.

Nothing became of Gil’s projected epic on Charles, and it is hard to see what epic action could have been raised on the English crown policy of minimal formal involvement in the Thirty Years War. At any rate, Tilly fell in April 1632, Gustavus Adolphus followed him in November, and meanwhile after a siege Frederick Henry had taken Maastricht in August. Gil, safe across the channel, and officially pardoned, turned his pen to these events instead.

WILLIAM POOLE
New College, Oxford

fig. 3: Gil’s inscription to the funerary monument of Sir William Stonhouse and family, in St James the Great, Radley

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<i>Athenæ Oxonienses</i>	Anthony Wood, <i>Athenæ Oxonienses</i> . Ed. Philip Bliss. 4 vols. London: Rivington <i>et al.</i> , 1813.
CELM	Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</i> [James I]. 5 vols. London: Longman <i>et al.</i> , 1857-1872.
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue http://estc.bl.uk/
Eyre	G. E. B. Eyre, <i>A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708</i> . 3 vols. London: Roxburghe Club, 1913-1914.
<i>Fasti Oxonienses</i>	In <i>Athenæ Oxonienses</i> , above.
FFLI	Union First Line Index of English Verse http://firstlines.folger.edu/
Foster	Joseph Foster, <i>Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714</i> . 4 vols. Oxford, 1891-1892.
<i>History of Parliament</i>	History of Parliament http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/
Madan	Francis Falconer Madan, <i>Oxford Books</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895-1931
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Oxford: OUP, 2004, with electronic updates www.oxforddnb.com

Manuscripts

<i>Cambridge</i>	
Trinity College	
MS 1225 = O. 3. 53	Includes a copy of Gil's "Sylva Ducis"
<i>Leves</i>	
East Sussex Record Office	
FRE 690	Charles Blake's edition of Gil's <i>Musæ Redivivæ</i>
<i>London</i>	
British Library	
MS Add. 46139	Papers of Alexander Gil the elder
MS Add. 33998	Includes Gil's "On the Lawyers Masque. 1634"
MS Add. 44963	Commonplace book of Anthony Scattergood
MS Burney 368	Includes Gil's "Anniversaria tertia"
MS Egerton 2725	Poetic miscellany probably compiled by Henry Noel
MS Sloane 3722	Papers of Alexander Gil the elder
The National Archives	
PROB 11/169/389	Probate copy of will of Alexander Gil the elder

SP 16/25, fols. 113-114	Letter of Gil the younger to William Pickering, 28 April 1626
SP 16/117, fol. 11	Accepted Frewen and Laurence Whitaker's examination of William Pickering, 14 September 1628
SP 16/116, fol. 78	Letter of Laud to Charles I, 6 September 1628
SP 16/166, fol. 79	Laud's examination of Alexander Gill
SP 16/257, fol. 91	Gil's elegy on Penelope Noel
Westminster Abbey XB/01/09/002	Busby Papers
<i>Nottingham</i> University Library Portland Literary Papers, Pw V 670	Copy of Gil's "Epinikion"
<i>Oxford</i> Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 36/37 MS Ashmole 38 MS Ashmole 1750 MS Junius 81 MS Rawlinson D 398 MS Rawlinson poet. 147 MS Rawlinson poet. 210 MS Rawlinson poet. 246 MS Tanner 306 MS Wood F 34 (shelved as F 36) MS Wood D 11 MS Wood B 14, part 2	Poetic collection of Elias Ashmole Poetic collection of Nicholas Burghe Includes a pedigree of the Noels by Dugdale, with continuations by Ashmole Annotated copy of the second edition of Gil's <i>Logonomia Anglica</i> (1621) Papers of Thomas Hearne Cambridge poetic miscellany Poems of Isaac Ollivier and others (part B) Cambridge poetic miscellany Latin, English and French political poems Poetic collection of Anthony Wood Genealogical collections of Wood Wood's notes from the Heralds' Office
Corpus Christi College MS 309 MS 318 MS 319	Collections of William Fulman Collections of William Fulman Collections of William Fulman
New College BT1.4.6/NCA 3582	Library Benefactors Register
USA, Harvard Houghton Library, MS Eng. 739.	Verses by Thomas Farnaby to Gil on a copy of one of Farnaby's editions of Juvenal and Persius (London, 1612, and subsequent editions).

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Appendix I: Short contents of Gil's *Parerga* (1632), with notes on persons named, and identification of parallel printed and manuscript texts:

Preface, dated Prid. Non. Junias [i.e. 4 June], 1632	A4r-A6r
Liminary verse by Baptist Noel, ⁵⁵ John Stonhowse, ⁵⁶ Walter Stonhowse, ⁵⁷ Thomas May, ⁵⁸ Edward Vaughan, ⁵⁹ Thomas Frere, ⁶⁰ William Haukins, ⁶¹ Peter Trion, ⁶² George Gil, and Nathaniel Gil.	A7r-A11v
1. In praematurum obitum illustriss. principis Henrici ... 1612	1-3
2. In obitum sereniss. principis Annæ ... 1618 [Two poems in Greek]	4-5
3. In ἀποθνήσκ[ει] ... Jacobi ... 1625	6-7
This had been first printed in the University of Oxford's <i>Parentalia</i> (Oxford, 1625), sigs B3v-[B4]r. See Madan 531, no. 31.	
4. In ... successionem ... Caroli ... 1625 [Greek]	8-9
5. In obitum ... Arcturi Lake Episcopi Bathon. et Wellens. ... 1626	10
Manuscript text: Folger, V.a.510, ser. 1, pt. 2, fol. 46 (FFLI) ⁶³	
6. In ruinam cameræ papisticæ, Londini Octob. 26. 1623 ⁶⁴	10-13
7. Γενεθλιακον in parentis mei natalem ... Feb. 27. 1624	14-16
8. Ad Cl. V. Dom. G. R. militem, in Italiam è Gallia commigrantem, 1625 ⁶⁵	16-18
9. Ad ... Thom. Farnab. ... Kalend. Ian. 1624 ⁶⁶	18-19
10. Ad ... Petrum Trionem ... Kal. Ian. 1626	20-21
With Trion's response	
And Gil's response	
11. Ad eundem in agro Northantoniensi rusticantem 1627	24-26
12. Jocosum in donatione cinguli coriacei ⁶⁷	27-30
13. Dispensatio petita ⁶⁸	30-35
14. In Sylvam-Ducis à Batavis occupatam mense Sept. 1629 ... ad ... Ioh. Stonhousium ⁶⁹	36-40
Manuscript text: Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 1225 (= O. 3. 53), fols. 64r-68r ⁷⁰	
15a. Epithalamium... Iohannis filij & hæredis ... vicecomitis Chaworth ... et Elizabethæ filiæ ... Edwardi vicecomitis Campdeniani ... Sep. 26. 1631. ⁷¹	41-48
Manuscript text of sequence: British Library, Add. MS 44963, fols. 5r-9r, with English rather than Latin versions of the poems addressed to women; ⁷² two of these can also be found in MS Egerton 2725, fol. 103r-v (to the bride, inc. "Faire Virgin"), and fols. 103v-4r (to the bride's sister, inc. "Faire and sweetest").	
b. Ad sponsum	45-46
c. Ad sponsam	47-48
d. Ad eandem	48-49
e. Ad eandem	50-51
f. Ad vicecomitem Campden sponsæ patrem	52
g. Ad ... Julianam vicecomitissam Campden sponsæ matrem	53
h. Ad ... Baptistam Noel sponsæ fratrem	54
i. Ad ... Henricum Noel filium alterum, Cantabrigiæ agentem [Greek]	55
j. Ad ... Penelopen Noel ... sponsæ sororem ⁷³	56
k. Conclusio ... ad ... conjuges	57
16. De pace inter Anglos et Hispanos ... 1630 ⁷⁴	58
17. In Kal. Januarias ... 1631[/2] ... ad Guilielmum [Laud]	59-62
18. Apostrophe ad honoratiss. antistitem [Laud]	63
19. Ad Corenlium Fayremedow ... 1629 ⁷⁵	64-65
20. Ad ... Guilielmum Fielding ... in Persiam, & Indiam ... proficiscentem ... 1631 ⁷⁶	66-67
21. In Kal. Januarias ... 1630 ... ad ... Ioh. Stonhousium	68-69
22. Ad eundem ... 1631	70-71
23. Ad eundem ... 1632	72-74
24. Ad Johan. Grange ... cum operibus Papinius Statius ... 1632 ⁷⁷	75
25. In nativitatem illustriss. principis Martæ ... 1631	76
26. In obitum ... Guil. Stonhousij ... 1632 ⁷⁸	77-79

27. Ad ... Paulum Pindarum ... 1632 ⁷⁹	80
28. Ad eundem	81-82
29. EΠIΝIKION ... Gustavi Adolphi ... ad ... Carolum regem ... 1631	83-87
Manuscript texts: Bodleian, MS Tanner 306, fols. 76r-77r; Corpus Christi College MS 319, fols. 56r-7r; Nottingham University Library, Portland Literary Papers, Pw V 670. Also printed: see Appendix III below.	
30. In fluctuantem Tillianæ mortis rumore ... 1631. 1632	88-89
31. De pugna inter R. Suecium, & Tillium ... 1632	90
32. De vulnere, fugâ, et obitu Tillij	90
33. Tillij epitaphium	91

Note: in his own index, Gil groups together 1-3, 17-18, 27-28 ("Pindarica"), and 30-33 ("Tilliana"); he also identifies 9, 10, and 24 as "Xenia," i.e. New Year's Gifts.

Appendix II: Short contents, with incipits and explicits, of the *Musæ Redivivæ*, compiled c. 1639 (East Sussex Record Office, FRE 690):

1. Epicedium in ... Johannis Stonhousij ... 1632	1-3
(inc. "Qui modo sacravi carmina," expl. "ponam Epithalamii vice," with a pendant "epitaphium," inc. "Deliciæ Superum," expl. "te monumenta sui")	
2. Mosæ-Trajectum à Batavis occupatum mense Sextili. A ^o . D. 1632 ⁸⁰	4-9
(inc. "Traiectum canimus Brabanti," expl. "lætari Amboyna triumphis")	
3. Epicedium in ... Gustavi Adolphi ... 1632	9-11
"Ad sponsum": inc. "Ergone iam verus," expl. "nemo imitarius ausit"	
"Ad eundem": inc. "Non quod, colende," expl. "Angligenis Georgii diem"	
"Ad sponsam": inc. "Hæc est illa dies," expl. "munere factus Eques"	
Manuscript texts: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 210r-v; MS 319, fol. 52; British Library, Egerton MS 2725, fols. 143r-44r.	
4. Epithalamium ... Baptistæ Noel ... et Annæ Feilding ⁸¹	12-13
(inc. "Fraternos cineres," expl. "fratrem perpetuandus amor")	
5. Epithalamium ... Georgii Stonhousij ... et ... Margaritæ fil: Richardi Lovelasij ... 1633 ⁸²	
a) Ad Sponsum (inc. "Ergone iam verus," expl. "nemo imitarius ausit")	13-14
b) Ad eundem (inc. "Non quod, colende," expl. "Angligenis Georgii diem")	14-15
c) Ad Sponsam (inc. "Hæc est illa dies," expl. "munere factus Eques")	15
6. Panthea in honorem illustrissimæ, spectatissimæ, omnibus animi corporisque dotibus instructissimæ Heroïnæ, Quâ nihil in terris &c. ⁸³	16-21
(inc. "Nox erat, et tandem," expl. "faveatque voratus Apollo")	
Printed text: Bodleian, Pamph. B 48(3), for which see Appendix III, no. 17	
7. In Profectionem Regiam 1633	
a) De itinere, ad Regem (inc. "Nec te viarum longitudo," expl. "ac noscat polus")	22
b) De Reditu (inc. "Victor ab Arctois," expl. "mirabitur Anglia messes")	22-23
These had been printed in the University of Oxford's <i>Solis Britannici perigæum</i> (Oxford, 1633), sigs. B3v-[B4]r. See Madan no. 728, no. 32.	
8. Luctus anniversarius ... Gustavi magni ... 1633	23-26
(inc. "Primus ego Angligenum," expl. "ac funera famæ")	
Manuscript text: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 210r-v.	
9. Remuneratio (by Dudley Digges)	26-28
(inc. "Victrices cineres," , expl. "meliose sepulchro")	
10. Clarissimo viro D. Christophoro Yelverton, seniori ... Kalendis Jan: 1634 ⁸⁴	28-30
(inc. "Salve, benigno qui," expl. "Ipsosque sis facundior")	
Manuscript text: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 212r-v.	
11. In cædem Alberti Walstenij Ducis Fridlandiæ 1634 ⁸⁵	30-32
(inc. "Tuus etiam, superbe," expl. "similem sortiatur exitum")	
Manuscript text: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 224r-v. Also published before Henry Glapthorne's play <i>The Tragedy of Albertus Wallenstein</i> (see Appendix III).	
12. In auspiciatissimas nuptias ... Johannis Crokii ... et ... Janæ Tryonissæ ... Nov: 20. 1634 ⁸⁶	32-35
(inc. "Sed nox ingruit," expl. "usque ad umbilicum")	
Manuscript text: Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Lat. 114.	
13. Anniversaria secunda ... Gustavi Adolphi ... 1634	35-38
(inc. "Ecce iterum Gustavus!," expl. "et eodem luceat orbe")	
Manuscript text: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 319, fol. 190r-v (holograph)	

14. Epicedium ... D. Guil. Paddy ... 1634 ⁸⁷ (inc. "Apollo vatum præsēs," expl. "in æternum vigens") Manuscript text: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 213r-v	38-40
15. Epitaphium (for Paddy) (inc. "Qæritis, amici," expl. "potenti suscitare mortuos") Manuscript text: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 213v	40-41
16. Skenkiana sive Gratulatoria Batavis dicata ob res feliciter gestas. A ^o . D. 1635 ⁸⁸ (inc. "Inachiis quondam cum se referebat ab Argis," expl. "non recrudescere vulnus") Manuscript texts: Bodleian, MS Rawl. D 398, fol. 180r-v; Bodleian, MS Tanner 306, fols. 78r-79r; Bodleian, MS Wood F 34 (shelved as F 36) (miscellaneous poems collected by Anthony Wood), fol. 147r-v, docketed 'p ^{ro} pria manu'; Corpus Christi College MS 319, fol. 192r-v	41-44
17. Anniversaria tertia ... Gustavi Adolphi ... 1635 (inc. "Extremum hunc regina"; expl. immensum laudibus orbem") Manuscript texts: Bodleian, MS Tanner 306, fols. 80r-v (holograph, with Gil's explanatory notes); Bodleian, MS Wood F 34 (shelved as F 36), fol. 145r-v; Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 223r-v; British Library, MS Burney 368, fols. 16-17; Folger, X.d.241(f); Folger, X.d.377 (last two from FFLI)	44-48
18. Gratulatoria Ad spectatissimum virum Alex. Gil in S. Theologiâ inceptorem, Martij 14. 1636. (by Isaak Ollivier) (inc. "Si dignitatem pectoris," expl. "nunc humilem Camænam")	48-49
19. Responsoria Ad doctissimum virum Isaakum Olliver, in Artibus Inceptorem et Coll: Regal: Cantab: Socium, Mart: 18. 1636. (inc. "Num gratulantem rite," expl. "tuosque velint amores")	50-1
20. Ad Reginam ⁸⁹ (inc. "Cum nondum præsēs," expl. "tibi virgo placet")	52
21. Epicedium in obitum doctissimi viri et chariss: fratris Edwardi Vaughan, Art: Mag: et Theologi, Maij 14. 1637. (expl. "Appello fratrem," expl. "adque divis addidit")	52-54
22. In Navem Regiam Volvici exstructam 1637. ⁹⁰ (inc. "Incyta Carolidos terras," expl. "classibus una tuis") Manuscript texts: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 217r-v; London, Westminster Abbey, Busby Papers, XB/01/09/002, item 17, autograph	54-57
23. In anniversarium Natalem amici charissimi Mr: Guil. Whittingham, Decemb: 26. 1638. ⁹¹ (inc. "Etsi ludere non licere," expl. "Stephanus tuum coronet")	57-58
24. Viro nobilissimo Francisco Baroni de Verulamio, Vicecom: S: Albani novam magnamque Artium Instaurationem gratulatur (inc. "Sic orbis oculus," expl. "regnet æternum comes")	58-60
Epistola To Laud, 23 November 1629 To Laud, 24 March 1629[/30] To Laud, 15 April 1630 To Charles I, 26 December 1631 To Laud, 26 December 1631 To Laud, 20 September 1633 "Florentissimo Juveni — — in Academ: Cantab: literis operam navanti," 13 May 1636	61-62 63 63-64 65 66 66-68 69-70
Epist: Pauli ad Titum ... Proæmium	72-75 ⁹²
Oratio habita in Coll Christi Cantab: A ^o 1646 ad Coronationem Caroli. &c.	75-87

Appendix III: Uncollected texts of Gil not mentioned above

(Manuscript:)

1. "A Fancie," prose comic theme, inc. "About the tenth of April Death came to Kettel-hall, and knockt at Picks Chamber-dore with his raw-bone knuckles ... "; expl. " ... so goodly a drinking vessel in heaven, I would neuer have tarryed so long on earth." In Corpus Christi MS 319, fol. 191r-v. It is docketed "Pickering's death &c fancied by Alex: Gill." There is no reason to doubt the attribution: the theme is found among genuine Gil texts; Kettell Hall is the house adjoining Trinity College on the east, initially built by Ralph Kettell, President of Trinity, in about 1620, and not formally part of the college but leased by Kettell; and Pickering is obviously Gil's friend William Pickering (matr. 1619, BA 1622; MA Hart Hall, 1625), the one whose chambers were searched in the aftermath of Gil's arrest in 1628, and in which "divers libells & letteres" were found (The National Archives, SP 16/117, fol. 11r). This theme presumably dates from before that point. A boisterous

- letter from Gil to Pickering survives, also presumably later seized (SP 16/25, fol. 113, letter of 28 April 1626).
2. “Mr Gill to his Maiestie on his birth-day,” sixteen couplets in English, inc. “Your Royall mother Sr, blessed ever bee”; expl. “And wee with them shall keepe this day still holy.” It is a poem written to Charles from prison, begging for mercy and release. In MS Egerton 2725, fol. 72r. This poem must date to just before 19 November 1629. A text was printed in [John Eliot], *Poems* (London, 1658), 23, where it is claimed to be “An Epigram Presented to his Maiestie upon the Release of a prisoner that was committed for making Libellous Verses.” It seems more likely that Eliot plagiarized Gil than the other way around. (Eliot, incidentally, was one of the half dozen or so poets including Milton to write an elegy on the Marchioness of Winchester, conjectured to be abortive attempt at a printed collection.)
 3. Poems in the Trinity College Lucian, donated 1630:
 - a) “De aeterno, tremendo, et omnem intellectum superante Mysterio ... Trinitatis,” in 34 lines. Inc. “Nil tam necesse est, quam fides vera in deum,” expl. “Hoc Numen, Unum, et jure Trium dicimus.”
 - b) Untitled Greek poem of three couplets. Inc. “Ma/rturej ei)si\ Trei~j e)n Tw|~ poludeira/d’ o)lu/mpw|” (“There are three witnesses in the many-ridged Olympus,” a Homeric termination).
 4. “Upon Ben Jonson’s Magnetic lady,” 1632
Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 309, fol. 67r-68v; Bodleian, MS Ashmole 38, p. 15 (p. 58 is Zouch Townley’s reply); British Library, Egerton MS 2725, fols. 130r-31r; Folger, V.a.245; Folger, V.a.322 (last two FFLI); Commonplace Book of James Gough (1654), in the University of Oklahoma, Western History Collections;⁹³ printed text in *Wit and Drollery* (London, 1656). See also CELM, JnB 4, 5, 6, 7; CELM, ToA 84 for related poems. Jonson’s riposte commenced: “Doth the prosperity of a pardon still / Secure thy raging rimes, Infamous Gill?”
 5. “An elegy upon the death of Mrs. Penelope Nowell daughter to the Lo: Viscount Camden,” 1633
London, National Archives, SP 16/257, fol. 91 (“An Elegie dedicated to the eternal memory of the most beautiful, & virtuous Lady, M^{ist}ris Penelope Noel, daughter to the Lord Viscount Campden. 1633”); Oxford, Bodleian, MS Ashmole 38 (poetic collection of Nicholas Burghe), p. 188; British Library, MS Egerton 2725, fols. 131r-32r; Folger, V.a.245, fol. 71 (FFLI); also printed in Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 3:44, partially, from the Ashmole text; and in a modernised text in Hamilton, *Original Papers*, 65-66. Lines 5-6 allude to Gil’s (recent) verse on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, dating the poem to after November 1632; the text in the State Papers is dated 1633.
 6. “On *the* Lawyers Masque. 1634”⁹⁴
London, British Library, MS Add. 33998, fol. 64v-65r, a poem in fifteen rhyming couplets, inc. “Now did Heavens Chariotteere, *the* dayes great star,” expl. “as they seemd glorious in *the* Masque of Night,” attributed to “Alex: Gill.” See CELM, ShJ 217 for this text; this is one of five traced texts of this poem, the only one ascribed to Gil.
 7. “Fatidici cuiusdam chronogrammata e rudibus Ecdesiæ B Pauli, in luce nuperrime prolata,” a series of thirteen chronograms for the years 1631 to 1637, with some repetitions, chiefly on Gustavus Adolphus and the progress of the Thirty Years War, in Corpus Christi College MS 319, fol. 195r.
 - ?8. “In Cacabundum Colonellum cui mos est servulos suos masturbare,” c. 1642.
Fifty-five lines of ribald Latin iambics, attributed to “Alex. Gill.” Inc. “Prodite Iambj. Iam flagellandus mihi,” expl. “Suspende teipsum. Nempe hoc Archilochus jubet.” An “Atkinsus” is mentioned; along with references to his “Noruicense ... perjurium” and his origins at “Linnæ,” it is certain that the subject is Thomas Atkins (1589–1668/9), puritan politician, born in King’s Lynn, and active in Norwich and then in London (see *ODNB*). The poem should thus be dated to in or just after 1642, when he became colonel (hence the “Colonellum” of the title) of the Red regiment of the London militia. It is therefore either Gil’s last traced poem, or the attribution is in error. In Bodleian, MS Rawl. poet. 246, fols. 43v-44r.
- (Printed:)
9. A[lexander] G[il], “Arithmeticon ἀνάμνησις,” appended to N[athaniel] S[impson], *Arithmetica compendium*, said by Wood to be for the use of students of Trinity College, Oxford (see Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 3:37; *ODNB*, s.n. “Simpson, Nathaniel”; Simpson, a slightly younger contemporary of Gil, took his MA from Trinity in the year of publication of the *Arithmetica compendium*). But for its appearance in Alexander Gil the Elder’s papers, see the remarks above on British Library, MS Add. 46139. Hence plagiarised by Alexander the Younger from his father’s papers.
 10. The *Epinikion* on Gustavus Adolphus, appended to the 1632, second edition of [Thomas Goad], *The*

New Starr of the North. That Gil's poem only appeared in the reprint is enough to query the attribution, sometimes encountered, of the prose pamphlet to Gil; the positive ascription to Goad is based on the testimony of a letter of 23 January 1632 from Henry Jacie to John Winthrop Jr. (*Winthrop Papers III*, 62), where "Dr. Goad" is named as the author of the tract and "Mr. Gil jun." the poem. This was then translated into English by W[illiam] H[awkins] and published in 1632 (STC 11879.8); it is rare, ESTC recording only two copies. For Hawkins (or Haukins), see note <> above and the next entry.

11. Three liminary epigrams for William Hawkins's *En Priscianus Verberans et Vapulans* (London, 1632), sig. A2r, reprinted as "Nisus verberans et vapulans," in Hawkins's *Corolla varia* (Cambridge and London, 1634), sig. [B8]r: "Ad Authorem," "Ad Lectorem," and "Ad Autorem sub Nisi nomine latentem."
12. "In cædem Alberti Wallenstenii ... 1634," prefaced to Henry Glapthorne's play *The Tragedy of Albertus Wallenstein* (London: George Hutton, 1639)
13. Two poems, one in Latin and one in Greek, supplied to the University of Oxford, *Flos Britannicus veris novissimi filioli Carolo & Mariae nata XVII Martii anno. M.DC.XXXVI* (Oxford, 1637). See Madan 840, no. 84 (the volume itself is unsigned, irregularly paginated, and encountered in different states).
14. **A)nakreontika** (Greek). Addressed to "Amicissimo candidissimoque pectori Guil. Hodson, Art. Mag.," and appended to William Hodson's devotional *Holy Sinner* (London: Andrew Croke, 1639), sigs E8r-E9r, the seventh and final appended poem. For Hodson (Peterhouse, BA 1621, MA 1624), see ODNB.
15. *Gratulatoria dicata sereniss. ac potentiss. Carolo regi, e Caledone ad Trinobantes suos reverso* (London: John Waterson, 1641). ESTC lists seven copies; I have inspected Bodleian, Bliss A 133(7).
16. *Decollato Comite Straffordio* ([London: s.n., 1641]), a tiny imprint of seventy-six hexameters on a half-sheet, on the execution of Strafford, offering a fascinatingly ambiguous appraisal. ESTC lists three copies; I have inspected Bodleian, Bliss A 133(8).
17. *Panthea. In honorem Illustrissimæ, spectatissimæ, omnibus animi corporisque dptibus instructissimæ HEROÏNÆ, Qua Nihil in Terris, &c.* [London: s.n., 1642?]. Not in ESTC; Bodleian, Pamph. B 48(3) is seemingly the sole surviving copy. The text itself, given its position in the *Musæ Redivivæ*, probably dates from 1633, but as the subject of the poem is unusually opaque for Gil, it is hard to be certain. The printed text occurs in a collection of pamphlets otherwise entirely printed in 1642, and it may be that the poem was only printed around then. Typographical analysis is required, but one preliminary observation is that the repeating string of crowned rose, thistle, fleur-de-lys, harp flowers at the head of A1r is similar to that on John Milton's undated *Epitaphium Damonis*, sig. A1v, and *A Maske* (London, 1637), sig. A2r. The title had already been used for Latin poems by Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet and John Leech.

Appendix IV: The Lost Manuscript "seen" by Wood

Anthony Wood, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses* (3:43), lists in his article on Gil the younger the contents of "a MS. book of verses of his composition" that he had "seen," comprising fifteen items, albeit concluding with an ominous "&c." This is evidently a different manuscript from that described above, and is lost. It was probably put together in 1637, the latest dated poem in Wood's list. Poems in the following list accompanied by a star appear in the *Parerga*, and by dagger in the *Musæ Redivivæ*. From the misspelling of item 8 and the probability that items 9-11 have been misdescribed by Wood, it would appear that he did not inspect his manuscript very carefully. As the notes will show, we can in fact identify every item.

1. Sylva Ducis*
2. Suedus Ren. An. 1631(*)⁹⁵
3. In ejus Obiit. 1632†
4. Annivers. 1633†
5. Annivers. 2. An. 1634†
6. Ann. 3. 1635†
7. In Cædem Wallest. 1634†
8. Ara Skinkiana, 1635†
9. In Navarr. Reg.(†)⁹⁶
10. Coopnelli Cingulum, 1629(*)⁹⁷
11. Ad eundem, 1629(*)⁹⁸
12. Epitaphium Rich. Pates, 1633⁹⁹
13. In Obiitum Gulielmi Paddy Eq. Aur. et M.D.†
14. Ad D. Christoph. Yelverton†

15. In Obitum Edw. Vaughan, 1637,† &c.

Appendix V: Spuria

1. “For the King” or “The Five Senses,” inc. “From such a face whose excellence.”
Verses seized from William Grinkin in 1628 and attributed to Gil, first printed in Hamilton, *Original Papers*, 67, from the original in the State Papers (see *CSPD* 1627-28, 240). The whole poem, known as “The Five Senses,” has been variously attributed to William Drummond of Hawthornden, Ben Jonson, James Johnson, Thomas Randolph, and Gil, the last on the grounds that he did not deny it. All these ascriptions are problematic. Clark, “Milton’s Schoolmasters,” 140-41, affirms the attribution to Gil, which is challenged for different reasons by Gilbert, “Jonson and Drummond,” and Miller, “Some of the Verses by Alexander Gil,” 25, fn. 3, and again in his edition, 12. Grinkin himself may well have been the author, as Mede mentions he was charged “for writing somewhat in prose or verse to the same end, or dictating it” (MS Harley 390, fol. 455r). It is extremely common: see CELM, DrW 117 for a discussion and fifty-six recorded copies.

Appendix VI: Alexander the Younger’s presentations of books to Trinity College, Oxford, in order of ascertainable donation. (I convert Gil’s use of the Roman calendar into modern equivalents, so “8° Cal. Apriles A° 1623°” becomes 25 March 1623, and so forth.)

Still present:

1. Thomas More, *Epigrammata* (Basel, 1520), bound with Ludovicus Vives, *Somnium* (Basel, 1521), Vives, *De institutione foeminae Christianae* (Antwerp, 1525), given in 1619 (acquired by Gil thus bound as they all bear the same earlier signature of one “Edmundus,” who records that he himself received the volume from one “Bayley”)
 2. Eustathius on Homer, 2 vols. (Basel, 1560), 10 November 1619, “exiguum [!] gratitudinis arrhabonem dedit” (and with several other inscription including Gil’s name in Greek characters; it originally cost him £1 6s 8d)
 3. Sophocles, [*Opera*] (Geneva, 1603), 9 August 1622 (with original price of 6s 8d, and a contents list in Gil’s hand)
 4. Martin Fotherby, *Atheomastix* (London, 1622), 25 March 1623
 5. Pindar, [*Opera*] (Geneva, 1599), 29 June 1627
 6. Aemilius Portus, *Pindaricum Lexicon* (Hanover, 1606), 29 June 1627 (originally a gift from his father, 25 September 1616)
 7. Lucian, *Opera*, ed. Jean Bourdelot (Paris, 1615), acquired in 1629 for 23s 2d, donated in 1630
- Missing,¹⁰⁰ but listed in the college’s benefactors register:*
8. Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* (London, 1620)
 9. William Alabaster, *Commentarius de bestia Apocalyptica* (Delft, 1621)
 10. Sebastianus Foxius Morzillus, *Commentatio in decem Platonis libros de republica* (Basel, 1556) (book 1-10 all listed under no. 29 in the register);
 11. Richard Stanyhurst, *Harmonia seu catena dialectica, in Porphyrianas institutiones* (London, 1570) (unique item under no. 109 in the register)

¹ For the Gils, see primarily Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 3:42-3; Masson, *Life of John Milton*, 1:52-6; McDonnell, *History of St Paul’s*, 156-97; McDonnell, *Annals of St Paul’s*, 172-3, 174, 180, 183-220; McDonnell, *Registers of St Paul’s*, 113-15, 117-22; Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul’s*, ch. 4; Baldwin, “Alexander Gill, the Elder”; Danielsson and Gabrielson, *Alexander Gill’s Logonomia Anglica*, esp. 2:9-53 (the fullest biography of Gil the elder); *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB], articles by Gordon Campbell, and further sources cited there.

² For some preliminary remarks, see Poole, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost*, 12-24.

³ See Miller, “On some of the verses by Alexander Gil.” There is a “Guide to the Leo Miller—John Milton Collection” available from Boulder.

⁴ Miller also furnished notes on variants between witnesses, something beyond the scope of my Appendixes I-III below. Furthermore he attempted the vexed question of the autography or otherwise of various Gil copies, an issue on which I have been largely silent, as it seems to me that Gil employed more than one script, and that several texts declared “scribal” by Miller cannot confidently be described thus. Indeed, most of the Gil texts I have encountered as separates are probably holograph.

⁵ Bodleian, 4^o G 30 Art. The library possessed no copy of the second edition (1621) until the bequest of Franciscus Junius in 1677 (MS Junius 81). The best analysis remains Dobson, *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*, 31-55.

⁶ Bodleian, E 5.7 Th., brutally rebound. Thus it is hard to tell whether it was the copy that was in the library by the time of Hyde's 1674 catalogue of printed books, then at G 2.16 Th. There are no mentions of the Gils in the Bodleian's official benefactors register.

⁷ British Library C 109.q.10, a large-paper copy. It does not contain the dedication leaf to the Mercers, on which see below.

⁸ Several other authors, e.g. Daniel Featley and Robert Burton, can be seen in this vicinity, donating their own works.

⁹ The three last books bear the printed presentation label "Liber C.C.C. ex dono ALEXANDRI GIL Paulinae Scholae Magistri, quondam discipuli ejusdem Collegij." This label is placed at the back of the volumes (only vol. 1 of the Ricciardus), and may have been produced by Gil and not the college, as it does not resemble other printed labels in the books of that college (ESTC S126396). The binding of the *Onus Ecclesiae* is the work of John Reynes (d. 1545), as it bears his distinctive animals roll; the Broxbourne copy in the Bodleian of the same text is also bound thus (Broxb. 78.8).

¹⁰ Thus James, *A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture*, 4:91.

¹¹ *Poetae Graeci veteres carminis heroici scriptores qui extant omnes* (Westminster Abbey P 1.63), noted by Pearson, *Provenance*, 29. The title-page is signed with Gil's motto and his initials; the final endpaper bears the expanded form in Greek "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ" (from Luke 2:14, also the opening of Greater Doxology), with Gil's full name "Alex. Gill," and the year 1617. (The double-l spelling here raises the possibility that the son is the true owner here?) Gil's will, discussed below, is headed again with the expanded form "Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ Ἀμήν"; he concludes *The Sacred Philosophie* with the same (2:207). It is a common motto; for instance another famous schoolmaster, Charles Hoole, used it too (*New Discovery*, 309).

¹² The probate copy is The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/169/389 (fols. 211v-212v), proved on 26 November 1635, following Gil's death on the seventeenth of that month. It is listed in Bodleian, MS Wood D 11, fol. 225v, but, *pace* ODNB, with no detail and misdated by Wood to 30 July. Wood also noted Gil's death on 17 November 1635 in MS Wood B 14, part 2, p. 30 (Wood's notes from the Heralds' Office). A transcript of the will is printed as Document VI by Danielsson and Gabrielson.

¹³ McDonnell, *History of St Paul's*, 130 (including notice of one of his books); *Annals*, 187-91; *idem.*, *Registers*, 95, 114, 118; Clark, *Milton at St Paul's*, 65-6. For George and Nathaniel see *Registers*, 129-30, 139; George indeed succeeded Sound. For all their fractiousness, we may note that both Nathaniel and George supplied liminary poems for their brother Alexander's *Parerga* in 1632.

¹⁴ Baldwin, "Alexander Gill, the Elder," 123-33, 146-86.

¹⁵ The library of St Paul's School was, like that of the cathedral, almost entirely destroyed in the Great Fire. The earliest surviving catalogue of the school library, from 1697, is among the Gale MSS in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.1.26, and lists 434 titles (McDonnell, *History of St Paul's*, 224-25, 266-67). The first printed catalogue, by George Charles (London, 1743), usefully lists donors, but is of course good only for the post-Fire period. For the grammar school libraries, see Vincent, *Grammar Schools*, 82-6.

¹⁶ "Plantin in viij^o" is not an *octavo* but the Antwerp Polyglot in eight *volumes*; the figure of seventeen volumes is presumably the sum of all bible volumes, and would mean that one or more of the other bibles comprised more than one volume.

¹⁷ McDonnell, *Annals of St Paul's*, 177-78, 184; and *idem.*, *Registers of St Paul's*, 114, his authority being the Mercers' Company Acts of Court for 10 March 1609, inaccessible at the time of this research. The document is printed in original spelling as Document XXII by Danielsson and Gabrielson, and the relevant passage is: "And also of late gaining further knowledge of his learning by his paines taken in that translacion of the Bible. Which as it is to vs, so ought it likewise to be to you. An Argument of his sufficiency for anny such place."

¹⁸ Gil again cites this book in his *Sacred Philosophie*, 2:106.

¹⁹ British Library, Add. MS 46139 and MS Sloane 3722. The former manuscript is well described in the British Library catalogue. We may note that Gil himself has written the indexes to the first section of the manuscript, on recipes; that the "Clavis philosophiae Dorniana abbreviata ab Al. Gil. Junii 13. 1598" (fol. 104r-v) is again his own work and in his hand, from Dorn, *Clavis Totius Philosophiae Chymisticae*, a work of 1566; and that the first version, in Latin, of the "ad instantiam amplissimi viri D. Roberti Mansfelt equitis aurati. [i.e. the naval officer Sir Robert Mansell, on whom see ODNB] 1596" (the second, an English gloss, is titled "Arithmeticon ἀνάμνησις ad instantiam amplissimi viri Domini Roberti Ballei"), provides exactly the mnemonic text Gil the younger published (under the initials "A. G.") as an appendix to Simpson's textbook on arithmetic (see below). In connection with Gil's interest, at least in this period, with chymical ideas, note his letter to the German alchemist Michael Maier in support of the notorious *aurum potabile* of

the London hermetic physician Francis Anthony, printed in the German edition of the latter's *Panacea Aurea* (1618 edition), 71-3; Gil and Maier must have become acquainted in the early 1610s, when the latter was in London. The letter recounts that, in desperation at the lethargy (*caros/coma*) of one of his sons, Gil turned, with fortunate outcome, to Anthony and his medicines. This (undated) letter will not be found in the London edition of 1610. As for MS Sloane 3722, fols. 23r-86r, Gil's contents list (fol. 23r) reads:

1. Johannis Reuchlinj de Arte Cabalistica Compendium	[fols. 24r-34v]
2. Gul. Postelli de Nativitate Mediatoris Ultima	[fols. 35r-71v]
3. Papa non est Antichristus, ex Sandij Visibili Monarchia	[fols. 72r-v]
4. Notes of Sr Edwyn Sandys's Relation of the State of Religion	[fols. 72v-77r]
5. The Counterfeit Vertue	[fols. 77v-82r]
6. Arbor Scientiæ Boni & Mali, ex Speculo Justitiæ	[fols. 82r-85r]
7. Pattern of the Present Times.	[fols. 85r-86r]

By Alexander Gill.

A.D. MDC.

This, Gil's section of the manuscript as now bound, occupies five quarto fascicules, of which the final seven and a half leaves are blank. Item 2 is dated in its colophon 7 July 1605.

²⁰ *Sacred Philosophie*, 1:3.

²¹ Clark, "Milton's Schoolmasters," 129-33; idem., *Milton at St Paul's*, 72-7; Baldwin, "Gil," 134-35.

²² *Sacred Philosophie*, sig. [(**4)]v, license signed by William Haywood; Arber, *Transcript*, 4:313.

²³ Of the first six leaves of the book in copies containing the dedication, only the third, the dedication itself, is signed (¶3). In the Bodleian copy this is affixed to a stub. ESTC reports that the Folger copy has two stubs after sig. [(¶4)] and that in the Huntington copy sig. (¶3) has been glued to sig. [(¶4)]. STC reports that the Harvard copy is missing sig. (¶3) entirely, and as we have seen (n. <> above), the copy presented to Laud also lacks this dedication. This would suggest that, first, the dedication to the Mercers was added late in the process, and not to all copies, and secondly that (¶3) is not strictly a *cancellans*, as there is no corresponding *cancellandum*, but is rather an inserted leaf. I suspect the real collation is X p⁴, with "(¶3)" as the insert.

²⁴ *Sacred Philosophie*, sig. [(**4)]r.

²⁵ At least one chained parochial library held a copy, being that of Chirbury, founded by the local vicar Edward Lewis, incumbent 1629-1677, whose signature is in the book (*Catalogue of Books from Parochial Libraries in Shropshire*); my thanks to Dunstan Roberts for his unpublished notes on this library). Copies of earlier non-institutional provenance include British Library 1217.k.5, of which the earliest signature, now defaced, is "è Bibliothecâ Ri: Trip[lett?]." The copy in the library of St Paul's Cathedral bears the signature of the schoolmaster and librarian Thomas Rud (1667/8-1733), dated 1700.

²⁶ Copies of the reissue were sold by Joshua Kirton, who was one of the four men who received the assignment of the copies of Thomas Whitaker on 7 March 1653, including "The sacred Philosophy of Holy Scripture by Mr Alex. Gill" (Eyre, *Transcript*, 1:415); but, although he had reissued copies of the first edition, Kirton did not reprint the book. The British Library copy of this reissue (3506.h.8) bears the early signature of one "Tho: Soley," possibly he of Merton College, matr. 1650, postmaster 1651.

²⁷ One is in the university library; the other in St John's. The latter only came in 1719, among the many books bequeathed by Francis Roper.

²⁸ New College, Library Benefactors Register (BT1.4.6/NCA 3582), 81. (The Balliol register is Balliol College Archives, Library Records B (Donation Book).)

²⁹ All such degree data are taken from Foster.

³⁰ I have also checked Lincoln, Merton, Pembroke, and University College copies, which, other than the adjustment for college, have inscriptions of identical form and date. One exception seems to be the St John's copy, donated in the year of publication by Thomas Allen, Armiger, presumably he of St John's and Oriel in the 1620s (Foster).

³¹ E.g. Bodleian, Malone 924, a copy of Gil the younger's *Parerga* (1632), contains a cutting from an unspecified catalogue advertising a copy of his father's book presented by Alexander the younger to Thomas Henshaw of University College (1618-1700), for whom see ODNB.

³² Poole, "Down and Out"; idem., "Margaret Cavendish's books."

³³ *Eniartos*, 287.

³⁴ The fullest accounts of this famous incident are McDonnell, *Annals*, 203-10, and Cressy, *Dangerous Talk*, 143-46; most of the relevant documents in the State Papers are either summarized in CSPD for this period, or printed in Hamilton, *Original Papers*, 65-71. The indispensable document is Laud's interview report, "The examination of Alexander Gill" in the State Papers (SP 16/166, fol. 79r-v). A contemporary letter on the affair not usually noticed, and with further information on William Pickering (on whom see below,

Appendix III, no. 1), from Thomas Atkinson of St John's College, Oxford, to Thomas Smyth at Ashton, 17 September 1628, may be found in Bettey, ed., *Correspondence of the Smyth Family*, 93-4.

³⁵ The copy of *Parerga* in Brasenose College bears the early ownership inscription of Edward Bathurst, dated 1633; this Edward is surely he of Trinity College, Oxford, matr. 1629, BA 1630, MA 1634, and so arriving at Trinity just after the arrest of Alexander, and overlapping slightly with Nathaniel Gil (see below).

³⁶ Poole, *Wadham College Books*, 39.

³⁷ Milton, *Poems upon Several Occasions*, 430; Warton was a fellow of the college.

³⁸ Nathaniel presented *Polyolbion* on 21 May 1629. The "1612" Spenser comes from the nineteenth-century bequest of President Ingram; the 1617 edition was presented by Thomas Argall in 1630.

³⁹ See the headnote to Digges's poem included in the *Musæ Redivivæ* (Appendix II, no. 9): "quondam discipulo meo in Scholâ Paulinâ."

⁴⁰ Westminster Abbey, Busby Papers, XB/01/09/002. Part of the "miscellaneous" subsection of these papers, they may not have been collected by Busby himself. The manuscript consists of two folders containing twenty items in all. Items 2-5, 9-13, and 15 are ten letters from Digges to Gil; items 7-8 are letters from Gil to Digges, the latter in Digges's hand; and item 17 is an autograph copy of Gil's poem "In navem Regiam Volvici exstructam 1637," evidently sent to Digges.

⁴¹ Busby Papers, XB/01/09/002, item 2, Digges to Gil, 11 May 1635.

⁴² Ellison, *George Sandys*, 250-56.

⁴³ Busby Papers, XB/01/09/002, item 7, Gil to Digges, 19 June 1635.

⁴⁴ For Blake see *ODNB*. The details in Foster are slightly inaccurate. As Leo Miller noted, Blake also transcribed Milton's tutor William Chappell's verse autobiography and epitaph ("Milton's Clash"; idem., unpublished edition of Gil, [28]).

⁴⁵ A good example is Gil's friend William Hawkins, of Christ's College, whose published Latin poetry was heavily auto-annotated (see below).

⁴⁶ For "Isaak Ollivier," as the name appears here, see under "Isaac Oliver" in Venn and Venn.

⁴⁷ *Iusta Eduardo King*, English section, 15-16; the Latin poem is printed in Postlethwaite and Campbell, "Edward King," 91. For three collections containing Ollivier poems see Bodleian MSS Rawl. poet. 147, 210, and 246. There is an edition of the first of these manuscripts, with some commentary on Oliver/Ollivier, by Rose, "MS Rawlinson poetical 147." MSS Rawl. poet. 147 and 246 are both connected with Henry Some of Eton and King's College (BA 1651, MA 1654, d. 1658).

⁴⁸ SP 16/116, fol. 78r, letter of Laud to Charles I, 6 September 1628. A further letter from Gil to, probably, Laud, can be found in Corpus Christi College MS 318, fol. 157r, c. 1629.

⁴⁹ McDonnell, *Annals of St Paul's*, 210; idem., *Registers of St Paul's*, 118.

⁵⁰ East Sussex Record Office, FRE 690, p. 62.

⁵¹ This letter is dated 20 May 1628 in the *Epistolæ Familiares* (London: Brabazon Aylmer, 1674), 10; by content this cannot be correct; the redating proposed by Chifos, "Milton's Letter to Gill," has been universally accepted. William Fulman in his notes on Gil (Corpus Christi MS 309, fol. 13v) spotted this passage and, mindful of the printed date, artfully proposed that Milton had instead received a poem on the siege of "Grolla," i.e. Grol/Groenlo, indeed besieged in July-August 1627.

⁵² East Sussex Record Office, FRE 690, p. 63.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 65.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 65.

⁵⁵ For the Noels see n. <> below.

⁵⁶ For John Stonhouse, see n. <> below.

⁵⁷ He of Wadham (BA 1617) and then Magdalen (MA 1619, BD 1629) Colleges (Foster). Gil and he therefore were fellow students at the new foundation of Wadham.

⁵⁸ The prominent writer and historian (c. 1596-1650; Sidney Sussex, BA 1613; Gray's Inn 1615) (*ODNB*).

⁵⁹ Presumably he of Jesus College (BA 1619, MA 1622) (Foster), whose death in 1638 Gil later lamented in verse: Appendixes II, no. 21, IV, no. 15. "Vaughanus noster" is mentioned in some of the Digges-Gil letters, e.g. Busby Papers, XB/01/09/002, items 3, 11.

⁶⁰ Identity uncertain; he signs as an MA. There was a man of this name ordained in 1604, as "B.A. late of Jesus College," Cambridge (ACAD), but this seems too early. An MD of Padua the same name incorporated at Oxford in 1623 (Foster), but again this does not sound right. Miller thought him "possibly" the former (unpublished edition, 60).

⁶¹ The schoolmaster and writer (d. 1637) of Christ's College, Cambridge (BA 1623, MA 1626), at this time a schoolmaster in Hadleigh, Suffolk (*ODNB*). He is best known for his school play, *Apollo Shroving* (1626). His *Corolla varia* (Cambridge and London, 1634) contains his "Nisus verberans et vapulans," of which an earlier version was published separately the previous year, alluded to in his poem for Gil, and for which Gil also supplied some liminary verse (see Appendix III, no. 11); "Nisus" was Hawkins' poetic name, because

Nisus, king of Megara, was turned into a sparrow *hawk* in Virgil and Ovid. He was also the translator of Gil's *Epinikion* on Gustavus Adolphus, for which see Appendix III, no. 10.

⁶² He of Christ Church, BA 1626; student of Lincoln's Inn from 1624, as he signs himself here (Foster).

⁶³ When I use the "FFLI" abbreviation it signals that I have not examined the manuscript in person.

⁶⁴ An untitled and anonymous English translation of this poem, identified by Miller, "On Some of the Verses," 22, is MS Ashmole 36/37, fols. 109r-10r (item 122), inc. "Goe to yee sonnes of Antichrist, confesse," expl. "Attendes your fall and wates your ouerthrow." Miller in his draft edition (106) went further, affirming Gil to be the author.

⁶⁵ Neither Miller nor I have been able to identify this "G. R."

⁶⁶ After his pardon Gil briefly became usher to the famous schoolmaster Thomas Farnaby; Farnaby presented him with a copy of one of his editions of Juvenal and Persius (London, 1612; four editions to 1633); the verse presentation inscription was cut out and is now Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Eng. 739.

⁶⁷ As Gil's note, dated 31 May 1629, explains, this poem ("On the gift of a leather strap") was prompted by "N. Cartmel" of Oxford (i.e. Nicholas Cartmel, BA Trinity 1607, MA Balliol 1610), whom Gil met "in Fletā," in the Fleet, i.e. in jail.

⁶⁸ Gil's note ("Occasio," dated 3 June 1629), explains that these iambics are another response to Cartmel.

⁶⁹ This is Sir John Stonhouse, fellow student with Gil (matr. Trinity College in 1617 but migrated to Magdalen the following year; student of Gray's Inn in 1619, and knighted 1629; he stood as MP for Abingdon, but barely outlived his father, dying 14 June 1632 (Foster).

⁷⁰ This is a tantalizing manuscript: it is autograph and calligraphic, in booklet form complete with catchwords, and concludes with Gil's signature and the motto he used for the *Parerga* volume itself, from Virgil, *Eclogues*, 9.33-4. It is evidently a presentation manuscript, not a casual copy, and yet it lacks the dedication with which it appeared in print, to Sir John Stonhouse. The manuscript is part of a miscellany of separates, and a stub before its opening leaf shows that what was once the first leaf, possibly bearing a presentation notice, has been removed. We know that Gil sent a copy to Milton, and Trinity College also holds Milton's major poetic manuscript, probably gleaned from the papers of Daniel Skinner. Is this separate the copy sent to Milton, also swept up from the papers of Skinner, abandoned when he himself abandoned the college?

⁷¹ Thus Miller's published remark on this set of poems: "The young woman was Elizabeth Noel, whose grandfather, Sir Baptist Hicks [see *ODNB* for this fabulously wealthy mercer and moneylender], kept the mercer's store next door to the shop of Milton the scrivener, and was the lessee from whom the Milton family sublet the home where the poet Milton spent his boyhood years. Her brothers Henry and Baptist Noel were at Cambridge University during the years when Milton was there" ("On Some of the Verses by Alexander Gil," 22). The groom was John, Baron Chaworth (1605-1644). James VI & I himself gave away the bride, as Gil's headnote states. The penultimate line of 15a contains the phrase "Deus et Rex," which, as Gil's note explains, he had engraved on a ring for the couple, along with several emblems. Henry is described as of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the *Genethliacum Illustrissimorum Principum Caroli et Mariae* (Cambridge, 1631), 2, and in the *Anthologia in Regis Exanthemata* (Cambridge, 1632), 12 (ACAD); Baptist (1611-82) received an MA in 1628 (ACAD). The Campdens vouched for Gil when he was in trouble with the Mercers (McDonnell, *Annals of St Paul's*, 219; idem., *Registers of St Paul's*, 121). A pedigree of the Noel family may be found in Bodleian, MS Ashmole 1750. The poetical miscellany British Library, MS Egerton 2725, in which copies of several Gil poems are found, was probably compiled by Henry Noel; the opening poems are all signed with his initials, and many further poems in the volume can be connected to him or his family, including an anagrammatical and acrostic poem on the marriage of Mary Noel and Erasmus de la Fountayne by "J. Foord" (fols. 134v-35r). The popular poem "Gaze not on Swans" often but not always attributed to Henry Noel (FFLI list around twenty texts, with various attributions) is said in the text in MS Rawl. poet. 147, fol. 93r-v, to have been set to music by Henry Lawes.

⁷² The commonplace book of Anthony Scattergood (1611-87) of Trinity College, Cambridge (Scattergood Collections, vol. 32), fols. 5r-6v, "Ode Nuptialis"; 6v-7r, "Ad Sponsum"; 7r-v, "To the Bride," inc. "Fayre virgin (we may call you so till night ...," expl. "And when 'tis come, 'mongst Saints you may haue come"; 7v-8r "Ad ... Vicecomitem Campdenianum sponsæ patrem"; 8r, "To the Right Honorable the Ladie Vicecountess Campden, mother to the Bride," inc. "Great, and good Lady, though I well do know," expl. "Had fate giv'n ore, 'thad giv'n, but *what* is due"; 8r-v, "Ad ... Baptistam ... Sponsæ fratrem"; 8v, "Ad Henricum Noell ... filium alterum ... Cantabrigiæ agentem" (Greek); 8v-9r, "To the Right noble, & Beautifull Lady Penelope Daughter to ... Vicount Campden, & Sister to the Bride," inc. "Faire, & Sweetest, though you stay," expl. "Your turne is next, take Hymen's oath"; 9r, "Epithalamium ad ... conjuges." The whole set is signed "Alex: G:" It seems possible that Gil wrote for the women in English, and translated into Latin for his printed collection.

⁷³ Gil later wrote an elegy, in English, on her: see Appendix III, no. 5.

⁷⁴ The Anglo-Spanish War of 1625-1630 was concluded by the Treaty of Madrid, signed 15 November 1630.

⁷⁵ This is the playwright and courtier Sir Cornelius Fermedo (c. 1600–1638), on whom see *ODNB*. Gil's headnote shows that he sent this poem from the house of Fermedo's father-in-law, Sir William Stonhouse (on whom see below), whose birthday Gil was celebrating. Cornelius, who was close to Sir William's son John, with whom he travelled on the continent in the 1620s, subsequently married his daughter Dionysia in about 1627. Gil's opening lines suggest an old friendship, and despite his absence from Foster, Fermedo contributed to the Oxford collection *Funebria ... Regina Anna* (1619), sig. G4r, where he describes himself as "Ioannensis," so of St John's College, evidence unnoticed by *ODNB* that Fermedo/"Fairmedow"/"Pharmedoe," etc., indeed spent time at Oxford.

⁷⁶ This is a *propemptikon* to the naval office, courtier, and first earl of Denbigh William Feilding (c. 1587–1643), on whom see *ODNB*, where his journey to the east, from January 1631, to August 1633, is described. Contrary to Gil's longer title, his was not an official embassy. A famous portrait by van Dyck memorialised Feilding's encounter with the east: he is depicted in a silk Hindu or Indian jacket and pyjamas, hunting with an oriental servant, who points out a parrot in a palm tree (National Gallery, NG5633).

⁷⁷ Possibly the John Grange of Trinity College, Cambridge (BA 1607; MA 1610), although he seems rather old (ACAD); the sole Oxford possibility in Foster (matr. Balliol, 1604; student of Lincoln's Inn, 1604) is problematic for the same reason. (Miller got no further than I.)

⁷⁸ This is Sir William Stonhouse, first baronet of Radley, d. 5 February 1632; the title had been created for him in 1628. He was the father of Gil's friend John, for whom see above. Sir William was buried in the church of St James the Great, Radley, in the south east corner, where his elaborate funerary monument, executed by the renowned Nicholas Stone, can still be seen. The lengthy inscription on Sir William, his family, and in particular the death of his son John on 14 June 1632, was composed at the request of William's widow Elizabeth by Gil himself, who included it in full in his commentary to the *Musæ Redivivæ* (2-3). Miller visited the monument in 1983, and considered it too big.

⁷⁹ Sir Paul Pindar (1565/6-1650), who had recently, as Gil's title states, contributed towards the refurbishment of St Paul's Cathedral; he apparently gave £10,000 towards Archbishop William Laud's rebuilding fund (*ODNB*).

⁸⁰ I.e. on the Siege of Maastricht. It is again a richly ambiguous poem, approving of the Protestant success on the continent, but both bitter about the cost in English lives and unable to forgive the Dutch for the Amboyna massacre (1623).

⁸¹ See notes <> and <> above for the Noels and Feildings; Anna was one of the four daughters of William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, and was married to Baptist on 23 December 1632, as Gil's full title records.

⁸² George (1603-75) was the second son of Sir William Stonhouse, first Baronet of Radley, who succeeded to the Baronetcy on the death of his elder brother John in 1632; on 23 April 1633 he married Margaret Lovelace, daughter of Richard Lovelace, first Baron Lovelace (*History of Parliament*). The poem starts by recalling the death of the groom's brother John, the subject of the opening poem in this collection.

⁸³ Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 3:42, recorded that this was "Printed in one sheet in qu," possibly taken directly from Fulman's bibliography of Gil (Corpus Christi College, MS 309, fols. 13r-17r), where he found this statement (fol. 13v).

⁸⁴ This is Sir Christopher Yelverton, brother (rather than elder son) of Sir Henry Yelverton the puritan judge and politician, on whom see *ODNB*. Henry the judge acted occasionally as legal counsel for Christ's College, Cambridge. He lived on Bread Street, and was the dedicatee of Thomas Gataker's 1627 funeral sermon for Richard Stock, rector of All Hallows, Bread Street.

⁸⁵ The Bohemian military leader Albrecht von Wallenstein, supreme commander of the Habsburg forces, was assassinated by his officers on 25 February 1634.

⁸⁶ These are the verses Gil sent to Milton, and to which Milton responded by sending his own Greek translation of Psalm 114 in a letter of 4 December 1634 (see Miller, "On Some of the Poems of Alexander Gil," 23-24). Gil explains the occasion in his headnote: he had instructed his pupils to write an epithalamium for the wedding, each one taking a different section, and he himself had written the final piece, placed on the last page of the congratulatory booklet sent to the couple. This John Croke was the grandson of Sir John Croke the judge (see *ODNB*); he died in disgrace some time after 1668. Jane, his first wife, died in childbed, 9 May 1636. For Croke and Jane Tryon, see Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*, 2:490; and for more on the Croke family's poetic interests, with a useful family tree, see Estill, "Pretty booke when I am gone."

⁸⁷ Sir William Paddy (1554-1634), physician and extensive benefactor to St John's College, Oxford, especially its library, as Gil notes: in 1602 he gave 1123 works in 682 volumes (*ODNB*).

⁸⁸ The title is a reference to the Siege of Schenkenschans: the Spanish army had captured the strategically significant fortress of Schenkenschans in late July 1635, which was then besieged by Frederick Henry and latterly his cousin John Maurice, Prince of Nassau. The Spanish surrendered on 30 April 1636.

⁸⁹ Written for the birth of Princess Elizabeth (1635-1650), born at St James's Palace and baptized by Laud, and thus to be dated to shortly after 28 January 1636.

⁹⁰ This refers to the Great Ship HMS *Sovereign of the Seas*, launched finally from Woolwich ("Volvicus") on 13 October 1637. Gil may have had recourse to pamphlet literature for this poem, notably Thomas Heywood, *A true description of His Majesties royall ship, built this yeare 1637* (London, 1637). It attracted several poets, including Richard Fanshawe, whose poem with a parallel Latin attempt may be found in MS Wood F 34 (shelved as F 36), fol. 142v-r, reading retrograde, in the vicinity of two Gil texts.

⁹¹ This is probably the Oxonian of Magdalen Hall (BA 1633) and subsequently Oriel College (BCL 1637).

⁹² It seems doubtful that this, and it is impossible that the following, item is by Gil.

⁹³ For this manuscript, which I have not consulted, see Adams, "Notes on Ben Jonson."

⁹⁴ For the event, Shirley's masque *The Triumph of Peace*, the most expensive masque staged in the period, see "The Triumph of Peace" in the introductory article to CELM, "James Shirley."

⁹⁵ This is probably the 1631 "Epinikion" on Gutavus Adolphus: see Appendixes I, no. 29, and III, no. 10.

⁹⁶ Especially in light of the next entry, I suspect this is not a poem on a monarch of Navarre, but a scribal mistake for "In Nav[em] Reg[iam] Volvici exstructam 1637" (Appendix II, no. 22).

⁹⁷ This is clearly equivalent to Appendix I, no. 12, "Jocosum in donatione cinguli coriacei," and "Coopnell" is a mistake for (Nicholas) "Cartmel."

⁹⁸ Likewise equivalent to Appendix I, no. 13, the "Dispensatio petita."

⁹⁹ Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 3:43, explains that this was Richard Pates of Trinity College, Oxford (BA 1627, MA 1630), subsequently buried "with a long epitaph in prose set over his grave" in St Mary Magdalen. Miller identified this epitaph as the (prose) text transcribed and attributed to Gil in Corpus Christi College, MS 309, fols. 27v-28r.

¹⁰⁰ These have been missing for some time, as no plausible editions are listed in the college's nineteenth-century handwritten catalogue.