NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Samuel Daniel in Italy: New Documentary Evidence

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ABSTRACT Scholars have long assumed that poet-playwright Samuel Daniel (1562–1619) had traveled to Italy, basing this view on dedications and prefaces to Daniel’s poetry. But until now, there has been no documentary evidence that clearly places him there. An album amicorum owned by an Austrian, Erhard Grünthaler (1562–1614), contains signatures of four Englishmen, including Daniel, whose inscription to the album owner, dated June 30, 1591, recalls their journey together across the Alps to Italy. Keywords: album amicorum; early modern English travel to the Continent; Thomas Coryat; Edward Dymoke; Battista Guarini

SINCE MARK ECCLES’S ESSAY on Samuel Daniel’s sojourns on the Continent, published in 1937, there has been little doubt that the Samuel Daniel who wrote two letters from France to Sir Francis Walsingham in 1586 was the English poet and playwright. W. W. Greg had doubted the signatures on these letters, however, because they do not match those on documents signed by Daniel later in life—all in Italian hand, and all from 1603 or later. But Eccles pointed out that the signatures on the letter are consistent with Daniel’s signature in the Oxford Subscription Book in 1581, written in English secretary hand. Eccles established a clear timeline for the poet’s stay in France: Daniel left England about December 1585, intending to study in Paris; in March 1585/6, he wrote Walsingham from his chamber in Rue St Jaques; on May 20, 1586, he

wrote him from his chamber in the house of the English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford. In 1586, Richard Hakluyt was in Stafford's service, having gone to France with him in 1583. But sometime between March and May 1586, Hakluyt left Paris for several months, crossing the narrow sea to England. During his absence, Daniel apparently stood in for him, moving to the ambassador's house, then leaving it, and the country, following Hakluyt's August return. On September 4, 1586, Daniel arrived at Rye, having returned to England with dispatches from Stafford to Walsingham.

Daniel's stay in France, following his studies at Oxford, marked the first of foreign travels that scholars have long assumed took him to Italy, taking their cue from dedications and prefaces to Daniel's poetry (all cited in Eccles's essay). Now, in what may appear an unlikely source, a document has surfaced that secures that assumption. The document is an *album amicorum*, or autograph album (*Stammbuch* in German), owned by Erhard Grünthaler (1572–1614) and signed by Samuel Daniel (fig. 1).

Erhard Grünthaler von Kremsegg und Achleiten (Austria) was one of thirteen sons of Wolfgang Grünthaler (1502–1576) who, with Anna Enenkl (1534–1553) and later Ursula Kölnböck (1555–1601), fathered twenty-five children, Erhard the twenty-fourth. With his brothers, Erhard enjoyed a traditional education, which included, at the primary level, the Landschaftsschule in Enns/Linz. In October 1588, Erhard enrolled in the University of Altdorf; two years later he pursued further study in Italy. With his brother Andreas (1569–1597), who had earlier attended universities at Altdorf (matriculated 1584) and Marburg (matr. 1587), Erhard traveled to Padua, and on June 27, 1590, both brothers matriculated in the university law program there. (On March 28, 1591, Andreas, a member of the university council, was elected assessor of the German Nation;3 in December of that year, he enrolled at the University of Siena.) Erhard was in Marburg from August 1591 through March 1592 and in Helmstadt in February and March 1593; in 1594 (during the Thirteen Years' War), he joined the Austrian military in their efforts to recapture Gran from the Ottomans. By 1596, he was back in Italy: matriculation records indicate that in December of that year Erhard enrolled in the University of Siena,4 and the following March in the University of Bologna. By 1598, he was on the battlefield again, participating in the campaign to recapture Raab. In Austria in 1602, Erhard married Marusch [Margareta] von Oed (they had no children), and, in 1613, he became a member of the *Reichshofrat*, or Aulic Council, one of the empire's two supreme courts.5 A death shield in the church in Schleissheim, Steyr—where members of the Grünthaler family, originally from Bavaria but, since 1464, resident in Austria, are buried—commemorates Erhard, acknowledging his service as imperial councillor in
Figure 1. *Album amicorum* of Erhard Grünthaler, fol. 125v (Austrian National Library, Vienna; Cod. Ser. N. 13.244).
the government of Lower Austria (Niederösterreichischer Regimentsrat) and citing his death in Vienna on September 16, 1614, at the age of forty-two.

Including an Italian university in one’s Bildungsreise was apparently a tradition in the Grünthaler family: a list of the matriculants at the University of Padua includes not only Erhard and Andreas but also brothers Wolf Niklas (1565–1630, matr. 1585) and Jakob (1570–1627, matr. 1594), plus four of Erhard’s nephews—Wolf Dietmar (matr. 1602), Johann Andreas (matr. 1613), Johann Nimrot (matr. 1614), and Andreas (matr. 1617)—each of whom later attended the University of Siena. At least two of the brothers kept alba amicorum, Wolf Niklas from 1582 to 1609, Erhard from 1591 to 1612. There are signatures in Erhard’s album from Marburg, Helmstadt, and, from 1601, Achleiten, Austria. But most of the entries were secured in Padua in 1591, as well as during several other visits there: July and August 1596, April and May 1597, April 1598, and December 1599.

This informative album contains nearly one hundred signatures. Some are of Austrian noblemen who spent time in Italy, such as Hans Ludwig, Count and Baron of Thurn-Valsassina (d. Venice 1641; fol. 28, Padua, 1598); Carl, Count of Salmis and Neoburgo ad Oenum (d. 1643; matr. Siena 1598; fol. 29, 1598); Wolff Georg von Althan (1574–1632; matr. Padua 1590, Siena 1599; fol. 30, 1599); and Hans Jacob von Kuefstein (1577–1633; matr. Siena 1599, Padua 1600; fol. 31, Padua, 1599).

More intriguing are the signatures of four Englishmen: Daniel’s own (fol. 125v), Frunciscus Tomesonus (fol. 126), Arthurus Rempe (fol. 126v), and Antonius Dentonus (fol. 127). Three of the men—Daniel, Rempe, and Denton—wrote Anglus following their names. Daniel and Tomeson dated their entries June 30, 1591, Denton 1591. The proximity of signatures and coincidence of dates suggest that the Englishmen were companions on the journey. Moreover, the album owner, Erhard Grünthaler, apparently traveled with them. Tomeson’s dedication refers to Grünthaler as his fellow traveler; Daniel’s provides this telling remembrance of their journey:

Hoc incundissimae memoriae causa
Et dulce per Alpes itineris simul
facti recordatione, nobilissio iuveni
Eherhardo Grunthaler consacro.

8. Erhard’s album is in the Vienna National Library, Cod. Ser. N. 13,244. Wolf Niklas’s album is in the library of the Kremsmünster Abbey, Benediktinerstift, CC Cim. 9. Wolf Niklas’s album contains signatures dated 1582–85, Strasbourg, and 1585–88, Padua; three dated signatures from 1591–96, one (1595) sited Padua; and two unsited entries from 1620 and 1624. There do not appear to be any English signatures in Erhard’s brother’s album.
An epigram Daniel inscribed at the top of the page, a quotation from Ovid’s *Tristia*, book 4, 3.74, also alludes, less directly, to their excursion through the Alps: “Ardua per praeceps gloria vadit iter” (Steep glory makes its way through precipitous terrain).9 The moral message of the maxim is, of course, clear, but the Alpine terrain would have been precipitous literally as well. Thomas Coryat, who, on May 14, 1608, set out on a five-month tour of Europe, provides this account of his own crossing:

> The wayes were exceeding difficult in regard of the steepnesse and hardnesse thereof, for they were al rocky, petricosae & salebrosae, and so uneven that a man could hardly find any such footing on them . . . The waies on the sides of the mountaines whereon I rode were so exceeding high, that if my horse had happened to stumble, he had fallen downe with me foure or five times as deepe in some places as Paules tower in London is high.10

The challenges facing Daniel and his companions would have been similar. Like Coryat, they probably crossed on foot and horseback, with, possibly, occasional assistance from villagers like those who helped Coryat, “poor fellowes which get their living especially by carrying men in chairs from the toppe of the hill to the foot thereof.”11 And they probably passed during the “fittest times,” which, according to Fynes Moryson, whose first journey to the Continent began in May 1591, “are the Winter moneths, when no snow is newly fallen, and the old snow is hard congealed, or else the moneths of June, July, and August, when the snow neere the high wayes is altogether melted.”12 But unlike Coryat eighteen years later, Daniel probably did not take the route from France to Savoy to Turin and beyond: like Henry Wotton, who left England for the Continent in October 1589, he probably sailed to Stode, then made his way through Germany to avoid the wars in France and the Netherlands.13

9. I am grateful to Markus Dubischar for his translation of the Latin. Regarding the epigram, he offers this comment: “The imagery is dense and cannot be exactly replicated in English, mainly because the adjective ‘arduus,-a,-um,’ describing glory, means both ‘steep’/’high’ and ‘toilsome’/’difficult.’ The meaning is something like ‘The way leading up to high glory is toilsome, because it is steep, and dangerous, because you can fall off the path easily to the left and the right.’ This is a fitting quotation, not only because of its (somewhat predictable) moral content but also because Daniel’s dedication speaks of their having crossed the Alps together.”


11. Ibid., 1:216.


Moreover—given the presence of the Grünthaler brothers in Daniel’s expanded entourage—it is likely that the Englishmen, having met the brothers (accidentally?) in Austria, crossed the Alps from that country. Like Moryson, they may have traveled to Padua from Vienna, via Styria and Carinthia. Or they may have followed the Via Claudia Augusta, the roughly five-hundred-kilometer ancient Roman road that begins in Donauwörth, proceeds south through Augsburg, Landsberg, and Füssen (Germany), Lermoos, Landeck, Pfunds (Austria), and Merano, Bolzano, Trento, and Verona (Italy), before ending in Ostiglia, a harbor on the Po. Like others headed for Padua, the travelers would have left the ancient Roman road and journeyed east via the network of canals and rivers that led to the university town.¹⁴

That the Grünthaler brothers ended their Alpine journey in Padua is clear, for both brothers enrolled at the university there in June 1590. Moreover, Grünthaler’s album contains numerous signatures from Padua in 1591, beginning on February 16. Clearly, Daniel and his companions also crossed the Alps to Italy, but was their destination also Padua? In fact, both Daniel and Tomeson dated and sited their album entries: “Augusta. 30 June 1591.” But where was Augusta?

In several of his letters, Wotton refers to Augsburg, Germany, called Augusta Vindelicum in ancient times, as “Augusta.”¹⁵ Could this be where Daniel and his companions signed? Here, Grünthaler’s album provides a guide to the album owner’s whereabouts: Daniel’s entry chronologically follows fifteen entries earlier that month—June 5–21—from Padua (Patavium); moreover, it chronologically precedes two entries dated July 17 and 18 that are also from Padua. Surely Grünthaler, with his English companions and his album amicorum, did not head north across the precipitous Alps after the June 21 signature in Padua and, upon securing the Englishmen’s signatures in Augsburg on June 30, head south across the Alps again to Padua to secure the two July entries. Alternatively, one might surmise that Grünthaler met Daniel in Padua and traveled back to Austria with him, but the two July entries strongly suggest that their journey across the Alps was not from Italy but to Italy. Moreover, Daniel’s dedication recalls the trip they made through the Alps, diminishing the possibility that he wrote it before the company’s crossing.

There are several possible locations in Italy for Augusta. One may be Padua—specifically, the northeast section of the city, where the Augusta train station now stands. The signatures of the two Englishmen are among others offered in Padua, and no other geographical location interrupts the album’s chronological sequence. But Augusta could also refer to the town of that name on Sicily’s southeast coast. The chronology of the album entries from Padua allows a reasonable twenty-seven days for

¹⁴. See Richard Paul Roe, The Shakespeare Guide to Italy: Retracing the Bard’s Unknown Travels (New York, 2011), 86–113. Roe’s research into the geography of Shakespeare’s Italian plays has shown that, in the late sixteenth century, canals linked Ostiglia to the Tartaro River, which in turn was connected by canals to the Adige River. The journey would have continued on the Adige and ended with the Piovego Canal, which carried travelers into Padua.

¹⁵. See, for example, Life and Letters of Wotton, 2:172, 173, 176, 189, 192.
such an excursion, much of which would have been by sea. Also, an inscription on the Schleissheim tombstone of Erhard's brother and traveling companion, Andreas, who died in 1597 at the age of twenty-eight, strengthens the possibility, for it records Andreas's visits to "Teutsch-Welsch-England, Spanien und Sicilien auch andern Königreichen und Landen" (Germany-Wales-England, Spain and Sicily as well as other royal kingdoms and lands). Or, of course, it could refer to any of the three fortified towns in the foothills of the Alps—Augusta Taurinorum (Turin), Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), or Augusta Verona (Verona). Whatever its origin, the album inscription clearly places Daniel in Italy in June 1591. Moreover, judging from the fact that the Grünthaler's matriculated at the University of Padua in June 1590 and the Englishmen and Austrians crossed the Alps together, Daniel was already in Italy the previous year.

But does the album tell us anything about the supposed meeting in Italy among Daniel, Edward Dymoke, and Battista Guarini? In a sonnet prefixed to the 1602 English translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* and dedicated to Dymoke, Daniel, referencing Guarini, wrote:

Though I remember he hath oft imbas'd  
Unto us both the vertues of the North,  
Saying, our costes were with no measure grac'd,  
Nor barbarous tongues could any verse bring forth.17

Scholars have taken the lines as evidence that Daniel and Dymoke, the poet's earliest patron, were together in Italy. Indeed, Eccles provides a cogent argument for their meeting Guarini in Padua or, in the summer of 1591, at Guarini's villa between Padua and Venice. He may well have it right, but it is also possible that Dymoke and Daniel heard Guarini espouse the inadequacies of England on separate occasions. Unfortunately, Grünthaler's album is silent on the matter: neither Dymoke nor Guarini signed.

Who, then, were Daniel's companions? As best I could determine, two of the Englishmen—Fraunciscus Tomesonus and Arthurus Rempe [Kempe? ]—have been lost in the obscurity of history. But the third, Antonius Dentonus, was probably Sir Anthony Denton (1561–1615), who is memorialized in the Tonbridge parish church, where his effigy and funeral helmet, marking his knighthood, rest. Though Denton, who had a house in Tonbridge and two in London, was a member of the Honourable Band of Gentleman Pensioners, he is perhaps better remembered, at least by theater

17. See Eccles, "Daniel in France and Italy," 161.  
18. Ibid., 161–66.  
19. Neither name is included in "Woolfson's Biographical Register of English Visitors to Padua, 1485–1603" (205–89); or in Rea McCain, "English Travellers in Italy during the Renaissance," *Bulletin of Bibliography* 19, no. 3 (May–August 1947): 68–69; 19, no. 4 (September–December 1947): 93–95; 19, no. 5 (January–April 1948): 117–19. Similarly, Denton is not on either list, and Daniel is on McCain's only by virtue of references to Italy in the headnotes of two of his sonnets.
historians, for an event that took place in 1610 at the Tonbridge Playhouse, one of four theaters outside London, where his servant, Edward Caverley, was killed in a brawl.20 Denton would have been thirty when he arrived in Italy, Daniel twenty-nine. The album owner, Erhard Grünthaler, was only nineteen.

At least since Eccles’s 1937 essay, scholars have agreed that Daniel must have been in Italy. As Cecil Seronsy observed in 1967, “It has not been fully proved that he made these journeys [to France and Italy], but the evidence is strong for supposing that he did.”21 The Grünthaler album does not answer all of the questions associated with Daniel’s visit to Italy, but the autograph of “one of the most Italianate of Elizabethan poets” provides documentary evidence that, and when, he was there.22

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