

The Italian Encounter with Tudor England

The small but influential community of Italians that took shape in England in the fifteenth century initially consisted of ecclesiastics, humanists, merchants, bankers, and artists. However, in the wake of the English Reformation, Italian Protestants joined other continental religious refugees in finding Tudor England to be a hospitable and productive haven, and they brought with them a cultural perspective informed by the ascendancy among European elites of their vernacular language. This original and interdisciplinary study maintains that questions of language are at the centre of the circulation of ideas in the early modern period. Wyatt first examines the agency of this shifting community of immigrant Italians in the transmission of Italy's cultural patrimony and its impact on the nascent English nation; Part 2 turns to the exemplary career of John Florio, the Italo-Englishman who worked as a language teacher, lexicographer, and translator in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

MICHAEL WYATT, an independent scholar, has previously taught at Northwestern University and at Wesleyan University. He is a fellow of Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies.



Cambridge studies in renaissance literature and culture

General Editor
STEPHEN ORGEL
Jackson Eli Reynolds Professor of Humanities, Stanford University

Editorial board

ANNE BARTON University of Cambridge
JONATHAN DOLLIMORE University of York

MARJORIE GARBER Harvard University
JONATHAN GOLDBERG Johns Hopkins University
PETER HOLLAND University of Notre Dame, Indiana
KATE MCLUSKIE The Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham
NANCY VICKERS Bryn Mawr College

Since the 1970s there has been a broad and vital reinterpretation of the nature of literary texts, a move away from formalism to a sense of literature as an aspect of social, economic, political, and cultural history. While the earliest New Historicist work was criticized for a narrow and anecdotal view of history, it also served as an important stimulus for post-structuralist, feminist, Marxist, and psychoanalytical work, which in turn has increasingly informed and redirected it. Recent writing on the nature of representation, the historical construction of gender and of the concept of identity itself, on theatre as a political and economic phenomenon, and on the ideologies of art generally reveals the breadth of the field. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture is designed to offer historically oriented studies of Renaissance literature and theatre which make use of the insights afforded by theoretical perspectives. The view of history envisioned is above all a view of our history, a reading of the Renaissance for and from our own time.

Recent titles include

Joseph Loewenstein Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship William N. West Theatres and Encyclopedias in Early Modern Europe Richmond Barbour Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626

Elizabeth Spiller Science, Reading and Renaissance Literature: The Art of Making Knowledge, 1580–1670

Deanne Williams *The French Fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare*Douglas Trevor *The Poetics of Melancholy in Early Modern England*Christopher Warley *Sonnet Sequences and Social Distinction in Renaissance England*

Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama

A complete list of books in the series is given at the end of the volume



The Italian Encounter with Tudor England

A Cultural Politics of Translation

Michael Wyatt





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521848961

© Michael Wyatt 2005

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2005

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN-13 978-0-521-84896-1 hardback ISBN-10 0-521-84896-2 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

3 La Regina Helisabetta From Mary to Elizabeth Elizabeth, Italian, and Italians The status of the 'stranger' in England The Italian mercantile presence in England The Italian community in England The Italian community in England Part 2 John Florio and the Cultural Politics of Translation 4 Language lessons Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning		of figures	page vi
Part 1 'A parlar d'Inghilterra': Italians in and on Early Modern England 1 The two roses A Venetian ambassadorial report Italian humanists in Britain Italian artists in England England and the Roman church Italian actors in Henry VIII's 'great matter' 2 Reformations Italian views of Henry VIII Edward VI through one Italian's eyes The Italian 'reformation' in England Michelangelo Florio and the Tudor interregnum Italians and the English Catholic queen 3 La Regina Helisabetta From Mary to Elizabeth Elizabeth, Italian, and Italians The status of the 'stranger' in England The Italian mercantile presence in England The Italian community in England Part 2 John Florio and the Cultural Politics of Translation 4 Language lessons Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e		1X
Part 1 'A parlar d'Inghilterra': Italians in and on Early Modern England 1 The two roses A Venetian ambassadorial report Italian humanists in Britain Italian artists in England England and the Roman church Italian actors in Henry VIII's 'great matter' 2 Reformations Italian views of Henry VIII Edward VI through one Italian's eyes The Italian 'reformation' in England Michelangelo Florio and the Tudor interregnum Italians and the English Catholic queen 3 La Regina Helisabetta From Mary to Elizabeth Elizabeth, Italian, and Italians The status of the 'stranger' in England The Italian mercantile presence in England The Italian community in England The Italian community in England Part 2 John Florio and the Cultural Politics of Translation 4 Language lessons Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	woie	e on the text	XII
England 1 The two roses A Venetian ambassadorial report Italian humanists in Britain Italian artists in England England and the Roman church Italian actors in Henry VIII's 'great matter' 2 Reformations Italian views of Henry VIII Edward VI through one Italian's eyes The Italian 'reformation' in England Michelangelo Florio and the Tudor interregnum Italians and the English Catholic queen 3 La Regina Helisabetta From Mary to Elizabeth Elizabeth, Italian, and Italians The status of the 'stranger' in England The Italian mercantile presence in England The Italian community in England Part 2 John Florio and the Cultural Politics of Translation 4 Language lessons Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	Intro	oduction	1
A Venetian ambassadorial report Italian humanists in Britain Italian artists in England England and the Roman church Italian actors in Henry VIII's 'great matter' 2 Reformations Italian views of Henry VIII Edward VI through one Italian's eyes The Italian 'reformation' in England Michelangelo Florio and the Tudor interregnum Italians and the English Catholic queen 3 La Regina Helisabetta From Mary to Elizabeth Elizabeth, Italian, and Italians The status of the 'stranger' in England The Italian mercantile presence in England The Italian community in England Part 2 John Florio and the Cultural Politics of Translation 4 Language lessons Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	Part	·	
Italian views of Henry VIII Edward VI through one Italian's eyes The Italian 'reformation' in England Michelangelo Florio and the Tudor interregnum Italians and the English Catholic queen 3 La Regina Helisabetta From Mary to Elizabeth Elizabeth, Italian, and Italians The status of the 'stranger' in England The Italian mercantile presence in England The Italian community in England Part 2 John Florio and the Cultural Politics of Translation 4 Language lessons Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	1	A Venetian ambassadorial report Italian humanists in Britain Italian artists in England England and the Roman church	15 19 28 43 53 62
From Mary to Elizabeth Elizabeth, Italian, and Italians The status of the 'stranger' in England The Italian mercantile presence in England The Italian community in England Part 2 John Florio and the Cultural Politics of Translation 4 Language lessons Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	2	Italian views of Henry VIII Edward VI through one Italian's eyes The Italian 'reformation' in England Michelangelo Florio and the Tudor interregnum	65 66 72 84 98 101
4 Language lessons Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	3	From Mary to Elizabeth Elizabeth, Italian, and Italians The status of the 'stranger' in England The Italian mercantile presence in England	117 118 125 134 140
Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	Part	2 John Florio and the Cultural Politics of Translation	
	4	Roger Ascham contra Italy Language instruction in Elizabethan England John Florio's language pedagogy The poetic 'lie' in the service of language learning	157 159 163 165 170 174



vi	Contents	
	Instruction in courtesy	180
	The Italian book, made in England	185
	A Shakespearean language lesson	199
5	Worlds of words	203
	Alessandro Citolini and the Italian 'language question'	204
	Grammars	210
	Instruments of cultural control in early modern Italy	218
	Florio the lexicographer	223
	Readings through Florio's dictionary	231
	Gender and the language arts	244
Арре	endix I	255
Appendix II		262
Notes		265
Bibliography		341
Index		366



Figures

1	Pinturicchio, fresco of Enea Silvio Piccolomini and	
	James I in Scotland, Piccolomini Library, Duomo,	
	Siena. Reproduced courtesy of Scala Archivio/Art	
	Resource, NY.	30
2	Pietro Carmeliano, first page of Carmen in honor of	
	Mary Tudor and Charles of Castille. Reproduced by	
	permission of the British Library.	33
3	Gubbio Studiolo, Garter of Federico da Montefeltro.	
	Reproduced courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art.	36
4	Baldassare Castiglione, first page of <i>Ad Henricum</i>	
	Angliae Regem epistola, Amherst Ms. B3, n. 3.	
	Reproduced courtesy of Amherst College Archives	
	and Special Collections.	38
5	Giovanni Michele Nagonio, miniature of Henry VII	
	in Carmen, York Minster Ms. XVI N2. Reproduced	
	by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of York.	45
6	Pietro Torrigiano, tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth	
	of York, Westminster Abbey. Reproduced courtesy of	
	Scala Archivio/Art Resource, NY.	48
7	John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, Woodcut.	
	Reproduced courtesy of Department of Special	
	Collections, Stanford University.	52
8	John Haidt, Painting of Edward VI, John Laski,	
	and the Elders of the Church of Austin Friars.	
	Reproduced by permission of the United Reformed	
	Church History Society, Westminster College,	
	Cambridge Theological Federation.	99
9	Giovanni Alberto Albicante, frontispiece of Il sacro	
	et divino sponsalitio. Reproduced by permission of	
	the British Library.	110
10	Alessandro Magno, drawing of St. Paul's, Folger	
	Shakespeare Library Ms. V.a.259. Reproduced by	
	permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.	120
		vii



viii	List of figures	
11	The 'Moorfields' section of the 1559 copperplate	
	map of London. Reproduced courtesy of the	
	Museum of London.	149
12	Title page of John Wolfe's edition of Machiavelli,	
	I discorsi. Reproduced by permission of the	
	British Library.	190
13	John Hole, Engraving of John Florio in Queen	
	Anna's New World of Words	253



Acknowledgments

One of my most accomplished students generously acknowledged in the preface to his senior thesis several years ago that all valuable intellectual work is collaborative, and I roundly second his judgment. This book owes an infinitude of debts: to my teachers; to the libraries where I have worked and whose staffs have worked indefatigably for me; to the institutions in which I have been formed and those for which I have taught; and to the inestimable support of colleagues, friends, and family.

Thomas Howard introduced me to Renaissance studies over twentyfive years ago at Gordon College, and while he may not recognize some of what he will find in these pages, their genesis began in his course on seventeenth-century English prose and poetry. John Florio first came to my attention in Marcel Tetel's National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar for School Teachers dedicated to French Renaissance humanism at Duke University in 1990; I deeply regret that Marcel did not live to see the fruits of that enormously stimulating experience in the form of this book. Penn Szyttya, Bruce Smith, and Anthony Hecht at Georgetown University each made valuable contributions to my understanding of literary culture and helped to refine my critical reflection about it, while Catherine Belsey opened my eyes to the utility of contemporary theoretical approaches to cultural production in a seminar at the Folger Shakespeare Library Institute in 1991. The paleography seminar conducted by Armando Petrucci and Franca Nardelli at the Newberry Library in the summer of 1993 introduced me to working with manuscripts, documents, and early printed books, the beginning of an on-going exchange that has, with regard to this book, saved me from a number of historical and philological infelicities. Louise George Clubb has been indispensable in furnishing a model of how to negotiate differing cultural and linguistic traditions, and as a professor at the University of California, Berkeley while I was a doctoral student at Stanford, she always welcomed me into her graduate seminars and was generous in the time she devoted to helping me find my comparatist's voice. Stephen Orgel has been il personaggio chiave for this project from its inception, and I am enormously grateful for his encouragement and manifold forms of support even in the face of my



x Acknowledgments

tortoise-like progress; his is an emblematic form of direction, generously enabling his students to develop scholarship that frequently comes to be articulated in ways quite different from his own work.

For their close reading of the entire manuscript I am particularly obliged to Albert Ascoli, Ronald Martinez, and the anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press. Having read and commented on sections of the book in various stages of completion, I thank Andrew Curran, Peter Davidson, Caroline Elam, Hilary Gatti, Jacques Gres-Gayer, Noah Isenberg, F. A. Kent, Ellen Nerenberg, John Paoletti, Armando Petrucci, Tilde Sankovich, Jeffrey Schnapp, Norman Shapiro, Cinzia Sicca, and Jane Stevenson. Stephanie Jed provided an invaluable critique of the very earliest draft of the project's outline. I am also grateful to Judith Brown, John Freccero, and members of the Bay Area Early Modern Reading Group – particularly Timothy Hampton and Harry Berger – for their help in fine-tuning critical parts of my argument in its infancy.

Joseph Reed and Maurizio Campanelli, playing Matthew Gwinne to my John Florio (see page 337, n. 152), translated a number of thorny passages (and otherwise corrected my translations) from Latin. A number of colleagues have provided other translation assistance, bibliography, and countless useful clues and insights: Peter Bilton, Pier Luigi Ciapparelli, Joseph Connors, Rachel Doggett, Bruce Edelstein, Keir Elam, Giovanni Ercoli, Margaret Gallucci, Paul Gehl, Dilwyn Knox, Bernardo Piciché, Stephen Schloesser, Alan Stewart, J. B. Trapp, Francesco Villani, Laetitia Yeandle, and Dmitrios Zikos.

I particularly grateful to the librarians of Stanford University's Green Library who were unfailingly helpful during the initial phase of research for this book; Mary Jane Parrine, then curator of the Romance Languages collection, assisted enormously in honing my research skills and frequently pointed me in the direction of materials I would never otherwise have known to look for, procuring still others which I needed. Subsequent research was carried out in a number of university, state, and private libraries and archives, and I thankfully acknowledge them and their staffs. In the United States: the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley; the Newberry Library in Chicago; the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC; the Library at Northwestern University; Special Collections and Archives at Wesleyan University (especially Suzy Taraba); the Library of the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities; the Horton Library at Harvard University; Archives and Special Collections at Amherst College (particularly Peter A. Nelson); and the Beinicke Library at Yale University. In the United Kingdom: the British Library, the Warburg Institute, and the Library at Lambeth Palace in London; the United Reformed Church History Society, Westminster College,



Acknowledgments

хi

Cambridge Theological Federation (especially Margaret Thompson); the Library at York Minster; the National Library in Edinburgh; and Queen Mother Library at the University of Aberdeen. In Italy: the Libraries at Villa I Tatti (special thanks to its head librarian Michael Rocke) and the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento (especially its director, Michele Ciliberto, and head librarian, Vittorio E. Vasarri), the Biblioteca Nazionale, and the Archivio di Stato in Florence; and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Archivio Storico Capitolino, and the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome.

Thanks to Sarah Stanton, Victoria Cooper, Rebecca Jones, and Jackie Warren at Cambridge University Press; and to Chris Jackson for the careful attention he dedicated to editing a complex manuscript.

Part of Ch. 5 appeared first in *Giordano Bruno*, *Philosopher of the Renaissance*, Hilary Gatti, ed., and is reprinted here by kind permission of Ashgate.

Very special thanks to Cristoforo Grotta, James Anderson Jr., Francesca Duranti, Marina Perotti, Stephen Smith, Angiolo Pergolini, Patrizia Tanini, Fausta Quarato, Peter Davidson, Jane Stevenson, Edward Brubaker, Mary Brubaker, Giovanni Ercoli, Susan Lair, Douglas Trobough, Curtis Vredenburg, Brad Hinkley, Jonathan Hibbs, and Portia Jones.

I dedicate *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England* to the memory of my mother, Nancy, who unhappily did not live to see it completed, and to those other relatives and friends who have now passed into the great cloud of unknowing: Eula Riley, Patrick Thomas Riley, Pearl Thompson, Igino Cardinale, James Madden, Van Ernst, Jack Frey, Bernard McVeigh, Timothy Wyatt, and Marcel Tetel.



Note on the text

Unless otherwise noted, I cite in my chapter notes the first editions of books printed in England, which during the final stages of the preparation of this book have all been consulted through *Early English Books Online* (hereafter *EEBO*); in the Bibliography, I list modern editions if available, for the benefit of readers without access to electronic resources.

For the sake of simplicity, in the chapter notes I have abbreviated the titles of Florio's principal works under consideration in this volume as follows:

FF: Florio His Firste Fruites: which yeelde familiar speech, merie Proverbes, wittie sentences, and golden sayings. Also a perfect introduction to the Italian and English tongues. London: Thomas Woodcock, 1578.

SF: Florios Second Frutes, To be gathered of twelve Trees, of divers and delightsome tastes to the tongues of Italians and Englishmen. London: Thomas Woodcock, 1591.

WW: A Worlde of Wordes, or most copious and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English. London: Edward Blount, 1598.

QA: Queen Anna's New World of Words, or Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues. London: Edward Blount and William Barret, 1611.

Other abbreviations utilized in the chapter notes are as follows:

BL: British Library

DBI: Dizionario biografico degli italiani. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–present.

DNB: Dictionary of National Biography. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds. London: Smith and Elder, 1885–1901.

OED: Oxford English Dictionary Online: www.dictionary.oed.com

Grove: Grove Art Online: www.groveart.com

STC: A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640,

A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, eds. (revised by

xii



Note on the text xiii

W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, and Katherine F. Pantzer). London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–1991.

For the spelling of English names, I have followed the usage of the STC and the DNB; for names in Italian, the forms found in the Sistema bibliotecario nazionale [SBN] and Il censimento delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo, EDIT 16 – both from the Istituto centrale per il catalogo unico [ICCU] – and the DBI. Regarding centuries, I have used the Italian form 'cinquecento' in discussing issues specific to the Italian context, and 'sixteenth century' otherwise.

Interpolations of my own in citations, as well as translations into English where not in closed quotes or indented, are indicated [in brackets]. Early Italian, neo-Latin, and English texts have been only minimally corrected in order to facilitate their legibility. Titles of books printed in England and available through EEBO retain their original form in my notes and bibliography in order to facilitate searching, while they are corrected in the main body of my text (the *Lasino doro*, or *L'asino d'oro*, of Machiavelli, for example).